Woiwurrung (Wuy Wurrung) the Melbourne Language

Barry Blake

1.   THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1   LINGUISTIC TYPE

The following description relates to the language spoken in central Victoria including the area of Melbourne before the country was taken over by British immigrants starting in 1835. The language embraces three dialects: Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung and Thagungwurrung. The language has no general name that was used by the people themselves. I will refer to it as the Woiwurrung language and I will refer to the people who spoke the three dialects as Kulin. However, it needs to be understood that the term Kulin is normally used to include other people living in western Victoria who spoke related Kulin languages. The label derives from the word for 'man' which is kuli- in the Melbourne area and which has similar forms in the related languages of western Victoria, e.g. kuli in the Wathawurrung language of the Geelong area.

The Melbourne language had a structure that conformed to the areal type for southeastern Australia. Nouns were marked for case including an ergative case for the subject of a transitive verb. Verbs were marked for tense and there were pronominal suffixes for the person and number of the subject. These could appear on the verb or on a negative or interrogative word at the beginning of a sentence. Like other Victorian languages, but unlike most Australian languages, the Woiwurrung language had words ending in p t and k. This characteristic is reflected in place names such as Boort (meaning 'smoke') and Coranderrk ('Victorian Christmas Bush') and Koo-wee-rup. (The meaning of Koo-wee-rup is uncertain. Blake 1977 gives it as 'plenty of blackfish'. Wirrap means 'blackfish').

1.2   BACKGROUND

Humans began to live in southeastern Australia about 40,000 years ago. At that time the climate was not radically different from the present climate, but the fauna were certainly different from the fauna of today. Besides a range of species similar to those that are still extant, there were megafauna such as the hippopotamus-sized marsupial, the Diprotodon; a pony-sized wombat, the Phascolonus, and a giant kangaroo, Macropus titan. Over a long period the earth began to grow cooler as it moved into the last Ice Age which was at its peak about 18,000 years ago. The most remarkable effect of this cooling was a lowering of the sea level since much of the earth's water was frozen, particularly in the polar ice caps. Map 3 shows the coastline of southeastern Australia during the height of the iceage. Tasmania is part of the mainland and the rivers that at present drain into Port Phillip Bay join to form a river which reaches the sea off the northwest corner of Tasmania (Presland 1985:2).

By 15,000 years ago, temperatures began to rise and the sea level fell. About 10,000 years ago, Tasmania became separated again from the

mainland isolating those who lived south of the re-formed Bass Strait from the rest of Australia. Port Phillip Bay, which had been a plain for over ten thousand years, was flooded again by the rising seas. The seas continued to rise and about five thousand years ago, the sea was higher than its present level, and the area at the top of the bay covered by the modern bayside suburbs of St Kilda and South Melbourne was submerged. It is interesting to note that the Boonwurrung territory has a long, narrow extension running around the head of Port Phillip Bay as far as the Werribee River (map 2) and that this extension corresponds with the area that was submerged 5,000 years ago

Even though the rise in sea level extended over more than ten thousand years, there were times when plains were inundated within a short time. As the land area reduced, people would have been forced to relocate. The final separation of Tasmania from the mainland must have been a remarkable event, characterised by tides sweeping over the last high ground and water that remained through the ebb periods and which soon became too deep for wading through and too extensive to swim across. Decisions must have been made about whether to move north or south and perhaps erstwhile neighbours were separated forever.

Memories of this flooding lived on in Southern Victoria. Georgiana McCrae, one of the first European settlers on Mornington Peninsula, reports the following in her diary (H.McCrae, 1934:176): Mr Robert Russell says that Mr Cobb talks to the blacks in their own language, and that the following is an account, given by them, of the formation of Port Phillip Bay: 'Plenty long ago.gago, gego, gugo.alonga Corio, men could cross, dry-foot, from our side of the bay to Geelong.' They described a hurricane - trees bending to and fro - then the earth sank, and the sea rushed in through the Heads, till the void places became broad and deep, as they are to-
day.

Here is a Kulin account of the flooding of Port Phillip (Massola 1968:47-8): Port Phillip was once dry land and the Kulin were in the habit of hunting kangaroos and emus there. One day the men were away hunting and the women had gone off collecting roots and yams, while some little boys, who had been left behind, were playing in the camp. They were hurling little toy spears at each other, just like their fathers did. In the camp there were some wooden troughs full of water, and one of the spears upset one of these.

However, this was no ordinary bucket, but a magic one, and it held a tremendous amount of water, which came rolling down engulfing all the land, and threatening to drown all the people. Bunjil felt sorry for them, and placed a rock where Mornington now is, and told the water not to go any further. Then with two other rocks he made the heads, and told the water to run out between them and meet the ocean. This is how Port Phillip was made. [Bunjil will be found in the vocabulary as bundjil 'eaglehawk'. Bundjil is the ancestral creator.]

It is true that the Aborigines had stories explaining the origin of geographical features that had been in place well before humans entered the scene, but the persistence of the flooding theme is compelling. The Kurnai of Gippsland told of how some children found a sacred object and showed it to some women. Straightaway the earth crumbled and sea swept over it. The land to the south was gone forever, drowned under Bass Strait (Howitt 1904:493, also Fison and Howitt 1880).

The clinching evidence that Aborigines had an oral tradition that embodied memories of the cataclysmic events of 10,000 years ago is to be found in the following quotation from William Hull giving evidence on 9 November 1858 before 'The Select Committee of the Legislative Council ap-

pointed to enquire into the present condition of the Aborigines of this colony': Murray, an Aborigine, assured me that the passage up the bay, through which the ships came, is the River Yarra, and that the river once went out at the heads, but that the sea broke in, and that Hobson's Bay [at the head of Port Phillip Bay] which was once hunting ground, became what it is.

This memory is remarkable for what we now know to be its accuracy (see map 2). Its early date (1858) precludes the possibility of its being a European geological discovery imparted to Aborigines. In fact western science did not accept Ice Age theories that account for fluctuating sea level until the early twentieth century.

Life did not proceed without change after the separation of Tasmania. There were technical innovations such as the invention of the woomera or spear thrower which spread over the mainland about five thousand years ago. The dingo was introduced to mainland Australia about this time too (Flood 1983:199).

The languages of the southeastern mainland seem to belong to the Pama-Nyungan family. As noted in the introductory chapter to this volume, the Pama-Nyungan languages probably have a time depth of some thousands of years, but not tens of thousands of years. It is almost certain that Pama-Nyungan languages were introduced into Victoria during the last ten thousand years, and this probably means the introduction of a new wave of people. In theory a new language can be propagated by a wave without the movement of people, but a new language normally means new people.

The Kulin were hunter-gatherers who moved around within the limits of their territory to take advantage of seasonably available food supplies and to keep within striking range of kangaroo herds. Kangaroos move on when they detect the presence of humans. The people lived in small groups of just a few families. They hunted kangaroos, possums, kangaroo rats, bandicoots, wombats and lizards; they caught fish and eels and they collected shellfish. The hunting, especially kangaroo hunting, was left to the men, while the women concentrated on gathering. Prominent among the vegetable food collected was murnong, (the yam daisy), the gum of the black wattle, the pulp of the tree fern, wild cherries, kangaroo apples and various fungi. (Gaughwin 1983, Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984).

Cooking was done by using an open fire or a pit that contained stones that had been previously heated. Fire was used not only for cooking, but for flushing out game or trapping game in an enclosed area such as the bend of a river. It is thought that the Kulin may have fired areas to make them more accessible. (Disastrous bushfires during the period of European occupation indicate that it is dangerous not to burn off at intervals. If the accumulation of flammable debris goes unchecked, an accidental or malevolent spark can start a conflagration that engulfs huge tracts of land).

At certain times large numbers of Kulin people came together to perform ceremonies and to contract other business. At these gatherings sacred and informal corroborees would be performed. These involved singing and dancing, the acting out of mythical stories or the composition and performance of new corroborees telling the stories of recent events. A few Woiwurrung songs have been recorded.

One of the items on the agenda for such gatherings would have been the arrangement of marriages. The basic unit of Kulin society was the patrilineal clan; this means a clan in which membership is inherited from one's father. Each clan belonged to one of two moieties ('moiety' means 'half') called bundjil (eaglehawk) and waang or waa (crow). A marriage partner had to be chosen from the opposite moiety to one's own, hence from another clan. The bride went to live with her husband and this could

involve moving to a distant part of the country where a different dialect or language was spoken. The speakers of Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung and Thagungwurrung arranged marriages not only among themselves, but also with other Kulin people to the west such as the Wathawurrung and the Djadjawurrung (Barwick 1984:105-6).

It is tempting to see Aboriginal life in the pre-contact period as idyllic, one long camping trip with an abundance of food and an absence of disease. However, Australian Aborigines are as human as the rest of us and war was not unknown. At the time of the first European settlement, there was strife between the Woiwurrung and Wathawurrung and there was serious long-standing enmity between the Kurnai of Gippsland and the Boonwurrung. Sometime before the European occupation, the Kurnai invaded the Mornington Peninsula and massacred a number of Boonwurrung men and children, and abducted the women (Thomas Mitchell Library ms 8, letter to Robinson, 6 June 1840). Haydon (1846:152) relays the report of an old man who survived the massacre: 'Look at my people. Where are all my brothers? Do you see any old men? I talk with the young men. My old companions sleep at Monip'. There was a second massacre close to Melbourne about 1835. The Boonwurrung in turn raided Kurnai territory. The Kurnai called them Thurung 'tiger snakes' (Gaughwin 1983:57).

One factor that contributed to vendettas was the attribution of death to sorcery and the mounting of revenge missions against assumed malevolents.

The first European settlement in Australia began in 1788 at Port Jackson (Sydney) over 500 miles northeast of Port Phillip Bay or Neerim as the local people called it. The first effect of this settlement on the people of Port Phillip may have been the introduction of smallpox. In 1789, smallpox spread from Sydney through the Aboriginal population and may have spread to southern Victoria, for a number of the early explorers and settlers remarked on the pock-marked appearance of the Aborigines. Barwick, however, is inclined to think the pock marks were the result of impetigo or some similar infection (1984:109) There was a second epidemic of smallpox around 1830 (Butlin 1983).

Europeans began to appear along the southern coast of Victoria from the last few years of the eighteenth century. History records the early journeys of exploration and the first official settlements, but in the margins there are frequent references to the operation of whalers and sealers and the wanderings of escaped convicts. For instance, the first Europeans to enter Boonwurrung territory were the party led by the explorer George Bass who entered Western Port on 4th January 1798. But Bass's party came across seven escaped convicts marooned on an island off Wilson's Promontory.

Bass's voyage was followed by the voyage of James Grant to Western Port (1801) and the voyage of John Murray who entered Western Port in 1801 and Neerim in 1802, which he named Port King after the then governor of New South Wales. King subsequently renamed it Port Phillip.

Matthew Flinders re-discovered Port Phillip Bay later in 1802 and explored land on both sides of the bay.

In 1803, King sent Lieutenant Robbins to follow the French navigator, Nicholas Baudin, on a voyage to Bass Strait. The British at this time were anxious to prevent the French claiming any part of Australia. Robbins sailed into Port Phillip Bay and the Surveyor-General, Charles Grimes, explored the entire coastline of the bay on foot. During this exploration there was a skirmish with Kulin people and an Aborigine was shot.

Fear of the French claiming territory led to the British establishing a settlement in southeastern Tasmania at Risdon Cove (Hobart) in 1803.

This was also the year of the first British settlement in Victoria. On 9th October of that year Lieutenant-Colonel David Collins arrived in Port Phillip Bay from England with 300 convicts and fifty marines and established a settlement at Sorrento. The choice of site seems curious since Sorrento is situated on the narrowest point of the Mornington Peninsula in an area devoid of fresh surface water. Collins seems to have wanted a site close enough to the heads to be able to watch for any French ships that might enter the bay. The price he had to pay was a water supply from seepage into perforated barrels sunk along the back of the beach. In any event, he seems to have lacked enthusiasm for a Port Phillip settlement and he almost immediately sought permission to remove to Tasmania. This was granted, and the main body of settlers left on 30th January 1804 and the remainder on 21st May.

There was very little contact between the Sorrento settlers and the local Boonwurrung, though there were a few confrontations between parties from the settlement and groups, sometimes large groups, of Aboriginal people. In fact, the presence of large numbers of Aborigines inhibited Collins from moving up the Bay to a better site. The most significant legacy of this aborted settlement was William Buckley. He was a convict who, with several other convicts, escaped and set off in the hope of reaching Sydney. In fact, three of them walked around the perimeter of the Bay to a point where they could see a vessel lying at anchor off Sorrento. Buckley's two companions decided to return to the settlement; one succeeded and the other disappeared. Buckley himself, however, was adopted by the Wathawurrung people and lived with them until he rejoined European civilisation in 1835 after the establishment of Melbourne. By that time, he had lost all fluency in English since he had used only Wathawurrung for 32 years.

There was very little 'official' European presence in the Port Phillip area from 1804 until the establishment of Melbourne in 1835. The explorers Hume and Hovell found their way to the western side of Port Phillip in 1824 having come overland from Sydney. In 1826 a second settlement was established in the area, this time on the eastern shore of Western Port at Corinella, but this settlement under the leadership of Wetherall and Wright was shortlived. The site was unsuitable and it was abandoned in 1828. However, following the permanent settlement of Hobart in 1803 and Launceston, in northern Tasmania, in 1806 there was increased whaler and sealer activity in the Bass Strait area. There are reports of native women being raped (in both senses, abduction and sexual assault) and of other acts of violence.

The first permanent European settlement in Victoria was that of Edward Henty at Portland Bay in Western Victoria in 1834, the 'first' if we discount earlier settlement by whalers and sealers as seasonal. Sealers in the Portland Bay area operated seasonal bases only, but by 1826 sealers had settled on Phillip Island in Western Port on a year round basis living on seafood and vegetables which they grew (Gaughwin 1983:46). Gaughwin sees it as significant that though there is evidence of Aborigines having lived on the island, there are no later references to their presence (ibid.:47).

What is more relevant here and what was more devastating in the long run for the native people was the establishment of Melbourne in 1835 on the Yarra River (or Freshwater River as it was first called by the settlers).

In May 1835, John Batman arrived from Launceston heading a party that included seven Aborigines originally from Sydney. He landed at Indented Head and travelled widely over the area to the west and north of the bay. During this journey of exploration, Batman 'bought' the Port

Phillip district from native 'chiefs'. This transaction took place somewhere in what is now the northern suburbs of Melbourne and involved Woiwurrung people. Deeds of conveyance were exchanged and a purchase price agreed on. This consisted of a down payment of blankets, flour, tools and the inevitable beads, with the promise of further annual payments in perpetuity. The Woiwurrung elders can hardly have been expected to understand what 'selling' entailed and in any case the 'treaty', as it is usually referred to, was later repudiated by the governor of New South Wales. On this expedition, Batman picked out the site of Melbourne as 'the place for a village', but in fact he established a settlement at Indented Head and returned temporarily to Launceston. It was left to another party led by John Lancey, acting for John Pascoe Fawkner, to actually settle 'the place for a village'. This was in August 1835. Fawkner himself arrived with another party in October and Batman returned with his family in November. It was not Fawkner's first visit to the Port Phillip area. As a small boy, he had spent the summer of 1803-4 at Sorrento. He was the son of one of the convicts transported to Sorrento under Collins. Apparently the convict's wife and son had managed to accompany him.

The Melbourne settlement grew quickly. In 1836, the governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, sent a police magistrate, George Stewart, to report on the unauthorised settlement on the Yarra. Stewart took a census and reported 177 Europeans and over 26,000 sheep. Settlers continued to pour in both by sea and also overland from Sydney and by the end of 1840, there were thousands of settlers in the Port Phillip District. By Separation Day, 1st July 1851, the day Victoria became an independent colony separate from New South Wales, the white population was 77,345. In the latter part of that year gold was discovered at Ballarat and Bendigo and the population doubled within twelve months.

The point of disembarkation was on the north bank of the Yarra at the end of the present William Street and the town occupied what is now the central business district which was in fact laid out into its grid by the Surveyor General, Robert Hoddle in 1837 (see map 4). However, squatters moved out and occupied much of the territory within 100 kilometres of the city within the first few years. By 1840, squatters had spread over practically the whole of the territory of the Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung, and Thagungwurrung as well as the territory of the Wathawurrung. By 1845, most of Victoria had been occupied (Broome 1984:23).

The establishment of the new settlement right from the unloading of the first boats was watched at close quarters by hundreds of curious Aboriginal people. Over the first decade, there were always Aborigines around the town. Some did casual work for the immigrants; others caught game or brought back lyre-bird tails to barter or sell. They were fascinated by the introduced technology and seduced by the availability of food, blankets and alcohol, all of which they could obtain either as payment for work or as a straight handout. They soon acquired a reputation for habitual drunkeness and they quickly fell prey to introduced maladies: typhus, dysentery, respiratory complaints and venereal diseases.

Government policy was nominally in favour of protecting the native population, but obviously there was no way that the Europeans were not going to take over practically the whole country and this inevitably meant the Aboriginal people were driven to near extinction. Shortly after the establishment of the Port Phillip settlement, Governor Bourke sent Captain William Lonsdale to the new settlement to establish and maintain law and order, instructing him that it would be one of his 'most important duties to protect the aboriginal natives of the District from any manner of wrong.' (Jones 1981:53). Bourke also sent George Langhorne, an Anglican catechist, to Port Phillip to establish a mission. Lonsdale and

Langhorne agreed on a site on the south side of the Yarra a few kilometres upstream from the settlement in an area that is now part of the Botanic Gardens (see map 4). The mission operated from 1837 to 1839 as a school for Aboriginal children and as a station where the adults could come and obtain food and blankets in return for work.

In 1837 Lord Glenelg, Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointed George Augustus Robinson as Chief Protector of the Aborigines of the Port Phillip District (though the appointment was not taken up until 1839). The idea of a protectorate stemmed from recommendations made by the House of Commons Select Committee into the condition of natives peoples in British colonies. The committee, which took evidence from mid 1835 to mid 1837, saw the need for a kind of ombudsman for indigenous peoples in each colony, a representative who would be independent of the Colonial Legislature who would inevitably represent the settlers. In the case of Port Phillip, the Colonial Secretary received a specific suggestion as to who to appoint from George Arthur, who had been Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) from 1824 to 1836 - namely George Augustus Robinson. Arthur was familiar with Robinson's work as 'conciliator' in that colony. Robinson had gathered the remnants of the almost exterminated Aboriginal people of Tasmania and settled them on Flinders Island in Bass Strait. Arthur in fact not only suggested that Robinson be sent to the mainland but that he take his Tasmanian Aborigines with him in the hope that he might, through them, open a friendly communication with the natives there' (Cannon 1982:7). (There were earlier proposals to send Robinson to Portland Bay or South Australia, before Arthur's suggestion he be appointed in the Port Phillip District). This seems a strange suggestion when one considers that the languages of Tasmania were quite unlike any of the mainland ones (Dixon 1980:228-33). In any event, Glenelg rejected the suggestion, though Robinson did manage to take some Tasmanian people with him to his new post, including the woman, Truganini, who gained posthumous fame as 'the last full-blood Tasmanian'. See, for instance, Ellis 1981.

Robinson arrived in Melbourne in February 1839. The plan for the Protectorate called for four Assistant Protectors and these had in fact arrived a month earlier. They were: James Dredge of Salisbury, a Wesleyan schoolmaster with experience in giving religious instruction; Edward Stone Parker of London, originally a printer and later a schoolmaster, well known as a preacher, 'considered well suited for the work of elementary and religious education, and strongly recommended by the Wesleyan society' (Cannon 1982:35); Charles Sievwright, senior lieutenant in the 7th Fusiliers, which had been stationed in Malta for five years (he left Malta with unpaid debts derived from unsuccessful gambling); and William Thomas, Wesleyan principal of a school in London.

Dredge was assigned to the Goulburn River area and established a station at Mitchellstown in May 1839. He resigned just over a year later. Sievwright was assigned to the Geelong district and Parker to the Mt Macedon area. Thomas was assigned to the Westernport district, but Robinson kept him in Melbourne until August 1839 to look after the numerous Aborigines who gravitated to the town. He finally set up an out-
station near Arthur's Seat on the Mornington Peninsula only to be recalled to Melbourne in September to look after a new influx of distressed people. He was allowed to return to the Peninsula in October but had to come back to Melbourne later that month to help greet the new Superintendent of the Port Phillip District, Charles Joseph La Trobe. He again returned to the Peninsula, but Robinson summoned him back to Melbourne in early November since it was reported there were no blacks at Arthur's Seat but rather the 'Waverongs and Bonurongs,.over whom Assistant Thomas

had been placed' were on the south bank of the Yarra (Cannon 1983:601). Eventually Thomas ran a government station or mission at Narre Narre War- ren from 1840 until 1843 (George McCrae records nyerri-warren with the meaning 'red'). After that time Thomas was based in Melbourne. Thomas kept a journal which along with the journals of Robinson represents a ma- jor primary source for the early years of European settlement.

The Protectorate investigated alleged crimes involving Aborigines, particularly cases of alleged mistreatment of Aborigines by Europeans. Right at the beginning Sievwright and Parker were sent to investigate the killing of two Aborigines near Mount Mitchell in Western Victoria. Sievwight's report, quoted in Thomas's journal, provides an interesting comment on the situation in the interior (Cannon 1983:520): 'The awful state of society towards the Aborigines in the interior district. Sixteen stations I visited and at but one, a Mr Airey, did I find a philanthropic feeling and regard for them. At two out of the 16 I found skulls of Abo- rigines placed over the doors of the huts as if to warn the lawful owners of the land at their peril to approach. At Mr Bowerman's sheep station, two blacks were shot and marked strange. One witness we examined says, "he was pushed in his tent" and another witness that he was frightened at work, and yet firearms was resorted to by the whites and two blacks were killed. The Aborigines must be most seriously injured judicially by their not being able to give a statement that can be known in all evidence.'

Sievwright's last comment pinpointed the weakness of the Protector- ate. Aborigines could not give evidence in court so they could never re- ceive justice. On the other hand they were subject to the full range of European judicial punishments ranging from being put in the stocks out- side the Post Office, through imprisonment to execution by hanging.

On the frontier there were always incidents. Sometimes it was a matter of Aborigines spearing or stealing sheep, but at times settlers were speared or tomahawked. Two serious incidents had occurred in 1838 before the Protectorate was operating. In one incident on the Broken River there was a confrontation between a large group of between 150 and 200 Aborigines and a party of assigned servants who were droving for the Faithfull brothers. Seven of the servants were speared to death in what became known as 'the Faithfull massacre'. Later that year a party of about 50 Aborigines stole sheep northeast of Mt Macedon. A posse of set- tlers tracked the offenders down and in the pitched battle that ensued eight blacks died (Cannon 1982:312-42).

Dredge, the Assistant Protector for the Goulburn River area, re- ports the following massacre (Cannon 1983:715):

'8 December 1839
.In a conversation with one of the blacks, Bulgetheroon, I learnt that 'long time ago' there were many of the Thongworong tribe killed by Mr Mundy and other whites.

He said that the men had gone to look out opossum when they fell in with Mr Mundy. He told them to go with him, and he would give them plenty of flour - that when they had received it they took it to their fires and made 'big one - big one' cake - that whilst they were in the act of eating it Mr Mundy and other white men rode down upon them and shot several of them dead, the exact number I could not make out, but there were men, women and children; the rest fled, and he, for one, hid himself under a cliff by the side of a creek, when he heard the balls whistle over him.

This is another instance of the savage 'barbarity' of WHITE GENTLE- MEN towards the unprotected and persecuted blacks. This wholesale murder, like many others of a similar character, took place in the bosom of the

solitary forest. No human eye witnessed it save that of the murderers and those who escaped their fiendish fury, and these latter, while they are held amenable to our laws and are punished for the violation of them, are considered incompetent to tell their own tale of woe, even under circumstances of so horrifying a character as those above detailed.

I now wonder not at the sneering manner in which this gent. (alias brute) adverted to the Aborigines some time since at Hamilton's, where I met him. I asked him if there were any blacks at his station. He said they were always about his run. I further asked if they were at all troublesome, when he said he thought they would not trouble him again in a hurry, that he had given them such a punishing as they would not readily forget. No doubt it was to this circumstance he referred.

No, indeed, the poor creatures have not forgotten it, they continue to breathe revengeful threats at the remembrance of his name, nor would it be a matter of surprise if, at some favourable opportunity, retributive justice overtakes the culprits.

At all events they must render an awful account at the tribunal of Him who will sit in righteous judgment on this case, and who, tho' unseen and forgotten by those monsters in human form, was a witness of the whole scene, and will avenge the innocent blood.'

A native police force was set up in 1842 under Captain Henry Dana. Its headquarters was at Narre Narre Warren (nowadays shortened to Narre Warren). As might be expected this force was useful for doing the invaders' dirty work. Thomas reports that a member of the force told him they had massacred seventeen Aboriginal people in the Portland Bay District in September 1843. They were told not to take prisoners: 'Captain say big one stupid catch them: very good shoot them, you blackfellows no shoot them me handcuff you and send you to jail' (quoted in Broome 1987:28).

