

*The Bunganditj (Buwandik)  
language of the  
Mount Gambier Region*

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# **The Bunganditj (Buwandik) language of the Mount Gambier Region**

Barry J. Blake



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# Preface

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This book is a consolidated account of the Bunganditj language of south-eastern South Australia and adjacent areas of western Victoria based on early sources. It is intended to serve as a convenient reference for Bunganditj people and for all researchers. It is part of a series of consolidated accounts of Victorian languages that I and others have produced and are producing. Each account brings together early source material, mostly from the nineteenth century, and incorporates the work of Luise Hercus where it is available. This dates from the 1960s and is the only work by a modern linguist based on recordings of speakers. Sadly it is no longer possible to find people who still remember substantial parts of any of the languages once spoken in Victoria.

Each account involves some interpretation of the source material. In particular it involves transcribing early notations into a consistent broad phonetic form and restating points of grammar in current terminology.

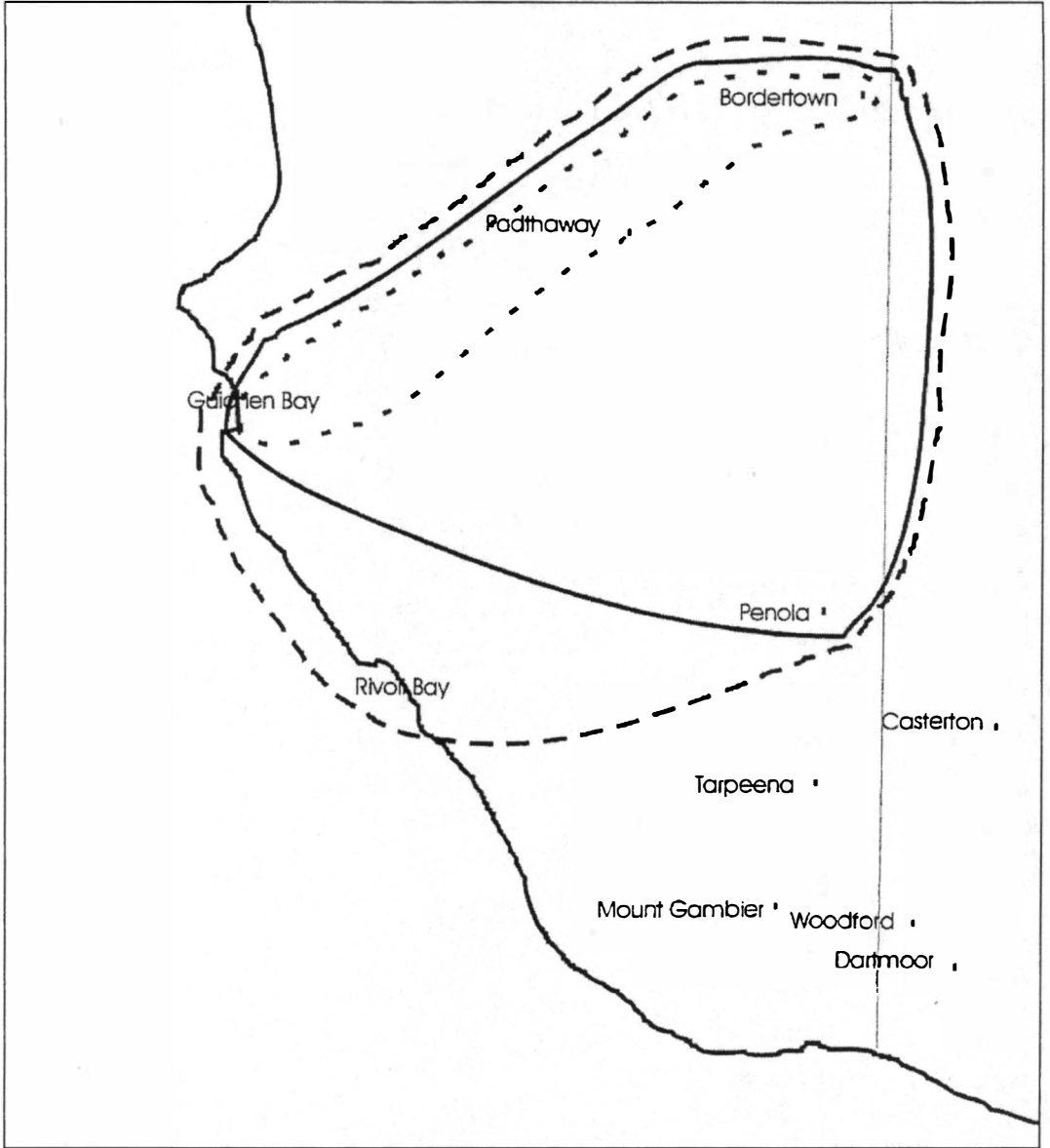
I would like to thank the following for their help:

- R.M.W. 'Bob' Dixon for supplying an annotated list of sources and photocopies of them, and for useful comments on the penultimate draft;
- Stephen Morey for manuscript material from R.H. Mathews, for supplying an electronic copy of Thomas' *A lexicon of the Australian Aboriginal tongue*, for interpretation and discussion of the Mount Gambier [Bunganditj] list in the Thomas manuscript, and for a set of helpful comments on the draft;
- Ted Ryan for manuscript material from Christina Smith and John Mathew;
- Mary Morris of the Museum of Victoria for facilitating access to the Howitt papers;
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- Gavan Breen, Ian Clark, Luise Hercus, and an anonymous referee for various suggestions;
- Julie Reid for entering the data into computer files, collating them and producing a first draft of which the present work is a greatly expanded version.

Barry Blake  
April 2002



Map 1: Bunganditj and neighbouring languages



Map 2: Isoglosses

# *Abbreviations*

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## **Grammatical**

APPLIC	applicative
ALL	allative
DU	dual
ERG	ergative
EXC	exclusive (of the addressee)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INC	inclusive (of the addressee)
INTERROG	interrogative
LOC	locative
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PL	plural
POSS	possessor
PRES	present
SG	singular
RECIP	reciprocal
1	first person 'I'
2	second person 'you'
3	third person 'he', 'she', 'it', 'they'

## Languages and areas

B	Buganditj, Buwandik
CV	The Central Victorian Language (Woiwurrung, Thagungwurrung)
Dhu	Dhudhuroa
Dja	Djadjawurrung
Gipps	The Gippsland Language
K	Kunkupanut (dialect of the Warrnambool language)
Le	Letji-Letji
Ma	Mathi-Mathi
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
Pall	Pallanganmiddang
PW	Pikwurrung
Q	Queensland
SA	South Australia
Thag(ung)	Thagungwurrung
Tjap	Tjapwurrung
Wa	Wathawurrung
WA	Western Australia
Warr	Warrnambool
We	Wergaya
Wem	Wemba-Wemba
Wim	Wimmera
Woi	Woiwurrung
WP	Wati-Wati (Piangil)
WS	Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)
WV	The Western Victorian Language
WW	Wuluwurrung
Yab	Yabula-Yabula
YY	Yota-Yota

# Conventions

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Where forms are cited from old sources they are given in italics. Modern broad phonetic transcriptions are given in bold. These forms will often be phonemically underdifferentiated, not distinguishing a flapped rhotic from a glide, for instance.

In the phonetic transcription digraphs in **h** are used for dentals: **th**, **nh** and **lh**. Palatal stops are represented as **tj**, but an unreleased palatal stop in syllable-final position is represented by **yt**. The palatal nasal and lateral are represented by **ny** and **ly**, but in word-final position **yn** and **yl** are used. Retroflexes are represented by digraphs beginning with **r**: **rt**, **rn** and **rl**. Capitals are used for laminals that can range over a dental or palatal realisation. Thus **TH** is used for a segment that could be **tj** or **th**; likewise **NH** covers **ny** and **nh**, and **LH** covers **ly** and **lh**.

Australian languages do not normally distinguish **p** and **b**, **t** and **d**, and **k** and **g**. The convention adopted here is to transcribe all stops as voiceless, except in homorganic nasal-stop clusters where the sources indicate voicing is regular, hence **mb**, **nd**, etc.

## Language names

The Aboriginal language names usually cover a tongue spoken in a comparatively small area. It is frequently the case that a number of tongues can be grouped together because of their similarity. These groupings have been given English names. The English names used in this work are as follows:

### *Western Victorian Language*

This label embraces the Mathi group of tongues (Mathi-Mathi, Letji-Letji, Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and Wati-Wati (Piangi)) plus a number of other tongues including Wemba-Wemba, Beraba-Beraba, Wimmera (Wergaya (Hercus 1986) plus closely associated dialects), Djadjawurrung, Yatwatjali, Nundatjali and Tjapwurrung.

### *Warrnambool Language*

This covers a group of closely related dialects from the Warrnambool area. The name for this grouping adopted by the community is Keeraywoorroong. Large vocabularies are available for three dialects: Pikwurrung, Kunkupanut and Wuluwurrung.

### *The Central Victorian Language*

This covers Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung and Thagungwurrung.

***Kulin***

Kulin was used as a classificatory term in Schmidt (1919). As used here it covers the Western Victorian Language, the Central Victorian Language and Wathawurrung.



### Mount Gambier lakes

Bunganditj territory was a plain punctuated by the cones of extinct volcanoes. The largest was Berrin (Mount Gambier). Bunganditj legend recounts how the fires in the ovens of the giant Craitbul were put out by rising water, which formed the four crater lakes found there today. This picture, taken by the author in 1955, shows the area containing Browne, Valley and Leg of Mutton Lakes.

# 1 Introduction

---

## 1.1 Background

A single language appears to have been spoken in a triangle that stretched from somewhere north of Lacedpede Bay on the coast of South Australia across to Bordertown on the Victorian border and south to the coast where the mouth of the Glenelg in far western Victoria formed the south-eastern corner (Taplin 1879:59). Christina Smith (1880:ix) writes:

The aborigines of the South-East were divided into five tribes, each occupying its own territory, and using different dialects of the same language. Their names were 'Booandik', 'Pinejunga', 'Mootatunga', 'Wichintunga', and 'Taloinjunga'.<sup>1</sup>

The Booandik ... was the largest and occupied that tract of country extending from the mouth of the Glenelg River to Rivoli Bay North, for about thirty miles inland. The other tribes occupied the country between Lacapede Bay and Border Town, abutting the Booandik country.

A consideration of various references indicates clearly that the territory of the Buwandik, alternatively Bunganditj, extended to the mouth of the Glenelg and further north it extended to Coleraine and perhaps Balmoral. Tindale's (1974) map shows Bunganditj territory extending into Victoria as far as the Southern Grampians, and he claims (1974:210) that their territory was contracting towards Casterton at the time of white settlement under pressure from the *Jaadwa* people.<sup>2</sup> Word lists from Lake Wallace (Edenhope) (Curr 1887:476–477) and 'the Tatiarra country' [around Bordertown] (Curr 1887:456–459) belong to the Western Victorian language, part of the Kulin language family, which covers most of western and central Victoria. However, we cannot be certain that the informants were native to these locations. Further discussion of the territory is given in §1.3.2.1.

Bunganditj culture stretched back tens of thousands of years. The Bunganditj people tell of the giant, Craitbul, having to abandon his oven on top of Mt Muirhead (near Millicent). He and his people moved to Mt Schank (south of Mt Gambier) where he built a new oven, but the fire did not last and again he had to move, and he moved to Mt Gambier where his four attempts to establish an oven were thwarted by rising water that formed the crater lakes found there today (Smith 1880:14f.). Craters of volcanoes were

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<sup>1</sup> The published book actually has different forms from those found in Smith's correspondence with Howitt. Christina Smith's manuscript map clearly has *Taloinjunga* for *Polinjunga*, and this gross discrepancy has been corrected in the quotation. The manuscript also has *Pinechungu* for *Pinejunga*, *Moatatunga* for *Mootatunga*, and *Wichantunga* for *Wichintunga*. Howitt (1904:69) has *Painchungu* for *Pinejunga* and *Wiantunga* for *Wichantunga*.

<sup>2</sup> Tindale's *Jaadwa* is a western group of the Kulin people shown as Yatwatjali on the map.

interpreted as giants' ovens, an apt comparison when one considers that a 'native oven' is a more or less circular area of ash where cooking has taken place over a period of time. Interestingly the last eruption of the Mt Muirhead volcano (or oven) was about 20,000 years ago, the last eruption of the Mt Schank volcano some 10,000 years or more later, and the formation of the crater lakes at Mt Gambier a little over 4,000 years ago (Sheard 1983). The story of Craitbul captures the relative chronology of the cooling volcanoes, and it relates to events going back 20,000 years.

This culture came to an abrupt end when the territory of the Bunganditj was taken over by whites in the 1840s. The beginning of the end was probably in 1789 when small pox spread through the Aboriginal population of south-eastern Australia from the Sydney area ahead of the appearance of Europeans.<sup>3</sup> This was followed by a second epidemic that reached the southern part of South Australia in 1830 or 1831. The first direct contact with Europeans must have been with sealers and whalers, who were active along the southern coast from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first recorded contact occurred in the early 1930s when a young Bunganditj woman gathering berries encountered 'Bos'n', a fugitive from the police. A few decades later, this woman, Blackford Maggie, was considered the last survivor of her people in the Guichen Bay district, which points to the rapid decline in the native population following the arrival of white squatters in the 1940s.

The colonisation of the south-east of South Australia followed a familiar pattern. The land was quickly occupied by squatters, with inevitable conflict. Sometime Aborigines speared stock animals, for which the settlers retaliated with a punitive expedition. In some cases Aboriginal men took violent revenge over the abduction of their women. This too would be followed by a punitive expedition. By the late 1840s some Aborigines were employed on the squatters' properties in a variety of occupations, men as shepherds, shearers, bullock drovers and horsebreakers and the like, and women as domestics. By the 1850s they were completely detribalised and many were living as fringe dwellers in towns receiving government rations.

Whether employed or not, they continued to die from introduced diseases.

Stewart reported that there were 900 Bunganditj when he first identified with them, but only 17 twenty-eight years later. This is quoted in 1880 (Fison and Howitt 1880:30), so the comparison is probably of the late 1840s with the late 1870s. White settlers in the nineteenth century were fond of reporting 'the last of the Mohicans'. Blackford Maggie, referred to above, may have been seen as the last of her people, but she cannot have been the last person to identify as Bunganditj. There were survivors; there are descendants, few in number and scattered. Some knowledge of the language probably survived into the twentieth century, but Luise Hercus, who did extensive field work in western Victoria and adjacent parts of South Australia and New South Wales in the 1960s, could find only one person with any knowledge of the language, a woman who remembered two phrases from her father (Hercus 1986:233).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> These few notes on the colonial period are derived from Smith (1880), Bermingham (1961) and Campbell (1934). The full reference for Campbell is in §1.2.

<sup>4</sup> The two phrases can be found in the glossary under the entries for 'hungry' and 'sleep'.

Practically all our data comes from old sources. There are twelve sources of vocabulary for the language and two direct sources of grammatical information on the dialect spoken by the Booandik or Bunganditj (see discussion of the name below). One source for the grammar is a sketch of three pages by D.S. Stewart; the other is a slightly longer sketch by R.H. Mathews, which exists in two forms, manuscript and published. Some further grammatical information can be obtained from the 'Mount Gambier' sentences in William Thomas' *Dialogues in six dialects* (details below), and a few further scraps can be gleaned from the word lists, specially from the one by Stewart which accompanies his grammatical sketch.

The name is spelled variously. The earliest is *Buandic* found in Duncan Stewart's notebook of 1853–54 (Clark 1990:411), but he also uses *Booandik*, the spelling used by his mother, Christina Smith. Tindale records a pronunciation **Puṅandik** (I use bold for modern phonetic notation or my transcription, and italics for early amateur notations).<sup>5</sup> Of the other primary sources, Dawson (1881:76) gives quite a different version of this name, namely *Bung'andaetch*, and John Mathew records that *Bugandity* or *Buganity* was the pronunciation used by speakers of the Warrnambool language (Clark 1990:411). Mathews considered Smith's *Booandik* erroneous and used *Bugandity*.<sup>6</sup> It seems that variants with and without **ng** are legitimate, as are versions with final **tj** or final **k**. There is a correspondence between a final **-k** in the northern dialects related to Bunganditj and a final **-tj** in the Warrnambool language, though the final **-k** is dropped altogether in Bunganditj itself (see Table 2 below).<sup>7</sup> The name seems to be basically a name for the people rather than the language. Smith (1880:125) writes, 'They call their speech *Drualat-ngolonung* (speech of the man), or *Booandik-ngolo* (speech of the Booandiks).'

A reviewer suggests that **Buwandik** may be an amateur mishearing of a pronunciation of **Bugandik** in which the velar nasal is reduced to nasalisation. Although this has some phonetic plausibility, it is not common to find such a reduction, and Stewart had a long association with the language. It could be that such a reduction took place historically. In other words, **Bugandik** may be an older form from which **Buwandik**

<sup>5</sup> Murray River notes (ms) 1930–32, p.47. See also Tindale (1974: 210–211).

<sup>6</sup> Mathews (1903a:61) writes: 'In 1880, Mrs James Smith published a vocabulary and a few fragments of grammatical rules of the language of this tribe, whose name she erroneously gave as Booandik.' In fact the language information was supplied by her son, Duncan Stewart, and it appears in an appendix to Smith (See §1.2).

<sup>7</sup> Regarding the variation between **Buganditj** with **ng** and **Buwandik** without, it is interesting to note that it also occurs in the forms recorded for 'vegetable food', namely **buwang** (recorded by Stewart, the son of Christina Smith) and **bungang**, recorded by Curr and Mathews. In fact it may be that this word is the root of the name. The form for vegetable food ends in a velar nasal and there is no sign of this in **Buganditj**, but it could be that there was an assimilation in the word **Buganditj** to an **n** before **d**, or that Curr and Mathews heard or assumed an **n** before **d**. Breaking up the name into **bu(ng)an** and **-ditj** or **-dik** receives some support in that there is a noun-forming suffix **-ditj** in the Warrnambool Language: compare **warrun** 'skeleton' and **warrunditj** 'thin' or **ming** 'a wound' and **mingtitj** 'a wounded person'. It may be that the name meant 'vegetable-food-eaters'. See also footnote 9 below.

Tindale (1974:210) claims the word for 'man' was [buŋ] at Mount Gambier. He does not attempt to relate this to the name Bunganditj, but in any case, this word is unconfirmed.

was a current reflex at the time the name was taken down. I will use **Bunganditj**, the form used by Mathews, the form adopted by Tindale, and the form most used today.

## 1.2 Sources

Campbell, T.D., 1934, Notes on the Aborigines of the south-east of South Australia. Part I. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 58:22–32. Part II. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 63:27–35.

This is essentially a secondary source, but it is useful in that it contains references to numerous primary sources, though mostly not on language.

Clark, I.D., 1990, *Aboriginal languages and clans: an historical atlas of western and central Victoria*. Monash Publications in Geography 37. Clayton: Monash University.

This is not a source of language data, but rather a source of clan names and locations. It provides a comprehensive guide to all sources including language sources. *Buandig* is covered on pp. 411–413.

Curr, E.M., 1886–87, *The Australian Race*. Melbourne: Government Printer.

Volumes I and II are dated 1886 and volumes III and IV are dated 1887.

Curr, E.M., 1887a, Woodford. List 207E. volume III:482–483.

Curr, E.M., 1887b, Dartmoor. List 207F. volume III:484–485.

Some of the spellings in Curr have been corrected from an annotated copy of volume 4 held in the ANU library (supplied by R.M.W. Dixon).

Dawson, J., 1881, *Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia*. Melbourne: George Robertson.

Eyre, E.J., 1845, *Manners and customs of the Aborigines and the state of their relations with Europeans*. London: T. & W. Boone.

Fison, L. and A.W. Howitt, 1880, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*. Melbourne: George Robertson. [facsimile edition, 1991, Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press].

Hercus, L., 1986, *Victorian languages: a late survey*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Howitt, A.W., 1904, *The native tribes of south-east Australia*. London: MacMillan [facsimile edition, 1996, Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press].

Mathew, J., 1899, *Eaglehawk and Crow*. London: Nutt and Melbourne: Melville and Slade.

This contains word lists from a number of languages including *Booandik*, which is derived from Stewart in Smith (see entries below).

Mathews, R.H., n.d., Notes on Boongandity [also Bunganadity] from Tommy McCallum of Casterton. His mother spoke Wuluwurru language. Field notebook 1:113–118, 120–125 (National Library). Wuluwurru(ng) is the westernmost dialect of the Warrnambool language.

Mathews, R.H., 1903a, Language of the Bungandity Tribe, South Australia. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 37:59–74.

This contains notes on grammar with a few illustrative sentences plus a vocabulary. There is another version of the vocabulary written in pencil on a copy of Mathews' paper published in 1902 'The Aboriginal languages of Victoria', *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 36:71–106. This vocabulary deviates from the published version in one or two places, and it has to be used with caution since some other vocabulary has also been written on the paper. In the few instances where the manuscript version has been used it is marked 'm2' as opposed to 'm' for Mathews. The annotated offprints are in Mathews papers in the Australian National Library, MS 8006, Series 8.

Mathews, R.H., 1903b, Some notes on the native tribes of Victoria. *Journal and proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 37:243–253.

This contains one paragraph (p.250) on the *Nundatyalli Dialect* which Mathews claims is partly like Bunganditj and partly like *Tyattyalli*, which is part of the Western Victorian Language. See §1.3.2.1.

Mathews, R.H., 1903c, Languages of the Kamilaroi and others. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 33:259–283.

There are a few dual and plural pronouns under 'Some native tribes of South Australia' on p. 283.

\*Smith, Mrs James [= Christina Smith], 1880, The Booandik tribe of South Australian Aborigines: a sketch of their habits, customs, legends, and language. Adelaide: Spiller, Government Printer.

\*Following the custom for married women at the time Christina Smith used the name Mrs James Smith. The Public library of South Australia catalogues this book using the author's rightful given name, Christina Smith.

There are nearly 100 words scattered through the text. The book also contains language material supplied by her son, D.S. Stewart (see entry).

Smyth, R.B., 1878, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (2 volumes). Melbourne: Government Printer.

Stewart, D.S., 1880, *Language of the tribe and Vocabulary*. These make up an appendix to Christina Smith's book (see entry above), 125–139.

The grammar is very brief and does not contain any sentence examples, but the glossary is very good and contains a number of phrases. It is the source for the *Booandik* list in Mathew (1899). Duncan Smith was appointed the official interpreter of native language for the south-eastern district in 1853 and probably knew the language well. Christina Smith (1880:34) writes: 'My son had acted in this capacity [interpreter] as early as the beginning of 1848, when only 14 years of age, and his thorough acquaintance with the native tongue elicited warm commendation from Mr Smiley, Advocate General, in a letter to His Excellency, the Governor'.

Stewart, D.S., 1887, Mount Gambier. List 205. Curr III:460–465.

Besides the standard Curr list Stewart supplied some grammatical information, mainly possessor pronoun forms.

Taplin, G., 1879, *The folklore, manners, customs, and languages of the South Australian Aborigines*. Adelaide: Spiller, Government Printer.

This contains a comparative vocabulary from 47 languages (pp.142–152) including five that belong with Bunganditj. These are *Border Town* (37) from P.T. Humphries, *Padthaway* (38) from R. Lawson, *Guichen Bay* (39) from A. Tolmer, *Penola* (40) from J. Singeleton, and *Tarpeena* (41) from C.E. Sheppard. There is also a list of 35 kin terms in various languages including *Border Town or Tatiara Tribe* (Henry [sic] Humphries and R. Lawson) and *Guichen Bay Tribe* (Tolmer) (p.159). There is also some information on *The Tatiara and South-Eastern Tribes* and *The Padthaway Tribe* on pp.57–59.

Thomas, William, 1862, A lexicon of the Australian Aboriginal tongue in the six dialects of Ballarat, Bacchus Marsh, Melbourne, Gippsland, Mount Gambier, and Wonnin. MS 6290 La Trobe Library, Melbourne.

The *Mt Gambier* list represents the Bunganditj language.

Thomas, William, Papers, volume 21, p.241, *Wonnon Tribe, Nedd West*, Mitchell Library. This page contains comparative vocabulary in three columns, headed King Tom's Billy, Neddy Monkey and [indecipherable] White.<sup>8</sup> The first column is Bunganditj and contains 23 entries, the second contains four entries and 19 dittoes, the third column is Wuluwurrung.

Tindale, Norman B., 1937, Native songs of the south east of South Australia. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 61:107–120.

Tindale, Norman B., 1940, Distribution of Australian Aboriginal tribes: a field survey. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 64 (1):140–231.

This lists 'tribes' and sources of information on each, but is superseded by Tindale 1974.

Tindale, Norman B., 1941, Native songs of the south east of South Australia, part 2. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 65 (2):233–243.

Tindale, Norman B., 1974, *Aboriginal tribes of Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

This lists 'tribes' and sources of information on each. It also includes a map showing locations. An earlier version of much of the information was contained in Tindale (1940).

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<sup>8</sup> Ted Ryan (pers. comm.) identifies the last of the three as Jacky White.

### 1.3 Dialects and neighbouring languages

#### 1.3.1 Dialects

As noted in §1.1 above, Smith records that the aborigines of the South-East were divided into five tribes, each occupying its own territory, and using different dialects of the same language. Their names were (using the manuscript spellings): *Booandik*, *Pinechunga*, *Moatatunga*, *Wichantunga*, and *Toloinjunga*. The last four end in **tjang(g)a/thang(g)a** presumably signifying 'language' as in Muk-thang 'excellent speech', a name used for the language of the Kurnai in Gippsland (Howitt 1904:73). **Thang** is independently attested in Gippsland as a word for 'speech' or 'language'. The first part of *Mootatunga* may be **mu[r]ta** 'short', the first part of *Wichantunga* could be **witjang** 'narrow'.

It has not proved possible to align our sources with the dialect names in Smith. Our major sources are the data on *Booandik* from Stewart and *Bungandity* from Mathews. The material in Stewart is from Rivoli Bay, where his parents resided from 1845 to 1854, before removing to Mount Gambier (Smith 1880:34), and the material from Mathews was, as noted above, collected from Tommy McCallum of Casterton. Thomas's material is labelled Mount Gambier, and the two vocabularies collected by Curr are from Dartmoor and Woodford. There are five vocabularies in Taplin. One of these is from Police Trooper Humphries of Bordertown (older spelling Border Town), who obtained his material from *Yilgoonin* of the Tatiara Tribe. He notes that the name of the tribe is *Jackegilbrab*, that they inhabit the whole of the Tatiara country, and that they call their language *Nalunghee* [**ngalu** is 'language', possibly *Nalunghee* is **ngalungi** 'our language', but this is not confirmed]. Another is from R. Lawson of Padthaway, who gathered his information from *Emma*. He notes that the tribe is called *Coolucoluck* [**kulak-kulak**, conceivably 'sandy' from **kulak**, a root found in the Warrnambool language], that they inhabit the country between Salt Creek, Gall's Station and Padthaway, and that they call their language *Yaran*.<sup>9</sup> The other three vocabularies in Taplin are from Guichen Bay (Tolmer), Penola (Singleton) and Tarpeena (Sheppard). There are lexical and phonetic differences between the sources and the isoglosses tend to cluster and to separate the northern sources from the other southern and south-western sources (Tarpeena, Mount Gambier, Casterton, Dartmoor and Woodford). Three isoglosses are shown on Map 2 and all the data showing dialect differences is displayed separately in the tables below. The key to the abbreviations used is as follows:

Humphries	Bor(dertown)	Stewart	R(ivoli) B(ay)
Tolmer	Gui(chen Bay)	Mathews	Cas(terton)
Lawson	Pad(thaway)	Curr	Dar(tmoor)
Singleton	Pen(ola)	Curr	Wo(odford)
Sheppard	Tar(peena)	Thomas	M(ount) G(ambier)

<sup>9</sup> Thomas records **yirran** 'vegetable food'; compare **bungan** 'vegetable food'.

Table 1 illustrates some of the few differences in lexicon. The northern dialects collectively share 84% of vocabulary with Bunganditj.

**Table 1:** Lexical differences between dialects

	Bor	GB	Pad	Pen	Tar	RB	Cas	Dar	Wo	MG
blood: <b>kuru(k)</b> <b>kamar</b>		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
few: <b>warkapu</b> <b>wrawang</b>		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
hand: <b>marna</b> <b>mara</b>	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
moon: <b>ngarak</b> <b>purtpu(l)i</b> <b>tun.ngum</b>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
mother: <b>papi</b> <b>ngati</b>	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
mouth: <b>kanak</b> <b>lu</b>	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	
star: <b>karanda(k)</b> <b>pundjil</b> <b>thaman-thaman</b>	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x

### Sound correspondences

The dialects are also distinguished by reflections of sound changes.

#### **-k, -0, -tj**

The northern dialects of Bordertown, Guichen Bay and Padthaway have final **-k** where the southern ones have either zero or a final palatal. The final palatal could be released, and transcribed here as **-tj**, or unreleased, and transcribed as **-yt**.<sup>10</sup> As illustrated in Tables 10 and 11, Bunganditj in general lacks final palatals and velars, and those examples that do occur are exceptional in some way, perhaps borrowings from the Warrnambool language.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> This transcription is not to suggest the difference between a released and unreleased palatal is phonemic. The transcription is phonetic, since amateur readers have difficulty in reconciling phonemic transcription with phonetics where the discrepancy appears gross, as it does here to English speakers.

<sup>11</sup> The word for 'girl' is **parratj-parratj** in the Warrnambool Language; compare also Pitta-Pitta **parratja**. The root **bula** 'two' is widespread and the forms **bulatj** and **bulatja** are found in both the Warrnambool language and in the Kulin languages. The word for 'water' is **parritj** in the Warrnambool language, and **parri** 'creek' in the Thura-Yura languages of South Australia may reflect the same root.

Table 2: Final -tj and -k

	Bor	GB	Pad	Pen	Tar	RB	Cas	Dar	Wo	MG
girl: <b>parak-parak</b> <b>paratj-paratj</b> <b>pari-pari</b>	x	x				x	x			x
hill: <b>pupik</b> <b>pupitj</b>		x	x			x	x			
star: <b>karandak</b> <b>karanda</b>	x		x							
two: <b>pulak</b> <b>pulayt/pulatj</b>	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x
water: <b>parik</b> <b>pari</b>	x	x	x			x	x	x	x	x

### Deletion of intervocalic l

Intervocalic l appears in the northern dialects and in Stewart, but not in the other southern sources, namely Mathews, Curr and Thomas. Straightforward examples are displayed in Table 3, but note also **pulong-ga** (MG) and **puwinpa** (Cas) 'blow with breath' (also Warr. **puwimba**); **pala** (RB, MG) 'heat' and Warrnambool **pawa** 'to cook'; **piyitung** (Cas) 'lightning' and Warrnambool **pilitung**; **wilangga** (Cas) and **wiyanggal** (MG) 'echidna' (also Warr. **wilanggal**)

Since I have adopted the common practice of writing predictable glides between adjacent vowels, it looks as l weakens to a glide, but note **maa** from **mala**.

Table 3: Loss of intervocalic l

	Bor	GB	Pad	Pen	Tar	RB	Cas	Dar	Wo	MG
canoe: <b>walu</b> <b>wawu</b>			x	x		x			x	
egg: <b>kula</b> <b>kuwa</b>						x	x	x	x	x
fat: <b>marntpuli</b> <b>marnpuwi</b>						x	x	x	x	x
fly, house: <b>yulal</b> <b>yuwal</b>						x	x			x
moon: <b>pulpuli</b> <b>purtpuwi</b>		x						x	x	x
parrot: <b>kalingal</b> <b>kayingal</b>						x				x
sleep: <b>wilitj</b> <b>wiyitj</b>						x	x			x

Table 3: Continued

	Bor	GB	Pad	Pen	Tar	RB	Cas	Dar	Wo	MG
stomach: <b>puli</b> <b>puwi</b>						x	x	x	x	x
tongue: <b>thala/thali</b> <b>thawi</b> <b>thaki</b> <b>thayi</b>	x	x	x	x		x		x		
two: <b>pulak</b> <b>pulayt</b> <b>puwatj</b>	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
wife: <b>mala</b> <b>maa</b>	x	x		x		x	x			x

### Weakening of p

There are a few examples of intervocalic **p**, which was most likely phonetically [b], weakening. The northern sources seem to retain the **p**, but there are examples of intervocalic **p** in some of the other sources, most notably Thomas' Mount Gambier material.

Table 4: Weakening of intervocalic p

	Bor	GB	Pad	Pen	Tar	RB	Cas	Dar	Wo	MG
emu: <b>kapir</b> <b>kawir</b>						x				x
nose: <b>kapu</b> <b>kawu</b>	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
rain: <b>kapayn</b> <b>kawayn</b>		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
son: <b>kupung</b> <b>kuwung</b>	x	x				x				x

No northern forms have been recorded for 'emu'. Stewart records both *koer* and *kowber*, and Thomas records *gubbur*. In Warrnambool the form **kapirng** is found and in the Kulin tongues both **kawir** and **karwingi**, the latter in Letji-Letji and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill). The form **kap** 'nose' is found in the Lower Murray languages and **kapung** in the Warrnambool language. **Kapayn** is recorded for 'rain' in Wuluwurrung, the westernmost dialect of the Warrnambool language.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Thomas records *ngah-ah-gwennan-neh* 'I told you so', which is not entirely transparent, but it appears to contain **kwe-** for 'tell', which Stewart and Mathews record as **kapa**. This alternation may reflect the same weakening.

## Weakening of k

There seem to be instances of intervocalic weakening with **k**, which was probably voiced in this position. Stewart (quoted in Curr III:460) states that, 'Some used or omitted **k** in certain words such as *wookine*, *wooine* = elbow; and *wuka*, *wena* = strike.' The former of these examples is transparent, but the latter opaque, particularly since the inflections are not identified. Thomas records **lakalawa** for 'poison'. This appears to be a reduplicated form with weakening in the duplicate. There is a little bit of evidence to suggest weakening of intervocalic **k** was parallel with the weakening of **p** in that it occurred in the south. The forms for 'die/dead' and 'see' in Table 5 suggest this. Stewart and Thomas record **pawur** 'river', which is **pukar(a)** in the Warrnambool language, and Thomas records **maruwa** 'take care of', but **maruka** in the Warrnambool language. He also records **pawuna** 'to bore', which is **pakuna** in Tjapwurrung. These appear to represent further examples.

Table 5: Weakening of intervocalic k

	Bor	GB	Pad	Pen	Tar	RB	Cas	Dar	Wo	MG
die/dead: <b>nuka</b> <b>nuwa</b>		x	x							
frost: <b>wakayt</b> <b>wa'at</b>										x
see: <b>n[h]aka</b> <b>n[h]a(a)</b> I will see: <b>ngawia</b>	x									
						x				x
								x	x	

### 1.3.2 Relationship to other languages

#### 1.3.2.1 Lexical comparison

The Bunganditj dialects share quite a number of words with the Warrnambool language and the Kulin tongues to the east. Table 6 shows the percentages of common vocabulary between the combined Bunganditj sources and the Warrnambool language represented by the Kunkupanut and Pikwurrung dialects (Dawson 1881) and western Kulin represented by the Tjapwurrung dialect (mainly Dawson 1881).

Table 6: Lexical comparisons

	Overall	Fauna-flora-culture	Others
Bunganditj- Warrnambool	34% (151/445)	40% (55.5/138)	31% (95.5/307)
Bunganditj- Tjapwurrung	21% (96.5/464)	25% (27/115)	21% (69.5/349)
Warrnambool- Tjapwurrung	39% (392/1000)	47% (239/511)	31% (153/489)

Buganditj shares just over 50% of vocabulary with Wuluwurrung, the westernmost dialect of the Warrnambool Language. There has probably been some borrowing between the two. It should also be noted that the main source for Wuluwurrung is the *Wonnin* vocabulary of Thomas, who probably obtained the Buganditj and Wuluwurrung vocabulary from the same person. He says that he obtained vocabularies from Ballarat, Bacchus Marsh, Melbourne, Gippsland, Mount Gambier and Wonnin from three sources. One would guess he obtained the first three, which are geographically and linguistically close, from one informant, Gippsland from another, and Mount Gambier and Wonnin from a third. It is interesting to note that the Buganditj speaker recorded by Mathews, namely Tommy MacCallum, had a Wuluwurrung mother, and probably knew Wuluwurrung.

Wuluwurrung apart, the Buganditj dialects and the Warrnambool language share 34% of vocabulary and this raises the possibility of relative genetic proximity. In fact Schmidt, in his book on the classification of Australian languages, took the two to be closely related, calling Buganditj *West Buandik* and the Warrnambool Language *East Buandik* (Schmidt 1919:92ff.). The shared vocabulary includes the following forms that reflect roots found over most of the mainland:

**lunga** 'to cry', **thina(ng)** 'foot', **wuka** 'to give', **yan-** 'to go', **parayn** 'knee', **mara** 'hand', **nhaka** 'to see', **nyingga** 'to sit', **mana** 'take/bring', **thalayn** 'tongue', **pulayt** 'two' and **nganh-** 'what'.

Another shared word **thatha** 'to drink' looks as if it is a reduplicated form of the widespread root **tha-** 'to eat'.

The shared vocabulary also includes the following, which are widespread, at least in the south-eastern area of the mainland:

**kal** 'dog', **wi(yn)** 'fire', **nganapun** 'husband', **kapu** 'nose' and **kunuwarra** 'swan'

The following are shared with some or all the Kulin tongues:

**kurrk** 'blood',<sup>13</sup> **karnda** 'to call', **murn-** 'cloud', **wa(r)ta** 'come', **wiring** 'ear', **kapir(ng)** 'emu', **mir(ng)** 'eye', **ngarla/ngaret** 'hair', **marna** 'hand', **kura(yn)** 'kangaroo', **wuru(ng)** 'lips, mouth', **ngarm-ngarm** 'old man', **wira** 'to run', **ngamath** 'sea',<sup>14</sup> **mara** 'stone' (if cognate with Wati-Wati (Pianggil) **matji**), **wirang** 'tail' and **karip** 'thigh' and **kurn-** 'thirsty'.

The following appear to be shared with at least one non-contiguous language, though the set may contain one or two accidental matches.

<sup>13</sup> The other shared word for 'blood', namely **kamar**, may be cognate with widespread **kuma**.

<sup>14</sup> **Ngamath** 'sea' is found only in contiguous Kulin dialects and may be a borrowing.

<b>kuya(ng)</b>	'eel'	widespread NSW, Q, SA	<b>kuya</b> 'fish'
<b>la(ka)</b>	'to speak'	Warlpiri (NT)	<b>laa.lpa</b> 'loud cry'
<b>mala</b>	'wife'	Dhudhuroa	<b>mala</b> 'woman'
<b>mara</b>	'stone'	Ngamini (SA)	<b>marda</b>
<b>mirit, miring</b>	'ground'	Pallanganmidhang	<b>miri</b>
<b>paratj</b>	'girl'	Pitta-Pitta (Q)	<b>parratja</b> 'woman'
<b>pariyt, paritj</b>	'water'	Wirangu, Parnkalla (SA)	<b>pari</b> 'creek'
<b>pini(tj)</b>	'hard'	Gooniyandi (WA)	<b>binyidi</b>
<b>thaliyn</b>	'elbow'	Gippsland	<b>tjalung</b>
<b>thang(g)a</b>	'teeth'	Gabi-Gabi (Q)	<b>tangga</b>
<b>wamba</b>	'get', 'fetch'	Gabi-Gabi (Q)	<b>wamba</b> 'to carry'
<b>wanga</b>	'to hear'	Colac, Gippsland	<b>wanga</b>
<b>wiya</b>	'laugh'	Pitta-Pitta (Q)	<b>wiya</b>
<b>yanta</b>	'throw'	Nyangumarta	<b>yarnta</b> 'to spear'

Lexical roots shared between dialects of the Bunganditj language and dialects of the Warrnambool language that also occur elsewhere account for approximately 47 of the 57 shared words to be found in Appendix 4. Few of these can reflect a shared innovation.

The following appear to have no cognates at the time of writing. Of the words so far considered, they are the only words that could be innovations in a protolanguage underlying Bunganditj and the Warrnambool language. But they could also be innovations that have spread from one to the other, and, of course, they could be shared relics which are exclusive to these two languages.

<b>wu, wurk, wurt</b>	'arm'
<b>wilang-gil</b>	'echidna'
<b>lu, litj</b>	'heart'
<b>kuramuk</b>	'possum'
<b>turayn</b>	'rainbow'
<b>iyir</b>	'rib'
<b>kurang, kurkang</b>	'snake'
<b>wul</b>	'shadow'
<b>thiyir</b>	'short spear'
<b>lirpi-</b>	'sing'

A survey of lexical data from various parts of Australia suggests that the categories of fauna, flora and culture, mostly material culture, lend themselves to borrowing, as we might expect, and tend to have an areal dispersion, cutting across likely genetic boundaries. As can be seen from Table 6, if we separate these categories from the rest they yield a higher percentage, and the other categories a lower percentage. This tendency can also be seen in the comparison between Warrnambool and Tjapwurrung. In the case of the Bunganditj–Tjapwurrung comparison the number of words in the

borrowable categories makes up only a quarter of the total, so the effect on the percentage of non-borrowable words is negligible.

Two other points about these comparisons is in order. First of all, body terms (eyes, ears, breasts, etc. plus blood, urine and faeces etc.) show relatively high percentages in common. The figures are Bunganditj–Warrnambool 45% (24.5/54), Bunganditj–Tjapwurrung 38% (20/52) and Warrnambool–Tjapwurrung 35% (30/86). Traditional wisdom would suggest that this category is one likely to be resistant to borrowing and a good indicator of genetic relationship. Secondly, body parts figure prominently in small-scale comparisons between languages of southern Australia, which are perforce based on what is available in sources such as Curr. This can mean that the percentage of common vocabulary is higher than it might be if based on a larger sample. For instance, Bunganditj and the Colac language share 16% in common. This percentage is based on a figure of 22 out of 137 words available for comparison, but 32 of these are body terms and 10 of the 22 common words are to be found in this category.

Blake and Reid (1998b) indicate that Bunganditj shares over 30% of vocabulary with the Western Victorian language. However, a count based on Tjapwurrung, the nearest dialect of the Western Victorian language for which we have a large vocabulary, and based on all available words (464) yields a lower figure of 21%. There is hardly any grammatical data from this area, but there is ample data from dialects in the Wimmera from Hercus (1986) and various old sources. A comparison of grammatical forms does not suggest any particularly close genetic proximity.

In his article *Some notes on the native tribes of Victoria* Mathews (1903b:250) includes a paragraph on the *Nundatyalli* dialect, the relevant parts of which read as follows:

The country in which this tongue is used is situated north of the Bungandity-speaking people, and extends northerly towards Horsham. The grammatical constitution resembles partly the Būngandity and partly the Tyattyalli.

*Druah*, a man. *Druahaga bopop dakin*, a man a child beat. *Druahagaty gattimgattimuk*, a man's boomerang.<sup>15</sup>

The verb *dak-* is Kulin and so is *bopop*, though it appears in Mathews' *Bungandity* word list. *Gattimgattim* is found in both Bunganditj and in the Western Victorian language (part of Kulin). *Druah*, however, is peculiar to Bunganditj. Of the inflections *-in* in *dakin* as well as *-gaty* and *-uk* in *druahagaty gattimgattimuk* are Western Victoria. The ergative *druahaga* is peculiar to Mathews' Bunganditj manuscript.

