

THE COLAC LANGUAGE

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

Dawson's (1881:2) *Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria* contains the following statement:

At the annual great meetings of the associated tribes, where sometimes twenty tribes assembled, there were usually four languages spoken, so distinct from one another that the young people speaking one of them could not understand a word of the other three; and even the middle-aged people had difficulty in ascertaining what was said. There were Chaap wuurong, Kuurn kopan noot, Wiitya whuurong and Kolac gnat. The other tongues spoken at the meeting might be termed dialects of these four languages.

This statement would appear to be accurate from what we can glean from vocabularies collected in the nineteenth century. *Chaap wuurong* (Tjapwurrung) was spoken from Hamilton to Stawell and is a dialect of the language spoken over the whole of western Victoria from Hamilton north to Wentworth in New South Wales. *Kuurn Kopan Noot* is a dialect of the Warrnambool language and *Wiitja Whuurong* (**Watjawurrung** or **Wathawurrung**) is the language of the Geelong area (see Map 1). *Kolac gnat* is referred to by Dawson as the 'Colac language' and he says that the name means 'belonging to sand'. A form **kulak** 'sand' is found in the Pik Wurrung dialect of the Warrnambool Language, and **kurrak** 'sand' appears in Wathawurrung and some dialects of the Western Victorian language.

There are some dozens of sources that mention the Colac people. These are collected in Ian Clark's (1990) *Aboriginal languages and clans: an historical atlas of western and central Victoria, 1800-1900*. Along with Dawson's *Kolac gnat*, there are other spellings such as *Kolakgnat* and *Kolaknat*. These suggest a form **Kolak-ngat** where **-ngat** is a suffix also recorded in the Warrnambool Language. There are also a number of spellings such as *Colijon*, *Koligian*, *Colijan*, *Kolijin* and *Koladgin*. These suggest a form **Gulidjan** (alternatively transcribed with an initial **k** and/or with **o** as the vowel of the first syllable). The vowel **a** tends to be pronounced as [æ] or [ɛ] following a palatal such as **dj** and this probably accounts for the spellings that suggest **i** in the final syllable. A third set of spellings such as *Caligun*, *Coligan*, *Koligan*, *Koligon*, etc. suggest a form **Koligan** or similar. All these names seem to cover the people rather than their language. We shall refer to the people as **Gulidjan** and their language as **the Colac language**.

Barry J. Blake, ed. *Wathawurrung and the Colac language of southern Victoria*, 155–177. *Pacific Linguistics*, C–147, 1998.

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It appears that the Gulidjan were a small tribe inhabiting an area around Lake Colac. The extent and location of their territory is shown in map 3 which is reproduced from Clark (1990:233). On the basis of the early sources four clans can be distinguished:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Beeac clan | Lake Beeac |
| 2. Birregurra clan | Birregurra |
| 3. Garraldjan balug | Ingleby station on the Barwon River |
| 4. Gulidjan balug | Near Lake Colac |

1.2 GULIDJAN HISTORY

The Gulidjan people were organised into two matrilineal moieties: **gabadj** (black cockatoo) and **grugidj** (white cockatoo). They intermarried with the matrilineal Tjapwurrung and Djargurdwurrung peoples (see Map 3). Despite having a different descent system, they also intermarried with some of the clans of the patrilineal Wathawurrung.

The Gulidjan were blamed for the murders of J.T. Gellibrand and G. Hesse, who went missing in the upper Barwon River district in early 1837. In retribution several Gulidjan were killed near Lake Colac in 1837 by a settler party accompanied by some Wathawurrung. The squatters in the Colac district suffered many sheep losses in the period from 1837–39, and armed parties of settlers pursued the raiding parties; violent clashes followed and Gulidjan huts and implements were destroyed. From 1840 the Gulidjan became ‘friendlier’ and began to be employed on European stations.

In 1839 the Wesleyan Church established the Buntingdale Wesleyan Mission station, in Gulidjan country at what is now Birregurra. Under the leadership of the reverends Benjamin Hurst and Francis Tuckfield, the missionaries concentrated their efforts on the Gulidjan, Djargurdwurrung, and Wathawurrung peoples. They were also visited by some Tjapwurrung people.

Virtually from the mission’s inception, conflict arose between the Gulidjan and Wathawurrung, who were competing for the attention of the missionaries. The Gulidjan argued that as the mission station was situated within their boundary, they ought to be favoured; the Wathawurrung threatened to drive them off by force of arms. By 1841 Tuckfield was stating that the selection of the mission site and the amalgamation of the three groups had been an error. He feared that unless each ‘tribe’ retained their own tribal grounds their extinction would soon be deplored. He began to concentrate his efforts on the Gulidjan, living and travelling with them.

Buntingdale was abandoned in 1848 because of the small numbers of Gulidjan people frequenting the station and the encroachments of neighbouring settlers who erected houses and depastured stock on mission grounds. As a consequence, many Gulidjan took refuge with Alexander Dennis at Tardwarncourt station. The Gulidjan are believed to have numbered 43 males and 35 females in 1850.

In 1856 James Bonwick, the Inspector of Schools, travelled through Western Victoria, where he met a camp of Gulidjan people in the Warrion Hills. There he met John Co-coc-coine, the Gulidjan clan-head, and his family. Co-coc-coine snr wore a brass breastplate,

given to him by a local settler, on which was inscribed 'Co-coc-coine, King of the Warriors'. When Co-coc-coine snr died in 1865, his son, John Co-coc-coine jnr, discarded the breastplate.

In 1858 the Gulidjan numbered 19 people: 12 men, six women, and one six-year-old male child. The adults ranged in ages from 24 to 50. The men were generally employed by settlers and farmers, and the Gulidjan had received no assistance from the government after the abolition of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate in 1849.

With the formation of the Central Board 'to watch over the interests of the Aborigines' in 1860, the Geelong correspondents to the Board requested that a hut or 'shelter-shed' be erected for the use of the Gulidjan, who were in the habit of travelling to Geelong. In 1861 the Karngun Reserve of three acres of land on the Barwon River, immediately south of present-day Winchelsea, was set aside (see Map 2). Karngun was maintained until 1875.

In the early 1860s some Gulidjan were living in mia-mias in Colac, near the present site of the Colac hospital, and Dennis and five Colac settlers funded the erection of a brick house there. The Gulidjan, however, refused to live in the house, using it instead as a windbreak for their brushwood shelters. From 1862 William Dennis at Birregurra supplied the Gulidjan with provisions paid for by the Central Board. Alexander Dennis assumed this role in 1864. The Geelong Correspondents supplied the Gulidjan with clothing and rations when they visited Geelong.

In 1872, after the prompting of Alexander Dennis and the Colac Shire Council, the Victorian government reserved 40 acres of land at the Colac town common for the use of the Gulidjan. The reserve was known as Elliminyt, and the brick house, from near the hospital, was relocated there. From 1876, Richard Sharp, the son of Kitty Co-coc-coine, the spouse of John Co-coc-coine snr, lived on the Elliminyt Reserve with his non-Aboriginal wife, and had occupation of 20 acres. The remaining 20 acres were held for the use of the remaining Gulidjan until 1889, when they were let to Jim Crow, another Gulidjan man.

