

Dialects of Western Kulin, Western Victoria

Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung, Djadjawurrung

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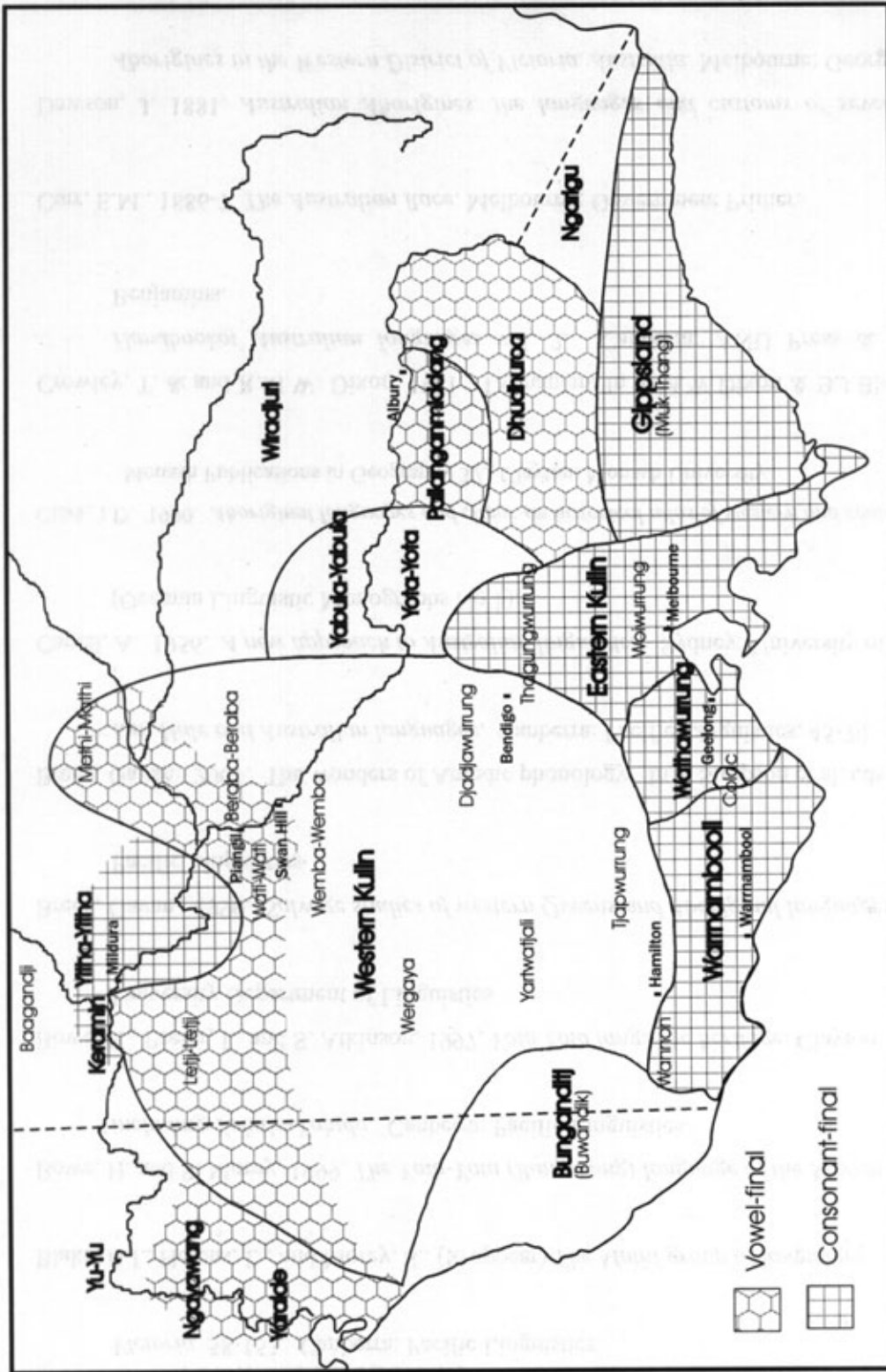
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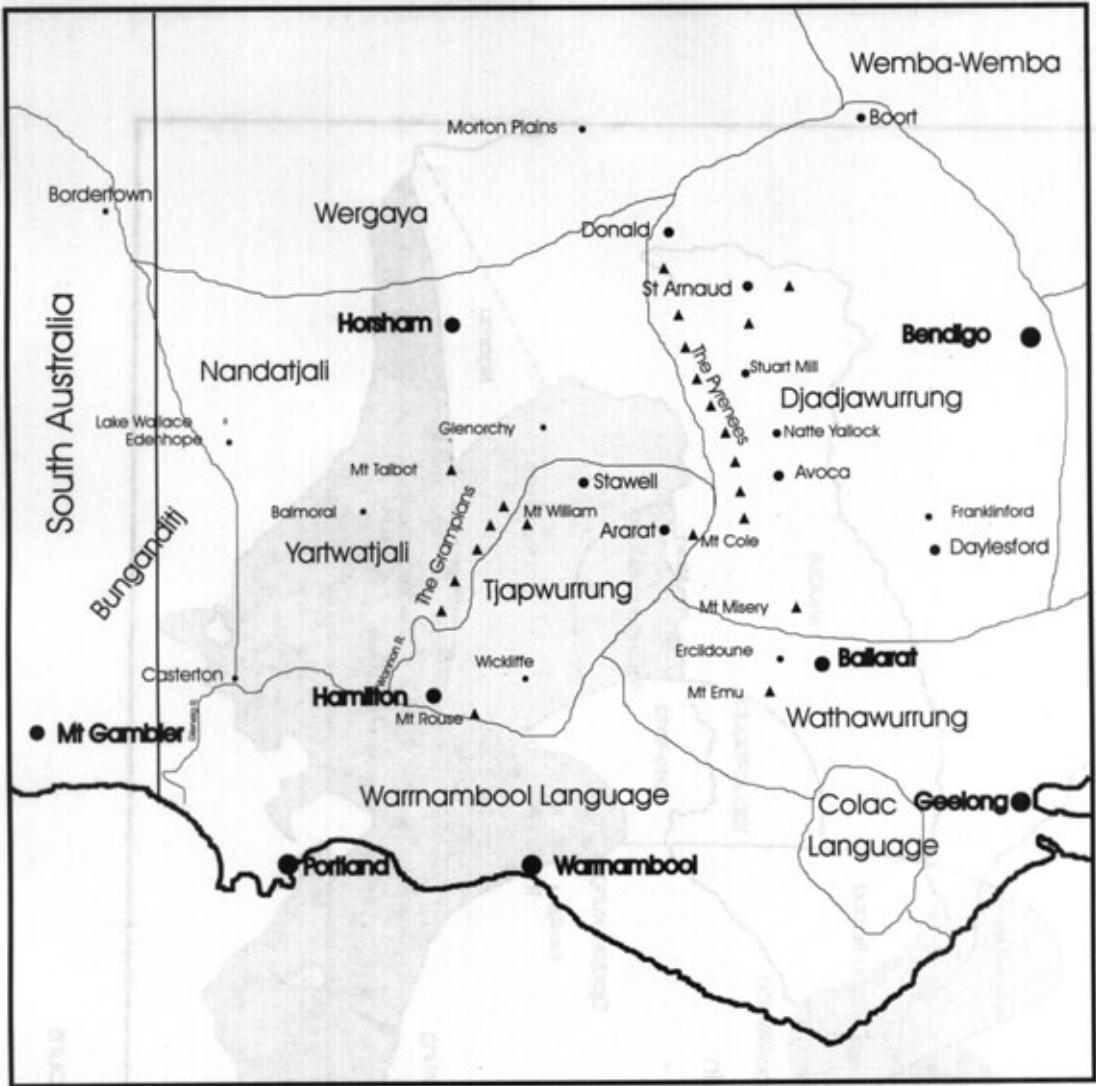
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Appendix 2

Kulin grammatical forms



Map : Victoria: Vowel- & consonant-final nouns



Map 2: Western Victoria

Abbreviations

Grammatical

ABL	ablative
CONT	continuing
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EX	exclusive of speaker
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IN	intransitivising
INC	inclusive of speaker
INSTR	instrumental
LOC	locative
PL	plural
POSS	possessor
REFL	reflexive
1	first person, I, we
2	second person, you
3	third person, he, she, it, they

Areas, tongues and sources

a	Mathew's Avoca list
Ban	Bandjalang
Br	Brock
Bu	Bunganditj (Buwandik)
Co	Colac
d	Dennis
D	Djadjawurrung
Daw	Dawson
De	Djadjawurrung east
Dhu	Dhudhuroa
Dja	Djadjawurrung
DM	Daylesford Monulgundeech
Dw	Djadjawurrung west
e	Mathew's Ercildoune list
EK	Eastern Kulin
em	Edgar Morrison

f	Francis
g	'Glenelg above Woodford'
garp	G.A.Robinson's Pyrenees lists
garw	G.A.Robinson's Wimmera lists
Gipps	Gippsland
gp	G.A.Robinson's Pyrenees lists
grb	Gray, Bakondate
grw	Gray, Wickliffe
h	Hamilton
j	E.S. Parker's <i>Jajawrong</i> vocabulary
Kau	Kaurna
Ke	Keramin
l	Learmonth
LL	Letji-Letji
lw	Lake Wallace, Edenhope
mc	McLachlan
me	Mount Emu
MM	Mathi-Mathi
mp	Morton Plains
mr	Mount Rouse
mt	Mount Talbot
Ngar	Ngarigu
Ngaya	Ngayawang
NK	Northern Kulin dialects
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
ny	Natti Yallook and Stuart Mill
o	Officer
p	E.S. Parker's <i>Knenknenwurro</i>
Pall	Pallanganmiddang
pj	Joseph Parker's <i>Ja-jow-er-ong</i>
Q	Queensland
rm, rhm	R.H. Mathews
SA	South Australia
SH	Wati-Wati (Swan hill dialect)
t	Thornly
T	Tjapwurrung

Tas	Tasmania
th	Thomas' Ballarat list.
Thag	Thagungwurrung
Tjap	Tjapwurrung
Vic	Victoria
Wa	Wathawurrung
WA	Western Australia
Warr	Warrnambool
We	Werkaya (Wergaia)
Wira	Wiradjuri
WK	Western Kulin
Woi	Woiwurrung
WP	Wati-Wati (Piangil dialect)
WS	Wati-Wati, Swan Hill
Wulu	Wuluwurrung
WW	Wemba-Wemba
WY	Wannon-Yallook
Yab	Yabula-Yabula
Yar	Yaralde
Yart	Yartwatjali
Yi	Yitha-Yitha
Yu	Yu-Yu
YY	Yorta-Yorta (Yota-Yota)

Conventions

In this book a distinction is made between notation (committing sounds to written form) and transcription (converting one written form to another, in particular, to converting the original nineteenth-century notations to a broad phonetic version). The sources are given in italics and my broad phonetic transcriptions in bold. The sources do not distinguish between a flapped or trill rhotic (**rr**) and a glide (**r**), a distinction expected from what we know of other Australian languages. This indeterminate rhotic is transcribed as **R**.

Acknowledgements

This work is based on photocopies of nineteenth century sources kindly made available by R.M.W 'Bob' Dixon and transcribed into computer files by Julie Reid, who also read the present manuscript and supplied a number of improvements. Stephen Morey's analysis of Thomas 1862, which he transcribed into computer files, proved particularly useful, as were his comments on the manuscript. Gavan Breen picked up a number of errors and inconsistencies in the draft, and Ian Clark guided me to further references. Luise Hercus, whose field work in northwestern Victoria makes the interpretation of old sources of Kulin so much easier, also made supplied a number of insightful comments on the draft.

1. Introduction

1.1 Language context

This book presents a consolidated account from scattered sources collected in the nineteenth century on the southern and eastern dialects of Western Kulin, namely Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung. The Kulin languages covered most of central and western Victoria. On the basis of grammatical and lexical forms three Kulin languages can be picked out (See appendix 2). Eastern Kulin covered central Victoria from Westernport and Port Philip Bay in the south almost to Echuca on the Murray in the north. Wathawurrung covered an area that took in Geelong and Ballarat. The third and largest Kulin language is Western Kulin, which covered western Victoria from around Hamilton in the south and extended into the southeast of South Australia and into the southwest corner of New South Wales (See Map 1). It consisted of a chain of closely related dialects and any attempt to group these dialects runs into both the problem of breaking up a continuity and the problem of the fragmentary nature of the sources. However, some substantial sources serve as focal points. Hercus (1986) provides a description of Mathi-Mathi, which was spoken north of the Murray along the lower reaches of the Murrumbidgee in New South Wales. From scattered nineteenth century sources it appears that Mathi-Mathi is representative of a band of closely related dialects that ran across the northern part of Western Kulin into South Australia and included Letji-Letji and Wati-Wati. Hercus (1986) also provided descriptions of Wemba-Wemba, spoken to the south of Swan Hill, and Wergaya, spoken further south in the Wimmera.

This book is based entirely on nineteenth century materials and it centres on two further focal points. Tjapwurrung stands out since James Dawson included a vocabulary of around 2,000 words from this dialect in his book *Australian Aborigines, the language and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia* (1881). Djadjawurrung stands out by virtue of a vocabulary of over 700 words from Joseph Parker (1878), and a grammatical sketch from R.H. Mathews, published in German (1904). Tjapwurrung lies in the south of the huge area covered by the Western Kulin Language and Djadjawurrung lies in the east or southeast of the area (See map 2). A third dialect, namely Yartwatjali, is represented only by short word lists, but from the work of Clark (1990) it appears that this dialect covered a large area from Casterton in the south to near Donald in the north (Map 2).

In Table 1 a lexicostatistical comparison of Kulin languages and dialects is displayed. The figures are based on a list of 278 words, though gaps in sources usually mean the number of items counted falls below 200. The sample is based on what is well represented in the source material. Its composition is as follows:

body nouns (<i>head, hand, urine, etc.</i>)	50
human (<i>woman, father, etc.</i>)	23
fauna (46) and flora (14)	60
inanimate nature (<i>sun, sand, wind, etc.</i>)	30
culture (<i>boomerang, yamstick, etc.</i>)	15
predicates: adjectives (28) and verbs (52) ¹	80
other (<i>today, two, no, what, etc. & I and you</i>)	20

¹ Breen (1990:154) suggests verbs are less likely to undergo loss and replacement than other types of word. I would contend that adjectives are similar. Adjectives are not always easy to distinguish from nouns by formal criteria in Australian languages. As I use it, 'adjective' covers the translational equivalent of English adjectives providing they are nominal, which they usually are, as opposed to verbal. I group verbs and adjectives as predicates since adjectives are much more often used predicatively than attributively. This is true in English, but even more so in Australian languages.

Table 1.1: KULIN PERCENTAGES OF COMMON VOCABULARY

	WW	MM	LL	WS	Wim	Yart	Tjap	Dja	Wa	EK
Wemba-Wemba	-	70	72	75	86	85	82	72	40	36
Mathi-Mathi	-	-	81	81	75	75	66	62	34	29
Letji-Letji	-	-	-	83	77	76	68	57	35	37
Wati (Swan Hill)	-	-	-	-	81	80	71	65	36	31
Wimmera	-	-	-	-	-	87	87	70	40	33
Yartwatjali							85	87	40	31
Tjapwurrung	-	-	-	-	-		-	81	52	42
Djadjawurrung	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	44	40
Wathawurrung									-	51
Eastern Kulin										

The method of counting involved scoring a plus if any word in one batch of sources matched any word in the other batch being compared.² If single sources are compared, the figures obtained are much lower. For instance, Dawson's Tjapwurrung and Joseph Parker's Djadjawurrung score only 70%. Comparing multiple sources gives a more realistic picture of proximity, partly because speakers would have known more than one word for a referent, and partly because the word lists used to elicit Aboriginal equivalents contain many items that can be interpreted more than one way, especially out of context. For instance, a scan of the word lists in Curr (1886-7) for Western Kulin reveals that 'wood' elicits **kalk** 'wood' or 'tree' in some instances, and **wi** 'fire, firewood' in others, an understandable outcome since it is common in Australian languages for the word for fire to cover wood suitable for a fire.

As can be seen In Table 1 the figures are all above 60% for dialects of Western Kulin and mostly lower than 50% between Eastern Kulin, Wathawurrung and the dialects of Western Kulin. The three-way split between Eastern Kulin, Western Kulin and Wathawurrung is quite clear from the distribution of bound grammatical forms. See the Appendix 2

1.2 Historical background

As in other parts of Australia the people of western Victoria were hunter-gatherers who moved around within their territory to take advantage of the seasonal availability of various plant foods. The British established the colony that came to be Sydney in 1788, and by the following year small pox had spread through the Aboriginal population of south-eastern Australia. There was a second epidemic that reached the southern part of South Australia in 1830 or 1831, so the first experience the native inhabitants of western Victoria had of Europeans was indirect but deadly.

From around 1810 sealers and whalers were active during the summer months in Bass Strait, and the first permanent white settlement was established in Portland Bay in 1834 by a party led by

² The Wemba-Wemba material used for the count includes the lexicon of Wemba-Wemba in Hercus 1986, the Wemba-Wemba Dictionary (Hercus 1992) and some small nineteenth century sources. For Mathi-Mathi the sole source is Hercus' 1968 description. For Letji-Letji and the Wati-Wati dialect spoken around Swan Hill a number of nineteenth century word lists were used. The Wimmera language combines Hercus' Wergaia plus nineteenth century sources as in Reid's *Wergaia Community Grammar and Dictionary* (2007). For Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung all the sources listed in §2 below were used. For Wathawurrung (Wa) the glossary in Blake ed. 1998 was used and for Eastern Kulin the glossary in Blake 1979.

There is some data available on another Wati-Wati dialect spoken around Piangil, but it is aberrant in that it has borrowed some vocabulary from nearby languages such as Yitha-Yitha and consequently shares less vocabulary with other Kulin tongues.

Edward Henty. Melbourne was settled in 1835 and squatters spread from there and took over practically all the land that was suitable for grazing or agriculture in the Western District, the Wimmera, central Victoria and north-eastern Victoria over the next six or seven years. Gippsland and the Mallee were opened for white settlement in the mid 1840s and taken up over the next decade (Christie 1979:57). The entry of the white squatters and their sheep was not opposed initially, but once they occupied Aboriginal land, conflict ensued. Sometimes Aborigines speared stock animals, for which the settlers retaliated with a punitive expedition. In some cases Aboriginal men took violent revenge over the abduction of their women. This too would be followed by a punitive expedition. In some cases Aboriginal people were killed by being given poisoned food (Christie 1979:46). Introduced diseases also took their toll. These included influenza, measles, chicken pox, scarlet fever, small pox and 'large pox', i.e. venereal disease. E. S. Parker reported that in November 1841 nine-tenths of the Aboriginal women in the Loddon district were afflicted with syphilis (Christie 1979:43, Attwood 1999:34).

Despite violent conflicts between Aborigines and would-be settlers, there was also a lot of intermingling of blacks and whites at various places. While there might be an 'incident' in one area, there were friendly relations in another, though friendly relations often meant death by disease for the native population (Critchett 1990:34, 46). By the late 1840s Aboriginal people who survived, probably no more than a tenth of the original population, could no longer lead their traditional way of life. Some Aboriginal men were employed on the squatters' properties in a variety of occupations such as shepherds, shearers, bullock drovers and horsebreakers, and some Aboriginal women were employed as domestics. Often they were paid only in rations (flour, sugar, tea and meat), and where they were paid, they were paid less than white employees (Christie 1979:146, Attwood 1999:20). Others lived as fringe dwellers on the outskirts of towns and received government rations. Towards the end of the century most of the survivors had been herded into reserves such as Framlingham, Lake Condah and Coranderrk, where they were treated like prisoners of war and made to work for poor rations.

1.3 Language and dialect boundaries

Clark (1990, 1998) has plotted the names of Aboriginal clans and bands in Western Victoria and produced maps showing languages areas. These boundaries have been followed here (Map 2), though the boundary between Bunganditj and Western Kulin is somewhat uncertain, partly because language data is scarce in this area and partly because R.H. Mathews (1903b:250) placed *Nundatjali* in this area and claimed, 'The grammatical constitution resembles partly the B[^]ngandity and partly the Tyattyalli [a Kulin dialect].' By way of example he gives just one sentence and one phrase which show that the language is Kulin except that the word for 'man' is *druah*, which is Bunganditj (details in Blake 2003:14). An Aboriginal man, Yanem Goona, imprisoned in 1845 for stealing sheep spoke *Nunda*, and a *Knen Knen* speaker who visited him was unable to communicate with him until the prisoner switched to *Knen Knen* (E.S. Parker quoted in Clark 1998:54). *Knen Knen* is known through a word list from Parker and it is arguably a western variety of Djadjawurrung, but in any case very similar to Tjapwurrung and Yartwatjali. This reference confirms the existence of something quite different from any variety of the Western Kulin language spoken in the area. Clark states that Yanem Goona was a member of the Tjoorite Bulluk, a Yartwatjali clan, and takes *Nunda* to be a variety of Yartwatjali, though he sees this conclusion as problematical. Words lists from Glenorchy, Mt Talbot, Balmoral, Lake Wallace and Bordertown confirm that the area to the west and north-west of Tjapwurrung territory was part of the Western Kulin continuum, and leave *Nundatjali* unaccounted for.³ These lists also fail to confirm Tindale's claim that Bunganditj territory extended into Victoria as far as the Southern Grampians. He claimed that their territory was contracting towards Casterton at the time of white encroachment under pressure from the *Jaadwa* people (1974:210).

³ The word lists referred to here are included in the present work except 'the Tatiarra country' [around Bordertown] (Curr 1887: 456-9).

The problem of the nature and location of Nundatjali highlights the fragmentary nature of the sources available. In some places information was collected on the local language and we have a dialect name and a word list and occasionally some grammatical information as well, but in other places, particularly in the far west of Victoria and adjacent areas of South Australia, little or no language material has been recorded. If language data had been collected in other areas such as these, the Kulin landscape would look somewhat different.

1.4 The names of dialects

The names for dialects of Western Kulin from the Wimmera south are compounded with a word meaning language, either **tjali** ‘tongue’, which is found to the west and north-west of Tjapwurrung country, and **wurru** or **wurrung** ‘mouth’, which is found in Tjapwurrung and all Kulin dialects to the east. According to Dawson Tjapwurrung means ‘broad language’, and according to Tindale (1974) Nundatjali means ‘good language’.

The meaning of Djadjawurrung is not clear. E.S.Parker and his son, Joseph Parker suggest that *djadja* may be the word for ‘yes’ (Brough Smyth 1878, vol.I: 21, 164, 169). Names for language groups in the southeast mainland are often based on ‘no’, as with Lewurru (‘no’ language), a group from around St Arnaud, and Clark (1990: 254-5) gives ‘no language’ as the gloss for Yartwatjali. The Parkers give **ye-ye** as the word for ‘yes’ and in Mathews’ notebooks (AIATSIS ms 299 quoted in Clark 1990:152) there is a reference to the *Ya-ya-dyalli* who lived near St Arnaud. This would confirm a ‘yes’ origin for Djadjawurrung if we had independent evidence to link ‘dja’ and ‘ya’.

1.5. The Sources

There are six substantial sources of data for Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung: Robinson, the Parkers, Thomas, Dawson, Curr and Mathews. I shall write something about each of these here. A full list of sources is in §1.5.3.

George Augustus Robinson emigrated from England to Tasmania in 1824 and set up as a builder. In 1829 he was appointed as a conciliator between the squatters and the native population. His work consisted mainly of rounding up the few Aboriginal people who had not already been killed, and these were sent to a settlement on Flinders Island in Bass Strait, a settlement that Robinson took control of in 1835. In 1839 he was appointed Chief Protector of Aboriginals in the Port Philip District, a position he held until the Protectorate was abolished in 1849. During his term of office Robinson travelled widely in Victoria, and he kept a journal that included observations about Aboriginals, their numbers, and their names. As he travelled around, he also collected vocabularies, about forty altogether, and these make up a large proportion of what we know about the languages of Victoria (Clark 2000).

Edward Stone Parker was one of four Assistant Protectors of Aboriginals appointed by the Colonial Office to serve under George Augustus Robinson (Morrison 1966, 1967, 1971, Holst 2008). The protectors, as their title implied, were meant to look after the interests of Aboriginal people, in particular to reduce conflict between squatters and the native people. Parker was assigned to the Loddon district and after a few false starts in 1841 he established a protectorate at *Larneparramul* ‘home of the emu’, near Franklinford (Map 2). Parker offered food, medical assistance and sympathy. He learnt the Djadjawurrung language and sought to educate and Christianise those who congregated at the protectorate, a number that fluctuated from around 200 to only twenty or so. The protectorate was closed in 1849, though Parker was allowed to stay on and farm the property. Parker’s contribution to our knowledge of language consists of two vocabularies for varieties of Djadjawurrung and a paper, which contains a translation of a psalm (Parker 1854). His son, Joseph Parker, also learnt Djadjawurrung and contributed a large vocabulary to Smyth.⁴

⁴ When the Prince of Wales was married in 1863 tributes and gifts flowed from around the empire. One of Parker’s protégées, a Djadjawurrung woman named Ellen, sent a collar she had crocheted to Queen Victoria along with two letters of congratulation, to which Queen Victoria replied (Holst 2008).

Parker went into the field holding the common belief that the language of primitive people would be primitive, a belief that persists today. He was probably surprised at what he found. In a lecture he gave in 1854 he expressed the following, ‘The languages of the native appears to be more artificial than might be expressed from a people sunk so low in civilization. It abounds with inflections. Thus the persons and cases of nouns are expressed by terminal inflections, formed by the combination of the pronouns with the principal word.’ Parker’s use of the term ‘artificial’ will elude many modern readers. It means elaborate (formed with *ars* ‘skill’) and does not carry its current negative connotation.

Another of the Assistant Protectors was William Thomas, who was assigned to areas to the south and south-east of Melbourne. When the Protectorate was abolished Thomas was kept on by La Trobe as a guardian in the areas for which he had been Assistant Protector, and he was the chief adviser to the government on Aboriginal matters in the 1850s. Thomas learnt Woiwurrung, the dialect of the Central Victorian Language spoken from Melbourne north to the Dividing Range and translated Christian texts into the language. He also collected parallel vocabularies and sentences for six tongues: *Ballarat* (Djadjawurrung), *Bacchus Marsh* (Wathawurrung), *Melbourne* (Wathawurrung & Woiwurrung), *Gippsland* (Muk Thang), *Mount Gambier* (Bunganditj) and *Wonnin* (Warrnambool). His Ballarat material comprises over 200 words, scores of sentences and a few songs.

James Dawson came to the Western District of Victoria in 1844, just at the end of a period of frontier violence. He ran a sheep property, Kangatong, between Hamilton and Portland. He lived there for twenty two years, but in later life he lived in Camperdown. Dawson and his daughter Isabella took a serious interest in Aboriginal culture and in 1881 Dawson published *Australian Aborigines: The languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia*. This book contains over 100 pages of description of Aboriginal culture and three vocabularies of over 2,000 entries. Two of them *Kuurn Kopan Noot* and *Peek Whuurong*, represent dialects of the Warrnambool Language while the third *Chaap Wuurong* represents Tjapwurrung. Dawson was appointed Local Guardian of Aborigines in Camperdown in 1876 and was what today would be called an ‘activist’ drawing attention to the plight of the dispossessed people, pointing out among other things the iniquity of expecting those herded into reserves to have to work all day for meagre rations.

Edward Micklethwaite Curr (1820-1889) was born in Hobart, the son of Edward Curr, who had managed rural properties in Tasmania and Victoria. In the 1840s Curr managed a station his father had purchased in Victoria in the Heathcote area. He was later appointed as Chief Inspector of Stock and in this capacity he collected information from stock owners on local Aboriginal groups. To assemble a more complete set of data he sent out questionnaires to ‘Gentlemen scattered through the Australian Colonies and Tasmania’ in those parts of Australia that had been settled by whites up to that time, mostly eastern Australia. The questionnaires included a list of questions about local culture and a list of 124 words, for which Curr asked for the local equivalents. The results were published in 1886, 1887 under the title *The Australian race : its origin, languages, customs, place of landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent, a four-volume continental survey of Aboriginal peoples*. For Victoria Curr included several lists he had collected himself. Five of these relate to the dialects described in this volume (See details in § 1.5.3 below).

Robert Hamilton Mathews was an Australian-born surveyor who made use of the travels his work entailed to study the customs and languages of Aboriginal people in the south-eastern mainland. He used a kind of questionnaire or template to elicit language data. This was based on Latin and included the categories of case, number, gender for nouns, and tense and person-number inflection for verbs. On the basis of these templates Mathews published dozens of grammatical sketches and some vocabularies. He stands out from his contemporaries in collecting information on grammar whereas most of the others collected just words, or words and a few sample sentences.

Besides these substantial sources we have a score of short word lists and a set of 42 phrases and sentences supplied by Charles Gray. Most of these brief sources are collected in Smyth (1878).

Given that we are dealing with a dialect continuum and since sources are not always unambiguously labelled, it is not always a straightforward matter to assign a source to a particular dialect. In general we accept the location given for each source and assign the sources to dialects on the

basis of the boundaries between language groups in Clark 1990. However, a small number of phonological and lexical isoglosses are of some help in distinguishing dialects, and in fact they suggest a distinction between western Djadjawurrung and eastern Djadjawurrung. These diacritical differences are described in §1.5.1 and §1.5.2, and then a full list of sources is presented in §1.5.3.

1.5.1 Phonological criteria distinguishing sources

In Blake and Reid 1998 there is a report of phonological correspondences involving intervocalic consonants found across western and central Victoria. One correspondence involves intervocalic **tj-y-rt-R** and the other involves an intervocalic palatal nasal **ny** and an apical nasal, probably **rn**. The distribution of the different reflexes is areal and cuts across dialect and language boundaries, and an isogloss runs between Yartwatjali and Tjapwurrung on the one hand and Djadjawurrung on the other. Intervocalic **tj** is found in words such as **patjik** ‘axe’ and **pitjik** ‘fly’ in the Wemba-Wemba and Wimmera dialects to the north and over most of the area in and around Yartwatjali and Tjapwurrung territory, but for the most part not in Djadjawurrung. Some lists, the provenience of which suggest they might be Djadjawurrung, exhibit an intervocalic **rt** in the relevant words. G.A. Robinson’s word lists from the Pyrenees has **rt** fairly consistently and there are some instances in E. S. Parker’s *Knenknenwurro*, the Natti Yallook and Stuart Mill list in Curr, Thomas’ Avoca list and John Mathew’s Avoca and Ercildoune lists.⁵ The retroflex stop also occurs to the north of this area in *Mirdiragoort* (represented only by List 200, Curr III: 446-7), in the Swan Hill dialect of Wati-Wati and in Letji-Letji. The **R** is found in E.S. Parker’s *Jajawrong* and Joseph Parker’s *Ja-jow-er-ong*, i.e., Djadjawurrung, and also in the Central Victorian Language and Wathawurrung, as well as in the Warrnambool Language and Bunganditj, both of which share a number of relevant words with the Kulin tongues.⁶ As noted in the previous section, E.S. Parker and his son, Joseph Parker, were stationed at Franklinford near Daylesford, somewhat to the east of the Pyrenees.

In two of the lists in Curr the relevant consonant shows up as **y**. These two are *Lake Wallace*, which is near the South Australian border and *Mount Rouse* (Penshurst), which on the southern fringe of Tjapwurrung territory.

Approximately parallel with the distribution of intervocalic **tj**, **rt** and **R** is the distribution of the intervocalic palatal nasal **ny** and an apical nasal, **n** or **rn**. The palatal is found in the Wimmera dialects and over most of the Yartwatjali and Tjapwurrung territories, but **n** or **rn** is found in the Central Victorian Language, Wathawurrung, the Warrnambool Language and Bunganditj. It is also found consistently in the Parker lists and in some words in other sources from the Djadjawurrung area, as well as in *Mirdiragoort* and in Wemba-Wemba to the north of Djadjawurrung territory.⁷

The distribution of intervocalic **tj-y-rt-R** and **ny-(r)n** is shown in Table 2. Only sources with substantial, relevant data are included and they are set out in approximately west-to-east order. The first four columns represent the Yartwatjali area. These are Lake Wallace (lw), Mount Talbot (mt), the Glenelg above Woodford (g) and Wannon-Yallook (wy). The shaded columns, namely Dawson (daw) and Mount Rouse (mr) represent Tjapwurrung. At the extreme right Joseph Parker (pj), E.S. Parker (j) and the Daylesford-Monulgundeech data (dm) represent eastern Djadjawurrung. The remaining columns represent western Djadjawurrung. These are E.S. Parker’s *Knenknenwurro* (p), Brock’s Avoca (br), the list from Natti Yallook and Stuart Mill (ny), G.A. Robinson’s Pyrenees vocabulary (garp), Thomas’ Ballarat material (th), and Mathews’ Avoca and Ercildoune lists (a, e). This last group of sources is not

⁵ The name *Knenkorenwurro* appears in Smyth. I am assuming this is a corruption of *Knen-knen-wurro*, a name that appears in Parker’s papers and which makes sense in that it is based on a reduplicated root *knen*, probably **ngen** or **nyen** ‘no’. Joseph Parker records the form *knen-knen* with the glosses ‘active’ and ‘spark’, but the identification with ‘no’ is more likely.

⁶ An intervocalic rhotic is found in the Morton Plains list in Curr. Morton Plains lies to the northeast of Djadjawurrung territory. See Map 2 and see Figure 1 in Blake and Reid 1998.

⁷ Wemba-Wemba does not exhibit the apical nasal in all cases. The word for ‘hand’ is **manya** in some sources and **mana** in others

consistent in that they contain a sprinkling of the palatals **tj** and **ny** mixed with **rt** and **n** or **rn**, but they are consistent in not having **R**.

Table 1.2: Intervocalic consonants

		lw	mt	g	wy	daw	mr	p	br	ny	garp	th	a,e	pj	j	dm
arm	tatjak	-	tj	tj		tj					rt	tj	tj	R		?
axe	patjik	y	tj			tj				rt		t	rt	R	R	tj
bad	yatjang	-		tj		tj	tj	rt			rt	tj	tj	R	R	
broлга	kutjun	y		tj		tj	y						tj	R		
cockatoo	katjakarr	tj	tj			tj										
feather	witjin		tj		tj							tj		R		
fly	pitjik	-	tj	tj	tj	tj				tj		tj	tj	R		
knee	patjing		tj			tj			rt		rt	tj		R		
mopoke	kartuk*										rt	r				R
pelican	patjanggal		tj	tj	tj	tj	y						tj	R		
roo rat	patjuk					tj						tj		R		
son	watjip		tj		tj	tj		tj				tj		R		R
water	katjin	y	tj	tj	tj	tj	y	tj		tj	tj	tj	tj			
when	nyartuk		rt											R		
wife	matjim	-	tj		tj	tj								R	R	
cockatoo	tjinyap		ny	ny		ny	ny			ny	ny	ny	ny			n
hand	manya	ny	ny	ny	ny	ny		n	rn	ny	rn	rn	ny	n	n	rn
rib	lanyin		ny			ny						n		n		
whiskers	nganyi	ny	ny		n	ny		rn	rn	ny		ny	ny	n	rn	ny

1.5.2 Lexical criteria distinguishing sources

As noted above in §1.1, Dawson's Tjapwurrung and Joseph Parker's Djadjawurrung have only 70% of words in common, so there seems to be a large number of lexical differences between the dialects, but if we aggregate Dawson with very similar sources and compare the combined vocabulary with Parker the figure rises to over 80% and would rise further if we had more complete data. A glance at the glossary given in §4 will reveal what appear to be numerous lexical differences between the dialects, but only well documented words give a clear indication of differences. With items not well represented there is a good chance that further evidence would reduce gaps and show that the apparent difference is due to chance. As mentioned above, a word like *wood* elicited out of context can yield a word meaning 'tree' or 'wood' such as **kalk** or a word meaning 'firewood' such as **wi**. The following is a short list of some well documented lexical differences between dialects. They are also shown in Table 1.3.

- Thomas (th) and Joseph Parker (pj) have **tjalkunya** [hot-make] for 'burn' or 'cook' as opposed to **pawa** and **walpa**, which are widespread in Western Kulin.
- **Pum-pum** 'egg' is distinctively Djadjawurrung in that it is found in the Parker lists and in Thomas' Avoca list (ta) and in the Daylesford-Monulgundeech list (dm).
- The forms **yawirr** 'emu', **kuwak** 'kookaburra' and **ngata kurrk** 'wife' are found in much the same set of sources that have intervocalic **rt** and **rn**, and form part of the evidence for distinguishing Western Djadjawurrung from Eastern Djadjawurrung.
- The Parkers have **poyn** 'grass' for Eastern Djadjawurrung against **puatj** in other dialects.
- While Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Western Djadjawurrung have **tit-tit** for 'hard', 'strong', Eastern Djadjawurrung aligns with Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung in having **palert/palitj**.
- Joseph Parker records **thuRung** for 'heart' in Eastern Djadjawurrung as opposed to witjup in the other dialects under consideration. The form **thuRung** is found in other dialects for 'nut' or 'kernel'.

- The forms **winek** ‘I’ and **winin** ‘you’ found in Dawson (daw) and the lists from Hamilton (not shown) and Mount Rouse (mr) are peculiar to Tjapwurrung.
- R.H. Mathews (rm) gives **li** as the word for ‘no’ in his Djadjawurrung material and he gives *Lewurru* as the name of the dialect of the St Arnaud area (Mathews 1903). E.S. Parker (j) gives *lowurrong* as the word for ‘no’ and J. Parker (pj) gives *low-nee-rong* (misreading of *lowurong*?). These look like dialect names, but in any case they contain a root **li** or **lo**, which links Mathews’ material and the Parker lists.
- The Parkers have **wanyeRam** ‘water’ against variants of **katjin** in other sources.
- Thomas and E. S. Parker’s *Knenknenwurro* have a distinctive form **ngata kurrk** for ‘wife’, though it is also recorded in Morton Plains just to the north of Yartwatjali territory (See Map 2).
- E.S. Parker records **toRoi** ‘daughter’ and Joseph Parker has **tuRi** ‘woman’. Similar forms are found only in R.H. Mathews’ Djadjawurrung material, Thomas’ Avoca list (a) and his Ballarat material (th), and in Stanbridge’s Daylesford-Monulgundeech list (dm).

Table 1.3: Lexical differences

		wy	mt	daw	mr	p	ny	gp	a,e	me	th	ta	pj	j	rm	dm
cook, burn	pawa		p								p					
	walpa		w	w												
	tjalkunya										tj		tj			
egg	mirk	m	m	m	m	m	m			m	m					
	pum-pum											p	p	?		p
emu	kawirr	k	k	k	k			k								
	yawirr					y	y	y	y	y	y					
	paRamal												p	p		
grass	puwayt	t	t		t	t	t		t		t					
	poyn												n	n		
hard	tit-tit	tt	tt	tt							tt					
	palit												p		p	
heart	witjup	w	w	w				w	w		w					
	thuRung												th			
I	wan	a	a				a		a		a		a		a	
	winek			i	i											
	pengek					p								p		
kooka	kuR-	r	r	r	r								r			
	kuwak						w		w	w	w					
no	ngala		ng	ng		ng			ng				ng			ng
	ngai						i				i					
	li, lu												l	l	l	
water	katjin	k	k	k	k	k	k	k	k		k					
	wanyaRam												w	w		
wife*	matjum	m	m	m									m	m		
	ngata kurrk					ng			ng		ng					
woman	paynku	p	p	p		p		p	p	p	p					
	tuR-										t	t	t	t	t	t

gp = Robinson’s Pyrennes material and me = Wilson’s Mount Emu list.

Taking into account the data in Table 1.2 and Table 1.3, and considering the names and/or locations given in the sources, we can identify R.H. Mathews' Djadjawurrung material and Stanbridge's Daylesford-Monulgundeech list with the Djadjawurrung lists of the Parkers, and these lists have been counted as Djadjawurrung (eastern) as opposed to the other Djadjawurrung sources, which have been shown as Djadjawurrung (western) in the glossary. Other lexical items that indicate differences between eastern and western Djadjawurrung are shown in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4: Some lexical differences between dialects

	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadjawurrung (w)	Djadjawurrung (e)
big	martuk	martuk	martuk	kurrung, nguRe
cry	lumila	yiRia	yiRia	maRi
gather, find	marta	tambaka	wayawa	tamba
hard, strong	tit-tit	tit-tit	titil	palitj, palit
koala		wiRngpul	patjanmum	ngaRmbulmum
hill	kawa	panyul	kawa	panul
lake, marsh	tjakil	tjakil	tjakil	polok, pam
spear, to		pungga	pungga	thamba
stringybark	tulang	wanga	pungaluk	wangaRa
swim	yawa	nyuka	yawa	wirraKa
turkey	kolapatjin	lawan	kulapatjin	lawan
country	tjaa	tjaa	tjaa	thapilk
lift, to	waiwa	waiwa	waiwa	waima
make, to	paRpa	paRpa	paRpa, muyupa	paRpa, mungga
bark	nyanak	nyanak	maRatjak	mayapert
arm, forearm	waRuwi	waRuwi	waRuwi	kandap
deaf	ngang-ngang	murt wirimbul	nga-nga	ngokin wirimbul

1.5.3 Details of sources

An annotated list of particular sources is given here. Full bibliographic details for Curr, Smyth and other compilations are given in the *References* at the end of the book.

Yartwatjali

Barry, Sir Redmond ed. 1867. *Intercolonial Exhibition of Australasia 1866: Vocabularies of the dialects of the Aborigines of Australia*. Melbourne.

This work, published in both French and English, contains parallel vocabularies marred by numerous typographical errors. Two vocabularies are included here, namely 'Wannon-Yarlook Tribe' and 'Mount Talbot Tribe'. Wannon-Yarlook refers to the Wannon River (**yaluk** 'river'). The Mount Talbot list contains idiosyncratic spellings such as *oe* for **a**, thus *moen-yoe* for **many** 'hand' and *ginoenuc* for **tjina-nhuk** 'his/her foot'.

Curr, E.M. 1886. The Glenelg above Woodford. List 207D. III: 480-1

The location is in the south-west corner of Yartwatjali territory and significantly the word for 'white man' is **kuma mir**, which is a Bunganditj word and is literally 'green eye'. The vocabulary agrees with other Yartwatjali and Tjapwurrung sources, but contains some idiosyncratic items such as **tek-tek** 'dark', **kanyankurrk** 'stomach', **munutjia** 'beard', **[ng]unyim** 'ghost', **kaikil** 'dead', and **yaweR** 'big' (possibly **yawirr** 'game', especially 'emu'). The pronoun 'I' is **wan** rather than **winek**, which confirms that it is Yartwatjali (See Table 1.3).

Curr, E.M. 1886. Lake Wallace and neighbourhood. List 207B III: 476-7

Lake Wallace is just to the north of Edenhope near the South Australia border and is in Yartwatjali territory (Clark1990:256). The list consists of only 79 words most of them familiar from other sources, and from the scanty material we have from this area it could be assigned to Wergaya, Yartwatjali or Tjapwurrung, but should probably be assigned to Yartwatjali. In this dialect intervocalic **tj** is reflected as **y**, a characteristic shared with a list from Mount Rouse, which is in Tjapwurrung territory (Table 2).

Dennis, William. 1878. Glenorchy-Djappuminyou tribe. Smyth II: 79.

Smyth's standard list, 49 words. No features to distinguish Yartwatjali from Tjapwurrung except the location.

Francis, Job 1878. Dialect of the Horsham tribe [second column]. Smyth II: 77-8.

This list from Job Francis of Walmer consists of just 13 words, all of which are known from other sources.

McLachlan, R. 1878. Upper Richardson. Smyth II:80.

Smyth's standard list, 47 words. No tribe name given. The Richardson River forms the northerly part of the boundary between Yartwatjali and Djadjawurrung territory. Intervocalic palatals in **watjip** 'son' and **manya** 'hand' indicate it is not Djadjawurrung.

Officer, C.M. 1878. Balmoral-Glenelg tribe. Smyth II: 83.

Smyth's standard list of 47 words. Officer gives his location as Mount Talbot, Balmoral, which is in Yartwatjali territory. Intervocalic palatals in **watjip** 'son' and **manya** 'hand' indicate it is not Djadjawurrung.

Thornly, N. 1878. Some words of the language of the western tribes of Victoria. Smyth II: 60-62

This is a long list of over 200 words including some dozens of place names. The list includes names for Harrow, Mount Talbot and Lake Wallace, which puts the source in Yartwatjali territory, and the list contains some forms otherwise confined to Yartwatjali sources.

Tjapwurrung

Curr, E.M. 1886. Hamilton. List 207G. III: 486-7

The location and the fact that the pronouns 'I' and 'you' are **winek** and **winin** respectively as in Dawson establish this source as Tjapwurrung.

Curr, E.M. 1886. Mount Rouse, native name Kooloor. List 207H. Curr III: 488-9.

Mount Rouse is immediately south of the township of Peshurst. The first and second person pronouns are **winek** and **winin** respectively. Along with the list from Lake Wallace this source reflects intervocalic **tj** as **y** (Table 2).

Dawson, J. 1881. *Australian Aborigines: The Languages and Customs of Several Tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia*. Melbourne: George Robertson.

As noted above, this book contains parallel vocabularies of *Chaap wuurong* (broad lip) and two dialects of the Warrnambool Language, namely *Kuurn kopan noot* (small lip) and *Peek whurrong* (kelp lip). The Chaap wuurong vocabulary contains over 2,000 entries and is by far the most extensive source for this dialect. In an introductory note Dawson gives a key to his system for recording vowels by presenting illustrative English words written in his system of notation. This is quite a useful guide though the presence of 'ae' in both syllables of *rainy* seems odd.

<i>car</i>	kaar	<i>tome</i>	toom
<i>can</i>	kann	<i>tom</i>	tomm
<i>rain</i>	raeaen	<i>boot</i>	buut
<i>rainy</i>	raeaenae	<i>cut</i>	cutt
<i>meat</i>	meet	<i>one</i>	wun
<i>met</i>	mett	<i>magpie</i>	magpii
<i>life</i>	liif	<i>pussy cat</i>	puusae katt
<i>live [to]</i>	livv		

Gray, Charles. 1878a. Words in the dialect of the tribes near Wickliffe. Smyth II: 58-60.

The name of the ‘language’ is given as ‘Bak-on-date’. This source contains 42 phrases and sentences plus a short vocabulary of 30 odd words [first two columns only on p.59, continued p.60] Wickliffe is in Tjapwurrung territory, but there is little linguistic evidence to relate it to a dialect. It has **parramul** for ‘emu’, a form characteristic of Djadjawurrung within the area under consideration, but phonetically it belongs with Tjapwurrung having **tatjak** ‘arm’, ‘**manya** ‘hand and **katjakarr** ‘white cockatoo’ (See Table 2).

Gray, Charles. 1878b. Wickliffe-River Hopkins tribe. Smyth II: 87.

A short list of 47 words. No clear indication of dialect other than the location.

Learmonth, P. 1878. Hamilton-Upper Wannon tribe. Smyth II: 84-5.

Standard Smyth list of 47 words. **Manya** ‘hand’ and **watjip** ‘son’ are consistent with the location.

Mathews, R.H. ms. Notebook 6 contains data on the Hopkins River. There is a verb paradigm on p.9 and a pronoun paradigm on p.15. These pronouns are built on the base **win-**. This and the location suggest the material belongs to Tjapwurrung. There is also a reference to *Yurtauil* language, Beaufort and pronouns built on **win-**. Beaufort is on the border of Tjapwurrung and Wathawurrung territory. Notebook 1, p.157 refers to *Yaya-dyalli* language and contains pronouns built on the base **win-**. See Table 12.

Robinson, G.A. 1845. Vocabulary lists and scattered words in journal 1839-1852 transcribed from manuscripts in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and published in Clark 2000.

p211 ‘Language of Wimmera blacks, April 1845’

p213 ‘April 1845: Language of the Wimmera’

p214 ‘Glenelg Language, 18 April 1845, at Fairburn’s, late Desaylee’s

These three lists overlap. They are consistent with Tjapwurrung, but could belong with Wergaya to the north or to Yartwatjali to the west of Tjapwurrung. They have been treated as Tjapwurrung in the comparative vocabulary.

Djadjawurrung western

Brock, A. 1846-1852. Letter book, diary and notebook of Alexander Brock 1846-1852. Brock Family Papers, ms 10554. Melbourne: La Trobe [State] Library.

There is a section ‘Aboriginal names and languages of Avoca Native Names and Language’, which contains some place names and about 40 Djadjawurrung words. Some words and their glosses are difficult to decipher. It has *ur* as a fairly clear indication of intervocalic retroflex nasals following [a]: *murnak* ‘hand’, *urnak* ‘whiskers’, and *purting* ‘knee’.

Curr, E.M. 1886. Natti Yallock and Stuart-Mill. List 208H. III: 514-5.

Natte Yallock (in modern spelling) is in Djadjawurrong territory, but the list has mixed characteristics. It has intervocalic **tj** and **ny** (though note **partik** ‘axe’), and lacks distinctively Djadjawurrong forms such as **poyñ** ‘grass’ and **toRoi** ‘woman’. It shares with sources from Avoca, Mount Misery and Mount Emu the forms **yawirr** ‘emu’ and **kuwak** ‘kookaburra’.

Mathew, J. 1899. Avoca River. [Part of comparative table] *Eaglehawk and Crow*, 208-72.

This list of some 200 words has intervocalic **tj** (but **partik** ‘axe’) and **ny**, but it has a number of words that distinguish it from Tjapwurrung including the pronouns **wan** ‘I’ and **warr** ‘you’, and a number that distinguish it from Yartwatjali and from the Djadjawurrung of the Parkers. These words include **yawirr** ‘emu’ and **kuwak** ‘kookaburra’.

Mathew, J. 1899. Ercildoune (in the county of Ripon near Mt Misery—between Lakes Burrumbeet and Learmont[h]) [Part of comparative table] *Eaglehawk and Crow*, 208-72.

This list of approximately 200 words is very similar to the Avoca River list. It contains **wangal** ‘I’, which is presumably the form for ‘we two’, which distinguishes the list from Tjapwurrung.

Parker, E.S. 1843. Knenkorenwurro [a misprint for Knenknenwurro]. A vocabulary of 100 words originally published in New South Wales, Legislative Assembly: Votes and Proceedings, and republished as part of a comparative table in Eyre (401-2), Ridley (130-1) and Smyth (167-9). This list has an intervocalic palatal in **watjip** ‘son’, but **rt** in **yartang** ‘bad’, and an apical nasal in **mana** (**marna?**) ‘hand’ and **ngarni** ‘whiskers’. This points to western Djadjawurrung and this is supported by the appearance of words characteristic of this group such as **yawirr** ‘emu’. E.S. Parker also supplied a parallel list for *Jajowrong* (see below).

Clark (2006) considers the scraps of evidence surrounding Knenknenwurrung and argues that it appears to the case of a cluster of related clans fragmenting and being absorbed into contiguous language groups - some into Djadjawurrung, some Jardwadjali, and the majority absorbed into Djabwurrung. He concludes that this fragmentation and fission probably occurred within the living memory of Aboriginal people in the early 1840s.

Thomas, W. 1878. Avoca. Smyth II:80-1.

Standard 47-word list tentatively identifiable as Djadjawurrung on the basis of **tuRa** woman and **ma(r)na** [*mun-nar*] ‘hand’.

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

The material labeled ‘Ballarat’ is relevant. This source contains the distinctively Djadjawurrung form **toRoi** ‘woman’, and two forms that suggest western Djadjawurrung, namely **yawirr** ‘emu’ and **kuwak** ‘kookaburra’, but it has an intervocalic palatal in **yatjang** ‘bad’ and **pitjik** ‘fly’, though an apical nasal in **mana** (**marna?**) ‘hand’. The location Ballarat gives no definite clue as to dialect, since Ballarat is in Wathawurrung territory. It may be a mixed list taken from different speakers, like his ‘Melbourne’ list, which is a mixture of Woiwurrung and Wathawurrung. It has been treated as western Djadjawurrung in the comparative vocabulary.

This source consists of a substantial vocabulary and dozens of sentences. Thomas’ notation is difficult to interpret and is not helped by his key which indicates that *gn* is as in *gnome* and *Charlemagne*. Although he uses *ng* for what is clearly **ng** and

ny for **ny**, he also uses *gny* for **ny** and *ngy* and *kn* for **ng**. The digraph *gy* is used for the palatal stop as in *gyillpa* for **tjilpa** ‘hit’.

Robinson, G.A. 1841. Vocabulary lists and scattered words in journal 1839-1852 transcribed from manuscripts in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and published in Clark 2000. Pages 129-57 contains some lists and scattered words, including ‘Vocabulary of the native language at the Grampians and Pyrenees, commencing July 1841, Mt William and Larnerjeering [Mt Cole]’, a short list headed ‘Vocabulary of Grampians and Pyrenees Blacks commencing 19 July ’41’ and a list headed ‘Vocabulary commencing Wednesday 11 August 1841’, under which there is a reference to Mount Misery suggesting the material was collected there. These lists contain forms such as **parting** ‘knee’, **wartip** ‘little’ and **tartak** ‘arm’, which place them at the western edge of Djadjawurrung territory (See Table 2 above), but these lists do not contain any distinctively Djadjawurrung words as in the Parkers’ lists.

Wilson, Samuel. 1886. Mount Emu. List 208I. Curr III 516-7.

An incomplete Curr list consisting of only 44 words, most of which are well documented in other sources. Mount Emu is in Wathawurrung territory, but *layray* ‘mosquito’ and *yaparte* ‘crayfish’ are not found in Wathawurrung. On the basis of *yowarr* ‘emu’ this list has been entered in the glossary as Djadjawurrung (western).

Djadjawurrung sources, eastern

Mathews, R.H. 1903. The Lewurru dialect. *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 37: 246-8.

This is a short grammatical sketch of the ‘Lewurru dialect’ spoken around St Arnaud. It contains the pronouns **wangek** ‘I’, **wangin** ‘thou’ and **wanyuk** ‘he, she, it’ and a paradigm of the verb **tjilpa** ‘to beat’, which is presented in §3.7 below. The name of the dialect is based on **li** ‘no’ and this identifies it as Djadjawurrung.

Mathews, R.H. 1902. Tyapwurru and Wuddywurru dialects. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 36: 84-6.

This is a section of a larger paper in which Mathews claims that *Tjapwurru* and *Wuddywurru* have ‘identical’ grammatical structure. Mathews then gives a set of pronouns without making it clear which language they belong to, presumably they are meant to represent Tjapwurrung and Wathawurrung, and he does note that Tuckfield gives a similar set for Wathawurrung. On the basis of both E.S Parker and J. Parker for Djadjawurrung and Dawson and others for Tjapwurrung it would seem these pronouns are Djadjawurrung, as well as Wathawurrung, not Tjapwurrung. There is a draft of this publication. Folder, document AA, Mitchell Library

Mathews, R.H. 1904. Die Sprache des Tyedduwurru-Stammes der Eingeborenen von Victoria. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft, Wien* XXXIV: 71-6.

The manuscript version is entitled ‘Language of the Tyeddyuwurru Victorian Aborigines’, Folder, document BH, Mitchell Library, Sydney. There are also the following overlapping manuscript sources:

Tyed-dyu-wurung language. Folder, four-page manuscript grammar, document AW.

Tyeddyuwurung language, field notes. Notebook 1: p91, 93-101.

Tyeddyuwuru, a page of notes in pencil. Folder, document T.

Besides the name, the dialect is identifiable as Djadjawurrung from **toRoi** ‘woman’, **li** ‘no’ and **tjuwarn-peRak** ‘for a long time’ or ‘a long time ago’, which is similar to **tjuwarn kiyuma** and **tjuwarduk** in the Parker lists.

- Morrison, E. 1966. *Early days in the Loddon valley: memoirs of Edward Stone Parker, 1802-1865*. Yandoit, Vic.
This booklet contains valuable general information and includes a few Djadjawurrung words.
- Morrison, E. 1967. *Frontier life in the Loddon protectorate: episodes from early days, 1837-1842*. Daylesford: Advocate.
This booklet, like Morrison 1966, contains valuable general information and includes a few Djadjawurrung words.
- Morrison, E. 1971. *The Loddon Aborigines: tales of old Jim Crow*. Daylesford: Abco Print.
This booklet, like Morrison 1966 and Morrison 1967, contains valuable general information and includes a few Djadjawurrung words.
- Morrison, G. ed. 2002. *A successful failure, a trilogy: the aborigines and early settlers*. Castlemaine: Graffiti.
This volume contains Morrison 1966, 1967 and 1971 plus E.S. Parker 1854.
- Parker, E.S. 1844. Jajawrong vocabulary. Originally published in Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, and reproduced as part of a comparative table in Eyre (401-2), Ridley (130-1) and Smyth (167-9).
This list has intervocalic **R** in words such as **yaRang** ‘bad’ and an apical nasal in words like **mana** (possibly **marna**) ‘hand’. This list contains **toroi**, which is given as ‘daughter’, but which means ‘woman’, as do the other entries in the daughter row in the tables. It also contains **lowurrung** for ‘no’. Joseph Parker has *low-nee-rong* for ‘no’ and R.H. Mathews has **le**. The **I**-forms are probably related and serve as a marker of Eastern Djadjawurrung.
- Parker, E.S. 1854. *The Aborigines of Australia: a lecture delivered in the Mechanics’ Hall, Melbourne, before the John Knox’ Young Men’s Association, on Wednesday, May 10th, 1854*. Melbourne: Hugh McColl. [republished in E. Morrison 1967 and in G. Morrison 2002]
This text contains a partial translation of Psalm 139, a source of grammatical data.
- Parker, Joseph. 1878. Dialect of the Ja-jow-er-ong race. Smyth II:154-65.
This is a substantial vocabulary of 750 words and half a dozen sentences, and is the main lexical source for Djadjawurrung. Joseph Parker was the son of E.S. Parker. Parker sometimes includes *rr*, indicating a rhotic in words that seem unlikely to have a rhotic to judge from other sources, e.g. *karr.nee* ‘digging stick’ (rh *m kanni*), *kiarrp* ‘one’ (clearly **kayap** in other sources). It has intervocalic R in **yaRang** ‘bad’ and an apical nasal in **mana** (**marna**?) ‘hand’.
- Stanbridge, W.A. 1878. Wombat ‘Daylesford-Monulgundeech tribe’. Smyth II:81-2.
Standard 47-word list identifiable as Djadjawurrung on the basis of **pum-pum** ‘egg’, **tuRoi** ‘woman’ and **marna** [*mirna*] ‘hand’

Other sources

Curr, E.M. Morton Plains. List 206. Curr III: 469-73.

The name of the language is given as *Brapkut*. Only 60 words from Curr’s standard 124-word list are given plus a supplementary list of 14. This list shares phonetic characteristics with Djadjawurrung (see Table 1.2), but no lexical terms that mark the source as Djadjawurrung. The first person singular pronoun is *nge* rather than the distinctive innovations that mark Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung (Table 3.2) and its geographical position is to the west of Djadjawurrung territory. Since it has not been included in Reid’s *Wergaia Community Grammar and Dictionary* (2007), it has been included in the glossary under Yartwatjali, but the few words peculiar to this source are designated (MP).

2. Phonology

As can be seen from the previous section, the only records of Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung are amateur records from the late nineteenth century. It is unfortunate that those who overran the country spoke English, since English has no simple correspondence between letter and phoneme. The letter *u*, for instance, represents three different sounds in *but*, *put* and *using*. It is even more unfortunate that the usurpers spoke a variety of English with silent *r* in words like *car* and *card*. This makes nineteenth century notations such as *karnda* and *gnullar* hard to interpret. Is the *r* representing some kind of rhotic or is it just contributing to the representation of the vowel? In this case we know from other sources that the first of these notations represents **karnda** ‘to call’ and the second **ngala** ‘no’, but where there are few tokens it can be impossible to know what *r* indicates.

Though we have no sound recordings of Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung or Djadjawurrung, we have such recordings of languages from other parts of Australia and it is a feature of the languages of the Australian mainland (and perhaps Tasmania) that they had very similar phonologies (unlike the situation in Europe where there are enormous differences even between closely related languages—witness French and Italian). Moreover, thanks to the work of Luise Hercus we have sound recordings and modern phonetic notation for three Kulin tongues, Mathi-Mathi, Wemba-Wemba and the Djadjala dialect of Wergaya, the last of these being quite close to dialects under consideration here. The transcription of the old sources in this book assumes that Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung were similar to other Kulin tongues, and assumes the phonetic values found in Hercus hold unless there are clear indications to the contrary. For instance, as alluded to above, letter *r* is often used before a consonant or at the end of the word to indicate vowel length and/or quality. Joseph Parker, for instance, writes *boorp-boorp* ‘baby’, ‘child’ for what is clearly **pupup** in a number of Kulin languages. He also writes *boyn-knurt* for ‘eel’, but since Hercus (1986) has recorded **punyart** in Wergaya, we take the *r* in this instance to indicate the r-quality of a retroflex **t**.

2.1 Consonants

Most Australian languages have the consonant inventory shown in Table 2.1, or they have this inventory plus a series of dental consonants. There is no clear evidence of phonemically distinct dentals in Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung. Early observers would not have distinguished dental in **l** from their alveolar counterparts, but they often heard dental stops as *th* or *dh*. There are one or two indications of a dental stop as in R.H. Mathews’ *thalligi* ‘yesterday’, but these almost all alternate with indications of a palatal stop, in this instance Joseph Parker’s *jhal-la-gee* and *chal-lik-gee*. There are a number of words showing a *t* or *d* alternating with an indication of a palatal as in *tinner* alongside *jinna*, *china* and *ginna* ‘foot’. The *t* in such words may represent a dental, but again there is alternation with a palatal. In this book a transcription with **th**, **nh** and **lh** is used where *t* or *d*, *n*, and *l* alternate with indications of a palatal in the same source or very similar sources, or where dentals are expected on the basis of cognates in tongues notated by Hercus (Hercus 1986). It should be noted, however, that there is no clear evidence that dentals were phonemically distinct from palatals, and dentals are not assumed in intervocalic position given the palatal-apical correspondence noted in §1.5.1

As in most Australian languages there was presumably no phonemic distinction between voiced and voiceless stops and these have been transcribed as voiceless, except in nasal-stop clusters, where the pronunciation seems to have been regularly voiced. Retroflexes are represented by **rt**, **rn** and **rl**. Palatals are represented by **tj**, **ny** and **ly**, but in syllable final position the nasal and lateral palatals are represented by **yn** and **yl** respectively. With a syllable-final palatal stop both **tj** and **yt** are used according to what is indicated in the sources, **tj** representing a released stop and **yt** an unreleased stop. The presence of a syllable-final palatal is preceded by a palatal on-glide. For example, Dawson gives *piinteuk* for ‘kangaroo-skin bag’. The *te* indicates a palatal stop and the nasal is presumably homorganic. Dawson uses *ii* to represent the [aɪ] diphthong suggesting he heard the first syllable as in *pine*, so I interpret *piinteuk* as **pandjak**. Compare Joseph Parker’s *bar-rine-jhim* ‘men’s apron’, which appears to be **paRandjim**.

Table 2.1: Consonants

	labial	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar
stop	p	t	rt	tj, yt	k
nasal	m	n	rn	ny, yn	ng
lateral		l	rl	ly, yl	
rhotic		rr	r		
semi-vowel	(w)			y	w

2.2 Vowels

Most Australian languages have only three vowels, **i**, **a** and **u**, though some languages have long and short versions, effectively making six. Hercus recognises **e** as well as **i**, **a** and **u** in Mathi-Mathi and Wergaya (and also **o** and \leftrightarrow in Wemba-Wemba). Indications are that a four-vowel system (**i**, **e**, **a**, **u**) holds for Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung. For instance, there is a word for ‘body’ notated as *peng*, *beng*, *pang*, and *bang*, which indicates a vowel in the [ɛ] or [æ] range, and in this environment a low allophone of /i/ or a fronted allophone of /a/ is not at all likely. Of course not every *e* in old sources can necessarily be ascribed to /e/ and I have had to be somewhat subjective, usually retaining *e* where it is the only letter used, but using /i/ where there is alternation between *e* and *i*. Letter *a* is also problematic, since it could represent /e/ or /a/.