This snippet of information is tantalising in suggesting a dialect intermediate between the Bunganditj dialects and dialects of the Western Victorian language, but there is no confirmation from any other source. As mentioned in §1.1, there are a number of references to Buwandik or Bunganditj inhabiting the area to the west of the Grampians (Clark 1990:412). Mathews places Nundatjali in this area. In his working notes Dixon

<sup>15</sup> The name *Nunda-nunda-tyalli* also appears at the top of p.121 of Mathew's (n.d.) Bunganditj manuscript notes, though *Bungandity* appears twice as well. This page seems to be regular Bunganditj supplying first person dual and plural forms for *laa-* 'to speak', the singular forms of which were given on p.118. For other references to **Nundatjali** see Clark (1990:255).

states that Nundatjali on balance belongs with Kulin, and this leads Clark to consider that the area around Cavendish, Balmoral and Coleraine was part of Yatwatjali territory, Yatwatjali being a part of Kulin (Clark 1990:236). One point in favour of Clark's position is that the word list from Balmoral in Smyth (1878:83) is clearly western Kulin, but it is pure western Kulin, not a mixture of Kulin and Bunganditj.<sup>16</sup> If we count percentages of vocabulary between the list in Curr for Bunganditj on the one hand (205) and the westernmost sources for the Western Victorian languages on the other, we obtain the following figures: 32% with *Tatiara* (204, III:458f.), 36% with *Lake Wallace* (207b, III:476f.) and 30% with *The Glenelg, above Woodford* (207d, III:480f.). These figures are consistent with the 29% given above for Tjapwurrung in that the Curr lists contain a number of fauna names and these tend to have an areal dispersion. There is no sign of any significant deviation from the Western Victorian norm in any of these lists, so Mathews' paragraph remains isolated.

As indicated in §1.3.1 Bunganditj dialects appear to have extended north as far as Bordertown. Tindale's map shows Meintang between Lacedepe Bay and Naracoorte, and Potaruwutj further north near Bordertown (These names are reproduced on the map). Tindale gives alternatives for Meintang including *Pinejunga* and *Mootatunga*, listed by Smith as dialects related to Bunganditj.<sup>17</sup> For Potaruwutj he gives a variety of alternative names including *Taloinjunga*, *Coolucoluck* and *Yaran*, all connected with northern dialects related to Bunganditj.<sup>18</sup>

There is little data for the area further north. R.H. Mathews (n.d.) recorded a small amount of data in Bundyalli, a dialect of the Western Victorian Language, and notes that it was 'spoken towards Mannum, Bordertown and Kingston' (notebook 1:164). This indicates that the Western Victorian Language extended westwards right to or near to the coast.

There is some confirmation that Kulin dialects extended well into South Australia. Eyre (1845:395–397) includes a list called 'The Boraipar, or East of Moorunde' in a comparative table (Moorunde is on the Murray south of Blanchetown). This list includes *latto* 'no', which suggests it is Letji-Letji, a dialect of the Western Victorian language that takes its name from the word for 'no' (*Lye-tee-Lye-tee*, *Laitu-Laitu*, *Ledji-Ledji*, etc. in other sources (Clark 1990:402)). A consideration of the vocabulary confirms that it is Letji-Letji or a dialect very similar to it. Eyre (1845:331) refers to 'the *Boraipār* or language of the *Arkātķō* tribe, who inhabit the scrub to the east of the Murray'. The name *Arkātķō* can be equated with *Ngarkat* (*Ngarket*) on Tindale's map (Tindale 1974). Eyre missed the initial *ng* as he did in other names such as *Aiawong* for *Ngayawang*, and the *-ko* is an augment used in *Ngayawang* to avoid a final consonant; compare

<sup>16</sup> Further evidence for the Bunganditj being on the Koonong Wootong (near Coleraine) can be found in Arkley (2000:44) with original sources in footnote 9 to Chapter 4, p.472.

<sup>17</sup> All these dialect names are given in §1.3.1.

<sup>18</sup> Tindale actually gives *Polinjunga*, but I have corrected this to *Taloinjunga* in light of Smith's manuscript map.

Ngayawang *tollun-ko* 'egg' with Yu-Yu *thullan*, and *purroil-ko* 'kangaroo' with Yu-Yu *poorool*.<sup>19</sup>

Stretching from the mouth of the Murray to Robinvale there are five languages, namely Yaralde, Ngayawang, Yu-Yu, Keramin and Yitha-Yitha, which form a group in the sense that they bear some forms in common, but none of the five shows any close resemblance to a language outside the five. Following Dixon's unpublished classification I will refer to these as the Lower Murray group. East (quoted in Campbell (1934:24)) claims the 'T(h)unga or Coorong blacks', of which the *Boandiks* were a 'section', reached to Lake Alexandrina, which would have made them contiguous with the Ngarrindjerri (whose language is Yaralde), who held an area around the mouth of the Murray. Tindale shows Tanganekald on the coast immediately south of the Murray mouth, but there is no language data bearing this name.<sup>20</sup>

The few similar forms that can be found in Yaralde and Ngayawang are displayed in Table 7. The Yaralde forms are from Taplin (1879) and the Ngayawang from Moorhouse (1846), and both are given in the original notation.

Table 7: Bunganditj and the Lower Murray

English	Yaralde	Ngayawang	Bunganditj
bad	<i>wirangi</i>	<i>payu</i>	<b>w'rang</b>
blood	<i>kruk, kruwi</i>	<i>kantur</i>	<b>kamar, kuruk N</b>
cockatoo, black	<i>wullaki</i>		<b>wila</b>
dog	<i>kele, wanbi</i>	<i>kedlu, kellu</i>	<b>kal</b>
foot	<i>turne</i>	<i>tudgni</i>	<b>thina</b>
hand	<i>mari</i>	<i>mannuruko</i>	<b>marna, mara</b>
nose	<i>kopi</i>	<i>roonko</i>	<b>kapu N, kawu</b>
see	<i>nak-</i>	<i>noan</i>	<b>n[h]aka N, ngawiya</b>
stone	<i>martē</i>	<i>parlko</i>	<b>mara N, mari</b>
tongue	<i>tallange</i>	<i>ngantudli</i>	<b>thala, thawa</b>
two	<i>pullatye</i>	<i>tangkul</i>	<b>pulak, pulayt, puwayt</b>
whale	<i>kondarle</i>		<b>kandapul</b>
who	<i>ngange</i>	<i>merke</i>	<b>nganu</b>
wombat	<i>moroiye</i>	<i>kaldpurro</i>	<b>muri</b>
yamstick	<i>kanake</i>		<b>kana</b>

These similarities amount to approximately 10% for Yaralde and only about 3% for Ngayawang. None of the shared forms are exclusive to the Lower Murray and Bunganditj. On the contrary the similar forms are very widely distributed as with the

<sup>19</sup> Among the alternative names for Ngarkat Tindale gives *Jackegilbrab*, a name reported by Humphries (see §1.3.1 above) as being associated with northern dialects related to Bunganditj.

<sup>20</sup> Tindale (1937, 1941) gives the words of a number of songs he recorded in the south-east of South Australia. These include songs attributed to the Tanganekald, Meintangk and Bunganditj. The words of the Tanganekald and Meintangk songs do not match vocabulary from Bunganditj nor from the Lower Murray, but song words are often obscure, including the words of the Bunganditj songs in this batch.

forms for 'blood', 'foot', 'hand', 'see', 'tongue', 'two' and 'who'. The forms for 'dog', 'nose' and 'yamstick' are widely distributed in the south-eastern mainland.

### 1.3.2.2 Grammatical comparison

As noted above, since the Bunganditj dialects share 34% of vocabulary with the Warrnambool dialects, the question of genetic relationship arises. The two languages are relatively similar to one another compared to the Kulin language, though it remains to be seen whether this is due to shared relic features, borrowing or shared innovations. Tables 8 and 9 display grammatical forms. Of the forms in Table 8 the clear matches are **-(ng)at** (genitive), **-ma** (applicative), **ngan/nganha** 'what' and **n[h]apa(n)** 'how many'. There may be matches in the ergative/instrumental case markers, the dative/locative case markers and the past tense. Incomplete data and phonetic underdifferentiation make it hard to judge relationship, but in all only about six forms match out of 19. Of the six **ngan/nganha** reflects a widespread form (Dixon 2002:331ff.). The form **ma** is also widespread, often as a causative. In a large number of languages, not just Australian languages, the same form is often used for causative and applicative, so the appearance of **-ma-** in applicative function is not unexpected; it represents a development that could have taken place in more than one language or could have been diffused. The only good candidate for a shared innovation is **-(ng)at** (genitive).

The two languages do share an unusual system of forming non-singular pronouns. They both add a bound form for person and non-singular number to the singular pronouns. However, this is a structural feature and could have been borrowed. The Warrnambool language adds its regular subject clitics. In fact it is not certain that the combinations of stem and bound form are not just collocations of free pronoun and clitic, taken by early recordists as words. In Bunganditj there are some person/number forms used to form non-singular pronouns that are distinct from the subject enclitics. It may be that this is an older system than the Warrnambool one. It should be noted that the Colac language, which shares only 16% of vocabulary with Bunganditj and 25% with the Warrnambool language, also forms non-singular pronouns by adding bound forms to the singular stems: **ngathu-(w)it** 'I', **ngathu-la** 'we two', etc. (Blake & Reid 1998b). It looks as if this principle of forming non-singular pronouns was an innovation that diffused among the languages to the south and south-west of the Kulin bloc.

Table 8: Grammatical forms

	Bunganditj	Warmnambool
number		
dual	<b>-pul, -wul (S)*</b>	<b>-(y)ara</b>
plural	<b>-ngara (S), -abayn (M)*</b>	<b>-apan</b>
case		
ergative	<b>-(l)a, -ga</b>	<b>-a</b>
genitive	<b>-at (S), -ngat (M)</b>	<b>-ngat</b>
dat/loc	<b>-u, -i, -a</b>	<b>-u, -i</b>
ablative	<b>-an</b>	
verb		
present	<b>-n(h?)</b>	<b>-Ø</b>
past	<b>-an</b>	<b>-n(h?)</b>
perfective	<b>-nha</b>	<b>-n(h?)a (Wuluwurrung)</b>
future-like	<b>-ngu, -wiya</b>	<b>-uk, -n(h?)</b>
imperative	<b>-ngga, -ku, -wa, -a, -i</b>	<b>-ki</b>
applicative	<b>-ma-</b>	<b>-ma-</b>
deictic		
this	<b>n[h]u-</b>	<b>thin</b>
that	<b>tha-</b>	<b>n[h]u-</b>
yon	<b>kana-, kwalu-</b>	<b>?</b>
interrogative		
who	<b>nganu</b>	<b>ngara, winya (r)</b>
what	<b>ngan</b>	<b>nganha/nganya</b>
where	<b>n[h]a, nga</b>	<b>windha, wundha</b>
when	<b>n[h]awer</b>	<b>windhagadha</b>
how many	<b>n[h]apa</b>	<b>ngamiya, n[h]apan</b>
yes/no	<b>=miyu</b>	<b>=wan, =ngal</b>
negative		
no/not	<b>wi-</b>	<b>ngi-ngi (Kurnkupanut)</b> <b>pa(r)ngat</b>

\*S = Stewart; (M) = R.H. Mathews

The pronouns are displayed in Table 9. For each language there are three columns. The first one marked 'subject' shows the free forms in the singular and the augments used to mark dual and plural. The second column shows the subject clitics, and the third column the oblique clitics. With the pronouns, there are three singular stems to compare, ten subject clitics, three oblique clitics and the marker that distinguishes exclusive from inclusive. One can also compare eight augments added to the singular pronouns to form non-singular pronouns plus the exclusive marker involved in this series. On my count there are ten matches out of 26. However, most of the matches involve widespread roots and cannot reflect local innovations. The pronouns **ngathu(k)** 'I' and **nhung** 'he/she' are widespread, as is **nguru/ngutuk** 'you', though this last form is normally plural.

What appears to have happened is that the plural has come to be used in the singular. This is not an unnatural development, after all it happened in English, and it is an innovation that could have arisen independently in more than one language or have been diffused. In fact it is also found in the Lower Murray languages, which are certainly not closely related to Bunganditj. It is significant that the second person singular clitic is **-ngin**, a widespread form for second person singular. Presumably, the clitic reflects the older second person singular form. The oblique forms reflect **\*nga** ‘first person’, **\*ngu** ‘second person plural’ and **\*NHu** ‘he/she’ and possibly the widespread accusative **\*NHa**. The first person dual inclusive subject clitic appears to reflect widespread **\*ngali**. There are practically no shared forms that are exclusive to Bunganditj and the Warrnambool language. The evidence for considering the two languages a subgroup is weak.

Table 9: Bunganditj and Warrnambool pronouns

		Bunganditj		Warrnambool		
sing	subject	subject	oblique	subject	subject	oblique
1	<b>ngathu</b>	<b>-(ng)a</b>	<b>-ngayn</b>	<b>ngathuk</b>	<b>-u</b>	<b>-ngan</b>
2	<b>nguru</b>	<b>-(ng)in</b>	<b>-ngun</b>	<b>ngutuk</b>	<b>-ngin</b>	<b>-ngu</b>
3	<b>nhung</b>		<b>-nhung</b>	<b>nhung</b>		<b>-nyung</b>
dual						
linc	<b>-(w)al</b>	<b>-(ng)al</b>		<b>-ngal</b>	<b>-ngal</b>	
lexc	<b>-(w)ilal</b>	<b>-(ng)a</b>		<b>-ngalin</b>	<b>-ngalang,</b> <b>-ngalin</b>	
2	<b>-pul</b>	<b>-ngut</b>		<b>-wal</b>	<b>-wal, -wul,</b> <b>-war</b>	
3	<b>-kal</b>			<b>-kal</b>	<b>-pul, -kal, -tja</b>	
plur						
linc	<b>-(w)i</b>	<b>-(ng)i</b>		<b>-ngan</b>	<b>-wan, -ngan</b>	
lexc	<b>-(w)ili</b>	<b>-angi</b>		<b>-nganin</b>	<b>-wanung,</b> <b>-nganin</b>	
2	<b>-pur, -pala</b>			<b>-war</b>	<b>-war, -ato</b>	
3	<b>-pa, -paka,</b> <b>-pala</b>			<b>-kanda</b>	<b>-ut, -ta, -tja</b>	

### 1.3.2.3 Sound correspondences

The Bunganditj dialects often lack word-final palatal and velar stops and nasals found in certain other languages including the Warrnambool language. Let us consider the word-final nasals first. There are quite a few examples where a word-final palatal or velar nasal in Warrnambool is lacking in the Bunganditj dialects. These correspondences are displayed in Table 10. First of all notice that there is complementary distribution between the velar nasal, which follows **a**, **u** or **r** (presumably a glide), and the palatal nasal, which follows forms that in Bunganditj have a final **-i**, at least as an alternant. The second point to note is that there are plenty of words in Bunganditj that have a final

palatal or velar nasal, many of which have correspondents in Warrnambool and other languages. What seems to be involved is that a nasal has been used as an augment in Warrnambool, but not in the Bunganditj dialects.<sup>21</sup> Where a word-final palatal or velar nasal is part of the root, it is retained in Bunganditj, but where it is an augment, it does not appear. One word that does not fit that scenario is **thala/thali** 'tongue'. The widespread form is **thalanya/tjalanya**, but some languages, including the Djadjawurrung dialect of the Western Victorian language, have **tjali** or **tjala**.

The situation with word-final palatal and velar stops is not so clear. There are over a dozen instances of the Bunganditj dialects lacking a word-final palatal or velar stop found in the Warrnambool language. We would hesitate to suggest that these stops are augments, since that would raise the question of what principle decided which augment was to be added, a stop or a nasal. However, the two Warrnambool pronouns **ngathuk** 'I' and **nguruk** 'you' certainly contain an extra **-k** not found in numerous cognates. For most of the other words in Table 11 cognates are scarce, though **pari(k)** looks as if it is cognate with Wirangu and Parnkalla **pari** 'creek'. As with the nasals we have complementary distribution with the palatal following **i** and the velar following **a**, **u** or **r** (again, presumably a glide), the only exception being **piyik** 'chalk', 'clay'. What has probably happened is that at some stage the Bunganditj dialects lost final palatal and velar stops, whatever their origin. There are just over a dozen final palatal and velar stops in Bunganditj, but most of these can be explained away. Bunganditj **bulayt** 'two', for instance, is **pulatja** in Warrnambool and some dialects of the Western Victorian language, and **parayt-parayt** 'girl' is **paratja** 'woman' in Pitta-Pitta. These examples suggest loss of a final vowel in Bunganditj. Some of the other examples fall into categories frequently borrowed: **wiroyt** 'banksia', **wuloyt** 'boxwood tree', **wiyt-wiyt** 'swallow' [bird], **narankak** 'club', **m'ruk** 'ironbark' and **lirk** 'red ochre'. **Ngarak** 'moon' falls into a category where frequent replacement of vocabulary occurs. **Pupik** 'hill' is harder to account for. It is based on **pup** 'head', which also occurs in Western Victoria as **purp**. It is conceivably a borrowing of **purp-ik** 'my head'.

Blake and Reid (1998a) report a sound correspondence involving intervocalic consonants. The palatal stop in most dialects of the Western Victorian language corresponds to a retroflex stop in Letji-Letji and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and to an undetermined rhotic in the Central Victorian language, Wathawurrung, Colac and Warrnambool. There are a few examples of the rhotic in Bunganditj. There is also a correspondence between a palatal nasal in the Western Victorian language, at least in dialects west of the Grampians and in the Wimmera, and an apical nasal in other Kulin dialects. There are some examples of an apical nasal, probably retroflex, in Bunganditj. Both these correspondences are illustrated in Table 12.

The number of examples is small, and it is not certain whether the sound change spread through the Bunganditj area or whether we are dealing with a handful of borrowings. The word **wirta** 'feather' has the retroflex found in Letji-Letji, which was probably contiguous with northern dialects of Bunganditj, and it may be a borrowing.

<sup>21</sup> The velar augment is found in the Central Victorian language. In Mathi-Mathi, Letji-Letji, Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and Wati-Wati (Piangil) the velar augment is found followed by a further augment **-i**.

However, it is interesting to note that intervocalic laminal stops and nasals are not too frequent in Bunganditj.

**Table 10:** Final palatal and velar nasals

English	West. Vic.	Bunganditj	Warrnambool	Central Vic.	Other
bottom		pari	pariyn		
kangaroo	<b>kurra</b>	kura, kuri	kurayn		
doe		mari	mariyn		
stomach	pili	puli, puwi	puluyn (WW)	<b>piling</b>	<b>puli YY*</b>
stringy-bark	pili	miri, m'ra	marayn (WW)	piling	puli YY*
tongue track	<b>tjaling</b>	thala, thali	thalayn	<b>tjalang</b>	<b>thalayn</b> widespread
tongue track	tjaling	wari	warayn (WW)	tjalang	thalayn widespread
crow	<b>wa</b>	wa	wang	<b>wang</b>	<b>wa-</b> root widespread
eel		kuya	kuyang		<b>kuya</b> 'fish' widespread
emu		kapar	kapirng		kuya 'fish'
excrement	<b>kuna</b>	kuna	kunang	<b>kuna(ng)</b>	<b>kuna</b> widespread
eye	<b>mir</b>	mir	mirng	<b>mirng</b>	<b>mi, mil</b> widespread
foot	<b>tjina</b>	thina	thinang	<b>tjinang</b>	<b>tjina</b> widespread
green		kuma	kumang	<b>kumang</b>	
hair	<b>ngarra</b>	ngarla	ngarlang	mirng	mi, mil widespread
hand	<b>manya</b>	mara	marang	<b>marnang</b>	<b>mara</b> widespread
lightwood		mutha	muthang	<b>muyang</b>	
lip, mouth	<b>wuru</b>	wuru	wurung	<b>wurun(ng)</b>	
nose	<b>karr</b>	kapu, kawu	kapung	<b>karng</b>	<b>kawu YY</b> widespread
penis		wira	wirang	muyang	
tooth		thanga	thangang		<b>thangka</b> Gabi
wife	wuru	mala	malang	wurun(ng)	<b>mala</b> 'woman' Dhu

\* Yorta Yorta material from Bowe, Peeler and Atkinson (1997) and Bowe and Morey (1999).

\* Yorta Yorta material from Bowe, Peeler and Atkinson (1997) and Bowe and Morey (1999).

Table 11: Final palatal and velar stops

English	Bunganditj	Warnambool	Kulin	Other
hard, strong	<b>pini</b>	<b>pinitj</b>	<b>pinayt</b> (Tjap)	<b>binyidi</b> Gooniyandi (WA)
lake	<b>pupi</b>	<b>pupitj</b>		
navel	<b>piyi</b>	<b>piyitj</b>		
sleep	<b>wili, wilitj</b>	<b>wilitj</b> (WW)		
water	<b>pari(k)</b>	<b>paritj</b>		<b>parri</b> 'creek' Wirangu, Parnkalla
arm	<b>wu</b>	<b>wurk</b>		
chalk, clay	<b>piyi</b>	<b>piyik</b> (WW)	<b>piyik</b>	
I	<b>ngathu</b>	<b>ngathuk</b>		<b>ngathu</b> Pitta-Pitta (Q) etc.
mosquito, ant	<b>kitju</b>	<b>kitjuk</b>		poss. Dhu <b>kirithu</b>
possum	<b>kurramu</b>	<b>kuramuk</b>		
wind	<b>nirritja</b>	<b>naritjak</b> (WW)	<b>ngaratjak</b> (Tjap)	
(yam)stick	<b>kana</b>	<b>kanak*</b>	<b>kani</b> (Tjap)	
you	<b>ngurru</b>	<b>nguruk</b>		<b>ngur(u)</b> Ngayawang, etc.
wattlebird	<b>yanggu</b>	<b>yangguk</b>	<b>yangguk</b>	
fem. suffix	<b>-kurr</b>	<b>-kurk</b>	<b>-kurk</b>	

\* Numerous cognates including Thagungwurrung **kanayn**, Wir **kanaay**, Warlpiri **kana**, Baagandji **karnka**.

Table 12: Intervocalic consonants

English	Western Victoria	Swan Hill	Bunganditj
arm	<b>thatjak</b>	<b>tharta</b>	<b>thara</b> 'left hand'
cockatoo, white	<b>katjakarr</b>	<b>kartaka</b>	<b>kara'al</b>
feather	<b>witjan</b>	<b>wirta</b>	<b>wirta</b>
knee	<b>patjing</b>	<b>parti</b>	<b>parayn</b>
pelican	<b>patjanggal</b>	<b>partangal</b>	<b>parangal</b>
tail	<b>wit[h]angi</b> Mathi-Mathi	<b>wirt-mum</b>	<b>wira</b>
wombat	<b>mutja</b>		<b>mura</b>
dog	<b>payn</b> Gippsland		<b>parna</b>
fire(wood)	<b>wanyap</b>		<b>warnap</b>
hand	<b>manya</b>		<b>marna</b>

## 2 Phonology

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### 2.1 Consonants

The inventory of consonants was probably much the same as in most other Australian languages and is displayed in Table 13. There was probably no phonemic opposition between voiced and voiceless stops, a point noted by Mathews (1903a:64). Syllable-final stops are usually voiceless, as one would expect from the evidence of other languages including various Victorian languages, but intervocalic stops are frequently voiceless too, despite being in a position where voicing is to be expected. I have transcribed all stops as voiceless, except in homorganic nasal–stop clusters, where voicing was the norm. I have also retained **b** in **ba** ‘and’, since this shows regular voicing in Bunganditj as in other Victorian languages. Since it is an unstressed function word, its voicing is not predictable from a phonemic representation, just as the short [æ] in English *an* and the auxiliary *can* is not predictable (cf. *Ann, can* [tin]).

In some Australian languages there is an opposition between two series of laminal consonants, namely dental and palatal; in other languages there is only one series of laminals with dental and palatal allophones. The situation in Bunganditj seems to be as follows.

In word-initial position dentals occurred, but not palatals. There are a few examples of palatals, but they are all from William Thomas, who, for words with an initial laminal, gives either an indication of a palatal or simply a *t* or *d*. For instance, the word for ‘short reed spear’ is **thir** in other sources, but *jirr* (**tjir**) and *tirr* (**thir**) in Thomas. Thomas does not use *th* or *dh*. Other words where he indicates an initial palatal include **tjaripa** ‘to catch’, **tjambilan** ‘sick’, **tjutju** ‘stump’ and both **tjuwindja** and **t[h]uwindja** ‘tired’, which are not found in other sources, plus **tjuman** ‘flesh/meat/mutton’ where Stewart has **t[h]uman**, **tjumba** ‘to roast’ where Stewart has **t[h]umba**, and **tjuratu** ‘blowfly’ where Mathews and Stewart have **thuratu**. (See glossary for original notations).<sup>1</sup>

In intervocalic position, however, there is ample evidence of an opposition between **th** and **tj** before **a**:

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<sup>1</sup> As noted in the text below Table 6 Thomas must have obtained his Mount Gambier material from the same person as his Wuluwurrung (‘Wonnin’) material. There is no information on which area this material comes from other than the rubric ‘Mount Gambier’.

drink	<b>thatha</b> ( <i>tat- a s, tata a, dad-day-a wt</i> )
bite	<b>ngatha</b> ( <i>nguttha m, ngaht-ta wt</i> )
blackwood	<b>mutha</b> ( <i>mooth-a s, moo-tha wt</i> 'lightwood')
crayfish	<b>manatja</b> ( <i>monagur d, mun-ait-ye wt, murangir w</i> )
wind	<b>niritja</b> ( <i>nerecha a, nir-i-cha s, noredja d, neraiga w</i> )
native dog	<b>kanatjam</b> ( <i>kanaityum wt, ganatyum m, kar na chum a, s</i> )

Before **i** and **u** the evidence is skimpy. Before **i** there is **thathi-** in inflected forms of the verb for 'to drink' (*thathea d, thathia w, tatthiny m*) and **ngathiyn** 'smell' (only one token *ngadhiny*) opposed to **natjima** 'to awake', **mutjir** 'tomahawk' and **witjiniya** 'white woman', this last probably being a borrowing from Pidgin *white gin* plus the feminine suffix. Before **u** there are a number of examples of **th** including **buthu** 'grass' (7 tokens), but only two of **tj**: **nitju-** 'steal' and **kitju** 'mosquito' (also given as 'ant').

In word-final position one would not expect an opposition in laminals and one finds evidence only for palatals: **wuroyt** 'banksia', **tolayt** (*tolite c*) 'species of small kangaroo', and **bulayt/buwayt** 'two' (also **buwatj, bulak**). Syllable-final palatals are indicated by **yt, yn** or **yl**. This avoids having a final **y** that the unwary might read as an extra syllable, and it provides marking for the palatal on-glide, so it is phonetically appropriate. The palatal stop is also marked by **tj** where the sources indicate a released 'ch'-like stop. This description is intended for non-linguists as well as linguists, and for the former group a phonetic rather than strictly phonemic transcription is appropriate.

In sum there is probably no opposition between **tj** and **th** in initial position. There probably is such an opposition intervocalically, though the evidence is strong only before **a**. There is no opposition in word-final position (This should probably be syllable-final position, but the evidence is lacking).

With the nasals it is more difficult to establish oppositions since early observers, not surprisingly, heard dental **n** as alveolar. Mathews, however, has a few examples of **nh**.

In word-initial position *ny* indicating a palatal nasal occurs in only a few words and is always in alternation with *n*, which presumably is **nh**. Note the intriguing alternation between **nyu-** and what is probably **nhi-** in the words for 'younger sister', and also in the forms for 'sit', though there is also **nyi-**.

sit	<b>nyi-</b>	<i>nyiwiny m, nyayn-nyull wt</i>
	<b>nyu-</b>	<i>newia d, gnumit th</i>
	<b>nhin-?</b>	<i>neinnein g, neen p, ninya-ka wt</i>
younger brother	<b>nyiri</b>	<i>nyeri m</i>
	<b>nhiri?</b>	<i>nere s, d, nirring-ngun wt</i>
younger sister	<b>nhiri-yar?</b>	<i>nere-er s, nereer a, nirry-ye-reing, nirriur, ne-re-ung s</i>
	<b>nyuwi-yar</b>	<i>nueyur d, nyuiyur m</i>

For the words spelled with initial *n* in the early sources we can posit initial **nh** in the various forms built on **nha** 'to see' on the grounds that a laminal is found in this root in most of the numerous Pama-Nyungan languages that cover the mainland of Australia except for the Kimberleys and the Top End, and we can suggest a dental **nh** in **nhikom** 'ant' on the basis of a token *gneeko* in Tjapwurrung. The third person singular pronoun is probably **nhung**. We expect a laminal on comparative grounds and Mathews writes *nhung* for the clitic form, e.g. *guna[=]nhung* 'his/her faeces'.

In intervocalic position **ny** occurs before *i* in words such as **manyiyn** 'blind' (*munyiny m*), and before *a* in words like **woninyari** 'man's sister's child' (*woninyarre g*), but there are no examples of **nyu** except perhaps **kanyul** 'woman' (*kineule a*). Tokens are not numerous, and there is not much possibility of evidence of a contrasting dental, but Mathews gives *kabinha kurru* 'evening', which seems to be **kapin-nha karu** [lit. descend-PERF sun].

In syllable-final position a palatal nasal occurs, usually evident from the palatal on-glide which yields an apparent diphthong with *a* and *u*: **wunayn-wunayn** 'orphan' (*wunine-wunine s*), **taynpun** 'mocking' (*tine-born s*) and **guynpi** 'branch' (*goin-bei wt*). Following *i* a palatal is evident from a specific indication as with **mangiyn** 'dusk' (*munginy m*) or from lengthening of the vowel as in **luwiyn** (*loh-ween wt*) 'growl' or **wiyn** (*ween wt*), where in the latter case the posited palatal is confirmed from other languages including Hercus' (1986:233) recording of **wiyn** in the Warmambool language. We would not expect dentals in syllable-final position.

On the evidence it is not possible to establish whether **nh** and **ny** in initial and intervocalic position are in parallel distribution or complementary distribution with marginal exceptions, but we would not expect more contrasts with nasals than with stops, so in filling in the cells in Table 14 I have assumed that nasals parallel stops in their distribution with a contrast only between vowels.

There is some evidence for palatal laterals with **nalya** (*nal-yah wt*) 'open eyes' and **yakayl** 'salt creek' (*yakile c*), but we can hardly expect that a dental lateral would have been distinguished. There was probably a retroflex lateral as well as an alveolar. A notation such as Stewart's *irl* in *wirl pan* 'broken' suggests a retroflex **l** (**wirlpa**) with the r-quality obscuring the vowel.

There were probably two rhotics, a flap or trill, which I represent as **rr**, and a glide, which I represent as **r̥**. These two representations are shown in Table 13. However, since our sources do not distinguish two rhotics I use **r** in our transcription, reserving **rr** and **r̥** for words quoted from other languages where the distinction has been recorded.

Table 13: Consonants

	Laminal			Apical		velar
	labial	dental	palatal	alveolar	retroflex	
stops	<b>p</b>	<b>th</b>	<b>tj/yt</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>rt</b>	<b>k</b>
nasals	<b>m</b>	<b>nh</b>	<b>ny/yn</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>rn</b>	<b>ng</b>
laterals		<b>lh</b>	<b>ly/yl</b>	<b>l</b>	<b>rl</b>	
flap/trill				<b>rr*</b>		
glides			<b>y</b>		<b>ɽ*</b>	<b>w</b>

\* Both rhotics are represented by *r* in the transcription since sources do not distinguish them.

## 2.2 Vowels

The five vowel letters are used in the sources, but since we know that many Australian languages have only three vowel phonemes, we suspect that *i* and *e* may represent the same vowel, similarly *u* and *o*. However, to be on the safe side I have transcribed segments that are consistently represented by *e* as **e** rather than converting them to **i**, similarly I have transcribed consistent *o* vowels as **o** rather than converting them to **u**. Where there is fluctuation between *i* and *e* I have regularised with **i**, and similarly fluctuation between *u* and *o* has been standardised as **u**.

Letter *u* is a perennial problem. In closed syllables it is hard to know whether it represents the vowel of **put** or the vowel of **putt**, and this is responsible for a some uncertainty in transcription.

Double vowel letters are sometimes used in the sources, e.g. *kooramoo* 'possum' and *troool* 'blackfellow' in Curr. In general we take the double letter to represent a particular vowel quality without necessarily taking the pair to represent a phonemically long vowel. Doubtless *aa* represents the vowel of English *baa*, but it is not certain that vowel length was phonemic. Monosyllabic words, at least those consisting of an open syllable, probably required a phonetically long vowel as in many other Australian languages. Stewart gives *yanang-a* 'I go' and *yaana* 'I went' (Table 17). The present form appears to be **yan-anga**. From Mathews' verb paradigms (Table 19) the past tense appears to be **-an**, so *yaana* may be **ya-an-a** where the vowel length is significant.

## 2.3 Phonotactics

Words begin with a consonant. The only word recorded with an initial vowel is Stewart's *ing-ga* 'sit down', from what we know of other Australian languages there was probably no phonemic opposition between **i** and **yi** (nor between **u** and **wu**) in initial position, so the word probably occurred with a **y** in some tokens. This word has been regularised to **yingga**.

In general words have two or more syllables. It is not always possible to ascertain the internal structure of words, but it looks as if roots are typically disyllabic and that longer words contain at least one other formative.

All consonants probably occurred between vowels. One would expect from what we know of better-recorded languages that there would have been no opposition between alveolar and retroflex consonants in initial position, but it is impossible to verify this. In fact it is difficult to separate apical and dental initials. As mentioned above, there is never any direct evidence of a distinction between a flapped or trilled r and a glide, but no r-sound of any kind appeared in word-initial position, with the exception of *ranglu* 'greedy' recorded by Mathews. It looks as if words could end in a vowel or in any consonant save y or w. This effectively means no opposition between y and i nor between w and u at the end of a word. So we find a word like **kakayi** 'come', but no \***kakay**, and a word like **kawu** 'nose' but no \***kaw**. Examples of single consonants in various positions are given in Table 14.

Table 14: Single consonants

	initial	intervocalic	final
p/b	<b>puwi</b> stomach	<b>kapu</b> nose	<b>warnap</b> fire(wood)
th/dh	<b>thala</b> tongue	<b>ngatha</b> bite	
tj/yt	?	<b>kanatja</b> dog	<b>pulayt</b> two
t/d	?	<b>patong</b> soft	<b>wuwat</b> hot
rt/rd	–	<b>wurtu</b> behind	<b>parumart</b> young woman
k/g	<b>karu</b> sun	<b>kakayi</b> come	<b>tharak</b> dew
m	<b>mul</b> dark	<b>thuman</b> flesh	<b>mam</b> father
nh	<b>n[h]a-</b> see	<b>kapinha</b> gone down	–
ny	?	<b>manyiyn</b> blind	<b>puloyn</b> smoke
n	?	<b>kuna</b> faeces	<b>mun-mun</b> cold
rn	–	<b>warnap</b> fire(wood)	<b>murn</b> cloud
ng	<b>ngurla</b> camp	<b>wanga</b> hear	<b>tharang</b> cherry
l	<b>lu</b> mouth	<b>walu</b> canoe	<b>kal</b> dog
lh	?	?	–
ly/yl		<b>nalya</b> open eyes	<b>yakayl</b> salt creek
rl	–	<b>ngarla</b> hair	<b>wirlpa</b> (syll. final) broken
rr	–	<b>kurra*</b> kangaroo	<b>kapirr*</b> emu
r̥	–	<b>karip*</b> thigh	<b>mir̥*</b> eye
y	<b>yan</b> go	<b>waya</b> ask	
w	<b>wamba</b> bring	<b>lawa</b> quarrel	

\* The distinction between **r̥** and **rr** is based on comparative evidence, and does not appear in the transcription used in the rest of this work.

## 2.3.1 Consonant clusters

As might be expected intervocalic, homorganic nasal-stop clusters are fairly common:

<b>mb</b>	<b>wamba</b>	bring
<b>nd</b>	<b>wandi</b>	broлга
<b>rnd</b>	<b>marndal</b>	thunder
<b>ndj</b>	<b>wirandja</b>	pull
<b>ngg</b>	<b>baringgat</b>	mushroom

A variety of heterorganic clusters occur. If one includes clusters straddling morpheme boundaries, it is likely one would find all combinations of word-final and word-initial consonants. In light of the small corpus and the uncertainty about word formation in many instances, no inventory of heterorganic clusters has been undertaken.

Within the morpheme there is one type of cluster or apparent cluster worthy of special mention and that is the type with a stop or nasal followed by a rhotic as the second member, as in Stewart's *krip* 'thigh'. This word is also recorded by Mathews as *gurreep* and it appears in Kulin languages as **karip**. This is a fairly typical example in that it is recorded with and without the apparent cluster, but some words are recorded with only the apparent cluster, e.g. **truwal** 'man'. In light of alternations such as **karip** and **krip**, I suspect that these sequences are not true clusters, but rather the kind of thing one gets in English with a word like *suppose*, where the first vowel can be reduced to zero. The formation of apparent clusters with a stop or nasal plus a liquid is reported sporadically in the literature on Australian languages (see Breen 1981:25 on the Mayi languages), but these clusters seem to be more common in south-eastern Australia, especially Gippsland and Tasmania (an interesting areal feature!).

Here is a selection of words exhibiting apparent clusters with a rhotic as the second member.

between	<b>prawu(lu)</b>	<i>brawoo</i> b, <i>brawool</i> m, <i>pra-wol-o</i> s
ground	<b>mrat</b>	<i>mraad</i> s, <i>mrade</i> a, <i>m'rade</i> a1, <i>mrah-t</i> wt <i>mirat</i> d, <i>mrat</i> w, <i>marrat</i> wtl [also <b>mirit</b> ; see glossary]
man	<b>truwal</b>	<i>druaal</i> b, <i>druaal</i> m, s, c, <i>troo-a-al</i> d, <i>trooal</i> w
honey	<b>nroyt</b>	<i>nroite</i> c
musk duck	<b>krum</b>	<i>croom</i> c
hole	<b>ngrang</b>	<i>ngrang</i> s, <i>ngang-oo</i> 'in the hole' wts [Warr. <b>ngaring</b> 'hole in tree']
bad	<b>wrang</b>	<i>w-rahng</i> , <i>wraang</i> w, <i>wrang</i> a, s, <i>wrang nger-e</i> s, <i>waang</i> d, <i>waarrung</i> p, <i>wirang</i> m, <i>woorang</i> g, th

There is one example with *l* as the second member of the apparent cluster:

sour            **kilat, klat**    *glatt* wt, *gillat* m, *klut* 'bitter, nauseous's

Thomas records *ya-blurry-woor-weer-in-yoo* for 'mutter'. This may represent a second example.

There are also a number of words with several tokens that consistently show a vowel before an intervocalic liquid. See, for examples, the entries for 'boy', 'big', 'hand' and 'track' in the glossary, where there is no indication of the first vowel being elided.

There are few certain examples of consonant clusters in the coda of a syllable. The word for 'quail' is recorded as *brim-brim* and *birm-birm*, which is possibly **birm-birm**, and the word for 'old' or 'old man' is likely to have been **ngarm-ngarm** (see glossary).<sup>2</sup> Thomas records *birk-nay-al* for 'god'.

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<sup>2</sup> Indeed it may be that the variation in the placement of the *r*-segment results from the *r*-quality being spread as described for Mayali by Evans (1995:739–740).

# 3 Grammar

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As noted earlier in Chapter 1, the main sources of grammatical information are the grammatical sketches by Stewart and Mathews. We also have Mathews' notes. These are fuller than the published sketch, but there are alarming discrepancies between the manuscript notes and the published version. Where it is necessary to distinguish the two sources I have designated the manuscript (Mms) and the published version (Mp). Some grammatical information can be gleaned from the Mount Gambier sentences of William Thomas and some word lists contain a few phrases or include suffixes or enclitics.

Nouns were marked for number and case and could also bear an enclitic indicating the number and person of a possessor. As in other Australian languages the translational equivalents of many English adjectives were marked like nouns and were probably not grammatically distinct from nouns. Verbs were marked for tense, aspect and imperative mood. There were two sets of enclitic pronouns, a subject set and an oblique set. The subject set could be attached to the verb or to the first phrase in the clause. The oblique set represented not only the object of a verb but also the possessor of a noun.

## 3.1 Number

Stewart gives the following forms for dual and for plural.

<b>parayt</b> ( <i>barite</i> )	a girl
<b>parayt-bul</b> ( <i>barite-bol</i> )	two girls
<b>parayt-parayt</b>	girls
<b>murangal</b> ( <i>moorongal</i> )	a boy
<b>murangal-wul</b> ( <i>moorong-al-wol</i> )	two boys
<b>murangal-ngara</b> ( <i>moorongal-ngara</i> )	boys
<b>ngat-pul</b>	two mothers
<b>ngat-ngara</b>	mothers
<b>mala-pro</b>	many wives
<b>yawa-mayndja(r)-ayn</b>	my many aunts

Stewart adds: '*Ngara* is the most generally used plural affix. For the sake of euphony, it gives place to *bro* and *mine-ger* in some instances; thus *mala-bro* (many wives) and *yowermineger-ine* (my many aunts).' It is unclear to what extent

reduplication was used to mark plural. Besides the example given above Mathews (m2) includes **pupitj-pupitj** ‘a range of hills’.

Stewart also gives the following combinations of number marking and possessor enclitic (see also §3.4.4):

<b>mala-ngal-un</b> ( <i>mala-ngal-on</i> )	‘your wives’
<b>mala-pul-ayn</b> ( <i>mala-boline</i> )	‘my two wives’
<b>mala-ngara-ngayn</b> ( <i>mala-ngar-angine</i> )	‘my wives’

Mathews gives the following forms. Some of the distinctions appear to be purely lexical, but there is one example of **warwang** followed by an oblique enclitic marking possessor. See §3.4.3.

<b>truwal puwatj</b> ( <i>druwal-boi-aiy</i> Mms)	‘two men’
<b>truwal wawang</b> ( <i>druwalwawung</i> Mp)	‘three men’
<b>truwal kalayt</b> ( <i>druwal-kal-a-ait</i> Mms)	‘several men’
<b>winggap</b> ( <i>winggap</i> Mms)	‘two friends’ [cf. Stewart <i>wingo</i> ‘friend’]
<b>winggapurap</b> ( <i>winggapurap</i> Mms)	‘several friends’

Mathews gives the following in his published version. They are the same as he recorded in Pikwurrung (Warmnambool) and must be regarded with suspicion.

<b>truwal</b> ( <i>druwal</i> Mp)	‘man’
<b>truwalara</b> ( <i>druwalara</i> Mp)	‘couple of men’
<b>truwalapayn</b> ( <i>druwalaba</i> * Mp)	‘several men’

Mathews records *bulla bulla wity* ‘a lot of women’. *Bulla bulla* is independently attested for ‘woman’, which leaves **witj** as a plural marker, but **witj** is not independently attested.

Further examples of number marking are given in §3.3 and §3.4.3.

### 3.2 Gender

There was little that could count as grammatical gender. Mathews notes that the sex of an animal can be represented by **mamang** male and **ngartang** female:

<b>kuramu mamang</b> ( <i>guramu mamung</i> )	‘male possum’
<b>kuramu ngartang</b> ( <i>guramu ngurtung</i> )	‘female possum’

As noted in Appendix 2, the moieties among the Bunganditj are *kumite* (**kumayt**) and *krokee* (**kruki**) and females are referred to as either *kumitegor* or *krokeegor* according to which moiety they belong to. *Gor* is presumably **kur** ‘female’ cognate with Wathawurrung **kurk**, which may in turn be the widespread root we find in Kulin

languages for 'blood'. The loss of the final **-k** would be another example of the word-final loss of velars illustrated in Table 11.