In 1912, six Gulidjan were residing at Elliminyt: the Sharp and Crow families. Elliminyt was relinquished in 1948. Descendants of the Crow family were still resident in Colac in 1966. For more information on the history of the Gulidjan see Clark (1990).

1.3 LANGUAGE RELATIONSHIPS

Map 1 shows the location of the Colac language in relation to the other languages of Victoria. A number of languages in central and western Victoria are relatively similar to one another and are classified as Kulin. In the classification in Blake and Reid (see this volume), which is based on Schmidt (1919), Hercus (1986) and unpublished work by Dixon, Kulin is split into four: Central Victoria (Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung and Thagawurrung), Western Victoria (various dialects), Wathawurrung and Colac. The classification of Colac as Kulin is not unproblematical. It rests on a few grammatical forms (see below), the evidence from shared vocabulary being inconclusive.

The Gulidjan shared tribal boundaries with the Wathawurrung, mainly to the east, and various groups speaking dialects of what we are calling the Warrnambool language. The

following figures show the extent of vocabulary shared between the Colac language and other languages of Victoria. In the case of the adjacent Warrnambool language, a distinction is made between Dawson's *Kuurn Kopan Noot*, Dawson's *Peek-wurrung* and the more westerly *Wannon* dialects. In the case of the Western Victorian language, the *Tjapwurrung* dialect is shown, since it is the nearest; similarly with the Central Victorian language where *Woiwurrung* is chosen.

Bunganditj	(south-western Victoria)	20%
<i>Kuurn Kopan noot</i>	(Warrnambool Language)	26%
Pik wurrung	(Warrnambool Language)	20%
Wannon	(Warrnambool Language)	23%
Tjapwurrung	(Western Victorian Language)	31%
Wathawurrung		34%
Woiwurrung	(Central Victorian Language)	32%
Yota-Yota	northern Victoria	17%
Yabula-Yabula	northern Victoria	11%
Dhudhuroa	northern Victoria	19%
Pallanganmiddang	northern Victoria	20%
Gippsland		19%

Common vocabulary does not give a clear identification of the affiliation of the Colac language. As can be seen, it scores about 23% with dialects of the Warrnambool language to the west and 34% with Wathawurrung to the north and east. Significantly it does not score higher with closer dialects of the Warrnambool language, which suggests that borrowing is not a large factor. Similarly significant is the fact that it scores around the same figures with non-contiguous Kulin languages as it does with its Kulin neighbour, Wathawurrung: 31% with Tjapwurrung and 32% with Woiwurrung. Once again this suggests that borrowing is not a significant factor and that the percentages of shared vocabulary reflect the degree of genetic proximity.

There is practically no grammatical data available, but the following pronouns are recorded. The glosses have been 'corrected'; the original glosses are given at the end of the glossary.

	<i>nominative</i>	<i>genitive</i>
<i>I</i>	ngathuit	ngathangit
<i>we two</i>	ngathula	ngathangula
<i>1st person</i>	ngathangorrok	ngathangangorrok
<i>1st person [inc?]</i>	ngathunginak	-

The first formative in these pronouns, **nga-**, is no guide to genetic affinity, since it is practically ubiquitous within Australia. The second formative, which we have transcribed **-thu**, resembles the second formative in Bunganditj **ngathuk** and Warrnambool **ngathuk**, but it must be remembered that **-thu** is a widespread formative in first person singular pronouns, and since the Kulin languages have lost their free-form pronouns, it is impossible to say whether the matching with **-thu** is significant. However, it is interesting to note that Colac shares with the Warrnambool Language and Bunganditj a distinctive means of forming first person non-singular, namely by using **ngathu** as a stem. Once again it is

difficult to assess the significance of this as the Kulin languages have lost their free-form pronouns.¹

Apart from this, what evidence can be gleaned from pronoun forms suggests a connection with Kulin. The genitive of three pronoun forms is clearly formed with **-ang**, which matches **-ang-** in the Wimmera tongue, which is part of the Kulin group. The form **ngathangorrok** looks as if it contains **-angurr-**, the bound form for first person plural inclusive in Wemba-Beraba, also part of the Kulin group.

In Tuckfield's translation of the Lord's Prayer *nere-ngen* is 'thy name' (also in his Wathawurrung translation), so **-ngin** would appear to be the form for second person singular possessor, as in the Kulin languages.

Tuckfield records *malankaugnek* for 'my aunt'. This appears to be **malankau-ngek** or **malankaung-ek**, where **-ngek** or **-ek** is the form for first person possessor in the Kulin languages.

A number of body-part terms are recorded with the suffix **-gnenok**, which we transcribe as **-nyinuk** (possibly **-nginuk**). This is obviously a third person possessor form and its appearance in word lists matches the distribution of **-u** in the Madhi group and in Woiwurrung, **-uk** in the other tongues of Western Victoria and **-atnin** in the Warrnambool language. A number of compound body-part terms also contain **nyinuk** as in **lirri nyinuk ma** 'fingernail' where **lirri** is 'nail' and **ma** 'hand'. This expression is probably literally 'nail-its hand'. The form **-nyinuk** is likely to consist of a third person root plus a genitive marker. The widespread third person singular root in Pama-Nyungan is **nyu-** or **nhu-**. Whether this suggested match of roots is correct or not, there seems to be a match between a genitive suffix **-uk** and the **-uk** of the Western language and Wathawurrung. This provides further evidence that the Colac language is Kulin.

However, though most of the evidence from grammatical forms suggests that Colac is a Kulin language, the vocabulary is not so obviously Kulin, and it suggests that the Colac language is a rather marginal member of the Kulin group. The vocabulary contains a large number of words recorded only in this language (e.g. **purterrong** 'child', **tharrong** 'man' and **part-part** 'moon'), plus a few words reflected in non-contiguous languages which must be relics, e.g. **birri** 'breast', which is found in north-eastern Victoria (Pallanganmiddang and Dhudhuroa) and New South Wales (Wiradhuri), **putjung** 'egg', which has likely cognates in northern Victoria (Yota-Yota), north-eastern Victoria (Pallanganmiddang) and eastern Victoria (the Gippsland Language), and **pun** 'knee', which is shared with Wathawurrung and the Gippsland Language. Most of the words that it shares with the Warrnambool language, the Western language, Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung are widespread items such as **mama** 'father'. Where Colac shares words that are not so widespread, it tends to share them with Wathawurrung. The most significant point about the vocabulary scores is the fact that Colac scores almost as well with non-contiguous Kulin tongues as it does with Wathawurrung. This tends to confirm the evidence from grammatical forms that Colac is Kulin.

¹ Cathrine Koukmenides pointed out this connection between Colac, Warrnambool and Bunganditj. Note that it hinges on the interpretation of the original notation. The evidence is given at the end of the glossary.

