

CLASSIFYING VICTORIAN LANGUAGES

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1. INTRODUCTION

The indigenous languages of Victoria are no longer spoken, and for information on what they were like we are reliant mainly on nineteenth-century materials. The only exception is Hercus (1986), which is based on fieldwork carried out among the last speakers in the 1960s and which consists of grammatical and lexical data on Wemba-Wemba, Wergaia and Madhi-Madhi, plus small vocabularies in several other languages.

At the present time Aboriginal people are beginning to show considerable interest in their linguistic heritage and a number of groups are learning what they can from the nineteenth-century records. However, these records can be difficult to interpret in terms of how they represent speech sounds and in terms of how they designate the language of particular groups. It is a pity that the colonisers were speakers of English, a language that lacks any consistent means of representing vowel sounds. If Australia had been taken over by speakers of practically any other language, we would not have the problems we do in interpreting the notation of vowels in the early sources. The main problem is with the letter 'u', which can represent the vowel of *put* or the vowel of *but*. Only where a form has been recorded by Hercus or where there are clear cognates in other accurately recorded languages can we determine the vowel.

With regard to the problem of which language the sources represent, it needs to be said that the sources bear one or more of the following designations: a 'language' name, a 'tribe' name or a location. For Victoria there are hundreds of sources that need to be identified and grouped.

Aboriginal language names in Victoria tend to be descriptive of the speech of a particular group. In northern Victoria, names are often reduplicated forms of the word for 'no'. For example Ledji-Ledji designates people who used **ledji** as the word for 'no'.¹ In southern and central Victoria names are often compounds in which the second element is a form of **tjalayn** 'tongue' or **wurru(ng)** 'mouth/lips'. The language of the Hamilton area is

¹ The transcription is broad phonetic rather than strictly phonemic. Dentals are represented by digraphs with **h**: **th** or **dh** (the voicing not being phonemic) **nh** and **lh**. Retroflexes by digraphs with **r**: **rt** or **rd**, **rn** and **rl**. The palatal stop is represented by **tj** or **dj**, or by **yt** in syllable-final position. The palatal nasal is represented by **ny**, but by **yn** in syllable-final position. It is likely that palatals and dentals are not always phonemically distinct. Six vowels are used: **i**, **e**, **a**, **o**, **u** and **ə**, this last only in transcriptions from Hercus. It is not certain that all these distinctions are phonemic. A double **rr** represents a flap/trill and a single **r** a glide. Hercus is the only source to make the distinction. A capital **R** stands for an indeterminate rhotic.

Tjapwurrung where **tjap** or **tjaap** means 'soft' (Dawson 1881:2) and **wurrung** is used to mean language.

It is convenient to use the term 'tongue' for the entities that these Aboriginal names refer to. The main point of this is to avoid the dichotomy between language and dialect. A tongue could be a language or a dialect of a language. In some instances it is uncertain what the status of a source or group of sources is vis-à-vis the language/dialect distinction. It may be misleading to speak of a 'language' and insidious to use the term 'dialect' without specifying what language the source is a dialect of, since this echoes the pejorative sense of 'dialect' in popular usage where Aboriginal people have only 'dialects' never 'languages'.

In practice, tongues are usually small and relatively homogeneous, and when we compare tongues we find various degrees of similarity such that we would want to classify them into dialect groups, languages, language groups and so on. Although Aboriginal people were aware of various degrees of affinity between tongues they did not normally have names for any grouping of tongues. In classifying tongues we have in most instances used European geographical names as labels, labels such as Wimmera language, Central Victorian language, and so on.

The sources often bear labels designating groups of people and these names are often associated with the term 'tribe'. This term is problematic and the labels in the sources usually refer to an entity smaller than what one could reasonably call a tribe. They seem to refer in most cases to clans.

The method of grouping the sources with their mixture of 'language' names, 'tribe' names and placenames is essentially lexicostatistical. This means estimating the percentage of common vocabulary between various sources. At its crudest this technique does not distinguish between cognates and borrowings. This means that it may prove an unreliable guide to genetic affinity and an even less reliable guide to subgrouping, but it does provide an accurate synchronic guide to degrees of closeness, and presumably approximates to the degrees of affinity felt by the speakers themselves. In carrying out this classification we began by simply comparing the raw lexical data. We found it difficult even with experience to distinguish borrowings from cognates, but we did find that we had to revise our initial counts on discovering that a few sources seemed to mix words from more than one tongue. We also took into account grammatical forms: pronouns, interrogative words, tense/aspect suffixes, etc. These undoubtedly give a better guide to genetic affinity than do ordinary lexical items, but in practice we did not find much reason to revise our classification in light of cognate function forms. We have also looked for common innovations as a guide to subgrouping, but subgrouping is fraught with difficulty. Some suggestions can be found in the following sections.

2. THE CLASSIFICATION

This classification is based on unpublished work by R.M.W. Dixon (see also Dixon et al. forthcoming) and differs from his classification mainly in that it elaborates it, illustrates it and incorporates some previously undiscovered sources.

All the languages of the Australian mainland, save for most of those found in the Kimberleys and the Top End, belong to the Pama-Nyungan family, where ‘family’ is to be understood as a lexicostatistical concept (O’Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966). All the languages dealt with in this paper share vocabulary with other languages of southern Australia and can be taken to fall within Pama-Nyungan.

The classification recognises eleven groupings, alternatively eleven languages, but in some cases we have data on only one dialect of a language. Pallanganmiddang is in this category. We have three short vocabularies, which agree very well. They probably represent a single dialect of a language, but since we have no other data, Pallanganmiddang emerges in our classification as a separate language. The eleven languages are as follows:

Western Victoria

A single language covered most of western Victoria from just north of the Murray to Hamilton in the south.

Bunganditj

This language was spoken in the far southwestern corner of Victoria and in the southeastern area of South Australia.

Warrnambool

The Warrnambool language was spoken in the Warrnambool area from the Glenelg in the west to the Hopkins in the east, probably as far east as Airey’s inlet.

Colac

The Colac language was spoken over a comparatively small area around Colac.

Wathawurrung

This language was spoken along the coast from Airey’s inlet to the Werribee River and extended inland to Ballarat and Beaufort.

Central Victoria

A single language was spoken from Westernport Bay in the south nearly to Echuca in the north. There were two main dialects, Woiewurrung south of the Great Dividing Range and Thagungwurrung to the north.

Yota-Yota

Yota-Yota was spoken in an area extending east from Echuca along the Murray Valley towards Tocumwal and south towards Shepparton in Victoria.

Yabula-Yabula

Yabula-Yabula was spoken in the Murray Valley to the north of Yota-Yota.

Dhudhuroa

Dhudhuroa was spoken on the Upper Murray from Albury to Jingellic and on the Mitta-Mitta and Kiewa rivers.

Pallanganmiddang

The exact location of Pallanganmiddang is obscure, but it was probably spoken to the south of Wodonga.

Gippsland

One language was spoken over the whole of Gippsland. No study of this language has been undertaken by the authors. The references here are from Fesl (1985) and Hercus (1986).

The present work does not cover some languages from the borders of Victoria, Yitha-Yitha and Dardi-Dardi in the north-west, Bidawal in the east and Ngarigu in the north-east (see Map 1). These are sharply differentiated from any of the eleven languages that are included in the present paper.

Table 1 gives percentages of common vocabulary between these languages. All counts are based on at least 100 words of common vocabulary, except those involving Yabula-Yabula, where the sources are scanty. As can be seen, all the proposed languages are quite separate, with no two sharing over 50%.

TABLE 1: VICTORIA: PERCENTAGES OF COMMON VOCABULARY

	WV	Bung	Warr	Col	Wath	CV	YY	Yab	Dhu	Pall	Gipps
West Vic	-	31	42	31	44	41	15	23	22	20	16
Bunganditj	-	-	35	20	17	23	15	11	11	10	10
Warrnam	-	-	-	23	26	30	12	16	10	14	18
Colac	-	-	-	-	34	32	17	11	19	20	19
Watha	-	-	-	-	-	46	15	15	14	16	18
Central V	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	15	20	22	27
Yota	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	18	27	20
Yabula	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	20	14
Dhudhu	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	13
Pallang	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16
Gippsland	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

3. NOTES ON THE LANGUAGES

3.1 WESTERN VICTORIA

This is a kind of mega-language that covered an extensive area in western Victoria from north of the Murray to Hamilton and nearly to Ballarat in the south. Within this language it is possible to distinguish a number of different tongues. The list comprises Wemba-Beraba, Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji, Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill), Wadi-Wadi (Piangil), the Wimmera language (Wergaya), the Grampians Language (Tjapwurrung) and Djadjawurrung. Table 2 gives percentages of common vocabulary for these groupings of sources. The figures are based on at least 100 comparisons except those involving Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi (Piangil).

TABLE 2: WESTERN VICTORIA: PERCENTAGES OF COMMON VOCABULARY

	WB	Ma	Le	WS	WP	Wim	Tjap	Dja
Wemba-Beraba	-	70	72	75	60	86	82	72
Madhi-Madhi	-	-	81	81	66	75	66	62
Ledji-Ledji	-	-	-	83	57	77	68	57
Wadi(Swan Hill)	-	-	-	-	64	81	71	65
Wadi(Piangil)	-	-	-	-	-	54	54	54
Wimmera	-	-	-	-	-	-	87	70
Tjapwurrung	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	81
Djadjawurrung	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

3.1.1 DJADJAWURRUNG

Djadjawurrung is the easternmost dialect of this language and, as the figures indicate, it is quite distinct from the other dialects except for its neighbour to the west, the Grampians Language, where the main source is Tjapwurrung. It is marked by a number of distinctive words including the following: **ngilamun** ‘baby’, **nguRi** ‘big’, **pum-pum** ‘egg’, **poyñ** ‘grass’, **yonong** ‘hill’, **wanhimuk** ‘small’, **wanyaRam** ‘water’ and **tuR(o)i** ‘woman’.

3.1.2 THE MADHI GROUP

Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) share over 80% of vocabulary with one another, which suggests that they might form some kind of group. They also share distinctive forms for first person (**yiti/yeti**), first person possessor (**-(ng)ai**) and third person possessor (**-u**). There are two tongues that bear the name Wadi-Wadi, one centred around Swan Hill and the other around Piangil, so we have designated them accordingly. Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) stands somewhat apart from all the other tongues of the Western Victorian language, though it scores better with Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) on average than with other tongues. It is clear, however, that it should be grouped with Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) since it shares with these three tongues the **-u** form for third person possessor and an **-i** suffix for the nominative. For instance, the word for ‘star’ is **turti** in Madhi, Ledji and the two Wadi tongues, but **turt** in the other tongues of the Western Victorian language and also in Wathawurrung and the Central Victorian language (see also §3.6). There are also a few lexical items that link these four tongues: **thinti**, **tjantji**, **tjantji**, **tjanthi** ‘nose’ (**kaarr** in other Western Victorian tongues), **karni/kanyi** ‘snake’ (**kurnmil** or **kurnwil** in others) and **maaki/maatji** ‘stone’ in Ledji and the two Wadi tongues (**laarr** or **kutjap** in other tongues; **kutjap** also occurs in Madhi). We will refer to these four tongues as ‘the Madhi group’, taking the name from the best recorded tongue of the four.