I have retained *o* where it is the only letter in the sources, but my feeling is that *o* represents /u/ in most instances. The high back vowel in Australian languages sounds like the vowel of *put* prolonged, or like the vowel of *paw*, so it is natural that it should be notated as *o*, often by *or*. In words notated with the rhyme *-ong* it is likely that *o* represents /a/ in some instances, a misassignment perpetuated in the place name Geelong, which results from notations such as *geelong* and *tjilong* for the widespread word **tjilang** ‘tongue’. However, *o* in *-ong* can represent /u/ as in *kurrong* for what Hercus notates as **kurung** in Wergaya.

2.3 Phonotactics

Most of the Kulin tongues, along with the Gippsland Language (Muk Thang) and the Warrnambool Language have a number of phonotactic features that set them off from most other Australian languages:

- Labial and velar consonants can occur in word-final position. In most Australia languages vowel-final stems predominate; some languages disallow word-final consonants altogether, while others allow only apical or apical and laminal consonants as finals.
- The great majority of nouns end in a consonant in their citation form.
- Monosyllabic nouns are not uncommon.
- Consonant clusters occur in word-final position, at least in monosyllabic nouns.

The geographical distribution of consonant-final nouns is shown on Map 1, which also shows that in some tongues all or almost all nouns are vowel-final. In northeastern Victoria this is achieved by the addition of a **-pa** suffix to nouns that would otherwise end in a consonant. Among the northern dialects of Western Kulin, namely Mathi-Mathi, Letji-Letji, Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and Wati-Wati (Piangil) the vowel-final target is achieved by the addition of **-i**. There are five languages along the lower Murray that form a group inasmuch as they share some vocabulary and have little in common with other surrounding languages. Two of these languages, Yitha-Yitha and Keramin have consonant-final nouns and a high proportion of monosyllabic nouns, while Ngayawang and Yaralde have mostly vowel-final nouns, mostly from the addition of an **-i** augment.

There are clear signs that languages such as Kulin have truncated nouns. First of all is the fact that consonant clusters that are intervocalic in typical Australian languages are exposed in word-final position in these languages. Second is the fact that there is a higher proportion of monosyllabic nouns in these languages than in most other Australian languages. And third is the fact that some nasal-final nouns exhibit an extra latent consonant when a vowel-initial suffix is added. These points are illustrated below.

The claim that languages in Victoria have undergone truncation would be more convincing if intact cognates could be found. This proves difficult. It is a feature of Australian languages that outside some widespread pronouns, case markers and a few score of lexical items cognacy is very low (a point that comes up again below). Moreover, such cognates as can be found often have a final vowel that matches the preceding one, which raises the possibility of an echo vowel augment. For instance, Tjapwurrung **kalitj** ‘bullant’ is probably cognate with Warlpiri **karlkitji**, and **murt** ‘short’ with Pintupi **murtu**.

The widespread words **mama** ‘father’ and **papa** ‘mother’ are nursery words consisting of a reduplicated syllable. They show up truncated to the monosyllables **mam** and **pap**, just as *dad* and *mum* do in English, though they were probably not used much without a possessor suffix (**mam-ek** ‘my father’, **pap-in** ‘your mother, etc.’). **Mum** ‘bottom’ may also belong to this class. The root is probably **mu-**, which often appears with a dual **-rru** as in Gamilaraay **murru** or reduplicated as in Batjala **mumu**.

The clearest example of stem-final vowel loss is to be found in **wirimpul/wirmbul** ‘ears’, which clearly contains the widespread word **pula** ‘two’ as its final formative. Another example can be seen in **pulatj** ‘two’ which has acquired an extra palatal stop in Western Kulin and Wathawurrung. The form **pulatja** is found in the Warrnambool language and since formatives normally have a syllabic if not independent word origin, we might suggest that **pulatj** derives from the apocope of the final vowel. The Eastern Kulin **thirip** ‘nails’ probably reflects loss of a vowel. In Pallanganmiddang the form is **t[h]iriwa**, where **-wa** probably represents a weakened form of **-pa**, an increment otherwise attested, particularly in the neighbouring Dhudhuroa. Kulin **kalk** ‘wood’ appears to be cognate with **kalka** ‘spear’ in Biri and some other Queensland languages, and **thung** ‘smoke’ is likely to be cognate with Yorta-Yorta **thonga**, and perhaps Nyangumarta **tjungaru**.

The distribution of single consonants in words is displayed in Table 2.2. All consonants can appear intervocalically, and perhaps word-finally, at least in the citation form of nouns. As mentioned above labials and velars can appear word-finally in most Victorian languages and this applies in Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung. The absence of retroflex **l** may be an accidental gap, and it must be remembered we are at the mercy of old sources notating in a variety of English where letter *r* is silent before a consonant and at the end of a word. Whether the semi-vowels could appear in word-final position is at least partly a matter of interpretation. R.H. Mathews gives *toroi* as the Djadjawurrung word for ‘woman’. The final segment could be the vowel [i] or the consonant [y].

From what we know of other Australian languages we would not expect an opposition in word-initial position between alveolar and retroflex stop, nasal or lateral. We write **t** in words like **turt** ‘star’ following Hercus, and **l** in words like **lirri** ‘nails’. There is no evidence for **n**. An initial **n** occurs in Wergaya in **nirnak** ‘little frog’ and **numila** ‘to cry’, which is **lumila** in Yartwatjali. We do not expect initial **r**-sounds and if **ly** occurred initially it would have presumably been rare.

In compiling Table 2.2 I have taken words from both Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung.

Table 2.2: Distribution of single consonants

	initial		intervocalic		final	
p	pial	red gum	kupa	to drink	witjup	heart
t	turt	star	mata	to pull	mut	cold
rt	-		kartok	mopoke	put	smoke
tj	tjina	foot	pitjik	a fly	mitj	skin
k	kurn	neck	tjaka	to eat	kanak	heel
m	murt	short	kuma	raw	mum	bottom
n	?		manaka	to bring	putjun	matter
rn	-		perner	teal duck	kulkurn	youth
ny	nyawi	sun	ngunyi	game bag	puroyn	night
ng	ngalanya	no	karinga	to grow	peng	body
l	lirri	mosquito	palotj, paloyt	elbow	kal	dog
rl	-		?		?	
ly	?		pilya-mir	awake	ngaRayl	eagle
rr	-		murrun	alive	malkarr	shield
r	-		karip	thigh	mir	eye
y	yulawil	echidna	kuyun	spear	-	
w	wika	to die	pawa	to cook	-	

Consonant clusters

These languages exhibit consonant clusters. In intervocalic position there are homorganic nasal-stop clusters, homorganic lateral-stop clusters, and clusters of liquid (**rr**, **l** and possibly **rl**) with peripherals (**p**, **k**, **w**, **m** and **ng**). All of these clusters are common in Australian languages, but Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung, like most other Kulin tongues, allow clusters of liquid and peripheral stop or nasal in word-final position, at least in monosyllables.

Homorganic consonant clusters

Table 2.3 illustrates homorganic nasal-stop clusters. These occur intervocalically, but not finally, though interestingly some nasal-final nouns exhibit a homorganic stop when a vowel-initial suffix or clitic is added. This suggests that the stops were once onsets of syllables subsequently lost. Some words with a final /m/ sporadically appear with a following labial stop,

<i>koroom, korm, gurm, coormb</i>	breast
<i>marnkum, marnkum, man'guurmp</i>	round, ball
<i>gum gum, gump gump</i>	horse
<i>jheerm-jheerm, chirmp chirmp</i>	magpie

Table 2.3: Homorganic nasal-stop clusters

	intervocalic cluster		latent stop following word-final nasal		
mb	pamba	be afraid	kurrm	kurmb-uk	her breast
nd	yundap	elbow	kuRun	kuRund-uk	his/her knee-cap
rnd	karnda	to call out	kurn	kurnd-in	your neck
ndj	windja	where?	kirndiyn	kirndindj-uk	his/her hairpin
ngg	yungguip	canoe	paRing	paringg-uk	his/her footprint

The appearance of a latent consonant in the examples in Table 2.3 contrasts with forms such as **mam-uk** 'his father' 'his/her father', **witjin-uk** 'its feather' and **patjiny-in** 'your knee' where no homorganic stop appears.

A range of homorganic lateral-stop clusters probably occurred, but there is evidence only of **lt** in intramorphemic position as in **katjaltanu** 'widower'. These clusters may have occurred word-finally. The word **tjult-kira** 'to jump' contains a syllable-final **lt** before an apparent morpheme boundary.

Heterorganic consonant clusters

Table 2.4 displays consonant clusters of liquid plus peripheral and also gives examples of monosyllabic nouns. The absence of intervocalic **rrk** and **lng** in Table 2.4 is probably accidental, whereas the absence of word-final **rrw**, **rw** and **lw** is presumably systematic. For **rrng** and **rng** we have **teRngatuk** where the rhotic is indeterminate.

Table 2.4: Consonant clusters of liquid and peripheral

	intervocalic		final	
rrp	nyarrpi	old man	purrp	head
rrk	?		merrk	ankle
rrw	wirrwa	to run	-	
rrm	karrma	to vomit	tjarrm	mother's brother
rrng	teRngatuk*	new	?	
rp	werpil	eagle	wirp	sore, wound
rk	yarka	to search	mirk	egg
rw	werwa	to climb	-	
rm	wirmal	owl	wuRm*	emu feather band
rng	teRngatuk*	new	kurng-kurng	kookaburra
lp	milpa	to bend	yulp	right
lk	malkarr	shield	kalk	wood
lw	kalwitj	crab	-	
lm	ngalma	artery	tilm-tilm	crack
lng	?		pulng-pulng	wave

* rhotic uncertain

Other consonant clusters occur. Some are across clear formative boundaries as with **mayn-matj** 'stranger' (See §2.5) and some across probable formative boundaries as with **kurnma** 'be thirsty'. It is likely that all these clusters are across formative boundaries.

There seems to be some clusters of three consonants consisting of a rhotic and a homorganic nasal and stop as in **wirmbul** 'ears' and **purrngga** 'to blow'.

The root **nyim/nhim** 'blind' exhibits an extra **p** before **m**-initial formatives.

nyima, nyim-nyim	blind
nhimpma	to wink
nhimp-min kunangu	sleep walking

2.4 Nasal augment

Besides using truncation to produce consonant-final nouns the Warrnambool language, the Gippsland language, and Eastern Kulin augment what would otherwise be vowel-final nouns with a nasal, a velar following **a, u** and rhotics (which are treated like vowels) and a palatal following **i**. This augment does not appear in most of the dialects of Western Kulin, including Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung, but in the most northerly ones, namely Mathi-Mathi, Letji-Letji, Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and Wati-Wati (Piangil) a velar nasal does appear followed by **-i**, which means most nouns are vowel-

final, thus the very widespread word **kuna** ‘faeces’ appears as **kunangi** in these northern Kulin dialects. The fact that the nasal augment appears in the far north of the Kulin area as well as in the south and east suggests it once occurred in the area in between and was subsequently lost. There is some evidence that this is the case. The velar nasal augment was also used following the glide **r**, so that the word for ‘eye’ in Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung is **mirng** and the word for ‘ear’ is **wirng**. In Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung the form for ‘ear’ is **wirngbul** (Dawson) or **wirmbul** (other sources), where the nasal appears to have been preserved in a protected environment before the formative **pul** ‘two’. A velar nasal also appears on **ngarra** ‘hair’ in **ngarrangi-purp** (hair-i head) ‘hair’ and in **ngarrangi wurru** (hair-i mouth) ‘moustache’, and on **nyani** ‘nape’ in **nyanangi purp** ‘back of head’, presumably to avoid a hiatus. Also we find a few words that alternate between having the nasal augment and lacking it. In the Wimmera language, for instance, the word for ‘bandicoot’ appears as **pu** and **pung**.

Table 2.5 illustrates a contrast between words with an inherent word-final nasal and a nasal augment, a contrast that shows up in Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung since none of them exhibits the augment. Column 1 gives forms that lack a final nasal but where a final nasal appears in Wathawurrung or Woiwurrung (column 3). Column 2 lists forms that have a word-final nasal in Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung as well as in Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung.

Table 2.5: Nasal augments

<i>Tjapwurrung</i> <i>Djawurrung</i> <i>(minus augment)</i>	<i>Tjapwurrung</i> <i>Djawurrung</i> <i>(inherent nasal)</i>	<i>Woiwurrung</i> <i>Wathawurrung</i>	<i>English Gloss</i>
mir		mirng	eye
	kurng-kurng	kurng	kookaburra
waRi		waRiyn	sea
wi		wiyn	fire
kuli		kuliyn	man
nyani		nyaniyn	neck
nyawi		nyawiyn	sun
	larniyn	tarniyn	rib
	patjiyn, patjing	paRing	knee
	paring	paring	track
kuna		kunang	faeces
lia		liang	tooth
munya		munyang	louse
tjina		tjinang	foot
wa		wang	crow
	nguRang	nguRang	food/bread
warru		warrung	navel
wurru		wurrung	mouth
pu, pung		pung	bandicoot
mulu		mulung	bottom
	thuRung	thuRung	heart

The word for ‘tongue’ in Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung is irregular in that it is **tjali**, but clearly reflects widespread **tjalayn**. It shows up as **tjalang** in the Wimmera Language and in Wemba-Wemba.

The use of the nasal augment runs counter to truncation. If truncation were general then **kuna** should show up as ***kun**, rather than as **kunang**.. It is interesting to note that many of the words bearing the augment are widespread ones. It may be that these words were spread after truncation ceased to operate. Australian languages have been classified lexicostatistically into 29 families with one family Pama-Nyungan covering all the mainland except for the Top End and the Kimberleys. Pama-Nyungan has been taken to be a genetic entity on the basis of widespread case markers such as ergative **-lu** and **-ngku**, pronouns such as **ngali** ‘we two’, and some widespread lexical items. Dixon (2002:44-54) dismisses the idea of Pama-Nyungan being a language family and he suggests that the pronouns that characterise Pama-Nyungan diffused. These widespread pronouns highlight a problem with the notion of Pama-Nyungan as a genetic group. On the one hand there are a few very similar forms such as the pronouns found throughout the area, so similar that they seem unlikely to be reflections of a remote proto-language, and on the other hand there is very low cognacy apart from a few pronouns, case markers and a few score of lexical items. It may be that the widespread lexical items diffused. Some of them are body-part nouns and the traditional wisdom is that such nouns are relatively stable and unlikely to diffuse. However, there is evidence that body-nouns do diffuse. A survey of body nouns reveals that while a few are distributed over most of the mainland, many body roots cover large continuous areas. If body nouns have been strongly retained from a remote proto-language that is reflected over the continent, then we would expect them to have a distribution over the continent with gaps here and there where they have been replaced. Some roots such as **thalayn** ‘tongue’ and **kata** ‘head’ pretty much fit this picture. However, many other body roots are confined to particular swathes. These of course could reflect a proto-language, but their distribution tends not to be supported by similar distributions of other lexical and grammatical roots. It is hard to escape the conclusion that roots for some body parts are subject to diffusion.⁸ In some cases there is specific evidence. The word **mitjuk** appears in Keramin, but it clearly a borrowing from nearby Kulin tongues where it is **mitj-uk** with **-uk** being a third person singular possessor.

Other widespread roots that show the augment in Kulin, but which do not occur in Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung include **tharra(ng)** ‘thigh’ and **mara(ng)** ‘hand’.

Not every vowel-final noun in Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung has cognates with a nasal augment in other Kulin tongues. **Ngarra** ‘hair’ occurs in the Mathi group of Western Kulin as **ngarra** without the addition of **-ng** plus **-i**. **Nyani** ‘back of neck’ is found with the augment in Wathawurrung, but not in the Mathi group. The word for ‘earth’, ‘ground’ in Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung is **tja**, as in the Wimmera Language and in Wemba-Wemba, but shows up as **tja** in Wathawurrung (It is not found in Woiwurrung), but there is an augment in the Mathi group, e.g. **tjangi** in Letji-Letji.

Finally it must be said that there remains some uncertainty about just which words were truncated, quite apart from widespread words like **kuna**. There are numerous disyllabic, consonant-final, monomorphemic words. These could have been reduced from trisyllabic words, but word-final clusters of liquid and peripheral are not found in disyllabic words, which suggests they were not subject to truncation. It may be that truncation applied to disyllabic vowel stems, but it applied before widespread words such as **kuna** came into the language.

⁸ Examples include **ngama** ‘breast’ (a nearly continuous distribution from southern Cape York to the Murray, extending into the Lake Eyre region of South Australia), **mulya** ‘nose’ (a continuous distribution covering Western Australia, south of the Kimberleys, and South Australia and adjacent parts of Queensland and the Northern Territory), **nganka** ‘whiskers’. (a continuous distribution covering Western Australia south of the Kimberleys, South Australia, the southern part of the Northern Territory and extending into western Queensland. This is to some extent complemented by **yarrayn** ‘whiskers’, which covers a continuous area from south-eastern Queensland down to the Victorian coast), **yuri** ‘ear’ (a continuous distribution in South Australia and the lower Darling) and **kuma(ri)** ‘blood’ (a pretty much continuous area in South Australia and Queensland).

2.5 Nasal assimilation

There are examples showing that a syllable-final stop sometimes became nasal where the following syllable had an initial nasal. The word ‘white man’, for instance, comes up as **wainman**. Other examples include the following:

Table 2.6: Nasal assimilation.

<i>gloss</i>	<i>without assimilation</i>	<i>with assimilation</i>
back of hand	wart manya (Tjap)	warn marna (Dw)
bat	nganut-nganutj (WW)	nganin-nganitj
cold	mut-mut	mun-mut
finger nail	lirrit manya	lirrin manya
run away with	yutmila	yunmila
southeast	?	maRiyn-maRiyt
stranger, enemy	mayt-mayt	mayn-mayt

3. Grammar

Most of the grammatical data we have comes from a grammatical sketch by R.H. Mathews (see above). There are some scores of sentences in Thomas 1862, a translation of a psalm in E.S.Parker 1845, some sentences in Gray 1878a, and a few sentences in J. Parker 1878. Mathews and the Parkers deal with Djadjawurrung, Thomas probably with a western variety of Djadjawurrung, and Gray with Tjapwurrung.

3.1 Case marking

The Kulin tongues had a case system. The following case markers can be identified. Except where noted they are from R.H. Mathews and apply to Djadjawurrung. Case markers were used on nouns, adjectives and pronouns.

Table 3.1: Case Markers on Nouns and Adjectives

Absolutive	no marker
Ergative-instrumental	-ngu after vowels (but toRoi , toRoyu ‘woman’, nguRe , nguReyu ‘big’)
	-u after a consonant
Genitive	-nga after a vowel (but toRoya ‘woman’, nguReya ‘big’)
	-a after a consonant
Locative	-u , e.g. puruny-u ‘in the dark’, nhawiyu ‘in the sun/day’; E.S.Parker gives thal-u-ngek ‘in my language’
Locative/Allative	-i , -ni , -yi Thomas gives lar-i ‘in the hut’ and mir-i ‘in the hole’, but Mathews give lar-i ‘to camp’. Gray gives par-ni ‘to the creek’, E.S. Parker gives <i>woorer wooreye</i> ‘to heaven’ and <i>tart-e</i> ‘in hell’. Thomas gives jail-a ‘to jail’. The variant -ni is found after r also in Joseph Parker’s <i>larr-nee</i> . The glide r is treated as a vowel in other contexts, so it may be that -ni is the variant used after vowels. E.S. Parker has <i>-ye</i> (See Appendix 1)
Ablative	-ang , -nang Mathews gives lar-nang ‘from camp’ (note -nang parallel to -ni); Thomas gives pirrk-ang ‘by the tail’.
Used in compounds	-i (Examples are given in §3.11.2)

Examples

Nominative and ergative

With nouns and adjectives nominative is used for words given in isolation, for the subject of an intransitive clause and for the object of a transitive verb. The ergative case marker is used for the subject of a transitive verb and the instrument with which an action is carried out, though Mathews notes that the ergative marker is sometimes omitted and only the instrumental marker used.

- (3.1) *Gallu wille bündin.* (rhM)
Kal-u wile pund-in.
 dog-ERG possum bit-PAST
 ‘A dog bit a possum.’
- (3.2) *Kulkunu duan takin dendettimu.* (rhM)
Kulkurn-u tuan tak-in tendetim-u.
 youth-ERG tuan hit-PAST boomerang-INSTR
 ‘A young man killed a tuan with a boomerang.’
- (3.3) *Gulingu gulkurn takin tendettimu.* (rhM)
Kuli-ngu kulkurn tak-in tendetim-u.
 man-ERG youth hit-PAST boomerang-INSTR
 ‘A man hit a youth with a boomerang.’

Mathews gives the ergative of *toroi* as *turoiu* where one might have expected the suffix to have been **-ngu** after a vowel.

- (3.4) *Toroiyu bubup tyilpin.* (rhm)
ToRoyu pupup tjilp-in.
 woman.ERG child hit-PAST
 ‘A woman hit a child.’

Other examples of the ergative-instrumental include the following: **taka nyawi-ngu** ‘sunstroke’ (lit. hit by the sun), **kani-ngu** ‘with a yamstick’, **kuyun-u** ‘with a spear’, **mandjan-u** ‘by a kangaroo’, **lia-ngu** ‘with [its] teeth’, and **tatam-u** ‘with an axe’ (grb).

Genitive

The genitive is used to mark a possessor, but the possessed entity bears a possessor enclitic specifying the person and number of the possessor. In (3.5) the possessor is indicated just by the enclitic.

- (3.5) *Nya nyarry-knyin?* (th)
Nya nyarri-ngin?
 what name-2nd.POSSESSOR
 ‘What is your name?’
- (3.6) *Gulinga tendetimuk* (rhm)
Kuli-nga tendetim-uk
 man-GEN boomerang-3rd.POSSESSOR
 ‘a man’s boomerang’

In the following example note the genitive of **toRoi** is **toRoya**, which is analogous to ergative **toRoyu**. This same genitive appears on **nguRea** in (8)

- (3.7) *Toroiya kanninyuk* (rhm)
ToRoya kani-nyuk
 woman.GEN yamstick-3rd.POSSESSOR
 ‘a woman’s yamstick.’
- (3.8) *Gulinga ngurea tendetimuk* (rhm)
Kuli-nga nguRe-a tendetim-uk
 man-GEN big-GEN boomerang-3rd.POSSESSOR
 ‘a big man’s boomerang’

Mathews also gives **nguRe-uk kuli-nga tendetim-uk**, which surely means ‘a man’s big boomerang’ and **kuli-nga nguRe-uk tendetim**, which he translates as ‘a big man’s boomerang’, but which looks as if it could be ‘a man’s big boomerang’ with the possessor marking only on **nguRe**.

Mathews gives the forms **tendetim-ek** ‘my boomerang’, **tendetim-in** ‘your boomerang’ and **tendetim-uk** ‘his, her boomerang’. Joseph Parker gives **-al** ‘our (dual)’ and **-tjanak** ‘their (plural)’. These match the forms shown suffixed to **peng** and **wang** in Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4, so it would appear that the full set would be the same as those shown there. Examples of the singular possessor forms are found in all the dialects considered here, and it appears that the forms used after vowel-final stems are **-ngek**, **-ngin** and **-nhuk**. As noted above, a final rhotics are treated as vowels, hence **karrngek** ‘my nose’ and **mirngek** ‘my eye’.

E.S. Parker (1854) claims that where both a possessor suffix and a case marker are used with a noun the order can be case + possessor as in *lar-ye-knak* ‘at or to my house’ or possessor + case as in *lar-knak-e* ‘in my house’. He claims that the different orders account for the difference between ‘at’ or ‘to’ and ‘in’. From what is known from better attested languages this seems unlikely. Gray (grb) gives

an example *leangerook* ‘with its teeth’, which looks as if it is **lia-ngu-R-uk**, but the *r* may be a transcription error for *n*.

Locative **-u**

-u appears in the following,

puroyn	night	puronyu	tonight
nhawi	sun	nyawiyu, nhawiyu	today
wart	back	wartyu	behind

These examples appear to indicate a locative function, though these may be fossilised examples. Thomas gives **pamba puronyu** ‘afraid of the dark’, which indicates that **-u** was productive, at least for marking the complement of **pamba** ‘to fear’. Thomas also gives **pamba ngatja-wa** ‘afraid of the devil’. In well attested languages the complement of a verb of fearing can be found in the locative, ablative or an evitative case, a case indicating what is to be avoided. Thomas also gives *wille-o* ‘[hunt] for possum’ (See (46)). The **-o** can probably be identified with **-u**, as indicated in §2 above.

Locative/Allative **-i, -ni, -yi**

As indicated above, the suffix **-i, -ni, -yi** indicates both location (‘at’, ‘in’) or destination (‘to’). This can be illustrated in E.S. Parker’s translation of Psalm 139, verse 8.

- (3.9) *Gneetong pikinan* *woorer wooreye, warbim* *Marmingunik* *mirpanua:*
Ngitung paik-in-an **wura-wura-yi** **mami-ngurrak** **miRp-arr nhua**
 if ascend-fut-I heaven.to you Father.my dwell-you there
- Gneetoong monginan* *dookumn dookumak tarte, mirrpar* *nua.*
Ngitung mungg-in-an **tukum-tukum-ek** **tat-i** **miRp-arr nhua**
 if make-fut-I bed-my hell-in dwell-you there
- If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there.⁹

As mentioned above, Mathews gives *lahr-ē* (**lar-e**) ‘to a camp, but Thomas gives *lahr-ray* (**lar-e**) ‘in the hut’ and *mir-ray* (**mir-e**) ‘in the hole’,

- (3.10) *Mahng-gootang-mir-ray.* (th)
Mang kutang mir-i.
 here be hole-loc
 ‘Here is [one] in the hole.’

Notations such as Thomas’ *-ay* suggest the vowel of the suffix is [e], but Joseph Parker writes *ee*, so I have transcribed the vowel as **i**.

Thomas gives *tjel-a* ‘to jail’.

Ablative **-ang, -nang**

Mathews gives **lar-nang** ‘from a camp’ and Thomas gives **pirrk-ang** ‘[pull] by the tail’.

- (3.11) *Boorkak-birkang-bartomak.* (th)
Puk-ak **pirrk-ang** **partum-ak.**
 pull.out-IMP tail-ABL throw.down-IMP
 ‘Pull out [the possum] by the tail and throw him down.’

⁹ The syllable *-in* is interpreted as future from the sense. The past was indicated by **-in** and the future by **-iny**. See Table 3.10. Since Djadjawurrung has intervocalic **n** or **rn** where Tjapwurrung has **ny**, one wonders how the distinction was maintained. perhaps with **-in** ‘past’ and **-irn** ‘future’.

The suffix -i

The suffix **-i** is used mostly in compounds, such as **purrp-i lar** ‘roof’, literally, head-its hut. This is illustrated in §3.11.2 below. This **-i** also appears in **ngaRuki** ‘after (**ngaRuk** ‘back of body’) and **puitji** ‘inside’, which appears to be built on **putj/putjtj** a root found in Eastern Kulin for ‘stomach’.

Adjectives

In Australian languages the equivalent of most English adjectives take noun case inflection, and this appears to be true of Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung. According to Mathews adjectives are placed after the nouns they qualify and take similar inflections for case and number. However, in some examples in his manuscript the adjective precedes the noun. He also mentions that the inflection was sometimes omitted from the noun or the adjective.

(3.12) *Gulingu ngureu gal tyilpin.* (rhM)

Kuli-ngu nguReyu kal tjilp-in. (also with **nguReyu kulingu**)
 man-ERG big.ERG dog hit-PAST
 ‘A big man hit a dog.’

Mathews also gives the following examples, presumably as equivalent of the comparative and superlative degree in English.

(3.13) *Dhalkuk mung, yurrung kiawa.* (rhM)

Thalkuk mang, yaRang kiawa. (also **Mang thalkuk, kiawa yaRang**)
 good this bad that
 ‘This is better than that.’

(3.14) *Dhalkuk dyammi mung.* (rhM)

Thalkuk tjami mang. (also **Mang tjami thalkuk**)
 good really this
 ‘This is very good.’

3.2 Number

There is not much evidence of number marking in Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung except what occurs on pronouns (See §3.4 below). There are numerals **kayap** ‘one’ and **puletj** ‘two’ for ‘one’ and ‘two’. There is also **kalik**, which R.H. Mathews gives as ‘three’ both with pronouns and in **kuRekalik** ‘three kangaroos’. Bearing in mind that Australian languages tend to have a word meaning ‘a few’ rather than ‘three’, and noting that several collectors recorded **pupuk kalik** ‘for family’, it is likely that **kalik** meant ‘a few’. In any case it may have been a free form. Mathews also gives **kuRekart** for ‘several kangaroos’, but, again, **kart** may have been a free form, as is **kart-kart** in **kuRea kart-kart** ‘several kangaroos’.

Thomas gives the following example with **puluk**, a widespread Kulin form for ‘mob’. It appears to be followed by an ergative **-a** (mishearing of **-u?**), which provides grounds for taking it as plural marking.

(3.15) *Dooroi-bullaga-wirrika-wee.* (th)

TuRoi-puluk-a wirika wi.
 woman-mob-ERG make fire
 ‘The two women make a fire.’

Thomas also gives the following example where **palak** appear to indicate plural judging by similar forms in other Kulin tongues.

- (3.16) *Nang-goort-goortang-gooly-ba-dooroi-balluk?* (th)
Nhangkut kutang kuli ba tuRoi-palak?
 how.many be man and woman-PLURAL[?]
 ‘How many men and women?’

Joseph Parker gives **kuli pa tuRi puluk** (*goo-lee-bar too-ree-bul-luk*) for ‘men and women’, **ngamaikitj-puluk-kurrk** for ‘white women’ and **mukulumbitj-puluk-kurrk** for ‘half-caste women’. Since **kurrk** is a bound form for ‘human female’, it would follow that **puluk** is also a bound form.

3.3 Gender

There is no grammatical gender in Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung or Djadjawurrung, though Matthews includes a mention of gender in his sketch grammar of Djadjawurrung, as he does in his other grammatical sketches. The sex of animals is indicated by **mamuk** for male and **papuk** for female. **Ngarrambeyn** is used for ‘male kangaroo’ as in **kuRe ngarrambeyn** as opposed to **kuRe papak** ‘female kangaroo’. With humans **kurrk** is used to indicate females as in **winakam kurrk** ‘divorced woman’ as opposed to **winakam** ‘divorced man’.

3.4 Pronouns

3.4.1 Personal pronouns

In the Wimmera Language, in the area under study, and in Wathawurrung and the Central Victorian Language pronouns consist of a common base to which enclitics are attached. In one type the base bears possessor enclitics so that we have forms such as **peng-ek** ‘I’ and **peng-in** ‘you’ where **peng** is derived from **peng** ‘body’ and **-ek** is ‘my’ and **-in** is ‘your’. These formations are analogous to reflexive pronouns in English (*myself, yourself*, etc.). In the other type a base bears the enclitics used to mark the subject on the verb and on the first word of a clause, so that we have forms such as **wa-n** ‘I’ and **wa-rr** ‘you’ where **-n** is the subject enclitic for ‘I’ and **-rr** the subject enclitic for ‘you’. Pronouns built on **wa-** appear in Yartwatjali and Djadjawurrung, as well as in Woiwurrung (Blake 1991:70).

The pronouns are displayed in Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4. There are some silent corrections in the transcription such as fixing obvious errors of person and number and eliminating demonstratives.

As can be seen, Dawson and Curr’s lists for Hamilton and Mount Rouse, all of which are clearly Tjapwurrung, have **win-** as the pronoun base. The same base is found in three sources from R.H. Mathews, namely Hopkins River, Yayatjali and Yurtauil (Mathews ms). This suggests that they belong with Tjapwurrung. The upper stretches of the Hopkins River are in Tjapwurrung territory, Yurtauil is from near Beaufort, just into Wathawurrung territory and Yayatjali is from near St Arnaud, which is in Djadjawurrung territory.

The **peng** base is found in E.S. Parker’s *Knenknenwurrung* and *Jajowrong* lists as well as in a paper by R.H. Mathews entitled ‘*Tjapwurru and Wuddyawurru Dialects*’ (1902). In this short paper Mathews notes that the structures of Tjapwurrung and Wathawurrung are identical, though they differ in vocabulary. He gives a set of **peng** pronouns without making it clear whether they are Tjapwurrung or Wathawurrung or both, though he notes their similarity with Wathawurrung pronouns recorded by Tuckfield. Since these **peng** pronouns are found in E.S. Parker’s Djadjawurrung material, we can accept that the **peng** series was common to Djadjawurrung and Wathawurrung, but in light of the evidence of Dawson and Curr it would appear they are not Tjapwurrung.

Pronouns built on a common base are clearly an innovation, and the fact that **wa-** is found in Eastern Kulin as well as in Yartwatjali and Djadjawurrung suggests the formations are diffusible, as does the fact that **peng** is used as a base in Djadjawurrung and Wathawurrung.

Table 3.2: Singular Pronouns

	I	my	you	your	he, she	his, her
Wannon-Yarlook	wan	watjak				wantjuk
Mount Talbot	wan	wangek	wara	wangin		wanguk
Glenelg	wan		wanyen			
RHM: Yayatjali	winek		winin		winuk	
RHM: Hopkins River	winek		winin		winyuk	
RHM: Yurtauil	winek		winin		winuk	
Hamilton	winek		winin			
Dawson	winek		winin			
Mount Rouse	winek		winin			
E. Parker:Knenknen	pengek		pengin			
E. Parker: Jajowrong	pengek		pengin			
RHM: Tjapwurru	pengek	pengotikek	pengin	pengotikin	penguk	pengotikuk
Natte-Yallook	wan		wokok			
Mathew: Ercildoune			wangin			
RHM: Lewurru		wangek		wangin		wanyuk
Mathew: Avoca	wan	wangek	warr	wangin		wanyuk
Thomas	wan					
J. Parker			warr			
RHM: 1904 inc. drafts	wangan wan	wangek	wangarr warr	wangin		wanyuk

In his Lewurru paper Mathews gives **wangek**, **wangin** and **wanyuk** as nominative pronouns, but a comparison with other sources, including Mathews' 1904 paper, suggests they are possessor forms, and they have been entered as such in Table 3.2.

Table 3.3: Dual pronouns

		we (inc.)	we (ex.)	you	they
Wannon-Yarlook		wangalu	wangaluk	wanwul	
Mount Talbot		wangal			nulmul
RHM: Yayatjali		winingal	winingalak	winwulak	winpulak
RHM: Hopkins River		winel			
	poss	winelak			
RHM: Yurtauil		winal	winelak		
	poss	winangalak*			
RHM: Tjapwurru		pengal	pengalak	pengpula	pengpulang
	poss	pengotingal	pengotingalak	pengotiwula	pengotipulang
Mathew: Ercildoune		wangal			
Mathew: Avoca		wangu			
	poss	wangitok			
RHM: 1904 inc. drafts		wangal	wangalang	wawul	wapulang wapulayn
	poss	wangal	wangalak	wangatak	wapulak

* Also Dawson **winangalak**

Joseph Parker records *knell* for 'we'. This is presumably **ngal** or **ngel**, but it may be an enclitic.

Table 3.4: Plural pronouns

		we (inc.)	we (ex.)	you	they
RHM: Hopkins			winyangurrak		windyanak
RHM: Yurtauil		winangurra	winangurrak		
RHM: Tjapwurru		pengatak	pengwatjak	pengut	penganak
	poss	pengotingatak	pengotiwatjak	pengotingut	pengotiyanak
Mathew: Avoca			wangitok		
Mathew: Ercildoune			wangin[g]urak		
RHM: 1904 inc. drafts		wangurr	wandang	wangat, wāt, wait	wangandi
	poss	wangengurrak	wangendak (wangendik pj)	wangathak	wangtjanak (watjanuk pj)

Mathews also gives a list of trial forms, but these are the same as the plural plus the addition of **kalik** (*kullik*, or *ullik* after forms ending in *k*)

The pronoun forms in Tables 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 are subject forms and possessor forms. The subject forms presumably expressed the subject in an intransitive and transitive clause, from what we know of better attested languages. According to Mathews, a pronominal object is expressed only by a bound form, and this bound form can be attached to any part of speech.. He provides the following examples in his 1904 paper with the verb **panga** ‘to scratch’.

- (3.17) a. **Mundjun-u panganiyn.** ‘A kangaroo scratched me.’
 b. **Mundjun-u panganano** ‘A kangaroo scratched you.’
 c. **Mundjun-u pangiy.** ‘A kangaroo scratched him.’

From his unpublished papers it is possible to add the dual and plural forms. The full set is shown in Table 3.5. It is not clear why the singular forms (as in (3.17) above) do not have **-in** as the past tense marker.

Table 3.5: Object pronouns

me	pang-an-iyn.
you	pang-an-ano
him. her, it	pangiy
us two(inclusive)	pang-in-ngaling
us two(exclusive)	pang-in-ngalanging
you two	pang-in-wuling
them two	pang-in-puliyn
us (inclusive)	pang-in-angurri
us (exclusive)	pang-in-nandinyanimbiyn*
you	pang-in-notin
them	pang-in-naniyn

*This appears to be a reflexive form. See below.

Thomas gives the following where the first person singular possessor form appears to indicate the indirect object of **kunga** ‘to give’.

- (3.18) *Goknai-ah-gak-boort.* (th)
Kungay-ak-ek purt.
 give-IMP-me smoke
 ‘Give me a smoke.’

This is confirmed by Mathews who gives **wuk-ak-ek** (give-IMP-me) ‘Give it to me’ as opposed to **wukak** ‘Give it to him.’ Mathews also gives **wukangalanging** ‘Give it to us two, inclusive’ and **wukanganding** ‘Give it to us all, inclusive’, but neither of these forms matches forms in Tables 3.3 and 3.4.

Joseph Parker gives an example of **-andayn** as a form for first person plural in indirect object function (1878:165).

- (3.19) *Ghee yuck-en dayne knar wharr knar kin jhal-la gee.* (pj)
Ki-ak-andayn nya warr ngak-in tjaliki.
 tell-IMP-us what you see-PAST yesterday
 ‘Tell us what you saw yesterday.’

Parker also gives an example of **-an** as an apparent example of first person singular direct object, but the form would appear to be the subject form (See Table 12). The interpretation as object depends on taking **mal** to be a verb corresponding to ‘let’ in English, but it appears to be a demonstrative. See Tables 16 and 21.

- (3.20) *Marl-un-mootch-ar-why knurr-am.* (pj)
Mal-an mutja wanyaRam.
 this-me fetch water
 ‘Let me fetch water.’

I would expect (3.20) to mean ‘I fetch this water’, but two other examples from Gray and Thomas respectively suggest **-an** was used for a notional indirect object. The verb morphology is not understood. The construction in each case appears to involve putting the ‘gift’ in the ergative-instrumental, but such a construction (reminiscent of English ‘provide/supply with food’) is found in Wergaya (Reid 2007:21) and the Warrnambool language (Blake 2003:33) and is presumably genuine.

- (3.21) *Mutchumaraten cutchukaru.* (grb)
mutja-maRat-an katjakarr-u.
 bring-?-me white.cockatoo-ERG
 ‘Bring me a white parrot.’
- (3.22) *Dee-a-yoong-ga-met-tang-un.* (th)
ti-a yungga-metha-ngan. (or **yungga-methang-an**)
 tea-ERG give-?-me
 ‘Give me some tea.’

E.S. Parker’s translation of verses one and seven of Psalm 139 includes *wanoong* as a free form first person pronoun functioning as both subject and object, and a couple of examples where **-an** appears to be object rather than subject. The second line of (3.24) would appear to mean, ‘Where [does] your spirit not see me.’ (See also Appendix 1)

- (3.23) *Marmingorak, warbun yerkar wanoong, par karkinar wannoong.*
Mami-ngurrak wapan yerrk-arr wanung and kerrk-in-arr wanung
 father-our you search-you me and catch-PAST-you me
 O Lord, thou hast searched me, and known me.

- (3.24) *Windyamin yangillan wind ya nurillan;*
windja-min yangil-an windja nuR-il-an
 where-EMPH go-I where hide-REFL-I

windier mooroopen nulls narkin wanoong?

windya murrup-in ngala? nhak-an wanung

where spirit.your not see-I I

‘Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?’

His translation of verses two and three provides an example of **wangek** as a free form for my’.

- (3.25) *War narks naroge booreetnan, par naroge pikinan:*
Warr nhak nhaRoki puR-in-an pa nhaRoki paik-in-an
 you see when sit-PAST-I and when rise-PAST-I

- (3.26) *War yerkin barkook wangak, par narkinar nalderung kokinak.*
Warr yerrk-in parkuk wangek pa nhak-in-arr ngalturrong kokin-ek
 you search-PAST path my and see-PAST-youall way-my
 ‘Thou compassed my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways.’

From what we know of other Australian languages a third person singular object is likely to be left unmarked, and this is confirmed from a number of examples in Thomas. However, where such an object is to be stressed, for instance, in contrast (‘Wake him, not her!’), a form was probably used, perhaps a demonstrative. Joseph Parker gives the following example with an apparent form for third person singular object. It may be a demonstrative, but it is otherwise unattested.

- (3.27) *Knul-larbut koo nuk. (pj)*
Ngala part kunak.
 not wake him
 ‘Don’t wake him.’

Further examples of enclitic pronouns are given below in §3.7.

3.4.2 Reflexive pronouns

Mathews gives the following reflexive pronouns,

myself	wanyanimbik (wanyanimbek recorded in mt)
thyself	wanyanimbin
himself	wanyanimbuk (ms difficult to read, form ‘reconstructed’ by analogy)

Mathews also gives a sentence **Tjilp-tjarra-ngal** (hit-RECIP-we.2) **nyanimbin** ‘We dual are hitting each other.’ Joseph Parker’s word list includes the following three forms,

myself	kayan-ek
yourself	kayan-in
himself	kayan-uk

And the Mount Talbot list includes *cyapo-nyanimbee* ‘him/herself’.

3.5 Demonstratives

It is difficult to determine what the system of deixis is and whether forms are demonstrative pronouns or adverbs. However, Mathews gives the following paradigm, which suggests that the three deictic forms **manga**, **kika** and **maka** refer to near the speaker, near the addressee or a bystander, or further away respectively. Note in passing the vowel separating **warrm** ‘back’ from the enclitics **-ngek**, **-ngin** and **-nyuk**. It may be a locative-allative form.

behind me	manga warrmenge	<i>mungu warrmenge, mungar warrmenge</i>
behind you	kika warringin	<i>keka warringin</i>
behind him, her, it	maka warrminyuk	<i>maga warrminyuk, maga warrminyuk</i>

The various demonstrative forms are presented in Table 16. As can be seen there are uncertainties. **Nyua** is glossed as ‘here’ and ‘there’. Some of the variation, e.g., **mang** v. **mal**, may involve case marking.

Table 3.6: Demonstratives

	Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung	Djadjawurrong
this, here	mang <i>mang</i>	mang <i>mang, mahng rhm, mang th, mong- mere pj, munya, manyu, mamia</i> ‘here’ rhm mal, mali, malyu mal <i>marl</i> pj, mali <i>mali</i> rhm, malyu <i>malyu</i> rhm nyua <i>nyua, noa</i> rhm
that	kila <i>keela, ka it daw, ceela mt</i>	kila, kika <i>gela</i> rhm, <i>geka</i> rhm make <i>mage</i> ‘that person’ rhm <i>kiawa mali</i> rhm
there	kingga <i>king ga daw, ging-ga mt, king gnan</i> ‘here’ daw	mayu, mayuka <i>maiu</i> rhm, <i>maioga</i> th nyua <i>nua j, nyuin wa</i> rhm <i>kinkio</i> ‘here’ j, p, <i>kinyua</i> ta, <i>ghin-ym</i> pj, <i>kinkowurrunga</i> j
that other		kilawa <i>gelawa</i> rhm
there further away		mayumia <i>maiumia</i> rhm ke <i>geh</i> rhm keli <i>geli</i> further away

There are some dual and plural forms recorded of what must be demonstrative pronouns.

that one	mali <i>mali</i> rhm, mal <i>marl</i> pj	malyu <i>malyu</i> rhm
those two	malipulang <i>malibulang</i> rhm	malyupulang <i>malyubulang</i> rhm
those all	malyukandi	malyukandi <i>malyugundi</i> rhm

Mathews gives the following paradigm to indicate how the demonstratives can be marked for person and number. The glosses he gives are ‘this my’, ‘this your’, etc.

Table 3.7: Demonstrative **nyua** ‘this’ with person and number marking

	<i>singular</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1 inc	nyungek	nyungal	nyungingarrak
1ex		nyungalak	nyungandak
2	nyungin	nyuwolak	nyungatak
3	nyunguk	nyuwolang	nyunganak

Mathews also gives the following example where the demonstrative is predicative.

- (3.28) **Mami-an.** (rhm)
 here-I
 ‘Here I am.’

Mathews also gives the following examples of words for ‘back’ or ‘behind’ taking possessor enclitics (Compare above).

Table 3.8: Local words with possessor enclitics

ngaRangek	warmengek	‘behind me’
ngaRangin	warmengin	‘behind you’
ngaRanguk	warmenguk	‘behind him/her’
	warmengal	‘behind us two’

3.6 Interrogatives

Table 3.9: Interrogatives

how?	nyanga (th), nyango (rhm), yanqu (<i>yangoor</i> grb), nyanguRa (e,a)
how many?	nyangkun , nyangkut , nhangkut (th), nyakurn (rhm)
when?	nyartuk (mt), nhaRuki (pj)
what kind of	nyanga-nyuk , nyan-nyuk
what?	nhangwa (grb), nya (th), nyango (rhm)
what for?	nyanganyuk (rhm), kundina (<i>koon-deen-nar</i>)(pj)
where?	windja (various sources)
which	winyat (mt, daw)
who?	winya (rhm)
whose?	winyarra (mt, grb, rhm)
why?	windjai (e), nyangu (a)

- (3.29) *Yangoor ootang coonmeel poondean titcooyin coolie? Mal leangerook.* (grb)
[N]yangu wutang kurnmil pund-iyantitk-uyin kuli? Mal liyang-u-n[h]uk.
 how ? snake bite-? kill-? man here teeth-INSTR-3RD.POSS
 ‘How does the snake bite to kill a man? With its teeth.’
- (3.30) *Nyango nyuin kurang?* (rhM)
Nyango nyuin kuRang?
 how that be
 ‘How is that?’
- (3.31) *Nyang-goort-goortang?* (th)
Nyangkut kutang?
 how.many be
 ‘How many are there?’
- (3.32) *Nyar-ar-gay-ah?* (th)
Nya-arr kiya?
 what-you say
 ‘What are you saying?’
- (3.33) *Nya nyarry-knyin?* (th)
Nya nyarri-ngin?
 what name-your
 ‘What is your name?’
- (3.34) a. **Windjalarr?** ‘Where are you (singular)?’ (rhM)
 b. **Windjalawal?** ‘Where are you two?’
 c. **Windjat?** ‘Where are you all?’
- (3.35) *Windya-beip-in?* (th)
Windja paip-in?
 where pipe-your
 ‘Where’s your pipe?’
- (3.36) *Windya-dyarmba-win?* (th)
Windja djaRmbaw-in?
 where uncle-your
 ‘Where is your uncle?’
- (3.37) *Winyarra mang?* (rhM)
Winya-rra mang?
 who.GEN this
 ‘Whose is this?’
- (3.38) *Winyera lar-nook?* (grb)
Winya-rra lar-nhuk?
 who-GEN camp-3RD.POSS
 ‘Whose camp is it?’
- (3.39) *Nyanganyuk mung?* (rhM)
Nyanganyuk mang?
 what.for this
 ‘What is this for?’

Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are marked by a sentence-initial word **kun** (*goorn*).

(3.40) *Goon-boory-goortang?* (th)

Kun puRi kutang?

query far be

‘Is it far?’

(3.41) *Goon-ar-bakkoornin-wirrahp?* (th)

Kun-arr pakun-in wirrap?

query-you catch-past fish

‘Have you caught any fish?’

(3.42) *Coonara naram-naram?* grb

Kun-arr naRam-naRam?

query-you leader

‘Are you a king?’

The following is perhaps to be interpreted as, ‘Question, old be sister’. **Kun** is unlikely to be a modifier of **nyarambi**.

(3.43) *Gon-ngarrambee-goortang-tahtyinn?* (th)

Kun nyarambi kutang tatj-in? (th)

query old be sister-your

‘How old is your sister?’

3.7 Verb inflection

In his draft grammar of Djadjawurrung Mathews gives the following paradigm for **tjilp-** ‘to hit’ or ‘to beat’. As noted above, the apparent inflections for person and number of the subject are in fact enclitics and can appear on other words.

Table 3.10: Verb inflection

<i>present tense</i>			
	singular	dual	plural
<i>1inc.</i>	tjilpin, tjilpan	tjilpangal	tjilpangurr
<i>1ex.</i>		tjilpangalang	tjilpangandang
2	tjilparr	tjilpawul	tjilpawat
3	tjilpa	tjilpapulang	tjilpanatj
<i>past tense</i>			
<i>1inc.</i>	tjilpinan	tjilpinangal	tjilpinangurr
<i>1ex.</i>		tjilpinangalang	tjilpinandang
2	tjilpinarr	tjilpinawul	tjilpinawat
3	tjilpin	tjilpinpulang	tjilpinangatj
<i>future tense</i>			
<i>1inc.</i>	tjilpinyan		
<i>1ex.</i>			
2	tjilpinyarr	tjilpiyinpulang	
3	tjilpiyn		

In his published Djadjawurrung grammar Mathews gives a paradigm for **wurreka** ‘to speak’. The forms agree with those given above except that the present tense singular forms include **-an** as an apparent present tense marker parallelling **-in** in the past and **-iyn** in the future.

wurrekanan ‘I speak’
wurrekanarr ‘you speak’
wurrekan ‘he speaks’

Examples of bound pronouns in subject function

- (3.44) *Knun neen-in-bairp hair bairp yerrk-keen-an koon dee goo-ra.* (pj)
Ngan-iyn-an perrp-a-perrp yeRk-iyn-an kundi kura.
 go-FUT-I tomorrow.morning look.for-FUT-I ? kangaroo.
 ‘Tomorrow morning I will go and look for kangaroo.’

- (3.45) *Ngahnang-oo-goordy-wille-o.* (th)
Ngan-angu kuti wile-u.
 go-we.PL ? possum-LOC
 ‘Go and hunt possums.’

The next four examples are from Gray. Note the use of the person marking on the second verb in each case, the repeated tense marker in (3.47) and (3.48), and an anomalous **-an-** in (3.49); perhaps the word is a mistake for **tawinyan**.

- (3.46) *Yanginyan tambullan larnook.* (Tgrb)
Yang-iny-an tambul-an lar-nhuk.
 go-FUT-I find-I nest-3SG.POSS
 ‘I am going to find its nest.’

- (3.47) *Yanginyan weerkinyan we.* (Tgrb)
Yang-iny-an wiRk-iny-an wi
 go-FUT-I light-FUT-I fire
 ‘I’m going to light the fire.’

- (3.48) *Yanginyan paitnainyan taarack.* (Tgrb)
Yang-iny-an patina-iny-an taR-ek.
 go-FUT-I sharpen-FUT-I spear-MY
 ‘I am going to sharpen my spear.’

- (3.49) **Yang-iny-an taw-an-an tatam-u.** (Tgrb)
 go-FUT-I chop-?-I axe-INSTR
 ‘I’m going to chop with my axe.’

As noted above, Mathews presents the person/number markers as if they are inflections, but they are in fact enclitics and can appear on other words, often on the first word in the clause, as can be seen in the examples in §3.6. Mathews gives the following set of forms in which the pronominal marker is attached to the demonstrative **mal** (see Table 3.6).

Table 3.11: Subject bound pronouns

	singular	plural
1	malan wurrekan	malngurr wurrekin
2	malarr wurrekan	malat wurrekan
3	mala wurrekan	malatj wurrekan

The fact that the pronominal forms are enclitic raises the question of what form the verb takes when the enclitic is on a word other than the verb. As might be expected, the verb takes just tense marking. In (3.50) the form **-in** appears to be the past tense marker rather than the second person singular enclitic. In (3.51) the verb takes **-a**, which is perhaps just the default form. As can be seen from Table 3.10 this **-a** is not part of the stem and appears in the third person singular.

(3.50) *Goon-ar-bakkoornin-wirrahp?* (th)

Kun-arr pakun-in wirrap?

query-you catch-past fish

‘Have you caught any fish?’

(3.51) *Nyar-ar-gay-ah?* (th)

NyaR-arr kiya?

what-you say

‘What are you saying?’

Other verb inflection

Verbs in word lists carry a variety of suffixes, but the glosses are not much guide to their meaning. The following interpretation of some of these verb suffixes is based on Hercus 1986, in particular, her description of Wergaya.

imperative

The suffix **-ak** marks the imperative of transitive verbs. See also (3.18).

TjaRimak ‘Put down!’

YuwaRpak ‘Be quick!’

Winakak ‘Stop!’

The imperative of intransitive verbs is marked by **-i**.

Wurreki ‘speak!’

Wurreki pawan ‘speak not!’

Ngala wirreki ‘Don’t speak!’ (th)

Kakai ‘Come!’

(3.52) **Paik-i nyunga lar-nang.** (rhM)

get.up-IMP that camp-ABL

‘Get up from that camp.’

There are a number of examples of plural imperative form marked just by the second person plural marker.

- (3.53) *Wa wa wat peeal.* (Tgrb)
Wawa-wat pial.
 climb-you.PL tree
 ‘Climb [that] tree.’

- (3.54) *Wircat wee.* (Tgrb)
Wirk-at wi.
 kindle-you.PL fire
 ‘You mob light the fire!’

Continuative participle **-ang**

Hercus records **-ang**, a continuative participle, in Wergaya (Hercus 1986: 89) and notes that the **-ang** form was the most frequently recorded form of verbs. The **-ang** suffix appears in a number of verb entries in the dialects considered here, but there is no clear indication of its function.. There are a few formations consisting just of a root plus **-ang**, such as **wikang** based on the verb root **wik-** ‘to laugh’, and rather more where **-ang** follows **-tjarra** or **-ila-** (see below).

Reciprocal **-tjarra**

The suffix **-tjarra** marks reciprocal actions and it has cognates in other Kulin languages.

Table 3.12: Reciprocal **-tjarra**

ki-	to speak	kitjarra	to converse
mutj-	to take, hold	mutjarra	to court, to make love
tak-	to hit	tak-tjarra	to fight
tjal-*	to be hot	tjalatjarra	to argue
wuk-	to give	wuk-tjarra	to exchange

* **tjal-kunya** ‘to cook’, WB **tjalang** ‘hot’

In his draft grammar Mathews gives reciprocal forms of **tjilp-** ‘hit’. In his published grammar Mathews uses the verb **wurreka** ‘to speak’ where there is an unexpected substitution of **l** for **rr** in **-tjarra**, possibly dissimilation but unlikely in that there is a distance of three syllables involved.

Table 3.13: Reciprocal forms with subject markers

	tjilp- ‘hit’	wurrek- ‘speak’
1 dual inc.	tjilptjarrangal	wurrekatjalangal
1 plural inc.	tjilptjarrangurr	wurrekatjalangurr
2 plural	tjilptjarrawat	

Reflexive-reciprocal **-ila**

In Wergaya there is a suffix **-ila** which Hercus reports as having a ‘weak frequentative or continuative meaning’ (Hercus 1986:91). This suffix can be found in Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung where it marks the reflexive. **Mutja** is ‘to take’ and **mutjila** is ‘to marry’, presumably ‘take one another’. Thomas records a verb **nyurtila** ‘to hide oneself’, ‘to lurk’. In Wergaya **nyurta** is a transitive verb meaning ‘to hide something’. There is a verb **pikamila** ‘to paint oneself for corroboree’, which is based on **pik** ‘clay’, probably with a stem **pikama**. Mathews (Notebook 6, p.9) gives a complete paradigm for **wilka** ‘to turn’ in Tjapwurrung.

Table 3.14: Reflexive verb forms

	singular	dual	plural
1 inc.	wilkilangan*	wilkilangal	wilkilangangu
1 ex.		wilkilangangal	wilkilanganda
2	wilkilangarr	wilkilangawul	wilkilanganat
3	wilkilang	wilkilangapulang	wilkilangatj

* In his published grammar Mathews gives one reflexive form **wurrekangilakan** ‘I am speaking to myself’, where **-k-** separates **-ngila** and **-an**.

The same suffix also appears with some transitive verb roots as in **kupila** ‘drink’ (alongside **kupa**) and **tjakila** ‘to eat’ (alongside **tjaka**). Here it seems to have a detransitivising function. Analogous examples can be found in some other Australian languages. In Pitta-Pitta, for instance, the reflexive is **-li** or **-mali**, and **-li** can be used to derive an intransitive verb as in **Thatji-li-ya ngantja** (eat-reflex-pres I.nom) ‘I’m eating’ (Blake 1979: 208). There is some evidence that **-ila** is antipassive in that it is used in agent-forming nouns such as **mutjilawil** (**mutj-ila-wil**) ‘bride-man’ or ‘best man’, literally ‘taker’ or ‘bringer’, and **takilap** (**tak-ila-ap**) ‘cruel’, literally ‘hitter’. In an ergative language the antipassive would be used in forming agent nouns. Further examples of **-ila** in nouns can be found in table 3.23

Verbs with the suffix **-ila** often taken the further suffix **-ang**, which was given above as a continuative participle.

(3.55) *Youie chackelong*
YawiR tjak-il-ang
 bird eat-IN-CONT
 ‘The bird eats.’

(3.56) *Nangwar kelang? (Tgrb)*
Nhang-warr ki-ila-ang
 what-you speak-IN-CONT
 ‘What are you saying?’

Some words formed with **-ilang** appear to be nominal.

Table 3.15: **-ilang**

ki-	to speak	ngala-kilang	dumb (no-speak)
milpa	to bend	milpilang	joint, limb
mut	cold	mutilang	cold? Dawson glosses as ‘air’ ¹
nyaka	to see	nyakilang ²	eyesight
patnyuma (Wa)	to bury	patnyumilang	dirty
pilmila ³	to steal	pilmilang	‘roguery’, ‘marriage’ [sic]
pirtn-	to scrape	pirtnilang	to shave (shaving?)
tjak-	to eat	tjakilang	feast
wuk-	to give	wukilang	marriage
ying-	to sing	yingilang	singing, song
yuRp-	to put	yuRpilang	bring forth young, (birth?)

1. Words for ‘wind’ and ‘cold’ overlap.
2. In Wergaya **nyakila** is ‘to watch’, ‘to stare’.
3. The root **pilm** is not found as a verb on its own, but note **pilm-pilmitj** ‘wicked man’.

There is one example from Joseph Parker in which **-ilang** appears on an apparently subordinate verb. Parker's translation is obscure. One would expect the first verb to mean 'I saw' and the sentence to mean, 'I saw the white woman dancing.'

- (3.57) *Knar-kin-un kulng ga long knam nu geetch goork.* (pj)
 Ngak-in-an kalngg-il-ang ngamakitj kurrk
 saw-past-I dance-IN-CONT white woman
 'Saw me dancing white woman.' (pj)
 'I saw the white woman dancing.'

Perfect participle

Hercus reports a past or perfect participle in Wergaya with the form **-en**. With only the old sources to go by it is hardly possible to distinguish **-en**, past participle, from **-in**, past tense, third person singular, but the following entries are plausibly past participle forms.

Table 3.16: Past participle

karing-	to grow, swell	<i>kar-ring-in</i>	grown? swollen?
kerk-	to catch	<i>kerkargin</i>	'caught' (rh)
puitk-	to fall	<i>puitkan, bo-a-kin</i>	fallen?
puitk-	to fall	<i>boicen doort</i>	meteor (fallen star)
putay-	to be empty	<i>boortai-in</i>	gone out [of pipe]
tirt-	to die	<i>tittai-en</i>	dead (died)
*tjalkunya	to cook	<i>tyalk-gonyin</i>	cooked
tjilp-	to hit, to beat	<i>chil-pin</i>	beaten?
wik-	to die	<i>weekin, wikin</i>	dead, corpse (died)
wik-	to be hungry	<i>weecan</i>	hungry (mt)

*The stem is not apparently attested, but **tjalkunya** seems to be a combination of **tjal** 'hot' and **kunya** 'causative'.

Thomas gives an example **Kuna mutjilan?** (*Goonah-moot-yillan*) 'Are you married?' where the final syllable is plausibly the past participle of **mutjila** (**mutj-ila**) 'to marry'

A few verbs have a suffix **-nyu**, which could be a past participle or similar. **Kumbanyu** 'asleep' is based on a stem **kumb-** 'to sleep' and *calpoongue* appears to be a form of **kalpa** to break' and could mean 'broken'. Dawson has **nyipa-nyu** (*gnippa'gnu*). **Nyipa** is 'to bury', so **nyupanyu** is plausibly 'buried'. He also has **puRanyu** from **puRa** 'to sit'.

3.8 Grammatical verbs

Kutang (Thomas) and **kuRang** (Mathews) appearing to be used like the verb 'to be' in English..

- (3.58) *Mahng-gootang-mir-ray.* (th)
Mang kutang mir-e.
 here be hole-loc
 'Here's one in this hole.'
- (3.59) *Mai-o-ga-goortang-yooartnyook.* (th)
Mayuka kutang yuwanuk?
 there be another
 'Are there any more in there?'

(3.60) *Nyango nyuin kurang?* (rhM)

Nyango nyuin kuRang?

how that be

‘How is that?’

Thomas has a number of lexical entries containing *goortung/goortang* where the function is not clear: *kait-kurt-goortung* ‘bee swarm’, *boory-goortang-dya* ‘journey’ (**puRi** ‘far’), *dyoowahring-lahr-goortang* ‘tribe’ (**lar** ‘camp’), *gohpurt-goortang* ‘to trust’, *mellap-goortang* ‘wide’.

Thomas also has *Bahpup-morron-goortin?* (**Papap murrun kutin?**) ‘Is your mother alive?’. *Goortin* is *goorin* in his ‘Melbourne dialect’. **Kutin** may be the root **kut-** plus **-in** ‘you’. The alternation between Thomas’ Ballarat *goortin* and Melbourne *goorin* suggests that **kutang** can be identified with R.H. Mathews’ **kuRang**.

3.9 Negative

Negation is expressed by **ngalanya** in Tjapwurrung and **ngala** in Djadjawurrung. There is also **li** in Djadjawurrung and the difficult-to-transcribe *nge-nge* and *ngye-ngye-e* in Tjapwurrung. In other languages of the area the negative word comes first in the sentence and this appears to have been true in Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung.

(3.61) **Ngala wan takw-in.**

not I chop-?

‘I’m not chopping wood’

[Given as a translation of ‘I cannot chop wood’]

Mathews (1904) gives **Wurreki pawan** for ‘Don’t speak!’ **Pawan** (*bowun*) is not recorded in other sources.

3.10 Emphatic particles

Hercus (1986: 60) reports two emphatic particles **kat** and **min** in Wemba-Wemba and **min** also in Wergaya (1986:93). Both occur in Thomas’ sentences, though the function is not clear. Thomas’ second example below is translated as a question, though the form of the verb is imperative. The translation probably should be, ‘Show me the road.’

(3.62) *Nyoo-wa-min-gee-in-a-noo.* (th)

Nyuwa-min ki-in-an-u.

there-EMPH speak-PAST-I-?

‘I told you so.’

(3.63) *Dyooma-kak-bahring-gaht?* (th)

Tjum-ak-ek paring kat

tell-IMP-me road EMPH

‘Will you show me the road?’