1.4 SOURCES

The linguistic sources for the Colac language are as follows:

Tuckfield, F., 1844, A specimen of the difference of dialects spoken by the native tribes of Port Phillip. *Great Britain Parliamentary Papers* 34:227.

This 'specimen' contains 19 words. It is reproduced in E. Eyre (1845) *Manners and customs of the Aborigines and the state of their relations with Europeans*, volume II:399-402 and in R. Brough Smyth (1878) *The Aborigines of Victoria*, volume II:165-166. A larger selection of Tuckfield's data is contained in Cary (1898) (see next entry) and where the two Tuckfield lists overlap, alarming discrepancies can be observed that suggest misreadings of Tuckfield's handwriting in the Parliamentary Papers version.

Cary, J., 1898, Vocabularies of the Geelong and Colac tribes collected in 1840. *Report of the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, Sydney*, pp.840-872 (reprinted 1899:1-33).

This paper contains material from Tuckfield (see preceding entry) consisting of a pronoun paradigm, a vocabulary of nearly 100 words and a partial translation of the Lord's Prayer marked *Kolijon* but with a question mark.

Dennis, William and Alexander, 1878, Colac. In R. Brough Smyth *The Aborigines of Victoria*, vol.2:89.

A vocabulary of 48 words.

Lloyd, G.T., 1862, *Thirty three years in Tasmania and Victoria*. Melbourne.

This source contains a list of 70 words, some Wathawurrung some Colac. Lloyd writes (p.470): "Never, until very recently, having conceived the slightest intention of committing my recollections to paper, I cannot, therefore, remember more than a few words in the language of the Colac tribe of natives, possibly, however, there may be many words of the Barrabool tribe [Wathawurrung] in the following memorandum".

Robinson, G.A., Volume 65, part 2 of Robinson's papers contain lists of words in the *Coligan* language: pp.27-30, 31-43, 44-52.

2. PHONOLOGY

As noted above, there is not a great deal of overlap between the five sources, so we have few tokens for most items and consequently more than usual difficulty in working out the pronunciation.

2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

(a) Consonants

On the basis of what is known about other Australian languages we are assuming that the phoneme inventory was as in Table 1 below or with the dentals and laminals comprising a single series of phonemes. Although a dental laminal stop **th** occurred as in

thit-thit ‘bird’, we cannot be certain that it was phonemically different from the palatal laminal stop **tj**, as in **pinitja** ‘old’, so we write dentals or palatals according to the indications in our sources. In Victorian languages laminal stops at the end of a word seem to have been often unreleased and heard only as a **y**-glide transition from the preceding vowel to an apparent **t**. Robinson’s spellings *cone nor rite* and *cone ner rite* for ‘gum tree’ suggest a final syllable rhyming with words such as *tight*. There was probably a final laminal. We transcribe this word as **konerrayt** where **yt** represents a laminal stop.

There is evidence for a palatal nasal **ny**, and there may have been a dental nasal **nh**, but we do not expect to find direct evidence for a dental nasal, because nineteenth-century recorders could not tell it apart from the alveolar **n**. The word *nane* ‘back of neck’ has a cognate **nyani** in Wathawurrung and Wergaya, so it is probably **nhani**. We still cannot tell whether **nh** was phonemically distinct from **ny**.

The palatal nasal **ny** is written **yn** at the end of a word to avoid giving the appearance of an extra syllable. Thus Robinson’s *worroin* ‘tall’ is transcribed **warroyn** with **yn** for what we take to be a final palatal nasal.

We have assumed that there is no phonemic distinction between voiceless and voiced stops, but we have generally written **p** or **b**, etc. as in our sources. In syllable-final position and certainly in word-final position there are almost only voiceless tokens, which suggests that voice distinctions in stops, whether phonemic or not, must have been neutralised in this position.

There is evidence for **l**, but no evidence for a retroflex lateral (**rl**) or any form of laminal lateral (**lh** or **ly**).

There was probably a flapped or trilled rhotic (**rr**) and a glide (**r**), but these are not distinguished in the nineteenth-century sources, so all rhotics are written **rr**.

TABLE 1: CONSONANTS

	<i>labial</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>alveolar</i>	<i>retroflex</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>
stop	p/b	th/dh	t/d	rt/rd	tj/dj	k/g
nasal	m	nh	n	rn	ny/yn	ng
lateral	-	(lh)	l	(rl)	(ly/yl)	-
rhotic	-	-	rr	r	-	-
semivowel	-	-	-	-	y	w

(b) Vowels

We cannot be certain whether the Colac language had a three-vowel system as is common among Australian languages or perhaps a six-vowel system as in Wemba-Wemba (Hercus 1986). We have retained **e** and **o** in our suggested phonemic forms, except where there is alternation between **i** and **e** or between **u** and **o**, where we have used **i** and **u** respectively. We have also used **i** in preference to **e** and **u** in preference to **o** where the comparative evidence suggested it. Thus Lloyd’s *woro* ‘mouth’ is transcribed as **wurru** since that appears to be its form in other languages.

There is evidence of long vowels, but it is not certain whether this was phonemic. Long vowels are written as double vowels.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

As noted above it is not certain whether **th** and **tj** were distinct phonemes and the same goes for **nh** and **ny**. There are no instances of **tj** in word-initial position, nor of **ny**. **Th** occurs in **thit-thit** 'bird'. **Nh** could not be distinguished from **n** by nineteenth-century observers, but *nane* 'back of neck' is probably **nhani**, given that the Wathawurrung word is **nyani**.

There are no words recorded with an initial rhotic, but there are half a dozen with an initial lateral.

There were probably no words with initial vowels. The word for 'white man' is recorded in three tokens with initial vowels (*amerdeit*, *umadeet* and *ummageet*), but we know from Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung tokens that this word had an initial **ng** and was pronounced **ngamadjiyt** or **ngamadhiyt**. It was common in the nineteenth century for an initial **ng** to remain undetected.

In word-final position the following consonants are attested:

p	lelap 'salt'
t	thit-thit
rt	part-part 'moon' (alternatively paat-paat)
tj/yt	ngamadjiyt 'white man'
k	pinmuk 'excrescence'
m	pirrm-pirrm 'breast'
n	murrun 'march fly'
rn	barn 'ankle'
ny	worroyn 'tall'
ng	tharrong 'man'
l	katyal-katyal 'rope'
rr	mirr 'eye'

(c) Consonant clusters

There are several examples in the sources of what appear to be initial clusters with *r* as the second element.

<i>brem-brem gnennok</i>	breast
<i>kraompweet</i>	brother
<i>priterong</i>	child
<i>mrinyeduc</i>	eye
<i>dree, tre, drae</i>	(lava) stone

The first can probably be dismissed since there is a common word **birri(ng)** for 'breast' in Victorian languages and this word is also recorded as *ber re*. Moreover, **birrm-birrm** is recorded in Woiwurrung, so it looks as if the recorder has metathesised (transposed) the

rhotic and the vowel. *Kraompweet* can also be dismissed, since it is also recorded as *koromboit*. *Priterong* is also recorded as *pooterong* and it may be that the **t** is retroflex and that this rhotic 'segment' has been metathesised with the vowel. 'Eye' is recorded as *mir* and *mer*, but **mirr** is the form in Western Victoria, and in Warnambool and Central Victoria it is **mirrng**. *Dreeltreldrae* is more problematical. It could be **dVrri** (where V = a vowel), or it could be that the initial stop was retroflex and sounded like **dr** to the observer.