Stewart's vocabulary contains *koon-atgo* 'a male baby' and *koon-am* 'a female baby'.

A comparison of **nyiri** 'younger brother' and **nyiri(y)ar** 'younger sister' reveals a feminine suffix **-(y)ar**, which can be identified with **-iyar** in the Warrnambool language.

### 3.3 Case

There are discrepancies between the forms given by Stewart and those given by Mathews in his manuscript. Table 15 displays Stewart's forms.

Table 15: Case markers

	'man'	'mother'
nominative	<b>truwal</b>	<b>ngat</b>
ergative-instrumental	<b>truwala</b> ( <i>druwal-er</i> )	<b>ngatla</b>
genitive	<b>truwalat</b>	<b>ngatat</b>
locative	<b>truwalu</b> ( <i>druwalu</i> )	<b>ngatu</b> ( <i>ngatu</i> )
ablative	<b>truwalan</b> ( <i>druwalon</i> )	<b>ngatan</b> ( <i>ngat-anung</i> )

Mathews recorded the ergative of **truwal** as **truwaaka** (*druaaga, druāga*) and the genitive as **truwakat** (*druakat*) from Tommy McCallum. In his published grammar he substitutes **truwala** (see [4]) and **truwalangat** (see [8] and [9]).

The information contained in these paradigms is not complete. The case marker **-u**, designated locative in the table above, is glossed by Stewart as 'to' and 'with'. He gives an example **warnap-u** 'go for firewood', but there are other examples of locative function. From various examples one can isolate a case marker **-i**, which has a locative and an aversive function, and there is a form **-a** with an allative ('to') function. Unfortunately different markers are found with different stems, so it is not always clear whether we have different case markers for a particular case or markers of different cases. The confusing array of local forms is illustrated below at the end of this section.

Stewart gives *druala* 'is a man' distinct from *druwal-er* 'by a man'. Both appear to be ergative forms. He also gives *ngata* 'is a mother' as well as *ngat* 'mother'. The context in which Stewart recorded these 'is a so-and-so' forms is not apparent. Normally the nominative would be used as the predicate in sentences like, 'He is a man'.

Stewart gives *ngat-anung* for the ablative of **ngat**. This is presumably **ngat-on-ung** or **ngat-an-ung** 'from his/her mother'. It is not certain whether the ablative was **-an**, **-un** or **-on**. It is doubtful whether there was an **o** phonemically distinct from **u**, and an **a** before a nasal was often heard as **o**, so I am inclined to think the ablative was **-an**.

Stewart gives the following examples combining number and case:

<b>ngat</b>	mother
<b>ngat-pul</b>	two mothers
<b>ngat-pul-a</b>	by two mothers
<b>ngat-pul-at</b>	belonging to two mothers
<b>ngat-pul-u</b>	to or with two mothers ( <i>ngat-bolo</i> )
<b>ngat-pul-an</b>	from two mothers ( <i>ngat-bolon</i> )
<b>ngat-ngara</b>	mothers
<b>ngat-ngara-la</b>	by mothers
<b>ngat-ngara-at</b>	belonging to mothers
<b>ngat-ngara-wu</b>	to or with mothers ( <i>ngat-ngarra-o</i> )
<b>ngat-ngara-an</b>	from mothers ( <i>ngat-ngarra-on</i> )

Besides **ngat-ngara-la** Stewart gives **ngat-ngara-a** 'are mothers'.

### Ergative

The first two examples illustrate the distinctive ergative that appears in Mathews' manuscript (1) and the form that he substituted in his published account, a form that is the same as Stewart's (2). Mathews notes that demonstratives are omitted from his examples (1903a: 61).

- (1) *Winan druaaga gal* (Mms)  
**Win-an**            **truwaaka**   **kal.**  
 beat-PAST.3SG    man.ERG    dog  
 A man beat a dog.
- (2) *Drualla gal winan.* (Mp)  
**Truwal-a**   **kal**   **win-an.**  
 man-ERG    dog    hit-PAST.3SG  
 A man hit a dog.
- (3) *Ngutthan galir guramu.* (Mms)  
*Gala guramu ngutthan.* (Mp)  
**Kal-a**    **kuramu**   **ngath-an.**  
 dog-ERG    possum    bite-PAST.3SG  
 A dog bit a possum.

The ergative covered the instrumental function as well as marking the agent of a transitive verb,

- (4) a. *Drualla gal winan gettup-gettupa.* (Mp)  
**Truwal-a**   **kal**   **win-an**    **ketapketap-a.**  
 man-ERG    dog    hit-PAST.3SG    boomerang-ERG  
 A man beat a dog with a boomerang.

- b. *Druaaga gattimgattima ban gal.* (Mms)  
**Truaaka katimkatim-a pan kal.**  
 man.ERG boomerang-ERG hit.PAST.3SG dog  
 A man hit a dog with a boomerang.

The above example is followed in the manuscript by *druaaga gatimgatimarra gal* with the translation, 'A man hit a dog with the boomerang'. Note the suffix *-ara*, which may be a plural marker, and the lack of a verb.

- (5) *Druaaga ban gal wirinya.* (Mms)  
**Truaaka pan kal wiriny-a.**  
 man.ERG hit.past.3SG dog waddy-ERG  
 A man hit a dog with a waddy.
- (6) *Bulla-bullā murungal winan wirinya.* (Mp)  
**Pula-pula-a\* murungal win-an wiriny-a.**  
 woman-ERG boy hit-past.3SG waddy-ERG  
 A woman hit a boy with a waddy.

\* Determining the value of *u* in *bulla-bulla* is problematic. The word looks like **bula-bula**, but if the vowel were **a**, then *u* would be a likely notation. One source writes the word *purlapurla*, which suggests **barla-barla**, and another has *palapalarick* where *r* could be a word-final rhotic appearing before a vowel-initial suffix or clitic. The correct transcription could be **barlar-barlar**.

Mathews remarks that sometimes the 'causative' (= ergative) suffix is omitted and only the instrumental employed.

It seems that Bunganditj, like the Warmambool language and several other languages of south-eastern Australia, treated the gift in a 'giving construction' like an instrument and put it in the ergative, or ergative-instrumental. The construction is rather like what we have in English with 'provide with' or 'present with'.

- (7) *Woonangy-gooahm-mohur-tohur.* (WT)  
**Wun-angi kuramu-wa tu-wa.**  
 give.PAST-1PL.EX possum-ERG rug-ERG  
 We gave him a possum rug.

Humphries vocabulary includes *Wokia toka* 'Give me a thing' and *Wokia kala* 'Give me a dog'. These probably mean 'Give him or her a thing' and 'Give him or her a dog'. *Toka* is not recorded elsewhere, but *kala* is the ergative-instrumental of **kal** 'dog'.

### Genitive

A genitive suffix is used to mark a possessor and the possessed is marked by an enclitic representing the person and number of the possessor. The enclitic marking the

possessor can also mark the direct object of a verb and is glossed OBLique. Note the discrepancy in the form for 'man's' between the manuscript (8) and published version (9).

- (8) *Druaagat gettugettum-ung.* (Mms)  
**truwaakat katimkatim-ung**  
 man.GEN boomerang-3SG.OBL  
 a man's boomerang

- (9) *Drualangat gettup-gettupmung* (Mp)  
**truwala-ngat ketapketap-mung**  
 man-GEN boomerang-3SG.OBL  
 a man's boomerang

### Local cases

Besides **-an**, which marks 'from' there are three case markers with local functions.<sup>1</sup> The form **-u** includes location and destination ('to') in its range; **-i** marks location and what is to be avoided, and there are a few examples of **-a** marking destination and one where it marks the complement of 'thirsty', namely **para** 'for water' (nominative **pari**). It could be that **-a** is simply an unstressed **-u** heard as **-a**. It is difficult to assign these markers to cases, since, for the most part, they occur with different stems, so one cannot decide if they are different markers for a particular case or markers of different cases. The only stem that occurs with more than one marker is **ngurla** 'camp'. We have **ngurli** 'at home' and **ngurla** 'to camp'. Stewart glosses **-u** (*-o*) as 'to' or 'with'. I will gloss both **-u** and **-i** locative. Because of the confusing overlap in function between these local forms, all distinctive tokens are reproduced below.

- (10) *Wurnapo nga yan.* (S)  
**Warnap-u nga yan.**  
 firewood-LOC I go  
 'I am going for firewood.'
- (11) *Ngurli ngad-om.* (WT)  
**Ngurli ngat-ayn.**  
 camp.LOC mother-1SG.OBL  
 'My mother is at home.'

<sup>1</sup> Although **-an** is given as ablative, there are no examples to support it save for Smith (1880:10) *kan-an-on* 'beaten with a waddy', though this does not appear to be ablative in function.

(12) *Nanning-in-nyin-un.* (WT)

**Nhan-i=ngin yinun?**  
 what-LOC=2SG fear.PRES.3SG  
 'What are you afraid of?'

(13) a. *Eer-run-moolee.* (WT)

**Yi[n]jan mul-i.**  
 fear.PRES.3SG dark-LOC  
 'He's afraid of the dark.'

b. *Eer-nun-wir-ree.* (WT)

**Yinan wir-i.**  
 fear.PRES.3SG devil-LOC  
 'He's afraid of the devil.'

## Other examples

-u

<i>boop-e-o</i> (S)	<b>pupi-yu</b>	'on the hill' [ <b>pupik</b> is 'hill']
<i>boop-o-ngong</i> (S)	<b>pup-u-ngun</b>	'on your head' <b>pup</b> 'head'
<i>boh-pool-nung</i> (WT)	<b>pup-ul-nhung</b>	'[hit] on his head'
<i>wirrangoonoong</i> (WT)	<b>wirang-u-nhung</b>	'[pull] by his tail'
<i>kahbinny-barryoo</i> (WT)	<b>kapini pari-yu</b> [lit. 'go down in water' <b>pari</b> 'water']	'wade'
<i>nyooya-ngurro</i> (WT)	<b>nyuya ngar-u</b> [ <b>nyuya</b> 'sit' <b>ngar</b> 'horse']	'ride a horse'
<i>ngang-oo</i> (WTS)	<b>ngangu</b>	'in the hole' [ <b>ngrang</b> 'hole']
<i>gooram-moo-oo</i> (WTS)	<b>kuramu-wu</b>	'[go] for possum'
<i>winnapoo</i> (WT)	<b>warnap-u</b>	'[throw] onto the fire'

-a

<i>pare-er</i> (S)	<b>para</b>	'[thirsty for] water'
<i>dyayla</i> (WT)	<b>jail-a</b>	'[go] to jail'
<i>wirry-oo-a</i> (WT)	<b>wiriyu-wa</b>	'in the scrub'
<i>ngoolla</i> (WTs)	<b>ngurla</b>	'[return] to camp'

-i

<i>pan-or-e</i> (S)	<b>panur-i</b>	'[buried] in the grave'
<i>gooraho-ee</i> (WT)	<b>kurawu-wi</b>	'[hunt] for kangaroo'

Thomas gives **yungga wanapu kuta** (*Yoong-ga-winnapoo-goota*) for 'Throw them on the fire'. The form **-kuta** (*kutta*) is recorded by Dawson for 'to' in the Warrnambool language.

### 3.4 Pronouns

#### 3.4.1 Personal pronouns

In Bunganditj there were free pronouns and bound pronouns. The free pronouns took case marking just like nouns, including ergative case marking when subject of a transitive verb. The free pronouns used for the subject of an intransitive predicate and the bound pronouns used for all subjects. are displayed in Table 16.

The non-singular free pronouns are built on the singular forms plus formatives for person and number. These formatives are distinct from the bound pronoun forms used to represent the subject (see §3.4.2 below).

Table 16: Pronouns

	free	bound	
1SG	<b>ngathu</b>	<b>-(ng)a</b>	( <i>ngatho</i> Mms, <i>ngatho</i> S)
2SG	<b>nguru</b>	<b>-(ng)in</b>	( <i>nguro</i> Mms, <i>ngoor-o</i> S)
3SG	<b>nhuwang</b> <b>nhung*</b>	–	( <i>nuwang</i> Mms) ( <i>nung</i> S)
1DU INC	<b>ngathuwal</b>	<b>-(ng)al</b>	( <i>ngatthohal</i> Mp, <i>ngatho-al</i> S)
1DU EX	<b>ngathuwilal</b>	<b>-(ng)a</b>	( <i>ngattowulul</i> Mms, <i>natthowillal</i> (sic) Mp)
2DU	<b>ngurpul</b>	<b>-ngut</b>	( <i>ngutpul</i> Mms, p, <i>ngoot-pool</i> S)
3DU	<b>nhunggal</b> <b>nhunggul</b>		( <i>nunggul</i> Mms, p, <i>nung-kol</i> S)
1PL INC	<b>ngathuwi</b>	<b>-(ng)i</b>	( <i>ngatthohē</i> Mp, <i>ngatho-e</i> Mms, <i>ngatho-e</i> S)
1PL EX	<b>ngathuwili</b>	<b>-angi</b>	( <i>ngathowilli</i> Mms, <i>ngatthowillē</i> Mp)
2 PL	<b>ngurpawa?</b> <b>ngurpaga</b> <b>ngurpala</b>		( <i>ngutpuer</i> Mms) ( <i>ngootbugga</i> Mms) ( <i>ngoot-paler</i> S)
3 PL	<b>nhungpa</b> <b>nhungpaga</b> <b>nhungpala</b>		( <i>nungba</i> Mms) ( <i>nungbugga</i> Mms) ( <i>nung-paler</i> S)

Typically *u* in a closed syllable denotes **a**, but in light of Mathews' *nuwang*, and *oo* spellings in the third person possessor forms (see §3.4.4 below) I have transcribed *u* as **u** in the singular, dual and plural. These third person forms probably reflect a widespread **nu** or **nhu** root.

In his manuscript Mathews shows *wir* following the first and second person pronouns. In his published version he states *wir* marks 'the causative' (ergative). Since he writes *galir* and *gala* as alternatives for the ergative of **kal** 'dog' (see (3) above), I take it the suffix is **-a**.

1sing	<b>ngathuwa</b> ( <i>ngattho-wir</i> )
2sing	<b>nguruwa</b> ( <i>nguro-wir</i> )

The following are the translational equivalents of the English possessive adjectives. The forms in **-at** are doubtless genitive forms of the pronouns.

sing	1	<b>ngathuwat</b> ( <i>ngatho-at S, ngatthowat Mp</i> )
		<b>ngathungat</b> ( <i>ngutthangat Mms</i> )
		<b>ngana</b> ( <i>ngan-a S</i> ), <b>ngananayn</b> ( <i>ngan-a-nine S</i> )
	2	<b>nguruwat</b> ( <i>ngooro-at S</i> )
		<b>ngurungat</b> ( <i>ngutunngat Mms, ngatthowin Mp</i> )
	3	<b>ngana-on</b> ( <i>n-gan-a-on S</i> )
		<b>nhungerengat</b> ( <i>noo-nger-e-ngat S</i> )
		<b>nhuwang-at</b> ( <i>nuangat Mp</i> )
dual	1 inc*	<b>ngana-alu</b> ( <i>ngan-a-alo S</i> )
	2	<b>ngana-ong</b> ( <i>ngana-ong S</i> )
	3	<b>n[h]unggal-at</b> ( <i>nunkolat S</i> )
plural	1 inc*	<b>ngana-anu</b> ( <i>ngan-a-anu S</i> )
	2	<b>ngurpala-orong</b> ( <i>ngoot-paler-orong S</i> )
	3	<b>n[h]jungpala-at</b> ( <i>nung-paler-at S</i> )

\*Stewart does not specify 'inclusive', but he shows these forms alongside inclusive nominative forms.

(14) *Galara ngatthowat.* (Mp)

**Kal-ara ngathuwat.**  
 dog-DUAL\* me.GEN  
 'My two dogs.'

\*Note Mathews use of **-ara** for dual, a Warrnambool feature. See §3.1.

### 3.4.2 Subject enclitics

The subject is regularly represented by a bound form either on the verb or on an interrogative. We can presume that the situation was similar to that found in many other Australian languages where the forms in question are enclitics that can attach to the verb or to the first phrase in the clause.

- (15) *Na ngin yaan.* (S)  
**Nha=ngin yaan.**  
 where=2SG go  
 'Where are you going?'
- (16) a. **Nha.a=ngin** (*Na-ungin* Mp) 'Where art thou?'  
 b. **Nha.a=ngut** (*Na-ungut* Mp) 'Where are you two?'
- (17) *Yan-go-ngin dyayl-a.* (WT)  
**Yan-gu=ngin djayl-a.**  
 go-?=2SG jail-ALL  
 'You must go to jail.'

Other bound forms for subject are to be found in the verb paradigms in §3.6.

### 3.4.3 Object enclitics

Mathews notes that there are no free-form pronouns for object; rather pronominal suffixes are used on the verb. In fact it seems that there is an 'oblique' set of pronominal enclitics that covers both the object of a verb or the possessor modifier of a noun. Examples of object function are treated in this section and examples of possessor function in the next, but all examples are glossed OBLique.

Mathews gives the following, which illustrate the singular forms found after a consonant. In this environment the initial consonant of the suffix, which can be seen in other examples, is dropped. The discrepancies between the manuscript and the published version is discussed under reflexive in §3.6.3.

1sg =(ng)ayn

**lanandh(w)an-ayn** (*lanandhwanuñ* Mms, *lānandhanañ* Mp)

He speaks to me (Mms). Someone speaks to me (Mp)

2sg =(ng)un

**lanandh(w)an-un** (*lanandhwanuñ* Mms, *lānandhanun* Mp)

He talked to thee (Mms). Someone speaks to thee (Mp)

3sg =(nh)ung

**lanandhwan** (*lanandhwan* Mms, *laanandhawang* (*lānandhawung* Mp)

He talked to him (Mms). Someone speaks to him (Mp).

- (18) *Ngat-u-ngon.* (S)  
**Ngathu=ngun.**  
 bite.FUT=2SG.OBL  
 'It will bite you.'

Stewart gives the following example in his vocabulary which seems to contain a subject enclitic followed by an object enclitic,

- (19) *Krit-an-in-ine.* (S)

**Krit-an=in=ayn.**

scratch-PAST=2SG=1SG.OBL

'You scratched me.' [Given as 'You are scratching me.']

The following example is not entirely transparent in that a **-t-** between the subject and object markers remains unaccounted for. It may function to separate the two markers. It is also found in *kin-e be-a ton* (S) **kinipi-a-t-un** 'I will carry you'.

- (20) *We ne-ang-aton noo-e ung-in.* (S).

**Wini-ang-a-t=un**                      **nu-wiya=ngin.**

beat-FUT-1SG-T=2SG.OBL      die-FUT=2SG

'I will hit you that you will die.'

- (21) *We-a-an-nin-ine.* (S)

**Wiya-an=in=ayn.**

laugh-PAST=2SG=1SG.OBL

'You laughed at me.' (Given as 'Don't laugh at me'.)

With the verb for 'give' it appears that the oblique enclitic is used for the recipient.

- (22) *Woang ine or Wo-at ngine* (S)

**Wuwa-ngayn**                      or                      **Wuwat-ngayn** (S)

give.IMP-1SG.OBJ

give.IMP-1SG.OBJ

'Give me.'

'Give me.'

In (23) and (24) the enclitic is attached to the verb. In (25) it is attached to the object. Note in passing that there is no sign of the expected ergative on the gift in (24), though it does appear in Thomas' Warmambool version of this sentence (*dee-a*), but there could be a suffix **-a** lurking in **payika**.

- (23) *Wa-ang-ein-Ngie-oora.* (WT)

**Wa=ngayn**                      **ngiyur-a.**

give.IMP=1SG.OBL      forked.stick-ERG

'Give me the forked stick.'

- (24) *Woo-uth-ang-ein-dee.* (WT)

**Wuwatha=ngayn ti.**

give.IMP=1SG.OBL      tea

'Give me tea.'

- (25) *Bai-ga-ang-wuth-a.* (WT)  
**Payika=ayn**                      **wutha.**  
 tobacco.(ERG?)=1SG.OBL give.IMP  
 ‘Give me tobacco.’

#### 3.4.4 Possessor enclitics

The oblique enclitics were also used to mark the person and number of the possessor. The singular forms were given in the previous section, but are repeated here with a full set of original notations to justify the transcription.

my	<b>-(ng)ayn</b> ( <i>-ine S, -ngine S, -ine Mms, -aing C</i> )
thy	<b>-(ng)un</b> ( <i>-on S, -ngon S, -oon S, -un Mms</i> )
his, her	<b>-(nh)ung</b> ( <i>-ung S, -oong S, -ung, -nhung Mms, -noong WT</i> )

The initial consonant in these forms was dropped following a consonant as in the following forms from Stewart,

	<b>mam</b> ‘father’	<b>mala</b> ‘wife’
my	<b>mamayn</b> ( <i>marmine</i> )	<b>malangayn</b> ( <i>malangine</i> )
thy	<b>mamun</b> ( <i>marmoon</i> )	<b>malangun</b> ( <i>malangon</i> )
his/her	<b>mamung</b> ( <i>marmoon sic</i> )	<b>malanung</b> ( <i>malanoong</i> )

Stewart also gives **mala-pul-ayn** (*malaboline*) ‘my two wives’ and **mala-ngara-ayn** (*malangaraine*) ‘my wives [plural]’.

In his manuscript Mathews records a series of forms with an initial **m** in the singular. The singular forms also appear in his published version.

<b>ketapketap-mayn</b> ( <i>gettup-gettupmain</i> )	‘my boomerang’
<b>ketapketap-mun</b> ( <i>gettup-gettup-mun</i> )	‘thy boomerang’
<b>ketapketap-mung</b> ( <i>gettup-gettupm <sup>^</sup>ng</i> )	‘his/her boomerang’
<b>ketapketap-ngaang</b> ( <i>getapgetap-ngaang</i> )	‘our (dual) boomerang’
<b>ketapketap-ngawungu</b> ( <i>getapgetap-ngaungu/mungu</i> )	‘our (dual inc.) boomerang’

He also records:

<b>katimayn</b> ( <i>gattimine</i> )	‘my boomerang’
<b>katimun</b> ( <i>gattimun</i> )	‘your boomerang’
<b>katimung</b> ( <i>gattimung</i> )	‘his/her boomerang’

In the manuscript Mathews includes forms identifiable as Warrnambool forms: **katimkatim-ngan** ‘my boomerang’, **katimkatim-ngu** ‘thy boomerang’ and **katimkatim-**



<b>mambulalu</b> ( <i>marmabolalo</i> )	‘fathers of us two’
<b>mambulalang</b> ( <i>marmabolalong</i> )	‘fathers of you two’
<b>nangpalatmambulang</b> ( <i>nung calat marmbolang</i> )	‘fathers of those two’

There is one example of an oblique enclitic where the sense is not possessive: *wee-a-dyein waddun* (WT) ‘I’m very sleepy’. **Wiyitj** is a noun ‘sleep’ (also ‘sleepy’).

### 3.4.5 Demonstratives

<b>nhu</b> ( <i>nu</i> Mms,p, B, <i>noo</i> S, WT, <i>ngumiu</i> B)	this, here
<b>nang</b> ( <i>nang</i> F)	
<b>marakiya</b> ( <i>murrakia</i> T)	
<b>nhu nhu kin</b> ( <i>noo noo gin</i> S, <i>nuanhung</i> M)	this side
<b>para</b> ( <i>barra</i> WTS, <i>barraquion</i> G)	there
<b>taa</b> ( <i>taa</i> S, <i>day</i> S, <i>day</i> WT)	
<b>thayu</b> ( <i>dhaiu</i> M)	that person
<b>nuwanu</b> ( <i>nuana</i> Mms,p, <i>nuanu</i> B)	that, there [see <b>nu</b> , <b>wanu</b> ]
<b>yamarna</b> ( <i>ya murn-a</i> S)	that side
<b>kwalupuru</b> ( <i>gwalluburu</i> Mms)	that (yonder) [ <b>puru</b> = ‘far’]
<b>kanawa</b> ( <i>gunnaua</i> Mp)	yonder
<b>kanu</b> ( <i>gannu</i> )	that (up there)
<b>wanu</b> ( <i>wannu</i> )	that (down there)

Another demonstrative root appears in the following series:

<b>ngana-ayn</b>	<i>ngunnahain</i> (Mp)	this is mine
<b>ngana-ngun</b>	<i>ngunnahun</i> (Mp)	this is thine
<b>ngana-ung</b>	<i>ngunnahung</i> (Mp)	this is his/hers

William Thomas records *ee-an*, *oe-an* ‘her/she’ and *mai-oo-mai-oo* ‘him/he’. These may be demonstrative forms.

### 3.5 Locational words

The possessor suffixes are also found with locational nouns which translate various English local prepositions.

<b>wurtungayn</b> ( <i>wurdungañ</i> Mms)	behind me
<b>wurtungun</b> ( <i>wurdungūn</i> Mms)	behind thee
<b>wurtunhung</b> ( <i>wurdugung</i> Mms)	behind him/her
<b>wurtu-thayu</b>	behind them
<b>kawiyang</b>	in front
<b>kawiyangayn</b>	in front of me

It seems that motion away can be indicated by **wanu** (*wannu* M) ‘down there’ and a pronominal point of departure can be represented by an oblique pronoun. The pronominal forms in (b) and (c) are not independently attested.

- (29) a. **yanku wana=ngayn** (*yan-go wannungain* Mms) go away from me  
 b. **yanku wana=ngungu** (*yangawa wannangungu* Mms) go away from us two  
 c. **yanku wana=ngaa** (*yangoo wannungā* Mms) go away from him

### 3.6 Verbs

The following tense and aspect markers can be identified, but the identification remains tentative in light of inconsistencies and problems of segmentation:

present tense	<b>-n</b> (some evidence for a palatal; see Table 18)
past tense	<b>-an</b> (on the basis of <b>pu-</b> in Table 19)
remote past	<b>-p</b> (see Table 17)
perfective	<b>-nha</b> (see (30))
future	<b>-wiya, -ngu</b> (see Table 20)

#### 3.6.1 Tense and aspect

Stewart records the following first person forms in four tenses. The root is the widespread root **yan-** ‘to go’, but this is not obvious from these paradigms. On the basis of Mathews’ paradigms the dual form **yanangal** is inclusive (‘you and I’), the plural forms in **-angi** are exclusive and **yaani** inclusive.

**Table 17:** Verb tenses

	present	past	remote past	future
I	<b>yananga</b> <i>yanang-a</i>	<b>yaana</b> <i>yaana</i>	<b>yapa</b> <i>yapa</i>	<b>yawiyanga</b> <i>yowyeunga</i>
we 2	<b>yanangal</b> <i>yanangal</i>	<b>yaanalu</b> <i>yaanalo</i>	<b>yapalu</b> <i>yapalo</i>	<b>yawiyalu</b> <i>yowyeallo</i>
we	<b>yanangi</b> <i>yanange</i>	<b>yaani</b> <i>yaane</i>	<b>yapi</b> <i>yape</i>	<b>yawiyangi</b> <i>yowyeungi</i>

Stewart also gives forms of **tir-** ‘eat’: present **tirni** (*dirn-e*), past **tini** (*tin-e*), remote past **tipi** (*tip-e*) and future *dirwin-ge*, which is perhaps **tirwi[ya]ngi**, assuming the segmentation is incorrect.

The following forms from Mathews, with a different root for 'eat', namely **thayi-**, confirm the past tense, suggest the present tense may have been marked by a laminal nasal, and give a different formation for the future.

<b>thayi-ny-angi</b> ( <i>thainyunge</i> Mms)	'we eat'
<b>thayi-an-angi</b> ( <i>thaianjungē</i> Mms)	'we ate'
<b>thayi-ng-angi</b> ( <i>thaingungē</i> Mms)	'we will eat'

The last example should perhaps be **thayi-ng-ungi**. See Table 20.

Mathews also records some past, present and future tense forms in a number of person/number combinations. Table 18 shows the forms he gives for 'present tense', but the reader should compare the forms with those given in Table 19 for 'past tense'. The form *lānha*, for instance, looks as if it is **la-an-(ng)a** with **-an** past tense as in **buwana** and with the velar nasal, found in Stewart's present tense, lost after a consonant.

Table 18: Present tense

present		la- 'to speak'
singular	1	<b>laana</b> ( <i>lānha</i> Mms, p)
	2	<b>laanin</b> ( <i>lanin</i> Mms, <i>lānin</i> Mp)
	3	<b>laan, layn</b> ( <i>lañ</i> Mms, <i>lān</i> Mp), <b>lanhung</b> ( <i>lanung</i> Mms)
dual	1 inc	<b>laangal</b> ( <i>lahngul</i> Mms, <i>lāngul</i> Mp, <i>lahrngul</i> )
	1 ex	<b>laanga(nga)</b> ( <i>lahngunga</i> Mms, <i>lānga</i> Mp)
		<b>laangala</b> ( <i>lahrngulla</i> Mp)
plural	1 inc	<b>laani</b> ( <i>lahne</i> Mms, <i>lānē</i> Mp, <i>lahrnē</i> )
	1 ex	<b>laanangi</b> ( <i>lahnungi</i> Mms, <i>lānungē</i> Mp, <i>lahrunne</i> Mp)

Thomas gives the following, which look as if they are inclusive forms in terms of context, but which are exclusive according to Mathews' paradigms.

<i>yannung-yee</i> (WT)	<b>yanangi</b>	'let us return [to camp]'
<i>loomung-ay</i> (WT)	<b>lumangi</b>	'it's time to sleep'

The forms Mathews gives for the past tense are shown in Table 19. From the paradigm for **pu-** one could deduce that the past tense is indicated by **-an**. With **la-**, the expected past tense would be **laan** and a few of Mathews' forms such as *lā-ne* (ms) and *lahrnē* (p) point in this direction. However, it is not clear what vowel some of the other notations represent. Mathews' *ē* seems to indicate [i:] or [e:], and notations such as

*lēanin* suggest *iya* or *eya*. Perhaps the stem vowel dissimilates from the vowel of the inflection. The initial consonant of the bound pronoun is lost after the *n* of the inflection.

Table 19: Past tense

		<b>la-</b> 'to speak'	<b>pu-</b> 'to spear'
singular	1	<i>lehnha</i> (Mms), <i>lēanha</i> (Mp)*	<b>puwana</b> ( <i>buanah</i> Mms)
	2	<i>lehnin</i> (Mms), <i>lēanin</i> (Mp)	<b>puwanin</b> ( <i>buanin</i> Mms)
	3	<i>lēn</i> (Mms), <i>lēan</i> (Mp)	<b>puwan</b> ( <i>buan</i> Mms)
dual	1 inc	<i>leanul</i> (Mms)	<b>pu[wa]nal</b> ( <i>bunul</i> Mms)
	ex	<i>leana</i> (Mms)	<b>puwana(a)</b> ( <i>buanā</i> Mms)
	2		<i>buanōp</i> (Mms)
	3		<i>buanook</i> (Mms)
plural	1 inc	<i>leané</i> , <i>leané</i> , <i>lā-ne</i> (Mms)	<i>buanē</i> (Mms)
	ex	<i>leanange</i> , <i>leanungi</i> (Mms)	<i>buanī</i> (Mms)
	2		<b>puwanu</b> ( <i>buanu</i> Mms)
	3		<i>buanngur</i> (Mms) <sup>2</sup>

\*Other examples of past tense: *nahna* (WT) 'I see' [sic], *gwennan-neh* (WT) 'I told [you]'

Mathews' 'future' forms are shown in Table 20. The future of **la-** appears to be formed with **-nga** and the future of **pu-** with **-wi**, though consideration of other sources suggests **-wiya**. There are several possibilities to account for the fact that there are two future markers. They could be markers of different conjugations, or they could be markers of different 'tenses'. Early recordists like Mathews regularly reported present, past and future tenses, but they may have been influenced by pedagogical tradition, which taught that there were these three tenses. Experience shows that a future tense is not widespread. It may be that one or other or both of the 'future' markers indicated 'intentional' or 'hortative' or some other category similar to future. However, in the absence of further information, I will gloss all future-like forms as FUT.

I have taken the future in the **la-** paradigm to be represented by **-ngu**, on the basis of the third person singular. However, Thomas gives *yang-ang-y* for 'Let us proceed [on our journey]', which looks as if it is a future **ya-nga-ngi** and Mathews' *thaingungē* 'we will eat' (quoted above) would normally be interpreted as **thayingangi** in the absence of evidence to the contrary.

<sup>2</sup> Smith (1880:9) gives *Man-en yurli ming* 'They have taken his life' where *-en* appears to be a form for third person plural subject.

Table 20: Future

		la- 'to speak'	pu- 'to spear'
sing.	1	<b>langunga</b> ( <i>lang-ung-a Mms</i> )	<b>puwiya</b> ( <i>bui-a Mms</i> )
	2	<b>langungin</b> ( <i>langungin Mms</i> )	<b>puwin</b> ( <i>bui-n Mms</i> )
	3	<b>langu</b> ( <i>la-ngu Mms</i> )	<b>puwi</b> ( <i>bui Mms</i> )
dual	1 inc	<b>langungal</b> ( <i>langungal Mms</i> )	
	1 ex	<b>langunga</b> ( <i>langunga Mms</i> )	
plural	1 inc	<b>lang(u)wi</b> ( <i>lang wi gullaity Mms</i> )	
	1 ex	<b>lang(u)wangi</b> ( <i>langwangi Mms</i> )	

Some other examples of 'future tense':

<i>noo-e ung-in</i> (S)	<b>nuwiya-ngin</b>	'You will die.'
<i>nah-wee-yah</i> (WT)	<b>nhawiya</b>	'I'm going to see [my mother].'
<i>na-wea</i> (S)	<b>nhawiya</b>	'Let me see.'
<i>nah-wee-yah</i> (WT)	<b>nhawiya</b>	'I'm going to see [my mother].'
<i>na-we</i> (S)	<b>nhawi</b>	'Let him see.'
<i>kra-we-al</i> (S)	<b>krawiyal</b>	'We two will share together.'
<i>kala-wow-we-al</i> (S)	<b>kalawawiyal</b>	'Let us converse.'
<i>wirra-oo-na-wee-ang-ull</i> (WT)	<b>wira-unawiyangal</b>	'Let's go.'
<i>dryoo-wee-ang-ee</i> (WT)	<b>t[i]rayuwiyangi</b>	'Let's eat'

If the tense-aspect marker in these words is **-wiya**, then only the second person singular form is as expected. We would expect the velar nasal to be retained in the first person forms.

Mathews' presents some remote past forms, but his presentation of the range of tenses follows Stewart's point for point, and an inspection of the manuscript reveals that the forms are written in a heavier hand than the rest of the manuscript and that they are more or less superimposed over the forms for 'we ate', etc., which were given above following Table 17.

	Stewart	Mathews
we ate long ago	<i>tip-e</i>	<i>tip-ē</i>
we ate recently	<i>tin-e</i>	<i>tin-ē</i>
we are eating	<i>dirn-e</i>	<i>tirn-ē</i>
we will eat	<i>dirwin-ge</i>	<i>tirwingē</i>



### 3.6.3 Other verbal morphology

#### Reflexive and reciprocal

Mathews gives the following to illustrate the reflexive/reciprocal:

**laanandhayn** (*lānandhañ, lahnadhun Mp*)

I am talking to myself.

**laanandhawanal** (*lānandhawanul Mp*)

We (dual) are talking to each other.

**laanandhawani** (*lānandhawanē, lānandhawani Mp*)

We (plural) are talking to each other.

A comparison of these forms might suggest that **-nandha** marks reflexive-reciprocal and **-wan-** marks non-singular. However, **-nandha** also appears in the forms given to illustrate enclitic oblique pronouns where a reflexive/reciprocal meaning was not indicated, and in Mathews' manuscript version **-wa-** does too, and occurs in the singular. A comparison of the forms given in §3.4.3 to illustrate oblique pronouns and the forms given here to illustrate reflexive/reciprocal reveals that here we have subject enclitics as one might expect, except, mysteriously, in the first person where the oblique enclitic **-ayn** occurs.

Mathews also gives the following in his notes (but not in his published account),

<i>laa-inna</i>	I am talking to myself
<i>bunkinna</i>	I speared myself
<i>bungweana</i>	We (dual) speared each other
<i>bungwenni</i>	We (plural) speared each other

Here the non-singular forms contain something like **-wa-**. However, it is not clear what the velars (**k** and **ng**) are doing.

Some entries in word lists seem to reflect an association of **-wa-** and reciprocal meaning, with an alternant **-ba-** after a consonant.

converse	<b>kalawa-wiyal</b>	<i>kala-wow-we-al</i> 'let us converse' s
kiss	<b>tuwinbiyawa</b>	<i>tooinbee-a-waw</i> wt
quarrel	<b>muwiwa-n</b>	<i>mrooi-wan</i> s, <i>moo-ee-wahn</i> wt [ <b>muwi</b> 'scold']
quarrel	<b>la-wa-n</b>	<i>la-wan</i> s [ <b>la-</b> 'speak']
exchanging	<b>wutamba-n</b>	<i>wo-taim-ban</i> s, <i>wo-dam-bunnull</i> wt [ <b>wu-</b> 'give']
fight, war	<b>wi(ya)nba-n</b>	<i>way-un-bun</i> wt, <i>ween-ban</i> wt, <i>wean-ban</i> s [ <b>wina</b> 'hit']

### Applicative

Bunganditj appears to have had an applicative **-ma-**. It indicates that a participant other than the patient/theme is being treated as an object.

- (31) *Watthamaiñ* (Mms)  
**Watha-ma-ayn.**  
 come-APPLIC-1SG.OBL  
 'Come to me.'
- (32) *Murn ga-maa-ngine.* (S)  
**Marn.ga-ma = ngayn**  
 wait-APPLIC = 1SG.OBL  
 'Wait for me.'

In the next example, from Stewart's vocabulary, **mana-** is 'take' or 'bring'. The suffix **-ma** indicates that the beneficiary is being represented by the oblique enclitic,

- (33) *Mana-maa-ngine* (S)  
**Mana-ma=ngayn.**  
 take-APPLIC=1SG.OBL  
 'Bring [it] for me.'
- (34) *Mirpah-mang-ein-wurree.* (WT)  
**Mirpa-ma=ngayn wari**  
 show-APPLIC=1SG.OBL road  
 'Show me the road.'

## 3.7 Word derivation

### 3.7.1 Reduplication

There are some examples of reduplicated roots. In most instances the root does not occur on its own, e.g. **nganin-nganin** 'bat'. There are also a few examples of reduplicated plurals (see §3.1).

### 3.7.2 Compounding

There are a few examples of compound nouns.

<b>kuma mir</b>	green eye(s)	white person
<b>murndal mraat</b>	thunder ground	earthquake
<b>muka pup</b>	rug head	headcloth
<b>ngurla wuru</b>	hair mouth	moustache

### 3.7.3 Derivational suffixes

Data on derivational suffixes is meagre. The applicative **-ma** was included in the section on verb morphology. Most of the following examples require confirmation and may result from the borrowing of words from neighbouring languages.

#### **-ana** adverb-forming

<b>wandhu</b>	one	<b>wandhu-ana</b> ( <i>wan do ur-ner S</i> )	once
<b>pulayt</b>	two	<b>pulaytana</b> ( <i>boo-lite ur-ner S</i> )	twice
<b>kalayi</b> ( <i>kar-li-e S</i> )	plenty/many	<b>kalayiyana</b> ( <i>karleur-ner S</i> )	many times

#### **-kil** 'having'

**Wiyanggih** 'echidna' would appear to be \***wiyang** 'spike' plus **-kil** in light of Warmambool **wilang** 'spike', etc. **wilanggih** 'echidna'. The same suffix probably occurs in **kulanggih** 'mad'; compare **kuli** 'angry', though this leaves a formative **-ang** unaccounted for.

#### **-(m)bil** 'having'

<b>mala</b> wife	<b>malambil</b> married
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Note Mathews gives **mambil** (*marmbil*) 'husband', which could reflect loss of intervocalic **l**, or perhaps it is based on **mam-** 'father'.

#### **-pari**

Thomas gives **martang paytpari** (*mardong-bait-bar-ree*) for 'He is a good fighting man'. It looks as if **-pari** derives an agent noun from the English word *fight*.

#### **-kiya**

**Kan-** is a root meaning 'high'. It occurs in **kan.kiya** 'to arise/climb/mount'. The suffix **-kiya** also occurs in **panpan.kiya** '(be) quick'.

#### **-ma**

A comparison of **kuliya** and **kulima**, both given as 'hide', suggests a suffix **-ma**. In a number of Australian languages **-ma** is a causative and it may be a causative here. A comparison of **kan.kiya** 'to arise' and **kan.ma** 'to lift' suggests a causative **-ma**. A comparison of **wirat** 'string' and **wiratama** 'to tie' confirms this. Note that there is clear evidence for an applicative **-ma**, and in many languages the causative and applicative have the same form.

#### **-un** away

<b>minda</b>	to fly	<b>mind-un-a</b>	flew away
<b>wira</b>	to run	<b>wira-un-a</b>	to go away

**-mun, -mum** noun-forming

A comparison of **kali** 'to tell lies' and **kalimun** 'liar' suggests a noun-forming suffix **-mun**. A comparison of **yunun** 'to fear' and **yunmum** 'coward' suggests a noun-forming suffix **-mum**, or perhaps the second formative is **mum** 'bottom'. In the Warmambool language **kuninpa** is 'to fear' and **kuninmum** 'coward'.

The following are offered without comment:

<i>m'raad</i> (S)	country
<i>mrada-al</i> (S)	a fellow countryman
<i>m'raa-aline</i> (S)	my countryman
<i>langgow-in</i> (S)	speechless (cf. <b>la-</b> , <b>lan-ka</b> (S) 'speak')
<i>murtong-a</i> (S)	good, well, right (S) (cf. <b>martang</b> 'good')
<i>weirwoopalep</i> (G)	woman
<i>weirwoowal</i> (G)	man

### 3.8 Syntax

#### 3.8.1 Word order

The few sentence examples that we have display various orders of their constituents. It is likely that word order was grammatically free. It is pretty certain that focused phrases appeared at the beginning of the clause; certainly interrogative and negative phrases occurred in clause-initial position.

There are only a few examples of noun phrases with adjectives and noun–adjective and adjective–noun order are attested. See (35) and (49).

- (35) *Nahna wirroong gooray.* (WT)  
**Nha-an-a wurung kuri.**  
 see-PAST-1SG big kangaroo  
 'I saw an old-man kangaroo.'

#### 3.8.2 Questions

Content questions are marked with an interrogative word in clause-initial position. It is not certain what the initial nasal in these forms is, nor whether all interrogatives have the same initial. The sources show *ng* in some instances and *n* in others. On comparative grounds one would expect **ng** or a laminal nasal.

**nganu** (*nanu, ngan-oo S, ahnnoo G*) ‘who?’

(36) *Nan-u wing ar-a-ngon?* (S)

**Nganu wing-ara-ngun?**

who relation-PL-2.SG.OBL

‘Who are your relations?’

(37) a. **nganu=in** (*ngānuin Mms*) ‘Who are you?’

b. **nganu-ngat** (*ngan-noo-at S, ngānungat S*) ‘whose?’

c. **nganuwa nhu** (*ngānnawa nu Mms*) ‘Whose is this?’

d. **ngangawala** (*gnanganwalla TH*), **nanang** (*narnung T, nanung F*) ‘who?’

**ngan** (*nan, ngan S, nunh Mms, p*) ‘what?’

(38) *Ngan-nure-ngon?* (S)

**Ngan nuri-ngun**

what name-2SG.OBL

‘What is your name?’