Madhi-Madhi is unusual in not having the main stress on the initial syllable as in most other Australian languages. Many polysyllabic stems take primary stress on the second syllable (Hercus 1986:115ff.). The conditioning of stress has excited a good deal of interest among phonologists. See Goedemans (1997) for an analysis and references to earlier treatments.

3.1.3 CORE WESTERN

The remaining groupings of sources are very similar to one another and represent what we might think of as the core of the Western Language. Wemba-Beraba, the Wimmera language and Tjapwurrung all share over 80% of vocabulary and one might wonder if they should be distinguished at all, bearing in mind that particular sources rarely score much over 80% with one another. However, there are criterial words that serve to differentiate these three groupings. They are as follows.

Wemba-Beraba and the Wimmera language can be distinguished by certain words such as the following:

	<i>Wemba-Beraba</i>	<i>Wimmera</i>
(1) pelican	ninangkuR	patjingal
mosquito	liri	kiRk-kiRk
fire	wanap	wanyap
tomahawk	t(h)irr	patjik
kangaroo rat	parre	tjaleka²
stone	la(rr)	kutjap³

The Wimmera language and Tjapwurrung can be distinguished by the following criterial words:

	<i>Wimmera</i>	<i>Tjapwurrung</i>
(2) elbow	ngu(n)yuk	palutj
fire	wanyap	wi (widespread in NSW and Victoria)
moon	mitjiin	yirn
small	pa(r)n	watjip, wartip (also = 'young')
swim	tjipa,⁴ wirraka	yawa
woman	layurrk	paynpaynku
speak	kiya, wurreka	wuReka

3.2 KULIN

Table 1 reveals that Western Victoria, Central Victoria and Wathawurrung share nearly 50% of vocabulary. These figures are based on Tjapwurrung for Western Victoria and Woiwurrung for Central Victoria. We refer to these three languages collectively as the **Kulin** languages, adapting the term used by Schmidt (1919). The shared vocabulary includes a numbers of words that are exclusive to these three languages within Victoria. The starred items in (3) are shared between Western Victoria and Central Victoria but not found in Wathawurrung.

² Animal names are not ideal for this kind of comparison since names for different species may have been recorded.

³ Hercus (pers.com.) points out that **kuthap** occurs in Wemba-Wemba referring to a large stone. See also Hercus (1992).

⁴ **Tjipa** means 'float', but is also recorded for 'swim'.

(3)	muRun	alive	miTHiin*	moon
	THaTHak	arm	larn/tarn*	rib
	kalk*	bone ⁵	purt	smoke
	paNHul	hill	liang	tooth
	tjilpa	hit	kurn-	snake
	kuRng*	kookaburra	paRing*	track, path
	kuli(yn)	man	wuRk-	black

At least some of these words are relics rather than innovations. The root **muRun** ‘alive’ is found in a number of languages from New South Wales; **kalk** would appear to be cognate with **kalka** ‘spear’ found in several Queensland languages; **kuli(yn)** may be cognate with various forms such as **kuRi** found along the north coast of NSW, and **liyang** ‘tooth’ is probably cognate with widespread forms such as **liRa** and **diRa**.

If we turn to grammatical forms to investigate the nature of the relationship between these three languages, we come up against a curious phenomenon with the pronouns. Over most of the area, excluding the far north, pronouns consist of pronominal forms for person and number attached to a common base. In Djadjawurrung, for instance, the singular pronouns are as follows:

- (4)
1. **beng-ek**⁶
 2. **beng-in**
 3. **beng-uk**

These are literally ‘my person’ or ‘my body’, ‘your person/body’ and ‘his/her person/body’. The root that is chosen to serve as a base for the pronouns is no guide to genetic relationship. Closely related tongues often differ with respect to the pronoun base, and quite different tongues may share the same base. The base **beng** shown in (4) above is also found in Wathawurrung. Table 4 illustrates the first and second person pronoun forms found in the sources for Western Victoria, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria (Table 3 and subsequent tables appear at the end of the text). However, although the pronoun bases are no guide to genetic relationship, we can use the bound pronouns, both the possessor forms and the subject forms, as a guide to genetic relatedness. Leaving aside the Madhi group, which do not appear to have had bound pronouns for subject, we can say that Western Victoria, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria share the following subject forms, which are exclusive to these three languages in Victoria:

- (5)
- | | |
|------------------|---|
| subject singular | 1. -an (-anda in Wemba-Beraba) |
| | 2. -arr |

With possessor forms, which are displayed in (6), we need to recognise that the Madhi group has separate forms from the rest of Western Victoria. The form **-(ng)ek/- (ng)ik** and the form **-uk** are exclusive to the Kulin languages, but **-(ng)in** is widespread.⁷

⁵ **Kalk** is found in Wathawurrung with the meaning ‘wood’, ‘stick’. In this sense it is found in other Kulin tongues and elsewhere.

⁶ Mathews records *bang*. Luise Hercus informs us that in languages where she has heard this word it is pronounced [bɛŋ].

- (6) possessor singular 1. **-(ng)ek/- (ng)ik** (Madhi group **-(ng)ai**)
 2. **-(ng)in** (Madhi group **-(ng)in**)
 3. **-(nh)uk** (Madhi group **-(nh)u** and Woiwurrung **-u**)

We might also note in this context that there are some bound forms coextensive with the tongues of Western Victoria, namely **-ang** (dual exclusive) and **-nguR** (first person plural inclusive). The pronoun forms are shown in Tables 5 and 6.

Case markers are of little help in sorting out genetic relatedness, partly because our sources are defective and we do not have tokens of the full range of markers, and partly because case marking is quite variable from language to language anyway. What forms we could glean are in Table 3.

With verbs, a future marker with a laminal nasal defines the Kulin languages. Our data is mainly from Hercus (1986) and from the sketch grammars of R.H. Mathews, who usually reports a past, present and future tense:

(7)		present	past	future
	<i>Western Victoria</i>	-a	-in	-iyn
	<i>Wathawurrung</i>		-ik	-iyn
	<i>Woiwurrung</i>	-unh	-a(dh)	-anh

A form that is common to Western and Central Victoria is the reciprocal marker **-tjarra/-tjerra** in Western Victoria and **-tjeRi** in Central Victoria. Wathawurrung has both forms and a third form **-kiRi**, which may be related.⁸

The 'having' suffix **-mil** is found in Central Victoria, Wathawurrung (marginally) and the Western Language, but only in Djadjawurrung, Tjapwurrung and the Wimmera language. Wemba-Beraba and the Madhi group have a 'having' suffix **-wil**, which co-occurs with **-mil** in the Wimmera language.

Some of the distinctive pronominal forms are likely to be innovations and point to subgrouping, but the future marker with the laminal nasal is likely to be a relic. A future tense marker **:yn** is found in Bandjalang (neNSW, seQ, Crowley 1978:94ff), but more tellingly the following opposition is found in Thangatti (neNSW, Holmer 1966:75ff),

- (8) present/past punctual **-in**
 future **-liyn**

At least one verb in Thangatti has a future in **-iyn** and on comparative grounds the **-l-** is likely to be a separate formative, so the parallel between Thangatti and the Kulin languages is very close.

⁷ It is possible that **-ngek/-ngik** derives from ***ngaki** with an assimilatory raising of the first vowel and a subsequent loss of the second vowel. It is also possible that it derives from ***ngatj** with the palatal raising the vowel, as is normal, and the final palatal subsequently becoming a velar. Such a development is sporadically attested in various languages of Victoria; see, for instance, the entries for 'two', 'kangaroo rat' and 'hungry' (Yota-Yota) in the comparative table in the appendix. Note also the two forms of the name of the language of southwestern Victoria: **Buwandik/Bunganditj**. Forms such as **ngatjV** are found among Pama-Nyungan languages.

⁸ Conceivably an alternative notation hearing a fronted **k** rather than **tj**.

Hercus (1992:1-5), following Schmidt (1919), uses the term **western Kulin** to cover what is here called Western Victoria and Wathawurrung. She divides western Kulin into three groups: the Wergaya group, the Wembawemba group and the Mathimathi group. The Mathimathi group corresponds to our Madhi group. The Wembawemba group takes in Wemba-Wemba, Beraba-Beraba and Nari-Nari. Nari-Nari (see Map 1) is not included in our comparative table since the data is so scanty. What is known can be found in Hercus (1986:152-158). The Wergaya group takes in all the other western Kulin tongues. The difference between the Hercus classification and ours stems from the fact that ours is basically lexicostatistical, whereas Hercus uses other criteria such as the use of a common base for all the persons and numbers of the pronouns, as illustrated in (4) above.

3.3 BUNGANDITJ AND THE WARRNAMBOOL LANGUAGE

Bunganditj was spoken in the far southwestern corner of Victoria and in the southeastern area of South Australia. Smith (1880:ix) mentions five tribes each with its own dialect, but our sources cannot be differentiated into dialects on lexicostatistical grounds, though it is possible to distinguish a northern dialect from a southern one on the basis of a few lexical differences such as **kukuR/kamaR** 'blood', **pap/ngati** 'mother' and **kan-/lu** 'mouth'. The name **Bunganditj** and the alternative **Buwandik** strictly refer to a single tongue spoken in the Mount Gambier area.

Bunganditj is clearly differentiated from the Western Victorian language; it shares only 31% with Tjapwurrung, for instance, the nearest dialect of the Western language for which we have data, and much the same figure with the other dialects. The shared vocabulary consists largely of widespread forms such as **thina(ng)** 'foot'.

Bunganditj shares a little under 40% of vocabulary with the Warrnambool language, 38% with Wannon, the westernmost dialect of the Warrnambool language, and 35% with the major sources for the other dialects, Dawson's *Kuurn kopan noot* and *Peek whurrong*. These figures are high enough to suggest that Bunganditj and the Warrnambool language might be relatively close genetically. The two languages share a number of lexical items that are not found in the immediately surrounding languages. These include **wu(Rk)** 'arm', **wila(n)** 'black cockatoo', **thatha** 'to drink', **thaliyn** 'elbow', **kapiR(ng)** 'emu' (**kawirr** in Western Victoria), **paRayt** 'girl', **puthu(ng)** 'grass' (**puaTH** in Western and Central Victoria), **miriit/miRing** 'ground', **maRa** 'hand', **wanga** 'hear', **kapu(ng)** 'nose',⁹ **kuRamuk** 'possum', **yiyiR** 'rib', **wul** 'shadow', **murn** 'skin', **kuRang** 'snake', **la(ka)** 'speak', **maRi** 'stone', **partpartkurt** 'tomahawk', **yanta** 'throw', **thanga(ng)** 'tooth', **paRi(tj)** 'water' and **mala(ng)** 'wife'.

The Warrnambool language shares 42% of vocabulary with Western Victoria, which raises the question of whether it should be grouped with Western Victoria. However, there is not the same sharing of function forms that we find between Western Victoria, Wathawurrung and Central Victoria. On the other hand if we count function forms across Bunganditj and Warrnambool, we find the two languages share 19 out of 37 such forms.

⁹ Similar forms are found in the Murray languages from northwestern Victoria to the Murray mouth (Hercus pers.com.). See also Hercus (1989:56).