It is difficult to make generalisations about intervocalic clusters. The range is great. Some of the marked clusters are probably across morpheme boundaries, but in the absence of a basis for analysing words morphologically it is impossible to be certain.

There were probably word-final clusters with a rhotic and a peripheral stop or nasal. Some of the following are recorded with a vowel between the rhotic and the final consonant, but comparative evidence suggests that there was perhaps no vowel.

rrm	birrm-birrm	breast
rrk	murrk	head
	kurrk	female (see entry for 'woman, white')
rrng	marrng	cloud

3. GRAMMATICAL FORMS

The following forms can be gleaned from the word lists:

-barri/-barra

This suffix marks an intransitive verb. It is found attached to the Pidgin form **workim** 'to work' in **workim-barra-nuk**. When an English word is adopted in an Aboriginal language as a verb it always requires a verb-forming derivational suffix, irrespective of whether it is a verb or not in English. The form **-barra** would appear to be the suffix that marks intransitive verbs. It may have been an inchoative form and it may have had other functions, such as reflexive. The suffix also appears in **ngonom-barra-nuk** 'to tell' (also **ngonom-barri-nuk**). If it is reflexive, its appearance here is not unexpected. In Wathawurrung, for instance, **ki (la)** is 'to tell' and **ki-tjarra-** 'to talk', 'to converse', where **-tjarra** is a reflexive-reciprocal.

-nuk

Numerous verb forms end in **-nuk**, including the forms quoted in the previous paragraph.

-an

The form for 'salt' is **lelap** and the form for 'salt water' **lelaban**. The alternation between [p] and [b] is not unexpected (see above). The comparison points to a suffix **-an**, possibly a 'having' suffix.

Pronominal forms are discussed in §1.3 above.

4. TEXT

The only text available is a partial translation of the *Our Father* by Tuckfield. Unfortunately there is so little overlap between the words in this text and the words in the lists that we have been unable to give a literal translation of the text from which we might have been able to glean extra words or grammatical information. The few words we can identify are given as glosses:

1. *Bort nuk mar mar kan-bon nad-don a now*
Father
wol look gne bort nuk ma-moit,
2. *Gnu-ra-nan-da nar-e gnen;*
hallowed? name-2SG.POSS
3. *Wad-ge-no to-wardo wad wad de*
come?
tar gmud dun yar-o-ni-ong now-won kan bon-o-ni-e;
earth?
4. *Komo nan nen ge rang a kar gnar-lar tar-ar-wart.*
give us? us? bread?? our? daily

5. GLOSSARY

The Lloyd list is a problem since it contains Wathawurrung words. Where Lloyd's word is not found in Wathawurrung, and there are usually multiple tokens available for each word in Wathawurrung, this is noted as 'not Wathawurrung'. For instance, *yoona-durrin-nuke* is not found in the Wathawurrung sources, so it is likely to be a genuine Colac word. Note that the phrase 'not Wathawurrung' is used only in reference to Lloyd entries.

English	Sources	Phonetic
air	parkoolook (d)	pakuluk
angry	yoona-durrin-nuke (l)	yundarrin ²
ankle	barn gnen nok (tu)	barn ³
arm	ken-en-gnen-ok (e)	kene ⁴
	ken e ken nok (tu)	
armpit	kar e gnen ok (tu)	karri ⁵
aunt, my	malankaugnek (tu)	malakau(ng) ⁶
awake	barrat-car-loon (l)	barratkalun
banksia	cal la (r)	kala

² Not a Wathawurrung word.

³ Compare **barn** in the Warrnamnool language and Wathawurrung.

⁴ Compare *foot*.

⁵ Both **karram** and **karrap** are found in Wathawurrung.

⁶ Wathawurrung **male korag**.

bark, to	yourn go ning (r)	yurn.goning
basket	neramite (r)	nerramayt
beard	bong-gnen-nok-wo-ro (tu)	bong-nginuk-wurru ⁷
	gnan-gnen nok (tu)	ngan ⁸
belly	woranyenuc (d)	warra ⁹
	war-an-gnen nok (tu)	
bird	thitthit (d)	thit-thit
bite, to	poonganing (r)	pun- ¹⁰
blood	korockyenuc (d)	kurrk ¹¹
boat	corong (l)	korrong ¹²
bone	yeerbingyenuc (d)	yiabing? yirrbing?
bowels	war o gnen uk (tu)	warro ¹³
breast	ber re gnen nok (tu)	birri ¹⁴
	brem-brem gnen nok (tu)	birrm-birrm ¹⁵
breastbone	kut kut gnen nok (tu)	kat-kat
bring	corange-lun-dun (l)	korrandj(i)-landan
broлга	kor-ork (tu), coroarc (r)	kurru(rr)k ¹⁶
brother	kraompweet (d) ¹⁷	kurrumpuwiyt
	derda (tu)	tirta ¹⁸
bro, younger	koromboit (tu)	korrompoyt ¹⁹
bucket	to gro (r)	tokrro
	car re go noke (r)	karrigonuk ²⁰
bullock	tarn ta quorong (r)	tarntakorrong
burn, to	mon coning (r)	monkoning

⁷ Tuckfield records **bong-i wurru** in Wathawurrung. **Wurru** means 'mouth' and is widespread in Victoria. The literal meaning is 'mouth its hair' i.e. 'hair of mouth'.

⁸ Compare Wergaya **nganyi**, Djapwurrung **nganye** and Thagungwurrung **nganyin**.

⁹ See also *bowels*. Recorded as 'bowels' by Tuckfield in Wathawurrung.

¹⁰ The form **punta** is widespread in Victorian languages.

¹¹ The form **kerrek** is found in the Warnambool language, **kurrk** in Western Victoria, Wathawurrung, Central Victoria and Gippsland, and **kurru** in Pallanganmiddang.

¹² Also found in Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung.

¹³ See *belly*.

¹⁴ **Birri** is found in Pallanganmiddang and Wiradhuri, **birriwa** in Dhudhuroa.

¹⁵ **Birrm-birrm** is found in Central Victoria.

¹⁶ Much the same form is found in other languages of Victoria and similar forms (without the final k) are scattered over eastern Australia.

¹⁷ This word is also given for 'younger brother' and 'son'.

¹⁸ Thagungwurrung **tati** 'elder brother'.

¹⁹ See also *brother* and *son*.