It is difficult to estimate the number of speakers of Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung and Thagungwurrung at the time of the first European incursions in 1835. Thomas estimated that 'his tribes', as he called the 'Waverong' and 'Bonurong', numbered about 350 in 1835 and Langhorne estimated that the 'Waworong, the Bonurong and Watowrong' (Wathawurrung of the Geelong district) amounted to at least 700 in 1836 (Cannon 1982:176). Whatever the true figures, they may well be below the figures for previous generations, since, as we have already noted, smallpox had probably spread through the area in 1789 or shortly after and again around 1830 (Buckley reported an epidemic of smallpox during his time with the Wathawurrung). Moreover, the maraudings of the sealers and whalers may have been responsible for the killing and abduction of people such as the Boonwurrung who lived near the coast.

Thomas counted 83 'Bonurong' in 1840 and 123 'Wavorong' though he admitted he could have missed 20 more 'Wavorongs.not more' (Cannon 1983:603). The figure for Boonwurrung is very low indeed. Besides the effect of smallpox and the direct results of the European incursions, we must allow for the internecine strife with the Kurnai alluded to above.

It is difficult to know how many Kulin were killed directly by Europeans in the first years of settlement, perhaps hundreds, certainly more than the 59 Europeans known to have been killed by Aborigines in the Port Phillip District before 1850 (figure in Broome 1984:31). However great the figure, it is likely that an even greater number died miserable deaths from the new diseases: dysentery, typhus, respiratory ailments ('the Cough') and venereal diseases. Thomas paints a grim picture of the situation on the Yarra in 1839 (Cannon 1983:523-4):

'5 May 1839

Sunday. Just as I had concluded the service to the Flinders Island blacks at the Chief Protector's, Mr Sievwright makes official report of the serious state of disease among the blacks. I accompany the Chief Protector in a boat and visit their encampment. A scene presented itself truly appalling, five were in the last stage of dysentery, a piercing cold night to all appearance coming on and not a blanket to cover them, and we their Protectors had not a single blanket at our disposal for these poor creatures. Saint James the apostle should have been here. Could the British Parliament or His Excellency have felt our feelings, they could certainly never have placed us in such a position without means. They did not however in vain call out 'plenty cold'. I and my colleagues gave them blankets from our own beds.

I visited the grave of the one recently interred, found a fresh fire had been made at sun set. This is second day since death. I waited on the Colonial Surgeon in order that these dying creatures might be attended. Mr Sievwright's report has this affecting sentence, "Nine of these poor creatures are labouring under the venereal disease which is not confined to age or sex, the infant at the breast as well as the aged and infirm are infected with it, and the dysentery occasioned no doubt from privation and cold is awfully raging among them. Five have already been buried and while I am now writing they are burying the sixth". Returned home late ruminating on awful scenes of the day.'

The effect of these deaths on the Kulin population was compounded by a dramatic fall in the birth rate (see, for instance, Thomas's journal for 29 February 1840 (Cannon 1983:626)). This may have been the result of the introduced diseases, especially venereal diseases which affect fertility and the viability of the foetus, but it may also have been partly the result of a deep malaise. Billi-bellari, a Woiwurung who had befriended Thomas, claimed that some Woiwurrung women had killed their new born babies in the face of a hopeless future: 'Blackfellows all about say that no good have them pickaninneys now: no country for blackfellow like long time ago' (quoted in Broome 1987:26).

Even when they weren't being interfered with directly, the Aboriginal people found their food resources depleted. Stock animals interfered with the supply of murnong (yam daisy) and the stripping of wattles for bark for tanning reduced the availability of wattle gum (Gaughwin 1983:49-50).

The Kulin became increasingly more dependent on the Europeans. As their traditional food sources became depleted, they had to obtain European food. To some extent they were able to sell traditional food such as ducks and eels to the immigrants and get money for food (and grog). They also earned money by selling lyre-bird tails, acting as guides for hunting parties, and doing a variety of jobs.

By the time of the goldrush (1851), sixteen years after the establishment of Port Phillip, only a few score of the earlier inhabitants of the district remained. By 1857 there were, according to Thomas, only seventeen Woiwurrung and twelve Boonwurrung, living as itinerant rural workers. A settler, John Aitken, estimated the number of 'Upper Goulburn' people (Thagungwurrung) at this time to be about fifty (Massola 1975:6).

In 1849 the Protectorate had been abolished, though Thomas was appointed Guardian of Aborigines for the counties of Bourke, Evelyn and Mornington. In 1860 an arm of the state government bureaucracy was established called The Central Board to Watch over the Interests of the Aborigines. John Green, who had emigrated from Scotland a few years before and who had carried out evangelical work among Aborigines, was appointed Inspector.

In 1859 a deputation of Kulin people asked for a grant of land. The government eventually settled the remaining Kulin people and some Aboriginal people from other parts of Victoria at Coranderrk near Healesville. John Green was appointed as Superintendent in 1863. (The name Coranderrk is the Woiwurrung word for Prostanthera lasianthos or Victorian Christmas Bush. Massola (1975:14) reports that most Aborigines used the Goulburn River equivalent, namely Geringdah).

Coranderrk became a successful hop farm, but was neutered by an inept piece of government legislation, the 1886 Aboriginal Act. Under this Act all part-Aborigines of 35 years or under were barred from Aboriginal reserves. Coranderrk was deprived of most of its labour force and began to run down. In 1923 the Aboriginal people of Coranderrk were all sent to the Lake Tyers reserve in Gippsland when the government decided to concentrate all Aboriginal reserves into one.

It was difficult for Kulin language and culture to survive. Almost all Europeans thought Aboriginal culture to be of no value and educators, particularly religious ones, persistently tried to suppress Aboriginal vernaculars. In the nineteen sixties Luise Hercus carried out a sympathetic survey of what was left of Victoria's Aboriginal languages. For Woiwurru she writes as follows (1986:160): 'The language was still kept intact at Healesville at the beginning of this century at the Coranderrk reserve, despite this influx of people from other tribes, but the last fluent speakers died soon after that. The history of Coranderrk is one of almost unmitigated tragedy as is evident particularly from the work of Barwick (1972). We received much help from the Wandin family, the very elderly grand-nieces and grand-nephew of the famous King Berak. Unfortunately the remnants of Woiwurru that could be recorded from them are so slight that only tentative remarks can be made about phonemics and phonetics in the hope that this will help in the interpretation of the material written down last century.'

For whites growing up in Melbourne in the twentieth century local Aborigines hardly existed. They were not seen. They were not talked about. But they were there, the survivors of the Woiwurrung, the Thagungwurrung and various other groups from other parts of Victoria and beyond. Now they are emerging to proclaim their heritage with new pride. In common with the Aboriginal people of other parts of southeastern Australia they call themselves Kooris (or Koories). Koori is the word for 'man' in the languages of the north coast of New South Wales. It is probably cognate with Kulin.

1.3   NAMES FOR THE LANGUAGE AND PEOPLE

The early sources present a confusing array of names for Aboriginal groups in central Victoria. The confusion involves three factors:
    (a) Discrepancies in notating Aboriginal names in the Roman alphabet. For some names there are scores of spellings due to different hearings of a particular name and different conventions for spelling what was heard. In some cases further errors of transcription have occurred in printing manuscript sources.
    (b) The hierarchical level to which a name applies. Most of the names encountered in the early sources seem to be clan names, but there is often some doubt about whether a name applies to a grouping of clans or part of a clan.
    (c) The location of groups. There are notable discrepancies between sources in the locations ascribed to groups (mostly clans).

The earliest sources are the manuscripts of men like Thomas and Robinson (see section 1.5 below). From a generation or two later there are published accounts such as Curr 1886 and Howitt 1904, both of which contain maps. The list of clans given below and map 2 are largely based on two modern, comprehensive summaries: Barwick 1984 and Clark 1990.

The people who were living in the Melbourne area when Europeans began to appear in the region at the beginning of the nineteenth century were known as the Woiwurrung or Wurundjeri. Their territory consisted of the area drained by the Yarra and its tributaries. In the west it extended to the Werribee River, in the north to the Great Dividing Range. In the east it took in the headwaters of the Yarra and extended south to the territory of the Boonwurrung. It is not certain where the boundary lay (see map), but it is clear that the territory of the Woiwurrung did not extend to the coast at any point. Along the shores of Port Phillip Bay the Boonwurrung held a narrow strip that ran as far west as the Werribee River.

The name Woiwurrung is spelled in a great variety of ways including the following:

Woiworung, Woiwurung, Woiwurong, Woiwurrong, Warowang, Wo'worung, Wooeewoorong, Warorong, Woororong, Warerong, Wawoo-rong, Wawoorong, Waworong, Waworung, Wauerong, Wowerong, Wawurong, Wawurrong, Wavoorong, Woiwurru, Wairwaioo, Warwaroo, Wainworra

Leaving aside those spellings that include a v, it is clear that the first syllable is woi (rhyming with boy). In the phonemic representation used in the body of this work I use only three vowels in stressed syllables and Woiwurrung would be written wuyiwurrung. The reasons for this are discussed in ¤2.1. However, I have retained the established oi spelling in the name since it is easier to interpret. The last two syllables consist of the word wurrung 'lips', 'mouth', 'language'. I will use this spelling consistently in all names that contain this word. There is a legitimate variant Woiwurru. The final ng seems to have been optional in some words (see ¤2.3).

From the etymology it would appear that Woiwurrung is a language name, but in fact it is used as the name for the people who spoke the language as well as the language itself. The competing name Wurundjeri seems to be properly the name of a group of the Woiwurrung-speaking people.

Although I believe the term 'tribe' can usefully be applied in Australia where groups are clearly demarcated by cultural features such as language, I will refrain from using it with reference to the Melbourne area since it is not clear what it could be usefully applied to. Most writers call the Woiwurrung or Wurundjeri a tribe, but by analogy with the way the term is used in other areas, not just of Australia, one could apply a single tribe label to the speakers of Thagungwurrung, Woiwurrung and Boonwurring together.

Among those who spoke the Woiwurrung dialect there were the following clans (Howitt 1904:71ff):

The Wurundjeri-balluk proper dwelt in the Yarra Valley from the catchment area down to Heidelberg. Howitt offers an etymology for wurunjerri: wurun 'Eucalyptus viminalis' and jerri 'a grub that lives in that tree'. However, the latter is highly suspect. There is a form djirra that marks the plural of human nouns and which seems to appear in other group names. Green records woorun for 'Eucalyptus amygdalina'. On map 1, the spelling Wurrundjirri is used.

The Buluk-wilam lived south of the Yarra Valley extending down to Dandenong, Cranbourne and the Koo-wee-rup Swamp. The first element in the name is probably to be identified with buluk 'swamp' yielding a name 'swamp people'.

The Kunnung-willam-baluk lived between Mount Macedon and Daylesford. Kunnung is probably gurnung 'river', which would mean that the name signified 'river people' or 'creek people'. This clan is shown on the map as Kurnung. A subsection of this clan, the Tallim-willam (possibly Tali--wilam), lived around Bacchus Marsh (Clark 1990:382).

Also around Bacchus Marsh were the Kurung-jang-baluk. Howitt treats them as a Woiwurrung-speaking group, but Tindale (1974:132), following information given before a Select Committee of the Legislative Council of Victoria in 1858, treats them as a separate tribe and locates them between the Werribee River and Geelong. There is no linguistic material extant that can be positively ascribed to the Kurung. They are shown on the map with the regularised spelling Kurrung.

The Marin-bulluk or Boi-berrit occupied land to the west of the Maribyrnong with Sunbury as a centre.

The Kurnaje-berreing had the territory between the Maribyrnong and the Yarra. One sub-group owned the western part of this area from the Maribyrnong River to the Merri Creek. The area took in the site of Melbourne in the south and Mount William (near Lancefield) in the north. The leader (ngurungaeta) of this sub-group at the time the Europeans arrived was Billi-billeri. The other sub-group held the land between the Merri Creek and the Yarra River. Their leader was Bebe-jan. Barwick (1984:122) considers these two sub-groups and a third, who held the land on the south bank of the Yarra from Gardiner's creek up to and including the northern slopes of the Dandenongs (an area running east of the city for twenty miles or so), as comprising a Wurundjeri-willam clan separate from the Wurundjeri-
balluk. All that seems to be agreed between the sources is that the whole of the Yarra Valley was in the hands of groups who were Wurundjeri.

To the south of the Woiwurrung territory lay the country of the Boonwurrung. This covered the land around Western Port and took in the Mornington Peninsula. In the east the boundary was the Tarwin River and to the west their territory extended in a strip that ran around the head of Port Phillip Bay probably as far as the Werribee River. In the early literature the Boonwurrung are referred to as the 'coast tribe' or the 'Western Port tribe'. Spellings include the following:

Boonurong, Boonwerong, Boonurrong, Boonoorong, Boonoorung, Boonwurrong, Boonoor-ong, Boon-oor-rong, Boongerong, Bunwurung, Boonworong, Boonwerong, Bonurong, Bonourong, Bunuron, Bunwurru.

I have opted for Boonwurrung choosing the double o rather than u so that historians and others will stop pronouncing the first vowel as the vowel of sun, pun, etc. I have chosen wurrung as the form for the last two syllables in order to give a consistent representation to the word wurrung 'language' in the various language names such as Woiwurrung, Thagungwurrung, etc. From the nineteenth century spellings it would seem that the w at the beginning of the second syllable was either weak and hard to hear or in fact elided as in English names like Woolwich. From what we know of other Australian languages we would guess that the presence or absence of w before u was optional and not meaningful.

The name Boonwurrung seems to be properly the name of the clan who inhabited the Mornington Peninsula and the coastal area along the eastern

side of Port Phillip Bay up as far as Mordialloc (Moodi Yallock (murdi yaluk) or Moodi creek). However, Robinson records a form Burinyung-bulluk for the clan who owned the Peninsula (Barwick 1984:100). Bulluk is buluk or baluk, both forms occur; it is a pluraliser and could be trans-lated 'mob'. Robinson also recorded Mayone-bulluk for the clan occupying the area at the top of the Peninsula and the head of Western Port bay.

The Ngaruk-willam lived in the Mordialloc and Dandenong area. Howitt takes them to be a Woiwurrung clan, but Barwick (1984) and Clark (1990) take them to be Boonwurrung on the basis of Thomas 1846 (reference in Clark 1990:367) Wilam means 'hut' or 'camp' and this word and the cor-responding Thagungwurrung form yilam are used in a number of names for clans or larger groupings of people. Ngaruk (ngarruk) probably means 'hill'. Howitt (see Clark 1990:367) takes ngarruk to mean 'stones' or 'rocks', but although it is common in Australian languages for one word to mean both 'mountain/hill' and 'rock/stone', the language sources regu-larly distinguish ngarruk for 'mountain/hill' and muyidyirr for 'rock/stone'. 'Hill people' would not be impossible since there are some hills such as Mount Eliza and Mount Martha in what was Ngarruk territory.

In the eastern extremity of the territory dwelt the yowenjerre (= yawen djirra where djirra is a plural marker). Thomas recorded Bonkoola-wol as a name for an 'extinct' group on the eastern shore of Western Port bay near the Bass River, but Barwick and Clark do not recognise them as distinct from the Yallock-bulluk. Yallock (yaluk) means 'river', so Yal-lock Bullock could be translated as the 'river mob'. The group who occu-pied the prime real estate along the coast from north of the Mordialloc Creek around the head of Port Phillip Bay to the Werribee River were the Yalukit Willam (wilam means 'camp').

The country of the Thagungwurrung lay to the north of Woiwurrung territory separated by the Great Dividing Range. Their land embraced the headwaters of the Goulburn River and extended downstream (north) to the Broken River and to the east it took in the valley of the Campaspe
Spellings of the name include the following:

Ta-oungurong, Thagunworung, Taguniorung, Targunwurung, Tongworonga, Jhongworong, Tauonyirong, Darngoorang, Tagawuru, Thaguwurru, Daguwura.

From these we can deduce a form Thagungwurrung. Both the ng at the end of Thagung and the end of wurrung were undoubtedly optional (see the discussion in ¤ 2.1). It is likely that the g in the middle of thagung could be vocalised or lost, and if the ng was retained in thagung then the w of wurrung could be omitted. (Both these sound changes incidentally can be attested in the history of English: Old English dragen > Middle English drawen 'to draw'; compare the spelling and pronunciation of Greenwich).

The following clans are mentioned in the early sources:

Nira-balak (Howitt), Nerboolook (Curr). Kilmore. Howitt gives 'cave' as the meaning of nira. This clan is shown on the map as Nirra.
Buthera-baluk (Howitt). Goulburn River, Seymour. On the map I have used Curr's spelling Boother(boolok).
Yauung-illam-baluk (Howitt). Alexandria, Upper Yea River. Illam is yilam 'bark', 'hut', 'camp'. On the map Yauung has been respelled Yawang.
Yirun-illam-baluk. The Broken River above and below Benalla. Bar-wick (1984:123-4) distinguishes a Yaran-illam on the east side of the Goulburn and a Yeerun-illam-balluk on the Broken River around Benalla. There are in fact a number of early references to a Goulburn River clan and a Broken River clan, but the spellings overlap a great deal. It is

highly likely, that a common form Yarran is involved with a being pronounced as [e] following y (see ¤2.1). On the map I have placed a Yarran (-yilam-baluk) clan between the Goulburn and Broken rivers.

Waring-illam-baluk. Junction of the Yea River and the Goulburn.

Natrakboolok (Curr). Goulburn near Seymour. Other sources place them west of the Goulburn and indicate an extra syllable in the pronunciation: Naterrak-buluk.

Dredge reported a Look-yellam clan located near Kilmore (Cannon 1983:721). There are several early references to a Moomoomgoondeet/Moo-moom-conedeet/Moo-er-wil-lum/Moom-millum clan on the Campaspe. I have used the form Moomoom on the map. The form goondeet/conedeet is a plural marking form in Djadjawurrung, the language spoken west of the Campaspe.

Ngooraialum. Goulburn down to Toolamba. The name is probably ngurra yilam. The form Ngoora is used on the map. Barwick (1984:125) takes Nooraialum-balluk (Ngurra yilam baluk) and two other clans Benbedora-balluk (Benbedorr) and Gunung-yellam (Gurnung yilam) to constitute a Ngu-rai-illam-wurrung (Ngurra yilam wurrung) or Ngurra yilam dialect group separate from Thagungwurrung. The fact that Howitt uses the terms Ngurai-illam-wurrung and Nguraiwurung perhaps suggests a separate wurrung, but it could be that the dialect name was an alternative to Thagungwurrung based on a clan name. Robinson (quoted in Barwick 1984:125) refers to two dialects in use among the Goulburn natives, the 'Taoungerong and Taoung-but', and Mathews in his manuscript version of the 'Thagawurru language' gives two names without comment, Thagoowurroo and Thagoongburt, but Curr's Ngooraialum list (209a) (1887 vol.III:528) seems to be Thagungwur-rung so I will work on the assumption that all the clans listed above as Thagungwurrung spoke a single dialect. I have followed Barwick in accepting the Benbedorr (Curr's spelling is Pimpandoor) and Gurnung as clans speaking a northern dialect of the Woiwurrung language. This means that the area covered is more extensive than what is shown on older maps including Tindale's (1940, revised 1974) and extends to the valley of the Campaspe. Gunung, incidentally, seems to be gurnung 'creek'. I have used the g spelling on the map to distinguish it from the Woiwurrung clan with the same name which I have spelled with a k. The three northwestern clans that Barwick described as speaking a Ngurra-yilam dialect are marked off with a broken line on map 2.

According to Mathews (1903:244) the names of the dialects of the Woiwurrung language are based on words for 'no'. This can be confirmed only for the northern dialect where forms such as thago, ta-goong, thaung and dhagungbert are recorded for 'no'. Note that the last of these forms would appear to be the basis for the Taoungbut/Thagoongburt name quoted in the paragraph above.

1.4   NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

The three dialects of the Kulin language have very similar vocabularies as the following percentages indicate. The figure in brackets after the percentage indicates the number of comparisons used:

Thagungwurrung-Woiwurrung   83% (60)
Woiwurrung-Boonwurrung 93% (60)
Thagungwurrung-Boonwurrung   80% (60)

There may not have been much difference at all between Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung. 93 per cent is a very high figure when one considers that there are usually a number of near synonyms available and it is

likely that one person will proffer one word and the next person another. Indeed if one elicits the Aboriginal equivalents for 100 English words from the same speaker on two different occasions, one does not usually obtain two identical sets of words.

There is grammatical data available for Thagungwurrung and Woiwurrung and this confirms that these two dialects were very similar. Table 1.1 illustrates some of the lexical differences.

The language of the Melbourne area with its three dialects, Thagungwurrung, Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung, is the easternmost of a group of relatively closely related languages collectively known as the Kulin group of languages. This group includes Wathawurrung in the Geelong area and covers most of western Victoria north of the Western District and extends over the Murray into New South Wales. Here are the percentages of vocabulary held in common between the Woiwurrung language (represented by Thagungwurrung) and the languages that bordered on it. Note that Djadjawurrung is one of a variety of spellings used for the language spoken west of Bendigo. Others include Jaara, Yayaurung and Jajaurung. For Gippsland the comparison was based on Curr's list No.210. (Curr 1887, vol. 3:549-57). It is representative of the dialects of the language and people traditionally known as Kurnai (Ganai).

```
Wathawurrung (Geelong) - Thagungwurrung  44%   (84)
Djadjawurrung (west of Bendigo) - Thagungwurrung     40%   (90)
Bangerang (Murray Valley) - Thagungwurrung     11%   (90)
Kurnai (Gippsland) - Thagungwurrung 11%   (98)
```

Comparisons based on different sources will give somewhat different figures, but they will not disturb the general picture that emerges. Clearly the Kulin language is not related at all closely to Bangerang to the north nor to the Gippsland languages to the east. On the other hand, vocabulary resemblances suggest links to the west which are supported by resemblances in grammatical forms.

The languages of the Australian mainland are probably all related and over most of the country, excluding the Kimberleys and the Top End, languages are relatively closely related and can tentatively be identified as belonging to the Pama-Nyungan family (see Introduction). Certain forms are characteristic of the Pama-Nyungan languages (though not necessarily exclusive to them). These include the following case markers:

```
ergative case     -lu,  -nggu,      -du
locative case     -la,  -ngga,      -da
dative case -gu
accusative case   -nha or nya (mainly with pronouns)
```

TABLE 1.1 Dialect differences

```
        T     B      B
_____

bone  galk  nyilang     nyilang

blood gurrruk      gurruk
             gurrumul    gurrumul

old man      dha-gula    wigabil     wigabil

girl  burnay      burnay
             murnmurndik murnmurndik

old woman    wirrk-wirrk murndi-gurrk       murndi-gurrk

white cockatoo     gaan  gaan
             ngayuk      ngayuk

sun   ngamai      ngamai
             ngawa-      ngawa-

camp  yilam wilam wilam

one   gup(-dun)   gup(-dun)   gup(-dun)
             ganbu ganbu

two   bulabil     bulabil
             bindjirru   bindjirru

good  burndap     burndap
             monamith    monamith
```

In many Pama-Nyungan languages most or all of these forms can be found.
In the Woiwurrung language, however, there are no obvious examples of any
of them. The ergative is -dh or -dja and this may be related to -du and
ultimately -lu and -nggu, but this remains to be substantiated.
      On the basis of Dixon's work we can reconstruct the following pro-
noun forms as the proto-forms for Pama-Nyungan (Dixon 1980):

```
      singular    dual  plural
      lst   ngay  ngali ngana
      2nd   ngin  nyunbala*   nyurra
      3rd   nyu (east) bula  dyana
      ngu (west)
      nyan ('she')
```
*final vowel uncertain

As with the case markers we find most of these forms clearly reflected in
most Pama-Nyungan languages. In the Woiwurrung language the following re-
flexes can be found, mostly as pronominal suffixes:

```
singular    dual  plural
 1st        -ngal -nganyin
2nd  -in   -(m)bul
3rd  -u    bulabil     -dhan(a)
           bula-
```

It is not certain that the singular forms -in and -u are in fact trun-
cated reflexes of ngin and nyu respectively, but there are obvious re-
flexes of ngali, dhana, etc. The most striking feature of the Woiwurrung
language pronouns is the appearance of -ik for first person singular.
This is a peculiarly Victorian form. In sum, it would appear that the
Woiwurrung language is probably to be classified as Pama-Nyungan, mainly
on the basis of its pronoun forms, particularly -ngal which reflects the
distinctively Pama-Nyungan form ngali, but like the other Victorian lan-
guages it is a somewhat marginal or aberrant member of the family par-
ticularly in case marking.
     The Melbourne language contains a number of roots that are wide-
spread throughout the mainland and it is the presence of these that ac-
counts for the most part for the 11% shared with the languages to the
north and to the east. These include djinang 'foot', gunang 'faeces' and
yana- 'go'. Of more interest is the presence of words that have likely
cognates in the north of the continent but which are not well represented
between these extremes. These include the following examples from lan-
guages of the Northern Territory:

     Woiwurrung other
     blood gurrk gurrk 'sap, juice' Gun-Djeyhmi   gurratj
'blood' Jawoyn, Ngalakan
     hip   mulu- murlu Warray
           morlo Jawoyn
     knee barding   bard Gunwinygu, etc.
     heel burn burn Gunwinygu, etc.
     heart durrung   dor Jawoyn
     fire wii- wirn Daly River languages
     water baa- barna Ngalakan (special bound form)
     barna (Hercus)
     crawl dirri-   dirri? Warray

These are likely to be relics of roots that were once widespread.