The shared forms include widespread ones such as **ngal-** ‘first person dual’, which is common throughout the Pama-Nyungan languages, and other relatively distinctive forms such as the following:

		<i>Bunganditj</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>
(9)	case markers	ergative	-a
		genitive	-ngat
		dative	-o
pronouns	I	ngathuk	ngathuk
	we (du inc)	ngathuwal	ngathungal
	we (du exc)	ngathuwilal	ngathungalin
	we (pl inc)	ngathuwe	ngathungan
	we (pl exc)	ngathuwile	ngathunganin
	my	ngathangat/ ngathowat	ngatangat
	possessor suffixes		
	my	-(ng)ayn	-ngan
	your	-(ng)un	-ngu
	his/her	-(n)ung	-nyung, -yung
tense	past	-an	-an

On the basis of these shared function forms, which are not found in the Western Victorian language, nor in Wathawurrung nor in the Central Victorian Language, we can say that Bunganditj and the Warrnambool language are relatively closely related. As explained above, such a statement does not imply that they should be subgrouped. The shared forms may be relic forms. With the shared vocabulary it is clear that some of the forms listed above are relics. The form **maRa** ‘hand’ is widespread in Australia, but it is not found in other languages of western Victoria.

3.4 COLAC

Common vocabulary does not give a clear identification of the affiliation of the Colac language. As can be seen from Table 1, it scores 23% with the Warrnambool language to the west and 34% with Wathawurrung to the north and east. Interestingly it scores over 30% with non-contiguous Kulin tongues: 31% with Tjapwurrong and 32% with Woiwurrung. There is practically no grammatical data available, but the following pronouns are recorded (with some adjustment of the glosses).

		nominative	genitive
(10)	I	ngathuit	ngathangit
	we two	ngathula	ngathangula
	1st person ?	ngathangoRok	ngathangangoRok
	1st person inc ?	ngathunginak	

The first formative in these pronouns, **nga-**, is of no use, since it is practically ubiquitous within Australia. The second formative in **nga-thu-it** resembles the second formative in Bunganditj and Warrnambool **ngathuk**, but it must be remembered that **-thu**, which ultimately reflects an ergative marker **-*THu**, is a widespread formative in first person pronouns. However, it should be noted that the first person non-singular forms are built on

the form **ngathu**: **ngathula** ‘we two’, **ngathunginak** ‘we’ and possibly **ngathangoRok** ‘we’ (the exact glosses cannot be determined with certainty). This is an unusual method of formation and significantly it is one shared with Bunganditj and the Warrnambool Language.¹⁰ However, it is difficult to assess the significance of this sharing, since we do not have ‘old’ free pronouns for many of the Kulin tongues. It may be that this method of formation was shared with the Kulin languages.

Most of the crumbs of evidence we find with pronouns point to a connection with Kulin tongues. The genitive of three pronoun forms is clearly formed with **-ang**, which matches **-ang-** in the Wimmera language (see Table 6 and following). The form **ngathangoRok** looks as if it contains **-anguR-**, the bound form for first person plural inclusive in Wemba-Beraba (see entries for Wemba-Wemba and Burraba-Burraba in Table 8).

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** (or 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 Western tongues and **-atnin** in the Warrnambool language. A number of compound body-part terms also contain **nyinuk** as in **lirri nyenuk 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. There is a widespread third person singular root in Pama-Nyungan with the form **nyu** or **nhu**. The match in form between **-uk** and Western and Wathawurrung **-uk** would appear to be significant.

The Colac vocabulary contains a large number of words recorded only in this language (e.g. **puteRong** ‘baby’, **thaRong** ‘man’ and **part-part** ‘moon’) plus a few words reflected in non-contiguous languages which must be relics, e.g. **pirri** ‘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, and has distant cognates in other parts of Australia. 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, along with most of what can be gleaned

¹⁰ We are indebted to Cathrine Koukmenides for pointing this out to us.

from the pronouns, points to Colac belonging with Kulin, albeit as a rather marginal member of the grouping.

3.5 YOTA-YOTA AND YABULA-YABULA

Of the remaining languages only Yota-Yota and Yabula-Yabula score a figure that suggests a closer than average genetic connection. The figure of 37% in Table 1 represents 27 matches out of 73 comparisons. Of these 27, ten were widespread forms such as **tjina** 'foot' and **yan-** 'go', four were part of a discontinuous pattern (see §3.7 below) and must be considered relics, two had an areal distribution, and the remaining ten were exclusive to Yota-Yota and Yabula-Yabula and were basic items of vocabulary rather than fauna, flora and cultural items, all of which categories are easily borrowed. This suggests some genetic tie above the base level for two Pama-Nyungan languages.

A consideration of the pronouns tends to confirm this. Most of the data is from R.H. Mathews, who may have mixed Yota-Yota forms with Yabula-Yabula ones in his published account of the latter, so only manuscript forms in Yabula-Yabula are presented here.

	<i>Yota-Yota</i>	<i>Yabula</i>
(11) I (nominative)	nga(ya)	ngaya
I (genitive)	ngini	ngini
I (ergative)	ngatha	ngatha
you (nominative)	ngina	ngina
you (genitive)	nguni	nguni
you (ergative)	nyana	nyana

There are further matches in the non-singular including a series of ergative forms marked with **-k**. Even allowing that we are dealing with widespread forms including Wemba-Wemba **-(k)u**, the matches in details are *prima facie* evidence for the two languages being genetically related.

If we look at case markers, we find a match with an ergative marker **-k** and with an ablative **-in**, but overall the case markers do not match closely. With verbs there may be a match between Yota-Yota **-n** (non-future) and Yabula-Yabula **-(a)n** (past), but several markers do not match. We suggest that there is a closer genetic connection between these two languages than between any other pair in northern or eastern Victoria. The ten matches in basic vocabulary suggest this and the matches in pronoun forms lend further support.

3.6 SOUND CHANGES

3.6.1 VELAR AUGMENT

In the Madhi group, the Warrnambool language and the Central Victorian language, a number of nouns that appear in Wemba-Beraba and other languages with a final vowel have a final velar nasal augment. For instance, the word for 'tooth' is **lia** in Wemba-Beraba, but **liang** in Central Victoria.

In the Madhi group a large number of nouns with a final consonant take an *-i* in the nominative. For instance, **turt**, which is the word for 'star' in Central Victoria and the rest of Western Victoria, appears as **turti** in the Madhi group. This *-i* is also found with words that take the velar nasal augment, so the word for 'tooth' in the Madhi group is **liangi**.

The reason for calling the velar nasal in question an augment is that it is opposed to velar nasals that occur not only in the Madhi group, the Warrnambool language and the central Victorian language, but in other languages such as Wemba-Beraba. See the last three entries in (12).

		<i>Madhi gr.</i> ¹¹	<i>Wemba</i>	<i>Warrnam</i> ¹²	<i>Bung</i>	<i>Woiwurrung</i>
(12)	tooth	liangi	lia	thangang	thanga	liang
	foot	thinangi	tjina	thinang	thina	tjinang
	hand	manhang	manya	maRang	maRa	marnang
	louse	munhungi	munya	-	murna	munhong
	mouth	wuRu(ngi) (W)	wurru	wuRung	-	wuRu(ng)
	faeces	kunang(i)	kuna	kunang	kuna	kurnang
	grass	poatj(i) (L)	poatj	puthong	puthu	poatj
	nose	-	-	kapung	kapu	kang
	wife	-	-	malang	mala	-
	track	*	paring	*	*	paRing
	knee	patheng(i) (M)	pathing	paRayn	paRayn	paRing
	tongue	thalingi	tjaling	thalayn	tjali	tjalang

* See entries for 'foot'.

The word for 'tongue' is **thalayn** in the Warrnambool language and the laminal nasal is found elsewhere in Australia. The word for 'knee' also appears with a final laminal in the Warrnambool language: **paRayn** (the **th/tj-R** correspondences are dealt with in §3.6.2 below).

It seems that the velar nasal augment is found only on nouns of one or two syllables, but monosyllabic nouns appear to have had a long vowel, at least phonetically, so one could say the velar nasal is found only on stems of two vowel morae. The velar nasal seems to be another example of a phenomenon referred to by Hale in a well-known paper on the origin of the ergative and locative suffix alternants (Hale 1976:416). Hale mentions that Uradhi and Wik Me'nh (Cape York, Q) and some dialects of Anmatjera (Arandic, NT) have a velar nasal augment on words that were originally vowel-final stems. In Anmatjera the augment is found only with disyllabic stems. It would seem that in Victoria a similar process occurred. It is worth noting that the process is reflected only on nouns and that most of the examples are from basic vocabulary. It should also be noted that in Central Victoria and in the Warrnambool language there are very few vowel-final nouns. It seems that the

¹¹ Although in most Australian languages the stress is on the first syllable, in Madi-Madi, and possibly in other languages of the group, the stress was on the second syllable in words of three or more syllables except where the second syllable began with a labial or velar. Thus a word like **thinangi** bore the stress on the second syllable (see Hercus 1986:115ff.).

¹² *Warrnambool* here includes *Wannon* as shown in the Comparative Table.

languages went through a period of making all nouns, or at least all disyllabic nouns, consonant-final. Subsequently there may have been some borrowing from vowel-final languages.

In the Melbourne language the velar nasal appears to have been optional on some words such as **wuRu** 'mouth', 'lips' and 'language' (and on language names built on **wuRu** such as **WoiwuRu(ng)**), **kurna(ng)** 'faeces' and **tuRu(ng)** 'heart'. A few words such as **yaRa** 'hair' are disyllabic and are recorded only with a final vowel.

There are some instances of words with a final rhotic taking the velar nasal augment. In the Madhi group the glide **r** is lost except in Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill).

	<i>Madhi gr.</i>	<i>Wemba</i>	<i>Warrnam</i>	<i>Bung</i>	<i>Woiwurrung</i>
(13) camp	langi	lar	-	-	-
eye	mingi(Ledji)	mir	miRng	-	miRng
ear	wi-mpula	wiri-mpula	wiRng	-	wiRng
stone	-	la(rr)	-	-	lang*
emu	-	-	kapiRng	kapiR	-
nose	-	karr	-	-	kang*

*These words may contain a rhotic: **laRng?**, **kaRng?**

It would be interesting to know whether the velar nasal augment is dropped before suffixes. Nouns take number and case marking or pronominal forms marking the person and number of the possessor. Unfortunately information on this point is skimpy. In Woiwurrung the velar nasal is retained before the third person singular possessor form **-u**, so 'his/her hand' is **marnang-u**.

In the Madhi-Madhi the ergative is **-ku** after vowel stems and **-u** after consonants, but nouns with the velar nasal are treated like consonant stems, i.e. the velar nasal is retained. Thus the word for 'man' is **wuthungi** in the nominative with both augments and **wuthungu** in the ergative. However, the velar nasal does not appear with the other case forms. The word **wuthu**, for instance, is treated like a vowel stem in the ablative etc. and takes the allomorph with an initial **k** that is appropriate for vowel-final stems: **wuthukunga** 'from the man' (after Hercus 1986:119). With possessor suffixes the velar nasal is not retained. Hercus (1986:124) gives **ngapungi** 'grandmother' and **ngapu-nhu** 'his/her grandmother'.

R.H. Mathews collected grammatical information on *Wamba-Wamba* and *Bura-Bura*. This material can be identified with what we are calling Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill). The relevant point is that the material relates to the Madhi group. Mathews gives the following case forms for the word for 'man': nominative: **wurtungi**, ergative: **wurtulu** and **wurtuli**, genitive: **wurtua**. Clearly the velar nasal is not retained when a case marker is added.