²⁰ Possibly based on English 'carry'.

by and by	ta la (r)	thala ²¹
directly	tala warlook (r)	thalawaluk
	tala narlook (r)	thalanaluk
immediately	tara-wa-luke (l)	tarrawaluk
presently	tarala (l)	tarrala ²²
calf	bor om gum bor um gum(tu)	borromgam-borromgam
cap	coburramoark (r)	kubarra-murrk ²³
catch	pud-car-nook (l) ²⁴	patka ²⁵
child	poot nong (r)	purterrong
	priterong (r)	
	pooterong (r)	
chin	tel-er-e-gnen nok gnen(tu)	telerrri
clouds	[bula da] mer ong (tu)	marrng ²⁶
	[balleet] na murrung(r)	
cold	peerin (l)	pirriyn ²⁷
come	yarreyan (l)	yarriyan ²⁸
come back	odinyarra (r)	(ng)utinyarra ²⁹
covering	carra-nuke (l)	karranuk ³⁰
creek	yaloke (l)	yaluk ³¹
crow	kaiwaicrook (d)	kawakurrk
	cowagoork (r)	
crown of head	bul mor ak gnen nok (tu)	pul-murrk ³²
daughter	woorncut (d)	wurnkat ³³
day	wooremolleen (d)	wurrimolliyn
daylight	kardinea (l)	ka(r)dinia ³⁴

²¹ The dental **th** is on the basis of likely identification with forms such as Djadjawurrung **thaliki** 'yesterday', Wathawurrung **thaliyu**, etc.

²² Compare *today*.

²³ The two entries for 'cap' may contain **kabarra** 'head' which was used in nineteenth-century Pidgin (and still in Northern Australia). It comes from Dharuk, the Sydney language. Compare also Wathawurrung **kuparr-murrk** 'cap'. The second element in this word is **murrk** 'head'.

²⁴ Not Wathawurrung.

²⁵ Compare **pitka** 'kill' and **patka** 'sit'.

²⁶ The first word in this entry is similar to forms for 'big' in languages to the east. **Marrng** 'cloud' is also found in Djapwurrung and Djadjawurrung. See also 'sky'.

²⁷ See *wind*. Also found in the Warrnambool language, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria where it occurs with the meanings 'wind' and 'winter' or 'cold weather'. The final palatal is on the basis of the form in Wathawurrung.

²⁸ Not Wathawurrung.

²⁹ Compare Pitta-Pitta (Queensland) **ngutha** 'to return'.

³⁰ Not Wathawurrung

³¹ This word is found in both Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung.

³² **Murrk** is 'head'.

³³ **Warngat** in Thagungwurrung, **wurrngak** in Wathawurrung.

³⁴ Not Wathawurrung.

dead	dedac (l)?	didak ³⁵
die	put-murri-nook (l)	patmarri
dog	gnarn-do (tu)	ngandu
	quon dook (r) ?	kwanduk
drink, to	wolli-gar-nuke (l)	ngoliga- ³⁶
	nolig garnook (r)	
black duck	berewong (r)	pirr(i)wang
[duck] teal	caledwong (r)	kaletwang
duck	pear-wong (tu)	pirrwang
	toolom (l)	tulum ³⁷
eagle	orlimerick (d)	ngolimerrik
ear	wer e gnen nok (tu)	wirri ³⁸
	weinyeduc (d)	
eat	cogalla (l)	kudjala ³⁹
	loo dun nut (r)	luda-
	woot carnook (r)	wutka-
eel	yoke (r)	yuk ⁴⁰
egg	poetchon (d)	putjung ⁴¹
	poa-jong (l)	
elbow	bol on-gnen ok (tu)	bolon
emu	por-i-mul (e), porin-mul (tu)	
	porrimel (r)	parri(n)mal ⁴²
	barang-mal (l)	
enemy	bungilcarney (l)	bandjilkani ⁴³
enough	borac-wah (l)	borrakwa ⁴⁴
excrescence	pin mook (r)	pinmuk [see <i>murrk</i> 'head']
eye	mrinyeduc (d)	mirr ⁴⁵
	mir gnen nok (tu)	
	murt art neen (r)	
	merg-nen-ok (e)	
eyeball	boid-gnen nok mer ne (tu)	buyt nyinuk mirr ne ⁴⁶
eyebrow	twang gnen nok mer ne (tu)	tuwang nyinuk mirr ne

³⁵ Wathawurrung *tirta*.

³⁶ Not Wathawurrung.

³⁷ *Dulum* 'black duck' is widespread in Victoria.

³⁸ Widespread in Victoria.

³⁹ Wathawurrung.

⁴⁰ Woiwurrung.

⁴¹ Compare *putjanga* in Yota-Yota, *boya* in Pallanganmiddang and *buyang* in Gippsland.

⁴² Similar forms in Djadjawurrung, Warmambool and Central Victoria.

⁴³ Given by Tuckfield as 'devil' in Bible.

⁴⁴ Compare Wathawurrung *borrak* 'no, not', a word that was borrowed into Pidgin and Australian English.

⁴⁵ Common Victorian.

⁴⁶ Probably 'belly of the eye'. *Buyt/butj* 'belly, stomach' is found in Djadjawurrung and Central Victoria.

eyelash	tar-at gnen nok mer ne (tu) ⁴⁷	t(h)arrat(h) nyinuk mirr ne
eyelid	word gnen nok mer ne (tu) ⁴⁸	wart nyinuk mirr ne
face	mer e wan- gnen nok (tu)	mirriwan ⁴⁹
far	mywun (l)	maiwan ⁵⁰
father	maahma (d), ma-ma (tu)	mama ⁵¹
feel, to	mongamook (r)	mong(g)a- ⁵²
few days	keana eric (r)	kiyana-irrik
fight, to	mool murrano (r)	mulmarra-
fine day	win malin (r)	win-malin
finger	lerinyinuc (d)	lirri
finger, fore	to-bet-karong (tu)	tobet-karrong
finger, middle	dort mem ne (tu)	dort-mim-ni
finger, third	pot-ket-dok (tu)	pot-ketuk
fingernail	ler ek gnen nok ma (tu)	lirri nginuk ma ⁵³
fire	wean (e), weeing (d)	wiyn, wiing ⁵⁴
flatulence	kon nine yoke (r)	konanyuk ⁵⁵
fly, march	morrone (r)	murrun ⁵⁶
foot	ken-ong-gnen-ok (e)	kinang ⁵⁷
	kenaeyenuc(d)	
	ken ong gnen nok (tu)	
foot, back of	word gne ken ong(tu)	wart-ngi-kinang ⁵⁸
forehead	gner-on-gnen-ok (e)	nyerrang
	gnereng nok(tu)	
frightened	mine gar nook (r)	mayn.ga- ⁵⁹
give, to	congalong (r)	kong- ⁶⁰
give me	goangannon (l)	

⁴⁷ Dentals inserted on the basis of the Wathawurrung form *tharratj-i mirr*.

⁴⁸ Similar expressions with *wart* occur in Wathawurrung and Warrnambool. It may mean 'skin of the eye'; *wata* 'skin' has been recorded in Yota-Yota and Pallanganmiddang. See also 'foot, back of'.