Thomas gives *Nannuray-ngnyin* for this meaning. This is presumably **Ngan nuri=ngin**.

(39) a. *Nanninguru?* (WT)

**Ngan=in gara?**

‘What are you saying?’

b. *Nan-in koo-le ban?* (S)

**Ngan=in gulipan?**

‘What are you angry about?’

**n[h]anagawu** (*nunnagau Mp*), **n[h]anagayn** (*nunnagañ M*), **n[h]ukaynwa** (*nukine-waa S*) what for? See also (12).

**nha** (*na S, M, WT, nah WT*), **nga** (*nga W*) where?

(40) *Nah-mrah-tun.* (WT)

**Nha mraat=un.**

where country=2SG.OBL

‘Where’s your country?’

(41) a. **Nha.a=ngin?** (*na-ungin Mp*)

‘Where art thou?’

b. **Nha.a=ngut?** (*na-ungut Mp*)

‘Where are you two?’

c. **Nha pipe=un?** (*Na-pei-pun WT*)

‘Where’s your pipe?’

d. **Nha ngam=un?** (*Nangamun WT*)

‘Where’s your uncle?’

e. **Nga truwal?** (*Nga troal W*)

‘Where are the blacks?’

(42) *Na-in yan.* (S)

**Nha=ngin yan?**

where = 2SG go

‘Where are you going?’

For this meaning Thomas gives *Nawung-yin-parra-yan?* **Nhawa=ngin para yan?** (where=you there go).

(43) *Nangulangūn?* (WT)

**Nha ngurla=ngun?**

where camp=2.SG.OBL

‘Where is your camp?’

(44) *Nah-mahng-ngoon.* (WT)

**Nha maa=ngun**

where wife=2.SG.OBL

‘Where’s your wife?’

**nhapar** (*nuppur* M, *nap-er* S, *nah-pur* WTs) how many?

(45) *Nahpur-oo-lang-urn?* (WT)

**Nhaapar [ng]urla-ngun.**

how.many camp-2.SG.OBL

‘How many in your tribe? [lit. ‘How many your camp?’]

Thomas gives **Nhapur-in man-karitj** (*Nah-poorin-man-garreety*) for ‘How much will you take for it?’ **Man-** is the root for ‘take’, but it is not clear what *garreety* means.

**nhawer** (*naw-et* S) ‘when?’

(46) *Na-wer-in wata?* (S)

**Nhawer=in wata**

when=2SG come

‘When will you return?’

### yes/no questions

Yes/no questions are formed with a particle **miyu**, which follows the focus of the question.

(47) *Yooly-meeo-mahm-moon?* (WT)

**Yuli miyu mam=un?**

live query father=2SG.OBL

‘Is your father alive?’

Thomas also gives **Yuli miyu ngat=un** (*Yooly-meeo-ngah-toon*) ‘Is your mother alive?’

(48) *Goowur-runn-mee-ah.* (WT)

**Kuwar=un miyu?**  
 daughter=2SG.OBL query  
 'Have you any daughters?'

Thomas also gives **Kakak=un miyu?** (*Gaga-goon-mee-oh?*) 'Have you any sisters?' and **Nhiri=ngun miyu?** (*Nirring-ngun-mee-oh?*) 'Have you any [younger] brothers?'

(49) *Noo-mee-oo-na-wahree-mardoong-mee-o?* (WT)

**Nhu miyu na wari martung miyu?**  
 this query ? road good query  
 'Is this the right road?'

The following, as translated by Thomas, is not a yes-no question. Perhaps it should be, 'Your sister is old?', but *paght* is not recorded elsewhere.

(50) *Paght-mee-oh-gagagoon?* (WT)

**Pa?t miyu kakak=un?**  
 old [?] query elder.sister=2SG.OBL  
 'How old is your sister?'

In the following **miyu** seems to indicate uncertainty, but perhaps an alternative translation could be, 'I will speak, yes?'

(51) *Langungamiu.* (Mms)

**La-ngu-nga = miyu.**  
 speak-FUT-1SG=query  
 'I will perhaps speak.'

In the next example **miyu** marks alternatives:

(52) *Tro-al-meeo-goomah-mah-mee-o?* (WT)

**Truwal=miyu kumamaa=miyu?**  
 black.man=query white.man=query  
 'Are they white or black [people]?'

In this last example, note the use of **miyu** in the reply where it echoes **miyu** in the question and where it is not enclitic, although it may be that **miyu** and **bara** are pronounced as one word.

- (53) *Wahnoong-mee-o-barra?* *Mee-oo-barra-wandoo.* (WT)  
**Wanung=miyu para.** **Miyu para wandhu.**  
 more=query there query there one  
 Are there more? There's one.

### 3.8.3 Negation

There is a negative root **wi**, as in (54).

- (54) *Wee-burt-burt-gurt.* (WT)  
**Wi partpartkart.**  
 no tomahawk  
 '[I've] no tomahawk.'

There are also three examples of negative sentences where negation is expressed with **winana** as the first word in the sentence. It is not certain what part of speech **winana** is. It is probably hosting the first person enclitic.

- (55) *Win-an-a wung-an.* (S)  
**Winana wang-an.**  
 not hear-PAST  
 'I did not hear it.'

Stewart also gives *Win-an-a nane* 'I did not see it', 'I did not know of it', and Smith gives *Winana yon* 'I will not go' (Smith 1880:13).

There is also a form **wiba**, glossed as 'empty' and 'vacant'. It also occurs in the following,

- (56) *Weepa peip-ping.* (wt)  
**Wipa pipe-ayn.**  
 no [?] pipe-1SG.POSS  
 My pipe has gone out.

Stewart gives **wip mala** (*weep-malla*) 'wifeless'. Thomas gives *weet-nyannin-a* for 'no' and *witnyangan-an-yan* '[to] object'. These seem to contain the **wi** root as the first formative, but the rest of the make-up of these words is obscure.

Stewart gives *baa-ra-n* for 'do not' and this is confirmed by Thomas, who gives *Parra-bo-in-yo*, probably **Para ponyu** for 'Don't fall'.

Finally, the following forms are recorded for 'no': *ngi-ing s*, *ngin a*, *ngany m*, *nga-an b*. They may be attempts at rendering **ngayn**.

## 4 *English – Bunganditj glossary*

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Words are in alphabetic order except for kin terms, which appear in a section of their own at the end of the glossary proper.

### Key to sources

Curr	Dartmoor	d	
Curr	Woodford	w	
Humphries	Bordertown	b	
Lawson	Padthaway	th	
R.H. Mathews	Casterton	m	(published grammar and vocabulary)
		m1	(manuscript grammar and vocabulary)
		m2	(vocabulary handwritten on copy of published glossary)
Sheppard	Tarpeena	t	
Singleton	Penola	p	
Smith, Christina	Rivoli Bay	c	
Stewart	Rivoli Bay	s	(his grammar and vocabulary and contribution to Curr)
		s1*	
Thomas	Mount Gambier	wt	
		wts	(if word is taken from a sentence)
		wtl	(Nedd West list)
Tindale		ti	
Tolmer:	Guichen Bay	g	

\* Entries marked s1 are from an annotated copy of volume 4 of Curr held in the ANU library. These were supplied by R.M.W. Dixon.

English	Phonetic	Sources
above		[see 'up']
afraid	<b>yinun(a), yinpan</b>	<i>yin-noon</i> s, <i>yinmoom</i> 'coward' s, <i>yinban</i> m, <i>yin-un</i> wts, <i>eer-nun</i> wts, <i>yay-noon-ah</i> [also 'coward'] wt
afterbirth	<b>kanapakawul</b>	<i>gunnabagawul</i> m2
alcohol	<b>nan(g)gru</b>	'white men ... give me "nangroo" (poison)' (Smith 1880:85 ([see 'poison']
alive		[see 'living']
and	<b>ba</b>	<i>ba</i> s, <i>bah</i> wt [Warr, Kulin <b>ba</b> ]
angry	<b>kuli, kulipa</b>  <b>wiring</b>	<i>guli</i> m, <i>koo-le</i> s, <i>koo-le ban</i> s [see 'mad' cognates in various SE Aust. inc. Baa <b>gurliga</b> ] <i>weering</i> wt [WW <b>wiring</b> ]
ankle	<b>kan-kan-parnu</b>	<i>gan-gan-bruno</i> wt [WW, Warr. <b>parn</b> ]
answer	<b>wanga</b>	<i>wang-ah</i> wt [see 'hear'; WW <b>wanga</b> ]
ant	<b>nhiko</b>	<i>nay-ko</i> wt [Tjap <i>nay-ko</i> , <i>gneeko</i> ]
ant, bulldog	<b>mroyn</b>	<i>muun</i> m, <i>mroon</i> s, <i>mroin</i> s [WW <b>mowin</b> ; We, Wim <b>marra</b> 'meat ant']
ant, jumper	<b>pitpit mula</b>	<i>bitbitmula</i> m
ant, small	<b>kitju</b>	<i>kee-cho</i> s [also 'mosquito'; Warr. <b>kithuk</b> , <b>kitjuk</b> , also both 'ant' and mosquito]
ant-heap	<b>moyiwal</b>	<i>moi-wal</i> s
apple	<b>ngum</b>	<i>ngum</i> wt
apple, native	<b>manta</b>  <b>ngarp</b>	<i>munter</i> s [Kunzea pomifera 'muntries' Gott & Conran 1991] <i>ngurp</i> s, <i>gnarp</i> c [Kunzea pomifera 'muntries' Gott & Conran 1991]

English	Phonetic	Sources
apron, girl's	<b>ngumaroyñ</b>	<i>ngumer-oing</i> s [also given as 'girl's string fringe'] <b>ta(r)-parñ(i)</b> <i>taar-pur-ne</i> s [also given as 'girl's feather fringe'; see 'duck']
arise, to	<b>kan.kiya</b>	<i>kangia</i> m, <i>kan-gee-a</i> 'get on a horse' wts, <i>kani-in nye</i> 'get over [fence]' wts [see 'mount', 'above', 'up']
arm	<b>wuwu</b>	<i>woo</i> s, <i>woo-ong</i> s, <i>woany</i> m, <i>woh-ohugahn</i> wt [see 'wing'; WW, Warr <b>wurk</b> ]
arm, left	<b>taro-wu</b>	<i>tar-o-woo</i> s [Kulin <b>thatjak</b> 'arm']
arm, right	<b>mara-wu</b>	<i>mar-a-woo</i> s [see 'hand']
arouse, to	<b>yi-kanda-a</b>	<i>yay-kanda-ha</i> wt [also 'waken'; see 'up']
ashes	<b>moirat</b>	<i>moiraht</i> wt
ask, to	<b>kuwa</b> <b>waya</b>	( <i>bwitter</i> ) <i>go-ang-oon</i> wt [see 'tell'; WW, Warr <b>kuwiya</b> ] <i>waia</i> m, <i>wi-a</i> s
autumn	<b>marlayt-mrat</b>	<i>mur-lite-mraad</i> s, <i>murlite murade</i> c [= ripe earth]
avoid, to	<b>puruwa-nganu-yanu</b>	<i>boro-wah-ngannoo-yannoo</i> wt [see 'far', 'go']
awake, to	<b>natjima</b>	<i>nat-chim-a</i> s [see 'see']
axe		[see 'tomahawk']
baby	<b>kongaparim</b> <b>kowaparning</b>	<i>kongaparim</i> d, m, <i>koaburning</i> w
baby, either sex	<b>popak</b>	<i>bobak</i> b
baby, female	<b>kunam</b>	<i>koon-am</i> [also 'baby'] s
baby, male	<b>kunatku</b>	<i>koon-atgo</i> s

English	Phonetic	Sources
back	<b>taku</b> <b>panu</b>	<i>tuggo-gnein</i> wt <i>bunnu</i> m, <i>pan-a</i> s [Dhu <b>panu</b> , YY <b>panuth</b> ]
backbone	<b>panu-paa</b>	<i>pan-u-ba-a</i> s [see 'bone']
bad	<b>wrang</b>  <b>tuwan</b>	<i>w-rahng</i> , <i>wraang</i> w, <i>wrang</i> s, <i>wrang nger-e</i> s, <i>waang</i> d, <i>waarrung</i> p, <i>wirang</i> m, <i>woorang</i> g, th, <i>wrahng</i> [also 'evil'] wt, <i>wrang-koon-an</i> 'badly done' s, <i>w-ral</i> 'nasty' wt <i>touon</i> f [see 'unwell']
bag, native	<b>kiriyo(go)</b>	<i>ker-e-or</i> s, <i>ker-e-orgo</i> 'little bag' s
bag, net	<b>warak</b>	<i>warak</i> m [Tjap. warak]
bag, skin	<b>pingkum</b>	<i>ping-koom</i> s [see 'water']
bake, to		[see 'roast']
ball	<b>mankut</b>	<i>mangor</i> s [see 'round'; Warr. <b>mankut</b> ]
bandicoot	<b>kari</b>	<i>kurry</i> wt [WW. Warr <b>karuwi</b> ] <i>wian</i> m [= 'possum, ringtailed']
bank of lake	<b>karimarta</b>	<i>karremarter</i> s
banksia	<b>w(u)royt</b>	<i>woor-oit</i> wt, <i>wroit</i> c, s [Warr. <b>wirayt</b> ]
bark	<b>murndat</b>  <b>longlong</b>	<i>moorndart</i> d, <i>moondart</i> s, <i>moorn-dart</i> s, <i>moondur</i> [also 'spark' wt [see <b>murn</b> 'skin'] <i>longlong</i> w
bashful	<b>kolkol</b>	<i>kolkol-ine</i> 'my bashfulness' s
bat	<b>nganin-nganin</b>	(k)ngunnun-nguunun wt, ngunnin-ngunnin m [Warr. <b>ngani-nganitj</b> , We <b>nganitj-nganitj</b> ]
bathe, to	<b>punging</b>	<i>boong-ing</i> s [also 'dive']

English	Phonetic	Sources
bawl, to	<b>ngutruni</b>	<i>ngoor-droony</i> wt
beach, sandy	<b>marlang</b>	<i>murlong</i> s [see 'sand']
beak, bird's	<b>payim-payim</b>	<i>bahr-yim-bahr-yim</i> wt
beat, to	<b>wina</b>	<i>wina</i> m, <i>ngah-wayning-goo</i> 'I'll give you a thrashing' wt [see 'hit'] <i>murra-bill</i> wt [looks like a noun; possibly 'with hand']
beat with a waddy		<i>kan-an</i> c [prob. = 'stick'; see 'club', 'yamstick', see also 'tie']
before	<b>kalimbul</b>	<i>kal-im bool</i> s <i>burro-madda-kalpir-nahm</i> wt
before [in time]		<i>burro-wai-un-noo-ngayay-withng</i> wt
behind	<b>wartang</b>	<i>wurdung</i> m [Warr. <b>wart</b> 'back', <b>wartkat</b> 'behind']
bend	<b>milpa</b>	<i>milbah</i> wt [see 'fold'] [WW, Wa, Tjap <b>milpa</b> ]
between	<b>prawulu</b>	<i>brawoo</i> m1, <i>brawool</i> m, <i>pra-wol-o</i> s
bewitch	<b>mala</b>	<i>mullad</i> c [the final 'd' is the English past tense; the word appears in a sentence '...had "mullad" him...' (Smith 1880:28)]
beyond	<b>manugin</b>	<i>maa noo-gin</i> s
big	<b>wurung</b>	<i>woo-rong</i> s, <i>woorong</i> s, <i>worong</i> d, w, <i>wurung</i> m, <i>woorong</i> 'great' b, <i>worang</i> 'great' th, <i>woorong</i> 'great' g, <i>woorung</i> 'great' p <i>wirroong</i> 'old man [kangaroo]' wt [Wim <b>gurrung</b> ]
bird	<b>tuman-tuman</b>	<i>tuman-tuman</i> s [cf. 'star', 'peacock']
bite, to	<b>ngatha</b>	<i>nguttha</i> m, <i>ngutthan</i> m, <i>ngaht-ta</i> wt

English	Phonetic	Sources
bitter, nauseous		[see 'sour']
bittern	<b>pulan</b>	<i>pool-an</i> s [Warr. <b>pulan</b> ]
black	<b>monal</b>	<i>monull</i> wt
black, dark-coloured	<b>wulu</b>	<i>woor-lo</i> s, <i>wulu</i> m [see 'green']
blanket	<b>tu</b>	<i>doh</i> wt [see 'skin, kangaroo', 'rug, possum']
blind	<b>kulu pun murt mir manyiyn</b>	<i>kolo porn</i> s <i>moort-mir</i> wt [= blunt/short eye] <i>munyiny</i> m [cf. 'dusk']
blood	<b>kamar</b>  <b>kuruk(u)</b>	<i>kamar</i> s, m, <i>kammar</i> d, <i>gah-mur</i> wt, <i>kamaroong</i> sl, <i>kummar</i> w, <i>kanghani</i> f [ <b>kuma(rr)</b> widespread] <i>kooroocan</i> th, <i>quroo</i> p, <i>corroko</i> g [SE Aust <b>kurk</b> or similar widespread]
blossom	<b>parnpul</b>	<i>burn-bool</i> wt
blow with breath, to	<b>puwinpa pulongga</b>	<i>buinba</i> m [WW, Warr <b>puwimba</b> ] <i>boolong-ga</i> wt
blue	<b>ngumbing wiling mari</b>	<i>ngoom-bing</i> wt [see 'sky'] <i>wiling-mur-e</i> s
blunt	<b>murt</b>	<i>moort</i> s [cf. 'short'; WV, Co, Wa <b>murt</b> 'short']
boat		<i>bem (woggo)</i> wt [see 'notches']
body		<i>beaa</i> wtl [see 'bone']
boggy	<b>pang-pang-panu</b>	<i>pung-pung-pano</i> s
bone	<b>paa piyi</b>	<i>baa-aa</i> s, <i>bear</i> wtl, <i>beaa</i> 'body' wtl <i>pe-e</i> d, <i>bi</i> w, <i>beeh</i> m, <i>be-e</i> wt, <i>pe-e</i> 'vertebrae' wt

English	Phonetic	Sources
boomerang	<b>katim-katim</b>  <b>ketap-ketap</b> <b>letim-letim</b>	<i>cattum cattum</i> p, <i>gatta-gattum</i> wt, <i>gattim gattim</i> m1, th, <i>kettum-kettum</i> s1, <i>ketum-ketum</i> s, <i>kittum kittum</i> t, <i>karrumgettum</i> g <i>gettup-gettup</i> m1, m <i>letilettim</i> b
boot	<b>tilering</b>	<i>dillering</i> wt
bore, to	<b>pawuna</b>	<i>bah-oorna</i> wt [Tjap <b>pakuna</b> ]
bottom/rump	<b>mum</b>  <b>pari</b>	<i>moo-moong</i> wt, <i>mummung</i> ‘anus’ wt, <i>mumung</i> ‘anus’ m2 [Kulin <b>mum</b> ] <i>burreh</i> wtl
bowels	<b>palkwiri</b>  <b>kuna</b>	<i>balkwirri</i> w [see ‘intestines’] <i>koonna</i> s, <i>koonanoong</i> s1 [see ‘excrement’]
boxwood tree	<b>puloyt</b>  <b>kerp</b>	<i>booloit</i> wt [Wemba <b>bulədj</b> , Wer <b>buludj</b> , WW <b>puloyt</b> ; cf. entries for ‘cherry tree’ in Warr.] <i>kirp</i> s [only example of a consonant cluster at the end of a word]
boy	<b>kapanga</b>  <b>murangal</b>	<i>kabung’a-bunnim</i> m1, <i>kabunga</i> m [see ‘son’ in appendix] <i>moorunga</i> p, <i>moorungal</i> g, <i>moorongal</i> s, <i>moorong-al</i> s, <i>moorangal</i> th, <i>murungal</i> m, <i>murungal</i> ‘young man’ m, <i>marangal</i> ‘young man’ w, <i>morongal</i> ‘young man’ d, <i>muuruungal</i> m1, <i>moorangal</i> f
branch, tree	<b>kuynpi</b>	<i>goin-bei</i> wt
bread	<b>papel-papel</b>	<i>bubble bubble</i> c
bread, damper	<b>pambi, pemi</b>	<i>pempi</i> s, <i>bam-bei</i> wt, <i>bambee</i> wt, <i>mornon pem-pi</i> ‘knead bread’ s, <i>mirma-bambee</i> ‘make damper’ wt [Hercus (Warr) <b>pembayi</b> ; see ‘press’]

English	Phonetic	Sources
break, to	<b>parama</b> <b>wirgang(g)a</b> <b>wiripa</b>	<i>bah-rahm-a</i> wt [WW <b>palama</b> ] <i>wirgunga</i> m <i>wiripan</i> 'broken' s
breast	<b>wirang put mir</b> <b>paap</b>	<i>wirrong-boht-mir</i> wt [= big ? eye] <i>pap</i> s, <i>poap</i> d, <i>baap</i> m [see 'chest', 'mother', 'milk', 'hill']
bridle	<b>luwanupan.ngarat</b>	<i>lo-a-no-bahn-ngaraht</i> wt [= 'mouth.....of horse']
bring, to	<b>mana</b>  <b>wamba</b>	<i>mana</i> s, <i>mahn-nay</i> wt [see 'get', 'take'; widespread root] <i>wambawe</i> m, <i>wom ban</i> 'accompanied' s [Warr. <b>wamba</b> ]
broilga	<b>wandi</b> <b>mata</b>	<i>wandi</i> m, s1, <i>wan-di</i> s, <i>wondi</i> s <i>poortmadda</i> w
brown	<b>kroynmiji</b>	<i>kroin-mee-ay</i> wt
build	<b>kunani</b>	<i>goonurnee</i> wts
bullock	<b>pik puwak</b>	<i>beeg-boo-ak</i> wt [see 'cow']
bullrush	<b>mirnat</b>	<i>mir-nat</i> s
burn	<b>patarnputu</b>	<i>bah-durn-budo</i> wt [WW <b>patangpa</b> ]
bury, to	<b>pat(h)ijiwi</b>	<i>baht-tay-(wee)me</i> wt, <i>baht-tay-we</i> wt [Tjap <b>patjuma</b> ]
butter	<b>papung</b>	<i>bah-boong</i> wt
buttercup	<b>palambul</b>	<i>balambool</i> s [cf. 'butterfly']
butterfly	<b>palimbal</b>	<i>bullim-bull</i> wt [WW <b>palimbal</b> , Warr. <b>palimbayi</b> ]
by and by	<b>kitho, kirto</b>  <b>tinguwan karuwu</b>	<i>kerdo</i> d, w, <i>keto</i> s, <i>gidho</i> m1, m, <i>keto-</i> <i>noo-in-a</i> s, <i>gido</i> 'to die' [sic] m [see 'today', 'later'] <i>ding-owan-an karo-o</i> s [see 'later', 'sun']

English	Phonetic	Sources
calf	<b>muruki pi[k]puwak</b>	<i>moorugy-bee-boo-uk</i> wt [= ‘small cow’]
call, to	<b>karnda</b>	<i>kurnda</i> m, <i>kurn-da</i> s, <i>gurnda</i> ‘to cooee’ wt [WV <b>karnda</b> ]
calling attention	<b>kayi</b>	<i>kai!</i> b [This is the word that is called out, like ‘cooee’]
camp	<b>ngu(r)la</b>	<i>ngulu</i> m, <i>ngula</i> m1, <i>woolah</i> wt, <i>moola</i> ‘hut’ wt, <i>gnoola</i> th, <i>noor-la</i> s, <i>ngoor-la</i> s, <i>oolah</i> g, <i>hoolah</i> p, <i>ngoorla</i> w, d, c, <i>ngoolla</i> , <i>noor-la</i> ‘nest’ s, <i>ulla</i> ‘house’ b, <i>wurla</i> c, <i>ngurli</i> wt [ <b>ngurra</b> widespread]
camp, house (male)		<i>natmue?</i> <i>wurla</i> c
camp, temporary	<b>nurom</b>	<i>ngoorla nurom</i> ‘camp’ s, <i>nurom</i> s, <i>nur-om</i> ‘stopping place’ s
camp, winter	<b>karutu(r)</b>	<i>karodoor</i> s, <i>kur-ooder</i> s, <i>ngoor-la kor-odor</i> ‘hut’ s
canoe	<b>kuna</b> <b>miraman</b> <b>murntak</b> <b>walu, wawu</b>	<i>coona</i> t <i>mirammun</i> m <i>moontack</i> g [see ‘bark’] <i>walla</i> s1, <i>wola</i> s, <i>walloo</i> p, <i>wallow</i> th, <i>wow-wo</i> w
	<b>yunkuit</b>	<i>yunkuit</i> f [WV <b>yungguwip</b> , also Tjap <b>yungguwit</b> ]
cap		<i>kep-nganna</i> wt [English?]
care, to take	<b>nguyi-nguyi-wangiya</b>	<i>ngoee-ngoye-wangy-ah</i> wt
carry, to	<b>kinipa, tjinipa</b>	<i>dyinny-ba</i> wt, <i>ginnipa</i> m, <i>kin-e-pa</i> ‘carry on back’ s, <i>kiniburnangi</i> wt
cat, native	<b>kiyi</b>	<i>gee</i> , <i>gih</i> m, <i>kee</i> s
catch, to	<b>t[h]aripa</b>	<i>tarr-ee-pah</i> [WW <b>tjalipa</b> ]
catch with snaring rod	<b>kupon prama?</b>	<i>koop-on pramer</i> s

English	Phonetic	Sources
catch fish	<b>yanka marni tartu</b>	<i>yunka muni darto</i> wt [see 'fish']
cave	<b>yulang</b>	<i>yulang</i> m, <i>yo-long</i> s, <i>ulon</i> s [Warr <b>yulun</b> ; see also <b>ngrang</b> 'hole', which prob. covered 'cave']
centipede	<b>kala marna</b>	<i>kulla-munna</i> wt [= 'many hands'; also 'tarantula']
chafe, to	<b>kuwinyi</b>	<i>go-hin-nyay</i> wt
chalk	<b>piyi</b>	<i>bee</i> wt [also 'lime', 'pipeclay'], <i>be</i> 'pipeclay' s, <i>pee</i> 'pipeclay' wt [Tjap <b>pik</b> ]
chase, to	<b>kikirn yutjpa</b>	<i>gig-eern</i> wt <i>yooch-ba</i> s
cheek	<b>kana(-wari) wura</b>	<i>kanna-wurry</i> wt, <i>karnaw...</i> wtl <i>wur-aa</i> s
cherry (tree)	<b>tharang</b>	<i>tar-ang</i> s, <i>dar-ang</i> wt, <i>tharam</i> m
chest	<b>mart</b>	<i>murt</i> s, <i>murdain</i> '[my?] breast' w [WW <b>mart</b> , Warr. <b>martang</b> ]
chicken		<i>koo-bung-ong</i> wts [see 'son']
child	<b>pupup kanapinan kupuka parnayn  kunga parnayn parang</b>	<i>bopop</i> m [Kulin <b>pupup</b> ] <i>canapeenan</i> 'children' c <i>go-book-a-bunnin</i> wt, <i>go-boos-a-bunnun</i> 'boy' wt [see also 'son'] <i>koo-ngap-urn-ine</i> s, <i>koongapurnim</i> s <i>parang</i> w
child, crawling	<b>wimbangan</b>	<i>wimbungam</i> ml, <i>wimbungarn</i> m
child, father/mother-less	<b>punpunluk</b>	<i>wanneng</i> b, <i>poonpoonlook</i> g
child, parentless	<b>wunayn-wunayn</b>	<i>wunine-wunine</i> s
chin	<b>wurung gana wiri  nana</b>	<i>wurrong-ganna-wirry</i> wt [see 'mouth', 'cheek'] <i>nana</i> wtl

English	Phonetic	Sources
chop a stick or tree, to	<b>tukupapina</b>	<i>toor koo pa pena s</i>
chop wood, to	<b>kunangun warnam</b>	<i>goornang-oon-wunnan wt</i>
clap the hands, to		<i>murn wt</i> [see 'hand']
clasp the hands, to	<b>mopi mara</b>	<i>mobee-maraing wt</i> [see 'hand']
climb, to	<b>kan.giya, kanyinyi</b>	<i>gungea m, kan-nyin wts, kani-in nye wts, kannyin-nye 'get over [a fence]' wts</i> [see 'arise', 'mount', 'up' Warr. <b>kani</b> 'up', Warluwarra <b>ganyi</b> 'stand on']
cloud	<b>munmari murno(ng)</b>	<i>moonmaree p, moonmaret th moonno g, murno wt, moorn s, murnong t, mumnoord f</i> [see 'heaven'; Warr <b>murnang</b> ]
club	<b>murapa narankak wamba putkan</b>	<i>mooreper th narrancuck p womba t</i> [see 'woomera'] <i>boodkan f</i> [Wakaya, Wanyi <b>parrku</b> 'nulla']
club, sharp-edged	<b>kaa</b>	<i>kaar s</i>
club, sharp-pointed	<b>puwamba</b>	<i>boo-amba s, buamba 'bootjack-like waddy' c</i>
club, straight	<b>kana</b>	<i>kan-a s, kunnaak 'fighting club' m</i> [see 'yamstick'; Warr <b>kanak</b> ]
cockatoo, black	<b>wila tri(y)n</b>	<i>boort willer s, boorte willer c, wil-er s</i> [Warr. <b>wilan</b> ] <i>treen s</i>
cockatoo, white	<b>kara'al maa miran, mraa</b>	<i>boort karual s, boorte kara-al c, karaal 'white crestless' c, kar-a-al s maa m, mar s, mar 'cockatoo' c, mar 'yellow crest. s</i> [cf. 'fern'] <i>meran d, mra w, mir-an 'grey' s, mirn 'small cockatoo' s, mirh 'cockatoo' wt</i>

English	Phonetic	Sources
cold	<b>mun-mut</b>	<i>moanmud</i> p, <i>moonmut</i> wt [Tjap <b>murnmut</b> ]
	<b>mun-mun mutuna</b>	<i>mon-mon</i> w, <i>moon-mun</i> wt <i>moortona</i> s, <i>moreton</i> g, <i>mudin</i> m, <i>moorrana</i> s l
	<b>mut-mut</b>	<i>moetmot</i> t, <i>moot-moot</i> d, m [Tjap, WW <b>mut-mut</b> ] <i>coonamia</i> th
cold, cough	<b>kuwu</b>	<i>koor</i> s
come, to	<b>kakayi, kukayi</b>	<i>kakai</i> d, w, <i>ka-kui</i> wt, <i>kuk-i</i> s, <i>kooki</i> s, <i>kuki</i> s l [Warr <b>kaka</b> ]
	<b>wata, watha</b>	<i>wattai</i> m, <i>watton</i> ' [she] has come' c, <i>wattha-</i> m, [WV <b>warta</b> ]
converse	<b>kalawa</b>	<i>kala-wow-we-al</i> 'let us converse' s
cook	<b>papa</b>	<i>papa</i> 'set fire, light and cook' s [Warr <b>papa, pawa</b> ]
coolamon	<b>thurung</b>	<i>dhurung</i> m [Warr. <b>thurang</b> ]
copulation	<b>thanan</b>	<i>dhanun</i> m, <i>dhaanum</i> m2
corella	<b>kurukitj</b>	<i>kurogity</i> m [Warr. 'long-billed cockatoo']
cormorant	<b>kruwandam</b>	<i>kro-an-dum</i> s
corpse, human	<b>wur</b>	<i>woor</i> s [see 'die', 'spirit']
corroboree	<b>marapina</b>	<i>murapena</i> [also 'hunting meeting'] c, <i>mur-a-pena</i> s
	<b>wirani</b>	<i>wir-un-ne</i> wt [see 'dance']
count, to	<b>tuta</b>	<i>tor-ta</i> s [Warr <b>tuta</b> ]
country, scrubby	<b>taru</b>	<i>darro</i> c [also 'Cape Martin']
countryman, fellow	<b>mrata'al</b>	<i>mrada-al</i> s [cf. 'ground']
court/woo, to	<b>manunga</b>	<i>mahn-oong-ah</i> wt

English	Phonetic	Sources
cow	<b>pigpuwak</b>	<i>beeg-boo-uk</i> wt [see 'bullock']
coward		see 'afraid'
crack (sharp sound)	<b>pirang</b>	<i>birrang</i> wt [see 'stick for beating time']
crane, slate colour	<b>ngarapayn</b>	<i>ngar-a-pine</i> s
crayfish	<b>manatja, marandja</b>	<i>monagur</i> d, <i>mun-ait-ye</i> wt, <i>murangir</i> w [cf. 'hand'; WW <b>maratja</b> ]
crayfish, freshwater	<b>konkro</b>	<i>konkro</i> s, <i>konkro</i> 'crayfish' s
crayfish, saltwater	<b>kela</b>	<i>keler</i> 'crayfish' s
creek		<i>wen-mooly-moola</i> [see 'small']
crooked	<b>wirin-wirinya</b>	<i>wirrin-wirinya</i> wt, <i>werin-er</i> s [ <b>wirin</b> = 'waddy']
crow	<b>waa</b>	<i>wah-ah</i> wt, <i>waa</i> w, m, d, <i>wa</i> s, <i>boorte wa</i> c, <i>boort wa</i> s
cry, to	<b>lunga</b>	<i>loong-a</i> s, <i>luungga</i> m, <i>lunn</i> wt, <i>lim</i> wt [Warr <b>lunga</b> ; root widespread]
currant bush, white	<b>ngu(r)li</b>	<i>ngoor-le</i> s [Leucopogon parviflorus 'coast beard-heath' Gott & Conran 1991]
cut	<b>kalnga</b>	<i>galnga</i> wts
cut, to	<b>tatuwa</b>	<i>dut-doo-a</i> wt, <i>to-to-a</i> s, <i>dut-do-wa</i> - 'cut off' wts
damper		[see 'bread']
dance	<b>wiriwa, wirani</b>	<i>wirrawa</i> m, <i>wir-un-nay</i> wt [see 'corroboree']
dancing, native	<b>prunanpan truwal</b>	<i>proon-an-ban druol</i> s [see 'play', 'man']
dark		[see 'night']

English	Phonetic	Sources
dawn	<b>maraan</b>	<i>murraanan</i> m, <i>nurranan</i> m2
day	<b>karu</b>  <b>wuramkatu</b>	<i>karo</i> s, <i>caro</i> g, <i>karo</i> w, <i>kurru</i> m, <i>karu</i> m2, <i>karroo</i> , <i>karoo</i> p, <i>haro</i> b, <i>karomurn</i> d [see 'light', 'sun'] <i>wooramcardo</i> th
dead		[see 'die']
deaf	<b>piniwa</b> <b>murt wrang</b>  <b>neting wrang</b>	<i>binniwa</i> m <i>mort br-wang</i> wt [difficult to decipher; prob. <i>murt w'rang</i> 'blunt/short ear'] <i>net-ing-wrung-ung</i> s [cf. 'shut your eyes']
deep	<b>kirlap</b> <b>kra</b>	<i>gilap</i> s, <i>grill-ap</i> wts <i>krah</i> wt [see 'well']
deride, to	<b>wrangi</b>	<i>wrah-ngay-ngun</i> wt [see 'bad']
descend	<b>kapu</b>	<i>kap-on</i> s, <i>kahpoo</i> [of sun] wt, <i>kabinha kurru</i> [lit. descend-ed sun] m
destroy, to	<b>parpuwa lumiya</b>	<i>burbo-wah-loomee-ar</i> wt [see 'sleep']
devil	<b>wir</b>	<i>wir</i> wt, <i>wirr</i> c [... 'speak to the "wirr" to bewitch him ...' (Smith 1880:28)]
dew	<b>tharak</b>	<i>tharak</i> m
die, dead	<b>nuwa</b>	<i>nooana</i> s, <i>noo-an</i> s, <i>nuuan</i> m, noun 'dying' t, 'die' <i>no-ngun</i> wt, <i>noo-oon-nah</i> 'corpse' wt, <i>noona</i> wts
die, dying	<b>nuka</b> <b>nura</b> , etc.	<i>nookau</i> th, <i>nuckoyne</i> g <i>nuruckoo</i> p, <i>neron</i> d, <i>nroanar</i> w, <i>ninkan</i> f [see 'hungry'] <i>noor-un</i> wts, <i>nerokan</i> 'die!' ti [song]
dig, to	<b>turna</b>	<i>doorna</i> wt, <i>turn-a</i> s [Tjap. <b>turna katja</b> ]
dirty	<b>mri marna</b>	<i>mree-munna</i> wt [see 'hand', 'earth', 'mud']

English	Phonetic	Sources
dive, to	<b>punging</b>	<i>boong-ing</i> s [also 'bathe']
doctor, wise man	<b>pangal</b>	<i>pang-al</i> s, <i>pangal</i> c
dog	<b>kal</b>	<i>kal</i> w, s, sl, <i>gal</i> ml, m, <i>kaal</i> d, <i>cal</i> th, <i>kahl</i> wt, <i>karl</i> s, <i>carl</i> t, p, <i>calle</i> g, <i>kalo</i> f
dog, native	<b>kanatjam</b> <b>parna</b>	<i>kanaityum</i> wt, <i>ganatyum</i> m, <i>kar na chum</i> s <i>turner</i> d [Warr <b>parnang</b> , Gippsland <b>payn</b> ]
dog, kangaroo-catching	<b>pring(g)a</b>	<i>pringer</i> s
dog: puppy	<b>kaal kuwu</b>	<i>kahl-gowo</i> wt
down	<b>wiyuwa</b>	<i>wiyua</i> ml, m [see 'under']
dream, to	<b>yalu</b>	<i>yalloo-in-nah</i> wt, <i>ya-lo-an</i> 'dreamt of' s, <i>ya-lo-ing</i> 'dreaming' s
drink, to	<b>thatha</b>	<i>thathea</i> d, <i>thathia</i> w, <i>tatthiny</i> m, <i>tat-a</i> s, <i>tata</i> s, <i>dad-day-a</i> wt [WW, Warr <b>thatha</b> ]
drunk	<b>wrang kuru</b>	<i>wrang-guru</i> wt
drop, to	<b>punya</b>	<i>boonyun</i> wt [see 'fall']
duck, black	<b>turna</b> <b>parna</b>	<i>durner</i> s <i>pur-ner</i> s, <i>burnee</i> m, <i>burna</i> d, w, <i>bur-nur</i> 'duck' wt, <i>turner</i> 'wood duck' s
duck, musk	<b>krum</b> <b>tinpalang</b>	<i>croom</i> c <i>tin-bal-ang</i> s
duck, teal	<b>parna kupa</b>	<i>burna-gooba</i> wt [= 'duck green']
duck, wood	<b>pinyang(g)u</b>	<i>pinyangoor</i> w
dumb		<i>nip-prayn-na-goornong</i> wt
dusk	<b>manggiyn</b>	<i>munginy</i> m [see 'blind', 'night']

English	Phonetic	Sources
dusty		[see 'ground']
eagle	<b>ngiri</b>	<i>ngere s, ngirri m, ngee-re s, nirree wt, ereng balam s; ngidia ti, ngidi ti</i>
ear	<b>wra(ng)</b>	<i>waar d, wari wtl, waara p, wah m, wra w, b, whanno g, wrung s, wrang-eo wt, worungan th [We wirimbul, Colac wiri]</i>
earthquake	<b>marndal mrit</b>	<i>mondle m'read c [= 'thunder ground']</i>
east	<b>kan ngara</b>	<i>kan-ngara s</i>
eat, to	<b>thir</b> <b>thayi</b>	<i>dir-a s, dira s, trewia d, dinnah [English 'dinner'?] wt</i> <i>thai-e-wir w, tainy m, thai- [see grammar] m</i>
echo		<i>ngaa-long s [see 'speech']</i>
eel	<b>kuya</b>	<i>goo-a wt, guia m [Warr. kuyang; widespread kuya(ng) 'fish']</i>
egg	<b>kuwa</b> <b>kula</b>	<i>goo-ur wt, koa d, kua m, kooir w [see 'daughter']</i> <i>kooler s, koo-ler s, gulu:r ti, gol gol ti [WW kuli]</i>
egg, white ant	<b>parta</b>	<i>purter s</i>
elbow	<b>thaliyn</b> <b>wu(k)ayn</b>	<i>dhalin m, dirling s, talhug-ein wt [WW thalayn, Warr thaling, Dhurga thalindji]</i> <i>wooine s, wookine s</i>
elder	<b>tanaat</b>	<i>tan-art s</i>
embrace, to	<b>maynpurniya</b>	<i>mein-bur-nay-a wt</i>
empty	<b>wipa</b>	<i>we-ba wts, wee-ba [also 'vacant'] wt</i>

English	Phonetic	Sources
emu	<b>kapi(r)</b>	<i>kowber s, gul bur wts, gubbur wt; garib-, garapun ti, garibun ti [WW, Warr kaping]</i>
	<b>kawi(r) krapa</b>	<i>kower s, kowwa d, kaur m kraba w</i>
encircle, to		[see 'surround']
end	<b>puruwong</b>	<i>boorouong wt</i>
enough, no more	<b>nuwinuwa?</b>	<i>noo-in-noo-a s, noo-wan-a-wa-yan wts, niwanawa wts [meaning not clear; see 'die']</i>
entrails, intestine	<b>paatwiri</b>	<i>paht-wirry wt [see 'bowels']</i>
evening	<b>kapinha karu</b>	<i>kabinha kurru m [= 'gone-down sun'; see 'sunset']</i>
exchanging	<b>wutamba</b>	<i>wo-taim-ban s, wootambau 'marriage exchange' c, wo-dam-bunnull 'to trade' wt [wu- = 'give']</i>
excrement	<b>kuna</b>	<i>koona s1, goona wt, gunanhung m, konna s, w, d</i>
expression of pity	<b>parengayn krong</b>	<i>par-e-ngine-grong s</i>
eye	<b>mir</b>	<i>mer wt, mer p, mir d, m, s, meir wtl, myer wtl, mrah b, murngaing w, mrungan th, mannaho g</i>
faint, to	<b>ngangan kuman</b>	<i>ngahngan-goorman wt</i>
fall down, to	<b>lumawa</b>	<i>lumawa m [see 'sleep']</i>
fall, to	<b>ponyi-</b>	<i>pon-ye-nin wt, bo-in-yo wts parra-bo-in-yo 'don't let him fall' wt</i>
far or long way off	<b>puru</b>	<i>burro wt, booroo- wt, bor-roh [cf 'avoid'] booroo-mee-a 'long way to go' wts [Warr puri]</i>

English	Phonetic	Sources
fat	<b>marnpuwi</b>	<i>murnbooi</i> d, w, <i>murnbui</i> m, <i>murn-boo-y</i> wt, <i>murn-boo-ee</i> 'oil' wt, <i>murn-booy</i> 'greasy' wt [see 'stomach']
	<b>marnt(puli)</b>	<i>murnt</i> s, <i>murntbooli</i> sl, <i>mountbulle</i> s [see 'stomach']
fear	<b>paletang</b>	<i>bal-et-ung</i> s [also 'discretion'; see 'timid']
feather	<b>wirtir</b>	<i>wirdirr</i> wt, <i>wirter</i> s [see 'wing']
female	<b>ngatmal</b>	<i>ngat-mal</i> s
fern root	<b>ma'a</b>	<i>maa-aa</i> s
fern straw	<b>maayira</b>	<i>maa-yera</i> s
fern, bracken	<b>miyi</b>	<i>mee-e</i> m
few	<b>wrawang</b>	<i>wrow-wong</i> s [This word is given for 'three' (q.v.) but probably meant 'few']
fight	<b>winpa</b>	<i>ween-ban</i> wt, <i>wean-ban</i> 'fighting' s, <i>way-un-bun</i> 'war'wt
fill	<b>kilpa</b>	<i>kilpah</i> 'fill pipe' wts
finger	<b>marna</b>	<i>mur-na</i> s, <i>munnang-em</i> wt [= 'hand']
finger, fore	<b>nan marna</b>	<i>nan-munnang-ein</i> wt
finger, little	<b>kapra</b>	<i>karbra</i> wt
fire	<b>warnam</b>	<i>wunn-ahm</i> wt, <i>wurnaam</i> w, <i>warna</i> t, <i>wunnam</i> wt,
	<b>waram</b>	<i>warram</i> p, <i>worrong</i> wtl, <i>wirram</i> wt [see 'wood']
	<b>warnap</b>	<i>wurnap</i> d,s, <i>whanhap</i> g, <i>warnip</i> th, <i>warnap</i> m, <i>winnapoo-</i> wt, <i>wunnabee</i> wts [Kulin <b>warnap/wanyap</b> ]
	<b>wi, wiyn</b>	<i>wee</i> b, <i>ween</i> wt [ <b>wiyn</b> and similar forms widespread in S.E. Aust.]