1.5 PAST INVESTIGATIONS

     The main source of information on the Woiwurrung language is the
material collected by Bunce, Green, Robinson and Thomas. Bunce was a pro-
fessional gardener, the other three were appointed as protectors of Abo-
rigines (see ¤ 1.2 above and see details below). This information was
collected during the first generation of the European occupation when op-
portunities were available to work with full speakers who were bilingual
in both vernacular and English (probably largely Pidgin English). Unfor-
tunately the material collected is mostly lexical and of very poor stan-
dard. Bunce's notation is particularly poor even by the standards of the
day. Thomas supplies translations of English texts into Woiwurrung. In
theory these should be a valuable source of information on grammar; in
practice they are practically useless.

Towards the end of the century R.H. Mathews recorded some grammatical as well as lexical information. His notation and his understanding of grammar are far superior to the work of the first generation of recorders about whom he is quite scathing (Mathews 1902:75). Unfortunately his notes are rather skimpy, amounting to only a few pages for Thagungwurrung and a few for Woiwurrung.

The only modern investigation was that undertaken by Luise Hercus in the 1960s. She surveyed what was left of Victorian languages in general. For 'Woiwurru' only a few words could be recorded.

The sources are listed below in alphabetic order:

Daniel Bunce was a gardener who wrote books on botany and horticulture. He published a book Language of the Aborigines of the Colony of Victoria and other Australian Districts in 1851. This contains a very large English-Aboriginal vocabulary. The Aboriginal is of the 'Melbourne tribe or, as they call it, N'uther Galla' (ix). N'uther, incidentally, is ngadha 'no', so Nyudha Gala is another example of a language name based on the negative form (see also the end of ¤ 1.3 above). The standard of this work is appalling even against the dismal standard of the day. The vocabulary was reprinted in Brough Smyth (1878 II:133-53) in Aboriginal-English form which only serves to emphasize its semantic inadequacies. Some N'uther Galla words are translated by some dozens of English words. Here are some examples:

Monomeeth:
Agree, amity, appreciate, approve, beauty, benevolence, bravo, generosity, gentle, mild, well done, charming, comely, commendation, darling, a favorite, desert, worthy, elegant, endearment, enjoyment, fair, beautiful, famous, fidelity, honesty, good, indulgent, kindness, kind, benevolent, laud, to praise, merit, odoriferous, sweet, pleasant, precious, costly, pretty, handsome, prime, first-rate, properly, pure, in a fit sense, not sullied, rapture, delight, rejoice, relish, right, proper, satisfied, seemly, decent, serene, splendid, spotless, deserving, zest, to relish.

Moonmoondick:
Damsel, young maid, deity, God, the Pleiades, divinity, supreme, girl, a young female, a virgin, miss, young unmarried person, vestal, pure; youth, past childhood, if a girl.

E. M. Curr (1820-1889) was Tasmanian born but educated in England and France. His father was one of the original squatters in Thagungwurrung country and young Curr managed properties in northern Victoria from 1841 to 1850. From 1875 to 1883 he was a member of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines. He developed a keen interest in Australian languages. He published a four volume work The Australian Race in 1886-7 which consists largely of Aboriginal vocabularies from those parts of Australia that had been settled by Europeans by that time. Curr sent a list of 124 English words to pastoralists, policeman, Protectors of the Aborigines, clergymen and others and sought to obtain the equivalents in the local Aboriginal language. For the Goulburn language he supplied the vocabulary himself: 'with the Ngooraialum tribe I was well acquainted when a young man, and knew something of their language' (list 209a). The Ngooraialum were of a group of Thagungwurrung speaking people. Curr also supplied a vocabulary for the 'Oorongir' language, i.e. the Wurrundjerri language (209b) (The Wurrundjerri were Woiwurrung speaking people) and one for 'Mordiyallook' (209d), representing the Boonwurrung dialect. Curr's 'Lower Yarra' list (209c) is extracted from Bunce's vocabulary. All these lists are in volume III:523-35.

Exposition Internationale Melbourne: vocabulaire des dialects des Aborigenes de l'australie 1866-7 (EIM), edited by Sir Redmond Barry. This document consists of comparative vocabularies most of them mislabelled. The list marked 'Lake Tyers' is in fact Thagungwurrung.

John Green emigrated from Scotland and arrived in Melbourne in 1855. He did evangelical work among Aborigines near Croydon (east of Melbourne) and in 1860 was appointed as Inspector to The Central Board to Watch over the Interests of the Aborigines. He was Superintendent of the Acheron Aboriginal Station for a short time in 1862 and of the Coranderrk Aboriginal Station from 1863 to 1874.

Green wrote a description of the language of the 'Yarra Tribe' consisting of a vocabulary of nearly a thousand words plus a few pages of sentences and some grammatical information. This was published in Brough Smyth (1878 II:99-115). Also in the same volume appears a short vocabulary of the 'Wooeewoorong or Yarra Tribe' (90), a few sentences (98), and a list of 68 native plants with Aboriginal equivalents (170-72). These are Port Phillip words, at least those that can be checked in other sources, though the dialect or dialects cannot be determined. The plant list is partly the work of Mrs Green.

Green also supplied two pages of data on the language of the 'Goulburn tribe'. This consists of a handful of sentences and a short word list (Brough Smyth 1878 II:115-6).

Luise Hercus, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar and a recorder of numerous Australian languages, gleaned the last information there was still to be had on Victorian languages in the 1960s and managed to obtain substantial material on the languages of northwestern Victoria (Hercus 1965, 1974). However, with the languages of the areas taken over first by the Europeans there was little to be found. Hercus 1969 (revised version 1986) contains a couple of pages of 'phonetic notes' on 'Woiwurru' and a vocabulary based on the pronunciation of about 90 words by people originally from Corranderrk. Only just over half tally with the old sources for this language, so I have listed them simply as 'h' without ascribing them to a particular dialect.

G. H. Haydon appended to Five years experience in Australia Felix (London 1846) 'a short Vocabulary of native words used by the Woeworong, Bournourong, and Barrable tribes inhabiting country in the neighbourhood of Port Phillip'.

Alfred William Howitt (1830-1908) was a gold-seeker, farmer, station manager, police magistrate and eventually a member of the Public Service Board. His interest in Aborigines developed when he led an expedition in search of the lost explorers, Burke and Wills. His major work The native tribes of south-east Australia was published in 1904. For the Port Phillip District it contains a map locating local groups, and miscellaneous ethnographic material incorporating native words. A lot of this material was obtained from the famous Wurrundjirri chief (ngurungaeta), Barak, known as 'King Barak' (c1824-1903) via Joseph Shaw, the superintendent at Coranderrk around the turn of the century (Clark 1989:30).

R. A. Keble read a paper 'Aboriginal plant names: their etymology' to the Field Naturalists' Club of Victoria on 14 May 1917. It is recorded in the Victorian Naturalist XXXIV:61-76. It consists of a speculative analysis of 'Wurunjerri-baluk' plant names into meaningful segments (morphemes). His article 'Kitchen middens on the Mornington Peninsula' (The Victorian Naturalist XLV:151-9 (1928) contains some information on place names on the Mornington Peninsula.)

James Dunmore Lang (1799-1878) was a well known clergyman and politician. His papers (Mitchell Library) contain a short list of words from the 'Yarra Tribe' (vol.9:33).

George Langhorne operated the first government mission for the Aborigines of the Port Phillip district from 1837 to 1839. He included a vocabulary of 'Wawarong' words in his reminiscences of the mission. It is very short, very poor and practically useless. It has recently been reproduced in the Historical records of Victoria (Cannon 1982:189-90).

George Gordon McCrae was one of the first settlers on the Mornington Peninsula. He collected a vocabulary of over 100 words, which was published in the Victorian Historical Magazine (V:164-70, 1917). It is valuable since it is one of the few sources for the 'Western Port' (Boonwurrung) dialect. His contribution includes a four line prose text and three songs, all without translation.

John Mathew (1849-1929) immigrated from Scotland in 1862 and was employed on pastoral properties. He later became a Presbyterian minister. His 1899 book Eaglehawk and Crow contains a vocabulary of nearly 200 words from the Yarra River and a vocabulary of over 100 words from the 'Broken River' (208-72). The notation is better than the nineteenth century average.

R. H. Mathews (1841-1908) was a surveyor who published extensively on Aboriginal languages and customs from 1892 to 1917. He acquired considerable experience in notating and describing Aboriginal language material and he was able to hear distinctions that earlier recorders had missed. However, there are disturbing discrepancies between his manuscripts and the published versions of his material. Mathews collected material at least a generation after the other early recorders listed here and at least a generation after the people had been forced to give up their traditional way of life; however, there is no evidence of any defect or confusion attributable to this fact. His sources for the Port Phillip language comprise the following:

Thagungwurrung dialect.

A sketch of the inflectional system in manuscript and published versions entitled 'The Thaguwurru Language'. This forms part of 'The Aboriginal languages of Victoria' in Royal Society of New South Wales, Journal and Proceedings, 36:71-106 (1902). A manuscript 'Goulburn Tribe' consisting of verb paradigms. A vocabulary of 'Thagungwurru'.

Woiwurrung dialect.

Two manuscripts illustrating inflection, one entitled 'Yarra Language' and the other 'Woiwurru'.

A published piece 'The Woiwurru Dialect' containing some of the information in the manuscripts. This forms part of 'The Aboriginal languages of Victoria' referred to above.

'The Woiwurru and Bunwurru dialects', a short section of a published paper entitled 'Notes on some native dialects of Victoria'. It consists of two sentences illustrating the 'causative' (ergative) and genitive cases. It does not tally with the other sources, including other papers by Mathews himself (Journal of the Proceedings of the Royal Society of N.S.W. 37:243-46 (1903)). He appears to have mislabelled some material from another language.

    Gulia guang bakunirra
    man:erg   eel   catch
    A man caught an eel.

```
Guliagu      wan.gim-nyuk
man:gen      boomerang-his
A man's boomerang.
```

Edward Stone Parker (1802-1865) was a London printer and lay
preacher. As noted in ¤1.2 above, he was appointed as an Assistant Pro-
tector of Aborigines. Officially he was appointed to the Loddon district.
He was based near Mount Macedon in 1839 and 1840, then later at Franklin-
ford in the upper Loddon district, between Ballarat and Bendigo. His vo-
cabulary of 100 words of 'Taoungurong' originally appeared in NSW Parlia-
ment: Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Council 1843:59 and was re-
printed in Brough Smyth (1878:167-9) and other collections.

George Augustus Robinson (1788-1866) was the Chief Protector of
Aborigines in the Port Phillip District from 1839 to 1849, during which
time he travelled extensively through central Victoria and the Western
District (Clark 1988, Rae-Ellis 1988). He kept extensive diaries full of
observations about the Aboriginal people with a number of vocabularies,
including some for the Goulburn River (Thagungwurrung) and Waverong (Woi-
wurrung). Unfortunately these vocabularies overlap greatly. Robinson
seems to have had a list of English words for which he obtained Aborigi-
nal translations on various occasions. We thus have half a dozen nota-
tions, often with different spellings, of certain common words rather
than translations of numerous English words. Most of the Robinson mate-
rial remains unpublished, including all the word lists relating to the
Woiwurrung language. The relevant sections are as follows (These papers
are held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney):

Thagungwurrung dialect 'Goulburn River'
vol. 15, part 7:97-123, 126-9, 151-3, 162-84
vol. 63, part 2:5-12, 15, 69-70, 85
'Taoungurong' column of appendix No.2 in vol. 65, part 1.

Woiwurrung dialect
vol.65, part 1:1-40:'Wauerong, Boonerong and Waddowerong'
vol.65, part 3:22-52 'Waverong'
vol.65, part 4:113-48 'Waverong'
vol.65, part 6:41 'Boornworong'
vol.65, part 6:94-5 column 1 'Melbourne'

William Thomas (1793-1867) was appointed Assistant Protector of the
Aborigines of the Western Port district. He spent some time in this ca-
pacity at Arthur's Seat on the Mornington Peninsula (1839) and some time
at Narre Narre Warren (1840-1843). He was later based in Melbourne. In
1849 he was appointed Guardian of the Aborigines. In Brough Smyth 1878,
there is a 'succinct sketch of the Aboriginal language' by Thomas which
deals with the Woiwurrung language (II:118-33). It consists of a vocabu-
lary of over 300 words, a few notes on grammatical forms, a few pages of
sentence examples, plus translations of Psalm 121, the first chapter of
Genesis, the Creed, The Lord's Prayer, Hymn to Old Hundred and another
short religious piece. The standard is very poor and virtually all the
text unusable. An extract from Thomas's vocabulary was published in Ta-
plin 1879:88.

The 'succint sketch' is for the most part an extract from a large
manuscript which contains six parallel Aboriginal vocabularies: A lexicon
of the Australian Aboriginal tongue in the six dialects of Ballarat, Bac-
chus Marsh, Melbourne, Gipps Land, Mount Gambier, & Wonmin. 1862. MS 6290

La Trobe Library, Melbourne. The vocabulary entitled 'Melbourne' seems to be a mixture of Woiwurrung and Wathawurrung. It is difficult to tell whether this vocabulary relates to a language intermediate between these two or whether Thomas mixed the two languages. It contains some uncorroborated forms. It has not been accepted in the present work as representative of the Woiwurrung language. All words quoted from this source are marked 'tt' and not ascribed to a dialect.

There is also a short vocabulary of the 'Boon-oo-rong or Coast Tribe' in Brough Smyth, 1878 II:90-1.

There is also a single page manuscript in the Mitchell Library entitled 'Language Wm Thomas Protector Aborigines'. It relates to 'Woiwurrung'.

Francis Tuckfield (1808-1865) was a Wesleyan clergyman who began the first mission for Aborigines in Victoria in 1838. This was near the present town of Birregurra on the Barwon River in Wathawurrung territory.

He supplied a short vocabulary of sixteen words of the 'Jhongworong, or Goulburn' natives which appeared in NSW Government Despatches. 39.IIII 1842, reprinted in Great Britain: Parliamentary Papers 34:227, in Eyre (1845, vol II:400) and Brough Smyth (1878, vol. II:166).

C. Walter supplied a short list of flora with equivalents in the Woiwurrung language : 'Names of different woods, etc. used by the Yarra natives for weapons and implements' Official Record, Intercolonial Exhibition 1866-7. Melbourne, 1867.

2.   PHONOLOGY

        It would be very difficult to work out the pronunciation of the
Woiwurrung language from the nineteenth century materials alone. Most of
the transcription in this work relies on the fact that Australian lan-
guages tend to have very similar sets of speech sounds (phonemes). Par-
ticular use has been made of Luise Hercus's salvage study of Victorian
languages undertaken in the nineteen sixties (Hercus 1986 - earlier ver-
sion 1969). She was able to record about 100 words of Woiwurrung, though
some of these do not agree with the early sources. Presumably some words
from other areas had become part of the speech of Woiwurrung people who
had been 'concentrated' with speakers of other languages.

2.1 PHONEMES

        Table 2.1 displays the consonant sounds that can be inferred from
reading the early sources in conjunction with Hercus. The consonants are
arranged in columns and rows according to where in the mouth they are
pronounced and what type of sound they are. In the first column the la-
bial sounds are shown, b (alternatively p) and m. The consonant written
as b or p is a stop sound and is placed in the top row. The m sound is a
nasal and is put in row 2. In English b and p are two distinct speech
sounds (phonemes). Compare, for instance, bat and pat. In most Australian
Aboriginal languages, however, there is no such distinction. This seems
to have been true of the Woiwurrung language ; thus one could fluctuate
between b and p without changing the meaning. At the end of a word, how-
ever, it is clear that only p sounds occurred. In transcribing words from
the old sources I have standardised the b/p fluctuation as b at the be-
ginning of a word or in the middle of a word, but I have used p at the
end of words. Here is an example using the word for 'baby' or 'small
child':

        notations in early sources
        pobop, bobup, bopup, booboop, bubup
        my transcription
        bubup

        The second and third columns show the consonants made with the tip
or apex of the tongue. These are called apical consonants. There seem to
have been two sets as in most other Australian languages. The first set
are the alveolars, so called because they are made with the tongue touch-
ing the alveolar (gum) ridge. There was an alveolar stop fluctuating be-
tween t and d.
TABLE 2.1 Consonants

	labial	apical		laminal	dorsal	
	(lip) (tongue-tip)			(tongue-blade)	(back of tongue)	
	alveolar	retroflex	dental	palatal	velar	

	labial	apical alveolar	apical retroflex	laminal dental	laminal palatal	dorsal velar
stop	b/p	d/t	rd/rt	dh/th	dj/tj	g/k
nasal	m	n	rn	nh	ny/-	ng
lateral		l	rl			
rhotic		rr*	r*			
glide					y	w

(*Only rr used in the transcription - see text below)

I have standardised this as d except at the end of words where I have used t. The second set of apical consonants was made with the tongue tip curled back (retroflexed) and touching above the gum ridge. This retroflexion gives them an r-coloured quality. The retroflex alveolar stop rd (or rt in word-final position) would have sounded like a typical American pronunciation of rd as in warder or rt as in wart.

There must have been at least one set of laminal sounds, i.e. sounds made with the lamina or blade of the tongue. Some Australian languages have just one such set, but others have two, a dental set and a palatal set. A dental stop sounds something like the th sound of English as in thin or there, or perhaps more like the dth in words like width or breadth. A palatal stop sounds rather like the ch of charm or the j of jam. Spelling fluctuations in the old sources suggest that the dental/palatal distinction was not significant. Consider, for instance, the spellings given for 'tongue': jellang, tchillong, dyelang, dhalang, tallang, djellan, tallon, etc. Those with j, tch, dy and dj indicate a palatal, while those with dh and t suggest a dental. This probably indicates that a palatal (which I will write dj (tj in word-final position) and a dental (dh, but th in word-final position) were acceptable variants of one sound. However, Hercus (1986:161) notes a dh in budhen 'matter' and a dj in bidjerrim 'resin' and suggests that there was a significant difference. In some instances the old sources give indications of a palatal consistently and in others of a dental consistently, but only where there are few tokens. I will leave the matter unresolved and write dj (tj) for words where a palatal is indicated consistently or in some sources (so djalang 'tongue') and dh (th) where the sources indicate a dental consistently. There could have been a phonemic distinction in some positions in a word but not others, but it is doubtful whether the question is worth pursuing in light of the poor quality of the sources. There was a dorso-velar stop made with the back (dorsum) of the tongue touching the velum or soft palate. It fluctuated between g and k except in word-final position where k was the only possibility. I will write k in word-final position and g elsewhere.

The nasals can be expected to show the same distinctions as the stops. We find evidence for m, n, rn, ny and ng in the early sources. The retroflex nasal rn sounds like an American pronunciation of rn as in earn or earner. Mathews also distinguishes a dental nh, but this seems to alternate with the palatal ny. A palatal ny sounds like the consonant sequence in the middle of a word like lanyard or – as in Spanish words such as ma–ana 'tomorrow'. It is very difficult for an untrained person to distinguish nh from n so any n in an early source is ambivalent between nh and n. In my transcription nh will be used where Mathews uses it and for any other n that alternates with ny.

Mathews uses – in word-final position for ny (or nh), perhaps to discourage the reading of y as an extra syllable. I have followed Mathews practice, and I have also used – to indicate a laminal nasal preceding a consonant. Thus I write guli– 'man' and dha–gula 'old man'. Guli– is the word 'Kulin' used in chapter one and in the literature generally to describe the Woiwurrung and other people allied with them. I use g rather than k in my transcription in order to be consistent, but sometimes this brings about a conflict with the traditional spelling of a well known word and I do not want to change the traditional spelling.

Where the sequence n plus g occurs, a full stop is inserted to distinguish the sequence from the digraph ng used for the velar nasal: wan.gim 'boomerang'.

There are a number of words that one would suspect had a final dental or palatal nasal from the spelling of the preceding vowel. The word for 'night' is a good example. It is spelt boroin, pooroin, etc. and experience with comparing attested pronunciations with amateur renderings suggests that the last consonant is a palatal, the word being probably burru– (compare Hercus's buru– in Djadjala). In Bunce's vocabulary some words that are written with a final n in the other sources appear with an extra -th (cf. English scollard for scholar and varmint for vermin). Here are some examples:

cooleenth	man	guli–
marmoonth	father	mamu–
noweenth	sun	ngawa–
booroonth	dark	buru–
weenth	fire	wii–
baanth	water	baa–

One would expect that this extra consonant would match the preceding nasal in articulation which in turn suggests that the nasal is nh. Note that this confirms the laminal nasal at the end of booroin.

The third row of the chart shows laterals or l-sounds. There appears to have been an alveolar l as in English and there may have been a retroflex l as in an American pronunciation of hurling; however, a positive instance of rl has not been found.

The fourth row of the chart shows the rhotics or r-type sounds. On the consonant chart I have shown rr and r. The notation rr stands for a flapped or trilled tongue-tip r sound of the type found in Scottish English and r stands for the glide-type r sound found in southern British or Australian English. We can be practically certain that these two sounds were distinguished since they were distinguished in the Victorian languages recorded by Hercus, but no nineteenth source makes such a distinction. I will write all r sounds as rr. In some instances we can tentatively identify the correct r sound, by looking at the cognate forms in other languages recorded by Hercus. In forms quoted from Hercus rr represents the flapped or trilled r and r represents the glide-type r (as in the Djadjala word buru– quoted above).

From what we know of other Australian languages the language of the Port Phillip Bay area can be expected to have had at least three vowels i, a and u and possibly e o and « as in Wemba-Wemba (Hercus 1986:15). The symbol [«] represents the unstressed vowel (schwa) found in the first and last syllables of English aroma. Let us consider first of all stressed syllables. I assume that the primary stress occurred on the first syllable as in most other Australian languages. In general one finds that where o is used in an early source and there are several notations available, some of these contain u or oo. I will interpret this as indicating that o was not a distinct sound from u, but rather that the pronunciation of u ranged over [u:], [¿:] and [o]. Here are some notations of the word for 'mouth' or 'lips'.

Curr	woorroo	transcription wurrung
Mathews	worong, wurung	
Parker	woorungoo	
Green	wooroong	
Mathew	wurung	

The situation with e is similar. In stressed syllables it almost always occurs in fluctuation with i or ee where there are three or more

tokens. I have regularised all these to i. Here are some notations of the word for 'foot'.

```
Curr        chinnong    transcription djinang, djinung
Mathews     dyinnang
Thomas      tenan
Green       jeenoong
Tuckfield   gnen-ong
```

However, for a handful of words this regularisation could not be justified. All tokens of the word for 'leaf' contained e in the first syllable so I transcribed this word with an e:

```
Parker      gerong      transcription djerrang
EIM         jerrang
Thomas      jerrang
```

It is possible that the vowel of the first syllable is i. It is also possible it is a since a tends to be pronounced like e following palatals.

In unstressed syllables the situation is more difficult. The letter e appears frequently and probably represents a reduced or centred vowel approaching schwa or indeed schwa itself. It may be that there was a genuine schwa, but e is usually in alternation with another vowel letter where there are several tokens. I suspect that e represents a reduced variant of i, a or u. Be that as it may, I have found it convenient to write e where it occurs as the sole spelling in the old sources or as the predominant spelling.

In some cases o occurs in the sole token or as the sole spelling or majority spelling where there are several tokens. Take the following notations for 'louse', for instance:

```
Green       moon-ong, moononga
Thomas      moon-ong
```

It is convenient to write the word as munong partly because o probably gives a good guide to the pronunciation and partly to avoid introducing an error. Since there is little evidence for a sound o distinct from i, a and u in stressed syllables and since languages do not make more distinctions in unstressed syllables than stressed ones (save for the addition of schwa), I doubt whether o really represents a distinct speech sound. It probably represents a variant of u with the possibility of an unstressed a between nasals being heard as o.

There are two variants of the vowel a that one can expect on the basis of Australian languages that have been competently recorded. We can expect it to have been pronounced as [¾] (as in cat) next to a laminal and as [□] (as in cot) following w. The spellings in the early sources suggest these expectations were fulfilled:

```
dharrak     'arm'       wang(ga)    'cheek'
Robinson    tar-ac      Bunce       wong
Thomas      ter-ruc     Green       wang
Thomas      jurruk      Mathew      wanggik 'my cheek'
Mathew      derak       Thomas      woung
```

In sum, I will use i, a u and e in both stressed and unstressed syllables and o only in unstressed syllables.

It is not certain whether there was a significant distinction be-
tween long and short vowels. Certain monosyllabic words ending in a sin-
gle consonant definitely had a long vowel:

    wii- fire
    baa- water
    biik earth

However, there are no monosyllabic words ending in a single consonant for
which we can say there was definitely a short vowel. Thomas gives mill
for the noun 'rise' which suggests a short vowel, but this is the only
token.
    The notation of a few words suggests a non-initial stress or long
vowel or both. Here are the notations for 'kangaroo rat':

    Thomas   ber-uke
    Robinson   baroke, bar.oke, burooke, burroke, ber-uke

This may represent barrœk, b‡rruuk or barrœuk.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

    We can illustrate the occurrence of the various speech sounds in
different positions within words.