3.11 Word formation

This section covers reduplication, compounding and derivation. Some verb derivation of the regular kind such as reciprocal has been described under verb inflection. The distinction between inflection and derivation is blurred where formations are regular, like inflection, but of syntactic consequence, as with reciprocal.

3.11.1 Reduplication

Some words have reduplicated roots. There are hardly any instances where the root occurs on its own as well as in a reduplicated formation, though Thornly gives **tjakil** ‘lake’ and **tjakil-tjakil** ‘lakes’ and **wurrak** ‘banksia’ and **wurrak-wurrak** ‘banksia scrub’, where reduplication functions rather like plural. Thornly also gives **mut** ‘cold’, which otherwise occurs in **mutilang** and **mutangi** (See above) as well as in **mut-mut** (also **mun-mut**, see §2.5 above). In many cases there is clear motivation in that reduplication is associated with alternation or oscillation as it is in some other languages including English where reduplication often co-occurs with vowel alternation (*ding-dong, wig-wag, clip-clop*); thus it appears in words for shivering, twinkling, and in the names of flying creatures. It also appears in words for boomerang, an areal feature of southwest Victoria. Not so easy to account for is its appearance in some terms for lizard (**katjuk-katjuk**, **muka-muka**, **tong-tong**) and in various other words. Examples where there appears to be motivation are given in Table 3.17.

Table 3.17: Reduplication

bat	nganin-nganitj
bird	kuitj-kuitj ‘parakeet’, kuRng-kuRng ‘kookaburra’, puln-puln ‘lyrebird’, parritj-parritj ‘plover’, tjiRm-tjiRm ‘magpie’, tjiRap-tjiRap ‘flycatcher’, tjuni-tjuni ‘owl’, yip-yip ‘mopoke’
boomerang	kalam-kalam , katam-katam , litum-litum , tatum-tatum
earthquake	muRmuRa* tjaa
fly	kuki wulwul-wulwul
mosquito	kiRk-kiRk
shiver	muR-muR-nilang*
tickle	katja-katja
twinkle	muR-muRa*
twirl	muRi-muRima*

* Probably the same root

3.11.2 Compounding

Most of the compounds recorded are nouns (the biggest word class) and most of them consist of two nouns. Many are part-whole combinations or similar as with **katjin mir** (water-eye) for ‘tears’ or other inalienable possession types such as **tjatji nhawi** (sister sun) ‘star’. Many, but not all, apparent noun compounds have a suffix **-i** on the first noun. Examples without **-i** are presented in Table 3.18 and examples with **-i** are in Table 3.19. The **-i** corresponds to a possessor suffix in examples given as (3.5) to (3.8).

Table 3.18: Compounds without -i

katjin mir	water-eye	tear, tears
kini mir	forehead-eye	eyebrow
marna-kaRik	hand-?	spider
miRk-purpp	egg-head	brain
murt wirimbul	short-ears	deaf
naluk tjina	middle/waist foot	instep
ngamakik yawiR	white-man game	egret
ngaRmbulmum (D)	tree-fork bottom	koala
patjanmum (T)	?-bottom	koala
purpp lia	head tooth	front tooth
purpp nganki	head beard	chin

tjatji nhawi	elder-sister sun	star
tjuwang pirrk	long tail	cow
tuRing pili	heart/nut stomach	entrails
wart manya	back-hand	back of hand
wartip tjina	offspring foot	toe

Table 3.19: Compounds with -i

kalk-i lia	(bone-i tooth)	jaw (also kalk-uk lia)
kal-i lar	?-i hut ¹	door
kal-i mir	?-i eye	eyelid
kalk-i manya	(bone-i hand)	bones in the hand
kalk-i nuRak ²	(bone-i leg)	bone in the leg
kalk-i purrp	(bone-i head)	skull
kalk-i tjina	(bone-i foot)	bones in the foot
kapul-i nyawi	tall-i sun ³	midday
kapul-i puroyn	tall-i dark	midnight
kurrk-i marn	(blood-i cloud)	red cloud
kurrk-i mirng	(blood-i eye)	bleary eye
larn-i kiri	(home-i urine)	bladder
naluk-i nyawi	(waist sun/day)	midday (‘waist’ = ‘middle’)
pap-i thina	(mother-i foot)	big toe (in most sources just pap tjina)
paynku-i kal	(child-i dog)	litter
pengg-i ia	(flesh-i tooth)	gum
purrp-i lar	(head-i house)	roof
purrp-i ngani	(head-i beard)	chin
purrp-i paRing	(head-i knee)	kneecap
putj-i karr ⁴	(stomach-i nose)	nostril
putj-i marna	(stomach-i hand)	palm of hand
putj-i tatjak	(stomach- arm)	muscle
putj-i tjina	(stomach-i foot)	sole of foot
putj-i wiRimbul	(stomach-i ear)	ear lobe
tuRongg-i manya	(nut-i hand)	knuckle
wartip-i kalk	(child-i wood)	a stick
wartip-i kurre	child-i kangaroo	young kangaroo
wartip-i manya	(child-i hand)	finger
wiRin-i mir	(feather-i eye)	eyelash
wirp-i kurn	(a sore-i throat)	sore throat

1. The root **kal** may identify with **kal** in **kalwil** ‘basket’ where **-wil** is likely to be the ‘having’ suffix.
2. **NuRak** appears in **tjiRin-nuRak** ‘centipede’, which appears to mean ‘many legs’ by analogy with **thiRin-marak**, the Woiwurrung word for ‘centipede’, which is probably ‘many hands’.
3. **Kapul** appears as ‘tall’, perhaps it is better taken as ‘high’ so that midday is when the sun is high.
4. **Putji** occurs with the meaning ‘inside’ where one would naturally identify **-i** with the locative **-i**. Of course the **-i** that occurs in the part-whole compounds may be a locative **-i**. **Putj** has the meaning ‘liver’ in the dialects considered here, but it is ‘stomach’ in Eastern Kulin.

Except for **paynku** all the stems in Table 3.19 are consonant-final. The **-i** suffix also appears in **ngarrangi-purp** (hair-**i** head) ‘hair’ and **ngarrangi wurru** (hair-**i** mouth) ‘moustache’ where the velar nasal augment is used.

The **-i** suffix also appears in **wartip-i liti** ‘single woman’, where **liti** appears to be English *lady*, in **kayap-i kalk** ‘one tree’, in **poi-poi-i tjaa** ‘dry ground’, and **kitjawil-i yawirr** ‘flock’ (lit. many birds), so it may be that **-i** can be used where one nominal modifies another. Something similar can be found in Wergaya: **pan** ‘small’, **pani tjaa** ‘piece of land’ (lit. small land).

The Tjapwurrung word for ‘big’ is **martuk**, but **marti** occurs in compounds, which suggests **martuk** may be **mart-uk** where **-uk** is the third person possessor suffix and **marti** is **mart-i**.

Table 3.20: **mart-i** compounds

marti katjin	big-i water	flood
marti kuli	big-i man	ancestor
marti kurri	big-i kangaroo	old male kangaroo
marti ngaRam	big-i sinew	achilles tendon
marti tanyuk	big-i hip?	full moon
marti-tayn	big-i frog	bullfrog

There are a few compounds of what appear to be a past participle (See Table 3.16) and a noun

ngakin-nyawi	(dive-participle sun)	sunset
puikin turt	(fall-participle star)	meteor

There are some other compounds of verb plus noun, but they are likely to be new formations or even nonce formations.

kup-kiRayt	drink-alcohol	drunk (noun? adjective?)
walpa kuluR	burn lava	active volcano
walpa wutjup	burn heart	heartburn

Drunkenness is a condition unknown before white settlement, and **walpa wutjup** looks suspiciously like a loan translation of an English word. As for **walpa kuluR**, volcanoes have not been active in the area for more than four thousand years so it is possible that speakers were translating what had been described to them. On the other hand there are legends relating to the volcanoes being active.

3.11.3 Suffixation

-pil, -wil, -mil

As in other Kulin languages there is a suffix that means ‘having’ or ‘having to do with’. The forms are **-pil** and **-wil**. The word for ‘snake’ is **kurnwil** ‘neck-having’, with a variant **kurnmil** with nasal assimilation (See § 2.5). **Parnipinmil**, one of the words for ‘god’ may contain **-mil**. The Djadjawurrung word for ‘musk duck’ is **nganimil**. If this is derived from **ngani** ‘whiskers’, it looks as if there is nasal assimilation across a syllable. The word **kapkamil** ‘horse’ is likely to be a derived word and it does not contain a nasal in the stem.

The stem is usually nominal, but note **pirtnapil**, which appears to be derived from the verb **pirtna** ‘to scrape’.

Table 3.21: **-pil, -wil, -mil**

kani	tooth, yamstick	kaniwil	stone chisel
karip	thigh	karipil	trousers
kurn	neck	kurnwil, kurnmil	snake
lanyi	rib	lanyiwil	traditional doctor
lia	tooth	liawil	club, leangle
ngani	whiskers	nganimil	musk duck
nganitj	husband	nganitjwil kurrk	married woman
pirrk	tail	pirrkwil	scorpion
pirtna	to scrape	pirtnapil	razor
tuku (LL)	dish	tukuwil	tortoise
wuRukayn	volcanic glass	wuRukwil	knife of flint
yula*	spike	yulawil	echidna

*indirect evidence, see yulowiyuk ‘spur of lapwing or platypus’

-waRang

The form **-waRang** also appears to mean ‘having’. This invites comparison with words in a variety of Australian languages with a formative **-wara** as in widespread **kunuwara/kurnwarra** ‘swan’, possibly ‘faeces-having’ since some other terms for duck have analogous formation such as Thagungwurrung **kunapil** ‘duck’, literally ‘faeces-having’, or it could be ‘neck-having’ since swans have prominent necks, as per the suggestion in circulation from John Giacom.

(3.64) *Ngannity-wahrang-dya-tak.* (th)

Nganitj-waRang tjatj-ek

husband-having sister-my

‘My sister is married’

(3.65) *Goonar-mangap-wahrang?* (th)

Kun-arr manggep-waRang?

QUERY-you daughter-having

‘Have you any daughters?’

Thomas gives **pupup-waRang** (*bohpoop-warrang*) for ‘pregnant’, which is confirmed by Joseph Parker and corresponds with Wathawurrung **papap-weRing**, and appears to be ‘baby-having’.

-itj

The suffix **-itj** (with variants **-kitj** and **-atj**), which also occurs in the Warrnambool language, seems to form nominals (nouns and adjectives--these not being morphologically separate). The stem can be a noun or a verb.

Table 3.22: **-itj**

kalk	wood	kalkitj	white ant, pupae of ants
kuki	grandmother (m’s m)	kukuitj	old woman
tjak-	eat	tjakitj	food
wirrp	injury	wirrpkitj	cripple from wounds
nyawi	sun	nyawitj	a light
pirm-ila	steal	pirm-pirmitj*	‘wicked man’
yuRunda	sharpen	yuRondatj	millstone, mortar
tjuRwa	taste	tjuRwitj, tjuRwatj	sweet, sweetheart
wuk-tjarra**	marry	wuk-tjarrangatj	marriage

* The root for ‘steal’ in Kulin is usually **pilm**, but **pirm** is recorded in Tjapwurrung.

** Wuk-tjarra is literally ‘give one another’ and although not recorded as ‘marry’ is likely to be a word for ‘marry’ in light of **man-tjarra** ‘marry’, which is ‘take one another’, and **mu-tjarra** ‘woo, court, make love’, which is literally ‘get/hold/take one another’.

-ap

There appears to be a nominal-forming suffix **-ap**. Compare **pakuna** ‘to catch fish’ and **pakunap** ‘hook’. Most of the examples contain **-ila** (See above).

Table 3.23: **-ilap**

map-	‘to make’	mapilap manya	clever (manya ‘hand’)
mutj-	‘to take, bring’	mutjilap kaat	worker bullock (‘cart draw-er’)
mutj-	‘to take, bring’	mutjilap kurrk	bridesmaid*
puyuRwitj	sweet	puyuRwilap	sweet
tak-	‘to hit’	takilap	cruel
yapa	‘to light’	yapuRilap	torch

*Compare **mutjilawil** ‘bride-man’ or ‘best man’ with the suffix **-wil**.

-aya

Mathews mentions that adjectives in predicative function may take the bound subject pronouns and illustrates the point with the following examples, which appear to contain **-ai** or **-ay**:

- (3.66) **Thelkayan** ‘I am well.’
Thelkayarr ‘You are well.’
Thelkai ‘He is well.’

This suffix can also be found in the following words:

Table 3.24: **-aya**

murrun	alive	murrunaya, murrundaya	to live
parta	slow	partapayang	to be tired
ngala-wirp-wirp	no injuries	ngala-wirp-wirp-aya	to be healthy
tirta (Wa)	to die	tirtaya (T), tiRaya (D)	to be dead

Tirtaya, tiRaya presumably contains **-aya**. **Tirt-** does not occur on its own but it does in Wathawurrung.

Mathews also gives the following examples,

- (3.67) a. **Thalkuk kayaR-ek.** ‘I am good.’
b. **Thalkuk kayaR-in.** ‘You are good.’
c. **Thalkuk kayaR-uk** ‘He, she or it is good.’

One would be inclined to rewrite **thalkuk kaya** as **Thalkukaya**, but this leaves **R** unaccounted for, and also the use of the possessor bound pronouns.

John Mathew’s *Ercildoune* list contains **thalkukangal** ‘we are good’ with the subject enclitic directly on the adjective.

Causative

There is a causative suffix in Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung, as there are in other dialects of Western Kulin (Hercus 1986: 91).. A comparison of **tit-** (or **tirt-**) ‘dead’ and **titkuna** ‘kill’ gives a clear example of **-kuna** as a causative. Other relevant examples are given below in Table 3.25. There are problems of phonetic uncertainty and identification.. As can be seen there are apparent suffixes **-kuna, -una, -kunya, -unya** and **-kunga**. The last of these could be a grammaticised **kunga** ‘to give’, a verb attested in Woiwurrung and the Colac language. Where a

stem ends in **-k**, it is not possible to tell whether we have an example of **-kuna** or **-una**. The stem appears to be nominal in some instances (e.g. **wirp** ‘a sore’ or ‘wound’), so the appropriate label in such cases might be ‘factitive’.

Table 3.25: Causative **-kuna**

kartn-a	knot	kartnawuna	to tie
ngalawa-tetet	oppose-hold	ngalawatetetkunga	to keep
nganggutj	air	nganggutjuna	to breathe
park-a	stab	parkuna	to bore a hole, cut open
pat-	to open	patkunga**	to open (Wer pakungga)
purk-a (We)	to break	purkunga	to break
put-aya	go out (of fire)	putkunga, putkuna, putkuma	to quench fire
telk-uk, telk-aya	good	telkunya	to cure
tirt-aya	dead	tirtkunga	tired
tirt-aya	to die	tirtkuna	to kill
tjal-ang (WB)	be hot	tjalkuna	to cook
wirp, wirip	injury	wiripuna	to hit, to beat
wop (Warr)		wopkuna	fomentation of sore
yap (n), yapa (v)	light	yapunya	to light
yatjang	bad	yatjangpulingkunga	to destroy

There are a number of variants: **pakuma, **pakuna**, **patkunga**, **pakunya**, **patkuna** and **patkunga** with meanings such as ‘open’, ‘arouse’, ‘waken’.

MaRipala ‘to cure’ invites comparison with **maRiyip-maRiyip** ‘good’ and suggests a causative **-ala**. **Paikina** ‘to awaken’ appears to be derived from **paik-** ‘to rise’. There is a verb **wekandja** or **wekundja**, which is based on **wek-** ‘to laugh’.

Other derivational suffixes

A number of verbs have **-ka** as their final syllable. In some cases there is alternation between a verb stem with **-ka** and one without (e.g. **mutja/mutjaka**, **mana/manaka** both meaning ‘get’, etc.). In some cases comparative evidence suggests that **-ka** is a formative. For example, **tjaka** ‘eat’, **nyaka** ‘see’ and **wuka** ‘give’ are built on the roots **tja**, **nya** and **wu** respectively. The verb **wurreka** ‘to speak’ may be built on **wurru** ‘mouth’.

Table 3.26: Verbs with **-ka** as the final syllable

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
bring, take	manaka	mutjaka mana	mutja, mutjaka	mutjaka
build, to	paRpa	paRpa	paRpa parpaka ‘fetch’	paRpa
carry, to		tuta	tuta, tutaka	
come, to	warta witjika	warta, wartaka pirnaka [NWV, Woi pirna ‘come out’]	warta, wartaka	warta
die, to	wika	wika		
eat, to	tjakala	tjaka, tjakila	tjaka, tjakila	tjaka, tjakala

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
give, to	wuka	wuka	wuka	wuka
fall, to	puika	puika, puitka	puika	
gather/find		tambaka		tamba
hit, to	taka	taka		taka
kiss, to	tjotja	tjotjaka	tjotja	
laugh, to	weka	weka wayaka 'kookaburra's laugh'	weka	weka
leave, to	winaka	winaka	winaka	
push, to	yunda	yundaka		
rise, to	paika	paika	paika	paika
see, to	nyakila	nyaka, nyakila	nyakila	nyaka
stand, to	tjaRika	tjaRika		

A number of words appear to have **-kiRa** as their final formative. The roots have not been identified. These are **yulma kiRa** 'temporary habitation', **yatma kiRa** 'camp', **paytkiRa** 'hail, sleet', **tjultkiRa** 'to jump', and **lukiRa** 'to dive'.

Winipa 'to pinch' could be based on **wini** 'narrow' and **milipa** 'to wink' and 'dazzling' must surely be derived from the widespread **mil** 'eye'. **Putjuma** 'to skin' (to gut?) could be based on **putj**, which is 'stomach' in Woiwurrung.

4. English to Yartwatjali-Tjapwurrung-Djadjawurrung Glossary

This glossary contains four columns: Yartwatjali (Y), Tjapwurrung (T), Djadjawurrung west (Dw) and Djadjawurrung east (De).

The following is the key to the abbreviations indicating the sources. The abbreviation ‘rhm’ is used for all R.H. Mathews papers, but in fact there are no entries relating to Tjapwurrung since the paper *Tyapwurru and Wuddywurru dialects* contains only a pronoun paradigm which is likely to be Djadjawurrung.

<i>abbrev.</i>	<i>dialect</i>	<i>source</i>
a	Dw	Mathew, J. Avoca River. <i>Eaglehawk and Crow</i> : 208-72.
br	Dw	Letter book, diary and notebook of Alexander Brock 1846-1852
d	Y	Dennis, Glenorchy-Djappuminyou tribe. Smyth II: 79.
daw	T	Dawson
dm	De	Stanbridge, Daylesford-Monulgundeech tribe. Smyth II: 81-2.
e	Dw	Mathew, J. Ercildoune (near Mt Misery). <i>Eaglehawk and Crow</i> : 208-72.
em	De	Edgar Morrison 1966, 1967, 1971
f	Y	Francis, Dialect of the Horsham tribe. Smyth II: 77-8.
g	Y	The Glenelg above Woodford, Curr List 207D
garp	Dw	Robinson, G.A. Grampians, Pyrenees, Mt Misery. Clark ed.: 134-57.
garw	T	Robinson, G.A. Wimmera and Glenelg. Clark ed. 211, 213, 214.
grb	T	Gray, Wickliffe, Bak-on-date tribe. Smyth II: 58-60.
grw	T	Gray, Wickliffe-River, Hopkins tribe. Smyth II: 87.
h	T	Hamilton, Curr List 207G
j	De	Parker, E.S. Jajawrong vocabulary. Smyth II:167-9.
l	T	Learmonth, Hamilton-Upper Wannon tribe. Smyth II: 84-5.
lw	Y	Lake Wallace, Curr List 207B
mc	Y	McLachlan, Upper Richardson. Smyth II: 80.
me	Dw	Wilson, Mount Emu. Curr List 208I.
mp		Morton Plains, Curr List 206
mr	T	Mount Rouse, Curr List 207H
mt	Y	Mount Talbot Tribe in Barry ed
nysm	Dw	Natti Yallook and Stuart-Mill, Curr List 208H
o	Y	Officer, Balmoral, Glenelg tribe. Smyth II: 83.
p	Dw	Parker, E.S. Knenkorenwurro.
pj	De	Parker, J. Dialect of the Ja-jow-er-ong race. Smyth II:154-65.
rhm	De	R.H. Mathews 1902. Tyapwurru and Wuddywurru (inc. manuscript)
rhm	De	R.H. Mathews 1903. Lewurru (inc. manuscript)
rhm	De	R.H. Mathews 1904. Tyedduwurru (inc. manuscript)
t	Y	Thornly. Smyth II:60-3.
ta	Dw	Thomas, Avoca. Smyth II: 80-1.
th	Dw	Thomas, Ballarat List. MS 6290 La Trobe Library, Melbourne.
wy	Y	Wannon-Yarlook Tribe in Barry ed.

Conventions

Verbs appear in the sources with various inflections. The phonetic forms given in the glossary are standardised in the form root plus **-a**, a form that would appear to be the third person singular present tense according to Matthews verb paradigm (See Table 3.10).

Stop sounds have been standardised as voiceless, hence **p**, **t** and **k** rather than **b**, **d** and **g**, except in nasal stop combinations where I have used **mb**, **nd**, etc. In general cross-references are supplied linking related entries, but three recurrent features are mentioned here.

kurrk ‘female’ occurs in numerous entries relating to human females.

yawirr, which was given as a word for ‘emu’ in several sources and for ‘fish’ in one, is a general term for ‘edible animal’, ‘flesh’, ‘meat’ (Hercus 1986:258).

peng refers to the human body, though it was also recorded as ‘meat’, and is used alone or with other words such as **kuli** to refer to humans.

All words for which a gloss can be found are included in the glossary. A small number of words occur in sentences, mainly in Thomas’ Ballarat list, where the gloss is uncertain. These have not been included.

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
about [prob. in local sense]		king windja <i>king winja</i> daw [‘here wherever’]		
above [see ‘up, above’]				
abscess, boil				putjun <i>boitchun</i> pj [putjun is pus, matter from a sore or wound]
acid [see ‘bitter’]				
across	windjaRuk <i>wenjaruug</i> mt	kutjiRang kutang <i>kutjaerang</i> <i>kuurtang</i> daw		kaRungi <i>kar-roong-ee</i> pj [see ‘behind’] waRam-tjiRong <i>wharr-am-jee-rong</i> pj waRami <i>wharr-ym-ee</i> ‘over’ pj [see ‘left hand’]
active	tapya-pangguk <i>daapya-bang-goc</i> mt talpok <i>dalpoke</i> wy	talaputja <i>tullapuucha</i> daw [Warr talap]		ngen-ngen <i>knen-knen</i> pj [also recorded as ‘spark’]
adult	kaRandjiRip <i>curran geerip</i> t			
adultery		yunilan [sic] <i>yuurmelann</i> daw [Warr yononong; see ‘man, immoral’]		
afraid, be	pamba <i>ingturrapamba</i> t pamum <i>barmoom</i> ‘coward’ wy	pamba <i>par.mome</i> garw, <i>pamban</i> daw, <i>pamban</i> ‘terror’ daw pamba mum <i>pamba muum</i> ‘coward’ daw	pamba <i>baamba e, bahm-bung, bahra-bung</i> th, <i>bambun a</i> <i>bahm-burm-oong</i> ‘coward’ th	pamba <i>parm-ber</i> pj [Kulin pamba]
after	malok <i>maloc</i> mt	nyokunditj <i>gneokuurndeetch</i> daw		ngaRuk-i <i>knar-rook-gee</i> pj [Woi ngaRuk ‘back (of body)’]
afternoon, evening	tjalik-tjalik <i>joelic-joelic</i> mt propitjalk <i>propeejalk</i> wy winipin puroyn <i>winipin boroin</i>	miRma nyawi <i>mirma neow wee</i> ‘playful son’ daw [miRma ‘to press’, nyawi ‘sun’] ngungul ngutjang <i>knuunkuul</i>		tjalik-tjalik <i>chal-lik chal-lik</i> ‘evening’ pj, <i>chal-lik-gee</i> ‘last evening’ pj [see ‘yesterday’]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	'evening' mt [also given as 'twilight', see winipa 'night', winipa 'to pinch']	<i>gnuchang</i> 'evening' daw		
agrimony (a plant)		tjalap <i>challarp</i> daw		
aim, to take		tjimbuma <i>dyim-boor-mak</i> th [Wa tjimbuma]		
air	nganggutj <i>gnang-goitch</i> o, <i>gnargoutch</i> d	nganggutj <i>gnang guutch</i> 'breath' daw nawat <i>narwart</i> mc [also 'wind'] wayangwayanga <i>wayoungwayonga</i> l [Y wayang 'wind, strong'] <i>waryotyangerack</i> grw	ngankuth <i>ngrn jou-ra</i> th, <i>narn-goot</i> ta	nganggutj , <i>nrngouch</i> 'breath' dm [Wim nganggutj]
air vessel		kumbuk <i>kuumbuuk</i> daw [see 'growth on tree', 'pouch', 'sleep']		
algae, fresh water		kuRambul <i>kurambuul</i> daw		
algae, salt water		pikuwi <i>peekoa</i> daw [see 'seaweed'; Warr pikuwi]		
alive, living	murrunaya <i>moronya</i> 'to live' mt	murrundaya <i>muuruundiann</i> 'live' daw	murrun, murrunaya <i>muron</i> a, <i>mooron</i> p, <i>moron</i> e, <i>morrn</i> th, <i>moronaia</i> e	murrun <i>moo-roon</i> pj, <i>mooron</i> j [Kulin murrun]
all	kitjuRaka <i>ketchourahka</i> wy [see kitjawil 'plenty']	kankanpa <i>kan kan baa</i> daw		ngalturrong <i>knul-doo-rong</i> pj, <i>nalderun</i> j, <i>nalderung</i> j
always				milRopal <i>milrapal</i> rhm milurapayang <i>mell-loo-ra-pyang</i> pj milRopang <i>meelroppang</i> j
amulet			papul tanok <i>pa pole dan noke,</i> <i>parepole</i> garp	
ancestor	natjap [ng]olayandak <i>naa-chab ola-yanduc</i> mt [3 rd syll. may have initial ng]	marti kuli <i>murtae kuulae</i> daw ['big people']		
and		pa	pa	pa

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>baa daw</i>	<i>bah th</i>	<i>bar pj</i> [Kulin pa]
anger, angry	kulandjaRep <i>coolanchurrep t</i>	pirna wutjup <i>pirnawuchuup daw</i> [also as 'vengeance', 'mad with rage'], <i>pirna wuchupuuk</i> 'sulky' daw, <i>pinna wuutchubak</i> 'vex' daw, <i>pirna wuuchuup</i> 'wild' daw, <i>pirnaewuuchuup</i> 'bad' daw [wutjup 'stomach', 'heart', pirna 'come out']	yalayak <i>yahl-lay-uck th</i> [see 'sulky']	kurumbayang <i>koo-room-by-ung pj</i> [WB kurumpaya 'jealous']
animal	ken-ken <i>gairn-gairn wy</i>			
ankle	merrk <i>mraac mt, mahrok wy</i>	puLin <i>puulin daw</i> [see 'joint']	merrk <i>mark th, merk garp, murt br</i>	merrk <i>mark pj</i> [WB, We merrk]
another			nirruk <i>nerook garp</i>	yuwanuk <i>yuwannook p, yuwannook j</i> [WB yuwanuk, Wim yuwa]
answer [see 'hear']				
ant		pirto <i>pirtor</i> 'ant that builds large nest like a chimney' daw [also given for Warrnambool language]		marra <i>ma-rah pj</i> [WB, Wim marra 'meat ant']
ant, bright blue		tiRi witjin <i>tirraewitchin daw</i> [also given for 'beetle burying' in Tjap and Warr]		
ant, bull-dog		wulukai <i>wuluukii daw</i>		
ant, jumping		piRk piRk <i>pirk pirk</i> 'jump jump' daw [also Warrnambool]		
ant, small		nyiko <i>gneeko daw</i>	nhiko <i>nay-ko</i> 'ant' th	
ant, sugar		tjulongo <i>teulong'or daw</i> [also Warr]		
ant, white		kalkitj <i>kulkeetch daw</i> [Wa kalkith 'large ant']		kalkitj <i>kal-keetch</i> 'pupae of ant' pj [kalk 'wood' plus -itj]
apron		tjilparni <i>chilbarnae</i> 'emu-neck feathers, for women' daw	norat <i>nor.rat</i> 'woman's' garp [Wa ngaRatj]	thiRi-parni <i>tirree-burnee</i> 'of feathers' pj [Wa tjiRparnin]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		paRanggitj parrang geetch 'possum skin, for men' daw		paRandjim <i>bar-rine-jhim</i> 'men's pj [Wim, Wa paRandjim] nguRotj <i>knoo-roytch</i> pj
arm	tatjak <i>taar-choec</i> [also 'shoulder'] mt, <i>dartchark wy, dy jark t</i>	tatjak <i>tatyack</i> grb, <i>tukchukk</i> daw, <i>tutchakuuk</i> 'lower arm bone' daw,	tatjak, tartak <i>tatyack</i> a, <i>datyak</i> e, <i>lat-yak</i> th, <i>tut.yuc</i> garp, <i>tartuc</i> garp,	taRak <i>tar-ruck</i> pj [Kulin root, e.g. We tatjuk]
armband, ringtail possum		kankan tatjak kunkuntutchuk, kunkuntutchuk kuurk 'women's wristband'		
arm, fore	waRuwi <i>warrow-wee wy,</i> <i>woiroo-ooce</i> mt	waRuwi <i>wor er we</i> garw yundap, kayak kayak <i>ka'yuk ka'yuk</i> daw	waRuwi <i>wor.ro.we</i> garp yundap <i>yoondap</i> p, <i>uneduc</i> garp, <i>yone.dap</i> garp, <i>eundop</i> br	kandap <i>cun-darp</i> pj yundap <i>yoondap</i> j [Wa yundap]
arm, upper	kalkulak-tjak <i>calcoolak-chark wy</i>		paterap <i>puderap</i> br	pandaRap <i>bun-dar-rup</i> pj
armpit				kaRap <i>kar-rarp</i> pj [Wim katjap, Wa kaRap]
arouse, to [see 'waken']			patkunga <i>bat-goong-ak</i> th	
arrow	wang-wang <i>waang-wang</i> mt [see 'bow']			
artery		ngalma <i>gnullma</i> daw		
ash [cold]	laap <i>lahp wy</i> [see 'towsie head of hair'; NWV lerp 'lerp']			tjul-tjul <i>jule-jule</i> 'ashes' pj
ash [hot]	pari <i>paaree</i> mt	pari <i>paraee</i> daw		pari <i>bar-ree</i> pj [WB, Wim pari 'native oven']
ask, to	kia <i>geea-gong</i> mt, <i>geec</i> 'answer' mt	kia <i>keeyalla gnano</i> daw	kia <i>gee-ak</i> th, <i>dyahn</i> 'asked' th, <i>gay-ak</i> 'to question' th [Kulin kia 'speak']	
aunt	ngaluk <i>na-arlook wy</i> tjina pang <i>gina pung</i> mt		ngaluk <i>ngalook</i> th	paRip-tjapayn <i>bar-rip-jar-bine</i> pj [WB, Wim 'father's sister']
Aurora Australia		pai <i>pü</i> daw		
autumn	wiat <i>weert</i> mt, <i>weirt</i>			wuRitj <i>woo-reetch</i> pj [see 'smell']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	'winter' wy [Wim wiat katji 'springtime'] wulRumkiyt <i>woolroomgeet wy</i>			
avocet (bird)		ngakan-ngakan <i>akarn akarn daw</i> [also Warr]		
avoid, to			<i>nganginyook-boray</i> th [see puri 'far']	
awake; awaken, to	paikiRo <i>pycero</i> 'awake' mt pilhang-mir <i>bellangmer wy</i> pilya-mir <i>bilya-mir</i> mt	pilnyiango mirng <i>pil'kneango mirnk</i> 'open eyes' daw	paikina <i>bai-kenn-ung</i> 'awaken' th [WK paika 'to rise']	
axe/tomahawk	patjik <i>paar-cheec</i> mt, <i>baachik</i> g [We, WB patjik] payik <i>bayik</i> lw payatak <i>byaduk</i> t parik (MP) <i>parik</i> mp mongwayl <i>mongwale</i> wy	tatakam <i>toktagarm</i> h, <i>tartakarm</i> 'iron axe' daw, tatam <i>tatarmu</i> 'with axe' grb wangitj <i>wang'itch</i> 'large stone celt axe' daw puRaku <i>buuroku, buuraku</i> 'stone or celt axe' daw	partik <i>bartik</i> e, <i>bortik</i> a, <i>partik</i> nysm, <i>bott-tik</i> , <i>bottik</i> th, <i>mortay-</i> <i>bottik</i> 'American axe' th	paRik <i>barr-eek</i> pj patjik <i>bai-e-jik</i> dm munupankoyt <i>moon-oo-ban-goit</i> pj
baby	pupup <i>popop</i> lw, <i>poopoop</i> mp Kulin pupup; see also 'child']	pupup <i>popop</i> h, <i>po-poop</i> mr, grb <i>poo-poo</i> , <i>popoey</i> 'son' grw	pupup <i>bupup</i> e, <i>poopoop</i> , nysm, <i>bupup</i> a, <i>beh-</i> <i>poob</i> th, <i>bupuok</i> 'small' e,	pupup <i>poopoop</i> me
baby, newborn	nilat, ngilat <i>neellard</i> wy	ngilam <i>gnillam</i> daw	ngilam <i>nilamgurk</i> [female baby?] a,	ngilamum <i>kneel-lar-moom</i> pj
baby, till named		pupup kaling <i>puupuup kalink</i> daw [LL kaling 'faeces']		
bachelor				ngilamaRam <i>kneel-la mur-ram</i> pj
back, behind	wart <i>word-yoo</i> 'behind' mt, <i>wartook</i> wy	wart <i>wart.to</i> garw, <i>wurteea gnurak</i> 'behind' daw, , pitjiniwart <i>bit chin ne wot</i> garw warrm <i>wor.um</i> garw ngankuyiRk	wart <i>wor tung er ruc</i> garp, <i>wort</i> garp [WB, We, Warr wart; see 'shoulder'] warrm <i>wahrm</i> th, <i>waram</i> br	warrm <i>wharr-yin</i> pj, <i>warmeng</i> rhm [WB, We warrem]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>gnarnkuyerk daw</i>		
backbone		kalk werp <i>kalkwirp daw</i> [‘bone stem’]		
bad	yatjang <i>yiatchung g</i> paRuk <i>bah-harook wy</i>	yatjang <i>yatchan h</i> <i>yatchang</i> ‘unkind’ , <i>yattchang</i> ‘lazy’ <i>daw</i> yayang <i>yeyang mr</i>	yatjang <i>yat-yung th, yatyang</i> ‘evil’ th, <i>yatyang e,</i> <i>a, , , , yahtyung</i> ‘rough’ th, <i>yatyung</i> ‘hideous’ th. , <i>yatyang</i> ‘wrong’ a, <i>yatya</i> ‘wrong’ e, <i>gyahtyang</i> ‘nasty’ th yatang, yartang <i>yartin yar p,</i> <i>yat.tung garp,</i> <i>yare.tung garp,</i> <i>yat.tin.jin.jap garp</i>	yaRang <i>yur-ring pj, yurrong j</i> [We <i>yatjang</i>] yikam <i>yikam dm</i>
bag		wi’it <i>waeae daw</i>	mukurr-mukurr <i>mugger-mugger</i> ‘sack’ th	mukurr-mukurr <i>mook-oor mook-oor pj</i> [Woi mugerra-mugerra]
bag, game-bag		ngunyi <i>gnuunyee daw,</i> <i>onneneuk daw</i> [WB, Wim <i>ngunyi</i>]	kani <i>kar-ne</i> ‘murnong sack’ garp	
bag, kangaroo skin		pandjak <i>piinteuk daw</i>		
bag, net for back [see ‘net’]		warrak <i>warrak daw</i> [We warrak]		
bake, to			<i>markngahk th</i>	marrunga <i>mar-roo-knar pj</i>
bald	pila-purpp <i>belaboorp wy,</i> [NWV <i>pirra</i> ‘bald’, Wim <i>pili-</i> <i>purpp</i> ‘bald’; <i>purpp</i> ‘head’]			pilik-purpp <i>bil-lick boorp</i> ‘bare head’ pj
ball [see ‘round’]				
ball player		<i>beiin daw</i>		
band around head		maRakala <i>marak kulla daw</i> [Woi <i>maRakil,</i> <i>maRakalim</i> for ‘band’, ‘bandage’]		
band, woman's emu feather			wuRm <i>worm, worum, wurm,</i> <i>werm garp</i> [see ‘emu tail feathers’]	
bandicoot (brown)	pu <i>bo, bohe t</i>	pu <i>bo garw, bo’o daw</i>	pu <i>bo garp</i>	pu <i>boo pj</i> [Wa pu, Woi pung]
bandicoot, banded	waitung <i>wyduung t</i>	watjun <i>wateun daw</i> [Wim watjun ; see ‘rat, kamgaroo’]		
banksia	wurrak <i>warock t,</i>	wurrak <i>wuurak daw</i>	wurrak <i>woor-rek th, worrac</i>	wurrak <i>woo-rack pj</i> [Kulin <i>wurrak</i>]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>warackoorack</i> t, buor 'honeysuckle scrub' t		garp	
bark	nyanak, yanak <i>nyanirk</i> wy, <i>yoenuc</i> mt mitj <i>mitchook</i> g, lw, <i>meeteuk</i> ['skin', NWV mitj] <i>docker</i> t	nyanak <i>gninakk</i> daw, <i>gninakk</i> 'bark for pegging skins' daw, <i>nganak</i> h, <i>gnunnak</i> daw, <i>nyunyak</i> mr tulang <i>dulang ak</i> [see 'thread'] daw wakong <i>waakong</i> 'acacia bark' daw	maRatjak <i>mahr-aht-yack</i> th, <i>maraityak</i> th, <i>marrartak</i> p [Woi muRatak] mitj <i>miityak</i> a pam <i>bam</i> e [see 'canoe']	mayapart myabert j
bark, dog's		yapunya <i>yapuunya</i> daw [English 'yap' ?]		
bark, to		lupa <i>luupa</i> daw, <i>luurpa</i> 'howl' daw [lu- widespread root for 'to cry']		lupa <i>loopr per, loopr pa long</i> pj
barter , exchange, to		yalkumtjarra <i>yulkuumjerrang</i> daw		
bashful				kulul <i>koo-lool</i> pj [Wim kulul 'shy, shame']
basin, bark		nganak <i>gnunnak</i> daw ['bark']		
basket		kalk kalk <i>kulk kulk</i> daw [kalk 'wood']		
basket, cooking		pilapiR <i>pillerbirr</i> daw		
basket, fishing		kalwil <i>kalwill</i> daw		
basket, round		yalarn <i>yalern</i> daw	yalarn <i>yal-lum, yullurn</i> garp	
basket/bag, rush (with dead children's feet)	palk <i>paalk</i> 'foot' d	palk <i>palk, paalk</i> daw, <i>balk</i> garw	palk <i>balk</i> garp	palk <i>balk</i> pj
bat, common		ngina-nginitj <i>hinmahinnitch</i> daw	nganin-nganitj <i>ngunnin-ngunnity</i> th	ngana-nganitj <i>knun-ar-knun-myth</i> pj [WB <i>nganutj-nganutj</i> , similar in other Kulin and Warr]
bat, vampire or flying		watpa tjaRip <i>wutpa chureep</i> daw		
battle, general fight	<i>dank teeranite</i> t	ngalang <i>gnullang</i> daw [Woi ngalang 'hit', 'beat']		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
be				<i>kaya rhm</i> [see grammar]
beard [see 'whiskers']				
beat, to [see 'hit']				
bed		po nyunyak <i>po hneugnak daw</i>		kumbayon <i>goom-by-yon th</i> [kumba 'sleep']
bee, native		muRun <i>moronn daw</i> [prob. 'fly, march', q.v.]	kaytkartkutang <i>kait-kurt-goortung</i> 'swarm' th	mumumbaRa <i>moom-oom-bar-ar pj</i>
beetle		tjunkip <i>teunkeep daw</i>		
beetle, burying		tiRiwitjin <i>taerae witchin daw</i> [also 'ant, bright blue']		
beetle, jumping		tjutiyn <i>chuurteen daw</i>		
beetle, water		papi tjalup <i>paapee challuup daw</i> ['mother freshwater mussel'?)		
before	ngangotj <i>ngangoich mt</i>	tjumpuk <i>chuumbuuk daw</i>	konangalatnaya <i>go-nang-al-at-nyah th</i>	nganko <i>knun-go pj, ngungo rhm</i>
behind [see 'across']				kaRung <i>karr-oong pj</i> ngaRang <i>ngarung rhm</i>
below/under	mayuka <i>myo-ga mt</i>	kangok <i>kang'ok daw</i> kinyunyuk <i>kenneuneuk daw</i>	mayuka <i>mai-o-ga th</i>	mayuka <i>,mi-you-ghar</i> 'behind' pj, <i>my-er-ghar pj</i> [W mayi W; see 'behind'] limninggi <i>lim-ning-gee pj</i> kurni <i>kuurni rhm, koorn-ee pj</i> [Woi kundui] watja <i>wai-char pj</i>
belt			nayaRi <i>nyer-re</i> 'woman's belt' garp nayaRi moRom <i>nay yarre mor rome</i> 'belt of net' garp	
bend, to	milpa <i>mil-poiraac mt</i>	wanda <i>wandak daw</i> [also Warr]	milpa <i>mill-puck th</i>	milpa <i>mil-pa-long</i> 'bent' pj [WK, Wa]
beside	nyet-yo	lanpilang		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>nyed-yo</i> mt	<i>lunbelang</i> daw		
best				pununglunung <i>boo-noong-loo-noong</i> pj
betrothed [see 'boy, betrothed', 'girl, betrothed', marriage by betrothal', 'wife, first']		kaRinya <i>karrin yah</i> 'reared together' daw [male] kaRinap kurrk <i>karrinup kuraak</i> 'reared together' daw [female; Wim kaRinya 'mother-in-law']		
between	taiRiopulak <i>dyreobooluc</i> mt	pakayu <i>bukkar yu</i> daw [Warr pakaRi, Wa pakaRa 'middle']		
bewitched		pak tjinak <i>baak chinakk</i> daw		
beyond	manganak <i>manga-nuck</i> mt	kukanyuk <i>kugan yuuk</i> daw		kinggawarrong <i>ging-gow-er-ong</i> pj
bier made of branches		walwalot <i>wallo walott</i> daw		
big	martuk <i>martook</i> wy poRin (MP) <i>porin</i> mp <i>yawer</i> 'big'g [but see intro. to glossary]	martuk <i>martuuk</i> daw, <i>murtok</i> h, <i>mirtook</i> mr, <i>martok</i> grb	martuk, martjuk <i>martoke</i> garp, <i>martook</i> nysm, <i>marchiruk</i> th, <i>martyow-lar</i> 'many' th [see 'strong'] <i>motyauk</i> a tjangatja <i>dyangadya</i> e	kurrung <i>korong</i> dm [We kurrung] nguRe <i>guli ngure</i> 'big man' rhm [guli 'man'], also
bill, of bird	wurru <i>woronuke</i> wy, <i>wor-ocnee</i> mt	wurru <i>wuroitneuk</i> daw kaniu <i>kaaneu</i> daw [see 'tooth']		wurru <i>wurrow</i> th [see 'mouth']
bird	yawiR <i>qahweera</i> wy <i>your-your</i> o yapuRkaR <i>yarburr</i> gurr d paanpaapaani <i>baan-baa-baan-ee</i> mt	yawiR <i>yowwir</i> daw, <i>yowie</i> grb wiyt-wiyt <i>weet-weet</i> l [De wiyt-wiyt 'lark, small ground']	yawiR <i>yowra-yowra</i> p yapuka <i>yarboga</i> e yalwa <i>yal-war</i> ta	yapuka <i>yarbooka</i> dm
bird, young	panguwi yawiR <i>barngook</i> wy, <i>bang</i> <i>go-i y-oi-wer</i> mt ['child-of bird']			
birthmarks		kup pangulayt tjining		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		koop pang'uliit chinning 'naevus marks' daw		
bite, to	punda <i>boonda</i> mt	punda <i>puundak</i> daw	punda <i>boon-dahk</i> th [Kulin punda]	
bitter	kuti-tawa <i>kotee-tower</i> wy tawa-tawa <i>tower-tower</i> 'acid' wy	kirrayt, kirratj <i>kaeriit</i> daw, <i>kiriitch</i> 'acid' daw [see 'salt', 'sour'; MM kirrethi, We kurratj 'bitter']		kurr-kurr <i>ghurr-ghurr</i> pj
bittern		kawoR <i>karwor</i> daw [WB kawiR]		
black	worro <i>worroh</i> t	wuki <i>wokae</i> daw kolonila <i>kolorn nillerwutt</i> 'black paint' daw	wurrwurrkanitj <i>woor-woor-gan-ity</i> th, <i>worwoganitch</i> e, <i>wurukutyauit</i> a	wurrkuRong <i>woor-koo-rong</i> pj [other Kulin have similar forms with apparent root wurrk-; see 'sky', see also 'blue']
blackfish		tjulim <i>chuulim</i> daw		wulk <i>woo-lk</i> pj [see 'whitebait']
blackwood	witja <i>weetya</i> t	mutjang, muthang <i>muutchung</i> daw, <i>kuulang muutang</i> 'blackwood flower' daw [Warr muthang, Co, Woi muyang']		
bladder		tjaRaka kok <i>charraka kok</i> daw		larni-giRi <i>larr-nee-ghyrre</i> pj 'home of urine']
blanket		martuk ngula <i>martuuk knular</i> daw	ngolaRa <i>olare.rer</i> garp	
blanket			yelatni-puRang <i>ye-lat-nay-boor-ang</i> th [Wa, Woi yelatni puRang]	
blaze, or flame	papapkunya <i>paop-paap-gon-yoe</i> mt, <i>pahpahp-queenah</i> wy	tjuRunya wi <i>churonia wee</i> daw [WB tjurung 'long, tall'; wi 'fire']		
bleed	piRingga <i>bring-gac</i> mt	kangilang kurrk <i>kang kneelang</i> <i>kuurk</i> daw [Dawson glosses as 'spill blood']		
blight, eye				karRingi miri <i>kar-ring-e-myrre</i> pj [see karinga 'to grow, lump']
blind	nyim-nyim <i>nyim-nyim</i> wy	nyim-nyim <i>kneem kneem</i> daw	nyima <i>nyima</i> a, <i>nyip-mah</i> th pim-pim <i>pim pim</i> e	nyima <i>knee-mar</i> pj [see 'sleep walking', 'wink'] [Dja, Wan, Wa nyim-nyim, nyima]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
blister	tjiRiRia <i>jeri-ria</i> mt	mitj nguRak <i>meitch gnuurak</i> 'blister from sun' daw [mitj 'skin'; Woi nguRak 'hill'],		pilnilong <i>bil-nil-long</i> pj
blood	kurrk <i>gorak</i> wy, <i>goork</i> d, <i>koork</i> g, <i>gork</i> o, <i>korkek</i> lw, <i>gore</i> mt, <i>gurracoop</i> t	kurrk <i>koork</i> h, mr, <i>kuurk</i> daw, <i>cookyangerack</i> grw, <i>hirum</i> garw, <i>roark</i> l	kurrk <i>kuruk</i> a, <i>korook</i> nysm, <i>korok</i> e, <i>goork</i> th, <i>goorkook</i> , <i>gooak</i> p, <i>cor-rer-coke</i> garp, <i>koor-kook</i> ta	kurrk <i>goo-rook</i> pj, <i>gorook</i> j, <i>gourk</i> dm [Kulin kurrk]
blow	kuwun <i>goo-on</i> wy			meRmilong <i>mairrm-e-long</i> pj
blow, to	kaRinga <i>kiringa</i> mt [see 'swell', 'grow', 'lump'; presumably means 'blow up']			
blow, to	purrngga <i>broong-gac</i> mt	purrngga porn geen daw		purrngga boo-roo-knin pj [WB, We purrngga]
blue		wo'ok, wuk <i>wo'ok</i> daw [see 'cat, black; osprey]	kukumanitj <i>goor-goor-manity</i> th [OMITsee 'black']	wura-wura <i>woorer-woorer</i> pj [WW wura]
blunt	luRup, lup <i>lorope</i> wy, <i>loop</i> mt	tuRup <i>turuup</i> daw		tuRup <i>too-roop</i> pj
blush		yalutjan <i>yalluchann</i> daw		
boast, to				purnda <i>boorn-dar</i> pj [see 'full']
bodkin, of bone [see 'hair-pin']				
body	peng <i>beng</i> mt	peng <i>pengneung uratt</i> daw	peng <i>bangook</i> p	peng <i>bang</i> pj, <i>bangook</i> j [WB, Wa peng; see 'man', 'flesh']
bone [see 'wood']	kalk <i>culke</i> d, <i>kaalk</i> lw, g, <i>callcoop</i> t, <i>kah-alk</i> wy, <i>calk</i> o, <i>kele</i> mt	kalk <i>kulku</i> daw, <i>kaalk</i> h, mr, <i>calk</i> l, <i>calleyangerack</i> grw, <i>kulkeea</i> 'bone in hand' daw	kalk <i>kalkook</i> p, <i>kalkok</i> nysm, <i>karl-kook</i> ta nyail <i>gnyill</i> th [Wa nyail, Woi nyilang]	kalk <i>kalk</i> pj, <i>kalkook</i> j, <i>kolk</i> dm
bone in point of spear		kilip <i>killaepuuk</i> daw		
bone or victim			napulak <i>nabulluc</i> garp	
bone, foot		wartip kalk <i>warteep kulk</i> daw ['small bone']		
bone, leg		kalkia nuRak <i>kulkeea nurak</i> daw		
bone pin [also 'pin to pick out thorns']		ki-iyin <i>kee'een</i> , <i>ke'eendaw</i>		
bone, upper arm		kankan-tatjak		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
[also 'armband']		<i>kun'kun'tutchuk</i> daw		
bones (worn in bag)		waynditj <i>wiindeetch</i> daw		
boomerang	kalam-kalam <i>kallum-kallum</i> wy katam-katam <i>catum-catum</i> mt, <i>gatum-gatum</i> t [similar in other We, Wan, Bung]	litam-litam <i>littum littum</i> daw [Warr letim-letim] taRato <i>taratto</i> grb pangu ngap <i>pungo gnapp</i> daw panggitj <i>paang geetch</i> 'companion boomerang' daw pinyaRa ngap <i>peenyarra gnapp</i> daw	tatum-tatum <i>tatoom tatoom</i> p, <i>tat</i> <i>tome tat tome</i> garp, <i>datom datom</i> a, <i>dahto-dahtom</i> th latum-latum <i>let tome let tome</i> garp tiRm tiRm <i>derm derm</i> e [see sticks for beating]	tatim-tatim <i>tat-tem tat-tem</i> pj, <i>tatim</i> <i>tatim</i> j tendatim <i>tandattim</i> rhm, <i>tendettim</i> rhm
boot		wima-tjina <i>waemajinna</i> daw		talangi-tjina <i>dahl-lang-ay-dyinnah</i> th [talang 'skin', tjina 'foot']
bottle		tumtum piawiR <i>tuumduum beawir</i> daw		tumtumi-paRamal <i>doom-doom-e-bur-ra-mul</i> pj [parramal 'emu']
bottom/rump [see 'hip']		mulu <i>mollo</i> garw mum <i>mome</i> garw	mulu <i>mole-lo</i> garp mum <i>moomook</i> th, <i>mum</i> br	mulu <i>moo-loo</i> 'thigh' pj mum <i>moom</i> pj [Kulin mum]
bow	wang wang <i>waang-wang</i> mt [see 'arrow']			
bowels	turong-pili <i>dorong-bellee</i> wy, <i>torong-bili-nuc</i> 'stomach' mt ['long stomach'; tjurung 'long' WW] piRim[uk] <i>birem-oc</i> mt	punyard <i>poonart, poonyart</i> h ['eel'] wartipup kuna <i>warteepuup kuuna</i> daw wiwipukuna <i>wewepookonna</i> mr [kuna 'faeces']	wainipa, wanyipa <i>wiinipa</i> e paRak[uk] <i>barakuk</i> a	puRitj-luRitj <i>boo-reetch-loo-reetch</i> pj
bower/satin bird		loRitj <i>loreetch</i> daw		
box tree		taak <i>taak</i> daw	taak, taRk <i>dark</i> 'gum tree, small leaf' garp, <i>dahk</i> 'peppermint tree' th	taRk <i>tarrk</i> 'yellow box' pj wayal <i>wy-all</i> 'brown box' pj tiring <i>tee-ring</i> 'red box' pj [Woi taRang]
boy [see 'man,	winwindayt	tambaka		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
young']	<i>winwindite wy, win-win-tie</i> 'boy 8-10 years' t [see 'family']	<i>tumbaka</i> 'boy, attendant on a warrior' daw		
boy, betrothed		tanat mutjilap <i>tannat muuchelap</i> daw [see 'girl, betrothed', 'married couple, new', 'bullock, worker']		
brain	miRk-puRp <i>mirc-broop mt, murpoorp wy</i>	miRk-puRp <i>mirtpuurp daw, meer proop garp</i> ['egg (of) head'; Ma mik-puwu, SH mirk-purpu] tambaliyn <i>tumbulene garw</i>		turtoyn <i>toorr-toin pj</i> [Wa, Woi turn-turn]
branch	karip <i>kiri-pooc mt</i> [karip 'thigh'] kuRanyup <i>korahneoup wy</i>	tatjak <i>tutchakukk daw</i> [tatjak 'arm']	latjakiyalk <i>lat-yahk-ay-yalk th</i> [latjak-i kalk?]	
brave	punun-punun <i>bonoon-bonoon wy</i>	tit-tit wutjup <i>tititwuuchuup daw</i> ['strong heart']		
bread		tangang <i>dung-ung garw</i>		nuRang <i>nurong pj</i> [Wim nuRong, Woi nguRang]
break, to [see 'cut']	kalpunga <i>calpoongue mt</i> [WB kalpa, similar Wa, Woi]	pukunya <i>puku g'nak daw,</i>	kalponga <i>kalbonga e, kalpaiyang a</i> pukunga <i>boh-koong-ahk th</i> [WB purkena, We purka]	
breast [see also 'chest']	kurrm <i>kroombook lw</i>	kurrm <i>koroom mr, korm h, kuuruum, ko'om daw</i>	kurrm <i>cor-rum garp, gurm e, curome garp</i>	kurrm, kurmb <i>coormb, coormb-ook pj</i> [similar in otherWK]
breath				piRiwa-kurn <i>bee-ra-wer-coorn pj</i> [kurn 'throat']
breathe, to				nganggotjuna <i>knarnng goytch-oo-nar pj</i> [see 'air']
bride		tjan kurrk <i>jankuurk daw</i>		
bridegroom (pre-marriage)		witjik <i>witchikk daw</i>		
bridegroom(post-marriage)		kumban ngilang <i>kuumban gneelang daw</i> [see 'sleep']		
bride-man, or best man		mutjilawil <i>muit chilaawill daw</i>		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		[see 'bridesmaid']		
bridesmaid		mutjilap kurrk <i>muıt chillup kuurk</i> daw [see 'bride- man']		
bridle			wurranyuk- kapkamila <i>woorainyook-cap-ga- milla th</i> ['its mouth horse']	
bring forth young, to	yupilang <i>yoorpelung</i> mt [see 'cousin']			
bring, to, 'take']	manaka <i>manacaa</i> mt, <i>mana gu</i> 'carry' mt [We maneka, man- widespread]	mutjaka <i>muıtcha ka</i> daw	mutja, mutjaka <i>moot-yah th,</i> <i>mootyaka</i> 'undertake' th, <i>mutyaka e, a,</i> <i>mutyaka</i> 'carry' e [Wa mutjaka]	
broлга	kutjun <i>kortyan g, coite urn t</i> kuyun <i>koiyoon</i> lw nuRkuang <i>noor-coa-ung</i> mt, <i>norkoowa wy, nur</i> <i>coung t</i>	kutjun <i>kotchun h, kuıtchon</i> daw kuyun <i>kooioon</i> mr	kutjun <i>gutyun e, gutun me</i> nuRkuang <i>norakuang a,</i> <i>noorkuang</i> nysm	kuRun <i>koo-roon</i> pj [Western Kulin, Warr kutjun] nuRkuang <i>nawl-ko-ong</i> dm
brood, a	paynkui-yawirr <i>bang-goi yowooer</i> mt	pupup ngi <i>popop gnae</i> 'ducks' daw wutuk <i>wortok</i> 'emus' daw		
brother, elder	wawi <i>waawie d, mc, wah- arwick wy, wa-o-oo-</i> mt, <i>wawi lw, waawe t,</i> <i>wawuke o</i>	wawi <i>wowie grw whawe</i> l, <i>waawe mr,</i> <i>waawae, waawek</i> daw, <i>wawe h</i>	wawi <i>warwook p, wawuk a,</i> <i>wawook nysm, woor- wook ta</i> waR <i>waruk e</i> watong <i>wahdong th</i> nuwe <i>noway me</i>	wawi <i>warwook j</i> [WK wawi] waR <i>waroe dm, wharr pj</i>
brother, single		wartaitji <i>wardiichae</i> daw		
brother, married		wartaikuRi <i>wardiikuurae</i> daw wartai kurrk <i>wardiikuurk</i> 'woman's' daw		
brother, step	tjaRitj <i>jari-eeech</i> mt	yangak wa <i>yaa'gnak waa</i> elder' daw		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		yangat kut <i>yaa'gnak kuut</i> 'younger' daw		
brother, younger	kuti <i>gouttee d, cotok o, cot- ooc 'cousin' mt, kote g</i>	kuti <i>kotte h, kuutae daw, kootte mr</i>	kuti <i>kutuk a, kortuk e</i>	kuti, kut <i>koot pj, kut dm [We kuti]</i>
brother-in-law	kuRui <i>cor-ooi-ooc mt, corweeah wy</i>	kuRui <i>kuurwee daw</i> kuRwitj <i>korweetch</i> 'woman's daw [see 'sweetheart']		kuRitj <i>coo-reetch pj [Woi kuRiyt]</i> ngiRap <i>ngerap rhm</i>
brother's son's wife		met kurrk <i>maet kuurk daw</i>		
brown			kuRm-kuRm-tjaRo <i>goorm-goorm-dyarro th</i>	kuRm-kuRm maRmitj <i>koorm-koorm mur-meetch pj</i>
brush, paint		puRot puRot <i>purot purot daw</i>		
bucket		yuRum <i>yuruum daw</i> popia <i>popaeaer yu daw</i> [both given for Warr]		tarnuk <i>tarr-nook pj, tar-nook 'pot or kettle' pj [WB, Wa, Woi tarnuk]</i>
buffoon or clown		tjipatjuk <i>chippateuk daw</i>		
build, to	paRpa <i>bropagut mt</i>	paRpa <i>parpak daw</i>	paRpa <i>barpak th</i>	paRpa <i>barrp-per pj [Wim paRpa]</i>
bullock [see 'cattle']				
bullock, worker		mutjilap kaat <i>muutchelup ka'at daw [kaat 'cart' ?]</i>		
bunting, large		tjiRpindjiR <i>chilpinjir 'sing for summer' daw</i>		
bunting, small		tjiRpenmirng <i>chirpkaernmirnk</i> 'bright eye' daw		
bunyip		panip <i>puneep daw [Wim panip]</i>		
burn, to	tapa <i>taarpac mt</i>	walpa <i>walpa daw [see 'volcano', 'warm'; Wim walpa]</i>	pawa <i>bah-wak th [Warr pawa; see 'cook']</i>	
burr		moruingum <i>moroae gnuum daw</i>		
bury, burial place	nyipa <i>nyee-pagut mt</i>	nyipa <i>gnippa'gnu daw</i> nhipakat <i>neep pargat</i> 'ghostly place' daw 'burial place'		patjuma <i>bait-nyoo-muck, bait-yoo-ma th [also given as Wathawurrung]</i>

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		[NWV nyipa]		
bush (types?)	tak-tak <i>dark-dark wy</i> nyalok-nyalok-tja <i>nyoeloc-nyoeloc-choe</i> mt <i>peenoortigal</i> ‘scrub’ <i>mp</i>	puRutjol <i>poroitcholl daw</i>		
bushfire		paikurta <i>piikourda daw</i>		
butt piece of spear		pakap <i>bukkup daw</i> [see ‘grass tree’]		
butter			nyaynak <i>nyaynahk th</i>	
butterfly		palamba <i>bullumbar daw</i>	palim-palim <i>bullim-bullim th</i>	palam-palam <i>ballam-ballam pj</i> [WB palam-palam, similar in other Kulin]
buzz		murnda <i>muurnda daw</i> [see ‘noise’, ‘thunder’]		
by and by	katjon <i>kartchon g</i>	windjal <i>windjal mr</i> nundja <i>noondjar h</i>	kopart <i>coburt</i> niko <i>nego</i> toni titjipuli <i>tone didjeebulle garp</i> malinyuk, malok <i>mallin yook p,</i> <i>malloke garp</i> <i>marlowite wotten.gerp</i> <i>garp</i> [Wa malo, Woi muloko]	katjong <i>kaiejong dm</i> [WB kathang ‘later’] nyumutj paRak <i>nyumuty-berak, nyumuty-</i> <i>barak rhm</i> nimitj <i>nee mytch pj</i> nyumitj <i>numiet j</i> [Wa nyumitj]
calf [animal]		wartipi-tjuwang-pirk <i>wartipee-</i> <i>dyoowang-birk th</i> [‘cattle, its young’]		
calf [of leg]	puRap <i>borahp wy, poor-aap</i> mt	puRap <i>perrap garw</i> kuRn muRk <i>kuurn muurk daw</i> [see ‘neck’]	puRap <i>burapook p, por-rap</i> garp pa, paR <i>bahr th</i>	puRap <i>boor-rarp pj, burapook j</i> [Wim puRap]
call, call out	karnda <i>curndagut, curn-deeo</i> mt [Kulin, Warr karnda]	karnda <i>karnda karndakk</i> daw, <i>karndaa</i> ‘scream’, ‘yell’ daw	karnda <i>kan-dro-allun</i> ‘bawl’ th, <i>karndah</i> ‘whine’ th, <i>kurnda</i> ‘scream’ th	karnda
call, to		watika <i>watekaa daw</i>		
calm	tjaRikaptja <i>jaricup-choe mt</i>	titjeRik kuma <i>titcherik kuma daw</i> [WS titjeRi; see		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		‘silence, silent’]		
camomile, native		naRitj <i>nareetch</i> daw		
camp	lar <i>lerra</i> g, <i>lerum</i> lw <i>lroi-an-duc</i> ‘to camp’ mt	lar <i>laar</i> h, mr, <i>lar</i> p, <i>larnokk</i> daw, <i>watchepée laar</i> ‘small habitation’ daw yatma kiRa, yalma kiRa <i>yartma kaera</i> daw, <i>yullma kaera</i> ‘temporary camp’ daw	lar <i>laa</i> e, <i>lar</i> nysm, <i>lahr</i> th, <i>lar</i> a, <i>lahr</i> ‘town’ th, <i>lar</i> ‘hut’ garp	lar <i>lar</i> j, <i>larr</i> pj, <i>lahr</i> rhm [Western Kulin <i>lar</i>] <i>iray</i> dm
canoe [see also ‘bark’, ‘basin’, ‘trough’]	yungguip <i>yoong-go-ip</i> mt, <i>yongo-ip</i> wy <i>yungooit</i> lw nyanak <i>ngnanak</i> g	yungguip <i>yong goip</i> garw yangalu <i>yaongalo</i> h nyanak <i>gnunnak</i> daw wartipuk nyanak <i>wartaepuuk</i> <i>gnanakk</i> daw [‘bark, its young/offspring’] yuwakaluk <i>yowargalook</i> mr	yukuip <i>yoo-gooip</i> nysm, <i>yoigoip apam</i> <i>bam</i> e, <i>bam</i> ‘bark’ e. <i>bem</i> th	yungguip <i>yoong-goip</i> pj [MM, Wim yunggwip, Wa yukuwip]]
canopus planet		wii <i>waeae</i> daw [wi ‘fire’]		
careless				lang-lang murrup <i>lang-lang-moo-roop</i> pj
carry, to		tuta <i>tuurta</i> daw	tuta, tutaka <i>door-tak</i> th, <i>doortaga</i> th talama <i>dulamak</i> th tjalna <i>tyulnak</i> a	
cat	pirrik, pirri <i>berake</i> wy, <i>berie</i> mt, <i>beerik</i> t, <i>beereek</i> t [Ma <i>pirriki</i> , WB <i>perritj</i>]	nyumang <i>neumarn</i> g ‘tiger cat’ daw	yurn <i>eee-oo-ren</i> th <i>peerer polite</i> garp	yurn <i>yoorn</i> pj [Wa, Woi <i>yurn</i>]
cat, native, black		wuk <i>work</i> daw [see ‘black’, ‘cat’, ‘frog’, ‘osprey’]]		yundul <i>yun-dool</i> ‘black, flying cat’ pj
cat, native, brown & spotted		pokomum <i>porgormuum</i> daw [<i>pokul</i> <i>pokul</i>]		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		warawil WW]		
catch, to	kerka <i>carruc</i> mt	kerka <i>kurkak</i> daw	kerka <i>karkak</i> th pakuna bahkoornin 'caught fish' th [Wa bakunirri]	kerka <i>kargin</i> 'caught' rhm [We kerka]
catching men with noose		wuRmatjinin <i>worm match</i> <i>chinnin</i> daw		
caterpillar		kukil <i>kukil</i> daw [WB]		
caterpillar, hairy		tirnkipap peng <i>tirn'gibap beng</i> 'rough skin' daw [peng 'body']		
cattle		tjang-pirrk <i>chang birk</i> 'cattle' daw [Dawson glosses as 'long horns', but could be 'breast tail' or 'long tail']	tjuwaRm-pirrk <i>dyoo-warm-birk</i> 'bullock'th ['long tail']	<i>koo-roo-mn</i> pj [kurrm 'breast']
cattle: cow, milch		kowutj <i>kowuutch</i> daw ['cow' + affix?]		
cave		yitjmiR <i>yeitchmir</i> 'close eyes' daw		
cement for celt handle		puRupatj <i>puuropiitch</i> daw		
centipede		tiRing pangaRak <i>teering bang'arrak</i> 'many hands' daw [also given for Warr]	ngong <i>ngong</i> th	tjiRinuRak <i>jhe-reen-nu-rark</i> pj [Wa djirrangarrak, Woi thiRanmaRek]
ceremony (cannibal)		kiRwano tjining <i>kerwanno chinning</i> daw		
chafe, to		nyirna <i>nyernak</i> th		
chain			tRil tRil <i>drill-drill</i> th [same given for Wa]	
chalk			pik <i>bik</i> th [pik refers to earth, ground, clay, etc.]	
change, to				wuk-tjarrang <i>wook-jha-rong</i> pj ['give one another']
charcoal [see 'tinder']				
chase, to			keRkeRpuRa <i>gar-gar-brak</i> th,	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
			<i>gurr-gurr-boorak</i> th [poss kerka 'catch' + puRi 'far']	
cheek [see 'jaw']				
cherry, native	palayt <i>pallite</i> t	pulotj <i>puloitch</i> daw, <i>puloitch</i> 'ironbark' daw	puloyt <i>pollite</i> garp, <i>booloyt</i> 'box tree' th, <i>bahl-</i> <i>aty</i> th	pulotj <i>pul-loitch</i> pj, <i>boo-loitch</i> 'grey box' pj [We pulutj, WB pul↔tj, Wa, Woi pulyt]
chest	tjang <i>cha-ang</i> wy, <i>chaln</i> g, <i>chaang</i> 'back' mt	tjang <i>chang</i> grb	tjang <i>ichung</i> garp, <i>tyang</i> a, <i>dyang</i> th, <i>tcharn</i> garp, <i>chuny</i> 'breast' br kapuk <i>karbok</i> nysm	tjang <i>jhung</i> pj [NWV tjang]
chew		watupin <i>wartupin</i> grb		
chicken			pupuwi-yapaka <i>bo-po-wee-</i> <i>yahrbagar</i> th [Wa papawi yawa]	
chickweed		kiRamaka <i>kaeramukka</i> daw		
chief	koRa <i>gorra</i> t	ngirnitj <i>gnern neetch</i> , <i>gnerrneetch</i> daw ngani <i>nannaeyok</i> daw ngani kurrk <i>gnannaekuirk</i> 'chiefess' daw ngan kutjap matjong <i>gnun kuutchup</i> <i>mutchong</i> 'chiefess' daw nyernitj kurrk <i>gneearneetch</i> kuirk 'listen woman' daw 'chiefess'		
child [see 'baby']	pupup <i>popope</i> t winwindayt <i>weeuweendite</i> wy, <i>win-oin-dich</i> mt, <i>winwindaitch</i> 'baby' g paynku bang-goooc mt [NWV paynku, see 'woman'] nilan <i>nillarn</i> wy [see 'baby,	pupup <i>pupuwuuk</i> daw, <i>pupuwee</i> 'daughter' daw, <i>puupuwuuk</i> 'joey' daw, <i>popoey</i> 'son' grw parn <i>parn</i> garw [NWV paynku]	pupup <i>poopoop</i> me, <i>boh-</i> <i>poop</i> th, <i>boo-poop</i> 'son' ta kaka pupup <i>karkar bupup</i> e	pupup <i>boorp-boorp</i> 'boy' pj, <i>boboop</i> 'son' j, <i>boorp-boorp</i> pj waRenditj <i>wiirendetch</i> 'baby' dm [Wim waRenditj]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	newborn']			
child, illegitimate ¹⁰		kiyarn kurrk <i>keearn kuurk</i> daw		
childbirth		naRam <i>narram</i> daw		
childless	ngala paynku <i>nallobango</i> wy [‘no child’]	ngala pupup <i>alla pupuup</i> daw [‘no child’]		
children, twin		tintjiRap <i>teenjerapp</i> daw		
chimney				kiRikilmum <i>ghee-ree-kil-moom</i> pj
chin [see ‘whiskers’]	rukna lia <i>rookna-leah</i> wy purrp-nganki <i>broop-nganci</i> mt	nganyi <i>gnun’yee</i> daw, <i>unye</i> garw	nganyi <i>anye, ar-ne</i> garp, <i>gnan-yee</i> th, <i>ngonyi</i> a, <i>puumurny</i> br	nganyi <i>nganyi</i> e purрпи ngani <i>boorp-e-knar-nee</i> pj
chirp of small bird		wuRika yawiRa yawiR <i>wurika yarwirra</i> <i>yarwirr</i> daw [see ‘bird’, ‘speak’]		
chisel, bone		pilia <i>pilaeer</i> daw	pilaRi <i>pil lare re</i> garp	
chisel, stone		kaniwil <i>kannaewil</i> daw [kani ‘tooth’, ‘yamstick’]		
chop wood, to		tawa <i>towwenan</i> grb, <i>tawagat</i> grb [Wa taa, We tawa]	takwa <i>dahk-wahk, dak-wak</i> th, <i>dahk-wak</i> th,	tela <i>tel-leen</i> pj [tala, tela ‘cut’]
chrysalis of bark		tRingkap <i>tringkup</i> daw		
chrysalis or pupa		purrunpitj <i>puuronbeetch</i> daw		
cicada		kalkal <i>kalgall</i> daw		
clap the hands			tilpa-manya <i>dillpak-manye-nyin</i> th [‘hit hand’; Wa thilpa marna]	
clasp the hands			wuyipunga manya <i>wooye poongak-manya-nyin</i> th	
claw [see ‘nail’]				
clay	<i>militur</i> o	pik <i>peek</i> ‘white’ daw tjulirn <i>chuulirn</i> daw [see ‘gum’]	pik <i>bik</i> ‘pipeclay’ th [see ‘chalk’; NWV, EK pik refers to earth, ground, clay, etc.]	papal <i>bup-al</i> pj [see ‘mud’]

¹⁰ Gloss is dubious. **Kiyarn** seems to refer to sexual love in Kulin and **kurrk** is ‘female’. Dawson gives **kiyarn** for ‘virgin’ in Warrnambool.