In Woiwurrung the word for a club with a 'tooth' on one end is **liangayil** (cf. **liang** 'tooth') where the velar nasal is retained before a derivational suffix, presumably a suffix meaning 'having'.¹³

¹³ The phonetic form given here is based on G.A. Robinson who gives *lee-eng-ile* and *lee-ung-ile*.

Where the velar nasal fails to appear before a suffix, this is confirmation that it is an augment. Where it is retained, this suggests reanalysis.

3.6.2 SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

An intervocalic laminal stop in Tjapwurrung, Wimmera, Madhi and Wemba-Beraba corresponds to **rt** in Ledji-Ledji, Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) and Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) and to an undetermined rhotic in Djadjawurrung, Wathawurrung, Central Victoria, Warmambool and Bunganditj.

(14)	tj	rt	R
<i>arm</i>	thatjak Tjap	thartak(i) WS	thaRak D
<i>a fly</i>	pitjik Tjap	pirti WS	piRik D

Other examples can be found in the Comparative Table. See, for instance, the entries for *bad*, *broлга* and *feather*.

An intervocalic palatal nasal in Tjapwurrung and some Wimmera sources corresponds to an apical nasal in other Kulin tongues, Warmambool and Bunganditj. At least some of these apicals are retroflex, but it is difficult to tell from the sources.

(15)	ny	(r)n
<i>fire</i>	wanyap Wim	warnap Bung
<i>hand</i>	manya Wim	marna Bung

Other examples can be found in the Comparative Table. See, for instance, the entries for *white cockatoo* and *whiskers*. See also Blake and Reid (1994).

3.7 OVERVIEW

The tables at the end of this paper illustrate degrees of relatedness among Victorian languages and provide the evidence for the remarks about classification that appear above. From this data it appears that there is a group of relatively closely related languages, the Kulin languages, and a few other groups that are not closely related to Kulin nor to one another. The relative homogeneity of the Kulin languages is partly explained by the relative aridity of north-western Victoria, but this cannot be the sole explanation. It may be that they have expanded comparatively recently. This is suggested by the fact that there are a number of cognates shared between languages to the west (Bunganditj, Warmambool) and languages to the east (Yota-Yota, Yabula-Yabula, Dhudhuroa, Pallanganmiddang and Gippsland. Some of these are illustrated in (16).

(16)	<i>south-west Victoria</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>eastern Victoria</i>
back	panu (B)	warrem, wart	panu (Dhu), panuth (Yota)
drink	thatha	kupa, ngupa	thang- (Yota), thaN- (Gipps)
elbow	thaliyn	ngunyuk, paluTH ¹⁴	tjalung (Gipps)
ground	miRit (B), miRing	THa(ng)	miri (Pall)
hand	maRa(ng)	manya/marna	maRa (Dhu, Pall)
hear	wanga	nyerna	wanga (Gipps)
hill	kaRang (Wannon)	purrrp	kRangaak (Gipps)
nose	kapu(ng) ¹⁵	ka(rr)(ng)	kawu (YY, Yab)
smoke	thuwung (Warr)	purt	thonga (YY, Yab), thuu (Pall), etc.
who	nganu (B), winya	winyarr	ngani (YY), etc.

In some cases a word found consistently across all Kulin tongues is found in just one or two neighbouring tongues. It is likely that this reflects borrowing from Kulin. For instance, **miRk** 'egg' is found in all Kulin tongues and in some dialects of the Warrnambool language; similarly **turt** 'star' is found in all Kulin tongues plus Yota-Yota and Yabula-Yabula.

In other cases a word is found in only one or two Kulin tongues plus a neighbouring tongue. This suggests borrowing into Kulin. For instance, most tongues of the Western Victorian Language have **paTHangal/partangal** as the word for 'pelican', but Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) and Wemba-Beraba in northwestern Victoria have **ninanguR(i)**, which is obviously similar to **nenanggu** in neighbouring Yitha-Yitha.

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¹⁴ The use of the digraphs TH and NH in capitals in words indicates a laminal, which could be realised by either a dental laminal (**th, nh**) or a palatal laminal (**tj, ny**).

¹⁵ See footnote 9 above.

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APPENDIX

This appendix contains the following tables:

Table 3 displays the case markers of Victorian languages.

Table 4 shows the first and second person singular pronouns from all the sources for the Western Language and for Wathawurrung in order to display the variety of forms, in particular the variety of pronoun bases. The principal sources are Hercus (1986), Curr (1886), various papers of R.H. Mathews (abbreviated as RHM), Taplin (1879) and Mathew (1899). The names given in the sources appear in italics. The numbers accompanying some of the sources are the numbers of lists in Curr 1886.

Tables 5-9 display the pronouns for each language for which there is data. The third person singular forms are not displayed since the sources present a confusing variety of demonstrative forms. Where a genuine (non-demonstrative) third person singular pronoun is recorded it is usually a reflex of the widespread Pama-Nyungan form ***NH**u.

The Comparative Table (Table 10) contains 138 words which were well represented in the sources. This means that it tends to include all the items in Curr's standard questionnaire. Not every word in every source has been included. The transcription of the stops has been standardised with the voiceless symbols.

Note that the rhotics are distinguished thus: **rr** represents a tap or trill and **r** represents a glide. This distinction applies only to words notated by Hercus. For all other words the nature of the rhotic cannot be determined and is represented by **R**.

In the Warrnambool entries **K** represents what Dawson calls *Kuurn Kopan Noot* and **PW** represents *Peek Whuurong*.

Entries in italics such as *ianaru* 'stomach' are in the original spelling of the source.

Reduplicated forms are sometimes represented by a stem plus the figure 2 to save space. See, for example, some of the entries for 'boomerang'.

There is a problem with verbs in that they are typically recorded with an inflection. We are not always confident about removing the inflection and this results in some inconsistency.

Where an initial consonant is lost in Australian languages and this would result in a **u** or **i** being exposed, an epenthetic, homorganic glide is inserted. The word for 'camp' in

Woiwurrung is **wilam**. The **w** is lost in Thagungwurrung to give **ilam**, but this appears as **yilam**. Similarly the initial **m** of **mula** 'shadow' in Wathawurrung is lost in the Warrnambool language and in Bunganditj where the form is **wul**. The appearance of the glides tends to disguise the fact that certain words are cognate.

Some comparative notes are included as footnotes. These are neither systematic nor comprehensive. They tend to be based on information found in the comparative tables of Curr and they incorporate information offered by interested colleagues.

TABLE 3: CASE MARKERS

	<i>ergative</i>	<i>genitive</i>	<i>dative/allative</i>	<i>locative</i>	<i>ablative</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	-(k)u, -(ng)u		-(k)a (oblique)	-(k)ang	-(k)unga
<i>Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill)</i>	-lu, -li	-(w)a	-nthal		-nang, -nu
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	-(k)u	-kitj, -katj		-kata, -kal	-(k)ang
<i>Wimmera</i>	-(k)u	-(k)itj	-(k)a, -(k)al	-ata	-(k)ang
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	-ng(k)u, -(y)u	-ng(k)a, -(y)a	-e		-nang
<i>Bunganditj</i>	-a	-(ng)at	-o (dative), -lon (allative)		
<i>Warrnambool</i>	-a	-ngat	-o	-nung, -nguRa	-kata?, -ki?
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	-a	-ak	-iyu	-a	
<i>Central Victoria</i>	-(th)a	-(th)al	-uth, etc.		-u
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	-l, -k	-(i)n	-uk, -nak	-naRak	-in
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	-nga, -k	-ngan	-k		-in
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	-ng(k)u	-la			
<i>Gippsland</i>	-(y)u, -tu	-a	-ia		-a

TABLE 4: FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS IN WESTERN LANGUAGE AND WATHAWURRUNG SOURCES

	<i>first person</i>				<i>second person</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	yiti		yinadu	-(ng)ai	ngindi		nginedu	-(ng)in
<i>Ledji-Ledji</i> Curr 202: Bumbang & Curr 203: Kulkynne	yati, yanga (202)				ngina (203)			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (SH)</i> RHM: Wamba	yeti, ¹⁴ yanta		yanayu	-ai	nginma		nginiyu	-in
<i>Wadi-Wadi (SH)</i> Beveridge: SH & Tyntynder (199)	yeti, yanda		yanayu		ngina, nginma		nginiyu	
<i>uncertain</i> Eyre: Boraiper	yetwa				ninwa			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (P)</i> Macredie: Piangil (Curr 201)	n(g)aldji				nandi			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (P)</i> Curr: Piangil (Curr 201)	n(g)iti				n(g)inte			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Hercus: Wemba-Wemba	yandang	-anda	yanteuk	-(ng)ek	ngin(tin), nginan (Curr 208D)	-arr	nginteuk ngun???	-ngin

(continued over)

¹⁴ The forms **yeti** and **nginma** also appear in Beveridge: Lower Murray and in Beveridge: Riverina.

Table 4 continued

<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208B: Lake Boga	walanyek				walaning			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208C: Moorerbat	walanyek				wanyin			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Stone: Lake Boga	walanyek				walanging			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> RHM Wuttyabullak	walangek	-an	walangangek	-ek	walanging	-arr	walangangin	-in
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208A: Moulmein	nayik				niam			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Curr 208E: Gunbower	nayik				neen			
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> Mathew: Gunbower	ngai, ngadj		yikek		ngindi		ngindi	
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i> RHM: Burraba	ngatj (also Curr 208G: Kerang)	-nta	yekayuk	-ak	ngin (also Curr 208G: Kerang)	-arr	ngintayuk	-in
<i>Wimmera</i> Hercus: Djadjala		-an ¹⁵		-ek		-arr		-in
<i>Wimmera</i> Hagenauer: Pine Plain	waluRek	-an		-ek	walungin			

(continued over)

¹⁵ These bound forms also appear in Spieseke and **-an**, **-ek** and **-arr** also appear in Hartman: Lake Hindmarsh (both sources in Smyth). Spieseke also gives **ngan** 'I' and **ngarr** 'you' as free pronouns, but he also gives them as apparent suffixes in a verb paradigm: **wuReg-ngan**, **wuReg-ngarr**, etc. They are probably just the ordinary bound forms for languages in this area. However, the velar nasal is not too easy to explain, though we would expect a velar nasal in the original free forms from which the bound forms derived. In Spieseke's contribution to Taplin the pronouns **tjuRmik** 'I' and **tjuRmin** 'you' appear and these have been included in the table. In Curr's word list for Mount Hope: Panyool Dialect (208F) the first person pronoun is given as **ngan**.