English	Phonetic	Sources
fish	<b>kakwa, kakpa</b> <b>kulal</b> <b>nonwula</b> <b>tardu?, tirtu?</b>	<i>cuckwar</i> th, <i>kakpar</i> b, <i>kokber</i> c [Wanyi, Garrwa <b>kaku</b> ] <i>kool-al</i> wt [WW <b>kulal</b> ] <i>nonwoolah</i> g <i>treto</i> t, <i>tirto</i> m, <i>dedo</i> wt, ( <i>dirty</i> )- <i>durtowt</i> , <i>dedo</i> wt
fish, small	<b>lap</b>	<i>lap</i> p, <i>lapp</i> lapp c
fist	<b>maruwiya</b>	<i>murroo-ee-a</i> wt [see 'hand', 'hold fast']
five	<b>puwi-ba-puwi-wandhu</b> <b>pulayt-ba-pulayt-ba-wandhu</b>	<i>boo-ei-ba-boo-ei-wandoo</i> wt <i>boolite ba boolite ba wando</i> s
flesh	<b>thuman</b> <b>truwam, tramung</b>	<i>tooman</i> s, <i>jummun</i> [poss. <i>tummun</i> ] 'mutton' wt [see 'roast'] <i>druam</i> s, <i>drahm-moong</i> wt [see 'spirit/ghost']
flour	<b>punang</b>	<i>boornung</i> wt
fly, a	<b>muloyn</b> <b>yuwang(g)uwal</b>	<i>mooloign</i> wt [Tjap <b>murru</b> ] <i>yooangoal</i> d
fly, blow	<b>thuratu</b>	<i>tor-o-to</i> s, <i>dhuratta</i> m, <i>toorah-doh</i> wt, <i>toor-ah-do</i> 'swarm of flies' wt, <i>joorah-doh</i> wts, <i>toor-ah-doo</i> 'bees' wt, <i>torado</i> 'fly' w, <i>dhuratto</i> 'maggot' m, <i>tor-o-to</i> 'maggot' s
fly, house	<b>yul-yul, yuwal</b>	<i>ulul</i> s, <i>yul-yul</i> s, <i>ulul</i> 'fly' s, <i>yoo-el-yoo-el</i> wt, <i>yual</i> m
fly, march	<b>thumbal</b>	<i>toom-bal</i> s, <i>thumbal</i> s
fly, to	<b>minda</b>	<i>minda</i> m, <i>men don-a</i> 'flew away' s
fold, to	<b>milpa</b>	<i>milbee-a</i> wt, <i>mel-ba</i> s [see 'bend']
follow, to	<b>muwikawa</b>	<i>moo-ee-go-wah</i> wt [also 'pursue']

English	Phonetic	Sources
food, vegetable	<b>pungang, puwang</b> <b>yiran</b>	<i>boongan</i> w, <i>poogang</i> d, <i>buungang</i> m, <i>booang</i> s, <i>boo-ang</i> s <i>yee-ran-oong</i> wt
foot	<b>thina</b>	<i>dinna</i> p, <i>tena</i> s, <i>tenna</i> wtl, <i>tinna</i> b, <i>dhinna</i> m, <i>thinna</i> d, <i>dinnang-ein</i> wt, <i>tinanew</i> g, <i>tinangun</i> th, <i>tinna</i> w, <i>dennang-ein</i> 'toe' wt
footprint	<b>thina</b>	<i>teen-a</i> s, <i>tenanoong</i> s, <i>poptina</i> d [see 'foot', 'track']
forehead	<b>kini</b>	<i>kin-e</i> s, <i>ginne</i> m, <i>ginning-ein</i> wt [WW <b>kining</b> , see 'headland']
foreskin	<b>manani</b>	<i>munaninyung</i> m, <i>munnaninyung</i> m2
forest, stringybark	<b>penambol</b>	<i>pen-am-bol</i> s
forget, to	<b>wanggaramu</b>	<i>wanggaramuun</i> m
forgotten	<b>wuing, wuna</b>	<i>wuing</i> or <i>un-a</i> s
four	<b>pulayt-ba-pulayt</b> <b>kartpan(u)</b> <b>kuwartu?</b> <b>wakolata-wakolata</b>	<i>boolite-ba-boolite</i> s, <i>poleitpapoleit</i> b, <i>boo-ei-ba-boo-ei</i> wt, <i>poaitch pa poaitch</i> d, <i>booait ba booait</i> w [For variants see §3.1] <i>curtbun</i> th, <i>kurtbano</i> s, <i>kertpanoo</i> p <i>quartor</i> g, <i>kurtor</i> s <i>warkolata-warkolata</i> t
friend	<b>wing(g)u</b>	<i>wingo</i> s, <i>winggap</i> '2 friends' m1, <i>wingarra</i> 'relations's
frog	<b>tinap</b> <b>thuwinam</b>	<i>dennab</i> m, <i>tenap</i> s <i>duinam</i> wt [WW, Warr. <b>thiyam</b> ]
frog, bull	<b>pupatu thuwinam</b>	<i>bo-bar-do</i> wt, <i>bo-bar-do-duinam</i> wt [ <i>bo-bar-do dinnam</i> also given as 'large']
front, in	<b>kawiyang</b>	<i>kaiyungain</i> m1, <i>kaiyung</i> m

English	Phonetic	Sources
frost	<b>ngali</b> <b>wakayt, wa'at</b>	<i>ngal-e s</i> <i>waa-art m, waart m2, wuggait</i> 'snow' wt
full		<i>bool-e ngine-go gat-on</i> 'stomach full' s
gallop, to	<b>pa'anggin</b>	<i>bah-ang-gin</i> wt
gaol		<i>dyayl</i> wts [English]
gather, to	<b>ka.apa</b>	<i>ga-ahrba</i> wt [WW <b>gaap-gaaba</b> ]
get, to	<b>mana</b>  <b>kamipi</b>	<i>mana s, mannunah</i> wt, <i>mana</i> 'bring' s, <i>mahn-nay</i> 'bring' wt [see other entries under 'take'] <i>gumy-bay</i> 'fetch' wt
get on (a horse)		see 'arise'
get over		see 'climb'
giddy		[see 'headache']
girl	<b>parayt, paratj, parak</b>  <b>ngangmal</b>	<i>barit-e s, parait</i> wt, <i>barraty m, burrich</i> <i>burrich c, burrich c, paripari p,</i> <i>baruckbaruck g, parakparak f</i> [WW, Warr <b>parayt-parayt</b> ; also Pitta-Pitta (Q) <b>parratja</b> ] <i>ngangmal</i> th
girl, 10 years	<b>thurt mirt</b>	<i>thuurt-mirt</i> b [see 'woman']
give, to	<b>wuwa</b>	<i>wo-a</i> wt, <i>wo-a s, wua m, wooen</i> 'given in marriage' c [WW, Warr <b>wuka</b> ]
give birth to	<b>yirpa</b>	<i>yerp-an s</i> [see 'lift']
glad	<b>mimira</b>	<i>memmirun</i> m
go, to	<b>yan-</b>	<i>yan s, yanny</i> wt [see 'walk']
go away, to	<b>yan-kawa</b>	<i>yan ka wa s, yan-go-a</i> 'be off' wts, <i>yango-a</i> wts
go, quickly	<b>yanpa yanka</b>	<i>yanba yanka s</i>

English	Phonetic	Sources
go out [of fire]	<b>wipa</b>	<i>weepa</i> wts [see 'empty']
goanna, ground	<b>yuru</b>	<i>yuro</i> m [Warr <b>yuruk</b> 'blue tongue goanna']
god	<b>pirknayal</b>	<i>birk-nay-al</i> wt
good	<b>martu(ng)</b>	<i>matto</i> g, <i>maartung</i> p, <i>martung</i> m [see 'right'] <i>mahrting</i> 'quiet' wt, <i>murdong</i> wt, <i>murdoong-a</i> 'safe' wt, <i>moitpong</i> d, <i>murtong</i> s, <i>mur tong</i> s, <i>murto</i> th, <i>murtong-a</i> s, <i>martung</i> 'right' m, <i>murdong</i> wt [also 'pretty'], <i>murtyoong</i> wts, <i>mardong-boong-ang</i> 'nice' [= 'good food'] wt, <i>marton</i> c
	<b>nguwipu</b>	<i>ngebo</i> w, <i>nooip</i> f
goose	<b>patom</b>	<i>pat-om</i> s [see 'magpie']
grass	<b>puthu</b>	<i>botho</i> w, <i>botha</i> d, <i>bootho</i> s, <i>boo-tho</i> s, <i>buddo</i> wt, <i>buurdu</i> m, <i>buurda</i> m2, <i>budhu</i> m2, <i>butho</i> 'weed' wt
	<b>nang(g)ru</b>	<i>nangroo</i> 'large broad grass used to make mat' c [see 'alcohol']
grave	<b>panur</b>	<i>pan-or</i> s, <i>pan-or-e</i> 'in the grave' s, <i>pannoor</i> wt
great spirit	<b>mambuwang</b>	<i>mam-bo-ong</i> c
greedy	<b>ranglu</b>	<i>ranglu</i> m [note initial 'r']
green	<b>kuma wulung</b>	<i>gooma</i> wt [[WW <b>gumang</b> ] <i>wor-loong</i> s [see 'black']
grin, to	<b>ngan tanga</b>	( <i>ngahn-tang-a</i> ) <i>ngaht-tay-en</i> [also 'grind the teeth'] wt [see 'tooth', 'bite']
ground	<b>mraat</b>	<i>mraad</i> s, <i>mrade</i> s, <i>m'rade</i> s1 [cf 'countryman']

English	Phonetic	Sources
	<b>miriyt</b>	<i>mrah-t</i> wt, <i>mirat</i> d, <i>mrat</i> w, <i>marrat</i> wtl, <i>m'rado</i> c <i>merrit</i> g, <i>merit</i> th, <i>mereed</i> p, <i>meerit</i> b, <i>mirriit</i> ml, <i>mirreet</i> m, <i>meet</i> t, <i>mrett</i> 'dusty' wt [Warr. <b>mirit</b> , Pall <b>miri</b> , Yandruwandha <b>miri</b> 'sandhill']
growl	<b>luwiy mruwi</b>	<i>loh-ween-kal</i> wt [see 'dog', 'whine'] <i>mrooi-wan</i> 'growling' s [see 'quarrelling']
grub	<b>kaa</b>	<i>kah</i> wt
gull, large	<b>pinangal</b>	<i>pin-ang-ol</i> s
gum	<b>kara natjart</b>	( <i>kurra</i> ) <i>nuchurt</i> wt
gum, red	<b>piyal krawumayt bina tarpina</b>	<i>bial</i> m [widespread Vic; Wakaya <b>biyal</b> 'blood'] <i>krawumayt-benna</i> wt [see 'red'] <i>tart-pen-a</i> s, <i>tartpeena</i> s
gum, white	<b>leng ngirata</b>	<i>leng</i> m [Warr <b>ling</b> ] <i>ngir-aa-da</i> s
gun	<b>panggit</b>	<i>bang-git</i> wt, <i>pan-ke</i> s, <i>bang-git</i> wts
gun, pistol	<b>pang-pang</b>	<i>bung bung</i> c [English?]
gun powder	<b>purap-purap-puna</b>	<i>boorap-boorap-boorna</i> wt
hail	<b>pat</b>	<i>bat</i> s, <i>baat</i> m
hailstones	<b>kripung</b>	<i>kray-poong</i> wt
hair	<b>ngarla</b>	<i>ngurla</i> d, w, s, <i>ngulla</i> m, <i>allah</i> p, <i>hallanew</i> g, <i>ngulla</i> , <i>nurlungun</i> th, <i>ngaha</i> b, <i>ngur-la-boop</i> sl, s, <i>ngullunhung</i> 'pubic hair' m, <i>allar</i> 'air' wtl [Warr <b>ngarat</b> ]
hair, grey halter	<b>kuwatam ngarla</b>	<i>koat-am-ngurla</i> s [see 'string']

English	Phonetic	Sources
hand	<b>marna</b> <b>mara</b>	<i>mur-na</i> s, <i>murna</i> d, s, <i>mannano</i> g, <i>maana</i> p, <i>marnungan</i> th, <i>mana</i> b, <i>murtong-mirangun</i> wt [=good/right hand] <i>murra</i> w, wtl, m [cf. 'fist']
handcuffs	<b>wikil</b>	<i>wiggil</i> c
hang a man, to	<b>kanuwa kurn</b>	<i>kannoo-wa-goorn</i> [cf. 'neck']
happy	<b>panyong puwayn</b>	<i>bunyong-bo-ein</i> wt [see 'play']
hard	<b>pini</b>	<i>binnee</i> wt, <i>be-ne-a</i> s [WW, Warr <b>pinitj</b> , Tjap <b>binayt</b> ]
hardened, burnt	<b>putayn-a</b>	<i>boort-ane-a</i> s
hasten, to	<b>yuwa kuriya</b>	<i>yoo-a koor-e-a</i> s
hawk, fish	<b>mula</b>	<i>boorte moola</i> c, <i>boort moola</i> s [cf. 'cockatoo', 'owl']
hay	<b>witjat yira</b>	<i>widyah-yeerahnoong</i> wt
head	<b>pup</b>	<i>boop</i> s, <i>pop</i> d [see 'hill'] <i>bupe</i> m, <i>popo</i> g, <i>pope</i> p [see 'lake'] <i>poopan</i> th, <i>popaing</i> w, <i>poopong</i> b, <i>booborait</i> wtl, <i>booboonit</i> wtl
head	<b>wart-bangat</b>	<i>wurt-bong-at</i> wt [cf. 'shoulder'; Warr <b>wart</b> 'back']
head cloth	<b>muka pup</b>	<i>mooger-boop</i> s [see 'rug'] [= 'rug head']
headache		<i>wennbein-bo-peing</i> wt, <i>wenn-bein-po-pein</i> 'giddy' wt
headband	<b>marakalayn</b>	<i>maragalany</i> m [Warr <b>marak kalayn</b> ]
headland	<b>kini</b>	<i>kin-e</i> s [see 'forehead']
hear, to	<b>wanga</b>	<i>wanga</i> m, <i>wang-oo-nah</i> wt, <i>wankin</i> b, <i>wannoo</i> g, <i>wangun</i> p, <i>wanganot</i> th, <i>nowanguan</i> 'hearing' t [see 'answer'; WW, Warr <b>wanga</b> ]

English	Phonetic	Sources
heart	<b>lu, luwung</b>	<i>luh</i> m, <i>lüh</i> m2, <i>loo-oong</i> wt [see ‘liver’]
heaven	<b>karumbak lakuriya murnu wawut</b>	<i>carroombak</i> t <i>lacoria</i> th <i>moonno</i> g [see ‘cloud’] <i>waud</i> p [see ‘hot’]
heavy	<b>kun-kun</b>	<i>koon</i> <i>goon</i> s, <i>gon-gon</i> wt
heel	<b>t[h]inating</b>	<i>dinnar-teing</i> wt, <i>dennar-teing</i> wt [see ‘foot’]
here	<b>n[h]u</b>	<i>nu</i> m, m1, <i>noo</i> s [see ‘this’]
hide, to	<b>kuli-, kuli-ma-</b>	<i>goolin-yee</i> wt, <i>gooly-ma</i> ‘to plant’ wt, <i>gulia</i> ‘to conceal’ m [cf. ‘steal’]
hideous	<b>wirang kini</b>	<i>wirahng-genny</i> wt [= ‘bad forehead’]
high	<b>kanminayi ngula</b>	<i>kan-min-a-ee-ngoola</i> wt
hill	<b>pupik  pupitj karipu</b>	<i>boop-ik</i> s, <i>boop-e-o</i> ‘on the hill’ s, <i>boopik</i> s, <i>bopick</i> g, <i>popo</i> th, <i>woopong</i> b, <i>baap-ik</i> s1 [see ‘head’] <i>bulity</i> [typo?] m, <i>bupitj</i> m2 <i>kariboo</i> p, <i>careebong</i> t
hit, to	<b>wina wuka pa- tarawu pup</b>	<i>wena</i> s, <i>wee-na</i> ‘blow’ wt, <i>ween-a</i> wt <i>wuka</i> s <i>ban</i> m1, <i>ben wer-ing</i> ‘hit with waddy’ s <i>turraw-poop</i> wt [see ‘hand, left’]
hold fast, to	<b>maruwa</b>	<i>mar-oo-a</i> s [see ‘fist’, ‘hand’]
hold, to	<b>kukniyin</b>	<i>gok-nee-yen</i> wt
hole		<i>moora-kay-ngahn</i> wt [unconfirmed entry; see ‘this’]
hole in the rocks	<b>ngrang</b>	<i>ngrang</i> s, <i>ngang-oo</i> ‘in the hole’ wts [Gipps <b>ngrang</b> , Warr. <b>ngaring</b> ‘hole in tree’]

English	Phonetic	Sources
honey	<b>minang</b> <b>nroyt</b>	<i>minnhung</i> m [see 'sweet'] <i>nroite</i> c
hook		(oot) <i>le-ayt-dang-a</i> wt
hop, to	<b>wandapram</b>	<i>wandabrum</i> wt
horse	<b>ngar</b>	<i>ngurr</i> tr, <i>ngur</i> wt, <i>nhurr</i> wt
horseback, on	<b>mapun ngar</b>	<i>ma-pon ngar</i> s
hot, heat	<b>kuma</b> <b>martguwal</b> <b>pala</b> <b>waam</b> <b>wuwat</b>	<i>coomer</i> th <i>murtgual</i> w <i>palow</i> p, <i>pal-a-woin-a</i> 'burning hot' s <i>waam</i> d <i>woat</i> s, <i>woad</i> g, <i>woo-ut</i> 'warm' wt, <i>wart</i> t, <i>wo-ut</i> 'summer' wt, <i>woat</i> 'summer' s, <i>wooyer</i> b, <i>woata</i> sl [glossed as 'to hear', but probably a misprint], <i>woit</i> c
how do you do		<i>noong-gorong-what birn-gayn</i> wt
how many	<b>n[h]apar</b>	<i>nap-er</i> s, <i>nuppur</i> m1, m, <i>napturr-</i> wts, <i>nah-pur</i> wts, <i>na-pur</i> wt
hungry	<b>tirtpa</b>	<i>dirtban</i> m, <i>drit-ban</i> s <i>nroanna</i> w, <i>ngooroonga</i> d, <i>no-unna</i> wt, <b>Dirtman luen</b> 'I am hungry' (Hercus 1986:233) [see 'die']
hunt with bushes, to	<b>yiram pana</b>	<i>yer-am ban-a</i> s [see 'leaf']
hunt, to	<b>wipatniguri</b> <b>wira-uni</b>	<i>we-paht-nay-gooray</i> wt <i>wirra-oony</i> wts <i>per lambooring</i> s
hunting game		
hut		see 'camp'
ice	<b>taltu</b>	<i>talto</i> wt
inland	<b>kart</b>	<i>kurt</i> s
intestines		<i>paht-wirri</i> wt

English	Phonetic	Sources
ironbark tree	<b>mruk</b>	<i>mrowk</i> wt [see 'sinew']
irritate, to	<b>kuwi-</b>	<i>go-ing-un-goong-urn</i> 'provoke' wt, <i>go-ing-ein-goong-urn</i> 'irritate' wt, <i>goo-ee-goong-a</i> 'to vex' wt, <i>go-hin-nyay</i> 'to chafe' wt
itchy		<i>ding-e-bun-moor-neign</i> wt
jaw		<i>loo-ein</i> wt [see 'mouth']
jay, whistling	<b>wuyung</b>	<i>woi-ong</i> s
jealous	<b>kutu-nganap-lung</b>	<i>goordoo-ngahnabloong</i> wt [see 'husband']
	<b>malayaman</b>	<i>mullaiammun</i> m [see <i>mala</i> 'wife']
jerk, to	<b>kakayi-kakayi-ding-wina</b>	<i>guggai-guggai-ding-winna</i> wt
jingle, to	<b>tiri-tiri-kungiya</b>	<i>dirry-dirry-koong-y-a</i> wt
join, to	<b>ngatpa</b>	<i>ngat-pun</i> wt
joint	<b>milwing</b>	<i>mil-weeng</i> wt [see 'bend', 'fold']
journey		<i>yannung-ay-poor-arak</i> wt [cf. 'walk']
juice	<b>pari</b>	<i>barry-ung</i> wt [= 'water']
jump, to	<b>yungguya</b>	<i>yuunggea</i> m, <i>yung-goo-ya</i> wt [see 'swim']
kangaroo	<b>kura, kuri</b>	<i>coora</i> th, t, <i>kooraa</i> s1 <i>kooraa</i> 'male', 'forester' s, <i>koor-aa</i> 'male' s, <i>gooree</i> p, <i>guree</i> m, <i>gurea</i> m2, m1, <i>kori</i> w, <i>kore</i> d, <i>koorie</i> g, <i>koor-reh</i> wt, <i>gooraho-ee</i> wt <i>gooray</i> wt, <i>wirroong-goaray</i> 'old man kangaroo' wts
	<b>primpara</b>	<i>primpara</i> f
kangaroo apple	<b>miyaki</b>	<i>me-a-kee</i> s [Warlpiri <i>miyaka</i> 'kurrajong']

English	Phonetic	Sources
kangaroo hunt	<b>kalala</b>	<i>kallala</i> s
kangaroo skin	<b>mari tu</b>	<i>mar-e-do</i> s [see 'blanket']
kangaroo, female	<b>mari</b>	<i>murri</i> m1, <i>mar-e</i> s [Warr. <b>marayn</b> ]
kangaroo, grey	<b>kuwayn</b>	<i>goany</i> m
kangaroo, small	<b>tolayt</b>	<i>tolite</i> c, <i>tolit</i> s
keep, to	<b>ngana-ayn wulnuwi</b>	<i>nganna-ein-wool-noo-e</i> wt
kick	<b>kriwu(r)nin</b>	<i>gray-woor-nin</i> wt [Warr <b>karwa</b> ]
kidney	<b>murru</b>	<i>munna muru boo-ee</i> 'take kidney fat' wt
kill, to	<b>wiyunini</b>	<i>wee-oon-en-nay</i> wt [cf. 'neglect']
kilt	<b>kunal</b>	<i>kunal</i> m
kiss	<b>tuwinpiyawa</b>	<i>tooinbee-a-waw</i> wt
knead, to	<b>mirma pempi</b>	<i>murm-ma</i> wt, <i>mornon pem-pi</i> 'knead bread' s
knee	<b>parayn</b>	<i>burra-nyein</i> wt, <i>parrany</i> m [WW, Warr <b>parayn</b> ]
kneel, to	<b>nyiwiya puranyilayn</b>	<i>nyay-wee-ah-boorain-ye-layn</i> wt
knife		<i>mooraget-neip</i> wt [= 'small' + Eng. 'knife' ?]
knot, in a rope of bark	<b>wiratama</b>	<i>wir-raht-tam-mah</i> wt [= 'to tie']
knot, in wood	<b>watong</b>	<i>wartong</i> wt
know, not to	<b>mutjana</b>	<i>moo-chun-a</i> s, <i>mutua</i> c
know, to	<b>putama</b>	<i>boort-a mon</i> s
koala	<b>ngiyuru muru</b>	<i>ngeeuru-muru</i> wt [ <i>ngiyurra</i> 'forked stick' wts]

English	Phonetic	Sources
kookaburra	<b>kuwatang</b>	<i>koadda w, koaddang d, kooartang s, go-aht-ang wt, koo-art-ung s, gwaddung m, koo-a-da 'parrot' s</i>
labour		<i>yannang-yee-wurkur wt</i> ['go' + English 'work']
lake	<b>ngarta pupi</b>	<i>ngur-ter s popee wt</i>
lamb	<b>kupanga</b>	<i>goobung-ong wt</i> [see 'boy']
lame	<b>ten</b>	<i>den-gun wt</i> [cf. 'sick']
lancewood	<b>kilalu</b>	<i>kel-la-or s</i>
later	<b>ngapul kithu</b>	<i>ngabul keeto 'directly' s, nga bula ngen de 'wait till I recall' s</i> [see 'by and by']
laugh, to	<b>wiya</b>	<i>wee-a-oon-na wt, wia m, we-a-an 'laughed' s</i>
lazy	<b>thun.ginya</b>	<i>doon-ginya-munna wts, don-ngin-yar 'idle' wt</i> [see 'tired']
leaf	<b>pulat</b>	<i>bol-at s, bool-lott wt</i>
leaf, of tree	<b>yira</b>	<i>yirra m, yer-a s</i> [Wim <b>djirra</b> ; see 'hunt with bushes']
leather		[see 'skin']
leech	<b>t[h]ulang</b>	<i>dulung m</i> [Warr <b>t[h]ulang</b> , Tjap <b>tjulang</b> ]
leg	<b>pumwa pram</b>	<i>boomwa wtl prum s, pruin-mein wt</i> [see 'thigh', 'root']
liar	<b>kalimun</b>	<i>kar-le-moon s</i> [see 'lie']
lie concealed, to	<b>kunyi</b>	<i>goo-hn-yee wt</i> [also 'lurk']
lie down, to		[see 'sleep']

English	Phonetic	Sources
lie, to tell a	<b>kali</b>	<i>kally-nyin</i> wt, <i>karle-au-nin</i> 'to tell no lies' s [see 'liar', 'pretend']
lie	<b>yuruli</b>	<i>yooroolie</i> 'lying' f [from context in list, prob = lying down]
lift, to	<b>kanma</b>	<i>kan-man-oog-na</i> wt [see 'up'] <i>kan-marning</i> [meaning unclear] wts
lift, to	<b>yirpa</b>	<i>yerp-a</i> s [see 'gave birth to']
light	<b>karu</b>	<i>karo</i> s, <i>karomurn</i> d [WW <b>kalu</b> , see 'day', 'sun']
light, not heavy	<b>tap</b>	<i>tap</i> s [Tjap <b>tap</b> ]
light (a fire), to	<b>yap</b> <b>thumba</b>	<i>yap</i> m, <i>yaap</i> w, <i>yap</i> s <i>doomba</i> wts [see 'roast']
lightning	<b>payatang, pirdang marndal</b> <b>minanmun</b>	<i>bay-ya-tung</i> wt, <i>birdung-murndal</i> m, <i>birdung murndalat</i> m2 [see 'thunder'] <i>menanemon</i> c, <i>minanmun</i> c(ms), <i>min-an-mum</i> s, <i>minan-murn</i> s
lightwood tree	<b>mutha</b>	<i>moo-tha</i> wt [Warr <b>muthang</b> ]
lip	<b>wuru</b>	<i>wuru</i> m, <i>wrong-ein</i> , <i>wro</i> s, <i>w-rong-ein</i> 'mouth' wt [see 'mouth']
liver	<b>puwuth</b> <b>lu</b>	<i>boot-ong</i> s, <i>buth</i> m [WW, Warr. <b>puwat</b> ] <i>loo-weign</i> [see 'heart']
living	<b>yuli</b> <b>luman</b>	<i>yulle</i> g, <i>ulee</i> t, <i>ulie</i> th, <i>yule</i> 'alive' m, <i>ur-le-a</i> 'alive' s, <i>yooy-</i> 'alive' wt <i>lumun</i> p [see 'sleep']
lizard	<b>karim</b> <b>ngunap</b>	<i>kar-im</i> s <i>ngoon-ap</i> s, <i>ngoonahm</i> wt [WW <b>ngunap</b> ]
log	<b>parip</b>	<i>parreep</i> wt [WW <b>palip</b> ]

English	Phonetic	Sources
long		<i>woo-rong-bool-e</i> s [= 'big stomach'?]
long ago	<b>ting win</b> <b>mangiyān, mangiyun</b>	<i>ding wen</i> s, <i>dingwean</i> c <i>mangyoon</i> c, <i>mangian</i> m, <i>mang-yenata</i> s, <i>mang-i-an</i> b
long way	<b>pur-</b>	<i>boora</i> s, <i>poor tong-or-o burr</i> s [see 'far']
louse	<b>nurnu, murna</b>	<i>noon-no</i> wt, <i>muurna</i> m, <i>nuurna</i> m2, <i>noorno</i> s
louse, nit of	<b>kuwirang</b>	<i>guirung</i> m
love mad	<b>winya miyin</b> <b>kulanggil</b>	<i>winnya-mee-en</i> wt, <i>kro.....s</i> <i>gool-ung-gill</i> wt, <i>gool-ung-gil</i> wt [WW <b>krungkil</b> , see 'angry']
maggot		[see fly, blow]
magpie		<i>pat-om</i> s [see 'goose']
	<b>tuwal</b>	<i>toal</i> s, <i>dohl</i> wt
magpie, black	<b>kilin</b>	<i>kil-en</i> s, <i>gillen</i> c [Warr. <b>kilin-kilin</b> ]
make	<b>peniyiya</b> <b>pung(g)a</b> <b>kaliyen</b>  <b>manat</b>	<i>benneyea</i> p <i>boongar</i> t <i>callien</i> g <i>urnuganut</i> th <i>manat</i> f
make united effort, to		<i>wol</i> s [cf. 'reflection', 'signal', 'shadow']
make, build	<b>kunarni</b>	<i>goonurnee-</i> wts
make [fire]	<b>waruni</b>	<i>warroonee weerram</i> 'make fire' wts
man	<b>trual</b>  <b>turanggula</b> <b>turanpalmal</b> <b>wiyawuwal</b>	<i>druaal</i> m1, <i>drua</i> m, s, c, <i>troo-a-al</i> d, <i>trooal</i> w, <i>drooal</i> s, <i>wodon-dro-al</i> wt, <i>war-wa-kal</i> wt <i>toorangolah</i> th <i>turanpalmal</i> f <i>weirwoowal</i> g [cf. 'woman']

English	Phonetic	Sources
	<b>waynman</b>	<i>wineman</i> p [= 'white man'] <i>bung ti</i>
man to north	<b>wragarayt</b>	<i>wra-gar-ite</i> s
man, old	<b>kartpari</b> <b>ngarm-ngarm</b>	<i>kartpari</i> d, <i>koat-par-e</i> s, <i>koatparek</i> s <i>ngarum-ngarum</i> w, <i>ngurraningurram</i> 'middle-aged man' b [Warr <b>ngarm-</b> <b>ngarm</b> ]
	<b>ngiringgi</b>	<i>ngiring</i> gee s
man, small	<b>mutir</b>	<i>mutir</i> b [see 'short']
man, unfriendly	<b>klat kurn</b>	<i>glut-coorn</i> s [= 'bitter neck']
man, vain	<b>ngan.king wrawakal</b>	<i>ngan-geeng-wrow-a-kull</i> [see 'man, young']
man, white		[see 'people, white']
man, young	<b>papatha</b> <b>wawakal</b>	<i>babater</i> s, <i>bapputha</i> ml, <i>ba-ba-ter</i> s, <i>bapputha</i> 'initiated man' m <i>wawargal</i> s, <i>wa-wor-gal</i> s, <i>warwuggal</i> 'man' ml, <i>war-wa-kal</i> 'man' [see also under 'boy']
manna-berries	<b>mu(r)na</b>	<i>moorna</i> wt [see 'root, edible']
many		see 'plenty'
married	<b>malambil</b> <b>maruni</b>	<i>malambel</i> s [cf. 'wife'] <i>mah-roon-ee</i> wt
meet, to	<b>wiwuni</b>	<i>weh-woornay</i> wt
mend, sew	<b>kari-ya</b>	<i>kurry-ee-a</i> wt
midday	<b>ngalu karu</b>	<i>ngal-o-kar-o</i> s [see 'sun']
milk	<b>paap</b> <b>papambup</b>	<i>pahp</i> wt [see 'breast', 'mother'] <i>papumboop</i> s, <i>papam-boop</i> s
milked milk		<i>burnt-an papamboop</i> s

English	Phonetic	Sources
minah (bird)	<b>pirit</b>	<i>pirr-inrt wt, birrit s</i> [The spelling ‘minah’ is misleading. The word probably refers to a native bird, the miner.]
mistrust, to		<i>win-gun-ayn-wandam-goong-gur wt</i>
mix, to	<b>kandiruni</b>	<i>gandy-roony wt</i>
moan	<b>ngikun ngrinya</b>	<i>ngi-goon-ngrinya wt</i>
mocking	<b>taynpun</b>	<i>tine-born s</i>
moisten, to		<i>teir-tarn-meer wt</i>
month	<b>maruki purtpuwi</b>	<i>murro-gay-birt-bo-ay wt</i> [see ‘moon’]
moon	<b>purtpuwi</b> <b>ngarak</b> <b>t[h]un.ngum</b> <b>thun.ngam</b>	<i>birt-bo-ay wt, boortbooi w, burtboy t, poort-booi d, pulpulli g</i> <i>gnarac th, naarack p, nardek f</i> <i>toon-ngoom</i> [also ‘month’] <i>c, s, thonwoon d, toongoom s</i> <i>dhunngam m, dhuunngam m2</i> [see ‘month’]
mooning	<b>puhin</b>	<i>bullin c</i> [‘bullin’ is a bird; see Smith 1880: 14]
mopoke	<b>thuni-thunitj</b>	<i>dhuni-dhunity m</i> [see also ‘owl’]
more	<b>wanung, wanilang</b>	<i>wahn-ay-lung wt, wahnoong wts</i> [see ‘one’]
morning	<b>kanyiya karu</b> <b>karatkat</b>	<i>kunyia kurru m</i> [see ‘sun’] <i>kurraht-kat</i> [Warr <b>kalat</b> , see ‘day’]
mosquito	<b>kitju</b> <b>kipa</b>	<i>kecho s</i> [also ‘small ant’; WW <b>kithuk</b> ‘mosquito’, Warr <b>kithuk</b> ‘small ant’] <i>kipa w</i> <i>moon-o-erp s</i>
mount, to	<b>kan.kiya</b>	<i>kan-gee-a wt</i> [see ‘above’, ‘arise’, ‘up’]
mountain	<b>kripunggurayn</b>	<i>kray-poong-goorein wt</i>

English	Phonetic	Sources
mourn, to	<b>yapan</b> <b>papa ngarla</b>	<i>yahr-bun-lo-ein</i> wt [see 'sorry'] <i>papa ngurla</i> s [= 'burn hair']
mouse	<b>marukilu</b>	<i>murro-gay-lo</i> wt
moustache	<b>ngurla wuru</b>	<i>ngurla-wro</i> s [= 'hair (of) lip']
mouth	<b>kanak</b> <b>wru, wuru</b>  <b>tuwu</b> <b>lu</b>	<i>carncan</i> th, <i>kannoko</i> g, <i>karnuk</i> f <sup>1</sup> <i>w-rong-ein</i> wt [Kulin <b>wurrung</b> ; see 'lips'] <i>karoo</i> p <i>toor</i> wtl <i>lo</i> s, d, <i>loaing</i> w, <i>lu</i> m
mud	<b>mri</b>	<i>mree</i> wt [see 'dirty', 'earth']
mullet	<b>kokpa</b>	<i>kokber</i> s
murmur, to	<b>tangatangin.kuwi</b>	<i>dangur-dang-in-go-way</i> wt
mushroom, edible	<b>paringgat</b>	<i>barringgat</i> m
mussel	<b>wataru</b>	<i>wardarro</i> m
mutter, to		<i>ya-blurry-woor-weer-in-yoo</i> wt
mutton		[see 'food', 'flesh']
mutton-fish	<b>wapuwat</b>	<i>wa-poa</i> s [see 'shellfish']
nail, iron		<i>nil-ngunna</i> wt [English?]
nails, finger	<b>liyi</b>	<i>lee-mungin-ein</i> wt
naked	<b>manan, marnat</b>	<i>munnan</i> wt, <i>murnat</i> s [WW <b>marat</b> ]
name	<b>nuri</b>	<i>nur-e</i> s, <i>nuray-ngnyin</i> 'your name' wts
narrow	<b>troyn</b>	<i>droin</i> s

<sup>1</sup> Curr list 207b Lake Wallace represents a western Kulin dialect and it has *kanek* 'mouth' in a list where most body parts end in *-ek*, the enclitic for 'my'.