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
clean				pitjanduRong <i>peetch-un-doo-rong</i> pj
clematis		tjaRuk <i>charuuk</i> daw [see 'reed']		
clever		maRpilap manya <i>murpillup munya</i> , 'making hand' daw		
climb, to	warwa <i>wraa-wee</i> mt	werwa, wawa <i>warwaak</i> daw, <i>wawa</i> grb	warwa <i>warwango</i> th	pang-ngi <i>bang-knee</i> pj [NWV <i>wirwa</i>]
climber of trees		tart tart wila <i>turt turt willa</i> daw		
cloud [see 'sky']	marng, marong <i>murong</i> wy, <i>mraang</i> mt, <i>moorang</i> t	marn <i>marn</i> daw kurrki marn <i>kuurkae marn</i> 'red cloud' daw ['blood cloud']	marng, marong <i>murrong</i> p, <i>marng</i> a, <i>mang</i> e marl <i>marl</i> th	marng, marong <i>murrong</i> j, <i>marng</i> pj [similar NWV inc. We <i>mereng</i> or <i>merng</i>]
cloud, light	nyuRa <i>nurah</i> wy [see 'fog', 'snow']			
cloud, light	tjiRam mraang <i>jerum-mraang</i> mt [see 'fog']			
cloud, thunder/dark	tarnpil, tjarnpil <i>dunbil</i> mt, <i>jahnbill</i> wy, <i>dunbil</i> 'sky' o [We, WW <i>tarnpil</i>]			
club with knob or spear-point	pirrpiyn <i>propeng</i> wy [<i>pirrpiyn</i> We]	pirrpiyn <i>pirp paen</i> daw	pirrpiyn <i>birpin</i> a	
club [leangle]	liawil <i>lee-owl</i> mt liangwil <i>leanguel</i> t	liawil <i>leeawill</i> 'barbed wire spear' daw liangwil <i>le angwill</i> daw	liawil <i>leawil</i> e, <i>learwil</i> 'battle axe' p	liawil <i>learwil</i> j, <i>leer-uil</i> pj [= 'tooth-having'; Western Kulin <i>liawil</i> , <i>liangwil</i>]
club, company stick		tjalak kani <i>chulluk kannae</i> daw [see 'club, walking stick'] [We <i>kani</i> , root also in other NWV]		
club, executioner's		yul manya <i>yuul munya</i> 'wild hand' daw		
club, heavy		wuiwutj <i>wuae wuitch</i> daw		wuiwutj <i>woy-woytch</i> 'pointed club' pj
club, throwing		munyup <i>muunyuu</i> daw		munhup <i>moo-noop</i> pj [<i>munyup</i> / <i>munup</i> also in other WK and Warr]
club, walking stick		kanak <i>kunnuk</i> daw [see 'club, company		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		stick', see 'heel']		
coal-sack in Milky Way		panyip <i>bun'yipp</i> daw [see 'bunyip']		
cock nose		wankaa <i>warnka</i> daw		
cock, domestic fowl		kurn kurn kalat <i>kuurn kuurn kullat</i> daw		
cockatoo, black		wiRan <i>wirann</i> 'banksian' daw ponpontuRong <i>bonbonturong</i> 'eater of she-oak cones' daw	wiRan <i>weran e, wiiran a</i>	weRayn <i>ware-aine</i> pj 'cockatoo banksian', [WK wiRan; see 'hawk', 'scorpion']
cockatoo, white	katjakarr <i>katchahker</i> wy, <i>kaiyekker</i> lw, <i>caar- checur</i> 'parrot' mt [We katjekarr] tjinyap <i>chinyap</i> g, <i>gyniap</i> mt [NWV tjinap] kaRupka <i>karuupka</i> mp	katjakarr <i>kutchukka</i> daw 'long-billed c', <i>catchukaru</i> grb tjinyap <i>chinyap</i> mr, <i>chinupp</i> daw ngayuk <i>ngaiook</i> h	katjaRarr <i>katyakar</i> me, <i>cut.te.</i> <i>er.rer</i> 'cockatoo parrot' garp tjinyap <i>chinyap</i> nysm, <i>ginyap e, dyinyap a,</i> <i>dyinn-yapp</i> th, <i>tin.yap</i> garp	kaRakarr <i>kar-rar-kur</i> 'parrot' pj [Wa kaRakarr] tjinyap <i>jhin-nup</i> pj [Wa tjirnap] ngayuk <i>ngaiuk</i> rhm [Warr, EK]
cold, cold wind	mut-mut, mun-mut <i>mot-mot</i> g <i>moorn-moot</i> mt, <i>moneemot</i> wy, <i>mood t,</i> <i>monmott t</i> mutangi <i>mootangee</i> wy patjal <i>bajal</i> mp	mut-mut, mun-mut <i>mot-mot</i> h, mr <i>mot mot</i> daw, <i>mutae</i> daw <i>muun muurt</i> 'stormy day' daw mutilang <i>motaelung</i> 'air' daw	mun-mut <i>monmut e</i> <i>monemot</i> garp mutilang <i>mootelong</i> nysm, <i>motilan a,</i> <i>motangorin</i> p mutangi <i>moot-ang-ay</i> th	mun-mut <i>monmot</i> dm [Wa munmut] mutangin <i>motangin</i> j [similar forms in Warr, Wa, EK] pandjal <i>bine-jhul, byne-jhul</i> pj
cold, a				putjuni-kurn <i>boit-chun-e-coorn</i> pj ['matter throat']
collar bone				wiRing <i>wee-ring</i> pj
come on		kaka <i>kaka</i> mr, <i>ka-ka</i> grb		kaka <i>kagai</i> rhm [widespread form]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
come, to	warta <i>warte g, watajem lw, woti mt, wateegat t</i> witjika <i>wit-yee-gaa, wityee-gaa-mung mt</i>	warta, wartaka <i>watii grb, woteko garw</i> pirnaka <i>pirnigar h, pirnaega daw, pirndaega daw</i> [NWV, Woi pirna 'come out', We pirngga 'come out']	warta, wartaka <i>wardiga e, , wataga a, wottewot garp, woddonite garp</i> [NWV, Wa, Warr warta] <i>goor goor th</i> <i>king-gyerrer garp</i> <i>barp garp</i>	warta <i>wharr-tin pj</i>
comet		tandan <i>taandan daw</i>		poiwuRang <i>boi-woo-rarng pj</i>
consanguinity		tawil kurrk <i>tow'wil guurk daw</i>		
contempt		yatjang paling kutja <i>yatching ballingkuutcha daw</i> [yatjang 'bad']		
contentment		talkuk peng yaa <i>tulkuuk bang yaa daw</i> ['good body']		
convolvulus root		nyumbiyt <i>gneumbeet daw</i>		
cooee, to			ka-i <i>kah-ee th</i>	
cook, to	pawa <i>baa-wuc baany cem mt</i> [panyim 'food'], <i>bowan t</i> walpa <i>wolpeep</i> 'boil' mt [see 'burn']	walpa <i>walpap daw</i> [MM walwa; see 'burn', 'warm']	pawa <i>bah-wak</i> 'roast' th [WK, Warr pawa] tjalkunya <i>tyalk-gonyin</i> 'cooked' th	tjalkunya <i>joy-coy-knin</i> 'cooked' pj [WB tjalang 'hot']
coot	crew 'bald coot' t	kipul <i>kibuul daw</i>		
cord [see 'sinew' & 'thread']				
cormorant, large		yunga <i>yuungar daw</i> [Warr yunka]		
cormorant, small		tiRipilikurk <i>taeraebillaeguurk</i> 'white breast' daw		
corpse	toktokpunang <i>toc-toc-poor-nung mt</i>	ngatja <i>knutcha daw</i> [see 'spirit']	tirtayang <i>dir-tai-ung th, dur-lai-ung th</i> [see 'die']	
corroboree, dance, to		yapenya <i>yapingna daw, yappan neaa</i> 'name of dance' daw <i>yappan neitch daw, yep er ne wot garw</i> waripa	yapenya <i>yap pen nite</i> 'big corroboree' garp, <i>yah-pet-nyah th, yepenneknen p</i>	yapenya <i>yepenyun j</i>

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	waripa <i>woirepi</i> mt	<i>woripe e wot garw</i> [NWV waripa] nguyilang <i>gnuyeelang</i> ‘name of dance’ daw	takaRamayt <i>tuc er rer mite</i> ‘little corroboree’garp	kalng-kalong <i>kulng ga long</i> ‘[be] dancing’ pj [see ‘fun’, ‘joke’]
cough, to		kanyangga <i>kunyan kan</i> daw [WB kanyengga, We kanyangga]		
count, to	takak-nyaRi <i>daacuc-nyari</i> mt	nguta <i>gnuurtak</i> daw, <i>gnuurteen gnan</i> daw		
country	tjaa <i>chianduk</i> wy	tjaa <i>cha knaek</i> ‘my ground’ daw	tjaa <i>jar garp, tya e, tyaknyak</i> a	thapilk <i>tar-bilk</i> pj [Woi tangpulk; see ‘ground’]
cousin		yupiyi <i>yuurpeeyae, yuurpee</i> daw		kukai <i>coo-ki</i> pj [Woi kukai] maRap-kurrk <i>marapgurk</i> rhm [We merp]
cousin (fa’s bro’s son, etc. Dawson 1881: lxviii)		wartai kuRi <i>wardii kuurae</i> daw wartai kurrk <i>wardii kuurk</i> daw wartatj kurrk <i>wardiitch kuurk</i> daw wartai yi <i>wardii yee</i> daw		
cousin (fa’s eldest bro’s son, single; mo’s sister’s sons)		wawi <i>waawae, waawik</i> daw ‘brother’		
cousin (fa’s youngest bro’s son, single)		watjip <i>watcheepek</i> daw ‘son’		
cousin (fa’s bro’s daughter; mo’s sister’s daughters)		tjatji <i>chaachee</i> daw [see ‘sister’]		
cousin (fa’s sister’s son)		tjawili <i>chaawillae</i> daw tjawil chow’will ‘woman’s mo’s bro’s son’ daw tjawil kurrk chow’will kuurk ‘woman’s mo’s bro’s dau’ daw		
cousin (fa’s youngest bro’s son, single)		yupi kuRi <i>yuurpee kuurae</i> daw yupi kurrk <i>yuurpee kuurk</i> ‘woman’s’ daw		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
cousin (mo's bro's son)		yupitj <i>yuurpeetch</i> daw		
cousin (mo's bro's daughters)		yupi kurk <i>yuurpee kuurk</i> daw		
cousin (mo's eldest sister's youngest dau)		kutui <i>kuutuae</i> daw kuti <i>kuutae</i> 'mo's sister's' son' daw ['younger bro'] kutuk <i>kuutuuk</i> 'mo's sister's youngest dau' daw ['younger sister']		
cow [see 'cattle']				
crab, saltwater		kalwitj <i>kalweetch</i> daw		
crack (sound)			<i>dahurnnya</i> th	
cramp		wintjanyi puRpuRu <i>wiinjahgnee buur buuro</i> daw		
crane, blue	takakamuta <i>dakakamudah</i> t			karnayn <i>karr-naine</i> pj
crater		kulkut <i>kuulkuurt</i> daw		
crawl, like a snake		yakila <i>yukkelang</i> daw		
crayfish, yabby	yapitj <i>yapitch</i> lw, <i>kapich</i> g	yapitj <i>yappitch</i> h, <i>yapeetch</i> , <i>yaa peetch</i> 'crab' daw matjin <i>matchin</i> 'small' garw	yapitj <i>yapitch</i> a, <i>yah-pity</i> th	yapitj <i>yaabitch</i> e, <i>yapit</i> nysm, <i>yaparte</i> me <i>yap-peetch</i> pj [similar NWV, EK]
creek [see 'river']				
creep, to				kawinda <i>kow-in-deen</i> pj [SH <i>kuwenda</i> 'to creep']
crest of cockatoo		ngarranyuk <i>gnarraneuk</i> daw [= 'its hair']		
crest of gang gang		piRingguk <i>perring guuk</i> daw [piRingga 'bleed'; gang-gang has red head]		
cricket		tarrondal <i>tarrondal</i> daw		
cripple from wounds		wirpkitj <i>wirpkeetch</i> daw [see 'wound']		
crippled, lame	ngaRpa	wamp wutja		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>nrapa mt, gnarpah wy</i> [SH ngaRpa]	<i>wamp wuutcha daw</i>		
crooked		milpalung <i>mill-pell-oong th</i> [milpa 'bend'; Wa milapala]		
crooked		nguning-nguning <i>nguning nguning a</i> wiywiy <i>ween ween daw</i>	nguning-nguning <i>ngoningoning e</i> [Wa nguning-nguning]	wayanduRong <i>wy-an-du-rong pj</i>
cross-eyed				taRik mir <i>dur-rick-myrr pj</i>
crow	waa, waR <i>wa o, mp, waa lw, mt, g, waagh d, wahrr wy, wah f waa t</i>	waa <i>wa h, waa mr, war grw, waeae daw, woa l</i> tirtu <i>tirtu 'with white eye' daw,</i>	waa <i>wa, e, a, waa nysm, me, wah-ah th, wiaa p, war ta</i>	waa, waR <i>wa rhm, warr pj, war dm</i> [wa widespread root] maRangan <i>marung-un 'black-eyed crow' dm, mar-rang-un 'rook' pj</i>
cruel	kiRtjurn <i>gritchurn wy</i>	takilap <i>takaelup daw</i>		pukil <i>boo-gil pj</i> [MM puki(la), WP puki 'bad', Woi pukil 'angry']
cry of cockatoo		kintjia <i>keenjeea daw</i> [see 'sneeze']		
cry of gang gang parrot		ngilma, nyilma <i>nilma daw</i> [see 'whine']		
cry of kookaburra [see 'laugh']				
cry of snake		keke <i>kae kae daw</i>		
cry, to	lumila <i>loom-eli mt, loomalangan t</i> [NWV lumili, numila]	yiRia <i>yeereeya daw</i> 'cry of baby'	yiRia <i>yeria e, yirea a, yerry-yee, ee-ry-en th, yere-e-ite garp</i> kona nilanayt <i>coner nillernite garp</i> <i>kandriallun 'bawl' th</i>	maRi <i>mar-ree pj</i> [Woi maRu-]
cuckoo				kaRuk <i>kar-rook pj</i> [We ka(r)tuk 'mopoke', Wa katuk 'cuckoo', 'mopoke'; see 'mopoke']
cup, made of rushes			pandaRa <i>pundarer garp</i> [see 'rushes']	
cure, to	maRipala <i>maarep ala mt</i> [see maripa 'sore', maRip-maRip 'good']			

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
cure, to		telkunya <i>tulku'gnak</i> daw [see 'good'] [WB telkuna, We telkuna]		
curlew	<i>wale</i> 'curlew, little bustard' t	kuRiwiRp <i>kuuriwirp</i> daw		<i>koo-hy-eirrp</i> pj
custom, covering head		ngalun kurrk <i>gnulluun kuurk</i> daw		
cut open and take out (kidney fat) [see 'stab']			parkuma <i>pahkoopmahk</i> th parkunga <i>bah-koong-ahk</i> th	
cut, to [see 'break']	kalpuna <i>caal-poor-nuc</i> mt [NWV, Woi kalpa] tala, tela <i>talleenum</i> wy, <i>dellanan</i> wy pRing-kini <i>bring-gini</i> mt	kalpuRa <i>kalpurakk</i> daw tala <i>tullak</i> daw,	kalpuRa <i>gal-poor-rak</i> th patj <i>bayty</i> 'cut with stone' th <i>dirtnak</i> th	tela <i>tel-len, tel-luck</i> pj
cuttlefish, or octopus		paR manya <i>paar munya</i> daw ['river hand']		
daisy, wild		ngalu <i>gnullo</i> daw		
damper		nyuRang <i>nyoo-rung</i> th [Wai nyuRang]		
dance [see 'corroboree']				
dark	puruyn <i>borai-nu</i> mt, <i>moorbroing</i> wy	puruyn <i>poroin</i> h, <i>boroin</i> mr tek-tek <i>tek-tek</i> g tit-tit wuma <i>tiit wuuma</i> daw	puruyn <i>burun</i> e, <i>burooin</i> a, <i>boroin</i> nysm,	puruyn <i>boo-royne</i> pj, <i>borine</i> dm [see 'night'; Warr, NWV, EK]
daughter	manggap <i>mung-a-ok</i> o, <i>mangape</i> wy, <i>maguppe</i> d, <i>mung-goeve</i> mt, <i>mung-guoeoc</i> 'niece' mt, <i>mongeri</i> mc	manggap <i>meng'gap</i> daw, <i>mongawwee</i> l, <i>mangowie</i> grw putkuwia <i>puutkueea</i> korn 'youngest child' daw pakaR kurnditj <i>bukkar kuurndeetch</i> '2 nd dau' daw	manggap <i>mangapook</i> p, <i>mang-gap</i> , <i>mangap</i> th wayapup <i>wy-ar-poop</i> ta [see 'child'] layu <i>lahyoo</i> th [MM <i>layur</i> , We <i>layurk</i> 'woman']	manggep <i>mang-gap</i> 'elder daughter' pj, <i>mangjup</i> dm [We <i>manggep</i> , similar in other Western Kulin, Woi] tjinapang-kurrk <i>jhin-narp-ang-goork</i> 'younger daughter' pj
daughter, step	kiRim-kiRim kuRi <i>cirim-cirim gori</i> mt			nganap-kurrk <i>knan-nap-goork</i> pj [see 'son, stepson']
daughter-in-law	matj-kurrk <i>maitch-koork</i> wy	nalun kuRi <i>naluun kuuree</i> daw		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	worti-kurrk <i>worti-coroc</i> mt	met kurrk <i>maetkuurk</i> ‘son’s wife’ daw		
day (see also ‘light’, ‘sun’)	nyawi <i>nyowi-ym</i> mt, <i>nyawi o</i> , <i>ghnarweeyun</i> d, <i>malinawin</i> mp katlak <i>kadlak</i> g	tja-nyawi <i>gaanyanwe</i> mr, <i>chanowi</i> h	nyawi <i>nyow-ay</i> th, <i>noweyu</i> p, <i>nyauwi</i> yo a, <i>nauwi</i> e kapul <i>kar-pul</i> ta [see ‘long’, ‘midday’, ‘midnight’]	nhawi <i>now-ey-u</i> pj, <i>noweyu</i> j, <i>gnoween</i> dm [NWV <i>nyawi</i> ‘sun’] yeRangguRi <i>yerungoori</i> dm
day after tomorrow		piRptjum yuk <i>perpchuum yuuk</i> daw		
dazzling				milipa <i>mil-lip-par</i> pj [see ‘wink’]
dead [s ee ‘die’]				
deaf	ngang-ngang <i>ngung-ngung</i> mt ngala-kana <i>nallargana</i> wy [no + ?]	murt wirimbul <i>moart wirnkbuul</i> daw [‘short ear’]	nga-nga <i>nganga</i> a, <i>nga nga</i> e, <i>knah-knah</i> th	ngokin wirimbul <i>knock-in-wirr-m-bool</i> pj [We murt wirimbul]
decay	pintjurt <i>been-joort</i> mt	pungguwi-kalk <i>purngkuaekalk</i> daw punggutj <i>puungguitch</i> ‘rotten’ daw		potj-potj <i>boytch-boytch</i> ‘rotten’ pj
deep			topmak <i>dopmook</i> th [Wa top(nyuk)]	tiyal <i>tee-yal</i> pj
deride, to			weRkutjuak <i>wayrkudyoak</i> th	
destroy, to			nyungaRa-nyakok-nyin <i>nyooknarra-nyahgok-nyin</i> th	
destroy, to		yatjang puling kungat <i>yatchang bulling kuung</i> at daw		
devil [see ‘spirit/ghost’]				
devil, moon		kunuk pili <i>kuurnok billy</i> daw [pili ‘stomach’]		
dew		kutjal <i>kuutchall</i> daw [We kutjal, WB kuthEl, see ‘thaw’] wurt <i>wur.rt</i> garp		tumitj <i>toor-meetch</i> pj
die, to	<i>dredaiin</i> mp	tirtaya <i>ditaiyang</i> daw	tirtaya, tiRaya <i>tidaiin, ditai</i> e, <i>dir-</i>	tiRaya <i>dee-ri-ung</i> ‘dead’ pj,

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	wika <i>weecaa</i> mt, <i>weekin</i> 'corpse' wy, <i>wee keer</i> 'dead body' t	wika <i>wikin</i> 'dead' h, mr <i>weeguork</i> 'death of a woman by sentence' daw [NWV wika] kaikil <i>kiikil</i> g	<i>ai-yung</i> th, <i>tittai-en</i> 'dead' th, <i>titaiang</i> a, <i>detyung</i> p, <i>ditaiyang</i> a,	<i>deryung</i> 'dead' p, <i>deriyenan</i> 'I am dying' j [Wa tirta]
dig, to	pangga <i>baangoc</i> mt	tuna katja <i>tuurna kutcha</i> daw	pangga <i>bahk-kngahk</i> th [NWV pangga]	
dirty			pat-nyumilang <i>baht-nyoomy-lung</i> th [Wa panyumilikan, also <i>patnyuma</i> 'to bury']	wutuRong <i>woo-doo-rong</i> pj
discontent		ngamartayan <i>gnumartii an</i> daw [see 'hurt']		
diseased [see 'wound']				wirp-wirp <i>wee-rip nee-rip</i> pj
dive, to	ngaka <i>ngaarcee</i> mt [We ngaka]	lukiRa <i>lukaera</i> daw		
divorce, to	winaka <i>winaacuc</i> mt ['leave']	winakam <i>winnakum</i> 'divorced' daw <i>winnakum kuurk</i> 'divorced woman' daw		
do, to		telkunya <i>talkugnak</i> daw [see 'good']		
doctor, wise man		lanyiwil <i>lunyewil</i> daw ['rib- having']		pangpangal <i>barng-bar-knul</i> pj [WB pangel]
dog	kal <i>kal</i> g, garw, nysm, mp, <i>kaal</i> lw, mt	kal <i>kal</i> , <i>carl</i> garw, <i>kaal</i> mr, <i>karlok</i> daw 'Barrukill's dog' kunum <i>kuurnuumek</i> daw	kal <i>garl</i> p, <i>gahl</i> th, <i>kal</i> nysm kunum <i>konum</i> garp	kal <i>kaal</i> me, <i>garl</i> j, <i>gul</i> , <i>kal</i> rhm, <i>karl</i> pj [Western Kulin, Warr, Wa kal]
dog, native; dingo	wilkerr <i>wilkerr</i> wy <i>wilkin</i> t	wilkerr <i>wilter</i> daw, <i>welkar</i> h	wilkerr <i>wilkar</i> e, a, <i>will-ker</i> th, <i>wilker</i> br	wilkerr <i>bab wilter</i> 'female dog' daw. <i>whill-kur</i> pj [We wilkerr 'dingo']
don't [see 'no']				
doorway		wurru lar <i>wuuro laar</i> daw ['mouth (of) house']		kali-lar <i>kal-lee-larr</i> pj
double				pulanyapurp <i>boo-lan-yer-boorp</i> pj
down (sense?)	tjiRuk			

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>joerock</i> mt, <i>jeeruk</i> wy [see 'fin']			
down (below)	mayuka <i>myoga</i> mt			mayuka <i>my-er-ghar</i> pj [Wa, Woi mai-; see 'under'] kumbap <i>koomb up</i> pj
down of bird		nutngok <i>nuurtknok</i> daw		
drag, to	tirnda <i>drindac</i> mt [also 'pull	tirnda <i>tirndak</i> daw		
dray		<i>ka'att</i> daw [English 'cart']		
dream, to	<i>yjyjelen</i> mt	ya ya yelang <i>ya ya yellang</i> daw	<i>ee-ai-dee-yaid-long-y</i> th [similar forms in other Kulin inc. Wa ye-ye-tjili]	
drink, to	kupa, kupila <i>coopuc</i> mt, <i>kopalal</i> g <i>coopan</i> t [NWV kupa, kupila] patja <i>baitchek</i> mp	kupa, kupila <i>kuupalann</i> daw ngupa <i>ngoopin</i> h, <i>openan</i> mr	kupila <i>kobilang</i> e ngupa, ngupila <i>ngohpak</i> th, <i>ngupilan</i> a, <i>opellanyook</i> p	ngupa, ngupila <i>knoo-per</i> pj, <i>oppellar</i> j [Wa, EK ngupa]
drive of game		paya wungatj <i>paayaar</i> <i>wuung'iitch</i> daw		
drop, to		puika <i>boo-ay-kah</i> th ['fall']		tuma <i>dorm-mar</i> pj
dropsy		puRpelang <i>purpelang</i> daw		
drum, possum skin		pilp <i>paelp</i> daw [WB pilp]		
drumming noise		karnda pilp <i>kurnda paelp</i> daw ['call drum']		
drunk		kupkiRayt <i>kuupkaeriit</i> daw ['drink alcohol']	titkanangi dit-gar-nang-y th	
dry, to [see 'quench']		tatal <i>daddal</i> garw		poi-poi <i>boi-boi</i> pj, <i>boi-boi-e-jharr</i> 'dry ground' pj putjkuna <i>boitch-koo-nar</i> 'to dry' pj
duck, black	ngari <i>ngurri</i> lw, <i>ngari</i> g, <i>ngaar-ee</i> mt, <i>gnarree</i> wy, <i>mooree</i> t	ngari <i>ngerrri</i> mr, <i>ngare</i> h, <i>gnarrae</i> daw 'grey d'	ngari <i>maree</i> me, <i>nare-re</i> garp, <i>nysm</i> , <i>ngari</i> e, a, <i>gnyahr-ay</i> th, <i>nar-</i> <i>re</i> 'turkey', garp	ngari <i>knarr-ee</i> pj [WB, We ngare]
duck, mountain	pitjangRo <i>bichangro</i> 'wood' lw	pitjan.kuR <i>pitchan'gor</i> daw [We pitjenggal]	piRap <i>beer-up</i> garp	minyilak <i>mein-yee-luck</i> pj
duck, musk	<i>choluel</i> t, <i>chokivil</i> t	ngunyawil		nganimil

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>gnuunyawil</i> 'teal' daw		<i>knun-nee-nil</i> pj [see 'duck, teal'] [We nganyewil, WB ngan↔wil]
duck, speckled		paRimakurrk <i>barraemakurk</i> daw		
duck, teal			perner <i>ben-nare-re</i> garp	perner <i>ban-nairre</i> pj [WK, Wa perner]
duck, widgeon		wiRinut <i>wirrinourt</i> daw		
duck, wood	piap-piap <i>pirpir</i> g <i>beap-beap</i> t	piap-piap <i>biapiap</i> mr, <i>peeup</i> <i>peeup</i> daw	piap-piap <i>bearp-bearp</i> me, <i>biapiarp</i> e, <i>piap-piap</i> nysm, <i>beyapyirp</i> a, <i>berr-perr</i> 'teal' th	piap-piap <i>bea-pe-up</i> dm nganak <i>knun-nuck</i> pj [WW ngan↔k]
dumb		yelipkutja <i>yellipkuutcha</i> daw	ngala-kilang <i>ng-allah-gay-ay-lung</i> th, <i>ngallah gyilling</i> th ['no talk']	
dust			pun <i>boon</i> 'dusty' th [see 'lime']	munal <i>moo-nal</i> pj [Wa munal]
dwarf		pulk <i>po'olk</i> daw pulk-kurrk <i>polkuurk</i> 'dwarf woman' daw [see 'soft', 'tender', 'weak']		
dysentery		tutiyan <i>tuutiyan</i> daw		tjuRowa <i>jhu-row-er</i> pj
eagle	werpil <i>wrappel</i> o, <i>wrapel</i> mt, <i>rare-pill</i> wy, <i>rapel</i> t, <i>rappell</i> t ngaRayl <i>gnarraille</i> d	werpil <i>rappil</i> l yanal <i>yannul</i> grw piRpil <i>pirrpil</i> daw [see 'duck, teal']	werpil <i>werpil</i> e, <i>mortay-wurpill</i> th ['big eagle'], <i>wurr-pill</i> 'hawk' th, <i>warpil</i> p, <i>wear-pil</i> ta ngaRayl <i>narail</i> a, <i>narile</i> br	werpil <i>waa-pil</i> dm, <i>wairrp-il</i> pj [We <i>werpil</i> , similar in other NWV] ngiarratj <i>knear-aytch</i> pj
ear	wirimbul <i>wirumboolek</i> lw, <i>wirbool</i> g, <i>wroom-bolok</i> o, <i>wroom-bol</i> mt, <i>wooramboon</i> wy, <i>brimboal</i> t, <i>wirbool</i> mp	wirimbul, wimbul <i>wemboolyangerack</i> <i>wimbool</i> grb, <i>wirbool</i> h, mr, <i>wirng buulin</i> daw, <i>rimbool</i> grw, <i>brimbol</i> l	wirimbul, wimbul <i>wimbul</i> garp, <i>wimbuloock</i> p, <i>mimbul</i> garp, <i>wirbool</i> nysm, me, <i>wirmbol</i> e, <i>wirm-bool</i> th, <i>wearboull</i> d, <i>wirbul</i> a, <i>wrimbool</i> p, <i>rimbil</i> 'hair'e, <i>wym-bool-look</i> ta, <i>werebul</i> br	wirimbul, wimbul <i>weimbul</i> dm, <i>wirr-m-book</i> pj, <i>wimbuloock</i> j, [We <i>wirimbul</i> and similar in other Kulin]
ear hole		wutjuk wirngbul <i>wuutchuk wirng buulin</i> daw [= 'heart ear']		
ear lobe	kaR-wirampul <i>kar-wooramboon</i> wy,			putji wirmbul <i>boiche-wirr-m-bool</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>cra-ooroom-bol</i> mt [‘nose ear’]			[‘stomach ear’]
earthquake		muRmuRa tjaa <i>muurmuur ajaa</i> daw [= ‘shake earth’; see ‘shiver’, ‘twinkle’]		
earwig		kutuk kutuk wirmbul <i>kuurtuuk kuurtuuk</i> <i>wuurmbuul</i> ‘enter ear’ daw [calque of English?]		
east		papkumap nyawi <i>pupkuumup neowee</i> daw [‘jump sun’]		<i>bairp</i> pj [see ‘tomorrow morning’]
eat, to	tjakala <i>chakol</i> g, <i>jac-eli</i> mt, <i>checkalinarchin</i> mp, <i>ticoyan</i> t	tjaka, tjakila <i>chakna</i> g’no daw, <i>chakkin</i> h, <i>chakkelowang</i> mr, <i>chukkilanang</i> ’no daw, <i>chukkaelang</i> ‘feast’ daw	tjaka, tjakila <i>tyahk-eet</i> th, <i>tyakik</i> e, <i>dyakilan</i> a, <i>mullun</i> <i>tankbeku</i> p <i>tam.mor.ro</i> garp	thaka, tjakala <i>mullun takkah</i> j, <i>jock-kaa-</i> <i>leen</i> ‘to feed’ [prob.intrans] pj, <i>jhak-er</i> pj [forms such as tjaka/thaka widespread]
echidna		yulawil <i>yuluwill</i> daw	yulawil <i>yulawil</i> e, a, <i>yoolowill</i> ‘wire’ th	yulawil <i>yool-a-nil</i> pj [We <i>yulawil</i>] <i>beeyng</i> pj
echo		ngang kuyuk <i>gnang’guyuuk</i> ‘sound’ daw		
eel		punyart <i>puunyart</i> daw [Wa bun(i)ya]	punyart <i>bunyart</i> garp, <i>boonyart</i> th	punyart <i>boyn-knurt</i> pj [We <i>punyart</i> ; see ‘bowels’]
eel basket		putjakun <i>puutchakuurn</i> daw		
eel hole		yanduk <i>yarnduuk</i> daw		
egg	mirk <i>mirk</i> lw, g, o,mp, <i>mirrke</i> d, <i>mirrk</i> wy, <i>mirrh-cook</i> f, <i>mircock</i> mt, <i>merrick</i> t	mirk <i>mirk</i> daw, l, h <i>merk</i> mr, <i>mairt</i> grw <i>mikkae kuurk</i> ‘snake egg’ daw [‘female her-egg’], <i>mirk kuuk</i> ‘bird egg’ daw <i>wartaebuuk mirk</i> ‘lizard egg’ daw [‘egg its-young’] [NWV, Warr <i>mirk</i>]	mirk <i>mirk</i> nysm, p, th, me	pum-pum <i>boom-boom</i> pj, dm, <i>broom-</i> <i>boon</i> ta
egg, ant		tingap <i>deengapp</i> daw		
egret		ngamakik yawiR <i>gnummakeek</i> <i>yowwer</i> ‘white man’s meat’ daw		
eight				panyaRankitj <i>pan-yer-an-geetch</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
elbow	kaluk <i>callook wy</i>	paloyt <i>ballu chin daw,</i> <i>puloit garw</i>	paloyt <i>balloot th, palloit</i> <i>garp, palwert br</i>	paloyt <i>bol-loitch pj</i> [Wa, Woi paluth]
embrace, to			walatjalanu <i>wallatyallannoo th</i>	
emetic of leech		kalapa <i>kaluppa daw</i>		
empty	malangia <i>malahngi-a wy</i>	putaya <i>putaya daw</i>	putaya <i>boortai-in</i> '[pipe] gone out' th takuRang <i>dakerang a</i> <i>ng allatt-nye th</i> [ngala 'no']	takuRang <i>dak-coo-rong pj</i>
emu	yawirr <i>yowerre mc</i> <i>yawir mp</i> kawirr <i>kowir lw, g, gahwirr</i> <i>wy, cowr mt, cowen t,</i> <i>johie t</i> [Western Kulin, Wa kawirr]	parramal <i>paramael grb</i> kawirr <i>kowwirr daw</i> <i>kowering mr</i> <i>kowi h</i> <i>cover garw</i>	yawirr <i>yow-wayra th</i> <i>yowir nysm, yow-</i> <i>werre garp, yow-il</i> <i>garp, yowwel garp,</i> <i>yauwiir e, yauir a,</i> <i>yowarr me. yaowrie</i> <i>br</i> [We yawirr 'meat']	parramal <i>bar-ra-mul pj, barramul j</i> [paRiimal CV]
emu's tail			woRm <i>worm</i> 'tail of emu feather worn at corrobbery' garp [see 'band, woman's emu feather']	
encircle, to			mama <i>mah-muk th, mahm-</i> <i>ballang-oo</i> 'We must surround him' th [Thomas gives similar forms for Woi; Warr mama 'to catch']	
end			pirrkiyalk <i>berryky-ahlk th</i> [see pirrk 'tail']	
enough				katju, katju min <i>kar-chew pj, kar-chew-min</i> pj
entrails		tuRing pili <i>turing billae daw</i> [heart/nut stomach]		
entrails, possum		muntuk <i>murnduuk daw</i>		
entrails, viscera	kunangi <i>coonangi</i> 'to evacuate' mt [kuna 'excrement']	kunangi <i>gonungye garw</i> [kuna 'excrement']		
evening [see afternoon]				
ever		tjup-tjup-kutja <i>chuurp chuurp</i> <i>kuutcha daw</i>		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
excrement	kuna <i>koonna</i> lw, g, o, mp	kuna <i>koonna</i> mr, <i>koonnang</i> h, <i>kuunong unn</i> daw	kuna <i>kunna</i> e, goona th, <i>kun-nar</i> 'stomach' ta,	kuna <i>koona</i> 'stomach' dm, <i>koo-nar</i> pj [widespread kuna]
excrement pit		tapkut <i>tapkuurt</i> daw		
excrescence				wambi <i>wombi</i> pj [see 'syphilis']
excrescence of trees		tjimtjim <i>chimchim</i> daw [see 'wart']		
eye	mir <i>meurnok</i> o, <i>mir</i> g, mp, <i>mirnik</i> lw, <i>myrr</i> wy 'eyeball', <i>mirkk</i> d, <i>merr</i> t	mir <i>meyr</i> grb, <i>mer</i> h, <i>meer</i> garw, <i>mareh</i> l, <i>meyangerack</i> grb, <i>mir</i> mr, <i>mirnk</i> in <i>uurat</i> daw, <i>mirn</i> <i>nuuk</i> 'sight' daw, <i>macinyarack</i> grw	mir <i>meyr</i> grb, <i>mer</i> th, <i>minnook</i> p, <i>me</i> garp, <i>mi</i> a, <i>meer</i> p, garp, <i>mir</i> nysm, e, <i>myrr</i> <i>me</i> , <i>myn-ook</i> ta	mir <i>ma</i> dm, <i>minnook</i> j [Kulin mir]
eye ball	wuR-wuRi-miR <i>wor-oo-ori-mir</i> mt			wuR-wuRi-mir <i>woor-woorer-myrr</i> pj [EKwurr-wurri-mirng] [see 'eye, white of', 'sky']
eye brow	kini mir <i>geneemyrr</i> wy ['forehead eye'] nganyi-naikin <i>nganji-naigen</i> mt [nganyi 'whiskers']	tanyuk mirng <i>tanyuuk mirnk</i> daw [see 'forehead', 'hip']		tanu mir <i>tar-no-myrr</i> pj
eye lash	witjin mir <i>wit yin-mir</i> mt, <i>witcheemyrr</i> wy	ngarrat mir <i>knarrat mirnk</i> daw ['hair eye']		wiRini mir <i>wir-ren-e-myrr</i> pj ['feather eye']
eye lid (upper)	wart mir <i>wartmyrr</i> wy, <i>word-mir</i> mt ['back eye']	wart mir <i>wurot mirnk</i> daw, <i>wart mirnk</i> daw ['back eye']		ngarri mir <i>knar-ree-myrr</i> pj [hair eye?]
eye lid, lower	kali mir <i>kalleemyrr</i> wy, <i>cali mir</i> mt			
eye sight		ti'irn <i>teeirn</i> daw		
eye, blar		kurrki mirng <i>kuurkae mirng</i> daw ['eye its-blood']		
eye, blar	piti mir <i>beteemur</i> wy			
eye, pupil		tjaRkin yuRat <i>chaerk</i> in <i>uurat</i> daw		
eye, white of	toRa <i>tora</i> mt [WW tharra 'white']			
eye, white of	wuRawuk mir <i>woorahwookmyrr</i> wy [see 'eye ball']			
fable or story		kia kiki		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>keeyark keeh keeh</i> daw [kia 'tell']		
face	mir pa kar <i>murbahga wy, mir-poegaa mt, morrpaga t</i>	mirng pa kia <i>kiyanguRak</i> <i>mirnk ba</i> <i>kiya'gnuurak daw</i>	mir pa kar <i>mirbaga e, mirpaga a</i>	mir pa ka <i>myrr-bar-karr pj, mirre-par-gar, mirri-par-gar j</i> ['eye and nose'] [WB, We mir-ba-kanyuk]
faint, to		pupu murrup <i>pobo murop daw</i> [murrup 'spirit']	nyangan-kotang <i>nyangun-gortang th</i> [see 'moan']	
fairy ring		walpi, walpiyuk <i>wullpeyuuk 'burnt'</i> daw		
fall, to	puika <i>bo-i-ca mt, puitkan, bo-a-kin wy, bo-i-coo-ip 'full' [sic] mt, boyko-a 'full' [sic] wy</i>	puika, puitka <i>puitkan 'tumble down' daw, pueetka 'crash' daw [see 'crash'];</i> NWVpuika]	puika <i>boika a, e, booy-kah th</i>	
family, children	kitjawinwindayt <i>keechaweenweendite wy</i> [see child]	pupup kalik <i>puupuup kaleek daw</i> [also given as 'brood'], <i>popopkille mr, pokalik h</i>	pupup kalik <i>popope colling garp, bupupkalik a</i>	wonyotjarrapil <i>woi-noit-yere-bil pj</i>
far	tjiRmitjuRan <i>chermecchuran wy</i>	puRi-o <i>puuree o daw,</i> [Warr puRi, Bu puru] tiRiRi <i>taeraer-aer-aer 'a long distance' daw</i>	tjuwang-kotang <i>dyoo-wang-goht-tung th</i>	puRi <i>boo-rre pj</i> waRitj-u <i>whar-reetch-oo pj, warredu j</i> [Wa waRiyt 'long way']
far-seeing	warnkan <i>wurn-gun wy</i>	nakak puRio <i>nakak puuree o 'far-seeing' daw</i>		
fast	mam kunilan <i>mamgoonillan wy</i> [see 'slow'] talk piRpip <i>dolc burpeep mt</i> ['well run']	piRpun <i>pirpuurn daw</i> [piRpa 'run']		wirrapunong <i>we-ra-poo-nong pj</i> [WB wirreka ,W wurwi 'run']
fat	pepul <i>barpoolek lw, perpool t, bapol wy, papool g,</i>	pepul <i>bapol wy, pipuluuk daw, papool h, pepool mr</i>	pepul <i>papoolok nysm, bairpulluk p, pare pole garp, bah-pool th</i>	pepul <i>bairpulluk j</i> [WK, Warr pipul]
fat of large grub		putuluk <i>puurtuluuk daw</i>		
father	mam <i>mahamook wy, marmi g, mami lw, mamie mc, maamenic mt, maam mp, marmuke o, maarm d</i>	mam <i>maamee daw, , mami lh, mr, mammy l, marmae garw</i>	mam <i>mamook nysm, mamuk a, maamuk e, marmak p, marmeduc, marme garp, mar-mook ta</i> welyik <i>welyik th</i>	mam <i>maame dm, mamay me, mar-mook j, marm pj, dm</i> [widespread Vic]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
father-in-law		natjang ngayak <i>niitchang gnaa'yak</i> daw metj <i>metchekk, metchikk</i> 'woman's fa-in-law' daw		[see entry below]
father,step		yanit-mam <i>yaanitmaam</i> 'other father' daw		kaRikaRim <i>kar-re-kar-rim-book</i> pj [also given as 'father-in-law'; see 'son, stepson']
father's brother		yanit-mam <i>yaanitmam</i> daw watjip <i>watchip</i> 'woman's father's bro, single' daw		
father's eldest sister, single		wartai wartatj <i>wardii wardiitch</i> daw papi <i>paapae gnek</i> daw		
father's sisters		naluk, naluki <i>nulluk, naluukae</i> daw <i>yaagnekbbab</i> 'husband's fa's sister' daw		
father's sister's husband		tjaRm pap <i>churm bap</i> daw		
fear [see 'afraid']				
feast		tjakilang <i>chukkaelang</i> daw, tjakiliango <i>chukkaelaeng o</i> 'marriage feast' daw [tjaka 'eat']		
feather	witjiyn <i>wityin</i> mt, , <i>wityin momooc</i> mt ['bottom feather'] <i>wecheenuke</i> wy	ngarra-nyuk <i>narrak neuk</i> daw ['its hair'] wawal <i>warwal</i> daw [WB wawurr 'down']	witjik <i>wetyik</i> th	wiRayn <i>whee-rain</i> pj [WB with<->n]
feel (touch)				kerka <i>carrk-er</i> pj [We kerka; see 'catch']
female	papuk (animal) <i>paa-pooc</i> mt, <i>pahpook</i> wy			papuk (animal) <i>bapuk</i> rhm kurrk (human) <i>goork</i> pj [see §3.3]
fence		ngalapan <i>nalopbun</i> daw	ngalakpan <i>ngalakpan,</i> <i>ngallak-pun,</i> <i>ngallakpan</i> 'stockyard' th	ngalapkun <i>knal-lap-coon</i> pj [Woi ngalakpayn]
fern		mula		mula

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>muulaa</i> 'edible fern root' daw wonon tulang <i>wonon tulang</i> daw [see 'tree, wattle']		<i>moo-laa</i> pj [see 'hip']
ferruginous conglome		kurrk waRan <i>kuurk warran</i> daw		
fetch			parpaka <i>burbugga</i> th	mutja <i>mootch-ar, moo-cheen</i> pj [also 'get', etc.]
few/three [see 'three']	patjip-patjip <i>pahtcheep-patcheep</i> wy	katuR <i>kartoor</i> mr, <i>cartore</i> grb, <i>kartoro</i> h, <i>kartuur</i> daw		
fierce				kulumanda <i>koo-loo-mun-dar</i> pj [see WB, We kulum-kulum 'stranger', 'wild man']
fight, to	tak-tjarra <i>taac-charin-yat</i> mt	tak-tjarra <i>tukkcherrang</i> daw	tak-tjarra <i>dorkelyeer</i> p, <i>tyiltyarang</i> a, <i>duc</i> <i>care ing gal</i> garp, <i>dah-kyery-yangoo</i> th, <i>datyarop</i> e	tak-tjarra <i>dorkt yerar</i> j [NWV taktjarra 'hit-reciprocal']
fill			pirnuma <i>birt-noo-mak</i> th	
fin	tjiRuk, tjaRuk <i>joerock</i> mt [see 'down', 'shell'] yim <i>yeem</i> wy [see 'tadpole']	mumuk <i>muumuuk</i> daw		palin <i>ballin-ook</i> pj
find [see 'gather/find']				
finger [see also 'hand']	tamkaRup <i>tungahroop</i> wy		wonin mana <i>won-in-mun-nar</i> ta [Wa won-marna]	
finger, fore	wingaRap <i>wingerapp</i> 'finger'd	yulayulop <i>yulaheulop terr</i> 'spear point' daw [WB yal↔p- yal↔p]	windaRap <i>win.der.rup,</i> <i>win.dare.rap</i> garp, <i>winderrap</i> 'two' garp	windaRap <i>win-dar-rap</i> pj [also given as 'two']
finger, fourth	kirting <i>griting o, griting</i> 'finger' mt	kirting <i>kirting eea gnuuak</i> 'smallest' daw	kiting <i>kittin, get-tin</i> garp wartipi-manya <i>wahrty-pay-manye</i> th ['children of hand'] pulen pitil <i>pole-len biddle,</i> <i>pole.len.bid.dil</i> garp	kiRing mana <i>kir-ring-mun-nar</i> pj
finger, second		takiyuk kurnwila <i>tukkaeyuuk</i> <i>kuurnwilla</i> 'hit snake' daw	maronkap <i>marraeng, mor rone</i> <i>gap</i> garp	marontjap <i>mar-ron-dyarp</i> pj [CA mara 'hand']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
finger, third		<i>kepkiirtae</i> ‘behind the long one’ daw	pulayn pula <i>pol.line.bul.ler garp</i>	kayambula <i>kiam-bul-lar pj</i>
fingernail [see ‘nails’]				
fire (also ‘firewood’)	wi <i>wee</i> mt, o, f, d, <i>wi lw</i> , g, mp, <i>wee-eh wy</i> , <i>wee-eh</i> ‘earthquake’ wy <i>wee t</i>	wi <i>wee</i> mt, garw, <i>we l</i> , garw daw, <i>wi mr</i> , h, <i>ween</i> garw	wi <i>wee</i> p, th, ta, <i>we l</i> , garp, <i>wi nysm</i> , <i>wii a</i> , e,	wi <i>wee</i> pj, dm, j [wi widespread Eastern Aus.]
fire, to kindle		wiRka <i>weerkinyan</i> grb, <i>wearyea</i> grb, <i>wircat</i> grb, <i>wirka gno wee</i> daw kuyunatj <i>kuyonn niitch</i> daw	wiRka <i>wirrkah weeng</i> th, <i>wirkin</i> th	
firestick		pukap <i>puukup</i> daw		
first				kalikunditj <i>karl-lee-goan-deetch</i> pj
fish	yawirr <i>yower</i> mt [WB yawirr] yeyuk <i>yeyook</i> lw panayaR <i>bun-ny-arr</i> wy kolal <i>collal</i> ‘saltwater’ wy [Warr kulal]	tjulem <i>choolem</i> h [see ‘blackfish’] yutjuk <i>yuuchuuk</i> daw yaRa <i>yarrar</i> ‘fish, saltwater’ daw, <i>yerrar</i> ‘trout’ daw [PW] <i>mo’om</i> daw tut kut <i>tuurt kuurt</i> daw	wirrap <i>wirap a</i> , <i>werr-ahp</i> th, <i>wiirap</i> nysm yutjuk <i>yurtyuk</i> e	wirrap <i>wee-rap</i> ‘Murray cod’ pj [We wirrap ‘blackfish’, also EK] kiRanal <i>ghee-rar-nul</i> ‘perch’ pj
fish, to	yungkoma <i>young-go-muck</i> mt	pakotuinya <i>bacottuinyan</i> grb		
fishing rod		palepaRip <i>ballaeparrip</i> daw		
fishing, spear		pandalangu <i>pundalung o</i> panyart <i>punyart</i> ‘fishing spear’ daw, pandit <i>bundit</i> ‘best quality spear’ daw [see ‘thrust with spear’]		
fist	nguminan-manya <i>ngoo menan-moenyoe</i> mt muRi-manya	milpa? , mitpa? <i>mitpukk</i> daw [SH milpa ‘bend fingers in making fist’, Kulin milpa	mamkutjak-manya-nyin <i>mamgotyoak-manya-nyin</i> th [‘close your	muRima-mana <i>moo-ree-mar-mun-nar</i> pj [possibly ‘twisted hand’ (see ‘twirl’) or folded hand, Wa <i>murima-puma</i> ‘to fold’]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>moree-mahnia wy</i>	for ‘bend’]	hand’; see ‘shut’]	
five		kayap manya <i>kaiap mirnya mr,</i> <i>kiamonya grb</i>	kayap manya <i>kaiya manga e</i> <i>kid.din garp</i> [see ‘finger’] pulili-pa-pulili- kayap, pulitj pa pulitj pa kayap <i>boolely-bah-boolely-</i> <i>gaiup th, boletch ba</i> <i>boletch ba kaiap a [=</i> <i>2+2+1]</i>	kayaRp mana <i>kiarrp-mun-nar pj</i> [‘one hand’]
flame				yalanya <i>yal-lan-yer pj</i> [WB tjalinyuk]
flea				layn <i>lain pj</i>
flesh	pang, peng <i>ba-ang wy, beng mt</i>	peng <i>banggok</i> ‘fresh whale flesh’ daw [see ‘body’]	pultjina <i>boolgenna th</i> [prob. just refers to ‘sheep’, q.v.]	peng <i>bang pj</i>
flesh, for food		pingyin <i>ping yin daw</i>		
flesh, whale, putrid		ngipa <i>gneepar daw</i> [see ‘funeral’]		
flint		petj <i>paeatch daw</i> [WW patj ‘quartz’]		
float, to	wuni-wunang <i>wornee-woor-nung mt</i>	nyuRka <i>neurka daw</i> [see ‘swim’; Wa nyu(R)ka]		
flock	noRiwa <i>noreewah wy</i>	kitjawili yawirr <i>cit-y-oi-lee y-oi-wer</i> mt [‘plenty animal’] lapakiRa yawirr <i>larbargirrar yaawir</i> ‘flock of birds’ daw		
flood	puloyt mir <i>boloyd-myrr wy</i> wuRm-wRimbin katjin <i>wurm-wrembin</i> <i>katchin mt</i>	marti katjin <i>murtae kutchink</i> daw [‘big water’]		wola-wola <i>wol-ler-wol-ler pj</i> [wala ‘rain’]
flower	pumbol <i>boom-bol mt</i> [see ‘manna’]	kulang kuRang <i>kuulang kurrang</i> ‘acacia’ daw kulang mutang <i>kuulang muutang</i> daw [Warr muthang, Co, Woi muyang]	kun-kan <i>goorn-gun</i> ‘blossoms’ th, goen goen p	tuin duwin j

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<p>naniak miRng <i>na'hneeak mirnk</i> 'seeing eye' daw 'buttercup'</p> <p>ku, kuR <i>koor</i> 'eucalypt' daw [Wa guR]</p> <p>ngaRa wuRong <i>gnarra wuurong</i> 'hair lip' daw 'red forget-me-not'</p> <p>puwang kurrk <i>poang kuurk, poang guurk, boang gork</i> 'bad smell' daw 'sweet-scented forget-me-not', 'penny royal', 'native mignonette'</p>		
fly	<p>pitjik <i>bitchik g, pet-cheek wy, beecheec mt</i> pa-pitjik <i>pa-pidjeek t</i> pa-piRik <i>barperik mp</i></p>	<p>pitjik <i>pitchik</i> 'blowfly' daw, WHERE'S PIYIK minik <i>minnik</i> 'house' daw [Warr minik]</p> <p>nimp-nimp kurrk <i>nimpnimp kork</i> 'fly causing eye blight' daw</p>	<p>pitjik <i>bityik e, biityik nysm, bityik a, morty-bittyik</i> 'blowfly' th, <i>bityik ta bittyik th</i> 'fly, house'</p>	<p>piRik <i>bee-reek</i> 'flesh fly' pj [NWVpitjik]</p> <p><i>batchik dm</i></p> <p>tutotj <i>toor-toytch</i> 'house' pj</p>
fly, large		<p>nalukana kuRe <i>nalukanna</i> <i>kuuraeae</i> 'nose like kangaroo' daw 'dragon fly'</p> <p>muR-muRa <i>muur muur aa</i> 'dragon fly, bee- eater' daw ['shiver', 'tremble']</p> <p>kirnduk pip ngiya ngaa <i>kaernduuk peep gniya gnaa</i> 'digger of grubs for fern owl' daw 'mantis'</p> <p>kuki wulwul <i>kuukae wuul wuul</i> 'hornet fly' daw</p>		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		wulwul <i>wuul wuul</i> ‘mason fly’ daw		
fly, march		muRun <i>muuron</i> daw [see ‘bee’] mam <i>maam</i> ‘large’ daw [‘father’]		muRu, muRun <i>mooroo</i> me, <i>moo-roon</i> pj [Wa muRun; see ‘mosquito’, ‘bee, native’]
fly, sand				munkiyn <i>moon-keen</i> pj
fly, rise	paika <i>pyca</i> ‘fly’ mt, <i>pyci</i> ‘rise’ mt	paika <i>piitkaa</i> ‘rise’ daw	paika <i>bai-kah</i> ‘fly’ th, <i>baikay</i> th ‘rise’, <i>bai-kang-oo-nyin</i> ‘rise’ th	paika <i>py-keen</i> ‘fly’, ‘rise’ pj, <i>pikinan</i> ‘rise’ j [We, WB paika]
flycatcher		yilpilap <i>yellpillup</i> daw		
flycatcher, black		tjiRap tjiRap <i>cherrup cherrup</i> daw [see ‘willy wagtail’]		
foal		kuwika minyi <i>ko-i-gar minye</i> garw watjipi kamp kamp <i>watchepee gump</i> <i>gump</i> daw [‘horse its-young’]		
fog	nyura <i>nuroe</i> mt [see ‘cloud, light’, ‘snow’] tjeRapi-koRi <i>jerapi-kore</i> mt tjiRi-marong <i>geeri-murong</i> wy [see ‘cloud, light’,]	wartipiyn kuRiyn <i>wartepeen kuureen</i> daw [‘south (wind) its-offspring’] wuwot <i>wuuort, wuort</i> daw kumaa-kumaa <i>kuumaar kuumaar</i> ‘fog from sea’ daw [see ‘make war’, ‘south’]	puRa <i>pura</i> e keRakeR <i>kairagair</i> a	puRong <i>boo-rong</i> ‘mist’ pj wuRumiwola <i>woo-room-e-woller</i> pj
fold up, to [see ‘make’]			moyopa <i>moyo-pak</i> th	
follow, to			kapa <i>kah-puk</i> th [Wa kapa]	
fomentation of breast		kom <i>kom</i> daw [see ‘breast’]		
fomentation of sore		wopkuna <i>wopkuurna</i> daw [Warr wop, meaning uncertain]		
fond				watjilang <i>wart-ye-e-long</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
food	praan <i>bra-an wy</i>	panggun <i>pangkuurn daw</i> pungpokun <i>poongboorgoon h</i> paronki-kurn <i>paronkekoorn mr</i>	tjakitj <i>dyakitch a</i> tjakol <i>tyakol e</i>	tjakitj <i>jhuck ketch pj , jhuck keetch pj</i> [see 'eat'] yaRipuka <i>yarre-boo-gar pj</i>
foot	tjina <i>jinna d, chinanek lw, geenah wy, ginna o, gin oenuc mt, ginanuck mt, jenahnook wy, chinna g, tchina t, dchinna mp</i>	tjina, thina <i>chena, china, tinanyuuk, chin nang daw, kinneyangerack, chinna, l, h, mr, grb tin-ner, tinner garw</i>	tjina, thina <i>dyina a, e, dyinna th, dyina e, tinnan jowook, ginah p, tinne garp, chinna nysm, tee-nar ta, [j?]enii br</i>	tjina <i>jhin-nar pj, jinna dm, tinnanyook j</i> [widespread tjina/thina]
foot, sole of	tjang-tjina <i>gahn-geenah wy, chung-ginoe mt</i> ['chest foot']	pili tjinang <i>pillae chin nang daw</i> ['stomach foot']	thang-tjina <i>tanginner garp</i>	putji tjina <i>boitch-e-jihn-nar pj</i> ['stomach foot'; see 'hand']
football [see 'ball']				
footprint [see 'track']				
for		kingin <i>king in daw</i> [probably 'here']		kundi <i>koon dee, kondee, knoon-dee pj</i> [as in 'look for', but meaning uncertain]
forehead	kini <i>geneenook wy, gini mt, connee t</i>	kini <i>kinnae daw, kunnu grb,</i>	kini <i>kin ne garp, gini e, kinnii a, gayn-ne th</i> tanyimir <i>tan.ye.meer garp</i> [see 'eyebrow', 'hip']	kini <i>ghin-nee pj</i> [Western Kulin, Bu kini]
forest	tatikak <i>dat-tigark wy</i> witjupi-kali <i>wichoopi-coeli mt</i>	kalpakuRo <i>kulpakuuro daw</i>		
forest-oak, casuarina				tjuRang <i>chu-rarng pj</i> [see 'fruit', 'lump']
forget, to				ngangutjuwa <i>knar-knootch-who-ar pj</i>
forked stick			pondim-pondim <i>bondim-bondim th</i>	ngambul-kalk <i>knam-bool-kalk pj</i> [Wa ngambul 'tree fork']
form, to				pirmna <i>birm-nin pj,</i> ngaRuka <i>knar-roo-kur pj</i>
four	pulatj pa pulatj pulayt pa pulayt <i>pollaich pa pollaich lw, pooletch pe pooletch g, bolate-po-</i>	pulatj pa pulatj pulayt pa pulayt <i>pulayt yiwu pulayt pollaicha pollaich mr, pollaitch pollaich h, boolite</i>	pulatj pa pulatj pulayt pa pulayt <i>boletch ba boletch a, polaitch bo polaitch e, boolely-bah-boolely th, poolet</i>	pulatj pa pulatj pulayt pa pulayt <i>boolait boo boolait me, boolaytch boo-laytch pj, bullait bullait j</i>