Table 4 continued

<i>Wimmera</i> RHM:Tyatyalla	yuRwek nyungek	-an	yuRwangek	-(ng)ek	yuRwin nyungin	-arr	yuRwangin	-(ng)in
<i>Wimmera</i> Curr 204A: Tatiarra	yeRowek				yeRowin			
<i>Wimmera</i> Spieseke (in Taplin)	tjuRmik				tjuRmin			
<i>Wimmera</i> Curr 207A: Lake Hindmarsh		-aan			tjoRmin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr 204B: Tatiarra	tjoRmek	-an			tjoRmin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winek	-an		-(ng)ek	winin	-arr		-(ng)in
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Dawson	winek				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Hamilton (207G)	winak				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Mt Rouse (207H)	winak				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung?</i> RHM: Wimmera	winek				winin			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Mathew: Ercildoune	wangal				dalkukarr	-arr	dalkukwangin	
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Glenelg above Woodford (207D)	wan				wanyen			

(continued over)

Table 4 continued

<i>Tjapwurrung?</i> Mathew (70)	wan		wangak		warr			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> Curr: Morton Plains (206)	nge							
<i>Tjapwurrung</i> RHM:Tyapwurru	bengek		bengordigek		bengin		bengordigin	
<i>Djadjawurrung</i> Parker:Jajawrong Knenknenwurru	bengak				bengin			
<i>Djadjawurrong</i> Parker: Jajowerong	wan		wangek		warr		wangin	
<i>Djadjawurrung</i> RHM: Tyedyu- wurru	wangan	-an	wangek	-(ng)ek	wangarr, warr	-arr	wangin	-(ng)in
<i>Lewurru</i>	wangek	-an			wangin	-arr		
<i>Wathawurrung</i> RHM: Wuddyawurru	bengek	-ek	bengordigek	-ik	bengin	-arr	bengordigin	-in

TABLE 5: FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR PRONOUNS

	<i>first person</i>				<i>second person</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	yeti		yinatu	-(ng)ai	nginti		nginetu	-(ng)in
<i>Ledji-Ledji</i>	yeti, yanga				ngina			
<i>Wadi-Wadi (SH)</i>	yeti, yanta		yanayu		ngina, nginma		nginiyu	
<i>Wadi-Wadi (P)</i>	n(g)iti, n(g)altji				n(g)inte, n(g)anti			
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	yantang	-anta	yanteuk	-(ng)ek	ngin(tin)	-arr	nginteuk	-(ng)in
<i>Burraba</i>	ngatj	-nta	yekayuk	-ak	ngin	-arr	ngintayuk	-in
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwek	-an	yuRwangek	-(ng)ek	yuRwin	-arr	yuRwangin	-(ng)in
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winek	-an		-(ng)ek	winin	-arr		-(ng)in
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wangan	-an	wangek	-(ng)ek	wangarr	-arr	wangin	-(ng)in
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngathu(k)	-nga	ngathowat, ngathangat	-ngayn	nguRo, nguRak	-ngin	nguRowat, ngutungat	-ngun
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngatuk	-u	ngatungat	-ngan	ngutuk	-ngin	ngutungat	-ngu
<i>Colac</i>	ngathuit		ngathangit					-ngin
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bengek	-an	bengordigek, bengongik	-ik	bengin	-arr	bengordigin, bengongin	-in
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wan, maRambik	-an	nugalik, maRambayik	-ik	warr, maRambinheR	-arr	nugalin, maRambayinheR	in
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	nga		ngini		ngina		nguni	
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	ngaya		ngini		ngina		nguni	
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	ngadha	-ngadha	ngaila		nginda	-ndha	ngina	
<i>Pallanganmiddang</i>					ngina			
<i>Gippsland</i>	ngadha	-adha	ngidhalung		ngin(du)	-ngin(a)	nginalung	

TABLE 6: FIRST PERSON DUAL PRONOUNS

	<i>first person dual inclusive</i>				<i>first person dual exclusive</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	ngali		ngalidu	-(ng)al			ngaladu	
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	ngalein	-angal	ngaleug	-angalak	ngalung	-ngalang	ngalunguk	-(ng)aluk
<i>Burraba</i>	ngal	-ngal	ngalayuk	-(ng)al	ngalung	-ngalung	ngalunguk	-(ng)aluk
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwal	-ngal	yuRwangel	-(ng)aluk, -engalak	yuRwaluk (sic)	-ngalang	yuRwangeluk	-(ng)aluk
<i>Wuttyabulluk</i>	walungal	-ngal			walungalak			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winal	-ngal			winalak	-angal		
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wangel	-angal	wangel	-al	wangelang	-angalang	wangelak	
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngathowal	-ngal			ngathowilal	-nga		
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngat(h)ungal	-ngal			ngat(h)ungalein	-ngalin, -ngalang		
<i>Colac</i>	ngathunginak				ngathula		ngathangula	
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bengal	-ngal	bengordinal		bengalak		bengordinalak	
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wangel	-ngal	nugalngal	-ngal	wangan	-ngan	nugalngan	-ngan
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	ngalngin		ngalungan		ngala			
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	ngali				ngali			
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	ngala	-ngal			nganda	-ngandha		
<i>Gippsland</i>	ngalu	-alu	ngalulung		nganangu	-angu		

TABLE 7: SECOND AND THIRD PERSON DUAL PRONOUNS

	<i>second person dual</i>				<i>third person dual</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>								
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>		-awal		-alak		-bula		-bulak
<i>Burraba</i>	ngulen	-wul	ngulayuk			-bula		
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwula(k)	-wul	yuRwangwula(k)		yuRbulang, yuRwoRokbulang	-bulang	yuRwangbulang	-bulak
<i>Wuttyabulluk</i>	walungula	-wul			walungbula	-buls		
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winwulak	-awul			winbulak	-abulang		
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wawul	-awal	wangatak		wabulang	-abulang	wabulak	
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngutpul				nunggul			
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngutuwal	-wul, -waR			tilakal?	-kal, -nda, -tja		
<i>Colac</i>								
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bengbula		bengordiwula		bengbulang		bengordibulang	
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wabul	-nybul	nugalbul	-mbul	munyi guRabil	-nybulayn	nugalubulayn	-bulayn
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	bula		bulan					
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	bula		bulan					
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	bula	-uba			bungga	-ula		
<i>Gippsland</i>		-mba			bula	-bula	bulalung	

TABLE 8: FIRST PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS

	<i>first person plural inclusive</i>				<i>first person plural exclusive</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>	yangurr			-ngurra			yinadu	-ngandang (WW)
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	yangurrein	-angurr	yangurreug	-angurrak	yangurrang	-angurrang	yandeug	-andak
<i>Burraba</i>	yangur	-anguR-(gat)	yanguriyuk	anguR-(ak)	yandang	-anda	yandiyuk	-andak, andang
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwenguRak	-ngu(R)	yuRwangenguRak	(e)(ng)uR-ak	yuRwendak	-andang	yuRwangendak	-(ng)andak
<i>Wutyabulluk</i>	walungaRa				walungandak			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	winanguRa	-angu			winanguRak	-anda, -angu		
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wanguR	-anguR	wangenguRak		wandang	-angandang	wangendak wangandik	
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngathowe	-nge			ngathowile	-nge		
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngat(h)ungan	-ngan			ngat(h)unganin	-nganin		
<i>Colac</i>	ngathangoRok		ngathangangoRok					
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bengadak		bengordingadak		bengwudjak		bengordiwudjak	
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wanganyin	-nganyin	nugalnganyin	-nganyin	wanganyinyu	-nganyinyu	nugalnganyinyu	-nganyinyu
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	nyuwanda		nyuwandan		nyana			
<i>Yabula</i>	nunhu				ngina?			
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	ngandanginya	-mana			nganandha	-ngandha		
<i>Gippsland</i>	waRu	-waRu			warna	-warna		

TABLE 9: SECOND AND THIRD PERSON PLURAL PRONOUNS

	<i>second person plural</i>				<i>third person plural</i>			
	<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>		<i>nominative</i>		<i>genitive</i>	
	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>	<i>free</i>	<i>bound</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>			ngunedu					
<i>Wemba-Wemba</i>	ngudein	-adj	ngudeug	-adak		-an		-djanak
<i>Burraba</i>	ngut		ngutiyuk					
<i>Wimmera</i>	yuRwadak	-(aw)at	yuRwangadak		yuRwenak	-(an)atj, -(g)itj	yuRwangenak	-(ng)anak, -djanak
<i>Wuttyabulluk</i>	walungadak				walungenak			
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	bengut	-at			benganak	-atj		
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	wangat	-awat	wangathak		wangandi	-anatj	wandjanak	
<i>Bunganditj</i>	ngutpula				nungpula			
<i>Warrnambool</i>	ngutuwan	-wan, -waR			tilakanta?	-kanta, dja		
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	bengut		bengordingut, bengongut		benganak, bengthanang		bengordinganak, bengodithanak	
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	wat balak	-at	nugalngut	-ngut	malu guRabila	-uR	nugaludhana, munyigadhan	-dhan
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	nhuRa		nhuRan					
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>	nhuRa				dhana			
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	nguda							
<i>Gippsland</i>	nguRadhana				dhana			

TABLE 10: COMPARATIVE TABLE OF VICTORIAN LANGUAGES

	<i>alive</i>	<i>arm</i>	<i>baby</i>	<i>back</i>	<i>bad</i>
<i>Madhi-Madhi</i>		thathak[i]		tuthi	puki ¹⁶
<i>Ledji-Ledji</i>			pupup		tjelegan
<i>Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill)</i>	puRinya	t(h)a(r)tak[i]	pupu(p)	waRm, wart	w(a)ikeRu
<i>Wadi-Wadi (Piangil)</i>		taki ¹⁷	pupupi		puki, tjil(i)ka, waikatanyi
<i>Wemba-Beraba</i>	murrenta, muRun ¹⁸	thathak	popeyn	warrem	yathang
<i>Wimmera</i>	muRun	thatj-	pupup	warrem, wart	yatjang
<i>Tjapwurrung</i>	muRun	thatjak	pupup	waRam, wart	yatjang
<i>Djadjawurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	ngilamun ¹⁹	waRim	yaRang
<i>Bunganditj</i>	yurli	wu ²⁰	kun-	panu	w(V)Rang
<i>Wannon</i>		wuRk	pupup	weRip	ngamaRang
<i>Warrnambool</i>	puntian	wuRk	pupup	wart, wiR(e)k	(ngama)kaliyn, ngamintja(r)
<i>Colac</i>		kine ²¹	purteRong		
<i>Wathawurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	pupup	wiRip, wulum	nyulam, nyulim
<i>Woiwurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	pupup	ngaRak	nyulam, matapi (B)
<i>Thagungwurrung</i>	muRun	thaRak	pupup	ngaRak	nyulam, matapi
<i>Yota-Yota</i>	thoana	poRinya	kothupka	panuth	mathi ²²
<i>Yabula-Yabula</i>		poRiyn	kothupuk		mathi
<i>Dhudhuroa</i>	muRpoa	katjinpa	pantjina	panu	kepeRi
<i>Pallanganmiddang</i>			kapika	kitha	mat(h)ing(k)a, puRanta
• <i>Gippsland</i>		pirntang	lith	ngarak	tintin, tenpin

¹⁶ Warlpiri **puka** 'rotten'

¹⁷ Warlpiri **rdaka**

¹⁸ Forms similar to **murrun** are found over much of NSW, e.g. Wiradjuri, Gamilaraay and Awabakal.

¹⁹ Only in one source.

²⁰ In Bunganditj **t(h)aRawu** means 'left arm' (cf. **THarrak**) and **maRawu** 'right arm' (cf. widespread **mara** 'hand').

²¹ Also given for 'leg'.

²² Compare Bularnu **mathu**, Warluwara **matju** (western Q).