English	Phonetic	Sources
	<b>witjang</b>	<i>wee-dyung</i> wt
navel	<b>pi</b>	<i>bi</i> m [Warr <b>pitj</b> ]
near	<b>ming.ru</b>	<i>ming-ro</i> s
neck/throat	<b>kurn</b>	<i>koorn</i> s, wtl, <i>goornein</i> [see 'throat']
necklace, reed	<b>puwin kul</b>	<i>boo-in kool</i> s
neglect, to	<b>wiya kunga</b>	<i>wee-a-goong-a</i> wt [cf. 'kill']
nest		[see 'camp']
new	<b>trikat, tritat</b>	<i>tray-kaht</i> wt, <i>dretat</i> s
night	<b>mul</b>  <b>mur</b> <b>mangginya</b>	<i>moal</i> s, <i>mohl</i> wt, <i>moiel</i> th, <i>mool</i> g, d, <i>mola</i> s, sl, m, <i>moul</i> 'dark' w, <i>moel</i> b, <i>eer-run-moolee</i> 'afraid of the dark' wt <i>moore</i> p, <i>moor</i> w <i>munginya</i> m, <i>mankin</i> 'dark' sl [see 'dusk']
nimble	<b>ngaran.kuwi</b>	<i>ngarrun-go-ee</i> wt
nip, to	<b>kalamu(r)ni</b>	<i>gullum-moorny-nein</i> wt
no	<b>ngaying, ngin, ngayn</b> <b>wi</b> <b>wip</b>	<i>ngi-ing</i> s, <i>ngin</i> s, <i>ngany</i> m, <i>nga-an</i> b <i>wee</i> wts <i>wip</i> w [given as 'I don't know', but see 'empty']
nod the head, to	<b>winana</b> <b>ngukurn</b>	<i>winana</i> d, s, <i>win-an-a</i> s [see 3.8.3] <i>ngo-korn</i> wt [WW <b>ngukuya</b> , cf. 'neck']
noise	<b>ngara'angan</b>	<i>ngurra-ah-ngun</i> wt
north	<b>win.ga</b>	<i>win-ger</i> s
nose	<b>kapu, kawu</b>	<i>kaboo</i> w, <i>kaaboo</i> p, <i>karboo</i> wtl, <i>carpono</i> g, <i>kahboong-ngein</i> wt, <i>cuponung</i> th, <i>kabo</i> b, <i>gaawu</i> m, <i>gauu</i> m2, <i>kow-o</i> d, <i>kow</i> s
not, do, don't	<b>para</b>	<i>baa-ra-an</i> s, <i>barra parra</i> 'don't' wts

English	Phonetic	Sources
notches in tree		<i>pem s</i> [see 'boat']
nurse, midwife		<i>moitmun c</i> [= 'sitting behind']
nurse a child, to	<b>kranga</b>	<i>krang-a s</i>
nut	<b>paat</b>	<i>baht wt</i>
obey, to	<b>yungayu</b>	<i>yoong-ai-oo wt</i>
object, to	<b>wit.nyangananyan</b> <b>wit.nyanina</b>	<i>witnyanganan-yan wt</i> [see 'no'] <i>weet-nyannin-a</i> 'no' wt
obliterate, to	<b>kuruta</b>	<i>kor-o-dan s</i>
obstruct, to	<b>ngukikata</b>	<i>ngo-ogay-karda wt</i>
ochre	<b>wirlap</b>	<i>wirlap s</i> [cf. 'sore']
octopus	<b>kulongkil</b>	<i>kol-ong-kel s</i>
off, be		[see 'run']
often	<b>nungi-nunginyuput</b>	<i>noonge-noongenyooboor</i> wt
oil		[see 'fat']
old	<b>pirwat</b> <b>ngarm-ngarm</b>	<i>birwat s</i> <i>ngahrm-ngarm wt</i> [see man, old; WW <b>ngarm-ngarm</b> ] <i>paght wts</i> 'how old?'
one	<b>wandhu</b>	<i>wando s, ml, sl, waantoo p, waando w, d,</i> <i>waandhu ml, wundoo wt, wondo s,</i> <i>warndoo t, wanto th, g, wandho m,</i> <i>wyandoo b, wandoo wt</i>
once	<b>wandhu ana</b>	<i>wan-do ur-ner s</i> [given as 'twice' but certainly an error for 'once']
open, to	<b>thupkunga</b>	<i>toop-goong-a wt</i> [WW <b>tjupingaya</b> ]
open your mouth	<b>tapa lu</b>	<i>tah-pahl-loo wt</i>

English	Phonetic	Sources
open your eyes	<b>nalya</b>	<i>nal-yah</i> wt
oppose, to	<b>winginan kapu</b>	<i>wing-in-an-kap-poo</i> wt [see 'no']
ornamental carving	<b>karaki</b>	<i>kar-a-ke</i> s
orphan	<b>punpunluk wanayn-wanayn</b>	<i>poonpoonlook</i> g <i>wunine-wunine</i> s, <i>wanneng</i> f
over, get		[see 'climb']
over there	<b>kanawa</b>	<i>gunaua</i> m1, <i>gunnaua</i> m
overlie, to	<b>windjan</b>	<i>win jon</i> s
overturn, to	<b>martmingura</b>	<i>murt-mingor-ah</i> wt
owl	<b>wirmal kartu</b>	<i>boorte wirmal</i> c [Warr <b>wirmal</b> 'owl'] <i>kur-to</i> wt [also 'mopoke']
owl's cave	<b>wirmal ngrang</b>	<i>wirmal-ngrang</i> s [= 'owl hole']
oyster	<b>waat</b>	<i>wart</i> wt [see 'heat']
paddock	<b>yatatha</b>	<i>yat-uther</i> wt [see 'rail']
pain	<b>puliyn kanggurk</b>	<i>bo-lign-gang-gork</i> wt
painful	<b>yiyan(g)</b>	<i>ye-on</i> s, <i>ee-ong</i> c
paint (red ochre)	<b>lirk</b>	<i>lirk</i> wt
paint oneself	<b>kutinyi</b>	<i>got-inyay-</i> wt, <i>got-inyay-pee</i> 'put on pipe clay' wts
pant, to	<b>ngangon</b>	<i>ngang-on</i> s
paper	<b>lata</b>	<i>latta</i> [WW <b>lata</b> ; poss. borrowing of English <i>letter</i> ]
parakeet	<b>korota</b>	<i>kurrut-ah</i> wt, <i>korotaa</i> 'parrot' s

English	Phonetic	Sources
parrot	<b>pawut</b> <b>kalingal, kayingal</b>	<i>bautpert</i> c <i>kal-ingal</i> s, <i>gai-ing-al</i> wt, <i>king nal</i> 'little parrot' s
parrot, lowrie	<b>turt</b>	<i>tuurt</i> m
partridge		[see 'quail']
path		[see 'track']
peace		<i>wee-angy-birt-pan-loomee-a</i> wt [cf. 'sleep']
peacock	<b>taman kupu</b>	<i>dummun-gobo</i> wt [see 'bird']
pelican	<b>kart pirap</b> <b>parangal</b>	<i>kurtperap</i> d [Warr. <b>kart pirap</b> ] <i>par-ang-al</i> s, <i>parangal</i> s, m, <i>boort parpangal</i> s, <i>boorte parangal</i> c [WW <b>parangal</b> ]
penguin	<b>muna</b>	<i>moo-ner</i> s
penis	<b>wira</b>	<i>wirranhung</i> m [see 'tail']
people, white	<b>kuma-mir, kuma-maa</b>	<i>coomimor</i> c, <i>gooma-mah</i> 'white man' wt, <i>koomamir</i> 'white man' s [= 'green eyes']
peppermint tree	<b>ngaritha</b> <b>waku</b>	<i>ngurrittha</i> m <i>waggo</i> wt
pick, to piece (of tobacco)	<b>ngalanu</b> <b>pirung</b>	<i>ngullannoo</i> wt <i>birroong</i> wts
pigeon	<b>kuren, kurm</b>	<i>koo-ren</i> s, <i>koorm</i> wt [Warr <b>kuri</b> ]
pigface plant	<b>kinga</b>	<i>keeng-a</i> s [Carpobrotus species Gott & Conran 1991]
pine, soft bush	<b>tingi</b>	<i>dinge</i> c
pipe	<b>piyip</b>	<i>peh-eh-nyoong</i> wt, <i>beip</i> wt [English]

English	Phonetic	Sources
pistol	<b>pikyini</b>	<i>peek-yinny</i> wt
plain	<b>wra</b>	<i>wra</i> s [Tjap <b>w[u]rak</b> ]
plait	<b>patawa</b>	<i>patawa</i> s, <i>pillow-wa</i> wt [see ‘string’]
play, to	<b>panyuni</b> <b>prun.nga</b>	<i>bun-yoon-nay</i> wt [see ‘happy’] <i>proon nga</i> s
plenty/many	<b>parung</b> <b>nguwan-nguwan</b> <b>kalayi, kalayitj</b>	<i>paroong</i> s, <i>parung</i> s, <i>paron</i> c [Warr. <b>parung</b> ] <i>oo-an-oo-an</i> s, <i>ngoo-an-ngoo-an</i> <i>ngooinpul</i> s <i>karli</i> s, <i>kar-lai-i</i> w, <i>karlaiitch</i> d, <i>kullaity</i> ‘several’ m, <i>kar-li-e ngoin pool</i> s, <i>gulla-</i> <i>eet</i> wts, <i>kar-li-e</i> s, <i>par oong kar-li-e</i> s, <i>gulla-eet</i> wt <i>carlie paron marton</i> ‘plenty plenty good’ c
plenty/many times	<b>kalayi-arna</b>	<i>kar liur-ner</i> s, <i>karleur-ner</i> s
plover	<b>patherat</b>	<i>puttherat</i> m [Warr. <b>patherat, pithirit</b> ]
point of a thing	<b>wirnma</b>	<i>wirn-ma</i> wt [see ‘sharp’; cf. ‘back tooth’]
poison	<b>lakalawa</b> <b>nan.goru</b>	<i>laga-low-ur</i> wt <i>nangroo</i> [also ‘broad beach grass’] c, <i>nan-gor-ong</i> [also ‘food unfit for eating’] s
poking out tongue porcupine	<b>trumbon thali</b> <b>wilangga, wiyanggil</b>	<i>troom bon ta-le</i> s [cf. ‘tongue’] <i>willangga</i> m, <i>wee-ang-gill</i> wt [Warr. <b>wilanggalak, wilanggil</b> ]
possession	<b>pinakap</b>	<i>pe-nakup</i> s
possum	<b>kuramu</b>	<i>guramu</i> m, m1, <i>kooramo</i> s, <i>kooramoo</i> d, w, <i>guramuk</i> m1, <i>gorrahm-moo</i> wt, <i>koor-</i> <i>amo</i> ‘large’ s [Warr. <b>kuramuk</b> ]
possum skin rug	<b>kuramu tu</b>	<i>goorahm-moo-doh</i> wt, <i>goorahm-mohur-</i> <i>tohur</i> wt [see ‘blanket’]

English	Phonetic	Sources
possum, female	<b>kuramu ngartang</b>	<i>guramu ngurtung</i> m, <i>ngartung</i> b
possum, male	<b>kuramu mamang</b>	<i>guramu mamung</i> m, <i>mamung</i> b
possum, ringtailed	<b>wiyarn</b>	<i>wee-ern</i> wt, <i>wian</i> 'bandicoot' m [Warr. <b>wiyarn</b> ]
potato		<i>tay-tay</i> [= English?]
pour out, to	<b>momingra, moningora</b>	<i>mo ming-ra</i> s, <i>mo-ning-or-a</i> s
precipice	<b>tirimart</b>	<i>ter-e-murt</i> s
pregnant	<b>puya</b>	<i>boo-yar</i> wt [cf. 'stomach']
preserve, to	<b>mara-ungga</b>	<i>marra-oonga</i> wt [also 'conceal'], <i>marroa</i> wt, <i>marrambong-in</i> [=? 'grab'] wts, <i>murroa</i> 'take care of' <i>marroa durrap</i> 'be careful with horse' wts
press	<b>mirma</b>	<i>mir-ma</i> wt, <i>mirma-bambee</i> 'make damper' wt [Tjap <b>mirma</b> , see 'knead bread']
pretend, to	<b>kaliya</b>	<i>kalea</i> m [see 'lie, to tell']
prick	<b>pandu(r)n</b>	<i>bandoorn-nin-nein</i> wt
promise [to]	<b>wong[a]</b>	<i>wong-oong-ngan</i> wt [see 'hear', 'undertake', 'understand'] [see 'irritate']
provoke, to		
pull, to	<b>wirandja</b>	<i>w-rayn-dya</i> wt, <i>wirindya</i> wts [WW, Warr. <b>wirandja</b> ]
pursue, to	<b>muwikawa</b>	<i>moo-ee-ga-wah</i> wt [see 'follow']
push, to	<b>yunda</b>	<i>yoonda</i> s [Warr <b>yunda</b> ]
put on (boots)		<i>mirda dillerung</i> wt

English	Phonetic	Sources
put out (tongue)		<i>damma (dehn) dehngun wt</i>
quail	<b>pirm-pirm</b>	<i>brim-brim s, birm-birm</i> ‘meadow quail’s, <i>birm-birm wt</i> ‘partridge’
quail, high ground	<b>pina warta</b>	<i>pene wurter s, pea-na-wir-ter s</i>
quarrelling	<b>muwiwa</b> <b>lawa</b>	<i>mrooi-wan s, mo-ee-wahn-kan-o-ba wt</i> [see ‘scold’, ‘growling’] <i>la-wan s</i> [see ‘speak’, ‘scolding’]
quench (a fire), to	<b>nakmangun</b>	<i>nak-mung-ngoon wt</i>
question	<b>kanunukuwa</b>	<i>gunnoon-oo-goo-a wt</i>
quick (be)	<b>panpan.kiya</b> <b>wunggunangu</b>	<i>ban-ban-gay-ah wt, ban-ban-gay-a wts,</i> <i>binnangungea m</i> <i>woong-goon-ang-oo wt</i>
quiet, be	<b>kuruwi</b>	<i>kor-e-a s, kooroo-ay-ngun</i> ‘keep silent’ & ‘hold your tongue’ wt, <i>goo-roi-ya</i> ‘behave yourself’ wts
quit, to	<b>yanitingwina</b>	<i>yanny-ding-winna wt</i> [see ‘long ago’]
rage	<b>ka’atma</b>	<i>kah-aht-ma wt</i>
rail or slab	<b>yatatha</b>	<i>yat-uther wt</i> [see ‘paddock’; WW <b>yatatha</b> ]
rain	<b>kapayn, kawayn</b>	<i>carbine t, cupbing th, carbang g, kabain</i> <i>w, kerby p, kawine s, gauany m, ka-wein</i> <i>wt, kawini s1, kowain d, kow-ine s, karen</i>
rain, early		<i>turlo s</i>
rainbow	<b>turayn</b>	<i>turaany m, doo-renn wt, trum s</i>
rat	<b>marmbul</b>	<i>murm-bool wt</i> [cf. ‘fat’]
razor	<b>kirn-kirn-wu</b>	<i>girn-girn-wor wt</i>

English	Phonetic	Sources
reach		[see 'overtake']
red	<b>kan</b> <b>kirikupayt</b> <b>kraumayt</b>  <b>kromilayt</b>	<i>ganhurrung</i> m <i>ker-e-ko-bite</i> s [see 'blood'] <i>krawmy-ayty</i> wt, <i>kraw-mayt-berria</i> [hard to decipher] wt [cf. 'gum'] <i>kro-mil-it</i> s, <i>kro-mel-ite</i> s
red-bill	<b>pirwir</b>	<i>bir-wir</i> s
reflection	<b>wul</b>	<i>wol</i> s [= 'shadow']
refute, to		<i>weik-nyunung-ait-yun</i> wt [see 'no', 'object']
relations		[see 'friend']
relish	<b>wulandon</b>	<i>wul-an-don</i> s
resin, tree	<b>tut</b>	<i>dot</i> wt [WW <b>tut</b> , Tjap <b>tjuwitj</b> ]
resist, to	<b>wrayn</b>	<i>w-rayn-gannun-in</i> wt
rest	<b>tutani</b>	<i>doo-tunnay</i> wt [cf. 'tired'; WW <b>tuta</b> ]
return	<b>wiliyi</b>	<i>willy-eh</i> wt
revenge	<b>wining</b>	<i>weening</i> wt
rheumatism	<b>kuten piyi</b>	<i>gooden-be-e</i> wt
rib	<b>yyir</b>	<i>ye-ir</i> s, <i>yee-rung</i> wt
ride	<b>nyuya ngaru</b>	<i>nyooya-ngurro</i> wt, <i>ngee-win-yoo-wa-ngurro</i> wts [see 'sit', 'horse']
ring	<b>wayunang</b>	<i>waioonung-o-goortonwaikyin-yer</i> wt
rise, to	<b>kanda'a</b>	<i>kanda-ah</i> wt [see 'arise', 'lift', 'up', 'stand up']
river	<b>pawur</b>	<i>bah-wurr</i> wt, <i>pa-woor</i> s, <i>pawer</i> s, <i>wa-un-purri</i> m [WW <b>pukar(a)</b> ]

English	Phonetic	Sources
	<b>yaru</b>	<i>yar-o</i> s [Tjap <b>yaram</b> ( <b>yaram</b> ), Warluwarra (Q) <b>yarra</b> ]
road	<b>wari</b>	<i>wurree</i> wt [see 'track']
roast, to (flesh)	<b>thumba</b>	<i>toom-boan tuman</i> s [= 'roast flesh'], <i>toomba</i>
robe	<b>tjong(g)ayn</b>	<i>jongine</i> s
robin red-breast	<b>tatkana</b>	<i>tat-kana</i> s
rod, wooden, snaring	<b>pram</b>	<i>prahm</i> c, s [see 'catch with snaring rod']
root, edible	<b>mu(r)na</b> <b>marungaya</b>	<i>boorte moorra</i> c, <i>moor-na</i> s, <i>bo</i> s [see 'manna berries'] <i>mar-o-ngire</i> s
root, tree	<b>pram</b> <b>pran(g)kaat</b>	<i>prum</i> s, <i>brum</i> wt [see 'leg', 'thigh'] <i>prung-kart</i> s, <i>prunkart</i> s
rough	<b>patparum</b>	<i>bat-burroom</i> wt
round	<b>mankurt</b>	<i>mangurt</i> [see 'ball']
rug	<b>muka</b> <b>tu</b>	<i>mooger</i> s [see 'head cloth'] <i>tohur</i> wts [see (7) in Grammar]
rum		[see 'spirit']
run, to	<b>wiraa</b>	<i>waa-ih</i> m, <i>wraan</i> s, <i>wirra-oonah</i> 'be off' wts, <i>woorahna</i> wt, <i>wirra-oony</i> 'hunt' wts [WW, Warr <b>wiraka</b> ]
sack	<b>kriyu</b>	<i>kree-or</i> wt
salt		<i>mo-orno-dummun</i> wt [= 'skin flesh' ?]
salt creek	<b>yakayl</b>	<i>yakile</i> c
sand	<b>marlang</b>	<i>mullang</i> wt, m, <i>mur-long</i> s [see 'beach']

English	Phonetic	Sources
saw, crosscut	<b>tirikutpina</b>	<i>dirry-goort-binna</i> wt [Warr <b>tirikun tirikun</b> ]
say	<b>kara</b>	<i>gūrū</i> wts
scold, to	<b>muwiya lawa</b>	<i>mo-i-a</i> m [see 'quarrel'] <i>la-wan</i> s [see 'quarrelling']
scrape	<b>pirn-</b>	<i>birn-noony</i> wt [Tjap <b>pir(t)na</b> ]
scratch	<b>kirta</b>	<i>girta</i> m, <i>girduntn-nun</i> wt, <i>krit-an-in-ine</i> 'you are scratching me' s
scream		<i>yello-inyar</i> wt [= English 'yell'']?
scrotum	<b>puru</b>	<i>burungan</i> m [Warr <b>purung</b> ]
scrub	<b>partpina</b>	<i>burt-binna</i> wt
sea	<b>pangan ngaman ngamath</b>	<i>bang-ahn-ngahm-an</i> wt <i>gunmath</i> th, <i>hammat</i> g, <i>hermat</i> p, <i>nomuh</i> t, <i>ngum-at</i> [also given as 'saltwater crayfish'] s, <i>nammut</i> f [Warr. <b>ngamath,</b> <b>We ngamatj</b> ]
seagull	<b>taruki</b>	<i>tar-oo-ki</i> s
seal	<b>muwa</b>	<i>moo-a</i> s, <i>mooa</i> c
sear, to	<b>nayipat tanung</b>	<i>nai-put-dahnoong</i> wt [see 'wound']
search, to	<b>prip wipa</b>	<i>prip-gooreнна-binna</i> wt <i>wibbun</i> m
seaweed	<b>ngarat</b>	<i>ngar-at</i> s
see, to	<b>n[h]a  ngawiya</b>	<i>na-a</i> s, <i>naa</i> sl, s, <i>naan</i> 'saw' s, <i>nahna</i> 'I see' wt, <i>naka</i> 'seeing' b, <i>nanna-booroo</i> [= 'see long way'] wt [ <b>n(h)a-</b> widespread root] <i>ngawia</i> d, <i>ngawiaboorat</i> w, <i>ngo-un-</i> <i>goong-a</i> 'vigilant' wt

English	Phonetic	Sources
semen	<b>puli</b>	<i>bullinyung</i> m [Dhudhuroa <b>puli</b> ]
send, to	<b>wula</b>	<i>wula</i> m
separate	<b>tura</b>	<i>durrahn-duram-ma</i> wt
serve, to		<i>ngo-ing-ya-wirkbang</i> wt [see ‘take care’]
set fire, light & cook	<b>papa</b>	<i>papa</i> s
seven	<b>puwi-ba-puwi-ba-puwi-ba-wandhu</b>	<i>booei-ba-booei-ba-booei-wandoo</i> [=2&2&2 1]
several		[see ‘plenty’]
sew, mend	<b>kari-iya</b>	<i>kurry-ee-a</i> wt [WW <b>karipi, karpa</b> ]
sexual desire	<b>kata wira</b>	<i>kardan wirannhung</i> m2 [lit. ‘his penis stands’]
shadow	<b>ngam mrat wul, wuwul</b>	<i>ngum-mrat</i> wt <i>wol</i> s, <i>wuul</i> m [see ‘reflection’, ‘make united effort’; Arrernte <b>ulye</b> ‘dappled shade’]
shag	<b>minam-minam</b>	<i>minam-minam</i> s
shake, to	<b>talpi</b>	<i>dulpee</i> wt [see ‘touch’]
shaken, made to move	<b>ngirita</b>	<i>ngir-it-an</i> s
share	<b>kra</b>	<i>kra-we-al</i> ‘we two will share together’ s
shark	<b>nunkula</b>	<i>noon-kolar</i> s
sharp	<b>wirnma</b>	<i>wirn-mir</i> wt [see ‘point’; cf. Warr. <b>wirn</b> ‘tooth’]
shave, to	<b>krin</b>	<i>grin-go-ye-waw</i> wt, <i>grinta</i> s
shell	<b>wirt</b>	<i>wirt</i> wt
shellfish	<b>kuri</b>	<i>koo-re</i> s

English	Phonetic	Sources
	<b>wapuwat</b>	<i>wa-poat</i> s [see 'muttonfish']
she-oak	<b>ngir(ing)</b>	<i>ngir</i> s, c, <i>ngering</i> m
shield	<b>puwamba</b> <b>pruwal</b> <b>malka</b>	<i>boo-womba</i> wt [see 'club'] <i>brooal</i> s [Tjap <b>plural</b> ] <i>malgar</i> s, w, <i>malkar</i> d, s, <i>mulkar</i> 'waddy shield' m
shield, spear	<b>kiram</b>	<i>kiram</i> m [Warr <b>kiram</b> ]
shield-like bushes	<b>pum-pum-art</b>	<i>boom-boom-ert</i> s [cf. 'shield'; see Stewart p. 128]
shine, to	<b>mirnanman</b>	<i>mirnanmun</i> m
ship		<i>woorong-beeg-dyip</i> [= big + English 'big ship'] <i>oorincarto</i> 'big house' c
shirt	<b>poyiwawu</b> <b>tu</b>	<i>poi-waw</i> wt <i>do-on</i> 'your shirt' s [see 'blanket']
short	<b>mu[r]ta</b>	<i>moot-er</i> s, <i>mude</i> m [Kulin <b>murt</b> ]
shoulder	<b>ngitj</b>	<i>ngich</i> s [WW <b>nit</b> ] <i>wurt</i> m [WV, Warr <b>wart</b> 'back']
show	<b>mirpa</b>	<i>mirpah</i> wts
shut [your eyes]	<b>neta</b>	<i>netter-[mung-oon]</i> wt
sick	<b>tawon</b> <b>kun.kurinya</b> <b>tjambilan</b>	<i>taa-won</i> s, <i>toa won-a</i> s <i>gunnguriny</i> m, <i>gon-gerinya</i> wt [see 'unhealthy'] <i>dyahrm-billan</i> wt
side, other	<b>miya-nhung</b>	<i>mianhung</i> m, <i>mianhu</i> m1, <i>mianhung</i> 'this side' b
signal	<b>wul</b>	<i>wol</i> s [Tjap <b>wuri</b> , see 'reflection', 'shadow']
sinew	<b>mru</b>	<i>mro</i> s [see 'tendon', 'ironbark']

English	Phonetic	Sources
sing, to	<b>nhiwiya</b>	<i>nai-woo-ya</i> wt, <i>neewia</i> m, <i>nei-wee-ah</i> wts
	<b>nuripa</b>	<i>ngai-winyay</i> ‘song’ wt, <i>nur-ip-a</i> s, <i>nurip-nurip</i> ‘song’ s
sit there!	<b>taa-inga</b>	<i>taa-ing-a</i> s
sit, to	<b>ingga</b>	<i>inga</i> s, <i>ing-ga</i> ‘sit down’ s
	<b>nyiwī, nyi</b>	<i>nyiwiny</i> m, <i>newia</i> d, <i>ngwia</i> w, <i>ninya-ka</i> ‘sit down’ wt, <i>neinnein</i> g, <i>neen</i> p, <i>nyayn-nyull</i> wt, <i>ngong</i> b, <i>gnumit</i> th
skin	<b>kalkruni</b>	<i>kal-kroon-ay</i> wt
	<b>murn</b>	<i>moorn</i> s, w, e, <i>muurn</i> m, <i>moor</i> s, <i>moor-neign</i> wt, <i>moornong</i> sl, <i>murnung</i> ‘leather’ wt [see ‘cloud’] [Warr. <b>murn</b> ‘skin’; Wakaya <b>menkel</b> , <b>menkard</b> ‘skin’]
	<b>prindja</b>	<i>brindyā</i> wts
sky	<b>ngumbing</b>	<i>ngom-bing</i> wt [also ‘blue’]
sleep, to	<b>luma</b>	<i>lum-a</i> [also ‘lie down’] s, <i>looma</i> wt, sl [see ‘fall’], <i>loomia</i> d, <i>loomai</i> w, <i>loom-mee-a</i> [also ‘lie down’] wt, <i>kooma</i> s [misprint?], <i>loome</i> ‘bed’ wt, <i>loomung-ay</i> wt
	<b>wi, witj</b>	<i>wi</i> m, <i>wity</i> ‘sleepy’ m, <i>wee-a-dyein</i> [‘I’m sleepy’ wts, <i>wiyai djangem</i> [‘I’m sleepy’ wts
	<b>wilitj(a)</b>	<i>wilitch</i> s, <i>wilich-a-wa</i> ‘sleep!’ s, <i>wil-ich-a</i> ‘asleep’ s, <i>bengit wilitj</i> ‘no sleep’ (Hercus 1986:233) [WW <b>wilitj</b> ]
slip, to	<b>yumguna mri</b>	<i>yoom-goorna-mree</i> wt
slow	<b>pira-</b>	<i>beraunginy</i> m
small	<b>muruki</b>	<i>moo-ro-ke</i> s, <i>murugity</i> m, <i>moorooket</i> g, <i>morogin</i> w, <i>moroki</i> d, <i>mooroke</i> s
	<b>win-muli-mula</b>	<i>ninpardie</i> th, <i>nirdee</i> p, <i>narree</i> f <i>wen-mooly-moola</i> wt [see ‘creek’]

English	Phonetic	Sources
smell	<b>ngathiyn ngutarna</b>	<i>ngadhiny</i> m <i>ngo-tur-nah</i> wt
smoke	<b>puwinpiya</b>	<i>bo-in-bee-a</i> wt [see 'blow']
	<b>tunun puloyñ</b>	<i>dorn-oon-ein</i> wt <i>poloign</i> w, <i>purloin</i> d, <i>buluny</i> m, <i>bool-oin</i> s, c, <i>booloing</i> s, <i>booloign</i> 'steam' wt
smoke a pipe	<b>partpa</b>	<i>burtber</i> s
snake	<b>kur(w)ang</b>	<i>koorang</i> w, s, c, <i>krurwang</i> d, <i>gurgang</i> m [WW, Warr. <b>kurang</b> ]
	<b>trop</b>	<i>trop</i> wt
snake, carpet	<b>pinggal</b>	<i>binggal</i> m
snake, innocuous	<b>pilit karatu</b>	<i>belit</i> s [S gives <i>beleter</i> for 'timid'] <i>boorte karato</i> c, <i>boort karato</i> s
sneezing	<b>thin.kun.king</b>	<i>tin-gorn ging</i> s [Warr <b>tjiniya</b> ]
snipe	<b>tata'a</b>	<i>tat-a-a</i> s
soft	<b>patong</b>	<i>battong</i> wt, <i>pat-ong</i> s
sore	<b>kutun wirlap</b>	<i>goton-wo-ein</i> wt <i>wirlip</i> s [cf. 'ochre']
sorry	<b>yapan</b>	<i>yahr-bun-lo-ein</i> [also 'to mourn'] wt, <i>yerban</i> m [see 'mourn']
sour	<b>kilat, klat</b>	<i>glatt</i> wt, <i>gillat</i> m, <i>klut</i> 'bitter, nauseous's
south	<b>wipa</b>	<i>wep-er</i> s
spade	<b>kagart</b>	<i>kagurt</i> wt
spark	<b>mundat</b>	<i>moondur</i> wt [see 'bark']
speak aloud, to	<b>yampa</b>	<i>yumpa</i> s

English	Phonetic	Sources
speak, to	la-	<i>lallan-to-al-nill</i> [also 'talk'] wt, <i>lan-ka s</i> , <i>lawiny m</i> , <i>low c</i>
spear	wirn	<i>whern g</i> [see 'point', 'sharp']; Warr <i>mirn</i> 'tooth']
spear!	pungga (thir)	<i>bungga dir b</i> [see 'spear, reed'] <i>boong-ga wt</i>
spear, long, jag	kuyun, kuwan	<i>kwiuun m</i> , <i>koo-en s</i> , <i>go-un wt</i> , <i>kooen</i> 'war' s, <i>goaan</i> 'war' w, <i>kooun</i> 'war' d, <i>goan</i> 'spear' m1, <i>go-un wt</i>
spear, mallee-wood	punatu thir	<i>boon-er-do-dir s</i>
spear, reed	ponggal	<i>pongor d</i> , <i>bong-gul wt</i>
spear (short, reed)	thir	<i>thur th</i> , <i>dhir m1</i> , <i>ter p</i> , <i>trear t</i> , <i>deer</i> 'reed' m, <i>jirr</i> 'short', <i>tirr</i> 'short' wt, <i>tar b</i> , <i>jirr</i> & <i>tirr</i> 'to aim' wt
spear, tea-tree	wiriyu thir	<i>we-re-o-dir s</i> [= 'tea-tree spear']
speech	ngulu	<i>ngolo s</i> , <i>ngolonung s</i> [see 'word']
speechless	languwin	<i>langgow-in s</i> [see 'speak', 'enough']
spirit, rum	mangguing grag	<i>mango-ing-grag wt</i> [English 'grog'?]
spirit/ghost	kulan truwam	<i>ko-lan-droam s</i> [see 'flesh']
spirit/ghost, evil	walim wur	<i>walim s</i> <i>woor s</i> , <i>woor-a</i> 'dead' s, <i>Woor</i> 'name of an evil spirit' c [see 'corpse']
spirit/life	puwung	<i>bo-ong c, s</i> , <i>Mam-bo-ong</i> 'Great Spirit' [lit. father spirit] c
spit, to	thukipa	<i>thukipa m</i> [Warr <i>thukipin</i> ]
spit	thukun tingata	<i>toog-orn s</i> <i>ding-er-dun wt</i>
splinter, a	lirt	<i>lirt m</i>

English	Phonetic	Sources
split firewood	<b>wilkupa warnap</b>	<i>wil koop-a wurnap</i> s [see 'wood']
spy, to	<b>watuwa ngawun-kunga</b>	<i>wa-to-a</i> s <i>nga-un-goong-a</i> wt
squint	<b>n[h]awiya kapu</b>	<i>nah-wee-a-kahboo-ngeing</i> [= 'see nose']
squirrel, flying	<b>pirang</b>	<i>bir-ung</i> wt
stab, to	<b>pandi</b>	<i>bundee-an</i> wt [see 'to spear'; WW <b>pandi-</b> ]
stand, to	<b>kata</b>	<i>kard-a</i> s, <i>gardiny</i> m [see 'rise']
star	<b>pundjil karantha(k) thaman-thaman</b>	<i>bungel</i> t, <i>boondyi</i> wtl, <i>boongil</i> s, <i>boongil</i> 'planet' s, <i>poonkiel</i> g <i>caranthuc</i> th, <i>karunda</i> p, <i>karundok</i> f <i>tamman-tamman</i> d, <i>taman-taman</i> w, <i>dhumman-dhumman</i> m [cf. 'bird']
star, constellation	<b>tamanpangalam</b>	<i>tum-an-ba-ngal-um</i> s [= 'star and?'; see 'midday']
steal, to	<b>kulima natjungarn</b>	<i>gulima</i> m [see 'hide'] <i>neit-yoong-urn</i> [also 'purloin'] wt [cf. 'thief']
steam		[see 'smoke']
steep descent to water		<i>kaingum</i> s
step, to or a	<b>putorini</b>	<i>port-o-rinny</i> wt
stick, forked	<b>ngiyuru</b>	<i>ngieoora</i> wts [see 'koala']
stick, time-beating	<b>pirang</b>	<i>pe-rang</i> s [see 'crack']
stick, yamstick		[see 'yamstick']
stingray	<b>mama</b>	<i>marma</i> s [Warr <b>mirmi</b> ]
stinking	<b>piya</b>	<i>bie</i> m, <i>be-e a</i> 'dead' s

English	Phonetic	Sources
stockrider	<b>kunambiring</b>	<i>goonam-bering</i> wt
stockyard		<i>wurrong-gorein-barreek</i> wt
stomach	<b>puli, puwi</b>	<i>boole</i> s, <i>boola</i> wtl, <i>boora</i> wtl, <i>bool-e</i> s, <i>bui</i> m, <i>booi</i> w, <i>pooi</i> d, <i>wirrong-boo-ee</i> wt [Warr puloyn]
stone	<b>mari</b>  <b>kut[h]ap</b>	<i>murray</i> wt, <i>moray</i> g, <i>marra</i> th, <i>murre</i> m, <i>mure</i> sl, <i>marre</i> d, <i>mur-e</i> s, <i>marra</i> b, <i>mirry</i> t, <i>marrie</i> p, <i>wa-wurring-lo-er-murray</i> 'rock' wt, <i>murde</i> w, <i>murl</i> s <i>koot-ap</i> s [Wim <b>kutjap</b> ]
stoop	<b>yupa</b>	<i>yoba</i> wt
stop, to	<b>katanga</b> <b>winanga</b>	<i>kardung-un</i> 'cease' wt <i>winna-nga</i> wt [see 'no']
strange	<b>mutjart</b>	<i>moochert</i> s
strike [a light]	<b>pitja</b>	<i>beit-ya</i> wts
string	<b>wirat</b>  <b>patawa</b>	<i>widdaht</i> wt, <i>wirdat</i> 'halter' wt <i>werat</i> s [WW <b>wirat</b> ] <i>patawa</i> s [see 'plait']
stringybark tree	<b>miri, mra</b>	<i>mirre</i> m, <i>m'raa</i> s, <i>meh</i> wt [see 'fern']
strong	<b>pini</b>	<i>binne</i> m, <i>binny-noo-way</i> wt [see 'hard']
stumble, to	<b>tarpan</b>	<i>turban</i> wt [see 'weak']
stump	<b>tjutju</b>	<i>joo-jo</i> wt
stunned	<b>tra</b>	<i>draw-gur-nein-brop</i> wt
stupid	<b>nganggan</b>	<i>ngang-gun</i> wts
subtle		<i>wrang-ginnee</i> wt [= 'bad forehead'?]
suck, to	<b>thatha</b>	<i>dhadhun</i> m [see 'drink']

English	Phonetic	Sources
	<b>papa</b>	<i>baba</i> m
sulky	<b>kulu</b> <b>kuwi</b>	<i>kol-o-tornin</i> s <i>koo-ay</i> wt
summer		[see 'hot']
sun	<b>thirang</b> <b>karu</b>	<i>dhirrung</i> b [WW, Warr. <b>thirng</b> ] <i>karo</i> d, s, c, w, b, <i>carow</i> th, <i>kurru</i> m, <i>carroo</i> t, <i>karroo</i> wt, <i>karoo</i> p, <i>cardoo</i> g [see 'light', 'day']
sun, rising	<b>yungin karu</b>	<i>yoong-in-karo</i> s [= 'throw sun'?)
sunrise	<b>pamon karu</b>	<i>par-mon-karo</i> s
sunset	<b>kapinha karu</b>	<i>kapen-kar-o</i> s, <i>kahpoo</i> [of sun] wt, <i>kabinha kurru</i> [lit. descend sun] m [see 'evening']
surprised	<b>nguna</b>	<i>o-nah-ah-munay-o</i> wt [also 'wonderful']
surround	<b>kalkapani</b>	<i>kalkabarni</i> wt, <i>kul-kuber-nay</i> 'encircle' wt
suspend	<b>mirn.kuwi</b>	<i>mirn-gooee</i> wt [WW <b>mirneti</b> ]
swallow [bird]	<b>wiyt-wiyt</b>	<i>porro-weet-weet</i> wt [WW, Warr. <b>wiyt-</b> <b>wiyt</b> ]
swallow, to	<b>warndama</b>	<i>wurn-damma</i> wt
swamp	<b>lu, luwung</b>	<i>lo-oong</i> wt, <i>lo</i> s [see 'waterhole']
swamp weed	<b>mala</b>	<i>mal-a</i> s
swan	<b>kunuwara</b>  <b>mira...</b>	<i>koonoowarra</i> d, <i>koonowoor</i> s, <i>koo-no-</i> <i>wor</i> s, <i>goonowurra</i> 'goose' wt, <i>gunawar</i> m <i>merangurn</i> w, <i>mirahknguru</i> wt
sweat	<b>ngan.krayn</b>	<i>ngan-grine</i> s, <i>nahng-grein</i> wt

English	Phonetic	Sources
sweep, to	<b>yaranda, yaranma</b>	<i>yaranda</i> s, <i>yarran-ma</i> wt [WW <b>yananba</b> ]
sweet	<b>minang</b> <b>martang walan tarna</b> <b>warlan-warlan</b> <b>nguwit</b>	<i>minnhung</i> m [see 'honey'] <i>mirtong-wallun-durna</i> wt <i>wurlan-wurlan</i> w, <i>warlan-warlan</i> d <i>ngooit</i> s
swim, to	<b>yunani</b>  <b>yanggaya</b>	<i>yoon-un-nay</i> wt, <i>yoonit</i> wt  <i>yunggia</i> m [see 'jump']
swing, to		[see 'throw']
tail	<b>wira</b>	<i>wirra</i> m, <i>wirrahoong</i> wt, <i>weer-an-oong</i> wt, <i>wirrahoonoong</i> 'by the tail' wts [cf. 'whip'; WW, Warr <b>wirang</b> , Ma <b>withangi</b> , WP <b>wirt-mumi</b> ]
take care!	<b>nguwit-nguwit wangiya</b>	<i>ngoe-ngoye-wangy-ah</i> wt
take, to	<b>mana</b>	<i>maana</i> m, <i>mahna</i> wt, <i>mana</i> s, <i>man-an mur-na</i> 'taking hands' s, <i>manen</i> 'take in marriage' c, <i>manan-woo</i> 'take in marriage' s
tall	<b>wurum</b>	<i>wurum</i> m
tarantula	<b>kalap marna</b>	<i>kullap-munna</i> wt [see 'centipede']
tart, acid taste	<b>pitjakun</b> <b>ngapung</b>	<i>pi-cha-koorn</i> s <i>ngarpoong</i> wt
tea-tree	<b>wiriyu</b>  <b>kura</b>	<i>boort wereo</i> s, <i>weery-o</i> wt, <i>wiriu</i> m, <i>boort wereo</i> 'tea-tree scrub' c, <i>we-re-o-dir</i> 'tea-tree spear' s <i>koo-ra</i> s
tear [=?]	<b>prapiya</b>	<i>brubbay-a</i> wt
tear [of eye]	<b>pari ma</b>	<i>purree-mang-ein</i> [= 'water of eye']
tell, to	<b>kapa</b>	<i>gabbamum</i> m, <i>kep-a</i> s, <i>ngah-ah-gwennan-neh</i> 'I told you so' wt

English	Phonetic	Sources
temple	<b>pan.kuwam</b>	<i>bun-go-wum</i> wt [WW <b>ban.koba</b> ]
tendon		<i>mur-mrangoon</i> wt [cf. 'sinew']
tent		<i>tahpoolin-ahn</i> wt [= English 'tarpaulin']
testes	<b>puru</b>	<i>buruungany</i> m2 [see 'scrotum']
thank, to; thankful		<i>doh</i> wt
that	<b>nuwana</b>	<i>nuana</i> m [see 'there']
that side	<b>yamarna</b>	<i>ya murn-a</i> s
that, down there	<b>wanu</b>	<i>wannu</i> m
that, person	<b>thayu</b>	<i>dhaiu</i> m [cf. 'there']
that, up there	<b>kanu</b>	<i>gannu</i> m
that, yonder	<b>kuwalupuru</b>	<i>gwalluburu</i> m [see 'yonder']
there	<b>taa</b> <b>nuwana</b> <b>para</b>	<i>day, taa</i> s [cf. 'that person'] <i>nuana</i> m, <i>nuanu</i> b [see 'that'] <i>barra</i> wts
these two	<b>nangkol</b>	<i>nung-kol</i> s
thief	<b>natmining</b>	<i>nat-min-ing</i> s [cf. 'steal']
thigh	<b>prani</b> <b>karip, krip</b>  <b>pram</b>	<i>brani</i> d <i>krip</i> s, <i>gurreep</i> m, <i>kaiib</i> w [WW, Warr. <b>karip</b> ] <i>prum</i> s [see 'root', 'leg']
thin	<b>lalali</b>	<i>la-la-lee</i> wt [see 'unhappy']
thin, not thick	<b>melat</b>	<i>mel-at</i> s
think, to	<b>pudamuna ngunda</b>	<i>boordam-moonah-ngoonda</i> wt [cf. 'trust']
thinking	<b>ngindon, ngayi</b>	<i>ngen-don</i> s, <i>ngyee</i> wt

English	Phonetic	Sources
thirsty	kurnun	<i>koornernang</i> d, <i>koornoon</i> s, <i>koornoonen</i> w, <i>gurnanany</i> m, <i>koornon-ine pare-er</i> s [=thirsty (for) water], <i>boit-bo-it goornein</i> wt [WW, Warr <b>kutna-</b> ]
this	para marakiya nu	<i>barraqion</i> g <i>murrakia</i> t <i>nu</i> m, <i>ngumiu</i> m1, <i>nang</i> b, <i>noo</i> wt, <i>numiu</i> ‘this perhaps’ m
this side	nu	<i>noo noo gin</i> s, <i>nuanhung</i> m
three	puwatj-ba-wandhu pulayt-ba-wandhu puwi-ba-wandhu	<i>boaty-ba-wandho</i> m, <i>poitpowandu</i> f <i>boolite-ba-wando</i> s <i>boo-ei-ba-wandoo</i> wt [=2 & 1]
three [few]	w(r)awang, w(r)awung  warkapu	<i>wawung</i> m1, <i>wrawoon</i> d, <i>waawong</i> w, <i>warwong</i> t <i>wrow-wong</i> s, <i>wrow-wong</i> ‘four’ s [see ‘few’] <i>workabbo</i> th, <i>worecabbo</i> g, <i>recaboo</i> p
throat	tayar	<i>tai-er-reign</i> wt [Warr <b>talark</b> ]
throat, sore	ku(r)ten	<i>goorten-goornein</i> wt [see ‘neck’]
through	puriyana	<i>bureaha</i> m, <i>buureeanha</i> b
throw, to	yanda yungga	<i>yanda</i> m [WW. Warr <b>yanda</b> ] <i>yoong-ka</i> wt, <i>yoong-gah</i> ‘swing’ wt, <i>yoong-ga</i> ‘toss’ wt
thumb	ngat mara/marna	<i>ngaht-murra-ngein</i> , <i>ngatmur-na</i> s [= ‘mother [of] hand’]
thunder	marndang/ marndal	<i>murn-dung</i> wt [ <b>marnda</b> widespread in southeast Australia] <i>murndal</i> s, d, m, w [see ‘lightning’]
tickle, to	kiyira miyin	<i>ge-eera-mee-en</i> wt
tie, to	kana	<i>kan-a-a</i> s

English	Phonetic	Sources
	<b>wiratama</b>	<i>wirra-damma</i> wt [see 'knot'; WW <b>wiratamba</b> ]
	<b>ponduma</b>	<i>pon doom</i> s
timid	<b>pilita</b>	<i>beleter</i> s [see 'snake, innocuous', 'fear']
tinder or charcoal	<b>ngarn</b>	<i>ngurn</i> wt
tired	<b>tjuwindja</b>	<i>joon-in-ya, toon-in-ya, toonking</i> s, <i>toon-in-you</i> wts [see 'idle']
	<b>thalpan</b>	<i>thulban</i> m
tobacco	<b>pulayn</b>	<i>pooleign</i> wt, <i>birroong-pooleign</i> 'pieces of tobacco' wt [cf. <i>puloyn</i> 'smoke'] <i>baiga, бага</i> wts
today	<b>kirtu</b>	<i>kerdo</i> d, <i>kirdoo</i> w, <i>keto</i> s, <i>kerdu</i> m [see 'by and by']
toe		<i>dinnang-ein</i> wt [see 'foot']
toe, big	<b>ngat thina</b>	<i>ngat-teen-a</i> s [= 'mother [of] foot']
tomahawk	<b>part-part kurt</b>	<i>bort-bort-gurt</i> wt, <i>burt-burt-gart</i> 'hoop' [error?] wt, <i>bart bart-gurt</i> wt [WW, Warr. <b>partpartkurt</b> ]
	<b>kakop(i)</b>	<i>kar-ko-be</i> 'stone axe' s
	<b>karkayn</b>	<i>gurgany</i> m, <i>kana [karra?]-kin</i> wt
	<b>mutjir</b>	<i>motyir</i> b [Warr. <b>muyitjir</b> ]
	<b>ngumali</b>	<i>ngumale</i> sl <i>pirpowerkoort</i> d, <i>peragor</i> s, <i>pirnbagoor</i> w
tomorrow	<b>tiyapa</b>	<i>deaba</i> ml, <i>deab</i> ml, <i>deeab</i> m, <i>deeaba</i> 'in a few days' m, <i>hrahba</i> wt
	<b>kalepa</b>	<i>kalepa</i> s, <i>kal-a-pa</i> s, <i>keap</i> d
	<b>kukapa</b>	<i>koogabar</i> w
tongue	<b>thala, thali</b>	<i>dhee</i> m, <i>talle</i> p, <i>tale</i> s, <i>tal-e</i> s, <i>tulangun</i> th, <i>tallangen</i> g, <i>talla</i> b, <i>thage</i> w, <i>thowe</i> d
tooth	<b>thang(g)a</b>	<i>tunga</i> s, p, <i>tunangain</i> w, <i>tangankerin</i> g,

English	Phonetic	Sources
		<i>tungungun</i> th, <i>dhung-a</i> m, <i>tangha</i> b, <i>tanga</i> d, <i>tangba</i> wtl, <i>tangka</i> wtl, <i>tang-in-ein</i> wt, <i>taing-ein</i> wt
toothache	<b>kim-kim, tjim-tjim?</b>	<i>gim-gim</i> wt
top	<b>tu kini</b>	<i>doh-ginny</i> wt [cf. ‘forehead’]
tortoise, freshwater	<b>puwat</b>	<i>poat</i> s
touch, to	<b>talpi, tulpi</b> <b>tinpa</b> <b>wiyatu</b>	<i>dul-pee-en</i> wt [WW, Tjap <b>tulpa</b> , see ‘shake’] <i>tinba</i> m <i>we-arto</i> s
town	<b>kalayi ngurla</b>	<i>kullaing-ngoolanoong</i> wt [= ‘several camps’]
track	<b>thina</b> <b>wari</b>	<i>tinna</i> w [= ‘foot’] <i>warri</i> m, <i>wurree</i> , <i>war-e</i> s [see ‘road’]; <b>Wim paring</b> ]
track, to	<b>ngunda</b>	<i>ngorn-da</i> s
trample, to		<i>eep-go-a</i> wt
tree	<b>taa</b> <b>ngita</b> <b>pina</b>  <b>wiyal</b>	<i>daar</i> p [Barkly lgs <b>darrangku</b> ‘tree’] <i>ngayta</i> wt <i>peena</i> s, <i>binna</i> t, <i>bidnah</i> g, <i>wirrong-benna</i> ‘tree trunk’ [= ‘big tree’] wt <i>weal</i> th <i>wawilladam</i> f
tree, blackwood	<b>mura, mutha</b>	<i>mura</i> m, <i>mooth-a</i> s, c [WW, Warr. <b>muthang</b> ]
tribe	<b>mriya-mriyil</b>	<i>mray-a-mray-ill</i> wt
trousers	<b>karat krayip</b>	<i>kar-at-kripe</i> s, <i>gurrart-grayp</i> wt
trout	<b>tharkart</b>	<i>durkurt</i> m [Warr. <b>tharkart</b> ]