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>bolate wy, boolite pre boolite t, poolet poolet mp</i>	<i>be boolite grb</i>	<i>poolet nysm, bullait yewu bullait p</i>	
fresh	talwutja <i>dalwoochar wy</i> <i>doerngaarti mt</i>	talkuk peng <i>tulkuuk bang daw</i> [‘good meat’]		
friend	kukpapolowik <i>cook-pa-palowec mt</i> [see Tjap entry] tatjaRik <i>tatchaarheek wy</i>	kupa nyam <i>kupa g’num</i> ‘sit down’ daw [Warr kupa ‘sit’]		
frightened [see ‘afraid’]				
frog	tayn <i>doen mt, de-in wy</i>	wiRwiR <i>wirwirr</i> ‘long- legged’ daw, <i>waerwaer</i> ‘small green’ daw <i>wokok, wowok</i> <i>wokok</i> ‘burrowing’ daw, <i>wo’ork</i> ‘large green’ daw [see ‘cat’] tomtom tom tom ‘small, black’ daw pupatjuk <i>puuputtyuuk</i> ‘toad’ daw	tayn <i>dayn th, martay-dayn</i> ‘bull frog’ th [‘big frog’]	tayn <i>dein pj</i> tum <i>doom</i> ‘large, brown frog’ pj [Wa tum]
frog, croak of large frog		tjinyap <i>cheenyapp daw</i> [thinápi MM, tjinapi WP both ‘frog’; see ‘cockatoo’]		
from	wo <i>wo mt</i>	wongaRiyn <i>wo’gnareen daw</i>		<i>ghee-ym pj</i>
frost [see ‘ice/frost’]				
fruit	tuRang <i>torong mt</i>		tuRang <i>doorung</i> ‘apple’ th [see ‘lump’]	
full (to be)	taa-miRang-witjup <i>daa-mirang-witchoop</i> mt	tuRak kayan <i>turark kiian daw</i>	pundja <i>purntya a</i> [see ‘boast’] <i>tirnda</i> <i>tirnda e</i>	ngupoRang <i>knoop-po-rong pj</i> <i>too-hire-ung pj</i> [full of food]
fun [see ‘corroboree’, ‘joke’]		kalngilang <i>kulngaelang daw</i>		
funeral		nyipangu <i>gnippa’gnu daw</i> [see ‘flesh, whale,		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		putrid'; nyipa 'bury]		
funeral pile		kapuwi <i>carbowee</i> daw		
fungus, phosphorescent		kilarn <i>kilarn</i> daw [also Warr]		
fungus, mushroom poisonous		murtkuwi <i>murtkourwae</i> daw		
fungus, mushroom, edible		pikurn <i>peekuurn</i> daw [also given for Warr]		
fungus, tree		pulutj wirmpul <i>puluutch wirmbuul</i> 'ear wax' daw		
fungus, underground		puwiwan <i>boewan</i> daw, <i>puewann</i> 'earth nut' daw		
futurity		ngam ngamping kuditj <i>gnam gnampeng kuundeetch</i> daw		
gall		ming <i>meenguuk</i> daw puimbalip <i>puimballip</i> 'nutgall on tree' daw		ming <i>ming</i> pj
gallop			wunguRwil <i>woongor-will</i> th	
gammon			pilaRa-mum <i>pillarrer mome</i> garp	
gannet		pakuRum <i>bukkuuruum</i> 'dive into water' daw [see 'waterlily']		
gaol			kaknapang <i>gak-na-bang</i> th	
gather/find	marta <i>maartac</i> mt	tambaka <i>tumbukka</i> 'gather' daw, <i>tam- bullan</i> 'find' grb	wayawa <i>wai-a-wak</i> th	tamba <i>tum-bar</i> 'find' pj, <i>tum-bin</i> 'pick up' pj
gentleman		puntjultja <i>puuntjuliya</i> daw wartipi puntjultja <i>wurteepee</i> <i>puunjuliya muunya</i> 'young gentleman' daw		
gently				wumbuni <i>wom-boo-nee</i> pj [Wim wumba 'to kiss']
geranium, native		kalam kalkitj <i>kullum kulkeetch</i> daw [see 'sundew']		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
get, to	mana <i>manuc</i> mt [= 'take']	mutja <i>muutchak</i> daw		mutja <i>moo-cheen</i> 'fetch' pj ['take/bring/carry']
giddy			pirpa puRp <i>birpa-boorpak</i> th ['run head']	
girl	lanin kurrk <i>lanengorc</i> mt paRat paRat <i>parratparrat</i> wy	punai-punai <i>punai punai</i> <i>buurni buurni</i> daw	punai-punai <i>bunai bunai</i> e panya panya <i>bunya bunya</i> a pupup paynpaynko <i>boh-poop-bainbeingo</i> th ['child woman']	punai-punai <i>boo-ni-boo-ni</i> pj [TW punay] wartipi paynpaynko <i>worterpe bang bang go</i> garp ['small/young woman']
girl, betrothed		tanat yanpalap <i>tannat yanballup</i> <i>kuurk</i> daw		
give, to		wuka <i>oka</i> grb, <i>wikagee</i> daw	wuka <i>wukak</i> a, <i>wokak</i> p, <i>wokagan</i> e, <i>woh-kak</i> 'to exchange' th, <i>wocarerap</i> 'give it' garp kungaya <i>goknay-ai-kak</i> , <i>goknai-ah-gak</i> , <i>go-</i> <i>kngah-kook</i> th [Co, Woi kunga]	wuka <i>wokah</i> j, <i>wokuk</i> j, <i>woo-kin</i> pj [Western Kulin, Warr wuka]
glass, volcanic		wuRukayn <i>wurokiin</i> daw [see 'knife of stone']		
glow		pitayang yuRiyn <i>pittayang uureen</i> daw		
glutton		mart ngiang <i>murt gneeang</i> daw ['big mouth']		
go (away), go down			tjui <i>tyoo ee</i> th <i>nganiayutjui</i> <i>nganny-aioo-dyooee</i> 'be off, to gins' th,	tjulaki <i>chew-lak-kee</i> 'descend' pj
go, go up		yaRapangga <i>yare er bung gal</i> garw		pang-ngi <i>bang-kneen</i> 'to go up' pj ngani <i>knun neen</i> pj
go, to	yana <i>yanuc</i> mt, <i>yanuc</i> 'to start' mt, <i>yannano</i> g, <i>yannage</i> mp, <i>yaanna</i> mp [widespread yan-, NWV yangga]	yana <i>yanango</i> daw yan.nga <i>yan'gna</i> , <i>yan</i> <i>gnango</i> daw, <i>yan</i> <i>gna</i> 'off' daw, <i>yan</i> <i>nunye</i> garw,	yana <i>yannergot</i> garp, <i>yaanbang</i> e, <i>yaanbol</i> e, <i>yan-ga</i> th yan.nga <i>yannga</i> a ngani <i>ngahnang-oo</i> [poss.	yana <i>yanna</i> dm yan.nga <i>yan-knar</i> pj ngani <i>knun-nee</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>yungarno</i> garw, <i>yanyangoo</i> mr	'let us go' th, <i>nganny-aioo-dyooee</i> 'be off, to gins' th, <i>nganny-ang-oo</i> 'let's go' th,	yaRa <i>yar-rin</i> <i>kar-rim-bin</i> pj
goanna [see 'lizard']				
god	mam <i>maam-yeng-orap</i> mt ['our Father'] ngaRambi <i>ngarambe</i> g [see 'man, old']	mam <i>mam yungrakk</i> daw ['our Father']	parnipinmil <i>barnibinmel</i> a [Wim purmpumpmel] puntjayl <i>bundyil</i> e [Woi, Wa pundjil 'eagle'] martjak mamaiRak <i>mart-yak-mah-mai-</i> <i>ruk</i> th	mam <i>marmingorak</i> j, <i>marm-ing</i> <i>knoo-rack</i> pj ['our Father'] <i>maming nguRak</i> <i>marmongorak</i> j <i>knoo-rar-rook-knair-kne-</i> <i>etch</i> 'GreatMaster' pj <i>wo-reip-ar-pel</i> 'prayerful' pj pututjal <i>booduyall</i> me
good	telka <i>talka</i> g, <i>delk</i> t maRiyip-maRiyip <i>mareep-mareep</i> wy	telkuk,talkuk, thalkuk, tjalkuk <i>delcok</i> grb, <i>telkok</i> mr, <i>talkok</i> h, <i>chulkuuk</i> daw, <i>chulkuuk</i> 'innocence', 'honesty', 'joy', 'respect', 'right' daw, <i>tulkuuk kuulae</i> 'guest' daw, <i>tulku</i> <i>wan</i> 'well' daw	telkuk, talkuk, thalkuk <i>dhalkok</i> e, <i>dalkuk</i> a, <i>tatkuk</i> 'right'a, <i>talkook</i> p, <i>dulkok</i> th <i>dhalkuk</i> 'to like'e, <i>dalkook</i> 'pretty' th miyamanpak <i>mearman bak</i> garp <i>wo</i> garp	telkuk, thalkuk <i>talkook</i> j, <i>talkoop</i> j, <i>tol-kook</i> pj, <i>dhalkuk</i> rhm [WB, We telkuk]
good-bye		wuwuwi <i>wuwu wae</i> daw		
good-night		kumpinyango <i>kuumpeenyang</i> o daw [see 'sleep']		
goose	ngaRuwaRa <i>narawor</i> mt, <i>gnahroowarra</i> wy , <i>ar-va-wan</i> 'black & white' t [Wim ngaRuwaR]			
goose, grey	tulka <i>toolka</i> 'Cape Barren' t	kaRal <i>kurral</i> daw [Wa kaRal]]	kaRal <i>car-ral</i> 'emu' garp [see 'spirit/ghost']	
gossip, female		yuitja kurrk <i>yueetcha kuurk</i> daw [yuitj pilap 'powerful owl']		
gossip, male		nyuyang pilap <i>gnuyang bilapp</i> daw [yuitj pilap 'powerful owl']		
grandfather (fa's fa, son's son)	kuki, kukurn <i>coci</i> mt, <i>cookcoom</i> wy	kukurn, kukurni <i>kuukuurn</i> daw, <i>kuukuurna</i> e daw		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		kukurn kuR[i] <i>kuukuurn korakk</i> 'son's dau' daw [Wim kukurn] <i>yaagneknum</i> 'husband's g'fa's bro' daw		
grandfather, mo's fa, etc. (Dawson 1881: lxx)		ngami <i>gnummae, gnum</i> <i>mek</i> 'woman's son's son' daw [see 'grand mother']		ngamtjam <i>knam-jam</i> pj
great g'father (Dawson 1981: lxviii)		tjuang tjuang kukurni <i>chuang chuang</i> <i>kuukuurnae</i> 'fa's side'] daw kukurn kuRi <i>kuukuurn kuurae,</i> <i>kuukurn,</i> <i>kuukuurnae</i> 'mo's side' daw		
grandmother (fa's mo)		mimi <i>meemee</i> daw		miman <i>me-man-dook</i> pj [WB, Wim mim 'maternal grandparents]
grandmother (mo's mo), g'daughter	pap kuRu <i>pahpcooru</i> wy kuki <i>coci</i> mt [WB kuka]	kuRuk <i>kuuruuk</i> daw kuki <i>kokae</i> daw, <i>kuukae</i> 'woman's dau's dau' daw ngaRi kuRak <i>gnarrae kuurak</i> 'woman's son's dau' daw		
great g'mo (fa's side)		nyaRi kuRi <i>gnyarrae kuurae</i> daw <i>yaagnekmeem</i> 'husband's g'mother's sister' daw		
great g'mo (mo's side)		tjuang tjuang kuki <i>chuang chuang</i> <i>kukae</i> daw		
grass	puwayt, puwatj <i>bo-vit</i> mt, <i>boait</i> g, <i>boaitch</i> lw, <i>bo-ahitch</i> wy, <i>booite</i> t, <i>boet</i> mp	puwayt, puwatj <i>poaitch</i> h, <i>poet</i> garw [NWV puatj, EK puath] kaRewan <i>karewan</i> mr	puwayt <i>boait</i> nysm, <i>bo hiet</i> p, <i>bowatch</i> a, <i>boaitch</i> e, <i>boh-wuty</i> th, <i>boh-</i> <i>aly</i> th <i>arrerco</i> garp	poyn <i>boin</i> j, <i>booyn</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		tjutjukom <i>chuuchu gom daw</i>		
grass tree [see 'butt of spear']		kawi <i>kawee daw</i>		pakap <i>buck-kup pj</i>
grass, kangaroo		wulutj <i>wuuloitch daw [SH wuluki]</i>		
grass, ribbon [see 'thorn']		kuki pinang <i>kokae binnang</i> 'large' daw wartipi pinang <i>wurtepee binnang</i> 'small' daw		
grass, silver		kurn <i>korn daw [see kurn 'neck']</i>		
grass, tussock		kuwinyok <i>kuinyok daw</i>		
grasshopper		ngia-ngia <i>gneear gneear daw</i>		
grave			miR <i>mer th [see mir 'eye', 'log, hollow']</i>	
grease for hair		waRapili <i>warrapillae daw</i>		
greasy			nyuk-nga-nyalin-gaytnin <i>nyook-ngahr-nyahlin-gaitnyn th</i>	
great			mart yowuk <i>murt yowook p [see martuk 'big']</i>	nguRaRuk <i>knoo-rar-ook pj,</i> <i>gnoorarook, knooraook j</i> nguRitapuk <i>knooreetabook j</i>
grebe, great-crested		kiyirn <i>kaeaern daw</i>		
grebe, small dobchick		kumkurnmitj <i>kuurmkuurnmeetch daw [see 'breast', 'neck', 'skin']</i>		kuRanuRa <i>koo-ra-noo-ra 'small grebe' pj [kurrewa We]</i>
greedy				<i>lair-lait pj</i>
green			ku-ku-manili <i>goor-goor-manily th</i>	
green		tanatingu <i>tanattae gnor daw</i>		malak <i>mal-lak pj</i>
green stone		kaa puntjil <i>kaa puunjill daw</i>		
greeting		ngakinat <i>gna keenatt 'here you are' daw</i>		
grey	polot <i>bolote wy [WW puletayil]</i>	taRarnitj <i>taranneetch daw [Wim tartanitj 'white']</i>		latjik purrp <i>lar-chick-boorp 'grey-haired' pj [purrp 'head']</i>
grin		punpundila		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>ponpondilam</i> daw [Wim punpunti 'to shiver', WB punpondilang 'cold']		
grin/grind teeth			nyaytneme nyaytnemay th [Wanenema]	
grind, to [see 'sharpen']	yuRonda <i>yooron-duc</i> mt	yuRonda <i>yurondak</i> daw		
groan		ngalawa <i>allerwa</i> daw [see 'oppose']		
ground	tjaa <i>tcha</i> o, <i>joe</i> mt, <i>cha</i> g, lw, <i>djak</i> d, <i>jah</i> wy, <i>dja</i> mp, <i>dyea</i> t bounn d	tjaa <i>chaa</i> daw, <i>chaa</i> 'grave, burial place' daw, <i>chukknat</i> 'birthplace' daw, <i>mr</i> , <i>cha</i> h, <i>nysm</i> , <i>ya</i> grw, <i>jah</i> l minakotja <i>minagotya</i> l <i>neapein</i> l	tjaa <i>dar</i> p, <i>jar</i> garp, <i>tya</i> e, <i>dya</i> a, <i>dyah</i> p, <i>dya</i> 'sand' th tunayt <i>tu-nyt</i> ta kapen kap-pen ta kana kun-nar ta	tjaa <i>ja</i> , <i>jaa</i> dm, <i>dar</i> j, <i>jharr</i> pj, <i>boi-boi-e-jharr</i> 'dry ground' pj, <i>bup-jharr</i> 'loam' pj [Western Kulin, Wa tja/tha]
ground, gravelly		warti pili <i>wartae pilae</i> daw		
grow, to			karinga <i>karinga</i> e, a	karinga <i>kar-ring-in</i> pj [We karinga; see 'lump', 'swelling']
growl		ngiRwonga <i>gnaerwonga</i> 'of wild dog' daw	ngayiniwa <i>ngyinny-wah</i> th	
growth of tree		kumpuk <i>kuumbuuk</i> daw		
grub		pitjotj <i>pitchoitj</i> daw puRon puuron 'in eucalypt' daw mukam <i>muurkarm</i> 'big grub in eucalypt' daw putjum puutchuum 'in banksia' daw ngalun ngum tulayn <i>gnaluun gnuum</i> <i>tuuliin</i> 'in acacia' daw [tulayn 'wattle']	kaliyt <i>kalleet</i> 'small edible grub' gar putjin boot-yin th	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		mutjanga muutchangar 'in blackwood' daw		
guilty		nguyang pilang <i>gnuyang billang</i> daw		
gull		taRuk <i>tarook</i> 'gull', <i>taarook</i> 'tern' daw		
gum tree, red	piyal <i>beeal</i> t	piyal <i>peeal</i> grw <i>peeal</i> daw	piyal <i>bee-ahl</i> th, <i>beal</i> garp	piyal <i>bu-al</i> pj [Kulin <i>piyal</i>]
gum tree, other		panap <i>pannap</i> garp		panap <i>ban-napp</i> 'white gum' p pap <i>bapp</i> 'blue gum' pj
gum (substance)	tjutj <i>jo-it</i> wy, <i>joich</i> mt tuloi <i>tooley</i> 'wattle tree gum' t tonkanki, tonkandji <i>don-gan-gee</i> 'wattle gum' t	tjutj <i>chuutch</i> 'acid', 'keno' daw tulayn, tjulayn <i>tuuliin</i> daw, <i>chuulim</i> 'cement' daw, <i>tuuliin</i> 'edible acacia gum' daw lil <i>leel</i> daw [We, WB lil]	tjutj <i>dyoo-ity</i> th tulayn <i>doo-ling</i> th [tulayn also given as 'wattle']	tjutj <i>choo-tch</i> pj [Wa <i>tjuwutj</i> , Warr <i>to'ot</i>] tulayn <i>too-lain</i> pj
gums	nilanu-lia <i>nillanuleeah</i> wy [nilan 'child', lia 'tooth'] panggi-lia <i>beng-gi-leeoe</i> mt	liayang (y)urrat <i>leeayung uurat</i> daw [see 'tooth']		panggi-lia <i>bang-gee-lear</i> pj ['body tooth' or 'flesh tooth']
gun		pung-punggiawia <i>puung puung ghe awaeaeer</i> 'strike strike meat' daw	pum punyeR <i>boom-boorn-yayr</i> th	
gunpowder		kunayuk <i>goon-ai-yook</i> th [kuna 'excrement']		
gurgle, like a stream		wakunga <i>wakuung aa</i> daw		
gurgle, throat		luRoytpa <i>luuroitpa</i> daw		
hail, hailstorm	prayt <i>braite</i> t <i>nroec</i> mt	paytkiRa <i>piitkaera</i> daw [We pathak] yunkuya <i>yurngoyah</i> wy [see <i>yunkuyang</i> 'snow']	wartipi-lanyiwurtu <i>wartippy-la-nyewoortoo</i> th	larniwola <i>larr-nee-wol-ler</i> pj
hair	ngarra <i>gnarra</i> d, <i>ngurra</i> g, <i>ngarngek</i> lw, <i>na a prup</i> t, , <i>nguraabrook</i>	ngarra <i>ngarra-purrrp</i> <i>ngarra</i> mr, <i>ngara</i> h, <i>marah</i> grw <i>nahra</i> l,	ngarra <i>ngarnook</i> nysm, <i>ngara</i> a, , <i>nair rer broop</i> garp, <i>nair-</i>	ngarra <i>ngarrangi-purrrp</i> <i>ngara</i> me, <i>ngarapoorp</i> dm, <i>knar-rar-knee-boorp</i> pj,

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	mt, <i>narrah-poorp</i> wy, <i>nguraabroop</i> mt, <i>gnerraboorp</i> o, <i>niabook</i> mc	<i>nurrah</i> grb, <i>knarrank</i> daw, <i>nurreangerack</i> grb, <i>ngurra</i> ‘whiskers’ mr	<i>boop</i> th, <i>nar-boor-kook</i> ta, <i>narrapurp</i> br	<i>gnerra</i> dm, <i>knar-arr</i> pj [Western Kulin <i>ngarre</i> , <i>ngarra</i>]
hair, black		wukin ngaRang <i>wokin knarrank</i> daw		
hair, red		kukun munitj <i>kuurkuurn</i> <i>murneetch</i> daw [see ‘blue’]		
hair, white		piRin pulot <i>peerin puulort</i> daw		
hair-pin		kirndiyn <i>kirndeem</i> ‘bone bodkin’, <i>kirndeenjukk</i> ‘hairpin’ daw		
half-caste				mukulombitj <i>moo-coo-lom-beetch</i> pj mukulombitj-puluk-kurrk <i>moocoolombeetch-bulluk-goork</i> pj [outsider-mob-female]
halo, lunar		paRpa lanyuk walin nga <i>parpa larneuk</i> <i>wullin kna</i> ‘build for rain’ daw		
halo, solar		walpalang winyuk nyawi <i>watpallang</i> <i>weeneuk neow</i> ‘wee’ ‘burning the wood in the sun’ daw		
hand	manya <i>moen-yoe</i> mt, <i>manya</i> o, t, <i>manyah</i> mc, <i>manyaneek</i> lw, <i>munya</i> g, <i>munyah</i> d, <i>mahniah</i> wy, <i>murnoo</i> mp,	manya <i>monyah</i> l, <i>mun</i> ‘ya, <i>mun</i> ‘yank daw, <i>munya</i> grb, h marna, <i>munyer</i> garw, <i>munny</i> ‘a ‘great meeting’ daw, <i>munyangerack</i> grw,	manya <i>manya</i> e, <i>monya</i> a, <i>mun ne knook</i> p, <i>munya</i> nysm, <i>manye</i> th, <i>mirnya</i> mr marna <i>murner</i> , <i>mar.raeng</i> garp, <i>mun-nar</i> ta. <i>murnak</i> br	marna <i>mirna</i> dm, <i>mun nar</i> pj, <i>munnar</i> j
hand, back of	wart manya <i>wort moenyoe</i> mt, <i>wart-mahniah</i> wy	wart manya <i>wurt munya</i> daw	warn marna <i>wun merner</i> garp	waRami marna <i>wharr-ym-e-mun-nar</i> pj
hand, between thumb and forefinger			tatkot <i>tart.cort</i> garp	
hand, palm of	tjang manya <i>changmahniah</i> wy wilupi manya <i>wilhoopi maenyoe</i> mt	pili manya <i>pillim munya</i> daw [see ‘foot, sole of’]		thang marna <i>tung mer ner</i> garp [‘chest hand’; see ‘foot, sole of’; similar in other Kulin] putji marna

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
				<i>boitche-mun-nar</i> pj [see 'sole of foot', 'stomach']
handsome		maRini <i>marrinae kuulae</i> 'dandy', 'fop' daw, <i>marrinae bang</i> <i>bang guurk</i> 'handsome woman' daw, also <i>tulkuuk</i> daw, <i>talkook</i> wy, <i>tulkae kulae</i> daw, all = 'good'		
hang a man, to		kartna-elang <i>katnelelang</i> daw [kartna 'tie']	kartna-kutang <i>gahtna-koordung</i> th	
hang, to	wanggunma <i>waang-goon-muc</i> mt	pendunga <i>pentuung</i> natt daw		penduRa <i>ban-doo-rong</i> 'hanging' pj
happy	miRip-mangu <i>merrep-mango</i> mt [Dawson gives miRma nyawi 'playful sun' for 'afternoon'] ngol-ngol <i>gnolgnol</i> wy	talkiyan <i>tulkiyan</i> daw [see 'good']	ngankotia <i>ngahn-gotay-a</i> 'I am joyful' th	
hard [see 'strong']	tit-tit <i>dit-dit</i> mt, <i>dit-dit-chap</i> 'tough' mt, <i>tetate</i> 'tough' wy pinayt <i>binnite</i> wy [Warr pinatj]	tit-tit <i>tittit</i> daw wi'iR-wi'iR <i>we'er we'er</i> 'tough]daw [see 'frog']	tit-tit <i>ditit</i> th [see 'tough']	palert, palitj <i>pal-lert</i> pj, <i>balitj</i> 'strong' rhm [Wa, Woi palit, palert]
hat		ngupuR purrp <i>gnopur porp</i> 'cover head' daw [given for 'hate']	kupa purrp <i>koor-ba-poop</i> th	
hate or hatred				mitawiya <i>me-tow-e-yur</i> pj
have, to	maiRen <i>myren</i> mt			
hawk [see 'eagle']	waRang <i>war-rang</i> wy kukuk <i>curcooc</i> mt <i>tord wirrap</i> t		tula teRayt <i>tooler derrite</i> garp	weRayn-weRayn <i>wher-rain wher-rain</i> 'sparrow hawk' pj [see 'cockatoo, black']
hawk, black		milama <i>millamar</i> daw		
hawk, falcon		waRal <i>warrall</i> daw		yanyeRng <i>yan-yerng</i> pj
hawk, kestrel, large		tjaRak <i>charrak</i> daw [see 'hawk, swamp'; Wa tjaRa 'brown		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		hawk']		
hawk, kestrel, small		kuyong kuyong <i>kuyong kuyong</i> daw		
hawk, kite		tjaktjak powang <i>chukkchukk bo'ang</i> 'eater of carrion' daw		
hawk, large ground				piyeRng <i>bee-yerng</i> pj
hawk, swamp		tjuRk <i>chuurk</i> daw [see 'hawk, kestrel']		
hawk, white		pukani <i>buukannae</i> daw		
hay			tja-katjak <i>tya-kytyuk</i> th	
head	purrp <i>boorpuke</i> o, <i>broopoc</i> , <i>broop</i> mt, <i>proorp</i> g, <i>propak</i> lw, <i>bourp</i> d, <i>boorp</i> mc, <i>boorp</i> wy, mp, <i>prop</i> t	purrp <i>poorpeck</i> grw <i>boorup</i> l, <i>porpe</i> grb, <i>poorp</i> mr, <i>porp</i> h, <i>puurk puurk</i> daw, <i>porpeyangerack</i> grb, <i>bee ip</i> garw pina <i>pinnoe</i> grb kandil <i>cundil</i> garw <i>caubragrw</i> [Pidgin cobbera]	purrp <i>bourpook</i> p, <i>poorop</i> me, <i>boor rup</i> garp, <i>burp</i> e, a, th, <i>poorp</i> nysm, <i>por. rope</i> garp, <i>boor-kook</i> ta, <i>puerp</i> br	purrp <i>boorp</i> pj, dm, <i>bourpook</i> j [We, MM purrp]
head, back of	kuRukat <i>corrokat</i> wy yani <i>yani</i> mt			nyanangi purrp <i>knan-ning-e-boorp</i> pj
head, bald crown of		tjali purrp <i>challaepuurp</i> daw [see 'skull']		
head, bald totally		tuRki purrp <i>turkaepuurp</i> daw		
headache			lalatjangin purrpang <i>lalaiyungin-boor-</i> <i>pang</i> th	laliyang purrp <i>lar-ly-ang-boorp</i> pj [WB lalia purrpuk, Woi lalenin kawang]
headband			laki, lalki <i>luke, lalke</i> garp	malakawayn <i>mul-lar-kar-wyne</i> pj
healthy	ngala-wiRp-wiRp- waya <i>nula-werip-werip-wya</i> mt ['no injuries/wounds' talkuk <i>dalkook</i> wy [good']	talkuk <i>tulku wan</i> daw, ['good'		
hear, to	nyerna	nyerna	nyerna, nyernila	nyerna

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>ngoernuc</i> mt, <i>nanoornan</i> wy, <i>ngar-ni-nung</i> mt <i>marnum</i> t	<i>gneearnakk</i> daw, <i>gneerna knutt chineen</i> ‘listen’ daw, <i>gnaeerr na gneen</i> ‘answer’ daw, <i>terpee watuung</i> ‘listen with ear on the ground’ daw	<i>kneerknak</i> p, <i>nyanili</i> a, <i>gnyam-uk</i> th, <i>nyarnay-nau</i> ‘understand’ th, <i>nyan-uk</i> ‘answer’ th, <i>yenim</i> e	<i>kneerkuuk</i> j, <i>knair-nur</i> pj, <i>knare-nar</i> pj, <i>kneerknak</i> j [WB, We nyerna, nyernila]
heart	witjup <i>witchoop</i> wy, <i>boekoweechup</i> ‘stomach’ wy, <i>weetchoop</i> ‘matter’ mt <i>lroeng-gooc</i> mt	wutjup <i>wuuchuupin</i> daw [We, WB wutjup] [see ‘stomach’, WB witjup, We wutjup]	witjup <i>wityoop</i> th, <i>wytchope</i> ‘pit of stomach’ garp, <i>wutyop</i> ‘stomach’ e	thuRung <i>toor-wg</i> [sic] pj [see ‘nut’; Wa, EK thuRung]
heartburn		walpa wutjup <i>walpa wuuchuupek</i> daw [‘burn heart-my’]		
heat [see ‘hot’]				
heath	papRuk babrook t papRuten babrooten ‘scrub’ t			
heaven		maung kurrk <i>maunggurk</i> daw		
heavy			punmurt, punurt <i>boor-murt</i> th, <i>bunurt</i> a, e	punwurt <i>poon-woort</i> pj [see ‘strong’]
heel	kanak <i>kanark</i> wy	mum thina <i>muum tinna</i> daw [‘bottom foot’]	kanak <i>cunnue</i> garp, <i>cun muc</i> garp, <i>kannuk</i> th	kanak <i>kun-nark</i> pj [NWV, Wa kanak]
hell		yayang <i>yaayang</i> ‘hell’ daw [yatjang ‘bad’]		
hen, domestic		kun-kun kalitj <i>kuurn kuurn kulleitch</i> ‘call for daylight’ daw		
here	mang <i>mung</i> mt	kingan <i>king gnan</i> daw	kinggio <i>kinkio</i> p	kinggio <i>kinkio</i> j [Woi king(g)a] mang, mamia, mangmia <i>munga</i> rhm, <i>mamia</i> rhm, <i>mong-mere</i> pj
heron, common		kukap wutju <i>kuukup wuuchu</i> daw		
heron, nankeen		kuki kalwar <i>kuukae kalwar</i> ‘grandmother of herons’ daw		yapiyl <i>yap-peel</i> pj
heron, white-necked		kuki pangga <i>kuukaebang</i> ‘gar’ daw [‘old basket’ daw]		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		[see 'spoonbill']		
hide, to			nyurta <i>nyoor-tillang</i> th, <i>nyoortillay</i> 'to lurk, to lie concealed' th [We nyurta 'to hide something', Wa nyita]	nuRa <i>non-rar</i> pj
high	paRio <i>burre-o</i> wy <i>dewrang</i> t	kiyuka <i>keeyuga</i> daw [see 'up']	tjuam <i>dyoo-arm</i> th	
hill	kawa <i>kowoe</i> mt, <i>gowah</i> 'mountain' wy, <i>kowa</i> mp [Wim kau 'range of hills'] puRp <i>burpook</i> wy, <i>broop-</i> <i>ooc</i> mt, <i>poorpook</i> mp kaRopuk <i>caroopook</i> t kaRong kaRak <i>carong carack</i> 'mountains't	panyul <i>pan'yuul</i> daw purp <i>puurpok</i> daw ['head']	kawa <i>kauwa</i> a, <i>kawa</i> e, cowmer 'mountain' <i>garp, mart-yowk</i> ['big hill'] th	panul <i>by-nooell</i> pj [Wa panyul, EK panul] yonang <i>yon-arng</i> pj
hill, small	pan <i>bunn</i> 'hillock, ridge' t	wartipi kang <i>wurteepee kank</i> daw		
hill, steep		ngia <i>knaeaer</i> daw [see 'valley']		
hill, without trees	panpurrp <i>bunboorp</i> wy [see 'head'] pRaa-purrpuk <i>braa-broopooc</i> mt			
hip	kalkutanhu <i>kalkutahnu</i> wy [kalk 'bone'] mula <i>moole</i> mt [see 'bottom']	tanyuk <i>tan'yuuk</i> daw [See 'eye brow', 'forehead', 'moon']		kalki mulu <i>kalk-e-moo-loo</i> pj [Kulin mula; see 'bottom/rump']
hit, beat, to	taka <i>taarca-gong</i> mt, <i>taarcuc</i> 'to beat' mt	taka <i>tukkuk</i> 'to beat' daw, <i>tukkuk</i> 'a blow'daw, <i>tuckinyan</i> grb wiRipuna <i>wirrae puurna</i> <i>gneen, wirrae</i>	waikaRa <i>wai-karrah</i> th [also given for Watha, Woi] tjilpa <i>gyil-pa</i> th, <i>kilpark</i> a, <i>dill-pah</i> 'a blow' th wiRipunya <i>wiripunya</i> 'heat' [sic]a [see wirp 'a	taka <i>dok-ker</i> 'shoot' pj [see 'whip', 'beat', 'kill'; NWV taka] tjilpa <i>chil-pin</i> pj [Kulin tjilpa] peRmaR <i>berr-marr</i> 'thrash' pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>puurman</i> daw, <i>wearie</i> grw	wound']	
hold, to	karrka <i>carcuc</i> mt [karrka WW, We]	mutja <i>muuchak</i> daw [‘take’, etc.]	tetet-kawa <i>dettett-go-ahk</i> th [Wa teteth-kupma]	karrka <i>kark-keen</i> pj
hole		mir <i>mirr</i> daw [WB miri; see ‘eye’]	mir <i>mir</i> th, a paam <i>baam</i> e [see pam ‘bark’]	nganun <i>knar-noon</i> ‘hollow’ pj
honey	<i>becor</i> t			tjinoyn <i>chee-noyne</i> pj
hook			pakunap <i>bah-koonup</i> th [Thomas gives bakkoornin ‘catch fish’]	
hook, grub-hook		ti’irn <i>taeaern</i> daw [see ‘mask, of kangaroo’]		
hoop			partik <i>partik</i> th [see ‘axe’]	
hop, to [see ‘jump’]				
hope	yawia <i>yaaweeann</i> daw, <i>yan</i> mt	yawia talkutjan <i>yaweean</i> <i>tulkuuchan</i> daw [‘wish good’]		
horn		kupaRuk <i>kuparuuk</i> daw		
horror, expression of		ko-o-o! <i>ko-o-o</i> daw		
horse		kam-kam <i>gum gum</i> garw kamp-kamp <i>gump gump</i> daw	kam-kam <i>gumgum</i> garp [We kam-kam] kapkamil <i>kap-ga-mill</i> th	kat-kat-tanuk <i>kut-kut-tar-nook</i> ‘horse’ pj kat-kat-pupiarre <i>kut-kut-poo-piarré</i> ‘horses’ pj
host		kupang <i>kuupang</i> daw		
hot wind		wirn mali <i>wirn mallae</i> daw		
hot/heat	katja <i>kaartyaa</i> ‘summer’ mt wutjupi-katja <i>woochoopeekahcha</i> <i>wy, kiata</i> t lik <i>lik</i> g tjaRima <i>chareemah</i> wy [see	kartai <i>kurtai</i> h, <i>kartii</i> daw winpa nging <i>winba gneenk</i> ‘heat of fire’ daw kukak <i>koorkark</i> mr kukat <i>kuurkart</i> ‘hot	katjai <i>katyai</i> e [MM kathai] wuRukal <i>woorokal</i> nysm, <i>wurro-kull</i> ‘summer’ th	kaRi <i>kar-rie</i> pj woimba <i>woym-ber</i> pj wuRukul <i>woo-roo-kool</i> ‘fine weather’ pj [see ‘hot/heat’] wukukul <i>woo-koo-kool</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	‘lightning’] wim-wim-pilang <i>wim-wim-bilung</i> mt	atmosphere’ daw walpanging <i>wullbung ing</i> daw [see walpa ‘to burn’]		
house, hut [see also ‘camp’]	munya <i>moonya</i> t <i>ill-i-ra</i> t	taktak ngurntuk <i>tukktukk</i> <i>g’nuurnduuk</i> ‘made by blows’ daw	mayam-mayam <i>maiam maiam</i> e kaRang <i>gahrung</i> th <i>yere-re-bur-nin</i> garp	mayambart <i>my-am-bert</i> ‘native hut’ pj
how			nyanguRa <i>nyangura</i> e, <i>nyonguran</i> a [We, WB <i>nyanya</i>]	
how many				nyakurn <i>nyakkurn</i> rhm
howl [see ‘cry’]				
hummock of sand		kuwarndit <i>kowarndeet neuk</i> daw		
hungry	milaya <i>millyan</i> wy wika, wikan <i>weecaa, weecnn</i> mt [See ‘die’, see \$3.7; NWV <i>wika</i>] piRkayan <i>birkaian</i> g	naying <i>nyeng</i> mr pangu manging ngengu <i>pung’uu mung’ing</i> <i>gnenguu</i> daw punpukunin <i>poonboorgoonin</i> h	milaya <i>milaia</i> e, <i>mi-laiang</i> a <i>ditt-go-mangy</i> ‘I am hungry’ th [see ‘die’]	maRiyang <i>mahr-re-ung</i> pj
hunt, to	tjaRem-tjaRem <i>jarem-jarem</i> mt [see ‘throw boomerang’, ‘put down’]	ngamang <i>k’nummang</i> daw kaRapuRanga <i>caraburanga</i> grb		
hurt	ngumatkunan <i>gnomarkurnan</i> wy [see ‘discontent’] kali-wung-elen <i>cali-woong-elen</i> mt	tamilang <i>tameelang</i> daw [see ‘pain’, ‘tired’; Wim <i>doerma</i>]		
husband	nganitj <i>nahneechuke</i> <i>wy, naani-chooc</i> mt	nganitj <i>k’nannachee</i> daw, <i>gnunneetch chek</i> daw	nganitj <i>anityuk</i> a, <i>anyetyuk</i> e, <i>ngannity</i> th, <i>nannetook</i> p	nganitj <i>knan-eitch</i> pj, <i>nannetook</i> j [We, WB <i>nganitj</i>]
hut [see ‘house’]				
ibis		kumkum pulu kurrk <i>kuum kuum bulu</i> <i>kuurk</i> ‘relation of another’ daw		payt-payt-tjaRuk <i>pyte-pyte-char-rook</i> pj [T <i>paipaitjerruk</i> , Wa <i>pit-pit-</i> <i>tjeRak</i>]
ice, frost, snow	kapang <i>kapang</i> mt, wy	kapang <i>kipping</i> daw, <i>wartpuwuuk</i>	kapang <i>cappang</i> garp	kapang <i>kapang</i> rhm <i>kap-pang</i> [‘also ‘snow’]pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	tjiart nyuRa cheart-nurah 'snow' wy yuRakuya yoora-go-ioe 'snow' mt, urancooya 'snow' t	<i>kepping</i> daw yawaa yawaar daw yunkuyang yuun kuyang 'snow' daw [see 'water, laving']	nyuRa neeoora 'snow' th taan <i>dahn</i> th [Wa ta(r)n]	taan <i>tarn</i> pj [WB tening, MM tenha]
if				ngitung <i>knet-toong</i> pj, <i>gneetong</i> j
in/into	nakin <i>naacin</i> mt	klintja kumbunga <i>kleenja</i> <i>kuumbuurnga</i> daw		
infusion of bark		piRm piRm <i>pirm pirm</i> daw		
insects, small		nyun nyunduwan <i>gneun gneunduwan</i> daw, <i>gneunduwan</i> daw		
inside				wini <i>winne</i> j putji, puitji <i>buu-ityi</i> rhm, <i>baartyi</i> rhm, <i>boitch-ee</i> pj [see <i>putj</i> 'stomach']
instep	wart tjina <i>warr-cheduah</i> wy naluk tjina <i>noelooc ginoe</i> mt [waist foot']	wart tjinang <i>wart chinang</i> daw ['back foot']		tjanggi tjina <i>jhung-gee-jhin-nar</i> pj ['chest foot']
intestine			putit-putit <i>boorditt-boorditt</i> th [also recorded as Wathawurrung]	
intoxicated			tit-karnangi <i>dit-gar-nang-y</i> th	
invalid				tjawaRapil <i>jow-er-ar-pil</i> pj
ironbark tree			yirrip <i>yee-rip</i> th	yirrip <i>yee-ripp</i> pj [Kulin yirrip]
irritate, to [see 'rage']			nyuk-nga <i>nyook-ngahr</i> th nyuk-nganung-talin <i>nyook-ngangoonk-</i> <i>dahlin</i> 'vex' th, <i>nyook-nganoong-</i> <i>dahlinn</i> 'provoke' th	nyukanden-tjilipi <i>nyookanden-dyillipy</i> 'rage' th
island		malin <i>mullin</i> daw		
itch [see 'scratch']		pang pang <i>bank bank</i> daw papangilang <i>baba'gnilang</i>	kirp-tyiRm- tjaRangan <i>girp-gyirm-</i> <i>dyarangan</i> 'itchy' th	papaRum <i>bar-bar-room</i> 'scab' pj [Woi <i>bober rome</i>]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		'itchy' daw		
jaw, cheek	murrak <i>mooroec mt, murrakh wy</i> kalkuk-lia <i>kalkook-leah wy</i>	murrak <i>muurakin 'my eater' daw, moorrack grb, murackyangerrack grb</i>	murrak <i>, murak a, e, mor.rac garp, morak th, mor rac garp</i> tutup <i>doo-toorp th</i>	murrak <i>moo-rark 'jaw' pj [WB, Wim, Woi murrak]</i> kalki lia <i>kalk-e-lear 'upper jaw' pj ['tooth its bone']</i>
jaw, under the		pakpak-kurn <i>bark-bark-cone garp</i>		
jay		munyukil <i>muunyukill daw</i>		yaRayaRak <i>yar-ra-yar-ak pj</i>
jealous		tuRong mum <i>tuurong muum 'man's jealousy' daw</i> tuRong mum kurrk <i>tuurong muum kuurk 'woman's jealousy' daw</i>	nakak-kuli <i>nah-kak-gooley th [Wa na-ak kuli; kuli 'man'?]</i>	
jerboa, or bilboa		yaka <i>yaakar daw</i>		
jerk, to			tjupma <i>dyoorpmahk th</i>	
jingle, to			tuRil-ku-ngaRa <i>dorill-go-gnarraa th [Wa similar]</i>	
join			wayaparri <i>way-up-erry th [contains [tj]arri 'reciprocal'?)</i>	
joint	kiRang <i>kirang mt</i> nunan-nunan <i>noonan-noonan wy [see 'wrist']</i>	milpilang <i>milpeelang daw [milpa 'to bend']</i>	lawayenin <i>larwyennin th</i>	tuRing <i>tur-ring pj</i>
joint, ankle	polok <i>boloke 'tender' wy [confusion of 'tendon' and 'tender']</i>	polok <i>polok daw [see 'ankle']</i>		
joint, elbow		palut yangak <i>palluut yung'ark daw</i>		
joint, hip		tanyuk yanguRak <i>tan'yuuk ya'gnuurak daw [see 'hip']</i>		
joint, shoulder		kukuk <i>kookok daw</i>		
joint, wrist		tatkut kuRok kuRok <i>tartkuurt kurrok kurrok daw</i>		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
joke, or fun		kalng kilang <i>kulng gheelung</i> daw, <i>kulng gheelung</i> 'jester' daw [see Grammar §3.11, see 'fun']		
journey		puRi-kutang-tjaa <i>boory-goortang-dya</i> th [far-do country?]		
juice			katjinuk <i>gahtyenook</i> th ['its water']	
jump, hop		tjult kiRa <i>chuult kaerenn</i> daw	pap-kumia <i>bap-koor-mee-yun</i> th pap-kumawa <i>bap-kumawah</i> 'hop' th [We pap-pap-kuma, Warr pap-kupa]	piRp tjana <i>birrp-jhan-nin</i> pj [WB pirritjana]
kangaroo garw 211 pur.rar red roo	kurra, kurri <i>kora-ah</i> wy, <i>koiroe</i> mt, <i>curre</i> o, <i>kore</i> lw, mp, <i>kori</i> g, <i>coorah</i> d, <i>corra</i> t, <i>koray</i> t <i>coryea</i> 'small type, pademelon' t	kurra, kurri <i>korai</i> mr, <i>kuurae</i> daw, <i>kore</i> h, <i>curah</i> garw, <i>goora</i> l, <i>korare</i> garw kalarn, kalaan <i>kalarn</i> 'brush' daw kimanko <i>kaemun</i> 'gor red' daw	kurra <i>kura</i> a, <i>goora</i> p, <i>kora</i> nysm, e, <i>corra</i> garp, <i>goora</i> th, <i>kor-ror</i> ta, <i>currah</i> br	kurra, kurri <i>koraa</i> me, <i>goo-ra</i> pj, j, <i>goura</i> dm, <i>gurea</i> , <i>guree</i> rhm [Western Kulin kurre/kurra mandja, mandjan <i>mindja</i> dm, <i>mundyun</i> rhm pitjak <i>pittyak</i> 'grey' rhm kalan <i>kullan</i> 'male, grey' rhm
kangaroo, female		meRinka <i>merrin</i> 'gar' 'flying doe' daw [Warr maRiyn]		kurri papuk <i>guree bapuk</i> rhm
kangaroo, male		marti kurri <i>murtae kuurae</i> 'old male' daw [marti 'big']		kurri ngarranbiyn <i>guree ngaranbeny</i> rhm [see 'man, old']
kangaroo, wallaby		pirri <i>peerae</i> daw [NWV parra 'red kangaroo']		
kangaroo, young male		wartipi kurri <i>wurtepee kuurae</i> daw		
keep, to		mutja <i>muuchak</i> daw ['take', 'hold', etc.] <i>comboeip</i> grb	ngalawa-tetet-kungi <i>ngallawar-daytet-</i> <i>goong-y</i> th, <i>ngallawardaytetgoon</i> gy th [see 'oppose']	
keepsake of child		tet-tet <i>tetaet tetaet</i> daw		
keepsake of hair		ngarr-pulak <i>gnaar puulak</i> daw		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		[see 'lock of hair']		
kick, to	kara <i>curaa-gu</i> mt, <i>karanan</i> wy, <i>kaareni</i> mt	kuma <i>kuurmukk</i> daw, <i>kuurmukk</i> 'kicker of football' daw [see 'hop', 'jump']	kara <i>gurrak</i> th, <i>gahr-rak</i> 'tread on' th	kara <i>kur-ruck</i> pj, <i>kar-reen</i> 'tread on' pj [WB karta, other Kulin kara; kar 'leg']
kidney	maRp <i>murrp</i> wy, <i>maapoooc</i> mt	maRp <i>marpin</i> daw, <i>marpuuk</i> 'kidney fat' daw, <i>marp</i> 'stomach' garw		maRp <i>marrp</i> pj, <i>marrk</i> pj [Dja, EK maRp]
kidney fat		mam-puRangi <i>mumburunge</i> garw	watjpuk <i>wutypook</i> th	papuli maRp <i>pap-ool-e-marrk</i> pj [<i>marrp</i> also given for 'kidney']
kill, to [see 'stab']	taka <i>taarcuc</i> mt, <i>dakingle</i> t	paRka <i>par-kin</i> garw tirtkuna <i>titcooyin</i> grb	paRka <i>berkin</i> agak p panda <i>pan-duc</i> garp pandjaRa <i>bandyarang</i> e taka <i>dahkak</i> th [see 'hit'; WK taka] tirtkuna <i>ditguna</i> a ['make dead']	paRka <i>berkagak</i> j
kind	woyeni <i>woyen-nee</i> wy			
kingfisher, sacred		panpan yatjuk <i>bunbun yuchuuk</i> 'catch fish' daw		taiRing-taiRing <i>dy-ring dy-ring-uong</i> pj
kiss, to	tjotja <i>jo-itcha</i> mt [Wa totitat]	tjotjaka <i>chechakae</i> daw	tjotja <i>dyow-tyal-lannoo</i> th	
knead, to			manga <i>mahr-knak</i> th	
knee	patjiyn <i>bahtcheen</i> wy, <i>baacling</i> mt	patjiyn <i>patchin yin</i> daw, <i>par chin</i> garw, <i>putchin</i> garw	parting <i>bur-ting</i> garp, <i>purting</i> br patjing <i>bat-ying</i> th, <i>putting</i> garp	paRing <i>bar-ring</i> pj [see intro to glossary] [We patjing, WB pathing; see intro to glossary]
knee-cap	kuRun <i>gorone</i> wy tjiRan <i>jeran</i> mt	kuRun (yuwaRak) <i>koronn yuwarrak</i> daw, <i>korrondok</i> 'knee joint' daw		purpi paRing <i>boorp-e-bar-ring</i> pj ['head knee']
kneel			patjing pa keRing <i>batying-ba-gayring</i> th	paRing kuni <i>bar-ring-coo-nee</i> pj [kuni 'below', 'down']
knife of grass tree		tatiwutju <i>tateewutchu</i> daw		
knife of iron		kalpun-kalpun <i>kulpuurn kulpuurn</i>	naip <i>neip</i> th [English]	kalpun-kalpun <i>kal-poon kal-poon</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		yowwaer 'iron knife' daw	'knife']	[similar in other Kulin; see kalpuRa 'to cut']
knife of reed		tharrk <i>taark</i> daw		
knife of shell		nanggiR nang'gaer daw		
knife of stone		wuRukwil <i>wuurokwil</i> 'flint' daw [see 'glass']	petj <i>petch</i> 'stone' a	
knob stick		waRanuk yulowa <i>warranuuk yuuloa</i> 'deformity' daw witj-witj <i>ueetch ueetch</i> daw [Kulin for 'toy throwing stick']		
knot in rope/string		kartnawuna <i>kartnawuurnak</i> daw [see 'tie, to', 'hang a man']	kartna <i>gaht-nak</i> th, <i>gortnak</i> 'plait' th	
knot in wood			turingi-wiRip <i>dooring-ay-werrip</i> th ['knob defect']	
know, I don't			ngala-nyanga <i>ngalanyanga</i> e [ngala 'no']	
know, to	tjianga <i>jeeangaa</i> mt	tjanga <i>cha'gnan</i> daw	kapa <i>kapang</i> e tjianga <i>dyiangan</i> a	kapa <i>kapung</i> 'now' [sic] rhm [see 'think']
knuckle	tuRunggi-manya <i>toorong-ki-moenyoe</i> mt [tuRong 'lump, nut']	wart manya <i>wart mun'ya</i> daw ['back hand']		taRoki marna tar-ro-gee-mun-nar pj
koala		wiRngpul <i>wirngbuul</i> 'bear or sloth' daw	patjanmum <i>badyomom</i> e, <i>botyunmum</i> a [SH patjanmum]	ngaRmbulmum <i>knurrm-bul-moom</i> pj [Wa ngaambulmum; mum 'bottom', ngaRmbul 'fork in tree']
koala, young		kuRangtat kurrk <i>kuurangdat kuurk</i> daw		
kookaburra	kuRng-kuRng <i>grong-grong</i> mt, <i>krong-krong</i> lw [We, WB kurng-kurng] kuRu-kuRu <i>koorookooroo</i> wy, <i>krorkror</i> g	kuRng kuRng <i>kuurnk kuurnk</i> daw, <i>korn-korn</i> h, <i>krookroong</i> mr kanpilikurrk <i>kann billaeguork</i> 'small laughing jackass' daw	kuwak <i>goo-ark</i> th, <i>koark</i> nysm, <i>kowark</i> me, e, <i>kuark</i> a [Wa kuak]	kuRng? <i>koo-nork</i> pj
lake [also 'marsh', 'swamp']	tjakil <i>tchakel</i> t, <i>tchakel-tchakel</i> 'lakes' t,	tjakil <i>chukkil</i> 'lagoon', 'marsh', 'swamp'	tjakil <i>dyakkill</i> th	polok bo-lok p [Wa puluk] pam

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>charkill</i> 'swamp' wy, <i>chucel</i> 'swamp' mt	daw [WB tjakil] yampaa <i>yambaar</i> daw ko, koR <i>kor</i> garw, <i>koor</i> garw, <i>bijone</i> kor garw	<i>toolomom</i> br	bamm 'marsh' pj
lamb		wartipi pulkena <i>warty-bay-</i> <i>boolgenna</i> th		
lame, be [see 'wound']		wiRi wiRip <i>waerae waerip</i> daw	ngaRpa <i>nahrpa</i> th	ngaRpa <i>kuurrrp-per</i> pj [Kulin ngaRpa]
lame, in arm, either	kaRam-kaRamba <i>karam-karamba</i> wy			
lame, in foot,	tjina pRiuki <i>cheenahpriuke</i> wy ngaRpa-tjina 'lame in foot' <i>nraa-pa-gin-an</i> <i>yoooc</i> mt			
lame, in hand	kaiRinya-manya <i>cyrinya-manya</i> mt kaiRinya-pap- manya <i>cyrinya-baap-manya</i> mt [prob. 'lame in thumb'] pitjipilan <i>bicheepillan</i> wy [Wim pitjipa], <i>mcharbulan</i> [sic] wy			
lame, in leg	moRamila <i>moramilla</i> wy nyaa-witjeRa <i>nyaa-wichera</i> mt			
lame, in toe	kaiRinya-pap-tjina <i>cyrinya-baap-gina</i> mt yurnilan <i>yurnillan</i> wy			
landrail (corncrake)				lerp <i>lerrp</i> pj [see 'manna']
language		tjali <i>challae</i> daw		thali <i>talle</i> j ['tongue']
laplap		payanketj <i>piian'gaeaetch</i> 'sporran' daw		
lapwing, small		mandjarra kurrk <i>munjarra kuurk</i> 'relative of another' daw		
lark, native		tirtiyn tjaRuk <i>tirteen charuuk</i> 'native lark' daw		turti tjaRuk <i>toort-ee-char-ook</i> 'large ground lark' pj
lark, small				wiyt kurrk

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
ground				<i>wheet-goork</i> pj [wiyt-wiyt 'bird']
last				pakunditj <i>bark-goon-deetch</i> pj
laugh, to	weka <i>woercaa</i> mt	weka <i>ware</i> garw, <i>waek</i> daw wayaka <i>wiikaa</i> 'cry of kookaburra' daw	weka <i>wayr-ka</i> th, <i>wayrkundya-ahk</i> 'laugh at' th <i>werecung, weine, meacerwun</i> garp [WK, Wa weka]	weka <i>wairk-er</i> pj
lava		tinteyn <i>tintaeeen</i> daw		
lay down, to			yungga tjian <i>yoong-gahr-tyeean</i> th	
lazy	totoRa <i>dordorra</i> wy konkongga pangguk <i>con-cong ga bang-goc</i> mt			teRmilong <i>terrm-mil-ong</i> pj
leader		naRam-naRam <i>naram-naram</i> grb		mama <i>mar mar</i> em ['father'] wuRingapil <i>wooringapil</i> em
leaf	kirra <i>kerinuc</i> mt, <i>gerah - gerah</i> 'hill covered in trees' wy ngiyuRo <i>gneeuro</i> wy	kirra <i>kaeraneuk</i> daw	kirra <i>gerrar</i> p, <i>gay-ra</i> th	kirra <i>gerrar</i> j [We, WB kirra]
lean against, to		pupuna <i>purpuuna</i> daw		
leather			pinup <i>bin-noop</i> th	
leave, to	winaka <i>winaa-cuc</i> mt, <i>winaa-cura-maagut</i> mt, <i>winaa-cinyeh byring ga</i> 'leave behind' mt [NWV winaka]	winaka <i>winnakak</i> daw ngangangutja wang <i>gna gna gnuutcha wang</i> 'closed are my ears' daw 'leave behind'	winakatu-winyan <i>winahkart-doo-winyahn</i> 'quit' th	
leech, common		piliyt <i>pil-leet</i> 'blood' garw tjulang <i>chuulong</i> daw [Warr, Bu thulang] tjalip mankiR <i>challeep mun'girr</i> 'yellow' daw		pilitj <i>pil-leetch</i> pj [WB, Wa pilitj; see 'worm']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
leek, green	muRukart moo ro curt t			
left-hand		waram warram daw, warram kuurk 'left- handed woman' daw, warram gneea gnuurak 'left leg' daw, warramin 'left side' daw		waram whar-rum pj [WB ware, waRam widespread in SE mainland]
leg [see 'thigh']		kar carr garw, kur grb, karnuuk 'bone in leg' daw	kar kar a, crar garp, kaar nysm, carr 'shin' br [WB, We, Wa kar]	kar kra dm
lend, to				wuRama woo-ra-mar pj
less	patji-patji-wuk patchee-patchee-woke wy			
let [see (20) in § 3.4]				
lichen		tatuk tartuuk daw		
lick				tjawamba chow-am-bin pj [Woi tjamba; see 'wet, moisten']
lie, to tell a			ngalwankoy ng al-wan-gognye th	
lift, to	waiwa wy-waac mt pRuka broocac mt	waiwa wiaewak, wiwak daw	waiwa wai-wak th, , , , waiwok a, waiwa e [WK waiwa]	waima wy-mar pj [Wa waima]
light (not heavy)			taap daap e, tap a [see 'nimble']	wulung wool-loong pj [Wa wulung]
light (noun)	yaRp yarrp wy kalayt calite t [sense uncertain]	yap, yapuRilap yapuuraelap, yapp 'torch' daw nyawitj ngowiitch mr, nowicha h [see 'sun'],		yap yap pj
light, to	yapunya yap-boon-ya mt			yapa yapp-uck 'to light' pj [WK yap 'light' (n), Bung yap 'to light']
light, daylight (see 'tomorrow')	perrp ba-ar-pah wy	perrp paerpa daw, perpoamin grw belpa l	perrp paarip nysm, barp e, berrip p	perrp bairrp pj, bairp 'east' pj, bearp dm
lightning	wilimbuk weleembuk wy, willebook mp , willintick t [We wilim]	wilimbuk wilimboc grw milakuk	wilipuk wilibuk a milakuk	milakuk

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>millar kuuk</i> 'double' daw 'forked lightning'	<i>melarkok e</i>	<i>mil-lark-ook pj</i> [SH milaku]
lightning, sheet		tjaRima <i>charraema</i> daw [see 'hot']		
lightwood tree		witang <i>wittung</i> garp	muyang <i>moo-yeng</i> th [Wa muyang]	mutjang <i>mootch-ong</i> pj
like, similar				ngula <i>gnoola j</i> ngulakoRa <i>knoo-lar-go-rong</i> pj [WW ngula, Ma ngurli]
like, to			wutjapoman <i>wutyapoman a</i>	
limbs	milpilang tatjak <i>milpilung-taar-</i> <i>chacock</i> mt [milpa 'bend', tatjak 'arm']			
lime	<i>drik-drik t</i>		pun <i>boon</i> th [see 'dusty']	
limestone		taiRuyap <i>tiroyapp</i> daw		
lip	wurru <i>woorro</i> wy	wurru <i>wuuro</i> daw	wurru <i>wuro e, woorra</i> th, <i>wuru a, torro</i> [?] garp	wurru <i>woo-roo</i> pj, <i>wurru rhm</i> , [see 'mouth'; Kulin wurru]
lip, lower	pili-wuRu <i>billawoorro</i> wy, <i>bili-o-</i> <i>oi-ro</i> mt ['stomach lip']			yanpayi wurru <i>yarn-ba-yee-woo-roo</i> pj
lip, upper	wart wurru <i>wordo-oi-ro</i> mt, <i>wardwoorro</i> wy,	wart wurru <i>wart wuuro</i> daw		mitji wurru <i>mee-chee-woo-roo</i> pj ['skin of lip']
listen [see 'hear']				
litter	kitja paynku <i>keetchapiango</i> wy [many offspring] paynkuwi kal <i>bang-goi-caal</i> mt [offspring dog]	pupui kunum <i>puupuae kuurnuum</i> daw		
little [see 'small']				
little way			wolio, ngalia wotetjo, ngaliyopo <i>wol.lio,</i> <i>al.le.er.wod.de.jo,</i> <i>al.li.or.bor</i> [all one entry in garp]	
live, to [see 'alive']				
live, dwell				miRpa <i>mirpanua, mirrpar, mirrpin j</i> [Psalm]
liver	putj	putj	putj	putj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>bo-utch wy, boi-chooc mt</i>	<i>poatchak daw</i>	<i>boo-ityook th</i>	<i>boitch pj, boitch 'stomach' pj [WK puth/putj 'liver', EK putj 'stomach']</i>
lizard	katjuk-katjuk <i>kutchook-kutchook wy</i> top woRa <i>dope worra t, dops-woroe mt</i>	muka muka <i>muger muger garw</i> tukpun <i>tuurkpuurn 'black-headed' daw</i> wiRakutj <i>wirrakuutch daw [Ma wirrakuthi 'frill-necked lizard']</i> mundang <i>muurndarnk 'middle-sized' daw</i> tuRutjal <i>turuchall 'smallest' daw</i>	tumban <i>doorm-barn th</i>	pin-piRk <i>bein-beirrk 'grey' pj</i> ngakinguwak <i>knark-e-knoo-ack 'small brown' pj</i> tong-tong <i>dong-dong pj</i>
lizard, blue tongue		yukurn <i>yuurkuurn daw</i>		yukurn <i>your-koon 'goanna' pj [We yugurn 'shingle back lizard']</i>
lizard, frilled		wiRinyurn <i>wirraeneurn daw</i>		ken <i>kann 'jew lizard' pj [ken 'frill-necked lizard' WW, We]</i>
lizard, goanna		teRalang <i>der rar lung garw</i> walap <i>wallap daw [We 'blue tongue lizard']</i>	tjulin <i>tyulin a</i> wiRmbil <i>wirmbil e [see 'ear']</i>	
lock of hair		ngarr pulak <i>gnaar puulak daw [see 'keepsake']</i>		
log	waling <i>walling 'burnt, black log' t</i>	kalk <i>kaalk daw</i> martuk wii <i>martuuk wee 'big log' daw ['big firewood']</i> mi'iR, meR <i>maeaer 'hollow' daw</i>	kalk-kalk <i>galk galk th [kalk 'wood']</i>	
long	tjuwaRng <i>cheworn wy</i>	tjuwaRng <i>chu warng 'long or tall' daw, charng 'long log' daw</i>	tjuwaRng <i>tyuarng a, dyowang e, tuwurnge p</i> <i>coorton br, goodyon br [see 'brolga']</i>	tjuRankulong, <i>tur-rer-an-gu-long 'lofty' pj [We tjuwerung, WW tjurung]</i> kapul <i>kar-pool 'tall' pj, karpool j</i>

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
				[see 'midday', midnight']
long time ago		malamia <i>mulla meea</i> daw	malamia <i>mallarmeer</i> p [We malamia]	tjuwarn kiyuma , <i>tuwurn keey oomeer</i> j tjuwarnduk <i>jhoo-an-dook</i> pj tjuwarn peRak <i>dyoowurn-berak</i> , <i>dyoowurnbarak</i> rhm, <i>dyoowurn-berak</i> 'for a long time' rhm [see 'old']
look, to [see 'see']				
lose the way, to	yip-kRuna <i>yeep-crooninan</i> mt	pangpangkilau <i>pung pung killa o</i> daw		
lose, to	<i>incoong-ina</i> mt	yipiya, ngipiya? <i>ipiya</i> daw		
loud	natjakualen <i>natchargualen</i> w wiRipuwili <i>weeri-poo-i-li</i> mt	wiRingai nguRiyn <i>weering ii gnuureen</i> 'ears oh mine!' daw		
louse		munya <i>muunyu</i> daw	munya <i>moongo</i> th muna tjiRa <i>mun ner cheerer</i> , <i>munner chee</i> garp	munya <i>moon-yir</i> pj [see 'tick'; munya widespread]
love	wiRitja <i>weerija</i> mt	tjiRing tupunyiyn <i>cherring dubugneen</i> daw	mutyarrang <i>moot-yarrang</i> th, <i>mootyerrang</i> th ['hold one another', Wa mutjarri]	
low	yilpatian <i>yilparti-an</i> wy	niR <i>naer</i> daw		
low tide		ngiaka <i>gneearka</i> daw		
low-sounding	pikualon <i>bigualon</i> wy tjapunmatj <i>ja-boon-mych</i> mt			
lump			tuRang <i>tuRong</i> a [tuRang 'fruit'; Wa tuRung] kaRinga <i>karinga</i> e [see 'grow']	
lung	nangkotj <i>noeng-goich</i> mt weRang-weRang <i>werang-werang</i> wy	tjatjiRuk <i>chiichiruuk</i> daw		tjatjaRuk <i>jhar-jha-rook</i> pj
lurk [see 'hide']				
lyrebird		puln puln	puln puln	puln puln

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>buuln buuln</i> daw	<i>boolun-boolun</i> 'peacock' th	<i>bul-len bul-len</i> 'echidna' [sic] pj [Wa, Woi puln-puln]
mad		ngakumpitj <i>gnarkuumbectch</i> daw, <i>gnarkuumbeetch</i> 'insane person' daw [also Warr]	nyakotang popang <i>nyah-gorlang-boorpang</i> th, <i>nyah-gortang-boorpang</i> 'crazy' th manpaRing <i>munbarring</i> th	panglanggilong <i>bung-lung-gee-long</i> pj panglanggil <i>bung-lung-gil</i> 'stupid' pj
magellan clouds		kaan kutjun <i>karn kuutchuun</i> 'large' daw papi kutjun <i>baapeekuutchuun</i> 'small' daw	kutjun, kurrun <i>cochor, coron</i> garp [kutjun 'brolga']	
maggot		pitjik <i>bitchik</i> daw ['fly']		
magpie	karrak, kurruk <i>carrak</i> t, <i>goroke</i> t	kurruk <i>kuuruuk</i> daw	kurruk (<i>bar</i>) <i>goor-oork</i> th, <i>car-roke</i> garp	kurruk <i>koo-roork</i> pj [We kurruk]
magpie, black		killirn <i>killirn</i> daw		muwaynankil <i>mooyn-un-kil</i> pj
magpie lark, mudlark, peewee		tjirmp-tjirmp <i>chirmp chirmp</i> daw		tjirrm-tjirrm <i>jheerm-jheerm</i> pj
maid, old		pungotj tjankurrk <i>puungoitch</i> <i>chan'gork</i> daw		
make a fire			wiRika wi <i>wirrika wee</i> th ¹¹	
make war, to		kuma-kuma <i>kuumar kuumar</i> daw [see 'fog', 'smell', 'wind, west']		
make, to		maRpa <i>marpak</i> daw [see 'build']	muyupa <i>muyuboga</i> e, <i>moyoopah</i> p, <i>muyapok</i> a [Warr muyupa] <i>ngarwak karroong</i> 'Let us make a hut' th	mungga <i>mongak</i> j, <i>moong-garr</i> pj [mungka W]
male	mamuk <i>maa-mook</i> mt, <i>mahmook</i> wy	mam kunum <i>mam kuurnuum</i> daw		mamuk <i>mamuk</i> rhm [used as a modifier as in <i>mamuk wila</i> 'male possum'; We, WB <i>mamuk</i> ; see 'father'] <i>ngaramben, ngaranbeny</i> rh, <i>garanbeny</i> rhm [see

¹¹ O'Grady 1987:521-2) derives **wi** 'fire from Pama-Nyungan ***wiriyn** assuming that a root for rubbing (to produce fire) lies behind **wi**. One example of a rubbing verb is Nyangumarta **wirirrpil-**. It may be that **wiRika** is another.