Consonants

	word initial word final		between vowels	
b/p	binda-	cut	baba	mother
	murrup	spirit		
d/t	durt	star	madabi	bad
	yurrbat	tall		
rd/rt -	burdap	good	burt smoke	
dh/th	dhaabu	skin	budhen	spittle
	buath	grass		
dj/tj	djabu-	full	badjurr	woman
	butj	stomach		
g/k	gawang	head	guguk	mosquito
	djarrak	arm		
m	mum	bum	mama	father
	balam-balam	butterfly		
n	? yana	go	guyun	spear
rn	- burnai	girl	gurn	neck
nh	?	?	?	
ny/-	nyulam	bad	bunya	female
	guli-	man		
ng	ngaba	f's father	banga-	catch
	gawang	head		
l	liang	teeth	bulen-bulen	lyre bird
	barraimal	emu		
rl	-	?		?
rr	? ngurrung	bread	badjurr	woman
y	yarra	hair	guyun spear ?	
w	wurru	mouth	gawang	head ?

```
Vowels
              first syllable          later syllable

i         wilam      hut, camp   minyin      forehead
e         djerrang   leaf        walert      possum
a         djalang    tongue      mama        father
o         munong     louse
u         ngurrak    hill        bambu-      afraid

monosyllabic words
ii        biik                   ground, earth
aa        waang                  crow
uu        mum or muum            bum

Consonant clusters

Homorganic nasal-stop clusters

mb        bambu                  aunt
nd        binda-                 to cut
rnd       ngurnduk               chin
-dh       bu-dha-                to bite
-dj       bu-djil                eaglehawk
ngg       manggip                daughter

Other intervocalic clusters

nb        ganbu                  one
rn        birnbial               rainbow
ngb       dangbelk               frost
n.g       wan.gim                boomerang
-g        dha-gula               old man
lb        galben-galben          knife
rrb       yurrrbat               tall
lg        malgarr                shield
rrg       garrgi-                tomahawk
nm        wunmunmil              finger      (possibly a compound)
rnm       gurnmil                snake       (     "       "      )
rrm       marrmbula              fat
rrw       wurrwa-                run

Word-final consonant clusters

        There seem to have been some word final clusters. The cluster lk is
certain (galk 'tree, wood, bone'), but there were probably other clusters
with rr or l as the first element and m, ng, p or k as the second:

rrm        birrm-birrm         breast
rrng       gurrng-gurrng       kookaburra  (gurng gurng Dj, WW)
rrp        marrp               kidney
rrk        wirrk-wirrk         old woman
lk         galk                tree, wood, bone
```

2.3   FINAL -NG

    A large number of body part nouns are disyllabic and end in -ng.
Where cognates can be found in other parts of Australia, these lack the -
ng (though in the closely related languages of western Victoria and in
the Kurnai/Ganay language of eastern Victoria there is a mixture of forms
with the final -ng and forms without).
    Here are some body part nouns in -ng that have cognates in other
areas of Australia without the final -ng (see comparative table in Curr
1886-7, volume 4 and the Victorian vocabularies in Hercus 1986):

        gaang   nose
        wurru, wurrung   mouth, lips
        liang   tooth
        marnang   hand (common form is mara, cognacy uncertain)
        biling   stomach (bilinhu 'his stomach' Madi-Madi)
        djarrang   thigh
        djinang   foot
        birring   breast
        gunang   faeces

    Djalang 'tongue' has cognates with a final laminal nasal: djala-.
Cognates are yet to be found for ngurnang 'wrist', garrong 'shin', ny-
ilang 'bone' and durru, durrung 'heart', though Jawoyn (N.T.) dor quoted
in ¤1.4 is a possible cognate. For gawang 'head' the Kamilaroi (NSW)
gawu-gaa and Wiradhuri (NSW) gabugaa may be cognate.
    It is worth noting that the first person singular pronoun in Aus-
tralian languages is almost always based on the root ngay and the second
person singular is frequently ngin or a form derived from ngin. In Victo-
rian languages the pronominal possessor is suffixed to the noun and it is
possible that the -ng in question is a remnant of a first and/or second
person suffix. In everyday usage in any language there will be common
reference to 'my', 'your', 'his', 'her' and 'its' body part and one fre-
quently encounters forms in the source material for body parts that have
a possessive pronominal suffix attached. The contemporary possessive suf-
fixes are -ik 'my' and -in 'your'. The latter probably derives from ngin,
but the origin of -ik is not transparent.
    The words for 'eye' and 'ear' seem to appear in two forms:

        eye   mirn mirring
        ear   wirn wirring

For 'eye' Hercus records mir in Djadjala (northwestern Victoria) and
Wemba-Wemba (Murray valley), but mirnuk 'his eye'. For 'ear' she records
wirimbula in Wemba-Wemba and similar forms in other languages of north-
western Victoria and southwestern New South Wales. The common third per-
son singular root is nhu (see bilinhu quoted in the list above). It is
possible that the rn of mirn and wirn derives from a rhotic that is part
of the root plus a remnant of a third person singular possessive suffix.
    The word for 'crow', namely waang, has a cognate waa in western
Victoria.
    The words wurru/wurrung 'lips, mouth, language', gurna/gurnang
'faeces' and durru/durrung 'heart' have been recorded in the Woiwurrung
language with and without the final -ng.

3.   GRAMMAR

3.1   INTRODUCTION

        Almost all the grammatical information available comes from the
grammatical sketches provided by R. H. Mathews for the 'Thaguwurru lan-
guage' (manuscript and published version) and the 'Woiwurru dialect'
(published version plus manuscript version entitled 'Yarra language').
Green supplies some dozens of sentences with translations (not always ac-
curate) and lists a few grammatical forms. Thomas too lists a few gram-
matical forms, some glossed incorrectly, and gives translations of some
religious texts. However, these translations are very poor and for the
most part they must be disregarded. They are largely ungrammatical. The
word order follows the English word order religiously, imperative forms
like dhumbak 'speak' are used for the indicative, and the expected erga-
tive fails to appear on the subject of a transitive verb. Thomas also
supplies some English sentences, some with pidgin features ('Big one stu-
pid me and all blackfellows'), accompanied by vernacular equivalents.
These sentences seem to be unreliable sources for grammatical information
and cannot be used without confirmation from another source. A few snip-
pets of grammatical information appear in the other sources. Many word
lists accidentally include a few suffixes such as imperatives or suffixes
indicating the person of the possessor.
        In what follows the source of the examples will be indicated with a
capital letter abbreviation for the dialect and lower case for the author:

        T   Thagungwurrung
        W   Woiwurrung
        B   Boonwurrung
        g   Green
        rhm   R.H. Mathews
        t   Thomas

3.2   NOUN INFLECTION

        The case suffixes are displayed in Table 3.1. Unfortunately the er-
gative-instrumental, genitive and ablative forms are recorded only in
Mathews, the locative-allative -dui only in Green and the locative-
allative forms -wa and -dap only in Thomas. Mathews' ablative -u is the
same as the form indicating a third person possessor (see (10) to (13)
below) and could derive from a confusion with this form. Thomas's -dap is
not used by Thomas himself in the translation of religious texts and must
be regarded as suspect.
        Thomas uses -ut and -oit regularly as a locative ('at') and alla-
tive ('to') and Green regularly uses -toe. I transcribe Thomas's suffix
as -uth and Green's as -dui. Green gives a sample of the Goulburn lan-
guage in what is called a description of the language of the 'Yarra
Tribe'. In the Goulburn sample he gives -dui (see [9] below) and in the
'Yarra Tribe' equivalent he gives -uth (see [8] below). However, he uses
-dui as his regular form.
        The absolutive form (with no case marker) is used for the subject
of an intransitive verb, as in (1), or the direct object of a transitive
one, as in (2). The ergative-instrumental is used to mark the subject of
a transitive verb, as in (2), or the instrument, as in (6).

```
(1)   Guyup-guyup dhangabu-   (Wg)
      bird  eat:PRES:3S
      The bird eats.

      It is likely that there were no forms corresponding to English the
and a. Such distinctions are usually optional in Australian language and
can
TABLE 3.1 Case suffixes


      absolutive -‾
      ergative-instrumental  -dha -dja, -a (TWrhm)
      genitive ('of')  -dhal, -al (TWrhm)
      locative-allative ('to') ('at')    -uth (t)
      -dui (g)
      -wa (Wt)
      -dap (Wt)
      -dha (TWrhm, Wg)
      ablative ('from') -u (TWrhm)


be made by using words for 'this' or 'that' to indicate a definite entity.
(1) could be translated 'A bird eats' or 'The bird eats'.

(2)   Guli--dha   walert      djilbai     (Trhm)
      man-ERG     possum      kill:PAST:3S
      A man killed a possum.
      (guli--dja in published version)

(3)   Guliny-a    djilbadju   walert      (Wrhm)
      man-ERG     kill:PAST:3S        possum
      A man killed a possum.

(4)   Yirrangin-a bundai      marram      (Wrhm)
      dog-ERG     bit:PAST:3S kangaroo
      A dog bit a kangaroo.
      (Also given in Thagungwurrung with subject-object-verb order)

(5)   Bangai      yuk   badyurr-a   (Wrhm)
      caught:PAST:3S     eel   woman-ERG
      A woman caught an eel.
      (Thagungwurrung version has subject-object-verb order)

(6)   Waya-dha-n  munyi wan.gim-dha (TWrhm)
      hit:PAST:I  him   boomerang-ERG
      I hit him with a boomerang.
      (waya probably means 'hit with a missile')
      (wan.gim-dja in published version)

      Mathews claims that adjectives are inflected for number and case
like nouns. This is not apparent in his ergative example (7) (compare
kuli- dha-gula 'big man' (absolutive)) though it is in his genitive exam-
ple (see (13) below).

(7)   Guliny-a    dha-gula    marram      djilbai     (Trhm)
      man-ERG     tall kangaroo    kill-PAST:3S
      A tall man killed a kangaroo.
```

```
        (dha-gula is also used for 'old man')
(8)   Guim  dhanga-bu-  yerrin-uth  (Wg)
      kangaroo     eat-PRES:3S scrub-LOC
      A kangaroo is feeding in the scrub.

(9)   Marram      dhanga-bu- ngarrap-dui (Tg)
      kangaroo     eat-PRES:3S scrub-LOC
      A kangaroo is feeding in the scrub.
```

Possessive construction
        There are a number of examples in the sources of possession by a
person of a pet or artifact. The noun possessor is marked by the genitive
and the possessor is also indicated on the possessed noun by a pronominal
suffix. In examples (10) to (13), the pronominal suffix is third person
singular. The form -u should be compared with the possessive pronoun
forms shown in the next section.

```
(10)  Badjurr-al  wulunh-u    (Wrhm)       (ganany-u T)
      woman-GEN   yamstick-HER
      A woman's yamstick.

(11)  Bubub-al    karrginy-u  (TWrhm)
      child-GEN   tomahawk-HIS/HER
      A child's tomahawk.

(12)  Guli--dhal  wan.gim-u   (TWrhm)
      man-GEN     boomerang-HIS
      A man's boomerang.
      (kuli-djal in published version)

(13)  Guliny-al   dha-gula-l  yirrangin-u (Trhm)
      man-GEN     tall-GEN    dog-HIS
      A tall man's dog.
      (kuli--djal in published version)
```

Green shows the suffix -dui being used to derive adverbs from the numer-
als:

```
      gup-dun    one  gup-dun-dui once  (Wg)
      bulabil    two  bulabil-dui twice (Wg)
```

Thomas, however, gives the following forms:

```
      ganbu one   ganbuden    once  (Wt)
      bindjerru   two   bindjerruden       twice (Wt)
```

Green's numerals are Thagungwurrung forms, while Thomas's are Woiwurrung.
        A comparison of adverbs of time and place with other forms built on
the same root reveals some suffixes, although they may be only fossilised
ones:
```
      yirram        day, light
      yirram-b-ui tomorrow
      yirram-b-uth        tomorrow

      yaling-bu   today (see section Y of the vocabulary)
      yaling-uth  yesterday
```

```
burru-         night
burru--dhuth        night time
```

The extra b that appears in the yirram derivatives is intriguing.
Compare the dh that appears in burru-dhuth. As we shall see below in ¤
3.3 the word marram 'body' is augmented with b when it serves as host for
pronominal suffixes. Also, in ¤ 3.11 below we see that baa- 'water' shows
an extra dj before the suffix -i. See also ¤ 2.1 regarding the extra con-
sonant that appears in Bunce's notation of certain words.

3.3 PRONOUNS

        The paradigms are in Table 3.2 (but see also Table 3.4). They are
basically from Mathews. Some of the forms appear in Green also. The sin-
gular forms refer to one person, the dual forms to two and the plural to
more than two. Mathews lists trial forms (referring to three persons),
which seem to be the plural forms plus bayap, but one token of the second
person trial is given as wat bayap and one token for third person trial
is munyaga bayap (see also Hercus 1966).
        The forms marked 1 are first person forms referring to the speaker.
In the non-singular there is a distinction between inclusive (including
the hearer) and exclusive (excluding the hearer). Wangal refers to 'you
and I', whereas wangan means 'we two', but does not include the addressee
or hearer. The forms in the row marked 2 are the forms used for the sec-
ond person, i.e. 'you', the addressee. The third person singular form
probably corresponds to English 'he', 'she' and 'it'. Munyi bulabil means
'they two' and munyigadhan means 'they (more than two)'.
        The first and second person pronouns are of a composition that is
unusual but not unknown in other areas of Australia. Each form consists
of a sequence wa- followed by a suffix for particular numbers and persons.
These presumably derive from a form such as an auxiliary verb to which
unstressed pronouns were suffixed. The combinations of the host form and
the suffixes have become the new stressed pronouns. Take wangal, for in-
stance. The form for 'you and I' in a great number of Australian lan-
guages is ngali. It seems that ngali has become suffixed to wa and trun-
cated and the combination of wa + ngal has given rise to a new pronoun.

Possessive pronouns

        The forms in Table 3.3 consist of a base nugal (possibly nhugal)
plus suffixes for the various person/number combinations. They probably
correspond to the possessive pronouns of English (e.g. mine) and the pos-
sessive adjectives (e.g. my).

TABLE 3.2 Pronouns

                singular   dual   plural

        1 inc.   wangal   wanganyin
        1 exc.   wan   wangan   wanganyinyu
        2   warr   wabul   wat gurrabil(la)
                                              wat balak
                                              wat wurdundhu
        3   munyi   munyi bulabil (T) munyigadhan (T)
                              munyi gurrabil(W) malu gurrabila (W)
```

TABLE 3.3 Possessive pronouns

|  | singular | dual | plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 inc. | nugalngal | nugalnganyin | |
| 1 exc. | nugalik | nugalngan | nugalnganyinyu |
| 2 | nugalin | nugalbul | nugalngut |
| 3 | nugalu | nugalubula– | nugaludhan(a) |
|  |  | nugalugubula– | |

Mathews gives the following trial forms, but the second and third person forms look like different hearings of plural forms.

| 1 | nugalngad(h)a | (T) |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | nugalnguda | (T) |
| 3 | nugaldhana | (T) |

    The older sources give a different set of pronouns (Table 3.4), some of which also appear in Mathews. They seem to be based on a root marram 'body' augmented by b plus pronominal suffixes. In the non-singular a dual/plural distinction cannot be made clearly on the basis of the sources.
    Thomas also gives as 'possessive forms':

ganayik    myself
ganinherr   yourself

    There is also a residue of tokens that are infrequent and not obviously part of a paradigm.


## 3.4   POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

    Mathews gives a set of possessive pronominal suffixes (Table 3.5). One form not on Mathews' table is -(ng)adha 'our' which is not uncommon

TABLE 3.4 Further pronouns

|  | nominative | genitive |
|---|---|---|
| sing. 1 | marrambik | marrambayik |
| 2 | marrambinherr | marrambayanherr |
| 3 | marrambu | marramanya |
|  |  |  |
| non-sing.1 | marrambuluk | marrambangada |
|  | marramnyala | marramana |
| 2 | marrambinherr | |
| 3 | marrambadhana | |

TABLE 3.5 Possessive suffixes

|        | singular | dual    | plural     |
|--------|----------|---------|------------|
| 1 inc. |          | -ngal   | -nganyin   |
| 1 exc. | -ik      | -ngan   | -nganyinu  |
| 2      | -in      | -mbul   | -ngut      |
| 3      | -u       | -bula-  | -dhan      |

In the early sources (see yilam-adha in (26) and compare the trial form nugalngad(h)a above). It must have been known to Mathews from Green (1878:113), since he includes it in his notes from Green. Note that these forms are the same as the suffixes shown with nugal- in Table 3.3.

(14)  Wan.gim      nhugalnganyin      (Trhm)
      boomerang    our (PLURAL INCLUSIVE)
      Our boomerang.

(15)  Yirrangan-ngal    (Wrhm)
      dog-our (DUAL INCLUSIVE)
      Our dog.

(16)  Gawang-ik   djerrani-   (Wg)
      head-my     sore:3s
      My head is hurting.

(17)  Manung-u    djerrani-   (Wg)
      hand-his    sore:3s
      His/her hand is sore.

(18)  Liurruk-ik  nyirrim=dhak     (Wg)
      sister-my   tall=very
      My sister is very tall.

(19)  Banggany-ik nyirrim    dharrag-u   (Wg)
      old:bro-my  long  arm-his
      My older brother has long arms.

(20)  Yilam-dhan  nyulam=dhak gurri-     (Wg)
      house-their bad=emph    be:3s
      Their house is very bad.

(21)  Indha mama-n      (Wg)
      where father-your
      Where's your father?


3.5   INFLECTED PREPOSITIONS

      Mathews gives the following forms which he calls 'inflected prepo-
sitions'. There are no sentence examples so the exact part-of-speech
status is impossible to determine.
      The second set of forms (based on ngarrk 'back') appears in the
Thagungwurrung manuscript but not in the published version.

```
     wanyudjik    behind me    (TW)
     wanyudjin    behind thee (TW)
     wanyudhu     behind him  (TW)

     ngarrgudjik behind me    (T)
     ngarrgudjin behind thee (T)
     ngarrgudhu  behind him  (T)

     galinhudjik in front of me     (TW)
     galinhudjin in front of three (TW)
     galinhudhu  in front of him    (TW)
```

3.6   NUMBER

     The following forms are recorded for number. It is uncertain
whether they are suffixes or words.

```
guli– man    guli--budu  two men
             guli--baluk men
             guli--buluk men
             guli--djirr(a)    men
             guli--djirr-buluk men

marram       kangaroo    marram bulaui–    a couple of kangaroos   (TWrhm)
             marram buladhuin  several kangaroos (TWrhm)
```
Green (1878:108) gives birrm as the form used for indicating the plural
of inanimates.

```
     laang stone laang-birrm stones
     durt  star  durt-birrm  stars
```

In addition to these forms there are the numerals and words for 'many'.

3.7   VERB FORMS

     The paradigms in Tables 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8 are from Mathews. Some
forms appear as well in the word lists and sentences of the older sources.
They seem to belong to both the T and W dialects.
     Mathews gives two versions of the present tense paradigms. One is
as in Table 3.6; the other has letter i following u: djilbuinhan, djilbu-
ingal, etc. I before a laminal is likely to be a predictable y-like glide
which could be omitted. This would not account for forms like djilbuingal
but it is possible Mathews put them in some versions of his paradigms by
analogy.
     Mathews gives some 'conditional mood' forms. These seem to be the
same as the future forms except for the first person singular: djilban-
hanu, ngalambunhanhu (note the last nh) and first dual ngalambibangalu.
However, in his published grammar of the 'Woiwurru dialect' he gives just
the future forms.
     These paradigms obviously consist of a verb stem plus a suffix in-
dicating the person and number of the subject. However, there are diffi-
culties in analysing them completely. To judge from the reciprocal forms
(see below) it would appear that the stem of the verb for 'hit' and
'kill' is djilb-. In the present tense this is followed by -u- whereas in
the past and future it is followed by -a-. In the non-singular the se-

quence -nha distinguishes the future from the past. In the singular the
past tense is distinguished by dh/dj as the first element in the person
marking. With the verb for 'remain', 'live' or 'dwell' there is a myste-
rious alternation between ngalamb- in the past and future and ngalab in
the present.

Reflexive
     Mathews gives the following three present tense forms.

sg	1	djilbabalinhan	'I hit myself'
	2	djilbabalinharr	'You hit yourself'
	3	djilbabali-	'He hit himself'
			'She hit herself'
			'It hit itself'

Reciprocal
     These forms translate as 'we beat each other' or 'we hit one an-
other'.

du.	1 inc.	djilp-djirringal
du	1 ex.	djilp-djirringan
pl	1 inc	djilp-djirrinhai

TABLE 3.6 Present tense

sg	1	djilbunhan hit, kill	ngalabunhan remain, live, dwell
	2	djilbunharr*	ngalabunharr
	3	djilbu-	ngalabu-
du	1 inc	djilbungal	ngalabungal(i)
	1 ex	djilbungan	ngalabungan(i)
	2	djilbu-bul	ngalabu-bul(i)
	3	djilbu-bula-	ngalabu-bula-
pl	1 inc	djilbunganyin	ngalabunganyin
	1 ex	djilbunganyinu	ngalabunganyinu
	2	djilbunhat	ngalabunhat
	3	djilbunhurr	ngalabunhurr

* There is fluctuation between -ar and -er for second singular in all
tenses.

TABLE 3.7 Future tense

sg	1 inc	djilbanhan	ngalambanhan
	2	djilbanharr	ngalambanharr
	3	djilba-	ngalamba
du	1 inc	djilbanhangal, djilbanhangal	
	1 ex	djilbanhangan	
pl	1 inc	djilbanhanganyin, djilbanhanginyin	

```
TABLE 3.8 Past tense


sg.   1 inc djilbadhan           ngalambadhan
      2     djilbadharr          ngalambadharr
      3     djilbai (T)          ngalambai
            djilbadju (W)
du    1 inc djilbangal           ngalambangal
      1 ex  djilbangan           ngalambangan
      2                          ngalambadhal
      3                          ngalambaibula-
pl    1 inc djilbanganyin
      1 ex
      2     djilbadhat           ngalambadhat
```

      The juxtaposition of lp- and -dj across the boundary between the stem and the suffix would produce an unusual cluster. Mathews writes p which he always uses in word-final position and puts a dash between the stem and the suffix. There was perhaps an internal word boundary.

      The verb dhumba 'to speak' looks as if it would behave like djilba, but it has a reciprocal form dhum-djirri- without the -b-.

Imperative
```
      singular    djilbak     ngalambi(nhurr)
      dual        djilbakwula ngalambibul
      plural      djilbagu    ngalambi(n)at
```

Negative imperative
```
      singular    ngabak      djilbak
      dual        ngabak-wula djilbak
      plural      ngabagu     djilbak
```

      There are two verb forms that are not in Mathews paradigms:

      (a)   Thomas list verb forms with the ending -eit. It is not clear what the function is. Thomas says 'verbs invariably terminate in -eit' before going on to say they conjugate 'though [he] could never go through or find out, as in the French and English grammar, the whole of the tenses'. (1878:118).

      (b)   A number of sources give verb forms in -gee, -gy, etc. which I interpret as -dji. These are clearly imperatives, but it is not certain how they differ from the imperatives listed above. It could be that -dji is reflexive. Compare -djirri the reciprocal. Certainly this would fit the sense in the first example below and would not be inappropriate with the second.

```
      dhumbadji               talk!
      gamadji                 get up, rouse oneself!
      wu-dhadji               fetch!
      dharridji               stand!
      gungadji wat            you (plural) fetch!
```

      For the verb 'to go' an imperative yanawat is recorded. Wat is a free form pronoun for second person plural (see the example immediately above) which suggests the stem yana could be used as an imperative.

Bound pronouns for object

    It seems that besides the pronominal suffixes for subject shown in
the paradigms above, the Woiwurrung language had bound pronouns for ob-
ject. Mathews gives the following:

(22) Djilbu-nhan-in   (Wrhm)
      hit-I-THEE
      I hit you.

    There are quite a few tokens illustrating a first person singular
recipient with a third person singular patient.
(23) Gunga-dj-ik laang (Wg)
      give-IMP-ME stone
      Give me a stone.

    The form for third person singular is likely to have been zero so
no form for this is expected in (23). Most of the sentences in the
sources that have a pronominal object have a third person singular object,
so there are few sentences where an overt third person bound pronouns is
expected.
The following sentences illustrate verb inflection.

(24) Gunga-k   kalk djilba-k   (Wg)
      take-IMP   stick hit-IMP
      Take a stick (and) hit him.

(25) Djilba-dhan marram   laigurn=dhak   (Wg)
      kill-I:PAST kangaroo   male=EMPHATIC
      I killed a male kangaroo.

Other predicates

    The form gurri is used as a grammatical predicate rather like the
verb 'to be' in English:

      burndap   gurrinhan   I am well
      burndap   gurrinharr(a)   You are well
      burndap   gurri-   He, she or it is well

      burndap   gurringan   We two (exc.) are well

(26) Yilam-adha ba-dhal=dhak   gurri-   (Wg)
      house-OUR   cold=EMPH   be:3S
      Our house is very cold

    Mathews presents not only gurri as an equivalent of the verb 'to
be' but also gayan. However, gayan takes the possessive series of suf-
fixes not the set found on verbs:

      magalu   gayan-ik   Here am I
      magalu   gayan-in   Here are you
      magalu   gayany-u   Here is he, she or it.

Mathews also gives a paradigm in which magalu appears as an inflected
verb:

```
       magaludhan  I am/was here
       magaludharr You are/were here
       magalu(i)   He is/was here
```

However, it is likely that the bound pronouns could attach to the first word or phrase in the clause as in many other Australian languages. Consider, for instance, the apparently inflected negative form in ¤ 3.8 and interrogative forms in ¤ 3.9.

3.8   NEGATIVE EXPRESSIONS

The negative is expressed by ngabun which regularly comes first in the clause.