English	Phonetic	Sources
true	<b>tuwarn</b>	<i>too worn s, tu-arn m, tunbun c</i>
trust, to	<b>pu(r)tam</b>	<i>boordam-munnehn wt [cf. 'think']</i>
try, to	<b>wuna</b>	<i>wunna-wrahdoo-mahning wt</i>
turkey	<b>laa</b>	<i>boort laa s, laa s, c, laay c, lah m</i>
turtle	<b>turanggal</b>	<i>turunggal m [Warr turanggal]</i>
twice	<b>pulayt-ana</b>	<i>boo-lite ur-ner s</i>
twist	<b>wiyanma</b>	<i>wee-an-ma wt, we-an-ma s [WW wiyatma]</i>
two	<b>pulayt puwayt, puwatj pulak</b>	<i>bolite s, boolite s, boolite p, bolaite s1 poaitch d, bo-aty m, boaty m1, booaït w, bo-ai m1, bowait t, boo-ei poolack th, polelack g, pullak f</i>
ulcer	<b>wilipayn</b>	<i>willy-peign wt</i>
umbilicus		[see 'navel']
umbilical cord	<b>piyt</b>	<i>biit m2 [Warr bitj]</i>
under	<b>wiyanung</b>	<i>wee-an-oong wt [cf. 'down']</i>
understand, I don't understand, to	<b>winyinen wang(g)un wang[a]</b>	<i>wennyinnen-wangurn wt [see 'object'] wong-oong-ngan wt [see 'hear', 'promise', 'undertake']</i>
undertake, to	<b>wang[a]</b>	<i>wong-oong-ngan wt [see 'hear', 'promise', 'understand']</i>
unhappy	<b>lalali</b>	<i>la-la-lee wt [see 'thin']</i>
unhealthy	<b>kun.kuronugi</b>	<i>goon-goronn-nughay wt</i>
untie, to	<b>pruta</b>	<i>broota s</i>
unwell	<b>tuwawon</b>	<i>toa won-a s [see 'bad']</i>

English	Phonetic	Sources
up	<b>kanmarna kanda</b>	<i>kunmannha</i> m, <i>kan-murna</i> s [= 'up hand'] <i>kanda-a</i> [see 'rise']
up above	<b>kan ngaru kan marna</b>	<i>kan ngaro</i> c <i>kan-murna</i> 'above' s
up in the clouds	<b>kanmarna murno-nhung</b>	<i>kan-murn-a moorn-o-noong</i> s
up there		<i>kienmunnhu</i> b
urine	<b>thalup</b>	<i>thalubung</i> m [Tjap tjirup]
use, to	<b>nangawul mankan</b>	<i>nang-a-wool-man-kan</i> wt
vacant		[see 'empty']
vain fellow		<i>ngan-gung-wion-a-kill</i> wt
valiant	<b>mirmiran</b>	<i>mermeran</i> m
valley	<b>kuritj</b>	<i>koorich</i> s
vegetables	<b>yiran.wong</b>	<i>yee-ran-wong</i> wt
very	<b>watan</b>	<i>watan</i> wts, <i>waddun</i> wts
vein	<b>talu</b>	<i>dullo</i> wt
venereal vengeance, to take	<b>wambayn wining</b>	<i>wambany</i> m <i>weining</i> wt
vex		[see 'irritate']
visiting, to go	<b>kirwan</b>	<i>kir-won ngoorla</i> s [see 'camp']
voice	<b>ngawayn</b>	<i>nga-wein</i> wt [WW <b>ngawiyān</b> ]
voluntary	<b>yirong</b>	<i>yerong-gaunee-a</i> wt
vomit		<i>kramboiny</i> m, <i>kambo-inya</i> wt
vomiting	<b>krambu</b>	<i>kram-boo-in</i> s, <i>kramboo</i> s [WW, Warr. <b>karnma</b> ]

English	Phonetic	Sources
vulva	<b>nganu</b>	<i>ngunnunhung</i> m
waddy	<b>wiriyn</b>	<i>wiriny</i> m, <i>wirten</i> c, <i>wiriny</i> m1, <i>weereeng</i> wt, <i>wiriny</i> 'hunting club' m
waddy, bootjack-like	<b>puwamba</b>	<i>buamba</i> c [see 'club']
wade, to	<b>kapini pariyu</b>	<i>kahbinny-barryoo</i> wt ['descend in water']
wait	<b>marnka</b>	<i>murn ga-maa-ngine</i> 'wait for me's
waken, to		[see 'arouse']
walk, to	<b>yan-yawi</b>	<i>yan</i> s, <i>yanka</i> s, <i>yannee</i> wt [see 'go'] <i>yowea</i> d, <i>yawiny</i> m, <i>yawia</i> w
wall	<b>kanminupuru</b>	<i>kan-mino-pooroo</i> wt [see 'high']
wallaby	<b>pare, para</b>	<i>parreh</i> wt, <i>parda</i> c
war		[see 'fight']
warding off a blow	<b>kripa</b>	<i>krip-a</i> s
warm	<b>pa'awan</b>	<i>baa-a-wan</i> m [see 'cook']
wash, to	<b>kuma</b>	<i>kooma</i> s, <i>cuma doo</i> 'wash cloth' s, <i>kooma murna</i> 'wash hands' s, <i>kooma kin-e-ngon</i> 'wash face [= 'forehead'] s
watch	<b>na'aru nu karu</b>	<i>na-arroo-noo-garroo</i> wt
watch, to	<b>ngowan.kunga</b>	<i>ngo-un-goong-a</i> [also 'spy', 'vigilant']
water	<b>pari, parik</b>  <b>pinggum</b>	<i>parree</i> p, <i>pare</i> s, <i>barree</i> t, <i>bariquic</i> g, <i>bari</i> w, <i>parri</i> d, <i>purri</i> m, <i>purree</i> wt, <i>par-e</i> s, <i>pardick</i> th, <i>pari</i> s1, <i>peirik</i> f <i>ping-koom</i> s [see 'bag, skin']
waterhen coot	<b>kil</b>	<i>keil</i> s

English	Phonetic	Sources
waterhole	<b>luwung</b>	<i>lo-oong</i> wt [see 'swamp']
wattle, broad-leaved	<b>nalawart</b>	<i>nal-a-wort</i> s [Acacia sophorae 'coast wattle' Gott & Conran 1991]
wattle, fern-leaved	<b>kara</b>	<i>karra</i> s, <i>kurra</i> 'wattle' m
wattle, silver	<b>nakaat</b>	<i>nughart</i> wt, <i>nughur</i> 'wattle' wt
wattlebird	<b>yanggu</b>	<i>yongo</i> s [Warr. <b>yangguk</b> ]
weak	<b>tarpan munem</b>	<i>turpan-moor-nem</i> wt [see 'stumble']
wear out clothes	<b>tutu premna</b>	<i>do-to-brem-na</i> wt
wear/use, to	<b>marten</b>	<i>murten</i> s
well of water	<b>kra</b>	<i>kra</i> s [see 'deep']
west	<b>wangaru</b>	<i>wung-ar-o</i> s
west, down	<b>wiyu</b>	<i>we-o</i> s [see 'down']
west south-west	<b>wangmarayi</b>	<i>wung-murrai</i> b
whale	<b>kantapul</b>	<i>kunt-ar-bool</i> s, <i>kounterbull</i> c [Warr. <b>kantabul</b> ]
what	<b>n[h]an, ngan</b>	<i>nunh</i> m, m1, <i>nan</i> s, <i>ngan</i> s, <i>nun</i> wt, <i>nan</i> wt
what for	<b>n[h]ana</b>	<i>nunnagau</i> m, <i>nunnagany</i> b
what for	<b>n[h]ukayn</b>	<i>nukine-waa</i> s
wheel	<b>pramung</b>	<i>brammoong</i> wt
when	<b>n[h]awet</b>	<i>naw-et</i> s
where	<b>n[h]a, nga</b>	<i>na</i> s, m, wt, <i>nah</i> wt, <i>nga</i> w, <i>nawung</i> wt, <i>nang</i> wt
whine, to	<b>luwing</b>	<i>lor-wing-gahl</i> wt [see 'growl', 'dog']

English	Phonetic	Sources
whip	wirat	wirraht wt [see 'halter', 'string', 'tail']
whiskers	ngarla ngarni	ngullangunna m, ngahl-lang-ay wt, ngur-la nger-ne s, ngur la ngerne s, ngurla nger-ne s1, ngurlangurne d, nurlaurning w [Warr ngarayn] [see 'hair']
whistle	wirp karn wang (k)uwa	wirp-gurn wt wungoa m
white	mamun ngurping wadjanya	marmon s, mar-moon s ngur-bing wt wadyunyea m [English?]
white man	kuma-maa	goomah-mah wt [see 'people, white']
who	nganu(ng)	narnung t, nanung b, ngaanuin m, ahnnoo g, gnanganwalla th, nanu, ngan-oo s
whose	nganu-ngat	ngan-oo-ngat s, ngan noo-at s, ngaanungat m
why	n[h]anigayn	nanny-gein wt
wide	tayu	dai-oo-wull-dirt-ung-pooroo wt
widow/widower	monmutaro wip nganap	monmootaro b weekyhanap g [prob. misprinted or mistranscribed for wip nganap 'no husband']
wifeless	wip mala	weep-malla s [see 'wife']
wind	niritja wuthung (kol)	nerecha s, nir-i-cha s, noredja d, neraiga w [WW naritjak, Tjap ngaratjak] wothong wothong kol s
wing	wirtjir wuwung	wirdyirung wt [see 'feather'] woo-ong s [see 'arm']

English	Phonetic	Sources
wink	<b>miyipmiyipa</b>	<i>mee-ip-mee-y-bah</i> wt [Warr <b>milipa</b> see 'eye']
winter	<b>kunama</b>	<i>koo-na-maa</i> s, <i>goona-meh</i> wt
wipe, to	<b>puwigunga</b>	<i>po-ee-goong-a</i> wt
wire	<b>pirt-pirt-kurt</b>	<i>birt-birt-gurt</i> wt [see 'tomahawk']
within	<b>miyu</b>	<i>mee-o</i> wt
woman	<b>parlar-parlar, pula-pula</b>	<i>purlapurla</i> th, <i>berlubberlipire</i> p, <i>bullah-bullay</i> wt, <i>bullai-bullai</i> m1, <i>pulle-pulle</i> w, <i>bulle-bulle</i> m, <i>bulla-bulla</i> m2, <i>palapalarick</i> f <i>kainganyo</i> d [see 'woman, bad']
	<b>kanyul</b>	<i>kineule</i> s, <i>kine-kine-nool</i> s
	<b>wiyawupalep</b>	<i>weirwoopalep</i> g [see 'man']
woman, bad; widow	<b>kiyan</b>	<i>kearn</i> s [Warr. <b>kiyan</b> ]
woman, maid	<b>thutmirt</b>	<i>thutmirt</i> m [see 'girl']
woman, old	<b>wiyatu iyar</b>	<i>we-at-a-ere</i> s, <i>wi-at-a-wer</i> s, <i>we-arto-ere</i> s
	<b>wrambu</b>	<i>wraambo</i> w <i>por-peg-ngara</i> s
woman, white	<b>witjiniyar</b>	<i>witchinear</i> c, <i>wei-ginya</i> wt, <i>white-neer</i> c [English 'white gin' + fem. suffix] <i>coomimor</i> c [see 'people, white']
woman, young	<b>parumart</b> <b>wiyat kur</b>	<i>baroo-murt</i> s, <i>barrumurt</i> b <i>wiartgur mirrujoata</i> m1, <i>wiatgur</i> 'single woman' m, <i>ngrang-gurk</i> 'gir' wt
womb	<b>panpu</b>	<i>bahn-boon-yoong</i> wt [see 'mother', 'throw']
wombat	<b>muri, mura</b>	<i>moor-eh</i> wt, <i>moree</i> m, <i>moo-raa</i> s [see 'night']
wood	<b>warnam</b>	<i>wurnaam</i> w, <i>wunnam</i> wt [see 'fire']

English	Phonetic	Sources
	<b>warnap</b>	<i>wurnep</i> s, <i>wur-nap</i> s, <i>wurnap</i> d
wool		<i>ngallanoong</i> wt [see 'hair', 'whiskers']
woomera	<b>kumbayn</b>	<i>kooimban</i> w, <i>coomban</i> th, <i>coombang</i> g, <i>gumbany</i> m, <i>koombine</i> p, s, <i>gom-beign</i> wt, <i>kombain</i> d, <i>koombang</i> f
	<b>wiring</b>	<i>wer-ing</i> s [prob. = 'waddy']
	<b>wamba</b>	<i>womba</i> t [see 'club']
word	<b>ngalu</b>	<i>ngullo</i> wt [see 'speech']
worm	<b>tuwiluwi</b>	<i>duello-wee</i> wt
wound	<b>nayipat</b>	<i>nai-put-dahnoong</i> wt [see 'sear']
wrestle, to	<b>mama</b>	<i>mam-a</i> s
wrist	<b>wu</b>	<i>woo</i> s [see 'arm']
wrong	<b>wirang</b>	<i>wirang</i> m, <i>wiranginj</i> ti [= 'bad']
yamstick	<b>kana</b>	<i>kan-a</i> s, <i>kannuk</i> m1, <i>kunna</i> m, <i>kanna</i> m1, m, <i>cana</i> 'large stick' c, <i>kan-o</i> c [scattered cognates inc. Gipps <b>kanayn</b> , see 'club']
yes	<b>nga, ngu, nguwa</b>	<i>ngan</i> s, <i>nga</i> s, <i>ngo</i> d, w, <i>nguh</i> m, m1, <i>oa-ah</i> wt
yes, yes	<b>utj utj</b>	<i>ooch</i> , <i>ooch</i> c
yesterday	<b>wurtu</b>	<i>wuurdu</i> m, <i>wurdu</i> m1, <i>woordoo</i> , <i>woor-doo-in</i> s
yonder	<b>kanawa</b>	<i>gunnaua</i> m
	<b>kuwalupuru</b>	<i>gwallubuuruu</i> b [see 'that']

**Kin terms**

A majority of kin terms appear with more than one gloss, and these glosses can more easily be compared if the kin terms are presented in a block.

Kin terms are commonly recorded with one of the following possessor suffixes, but these are not included in the phonetic transcription.

<b>-ngayn</b> ( <i>-ine</i> )	‘my’
<b>-ngun</b> ( <i>-on</i> )	‘your’
<b>-n[h]ung</b>	‘his/her’

A number of kin terms seem to have a suffix *-i* where no possessor suffix is used, or in some cases *-u*. However, in Stewart kin terms can appear without any suffix.

The glossing given in the sources for the kin terms is not satisfactory and is quite confusing. For instance, **kurapi** is given for both ‘father’s father’ and ‘mother’s father’. This is not like to be correct, but we have insufficient tokens to be able to decide which gloss is likely to be correct and which is likely to be incorrect. In general the glosses given are adhered to.

**Parents**

father	<b>mam, mami</b>	<i>mamoo p, mahmoo g, mamun th, mam-meign, marmi s1, marm s, m, mami d, maam w, mamee b, mahmee g, marmanu ‘father of us all’ c, mar manu ‘our father’ c</i>
father and child	<b>mami kankiniyol</b>	<i>mamee ka-kiniol f</i>
mother	<b>ngat, ngati</b>	<i>ngate s, ngati d, ngahtayng wt, ngaton s, ngaate m, ngat s, ngaan w, ngah-toon ‘your mother’ wt,</i>
	<b>papi</b>	<i>baabee b, pahpe g [also ‘step-mother’] pahpoo g, papoo p, th, babee b, bapindj ti [see ‘milk’, ‘breast’]</i>
mother and child	<b>papi kankiniyol</b>	<i>babee kankiniol b,</i>

**Siblings**

brother, elder	<b>warkali</b>	<i>wargale s, wargul-e s, wirraguli m, wurrakukki w, wargalon s, waree ‘elder brother/sister, wurwall ‘elder brother/sister’ g, wraki wragi d, wah-gre ‘brother’ wt</i>
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brother, younger	<b>tuwati, tuwuti</b> <b>nhiri, nyiri</b>	<i>do-a-te s, dote s, dotine s, too-ootee b, touton</i> ‘brother/sister’ g <i>nere s, nyeri m, nere d, nirring-ngun</i> ‘brother’ wt [see ‘sister, younger’]
sister, elder	<b>tjati, t[h]ati</b>	<i>tyatti m, date s, dat-e s, tati d, daton s, datine s, taatee</i> ‘brother/sister elder’ f
sister, younger	<b>nyiriyar</b> <b>nyuwiyar</b>	<i>nere-er s, nereer s, nirry-ye-reing</i> ‘sister’, <i>nirriur</i> ‘elder sister’ w [see ‘brother, younger’], <i>ne-re-ung s</i> <i>nueyur d, nyuiyur m</i>
brother/sister		<i>nuakraree b, nualdatee b, winguittere g</i>
brother/sister elder		<i>ballecour g</i>
brother/sister younger		<i>wangater b, nallacow coonahtea f</i>

Thomas gives *gagag* as ‘elder sister’, but this is a Warmambool word.

#### *Aunts and uncles*

father’s brother	<b>mami</b> <b>wayti, wayati</b>	<i>marmine wan s, marmine wau s</i> <i>waitine s, wyattee b, waytee g</i> [see ‘nephew’]
father’s sister	<b>yawuri</b>	<i>yowoorie b, yahwoorie g, yower s, yowrine</i> ‘my father’s sister’ s, <i>ya-wurn</i> ‘your aunt’ wts <i>wyatkooree</i>
mother’s brother	<b>ngami</b>	<i>ngum-e</i> ‘uncle’ s, <i>ngumine s, ngam</i> ‘uncle’ wt, <i>nammee f</i> <i>toto g</i>
mother’s sister	<b>papi</b>	<i>baabkoorongee b, pahpe g</i>
mother’s younger sister	<b>mungayn</b>	<i>moongine-ine s</i>

**Grandparents**

father's father	<b>kuruki</b>	<i>koorooki</i> f [also 'father's father's siblings']
	<b>kurapi</b>	<i>koorappe</i> g, <i>koor-ap</i> 'grandfather' s <i>koorapine</i> s (or mother's father!)
father's father's sibs	<b>kurapi puli</b>	<i>koorappe boolee</i> g
father's mother	<b>kro</b>	<i>kro-ine</i> s, <i>kro</i> 'grandmother' s
	<b>pol</b>	<i>poline</i> s
	<b>miman mimi</b>	<i>meeman meemee</i> f [ <i>meeman</i> also 'father's mother's siblings']
	<b>kurapi</b>	<i>koorappe</i> [also 'father's mother's siblings'] g
mother's mother	<b>kro</b>	<i>kro-ine</i> s
	<b>pol</b>	<i>poline</i> s
	<b>kuruki kuruki</b>	<i>gorrokee koorookee</i> [also mother's mother's siblings'] f
	<b>kurapi</b>	<i>koorappe</i> g [also 'mother's mother's siblings']
mother's father	<b>kurapi</b>	<i>goorapon koorappe</i> b, <i>koorappe</i> g <i>koorapine</i> s
mother's father's sibs	<b>parengi</b>	<i>parrenghi</i> f

**Grandchildren**

man's granddaughter	<b>mut</b>	<i>mootngoos</i> s
woman's granddaughter	<b>ngarp</b>	<i>ngurpine</i> s

**Cousins**

father's brother's child	<b>nariki</b> <b>wayat-kuri</b>	<i>narriki</i> f <i>wyetcoore</i> g
mother's sister's child	<b>nariki</b> <b>wayat-kuri</b>	<i>narriki</i> f <i>wyetcoore</i> g

*Cross-cousins*

father's sister's child	<b>miritkil nuratji wayat-kuri</b>	<i>meeretkil nurachee</i> f <i>wyetcoore</i> g
father's sister's daughter	<b>nguper</b>	<i>ngup-rine</i> [also 'niece'] s
mother's brother's child	<b>nariki</b>	<i>narreek nurachee</i> b, <i>narreek</i> g

*Nieces and nephews*

man's brother's child	<b>warangi kupangi way[a]ti</b>	<i>warrangaree coopangee</i> f <i>waitee</i> g
woman's brother's child	<b>warangatirang wayat-kuri</b>	<i>warrangateerang</i> f <i>waiyetcooree</i> g
brother's son	<b>way[a]t</b>	<i>waitine</i> s
niece	<b>nguper</b>	<i>nguper</i> s [also 'father's sister's daughter']
nephew	<b>wunangari</b>	<i>wunangar-e</i> s
man's sister's child	<b>kupagari woninyari</b>	<i>coopagaree</i> f <i>woninyarre</i> g
woman's sister's child	<b>kupagari winyateri</b>	<i>coopagaree</i> f <i>winyattere</i> g

*Sons and daughters*

daughter	<b>kuwar wakulangil</b>	<i>kooer</i> s, <i>goowur-runn</i> wt, <i>koorine</i> s <i>wah-goolong-gill</i> wt
daughter and son	<b>kuputawurang</b>	<i>kooboodaurang</i> f
son	<b>kupung(ki)</b>	<i>cobunke</i> [also 'dau'] g, <i>goo-boong-ngun</i> wt <i>go-book-a-bunnin</i> 'child' wt, <i>go-boos-a-</i> <i>bunnun</i> 'boy' wt, <i>kabung'a-bunnim</i> 'boy' m1, <i>kabunga</i> 'boy' m <b>naturat kupung</b> <i>nadurat-koo-boongnang</i> f

	<b>kungi</b>	<i>koonge s, koong-ine s, koo-ngap-urn-ine</i> 'child' s, <i>koongapurnim</i> 'child' s
<i>Affines</i>		
husband	<b>nganapu</b>	<i>nganap s, gnungapoo th, hamahpo g,</i> <i>ngannaboos wt, annapoo p, manapoo f</i> [Bularnu <b>nganadha</b> ]
	<b>kuli</b>	<i>cooley c</i> [Kulin root for 'man']
	<b>mambil</b>	<i>marmbil m</i> [see 'father']
wife	<b>mala</b>	<i>malanne c, malange s, x, mullaunoo th,</i> <i>mullano g, mala s, maala p, mala f</i>
	<b>ma'a</b>	<i>maha m, maange am mahng-eign wt,</i> <i>mahng-ngoon wts</i>
father's second wife	<b>pap kurungi</b>	<i>baabkooongee f</i> <i>mallanoo g</i> [= 'wife']
	<b>mungayn</b>	<i>moongine-ine s</i> [also 'mother's younger sister']
father's sister's husband	<b>tamuli</b>	<i>tamoolee f</i> <i>annappo g</i> [= 'husband']
mother's sister's husband	<b>wayat</b>	<i>wyattee b, waytee g</i>
mother's brother's wife	<b>yawur</b>	<i>yarworang b, yahwoorie g</i> [= father's sister]
mother-in-law	<b>krinang</b>	<i>krinnung m, krinong s</i>
son's wife	<b>kuner malanhung</b>	<i>koonerine malanung s</i>
brother-in-law	<b>panang</b>	<i>panang s</i> [also 'wife's brother'], <i>pana-</i> <i>ngine</i> 'father's sister's husband' s
daughter-in-law	<b>kunarayn malanung</b>	<i>koonerine malanung s</i>
daughter-in-law, second	<b>kapnin</b>	<i>cupn-nin s</i>

# 5 *Bunganditj–English glossary*

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<b>ba</b>	and	<b>kamipi</b>	get, fetch
<b>ka.apa</b>	gather	<b>kan</b>	red
<b>kaa</b>	club, sharp-edged	<b>kan ngara</b>	east
<b>kaa</b>	grub	<b>kan.kiya</b>	arise, climb
<b>kaatma</b>	rage	<b>kana</b>	cheek
<b>kakart</b>	spade	<b>kana</b>	to tie
<b>kakayi, kookayi</b>	come	<b>kana</b>	yam stick
<b>kakayi-kakayi</b>	jerk	<b>kanak</b>	mouth
<b>kakop(i)</b>	stone axe	<b>kanapakawul</b>	afterbirth
<b>kakwa, kakpa</b>	fish	<b>kanapinan</b>	child
<b>kal</b>	dog	<b>kanat jam</b>	dog
<b>kal kuwu</b>	puppy	<b>kanawa</b>	over there, yonder
<b>kala marna</b>	centipede	<b>kanda'a</b>	rise
<b>kalala</b>	kangaroo hunt	<b>kandiruni</b>	mix
<b>kalamu(r)ni</b>	nip	<b>kan-kan-parnu</b>	ankle
<b>kalap marna</b>	tarantula	<b>kanmanukna</b>	lift
<b>kalawa</b>	converse	<b>kanmarna</b>	up, above
<b>kalayi ngurla</b>	town ['many huts']	<b>kanminayi ngula</b>	high
<b>kalayi, kalayitj</b>	plenty/many	<b>kanminupuru</b>	wall
<b>kalayiyarna</b>	plenty/many times	<b>kantapul</b>	whale
<b>kalepa</b>	tomorrow	<b>kanu</b>	that, up there
<b>kali</b>	to tell a lie	<b>kanunukuwa</b>	question
<b>kalimbul</b>	before	<b>kanuwa kurn</b>	hang a man
<b>kalimun</b>	liar	<b>kanyini</b>	climb
<b>kalingal, kayingal</b>	parrot	<b>kanyiya karu</b>	morning
<b>kaliya</b>	pretend	<b>kanyul</b>	woman
<b>kaliyen</b>	making	<b>kapa</b>	tell
<b>kalkapani</b>	surround	<b>kapanga</b>	boy
<b>kalkruni</b>	skin	<b>kapayn, kawayn</b>	rain
<b>kalnga</b>	cut	<b>kapi(r)</b>	emu
<b>kamar</b>	blood	<b>kapinha karu</b>	evening, sunset

<b>kapini pariya</b>	wade	<b>kayingal</b>	parrot
<b>kapnin</b>	daughter-in-law	<b>kela</b>	saltwater crayfish
<b>kapra</b>	finger, little	<b>kerp</b>	boxwood tree
<b>kapu</b>	descend	<b>ketap-ketap</b>	boomerang
<b>kapu, kawu</b>	nose	<b>kikiran</b>	chase
<b>kara</b>	say	<b>kil</b>	waterhen coot
<b>kara</b>	fern-leaved wattle	<b>kilalu</b>	lancewood
<b>kara natjart</b>	gum	<b>kilat</b>	sour
<b>kara-al</b>	white cockatoo	<b>kilin</b>	black magpie
<b>karaki</b>	ornamental carving	<b>kilpa</b>	fill
<b>karantha(k)</b>	star	<b>kim-kim , tjim?</b>	toothache
<b>karat krayip</b>	trousers	<b>kinga</b>	pigface plant
<b>karatkat</b>	morning	<b>kini</b>	forehead, headland
<b>karatu</b>	innocuous snake	<b>kinipa, tjinipa</b>	carry
<b>kari</b>	bandicoot	<b>kiniyang</b>	Cape Northumberland
<b>kari-iya</b>	mend, sew	<b>kiram</b>	spear shield
<b>karim</b>	lizard	<b>kiriyo</b>	native bag
<b>karimarta</b>	bank of lake	<b>kirlap</b>	deep
<b>karip</b>	thigh	<b>kirnang</b>	mother-in-law
<b>karkayn</b>	tomahawk	<b>kirn-kirn-wu</b>	razor
<b>karnda</b>	call	<b>kirta</b>	scratch
<b>kart</b>	inland	<b>kirtu</b>	today, by and by
<b>kart pirap</b>	pelican	<b>kirwan</b>	go visiting
<b>kartpan(u)</b>	four	<b>kitho</b>	by and by
<b>kartpari</b>	old man	<b>kitju</b>	mosquito, small ant
<b>kartu</b>	owl	<b>kiyan</b>	bad woman, widow
<b>karu</b>	day, light, sun	<b>kiyi</b>	native cat
<b>karumbak</b>	heaven	<b>kiyira miyin</b>	tickle
<b>karutu(r)</b>	winter camp	<b>klat kurn</b>	unfriendly man
<b>kata</b>	stand	<b>kokpa</b>	mullet
<b>kata wira</b>	sexual desire	<b>kolkol</b>	bashful
<b>katanga</b>	stop	<b>kongaparim</b>	baby
<b>katim-katim</b>	boomerang	<b>konkro</b>	crayfish, freshwater
<b>kawayn</b>	rain	<b>korota</b>	parakeet
<b>kawi(r)</b>	emu	<b>kowaparning</b>	baby
<b>kawiyang</b>	in front	<b>kra</b>	deep, well of water
<b>kawu</b>	nose	<b>kra</b>	blood
<b>kayi</b>	calling attention		

<b>kra</b>	share	<b>kunal</b>	kilt
<b>krambu</b>	vomiting	<b>kunam</b>	female baby
<b>kranga</b>	nurse a child	<b>kunama</b>	winter
<b>krapa</b>	emu	<b>kunambiring</b>	stockrider
<b>krawumayt pina</b>	red gum	<b>kunangun warnam</b>	chop wood
<b>krin</b>	shave	<b>kunarayn</b>	daughter-in-law
<b>kripa</b>	warding off a blow	<b>malanhung</b>	
<b>kripung</b>	hailstones	<b>kunarni</b>	make, build
<b>kripungkurayn</b>	mountain	<b>kunatku</b>	baby, male
<b>kriwu(r)nin</b>	kick	<b>kuner malanhung</b>	son's wife
<b>kriyu</b>	sack	<b>kunga parnayn</b>	child
<b>kro</b>	grandmother	<b>kungi</b>	son
<b>krum</b>	duck, musk	<b>kun-kun</b>	heavy
<b>kruwandam</b>	cormorant	<b>kunuwara</b>	swan
<b>ku(r)ten</b>	sore throat	<b>kunyi</b>	lie concealed
<b>kukapa</b>	tomorrow	<b>kupakari</b>	sister's child
<b>kukayi</b>	come	<b>kupanga</b>	lamb
<b>kukniyin</b>	to hold	<b>kupon prama</b>	snare, catch
<b>kula</b>	egg	<b>kupuka parnayn</b>	child
<b>kulal</b>	fish	<b>kupung(ki)</b>	son
<b>kulan truwam</b>	spirit, ghost	<b>kuputawurang</b>	daughter and son
<b>kulanggil</b>	mad	<b>kura</b>	tea-tree
<b>kuli</b>	angry	<b>kura, kuri</b>	kangaroo
<b>kuli</b>	husband	<b>kuramu</b>	possum
<b>kuli-</b>	to hide	<b>kuramu mamang</b>	male possum
<b>kulima</b>	hide, steal	<b>kuramu ngartang</b>	female possum
<b>kulongkil</b>	octopus	<b>kuramu tu</b>	possum skin rug
<b>kulu</b>	sulky	<b>kurapi</b>	grandparent
<b>kulu pun</b>	blind	<b>kuren, kurm</b>	pigeon
<b>kuma</b>	green	<b>kuri</b>	shellfish
<b>kuma</b>	hot, heat	<b>kuritj</b>	valley
<b>kuma</b>	wash	<b>kurm</b>	pigeon
<b>kuma mir</b>	white person	<b>kurn</b>	neck/throat
<b>kumbayn</b>	woomera	<b>kurnun</b>	thirsty
<b>kun.kuronugi</b>	sick, unhealthy	<b>kuruk</b>	blood
<b>kuna</b>	build	<b>kuruki</b>	father's father
<b>kuna</b>	excrement, bowels	<b>kuruki kuruki</b>	mother's mother
<b>kuna</b>	canoe	<b>kurukitj</b>	corella

<b>kuruta</b>	obliterate	<b>liyi</b>	fingernails
<b>kuruwi</b>	be quiet	<b>longlong</b>	bark
<b>kurwang</b>	snake	<b>lu</b>	mouth
<b>kuten piyi</b>	rheumatism	<b>lu, luwung</b>	heart, liver
<b>kut[h]ap</b>	stone	<b>lu, luwung</b>	swamp
<b>kutinyi</b>	paint oneself	<b>luma</b>	sleep
<b>kutu nganap=lung</b>	jealous	<b>luman</b>	living
<b>kutun</b>	sore	<b>lumawa</b>	fall down
<b>kuwa</b>	ask	<b>lunga</b>	cry
<b>kuwa</b>	egg	<b>luwanupan.ngarat</b>	bridle
<b>kuwalupuru</b>	that, yonder	<b>luwing, luwiyn</b>	whine, growl
<b>kuwar</b>	daughter	<b>ma(r)lang</b>	sand, beach
<b>kuwartu</b>	four	<b>ma'a</b>	fern root
<b>kuwatam ngarla</b>	grey hair	<b>ma'a</b>	wife
<b>kuwang</b>	kookaburra	<b>maa</b>	white cockatoo
<b>kuwayn</b>	grey kangaroo	<b>maayira</b>	fern straw
<b>kuwi</b>	sulky	<b>mala</b>	wife
<b>kuwi-</b>	irritate	<b>mala</b>	swamp weed
<b>kuwinyi</b>	chafe	<b>malambil</b>	married
<b>kuwirang</b>	nit of louse	<b>mala</b>	bewitched
<b>kuwu</b>	cold, cough	<b>malayaman</b>	jealous
<b>kuya</b>	eel	<b>malka</b>	shield
<b>kuympi</b>	branch, tree	<b>mam, mami</b>	father
<b>kuyun, kuwan</b>	spear, long, jag	<b>mama</b>	stingray
<b>la-</b>	speak	<b>mama</b>	wrestle
<b>laa</b>	turkey	<b>mambil</b>	husband
<b>lakalawa</b>	poison	<b>mambuwang</b>	great spirit
<b>lakuriya</b>	heaven	<b>mami kankiniyol</b>	father and child
<b>lalali</b>	unhappy, thin	<b>mamun</b>	white
<b>lan ngaru</b>	up above	<b>mana</b>	get, take, bring
<b>languwin</b>	speechless	<b>manan</b>	naked
<b>lap</b>	small fish	<b>manani</b>	foreskin
<b>lata</b>	paper	<b>manat</b>	make
<b>lawa</b>	scolding	<b>manat ja</b>	crayfish
<b>leng</b>	white gum	<b>mangginy(a)</b>	dusk, night
<b>letim-letim</b>	boomerang	<b>manguing krak</b>	spirit, rum
<b>lirk</b>	paint (red ochre)	<b>mangian</b>	long ago
<b>lirt</b>	a splinter	<b>mankurt</b>	round, ball

<b>manta</b>	native apple	<b>maruwiya</b>	fist
<b>manukin</b>	beyond	<b>mata</b>	brologa
<b>manunga</b>	woo	<b>maynpurniya</b>	embrace
<b>manyiyn</b>	blind	<b>melat</b>	thin
<b>mapun ngar</b>	on horseback	<b>milpa</b>	to bend, fold
<b>mara</b>	hand	<b>milwing</b>	joint
<b>maraan</b>	dawn	<b>miman mimi</b>	father's mother
<b>marakalayn</b>	headband	<b>mimira</b>	glad
<b>marakiya</b>	this	<b>minam-minam</b>	shag
<b>marandja</b>	crayfish	<b>minang</b>	honey, sweet
<b>marapina</b>	corroboree	<b>minanmun</b>	lightning
<b>mara-ungga</b>	preserve	<b>minda</b>	to fly
<b>mara-wu</b>	right arm	<b>mingru</b>	near
<b>mari</b>	stone	<b>mir</b>	eye
<b>mari</b>	female kangaroo	<b>mira</b>	stringy bark tree
<b>mari tu</b>	kangaroo skin	<b>mira</b>	swan
<b>marlang</b>	sandy beach	<b>miraman</b>	canoe
<b>marlayt-mrat</b>	autumn	<b>miran, mraa</b>	white cockatoo
<b>marmbul</b>	rat	<b>miriyt</b>	ground
<b>marn.ka</b>	wait for	<b>miritkil nuratji</b>	father's sister's child
<b>marna</b>	hand, fingers	<b>mirma</b>	press
<b>marnat</b>	naked	<b>mirma pempi</b>	knead
<b>marndal/marndang</b>	thunder	<b>mirmiran</b>	valiant
<b>marndal mrit</b>	earthquake	<b>mirn.kuwi</b>	suspend
<b>marnpuwi</b>	fat	<b>mirnanman</b>	shine
<b>marnt(puli)</b>	fat	<b>mirnat</b>	bullrush
<b>mart</b>	chest	<b>mirpa</b>	show
<b>martang walan</b>	sweet	<b>miyaki</b>	kangaroo apple
<b>tarna</b>		<b>miyanhung</b>	other side
<b>marten</b>	to wear/use	<b>miyi</b>	fern, bracken
<b>martkuwal</b>	hot, heat	<b>miyipmiyipa</b>	wink
<b>martmingura</b>	overturn	<b>miyu</b>	within
<b>martu(ng)</b>	good	<b>moirat</b>	ashes
<b>maruki purtpuwi</b>	month	<b>momingra,</b>	pour
<b>marukilu</b>	mouse	<b>moningora</b>	
<b>marungaya</b>	root	<b>monal</b>	black
<b>maruni</b>	married	<b>monmutaru</b>	widow(er)
<b>maruwa</b>	hold fast	<b>mopi mara</b>	clasp the hands

<b>moyiwal</b>	ant-heap	<b>murt wrang</b>	deaf
<b>mra</b>	stringybark	<b>murt(a)</b>	blunt, short
<b>mraat</b>	ground	<b>muru</b>	kidney
<b>mrata'al</b>	fellow countryman	<b>muruki</b>	small
<b>mri</b>	mud	<b>muruki pikpuwak</b>	calf
<b>mri marna</b>	dirty	<b>mut</b>	man's granddaughter
<b>mriya-mriyil</b>	tribe	<b>mutha</b>	lightwood, blackwood
<b>mroyn</b>	bulldog ant	<b>mutir</b>	small man
<b>mru</b>	sinew	<b>mutjana</b>	not to know
<b>mruk</b>	ironbark tree	<b>mutjart</b>	strange
<b>mruwi</b>	growling	<b>mutjir</b>	tomahawk
<b>mu(r)na</b>	manna-berries	<b>mut-mut</b>	cold
<b>mu(r)na</b>	edible root	<b>mutuna</b>	cold
<b>muka</b>	rug	<b>muwa</b>	seal
<b>muka pup</b>	head cloth	<b>muwikawa</b>	to pursue, follow
<b>mul</b>	night	<b>muwiwa</b>	quarreling
<b>mula</b>	fish hawk	<b>muwiya</b>	scold
<b>muloyn</b>	fly	<b>nakaat</b>	silver wattle
<b>mum</b>	bottom, rump	<b>nakmangun</b>	quench (a fire)
<b>mundat</b>	spark	<b>nalakawu kunatiya</b>	younger sibling
<b>mungayn</b>	mother's younger sister	<b>nalawart</b>	broad-leaved wattle
<b>munmari</b>	cloud	<b>nan marna</b>	forefinger
<b>mun-mun</b>	cold	<b>nan.koru</b>	poison
<b>mun-mut</b>	cold	<b>nana</b>	chin
<b>muna</b>	penguin	<b>nangawul mankan</b>	to use
<b>mur</b>	night	<b>nanggol</b>	these two
<b>mura</b>	blackwood	<b>narankak</b>	club
<b>murangal</b>	boy	<b>nariki</b>	cousin
<b>murapa</b>	club	<b>natjima</b>	awake
<b>muri</b>	wombat	<b>natjungarn</b>	steal
<b>murn</b>	skin	<b>natmining</b>	thief
<b>murna</b>	louse	<b>naturat kupung</b>	son
<b>murndat</b>	bark	<b>nawayt</b>	honey
<b>murno(ng)</b>	cloud	<b>nawiya kapu</b>	squint
<b>murntak</b>	canoe	<b>nayipat</b>	wound
<b>murnu</b>	heaven	<b>nayipat tanung</b>	sear
<b>murt mir</b>	blind	<b>neta</b>	shut [your eyes]

<b>neting wrang</b>	deaf	<b>ngarta</b>	lake
<b>nga, ngu, nguwa</b>	yes	<b>ngat mara/marna</b>	thumb
<b>ngala ngarni</b>	whiskers	<b>ngat thina</b>	big toe
<b>ngalang</b>	echo	<b>ngat, ngati</b>	mother
<b>ngalanu</b>	to pick	<b>ngatha</b>	bite
<b>ngali</b>	frost	<b>ngathiyn</b>	smell
<b>ngalu</b>	word	<b>ngatmal</b>	female
<b>ngalu karu</b>	midday	<b>ngatpa</b>	to join
<b>ngam mrat</b>	shadow	<b>ngawayn</b>	voice
<b>ngamat</b>	sea	<b>ngawiya</b>	to see
<b>ngami</b>	mother's brother	<b>ngawun.kunga</b>	to spy
<b>ngan tanga</b>	to grin	<b>ngaying, ngin,</b>	no
<b>ngan.ging</b>	vain man	<b>ngayn</b>	
<b>ngan.krayn</b>	sweat	<b>ngind</b>	thinking
<b>ngana-ayn wulnuwi</b>	keep	<b>ngir(ing)</b>	she-oak
<b>ngananang</b>	vulva	<b>ngirata</b>	white gum
<b>nganapu</b>	husband	<b>ngiri</b>	eagle
<b>ngangan kuman</b>	faint	<b>ngiringgi</b>	old man
<b>nganggan</b>	stupid	<b>ngirita</b>	shaken
<b>ngangmal</b>	girl	<b>ngita</b>	tree
<b>ngangon</b>	pant	<b>ngitj</b>	shoulder
<b>nganin-nganin</b>	bat	<b>ngiyuru</b>	forked stick
<b>nganu(ng)</b>	who?	<b>ngiyuru muru</b>	koala
<b>nganungat</b>	whose?	<b>ngowan.kunga</b>	watch
<b>ngapul kithu</b>	later	<b>ngrang</b>	hole in the rocks
<b>ngapung</b>	taste	<b>ngu(r)li</b>	white currant bush
<b>ngar</b>	horse	<b>ngukikata</b>	obstruct
<b>ngar(a)m-ngar(a)m</b>	old (man)	<b>ngukurn</b>	nod the head
<b>ngara'angan</b>	noise	<b>ngula</b>	camp
<b>ngarak</b>	moon	<b>ngulu</b>	speech
<b>ngaran.kuwi</b>	nimble	<b>ngum</b>	apple
<b>ngarapayn</b>	crane	<b>ngumali</b>	tomahawk
<b>ngarat</b>	seaweed	<b>ngumaroyn</b>	girl's apron
<b>ngaritha</b>	peppermint tree	<b>ngumbing</b>	blue sky
<b>ngarla</b>	hair	<b>nguna</b>	surprised
<b>ngarn</b>	tinder or charcoal	<b>ngunap</b>	lizard
<b>ngarp</b>	native apple	<b>ngunda</b>	to track
<b>ngarp</b>	[see kinship list]	<b>nguper</b>	niece