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
				'man, old']
mallee scrub		punituk <i>punaetuuk</i> daw [WB punurtuk, We punartuk]		
man	kuli <i>coolee</i> wy, <i>cooly</i> o, <i>coullee</i> d, <i>kul-lee</i> f, <i>kooli</i> g, <i>koole</i> mp, <i>watcha</i> mc	kuli <i>colae</i> l, <i>coole</i> garw, <i>colee</i> garw, <i>kooli</i> mr, <i>coolech</i> grb, <i>kuulae</i> daw, <i>cooley</i> grw, <i>koole</i> h	kuli <i>gole</i> p, <i>goo-ly</i> th, <i>koole</i> nysm, <i>kuli</i> a, <i>koli</i> e, <i>koo-lie</i> ta	kuli <i>koolay</i> me, <i>gole</i> j, <i>guli</i> rhm, <i>goo-lee</i> pj, <i>koolee</i> dm, <i>kuli</i> rhm [NWV, Wa kuli, EK kuliyn]
man (humans)	pang, peng <i>baang</i> lw, <i>beng</i> o kuli peng <i>coli-beng</i> mt		pengotetuk <i>bangodedook</i> p	pengotetuk <i>bango-dedook</i> j [see 'body', 'flesh'; We, WB peng]
man, flash		tjami nguna munin <i>chummae gnuurna muurnin</i> daw		
man, immoral		yunilalang <i>yuurna</i> elalang daw [see 'adultery'; Warr yunanung]		
man, old [see 'old']	nyarram-nyarram <i>ngaram-ngaram</i> g nyami <i>ngammi</i> lw [see 'grandfather'] narramnarrambi <i>narramnarambee</i> wy, <i>mram-ram-ben</i> mt	nyarram-nyarram <i>ngaram-ngaram</i> mr, h marti kuli <i>martee kuulae</i> daw ['big man']	nyarrpi <i>ngarbe</i> nysm nyambin <i>ngambin</i> a marti kuli <i>mati</i> koli e, <i>mategooly</i> me ['big man'] lalipula <i>lalli bullar</i> p, <i>allibuller</i> garp	nyarrambiyn <i>knar-em-been</i> pj [NWV nyarrambin, Wa ngarrawil] nyarrnbiyt <i>knarmbeet</i> j
man, single	nyalu-kuk-penga <i>njalo-goc-banga</i> mt palangaRangiyt <i>balangarangeet</i> wy	ngalum matjum <i>knallum mutchuum</i> daw ['old'] ngalayan yan kayap <i>knulla yan yan kiapp</i> 'young' daw [ngala 'not', kayap 'one']		
man, vain			kupa-kuli-tjap <i>gohpar-gooly-tyap</i> th	
man, white [see 'woman, white']	kumamiR <i>koomamir</i> g [Bu word, lit. 'green eye']	ngamaikitj <i>ngamaigitch</i> h, <i>ngamaiketich</i> mr ngamakik <i>knummakeek</i> daw, <i>amaikeek</i> me ngamatjiyt <i>umerdeet</i> garw, <i>umerjeet</i> garw,	ngamakitj <i>ngamakity</i> th ngamakiyt <i>ummergeet</i> garp, <i>wamakit</i> nysm. <i>amygeet</i> p	ngamaikitj <i>knam-i-gheetch</i> , <i>knam-nu-gheetch</i> pj ngamakiyt <i>amygeet</i> j [Wa, Woi ngamatjitj] wainman <i>wainman</i> dm ['white man']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>umerjit</i> garw		
man, wild		yul-yul <i>yuul yuul</i> daw mung <i>moung</i> garw		yul-yul <i>yule yule</i> rhm [also given as 'enemy'; a term applied to Aboriginal groups other than those with whom friendly relations existed]
man, young	kulkurn <i>kolkar</i> g, <i>golcorn</i> 'boy' mt, <i>culcorn</i> 'youth' wy teRngarti peng <i>doerng-arti-beng</i> mt [teRngatuk 'new'] tjawili <i>jawilli</i> lw komakwoRa <i>comakworra</i> wy teRngatuk	kulkurn <i>koolkoon</i> mr, <i>kuulkuul kuulkuurn</i> daw, <i>kuulkuurt</i> <i>kuulkuurn</i> daw, <i>kolkroon</i> h, <i>kol.korn</i> garw kitnitj <i>kaetnaetch</i> 'beard beginning' daw, <i>kitneetch</i> 'hobbledehoy' daw katnitj <i>katneetch</i> 'manhood ceremony' daw	kulkurn <i>golkongolkon</i> 'boy' e tingatuk <i>tingatook</i> nysm	kulkurn <i>kool-koon</i> pj, <i>kulkirn</i> rhm, <i>kulkun</i> rhm, <i>kulkurn</i> rhm [WK, Wa kulkurn] teRngati kuli <i>tringit te koolay</i> me [teRngatuk 'new'] nanpoRongwoRo <i>narnborongworo</i> dm
manna/lerp	lerp <i>leurp</i> mp	pumbul <i>buumbuul</i> daw [see 'flower']		lerp <i>lerrp</i> pj [WW lerep]
manna-berries			payt-yaRp <i>bayt-yarrp</i> th	
many [see 'plenty/many']				
mark, to				tjurnka <i>choorn</i> gar pj
markings on rug		kaRapak <i>karrapak</i> daw		
marriage ¹²	wuinak <i>woinack</i> wy	wutjarranat <i>wuucharraenat</i> 'marriage, general term' daw wuktjarrangatj , <i>wuuk charrang</i> <i>iitch</i> 'marriage ceremony' daw wukilang <i>wokilang</i> daw napkutjang <i>nupkuutyang</i> daw, <i>nupkuutyang</i> 'twice married' daw		mankalong <i>marn-ga-long</i> pj

¹² Dawson gives *nupkuutyang* with two glosses, one is 'marriage of widow' and the other is 'marriage by woman taking forcible possession of a man'. Thomas gives *nap-kootye* as 'peace'. *Pirmillang* is given for 'marriage by stealing a woman and compulsion'. **PiRmila** means 'steal'. *Wokilang* is given for 'marriage of woman against her

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		pirmilang <i>pirmillang</i> 'stealing' daw		
marriage by betrothal [see 'betrothed']		kaRim kaRim kurrk <i>karrim karrim</i> <i>kuuruuk</i> daw		
marriage by elopement		yutmilang pula <i>yuurtmelang bula</i> daw [see <i>yunmila</i> 'run away with']		
marrow		tjitjiyuk <i>cheecheyuuk</i> daw [Woi <i>tjitjitj</i> , <i>thithiyt</i>]		
marry, to	mandjarra <i>manjari wol</i> mt [take one-another]	tanyat mutjilang <i>tunyatt muchaelang</i> 'new married couple' daw	mandjarra <i>mandyarup e</i> , <i>mandirauil a</i> mutjila <i>kuna mutjilan</i> 'Are you married?' th [<i>mutjila</i> ; <i>mutja</i> 'take']	
marrying cousin		kukwil kurrk <i>kokwilguurk</i> daw		
marrying niece		yatjang wingpul <i>yatt'yang wingbuul</i> daw [yatjang 'bad'; possibly a reference to marriage between non-permitted partners]		
marsh [see 'lake']				
marshmallow		nguRatj <i>gnuriitch</i> daw		
mask, of kangaroo		tirn maRuk <i>tirn maaruuk</i> daw [see 'grub, hook']		
mat, plaited grass		pi'ip <i>paeaep</i> daw		yalan <i>yal-lan</i> pj
matchmaker or blackfoot		ngateRambula <i>gnaterambula</i> daw		
matter (pus, phlegm, etc.)	putjun <i>boo-ee-choon</i> wy	putjun <i>puutchon</i> daw		putjun <i>boi-chun</i> pj [Kulin putjun 'boil, abscess']
meat	pang <i>ba-ang</i> 'muscle' wy	yawirr <i>yowierie</i> grb	peng <i>bang-goke</i> garp	peng <i>bang</i> pj [see 'body', 'man'] [WB peng]
meat, maggoty		pek		

will, by order of chief. This term, like **wutjarranat** and **wuktjarrangatj**, appears to be based on the root **wu-** 'give'.

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		paeæk daw		
meet, meeting	payeR byerr 'meeting't	piya <i>piyaar</i> 'ordinary meeting' daw manya <i>munn'ya</i> 'great meeting' daw	wayaparri <i>wayup-erry</i> th watputjarri <i>wahrt-pootyarry</i> th [see 'join'; - tjarri 'reciprocal']	
meeting married woman on path		punya <i>puunyar</i> 'meeting married woman on path' daw		
memory		ngala ngitilang wiRmpulek <i>gnulla g'nittaelang wirmbulek</i> 'not shut ear' daw		
message stick		kaRapatj wi <i>karrapiitch wee</i> daw [see 'markings on rug']		
messenger, death [see 'die']		wikeR <i>waekerr</i> daw		
messmate eucalyptus				puRngaluk <i>boorr-knul-ook</i> pj
metacarpal bones		kalki-manya <i>calci-moenyoe</i> mt ['bone hand']		
metatarsal bones		kalki-tjina <i>coelci ginoe</i> mt ['bone foot']		
meteor	puikin turt <i>boicen doort</i> mt ['fallen star'] <i>murbalee</i> wy	miRmp pili <i>mirmp pillae</i> 'deformity' daw		yalinilong <i>yal-lee-nil-long</i> pj [Parker interprets this as 'tumbling over']
midday		naluki nyawi <i>naluukae neow wee</i> 'shine sun' daw [see 'waist']		kapuli-nhawi <i>kar-pool-e-now-ey</i> 'noon' pj [long sun]
midnight				kapuli [pu]Ronyu <i>kar-pool-e-loo royne-nu</i> pj [long dark]
midwife		ngi'in <i>gneein</i> daw		
mildew		takilap lamlam <i>takkilup lamlam</i> daw		
milk [see 'breast']		kurrm <i>kuumbuurk</i> 'milk of snow thistle' daw tjiRkun <i>chirkuun</i> daw	kurrm <i>goorm</i> th, <i>kurm</i> e, <i>kurm</i> a	kurrm <i>coorm</i> pj [similar in other WK]
milk, to	pRamakat			

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>braa-ma-gut</i> mt			
Milky Way		paRng <i>baarnk</i> 'big river' daw		
millstone, or mortar		yuRondatj <i>yuron diitch</i> daw [see 'grind', 'sharpen', 'sharpening stone']		
minah		puRpuR <i>pur-pur</i> grw pirndiyn <i>pirndeen</i> daw	puRpuR <i>burr-purr</i> th	puRpuR <i>burrp-pur</i> 'grey minah' pj
minnow				<i>birnm</i> pj
mirage on mountains		wupilong nganyok wulunnga <i>woppelong unyok wuulun'gna</i> 'rising for rain' daw		
mirage on plains		kaRiR kaRiRi <i>kareer kareerae</i> daw		
miserable	nuR-mango-nyanga <i>nur-mango-nyanga</i> mt [see 'moan'] tjatjilitjan <i>charchilljan</i> wy	yatjang peng <i>yetchung beng'gek</i> daw ['bad body']		
mistake				ngataweRong <i>knut-tow-er-rong</i> pj
mistrust, to			kunamung <i>goonamoong</i> th	
mix, to			nowa <i>nohr-wak</i> th [Wa noRwa]	kaRipiRing <i>kur-ree-pee-ring</i> pj
moan, to			nyangankotang <i>nyangangortang</i> th [see 'miserable', 'faint']	
mole on skin		papakap <i>pupperkup</i> daw		
money, cash			tarn-tarnitj <i>darn-(go)darnity</i> th [Wa tarnkaRapil]	
moon [also 'month']	yern <i>yern</i> g, o, <i>yurn</i> lw, <i>yeun</i> mt, <i>ya-ern</i> wy yen <i>yen</i> d yet <i>yairt</i> f	yen <i>yen</i> garw, <i>yaen</i> l [Wa ye(r)n] tanyuk	yern <i>yern</i> p, <i>yearn</i> garp, yi'in <i>yeen</i> ta, <i>ee-yen</i> th <i>yeen</i> p, yan <i>yan</i> garp, <i>yen</i> a, e yel <i>yel</i> nysm tandjiti yen	yern <i>yern</i> dm, j, <i>yearn</i> pj [also 'month']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>tanyuuk</i> daw wartip tanyu <i>wartiptanyo</i> h <i>wayip</i> tanyu <i>waiipturnyoo</i> mr kayap wartip tanyuk <i>kiapp warteep</i> <i>tanyuuk</i> ‘month’ daw [‘one small moon’]	<i>dangit ee yen th</i> [also ‘month’; terngati ‘new’; Warr tendjit]	
moon, full		marti tanyuk <i>mirtae tanyuuk</i> daw [‘big moon’]		nguRaRuk yirn <i>knoo-rar-ook-yerrn</i> ‘great moon’ pj
moon, new		tanyuk nyuk <i>tanyuuk neuk</i> daw,		wainimi yern <i>why-nee-me-yerrn</i> pj
moon-blind		yapi yangin <i>yappi yang’in</i> daw		
moonlight		yapama nguRiyn tanyuk <i>yappama gnuu reen</i> <i>tanyuuk</i> ‘shine moon’ daw		
mopoke	kartuk <i>cartok</i> o, <i>kartouk</i> d wapuk <i>wah-pook</i> f	kartuk <i>cartook</i> l wapuk <i>warpoke</i> mc yip-yip <i>yib-yib</i> grw	kartuk, kaRuk <i>cardoke</i> garp, <i>gahr-rook</i> th wilmal <i>weel-mul</i> ta	kaRuk <i>kurook</i> dm [We kartuk; see ‘cuckoo’]
more	<i>ynahdu</i> wy [sic]	yaanyuk <i>yaa neuk</i> daw	<i>nyuk-nga-kik-kuknga-kuk</i> <i>nyook-ngah-kik-gokngah-kok</i> th	tjulu <i>jhool-loo</i> pj
morning [see ‘sunrise’, ‘tomorrow’]	paakutja <i>ba-ah-koojah</i> wy [see ‘dew’]	pirna nyawi <i>pirna an neowee</i> daw [‘come sun’]		
mosquito	kiRk-kiRk <i>krirkkrirk</i> g, <i>krekkrek</i> lw, <i>griitjurk</i> t	kiRk-kiRk <i>kirk-kirk</i> h <i>muRuka</i> <i>muurukar</i> daw lirri <i>lirri</i> mr	lirri <i>liire</i> a, <i>lirre</i> nysm, <i>lere</i> e, <i>layray</i> me	kiRk-kiRk <i>kraig-kruk</i> dm [We, Warr kiRk-kiRk] lirri <i>lee-ree</i> pj [WB lirri]
moss		ngaRang nitja <i>gnarrang neeja</i> daw		
moth		liyaRangiRak <i>learangerack</i> grw		
moth, death's head		puRotj wiRimpul <i>puuroitch</i> <i>wirrembuul</i> ‘dark ear’ daw		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
moth, largest size		nalalum tulayn <i>nullamuun tuuliin</i> daw [see 'wattle']		puRumbitj <i>boo-room-beetch</i> 'large moth' pj
mother	pap <i>papuke o, pahp wy,</i> <i>papi lw, papie mc,</i> <i>bah-pee f, paa-pooc</i> <i>mt, bauppee d, baap</i> <i>mp, paap g,</i>	pap, paap <i>papay, parpae grw,</i> <i>pape h, paapi mr,</i> <i>pappy l, borbe garp,</i> <i>paapae daw</i>	pap <i>papuk a, bahp,</i> <i>bahpup th, bar</i> <i>panorook p, babook</i> <i>nysm, bapuk e, bar-</i> <i>boop ta,</i>	pap, paap <i>barbook j, barp dm, pj</i> [pap widespread in Vic.]
mo's brother (single)		tjurnpap <i>churnbap daw</i>		
mother's bro's wife		kaRindji <i>karrinjae</i> 'woman's' daw		
mo's brother (married)		minim kurrk <i>meenim guurk daw</i> minim kuRi <i>meenim kuurae</i> 'woman's mo's bro' daw		
mo's eldest sister, single		pap kuRuk <i>bap kuuruuk daw</i> pap kuRondji <i>bap kuurongjae</i> daw		
mo's other sisters, single		mung kuRi <i>muung kuurae daw</i>		
mo's sisters married		yang pap <i>yaangek bab daw</i>		
mother, step	papuk <i>paa-pooc mt</i>	yang pap <i>yaa'gnik bab daw</i>		paRmenankurrk <i>ber-men-an-goork pj</i>
mother-in-law	nyaloy-n-kuRi <i>njal-oin-gori mt</i>	nalun kuRi <i>naluunkuurae daw</i> <i>naluun</i> 'wife's mo's bro' daw yang nalun kurrk <i>yaa'gnak</i> <i>naluunguurk</i> 'wife's mother's sister' daw yuwang nawan <i>yuwaa'gnik na'wan</i> 'wife's g' father's bro' daw kaRindji <i>karrinjee</i> 'woman's m-in-law' daw		nyaloy-n.kurrk <i>knal-oyne-goork pj</i> [We nyaliyn-kurrk; see 'son'in- law'] em gives <i>knalloin</i> for 'mother-in-law avoidance'
mould on food		kamp kamp <i>kamp kamp daw</i>		
mound, native		pokyu <i>pok yu daw</i>		
mourn, to		kutjilango piko <i>kuutchelang o</i> <i>peeko daw</i>	wupuyan-putj <i>woorpooyan-booity</i> th	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		ngala watjip <i>gnullar watcheep</i> 'mourning for child' daw ['no son']		
mouse			tarnayn <i>dar-naign</i> th	tarnayn <i>tur-nine</i> pj [Wa tanayn]
moustache	munitja <i>mun-neecheer</i> wy [WB, We munyi-wurru] ngarra[ngi] wurru <i>nguraa-nsi-oo-oroo</i> mt	munyu tjiR <i>muunyuur chaer</i> daw		koyoni wurru <i>koy-on-e-woo-roo</i> pj
mouth	wurru <i>worro</i> o, <i>wourrough</i> d <i>corre</i> t	wurru <i>wooruyangerack</i> grb, <i>wyro</i> garw, <i>woorock</i> grb, <i>martee wuurong</i> 'big mouth' daw ngayang, ngang <i>ngyang</i> h, <i>ngeing</i> mr, <i>gnang</i> daw	wurru <i>wooro</i> nysm, <i>woora</i> , <i>wooranyook</i> p, <i>wooraw</i> th, <i>wurobodhali</i> e, <i>wurua</i> , <i>wooro</i> me, <i>wooruk</i> ta, <i>worrok</i> br	wurru <i>woo-roo</i> pj, <i>wooroo</i> dm, <i>wooruknook</i> j [see 'lip'; widespread Vic] tjalalk <i>chalalk</i> dm
mud	pik <i>beak</i> o, <i>bieke</i> d [We pik; see 'clay']	pik <i>peek</i> daw	pek <i>bayk</i> th	papal <i>bup-al</i> pj [Wa papal]
murder		takin yulmu <i>taakin yuulmu</i> daw		
murmur		ngini wan <i>gninnae wan</i> 'vexed me' daw	ngala wan kuknyin <i>ngalla-wan-goknyin</i> th	
murnong root [Microseris lanceolata]		panyin <i>pun'yin</i> daw talum <i>taluum</i> 'cooked' daw	<i>tuer.rer.corn</i> 'murnong root' garp	
muscle		putji tatjak <i>pochae tutchukk</i> daw, [putji 'stomach' as in EK & tatjak 'arm']		
mushroom [see 'fungus']				
mussel, freshwater		tjalup <i>challuup</i> daw talendo <i>to len do</i> garw		tjalup <i>chal-loop</i> pj
mussel, saltwater		memet <i>maehmaet</i> daw		payt-patj <i>byte-bytch</i> pj
mustard, wild plant		puyuRuk <i>puyuruuk</i> daw [appears to be the same as <i>pueorok</i> , which Dawson records as 'ladies' pockets']		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
mutter, to			<i>goony-gayly-gay-yin-narrambe-nyah</i> th	
mutton			yiip <i>yip</i> th [Eng 'sheep']	
mutton-fish, large		talik <i>tullik</i> daw		
mutton-fish, small		mandjiR <i>munjir</i> daw		
myrtle, native				tjup <i>tch-ooop</i> pj
nail, iron			piRikan <i>birry-kun</i> th	
nails	lirrit manya <i>lirit moenyoe</i> mt, <i>lareetmahnia</i> wy	lirrit manya <i>liritt munya</i> daw, <i>liritt chinna</i> daw li manya <i>lee munye</i> garw	lirrin manya <i>lirn manya</i> e, <i>leering.mun.yer</i> garp, <i>leen merner</i> garp lit manya <i>lidmanye</i> th, <i>lidmanye</i> 'fore finger' th, <i>lilli</i> a	litji mana <i>lietch-e-mun-nar</i> pj, <i>leetch-e-jhin-nar</i> 'claws' pj [common WK, e.g., We <i>lirri</i> 'claw', 'nail', Wa <i>tiRip</i>]
naked			murnatayang <i>murnatai-yang</i> th [Wa <i>murnatja</i>]	
name		nyarri <i>knarrae</i> gneuk daw, <i>knyarrae knakk</i> 'name-exchange ceremony' daw	nyarri <i>nyarry</i> th [We, WB <i>nyarri</i> , Wa <i>n[h]arri</i>]	
name, nickname		wuRakitj <i>wuurakk kaetch</i> wuRaki kuurk <i>wuurakee kuurk</i> 'for women'		
naming children		taku minyaRi <i>taaku minyarrae</i> 'strike a name' daw		
narrow			tjilam-tjilam <i>dyellarm-dyellarm</i> th	wini <i>whin-nee</i> pj [wini 'inside', <i>winipa</i> 'to pinch'; Woi <i>winin-kutip</i>]
navel		warru <i>warro</i> daw, <i>warro</i> 'umbilical cord custom' daw wiRowok <i>wirowok</i> 'u. cord' daw		warru <i>warr-oo</i> pj [We <i>warrau</i> , Wa <i>warrung</i>]
near	mart imalup <i>murteemullope</i> wy	waluyu <i>wallu yu</i> daw		tumi <i>doo-mee</i> pj
near-sighted	yoipin <i>yoipin</i> wy	warnmiRk <i>warnmirk</i> daw		
neck/nape			nyani <i>nyannay</i> th, <i>yan.ne</i> garp [WB, We,	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
			nyani, Wa nyaning]	
neck/throat	kurn <i>goorn wy</i>	kurn <i>korn garw</i> <i>kuurndin daw</i>	kurn <i>goorn th, ruerrn br</i>	kurn <i>coorn pj</i> [WB, We, Wa kurn]
necklace of echidna		yulunyk <i>yuulo neuk daw</i> ['his/her spike']		
necklace of kangaroo teeth		marn marn <i>marn marn daw</i> [Woi marn-marn]		
necklace of reeds		tjarrk-kurn <i>charkuun daw</i>		tjarrk-kurn <i>char-ak-koon pj</i>
neglect			<i>ngye-ngye-allang-go-gnak th</i>	
nephew [see 'son']	wartaa <i>warta-ah wy</i>	ngama nap <i>gnumma nup,</i> <i>gnunna gnep,</i> <i>nuuna nup</i> 'wife's bro's son' daw yuwan watjip <i>yuwanek wutcheep</i> 'wife's sister's son' daw		kuwan <i>coor-whan-dook pj</i>
nest (of bird, ant)	lar <i>larnook wy, lornooc mt</i>	lar <i>larneuk daw</i>		lar <i>larr pj</i> [see 'camp', 'house']
nest of brush turkey, lowan		kalarnang <i>gullern'nung</i> 'lip or ridge' daw		
nest, powerful owl		kaRam kaRam <i>karram karram</i> 'open nest' daw		
net [see also 'bag, net']	warrak <i>wyrac mt</i>	warrak purrp <i>warrak puup</i> 'net for head' kalwil <i>kalwill daw</i> 'dragnet for fishing' puniakot <i>puuniakuurt</i> 'for catching eels' daw		kuRa <i>koo-rare pj</i> kalayn-pa-miRi <i>kar-lyne bar-mirree</i> 'fishing net' pj
nettle		malak <i>mullukk daw</i>		
never	ngala-tjutjiyn <i>nular-joicheen mt</i>	top top katja <i>tuurp tuurp kutcha daw</i>		
new		tjalkuk <i>chulkuuk daw</i> [see 'good']	tangatuk <i>dangatook th</i>	teRngatuk <i>derrng-knet-took pj</i> [see 'moon']
nice			talku-tjakitj <i>dalko-tyakity th</i> [lit. 'good eat']	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
niece	nangawal <i>nungawallook wy</i>	menggap <i>men'gap,</i> meng'gapp 'bro's dau' daw tjina pangi <i>chinna pung'ae</i> 'sister's dau' daw tjina pang(ga) <i>chinna bung'ga,</i> <i>chinnapung</i> 'wife's bro's dau' daw yang manggap <i>yaa'gnek munggup</i> 'wife's sister's dau' daw mung kuRi <i>muung kuurae</i> 'sister's dau' daw		yiRat-kurrk <i>yee-rat-goork pj</i>
night (puronyu is a locative 'tonight' or 'in the night')	puroyn <i>poroin g, boroinu o,</i> <i>pooroin mp, bouroin</i> <i>d, boroi-nu mt</i> <i>weneepah wy</i> ['narrow'; see 'afternoon', 'twilight']	puroyn, puronyu <i>poroin h, daw,</i> <i>boroin mr, pooroin</i> <i>garw</i> <i>kuumbee an</i> 'sleeping time' daw [kumba 'to sleep']	puroyn <i>burun e, burooin a,</i> <i>boroin nysm, borrine</i> <i>l, booring ,</i> <i>booroinyu p,</i> <i>booroign th, boo-run</i> ta	puroyn, puronyu <i>boorinen dm, boorroinyu j,</i> <i>boo-royne-nu pj</i> [see 'dark'; NWV, EK puruyn]
nightmare		kiRatjaniyn muRupa <i>kaeratcha neen</i> <i>murupa</i> 'log pressing sleep me' daw		
nimble			taap <i>dahp th</i> [see 'light, not heavy']	
nip, to			tjilapa <i>dyillerpak th</i> [Wa tjilapa]	
no	ngalanya <i>ngallanya lw, g,</i> <i>nulanya mt, ngallanya</i> <i>mp</i> ngalani <i>nalahnee</i> 'none'wy	ngala <i>gnulla wotch daw</i> [also 'none'] ngai-ngai <i>nge-nge h, mr</i> muRo <i>moo-ro garw</i>	ngalanya <i>ngalanya e, a, nullun</i> <i>yer p</i> nge-nge <i>nge-nge nysm, ngye-</i> <i>ngye-e th</i> maloyn piyt <i>mal loin beet garp</i>	ngala, ngalanya <i>knul-lar</i> 'not', 'don't' pj <i>allanya dm</i> li <i>le, lee</i> [also in dialect name: <i>leewuru, leewurru</i>] rhm lo <i>low-nee-rong pj, lowurrong j</i> pawan <i>bowun rhm</i>
nod the head, to			tawa <i>dah-wak th</i> [Wa taa]	
noise	murnda <i>moorndah wy</i> [see 'buzz', 'thunder']	wungaRuk <i>wuung'garuuk daw</i> [also 'sound']	nyuk-ngaa-wiRing- ilang <i>nyook-ngahr-</i> <i>wirring-illung th</i>	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	wiRingRotja <i>weering rotja</i> mt			
noose-stick to catch birds		paRim <i>parraem</i> daw		
north	numitj <i>numich</i> mt	pilmallae 'hot wind' daw		ngaRami-nhawi <i>knar-ram-e-now-ey</i> pj
north-east				kaili-peRp <i>kail-lee-bairp</i> pj
north-west				wiRin-mali <i>wee-rin-mal-lee</i> pj [see 'wind, north']
nose	karr <i>kaa</i> g, mt, <i>ka</i> mp, <i>ka-ahrr</i> wy, <i>kaanooc</i> mt, <i>kaangek</i> lw, <i>caa</i> t	karr <i>kaa</i> h, <i>ka</i> , <i>martuuk</i> <i>kaar</i> 'big nose' daw <i>ca</i> grb, <i>kar</i> , <i>car</i> garw, <i>cayangerack</i> grb,	karr <i>kaa</i> nysm, <i>ka</i> e, <i>car</i> garp, <i>kra</i> a, <i>kah</i> br, <i>garnook</i> p	karr <i>garnook</i> j, <i>karr</i> pj [We, WB karr]
nostril	taapma <i>daapma</i> mt naRakikarr <i>narrakeeka-ahrr</i> wy	wala karr wallar ka daw		putji karr <i>boitche-karr</i> pj ['stomach of nose']
not [see 'no']				
notch in tree for toe		walum <i>wulluum</i> daw		
nurse	wiRa <i>wer-aac</i> 'to nurse' mt	ngern <i>gnaeaern</i> daw		
nut			thuRung <i>doorung</i> th [Wa t[h]uRung; see 'heart']	
oak, swamp	<i>bruk-bruk</i> t			
oar	warak <i>warcock</i> mt, <i>warrahook</i> wy [Wim warak]	tak tak ngunak tak tak gnuunnak 'strike strike water' daw		
obey			<i>gonang-alla-go-alla-gaitnyoo</i> th	
object, to			<i>ng allan-nganny-barn-daiang-an</i> th	
obstruct			<i>gway-nyook-nar-nya-goknyinn</i> th	
occiput			tali purrp <i>tulle broop</i> garp [purrp 'head']	
ochre, red			nyuRu-nyuRu <i>nyooro-nyooro</i> th [also in Wa]	
often		papa katji ngunang <i>parba kutchae</i> g'nuurnang daw	ngaRambi <i>ngarahmbe</i> th [see 'old']	
oil			<i>nyer-nyer</i> th	
old	pRungot <i>brongote</i> wy	prunguitj <i>pruung kuiitch</i> daw	nyarrambi <i>ngarm-bi</i> th, <i>nahr-</i>	tjuwanduk <i>jhew-an-dook</i> pj [see 'long']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	pulat bulart 'grey', 'old' t		<i>rambe</i> th, <i>ngarrambee</i> th [see 'man, old'] nyarram-nyarram <i>arrum arrum</i> 'big' garp [We nyarrambin] tawala <i>tow.e.lar</i> 'old, dead' garp	time ago']
on		yuRopak <i>yuropakk</i> daw		
one	kayap <i>kiyaph</i> wy, <i>kiartmur</i> wy, <i>kaiup</i> lw, <i>kaiap</i> g, <i>caite</i> t, <i>kai-up</i> mp	kayap <i>kaipamen</i> h, <i>kiab</i> grb, <i>kyup</i> garw, <i>kaiap</i> mr	kayap <i>gai-up</i> th, <i>kaiyap</i> e, <i>kiarp</i> p, <i>kiap</i> nysm, <i>kyap</i> me, <i>kaiap</i> a,	kayap, kayaRp <i>kaiap</i> rhm, <i>kiarp</i> j, <i>kiarrp</i> pj [We, WB kayap]
one-eyed	kayap mir <i>kiartmur</i> wy	kayap mir <i>kiiap mirnk</i> daw, <i>kaep mirr</i> daw ['one eye']		
onion, native			pam <i>parm</i> garp	
open, to [see 'arouse', 'undress']			pakunya <i>ba-kok-knak</i> th	patkuna <i>bart-koo-nar</i> pj
open your eyes			<i>nyahkelly</i> th	
open your mouth			<i>tyahrpy</i> th	
oppose, to			ngalawa <i>ngallawahn</i> th [see 'no', 'groan']	
orange			kondak <i>gonduk</i> th [also in Wa; see 'sap of tree']	
orchis		ngina-nginitj <i>hinmaehinitch</i> 'bat faced' daw 'brown'		kulkun <i>kool-koon</i> pj 'brown' puniluni <i>boo-ni-loo-ni</i> pj 'yellow'
orion		kapikurrk <i>kuppikuurk</i> daw [also 'twilight']	waRi <i>warre</i> 'Orion's Belt' garp	
ornament		marpilang <i>marpaelang</i> daw		
ornament, swan's feathers		taRatj <i>tariitch</i> daw [see 'ple bearer']		
ornament, cockatoo crest feathers		mungan-mungan <i>muung'an</i> <i>muung'an</i> daw		
ornament, emu tail feathers		tjoRong <i>chorrong</i> daw		
ornament, leaves around ankle		kiRaka <i>kirraka</i> daw		
orphan		palayn <i>palliin</i> , <i>palliin guurk</i>		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		'female'		
osprey		wuk <i>wo'ok</i> daw [see 'blue', 'cat, black']		
oven		talum <i>tulluum</i> daw		
over		wilkak <i>wilkak</i> daw		
overtake		ngana tjangiyn <i>gnunna chung'een</i> daw		
over there				yeRatjeRi <i>yer-hytch-jhee-ree</i> pj
overturn, to			kaknya <i>gahk-nyin</i> th	
owl	wirmal <i>wirmahl</i> wy tjuni-tjuni <i>jooneeh-jconeh</i> mt [We tjine-tjinetj, WB tjune-tjunetj]	waRomawil <i>warroma will</i> daw pokang <i>bokang</i> 'barn, screech' daw yeRata kurrk <i>yeratta kurrk</i> daw 'fern or goatsucker' [WB yerateth kurrk 'nightjar owlet'] pipniya <i>peepniyaa</i> daw yuitj pilap <i>yuuitch pilap</i> daw		wirmal <i>wheer-mul</i> pj [WB, We wirimal, Wa wirmal]
oyster			pakawil <i>barkawill</i> th	
pacify		ngul-ngul <i>knuul knuul nieeae</i> daw		
paddock, stockyard [see 'fence']				
pain	wirptja witjupuk <i>weripja-wichoo-poooc</i> 'in chest' mt [see 'heart'] marnpia <i>murnbiah</i> 'in chest' wy tjatja <i>chacha</i> 'in head' wy thaRtja purrpu <i>durtya broopoor</i> 'in head' mt	tamila <i>tum milaa an</i> daw [see 'hurt', 'tired']	wirrp <i>wirry-painngan</i> th [see 'sore']	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	kamak kamak <i>kamahk-kamahk</i> 'in limbs' wy kitjila pili-nhuk <i>cychilong-beli-nuc</i> 'in stomach' mt [kitjila 'be sore']			
paint, paint oneself up		kamelang <i>karmelung</i> daw	pikamila <i>bekamilay</i> th, , <i>beekamil-yang-oo</i> 'Put on your pipe clay' th	pikamila <i>bee-kar-mil-leen</i> 'paint' pj
paper			taRak-nga <i>darrak-nga</i> th [Wa taRapil]	
parrakeet			minip <i>mennep</i> th	teRenal <i>derre-nal</i> 'ground p.' pj ngilinoy <i>knil-lee-noyne</i> pj [Woi <i>needly-ooing</i>]
parrakeet, crested		yatjuki yawirr <i>yatchukee yowirr</i> daw		
parrakeet, crimson		yukap <i>yuukap</i> daw [Wa yukip]		yukip <i>ukip</i> 'small parroquet' pj [We yugwib 'green parrakeet', see 'quail']
parrakeet, grass		nginungu <i>gnaeno'gnor</i> daw		
parrakeet, lorikeet		puRkil <i>porkill</i> daw		puRukil <i>poo-roo-kil</i> 'crimson parrot' pj
parrakeet, rose hill		kuitj kuitj <i>kieetch kieetch</i> daw	kut-kut <i>got-kut</i> 'parrot' th	
parrakeet, shell		mulumbiR <i>muuluumbaer</i> daw		
parrakeet, swamp		yulu yulu (ng)uRak <i>yuulu yuulo uurakk</i> daw		
parrot	wuRip <i>wooreep</i> 'grey parrot' t (UG) [Wa woRep]	miRan <i>mirrann</i> 'gang gang' daw wirtuk tuRong <i>waertuuk tuurong</i> 'king lorikeet' daw		wuRip <i>woo-reep</i> 'parrot, cockatiel' pj yaRa <i>yaa-rar</i> 'large grey' pj muRakayn <i>moo-ra-kane</i> 'green leek' pj tarnimbart <i>tur-nim-burt</i> 'rosella' pj
parrot, blue mountain		kalingaR <i>kulling'arr</i>		kalingaR <i>kul-ling-er</i> pj [Wa kalingaR]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		nenit <i>naenett</i> daw		
parry		pirngonga <i>pirngognakk</i> daw		
partridge			puRunggai <i>booroong-gai</i> th [same in Wa]	
past		nuRawilang <i>nurawilang</i> daw		latayin <i>lut-ty-in</i> pj
path [see track]				
peace (tranquillity)			napkutji <i>nap-kootye</i> th [see 'marriage']	
peach, native				piRikal <i>bee-ree-kul</i> pj [see 'scorpion']
peep, to				<i>eny-pa-long</i> pj
pelican	patjanganl <i>patchahnal</i> wy, <i>butyunal</i> g, <i>baat-</i> <i>yangul</i> mt tung <i>doong</i> lw	patjanganl <i>putchanganl</i> daw, <i>batchalang</i> h payanganl <i>paianganl</i> mr	patjanganl <i>patyanganl</i> e, me, <i>bortyanl</i> a	paRanganl <i>bar-rang-gul</i> pj [We patjanganl] waRapul <i>waroopool</i> dm
penis		pirrk, pirrik <i>peric</i> garw, <i>perit</i> garw [see 'tail']	pirrik <i>beer-rec, peeric</i> garp <i>urita</i> br	
people	pang <i>baang</i> g, lw [see 'man'] <i>kool</i> mp	kuli <i>kool</i> h	kuli <i>kool</i> nysm, <i>koli</i> e, <i>kuli</i> a, <i>koolay</i> me	kuli, puluk, kunditj <i>bul-luk</i> pj, <i>goon-deetch</i> pj [both these are usually used with group names] <i>gole-bo-</i> <i>turoi</i> 'man and woman' j [see 'man']
peppermint tree [see 'box tree']				
perhaps				mamba <i>mamba</i> rhm
periwinkle [see 'sea']		ngamat <i>gnummat</i> daw		
pick, to			purka <i>boorkak</i> th [th also gives <i>Boor-kak-</i> <i>tyally-gnyinn</i> 'Put out your tongue.' [WW <i>purka</i> 'pull out', 'pluck']	
pigeon	munkuk, munkurk <i>moon-goorc</i> mt	wuRep <i>uuraeaep</i> 'crested' daw tjapalin kurk <i>chapallin kurk</i> 'small' daw		
pigeon (bronze- wing)	taap <i>darp</i> wy	taap <i>ta'app</i> daw	tap <i>dahp</i> th	tap dupp pj [see 'soft',

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
				‘nimble’]
pin to fasten clothing		ngaReng-ngareng <i>gnarraeng</i> <i>gnarraeng daw</i>		
pin for pegging out skins		tap-tap kaRa <i>tup tup karra daw</i>		
pinch, to				winipa <i>win-nee-puck</i> pj [see ‘narrow’]
pine (Murray)	marru <i>marroo t</i>	marron <i>mar.rone garw</i>	marrung <i>marong br</i>	marrung <i>murr-nroong</i> pj [WB, We marrung]
pipe			pundailang <i>boondylang th</i> [see ‘tobacco’]	
piper, with sting		kuki (paRan) <i>kuukae daw, kuukae barran daw</i>		
pistol			mulupmut <i>mool-oop-moort th</i>	
pith of rush		pot-pot <i>pot pot daw</i>		
pity, forgiveness		tukama <i>tuukam an ‘I’m sorry’, tukam an ‘forgiveness’ daw</i>	nga-nganuk <i>ngar-ngannook ‘pity’ th</i>	
plain	waRk <i>wraac mt, woorahk wy, wark mp, woorak, woorack, cooakwoorack ‘sandy plains’ t</i>	wapung ngaRa <i>waapung knaraar daw</i>	waRk <i>weruc, werrec, wuruc werk, wuruc, wor.ruc garp</i>	weRk <i>wherrk</i> pj [We waRk]
planet [see ‘star’]				
plant	niyalo <i>nee-a-low wy</i>		tjaRi-malkalk <i>dyary-mulkalk th</i>	
plant, everlasting		tapui <i>tapuae daw</i>		
plate, a				welayn-welayn <i>wel-lain wel-lain pj</i>
platypus	malpial <i>moelbeal mt</i> [WB mapiyal] mapaya, mapayaR <i>mabayar wy</i>	miRpial <i>mirpeal daw</i> miRwil <i>mirwil</i>		watjaRang <i>wy-char-ang</i> pj [Woi wadheRung]
play	nguili-waRt <i>ngoi-ili-waart mt</i>	nguyam-tjarrangu <i>gnuyam charrang gno daw, gnuyam chungnanu, wuyam cherrang gno daw</i>	nguyam-tjarriangu <i>ngoh-yam-dyarry-ang-oo th</i>	wiRama <i>wee-ra-mar ‘to play’ pj</i>
pleasant to smell	piuwik <i>beorwick wy</i>	talkuk putang <i>tulkuuk butang daw</i>		
pleasant to taste	muwuRik <i>morwoorick wy</i>	puyuwilap <i>puyuurwilapp daw</i>		
plenty/many	laRpakiRa <i>larrabba-kerra wy</i>	laRpakiRa <i>larbargirra,</i>	laRpakiRa <i>lar bug gerar garp</i>	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	kitjawil <i>geayoul, ketchawell</i> wy <i>gitchwarl</i> 'child' g	<i>larbargirrar</i> 'crowd' daw kitjawil <i>kit yow ul garw, kit</i> <i>chowel garw</i> paRuk <i>parok mr, h, barook</i> 'six' grb	kart-kart <i>cutcurt br</i> wutpat teRang <i>wood bud derung</i> garp takinya noriyn <i>tar.kin.yer.nore.reen</i> garp	kart-kart <i>kurt kurt yar p, kut-kut pj,</i> <i>kurt kurt j, kart-kart rhm</i> kitjawil <i>gettyaul</i> 'several' rhm [WK, Wa kitjawil]
plover	perrit-perrit <i>brit-brit t</i> paRatj-paRatj <i>paraitch-paraitch wy,</i> <i>beryeh-beryeh mt</i>	pirrit-pirrit <i>pirrit pirrit</i> 'large lapwing' daw	perrit <i>ber-rit</i> garp	parritj-parritj <i>baa-ritch-baa-ritch pj</i> [WB perrEth-perrEth, perretj- perretj]
plover, small				munyarritj <i>moon-yar-reetch pj</i> [manyerrap-kurk We]
pluck	kRipa <i>gripuc mt</i> [MM kipatha]			
point of a thing			tjen-tjen-mir <i>dyen-dyen-mir th</i>	
Pointers		tjuliRm chuulirm 'magpie larks' daw		
pole		tjaang charng 'carried by woman' daw maRini kani 'carried before chiefess' maraenaekunnae daw taRatj tarriitch 'pole bearer' daw maRini tjaa maraenaekunnae ja 'pole ceremony' daw		
poor				<i>oy-nim-ook pj</i>
possum	wila, wile <i>willi g, weloe mt, wille</i> mp, <i>wal-la wy,</i> <i>willa t, wallay t</i>	wila, wile <i>welle garw, willae</i> daw, <i>wille h</i> kokok <i>kokok</i> 'young' daw	wila, wile <i>wille th, me, nysm,</i> <i>wile a, wiila e, weila</i> p, <i>willar</i> garp	wila, wile <i>wee-lar pj, weila j, papuk</i> <i>wille</i> female possum' rhm, <i>mamuk wille</i> 'male possum' rh [We wile]
possum rug	wilitjuktjuk <i>willejook-jook mp</i>		kan-kal <i>karn-gull th, garngull</i> th wila <i>wealah br</i>	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
possum, old female		papuk <i>parpoork</i> daw		
possum, old male		pitin yani <i>pittin yannee</i> daw		
possum, ringtail		panya <i>punye, pun'ya</i> daw	parna <i>burm-ah</i> th	pana <i>bun-nar</i> pj [WB pana, Wa panang]
pot [see 'bucket']				
potato			kulo <i>goolo</i> th	
pouch		pintjuk <i>pinjuuk</i> daw kumbuk <i>kuurmbuuk</i> 'native cat pouch' daw nun-nun <i>nuurn nuurn</i> 'on mother's back' daw karm karm mok <i>'pelican's pouch'</i> daw		
pour, to	nyama <i>nyoemuc</i> mt	kanyanya <i>carnyunang</i> grb, <i>kagna gna</i> daw		
pray, prayer				woiwoip <i>woi-woi-pee</i> 'pray' pj, <i>woi woipa, woiwoip</i> j 'prayer' j [Woi woiwoip]
pregnant [see § 3.11.3]			pupup-waRang <i>bohpoop-warrang</i> th [Wa papu weRing]	pupup-waRang <i>boorp-boorp-or-rong</i> pj [Woi kunung-waRen]
preserve, to			nyurta <i>nyoortak</i> th [We nyurta 'to hide something']	
press, to			miRma <i>mir-mak</i> th [also Wa]	
pretty or handsome	wambalano <i>wombalano</i> 'love, pretty, lovely' t			yarranggin <i>yar-rang-ghin</i> pj
prick, to [see 'sting']				
prickly		kaRan <i>karann</i> 'prickly bushes' daw kuki kaRan <i>kuukee karann</i> 'prickly box' daw		
private parts, male	ngol <i>ngol</i> mt			wiRa <i>whirr-er</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	pirri <i>birie</i> mt pirrk panya <i>peeruck-bunnya</i> wy [see 'tail']			
promise			<i>ngallawar- ngahngang-go-it- tyoowin</i> th	
proud flesh		paang <i>paang</i> daw		
provoke			pulaRi <i>boolahry</i> th [Wa <i>pulaRi</i> 'irritate'] <i>nyook-nganoong- dahlinn</i> th	
puff with breath, to			puRinka <i>boorin-gak</i> th	
pull, to	tirnda <i>drindaac</i> mt [also 'drag', We <i>tinda</i>]		mata <i>mat-tak</i> th [see 'shake'] puka <i>boorkak</i> th, <i>birr- boorkak</i> 'out with him' th	
pulse		tjum-tjumba <i>chuumchuumbaa</i> 'beat, beat' daw		
punk		punkuyi kalk <i>puurnkuyae kalk</i> daw		
puppy			pupup-kal <i>boh-poop-gahl</i> th ['baby dog'; Wa <i>papapi kal</i>]	
pursue, to			kuR-kuR-puRa <i>gurr-gurr-boorak</i> th	
push, to	yunda <i>yoorndagu</i> mt [Warr, Woi <i>yunda</i>]	yundaka <i>yuurnkaaka</i> daw [prob.error, Warr <i>yuurnda(ka)</i>]		
put down, to	tjaRima <i>jariminen</i> 'to parry, to put aside' mt			tjaRima <i>jhar-ree-muck</i> 'to put down' pj
put, to				yuRpa <i>yoorrrp-per</i> pj [MM <i>yupata</i>]
quail	tjitjalat <i>techarlat</i> wy, <i>chi- chalurt</i> mt			tjuiRp <i>choo-irrp</i> pj
quail, large		purringgai <i>puurin'gii</i> daw,	purranggai <i>bor-run-gi</i> garp	purranggai <i>boo-rong-gi</i> pj [WB <i>purringgi</i>]
quail, painted		nip nip <i>nib nib</i> daw		
quail, small		yukip <i>yuugib</i> daw [see		nganap <i>knan-nap</i> 'small yellow' pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		parakeet, crimson'		kunamul <i>koo-nam-mool</i> '3 toed' pj
quarrel, to	koiya <i>coiyya</i> mt	tjala-tjarra <i>challecharrang</i> daw	tjala-tjarra <i>dyallay-garrang</i> th [We tjalatjarra]	
quench a fire, to [see 'dry']	putkunga <i>bootcoonguc</i> mt	putkuna <i>puut kuurnak</i> daw wuitpa kurn wueetpa kuurndeek 'longing throat' daw 'quench thirst'	putkunga <i>bootgoong-ak</i> th	putkuma <i>boot-koo-mar</i> pj [Wa put-kupma]
quick	yangoi-yangoi <i>yangoi-yangoi</i> mt kiat-kiat <i>keart-keart</i> wy	piRpun <i>pirpuurn</i> daw [piRpa 'run']	yuwaRpa <i>yoo-wah-bak</i> th, <i>yoo-war-bak</i> th, <i>yooarp-bak-ngannyga</i> 'be quick, to gins' th mondap <i>mondap</i> e waRiwai <i>wariwii</i> a [see 'run']	yuwaRpa <i>yon-harrp-er</i> pj [Wa yuwapa]
quiet		pulka <i>bool-kak</i> th [see 'slow', 'soft']		ngal-ngal <i>ngulngul</i> rhm, <i>ngulngul-lai-i-a</i> rhm [Wa ngal-ngal] tamialong <i>tam-mia-long</i> pj [see 'tired']
rail or slab			<i>lay-lir</i> th	
rain	wala <i>wallie</i> t, <i>wallah</i> wy, <i>wartipook wallah</i> 'a shower' t, <i>wolla</i> g, <i>woloe</i> mt wating wala <i>woting wola</i> 'to rain' mt <i>meren</i> lw	wala <i>waller</i> garw, <i>wolla</i> mr, h, <i>walaa</i> daw	wala <i>wallah</i> a, thm <i>wala</i> e, <i>wolla</i> nysm, <i>woller</i> j, <i>wool-lar</i> 'river' ta,	wala <i>wol-ler</i> pj, <i>woller</i> j [Thag walun]
rainbow		thaRaki kurrk <i>taeraka guurk</i> daw	thaRaki wuRwuR <i>derakaworwor</i> e, <i>dherakawurwur</i> a, <i>wayr-ai-wurr</i> th	thaRaki wuRa-wuRa <i>tar-ruck-e-woorer-woorer</i> pj ['arm sky']
raise [see 'lift']				
rasp [native fruit]		paRingutj <i>barring guutch</i> daw		
rasp made of lava		tinten <i>tintaen</i> daw [tinteyn 'lava']		
rattle		<i>teerar</i> a gnak daw		
rat, kangaroo	<i>jallakin</i> t	paRutj, paRoyt <i>paruutch</i> daw, <i>paruut</i> daw,	paRutj <i>bar-ruty</i> th	
rat, kangaroo	patjuk <i>byjuke</i> t	patjuk <i>potchuuk</i> daw	patjuk <i>baht-yook</i> 'bandicoot' th	paRuk <i>bar-row-eitch</i> pj, <i>bar-rook</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
rat, rabbit		<i>kinngnor</i> daw		tjuRotj <i>chu-roytch</i> pj
rat, water		piRpIR <i>pirppaeer</i> daw [also given as 'river']		yeRek <i>yerr-ek</i> pj
raw				kuma <i>koo-mar</i> pj [WB kuma]
rays of sun		pungaRuk nyawinya <i>puung a ruuk</i> <i>neowee g'na</i> 'sun its rushes' daw		
razor			pirtnapil <i>birtnabill</i> th [also Wa; see 'scrape']	
red	pela belar 'red ochre paint' t kaRa <i>gurra</i> t	pit-pit-tanitj <i>pit pit tarneetch</i> daw wap waapp 'red paint' daw	pit-pi-tanyit <i>bit-be-tanyit</i> th puRung <i>purong</i> e pitutjan <i>bitudyen</i> a	pituRong <i>bit-too-rong</i> pj
reed [see 'spear, reed']	tjarrk <i>jark wy, jraac</i> mt, <i>drajurk</i> t	tjarrk <i>chark garw, kaerk</i> daw	tjarrk [see under 'spear, reed'] tjop-tjop <i>tchope tchope</i> 'reed for drinking' garp	tjarrk <i>charr-ak</i> pj [WB, We tjarrk]
reed fauvette or sedge bird		kulin kulin tjarrk <i>kuulin kuulin chark</i> 'hidden in reeds' daw		
reed pipe to suck water		tjup-tjup <i>chuup chuup</i> daw		
reflection of bush fire in the sky		tiRapekurk <i>taerapekuurk</i> 'flickering' daw		
refute, to			ngala-thai <i>ngahlathye/ngahlaln</i> <i>yee</i> th [ngala 'no']	
regent		<i>yaapihineokk</i> daw		
relationship		<i>kaen'ginbaa</i> <i>winnanik</i> daw		
remember, to				tjalpunda <i>jhal-poon-dar</i> pj
resist [see 'stop']				
rest, to			tutjiangu <i>doot-ye-ang-oo</i> th	kuman.kunong <i>koo-man-goo-nong</i> pj
return, to			nganaRanyika <i>nganaranyegah</i> th	tjuwenuwa <i>choo-wen-u-war</i> pj
rheumatism			katj-katj <i>gaity-gaity</i> th [also Wa]	tjuRi-nhilang <i>tur-ree-nil-long</i> pj [Woi nyilang 'bone']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
rib	kalki lanyi <i>calci-lanyee</i> mt, <i>kalkooklalneer</i> wy	kalki lanyin <i>lun'yin</i> daw <i>kulkik lun'ying</i> daw	kalki laning <i>kalk-ye-lennung</i> th [kalk 'bone']	laning <i>lun-ing</i> pj [WB <i>larnginyuk</i> , <i>larninggu</i> 'his/her rib']
rice				kaRayn <i>kar-rine</i> pj [Woi kaRan]
ride, to			kapmalangi <i>gap-ma-langy</i> th [kapkamil 'horse']	
right			nartotalotje <i>nardodalodye</i> e	
right hand		yulp <i>yuulp</i> daw, <i>yuulpeea gnuurak</i> 'right leg' daw,		yulp <i>yuulpin</i> 'right side' daw <i>yoolp</i> pj
ring			tutu-poRak <i>dortdo-bohrak</i> th	
ring, nose; nose reed		tang-tang <i>taang taang</i> daw		
ripe				linya <i>lein-yer</i> pj
rise, to [see 'fly']				
river/creek	par <i>burh</i> f, <i>bahrr</i> 'dry creek' wy, <i>baanee- taarchoec</i> 'creek' mt, <i>birke</i> d yaRam-yaRam <i>yarram-yarram</i> wy ngaluk, ngaluwi <i>gnul-ok-ok</i> o, <i>ngoelowe</i> mt pia <i>beeaar</i> 'stream' t piRim-tjaRa-kui- katjin <i>birim-joeroe-goooe</i> <i>kaachin</i> 'dry creek' mt kalawa <i>kallawar</i> 'creek' wy	par <i>baar</i> daw, <i>par</i> <i>garw</i> , <i>grw</i> , <i>parne</i> 'to the creek' grb yaRam <i>yarram</i> l, <i>yarram</i> 'crayfish' daw piapia <i>peerbaeær</i> 'rivulet' daw	par <i>barr</i> , <i>bar</i> garp, <i>bar</i> e, <i>bor</i> a martjak <i>mart-yak</i> th puRini katjin <i>boorinegatchni</i> p [see 'water'] watji-punguk <i>wart-ye-poong-ook</i> 'creek' th	par <i>bur</i> dm, <i>burr</i> pj, <i>gneurae- bur</i> 'large river' dm, <i>wonume-bur</i> 'small river' dm [We pareng] yaluk <i>ya-look</i> 'creek' pj [EK yaluk] kanpangguRi <i>gun-bung-goorre</i> pj [WS kanpakuR 'lagoon']
roast or broil flesh		wampiya yawiR <i>wampeeya yowwir</i> daw		
robin		pilp nguniat <i>pilp gnuuneeart</i> daw		
robin, grey		tjalunwiR <i>chaluunwaer</i> daw		
robin, white spotted		tjimp kirk <i>chimp kirk</i> daw		
rock, jagged sea [see 'stone']		koRotj-koRotj <i>koroitch koritch</i> daw		
rock, large		yuRon yuRon		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>yuronn yuronn</i> daw [see 'sharpening stone']		
roof				purpi-lar <i>boorp-e-larr</i> pj ['head house']
root	muiRi <i>moiree-nuc</i> mt, <i>moree</i> wy, <i>moray</i> t [<i>murinya</i> Wim]	wuyuk <i>wuyuuk</i> daw	waRan <i>warran</i> 'root of tree' th matom <i>mut.tome</i> 'edible, tuberous root' garp	
rope for strangling		maRon maRon <i>maronn maronn</i> daw		
rope for tying corpse		puwatj <i>bowiitch</i> daw [puwatj 'grass']		
rope, matrimonial		wartko <i>wartko</i> daw		
rotten [see 'decay']				
rough	muRung(g)ala <i>morongala</i> wy	tjimp tjimp mok <i>chimp chimp mok</i> daw [see 'wart']		
round , ball		marnkum <i>murnkuum</i> daw marnkum <i>min'gorm</i> 'football' daw marnkumb <i>man'guurmp</i> 'handball' daw	marnkut <i>mann-goort</i> th	marnkuRong <i>men-goo-rong</i> pj
rub, to				ngaRima <i>knar-ree-muck</i> pj
rug, man's kangaroo		talang <i>dallang</i> daw [Wa talang]		
rug, possum		tulu mani <i>tuulu mannae</i> 'small' daw	kankal <i>karn-gull</i> th	tjaRun <i>jhar-roon</i> pj
rug, possum, large		wilakurn <i>willakuurn</i> daw <i>wellicorn</i> grb ['possum neck']		
rum			kurraytpang <i>gooraitbang</i> th [see 'spirits', 'salt']	
run away, to	piRpin-yukiumia <i>birpin-yoo-gee-o-mee-a</i> mt	yunmila <i>yuun millang</i> daw [see 'marriage']		
run, to [see 'fast', 'gallop']	piRpa <i>birpee-ga, biripee</i> mt, <i>pirrepango</i> t	piRpa <i>pirpaa</i> daw, <i>pirrpa</i> 'gallop' daw,	piRpa <i>piripa</i> a, <i>piirpa</i> e, <i>bayo-pir-win</i> 'run	wirrwa <i>wheerr-win</i> pj [warewa 'go away' We,