```
(27) Ngabun     mayu mamam-ik    (Wg)
     not   here  father-MY
     He is not my father.
```

This is Green's translation. Perhaps the sentence means 'My father is not here', but Green's translation is plausible. It is not uncommon in Australian languages for words that literally mean 'here' to be used to mark off the subject from the predicate.
There are some examples in Green's material that suggest the bound pronouns could attach to an initial negative.

```
(28)  Ngabun-abul yanan (Wg)
      not-YOU:TWO go:?
      Neither of you will go.
```

3.9   INTERROGATIVES

```
    who               inharrup        (Trhm)       winharrup   (Wg)
    who (du)          inharrup-bul    (Trhm)
    who (pl)          inharrupanyin   (Trhm)
                      inharrup-nyanba-  (Trhm)

    what              nganying        (Trhm)       winha       (Wt)
    which             winha (Wt)
    what for          winharra        (Wt)
                      inonga          (Wg)
    when              ngarroie        (Wg)
    how               nhurra          (Trhm)       nhurra      (Wg)
    how many/much     nunggudbuddin   (Wt)
    where from        ngunungu        (Trhm)
    where             i-dha(rru)      (T)          wi-dha      (W)
```

Thomas also records wi-dhat 'Where did they?' where -t is a bound pronoun.
    Many Australian languages have a word meaning 'I don't know'. In the Woiwurrung language the word was indhungga (TWB), windhungga (W).

```
(29)  Indha gurri-      warridj-in (Wg, Tg)
      where be:3S father-YOUR
      Where is your father?
```

```
(30)  Indha gurri-      yilam (Trhm)
      where      be:3S camp
```

Where is the camp?

(31) Indha gurri-   guli--buluk (Tc)
      where be:3S man-PLURAL
      Where are the blacks?

(32) Ngunungu   warr (Trhm)
      whence   thou
      Where are you from?

3.10 OTHER GRAMMATICAL FORMS

      -dhak, -djak is an emphatic enclitic, which could be translated
'very'. See (18), (20) and (25).

      ba 'and'

(33) guli- ba   badjurr
      men and women

      -diba 'too'

Thomas gives the following forms:

(34) bulidu-diba too much
      big - TOO

(35) waibu-diba too little
      little-TOO

Thomas translates English 'to' by a preposition kuding:

(36) marrambik 'woorunderoneit' minginayik kuding   Bu-djil Maman.
      I ? eyes:my   to   eagle father
      I will lift up mine eyes unto God (Psalm CXXI,1)

3.11 WORD FORMATION

      In the following compounds a word for a generic substance is fol-
lowed by a word for a specific body part.

      galk gawang   skull
      bone head

      yarra mirring   eyebrow
      hair eye

      yarra ngurnduk   beard
      hair chin

      budhundjinang   chillblain
      sore foot

      durt wang   cheek bone
      star cheek

The significance of durt in the last item above is not transparent.
The formation is recorded only by Thomas and may be wrongly translated.
It invites comparison with the formations for 'deaf' and 'blind':

    durt-wirring   deaf durt-mirring   blind
    star-ear   star-eye

In the following set of body part nouns, the first word is suffixed by -i.
Note that baa- is augmented by dj. It is worth noting in this connection
that baa- is one of a small set of words recorded by Bunce with a final
laminal stop: baanth (see section 2.1). The d in the second item babadi
may be a mistake on the part of the source (Robinson). Note that in the
word for 'big toe' the form for 'mother' appears as bababi. The normal
word for mother is baba.

    baa-dji   mirring   tears
    water   eye

    babadi   marnung   thumb
    mother   hand

    bababi   djinang   big toe
    mother   foot

    dhirribi   marnung   fingernails
    nail   hand

    galgi   garrong   shin
    bone   ?

    galgi   ngarrk   backbone
    bone   back

    ngarrgi   djarrang   thigh (back of thigh?)
    back   thigh

    ngarrgi   djinang   instep
    back   foot

    dhalabi   gurn   throat
        ?   neck

    The following is a list of miscellaneous compounds. The identifica-
tion of the parts is not certain in some cases. Note that the modifier
usually precedes the modified element.

    wirring   wilam   dog, dingo
    dog   hut, camp

    walert   gurn   possum skin rug
    possum   throat

    brunga-bik   sand
    ? -earth

    dirri-biik   gravel
    ? -earth

```
bik-gurn              mushroom
earth-throat

gurn-bart             necklace
neck - ?

buladu-gaang          greedy
big-nose

bik-mum               goose
earth-bottom

bath-mum              wood duck
? -bottom

ngamudji-gurrk        white woman
white:person-woman
```

(compare bagurrk 'woman', murndi-gurrk 'old woman', bu-dhangurrk 'widow')

A scan of the vocabulary reveals that quite a number of words con-
tain two meaningful parts. Unfortunately, however, it has not been possi-
ble in most cases to ascertain the status of some of these parts (com-
pounding element or suffix) or to determine their meaning. For instance,
a comparison of the following formations isolates -aluk:

```
djinang-aluk      shoes
foot -       ?

dharrang-aluk     trousers
thigh-       ?
```

Other examples are to be found in the vocabulary.

4 VOCABULARY

It is normal Handbook practice to include an indication of the part-of-speech status of each word. However, since the sources for the Woiwurrung language consist almost entirely of word lists it is not possible to ascertain what part of speech a word is. Naturally we can assume that the translational equivalents of English nouns will be Woiwurrung nouns, but it is not always possible to guess the status of the translational equivalents of other parts of speech. In some instances the status of the English word form is in doubt e.g. love, fight.

Where it has proved too difficult to phonemicise a word from the sources the original spelling has been retained and is represented in italics.

4.1. VOCABULARY BY SEMANTIC FIELDS

Abbreviations

```
T     Thagungwurrung
W     Woiwurrung
B     Boonwurrung

b     'Boon-oo-rong' by Thomas in R. Brough Smyth
c     Curr d      Daniel Bunce
e     Eaglehawk and Crow eim Exposition intercoloniale de Melbourne
g     Green h     Hercus (Woiwuru)
ha    Haydon
ho    Howitt
mc    McCrae
p     Parker
r     Robinson
rhm   R.H. Mathews
t     Thomas in R. Brough Smyth
tt    Thomas' 'Language No. 3 - Melbourne'
tu    Tuckfield
w     Walter
```

The following abbreviations are used to designate other Victorian languages:

```
Gu    Gurndidj
Dj    Djadjala dialect of Wergaia
WW    Wembawemba
Ma    Madhimadhi
Wa    Wadiwadi
Da    Dardidardi
Na    Narinari
Yo    Yodayoda
Gi    Gippsland
```

Words quoted from other Victorian languages are given in brackets. This also applies to words from Hercus's Woiwuru list and from Thomas's 'Language No. 3 - Melbourne', since these sources contain words that may not belong to the Melbourne language.

Note that although there is no distinction between r and rr in my transcription of the Melbourne language, there is a distinction between a flap or trill (rr) and a glide (r) in the words quoted from Hercus.

Where a word occurs in only one or two sources, the source is specified, and if the original notation is difficult to interpret it is retained and given in italics.

Most of the words found in the old sources have been included in the present work, the exceptions being words recorded in only one source where there is reason to regard the translation as involving a misunderstanding. This applies mostly to verbs.

Where verbs appear in the sources with clearly identified suffixes, only the stem is presented e.g. djilba - 'to hit'. Where there is any doubt about the identification of stems and suffixes, the whole word is included. This applies not only to the Woiwurrung equivalents of English verbs, but to some of the equivalents of English adjectives.

NOUNS.

A-Body parts.

head - gawang TWB (dardup h (see 'skull')).

skull - durrp-durrp, galk gawang Wg (galk='bone'), ngarabul (='range', 'ridge of hill', 'side suture of skull') Who, nanin W 'back of skull'.

brain, mind - durn-durn TW (yur-lendj h 'intelligence', 'sense').

headache - lalenin gawang Wg.

hair - yarra WB.

grey hair - lambun gawang Wg.

forehead - minyin TW.

eye - mirn, (mirnuk 'his eye' h), mirring TWB - (mirenggel Wa).

eyeball - wurr-wurra-mirring TW (wurru-wurru 'sky').

eyebrow - yarra mirring W (='hair eye'), tourn-a-myng Wt, tur-noma'ay Wd.

eyelash - yit-yita-mirring Teim, yit-yiti-mirring Wd.

tears - baa-dji mirring Wd (='water eye').

nose - gaang TWB (garrang h).

nostril - mirring gaarn Wt (mirring = 'eye', 'hole').

ear - wirring TWB, wirn TW (wimbel h, wirimbel Wa).

earlobe - kurnagar (='top of hill', 'spur', 'ridge') Who.

cheek - wang, wangga TW.

cheek bone - durt wang Wt (durt='star').

jaw - yurt Wt.

chin - ngurnduk W.

mouth, lips - wurru(ng) TW (wurru Dj, WW, h, tt), kandana W.

yawn - (yako h).

spiffle - gagul Wg (see 'matter').

beard - ngani- T, yarra ngurnduk W, ngarrin W, (ngarringurnduk tt).

tooth - liang TWB.

tongue - djalang TWB.

uvula - doo-mak Wg.

neck (front) - gurn W.

nape - nang-ing-a-ta Wr 'our neck' (nyani WW).

throat (internal) - dhalabi-gurn W.

collar bone - krakerap (='bag place') Who.

shoulder - bagarr(u) W, nganggerr TW, wulung - 'shoulder joint' Who.

armpit - won-gu-ruk Wt.

arm - dharrak TW.

biceps - berbert Who (see 'armlet', 'ringtail possum').

forearm - yundap Wp, jeraubil 'swelling of radial muscles' Who.

elbow - gurrun TW, baluth Wr, tt, thamburr 'inside of elbow joint' Who.

wrist - ngurnang TW, krauel Who, ngurumbul 'divergence of radial tendons' Who.

hand - marnang TWB (or marnong).

palm - boothe-manang Wg.

thumb - babadi marnang (sic) Tr, babin-babin (babi(n)=mother) Wt, bababi marnung 'little finger' in Who, tt.

finger - wunmunmil W.

fingernail - dhirrip, dhirribi-marnang TW (dhirriba marna tt).

breast - birrm-birrm TWB, birring TW.

rib - kalgi darnin T, (nyilingi) darnin W (kalk and ny-ilang='bone').

hip - mulu-.

stomach - buth, butj TW, biling W, babagurn T, babugurn Wg.

womb - gurrin-gurrin Wg.

navel - mi-dhuk W.

heart - durru(ng) TW.

kidney - marrp TWB.

kidney fat - ma(rr)mbula Wt, marrp W (both also given as fat in gen-eral) (mambulin 'your fat' WW).

lungs - ninine-butj TW (see 'stom-ach').

liver - buth, butj TW (='stomach') (bulitj tt) loins - beally goonong Wd.

back - ngarr(a)k TW (ngarak Gi) (see ¤3.5.).

backbone - galgi ngarrak TrWr, nyilang ngarrak Wt.

bum - mum W, bilik TW (mum Dj, WW, Woi).

thigh - djirrong, djarrang TWB, ngarrgi djarrang W (see 'back').

hamstring - karra-gora Wg.

knee - barring TW (badjing Dj) (similar to barring 'track', but some spellings with rd (barding) suggest flapped r).

leg, calf - gurram TW, lurrk W.

shin - (galgi) garrong W (galk='bone', garrong may be variant of gurram 'leg').

ankle - (durronggi) ganak TW, (durronggi) burn W (also given as 'heel').

foot - djinang TWB (but jeenoong Wg suggests djinung).

big toe - bababi-djinang TWB ('mother foot').

instep - ngarrgi djinang TW ('back of foot').

heel - (durronggi) burn W (but see 'ankle') (burn tt).

corn - birrbit Wg.

track, footmark - barring WB (baring h), (compare 'knee') penis - buyurrung TW, murt, murrut TW (also given as 'testes' Wg, 'faeces' Tr and 'bladder' Wt, possibly to be identified with murt 'short').

vulva - bu(u)t Wr 'devery' (Tasmanian word).

tail - moibo We, mooeborren Wg.

urine - balk, balga TW.

faeces - gu(r)na(ng) TWB.

bowels - gu(r)na(ng) WB, guin TW, bindirk Wd, moon-mur Wt, burrburrd(u) Wg.

body - marram TW, dulerrum Wg.

skin - dhaap TWB, marrok Tc, morrok Wg.

bone - galk T (='tree'), nyilang WB (final vowel uncertain).

blood - gurrk TW, gurr(u)mul WB (gurg Dj, WW).

fat - ma(rr)mbul TWB (mambul WW).

smell - buang TW, yak 'sweat', 'body smell' We.

sweat - murrun-murrun W.

flesh - wirringa(rra)m TW.

tendon, sinew - birrip W (also given as 'vein' and 'artery').

marrow - dee-dit Wt.

scab - buburrum or baburrum W.

wart - birrbi Wg.

scar - boorran Wg.

wound - miang Wg.

matter - budhun 'sore' Wd, budhun djinang 'chillblain' Wd, budhunagun 'cough' Wd, (budhen h 'matter, thick spit').

wrinkle - nanborrjerin Wg.

small pox - mindi Wr.

B - Human classification.

Aboriginal man - guli- TWB (the spelling 'Kulin' is used in the text for the people who spoke this language) (guli tt).

Aboriginal woman - badjurr TWB, bagurrk WB.

non-Kulin - meymet ho, mainmeet r, prob. ma-mit - berbira ho (used of Gippsland people), bukkeen Tc.

baby, child - bubup TWB, bubupma-Trhm (wadj h).

boy, lad, youth - way(a)lak TW.

young man - yan-yan TWB (possibly ya--ya-).

old man - dha-gula T (rhm gives this for 'tall'), wigabil WB (also given as 'old').

ancestors - liwik Wg.

girl, young woman - burnay TW, murnmurndik WB.

orphan - murri-yak Wg, woorumullumbuk Bmc.

old woman - wirrk-wirrk T, wirrgurrk Tc, murndi-gurrk WB.

traditional doctor - wirrirrap TWB.

clan leader, chief - ngurungaeta TWho, nanggit Wr, arweet Br.

messenger - wirrigirri ho.

white man - ngamudji, also ngumudji TWB.

white woman - ngamudji-gurrk Wd.

policeman - (djilendja h).

nasty, bad person - (ngandinug h).

lover - (ngan.grung h) (lerup 'girlfriend' h).

friend, mate - kirrip Wg, djirrep Wt.

ghost, spirit, soul - murrup TW, narrun W.

devil, fiend - buldjen ganu W (last vowel uncertain), ngarrang TW.

fiend, killer - (ngaut-ngaut h).

God - bundjil maman W (eaglehawk father).

C-Kinship.

mother - baba(n) TWB, (babep h).

stepmother - wardi-gurrk Wg.

grandmother - gugung Wt, gugund-jalik Bmc, malunggung Wg.

aunt - bambu WB, girrin Wr.

father - warridj Tg, mama(n) mamu(n) TWB (mamem h).

son/father-in-law - gundilang W (second vowel uncertain).

stepfather - ynong-marman Wg.

mother's brother - gan-gan TW, garrguk Wg, caganguk Bmc.

father's father - ngagap T, ngaba WB (ngaburni h).

grandfather - (lalal h).

brother - tati Tr, 'stepbrother' Wg.

older brother - wurndulung WB, bangga- TW.

younger brother - barnumbi T, dhidhith WB.

brother-in-law - kooreit Wg.

sister - liwurr(u)k WB, mulokin W, ladi W.

older sister - la(th)-ga- TW, lan-dan W.

younger sister - banban T.

sister-in-law - yum-murrk Wg.

son - mam-mam Wt, mam Bb, bubuwurt Teim, bubugurt Wg.

daughter - manggip W (manggeb Dj).

cousin - gugai Teim, bininang Wg, karri-karri-imboo Wg, dadharrak Bmc.

niece - babi Wg, pa-ren-ger-roon Wt.

nephew - wurning Wg, nar-bung-ur-roon Wt, paganruk Bmc.

husband - nganggorrong TW (ngangrrung h).

widower - warrbil W, wykoon primpum Bmc (compare 'wife').

wife - birnban TW.

widow - bundhan-gurrk WB, mulin-gurrk Wg.

sister's husband - guritch ho.

D-Mammals.

platypus - dulaiwurrong W (compare dul- 'be proud', wurrung 'lips'), wadherrung TW.

echidna - gawa(r)n TW (gauang Gi).

marsupial mouse - barruth W (bar-oidj WW).

rat - dayang Wt.

native cat - yurn TW (iurrn tt), birrigul Teim, bididil Wg.

wombat - wari- WB (warendj h).

bandicoot - bung W (bung h).

possum - walert TWB.

ringtail possum - bamu- W, berbert Who.

glider - warra- W, yurran WB, tur-nung 'flying mouse' Who, dadjerri Who, 'tuan' (dadjer h 'sugar glider'), duan-.

duan 'tuan' (The word 'tuan' is given in the Australian National Dictionary as a borrowing from Wathawurrung), didhang 'batmouse' Wt, panggoeng 'big squirrel' Wr, way porp 'big squirrel' WBr.

kangaroo - marram TW, kuyim WB - marram 'grey kangaroo' Trhm - djimbanggurr 'red kangaroo' Trhm - too-re-mut Wr.

kangaroo rat - barruuk TWB (barrutj tt).

wallaby - wimbi(rr) Wt.

dog, dingo - yirrangin TW, wirrin-gan TWB, wirring wilam TW, mubup 'pup' Bmc, (wirrenggel h).

bat - barra-ung Trhm, buliyong W, ngunun-ngunut ho, (ngunin ngumitj tt).

koala, native bear - gurrborra W, korbil Te.

horse - galgada(r)nuk WB.

bullock - bulgana W.

sheep - eu-ep Wt, eeip Wd.

pig - yawi Wd.

E-Reptiles.

lizard - bili Teim, dunbarrim W budjing W, durrop Wt, narrang 'small lizard' Wt, per-ren-un 'large lizard' Wt.

goanna - dhuli- T.

snake - gurnmil TW (also given as 'whip snake' and 'diamond snake') (gurnmerl h), kaan WB, gulunung TW (also given as 'black snake' and 'brown snake'), dharrandel 'black snake' Wt.

venom - bon-non-gi Wg.

F-Birds.

bird - guyup-guyup WB.

egg - dirrandirr TWB (also recorded with final n and final l) (buyung h).

feather - gangan Wd.

beak - bargimboon Wg.

emu - barraimal TWB (usually a in first syllable, but boorri-.

mul in Green).

brolga - gurru(rr)k TWB.

mutton bird - py-er-din Wr.

pelican - wadjil TWB.

quail - tre-bin Wt, kurra-ket Wr.

water fowl - kor-rung-un-un Wt.

crane - karween Wg (compare 'nankeen kestral').

ibis - baibadjerruk Tc.

snipe - kruk-wor-rum Wt.

swan - gunuwarra TWB.

duck - gunabil Tc.

black duck - dulum TWB.

wood duck - bath-mum T (mum = 'bum'), lekoabel Bc.

goose - nup-nup Wt, bik-mum Wg (compare biik 'dirt' and mum 'bum').

plover - birrith-birrith W (also given as 'leather bird').

turkey, bustard - birrail Tc, wunmabil Wd, warn-murn Wg (bustard not native to Melbourne area).

eaglehawk - bundjil TWB, windjil Wc.

hawk - wilgul Wd, bulok-bulok Wg.

sparrow hawk - par-rite Wt.

white hawk - tharra Wt ('swamp hawk' ho).

small hawk - ber-pip Wt.

nankeen kestrel - gawarn Wt, nir-ret-marro Wr, djart-djart ho (compare 'crane').

wood pigeon - mungguberra W.

white cockatoo - ngayuk WB, gaan TW.

black cockatoo - yanggai W, ngayar-nong W.

cockatoo parrot - gamayil TW.

parrot - dandan W ('blue mountain parrot' ho), darnum Wd.

parrakeet - needly-ooing Wd, yubup, Wg king parrot - uu-gup Wt.

magella parrot - bro-gil Wt, Wg.

blue mountain parrot - lar-guk Wt, lack-koit 'mountain parrot' Wr.

small parrot - ne-la woon Wt.

cuckoo - wurrk-wurrk Wt.

red parrot - tare.re Wr.

boobook owl, mopoke - gugum W (muk-muk h).

owlet nightjar - ngarri-baam-gorrak ho.

tawny frogmouth - (djinith-djinith h).

kookaburra - gurrng-gurrng TW (gurng gurng h), dhurrorro(ng) W, tharowerag Bc.

lyre bird - bulen-bulen TW, h.

redbreast (rose robin) - tee-ung Wt.

willie wagtail - (djirri-djirri h).

eastern whip bird - yan-yan-gak Wt.

wattle bird - yan-guk Wt.

satin (bower) bird - ngarran W.

bell bird (bell miner) - trin-warreen Wt.

noisy miner - bill-bill-man-nere Wt (also called 'soldier bird').

butcher bird - (bilerd-mum h) (also known as 'grey shrike').

cuckoo shrike - (djilbi-djilbi h).

magpie - barrawarn W, barrwang Trhm, barrawurrung Wr.

mudlark, peewee - (dit-dit h).

crow - waang TWB (Bellin-bellin is the mythical musk-.

crow who lets the wind out ho).

chicken, chook - djak-djak Wd, wawert Wr (yawa tt).

G-Water dwellers.

fish - duat TW (see 'black fish'),
 toy-et 'small fish' Tr, dugat Wr,
 wirrap TB (wirrab Dj 'blackfish')
 mullon Tr, maloom Teim, malloren
 Wg (see 'Murray cod').

spawn (of fish) - drre-drre-malun
 Wg.

whale - betayil W.

porpoise - tingin Wha, bar-bar-ka
 (see 'Murray cod'') Wt,
 tole.ler.bope Wr, stingray - bar-
 bewor Wha.

eel - yuk Trhm, iuk W, lobster,
 crayfish - kur-rite Wt, darrak(-
 burrong)W (compare 'shark'),
 bunggan-gulum TW, duyang WB
 (freshwater and saltwater crusta-
 ceans not differentiated in
 sources).

oyster - u.yoke Wr.

cockle - mur-yoke Wt, nanggurring
 Wt.

mussel - mur-bone Wt, dirrap W,
 yugu- Wr.

periwinkle - pid-de-ron Wt.

shell - dalang Wg.

Murray cod - mal-lun Wt (see
 'fish').

shark - darrak Wr, dalanarron W.

blackfish - duat W (see 'fish').

flathead - dalum Bmc.

parrot fish - tan.dun Wr.

stranger fish - walruel Bmc.

leather jacket - yugop Wr, por™ne
 Bmc.

'salmon' - kur-nur-guil Wt.

mutton fish - wurding W,
 moen.noeng.are.ing Wr.

sprat - dalibali Wt.

herring - tar-uk-war-ra-bil Wt
 (compare 'shark').

H-Insects and other small creatures.

insect - kam-kam-koor Wt.

gnat - koke Wr.

ant - burru- W, murrub Wt (buru-
 'green ant' DJ, WW) bull ant -
 oeur-rong Wt.

small ant - bandok Wr.

white ant - yabin Wr.

eggs of ants - knu-nal Wt.

centipede - dirran-marrak Wt.

maggot - garn Wt, yua(r)n Wt, moona
 long Wt (compare 'bee').

fly - garragarrak TWB, garrambarra,
 WB (given as 'marchfly', 'blow-
 fly', 'flesh fly' and 'bluebot-
 tlefly') (gamburr 'blowfly' tt),
 moonoloom Tc (compare 'maggot,
 bee').

mosquito - guguk TWB.

moth - tarr-ein Wg.

butterfly - balam-balam W (balam-
 balam 'white butterfly' WW).

grub - milarrk W, bear-uk Wt
 (graingrum h, milark h), yeour-
 ong Wt, path'eron Wd.

caterpillar - ae-noke Wr, gual Wr.

bee - murnalong Te, marnerlong Wg.

worm - tur-ror Wt.

leech - ter-rum-be-leet Wt.

frog - ngarrert TW, yorne Wha (nga-
 rert h).

tortoise - bundabun Wg.

tadpole - poorneet Wd.

frog spawn - (galang-galang h).

locust - diin Wt, ga(r)l-ga(r)l Wt,
 nalang Wt.

beetle - maimborogul Wd.

grasshopper - nar-rite Wt, murrack
 Wd.

louse - munhong W (munya 'louse' Dj,
 WW) (munyang tt).

nit - le-at Wt.

manna - laap Tc, kor-rer Tr.

I-Language, ceremony, etc.

language - wurru(ng) TWB (='mouth'
 and occurs in language names; see
 ¤1.3).

word - ngol Wg.

name - narrin Wg.

corroboree - ngarrga 'to dance' W,
 gayip ho (possibly particular
 corroboree).

bullroarer - puber.ro gun Wr.

corroboree maker - yiyote.kin Wr.

initiation - gudigal Wr, djibagop
 Who, dalangan Bho, tobbut Wt.

initiate holder - yi-oo Wr.

initiation circle - ko-ro-bine Wr.

magic - yaruk ho.

sorcery - wurrit (Barwick 1984:105).

heaven - ngamat ho, dharranggalk-bek ho (destination of the souls of the dead).

moieties - bundjil 'eaglehawk', waang 'crow' TWB.

J-Artefacts.

hut - yilam T, wilam WB (see camp in section M).

hut support - yaludang (= 'sapling holding up bark pieces') Wt, li-yan (= 'forked sticks supporting yaludang') Wt.

boomerang - wan.gim TW.

toy throwing stick - wuywayit Wr, with-with (Brough Smyth 1878, I:353).

woomera - garrik TWB, marriwan W, djirram TW, galburra-.

marriwan 'broken woomera used in casting a spell' ho, (marriwan h).

yamstick - wulu-, wuluwa-, gana-Trhm.

stick - galk-galk TW, gaam Wr, warra-warra Wr.

message stick - mungu ho.

rod - barrim Wg.

club - gudjerru- TW, dagan Wr.

spear - wulip Wr, warra-warra Wr, yan-ner-yone Wr.

fighting spear - guyun TWB.

reed or wood spear - djirra TWB (last syllable may be -arr or aa).

fish spear - mor rope Wr.

shield - gayaam WB, malgarr 'heavy shield' W, narragourt 'round shield' (malgarr h).

tomahawk, axe - garrgi- TW galbal-ing ngarruk WB (compare 'chop'), murring W, bayen Wr, num-be-mon Wt.

leangle, battle axe - liyangayil TW (compare liyang 'teeth').

knife - galbun-galbun (-djiap) TW (compare 'chop').

fork - kal-lup Wt (compare 'nee-dle').

fire drill - djiel-warrk TW (djiel-warg h), (also given by Walters as the name of the Orangewood tree used to make fire drills).

net - garrt-kirrk Wg.

fish net - murra Tr.

noose on stick - burdin Tr (for catching birds).

canoe - gurrong TWB.

paddle, oar - ganagulon TW (last nasal uncertain).

dilly bag - bilang, bilang-bilang W (see 'string').

kangaroo skin bag - mugerra-mugerra W.

basin - kor-ron-er Wt.

basket - binak WB.

dish - wilin-wilin W.

bucket, billy can - darnuk WB (dar-nag h), kor reengan Wr.

musket, gun - drangbulabil W (bula-bil = 'two'), dumbagambil Bmc.

flint (of gun) - bilin Wt, wu(u)rrk Wt.

powder and shot - murradu Wt.

blanket - yala(t)ni burrang TW (vowels uncertain).

possum skin rug - walert-gurn Bmc, walert = 'possum', gurn = 'throat', dhadhowul Tc, omum Wha, walert-walert Wt, tadool-todoolWg.

hat, cap - gamberr-gawang W, (ga-wang = 'head').

headband - liik Wt, yallund'aruck Wd, birrbak-gawang Wg.

net headband - marragalim Wt (also marragalen Wr).

nosepeg - gulgi-guri Trhm.

necklace - gurn-bat W, gurnarran Wt (gurn = 'neck'), man-man Wr, dhirrarra (compare 'reed spear', 'reed').

armlet - berbert = 'ringtail pos-sum' Who.

clothing - gugarra Wd.

coat - wurrgadabil Wt.

trousers - dharrangaluk Wt (also given as 'shirt') (dharrang ='thigh') (darrungaluk 'shirt' tt).

girdle - ber-buk Wt, caryoong Wd.

apron - barndjip TW, kaiung 'woman's apron' ho, dilbanain (= 'emu feather apron' worn by fe-

males in a dance), marriguil (= 'apron worn by males until married') Wt, nawarrait or gayayern (= 'apron worn by females until married') Wt.

shoes - djinangaluk TW (djinang = 'foot'), kaiung 'woman's shoes' ho.

brush - wurruwurt Wt.

candle - ma(rr)mbul Wt (=fat).

hammer - nambert Wt.

chisel - beum-bean Wt.

saw - bindabalap Wt (binda = 'cut').

gimlet - man-mure-bul-lup Wt.

needle - kullap Wd (compare 'fork').

spade - balarra Wt.

hoe - waibu bala Wt (waibu = little).

fish hook - lingen-lingen W (unstressed vowel uncertain).

fishing line, cord - wudhel-wudhel W.

thread - birrip Wt (='tendon' 'sinew').

string, line - bilang Wd.

string - wugel-wugel Wt.

box - lilerri Wt.

mirror - wurrandalmin Wt.

nail, peg - mindamin Wt.

ball - mangurt W.

money - dandababil W.

stone charm - moeng Wr.

K-Fire, food, water.

meat - winggarram W (benggi h, gurrba h).

beef - bulgana W.

mutton - iap Wt (='sheep').

pork - dalam Wt.

bread - ngurrung W (ngurrung h).

food - dhanguth W, dhangidj W (compare dhanga 'to eat'), guwiyap W.

poison - (dhandel h).

bait - durru Wg.

rice - garran Wt (= 'maggot').

sugar - gaem-gaem Wt.

tea - murrandu Wt.

soup - lil-le-bro Wt (compare lillereboo 'juice' Wd, see 'sap').

milk - birrm-birrm Wt (= 'breast').

herbs - barram Wt.

carrot - gambodak Wt.

tobacco - kun-ang-ner-ro-menWt.

alcohol - bilim, bilim-bilim Wd (see 'bitter').

fire - wii- TWB.

spark - bibidinen Tg.

wood - galk TWB (also 'tree' 'stick' 'bone').

charcoal - lourn Wt, ganandurr W (last syllable uncertain).

embers,ashes - munip W (also 'dust').

smoke - burt TWB.

water - baa- TWB (barna h).

waterhole - tam-boore Wt, baa--baa- Wt.

well - bunggu- Teim, banding TW.

sea - warri- WB, balim-bi warri- Wg (see 'bitter').

lake, swamp - buluk TW, duul 'marsh' Wg, turkeeth 'marsh' Wd.

river, creek - gurnung TW, galada W, yaluk W, wurnit WB, - wanewan Wg.

rain - yayal T, d(h)ayalk Tr, bamin Wt, ba-(m)abil WB.

L-Celestial, weather.

sun - ngamai TB, ngawa- WB.

rays - karralk 'rays of setting sun up which souls ascend to heaven' ho.

day, light - yirram T, garrimi- T, yalingbu W, yalingwa W.

shade - mula Wd, yunak Wg.

night, darkness - burrun TWB, burru-dhuth 'at night' W, muburrun TW.

moon - mirnian TWB, yambuk TW.

star - durt TWB, durt-bairram WB.

morning star - wootororook Wt.

evening star - marbeangrook Wt.

milky way - dirrn-galk Wg, dharranggalk 'comet', 'heaven' TW.

sky - wurru-wurru TWB, ngamat 'heaven' ho, - tote.bare.rib Wr.

cloud - laak TW.

mist - burrung TW (possibly burrang).

rainbow - pirnbial WB.

ice, frost - dangbelk W.

snow - gabing TW (also given as 'hail').

hail - mooreer Tg.

wind - gurri- T, murnmut WB.

whirlwind - burt gurri- (='smoke wind') W.

thunder - ngurndabil TWB.

lightning - djirringu TW.

M-Geography.

camp - yilam T, wilam WB, (both words = 'bark').

breakwind - djudjurrp Trhm.

ground, country - biik TWB, narrap TrWr.

path - barring TW, (see also 'track', 'footmark').

soil - kung-ar Bd, nutcundra beek Wg (see 'clay').

mud - dagik Bmc.

clay - bigurn Wg, nut-kun-tare Wt (see 'soil').

sand - brungabik Trhm, gagarruk WB, breg-gerr Wg.

gravel - dirri-biik Wt.

dust - manip, munip W (also = 'ashes').

hole (in ground) - mirring TW (compare 'eye').

plain - warr(i)k TW, taul 'flat' Wt.

hill, mountain - ngurrak TW, banhul TW, banmil Wt.

valley - dun-ngorrm Wg.

island - bawal WrBr.

rise - mil Wt.

stone - muyidjirr TW, la(a)ng WB.

pebble - mumorrung Wg.

brick - der-re-kul-mul Wt.

red ochre - nurru-nurru Wt, wirrap Wt, wurrap Wd.

white ochre - ngarrambel Wt, Bmc.

brown ochre - derril Wt.

white flint - wu(u)rrk Wt.

quartz - barrwong-ge-moong Wg.

N-Arboreal.

tree - darrang TWB (spelled with intial t in all six sources; compare 'leaf'), galk TWB (= 'wood').

scrub, bush - ngarrrap T, yerrin W (final nasal uncertain), wurrgu-mang Wr.

shrub, bush - burru burru Teim, bababal Tr.

leaf - djerrang TW (possibly djir-rang; spelled with initial g or j; compare 'tree'), marran W (also given as 'veins'), - murrin Wg.

bark - yilam T (also='hut'), wilam WB (also='hut'), dhaap W (='skin'), durndirri Wt.

bark kindling - bulum Wt, min-mer Tr, minarrang Tr.

stick - galk TWB (='wood') (see also section I).

branch - ter-ru-galk Wt.

stem - yu(rr) bat Teim.

trunk - wirrip Wt.

log - wurri galk Wt.

thorn - warr Wg.

stump - to-long Wr.

root - wiagurruk Wt, wirruk Wg.

sap - duanu W, lillereboo Wt 'juice' (see 'soup').

seed - dirrandil Wt, gurr Wg.

flower - gurrk Teim (='blood'), gurru Tp, kurn-brook Wt, gurr Tr.

resin, gum - bidjirring 'wax' Wg (bidjerrim h), djaak 'gum from Acacia mollissima' Ww, garrang W.

lump - jiruin We, yulabil Te.

grass - buath TWB, banum TW.

reed - djirra Wd (see 'spear').

milk thistle (exotic) - brugl-brugl Wg (daleb h).

rush - burt-burt Wt.

flag - garrawan Wt (compare 'apple-berry').

buttercup - gurm-burrut Wt.

convolvulus - nur-nur Wt.

Clematis aristata - minamberang Wg.

Sarsaparilla - wadimalin Wg (Hardenbergia violacea).

native vine - boroborobin Wha.

fern - buyet W.

soft tree fern - kombadick Wg (Dicksonia antarctica).

sassafrass - djinggung (djinggung h).

yam - barrm TW, muwiyul Tc.

yam tuber - (wuleli h).

mistletoe - bali Wg (see 'cherry tree').

tea - (yalgi h).

manna, lerp - laap Tc (in fact an animal).

mushroom - bambra Wd, biik-gurn ('earth neck') Wg.

apple-berry - garrawang Wg (garra-wang h) (Billardiera scandens).

mangrove - monarm Wha.

fig - bung-bur-rulk Wt, kum-me-ree Wt.

Austral brooklime - tangnan Wg (Gratiola peruviana).

Austral bear's-ear - ballangin (Cymbonotus lawsonianus) (also given as 'Erechtites arguta').

Bidgee-widgee - murreyuke Wg, mori-yoke Wg (Acaena sanguisorbae).

Caladenia pulcherrima - guli- Wg (type of orchid; name equated by Green with word for 'man').

Errienellam - errienellam Wg (type of sun-dew, Drosera auriculata).

swamp daisy - bimbat Wg (Brachycome cardiocarpa) (also given for Craspedia richea).

Geranium dissectum - terrat Wg.

Diuris maculata - burny-burny Wg.

Diuris pedunculata - merwan Wg, ngarring Wg.

Diuris corymbosa - naringarnik Wg (compare preceding).

Bulbine lily - pike Wg (Bulbine bulbosa).

Yellow marsh flower - daberrap Wg (Villarsia reniformis).

Blue devil - dalak-dalak Wg (Eryngium vesiculosum).

Aster argophyllus - daal Wg.

Aster ramulosus - boe-boe Wg (compare 'everlasting sp').