<b>ngurla wuru</b>	moustache	<b>nyi, nyiwi</b>	to sit
<b>ngurping</b>	white	<b>nyiri, nhiri</b>	younger brother
<b>ngutarna</b>	smell	<b>nyiriyar, nhiriyar</b>	younger sister
<b>ngutruni</b>	bawl	<b>nyiwiyi</b>	kneel
<b>nguwan-nguwan</b>	plenty/many	<b>puranyilayn</b>	
<b>nguwi-nguwi</b>	take care!	<b>nyuwiyar</b>	younger sister
<b>wangiya</b>		<b>nyuya ngaru</b>	ride
<b>nguwipu</b>	good	<b>pa</b>	old
<b>nguwit</b>	sweet	<b>pa-</b>	hit
<b>nguyi-nguyi-</b>	take care	<b>pa.anggin</b>	to gallop
<b>wangiya</b>		<b>pa'awan</b>	warm
<b>nha</b>	where	<b>paa</b>	bone
<b>nha</b>	see	<b>paap</b>	female breast, milk
<b>nha'aru nu karu</b>	watch	<b>paat</b>	nut
<b>nhalya</b>	open eyes	<b>paatwiri</b>	entrails
<b>nhan</b>	what	<b>pala</b>	hot, heat
<b>nhana</b>	what for?	<b>paletang</b>	fear
<b>nhanikayn</b>	why?	<b>palikur</b>	elder sibling
<b>nhapar</b>	how many?	<b>palimbal</b>	butterfly
<b>nhawet</b>	when	<b>palkwiri</b>	bowels
<b>nhiko</b>	ant	<b>pambi, pambi</b>	bread, damper
<b>nhiri, nyiri</b>	younger brother	<b>pamon karu</b>	sunrise
<b>nhiriyar, nyiriyar</b>	younger sister	<b>pan.kuwam</b>	temple
<b>nhiwiya</b>	sing	<b>panang</b>	brother-in-law
<b>nirit ja</b>	wind	<b>pandi</b>	stab
<b>nonwula</b>	fish	<b>pandu(r)n</b>	prick
<b>nu</b>	here, this	<b>pangal</b>	doctor, wise man
<b>nuka</b>	die: dying	<b>pangan ngaman</b>	sea
<b>nukayn</b>	what for?	<b>panggit</b>	gun
<b>nungi-nunginyuput</b>	often	<b>pang-pang</b>	gun, pistol
<b>nunkula</b>	shark	<b>pang-pang-panu</b>	boggy
<b>nuri</b>	name	<b>panpan.kiya</b>	quick
<b>nuripa</b>	die	<b>panpu</b>	womb
<b>nurnu</b>	louse	<b>panu</b>	back
<b>nurom</b>	temporary camp	<b>panu-paa</b>	backbone
<b>nuwa</b>	die, dead	<b>panur</b>	grave
<b>nuwana</b>	there, that	<b>panyong puwayn</b>	happy
<b>nuwang(g)uwa</b>	hearing	<b>panyuni</b>	to play
<b>nuwin nuwa</b>	enough, no more		

<b>papa</b>	suck	<b>pat</b>	hail
<b>papa</b>	set a fire	<b>patarnputu</b>	burn
<b>papa ngarla</b>	mourning	<b>patawa</b>	string, plait
<b>papambup</b>	milk	<b>patherat</b>	plover
<b>papatha</b>	young man	<b>patiwi</b>	bury
<b>papel-papel</b>	bread	<b>patom</b>	goose
<b>papi</b>	mother	<b>patong</b>	soft
<b>papi kankiniyol</b>	mother and child	<b>patparum</b>	rough
<b>papung</b>	butter	<b>pawuna</b>	bore
<b>para</b>	do not	<b>pawur</b>	river
<b>para</b>	this, there	<b>pawut</b>	parrot
<b>parama</b>	to break	<b>payatang</b>	lightning
<b>parang</b>	child	<b>payim-payim</b>	bird's beak
<b>parangal</b>	pelican	<b>penambol</b>	stringybark forest
<b>parayn</b>	knee	<b>peniyiya</b>	making
<b>parayt, paratj,</b>	girl	<b>pi</b>	navel
<b>parak</b>		<b>pik puwak</b>	cattle
<b>pare</b>	wallaby	<b>pikyini</b>	pistol
<b>parengayn krong</b>	expression of pity	<b>pilit</b>	innocuous snake
<b>parengi</b>	mother's father's siblings	<b>pilita</b>	timid
<b>pari</b>	water, juice	<b>pina</b>	tree
<b>pari</b>	bottom/rump	<b>pina warta</b>	high ground quail
<b>pari ma</b>	tear [in eye]	<b>pinakap</b>	possession
<b>pari(k)</b>	water	<b>pinangal</b>	large gull
<b>paringgat</b>	mushroom	<b>pinggal</b>	carpet snake
<b>parip</b>	log	<b>pingkum</b>	skin bag
<b>parlar-parlar</b>	woman	<b>pingkum</b>	water
<b>parna</b>	black duck	<b>pini</b>	hard, strong
<b>parna</b>	native dog	<b>piniwa</b>	deaf
<b>parna kupa</b>	teal duck	<b>pinyang(g)u</b>	wood duck
<b>parnpul</b>	blossom	<b>pira-</b>	slow
<b>parpuwa lumiya</b>	destroy	<b>pirang</b>	flying squirrel
<b>part-part kurt</b>	tomahawk	<b>pirang</b>	stick (beat time), crack
<b>parta</b>	white ant egg	<b>pirin</b>	Mount Gambier
<b>partpa</b>	smoke a pipe	<b>pirit</b>	minah (bird)
<b>partpina</b>	scrub	<b>pirknayal</b>	god
<b>parumart</b>	young woman	<b>pirm-pirm</b>	quail
<b>parung</b>	plenty, many		

<b>pirn-</b>	scrape	<b>pulayt arna</b>	twice
<b>pirtang marndal</b>	lightning	<b>pulayt-ba-pulayt</b>	four
<b>pirt-pirt-kurt</b>	wire	<b>pulayt-ba-pulayt- ba-wandhu</b>	five
<b>pirwat</b>	old	<b>puli</b>	semen
<b>pirwir</b>	red-bill	<b>puli, puwi</b>	stomach
<b>pitja</b>	strike [a light]	<b>puliyn kanggurk</b>	pain
<b>pitjakun</b>	tart, acid	<b>pulongga</b>	blow with breath
<b>pitpit mula</b>	jumper ant	<b>puloyn</b>	smoke
<b>piya</b>	stinking	<b>puloyt</b>	boxwood tree
<b>piyal</b>	red gum	<b>pum</b>	shield-like bushes
<b>piyi</b>	chalk	<b>pumwa</b>	leg
<b>piyi</b>	pipe	<b>punang</b>	flour
<b>piyt</b>	umbilical cord	<b>punatu thir</b>	mallee spear
<b>pol</b>	grandmother	<b>pundjil</b>	star
<b>ponggal</b>	reed spear	<b>pung(g)a</b>	making
<b>ponyinin</b>	fall	<b>pungang, puwang</b>	vegetable food
<b>popak</b>	baby	<b>pungga</b>	spear!
<b>pram</b>	thigh	<b>punging</b>	bathe, dive
<b>pram</b>	snaring rod	<b>punpunluk</b>	orphan
<b>pram</b>	tree root	<b>punya</b>	drop
<b>pramung</b>	wheel	<b>pup</b>	head
<b>prangkaat</b>	tree root	<b>pupatu thuwinam</b>	bullfrog
<b>prani</b>	thigh	<b>pupik, pupitj</b>	hill
<b>prapiya</b>	tear	<b>pupup</b>	child
<b>prawulu</b>	between	<b>purap-purap-puna</b>	gunpowder
<b>prindja</b>	to skin	<b>puriyana</b>	through
<b>pring(g)a</b>	kangaroo dog	<b>purtpuwi</b>	moon
<b>prip</b>	search	<b>puru</b>	far or long way off
<b>prun.nga</b>	play	<b>puru</b>	scrotum, testes
<b>prunanpa</b>	dancing	<b>puruwa-nganu- yanu</b>	avoid
<b>pruta</b>	untie	<b>puruwong</b>	end
<b>pruwal</b>	shield	<b>putama</b>	to know
<b>pu(r)tam</b>	trust	<b>putamuna ngunda</b>	think
<b>pulak</b>	two	<b>putayn</b>	hardened, burnt
<b>pulan</b>	bittern	<b>puthu</b>	grass
<b>pulat</b>	leaf	<b>putkan</b>	club
<b>pulayn</b>	tobacco	<b>putorini</b>	a step, to step
<b>pulayt</b>	two		

<b>puwamba</b>	club, waddy	<b>tata'a</b>	snipe
<b>puwang</b>	vegetable food	<b>tatkana</b>	robin red-breast
<b>puwat</b>	freshwater tortoise	<b>tatuwa</b>	to cut
<b>puwayt, puwatj</b>	two	<b>tawon</b>	sick
<b>puwi</b>	stomach	<b>tayar</b>	throat
<b>puwi</b>	shirt	<b>taynpun</b>	mocking
<b>puwi-ba-puwi-wandhu</b>	five	<b>tayu</b>	wide
<b>puwikunga</b>	wipe	<b>ten</b>	lame
<b>puwin kul</b>	reed necklace	<b>thala, thali</b>	tongue
<b>puwinpa</b>	blow with breath	<b>thaliyn</b>	elbow
<b>puwinpiya</b>	smoke	<b>thalpan</b>	tired
<b>puwung</b>	spirit/life	<b>thalup</b>	urine
<b>puwuth</b>	liver	<b>thamanpangalam</b>	star, constellation
<b>puya</b>	pregnant	<b>thaman-thaman</b>	star
<b>ranglu</b>	greedy	<b>thanan</b>	copulation
<b>ta(r)-parn(i)</b>	girl's apron	<b>thanga</b>	tooth
<b>taa</b>	tree	<b>tharak</b>	dew
<b>taa</b>	there	<b>tharang</b>	cherry (tree)
<b>taa-inga</b>	sit there!	<b>t[h]aripa</b>	catch
<b>taku</b>	back	<b>tharkart</b>	trout
<b>talpi, tulpi</b>	touch, shake	<b>thatha-</b>	to drink, suck
<b>taltu</b>	ice	<b>thayi</b>	to eat
<b>talu</b>	vein	<b>thayu</b>	that, person
<b>taman kupu</b>	peacock	<b>thin.kun.king</b>	sneezing
<b>tamuli</b>	father's sister's husband	<b>thina</b>	foot, footprint
<b>tanaat</b>	elder	<b>thir</b>	eat
<b>tangatangin.kuwi</b>	murmur	<b>thir</b>	spear (short, reed)
<b>tap</b>	light, not heavy	<b>thirang</b>	sun
<b>tapalu</b>	open mouth	<b>thukipa</b>	to spit
<b>tarawu pup</b>	hit	<b>thukun</b>	spit
<b>taro-wu</b>	left arm	<b>thuman</b>	flesh
<b>tarpan</b>	stumble	<b>thumba</b>	roast
<b>tarpan munem</b>	weak	<b>thumbal</b>	march fly
<b>tarpina</b>	red gum	<b>thun</b>	wear out clothes
<b>tartu?, tirtu?</b>	fish	<b>thun.kinya</b>	lazy
<b>taru</b>	scrubby country	<b>thuni-thunitj</b>	mopoke
<b>taruki</b>	seagull	<b>thunngum</b>	moon
		<b>thupkunga</b>	open

<b>thuratu</b>	fly, blow	<b>tunun</b>	smoke
<b>thurung</b>	coolamon	<b>tura</b>	separate
<b>thutmirt</b>	girl, young woman	<b>turang(g)ula</b>	man
<b>thuwinam</b>	frog	<b>turanggal</b>	turtle
<b>tilering</b>	boot	<b>turanpalmal</b>	man
<b>tin</b>	soft bush pine	<b>turayn</b>	rainbow
<b>tinap</b>	frog	<b>turna</b>	dig
<b>tinating</b>	heel	<b>turna</b>	black duck
<b>ting wen</b>	long ago	<b>turt</b>	lowrie parrot
<b>tinguwan karuwu</b>	by and by	<b>tut</b>	resin, tree
<b>tinpa</b>	touch	<b>tuta</b>	count
<b>tinpalang</b>	musk duck	<b>tutani</b>	rest
<b>tirikutpina</b>	crosscut saw	<b>tutu</b>	wear out clothes
<b>tirimart</b>	precipice	<b>tuwal</b>	magpie
<b>tiri-tiri-kungiya</b>	jingle	<b>tuwan</b>	bad
<b>tirtpa</b>	hungry	<b>tuwarn</b>	true
<b>tiyapa</b>	tomorrow	<b>tuwawon</b>	unwell
<b>tjambilan</b>	sick	<b>tuwiluwi</b>	worm
<b>tjati, t[h]jati</b>	elder sister	<b>tuwinpiyawa</b>	kiss
<b>tjinipa, kinipa</b>	carry	<b>tuwu</b>	mouth
<b>tjong(g)ayn</b>	robe	<b>tuwuti</b>	younger brother
<b>tjutju</b>	stump	<b>utj utj</b>	yes, yes
<b>tjuwindja</b>	tired	<b>wa'at</b>	frost
<b>tolayt</b>	small kangaroo	<b>waa</b>	crow
<b>toto</b>	mother's brother	<b>waam</b>	hot, heat
<b>tra</b>	stunned	<b>waat</b>	oyster
<b>trikat, tritat</b>	new	<b>waawu</b>	Mount Gambier
<b>triyn</b>	black cockatoo	<b>wakayt</b>	frost, snow
<b>trop</b>	snake	<b>wakolata-wakolata</b>	four
<b>troyn</b>	narrow	<b>waku</b>	peppermint tree
<b>trumbon thali</b>	poking out tongue	<b>wakulanggil</b>	daughter
<b>truwal</b>	man	<b>wala, wawa</b>	canoe
<b>truwam</b>	flesh	<b>walim</b>	ghost, evil spirit
<b>tu</b>	blanket, shirt	<b>wamba</b>	bring
<b>tu kini</b>	top	<b>wamba</b>	club
<b>tukupapina</b>	chop	<b>wamba</b>	woomera
<b>tulang</b>	leech	<b>wambayn</b>	venereal
<b>tuman-tuman</b>	bird	<b>wanayn-wanayn</b>	orphan

<b>wandapram</b>	to hop	<b>waya</b>	ask
<b>wandhu</b>	one	<b>waynman</b>	man (white)
<b>wandhu arna</b>	once	<b>wayunang</b>	ring
<b>wandi</b>	broлга	<b>wi</b>	no, not
<b>wang (g)uwa</b>	whistle	<b>wi, witj</b>	sleep
<b>wanga</b>	hear, understand, promise	<b>wi, wiyn</b>	fire
<b>wangaru</b>	west	<b>wigil</b>	handcuff
<b>wangata</b>	younger sibling	<b>wik</b>	refute
<b>wanggaramu</b>	forget	<b>wiki nganal</b>	widow/widower
<b>wangmarayi</b>	west south west	<b>wila</b>	black cockatoo
<b>wanu</b>	that, down there	<b>wilangga, wiyanggil</b>	porcupine
<b>wanung, wanilang</b>	more	<b>wiling mari</b>	blue
<b>wapuwat</b>	mutton-fish	<b>wilipayn</b>	ulcer
<b>wapuwat</b>	shellfish	<b>wilitj</b>	to sleep
<b>warak</b>	net bag	<b>wilitjam</b>	Rivoli Bay
<b>warangtirang</b>	woman's brother's child	<b>wiliyi</b>	return
<b>warangi kupangi</b>	man's brother's child	<b>wilkupa warnap</b>	split firewood
<b>wari</b>	road, track	<b>wimbangan</b>	child, crawling
<b>warkali</b>	elder brother	<b>win muli mula</b>	small
<b>warkapu</b>	three	<b>win.ka</b>	north
<b>warlan-warlan</b>	sweet	<b>wina</b>	to hit, beat
<b>warnam</b>	fire, firewood	<b>winana</b>	no
<b>warnap</b>	fire, firewood	<b>winanga</b>	to stop
<b>warndama</b>	swallow	<b>windjan</b>	overlie
<b>wartang</b>	behind	<b>wing(g)u</b>	friend
<b>waruni</b>	make [fire]	<b>winginan kapu</b>	oppose
<b>warwang</b>	three, a few	<b>wining</b>	revenge
<b>watan</b>	very	<b>winpa</b>	fight
<b>wataru</b>	mussel	<b>winyateri</b>	woman's sister's child
<b>watayi</b>	come	<b>wip</b>	no
<b>watjanyiya</b>	white	<b>wip mala</b>	wifeless
<b>watong</b>	knot, in wood	<b>wipa</b>	empty
<b>watuwa</b>	to spy	<b>wipa</b>	search
<b>wawakal</b>	young man	<b>wipa</b>	go out [of fire]
<b>wawang</b>	three, a few	<b>wipa</b>	south
<b>wawut</b>	heaven	<b>wipatni kuri</b>	to hunt
<b>way(a)t(i)</b>	see kin list	<b>wir</b>	devil

wira	tail, penis	wiyarn	ringtailed possum
wiraa	to run	wiyat kur	young woman
wirandja	pull	wiyatu	touch
wirang	wrong	wiyatu iyar	old woman
wirang kini	hideous	wiyawupalep	woman
wirang put mir	breast	wiyawuwal	man
wirani	corroboree, dance	wiyt-wiyt	swallow
wirat	string, whip	wiyu	down west
wiratama	knot	wiyunini	kill
wirin-wirinya	crooked	wiyuwa	down
wiring	angry	woninyari	man's sister's child
wiring	woomera	wra	plain
wiriwa	dance	wra(ng)	ear
wiriyn	waddy	wrakarayt	man to north
wiriyu thir	tea-tree spear	wrambu	old woman
wirkang(g)a	break	wrang	bad
wirlap	ochre	wrang guru	drunk
wirlap	sore	wrangi	deride
wirlpa	to break	wrawang	a few, three
wirmal	owl	wrayn	to resist
wirmal ngrang	owl's cave	wu	wrist
wirn	spear	wu(k)ayn	elbow
wirnma	sharp, point	wuing, wuna	forgotten
wirp karn	whistle	wuka	to hit
wirt	shell	wul	shadow, reflection
wirtir	feather	wul	signal
wirtjir	wing	wula	send
wit.nyangananyan	to object	wulandon	relish
wit.nyanina	to object	wulu	black, dark coloured
witjang	narrow	wulung	green
witjat yira	hay	wuna	try
witjiniyar	white woman	wunangari	nephew
wiwuni	meet	wur	corpse, evil spirit
wiya	laugh	wur	tall
wiya kunga	neglect	wura	cheek
wiyal	tree	wuramkatu	day
wiyanma	twist	wurang kana wiri	chin
wiyanung	under	wuroyt, wroyt	banksia

<b>wurtu</b>	yesterday	<b>yingga</b>	sit
<b>wuru</b>	lip	<b>yinun(a), yinpan</b>	afraid
<b>wurung</b>	big	<b>yira</b>	leaf
<b>wutamba</b>	exchanging	<b>yiram pana</b>	hunt with bushes
<b>wuthung</b>	wind	<b>yiran.wong</b>	vegetable food
<b>wuwa</b>	give	<b>yirong</b>	voluntary
<b>wuwat</b>	hot, heat	<b>yirpa</b>	give birth
<b>wuwu(ng)</b>	arm, wing	<b>yirpa</b>	lift
<b>wuyung</b>	whistling jay	<b>iyir</b>	rib
<b>yakayl</b>	salt creek	<b>iyun</b>	painful
<b>yalu</b>	dream	<b>yulang</b>	cave
<b>yamarna</b>	that side	<b>yul-yul, yuwal</b>	house fly
<b>yampa</b>	speak aloud	<b>yuli</b>	living
<b>yan-</b>	walk, go	<b>yumguna mri</b>	slip
<b>yanda</b>	throw	<b>yunani</b>	swim
<b>yanggaya</b>	swim	<b>yunda</b>	push
<b>yanitingwina</b>	quit	<b>yungayu</b>	obey
<b>yanka marna?</b>	catch fish	<b>yungga</b>	throw
<b>tartu</b>		<b>yunggu</b>	wattle bird
<b>yan-kawa</b>	go away	<b>yungguya</b>	jump
<b>yanpa yanka</b>	go, quickly	<b>yungin karu</b>	rising sun
<b>yap</b>	light (a fire)	<b>yunkuit</b>	canoe
<b>yapan</b>	mourn, be sorry	<b>yupa</b>	stoop
<b>yaranda, yaranma</b>	sweep	<b>yuru</b>	ground goanna
<b>yaru</b>	river	<b>yuruli</b>	lie
<b>yatatha</b>	paddock	<b>yutjpa</b>	chase
<b>yatatha</b>	rail or slab	<b>yuwa kuriya</b>	hasten
<b>yawi</b>	to walk	<b>yuwang(g)uwal</b>	[a] fly
<b>yawuri</b>	father's sister		
<b>yi-kanda-a</b>	arouse		

## Appendix 1: Song

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Stewart includes the words of two songs at the end of his vocabulary. The first is a list of flying creatures rather than a text in the normal sense, and the words that can be identified have been included in the glossary. The second is as follows:

<i>Waton aa</i>	<i>young naa</i>
<b>wata-nha</b>	<b>yung-nha</b>
come-PERF	throw-PERF

<i>Konterbul</i>	<i>walonaa</i>
<b>kantapul</b>	<b>wata[?]-nha</b>
whale	come-PERF

<i>Young-naa</i>	<i>konterbul</i>
<b>yung-nha</b>	<b>kantapul</b>
throw-PERF	whale

'The whale is come,  
And thrown up on land.'

## Appendix 2: *Moieties, sections and totems*

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We have some information on moieties and totems.<sup>1</sup> The Bunganditj were divided into two classes [moieties] *Kumite* and *Krokee*. Females were *Kumitegor* and *Krokeegor*. Each moiety was divided into five sub-classes, and each sub-class covered one or more species or manifestations of nature. These totems they called *tooman* [**thuman**] = flesh, or *wingo* [**winggu**] = friend.

All things in nature belonged to one of these ten sub-classes. For instance, under *Kumite* we find:

*Boort wa* [**waa**] = the crow, to which class belong winter, rain, thunder, lightning, hail, clouds and poisonous snakes, etc.

*Boort moola* [**mula**] = the fish hawk, to which class belong banksia [honeysuckle], smoke, trees, etc.

*Boort parangal* [**parangal**] = the pelican, to which belong the blackwood tree, fire, frost, dog, etc.

*Boort willer* [**wila**] = the black cockatoo, to which belong the moon, stars, etc.

*Boort karato* [**karatu**] = a non-venomous snake, to which belong fish, eels, seals, the stringy-bark, etc.

The *Krokee* classes are:

*Boort wereo* [**wiriyu**] = the ti-tree, under which are the black duck, the wallaby, opossum, crayfish, etc.

*Boort wirmal* [**wirmal**] = owl

*Boort moorna* [**murna**] = edible root (myrnong), to which belong quail, wild turkey and the tolit or small kangaroo.

*Boort kara-al* [**kara'al**] = the white crestless cockatoo, to which belong the kangaroo, she-oak tree, summer, autumn, wind, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> The information given here is mainly from Christina Smith's manuscript to be found in Howitt's papers (XM 373 Museum of Victoria). See also Smith (1880:x; Stewart in Curr (1887:III:461), Fison and Howitt (1880:168) and Howitt (1904:123)).

## *Appendix 3: Place names (Stewart in Smith 1880: 132f)*

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The following place names are to be found in Stewart's vocabulary (Smith 1880:132f). For some he gives the literal meaning. In some other cases I have added a possible meaning. A few place names from the text of Smith (1880) are included (marked c).

Allandale, site of	<i>Lie</i> [cf. <i>liyi</i> 'fingernails']
Beachport	[see Rivoli bay North]
Cape Northumberland	<i>Kinneang</i> c [probably 'forehead']
Glencoe	<i>Gilap</i> 'deep'
Glenelg River	<i>Pawer</i> 'river'
Lake Frome	<i>Wringen wurnap Kroand-umer</i> 'cormorant removed firewood'
Lake George	Narter c
Lake Leake	<i>Kirp</i> 'boxwood'
Millicent Ranges	<i>Lo-on</i> [possibly 'from the mouth' or 'from the heart']
Mount Lookout, Bald Hill	<i>Moi-wal</i> 'ant heap'
Mr Glen's station	<i>Maayera</i> 'fern straw'
Mr Umpherston's cave	<i>Balambool</i> 'buttercup'
Mt Gambier	<i>Berrin</i> c
Mt Gambier, peak of	<i>Ereng balam</i> 'eaglehawk'
Mt Gambier, the cave in	<i>Thu-ghee</i>
Mt Gambier: banks of the lakes	<i>Karremarter</i>
Mt Gambier: Blue Lake	<i>Waawor</i>
Mt Gambier: Kroitbul's residence at Punchbowl	<i>Kroit Bul</i>
Mt Gambier: Lake next to Moorak (Brown's)	<i>Krower-at war-e</i> 'emus' road'
Mt Gambier: Leg of Mutton Lake	<i>Yatton-Loo</i> [ <i>lu</i> = 'waterhole']
Mt Gambier: steep descent to water	<i>Kaingum</i>
Mt Gambier: The Narrow Neck	<i>Kootel</i>
Mt Gambier: Valley Lake	<i>Kettla malpe</i>

Mt Gambier: Valley Lake, south side	<i>Palon</i>
Mt Graham	<i>Mirn</i> 'white cockatoo'
Mt Muirhead	<i>Beleter</i> 'timid'
Place where <i>Elizabeth</i> was stranded	<i>Darro</i> [possibly 'seagull']
Port McDonnell	<i>Ngaranga</i> [possibly 'noise' or 'caves']
Rivoli Bay	<i>Willijam</i> c [see 'sleep']
Rivoli Bay North (Beachport)	<i>Wirmal-ngrang</i> 'owl cave'
Rivoli Bay South	<i>Wilichum</i> [see 'sleep']
Rivoli Bay South, swamp nearby	<i>Nan-an-an-an</i>
Rivoli Bay South: swamp next Greytown	<i>Prunkart</i> 'tree root'
Rivoli Bay: a station nearby	<i>Woakwine</i> 'my arm'
The Bluff	<i>Belit</i> 'innocuous snake'
The Up and Down Rocks	<i>Bulloy Murre</i> ['two stones']
Wattle Range (Mrs Cameron's station)	<i>Kalayin</i> [possibly 'plenty']

Other place names in the area for which a meaning can be found:

Benara	<b>pina-(nga)ra</b>	'trees'
Boopek Terrace (Mt. Gambier)	<b>pupik</b>	'hill'
Koorine	<b>kuwar-ayn</b>	'my daughter'
Kromelite	<b>kromilayt</b>	'red'
Nangwarry	<b>ngrang wari</b>	'cave path'
Penola (<Penaoorla)	<b>pina-ngurla</b>	'tree camp'
Tarpeena	<b>tarpina, tartpina</b>	'red gum'
Wandilo (n. of Mt Gambier)	<b>wandi</b>	'brolga'
Weparr	<b>wipa(r)</b>	'south'
Killanoola	<b>kil</b>	'waterhen coot'
	<b>ngurla</b>	'camp', 'nest'
Nunnans*	<b>nganitj</b>	'bat'
Malangine*	<b>mala-ngayn</b>	'my wife'
Koongine*	<b>kung-ayn</b>	'my son'

\* Kongorong's bat caves (southwest of Mt Gambier). The names *Malangine* and *Koongine* were taken from Christina Smith (1880).

## *Appendix 4: Comparative vocabulary*

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The table below displays comparative vocabulary in Bunganditj, Wuluwurrung, Warrnambool and Kulin with notes on scattered related forms. Forms in the Bunganditj column marked N are from the northern dialects. Forms in the Warrnambool column are marked P for Pikwurrung and K for Kunkupanut. Unmarked forms are common to both dialects. Forms in the Kulin column are marked CV for Central Victoria, Dja for Djadjawurrung, MM for Mathi-Mathi, T for Tjapwurrung, W for Wimmera, Wa for Wathawurrung, Wem for Wemba-Wemba, Woi for Woiwurrung, WS for Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), WP for Wati-Wati (Piangil) and WV for Western Victoria, which takes in Tjapwurrung, Wimmera and other closely related dialects. Among the other tongues Co is Colac, Dhu Dhudhuroa, Gipps Gippsland, Pall Pallanganmiddang, Yab Yabula-Yabula and YY Yota-Yota. Kulin forms for which we have a Hercus notation distinguish a flap/trill rhotic (**rr**) and a glide (**ɾ**). Elsewhere **r** indicates an indeterminate rhotic.

<i>English</i>	<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>Other</i>
afraid	yinun		kuninpa	panpən WV	
alive/living	yuli	yuloyn	pundiya	murun WV	
angry	kuli	wiring	warakiya lik, watan li	kuli W	
arm	wu	wurk	wurk	thatjuk WV	
baby	kongparim, kowaparning	pupup	pupup	pupup WV	
back	panu	wirip	ngawun K, wirk P	wirip Wa, wirip 'stem' T	panuth YY, panu Dhu
bad	wrang	ngamrang	ngamikalin K, ngamindja P	yatjang W	
between	prawu(lu)	pakar	pakar	pakara 'middle' Wa	
big	wurung	martong	miyarung K, linkil P	kurrung W	
bite	ngatha	punda	punda	punda Kulin	punda Gipps
black	wulu, monal	miyn	miyn	wurkirim W	
blood	kamar, kuruk N	kirik, kamar	kirik, kuri K	kurk Kulin	kurk and similar, and kuma(r) widespread
bone	piyi, paa	pakayn	pakayn	kalk Kulin	
boomerang	katim2	katim2	letim2	katem-katem W, litum-litum T	
bottom	mum	pariyn	pariyn P	mum Kulin	
boy	murangal, kapanga		waran2, katnit		
breast	pap	ngapang	ngapang	kurrm W	forms similar to ngapang north coast NSW, ngapurlu Warl
bring/take	wamba, mana	mana-(watha)	wamba	mana WV	mana YY, wamba Gabi

<i>English</i>	<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Warmambool</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>Other</i>
brother, elder	warkali, wraki	wartayi	wartayi	waw- WV, wartang Wa	
brother, young	nyiri, tuwati	nyiri, tuwati	kuku	kut- WV	tati Yaralde
broilga	wandi, mata	kuruk	kurun, kuruk	kurun/kutjun WV, kuru(r)k WV, CV	kuru(r)k Colac
call	karnda	karnda	karnda	karnda WV, karna Wa	
camp	ngula	wurn	wurn	lar WV	
canoe	wala	thurang	thurang	yungwip WV	
carry	kinipa		walata	werka W	
cheek	wura, kana	thakrang	wang, thathak	murrak WV, wang, Wa, CV	
cherry	tharang	palayt	palayt		
cloud	murnu, munmarit N	murnpung	murnanag	merng WV	
cockatoo black	wila		wilan	wira(y)n WV	
cockatoo white	kara'al, maa		ngayuk		
cold	mun-mun, mut-mut, mutuna	mut-mut	palapitj	munmut T, mut- T, Dja, Wa, CV, munmut Wa	
come	kaka, wata	wata	wata, kaka K	warda WV	
corroboree, dance	wirawa, wirani	karwip	karwiya	waripa W	
crooked	wirinya	wart-wart	wart-wart		
cry	lunga	wirpa	lunga K, wirpa	numila, lung- WV	lung widespread
cut	tatuwa, kalnga	kalkirta	paritja K, kalkirta	kalpa WV	
day/sun	karu	thirang	thirang K, nganang P		
dead/die	nuka N, nuwa, nura	kalpirna	kalpirna	wik- WV	
dog	kaal	kaal	kaal	kal WV, Wa	widespread s-e mainland
dingo	kanatjam	parnang	parnang	wirreng- Kulin	
dream	yalu	yaki	yaki	yakuwa W	

<i>English</i>	<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Warmambool</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>Other</i>
drink	<b>thathiya</b>	<b>thatha</b>	<b>thatha</b>	<b>kupa</b> WV	<b>tha-/tja-</b> 'eat' widespread
duck, black	<b>parna</b>		<b>thurpurang, mu(y)i</b>	<b>ngere</b> W	
eagle	<b>ngiri</b>	<b>ngiyanggara</b>		<b>werpil</b> W	
ear	<b>wra(ng)</b>	<b>wring</b>	<b>wring</b>	<b>wirimbul</b> W	<b>w(i)rng</b> Col., Gipps
eat	<b>thir, thayi</b>	<b>thaka</b>	<b>thaka</b>	<b>tjak-</b> WV	<b>thak-</b> Yab.
eel	<b>kuya</b>		<b>kuyang</b>		<b>kuya</b> 'fish' widespread NSW, Q & SA
egg	<b>kula, kuwa</b>	<b>kuli</b>	<b>mirk</b>	<b>mirk</b> WV	
elbow	<b>thalayn, wukayn</b>	<b>thalayn</b>	<b>thalayn</b>		<b>tjalung</b> Gipps
emu	<b>kapir, kawir</b>	<b>kapirng, paraynmal</b>	<b>kapirng, paraynmal</b> K	<b>kawirr</b> WV, Wa, <b>parray(n)mal</b> CV, WP	<b>parray(n)mal</b> Co
eye	<b>mir</b>	<b>mirng</b>	<b>mirng</b>	<b>mir(ng)</b> Kulin	<b>mir(ng)</b> Pall, Gipps
fat	<b>marnt(puli), marnpuwi</b>	<b>pipul</b>	<b>pipul</b>	<b>pepul</b> WV, <b>mambul</b> We, Wa, Woi	
father	<b>maam</b>	<b>pipayi</b>	<b>pipayi</b>	<b>mam-</b> Kulin	<b>mam-</b> Dhu, Pall
feather	<b>wirtir</b>	<b>tjarat</b>	<b>kurot</b> K, <b>yunonng</b> P	<b>witjinwirtin</b> WV	
fire	<b>warnap, warnam, wi</b>	<b>wiyn</b>	<b>wiyn</b>	<b>wanyap</b> W, <b>wi-</b> T, <b>wiyn</b> Wa, CV	<b>wiyn</b> Wiradjuri
fish	<b>kakpa</b> N, <b>kakwa</b> N, <b>tertu</b>	<b>kuwiyang, kual</b>	<b>yara</b>		
fly, blow	<b>thuratu</b>	<b>wurol</b>	<b>wurol</b>		
fly, house	<b>yuwal, yulal</b>	<b>minik</b>	<b>minik</b>	<b>pithik</b> WV	
foot	<b>thina</b>	<b>thinang</b>	<b>thinang</b>	<b>tjina</b> Kulin	<b>thina/tjina</b> widespread
forehead	<b>kini</b>	<b>kining</b>	<b>mithin</b>	<b>kini</b> W	<b>kini</b> MM
girl	<b>parak2</b> N, <b>paratj2</b>	<b>paratj2</b>	<b>paratj2</b>	<b>parayt</b> T	<b>parratja</b> Pitta-Pitta

<i>English</i>	<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>Other</i>
give	wuwa	yunggama, wuka	wuka K, yunggama P	wuka WV	wu- widespread
go	yan	yan	yan	yangga WV	yan- widespread
good	martung	ngutjung martong 'good'	ngutjung	telkuk WV	
grass	puthu	puhung	kariwan K, mul-mul K, puthong	puwatj Kulin	
ground	mirit, mraat	miring	miring	tja WV	mura Co, miri Pall
hair	ngarla	ngarlang	ngarat	ngarra WV, Wa	
hand	marna, mara	marang	marang	marna/manya Kulin	mara widespread
hard	pini	pinitj	pinitj		
head	pup	kulang	pim	purrp WV, kawang CV	
hear	wanga	wanga	wanga	nyerna WV	wanga Co, Gipps
heart	lu(wung)	litj	litj	wutjup W	
hill	pupik		kang K, pim P	purrp W	
hit	wina	parta	parta	taka WV	
hothead	wuwat, pala	kaloyrn	kaloyrn		
husband	nganapu	nganap	nganapun	nganitj WV, nganapun Wa	
jump	yungguya	papkupa	kupa K, papkupa P	pap-pap-kuma W	
kangaroo	kurai	kurayn	kurayn	kurra WV	kura Co
kanga rat	marmbul		paruk	tjaleka W, parruk Kul	
knee	parayn	parayn	parayn P	paring/patjing Kul	parayn widespread
kookaburra	kuwata(ng)	tharkuk	kunith	kurng-kurng WV	
laugh	wiya	wiya(ka)	wiyaka	weka WV	wiya Pitta-Pitta
lightning	minanmun, payatang		martung K, wilim P	wilim W	
lip	wuru	wurung	wurung	wurru Kul	
long			wurumbit	tjuwerung W	
louse	murna, nunu	parum	parum	munya Vic	
magpie	tuwal	kurikari	kiri	kuruk WV	

<i>English</i>	<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>Other</i>
man	truwal	kuloyn	mar	wutju W, kuli WV, kuliyn CV	
man, old	ngarrm2, kartpari		ngarm2 K, ngalang2 P, purpi2 P	nyarrampin WV, ngarrawil WV, Wa	purtayn Gipps
man, young	wawakal, papatha	nguwiyt mar	waran-waran P, nguwiyt mar K,	kulkurn WV	
moon	ngarak N, tun.ngum/n	parmbuk, thindjit	kundaruk K, yar-yar P, thindjit K	mitjin WV	
mosquito	kitju, kipa	kaytuk, murukar	kirk-kirk K, marwankil P	kirk-kirk W, T	kirithu Dhu
mother	pap N, ngat-	ngirang	ngirang	pap- Kul	pap- Co, Dhu, Pall
mouth	kanak N, lu	ngulang	ngulang	tjarp WV	kanha YY
nail	li	piryn	piryn	lirri WV	li Co
neck	kurn	kurn	kaat	kurn Kul, nyani WV	kurn Co
night	mul	puroyn	puroyn, kuruwalok	puruyun Kul	mulu Gabi
nose	kapu N, kawu	kapung	kapung	karr WV, kang Wa, CV	kang, Co, kawu YY, Yab, Gipps
one	wandhu	kayapa	kayapa	kayap WV	
pelican	parangal	kart pirap	kart pirap	parangal/patjingal WV, Wa	
porcupine	wilangga, wiyanggih	wilanggih	wilanggalak K, wilanggih P		
possum, b-t	kuramu	kuramuk	kuramuk	wili WV	
quick	panpan.kiya, wunggunangu	wunggu	wunggu P, marat mararam K	werki W	
rain	kapayn N, kawayn	kapayn	mayang	mitjak WV	kapan Djabugay
rainbow	turayn	turan	tharn parut K, turan P		
rib	iyir, yirang	iyir(ang)	iyir K	larn WV	
river, creek	pawur	pukar(a)	purang	par WV	

<i>English</i>	<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Warrrnambool</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>Other</i>
run	wira	wiraka	kakura K, wiraka P	wirra(ka) WV	
sand	malang	kulak	kulak	kurrak WV	
sea	ngamat	ngamat	ngamat K, mirtitj P	ngamatj W	
see	nhaka N, na-, ngawiya	naka	naka	nyaka WV	ngaka/nyaka Yab, Dhu, Pall, nha-/nya- widespread
shadow	wul		ngakuwi K, wul P	ngak WV	
shield		malkar	malkar	malkarr WV	
short	muta		mulopit	murt T, Dja, Wa	murt Co
sing	nuripa, nhiwiya	lirpiya	lirpiya		nyarrapa Wem
sister, elder	tjati	kakayi	kakayi	tjatj- WV	
sister, y'nger	nyiriyar, nyuwiya	kukuwiya(r)	kukuwiya(r)	kut- WV	
sit	nyi(wi)-	nyinika	nyingga K, kupa	nyen- WV	
sleep	luma, wilit j, witj	wiliyt	yuwa K	kumba WV	
small	narti N, ninparti N, muruki(yt)		kurnang K, kuniyayi P	tulu WV	
smoke	puloyn	thung	thung	puriyn W, purt WV	thunga YY, Yab, thumpapa Dhu, thu Pall, thun Gipps
snake	kurwang, kurkang	kurang	kurang	kurn-wil W	
speak	la-	pirpa, tiroma	laka	wureka WV	lata WS
spear, short	thir	thiyir	thiyir	tjark WV	
spirit	wura etc.		murup	murup Kul	

<i>English</i>	<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>Other</i>
star	karandhak N, pundjil, thaman2	kaka thirng, pundjil	kaka thirng K, minkil P	turt WV, wutjup WV	
stomach	puli, puwi	puloyn	thukang	pili Kul	puli YY, pulen Gipps
stone	mara N, mari	marayi	marayi	kutjap W, matji WP	
sun	karu	thirng	thirng K, nganang P	nyawi WV	
swan	kunuwara		kunuwara	kunuwar(a) WV	
swim	yunani	yuna	yawi K, yanda P	wirraka W, yawa T	
tail	wira	wirang	wirang	pirrk W	witha- MM, wirt- WS
take (cf. 'bring')	mana	mana	mana K, wamba P	mana WV	mana widespread
thigh	karip	karip	karip	karip WV	karrip Wa, karri Co
thirsty	kurnon	kurtna	kurtna K	kunpuni CV	
throw	yungga, yanda	yanda	yanda	yungga WV, Wa	yunga YY, yarnda 'to spear' Nyangumarta (WA)
today	kirtu 'by 'n by'	ting(g)alin	kalu 'by 'n by'		
tomahawk		part-part-kurt	partpartkurt, muyitjir	patjik WV	
tomorrow	tiyapa, kalepa	tu(n)gata	malangipa K, tunggati P		
tongue	thala, thawa	thalayn	thalayn	tjaling Kulin	tjalayn/thalayn widespread
tooth	thanga	thangang	thangang	liya Kulin	
track(s)	wari	warayn waroyn	thaan	paring WV	

<i>English</i>	<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Warmambool</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>Other</i>
two	<b>pulak, pulayt, puwayt</b>	<b>pulayt</b>	<b>pulayt</b>	<b>puletj WV</b>	<b>pula</b> widespread
urine	<b>thalupang</b>		<b>kirng</b>	<b>kir(i) WV</b>	<b>kir(i) Co</b>
walk	<b>yan-, yawi-</b>	<b>yana</b>	<b>yana K, purpa P</b>	<b>yangga</b>	<b>yan-</b> widespread
wash	<b>kuma</b>	<b>wiytkuna</b>	<b>puroniya K, ngumi P</b>		
water	<b>parik N, pari</b>	<b>pariyt, kuwandam</b>	<b>pariyt</b>	<b>katjin WV</b>	
what	<b>nan</b>	<b>nganha</b>	<b>nganha</b>	<b>nyanya WV</b>	<b>ngan-</b> widespread
where	<b>na(wang)</b>	<b>windha</b>	<b>wundha K</b>	<b>wintha, wintja Kul</b>	<b>wandja</b> widespread
whiskers	<b>ngala ngarni</b>	<b>ngarayn</b>	<b>ngarayn</b>	<b>ngani WV, ngarriyn Wa, Woi, nganyin Thag</b>	
who	<b>nganu</b>		<b>ngara</b>	<b>winyarr WV</b>	<b>ngan-</b> widespread
wife	<b>mala, ma'a</b>	<b>malang</b>	<b>malang</b>	<b>matjim WV</b>	
wind	<b>niritja</b>	<b>naritjak</b>	<b>ngurnduk</b>	<b>wila WV</b>	
woman	<b>parlar<sup>2</sup>, kanyul</b>	<b>nerang kurk</b>	<b>thanambul</b>	<b>layurrk WV</b>	
wombat	<b>muri</b>	<b>murayn</b>	<b>miyam</b>	<b>mutja WV</b>	
wood	<b>warnap, warnam</b>		<b>wiyn</b>	<b>kalk W</b>	
woomera	<b>kumbayn</b>	<b>ngarung</b>	<b>ngarung K, kapong kulang P</b>		
yamstick	<b>kana(k)</b>		<b>kanak</b>		
yesterday	<b>wurtu</b>		<b>nganggat</b>		

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