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>pirpuurn</i> ‘fast’ daw, <i>beer epe er</i> ‘go away’ garw, <i>peer e par no</i> garw	away’ th, <i>beerrup</i> pe wot ‘hasten’ garp	wirreka WW]
rush, basket		pungurt <i>puung’ort</i> daw, <i>puung’ort</i> ‘tippet of rushes’ daw		pungort <i>boong-knoort</i> ‘tubular rush’ pj [We, WB <i>pungurt</i> , Ma <i>pungert</i>] witji wit-chee pj [We <i>witji</i>]
rushes		potpot <i>pot pot</i> daw taR <i>tarr</i> ‘jagged’ daw pungintja <i>pung’injaar</i> ‘brown’ daw muk <i>mork</i> ‘eel-trap’ daw	pandaRa <i>pun.dare.rer</i> garp, <i>pun.dar.er</i> ‘cup made of rushes’ garp	puritj <i>boo-reetch</i> ‘Loddon down’ pj [WW <i>puritj</i>]
safe			mukman <i>murkman</i> th	
salt	ponuntjiwuRiyt <i>bonoonjeeworeet</i> wy kipa <i>keepa</i> t	kirratj <i>kiriitch</i> daw [see ‘bitter’] panintjan <i>bun nin jun</i> garw	kuRayt-pang <i>gooraht-bang</i> th [see ‘rum’]	
sand	kuwak <i>cooak</i> t	kulak <i>kolak</i> daw		kurrak <i>koo-ruk</i> pj, <i>coorak</i> ‘ground’ k [NWV, Wa <i>kurrak</i>]
sandpiper, large		tipiyt tipiyt <i>dipeet dipeet</i> daw		
sandpiper, small		pirtup <i>pirrtuup</i> daw		
sap	katjin <i>kaa-chin</i> mt [see ‘water’] waRawok <i>warrawoke</i> wy [waRawar ‘low water’]	kunduk <i>kondok</i> daw [see ‘orange’]		
saw, crosscut		tililap wi <i>tillaelapp wee</i> daw [‘cut wood’]		
scab [see ‘scratch’. ‘itchy’]				
scales of snake		papmok <i>paapmok</i> daw		
scatter, to				mitaRama <i>mee-ta-ra-mar</i> pj
scold, to		<i>pawinyan</i> grb		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
scorpio constellation		kamtjeRap <i>kumcherap</i> 'crowded' daw		
scorpion		wiRan <i>wirann</i> daw [see 'cockatoo']		piRikil <i>bee-ree-kil</i> pj '[tail-having']
scrape, to			pirtna <i>birtnak</i> th [Wa <i>pirna</i> , <i>pirtna</i> ; see 'sharpen']	
scratch			tupaki <i>door-paky</i> th	
scratch on trees		wiRetna <i>wiraetna</i> daw		
scratch, to		pang-panga <i>pung pung gnillan</i> daw, <i>bunk bunk</i> 'scabby' daw [SH panga, MM pangatha]	pang-panga <i>bung bung</i> , <i>bucbunggerlup</i> garp [see 'itch']	panga <i>bang-</i> rhm kalamiliyn <i>kul-lar mil-leen</i> pj walinkoma <i>wol-lin-go-mar</i> pj
scream, to [see 'call out']				
scrub, underbrush	<i>mallee</i> 'thicket' t	minmin <i>minmin</i> daw	tjiRp-tjiRp <i>gyirp-gyirp</i> th	tjiRp-tjiRp <i>jheerp-jheerp</i> pj
sea	waRi <i>waughree</i> d ngamatj <i>nahmahtch</i> wy, <i>numaitch</i> o kuiRongi katjin <i>koirongee kaa-chin</i> mt [see 'water']	waRi <i>waarae</i> daw, ngamatj <i>ammitch</i> l [We ngamatj]	waRi <i>wahry</i> th, <i>wari</i> 'orion's belt', sea e, <i>woor-ree</i> ta	waRi <i>wonume waree</i> 'small sea', <i>waree</i> dm, <i>wharr-ree</i> pj, <i>waarre</i> j [Wa <i>waRi</i>]
seal		kunmun <i>kuurn muurn</i> daw		
seapie or oyster catcher		ngakurn ngakurn <i>gnaakurn gnaakurn</i> 'look out' daw		
sear, to			wiRp <i>wirrp</i> th [see 'wound']	
search, to			yarka, yarkala <i>yahrka-lang-arook</i> th [Ma <i>yaka</i> , WB <i>yarka</i> , We <i>yerka</i> , Wa <i>yarka</i>]	yerka, yerkila <i>yerr-kee long</i> , pj, <i>yerrk keen-</i> <i>un</i> pj, <i>yerkar</i>
seaweed		pikuwi <i>peekoae</i> daw [see 'algae']		
sedge, with edible root		purtitj <i>puurteetch</i> daw		
see, to	nyakila <i>neeyahk-killan</i> 'eyesight' wy, <i>ngawan</i>	nyaka, nyakila <i>ngakin</i> h, mr, <i>narin</i> <i>garw</i> , <i>nakelang</i>	nyakila <i>narkinnewanoong</i> p, <i>nyah-kay-lung</i> th,	nyaka <i>knar-kur</i> , <i>knar-kin-un</i> pj, <i>nark ar</i> j, <i>narkuk</i> j

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	g, <i>nya-en-yooa</i> mt, <i>noon</i> 'saw' mp, <i>na yan</i> <i>can t</i>	daw. <i>gnaakak</i> 'look' daw	<i>nyalalang</i> a, [see grammar; We, WB <i>nyakila</i> 'to watch, stare']	
seed	<i>dorongoke wy</i>	tuRong <i>torrong</i> daw, <i>torrong guuk</i> 'seed of she-oak' daw [tuRong 'lump']		
seed, acacia		pupi tulayn <i>puupae tuuliin</i> daw [see 'small', 'wattle']		
seed, blackwood		pupitj tjimak <i>puurpeetch chimukk</i> daw		
seed, box tree		kuRiok <i>koreok</i> 'seed, gum tree', 'seed, box tree' daw		
seed, native cherry		mumiplat <i>muumee platt</i> daw		
seed, privet		pupi kaRan <i>puurpee karann</i> daw		
seed/cone of banksia		puntaR <i>buundaruuk</i> daw		
send, to				tjaRama <i>jhar-ra-min pj</i> [tjaRima 'throw boomerang']
separate			lakuna-pulin <i>largoornak-boolin</i> th [also Wa; pula 'two']	
serve, to			kuknyinanuk <i>goknyin-annook</i> th	
Seven Sisters		katjakakurrk <i>kutchakarkuurk</i> 'flock of cockatoos' wirpil <i>wirpill</i> 'queen of the Pleiades' daw [werpil 'eagle']		
several [see 'plenty/many']				
sew, to	tiRingga <i>dring-guc</i> mt	tiRingga <i>teengak</i> daw, <i>tinggard</i> grb [see 'pull']	tiRingga <i>deering-gahk</i> th	
shadow		ngak <i>gnaak</i> daw	ngak <i>ngahk</i> th, <i>ngark e</i> , <i>ngark a</i> [WB ngak, We ngak]	
shake hands, to		mutja-tatjak <i>muutcha at tuut</i> <i>chukk</i> daw ['hold		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		arm']		
shake, to	pilpilna <i>bil-bil-nuc</i> mt		mata <i>mattak</i> th [see 'pull'] tjuntj unpunga <i>chuun chuun buung</i> <i>ak</i> daw	yilingga <i>yil-ling-ghin</i> pj
shallow				yuRong <i>eu-rong</i> pj
shark		talangiRi <i>tallang irrae</i> daw		
sharp	ngaRatj <i>ngyrych</i> mt katkalilon <i>katkalellon</i> wy	ngaRatj <i>gnariitch</i> daw	ngaRatj <i>ngarraity</i> th	ngaRatj mir <i>knar-rytch</i> pj, <i>knar-rytch mirrh</i> 'sharp pointed' pj [WanngaRayt]
sharp of hearing	<i>blate</i> wy <i>led-orombol</i> mt [see 'ear']	talkuk wiRngpulin <i>tulkuuk wirng</i> <i>buuleen</i> daw ['good ear']		
sharpen		yuRunda <i>yurondak</i> daw [see 'grind'] paitna <i>paitnainyan</i> grb [<i>pirtna</i> 'scrape']		
sharpening stone		yuRun yuRun <i>yuron yuron</i> daw [also given as 'grinding stone']		
shave			pirtnila <i>birtny-lang</i> th [Wanpirna; see 'scrape', 'sharpen']	
sheep	pultjina <i>bulltkinna</i> o [We pulk-tjine 'soft foot']	pultjina <i>bulchiner</i> garw tjaktja <i>tchekcha</i> 'feed on the ground' daw		yip <i>yeep</i> pj
shell		ngamakuk <i>gnummakok</i> daw [given as 'crayfish shell' and 'large whelk shell'] tjitjiwaRuk <i>chitchaewaruuk</i> daw [see 'lung', 'marrow']	pitjin <i>bityin</i> th [see 'back']	
shell, cuttlefish		pe'et <i>paedet</i> daw		
shell, operculum of whelk		lianyuk ngamatja <i>leean neuk</i> <i>gnumatcha</i> daw [see 'tooth', 'sea']		
shell, mutton-		tjiRuk		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
fish		<i>chaeruuk</i> daw [see 'fin', 'lung']		
shell, of sea snail		lianyuk <i>leeagneuk</i> daw yakiRwuk <i>yakaerwokk</i> daw		
shell, sea-snail		mingmit <i>maeng hmaet</i> daw		
she-oak	pRak-pRak <i>bruck-bruck</i> t	kulurt <i>collort</i> garp, <i>kuuluurt</i> daw [We kulurt] kiRa <i>ceerrar</i> garp		kulotj <i>koo-loitch</i> pj
shield		munkalk <i>muunkalk</i> daw puRal <i>puural</i> daw		kiRamal <i>gearra-mul</i> 'small, light shield' pj [gerem, girem WW]
shield	malkarr <i>malkar</i> wy, g, lw, mp, <i>mulcur</i> mt	malkarr <i>malkar</i> mr, h, <i>mulca</i> grb	malkarr <i>malkar</i> nysm, <i>mahlkar</i> th, <i>malka</i> e, <i>molka</i> a	malkarr <i>mul-kur</i> pj [widespread malkarr]
shield of bushes		tingit tjang <i>teengit jang</i> daw		
shining				pilaRang <i>bee-la-rong</i> pj [WB pilotang]
ship			lar <i>lahr</i> th [see 'camp']	
shirt			puliyoRok <i>pullioroke</i> garp tatanaluk <i>tut tun ner loke</i> garp tatjanggaluk <i>dart-tyang-ahlook</i> th [MM thathaku]	
shiver, to			muRmuRa <i>morromorro nun</i> 'cold' garp	muRmuRa <i>moorr-moorr-ne-long</i> rhm [see 'earthquake', 'tremble', 'twinkle']
shoot, to				toka, taka <i>dok ker</i> pj [taka 'kill'?; Wim taka matjkat 'shoot musket']
shore, seashore		tiR katjin <i>tirr kutchin</i> daw		
short	mulup <i>molope</i> wy	mulup <i>muulop</i> daw, <i>muuluup</i> 'little owl' daw	murt <i>moet</i> p, <i>murt</i> a panyintjok <i>bunyindyok</i> e	murt <i>moet</i> j, <i>moort</i> pj [Kulin murt 'short', 'blunt']
shoulder	wart	puRpuRong	puRpuRong	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>wartook</i> wy [see 'back'; We wertuk]	puRpuRim <i>propu.ron,</i> <i>proper.rung</i> , <i>po</i> <i>por im garw</i> [Wim puRpuRong]	<i>boor perrong</i> garp, <i>pup.po.rong</i> garp, <i>poor poor..</i> br	pakeRu <i>buk-er-roo</i> pj [Woi pakaRu]
shoulder blade		nandjirr wart <i>nunnjir wart</i> daw [see 'back']		
shoulder joint		kukuk <i>kokok</i> daw (possum young in pouch)		
shoulder, under			witing <i>weet.ting</i> garp	
shove, to	<i>yminj-u-agu</i> mt [see 'push']			
shovel, wooden				lankat <i>lan-kat</i> pj
show, to				tjuwima <i>chew-y-mar</i> pj
shrike		yayakula <i>yaya kuula</i> daw		
shut eyes			nyipma <i>nyipme</i> th [Wa nyipma]	
shut, to				mamkuRwiyn <i>mum-goorr-ween</i> pj
sick		wikutjang <i>weekuuchang</i> daw	tjautjang <i>dyow-tyung</i> th	tjoneRong <i>jon-er-ong</i> pj
side	tarnu <i>darnhu</i> wy [see 'rib'] <i>nsoe-tec</i> mt			tjulum <i>chool-loom</i> pj
signal, smoke [see 'smoke']		wuRi <i>wurrae</i> daw		
silence, silent [see 'calm']	titjaRak <i>detchahrak</i> wy mokualang <i>moqualang</i> wy taRpitj <i>doerpitch</i> mt	titjaRak <i>tittarik</i> daw titjaRak [WS titjeRi]	ngala wurreka <i>ngallah-wirraky</i> 'keep silence' th ['no speak']	
since				yinguni <i>ying-oo-nee</i> pj [see 'today', gloss dubious]
sinew	ngaRam <i>gnar-rahm</i> wy, <i>ngyram</i> mt, <i>ngiram</i> 'muscle' mt	ngaRam <i>knarram</i> daw, , <i>knarran</i> 'kangaroo tail sinew' daw, <i>gnarram</i> 'cord' daw	ngaRam <i>ngahram</i> 'tendon' th,	ngaRam <i>knar-rarm</i> 'dagger and cord' pj, <i>knar-ram</i> 'muscle' pj
sing, to	yingila <i>ying-ili</i> mt	yingila <i>yinglang,</i> <i>ying'elang</i> 'song'	yingila <i>yingile a,</i> <i>yingy-lang</i> th, <i>yayng-a-lay</i> th,	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		daw, <i>ying er le</i> wot garw	<i>ying en er lite</i> garp, <i>yayng-yarrak</i> th, <i>yengarop e</i> , [Wa, Woi yinga]	
Sirius, or dog-star		patjapam <i>putchupum</i> daw		
sister, elder	tjatji <i>chaarchick</i> wy, <i>jaa-chooc</i> mt, <i>djaihee</i> d, <i>dgatyuke</i> o, <i>chachi</i> lw, <i>gatie</i> mc, <i>chagi</i> g	tjatji <i>ghaachae</i> daw, <i>chache</i> l, <i>titeyae</i> grw, <i>chachi</i> mr, <i>chache</i> h pakaR kalat kurrk bukkar kullart kuurk 'second sister' daw pakaR kalat wurru kurrk bukkar kullart wurro kuurk '3 rd sister' daw putkutj kuRm puutkuutch kuurm 'youngest' daw	tjatji <i>tyatyuk e</i> , <i>tyatgay</i> me, <i>tatyuk a</i> , <i>chachook</i> nysm, <i>tahty</i> th,	tjatji <i>char-chook</i> pj, <i>jarch</i> dm [NWV tjatji] char-chi 'uncle'pj
sister, younger	kutuk <i>kor-togech</i> f, <i>kotuk</i> 'elder sister' mp	kutuk <i>kootrook</i> mr, <i>kotek</i> h, <i>kuutuuk</i> daw	kutuk <i>goortoogina</i> 'your sisters' th, <i>koor-took</i> ta, <i>kotoogan</i> garook p, <i>kortyuk e</i> , <i>kutruguk</i> a	kutuk <i>koo-took-goork</i> pj, <i>kutook</i> dm, <i>kotook</i> j [We kutuk]
sister, youngest		putkutj <i>puutkuutch</i> daw		
sister-in-law	kamotjuk <i>caam-o-chooc</i> mt kuRuikurrk <i>corweekork</i> wy	matjum <i>mutjuum</i> daw 'wife' kuRuikurrk <i>kuurwekuurk</i> daw kamutji <i>kumuutchae</i> 'husband's sister' daw		ngaRap-kurrk <i>ngerapgurk</i> rhm
sister's dau's husband		nalun(tj) <i>naluunjek</i> daw		
sister's sons wife		kaRiyn <i>karrinjek</i> daw		
sister, step		yuwan tjatj <i>yuwanik chaatch</i> daw yuwan kutuk <i>yuwanik kuutuuk</i> 'younger' daw		
sit, to	nganya, nyanya <i>ngenyak</i> g, <i>nyoe-nyuc</i> mt,	puRa <i>puurang no</i> , <i>puura gno</i> daw nganga <i>ngangano</i> mr	puRa <i>pura a</i> , , <i>boor-ry-yun</i> th nyanga <i>nyanga e</i>	puRa <i>boreetnan</i> j ngana <i>ngeuna</i> dm [We ngenya, WB nyengga]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		wunapa <i>wunarpin</i> h kombano kom.bar.no garw	palko <i>balgot-dyee-waht</i> ‘sit down’ th, <i>pal go rap</i> , <i>pul go tap</i> garp	
skeleton		kaltanyu <i>kultanyu</i> daw		
skin	mitj <i>michek</i> lw, <i>mee-et</i> wy, <i>meech</i> g, <i>mee-chooc</i> mt, <i>mutak</i> t	mitj <i>metch</i> h, <i>miitch</i> mr, <i>meetchuuk</i> , <i>mitchin</i> daw,	mitj <i>meety</i> th, <i>meetook</i> p, <i>mitch</i> e, <i>mityuk</i> a, <i>mitchook</i> nysm naRa <i>nar-rer</i> garp	mitj <i>meetch</i> pj, <i>meetook</i> j [NWV, Wa mitj] talang tallang dm [see rug, man’s kangaroo’; Kulin talang]
skin, cicada		tiRaynunap <i>teriinuurnap</i> daw		
skin, ornamenting		kaRakin <i>karakenik</i> daw [Wa kaRakin ‘ornamental scar’]		
skin, to			putjuma <i>boot-yoo-mak</i> ‘skin him’ th wapma <i>warp-mak</i> th	
skull		tjali purrp <i>challaepop</i> daw [see ‘head’] kalk <i>kalk</i> grb [‘bone’] paRang <i>barrang</i> grb		kalki purrp <i>kalk-e-boorp</i> pj [‘bone head’]
sky [see ‘black’, ‘blue’, ‘cloud’]	marnng <i>marnng</i> d wura-wura <i>wurra-wurra</i> wy, <i>woir-woirio</i> mt	marnng <i>mauren</i> l, <i>marnng’guurk</i> daw [see ‘cloud’] tupunui <i>toopunue</i> grw turn-mang <i>doorn-mang</i> th	marnng <i>marang</i> p wura-wura <i>wuruwur</i> a, , <i>worwor</i> e, <i>woorer</i> <i>woorer</i> p, <i>woor-woor</i> ta	marnng [inc. here on basis of entries for ‘cloud’ [similar NWV inc. We mereng or merng] wura-wura <i>wrur-wrur</i> dm, <i>woorer-</i> <i>woorer</i> pj, j, <i>woorer</i> <i>woorerye</i> j [WW <i>wur-wur</i>]
sleep talking		yaya-ilin <i>ya ya heelaen</i> daw		
skylark	<i>jilpanger</i> t			
sleep walking		nimpmin kunangu <i>nimpmeen</i> <i>kuurnang</i> o daw [see ‘blind’, ‘shut eyes’]		
sleep, to	kumba <i>combeoat</i> mt, <i>kobe</i> mp, <i>kombaiy</i> t	kumba <i>koombarnoon</i> mr, , <i>kuumban</i> daw,	kumba <i>kombeyanak</i> p, <i>combebite</i> garp,	kumba <i>gumbi</i> rhm

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	nguRakul <i>ngorakol g</i>	<i>kome-burn garw,</i> <i>koombin h,</i> <i>quombeyan grb</i>	<i>kumba a, komba e,</i> <i>goom-by-yun th,</i> <i>goomby-you th</i> wuRakul <i>worrae cool garp,</i> <i>rare.cole garp</i> paRikal <i>barecale garp</i>	nguRakul <i>knoo-ra-kul, knoo-rar-kool</i> pj
sleepy	kumbiyn <i>koombeen 'asleep' wy</i> tjawatja <i>jaa-waa-jaa mt</i> totiyn <i>doteen wy</i> towiRa <i>do-iraa mt</i>	kumbanyu <i>kuumba gnu</i> <i>'asleep' daw</i> <i>kuumball gnu daw</i>	polutjang <i>bohloot-yang-an th</i>	kumbayan <i>kombeyan ak j [NWV, Wa</i> <i>kumba]</i> puluRang <i>bool-ar-ong 'drowsy' pj</i>
sleet		patkiRa <i>putkaera daw</i>		
slip, to			maytkulangan <i>maitgolangan th</i>	
slow	pikanon <i>bigunnon wy</i> mitkamba <i>meet-caam-ba mt</i>	yatjang kunila <i>yatchang kuurneela</i> <i>daw ['bad fast']</i>	purtai <i>burtai e [We purtaya]</i> pulkal kulni <i>bulkal kulne a [Wa</i> <i>pulka; see 'quiet',</i> <i>'soft']</i>	wombunong <i>wom-boo-nong pj</i>
small (also in sense of 'offspring', 'young ones')	wartipuk <i>wartepook wy</i> watjipuk <i>warchipoongup mp</i> paan <i>baan g, bahrn wy [We</i> <i>pa(r)n]</i>	wartipuk <i>wudibok h</i> wayipuk <i>waiipook mr</i> watjipuk <i>watchepuuk daw,</i> <i>watcheepuuk 'boy'</i> <i>daw</i>	wartipuk <i>wortipuk a,</i> <i>wardebook p,</i> <i>worterpe garp, wor</i> <i>re perduc garp</i> watjipuk <i>wat-ye-poonk th</i>	wanimuk <i>wanemook j, why-nee-mook</i> pj [see 'son'; entries for 'small' and 'son' partly same, partly contrasting]
small-pox		tawaRan <i>tow warrann daw</i>		munuli mindji <i>moo-nool-e-min-dye pj</i> lilipi mindji <i>lil-lipp-e-min-dye 'marked</i> <i>with small pox' pj</i>
smashed				tjaltjalayen <i>jhal-jhal-ly-en pj</i>
smell, smelly	ngarupa <i>naropuc mt</i> talkuRiyt <i>dalgooreet wy [see</i> <i>'good']</i>	kuma kuma <i>kuumar kuumar</i> <i>daw [see 'make</i> <i>war', 'wind, west']</i> wutjia wurretj	ngarupa <i>ng-arr-oh-pa th,</i> <i>ngarba e</i> puwang <i>buwang a</i>	ngarupa <i>knar-roop-per, knar-rup pj</i> [We, WB ngarupa 'to give off smell'] puwangga <i>boo-ang-ghin 'to stink' pj</i>

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	woyt-woyt <i>woit-woit</i> ‘stinking’ wy witja <i>wich-ja</i> mt	<i>wuuchaea</i> <i>wuurechuuk</i> daw [Wim wurretj] wutjia <i>wuutchaeeaa</i> ‘stinking’ daw, <i>wuuchaeyaa</i> ‘bad-smelling smoke’ daw kunitjuRong <i>kuunaeturong</i> ‘unwholesome smell’ daw [‘excrement seed’?]		[WB pongga, Wim puangga]
smoke	pur (MP) <i>bort</i> mp puri, puriyn <i>pori</i> lw, <i>purri</i> g, <i>perri</i> g, <i>boring</i> mt, <i>boree-en</i> wy, <i>booring</i> [We puriyn]	pur <i>poort</i> ‘wood’ grw puriyn <i>poorin</i> h, <i>puureen</i> daw, <i>pirren</i> mr	pur <i>boort</i> nysm, <i>bohrt</i> th, <i>port</i> garp, <i>burt</i> e puntalan <i>boondall-lan</i> th	pur <i>boort</i> pj [also used for smoke as in pipe; WB purt]
smooth	yu-yu <i>yoor-yoor</i> mt, <i>yuryur</i> wy	payn-payn <i>bin bin</i> daw		mayn-mayn <i>main-main</i> pj [Woi manianan]
snail		tjulim ngangir <i>chuulim gnun’gaer</i> daw [see ‘fish’]		
snake	kurnwil, kurnmil <i>cournemille</i> d, <i>kurn-ill</i> f, <i>koornwel</i> mt, <i>koornowill</i> g, <i>coornwel</i> o, <i>kornmil</i> lw, mp, <i>carran mell</i> t tjalpam <i>chalbarm</i> wy	kurnwil, kurnmil <i>koornmil</i> h, <i>coornweel</i> l, <i>koorwil</i> mr, <i>kuurnwill</i> [also given as ‘tiger snake’ and ‘banded snake’] daw, <i>kurnwil</i> grw	kurnmil <i>koornmil</i> nysm, <i>goormill</i> th, <i>kunmil</i> e, <i>goorinmill</i> p, <i>kurnmil</i> a, me, <i>kulmil</i> ta	kurnmil <i>kunmil</i> dm, <i>koorn-nul</i> pj [We kurnwil, kurnmil]
snake, types		wuin wuin <i>wuin wuin</i> ‘black’, ‘fawn’ daw wuin wuin ngaluk <i>wuin wuin gnaluuk</i> ‘black & white’ daw tjalan <i>chalann</i> ‘boa’ daw pamuk <i>paamok</i> ‘green’ daw ngalin ngalin <i>gnullin gnullin</i> ‘short-tailed’ daw		kulunong <i>koo-loo-nong</i> ‘black’ pj pinggal <i>bein-garl</i> ‘sand’ pj [WB pinggal ‘carpet snake’] mindai <i>min-dye</i> ‘mythological snake’ pj, <i>Mindi</i> ‘mighty serpent’ em [see ‘smallpox’; MM mirndai] keRuk <i>kair-rook</i> ‘whip snake’ pj
sneeze, to		kinitja		tjukurnda

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>kinnae chan daw</i>		<i>chee-koorn-der pj</i> [tjikurn 'throat']
sniff with nose		nitilang kangak <i>nittaelang kaa'gnak</i> 'shut the nose' daw		
snipe	tiRmkalk <i>termkalk wy, drum galc mt,</i>	tjimkalk <i>chinkalk</i> 'large snipe' daw pulukuR <i>puulokor</i> 'painted snipe' daw	tapiyalk <i>tape gulk</i> 'large snipe' garp	mingiwala <i>ming-ee-waller pj</i>
snore, to		yuRupma <i>yuurop ma daw</i>		
snow [see 'ice']				
soar, like eagle		waRumilang <i>warromillang daw</i> [see 'owl']		
soft	pulk <i>bolc mt, , bolc</i> 'tender' mt tjaluma <i>challoomah wy</i> <i>bacci</i> 'soft, boggy' t	ta'ap <i>ta'ap daw</i>	pulk <i>book th</i>	pulk <i>book pj</i> [see 'quiet', 'weak'] [NWV pulk]
soldier bug, red		nimbuR <i>nimpor daw</i>		
son, brother's son [see 'small']	watjip <i>wa-chi-pooc</i> 'nephew' mt, <i>watchippe d,</i> <i>watchepie mc,</i> <i>watchapook wy,</i> <i>wachepuke o,</i> <i>waa-chi-pook mt</i>	watjip <i>whacheappa l,</i> <i>watchip daw,</i> <i>watchepee daw</i> pakaR kalat watjip <i>bukkar kullart</i> <i>wutcheep</i> '2 nd son' daw pupui <i>puupuae</i> 'woman's eldest' daw putkuwiyt kum <i>puutkueet koom</i> 'woman's youngest'	watjip <i>wawt-yip th,</i> <i>watyepook p</i>	waRip <i>war-reip pj,</i> <i>wareep dm</i> [see 'nephew'], [WB wathip, We watjip]
son, step [see 'daughter, step', 'father, step']	kiRim-kiRimbuk <i>cirim-cirim boc mt</i>			nganap <i>knan-nap pj</i>
song [see 'sing']				
song of bird		ngaRipilang <i>g'narrae pillang daw</i>		
song of piping-		kaRuma		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
crow		<i>kaaruma</i> daw		
son-in-law	ngatjantjok <i>ni-chan-joc</i> mt ngatjangat <i>nachangat</i> wy	ngatjang natj <i>gniitchang niitch</i> daw		ngaloyn <i>knal-oyne</i> pj
sore, be	katjila, kitjila <i>cy-chilong</i> mt. <i>kitcheelah</i> wy maRipa <i>mareepah</i> wy [see <i>maripala</i> 'to cure']	wirpin <i>waerpin</i> daw [see 'wound'; We wirp]	wirpumani <i>wirry-poor-manny</i> th wirpi-kurn <i>wirpy-gum</i> 'sore throat' th [kurn 'throat']	
sorrow		piRpa wutjupak <i>pirpa wuuchu bak</i> daw ['run heart']	tapa <i>dahr-pa</i> th	
sound	wiRi-yingala <i>weeryingalah</i> wy [see 'sing']	nalanalakok <i>nulla nulla kok</i> daw wungaRok <i>wuungarok</i> daw [also 'noise']		
sour	piRpitjawa <i>perpeechower</i> wy	kirratj <i>kiriitch</i> daw [see 'bitter'] kiawilap <i>keeawilapp,</i>	<i>gayrp-gomm-</i> <i>gyarang</i> th	kiRi-kiRi <i>girre-girre</i> pj [see 'acid', 'salt', 'urine']
south	kalilu <i>koelelor</i> mt	kuRiyn <i>kuureen</i> 'drizzly quarter' daw [see 'wind, south']		kumaR <i>coo-marr</i> pj [see 'wind, west']
south-east				maRiyn-maRiyt <i>mar-reen mar-reet</i> pj
southern cross [see 'bone, upper arm', 'armband']		kankan tjuRompalang <i>kunkun</i> <i>chuuromballank</i> 'knot or tie' daw		
south-west				larr-ni-kapang <i>larr-nee-kap-pang</i> pj ['home of frost/ice']
spade			waRik <i>warrik</i> th [also Wa]	
spark	puloyn-puloyn <i>boloy-n-boloy-n</i> wy, <i>boloing-boloing</i> mt	tilaka <i>tiller ka</i> daw	kurt-kana <i>goort-gunna</i> th	ngen-ngen <i>knen-knen</i> pj [also 'active']
spawn		tjanyuk <i>chaarneuk</i> daw		
speak, to	kia <i>geeac</i> 'answer' mt wurreka	kilang <i>kelang</i> grb wurreka	kia <i>kiiyaka</i> a, <i>keyak</i> p, <i>gyigi</i> e, <i>gay-ah</i> th, <i>geetyarrung</i> , <i>geet-</i> <i>yarring</i> th [ki- + tjarra reciprocal]	kia <i>ghee-yin</i> pj, <i>ghee</i> pj, <i>keyak</i> j [see 'ask'; WB, We <i>kia</i> , Wa <i>kia</i>]
			wurreka, wurrekia	wurreka, wurrekia

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>woireei</i> mt, , <i>woireci</i> mt	<i>wuurakae</i> daw	<i>woorakeyak</i> p, <i>worake</i> a, <i>worracerno</i> gar tjuma <i>dyooma-kak</i> ‘tell!’ th [Woi dyumba], <i>ngalayanik</i> e [error? ngala ‘no’?]	<i>reegi</i> , <i>wureegi</i> rhm, <i>woo-ra-</i> <i>kur</i> pj, <i>woorakeyak</i> j [We, WB <i>wurreka</i> ; <i>wurrekia</i> = <i>wurru+kia</i> ?]
speaker, chief				<i>kneyera</i> <i>kneyerneet</i> em
spear	tiR, taRa <i>deer</i> ‘war spear’g, ‘war spear’ lw, <i>darah</i> <i>wy</i> , <i>tare</i> t	tiR, taR <i>taeaer</i> ‘kangaroo spear’ daw, <i>dare</i> <i>garw</i> , <i>taarack</i> grb	taR <i>tareum</i> garp <i>tuliliwarn</i> <i>tole le warn</i> garp	tiR <i>taire</i> ‘small spear’ pj [WB <i>tjarem</i> , Wa tiR, taR, EK <i>tjiRa</i>]
spear, eel		tulangitj <i>tulakneetch</i> daw		
spear, emu feather		witjin <i>witchin</i> daw [‘feather’]		
spear, flint- jagged		muwil <i>muuwill</i> daw		
spear, long	kuyun <i>coo-oon</i> mt <i>kooion</i> mp	kuyun <i>kooioon</i> mr, <i>koyong</i> <i>garw</i> pamu <i>parmoor</i> ‘war’ h	kuyun <i>koy yon</i> garp, <i>koiyun</i> p, <i>kooioon</i> nysm, <i>gooyun</i> th, <i>kuyun</i> a,	kuyun <i>kouiyn</i> j, <i>koy-oon</i> pj, <i>kuyun</i> rhm [Kulin <i>kuyun</i>] yalitj <i>yal-litch</i> ‘large spear’pj
spear, reed	tjark <i>chirark</i> lw, <i>djirrak</i> g <i>jark</i> mp	tjark <i>chaark</i> daw, h, <i>cherark</i> mr, <i>taarack</i> grb kaap <i>karp</i> ‘smooth point’ daw, <i>carp</i> garp	tjark <i>chark</i> nysm, <i>dark</i> p, <i>tyark</i> a, <i>darrah</i> ‘short spear’ th, <i>dyark</i> e tapukaRok <i>darbocarok</i> ‘wood’ e	tjark <i>jeran</i> dm, <i>charr-ak</i> pj, <i>tark</i> j [WB <i>tjark</i> , also other WK and Wa]]
spear, to		pungga <i>puung an</i> ‘to kill’ daw [see <i>pungga</i> ‘to spear’]	pungga <i>Birr!</i> <i>boong-ga-gaht</i> ‘Now then, spear him’ th [WB <i>pungga</i>]	thamba <i>tharmbin</i> rhm
spectacles		ti’irt miR <i>taeaert mirr</i> ‘dazzle eye’ daw		
spell, (to cast a?)		yukuma murrup <i>yuucomaa muuruup</i> ‘frightened for devil’ daw; <i>murrup</i> ‘spirit’]		
spell, rubbish		wuRitj <i>woreetch</i> daw		
spider		wupkuwia puwitmuk <i>wupkueaa</i> <i>pueetmuuk</i> ‘bad smell’ daw kuta kuta kurrk		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>kuurta kuurta kuurk</i> 'enter ear' daw		
spider, tarantula		marnakaRik <i>muurnakureek</i> daw	marnakaRik <i>marnakarrik</i> th	manakaRik <i>mun-nar-kar-reek</i> pj [Wa marna-kaRik]
spill, to				<i>karng-knil-lin</i> pj
spike of echidna		yulo <i>yuulo neuk</i> daw		
spirit	kali wutjup <i>cali-oichoop</i> mt [wutjup 'heart'] ngunyim <i>oonyim</i> g	puRt kurrk <i>buurt kuuruuk</i> 'bad female' daw ngala ngala kurrk <i>gnulla gnulla</i> 'bad female' <i>kuurk</i> daw	woRakiyt <i>orrerkeet</i> 'debbil debbil' garp yulok <i>yulok</i> e <i>waingar</i> e	kaRal <i>karal</i> me [see 'goose, grey']
spirit, bad (devil)		mutjiyok purta <i>muutche yok porta</i> 'maker of bad smoke' daw	kali patjeRe <i>car.le.bud.je.re</i> garp ngatja <i>nutcher</i> garp, <i>natya</i> a, <i>gnaht-yah</i> th [WB ngatha, ngatja, We ngatji; see 'corpse']	
spirit, good or great		mam yanguRak <i>mam yungrakk</i> daw ['Our Father']		
spirit, man's		ngayaR <i>gniiyarr</i> daw		
spirit, woman's		wiRi kurrk <i>wirree gork</i> daw		
spirit/ghost		murrup <i>muuruupuuk</i> daw, <i>muuruup pakk</i> 'man's spirit' daw, <i>moorope</i> 'evil spirit' grb, <i>muuruup</i>	murrup <i>murup</i> a, <i>moorooopook</i> 'soul' p	murrup <i>moorooopook</i> j, <i>moo-roop</i> pj [Kulin, Warr murrup], kutjel <i>koo-chel</i> pj
spirits (liquor)		palin kurrk <i>ballin kork</i> 'motherless girl' daw	kurrayt pang <i>gooraitbang</i> th [see 'rum']	
spit	tjawaR <i>charwar</i> wy, <i>chowoooe</i> mt,	kawaR <i>kowwarr</i> daw	thawiR <i>tow.wer</i> garp	tjawiR <i>chow-irre</i> 'spittle' pj [see 'acid']
spit, to		tjuRkurnpa <i>tyoorkurnbak</i> th [We, WB tjurnda; see 'throat']		
spit, hiss to		tjurnda <i>chuunta</i> 'hiss' daw, <i>chuurndiameen</i> 'hiss of snake' daw [WB, Wim tjurnda 'to spit']		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
spleen				paRitj <i>baa-reetch</i> pj
split, to				lalkruwa <i>larl-groo-war</i> pj [Woi lalkuma]
sponge		ngunki <i>gnuunkee</i> daw		
spoon		taRi waRung <i>tarrae warrong</i> 'shell spoon' daw		wurrungi-tjalup <i>woo-roo-knee-chal-loop</i> pj
spoonbill		kuki kunawaR <i>kuukae kuunawar</i> 'grandmother of swan' daw [see 'heron']		
spring, well	nyalu <i>nyoelo</i> mt prim-prim <i>brim-brim t, brim</i> mt [see 'well'] liRaka <i>leraker</i> wy pumbi-pumbi-naRk <i>poombi-poombi-nark</i> wy	kulanuk <i>kuulan nuuk</i> daw		nyalu <i>knal-low</i> pj [WB ngalu, We ngaluk] yeRam <i>yer-rarm</i> pj
spring, season		pakayakilangnu <i>bukkar yak eelang</i> nor 'summer coming' daw [pakayu 'between']		
spur, of lapwing, of platypus		yulowiyuk <i>yuloe yuuk</i> daw		
spur, wing		liawil <i>leeawilluuk</i> daw [= 'tooth-having, see 'club']		
square				pilpilang <i>bil-bil-ung</i> pj
squaring skins		talkoRak <i>tulgorakk</i> daw		
squeak, to		kaka wutjan <i>kagga wuudchan</i> daw		
squint	niytwaRa <i>neet-warra</i> wy	tjun(g)ki mirng <i>chuunkee mirnk</i> daw	wim-mir <i>wim-mir</i> th [also Wa]	
squirrel, flying; glider		tuan <i>tuan</i> 'small' daw puRul <i>poroll</i> 'big, flying' daw ngaynkutj <i>gniin guutch</i>	tuan <i>too-on</i> 'small' garp yandul <i>yarn-dool</i> th	tuan <i>duan</i> 'small' rhm [Wa tuan] puRul <i>poo-rool</i> 'grey' pj nguRekai <i>knoorre kye</i> 'small blue' pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		'feathered' daw		
stab, pierce, sting	parka <i>baa-congina</i> 'pierce' mt, <i>bracini bon-yoe-nyoroc</i> mt, <i>brocin</i> 'wound' mt, <i>brokeenee</i> wy	parkama <i>pukkumaa</i> 'through' daw parkuna <i>bukkuurna</i> 'pierce' daw [see 'vengeance, to take']	parka <i>barkak</i> 'prick', 'stab' th parkuna <i>bah-koonak</i> 'bore a hole' th [WW, We parka 'jab', 'sting']	
stalk prey		kiRamba <i>kaerambung o</i> daw, <i>kaeram bung'u</i> 'crawl on game' daw, <i>kaeram bakk</i> 'catching waterfowl' daw	kiRama <i>gerra-muk</i> th	kiRamba <i>ghee-ram-bein</i> 'lie in ambush' pj
stand, to	tjaRika <i>jarici</i> mt [WB, Wa tjarrika, We tjerrika]	tjaRika <i>charrekan</i> daw	paikap <i>bycup</i> garp	
star	turt <i>doort</i> 'planet' mt, <i>dourt d</i> , <i>toort mp</i> , <i>lw</i> , <i>g</i> , <i>dort o</i> , <i>doo-ert</i> 'planet' wy, <i>tort t</i> tuRya-nyawi <i>turyanahwee</i> wy	turt <i>toort l</i> , <i>doort garw</i> , <i>tort garw</i> tjatji-nyawi <i>chagenowi h</i> , <i>chachee neowee</i> 'sister of sun' daw, <i>chachee neowee</i> 'small star' daw, <i>tatinowie</i> grw	turt <i>doort</i> , <i>toort p</i> , <i>dot th</i> , <i>toort p</i> , <i>nysm</i> , <i>tourt t</i> , <i>turt a</i> thatha nhawi <i>dut bun-nauwi e</i> [error for thathi nhawi?]	turt <i>toort dm</i> , <i>toort j</i> , <i>pj</i> [see 'planet'] [Kulin turt] tjatji-nhawi <i>charch-e-now-ey</i> 'Venus' pj ['sister sun']
star, a bright		pundjil <i>pungil</i> garp		pundjil <i>boond-jhil</i> 'Jupiter' pj ['eagle' WV, EK]
star, evening		papi nyawi <i>paapee neowee</i> daw ['mother sun'; see 'venus']		
star, morning, 'Jupiter'		tukiyuk nyawi <i>tukkeeyuuk neowee</i> gna 'strike sun' daw [nyawi 'sun']		
start, to		pang... <i>pang'yin gnan</i> 'frightened me' daw		
steal, to	kanandja <i>canan-juc</i> mt	piRmila, pilmila <i>pirmelang</i> daw, <i>pirmilang</i> 'roguery' daw [see 'wicked']; Wa, Woi pilm-]	kanandja, kanindjila <i>kaneidye-lung</i> th, <i>cunnigillenut</i> garp, <i>kan-eid-yo-bing</i> th <i>cunnine mome</i> garp <i>kannand yinnar</i> p	kanandila <i>kunnundillar j</i> [We kanindjela, WB kanindja]
steam		pur <i>boort</i> th ['smoke']		
steamboat		pRin pRin nunap <i>preen preen</i>		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>nuurnup</i> 'smoke along' daw		
steep	kotnu <i>kodnu wy</i>	nyirr, ngirr <i>knaeaer</i> daw [nyirrung WW, LL ngiR]		
stem	werp <i>wirpoc</i> mt, <i>weirapoke</i> wy ['its backbone']	tatjak <i>tutchu kuuk</i> daw ['arm']	werp <i>wirrup</i> 'tree trunk' h [WW, We werp]	
step, a or to			waalum <i>wahl-loom</i> th [also Wa]	
stick	wartipi kalk <i>wattipeeculke</i> d kuaRong <i>coo-er-ong</i> o	koyaRok <i>koyarrook</i> l	kalk <i>kulk</i> ta [general word for 'tree', 'wood']	piRipayn, piRpiyn <i>bee-rip-ayne</i> 'small, bent stick' pj [WK piRpiyn 'pointed club'] <i>dradra</i> dm
stick for catching turkeys			paRam <i>par-rum</i> garp	
stick, digging; stick, yamstick			kani <i>kar.ne</i> garp	kani, karni <i>karr-nee</i> pj, <i>kanni</i> rhm [We, Wa kani 'club'; see 'tooth']
stick, forked			patjan <i>bahtyun</i> th	ngaRmbul-kalk <i>knam-bool-kalk</i> pj [see 'koala']
stick to dig murnong			manik <i>mon-nic</i> garp	
sticks for beating time		tirn tirn <i>tirn tirn</i> daw [see derm derm 'boomerang' e; see 'wryneck']		
sting [see 'stab']	wuitj wuitj <i>woo-ij woo-ij</i> mt	kurnaning <i>kuurnaneeng</i> daw		
stingray		kani wilkuk <i>kunnae wilkuurk</i> daw		
stockrider			wutjal-kiapkamil <i>woodyal-keap-ga-</i> <i>mill</i> th ['man horse- having' if wutjal = wutja 'man']	
stomach	pili <i>bellee wy, billy o,</i> <i>ballingek lw</i> tjaRowayn <i>charrowine</i> d kanyankurrk <i>kanyangoork</i> g [see kanyangga 'cough']	pili <i>billeyyangerack</i> grw, <i>billy mr, belly</i> l, <i>paeling ink</i> daw, <i>pelle</i> garw wanya <i>wanya h, won-ye</i> garw	pili <i>billi a, pilinyook</i> nysm, <i>billy th, garp,</i> <i>pil-ling-are-uc</i> garp, <i>billy br</i> [Kulin pili] tjaRowayn <i>charawin</i> p punak <i>boon-ak</i> th	puRinggup <i>boo-ring-goop</i> pj tjaRowayn <i>charoen</i> dm [pj gives <i>boitch</i> as 'belly', which it is in EK, but other sources for Y, Tjap and Dja give 'liver']
stomach ache		nyuRowangi		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>gneuro ang ae daw</i>		
stone	la, larr <i>la lw, g, o, larh f, laugh d, lak t</i>	la, larr <i>laa'a, laa daw, la e, lw, h, g, o, dm laa mr, la h, lah l, lar grw</i>	la, larr <i>laa nysm, la e, lach p, lakh a, lar p, th, ta, lah th</i>	la, larr <i>la e, lw, h, g, o, dm, lar j, larr pj</i> [WB la(rr), root found in other Kulin
stone, basket making		papunya <i>parpu gna daw</i>		
stone, conglomerate		kuwaRam <i>kuurwharram daw</i>		
stone, flat				thinmaR <i>dhinmar rhm</i>
stone, hot		tuitj pak yakutj <i>tueetch pakk yakuutch daw</i>		
stone, medicine		kam-kam <i>kamgam daw, kerm kerm daw</i>		
stoop, to		wumila <i>wuumaelang daw</i> [We wumilang 'poor']	wiRpa <i>wirrpay th</i> [also Wa]	
stooping custom of mothes-in-law		ngialun kurrk <i>gnealuun guurk daw</i>		
stop, to			winaka <i>winnakak th, winyak-ang-oo th, winnak-kagin</i> 'resist' th [see 'leave'; Wim winaka]	ngala-kungga <i>ngalla-go-ngkak th</i>
storm	nguwing <i>gno-ing wy, ngoing mt</i> [We nguwing]	punda yirniyn <i>puundaa yirneen daw</i> poRan-poRan-kulan-tjimak <i>borran borran kulan chimmuk daw</i> kangilap-kangilap-keRi <i>kangaelap kangaelap kaeaerae daw</i>		
straight			yulp <i>yulop a, yulp e</i>	yulp <i>yoolp, yoolp-uck pj</i> [We, WB yulp 'right hand']
straighten, to				pakamendaR <i>buck-am-en-darr pj</i>
stranger, enemy	maytmayt <i>matemate</i> 'enemy' wy			maynmatj, maynmayt <i>main-maytch</i> 'stranger' pj, mainmait j
string [see 'thread']				
stringy-bark tree	tulang	wanga	pungaluk	wangaRa

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>toolang</i> t [= stringy bark in general]	<i>warn</i> ar daw	<i>boong-allook</i> th	<i>wong-hurra</i> pj
strip bark, to		kulpuna <i>kuulpuurn</i> ak daw, <i>cool-poosnella</i> grb [<i>kalpuna</i> 'to cut']		
strip completely, to	part-paRomi <i>bard-paaromi</i> mt		puwit-puwit tjepatj <i>buit</i> <i>buit</i> <i>tyeppaty</i> rhm	
stripes of paint		kutjilang <i>kuutchelang</i> daw [see <i>kutjiRang</i> <i>kutang</i> 'across']		
strong [see also 'hard']	tit-tit <i>tit-tit</i> t wunakipok <i>wonarkepoke</i> wy	tirt tirt peng <i>tirt tirt bang</i> daw	titil <i>detell</i> th martuk <i>martuk</i> e [see 'big'] punurt <i>punurt</i> a [see 'heavy']	palitj <i>balitj</i> rhm palit <i>pal-lert</i> pj [Wa palert, Woi palit]
stumble			manguRanga <i>mango-rang-in</i> th	
stump of tree		tulu <i>tuulo</i> daw	tulu <i>dullo</i> th [WB, We, Wa tulu]	
stunned			tjunpun-tunari <i>dyornboorn-doornahry/dyoom</i> th	
stupid		pang-pang <i>bung bung</i> grb [<i>pang-pang</i> 'deaf' Wa]		panglanggil <i>bung-lung-gil</i> pj [see 'mad']
sturgeon			molopika <i>molopecar</i> garp	
subtle			kungaya-kuliwim <i>goongyer-gooleywim</i> th [WW kungaya 'be quiet']	
suck, to				papalia <i>barp-pa-lin</i> pj
sulky		ngomang <i>ngo marn</i> garw	yalayak <i>yahl-lay-uk</i> th, <i>yahl-lay-uck</i> 'angry' th	
summer [see 'hot']				
summons to attend me		mutjapil kurrk <i>mutchapilkuurk</i> daw		
sun [see 'day']	nyawi <i>nahwee</i> wy, <i>ngawik</i> g, <i>nyawi</i> o, <i>nyoe-wi</i> mt, <i>ghnarwee</i> d <i>ngawi</i> mp <i>urangara</i> t, <i>yurngai</i> lw	nyawi <i>ngowi</i> mr, <i>nowe</i> l, <i>nowi</i> h, <i>now-we</i> garw, <i>neowee</i> daw	nyawi <i>nowe</i> , <i>nyawie</i> p, <i>nowwe</i> , <i>narwe</i> garp, <i>ngawe</i> nysm, <i>yow.we</i> garw, <i>nowie</i> grw, <i>nyow-ay</i> th, <i>nauwi</i> a, e, <i>nyauwi</i> yo 'light' a, <i>narwee</i> ta	nyawi <i>gnowee</i> dm, <i>now-ey</i> pj, <i>nowe</i> j [NWV nyawi] <i>irangool</i> dm

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
sundew		kalam kalkitj kullum kulkeetch daw [see 'geranium']		
sunrise [see 'morning']	pi-nyawi-nga <i>benowengah</i> wy mengkuika <i>meng gooe-goe</i> mt	pirna nyawi <i>pirna an neowee</i> daw kalitj <i>kulleitch</i> 'peep of day' daw		panga-nhawi <i>bang-ar-now-ey</i> pj
sunset	ngakin-nyawi <i>naarcin-nyoewi</i> mt ['dived sun'] <i>narkoo-</i> <i>ah</i> wy	miRma nyawi <i>mirma neowee</i> daw [see 'afternoon']		ngaka-nyawi <i>nock-er-now-ey</i> pj
sunshine		kulpunga <i>kuulpung a</i> daw		
sunstroke		taka nyawingu <i>tukka neowee gno</i> daw ['hit by sun']		
supernatural		puitka nganak <i>poitka gnarnerk</i> 'hair in end' daw ['fall bark/dish/ canoe']		
surprised			koho [sic] <i>go-ho</i> th [see 'wonderful']	
suspend, to			kapunga <i>garboong-ahk</i> th	
swallow, common		wiwitj <i>weewheetch</i> 'its cry' daw yulowil kurrk <i>yuulowil kuurk</i> 'bottle nest' daw laap <i>la'arp</i> 'wood martin' daw [see 'ash']		leleRpkun <i>lel-lerrp-koon</i> 'martin' pj
swallow, to		ngurka <i>gnohr-kahk</i> th [We, WB <i>ngurka</i>]	kapukuR <i>kahr-bugurr</i> th [sense uncertain]	wuleRing-putj <i>wool-er-ing-boitch</i> pj
swamp [see 'lake']				
swan	kunuwara <i>conoo-a</i> mt, <i>koonoowara</i> g, <i>konoowarra</i> wy, <i>kuunawarr</i> daw, <i>conawarr</i> t, <i>koonowar</i> lw	kunuwara <i>goona-warra</i> th, <i>koonoowar</i> mr, h, <i>kone ne waren</i> garw kanyak <i>goenyac</i> garw	kunuwara <i>goona-warra</i> th, <i>goonowur</i> 'goose' th, <i>koonoowar</i> nysm, <i>konawar</i> e, <i>kunuwar</i> a nganguRk <i>ung-urk</i> garp [Wa <i>ngangok</i> 'goose']	kunuwara <i>goonoowarra</i> me, <i>koonawar</i> dm, <i>koon-oo-worra</i> pj [We kunuwar, similar in other Kulin and Warr]
sweat		wuRuman <i>wuruman</i> daw	wuRawan <i>woorur-wan</i> th [also Wa]	wuRa <i>woo-rer</i> pj [Wim wutjala]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
sweep, to		mitakya <i>mettak-ya</i> th		ngaRoniyn <i>knar-row-noon</i> pj
sweet [but compare all entries with those under 'sour']	tjuwitj <i>joorwitch</i> wy papi tjuwa <i>barpee chowa</i> mt CHECK SOURCE <i>becor</i> 'sweet, honey' t	tjeRowatj <i>cheroaitch</i> mr puyuwitj <i>piorwetch</i> h puyuwilap <i>puuyurwilapp</i> daw, [see 'taste, good']	kip-kip <i>kepgip</i> a keRp-kim <i>gayrp-gimm</i> th kia-kia <i>giagia</i> e	kiRm-kiRm <i>gheerm-gheerm</i> 'suger', 'sweet' pj
sweetheart		kuRwitj <i>korweetch</i> daw kuRwitj kurrk <i>korweetch kuurk</i> 'female' daw		
swell, to; swelling	karinga <i>kiringa</i> mt, <i>kah-ra-anga</i> wy	karinga <i>karring gna</i> daw [see 'blow']		karinga <i>kar-ring-er</i> pj [see 'grow', 'lump']
swift				<i>my-erre</i> pj
swift (black martin)		wirntjala <i>wirnchaller</i> daw		
swim, to	yawa <i>ya-waa</i> mt, mp	nyuka <i>neukaa</i> daw [Wa <i>nyuRka</i> ; see 'float']	yawa <i>yow-wa</i> th, <i>yah-wah</i> th [EK <i>yawa</i>]	wirraka <i>whe-rar-kur</i> pj [NWV <i>wirraka</i>]
swine		pipig <i>peepig</i> daw [English 'pig']		<i>pig-pig</i> pj
swing			yuRi-milang <i>yooree-millang</i> th [Wa <i>yuRimili</i>]	
swoop of eagle, down		katjiwaRanga <i>kutchawarragna</i> daw [see 'across']		
swoop of eagle, upwards		waRomilang <i>warromelang</i> , <i>warromillang</i> daw [see 'left']		
syphilis				wombi <i>wombi</i> pj [Wim <i>wumba</i> 'to kiss']
tadpole		yim <i>yeem</i> daw [see 'fin']		
tail	tumkak <i>turmkark</i> wy tonomuk <i>tonomook</i> wy	pirrk <i>pirrkuurk</i> 'tail of bird, quadruped' daw pilan <i>pilarnduuk</i> 'tail of fish, platypus' daw	pirrk <i>bayrkok</i> th, <i>birkang</i> th, <i>berkuk</i> e, <i>birikuk</i> a tuRo <i>dooro</i> th	pirrk <i>beer-ak</i> pj [WB, Wim <i>pirrk</i>]
take care!			patak <i>bah-tak</i> th	
take, to		mutjaka <i>muutchak</i> daw, <i>muutchaka</i> 'take	mutjaka <i>mutyaka</i> a, <i>mutyake</i> e, <i>mootyak</i> th	mutjaka <i>mootch-al-le</i> pj, <i>mootyinniet</i> j ['bring/carry/get/

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		this'daw, <i>moochchallan</i> grb mana <i>manuc</i> mt [see 'get'; widespread]		hold/keep'; Wa mutjaka]
talk [see 'speak']		kalpumap kalitj <i>kulpuummup</i> <i>kuliitch</i> 'palaver or conference' daw		
tall [see 'long']				
tame	tita-witjup <i>deterwitchup</i> wy ['dead heart'] ngamulatji <i>ngarmulachy</i> mt	talkutjang <i>tulkuchang</i> daw ['good breast']		
taste, bad		wui wui wurri <i>wuae wuae worrae</i> daw [wurru 'mouth']		
taste, good		puyuRwilap wurrung <i>puyuurwilap</i> <i>wuurong</i> daw['sweet', 'mouth']		
taste, to	tjam-tjam punda <i>jam-jam boorn-</i> <i>dagong</i> mt, <i>jam-jam</i> <i>boardinan</i> mt, <i>champundah</i> wy	tjuRwa <i>teurwa</i> daw	wirrpma <i>warp-mak-aynyuk</i> th [Wa wirr(p)ma]	
tea			wunmuRuk <i>won-moor-ook</i> th	
teach, to				tjimbaya <i>jim-baa-yer</i> pj
tear (in eye)	katjin-mir <i>kaatchin-mir</i> mt, <i>katcheenmyrr</i> wy	katjin-mir <i>kutcha mirnk</i> daw	katjin-mir <i>gartyinimir</i> th	wanyeRami-mir <i>whyne-yer-am-e-myrr</i> pj [similar in NWV]
tear, to			tjuRua <i>dyooroowak</i> th	tjurruna <i>choo-roo-nar</i> pj taka <i>tagung</i> rhm
tea-tree	punung <i>bonong</i> 'bush' wy <i>wirrecow</i> , <i>wirreeco</i> t <i>maen</i> 'type' t	palawa <i>pallawar</i> daw	punu <i>boono</i> th	punu <i>poo-noo</i> pj
tell, to [see 'speak']				
temple	tanu-miR <i>daanu-mir</i> mt, <i>tanumer</i> wy	tjanputj-tjanputj <i>teunpuutch</i> <i>teunpuutch</i> 'beat beat' daw	ngala-wuRa- katnyuk <i>ngalla-wurra-</i> <i>gaitnyook</i> th	tututj <i>toor-toitch</i> , <i>tor-toitch</i> pj
ten		pulayt <i>kia[p]manya</i> ?	pulatj manya <i>boletch manya</i> a,	pulatj mana <i>boo-laytch mun-nar</i> pj ['two

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>boolite kiamonya</i> grb ['two one hand'']	<i>bolaimanya e</i>	hand']
tender		kulkuyupang <i>kulkuyubang daw</i>		
tendon [see 'sinew']				
tent		yiRi-puRang <i>yeery-boorang th</i> [also Wa]		
tern [see 'gull']				
testicles	punye <i>bonyea o</i>		purne <i>por-nay garp,</i> <i>burn[..]a br</i>	puna <i>boo-nar pj</i> [WB pun]
thank, to			tume <i>dohmay th</i>	
that [see grammar]				
thaw, to	kutjal <i>kootchal wy</i> [see 'dew'] walpin nhawi <i>wolpin-nsawi mt</i> [warmed sun]	yankia <i>yannkiya daw</i>		
there [see grammar]				
thigh	karip <i>karri g, , gahreep- gahreep wy, kiree- poooc mt, wurt-kirip mt</i> [back leg], <i>kalkukahreek wy</i>	karip <i>carip, ky.rip garw,</i> <i>karilyoook mr,</i> <i>karip h, kareep,</i> <i>karrip pekk daw,</i> <i>kulkin karipp</i> 'thigh bone'daw	karip <i>karrepook p, carreep</i> <i>garp, karip a, e,</i> <i>carrip br</i>	karip <i>kar-rip pj, karrepook j</i> [WK, Wa, Warr karip; see 'bottom/rump', 'hip']
thin	walapi <i>walape wy</i>	ngala pipul <i>nulla bepuul daw</i> ['no fat']	tjaRan-tjaRa <i>dyahran-dyahrar th</i>	
think, to			kapa <i>kapang e</i> [see 'know'] ngaa-ngaa <i>gnahr-gnaah th,</i> <i>ngyanin a</i> [see 'see']	
thirsty	pernggonya <i>brangonion wy</i> [see 'tired'] [We pernggunya, WB parngga] winipa kurnduk <i>winipa coorn-doc mt</i> 'pinch his/her neck' <i>konmun mp</i>	kunganyin <i>kuukna gnaen daw,</i> <i>kongin h</i> panyangin <i>banyangen mr</i>	kurnma <i>koonma e, kuunmon</i> <i>a, goorman th</i>	kurnma <i>goorn-mar pj</i> [forms with kurn found in other Kulin; see kurn 'throat']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
this [see grammar]				
thistle, imported		panpan tilap <i>punpun dillup</i> 'prick prick' daw		
thistle, marsh		tjalak-tjalak, thalak <i>chulluk chulluk</i> 'marsh thistle' daw, <i>tallark</i> 'sow thistle' daw		
thorn		kuki kaRan <i>kukae karann</i> daw		
thread, cord		tulang <i>tulang</i> 'bark', 'fur', 'cord' daw ngaRam <i>k'narram</i> 'sinew' daw	kayaRit <i>gyayritt</i> th wartipi nung-nung <i>wartee-pee-noong-noong</i> 'string' th	
threaten, to	waiwa <i>wywin</i> mt [waiwa 'lift']	ngul ngul wutji <i>gnuul gnuul</i> <i>wuutyae</i> daw [see 'smell, bad']		
three	pulatj pa kayap <i>pollaich pa kaiup</i> lw, <i>bolate-po-kiahp</i> wy, <i>poolet</i> pe kaiup mp, <i>pooletch</i> pe kaiup g <i>caite pa boolite</i> t	pulatj pa kayap <i>pal lite bi kyup,</i> <i>pallite</i> by kyup garw,	pulatj pa kayap <i>polaitch bo kaiap</i> e, <i>poolet</i> pe kiap nysm, <i>bullait par kiarp</i> p, <i>bulech kaiap</i> a, <i>boolety-gaiup</i> th <i>marrone</i> garp [error? mishearing of 'tree'?)	pulatj pa kayaRp <i>boolait boo kyap</i> me, <i>polaitch</i> pe kaiup dm, <i>boolaytch kiarrp</i> pj, <i>bullait par kiarp</i> j [2 + 1]
three/few		katuR <i>kartoor</i> mr, <i>cartore</i> grb, <i>kartoro</i> h, <i>kartuur</i> 'few' daw [see also 'few']		
throat	kurn <i>coorn</i> mt, <i>korn</i> mp, <i>koorn</i> wy, g, <i>kanek</i> 'mouth' lw tjakuRakurn <i>jack-koorakoorn</i> wy, <i>jacor</i> mt,	kurn <i>coon</i> grb, <i>cone</i> 'mouth' l yanyan-nguRak <i>yan yan gnuurak</i> daw	kurn <i>corn</i> garp, <i>goorn</i> th kurn-tanaRok <i>corn dun-er-rocc</i> garp	kurn, kurndi-tjawiRi <i>coorn-de-chow-irre</i> pj tjikurn <i>jhee-coorn</i> 'gullet' pj [Kulin kurn 'throat/neck']
through [see 'stab']				pRinayn <i>bree nane</i> pj
throw	yungga <i>yoong-gac</i> mt	yungga <i>yuungak</i> daw, <i>yuun'gak</i> 'throw a spear' daw	yungga <i>yoong-gak</i> th,	yunggili <i>yoong-gee-lee</i> 'fling' pj [see 'fish'; We, MM yungga]
throw a boomerang, to		tjiRima <i>chireemukk</i> daw, <i>charem</i> grb [see 'hunt']		
throw a spear, to			punkaRenayt	