⁴⁹ Wathawurrung *mirr-beng* 'eye-body' for 'face'.

⁵⁰ Wathawurrung *maiwan* 'long time'.

⁵¹ Found also in Western Victoria and Central Victoria.

⁵² Wathawurrung *mong(k)a* 'to make'.

⁵³ Literally 'nail its hand'; compare *lerri* 'fingernail' in Wemba-Wemba and *lirri* in Wergaia. Also *larra breth* (= ? hand) Gippsland.

⁵⁴ Similar forms common in Western and Central Victoria, and in New South Wales.

⁵⁵ This appears to be the widespread *kuna* 'faeces' plus a 3rd person possessor form.

⁵⁶ Also in Wathawurrung and the *Dhauhurtwurru* dialect of the Warrnambool language.

⁵⁷ The common Australian root is *THina*, but *kininuk* 'his/her foot' is found in a list from Western Victoria in Thomas' papers (21:53), and *kina*, along with the widespread *tjina/thina* is found in Tjapwurrung.

⁵⁸ See footnote on *eyelid*.

⁵⁹ Suspiciously like Robinson's entry for 'forehead' in Wathawurrung where *mayn* is 'forehead'.

⁶⁰ Central Victoria *kunga* 'give', 'take'.

go, walk	niera (r)	yarruna
	yarruna (r)	yanya-
go away	yan-yar-nuke (l)	yan.ga-
	yan-gan-note (l)	
go on	ap ber re art neen (r) ⁶¹	na.arrimal-
good	na-arremaluke (l) ⁶²	
goose	du ger noke (r)	nodigong
green parrot	nor-de-gong (tu)	wat-wat ⁶³
ground	wat wat (r)	thaa ⁶⁴
	tha (d)	
	ta (e) (tu)	murra ⁶⁵
	moora (d)	pani djerrang ⁶⁶
gum leaf	panigerong (l)	tulirrup
hail	tuleroop (r)	kan murrk ⁶⁷
hair	kaenmorackenuc (d)	
	kan-mor-ak-gnen nok (tu)	
hand	macnyinuc (d)	ma
	ma gnen nok (tu)	
hand up (noun)	cart bud un (r)	katba-
head	mor-rok-grun-ok (e)	murrk ⁶⁸
	mor rok gnen nok (tu)	
	moranyenuc(d)	
hear	wahart-car-nuke (l)	waatka-?, wangatka? ⁶⁹
	nat kerry (r)	nat-kerri
heel	war an gnen nok (tu)	warra(n)
here	na woin (r)	nawoyn
hill	parrup, par rap (r)	parrap
him	nad the buc (r)	nathipak
horse	carn com a lel (r)	kaan-komalel
hot	weeri-muklin (l)	wirri-maklin ⁷⁰
house	manget (r)	mang(g)it
howl, to	carl errinong (r)	karl errinong ⁷¹
hut	dwardnook (r)	tuwa(r)t

⁶¹ Given as 'be off'.

⁶² Not Wathawurrung.

⁶³ Robinson gives *wark wite* for the *Tjarcote* dialect of the Warrnambool language.

⁶⁴ Western Victoria, Wathawurrung *tjaa*.

⁶⁵ **Merring** in the Warrnambool language.

⁶⁶ Wathawurrung **djerrang** 'leaf'.

⁶⁷ **Murrk** is 'head'.

⁶⁸ Also found in Wathawurrung.

⁶⁹ Not Wathawurrung. **Wanga** is the Bunganditj and Warrnambool word for 'hear'.

⁷⁰ Not Wathawurrung.

⁷¹ **Kaal** is 'dog' in Bunganditj, Warrnambool and Western Victoria.

I	nad thoit (r)	ngathuwit
jump, to	yularanook (r)	yularra ⁷²
	u larth e nun nook (r)	yulathi
kangaroo	ko-ra (e), korak (d)	korra ⁷³
	kora (tu)	
	corra (l), corac (r)	
kill	peet-car-nook (l)	pitka- ⁷⁴
	pedaranook (r)	pitarra
knee	pon gnen nok (tu)	pun ⁷⁵
knife	lugid-eded (l)	lugit-itit ⁷⁶
	toke did it (r)	tuk-didit
koala 'sloth'	wring gel (tu) ⁷⁷	w[a]rringgel
lake	yarram, yare ram (r)	yarram
large	dedabul (l)	dirdabil ⁷⁸
	warmara (r)	wamarra
	bula da (tu), poolootnoo (d)	bulut
	balleet (r), beleet (d)	baliyt ⁷⁹
laugh	yi yar ra nook (r)	yiyarra-
	yeryarranook (r)	
lava stone	dree (r)	[see 'stone']
leg	dar-e-gnen-ok (e)	d(h)arra ⁸⁰
	kar a gnen nok (tu)	karra ⁸¹
lie, to	coy alat (r)	kuyalat
lie down	calara nuke (l)	kalarra
lightning	paledmamoke (r)	paled-mamuk ⁸²
lightwood [tree]	la ang, leen (r), laan (d)	laang, liin
lips	wor-ung-gnen-ok (e), (tu)	wurru(ng) ⁸³
little	anaki (l)	[ng]an[h]aki ⁸⁴
long time	kingalook (r)	kingaluk

⁷² Central Victoria *yuli*- 'jump'.

⁷³ Bunganditj, Warrnambool Western Victoria and Wathawurrung.

⁷⁴ Wathawurrung *pita*-.

⁷⁵ Also in Wathawurrung and Gippsland.

⁷⁶ Compare Wathawurrung *lurrka* 'to cut', *lurrkayt* 'cross-cut saw'. Thomas records the latter in the *Melbourne* language as 'cross-cut saw' and 'knife'.

⁷⁷ Tuckfield gives this same form for the *Dantgurt* dialect of the Warrnambool language.

⁷⁸ The regular Wathawurrung word. The transcription with the retroflex is based on Wathawurrung.

⁷⁹ These *b*- and *p*-initial entries have been taken from other entries, namely *lightning*, *cloud*, *sky* and *star*, *large*. Wathawurrung *balert* 'strong'.

⁸⁰ Widespread *dharra* 'thigh'.

⁸¹ See *thigh*.

⁸² The first element is probably *paliyt* 'big'.

⁸³ Widespread in Victoria; see also *mouth*.