	<i>big</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>black</i>	<i>blood</i>	<i>bone</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	tangi, withul, karrawi	puntatha	wurrkirrim	kurrk[i] ²³	kalk[i] ²⁴
<i>Ledji</i>	wirtuR, witap			kuk(i)	kalk[i], pimpi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	karrawi, kuRangkantu, muRpuR	punta	wuka 'dark'	kuRk[i]	kalk[i]
<i>Wadi P</i>	kaRawi		waikeRimpi	kuRki	kalk[i], pimp[i]
<i>Wemba</i>	kurumpit, koR(angk)antuk	punta	wurkatang, wurkatail ²⁵	kurrk	kalk, mertərr
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurrung	punta	wurkirrim	kurrk	kalk
<i>Tjap</i>	martuk, matjuk	punta	wuRwuRkanitj	kuRk	kalk
<i>Djadja</i>	nguRi	punta	wuRkuRong	kuRk	kalk
<i>Bung</i>	wuRong	ngatha	monal, wurlu	kamaR, ²⁶ kuRuk	pii, paa
<i>Wannon</i>	martong, ²⁷ ngakel	punta	miyn	keRik	pakayn
<i>Warr</i>	miaR(ung), linggil	punta	miyn	keRek, koRi-	pakayn
<i>Colac</i>	paliyt, wamaRa	pung(k)aning		kuRk	yiRping
<i>Watha</i>	tirtapil	puna	wuRkaRapil	kuRk	nyayl, nyil
<i>Woi</i>	wuRthapu, pulalu	punta	wuRkurtin, wuRkapil	kuRk, kuRmul	nyilang
<i>Thagung</i>	wuRthapu	punta	wuRka(R)apil	kuRk	kalk
<i>Yota</i>	tun.kutja	yin-	thaalan	mawa	lilima
<i>Yabula</i>	nguRia	yin-			
<i>Dhudhu</i>	muRantu	pulingani	thayukilu		piamanhu
<i>Pallang</i>	pata			kuRu	kayila
<i>Gippsland</i>	kuwaRail	punta	ni(r)npa	kRuk, ka(r)ntopaRa	pRing, prrang

²³ **KuRk** is found in Yitha-Yitha. Note also Gamilaraay **guway**, Wiradjuri **guwayn**; **kuwaRu** in the Mayi languages (Q) and **gurratj** in Jawoyn (NT). The root **kul-** is found among the Northern languages. In Kunwinyku **kurrk** is 'body fluid'.

²⁴ **Kalk** occurs in Central Victoria as 'wood', 'tree'; note also **kalak** 'tree' in Gippsland. **Kalka** 'spear' is found in Queensland, e.g. Guugu-Yimidhirr.

²⁵ For the suffixes **-tang** and **-tail** see Hercus (1986:26). For the root compare Baagandji **kukirka**.

²⁶ A form **kuma(R)** is widespread.

²⁷ Means 'good' in Bunganditj.

	<i>boomerang</i>	<i>bottom/buttocks</i>	<i>breast</i>	<i>brother, elder</i>	<i>brother, younger</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	wani ²⁸	mum-		wawi	perrat
<i>Ledji</i>	wani	mumi	kumpi, kutapi	wawi, muntunti	pampi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	wani		kuimp[i]	waw-	palaR
<i>Wadi P</i>	wani		kuimpi, tanti	wawi	
<i>Wemba</i>	wan, katam-katam	mum	kurrn, ²⁹ tjang	wawi	kutni-
<i>Wimmera</i>	katim-katim	mum	kurrn, tjang	wawi	kutin
<i>Tjap</i>	tatum-tatum, litum2	mum, mulu	kuRm, tjang	wawi	kuti
<i>Djadja</i>	tatim-tatim	mum	kuRmp-	waRw-	kut
<i>Bung</i>	ketap-ketap,katam2		paap	waRkali	toti
<i>Wannon</i>	katam-katam	mum, ngali-nyun, paRiyn	ngapang ³⁰	warti	koko
<i>Warr</i>	letem-letem		ngapang	warti	koko
<i>Colac</i>			piRm-piRm, piRi ³¹	tirta	koRompuiyt
<i>Watha</i>	wan.kim	mum	tjuRam	wartung, wartang	wangat, tjitji
<i>Woi</i>	wan.kim	mum, pilik	piRm-piRm, piRin	pangkayn, wurmtulung	thithith
<i>Thagung</i>	wan.kim	pilik	piRm-piRm, piRin	tati, pangkayn	parnumpi
<i>Yota</i>	wanya	mutja ³²	payiR	paanyupa	thatjupa, kitjila
<i>Yabula</i>	thalkuR			wawa	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	wan.kewa		piRiwa	maRokayn	ngulupamin
<i>Pallang</i>	wan.ki	tuRu	piRi	wawa	
<i>Gippsland</i>	wan.kim	kirran	pang, pak	ppramon 'brother'	thanthang 'brother'

²⁸ **Wan-** is widespread, e.g. Baagandji **wana** 'non-returning boomerang', Mari languages (Q) **wangal**, Kayardild (Q) **wangalk**; Diyari (SA) **wana** 'digging stick'.

²⁹ Cognates are scarce, but note **kulambi** in Yirandhali (Q).

³⁰ Forms similar to **ngapang** are found from Sydney northward along the coast of NSW, also Warlpiri **ngapurlu**.

³¹ **BiRi** is found throughout NSW, e.g. Wiradjuri **birring** 'chest'.

³² Warlpiri **mudju** 'coccyx', 'base of spine'.

	<i>bring/get</i>	<i>brolga</i>	<i>by-and-by</i>	<i>camp</i>	<i>canoe</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	mangkatha, werrpatha	kuthuni	tathi, tarti, kangu		yungwip
<i>Ledji</i>		kutarni	kalwa, tjilaluka	lang(i)	lunguwi [sic] ³³
<i>Wadi SH</i>	waiwa, mani-	kurtani	tarti	luRngi [sic]	yungkuwi
<i>Wadi P</i>		tuRkanyi	pawa	laingi	yungkupi
<i>Wemba</i>	paika	kut(h)un	kila, kathang	lar, ngaR(k), kuyintji	yungwitj
<i>Wimmera</i>	maneka, waiwa	kutjun	malupmia	lar	yungwip
<i>Tjap</i>	maneka, mutjaka	kutjun, nuRkuang	maluk	laR	yungkuip
<i>Djadja</i>		kuRun ³⁴	nyumitj(-paRak)	laR	yungkuip
<i>Bung</i>	mana, wampawe	wanti, purtmata		ngurla	wala, etc
<i>Wannon</i>	mana-wata-tayn	kuRun, kuRuk	kalu ³⁵	wum	thuRong
<i>Warr</i>	wampa(ki)	kuRun, kuRu(R)k	kalu	wum	thuRong
<i>Colac</i>	koRantji-lantan	kuRu(R)k	thala		
<i>Watha</i>	mutjaka	poRongkitj	malo, paRa-paRa	kaRung	yukuip, yinya-yinyu, yawut
<i>Woi</i>	wanthatji, tuapongka	kuRu(R)k	muluku, paRa-paRa	wilam ³⁶	kuRong
<i>Thagung</i>	wanthatji	kuRu(R)k	muluku, malemal(thu)	yilam ³⁷	kuRong
<i>Yota</i>	paya, yako(R)ma	kunukuthula	tjinyangkuma	manu	matha
<i>Yabula</i>		tawiRi	kanyangkuma	kuwa	putju
<i>Dhudhu</i>	matjku	piRangkanpa	mayangan	ngutjua	mautha, tuthu
<i>Pallang</i>	yanti	perang(k)a	yutaRa	mani, panto	m(a)utha
<i>Gippsland</i>	wanai, yaRapa	kuRakan	nawanthu, miRinthu, takuyt	pang, nguya	kRi

³³ The initial *l* is strange. Note the lenition of the final labial stop before a following vowel in this and the entry below.

³⁴ Forms such as Djirbal *gururr* are common along the coast of Queensland and NSW.

³⁵ Mayali (NT) *kaluk*

³⁶ In Mayali (NT) this form means 'paperbark raft/canoe'.

³⁷ Initial *w* lost in Thagungwurring; compare *inha* 'who'.

	<i>carry</i>	<i>cheek</i>	<i>cloud, light 'l' and dark/thunder 'd'</i>	<i>cockatoo black</i>
<i>Madhi</i>			mengki, wapungurr 'd'	
<i>Ledji</i>		taiki	laaki	
<i>Wadi SH</i>	wali	teRk-	murnki	tjeRin (black-red), wiRani (black-yellow)
<i>Wadi P</i>				
<i>Wemba</i>	wer(ə)ka	muRek	marn 'l'mar(ə)ng 'd', tanpil 'd', tanmil 'd'	wiRan
<i>Wimmera</i>		taRak	mereng (=sky), tarpil 'd'	kamatj, kiRin, kaRwil
<i>Tjap</i>	mutjaka	muRak	maRng	wiRan
<i>Djadja</i>		muRak	maR(o)ng	wiRayn
<i>Bung</i>	tjinipa	wuRaa, kana-waRi	murn(ong), murnmaRi(t)	put ³⁸ wila, ³⁹ t(h)(a)Riyn
<i>Wannon</i>	ngurna, keRangu	tjakRan	murnpung (=sky), thampil 'd'	wilan
<i>Warr</i>	walata, wampa-	wang, thatha(k)	murnong (=sky)	wilan
<i>Colac</i>			maRng	
<i>Watha</i>	waima, tula	wang	tummaRng, wuRwuR	tjaRiyn, wiRan
<i>Woi</i>	waRongka(po)	wang	laak	yangkai, ngayamong
<i>Thagung</i>		wang	laak	
<i>Yota</i>	lupa	tamula	yuRatha ⁴⁰ (=sky)	nyaRing, nyanang
<i>Yabula</i>			yuRathek	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	waRong(k)aRa		kaRayu (=rain)	nianyu
<i>Pallang</i>	yang(k)uthu-kaRa		yuwatha	
<i>Gippsland</i>	kurtpa	wang	nurt	nga(r)nak ⁴¹

³⁸ **Purt** is the first element of bird names in this language.

³⁹ Awabakal (NSW) **waiila**.

⁴⁰ Awabakal **yuRa**, Gamilaraay **yuru**, Wiradjuri **yuurruung**.

⁴¹ Kayardild (Q) **ngarnala** 'white cockatoo'.

	<i>cockatoo white</i>	<i>cold (temperature)</i>	<i>creek/river</i>	<i>crow</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	thinawi, kirrenti 'corella'	minti	tinti	wangi
<i>Ledji</i>	kawa	mintji		wang(i)
<i>Wadi SH</i>	keRangi	yepRa, poylinga, miRianyema	pamiwaR(u), milu	wangi, waRangan
<i>Wadi P</i>	keRangi, tjuRanyi	tinangi		walatjali
<i>Wemba</i>	tjinap, kat(h)əkarr	pumpilang	piR, yalok, kapəl	wa
<i>Wimmera</i>	tjinap, katjekarr 'corella'		parr	wa
<i>Tjap</i>	tjinyap, katjaka(R) 'corella'	mut-mut, mu(m)mut	parr	wa
<i>Djadja</i>	tjinap	motangin, pantjal (=feel cold?)	purr	wa, maRangan
<i>Bung</i>	purt kaRa al, meR(a)n	munmon, murton, mut-mut	pawuR ⁴²	wa
<i>Wannon</i>	kaRakiyt	mu(r)t-mu(r)t	pukaRa	wang
<i>Warr</i>	ngayuk	palapetj, konketitj	puRang K, waRinung PW	wang
<i>Colac</i>		piRiyn	yaluk	kawakuRk
<i>Watha</i>	tjinap, kaRaka(R) 'corella'	piRiyn, munmut, mutang-	yaluk	waa
<i>Woi</i>	ngayuk, kaan	mutawi-, piRiyn 'winter', panthal 'feel cold'	yaluk, kurnung, wurmit	wang
<i>Thagung</i>	kaan	mutawi-, mutanga-, panthal 'feel cold', luRk-luRk	kurnung	wang
<i>Yota</i>	tjaRing	polkatj, mati-	tong(k)ala, kayila	waka, tangamai
<i>Yabula</i>	kaRang	poleki		waka
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kitaunu	kaRkatpa, kaRkutang	tjeRingemo(R)	wakaRa
<i>Pallang</i>	kiya	pathawatha, puwatha	[ng]aR, kiRu	peRo(n)tha
<i>Gippsland</i>	pRaak	miRpak	kawitj	ngaRukal, wa(y)kaRa

⁴² The similar forms in this column may be related; compare analogous phonetic differences in the forms for 'nose'.