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
			<i>poen gare re nite</i> garp	
throw down			partuma <i>bardook-mak</i> th, <i>bartomak</i> th [WW partama 'wrestle'; Wa patoma 'throw down'] ngowema <i>ngo-ay-mak</i> th [see 'wrestle']	
thrush		wupaRuk <i>wuurbaruuk</i> daw		
thrust	punyako <i>boonyoego</i> mt	panda <i>punda</i> 'with spear' daw [see 'fishing, spear']		
thumb	pap manya <i>babmanya</i> o, <i>baap</i> <i>moenyoe</i> mt, <i>bart-</i> <i>mahnia</i> wy	pap manya <i>baap mun</i> 'va daw, <i>bar munye</i> garw	pap manya <i>.par mer ner</i> garp, <i>parm.en.yer</i> garp, <i>bar-magnye</i> th, <i>bap</i> <i>wanyah</i> p	pap marna, papi marna <i>barp-e-mun-nar</i> pj, <i>barpmirna</i> dm ['mother (of) hand'; see also 'finger']
thunder	marndar <i>meurndar</i> mt, <i>moorndahra</i> wy <i>murndar</i> lw, <i>murrandana</i> t., <i>murndal</i> mp mirtaRip <i>mirdarip</i> g	marndar <i>munderer</i> garw, <i>murndar</i> h, <i>murndaar</i> daw, <i>moondar</i> mr	marndar <i>mundur</i> p, <i>murndar</i> , <i>nysm, maandar</i> e, <i>mon dara</i> a, <i>mumdarra</i> th	marndar <i>mun-dar</i> pj, , <i>mundur</i> j [We mernder, WB marndar and similar in other s-e mainland]
thunder cloud		taRatji marndar <i>tarrachee</i> <i>murndaar</i> daw		
tick		munyu <i>muun</i> 'yu daw [see 'louse']		
tickle, to			katja-katja <i>gadya-gadyuk</i> th [also Wa]	
tide		ngandja <i>gnunjaa</i> daw		
tie, to	kartna <i>catnuc</i> mt		kartna <i>gert-nak</i> th, <i>gatnak</i> th 'halter', <i>gornak</i> 'plait' th [We, WB kene]	peRpiyn <i>bairp-peen</i> pj
tinder or charcoal			wiRng <i>wirng</i> th	wiRing <i>wir-ring</i> 'charcoal' pj
tired	pRanggayan <i>brang-gyan</i> mt, <i>brangyan</i> wy [see 'thirsty']	tirt-kunga <i>tirt kuugna</i> daw [dead-make?]	tirt-kotja <i>dayrt-kotyangin</i> th parta-payang <i>burtabaiyang</i> a [see 'slow']	paRap kuRong <i>bar-rap goo-rong</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
			tamilang <i>damalang e, darmy-lang-ahn th</i> [see 'hurt']	
titmouse		wirtuk <i>wirtuuk daw</i>		
tobacco			pondolango <i>bondolang-ngo th</i> [see 'bite', 'pipe', 'smoke', 'yellow']	
today	katjang <i>katchong g</i>	ngaka <i>ngarga mr</i> yingunu <i>yingornoo h</i> nyuntjal <i>gneunjall daw</i> poRowal <i>bo-ro-al garw</i>	nyawi-u, nhawi-u <i>nauwiyo a, nyawiu e</i>	nhawiyu mang <i>now-ey-u-mong pj</i> [nyawi 'sun', mang 'this'] yinguni <i>ying-oo-nee</i> 'presently' pj [Wim yingurna 'today'] <i>kaiejung t</i> [see 'by and by']
toe [pap tjina entries all refer to 'big toe']	pap tjina <i>baupjinna d, babginna o</i> wartip wartip tjina <i>wurteep wurteep gena wy</i>	pap tjina <i>poptineyangerack grw patyena l, chinna, paap chinna daw</i>	pap tjina <i>bap ginah p, barp tinner garp, dyina e ,bapdyina a</i> ['mother (of) foot'] wartip tjina <i>wortip yenner garp, won-nin-tee-nar ta</i> ['children [of] foot'; We watjip tjine] le tjina <i>lay-tinna th</i>	pap tjina, papi tjina <i>barpjinna dm, barp-e-jhin-nar pj</i> [see 'foot'; We pap tjine] wanyami tjina <i>why-knam-e-jhin-nar</i> 2 nd toe' pj pupupi tjina <i>boorp-boorp-e-jhin-nar</i> '3 rd toe' pj [baby [of] foot'] pupup-uk <i>boorp-boorp-ook</i> '4 th toe' pj kayam kurrk <i>kiam-goork</i> '5 th toe' pj [Parker interprets this as 'lonely girl']
tomahawk [see 'axe']				
tomorrow, tomorrow morning	perrpui <i>burpooe m, parpo mp, parbio g</i> [WB perrpuk]	perrp-perrp-perrp <i>pirp pirp pirp daw</i> perrpuRup <i>purpooreroop mr</i> perrpoparrk <i>barpobark h</i>	perrp <i>birp th, berip a</i> perrp-e-perrp <i>berp-a-berp th, barpobarp e, barp bo barp e, barapa a</i> perrpopaRa <i>bairpobarrah p</i>	perrpi, perrpo <i>beerbi, berbi, berbo rhm, bair-re-bee pj,</i> perrp-e-perrp <i>bairp-hair-bairp pj</i> perrpa nhawi <i>bairp-er-now-ey pj</i> [WB perrp] perrpopaRa <i>bairpobarrah j</i>
tongue	tjali <i>challi g, tchallee d, chalingek lw, chalinuc mt, chal-inuke o, charlee wy, tchila t</i>	tjali, thali <i>charle l, challe h, mr, taleangerack grw, chalaee daw, challing in 'dialect' daw</i>	tjali, thali <i>tchalle nysm, tally garp, tal le garp, jallie p, tallknook p, tali a, tyally th, tyale e, tar-lee ta, tully br</i>	tjali, thali <i>chal-lee pj, chalie dm, tallknook j</i> [see 'language']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
tooth	lia <i>leeoe-nuc mt, leanuke o, lia mp, leya g, leeah wy, liangek lw, leea t</i>	lia <i>layha l, leer garw, lia h, leea daw, learangerack grw, lia mr</i> <i>kani</i> <i>kunnae neuk daw</i> [see 'yamstick']	lia <i>leah p, leer garp, lia nysm, a, e, leeyer th, lear nook p, lee-are ta, leahe br</i>	lia <i>leah d, leea me, liia dm, lear pj, leear dm, learnook j</i> [Kulin lia(ng)]
tooth, back	taRk <i>draac mt [also 'jaw'], drakook wy</i>	wiRngtak, wirnduk <i>wirng dak daw wirntuk, wirnduuk 'fang of snake' daw, wirnduuk 'tusk of quadruped' daw</i> [see 'ear', 'fang']	taRk <i>turk br</i>	teRki-lia <i>tterr-kee-lear pj</i>
tooth, child's first		tangatuk lia <i>tang'atuuk leea daw</i> ['new tooth']		
tooth, child's second		kaRintjuRuk <i>karrinjorrok daw</i>		
tooth, eye		taak yangat <i>taak yung'art daw</i>		
tooth, front	purrp lia <i>boorp-leah wy</i>	purrp lia <i>porb leea daw</i> ['head tooth'] wurru lia-ngak <i>wuuro leea gnek daw</i> ['mouth/lip tooth']		wanggam lia <i>warn-gum-lear pj</i>
toothache		kem <i>kaeaem daw</i>	kaankam <i>gahngum th</i>	
top			purrpuk <i>boorpook th</i> ['its head']	
torch [see 'light']				
tortoise		tukuwil <i>tuukuurwill 'turn mud' daw</i>		
touch, to	tulpa <i>doolpago mt</i>	tjinpa <i>chinbukk daw</i>	wiRma <i>wir-mak th</i> [Wa wiRpma]	
tough [see 'hard']				
towsie head of hair		laap <i>laarb daw</i> [see 'ash', 'swallow']		
track/footprint	paring <i>baaring t</i> parip <i>parib g</i> tjina-nyuk	paring <i>paring h, parring daw</i>	paring <i>baring e, a, th</i> park <i>barkuk a, bakook nysm</i> pare	paring <i>bar-ring pj</i> [NWV paring] park, <i>bark pj, barkook j</i>

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>tchina</i> t, <i>chinnayook</i> lw ['its foot']	tjina-nyuk <i>chinanyook</i> mr <i>chinna junnak</i> daw ['its foot']	<i>baray</i> me	
tracker, native		kapangu tjining <i>kappang o tinning</i> daw		
trail of lizard		piRpa muntang <i>pirpa muurndarnk</i> daw ['run lizard']		
trail of man		pup tjina <i>poop chinna</i> daw		
trail of snake		paRingkuk kurnwila <i>parring'guuk</i> <i>kuurnwilla</i> daw ['track-its snake']		
trap, empty		taat <i>taart</i> daw		
tread/trample on [see 'kick']				
tree [see 'wood']	kalk <i>calk</i> o kalk pu keRa <i>gulpougarr</i> d kale <i>coele</i> mt woRon <i>worone</i> wy tjuyu <i>chooyoo</i> 'large' t winani <i>winani</i> 'hollow tree' t wawanpul <i>war wan bool</i> 'green, growing tree', 'gum trees' t walpa <i>wallpar</i> 'dead tree' t [walpa 'burn' ?]	kalk <i>kalk</i> daw, <i>galk</i> l yulong <i>yuulong</i> daw [see 'white gum tree']	kalk <i>kalk</i> a, e, th, <i>kulk</i> ta, <i>galk</i> p kalk pu keRa <i>kalk pu gherra</i> p	kalk <i>kulk</i> dm [see 'bone', 'wood'] kalk pu keRa <i>kalk pu gherra</i> j
tremble, to		mumuRa <i>muumuur an</i> daw [see 'shiver']		
trench for catching eels			<i>vam</i> garp	
tribe	peng-yandak <i>beng-yan-duc</i> mt [peng 'man']	kuli <i>kuulae</i> daw ['man']	tjuwaRing lar kutang <i>dyoowahring-lahr-</i> <i>goortang</i> th	
trough for water		nyanak		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		<i>gnannak</i> daw [see 'basin', 'canoe']		
trousers		kaRipil <i>karry-bill</i> th [karip 'thigh']		
trust, to			kopart-kotang <i>gohpurt-goortang</i> th	
try, to			nyungga <i>nyoong-gak</i> th	
trysting place		tending ngaRen <i>taending gnaraen</i> daw [see 'name']		
tuberous root			paam, wilowong, muttom(i) <i>parm, wil low ong, muttome</i> garp	
tuff		turti matj <i>turtee match</i> daw		
turkey, wild	kolapatjin <i>kolabatyin t, colabatyin o cobe</i> vidiom t	lawan <i>laahwin</i> daw kalanang <i>gullernung, gullern'nung</i> daw [given as 'egg' & 'nest' of b.t.] taRiwil <i>taariwill</i> daw 'bustard'	kulapatjin <i>kolabityin e, kulabityin a. coolaperk</i> [..] br taRinitjil <i>tar-rinejil</i> garp	lawan <i>low-an</i> pj [Western Kulin lawan mallee hen, lowan] ngarrau <i>knar-row</i> pj [Wim ngarrau 'plains turkey']
turn, to				wilka <i>wil-keen</i> pj wilkila <i>wilkilung</i> 'he is turning' rhm [WB MM wilka]
turtle shell		paRipit <i>par re peet</i> [Wa paRipin] poytpo <i>poitbor</i> garp		
turtle, freshwater				wurrumuk <i>woo-room-ook</i> pj [MM wurrangu]
twenty				pulaRa <i>boo-lar-ra</i> pj
twilight	kalkutja <i>kalkoorjah</i> wy winipin puRoyn <i>winipin boroin</i> mt [also given as 'evening', see winipa 'night', winipa 'to pinch']	kalatj <i>kulleitch</i> daw wuitpa kalatj <i>wueetpa kulliitch</i> 'evening' daw kumpa kalatj <i>kuumba kulliitch</i> 'morning' daw [kumba 'to sleep'] kapi kurrk <i>kappi kuurk</i> daw		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		[also 'Orion'] kayaka kurrk <i>kiiyakka guurk daw</i> pangaruk nyawinga <i>pung a ruuk neowee gna daw</i>		
twinkle, to		muRmuRa kalkuk <i>muurmuuraa</i> <i>kulkuuk daw</i> [see 'earthquake', 'shiver']		
twirl, to				muRi-muRima <i>moo-ree-moo-ree-mar pj</i> [see 'fist']
twist, to			maRuna <i>murroo-nak th</i> [also Wa]	
two	pulayt, pulatj <i>bolate wy, boolite t, pollaich lw, pooletch g, bolate 'a pair' wy, poolet mp</i>	pulayt, pulatj <i>pollaich mr, pollaich h, pal lite garw, boolicht grb, puuletcha 'battle between two' daw, puuliit 'pair' daw</i>	pulayt, pulatj <i>polaitch e, poolet nysm, bullait p, buletch a, boolety th</i>	pulayt, pulatj <i>boolait me, boo-laytch pj, buleety, bulety, bullety rhm, bullait j</i> [similar forms in other Kulin, CA pula 'two']
udder of quadruped		tjakuRm <i>chaekorm daw</i> [kurrm 'breast']		
ugly	tatja <i>taychah wy</i>	wuki mirng <i>wokae mirng 'black eye' daw</i>		
ulcer [see 'wound']			wirrpak <i>wir-pak th</i> [also Wa]	
uncle	tjaRmba <i>jam-bowde mt, charumparp wy</i>		tjaRmbawa <i>dyarmba-win 'your uncle' th</i> [We tjarmpek 'my mo's bro']	tjaRmbawa <i>jambauak 'mother's brother' rhm</i>
undress, to [see 'open']		pata <i>baardak daw</i>		
unhappy			yatjang-kortjangan <i>yar-tyang-gortyangan th</i> [yatjang 'bad']	
unhealthy			yaRang-paRitj-kuRangan <i>yahrang-barity-gorang-un th</i> ['bad spleen']	
unkind	jera-tellance wy			
until		kingan <i>king'an daw</i>		malitjung <i>marl-hytch-oong pj</i>
up, above	kiyuka <i>geeogaa mt</i>	kiyuka <i>keeyuga daw, keeyuga 'within'</i>	kiyuka <i>gay-yoo-ga-bah-gay-yoo-ga 'up or upper'</i>	paiki <i>py-kee pj</i> [see 'high'; paika 'rise']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		daw kiyukanyu puRio <i>keyukun yu puuree</i> o 'above' daw	th	
upon				tjarramin <i>jha-ra-mim</i> pj
urine		tjiRop <i>chirrop</i> daw		
urine			ka-i <i>kyie</i> e	kiri, kairi <i>ghy-rre</i> pj [We kire, WB kir]
use, to			wiRpangu <i>wirp-mang-oo</i> th [Wa wiRpma]	
vagina	purpoiRong <i>broop-oirong</i> mt [purrp 'head'] koni <i>gon-ee</i> wy		poya <i>poy.yer</i> 'devery' garp	poyurri <i>boi-yurre</i> pj
valley	tatjak <i>datchark</i> wy [taRak 'arm'] papulak <i>baar-booluc</i> mt	wamyit tjaa <i>wameet chaa</i> 'rolling ground' daw ngeya ? <i>knaeaer</i> daw [see 'hill, steep']		taRak <i>tar-rar-rark</i> pj [taRak 'arm']
vegetable			nyeRkak <i>nyayrkak</i> th	
vein		piRpa kurrk <i>pirpa kuurk</i> daw ['run blood']	ngaRam <i>ngarram</i> th ngaRap marna <i>nare rup mer ner</i> garp	ngaRam <i>knar-ram</i> pj [see 'sinew']
vengeance, to take		<i>pirrpip</i> <i>pirp</i> daw	parka-kaytnyuk <i>barkak-gaytnyook,</i> <i>bahkak-gaytnyook</i> th [parka 'stab']	
venom of snake		paRing kuyuk <i>barring guyuuk</i> daw		
venus		papi nyawi <i>paapee neowee</i> daw ['mother sun'; see 'star']		
vertebrae			waupilang- langinyan <i>wawpillang-lang- inyun</i> th [see 'rib']	
very, really				tjami <i>dyammi rhm</i>
village, native		manya <i>munn' Yah</i> daw [see 'meeting', 'hand']		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
violet, small indigenous		nyak nyak miRng <i>neeak neeak mirnk</i> 'seeing eye' daw		
virgin	malakRum <i>mullagroom wy</i> wang-tawom kurrk <i>wang dawom-gorc mt</i>	wiakunatj kurrk <i>weearkuurneetch</i> <i>kuurk</i> 'before womanhood', <i>weearkuurnat kuurk</i> 'maid' daw		
visit, to		ngiakato wundjinin <i>gneekatto</i> <i>wunjinaen daw</i>		
voice			katjaRap <i>gaytyarrap th</i>	
volcano, active		walpa kuluR <i>walpa kuulor daw</i> ['burn lava'; kuulor is a Warrnambool word]		
voluntary			kok-ngaRa-nyanuk <i>gok-ngarra-nyannook th</i>	
vomit, to	woiRia-kuna <i>woireea-coona mt</i> [see 'excrement']	karrma <i>kartma, karma daw</i>	karrma <i>gark-ma th</i>	karrma <i>kerre-mar pj, kurr-min pj</i> [We, WB karrma]
waddy	<i>brepā t</i>	papen <i>pappen grb</i>	tjala-kani <i>dyalla-ganny th</i> , [We kani; kani, kanai widespread]	
wade, to			kaRa-katjin <i>garrak-gartyin th</i> ['kick water']	
waist		naluk <i>nalukaek daw</i> [see 'midday']		
waken [see 'arouse']				patkuna <i>burt koo nuk</i> 'wake him or her' pj
walk, to [see 'go']		waRwin <i>wurwin h</i>	koRakoR <i>cor rer cor garp</i> [see 'kick']	
wall			mamakotang <i>mamagotang th</i>	
wallaby	piliwiRap <i>billewirrup</i> 'rock wallaby' t	patjok <i>put choke garw</i>	wiRe <i>werreh th</i>	tjinponnguRi <i>jhin-bong-goore pj</i>
wand		paRim <i>parraem daw</i> [see 'catching turkey']		
war			pak yeRang <i>barkyerrang th</i>	
warm	wiRm-wiRm-pilang <i>wirm-wirm-bilung mt</i> wiyimbiyt	katjayt <i>cut-chite</i> [see 'hot'] walpangen	wutjip <i>wooty eep p</i>	wutjip <i>wootyEEP j</i> [see 'stomach']

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>weeimbeet wy</i>	<i>wulpung aen daw</i> [see 'burn', 'cook']	katli <i>cutli garp</i>	woimba <i>woym-ber pj</i> [see 'hot']
wart		tjim tjim mok <i>chim chim mok daw</i> [see 'rough', 'excrecence']		
wash, to	karrkarrwila <i>craa-craa-wili mt</i>	karrwila <i>karwilang daw</i>		
watch, to			telpa <i>telpak th, tel-pak</i> 'vigilant' th, <i>telpak</i> 'spy' th	kumbeRa <i>koom-be-rar pj</i>
water	katjin <i>kaa-chin mt, katyin g,</i> <i>kahtcheen wy, caitian</i> <i>t, catchin t</i> kayin <i>kayin lw</i> <i>karlin mp</i>	katjin <i>kutchin garw, daw,</i> <i>koatchen h</i> kayin <i>kaiyen mr</i>	katjin <i>katyin a, e, gotchin</i> <i>garp, cutchin garp,</i> <i>gatyin th, katchin</i> <i>nysm, kat yin p</i> [We katjin and similar in other NWV]	wanyaRam <i>wonyeram j, wy-knurr-am pj,</i> <i>why knurram pj</i>
water, foul or muddy		papal <i>puppal daw</i> [see 'mud', 'pipeclay']		
water, fresh		telki katjin <i>telkae kutchin daw</i> [= 'good water']		
water, high	kilmiRa <i>gilmerra wy</i>	ngandja <i>gnunja daw</i> [see 'tide']		
water, laving		wiwi kuyang <i>wiwi kuuyang daw</i> [see 'snow']		
water, low	waRawaR <i>warrahwarr wy</i> wangpa tjiRawa <i>woeng-boe-cheroe-</i> <i>waa mt, jeryoe-waa</i> 'chain of ponds' mt			
water, salt	<i>punandeegin t</i>	paynpal <i>piinbal daw</i> [see 'wave']		
water-hen		kuyapul <i>kuyapuul daw</i>		
waterhole	nulukuk <i>nullokoke wy</i>		maRtjak <i>marty-ak th</i>	
waterhole, big	yaRam <i>yeroem mt, yarram</i> 'chain of ponds' wy	yaRam <i>yarrum daw, yar</i> <i>garw</i> [We yalam]		
waterhole, small		natjuk <i>nat choke garw</i>		
waterlily		pukuRum <i>bukuruum daw</i> [see 'gannet']		
wattle bird		kani yulong <i>kannee yuulong</i>		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
		'peck at tree' daw		
wattle tree [see 'gum' (substance)]	popo boboh 'young' t	tulayn <i>tunliin</i> daw [misprint for <i>tuuliin</i>] waRaRak <i>wararakk</i> 'black wattle' daw	tulayn <i>doolayng</i> th, <i>tolane</i> garp wayt-kalk <i>wait-kalk</i> 'silver' th [kalk 'tree'; wayt 'golden wattle' We]	tulayn <i>too-lain</i> 'brown wattle' pj wai-kalk <i>wy-kalk</i> 'golden wattle' pj waRaRak <i>whar-rar-rark</i> 'silver wattle' pj
wave		paynpal <i>pinbaal</i> daw [see 'water, salt']		pulng-pulng <i>boolng-boolng</i> pj
weak	muRaki-muRaki <i>morake-morake</i> wy	pulk <i>bo'olk</i> daw [see 'soft']	kunamilangan <i>kunamilangan</i> a parn tjaRangan <i>burn-dyarrang-ngann</i> th tiRm tiRm <i>dermderm</i> e [see 'boomerang'; <i>tiRmilin</i> 'tired' Wa]	yilert <i>yil-lert</i> pj
weapon	palk-palk <i>palc palc</i> mt	palk-palk <i>pulk pulk</i> daw		palk-palk <i>bulk-bulk</i> pj
weapon, bundles of		kip kuliyn <i>kaep kulleen</i> daw		
wear out clothes, to			tjini-tja-kotang <i>dyinny-dya-gortang</i> th [Wa <i>tjinitjawulrin</i>]	
web of spider		laarnuk manya kaRik <i>larnuuk mun'yak kareek</i> daw ['spider its camp']		
wedding		ngulupi <i>knuulurpee</i> daw		
weed in lagoons		tjuRak <i>churak</i> daw, <i>chuurak</i> 'duckweed' daw		
weed, water		paik kuRuk <i>piik kuuruuk</i> daw		
well, a	tatjap <i>daar-choep</i> mt piRm <i>brim</i> wy [see 'spring']	tjungango <i>chuung ang o</i> 'to dig' daw		
well, exclamation		niaa <i>neaa a</i> daw		
west	nakono nyawi <i>naarkorno nyawi</i> mt	miRmap nyawi, <i>miRmupp neowee</i> daw [see 'sunset']		nyamitj <i>knam mytch</i> 'white or bright' pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
				nimitj <i>nim-meetch pj</i>
wet, moisten		tjawama <i>dyow-wer-muk th</i> [Wa tjawama; see 'lick']	tjawama <i>dyow-wer-muk th</i> [see 'lick']	
wet		natjang <i>nadjoeng, nad</i> <i>joeng garw</i>		
whale		kundapul <i>kounterbuul daw</i>		
what	nya <i>nye mt</i>	nyaa <i>neaa daw</i>	nyango <i>nyangomin a</i>	nyango <i>nyango rhm [We, WB</i> <i>nyanya</i>
whatever [all glossed as 'I don't know', all = 'where']	windja <i>windja lw, windja</i> <i>imba g</i>	windja <i>windja jamok mr, h</i>	windja <i>windja nysm, windya</i> <i>a,</i>	
wheel			nenin <i>nennin th</i>	
when	nyartuk <i>nyertoc, nyurtoc mt</i>		<i>ngirtoge a</i> pirpa nyuin <i>pirbanyuin e [see</i> <i>'run']</i>	nhaRuki <i>nar-roo-gee pj</i>
where	windja <i>winja mt</i>	windja <i>winjaa 'when' daw</i>	windja <i>windyalar e, windya</i> <i>'what' e, windyaya p,</i> <i>wiindya a</i>	windja <i>whin-jar, whin-jhar pj, whin</i> <i>knar pj, windya j, rhm</i> <i>[widespread form]</i>
which	winyat <i>winyet mt</i>	winyatuk <i>ween-yatuk daw</i>		
whichever	winya <i>winyoe mt [see</i> <i>'whoever']</i>			
whine, like a dog, to [see 'call out']		ngilma, nyilma <i>gnilman daw [see</i> <i>'cry of parrot']</i>		
whip		taku-tjang <i>dargo-tyang th ['hit</i> <i>chest']</i>		
whiskers	nganyi, ngani <i>nganiek lw, ngan-nsi-</i> <i>nuc mt, nahn-nee,</i> <i>neerah-alnannee wy,</i> <i>annya y</i> munutjia <i>moonoochir g</i>	nganyi, ngani <i>nganye h, unye</i> <i>garw, knunyae daw,</i> <i>nunnie,</i> <i>nunnuyangerack</i> <i>grb</i>	nganyi, ngarni <i>ngahnyee th,</i> <i>nganyibauro e,</i> <i>ngonyi a, knarni</i> <i>knook p, ngagne</i> <i>nysm, urnak br</i> kuyini wurru <i>koyen ne wooro garp</i>	nganyi, ngani <i>ngainye dm, ngayay me,</i> <i>kneen-nee, knar-ree, knun-</i> <i>nee, knar-nee pj,</i> <i>knarneknook j [see 'chin';</i> <i>WB, We ngani]</i>
whisper, to		tirt tjaRing ngangu <i>teert charring gna</i> <i>gno 'speak in my</i> <i>ear' daw</i>		wuyamla <i>woo-yam-lar pj</i>
whistle, to	wirta	tjikuna, thikuna	wirta	wirrila

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>wirtee</i> mt	<i>chae kuurna</i> daw, <i>taekuuna</i> daw	<i>wirty</i> th [WB <i>wirta</i>]	<i>whee-ree-len</i> pj
whistle/cry of snake		takilang kurnwil <i>tukkaelang</i> <i>kuurnwil</i> daw		
white	tartanayt <i>tar ar nite</i> t	taRanap <i>turrarnupp</i> daw [tharra- WW] pik paek 'white paint' daw [see 'clay', 'earth']	tartanatj <i>dar-damity</i> th, <i>dardanitch</i> e, <i>tardarnit</i> a [Wim tartanitj] kunditiyok <i>conedeyoke</i> garp	tarnuRong <i>tarrh-noo-rong</i> pj [Woi <i>tarn-</i> ; see 'grey']
white gum tree		yulong <i>yulong</i> daw [also given as 'tree']	yiRawil <i>ee-ra-ha-will</i> th [Wa <i>yiRawil</i>]	
whitebait, native				wulkut <i>wool-coot</i> pj [see 'blackfish']
who	winya <i>winyee</i> mt, <i>winyoe</i> 'whoever' mt,	winya <i>winyaar</i> daw	winyarro <i>winyaro</i> a <i>windyaro</i> e [see 'where']	winya <i>winya</i> rhm [We, WB <i>winyarr</i> ; widespread root]
whose	winyaRa <i>winyoera</i> mt			winyaRa <i>winyarra</i> rhm
why			nyanguR <i>nyangur</i> a windjai <i>windyaii</i> e	
wicked		piRm-piRm-itj <i>pirm pirm aetch</i> 'wicked man' daw piRm-piRm-mila kurrk <i>pirm pirm</i> <i>millakork</i> 'wicked woman' daw [see 'steal']		
wide			melap-kurtang <i>mellap-goortang</i> th [Wa <i>melap-kuring</i>]	melap <i>mel-lapp</i> pj
widow, widower	kutjaltanu <i>cutchaldahnu</i> wy, <i>coi-</i> <i>chel-dana</i> mt kutjaltanu kurrk <i>cutchaldangoork</i> wy <i>coi-chal-denu-gorc</i> mt [also in WW]	pundjak <i>puunjak</i> 'widow' daw pundjal tanyuk <i>puunjall tanyuuk</i> 'widower' daw		tuRing-yetj <i>doo-ring-yetch</i> 'widower' pj tuRing-yetj-kurrk <i>doo-ring-yetch-goork</i> pj
wife	matjum <i>maa-chi-mooc</i> mt, <i>mahchoom</i> wy <i>naragorook</i> mp	matjum <i>muttchumee</i> daw [also 'wife's g'mother; We <i>matjim</i>]	ngata kurrk <i>nataguruk</i> a, <i>mattahgoor</i> th, <i>ngarta-goorin</i> 'your wife' th, <i>nettargorook</i> p	maRam <i>marrarbook</i> j, <i>mur-ram</i> pj

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
			tjaptjap <i>tyapyapuk e</i>	
wife, first		kaRinap kurrk <i>karrae nupkuurk</i> 'reared together' daw [see 'betrothed']		
wife, second and following		pakuni kurrk <i>paakunekuurk</i> daw [Wim pakunditj 'last']		
wild	kanamin <i>gun-nermin wy</i>		<i>warrigul</i> br [non- local, spread via Pidgin]	
willie wagtail		tjerrap tjerrap <i>cherrup cherrup</i> daw [tjirri-tjirritj WW, We]		
wind [see also 'air', 'cold', 'winter']	maya <i>miya d</i> [Wa maya] mirriyn <i>mering o, meerin mt,</i> <i>mareen wy</i> [WB merriyn] watwat <i>wardwart lw, ward g,</i> <i>wahd-waht f, warwort</i> t nawart <i>narwart mc</i>	maya <i>mya p, l, miya grw</i> ngunduk <i>ngoorndook h,</i> <i>ngoorndook mr</i> [see 'winter']	maya <i>mai-a</i> nysm, <i>maiya a,</i> <i>maia e</i> mirriyn <i>mer-ring ta</i>	maya <i>myer garp, miya d</i> mirriyn <i>merin dm, mirreen j</i> mirrayn <i>myrr-ine pj</i>
wind, east		laplap kartai <i>laplap kurtii</i> 'warm wind' daw		
wind, north		pirnmali <i>pirnmallae</i> daw [see 'north-west']		
wind, south		kuRiyn <i>kuureen</i> 'fog or misty wind' daw ['south']		
wind, strong	wayang 'hurricane't [Tj wayangwayanga 'air']	ngaRatjak <i>gnaarachaak</i> daw		
wind, west		kumaR-kumaR <i>kuumar kuumar</i> 'cold wind' daw [see 'south']		
wind, whirlwind		wiyung wiyung kuR <i>weeyuung</i> <i>weeyuung guur</i> daw		
window				walandul miRi

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
				<i>whar-lun-dool-myrre</i> pj [mir 'eye']
windpipe			thalapi kurn <i>tal lerp be goon</i> , tal lut be cone garp	thalapi kurn <i>jhal-larp-e-coorn</i> pj [see 'neck'; poss. 'Adam's apple']
wing	tatjak <i>datcharkuk</i> wy	tatjak <i>tutchakuuk</i> daw	tatjak <i>dartyowkook</i> th	taRak <i>tar-rark</i> pj [see 'arm']
wink, to		nimpma <i>nimpmar</i> daw [see 'shut eyes', 'sleep walking']	milipa <i>milly-pa</i> th [WB milpa mirnuk, Wa milipa]	<i>mil-lip-par</i> 'dazzling' pj
winter [see 'wind']	ngundok <i>ngoornodoc</i> mt [see 'wind', 'autumn']	mowat mowat <i>moatt moatt</i> daw	maya <i>mai-oh</i> th	miRiyn <i>mir-reen</i> pj <i>mir-reen</i> pj
wipe, to			nyangak <i>nyayknak</i> th	
wire [see 'echidna']				
wish, to [see 'hope']				
witch		yanggayap <i>yunggii yapp</i> 'solitary' daw		
withered				kayuwa <i>koi-yu-wharr</i> pj [We <i>kayuwa</i> 'stiff']
within			pakaRi <i>bakarry</i> th [Wa pakaRiyu; see 'shoulder']	putji-nhuk <i>boitch-ee-nook</i> pj [putj 'stomach' in EK]
without (outside)		tjulkuna <i>cholkuurna</i> daw [sense uncertain]		ngala-putji-nhuk <i>knulla-boitch-ee nook</i> pj [see 'within']
woman	pangpanggu <i>bang-bang-go</i> o, <i>bang-bang-goo</i> mt paynpaynku <i>binebino</i> wy, <i>bainwango</i> g; <i>biang-biango</i> mc, <i>byambynee</i> t paynpaynkurrk <i>painbangoork</i> lw paipaku <i>bibagou</i> d, <i>paibagoo</i> mp <i>bin-gee</i> f	pangpanggu <i>beng beng go</i> daw, <i>bang bang go</i> garw <i>bang-banggo</i> grb, <i>bangbango</i> l paynpayn <i>pinebung</i> garw kuli kurrk <i>koolikoork</i> mr ['person female'] talkuk kuli kurrk <i>tulkuuk kuulae</i> <i>kuurk</i> daw ['good person female'] <i>lubra</i> grw [not a local word]	tuRoi, tuRa <i>dooroi</i> th, <i>too-ra</i> ta pangpanggu <i>bangbanggo</i> , <i>bangabanggo</i> e, <i>bang, bang go</i> garp paynpaynku <i>bien biengu bullar</i> p, <i>bain-bein-go</i> th, <i>byang, byango</i> me, paipipuk <i>paibebook</i> nysm paipaku <i>baibago</i> a	tuRoi, tuRi <i>torio</i> rhm, <i>toria</i> , <i>toroi</i> , <i>toroi</i> rh, <i>touroi</i> dm, <i>ture</i> j, <i>tor</i> <i>roi</i> 'daughter' j, <i>too-ree</i> pj tanambo <i>tannambo</i> rhm

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
woman, childless		kukuya <i>kukuya</i> daw [kuku 'grandmother' in several Kulin lgs]		
woman, flash		tjami ngurna munin kurrk <i>chummae gnuurna</i> <i>muurnin kuurk</i> daw [see 'man, flash']		
woman, flirt		tantan kunilap <i>tantan kuunaelap</i> daw		
woman, immoral		piRpa wituRuk <i>pirpaa wituuruuk</i> daw [piRpa 'run']		
woman, married		liti kurrk <i>laedae kuurk</i> daw ['lady' + 'female']		
woman, married		nganitj-wil-kurrk <i>gnanaetch wilkuurk</i> daw ['husband- having female']		
woman, old	kala kala kurrk <i>callahcallahcoork wy,</i> <i>gala gala gorc mt,</i> <i>kolkolagok g</i> wikaRikat <i>wegaregat lw</i> [see 'die']	kala kala kurrk <i>gnalla gnalla kuurk</i> daw, <i>kalla kalla</i> <i>kuurk</i> 'old white woman' daw kukuwitj <i>kogowitch h</i> [kuku 'grandmother' in several Kulin lgs] ngarram ngarram kurrk <i>gnarram</i> 'woman' daw, <i>ngaram-</i> <i>ngaram-gook mr</i> ['old female']	marti pangpango <i>mati bangbanggo e</i> ngunyim kurrk <i>ngunyingoork a, ony</i> <i>im gorook p</i> talma mak pula <i>tulmer macbullaer</i> <i>garp</i> [see 'woman'] winun kurrk <i>winnungoork nysm</i>	marti pangeRako <i>matebangerago me</i> ['big woman'] ngunyim-kurrk <i>moyn-nim-goork pj,</i> <i>onyingorook j</i> [WB ngunyim kurrk]
woman, single		kayn kurrk <i>kyn kuurk</i> daw		
woman, single		wartipi liti <i>wurtepee laedae</i> daw [wartip 'offspring, liti 'lady']		
woman, white		ngamakik kurrk <i>knamakeek kuurk</i> daw	ngamaki kurrk <i>ngamahkay-kurk th</i>	ngamaikitj-kurrk <i>knam-i-gheetch-goork pj,</i> <i>knam-nu-gheetch goork pj</i> ['white-man female']
woman, white young		yakunap kurrk <i>yarkuurnap kuurk</i> daw		
woman, young	tiRnyarti paynpaynku	wiya wunup kurrk <i>wearwuurnup</i>		paynpaynku <i>biang-biang-go pj</i>

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
	<i>derny-arti-bang-bangoo</i> mt patjutjam <i>patchoocham</i> wy [EK patjuR ‘woman’]	<i>kuurk</i> daw		
woman, young, betrothed		tjarn kurk <i>charn kork</i> daw, <i>charnda</i> ‘courtship’ daw		
woman/female			kurk <i>kurk e</i> [usually used as a modifier to indicate a female person]	
womb			nyiluRm <i>nyillurm</i> th	
wombat	mutja <i>mutcha</i> wy, <i>mot-yoe</i> mt [We mutja]	miam <i>meeam</i> daw	nguR-nguR <i>ngurr-ngurr</i> th [also <i>ngorr ngorr</i> th ‘koala’]	nguR-nguR <i>knoorre-knoorre</i> pj [Wa nguR-nguR]
wonderful			<i>koho</i> [sic] <i>go-ho</i> th [see ‘surprised’]	
woo/court, to			mutjarra <i>moot-yar-rang</i> th [mutja ‘take’, <i>tjarra</i> ‘reciprocal’]	
wood [see ‘tree’, ‘bone’]	kalk <i>calk o, kaalk g, culke</i> d	kalk <i>kalk garw, calk</i> grw,	kalk <i>kalk a, kalkkalk e,</i> <i>galk p, galk</i> ‘stick’ p, <i>calk garp</i> mutak <i>moo-tuk</i> ta	kalk <i>kulk</i> dm [Kulin kalk] woling <i>wolling</i> dm
wool		ngarra <i>gnar-rah</i> th [‘hair’]		
woomera	kaRik <i>karrik g, kraaik</i> lw pRipan <i>bripoen</i> mt [similar in WB]	kaRik <i>kark h, kertch</i> mr, <i>kiiraek</i> daw [We karrik]	kaRik <i>kaarik nysm, garrik</i> th, <i>curric garp</i>	yeRik <i>yer-rick</i> pj
words [see ‘tongue’]		tjali <i>dyallay</i> th		
work, to			kunga <i>goh-knahk</i> ‘do your work’ th wiRiputyangan <i>wirry-poot-yang-un</i> ‘labour’ th	
worm		tjo <i>cho’or</i> daw	pilitj <i>bility</i> th [Wa pilitj] tjumbilitj <i>tyumbilitch a,</i> <i>tyoorm-bility</i> th,	tjumbilitj <i>jhoom-illleetch</i> pj [see ‘leech’]
worm, glow worm		landjiR <i>lanjerr</i> daw		

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
worm, in animals		kuliR <i>kuulaer</i> daw		
worry, to				wirringmilong <i>whir-ring-mil-long</i> pj
wound, a	kongkowok <i>kong-go-woke</i> wy	wirp <i>waerpek</i> daw [We wirp]	wirp <i>wirrp</i> th	wirip <i>wee-reep</i> pj [see 'sore']
wounded	weng-tjini <i>weng-jini</i> mt	tjat kuninat <i>chut kuurnae nut</i> daw		
wren, blue-headed		tjitjiR <i>cheecheer</i> 'its cry' daw		
wren, emu-tailed		tirn wit <i>tirn witt</i> daw		
wren, firetail		wuRiwil kurrk <i>woreewill kuurk</i> daw		
wren, slate-coloured		tjupitj tjupitj <i>teupeetch teupeetch</i> daw		
wrestle, to		partum-tjarra <i>partuum cherrang</i> daw partum partum <i>partuum partuum</i> 'wrestling game' daw [WB partama]		paRum-tjarra <i>bar-room-jhar-reen</i> pj [see 'throw down']
wrestler, champion		wartwiR <i>wartwaer</i> daw		
wrist	nunan-nunan <i>noonannoonan</i> wy, <i>noorman-noornan</i> mt [see 'joint']	kayuk kayuk nguRak <i>kayuuk kayuuk</i> <i>gnuurak</i> daw	turnan <i>to.nun garp, turnan</i> br wirti-pingaRong <i>werde-binger-rong</i> garp	turnen <i>toor-nen</i> pj [Wa turnayn]
wrong		pum pum tjaa <i>porm porm jaa</i> daw		
wryneck		tirn tirn <i>tirn tirn</i> 'its cry' daw		
yam				muna <i>moo-nar</i> pj [Wa murnang 'yam daisy']
yamstick [see 'stick, digging']				
yawn		tjurnan <i>churnnan</i> daw	ngangga <i>ngang-gay</i> 'to yawn' th	
year				kaRi pa miRiyn <i>kar-rie bur mir-reen</i> pj ['summer and winter']
yellow		punda <i>puundar</i> daw [see 'tobacco']		kiRa-milong <i>ghee-rar-mil-ong</i> pj [similar forms in EK]

English	Yartwatjali	Tjapwurrung	Djadja (w)	Djadja (e)
yes	nge, ngai <i>nge lw, g, ngai-e mp</i> nyaa <i>nya mt</i> nyengi <i>nyengi, mt</i>	ko <i>ko h, mr, daw</i> tuni <i>too-ne garw</i>	ye-ye <i>ye-ye nysm, ye ye a, e, p,</i>	nge, ngai <i>nge dm, ngaie rhm</i> [We nga and similar widespread] ye-ye <i>ye ye j, yea-yea pj</i> [similar forms in other Kulin]
yesterday	tjaliki-u <i>chalekio g</i>	tjaliki, thaliki <i>chalegoo h, chalegko mr, challae yu daw</i> paRanggi <i>bar rang gi garw</i>	tjaliki, thaliki <i>talege p, talige a, dhyalige e</i>	thaliki, tjaliki <i>talege j, thalligi rhm, jhal-la-gee pj, chal-lik-gee</i> 'last evening' pj [WB tjelik-tjelic, Wa thaliyu]
yonder				paRitj, paRitju <i>barrity, barrityu rhm</i>
young [see 'man, young']	puRuk-puRuk <i>borook-borook wy</i>	watjip <i>watcheepuuk daw</i> [a noun; see 'son']	watip <i>wa, wottippe</i> children' garp [see 'small']	
zodiacal light		pitil witjuwa <i>pitil weetchuwa</i> 'rain coming'daw		

5. Yartwatjali-Tjapwurrung-Djadjawurrung -English glossary

This list contains words recorded in Yartwatjali, Tjapwurrung or Djadjawurrung for which there is some verification either from a second record within these three dialects or elsewhere. Transparent compounds have been omitted except where they throw light on one of the constituents as with **tanyuk mirng** ‘eyebrow’, which makes an interesting comparison with **tanyuk** ‘hip’ and ‘moon’.

Kulin	English		
kaka	hold	kirra	leaf
kaka	come here	kirratj	bitter
kal	dog	kirting	finger
kala-kala	old woman	kitjawil	plenty, much, many
kalik	pupup kalik ‘family’	kitnitj, katnitj	pubescent boy
kalingaR	blue mountain parrot	kiyuka	above
kalk	wood	ko, koR	lake, swamp
kalkitj	white ant	kondak	orange
kalpun	knife	kuki	mother’s mother
kalpuRa, kalpuna	to cut	kukurn	grandfather
kam-kam, kamp-kamp	horse	kulak, kurrak	sand
kan	steal	kuli	man
kanak	heel	kulkurn	young man
kani	digging stick	kulul	shy, bashful
kanindjila	steal	kumba	sleep
kapa	follow	kuna	faeces
kapa	know	kunangi	entrails
kapang	frost, ice	kunum	dog
kapuli nhawi	midday	kunuwara	swan
kapuli puroyn	midnight	kupa, kupila	drink
kar	leg	kuRatj	spirits (liquor)
kara	kick	kuRm-kuRm	brown
kaRal	grey goose	kurn	throat
kaRap	armpit	kuRng-kuRng	kookaburra
kaRi, katjai, kartai	summer	kurni	below
kaRinga	grow, swell	kurnma	thirsty
karip	thigh	kurnmil, kurnwil	snake
karnda	call out	kurnung	river
karr	nose	kurra, kurri	kangaroo
karrik	woomera	kurrak, kulak	sand
karrma	vomit	kurre	kangaroo
kartna	tie, knot	kurrk	blood
kartuk, kaRuk	mopoke	kurrk	female
katam-katam	boomerang	kurrm, kurrmb	breast
katjai, kartai, kaRi	hot	kurruk	magpie
katjakarr	white cockatoo	kuRui	brother-in-law
katjap	armpit	kuRuikurrk	sister-in-law
katjin	water	kuRun	knee-cap
katnitj, kitnitj	pubescent boy	kuRwitj	sweetheart, brother-in-law
kawa	hill	kuti	younger brother
kawirr	emu	kutjap	stone, rock
kayak	forearm	kutjun, kuRun	broлга
kayap	one	kut-kut, kuitj-kuitj	rosehill parakeet
kerka	catch	kutuk	younger sister
kia	speak, say	kuwak	kookaburra
kini	forehead	kuyun	long spear
kiRamal	small shield	laa, larr	stone, rock
kiRamba	stalk prey	lali	ache [see ‘headache’]
kiri	urine	lanyi	kalki lanyi ‘rib’
kiRk-kiRk	mosquito	lar	camp, dwelling
kirndiyn	bodkin, hairpin	lari	lungs

larn, tarn	rib	mum	bottom, rump
laRpakiRa	plenty, much, many	mung kuRi	mother's sister
larr, laa	stone	munya	louse
lerp	lerp	munyup, munhup	throwing club
lia	tooth	muRa-muRa	shiver
liawil	leangle (club)	murnataya	naked
lirri	mosquito	murrak	cheek, jaw
lirrit manya	fingernails	murrun	alive
loRitj	bower bird	murrup	spirit (ghost)
lumila	cry	murt	short
lupa	to bark	muRun	march fly
luRoytpa	gargle	mutja	wombat
luRup, tuRup	blunt	mutja, mutjaka	take, bring
malamia	long ago	mutjang, muyang	lightwood tree
malkarr	shield	mut-mut, mun-mut	cold
mam	father	muyupa	make
mamuk	male (modifier)	nga(ng)-nga(ng)	deaf
manaka	take, bring	nayaRi	belt, girdle
mandjaRa	marry	ngai	yes
manggep	daughter	ngak	shadow
manya, marna	hand	ngak	goose
maRatjak	bark of tree	ngal-ngal	quiet
maRini	handsome	ngala, ngalanya	no
marpul	fat	ngalakpan	fence
marnakaRik	spider	ngaluk	aunt
marndar	thunder	ngamaikitj	white man
maRng, marong, marn	clouds, sky	ngamatj	sea
marnkum, marnkut	round, ball	ngambul	fork in tree, branch
marnkuRong	round, ball	ngana-nganitj	bat
marnkut	round, ball	nganggutj	air
maRp	kidney	ngani, nganyi	chin, whiskers
marra	ant, meat	nganitj	husband
marriwan	woomera	nganya, nganga	sit
marru, marrung	Murray pine	nganyi, ngani	chin, whiskers
marti, martuk, matjuk	big	ngarak	back
matjum	wife	ngaRam	sinew
maya	wind	ngaRatj	sharp
mayuka	below	ngaRayl	eagle
merrk	ankle	ngari	black duck
milak	ash, cold	ngaRpa	lame
milakuk	lightning	ngarra	hair
milaya	hungry	ngarrau	turkey
milipa	wink, blink	ngarupa	smell
milpa	to bend	ngatjang natj	son-in-law
mimi	father's mother	nge-nge	yes
ming	gall	ngia	grasshopper
minim	mother's brother	ngilam	newborn baby
mir	eye	ngini	vex
mirk	egg	ngipa	corpse
mirma	crooked	ngirnitj	chief
miRma	to press	ngirwonga	growl
miRmp pili	meteor	ngitung	if
mirnian	moon	ngula, ngulakoRa	like, similar
mirriyn	wind	nguning-nguning	crooked
mitj	skin	ngunyi	game bag
mitjak	rain	ngunyim	old woman
mitjian	moon	ngupa	drink, to
mukulombitj	half-caste	nguRakul	sleep
mukurr-mukurr	bag	ngurka	swallow
mula	fern	nguR-nguR	wombat
mulu	bottom, hip	nguyam-tjarr(i)angu	play
mulup	short	nuRkuang	broлга

nya, nyango	what?	perrit-perrit	plover
nyaka, nyakila	see	perrp	daylight
nyaloyn	mother-in-law	perrpi-perrp	tomorrow morning
nyalu	spring, well	pia	steal
nyanak	bark	pial	red gum
nyani	neck, nape	piap-piap	wood duck
nyanya, nyanga	sit	pik	clay, mud, chalk
nyarram, nyarrambiyn	old, old man	pikamila	paint oneself
nyarri	name	pikuwi	algae, seaweed
nyawi	sun, day	pila-purpp, pilik-purpp	bald
nyerna	hear	pili	stomach
nyiko, nhiko	ant	pilitj	leech
nyim-nyim, nyima	blind	pilm	steal
nyipa	bury	pilp	drum
nyipma	shut eyes	pinap	mannan gum
nyuknga	irritate	pinayt	hard
nyura	cloud, fog	pirna	come, come out
pa	and	piRpa	run
paika	rise, fly	pirra	bald
paka...	shoulder	pirrik	cat
pakayu	between	pirrk, pirrik	tail, penis
pakuna	catch	pirrpin	club with knob
pakuni kurrk	second wife	pirtnila	shave
pakunya, patkuna	open	pitjik, piRik	fly
palam-palam	butterfly	pit-pit-tanitj	red
palim-palim	butterfly	polok	ankle joint
palitj	strong	poya	vagina
palk	basket, fetish bag	pRungkutj	old
paloyt	elbow	pu	bandicoot
pamba	afraid	puang, puangga	smell
pana, parna, panya	ringtail possum	puika, puitka	fall
panderap	upper arm	pukunga, pukunya	to break
panga-panga	scratch	pulatj	two
pangga	dig	pulk	soft
panyul, panul	hill	puln-puln	lyrebird
pap	mother	pulotj	cherry, native
papal	mud, clay	puluk	lake
papuk	female (modifier)	puna, pune	testicles
par	river	punai-punai	girl
paRandjim	apron	punda	to bite
pari	ash, hot	pundjil	bright star
parimal	emu	pungga	to spear
paring	footprint, tracks	pungort	rush basket
parka, parkuma	stab, pierce	punu, punumg	ti-tree
paRpa	build	punyard	eel
parramal	emu	pupup	baby
partuma	throw down	puRa	sit
partum-tjarra	wrestle	puRa, puRang	fog
paRutj	kangaroo rat	puRap	calf of leg
parwang	magpie	puRi	far
paterap	upper arm	puriyn	smoke
patjanggal, parangal	pelican	puroyn	night, dark
patjik, paRik	axe	puR-puR	minah
patjiyn, paring	knee	puRpuRong	shoulder
patjuk, paRuk	kangaroo rat	purringgai	quail
pawa	burn	purpp	head
paynku	child	purt	smoke
paynpaynku	woman	puRul	glider, flying squirrel
pendunga, penduRa	hang	putaya	empty
peng	flesh, body, person	putj	liver
pepul	fat	putji karr	nostril
perner	teal duck	putji tatjak	muscle

putjun	matter (from wound)	tjilapa	nip
putkunga, putkuma	quench	tjilpa	hit
puwatj	grass	tjimbuma	to aim
taak, taRk	gum tree, type	tjina	foot
taan	frost, ice	tjinyap	white cockatoo
taap	bronze-wing pigeon	tjiRmp-tjiRmp	magpie
taka	hit	tjotja	to kiss
tak-tjarra	fight	tjulongo	sugar ant
takuRang	empty	tjutj	gum (substance)
tala, tela	cut	tjuwaRng	long
tamba, tambaka	gather, find	tuan	tuan, glider
tanyi mir	forehead	tulang	cord, thread
tanyuk	hip, moon	tulayn, tjulayn	gum (resin), wattle
tanyuk mirng	eye brow	tulu	stump
tap	bronze-wing pigeon	tulum	black duck
taR, tiR	spear	tum	frog
taRk, taak	gum tree, type	turnan	wrist
tarnayn	mouse	tuRang	fruit, lump, seed
tarnpil	thundercloud	tuRoi	woman
tartanatj	white	turt	star
tatem-tatem	boomerang	tuRup, luRup	blunt
tatum-tatum	boomerang	tuta	carry
tayn	frog	wa	crow
tela, tala	to cut	waiwa, waima	lift
telka, thelka	good	wala	rain
thalapi kurn	windpipe	walpa	burn
thaliki, tjaliki	yesterday	waram	left hand
thaRaki wuR-wuR	rainbow	waRang	pupup-waRang
thatjak, thaRak	arm		'pregnant'
thelka, telka	good	waRaRak	wattle type
thuliyn	goanna	waRi	sea
tiR, taR	spear	waRipa	corroboree, dance
tiRingga	sew	waRk	plain
tirnda	drag	warrak	net, net bag
tirril	sky	warrm, warrem	back
titaya	die	warru	navel
titjaRak	silent	wart	back
tit-tit	hard	wart manya	back of hand
tjaa	land, territory	wart mir	eyelid
tjaka, tjakila	eat	wart tjina	instep
tjakil	lake, swamp, marsh	wart wurru	upper lip
tjakitj	food	warta	come
tjala-tjarra	quarrel	wartip	small
tjali	tongue	waRuwi	forearm
tjalik-tjalik	afternoon, evening	waRwa	climb
tjaliki, thaliki	yesterday	watjip, waRip	son
tjalkunya	burn	watjun	banded bandicoot
tjalup	mussel	wawi	elder brother
tjang	chest	weka	laugh
tjang manya	palm of hand	werp	stem
taRk	back tooth	werpil	eagle
tjaRima	put down, put aside	wi	fire
tjaRmba	uncle	wika	die
tjaRowayn	stomach	wila, wile	possum
tjarrk	reed, reed spear	wilimbuk	lightning
tjatji	elder sister	wilka	turn, to
tjatjiRuk	lung	wilkerr	dog
tjawama	moisten	wim-mir	squint
tjawil	cousin	winaka	leave
tjawirr, thawirr	spit	windaRap	forefinger
tjianga	know	windja	where, whatever
tjikurnda	sneeze	winya	who?

wiRan, wiRayn	black cockatoo	yapenya	corroboree, dance
wiRayn, witjin	feather	yapitj	crayfish
wiRika	make fire	yapuka	bird
wiring	tinder, charcoal	yaRam	waterhole
wiRipuna, wiRipunya	hit	yarka, yarkila	search
wiRpma	to use	yatjang, yaRang	bad
wirmal	powerful owl	yawa	swim
wirmbul	ears	yawia	hope, wish
wirra	swim, to	yawiR	game, bird, emu
wirrap	fish	yen, yern	moon
wirp	a wound	yerka, yerkila	search
witjin mir, wiRini mir	eyelash	ye-ye	yes
witjin, wiRayn	feather	yingila	sing
witjiwa	return	yiRia	cry
witjup, wutjup	heart	yirrip	ironbark
work	black	yuanuk	another
wuiwutj	heavy club	yukip	crimson parakeet
wuka	give	yukurn	blue-tongue lizard
wungkur-wil	strong	yulawil	echidna
wura-wura	sky	yulp	right hand
wuRip	parrot	yulpilap	flycatcher
wurrak	banksia	yul-yul	wild man
wurreka	speak, say	yundap	forearm
wurru	mouth, lip	yungga	throw
wuRukal	hot	yungguip	canoe
wurwur	sky	yunmila	run away with
wuR-wuRa-mir	eyeball	yuntap	forearm
wutjip	warm	yupi	cousin
wutjup, witjup	heart	yurn	cat
yalarn	round basket	yuRonda	grind
yaluk	creek, river	yuRun-yuRun	sharpening stone
yana	go, walk	yutjuk	fish
yang pap	step mother	yutmila	run away with
yap, yaRp	light (to see by)	yuwan	step sister
yapa, yapunya	to light	yuwaRpa	quick

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Appendix 1: E.S. Parker's translation of Psalm 139 (Parker 1854).

1. *Marmingorak, warbun yerkar wanoong, par karkinar wannoong.*
Mami-ngurrak wapan yerrk-arr wanung pa kerrk-in-arr wanung
 father-our thou? search-thou me and catch-PAST-thou me
 O Lord, thou hast searched me, and known me.
2. *War narks naroge booreetnan, par naroge pikinan:*
Warr nhak? nhaRoki puR-in-an pa nhaRoki paik-in-an
 you see when sit-PAST-I and when rise-PAST-I
- war nark nartinak warredu.*
warr nhak nhatin-ek? waRitu
 you see thought.my afar
 Thou knowest my downsitting and my uprising, thou understandest my thought afar off.
3. *War yerkin barkook wangak, par narkinar nalderung kokinak.*
Warr yerrk-in parkuk wangek pa nhak-in-arr ngalturrong kokinek
 thou search-PAST path my and see-PAST-thou all way-my?
 Thou compassest my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways.
4. *Nauallawan woorakin kiarp tallingingorak talungak,*
Ngala-wan wuRak-an kayap thalingorrak thal-u-ngek
 not-I speak-I one word tongue-in-my
- warbun meelroppang kneernar.*
wapan milRopang nyern-arr
 thou? always hear-thou
 For there is not a word in my tongue, but, lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether.
5. 6. [not translated]
7. *Windyamin yangillan wind ya nurillan;*
windjamin yangil-an windja nuR-il-an
 where go-I where hide-REFL-I
- windier mooropen nulls narkin wanoong?*
windya murrup-in ngala nhak-an wanung
 where spirit.your not see-me? me
 Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence?
8. *Gneetong pikinan woorer wooreye, warbim Marmingunik mirpanua:*
Ngitung paik-in-an wura-wura-ye wabim mami-ngurrak miRp-arr nhua
 if ascend-FUT?-I heaven.to you father.our dwell-thou there
- Gneetoong monginan dookumn dookumak tarte, mirrpar nua.*
Ngitung mungg-in-an tukum-tukum-ek tat-i miRp-arr nhua
 if make-FUT-I bed-my hell-in dwell-thou there
 If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold thou art there.
9. *Gneetnong mootyinan tarrarkook bairpobarrapu,*
Ngitung mutj-in-an tarrak-uk perrpu-perrpu
 if take-FUT-I wing-its morning

par mirrpin kinkowurrunga waarre, warredyu knooraook;
pa miRp-an kinkowurrunga waRe waRedju nguRauk
 and dwell.I there? sea far-in great
 If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea;

10. *Kadjook kommeer munnar karkinn wanoong,*
Katjuk komia marna kak-iyn wanung
 even there hand hold-FUT me

par yoolpe munnar karkin wanoong.
pa yulpe marna kak-iyn wanung.
 and right hand hold- FUT me
 Even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.

11. *Gneetong nertinak, wartin konietyillung par nurinan kiaknak;*
Ngitong nert-in-ak xx konitjilang pa nuR-in-an xx
 if say-FUT-I xx darkness and hide-FUT-I xx

lowurrung, booroin gnoola nowe.
lowurrung puroyn ngula nhawi.
 no night like day
 If I say, Surely the darkness shall cover me; even the night shall be light about me.

12. *Ye, Ye, konietyillung mung nulla nurin wanoong;*
Ye, ye konitjilang mang ngala nur-in wanung
 yea, yea darkness here not hide-PAST? me

booroin yapkoitgnin gnoola nowe,
puroyn yap koytnyin ngula nhawi
 darkness light ? like day

koniety[i]llung par yap mellert turreng bolong ware.
konitjilang pa yap melert tuReng polong waR-e.
 darkness and light xx xx two thee-to
 Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee, but the night shineth as the day; the darkness and the light are both alike to thee.

Appendix 2; Kulin grammatical forms

The following tables set the data considered in this text in a general Kulin perspective. First of all there are several grammatical markers common to all Kulin tongues. These include **-ngin** and **-nyu**, second and third person possessor respectively, which are widespread and **-pil** (variants **-wil** and **-mil**) ‘having’ and **-arr** ‘second person singular subject marker’, which are peculiar to Kulin. The distribution of past tense markers shows a distinction between Western Kulin (**-in**), Wathawurrung (**-ik**) and Eastern Kulin (**-ath**). The suffix **-aya**, which converts nominals to intransitive verbs is common to Western Kulin, but not found in the available data in Wathawurrung or Eastern Kulin.

Data on Tjapwurrung is skimpy and data on Yartwatjali consists mainly of what can be gained from word lists. Ergative **-ngu** and genitive **-nga** appear to distinguish Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung, and possibly Yartwatjali, from other Kulin tongues. These are relic forms clearly relatable to widespread ergative **-nggu** and locative **-ngga**.

Table Appendix 1: Kulin grammatical forms

	Mathi	Wemba	Wergaya	Yartwa	Tjap	Djadja	Watha	Eastern
<i>ergative</i>	-(k)u -(ng)u	-(k)u	-(k)u		-ngu, -u	-ngu	-a	-(th)a
<i>genitive</i>		-(ngg)itj	-(k)itj	-nga?	-nga	-nga	-ak	-(th)al
<i>locative</i>	-(k)ata	-(k)ata	-(k)ata	-u	-u	-u	-o	
<i>allative</i>	-(k)al	-(k)al	-(k)al		-ne	-(n)e	-iyu	
<i>dat/loc</i>	-(k)a	-(k)a	-(k)a				-o	-uth etc.
<i>ablative</i>	-(k)unga	-(k)ang	-(k)ang			-(n)ang		-u
<i>‘having’</i>	-pil	-pil	-pil	-wil	-wil	-pil	-pil	-pil
<i>nom modifier</i>			-i	-i	-i	-i	-i	
<i>present</i>	-a	-a	-a			-a	-a	-unh
<i>past</i>	-in	-in	-in	-in		-in	-ik	-ath
<i>future</i>	-iyn	-iyn	-iyn	-iyn?	-iyn	-iyn	-iyn	-anh
<i>past participle</i>		-en	-en	-en	-en	-en		
<i>imp. trans</i>	-i	-ak	-ak	-ak	-ak	-ak	-ak	-ak
<i>imp. intrans</i>	-i	-i	-i			-i	-k	-i?
<i>continuative</i>		-ang	-ang	-ang	-ang	-ang		
<i>reciprocal</i>	-therra	-tjerra	-tjerra	-tjarra	-tjarra	-tjarra	-tjarra	-tjirri
<i>reflexive</i>	-ila	-ila	-ila	-ila	-ila	-ila	-la	-ila
<i>potential</i>		-itj			-itj	-itj???	-ayt	-ayt
<i>purposive</i>		-ap				-ap		
<i>N → V intrans</i>	-aya(tha)	-aya	-aya	-aya	-aya	-aya	-parra	-kurri
<i>causative</i>		-(k)una	-(k)una	-kunga	-(k)una	-(k)una, -kunga	-wa, -ma	

Table Appendix 2: Kulin possessor forms

	<i>Mathi</i>	<i>Wemba</i>	<i>Wergaya</i>	<i>Yartwa</i>	<i>Tjap</i>	<i>Djadja</i>	<i>Watha</i>	<i>Eastern</i>
sg. 1	-(ng)ai	-(ng)ek, andak	-(ng)ek	-(ng)ek	-ek	-(ng)ek	-ek	-ik
2	-(ng)in	-(ng)in	-(ng)in		-in	-(ng)in	-(ng)in	-in
3	-(nh)u	-(ny)uk	-(ny)uk	-(ny)uk	-(ny)uk	-(ny)uk	-nhuk	-u
du. 1inc	-(ng)al	-angalak	-engalak			-al	-al	-ngal
1ex		-angalakang		-	-	-alak	-alak	-ngan
2		-alak		-	-	-olak	-pulok	-mbul
3		-pulak	-pulak	-ulak?	-	-olang	-pulang	-pulayn
pl. 1inc	-(ng)urra	-angurrak	-engurrak	-	-ngurrak	-ingarrak	-atak	-nganyin
1ex		-angurrakang - andak		-andak	-	-andak	-wotjok	-nganyinu
2		-atak				-atak	-ut	-ngut
3		-(tj)anak	-tjanak			-anak	-thanang	-than

Table Appendix 3: Kulin subject enclitics

	<i>Wemba</i>	<i>Wergaya</i>	<i>Yartwa</i>	<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	<i>Djadja</i>	<i>Watha</i>	<i>Eastern</i>
sg 1	-anda, -an	-an	-an	-an	-an	-an	-an
2	-arr	-arr			-arr	-arr	-arr
3							
du. 1inc	-angal	-angal			-angal	-ngal	-angal
1ex	-angalang				-angalang		-angan
2	-awal	-awul			-awul	-pul	-pul
3	-pula	-pulang			-pulang	-pulang	-pulayn
pl. 1inc	-angurr	-angurr			-angurr	-ngitj	-anganyin
1ex	-angurrang				-ngandang		-
2	-atj	-atj	-at	-kat, -wat, -at	-awat	-at	-at
3	-an	-ana, erri			-angatj	-t[h]anang	-nhurr,