Running Postman - gabin Wg (Kennedya prostrata Wg).

native strawberry - gugorrak Wt.

red gum - bial TW young eucalyptus - wyett 'young state of some species' Wg (but see 'stringybark').

Euc. amygdalina - wurran Wg.

'ash tree' - korr.wun Wr.

Eucalyptus fissilis - tirba twebin Wg.

manna gum - binap WW, red gum Wt.

box tree - birrburr Trhm, bulwidj Wr (buluth tt).

box (bastardy) - biit Wt.

yellow box - dhagurn Trhm (Wt gives tar-gan for 'box tree'; Ww gives dargoyne for 'messmate' and Tr gives dar-gine for 'black gum').

white gum - yarrabing W.

stringybark - wayut W (compare 'young eucalyptus'), wooegook Ww, wangnarra Ww, yirrip Tc (but see 'ironbark'), bun-ger-look Wt (but see 'light or black wood'.

ironbark - yirrip TW (see 'stringy-bark').

light or black wood - burn-nar-look Wt, marn-gan-noy-an 'spurious light or black wood' Wt (see 'stringybark').

lightwood bark - milowon Wt.

peppermint tree - wiyal Wha, eur-look Wha.

she-oak - tur-run Wt, wayetuck Casuarina leptoclada Ww.

turpentine - vi-al Wt (compare 'peppermint tree').

wattle - garrong W (Walter gives this for Acacia mollissima).

wattle bark - bo.ar.rer Wr.

silver wattle - muyan Wt (compare 'blackwood').

black wattle - warraworrap W (Acacia decurrens).

dwarf wattle - yurt W.

blackwood - muyang W (Acacia melanoxylon), 'the young state of the blackwood' according to Green 1878:170 hop wattle - berry-yung Wg (Acacia stricta).

cedar (bastardy) - wy-gout Wt.

cherry tree - bulait W, bali Ww (see 'mistletoe').

myrtle - tid-e'am Wt.

banksia, 'honeysuckle' - warrak Wt, woorike Wg 'cone of banksia', (wurrek tt).

Davallia dubia - koordrung Wg.

mountain teatree - burgan Ww (Kunzea peduncularis).

Bursaria spinosa - kurwan Wg.

Mentha australis - panaryle Wg.

Vic Christmas bush - coranderrk Wg. geringdah T (Massola 1975:14), a species of mint bush (Prostanthera lasianthos).

Native raspberry - eepaeep Wg (Rubus parvifolius).

Pomaderris apetala - kalertiwan Wg (possibly pidgin 'colouredy one').

leaf of pomaderris - waa Wg.

Sonchusoleraceus - dalurp Wg.

Everlasting sp. - buibui Wg (Helichrysum ferrugineum) (cf 'aster').

Everlasting sp. - neringnerit Wg (Helichrysum scorpioides).

Flat-pea - burunbeet Wg (Platylobium obtusangulum).

leaf of flat-pea - burumkulwill Wg.

Craspedia richea - bimbat Wg (also given for 'swamp daisy').

Erechtites arguta - ballangin Wg (also given as 'Austral bear's ear').

Aroctriche serrulata - burgilburgil Wg.

Rumex brownii - kadsekadsek Wg (Green writes 'one can scarcely observe the sound of s'. Brough-Smyth (1878, II: 171) comments 'more like kadthekadthek'. I agree.).

Rice-flower sp. - kurranungun Wg (Pimelia humilis).

Common heath - genineemoongoon Wg (Epacris impressa).

Juncus vaginatus - dulim Wg.

Caesia corymbosa - mudrurt Wg.

Hypochaeris glabre - nareengnan Wg.

Woolly tea-tree - wulep W (leptospermum lanigerum).

Bitter pea sp. - kinkinquonggerin Wg (Daviesia corymbosa).

Golden-tip - tre tal Wg (Goodia lotifolia).

Panax sambucifolius - gunadiang Wg.

Coprosma microphylla - morr Wg.

Lomaria capensis - gaggawar Wg.

Lomaria discolor - waibu gaggawar Wg (waibu='little').

Bush-pea sp. - kanberr Wg (Pultenaea juniperina).

Glycine clandestina - nanggert Wg.

potato - yal-lerm Tr, bulowin Tr.

privet - kar-ran Wt.

cabbage or grass tree - mimurrang T, kambidik Wt, bagap Ww.

small grass tree - dulemerrin Wg (Xanthorrhoea minor).

O-ADJECTIVES.

one - ganbu WB, gup(-dun) TWB.

two - bulabil TB, bindjirru WB.

three - bulabil gup(-dun) TB, bindjirru ganbu WB, bindjirru ganmerring W, bindjirru ganmil W.

four - pulabil pulabil TB, bindjirru (ba) bindjirru W.

some - wonga Wg.

enough - twarn Wg, twarje Wg, nudji Wt.

more - yuwangu TW.

half - marru Wg.

many - wurrdhun TWB, wurrdiyalyal WB.

black, blue - wurrgurdin W, wurrga(rra)bil TW, kuyang Bmc.

white - dhirrarranyun Te, dharranhun We, tarndourdin Wha, tarndarding Bmc.

yellow - ki-er-lin Wt, babedirrin Wg, gialabil Bmc.

red - dirrbarri- Te, bibidhuang Wd, nyarri-warren Bmc, gurrk-warren Wg, gurrk-gurrk-warrabil Wg, (dirrp-burdabil tt).

green - gumang-djarrang 'leaf' Bmc, wurrwarrin Wg, wunwarren Wg, kor.ran.gor.ran.geet Wr (kor.ran.gor.rer given as 'blue').

brown - yalin Wg.

little - waigurrk TW, wayibu W.

big - wurr-wurr Wg, wurrdhabu TWB, buladu W (middle vowel uncertain, spelled i, ar and oo).

long, tall, high - dha-gula Trhm, yurrbot TW, nyirrirrim W, ganangnayil Wg, dung-dung Wg.

short, low - waikorong Te, murt TW, murda We, - murt-guding Wt.

thick - banit Wt, narow Bmc.

thin - lalam Wt, gal-gal mirran Wg.

narrow - winin-kudip Wt.

wide, broad - yerringooden Wt, wyl-gut-ter Wt, wilt-korring Wg, ye-wrarning Bmc.

shallow - bollardy week Wd.

deep - budanggin Wd, mirrim Wt, boon-gim Wg.

upright - ter-ree-dee Wt.

straight - dharrimungga Trhm (see 'stand'), yurdi- W.

crooked - wa-dharrabil Trhm, nugin (djirrin) We, wa-dherring Wg, wa-dheborring Wg.

broken - kalbura ho.

hot (weather) - wulun TW, narrwor-ring T, dumbadin Wg.

cold (weather) - mudangan T, mu-dawiin TW, berri- (='winter') W.

feel cold - ba-dhal TW, lurrk-lurrk Tg.

wet - burmabil Bmc, garrgaling Wg, dalga- 'to wet' Wt.

damp - daban Wg.

dry - kuubebel Wt, biderap Wt pin-unimbik Bmc.

sharp - djen-djen-mun Wd, djan-djan-marrang Bmc, garrik-.

garrik Wd.

blunt - warrup WB.

brittle - borong'ooth Wd, yul-orrt-ten Wg.

supple - dubaduba Wg.

permanent - meilburdeen Wd.

sloping - kur-nurm-bil-ber-ding Wt.

flat, level - wurruk W, kuyun Wt.

hard - balert, balit Wg (also = 'rigid', 'strong').

soft - dugil-dugil Wg.

heavy - barndabu- Te, barnbu- W (also given for 'tired').

light - bula-bula Wd.

full - djabu- TW.

empty - galaman Te.

rough - yellum burnin Bmc.

smooth - bamburdin Wt, manian Bmc.

round - bayo(bu)burdin Wt, walan-walan Wg.

square - purk-bun Wt.

clean - barmburrin Wd, barmberring Wg, worrebully, worrework, kurre-bully Wt.

dirty - dirrip-dirrip Wt, wurrgal-bana Wt, wurrgarrin Wt.

greasy - youeyook Wd, uguck Wt.

bright - yingore Bmc.

shine - bathelmun Wg.

loud - torra'aweenth Wd.

ripe - duiguin Wg.

rotten - buderrinin ('putrid') Wg, brun-guit Wt.

stinking - bunkun Wt, warrubak W, buang Wg.

sweet - girringgirrim We, ba-ber-Wt, girringan Bmc (gargridj 'sugar' h), duin Wg.

sour - garrm-garrm Wg.

bitter - balim-balim Wg, bilim-bilim Wg (see 'alcohol').

delicious - yering gim Wg.

male (animal) - layigurn TW.

female (animal) - babanhu TW, bunha TW, bunya Trhm.

good - burndap TW, burdap Wg, mana-mith WB.

bad - madabi TB, nyilam TWB, nyulam TW.

untrue - maninda Wg, marin (='false') Wg.

young - ya--ya- (also 'young man') WtBmc, darrango Wg.

old - wigabil WB (also given as 'old man').

athletic - carrangall Wd.

industrious - tar-tuk-ur-nup Wt, toolangi Wg (given as 'zeal').

clever, capable - kyinandoo Wg.

stupid - wongurrunin Wt, naulanin Wt, n'ya'arunning Wd, nganga-dak-ki-no 'idiot' Wg.

bold, brave - ngabun-bambu- 'He's not afraid' WB.

frightened - bambu- TWB.

ashamed, shy - worthaggarook Wd (see following), wiling Wg, djir-rabu- Wd, wulanin Wg.

quiet, gentle - wonthaggarook Wd (see preceding), nuringian Wd.

angry - narringyan (= 'moody') Wd, bu(u)k warrin Wr (also = 'sulky'), murr-murr-wiin Wt, buk-kurring (='ire') Wt, bugil (= 'ire') Wg.

lonely - gan-gan Wt.

jealous - bangnin Wg.

greedy - djurring Trhm, buladu gaang/garn 'big nose' W.

amorous, lustful - gaanduith Wd.

lively - narbethong Wd.

strong - balit W (see 'hard'), bonmarat We.

weak - burrap W, yaralurnin We, marrinerren Wg, nerdunning Wd, murranang Bmc.

well - kor-rum-din-in Wt.

ill - djerrani- TW, (also 'sore' 'wounded'), danda-buni- WB, toy-yun Wt, djidjirri Wt.

pregnant - koonoong-warren Wg.

alive - murron TW (murrenda WW).

dead - werrigai T, wayigaith WB, wiagu- W.

lame - galburnin Wd, ngarrbun Wt.

tired - wor-brun-in Wt.

hungry - nyirreburdin TWB, nyirre-bruin TWB (note br cluster).

thirsty - gunbuni- TWB.

sated - mak-mada Tr Wr, bak-wudarradhan Wr, - bak-badanim Wr.

proud - dulap Wt, duli- Wg, dula-lali Wd.

happy - barrbunin Wg, gaanbu- W, gabi(n)dhon Wd.

sad - marden Wd, wurrbu- Wg (see 'cry').

hairy - murram-murram Wg.

naked - yarran Wg.

deaf - durt-wirring WB (='star ear'), nga-nga wirring Te.

blind - borm borm mirng Te, durt-mirring W (='star eye').

bald - taweet Wg, bowyeeth Wd.

dumb - gabut Wd.

industrious - nyerboing Wr.

quick - yuwarraba- TW (see 'run'), berren-berren (='flee')Wg.

slow - bainggongak Te We, bidjit-bidjit Wg.

nimble - warrk-warrk Wg.

right - ngalbina Wt.

left - wirram Wd.

VERBS.

P-Motion.

go - yana- TWB, duwi- W, djidhu Wd, korrnang-ngi Wg, (gigo '(you) go' h).

go away - yana-duwi W (see 'go') too-he-too-he Wr, waldhani Wg (also 'leave', 'abandon').

go on, proceed - yurrongi Wha.

walk - kay-do, kay-go, tay-do, tay-go Wr.

come - ngua-dhi TW, wumen- W, boor-roone, brrnon Wg, birnum We, nhalinggu WB.

emerge - gama-dji W (also 'get up from sleeping').

come back - twaga- Wg (gambalai h).

turn away - barrambu- W.

meet - nakorang-an-ang Wg.

find - yiaga- Wg, brimbonga Wg, brimbyn- Wd.

chase - darraga- W (dirrawa- tt), boonbree-kaling-i Wg.

stoop, bow - wayandurrin Wd, madji-gurri-Wg.

crawl - derrin(dji)- Wg.

jump - yuli- TW, yudli Wd, pindu-lurrung Bmc, yurni- Wt.

dance - ngarrga- TW.

run - wurrwi- TWB, yuwarraba TW (also 'hurry' and 'quick', first syllable may be Eng. 'you'), -bun-djirri-Wg.

flee - berren-berren Wg (also 'quick'), man-ngan 'elope' Wd, welipteen 'elude' Wd.

play - djilak-djirri- W.

fall - bulda- W, badherrembi Tg.

climb up - wirra- Wd, warna- TW.

go down - barrawi- Wg.

swim - yawa- WB, yarraga- (also 'float') Wg.

dive - gorron goun Wg, mur-re-be-net Wr.

wriggle - borrtjerin bolan Wg.

ride - poppert-poppert-teurnong Bmc.

Q- Rest.

stay, live at - ngurme Trhm, ngala(m)ba- TWB (nganggengala h), murundaka We.

stop, wait - gar-be 'stop here' Tr, o-nee-ap Tr, barra W, - gurragu- Wd.

remain behind - warring-aboornee Wg.

kneel - barring-ge-gurri Wt (bar-
ring ='knee').

stand (intr) - dharri(dji)- TW.

lie, sleep - yimu- W, garnamba- TB,
ngaigul Wg.

lurk - marra-gu Wt.

R- Induced position.

put down - maba- Trhm, korourk Wt.

pick up - muga- Trhm, woorunder-
oneit 'lift up' Wt (see (36)).

hold, grab - banga- W, baguna- W,
mama- (='save') Wg, gurnba 'catch
fish' Bmc, guluk-djabik 'catch
fish' Wg, damba 'grasp' We, mun-
dan(a)i 'embrace' Wg tarrt-
koorim-.

bagat 'immure' Wt.

take - gunga- TW, guna- Tc, Wt.

retain - koortworko Wd.

carry - warrongga(bo)- W.

bring - wa-dha(dji)- TW,
duabong(g)a- We.

guide - loorendŽ-gat Wg.

send - wurrima W, murndak-gunga Wg
(also given for 'defend').

steal - bia- TW.

gather - bagung(g)a- Wg (see
'hold').

pull - gurrba- Wg (also = 'wrest',
'wrench').

push - yunda- Wd, yurrda- Wt, djuat
Wt.

join, unite - jindi woraback Wd,
jerrboongun Wg, nallŽi jerring Wg,
kerr-boo-on-ool Wg, durrong
'joint' Wg.

throw - buimba- W, yuma- W.

keep - wilip-gin Wg.

lose - yu-burn-angi Wt.

find - yiaga- Wg, brimbyn- Wd,
brimbonga Wg.

give - wunga- TW, yuma(rra)la- W,
gunga 'take' is also used for
'give' W, go-ro-net Tr, marrmum-
lia- Wg.

provide - djigabudani Wg.

interchange - gurrowa- Wd.

divide - galburra- Wd, lungguna- Wg,
borungnergurk Wt, nungonuk Wt.

prevent - miamba- Wg.

impede - durt-gudonga- Wt.

S- Affect.

hit, kill - djilba- TWB, djilbadul
Wg, 'murder' Wg, ngalang 'war' Wg,
berkagat T, pardŽ-yan Wg,
wialleyan 'fight' Tp, dinggurdini
Wg, djerrwa- TW, terrak-trangi
(='war') Wg, ull-ull 'massacre'
Wt, munabil - 'murderer' Wg.

hit with missile - waya- Wrhm.

shoot - vioner Wt, wyak-tan-yangul
Bmc.

chop - galbala Wr (galbana h) (com-
pare 'tomahawk', 'knife'), dibar-
rabik Wg.

kick - garra- W, merrana- Tg.

defeat - kinandak-koongnoon Wg,
bang'ath 'subdue' Wd.

defend - murndak-gunga- Wg, munda-
gat 'protect' Wg.

destroy, use up - jindivik Wd,
durrung-djerring-nurrung (=
'wear', 'waste', 'diminish',
'spend') Wg, milima- - 'abolish'
Wg.

pour out - je-gan' iž-wan Wg.

evacuate - konyoobok Tc.

spoil - burroam Wg, bulato bur-
rumbu- Wd.

alter - uonga, wook□, kire-bang-al
Wg.

rub out - purrumboneit Wt (see
'spoil').

corrode - coneenoram Wd.

decay - buderanangi Wg (see 'rot-
ten').

break - kalloornangat We, borongone
Tg.

knock - djingilba- Wd, dunda-Wt.

heat - winata Wr.

boil - dulop-bu- (see 'proud').

melt - balandun Wt.

burn, cook - nanga(m)ba- W, tonim-
buck Wd, carn.nine Wr, werrg‰-ni-
wan Wg.

sharpen - burr-narrabik Wg, kirk-
kirk-konak Wg.

squeeze - munda- Wg (compare 'de-
fend'), boodurk co'ondo'ong
'strangle' Wd.

wring - mimna- Wg, pay-go-net
  'twist' Tr.
spear - per-do-net Tr, burrga- W,
  brimerriburn - 'make a hole' Wd.
dig   -   pundarroneit   Wt,
  purer.guc.beek Wr (see biik
  'ground').
bury - koomoneit Wt, namburk Wd.
cut - binda- TW, par-ripe Tr,,
  bamba 'hack to pieces' Wd, dur-
  ruma 'rend' Wg, nžaroo 'carve' Wg.
split - lalguma Wg.
part, separate - cobboboonee Wt.
rip - birrima- Wg, durm-durma
  'torn' Wg.
gut - poggoomuck Wd.
flay - ter'embegat Wg.
tie up - barraba- W, tote kor-
  rawaugh Wd.
paint - merrebagat Wt, bruckuck
  'draw' Who.
decorate - dirredun-burndun 'adorn'
  Wg, yellana durruk Wg.
dress - kan-berrbay Wg, boodin-gin
  Wg.
write - per-ge-net Tr.
cover - gormurgeit Wt, yillertbee
  'cover', 'hide' Wd, - marrna-
  'hide' Wt.
wrap - mone-mone-mak Wg.
wash   -   garrwa-   WB,   barmburrim
  'clean' Wd, goorong-ki 'immerse'
  Wt.
sew - marrga- TW, meigoneit Tr,
  marngoneit Wt.
make - mungga- W, narngate Wt,
  jneeng-gooak 'do' Wg, ngi-a-.
gat 'build' Wg, wirra- 'make a
  fire' W.
renew - wadamba- W, marrining 'im-
  prove' Wg, ngarra-jarra-.
noun 'heal' Wg.
help - dambunamon Wg, nunlbeunnul
  Wt, - wyeeringana n'gell Wd.

T- Perception and emotion.
see - nganga- TWB (also spellings
  with n for first or second nasal),
  conye! 'look!' Ha.
stare - dan.gonga- Wg.
note, remember - mang-mang Wd,
  nelwork 'beware' Wd.

look for - yaarkoneit Wt.
hear, understand - ngarn.ga- TW,
  ngaga-, ngagu W, yan-kranginin
  'intend' Wt, weenthunga 'hesi-
  tate' Wd, mirring-ian 'pensive'
  Wd, keelonith 'suppose' Wd.
dream - eyearoothin Wd, yincorrobun
  Wha, yiookgen Wg.
deceive - moy-yert.bin Wr, moyutpin
  Wg, - muyup (-gunong) Wd, ngum-
  bong-nga-(='trick') Wg, marrening
  'fib' Wg, manerang-ngoon Wg, -
  mare-ner-mum Tr, biadhirribu- Wd.
awake - ngayima Wt, darrabi Wg.
smell - ngarroba- W.
want - nununubudumbu- Wg.
taste - barroma- Wt, barrada- Wg.
like - budamba- Wg, manermer WrBr,
  nan al.long WrBr, punderre WrBr,
  tondarereyer Wr, yoondubbegeek Wr,
  nininbothombunan We, yadabiling
  'beloved' 'love' W, pelar.de.nun
  Wr 'love', unyanmilk 'darling' Tc,
  onem-.
da 'love' Wt, me-both-a dak-barring
  'longing' Wt.
fret - wa itken Wg.

U- Talking and sound.
voice - ngulu (see 'word'), in-
  nong-ool-toomneen Wg.
talk, tell, speak - dhumba- TW,
  du(m)nye-T, durnmi-n We.
converse, chat - dhum-djirri-Wg.
greet - cabbe melemung'il Wd.
argue - wakering 'feud' Wg, w‰-
  kerr‰-bil 'quarrel' Wg, wirraway
  'challenge' Wd, woorway 'take
  care' Wd, toorerap ='wrangle',
  'dispute' Wg, wa'ajuck 'chide' Wd,
  wygan'oo 'scold' Wg.
insult - bukowarren Wt, burrgoni-
  Wg.
promise - dhumbali- Wg.
enquire - biladoin Wg.
whisper - bran-bran-koejaraboline
  Wg.
sing - yinga- W(yinggabai tt).
whistle - dort tangia Wg.
yelp, bark - warran boorboon Wg,
  wom-bur-er-bine Wr.
yell - garimnin Wg.

groan - dirrt dulin Wg.

wheeze, whirr - kart tirring Wg.

grumble, growl - wagin Wg.

V- Corporeal.

eat - dhanga- TWB.

bite - bundha- TW.

swallow - pid.gen.um.bul Wr.

drink - nguba- TWB, muian Wc.

lick - djamba- Wt, towrambuck Wd.

suck - birrmba- W (see birrm
  'breast'), bilbilyerri Wr.

vomit - korramoonith Wd, gurrmi Wg,
  tiowoneit Wt.

spit - jug-an-dak Wg,
  too.ger.run.buc Wr.

yawn - yerram-yerram-muni Wg.

snore - n'yeerurkooleen Wd.

choke - gather-moun Wg (sense not
  clear).

cough - gunin.gun W.

cry - marru-, mardu- W, eb-ngoling
  Wg, jale marrn-ngol, 'wail' Wg,
  mamjerring 'wailing' Wg, wurrbu-
  'lament' Wt.

wink - milip-milip-bani Wg (milibai
  tt).

laugh - yan.gan Trhm, garr(a)mbi W,
  laga-ba-boo-en 'jest' Wt.

kiss - mubu(r)nda W.

marry - birimbonwarin We, wanter-
  pundry-pahgoork Bmc, urimembergat
  Wd.

be born - winthoonth Wd,
  bow.wer.deen Wr, tongberang'i Wt.

grow - korin korin We.

wince - wanunin Wg.

shiver - moortringan Wd, murra-
  murra bargoagan Wd.

X-LOCATION.

here - manyi T, mani Wg, magalu TW,
  magali TW, karbe Wt, notto Wt, wu
  Wg, maayu Wg, mang TgWg, kunne Wt.

there - mangi TW, mangu Wg, mangdju
  Wg, dju Tg, - djundu Tc, temon Wt.

that - managa Wg, kunui Wg, waooll
  Wg.

right hand - yuep Wr.

near - tang-an-doea Wg, nga-to-jeek
  Wg, mar-kul-beek (= 'this side')
  Wr, kainu Wg.

far - warrit Wd, wirrate Wd, gabar-
  reng (given as 'beyond' and 'up-
  ward') Wg, cover-reen (='other
  side') Wr, weatbuk (='further')
  Wt, djiyu Wg.

between - bagarrui Wg, bagarrdui Wg,
  bagarrui marnangui 'between the
  hands' Wg.

up, above - gabuth Wt, ngirr-
  ngirrwan Wg, gabarreng (also
  given as 'beyond') Wg, gubi Wg,
  down - mayi Wg.

below - my-je-de Wg, kubberdon Wt.

under - kundui Wg.

in front - galinuth TW.

behind - wenyuth TW, ngarrguth T.

backward - ngarrgigonen Wg.

against - weta brangi Wg.

into - budji Wg, budji wii-dhui
  'into the fire' Wg.

inside - gullagothoon Wt.

outside - milarri Wt.

north - barradyi Wr, winmali Wg.

south - gurrin W (compare 'wind'),
  mirin Wg, waburn Wg.

east - galen-barriam W.

west - mumil(am) W.

Y-TIME.

yesterday - yalinguth TWB (last
  syllable uncertain, spelled - out,
  -oi, -oit).

morning - yirram barring Wg.

early - wayibu yirram W.

today - yalingbu W (see also 'day').

now - gumi Trhm, netbo Wt, mangee
  Wg, kullerbrook Wt.

tomorrow - yirramboi TWB (final
  syllable spelled -oi, -oe, - -oin)
  buyburru- W.

midday - til-ang-ge-karra-meen Wg,
  kurren munnebo Wt.

night - burru- TW, burru-dhuth
  'night time' Wt.

midnight - til-ang-ge-nala-go Wg.

evening - krunguine Wt.

later - mulugu TWB, muluk-muluk Wt,
  mulong-muluk W (seems to refer to
  a short time away in the past or

future); malemal, malemaldhu T
(given as 'later'), barra-barra W
(also given as 'quickly').

soon - dudan 'directly' Wt, dudanbu
'short time' Wt.

long time ago - bambuga Trhm,
ba(a)mbuth W, nhanbu Wr (given by
T as 'always').

often - milbu Wg, noje-noje Wg.

again - dulu Wg.

before - bambu Wg.

sometimes - dju-dju Wg, wumbu Wt, -
coorgie guhammi Teim (goor-kurt
tt).

summer - pur-ripe Wr, pareip
'spring' Bmc, kom-brook -
'spring' Wt.

winter - birrin TWB ('autumn' Tg).

Z-INTERJECTIONS.

yes - ngayi TWB.

no - dhagung TW, dhawung T, dhagung-
bert T, nyudha WB, - nier mT.

I don't know - indunga TWB.

never, nothing - ngabun W.

surprise - yakai TW, kai-kai Wt.

cease! - themerni TWrhm.

halt! - yama TW.

poor fellow - wurrangrrangga TW.

hush - ur! ur! Wt.

grief, pain - yarka Wt.

look out - wa wa Wt.

perhaps - galai Trhm.

nevertheless - guing Wg.

4.2 WOIWURRUNG-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

It is normal Handbook practice to include an indication of the part-of-speech status of each word. However, since the sources for the Woiwurrung language consist almost entirely of word lists it is not possible to ascertain what part of speech a word is. Naturally we can assume that the translational equivalents of English nouns will be Woiwurrung nouns, but it is not always possible to guess the status of the translational equivalents of other parts of speech. In some instances the status of the English word form is in doubt e.g. love, fight.

ae-noke, caterpillar
arweet, chief
ba-ber-, sweet
baambuth, long time ago
baañ, water
baañ-baañ, waterhole
baañdji mirring, tears
bababal, shrub, bush
bababi marnung, thumb
bababi-djinang, big toe
babadi marnang, thumb
babagurn, stomach
baban, mother
babanhu, female animal
babedirrin, yellow
babi, niece
babin-babin, thumb
babugurn, stomach
baburrum, scab
badherrembi, fall
badjurr, woman
bagap, cabbage or grass tree
bagarrdui, between
bagarru, shoulder
bagarrui, between
baguna-, hold, grab
bagungga-, gather
bagurrk, woman
baibadjerruk, ibis
bainggongak, slow
bak-badanim, sated
bak-wudarradhan, sated
balam-balam, butterfly
balandun, melt
balarra, spade
balert, hard, strong
balga, urine
bali, cherry tree
bali, mistletoe
balim-balim, bitter
balim-bi warriñ, sea
balit, strong, hard
balk, urine
ballangin, Austral bear's-ear
ballangin, Erechtites arguta
baluth, elbow
bamba, cut
bambra, mushroom
bambu, aunt
bambu, before
bambuga, long time ago
bambuñ, frightened
bamburdin, smooth
bamuñ, ringtail possum
banban, younger sister
bañdhal, feel cold
banding, well
bandok, small ant
bang'ath, defeat
banga-, hold, grab
banggañ, older brother
bangnin, jealous
banhul, hill
banit, thick
bañmabil, rain
banmil, hill
bañmin, rain
banum, grass
bar-bar-ka, porpoise
barbewora, stingray
bargimboon, beak
barmburrim, wash
barmburrin barmberring, clean
barnbuñ, heavy
barndabuñ, heavy
barndjip, apron
barnumbi, younger brother
barra, stop, wait
barra-barra, later
barra-ung, bat
barraba-, tie up
barrada-, taste
barradji, north
barraimal, emu
barram, herbs
barrambuñ, turn away

barrawarn, magpie
barrawi-, go down
barrawurrung, magpie
barrbunin, happy
barrim, rod
barring, knee
barring, path, track
barring-ge-gurri, kneel
barrm, yam
barroma-, taste
barruth, marsupial mouse
barrutj, kangaroo rat
barruuk, kangaroo rat
barrwang, magpie
barrwong-ge-moong, quartz
bath-mum, wood duck
bathelmun, shine
bawal, island
bayen, axe
bayobuburdin, round
beally goonong, loins
bear-uk, grub
bellin-bellin, crow
ber-buk, girdle
ber-pip, small hawk
berbert, armlet, biceps
berbert, ringtail possum
berbira, non-Kulin
berkagat, hit, kill
berren-berren, flee, quick
berriñ, cold weather
berry-yung, hop wattle
betayil, whale
beum-bean, chisel
bia-, steal
biadhirribuñ, deceive
bial, red gum
bibidhuang, red
bibidinen, spark
biderap, dry
bididil, native cat
bidjirring, resin, gum
bidjit-bidjit, slow
bigurn, clay
biik, ground, country

biik-gurn, mushroom
biit, box bastardy
bik-mum, goose
biladoin, enquire
bilang, dilly bag, string
bilang-bilang, dilly bag
bilbilyerri, suck
bili, lizard
bilik, bum
bilim (-bilim), bitter, alcohol
bilin, flint of gun
biling, stomach
bill-bill-man-nere, noisy miner
bimbat, Craspedia richea
bimbat, swamp daisy
binak, basket
binap, manna gum
binda-, cut
bindabalap, saw
bindirk, bowels
bindjirru ba bindjirru, four
bindjirru ganbu, three
bindjirru ganmerring, three
bindjirru ganmil, three
bindjirru, two
bininang, cousin
birimbonwarine, marry
birnban, wife
birnum, come
birrail, turkey
birrbak-gawang, headband
birrbi, wart
birrbit, corn
birrburr, box tree
birrigul, native cat
birrima-, rip
birrin, winter
birring, breast
birrip, tendon, thread
birrith-birrith, plover
birrm-birrm, breast, milk
birrmba-, suck

bo.ar.rer, wattle bark
boe-boe, Aster ramulosus
bollardy week, shallow
bon-non-gi, venom
bonmarat, strong
boodin-gin, dress
boodurko'ondo'ong', squeeze
boon-gim, deep
boonbree-kaling-i, chase
boorran, scar
boorri-mul, emu
boorroone, come
boothe-manang, palm
borm borm mirng, blind
boroborobina, native vine
borong'ooth, brittle
borongone, break
borrtjerin bolan, wriggle
borungnergurk, divide
bowyeet, bald
bran-bran-koejaraboline,
whisper
breg-gerr, sand
brimbonga, find
brimbyn-, find
brimerriburn, spear
bro-gil, magella parrot
brrnon, come
bruckuck, paint
brugl-brugl, milk thistle
brun-guit, rotten
brungabik, sand
buang, smell, stinking
buath, grass
bubugurt, son
bubup, baby
bubupmañ wadj, baby
buburrum, scab
bubuwurt, son
budamba-, like
budangginmirrim, deep
buderanangi, decay
buderrinin, rotten
budhun djinang, matter
budhun, matter

budhunagun, matter
budji, into
budjing, lizard
bugil, angry
buibui, Everlasting sp.
buimba-, throw
buk-kurring, angry
bukowarren, insult
bula-bula, light
bulabil, two
bulabil gup-dun, three