	<i>cry</i>	<i>dark (d), night (n)</i>	<i>dead/die</i> ⁴³	<i>dog</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	numila	puingki (n), puinthi (n)	wikatha	kali, ⁴⁴ wirrangan
<i>Ledji</i>		pontji (d, n), ⁴⁵ koli (d)	wika	kali
<i>Wadi SH</i>	lumla (<i>or</i> tumla)	puRangi (d, n), kuRali (d, n), wuka (d)	thelpi-, piRa	wiRangin, wiRengkal
<i>Wadi P</i>		puRungi (d, n)	thelpi	kali
<i>Wemba</i>	numila	puruyn ⁴⁶ (d, n)	wika	wirrengən, wilkarr
<i>Wimmera</i>	numila	puruyn (d, n)	wika	kal, wilkerr
<i>Tjap</i>	yiRia, lumili	puRuyn (d, n)	wika, titjai	kal, wilka(R)
<i>Djadja</i>	maRi	puRuyn (d, n)	tiRiyang	kal, wilka(R)
<i>Bung</i>	lung(k)a	mul (d, n), ⁴⁷ murr(i) (n)	nuan	kal
<i>Wannon</i>		puRuyn (d, n), palan (d)	kalpirm	kal
<i>Warr</i>	lunga-, ⁴⁸ wi(R)pa	puRuyn (d, n), kuRuwaluk	kalpirm	kal, purnang PW
<i>Colac</i>		puRun(h)a (n)	patmaRi-	ngantu, kwantuk
<i>Watha</i>	lungawa-, lungga-	muRkal (d, n)	tirta	kal
<i>Woi</i>	maRu-, martu-, etc.	puRuyn (d, n)	wayikaith, wiakuyn	wiRingan, yiRangin ⁴⁹
<i>Thagung</i>		puRuyn (d, n)	wayikaith, weRikai	wiRingan, yiRangin
<i>Yota</i>	tanu	thala (d, n), mulok-mulok (d), thola (n)	kukuyn, yutanangi	paka
<i>Yabula</i>		yenutj (n)	nothaRan	kumau
<i>Dhudhu</i>	nangkai	thukutjpa (d, n)	miRikini ⁵⁰ , nginyanga	wingka
<i>Pallang</i>	kutji-	kayiwaRa (d), tuma (n), tana (n)	paRaRa	poa, naRa
<i>Gippsland</i>	nuuN	pukang (d, n), patkalak (n)	thertiken	paayn

⁴³ See also the entries for 'hungry'.

⁴⁴ **Karli** is found on the Darling (e.g. Baagandji) and in eastern SA.

⁴⁵ There is a problem with interpreting the notations ending in *-ingi*. Do they represent *-ingi*, *-ingki* or *-indji*? This applies to the Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) entry also.

⁴⁶ Wiradjuri **buurruundhang**, Dharawal (NSW) **buRa**.

⁴⁷ Compare Gabi (Q) **mulu**.

⁴⁸ The root **lung-** 'cry' is widespread.

⁴⁹ Initial **w** has been lost and a homorganic glide replaces it. Compare **wilam** and **yilam** 'camp', 'hut'.

⁵⁰ Western Desert **mirri**.

	<i>drink, to</i>	<i>duck, black</i>	<i>eagle</i>	<i>ear</i>	<i>eat</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kupa(tha)	tulum	wulekil	wimpula	thaka ⁵¹
<i>Ledji</i>	kupila	tulum		wimpuli	tjakili-, tjawa
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kupa	tulum, tarnawaR	wiRpil ⁵²	wiRimpul ⁵³	tjak(e)la
<i>Wadi P</i>	kupa	thulumi, ngaRi ⁵⁴ (wood duck)	wayapil	tjulantu/i	tjika-, thawa-
<i>Wemba</i>	kup(il)a	ngare, nini, noweRa	weRpil, pangkəl	wirimpula	tjaka-
<i>Wimmera</i>	kup(il)a	ngaRi, ngere	werpil	wirimpul	tjaka-
<i>Tjap</i>	kupila, ngupila	ngaRi	weRpil, ngaRayl	wiRmpul	tjaki-
<i>Djadja</i>	ngupila	ngaRi	weRpil	wi(R)mpul	thaka
<i>Bung</i>	thatha ⁵⁵	purna	ngiRi	wRang	thiRa
<i>Wannon</i>	thatha	kRayn	ngiangkaRa	wiRing	thaka
<i>Warr</i>	thatha	thupuRung, moi PW	ngiangka(Ra), keRulet K	wiRng K, wing PW	thaki-
<i>Colac</i>	ngolika	tulum, piRiwang	ngolimeRik	wiRi	kutjala, luta, wutka
<i>Watha</i>	ngupa	tulum	ngaRomka, waRawa, etc.	wiRng	kutja(1a)-
<i>Woi</i>	ngupa	tulum	puntjil	wiRng	thanga
<i>Thagung</i>	ngupa	tulum	puntjil	wiRng	thanga
<i>Yota</i>	thang-, thaku-, poki-	tulma	wanmiR, kuRanyin	maRmu	thatji, matjimi-
<i>Yabula</i>	kongayang	wangirl	ngarta	maRam ⁵⁶	thaki-
<i>Dhudhu</i>	ngumaRe	tulumu	wanamaRu	maRampo	thana
<i>Pallang</i>	kunimanipa, pokerte	tuma	waRimu	maRampa	takathi
<i>Gippsland</i>	thaN-, kluk-	w(u)Rang	kwanamaRu	wRing	tha-

⁵¹ The root **THa** is widespread.

⁵² Awabakal (NSW) **wiRipang**.

⁵³ **Wiri** seems to be Victorian, though Hercus suggests Baagandji **yuri** and similar forms may be cognate; **pul(a)** is dual.

⁵⁴ Miming (SA) **ngaRawa**.

⁵⁵ Probably reduplicated form of **Tha** 'to eat', compare Warlpiri **djadja-rni** 'eat/drink part of'

⁵⁶ There may be cognates in the Tangkic languages (Q); compare Lardil **merral**, Yukulta **marralda**.

	<i>egg</i>	<i>elbow</i>	<i>emu</i>	<i>excrement</i>	<i>eye</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	miki		karringi, yumparli, yurmtal		mir[i] ⁵⁷
<i>Ledji</i>	mik(i), miRki	n[g]unuki	kaR(a)wingi	kumangi, kalingi	mingi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	miRki	ngonyuR-, kaniw-	kurriwiyin, kuRwingi	kunang(i)	miR[i]
<i>Wadi P</i>	maiki		paR(a)imali ⁵⁸	kunang(i)	maingi
<i>Wemba</i>	mirk	munyuk	kawiR, tjurungwil	kuna ⁵⁹	mir(i)
<i>Wimmera</i>	mirk	ngu(n)yuk	kawirr	kuna	mir
<i>Tjap</i>	miRk	palutj	kawiR, yawiR	kuna	miR
<i>Djadja</i>	pum-pum	palutj	paRamal	kuna	miR, ma
<i>Bung</i>	kula, kuwa	thaluk, thaliyn	kapiR, kawiR	kuna	miR
<i>Wannon</i>	kule	thaliyn	kapiRng	kunang	miRng
<i>Warr</i>	miRk K, mik PW, minyeung PW	thaliyn	kapiRng, paRaynmal K	kunang	miRng K, miR PW, ming PW
<i>Colac</i>	putjung	polon	paRi(n)mal		miR
<i>Watha</i>	kayi	paluth	kawiR	kunang	miR
<i>Woi</i>	tiRantiR	paluth, kuRun	paRaimal	kumang	miRng
<i>Thagang</i>	tiRantiR	kuRun	paRaimal	kumang	miRng
<i>Yota</i>	putjanga	kuki(R), nganangka	pikaRumtja	kuna	miyal, maa
<i>Yabula</i>			kotayami	kuna	maa
<i>Dhudhu</i>	thang(k)a	kaRanpa	maRiawa ⁶⁰	kunu	wuntjapa
<i>Pallang</i>	puwa, poya	kaRaRa	maR(i)a	kuRa	mii
<i>Gippsland</i>	puyang	tjalung	mayawaRa	kwanang	mRi

⁵⁷ The widespread root is **mil**.

⁵⁸ Similar forms are found in NSW meaning 'swan', e.g. Gamilaraay **barayamal**.

⁵⁹ Widespread Pama-Nyungan root.

⁶⁰ Similar forms are found along the NSW coast, e.g. Dhurga **maRia**.

	<i>fat</i>	<i>fall</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>feather</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	puipul, paipul ⁶¹ 'kidney fat'	puika	mami ⁶²	within[i]
<i>Ledji</i>	pipula, kantjo		mamai	
<i>Wadi SH</i>	pipal-, piangwil	puika	mam[i]	wirten-
<i>Wadi P</i>	kalpinti-		mami	
<i>Wemba</i>	papul, mampul-, kurratj	puika	mam	withən
<i>Wimmera</i>	pepul	puika	maam	witjan
<i>Tjap</i>	papul	puika	mami	witjin
<i>Djadja</i>	pepul-	puika	mam	wiRayn
<i>Bung</i>	mumpu(l)i	ponyi-	maam	wirtiR
<i>Wannon</i>	pepul	(pRangat) yungi-	pipai ⁶³	[ng]alang, tjaRat
<i>Warr</i>	pipul	yungkaya, yanta w/purt	pipai	kuRotnong K, turnong PW
<i>Colac</i>			mama	
<i>Watha</i>	koRiyt, tjen, mampula	papwiRi-, taalen	pitjaRng	kuRan
<i>Woi</i>	mampula, maRp	pulta-,	mama	kangan
<i>Thagung</i>	maRp	patheRempi-	mama, waRitj	
<i>Yota</i>	waliktja	taati-	kaya, papu	tuno, wunutja
<i>Yabula</i>			pingalam	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kalanhu, kalimpu	wenthuRe	mema	
<i>Pallang</i>	pataRa		mamka	
<i>Gippsland</i>	waniwan	plakatju-	mungan	wirt wirt, paRa-

⁶¹ Hercus suggests that some of the forms in this column may contain a dual **-pul**, the words often being used for fat from kidneys.

⁶² **Mama** is found in the Western Desert language (WA, SA, NT).

⁶³ **Pipa** is found in Warlpiri, and **papi, papa** are found in SA, NSW and Q.