⁸⁴ Wathawurrung *nganyaki*.

long way	wareitanong (r)	warriyt-anong ⁸⁵
	wareetanong (r)	
magpie	kor-or-o (tu), cororo (r)	korrorro ⁸⁶
Magellanic clouds	kor ror rac (r)	korrorrak ⁸⁷
man ⁸⁸	mondel (d)	mondel
	tharong (tu)	tharrong
	turrung (r)	
man, white	amerdeit (tu)	ngamadhiyt ⁸⁹
	umadeet (r)	
	ummageet (l)	
Milky Way	al lang me (r)	ngalang-mi
moon	bard-bard (e)	ba(r)d-ba(r)d
	paartput (d)	
	bard-bard (tu)	
	part part (r)	
mopoke	kaelwarra (d)	kaalwarra
mother	paahpa (d)	
	ba-ba (tu)	papa ⁹⁰
mouth	woronyeduc (d)	wurru ⁹¹
murnong [yam daisy]	carr (r)	ka(rr) ⁹²
name	nere	nerre ⁹³
navel	tol (tu)	tol
	uk gnen nok (tu)	ngak?
neck	kon-gnen-nok (tu)	kon ⁹⁴
neck, back of	nan e gnen nok (tu)	n(h)ani ⁹⁵
night	pooroonna (d)	purruna ⁹⁶
	boorana (l)	
night, last	calada (l)	kalada ⁹⁷
noon	narlanga-tarawart (l)	nalanga-tarrawa(r)t ⁹⁸

⁸⁵ Robinson gives **warriyt** in Wathawurrung.

⁸⁶ Similar forms in other languages of western Victoria.

⁸⁷ Warmambool **kurron**.

⁸⁸ See also *old man*.

⁸⁹ Similar forms occur in the Warmambool language, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria.

⁹⁰ Widespread in Victoria.

⁹¹ See also *lips*.

⁹² **kirrang** Pikwurrung.

⁹³ This entry is taken from Tuckfield's translation of the Lord's Prayer. Tuckfield gives the same term in Wathawurrung.

⁹⁴ **Kurn** 'neck/throat' is common in Western Victoria, Central Victoria and Wathawurrung.

⁹⁵ **Nyani** 'neck/nape' is found in Western Victoria and Wathawurrung.

⁹⁶ Similar forms in Western Victoria, Warmambool and Central Victoria. See *dark* in comparative table.

⁹⁷ See *yesterday*.

⁹⁸ **Tarrawart** is probably 'day', since it appears in the 'daily bread' verse of the Our Father.

nose	kong-gnen-ok (e)	kang ⁹⁹
	konk gnen nok(tu)	
nose, bridge	gnul a gnen nok kong(tu)	ngala-nginuk-kang ¹⁰⁰
nose, cartilage	bod-gnen nok o kong (tu)	bu(y)t-nginuk-o-kang ¹⁰¹
nostril	gnarn-gne-gnen o kong (tu)	ngan-ngi-nginuk-o-kang
old	[see next two entries]	pinitja
old man	pene jan derung (r)	pinitjan-derrang ¹⁰²
old woman	peneja noat ne wat (r)	pinitja-notniwat ¹⁰³
oyster	barrabool (l)	barrabil ¹⁰⁴
pelican	mur-won-gel(tu)	
plenty	boorde-nuke (l)	bord-
	boro nook	
	bord noke	
	bordnook (r)	
plover	tulep (r)	tulep
possum	pong-o (e)	pungu
	pongo (tu)	
	pungo (r)	
quail	kewerrim (r)	kiwerrim
	kerri wit(r)	kerriwit
quick	ugo (l) ¹⁰⁵	
rain	mur rong (tu)	marrng ¹⁰⁶
	murrong (l)	
	murrung (r)	
raise up	mearnook (l)	mia- ¹⁰⁷
ribs	ko re gne de gnen nok (tu)	korrinyidi
river	praah (d), bra, brar (r)	barra
rope	cajal cajan (r)	katyal=katyal ¹⁰⁸
rug	paloin (r)	paloy ¹⁰⁹

⁹⁹ **Karr** Western Victoria; **kang** Wathawurrung, Central Victoria.

¹⁰⁰ Tuckfield gives **ngala kang** in Wathawurrung.

¹⁰¹ Tuckfield gives **bud-i kang** in Wathawurrung, and he also gives **butji kang** 'belly of nose' for 'nostril'.

¹⁰² See **tharrong** 'man'.

¹⁰³ See **nudnuwet** 'woman'.

¹⁰⁴ **Ba(r)nibil** Wathawurrung.

¹⁰⁵ English **you go**?

¹⁰⁶ Also given as 'cloud'; similar forms meaning 'cloud' are found in Western Victoria.

¹⁰⁷ Sole entry in Wathawurrung.

¹⁰⁸ **Kutjul-kutjul** in the Pikwurrung dialect of the Warmambool language.

¹⁰⁹ Also Warmambool 'large possum-skin rug'.

run	balaga-larnuka (l) bal ler cul ɛr nook (r) molog a na molog e na (r)	balagala- ¹¹⁰ mologana
salt	lellap (r)	lelap
salt water	lellaban (r)	lelaban
sand	kol-lad-kol-lad (tu)	kolat-kolat, kolak-kolak ¹¹¹
sea	lamat (d) maree (l)	lamat marri ¹¹²
see	ne-jular-nook (l) necarnook (r)	nidyula- nika-
she-oak	nun gurra (r)	nan.garra
sheep	bulgana (r)	bulgana ¹¹³
shin	yel ar gnen nok kar a (tu)	yela-nyinuk-karra ¹¹⁴
short	moort (r)	murt ¹¹⁵
shoulder	bak korn gnen nok (tu)	bakurn ¹¹⁶
sister	permborret (d) banget (tu)	permborret ¹¹⁷ banget
sister, eldest	dattonget (tu)	datonget ¹¹⁸
sit	pat-gar-nook (l)	patga- ¹¹⁹
sky	poolootnoomarang (d)	pulutnu-marrng ¹²⁰
sleep	calarga-nuke (l)	kalaga- ¹²¹
small	werangite (r)	werrangayt
snake	kaanlang (d)	kanlang
snow	dede were, bede were (r)	didi/bidi-werri
sole	bul gne ken ong (tu)	bul-ngi kinang ¹²²
son	kraompweet (d)	kurrumpuwiyt ¹²³

¹¹⁰ Not Wathawurrung.

¹¹¹ 'Sand' in the Pikwurrung dialect of the Warmambool language is *kulak* and, as noted in §1, Tuckfield gives *colac-ngat* as the name of the language meaning 'belonging to sand'. The final *-d* looks like a mistake. Hercus records *kurrek* in Wemba-Wemba and the same form is found in Wathawurrung.

¹¹² Not Wathawurrung, where the word is *warri*. Possibly a transcription error.

¹¹³ Widespread term for cows and sheep.

¹¹⁴ *Karra*, probably 'thigh', is given as 'leg'; see 'thigh joint'.

¹¹⁵ Also found in Bunganditj, Djadjawurrung, Tjapwurrung and Wathawurrung.

¹¹⁶ Robinson gives *pakkuran* in the Kurn Kupanut dialect of the Warmambool language.

¹¹⁷ Wathawurrung *barrabarra* 'younger sister'.

¹¹⁸ Similar form in Wathawurrung.

¹¹⁹ Not Wathawurrung. Compare *patka* 'to catch'.

¹²⁰ '*Marrng* is 'sky/cloud' in Western Victoria. The first element probably means 'large'.

¹²¹ Not Wathawurrung.