buladu gaang/garn, greedy
buladu, big
bulait, cherry tree
bulatoburrumbuñ, spoil
bulda-, fall
buldjen ganu, devil
bulen-bulen, lyre bird
bulgana, bullock, beef
buliyong, bat
bulok-bulok, hawk
bulowin, potato
buluk, lake, swamp
bulum, bark kindling
buluth, box tree
bun-djirri-, run
bun-ger-look, stringybark
bundabun, tortoise
bundha-, bite
bundhan-gurrk, widow
bundjil maman, God
bundjil, eaglehawk
bung, bandicoot
bung-bur-rulk, fig
bunggan-gulum, lobster,
crayfish
bungguñ, well
bunha, female animal
bunkun, stinking
bunya, female animal
burdap, good
burdin, noose on stick
burgan, mountain teatree
burgilburgil, Aroctriche
serrulata

burmabil, wet
burn-nar-look, light or black wood
burnay, girl
burndap, good
burny-burny, Diuris maculata
burr-narrabik, sharpen
burrang, mist
burrap, weak
burrburrdu, bowels
burrga, spear
burrgoniñ, insult
burroam, spoil
burru burru, shrub, bush
burruñ, ant
burruñ, night
burruñdhuth, night, darkness
burrung, mist (compare *burruñ)*
burt gurriñ, whirlwind
burt, smoke
burt-burt, rush
burumkulwill, leaf of flat-pea
burunbeet, flat-pea
buth, liver, stomach
butj, liver, stomach
buuk warrin, angry
buut, vulva
buyburruñ, tomorrow
buyet, fern
buyurrung, penis
cabbe melemung'il, greet
caganguk, mother's brother
carn.nine, burn, cook
carrangall, athletic
caryoong, girdle
cobboboonee, part, separate
coneenoram, corrode
coorgie guhammi, sometimes
coranderrk, Vic. Christmas bush
daal, Aster argophyllus

daban, damp
daberrap, Yellow marsh flower
dadharrak, cousin
dadjer, glider
dadjerri, glider
dagan, club
dagik, mud
dalak-dalak, blue devil
dalam, pork
dalanarron, shark
dalang, shell
dalangan, initiation
dalga-, wet
dalibali, sprat
dalum, flathead
dalurp, Sonchus oleraceus
damba mundanai, hold, grab
dambunamon, help
dan.gonga-, stare
danda-buniñ, ill
dandababil, money
dandan, parrot
dangbelk, ice, frost
darnuk, bucket, billy can
darnum, parrot
darrabi, awake
darraga-, chase darrak, shark
darrak-burrong, lobster, crayfish
darrang, tree
darrango, young
dayang, rat
dee-dit, marrow
der-re-kul-mul, brick
derril, brown ochre
derrindji-, crawl
dhaap, skin, bark
dhadhowul, possum skin rug
dhagung, no
dhagung-bert, no
dhagurn, yellow box
dhalabi-gurn, throat internal

dhanga-, eat
dhangidj, food
dhañgula, long, tall; old man
dhanguth, food
dharrak, arm
dharrande, snake
dharrangaluk, trousers
dharranggalk, heaven, comet
dharranggalk-bek, heaven
dharranhun, white
dharridji-, stand (intr.)
dharrimungga, straight
dhawung, no
dhayalk, rain
dhidhith, younger brother
dhirrarra, necklace
dhirrarranyun, white
dhirribi-marnang, finger-nail
dhirrip, fingernail
dhuliñ, goanna
dhum-djirri-, converse, chat
dhumba-, talk, tell, speak
dhumbali-, promise
dhurrorrong, kookaburra
dibarrabik, chop
didhang, glider
diin, locust
dilbanain, apron
dinggurdini, hit, kill
dirran-marrak, centipede
dirrandil, seed
dirrandirr, egg
dirrap, mussel
dirrbarriñ, red
dirredun-burndun, decorate
dirri-biik, gravel
dirrip-dirrip, dirty
dirrn-galk, Milky Way
dirrt dulin, groan
djaak, resin, gum
djabuñ, full
djak-djak, chicken

djalang, tongue
djamba-, lick
djan-djan-marrang, sharp
djarrang, thigh
djart-djart, nankeen kes-trel
djen-djen-mun, sharp
djerrang, leaf
djerraniñ, ill
djerrwa-, kill
djibagop, initiation
djidhu, go
djidjirri, ill
djiel-warrk, fire drill
djigabudani, provide
djilak-djirri-, play
djilba-, hit, kill
djilbadul, hit, kill
djimbanggurr, kangaroo
djinang, foot
djinangaluk, shoes
djinggung, sassafrass
djingilba-, knock
djirra, reed, reed spear
djirrabuñ, ashamed, shy
djirram, woomera
djirrang, leaf
djirrep, mate
djirri-djirri, willie wag-tail
djirringu, lightning
djirrong, thigh
djiyu, far
dju, there
dju-dju, sometimes
djuat, push
djudjurrp, breakwind
djundu, there
djurring, greedy
doo-mak, uvula
dort tangia, whistle
drangbulabil, musket, gun
drre-drre-malun, spawn of fish
duabongga-, bring

duan-duan, glider
duanu, sap
duat, fish, blackfish
dubaduba, supple
dudan, soon
dudanbu, soon
dugat, fish
dugil-dugil, soft
duiguin, ripe
duin, sweet
dulaiwurrong, platypus
dulalali, proud
dulap, proud
dulemerrin, small grass tree
dulerrum, body
dulim, Juncus vaginatus
duliñ, proud
dulop-buñ, boil
dulu, again
dulum, black duck
dumbadin, hot weather
dumbagambil, musket, gun
dumnye-, talk, tell, speak
dun-ngorrm, valley
dunbarrim, lizard
dunda-, knock
dung-dung, long, tall
durm-durma, rip
durn-durn, brain
durndirri, bark
durnmin, talk, tell, speak
durrong, join, unite
durronggi burn, ankle, heel
durronggi ganak, ankle
durrop, lizard
durrp-durrp, skull
durru, bait
durruma, cut
durrung, heart
durrung-djerring-nurrung, consume
durt, star
durt wang, cheek bone
durt-bairram, star

durt-gudonga-, impede
durt-mirring, blind
durt-wirring, deaf
duul, lake, swamp
duwi-, go
duyang, lobster, crayfish
eb-ngoling, cry
eeip, sheep
eepaeep, Native raspberry
errienellam, Errienellam
eu-ep, sheep
eur-look, peppermint tree
eyearoothin, dream
gaam, stick
gaan, white cockatoo
gaanbuñ, happy
gaanduit, amorous
gaang, nose
gabarreng, far
gabarreng, up, above
gabin, Running Postman
gabindhon, happy
gabing, snow
gabut, dumb
gabuth, up, above
gaem-gaem, sugar
gagarruk, sand
gaggawar, Lomaria capensis
gagul, spittle
gal-gal mirran, thin
galada, river, creek
galai, perhaps
galaman, empty
galbala, chop
galbaling, axe
galbun-galbun-djiap, knife
galburnin, lame
galburra-, divide
galburra-marriwan, woomera
galen-barriam, east
galgadarnuk, horse
galgi garrong, shin
galgi ngarrak, backbone
galinuth, in front
galk gawang, skull

galk, bone
galk, stick, tree, wood
galk-galk, stick
gama-dji, emerge
gamayil, cockatoo parrot
gamberr-gawang, hat
gambodak, carrot
gan-gan, lonely
gan-gan, mother's brother
ganagulon, paddle, oar
ganañ, yamstick
ganandurr, charcoal
ganangnayil, long, tall
ganbu, one
gangan, feather
gar-be, stop, wait
garimnin, yell
garl-garl, locust
garn, maggot
garnamba-, lie, sleep
garra-, kick
garragarrak, fly (noun)
garrambarra, fly (noun)
garrambi, laugh
garran, rice
garrang, resin, gum
garrawan, flag
garrawang, apple-berry
garrgaling, wet
garrgiñ, axe
garrguk, mother's brother
garrik, woomera
garrik-garrik, sharp
garrimiñ, day, light
garrm-garrm, sour
garrong, wattle
garrt-kirrk, net
garrwa-, wash
gather-moun, choke
gawang, head
gawarn, echidna
gawarn, nankeen kestrel
gayaam, shield
gayayern, apron
gayip, corroboree

genineemoongoon, Common
 heath
geringdah, Vic. Christmas
bush
gialabil, yellow
girrin, aunt
girringan, sweet
girringgirrim, sweet
go-ro-net, give
goorong-ki, wash
gormurgeit, cover
gorron goun, dive
gual, caterpillar
gubi, up, above
gudigal, initiation
gudjerruñ, club
gugai, cousin
gugarra, clothing
gugorrak, native strawberry
guguk, mosquito
gugum, boobook owl
gugundjalik, grandmother
gugung, grandmother
guin, bowels
guing, nevertheless
gulgi-guri, nosepeg
guliñ, Caladenia pulcher-
rima guliñ, man
gullagothoon, inside
guluk-djabik, hold, grab
gulunung, snake
gumang-djarrang, green
gumi, now
guna-, take
gunabil, duck
gunadiang, Panax sambuci-
folius
gunbuni-, thirsty
gundilang, son
gunga-, give, take
gunin.gun, cough
gunuwarra, swan
gup-dun, one
guritch, sister's husband
gurm-burrut, buttercup

gurn, neck front
gurn-bat, necklace
gurnang, bowels, faeces
gurnarran, necklace
gurnba, hold, grab
gurnmil, snake
gurnung, river, creek
gurr, flower, seed
gurragu-, stop, wait
gurram, leg, calf
gurrba-, pull, wrest, wrench
gurrborra, koala
gurrin, south
gurriñ, wind
gurrin-gurrin, womb
gurrk, blood
gurrk, flower
gurrk-gurrk-warrabil, red
gurrk-warren, red
gurrmi, vomit
gurrng-gurrng, kookaburra
gurrong, canoe
gurrowa-, interchange
gurru, flower
gurrumul, blood
gurrun, elbow
gurrurrk, brolga
guwiyap, food
guyun, fighting spear
guyup-guyup, bird
iap, mutton (='sheep')
in-nong-ool-toomneen, voice
indunga, I don't know
iuk, eel
jale marrn-ngol, cry
je-gan iû-wan, pour out
jerrboongun, join, unite
jindi woraback, join, unite
jindivik, destroy, use up
jiruin, lump
jneeng-gooak, make
jug-an-dak, spit
kaan, snake
kadsekadsek, Rumex brownii

kai-kai, surprise
kainu, near
kaiung, apron
kaiung, shoes
kal-lup, fork
kalbura, broken
kalertiwan, Pomaderris apetala
kalgi darnin, rib
kalloornangat, break
kam-kam-koor, insect
kambidik, cabbage or grass tree
kan-berrbay, dress
kanberr, Bush-pea sp.
kandana, mouth, lips
kar-ran, privet
karbe, here
karra-gora, hamstring
karralk, rays of setting sun *karri-karri-imboo,* cousin
kart tirring, wheeze, whirr
karween, crane
kay-do, walk
kay-go, walk
keelonith, hear, understand
kerr-boo-on-ool, join, unite
ki-er-lin, yellow
kinandak-koongnoon, defeat
kinkinquonggerin, bitter pea sp.
kire-bang-al, alter
kirk-kirk-konak, sharpen
kirrip, mate
knu-nal, eggs of ants
ko-ro-bine, initiation circle
koke, gnat
kom-brook, summer
kombadick, soft tree fern
konyoobok, evacuate
koomoneit, bury
koonoong-warren, pregnant

koordrung, Davallia dubia
kooreit, brother-in-law
koortworko, retain
kor reengan, bucket, billy can
kor-rer, manna
kor-ron-er, basin
kor-rum-din-in, well
kor-rung-un-un, water fowl
kor.ran.gor.ran.geet, green
kor.ran.gor.rer, blue
korbile, koala
korin korine, grow
korourk, put down
korr.wun, 'ash tree'
korramoonith, vomit
korrnang-ngi, go
krakerap, collar bone
krauel, wrist
kruk-wor-rum, snipe
krunguine, evening
kubberdon, below
kullap, needle
kullerbrook, now
kum-me-ree, fig
kun-ang-ner-ro-men, tobacco
kundui, under
kung-ar, soil
kunne, here
kunui, that
kur-nur-guil, 'salmon'
kur-nurm-bil-ber-ding, sloping
kur-rite, lobster, crayfish
kurn-brook, flower
kurnagar, earlobe
kurra-ket, quail
kurranungun, Rice-flower sp.
kurrebully, clean
kurren munnebo, midday
kurwan, Bursaria spinosa
kuubebel, dry
kuyang, black, blue
kuyim, kangaroo
kuyun, flat, level

kyinandoo, clever
laak, cloud
laang, stone
laap, manna
lack-koit, blue mountain parrot
ladi, sister
laga-ba-boo-en, laugh
lalam, thin
lalenin gawang, headache
lalguma, split
lambun gawang, grey hair
landan, older sister
lar-guk, blue mountain parrot
lath-gañ, older sister
layigurn, male animal
le-at, nit
lekoabel, wood duck
liang, tooth
liik, headband
lil-le-bro, soup, sap
lilerri, box
lingen-lingen, fishook
liwik, ancestors
liwurruk, sister
liyan, hut support
liyangayil, battle axe
loorende-gat, guide
lourn, charcoal
lungguna-, divide
lurrk, leg, calf
lurrk-lurrk, feel cold
maayu, here
maba-, put down
madabi, bad
magali, here
magalu, here
maimborogul, beetle
mainmeet, non-Kulin
mak-mada, sated
mal-lun, Murray cod
malemal, later
malemaldhu, later
malgarr, shield

malloren, fish

maloom, fish

malunggung, grandmother

mam, son

mam-mam, son

mama-, hold, grab

mamjerring, cry

mamun, father

man-man, necklace

man-mure-bul-lup, gimlet

man-ngan, flee

managa, that

manamith, good

manerang-ngoon, deceive

manermerr, like

mang-mang, note, remember

mangdju, there

mangee, now

mangg, here

manggip, daughter

mangi, there

mangu, there

mangurt, ball

mani, here

manian, smooth

maninda, untrue

manip, dust

mañmit, non-Kulin

manyi, here

mar-kul-beek, near

marbeangrook, evening star

marden, sad

mardu-, cry

mare-ner-mum, deceive

marin, untrue

marn-gan-noy-an, light or black
 wood

marnang, hand

marnerlong, bee

marngoneit, sew

marnong, hand

marra-gu, lurk

marragalen, net headband

marragalim, net headband

marram, body

marram, kangaroo

marran, leaf

marrening, deceive

marrga-, sew

marriguil, apron

marrinerren, weak

marrining, renew

marriwan, woomera

marrmbul, fat, candle

marrmbula, kidney fat

marrmum-lia-, give

marrna-, cover

marrok, skin

marrp, kidney, kidney fat

marru, half

marru-, cry

mayi, down

me-both-adak-barring, like

meigoneitr, sew

meilburdeen, permanent

merrana-, kick

merrebagat, paint

merwan, Diuris pedunculata

meymet, non-Kulin

miamba-, prevent

miang, wound

mil, rise

milarri, outside

milarrk, grub

milbu, often

milibai, wink

milima-, destroy, use up

milip-milip-bani, wink

milowon, lightwood bark

mimna-, wring, mimurrang, cabbage or grass tree

min-mer, bark kindling

minamberang, Clematis aristata

minarrang, bark kindling

mindamin, nail

miñdhuk, navel

mindi, small pox

minyin, forehead

mirin, south
mirn, eye
mirnian, moon
mirring gaarn, nostril
mirring, eye
mirring, hole in ground
mirring-ian, hear, understand
moen.noeng.are.ing, mutton fish
moeng, stone charm
moibo, tail
monarma, mangrove
mone-mone-mak, wrap
mooeborren, tail
moon-mur, bowels
moona long, maggot
moonoloom, fly
mooreer, hail
moortringan, shiver
mor rope, fish spear
moriyoke, Bidgee-widgee
morr, Coprosma microphylla
morrok, skin
moy-yert.bin, deceive
moyutpin, deceive
mubup, pup
muburnda, kiss
muburrun, night, darkness
mudangan, cold weather
mudawiin, cold weather
mudrurt, Caesia corymbosa
muga-, pick up
mugerra-mugerra, 'roo skin bag
muian, drink
mula, shade
mulin-gurrk, widow
mullon, fish
mulokin, sister
mulong-muluk, later
mulugu, later
muluk-muluk, later
muluñ, hip
mum, bum

mumilam, west
mumorrung, pebble
munabil, kill
munda-, squeeze
mundagat, defend
mungga-, make
mungguberra, wood pigeon
mungu, message stick
munhong, louse
munip, ashes, dust
mur-bone, mussel
mur-re-be-net, dive
mur-yoke, cockle
murda, short, low
murnalong, bee
murndak-gunga, send
murndak-gunga-, defend
murndi-gurrk, old woman
murnmurndik, girl
murnmut, wind
murr-murr-wiin, angry
murra, fish net
murra-murra bargoagan, shiver
murrack, grasshopper
murradu, powder and shot
murram-murram, hairy
murranang, weak
murrandu, tea
murreyuke, Bidgee-widgee
murri-yak, orphan
murrin, leaf
murring, axe
murron, alive
murrub, ant
murrun-murrun, sweat
murrup, ghost
murrut, penis
murt, penis
murt, short, low
murt-guding, short, low
murundaka, stay, live at
muwiyul, yam
muyan, silver wattle
muyang, blackwood

muyidjirr, stone
muyup-gunong, deceive
my-je-de, below
n'ya'arunning, stupid
n'yeerurkooleen, snore
nakorang-an-ang, meet
nalang, locust
nalléi jerring, join, unite
nambert, hammer
namburk, bury
nan al.long, like
nanborrjerin, wrinkle
nang-am-buk, burn, cook
nang-ing-a-ta, nape
nanga(m)ba-, burn, cook
nanggert, Glycine clandestina
nanggit, chief
nanggurring, cockle
nanin, skull
nar-bung-ur-roon, nephew
nar-rite, grasshopper
narbethong, lively
nareengnan, Hypochaeris glabre
naringarnik, Diuris corymbosa
narngate, make
narow, thick
narragourt, shield
narrang, lizard
narrap, ground, country
narrin, name
narringyan, angry
narrun, ghost
narrworring, hot weather
naulanin, stupid
nawarrait, apron
ne-la woon, small parrot
néaroo, cut
needly-ooing, parrakeet
nelwork, note, remember
nerdunning, murranang, weak
neringnerit, Everlasting sp.
netbo, now

nga-nga wirring, deaf
nga-to-jeek, near
ngaba, father's father
ngabun, never, nothing
ngabun-bambuñ, brave
ngaga-, hear, understand
ngagap, father's father
ngagu, hear, understand
ngaigul, lie, sleep
ngalang, hit, kill
ngalbina, right
ngamai, sun
ngamat, sky, heaven
ngamudji, white man
ngamudji-gurrk, white woman
nganga-, see
nganga-dak-ki-no, stupid
nganggerr, shoulder
nganggorrong, husband
nganiñ, beard
ngarabul, skull
ngarn.ga-, hear, understand
ngarra-jarra-noun, renew
ngarrak, back
ngarrambel, white ochre
ngarran, satin bower bird
ngarrang, devil
ngarrbun, lame
ngarrert, frog
ngarrga, corroboree
ngarrga-, dance
ngarrgi djarrang, thigh
ngarrgi djinang, instep
ngarrgigonen, backward
ngarrguth, behind
ngarri-baam-gorrak, owlet nightjar
ngarrin, beard
ngarring, Diuris pedunculata
ngarrrap, scrub, bush
ngarroba-, smell
ngarruk, axe
ngawañ, sun
ngayarnong, black cockatoo

ngayi, yes
ngayima, awake
ngayuk, white cockatoo
ngi-a-gat, make
ngirr-ngirrwan, up, above
ngol, word
nguañdhi, come
nguba-, drink
ngulu, voice
ngumbong-nga-, deceive
ngumudji, white man
ngunun-ngunut, bat
ngurme ngalamba-, stay, live at
ngurnang, wrist
ngurndabil, thunder
ngurnduk, chin
ngurrak, hill
ngurrung, bread
ngurumbul, wrist
ngurungaeta, chief
nhalinggu, come
nhanbu, long time ago
nierm, no
nininbothombunane, like
ninine-butj, lungs
nirret-marro, nankeen kestrel
noje-noje, often
notto, here
nudji, enough
nugin djirrin, crooked
num-be-mon, axe
nungonuk, divide
nunlbeunnul, help
nununubudumbuñ, want
nup-nup, goose
nur-nur, convolvulus
nuringian, quiet, gentle
nurru-nurru, red ochre
nut-kun-tare, clay
nutcundra beek, soil
nyani, nape
nyarri-warren, red
nyerboing, industrious

nyilam, bad
nyilang ngarrak, backbone
nyilang, bone
nyilingi darnin, rib
nyirrebruin, hungry
nyirreburdin, hungry
nyirrirrim, long, tall
nyudha, no
nyulam, bad
o-nee-ap, stop, wait
oeur-rong, bull ant
omum, possum skin rug
onem-da, like
onye!, see
over-reen, far
pa-ren-ger-roon, niece
paganruk, nephew
panaryle, Mentha australis
panggoeng, glider
par-ripe, cut
par-rite, sparrowhawk
pardé-yan, hit, kill
pareip, summer
path'eron, grub
pay-go-net, wring
pelar.de.nun, like
per-do-net, spear
per-ge-net, write
per-ren-un, lizard
pid-de-ron, periwinkle
pid.gen.um.bul, swallow
pike, Bulbine lily
pindulurrung, jump
pinunimbik, dry
pirnbial, rainbow
poggoomuck, gut
poorneet, tadpole
poppert-poppert-teurnong, ride
porône, leather jacket
puber.ro gun, bullroarer
pulabil pulabil, four
pundarroneit, dig
punderrer tondarereyer, like

pur-ripe, summer
purer.guc.beek, dig
purk-bun, square
purrumboneit, rub out
py-er-din, mutton bird
tadool-todool, possum skin rug
tam-boore, waterhole
tan.dun, parrot fish
tang-an-doea, near
tangnan, Austral brooklime
tar-tuk-ur-nup, industrious
tar-uk-war-ra-bil, herring
tare.re, red parrot
tarndarding, white
tarndourdin, white
tarr-ein, moth
tarrt-koorim-bagat, hold, grab
tati, (step)brother
taul, plain
taweet, bald
tay-do, walk
tay-go, walk
tee-ung, redbreast rose robin
temon, there
ter'embegat, flay
ter-ree-dee, upright
ter-ru-galk, branch
ter-rum-be-leet, leech
terrak-trangi, kill
terrat, Geranium dissectum
tharowerag, kookaburra
tharra, whiteawk
themernim, cease!
tid-e'am, myrtle
til-ang-ge-karra-meen, mid-day
til-ang-ge-nala-go, mid-night
tingina, porpoise
tiowoneit, vomit
tirba twebin, Eucalyptus fissilis

to-long, stump
tobbut, initiation
tole.ler.bope, porpoise
tongberang'i, be born
tonimbuck, burn, cook
too-he-too-he, go away
too-re-mut, kangaroo
too.ger.run.buc, spit
toolangi, industrious
toorerap, argue
torra'aweenth, loud
tote korrawaugh, tie up
tote.bare.rib, sky
tourn-a-myng, eyebrow
towrambuck, lick
toy-et, fish
toy-yun, ill
tre tal, Golden-tip
tre-bin, quail
trin-warreen, bell bird
tur-ror, worm
tur-run, she-oak
turkeeth, lake, swamp
turnoma'ay, eyebrow
turnung, glider
twaga-, come back
twarje, enough
twarn, enough
u.yoke, oyster
uguck, greasy
ull-ull, kill
unyanmilk, darling
uonga, alter
ur! ur!, hush
urimembergat, marry
uu-gup, king parrot
vi-al, turpentine
vioner, shoot
wa itken, fret
wa'ajuck, argue
wâ-kerrâ-bil, argue
waa, leaf of pomaderris
waang, crow
waburn, south
wadamba-, renew

wadherrung, platypus
wadimalin, Sarsaparilla
wadjil, pelican
wagin, grumble, growl
waibu bala, hoe
waibu *gaggawar*, Lomaria discolor
waigurrk, little
waikorong, short, low
wakering, argue
walan-walan, round
waldhani, go away
walert, possum
walert-gurn, possum skin rug
walert-walert, possum skin rug
walruel, stranger fish
wan.gim, boomerang
wañdhadji-, bring
wañdharrabil, crooked
wañdheborring, crooked
wañdherring, crooked
wanewan, river, creek
wang, cheek
wangga, cheek
wangnarra, stringybark
wanterpundry-pahgoork, marry
wanunin, wince
waooll, that
wardi-gurrk, stepmother
wariñ, wombat
warn-murn, turkey
warna-, climb up
warr, thorn
warra-warra, spear, stick
warrak, banksia
warran boorboon, yelp, bark
warrañ, glider
warraworrap, black wattle
warrbil, widower
warridj maman, father
warrik, plain
warriñ, sea

warring-aboornee, remain behind
warritwirrate, far
warrk-warrk, nimble
warronggabo-, carry
warrubak, stinking
warrup, blunt
wawa, look out
wawert, chicken
way porp, glider
waya-, hit with missile
wayalak, boy
wayandurrin madji-gurri-, stoop
wayetuck, she-oak
wayibu, little
wayibuyirram, early
wayigaith, dead
wayut, stringybark
weatbuk, far
weenthunga, hear, understand
welipteen, flee
wenyuth, behind
werrgâ-ni-wan, burn, cook
werrigai, dead
weta brangi, against
wiaguñ, dead
wiagurruk, root
wialleyan, hit, kill
wigabil, old
wigabil, old man
wiiñ, fire
wilam, bark, hut, camp
wilgul, hawk
wilin-wilin, dish
wiling, ashamed, shy
wilip-gin, keep
wilt-korring, wide
wimbirr, wallaby
winata, heat
windjil, eaglehawk
winggarram, meat
winin-kudip, narrow
winmali, north

winthoonthbow.wer.deen, be born

wirn, ear

wirra-, climb up

wirra-, make

wirram, left

wirrap, fish

wirrap, red ochre

wirraway, argue

wirrgurrk, old woman

wirrigirri, messenger

wirring wilam, dog, dingo

wirring, ear

wirringan, dog, dingo

wirringarram, flesh

wirrip, trunk

wirrirrap, doctor

wirrk-wirrk, old woman

wirruk, root

with-with, toy throwing stick

wiyala, peppermint tree

wom-bur-er-bine, yelp, bark

won-gu-ruk, armpit

wonga, some

wongurrunin, stupid

wonthaggarook, quiet, gentle

wooegook, stringybark

wooke, alter

woorike, banksia

woorumullumbuk, orphan

woorunderoneit, pick up

woorway, argue

wootororook, morning star

wor-brun-in, tired

worrebully, clean

worrework, clean

worthaggarook, ashamed, shy

wu, here

wudhel-wudhel, fishing line

wugel-wugel, string

wulanin, ashamed, shy

wulep, woolly tea-tree

wulip, spear

wulun, hot weather

wuluñ, yamstick

wulung, shoulder

wuluwañ, yamstick

wumbu, sometimes

wumen-, come

wunga-, give

wunmabil, turkey

wunmunmil, finger

wunwarren, green

wurding, mutton fish

wurndulung, older brother

wurning, nephew

wurnit, river, creek

wurr-wurr, big

wurr-wurra-mirring, eyeball

wurran, Euc. amygdalina

wurrandalmin, mirror

wurrangrrangga, poor fellow

wurrap, red ochre

wurrbuñ, cry, be sad

wurrdhabu, big

wurrdhun, many

wurrdiyalyal, many

wurrgadabil, coat

wurrgalbana, dirty

wurrgarrabil, black, blue

wurrgarrin, dirty

wurrgumang, scrub, bush

wurrgurdin, black, blue

wurri galk, log

wurrima, send

wurrit, sorcery

wurrk-wurrk, cuckoo

wurru-wurru, sky

wurruk, flat, level

wurrung, language, mouth, lips

wurruwurt, brush

wurrwarrin, green

wurrwi-, run

wu(u)rrk, flint

wuywayit, toy throwing stick

wy-gout, cedar (bastardy)

wyak-tan-yangul, shoot
wyeeringana n'gell, help
wyett, young eucalyptus
wygan'oo, argue
wykoon primpum, widower
wyl-gut-ter, wide
yaarkoneit, look for
yabin, white ant
yadabiling, beloved, love
yak, smell
yakai, surprise
yal-lerm, potato
yalatni burrang, blanket
yalin, brown
yalingbu, day, light, today
yalinguth, yesterday
yalingwa, day, light
yallund'aruck, headband
yaludang, hut support
yaluk, river, creek
yama, halt!
yambuk, moon
yan-guk, wattle bird
yan-kranginin, hear, under-stand
yan-ner-yone, spear
yañ-yañ, young, young man
yan-yan-gak, eastern whip bird
yan.gan, laugh
yana-, go
yana-duwi, go away
yanggai, black cockatoo
yaralurnin, weak
yarka, grief, pain
yarra mirring, eyebrow
yarra ngurnduk, beard
yarra, hair
yarrabing, white gum
yarraga-, swim
yarran, naked
yaruk, magic
yawa-, swim
yawi, pig
yayal, rain

yellanadurruk, decorate
yellum burnin, rough
yeour-ong, grub
yering gim, delicious
yerram-yerram-muni, yawn
yerrin, scrub, bush
yerringooden, wide
yewrarning, wide
yi-oo, initiate holder
yiaga-, find
yilam, bark, hut, camp
yillertbee, cover
yimu-, lie, sleep
yincorrobuna, dream
yinga-, sing
yingore, bright
yiookgen, dream
yirram, day, light
yirrambarring, morning
yirramboi, tomorrow
yirrangin, dog, dingo
yirrip, ironbark, stringy-bark
yit-yita-mirring, eyelash
yit-yiti-mirring, eyelash
yiyote.kin, corroboree maker
ynong-marman, stepfather
yoondubbegeek, like
yornea, frog
youeyook, greasy
yu-burn-angi, lose
yuarn, maggot
yubup, parrakeet
yudli, jump
yuep, right hand
yugop, leather jacket
yuguñ, mussel
yuk, eel
yul-orrt-ten, brittle
yulabil, lump
yuli-, jump
yum-murrk, sister-in-law
yuma-, throw
yumarrala-, give

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yunak, shade
yunda-, push
yundap, forearm
yurdiñ, straight
yurn, native cat
yurni-, jump
yurran, glider
yurrbat, stem
yurrbot, long, tall
yurrda-, push
yurrongi, proceed
yurt, dwarf wattle
yurt, jaw
yuwangu, more
yuwarraba, run, quick
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