¹²² *Kinang* = 'foot'. The Wathawurrung is *tung-i djinang* 'stomach of foot'; compare Western Victoria *bili/buli* 'stomach'.

¹²³ See *brother*.

split timber	lelere (r)	lelerri ¹²⁴
squirrel	nan-kel (tu)	nankel
star	kar-art-kar-art (e)	karrat-karrat
stars	kar-at-kar-at (tu)	
	nalimane (r)	n(g)alimayn
star, large	orlebeleet (d)	(ng)alem baliyt ¹²⁵
star, small	karrankaran (d)	karran-karran
steal, to	win malat (r)	winmalat
stick	kooroorook (d)	kurrurruk
stone	tre (e), drae (d)	tre
	tre (tu)	
stop	tarrecamuke (l)	tharrika- ¹²⁶
sun	na (e), naah (d), na (tu)	n(h)aa ¹²⁷
	na (l)nare (r)	
sunrise	yon-warra-gang (l)	yon-warra-gang
	ulunberry (r)	yulunberri
sunset	poinaree (l), ponere (r)	punyarri
sunshine	werk werk, wert wert (r)	werrk-werrk, wert-wert
talk	lame ber nat (r)	lamba-
	nonan burra nook (r)	ngonanbarra- ¹²⁸
tall	woroin (r)	warroyn
tea-tree	worar worar (r)	warra-warra
teeth	meerinyeduc (d)	mirri
tell	onum-burri-nuke (l)	ngonom-barri- ¹²⁹
	ngonomona (r)	ngonomona
there	nad thura (r)	nathurra
thigh	kar e-gnen nok (tu)	karri ¹³⁰
thigh joint	yel-ar-e gnen nok mul	
	-long (tu)	yelarri-nyinuk mulung ¹³¹
think, I	no im (r)?	no-im
thumb	tal-a-don (tu)	thaladon
thunder	toot berrinong (r)	tut berrinong
	munder (r)	mandarr ¹³²
today	nalliangdurrawort (r)	naliang tarrawart ¹³³

¹²⁴ Compare *finger nail*.

¹²⁵ 'Beleet' = 'large'?

¹²⁶ Probably cognate with Wergaya *djarriga* 'to stand' and similar forms in others Western Victorian tongues.

¹²⁷ *Nyawi/nhawi* occurs in Western Victoria.

¹²⁸ Compare *tell*.

¹²⁹ See *talk*.

¹³⁰ *Karrip* Western Victoria, Warrnambool; see *leg*.

¹³¹ See *shin*; Tuckfield gives *nyil-i mulong* in Wathawurrung.

¹³² Given as *rain*, but likely to be 'thunder' on the basis of its occurrence in other languages.

tomahawk	part part coat (r)	part-part-kot ¹³⁴
tomorrow	perripungy (r)	perripandyi
tongue	talanyeduc (d)	t(h)ala ¹³⁵
too much	carte-doon-garnook (l)	kartidun.ganuk
tree	coorlong (d)	kurlong
turkey	wred-gel (tu)	worritkil
	wor it kil (r)	
two	pul ler dook (r)	puladuk ¹³⁶
two and two	bul-ad-duk-bul-ad-duk (e)	puladuk-puladuk
uncle, my	ka-gnet (tu)	kangit
understand, don't	bung-al-la-lee (l)	bangalali ¹³⁷
urine	kere re nook (r)	kirri- ¹³⁸
water	kan (e), kan (tu), can (r)	kan
water, fresh	mur rinu can (r)	marrinu kan
waterfall	pun ner jer er luc (r)	panadyarralak
where	won dalong (r)	wan-d(h)along ¹³⁹
whistle	deering-ne-dular-nuke (l)	dirring-nidula ¹⁴⁰
wind	pearing (d), beerin (l)	pirriyn ¹⁴¹
woman	nodnoat (tu)	nudnuwet
	noodnuwett (d)	
	lubra (d) ¹⁴²	
	noat ne wat (r)	nutni-wat
woman, white	amerdeitgoruk (tu)	ngamadhiyt-kurrk ¹⁴³
wood	kalerack (d)	kalerrak ¹⁴⁴
work, to	an kar nook (r)	ngan.ka-
	wur-cum-bara-nuke (l)?	workim-barra ¹⁴⁵
wrist	mar o mar o gnen nok (tu)	marro-marro
yes	aha (l) ?	ngaa ¹⁴⁶

¹³³ **Tarrawart** occurs in the 'daily bread' verse on the *Our Father*; see §4.

¹³⁴ Bunganditj and Warmambool/Wannon **part-part-kurt**. See *moon*.

¹³⁵ **THalayn** is widespread.

¹³⁶ **Pula** is widespread.

¹³⁷ Wathawurrung **bang(gel)** 'ignorant'.

¹³⁸ Warmambool **kirrng**, Western Victoria **kirri**.

¹³⁹ **Wintha** is widespread in Victoria; **wantha** occurs in Dhudhuroa, **wuntha** in the *Kurn Kopan Noot* dialect of the Warmambool language.

¹⁴⁰ Not Wathawurrung; similar form in the Warmambool language.

¹⁴¹ See *cold*.

¹⁴² The word **lubra** is a word of probable Tasmanian origin which came into general use in English.

¹⁴³ See **ngamadhiyt** 'white man'. **Ngamadhiyt** occurs in Wathawurrung and Woiwurrung; **kurrrk** marks nouns referring to females in Wathawurrung.

¹⁴⁴ The widespread Victorian word for 'wood' is **kalk**.

¹⁴⁵ Pidgin **work-im** plus **-barra**.

¹⁴⁶ This could be the word **ngaa**, which is found in many Australian languages, or it could be English 'aha'.

yesterday	calada-wa (l), calada (r)	kalada-wa ¹⁴⁷
you	nad thun (r)	See pronouns below
young man	caler un derung (r)	kalarranderrang ¹⁴⁸
young woman	won gobinum (r)	won.gobinam

Pronouns

The glosses for these pronoun forms are corrected in §1.3.

Tuckfield's list

English	Tuckfield	Phonemic
I, mine	<i>gnud-do-it</i>	ngathu(w)it
we two	<i>gnud-dol-a</i>	ngathula
of us two	<i>gnud-dong-ul-a</i>	ngathangula
we three	<i>gnud do gnen nuk</i>	ngathunginak
we, of us	<i>gnud do gnen nuk</i>	ngathunginak
thou	<i>gnud-do-it</i>	ngathu(w)it
of thee	<i>gnud-dong-it</i>	ngathangit
you two	<i>gnud-dong-gno-rok</i>	ngathangorrok
of you two	<i>gnud dong ong gno rok</i>	ngathangangorrok

Other forms

I	<i>nad thoit</i> (r)	ngathu(w)it
you	<i>nad thun</i> (r)	ngathan
him	<i>nad the buc</i> (r)	nathipak

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¹⁴⁷ See *night*, *last*.

¹⁴⁸ Compare forms for *man*.



MAP 3: GULIDJAN LANGUAGE AREA



Source: Department of Environment and Planning, Victoria