	<i>fire</i>	<i>fly (noun)</i>	<i>foot</i>	<i>frightened</i>	<i>girl</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	wanapi	pithiki	thinangi	pampa-	paingkuk-murrunhi
<i>Ledji</i>	wurnapi ⁶⁴	pitiki	tjinangi		
<i>Wadi SH</i>	warnawi, wingkel	pirti	tjinangi		muRungkuR
<i>Wadi P</i>	winapi, wunapi	piti, piki	tjinangi		
<i>Wemba</i>	wanap	pithik	tjina ⁶⁵	pampa	
<i>Wimmera</i>	wanyap	pitjik	tjina	pampa	
<i>Tjap</i>	wi	pitjik	tjina	pampa	panya, paRat, lanin kuRk
<i>Djadja</i>	wi	piRik	tjina	pampa	puni-puni
<i>Bung</i>	warnap, warnam	yuwal-yuwal, muloy	thina	yin-, yainuna	paRayt-paRayt
<i>Wannon</i>	wiyn ⁶⁶	manak	thinang	pampu-	paRayt, naRan-kuRk
<i>Warr</i>	wiyn	wuRil K, minik K	thinang	ku(r)ninpa	paRayt-paRayt
<i>Colac</i>	wiyn	muRo(y)n 'march fly'	kinang ⁶⁷	mayn.ka	
<i>Watha</i>	wiyn	tjutjut	tjinang	nga(R)p-kunang, ngalpil-	murtimuntik, nganyakuRk (=small female)
<i>Woi</i>	wiyn	kaRakaRak	tjinang	pampa	purnai, murmmurtik
<i>Thagung</i>	wiyn	kaRakaRak	tjinang	pampa	purnai
<i>Yota</i>	pitja	wawinya	tjina	tjiuman	nanyanpana, nyawaka 'small'
<i>Yabula</i>	kalao		tjina		nyawak
<i>Dhudhu</i>	ngiampanpa	mayangampa	tjinu	waRakana	weki, tjamakanpa 'small'
<i>Pallang</i>	kaRa ⁶⁸	pampa, kuwatha	tjiRa	kamena	
<i>Gippsland</i>	thaweRa	ngaRun, pian	tjayn	tjinakan	

⁶⁴ The vowel **a** becomes **u** before **R** also in **luRngi** 'camp'.

⁶⁵ **THina** is widespread.

⁶⁶ Similar forms are found in New South Wales and Queensland: Wangkumara **wii**, Wiradjuri **wiiyn**.

⁶⁷ Also given for 'arm'.

⁶⁸ Hercus points out that **karla** is widespread and is found in South Australia and Western Australia, e.g. Nyungar **karla**.

	<i>goanna</i>	<i>good</i>	<i>grass</i>	<i>ground, earth</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	nganurri 'tree', wathangi 'sand'	telki	wurringki	thangi
<i>Ledji</i>		talki	poatji	tjangi, tjantji
<i>Wadi SH</i>		talku, payu	wulngi, wuluki	thangi
<i>Wadi P</i>		piRimali, payu	wulngi, wuluki	thangi
<i>Wemba</i>	tjuling 'tree', watha 'sand'	telkuk	poətj, yiing	tja ⁶⁹
<i>Wimmera</i>	ngangurr 'tree', watje 'sand'	thalkuk	puatj	tja
<i>Tjap</i>	tjulin 'tree'	thalkuk	puatj	tja
<i>Djadja</i>	yu(R)kun	thalkuk	poyn	tja
<i>Bung</i>	yuRu 'ground'	martong ⁷⁰	puthu	miRiit, m(a)Raas
<i>Wannon</i>		ngutjung ⁷¹	puthong	miRing
<i>Warr</i>	walap, yuRuk 'blue tongue'	ngutjung	kaRiwan K, puthong PW	miRing
<i>Colac</i>		tu-ker-noke		muRa, tha
<i>Watha</i>	tjulin 'tree', yuRok	kunyapa, manamith	paRa, woRon.kai	tja, teRk
<i>Woi</i>		purntap, manamith	poath, panum	piik, naRap
<i>Thagung</i>	thuliyn	purntap	poath	piik, naRap
<i>Yota</i>	paRyepala 'ground', piltjimtja 'tree', wawayt 'black'	kalinya, thoma talko	pa(R)pan	waka
<i>Yabula</i>		kaliyn	pelart	waka
<i>Dhudhu</i>	wuRuRa-djawa 'ground', kuRutha/i 'tree'	kantja	muRu	kuRatpa
<i>Pallang</i>		kiyantji	kampaRu	miRi
<i>Gippsland</i>	pathaluk		pan	wuRk, waRk

⁶⁹ Gabi (Q) tja, Wiradjuri dhaagun.

⁷⁰ Martong is 'big' in Wannon.

⁷¹ Warlpiri ngurrdju.

	<i>hair</i>	<i>hand</i>	<i>head</i>	<i>hear</i>	<i>heart</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	ngarra-	manha[ngi]	purp[i]	tema(tha)	munt
<i>Ledji</i>	ngaRa-pupi	manadji, marnangi	pup(a)i	n(h)aRa-	
<i>Wadi SH</i>	ngaRa-	mama-	puRpi	teRpima	monRe(n)tu
<i>Wadi P</i>	ngua-poipi	manangi	poipi		
<i>Wemba</i>	ngarra	manya	puRp, murreng	nyerna	wutjup ⁷²
<i>Wimmera</i>	ngarra	manya	purp	nyerna, ngaRang-	wutjup
<i>Tjap</i>	ngaRa	manya	puRp	nyiarn	wutjup
<i>Djadja</i>	ngaRa	marna	puRp	ngerna, nyerna	tuRung
<i>Bung</i>	ngarla-purp	marna, maRa ⁷³	puup	wanga ⁷⁴	luu(ng)
<i>Wannon</i>	ngarlang, kurt, ngaRat	maRang	tarnti, kulan, pia	wanga	litj, wiRa-wart-nung
<i>Warr</i>	ngaRat	maRang	pim ⁷⁵	wanga	linan
<i>Colac</i>	kan-muRk	ma	muRk	wa(ng)atka-, natkiRi	
<i>Watha</i>	ngaR-muRk	mama	muRk	nyaRwa, ngaRwa	thuRung, t(h)uRm ⁷⁶
<i>Woi</i>	yaRa ⁷⁷	mamang	kawang	ngarn.ka, ngaka	tuRung
<i>Thagung</i>		mamang	kawang	ngarn.ka	tuRung
<i>Yota</i>	pukan	piyin	puko	nyarn-	puRa, tipa
<i>Yabula</i>		piRik			
<i>Dhudhu</i>		maRa	maRiawa	ngaRinpai	
<i>Pallang</i>	koRowa	maRa	puwa		pa(r)nteRa
<i>Gippsland</i>	lirt	pReth	pRuk	wanga-	pulkan tulet, pulpulka

⁷² **Wutjup** also means 'stomach' in the three languages in which it occurs; it also means 'inside' in Wemba-Wemba.

⁷³ **MaRa** is widespread. **Mana** is found in Ngarigu and Dhurga (NSW); **mani** is found in Waanyi and Garrawa (NT).

⁷⁴ Warlpiri **wanga-marda** 'deaf', 'silly'

⁷⁵ Kunwinyku (NT) **pam/pem**

⁷⁶ Kamic languages (SA, Q) have **thuru** 'inside'; also found as 'heart' in far north, e.g. Jawoyn (NT) **-dor**.

⁷⁷ Note the absence of a final **ng**. See 'whiskers'.

	<i>hill</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>heat/hot</i>	<i>hungry</i> ⁷⁸
<i>Madhi</i>	purpi ⁷⁹	taka	kathayi	wikatha
<i>Ledji</i>		tak-	kat(a)i	kanampan, kRinampan
<i>Wadi SH</i>	puRp-, panyul		karti	pia, piRa, kiRmampia
<i>Wadi P</i>			nangka, ping(k)un	tapun
<i>Wemba</i>	purrp, panyul	tjilpa-, taka-, tawa-	tjalang(a), pari-wil	wika
<i>Wimmera</i>	purrp	tjilpa, taka-		wika
<i>Tjap</i>	puRp, kawa, panyul	tjilpa-		milaya(ng), wika
<i>Djadja</i>	yonong	tjilpa	woimpa, wukukul	maRiyang
<i>Bung</i>	pupik, kaRipu(ng)	wina-	wuat, etc.	tirtpan
<i>Wannon</i>	kaRang	purta	kaloyrn, thika	kalpirmo
<i>Warr</i>	kang, pim <i>neung</i> PW	purta-	kaloyrn	kalpirmo, partupang
<i>Colac</i>	paRap		wiri-maklin	
<i>Watha</i>	panyul	tjilpa	konggat, waRwatnyo	miRa-, tolpele-
<i>Woi</i>	panhul, panmil, nguRak	tjilpa	wulun, tumpatin	nyiRepurtin, nyiRepRuin
<i>Thagung</i>	panhul, nguRak	tjilpa	wulun, naRwoRing	nyiRepurtin, nyiRepRuin
<i>Yota</i>	puRp, yula, walawa	nyin-	titjiyt	mulanwitj, mulanmuk/tj
<i>Yabula</i>	walantha	lini-	tikati	milinmi
<i>Dhudhu</i>	pupuRa, mingkau-kanitha	tak-	meninha	pangunowo
<i>Pallang</i>	popuRa, padaRe	takana	koneta	pangwanapi, waRwanta
<i>Gippsland</i>	kRangaak	pantha-	kwaRakwan, kwaRakwaRak	mReman, kanyuk(an)

⁷⁸ Note that some of the words given for 'hungry' were also given for 'die/dead'. In Old English the verb **steorfan** meant 'to die', but its modern English reflex **starve** means 'to die of hunger' or 'to be very hungry'.

⁷⁹ See **purrp** 'head'.

	<i>husband</i>	<i>jump</i>	<i>kangaroo</i>	<i>kangaroo rat</i>	<i>knee</i>
<i>Madhi</i>		perrpatha	kur ⁸⁰		patheng[i]
<i>Ledji</i>	layukil		kuyang(i)		pa(r)tingi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	layulu, martum 'spouse'		kuRangi		parti
<i>Wadi P</i>	nupu 'spouse'		koRangi		
<i>Wemba</i>	mit-, nganitj	pirritjana	kurre	pare	pathing
<i>Wimmera</i>	nganitj	pap-pap-kuma	kurre	tjaleka	patjing
<i>Tjap</i>	nganitj	papkuRmiyan, tjultkaRen	kuRa ⁸¹	parrutj, potjuk	patjiyn
<i>Djadja</i>	nganitj	piRp tjanin	kuRa, kurri	paRuk	paRing
<i>Bung</i>	nganap(u)(n)	yungkuya	kuRi, kuRa	paRuk	paRayn
<i>Wannon</i>	nganap	papkupa	kuRayn, kuRayt	paRuk	paRayn
<i>Warr</i>	nganap(urn)	kupam K, wurmpin K, papkupamin PW	kuRayn	paRuk	paRayn
<i>Colac</i>		yulaRa-, yulathi	kuRa		pun-
<i>Watha</i>	lanapun, nganapun ⁸²	pilpuRiyn	ku(y)im	paRuk	pun ⁸³
<i>Woi</i>	ngangkoRong	yuli-	ku(y)im, maRam ⁸⁴	paRuk	paRing
<i>Thagung</i>	ngangkoRong	yuli-	maRam	paRuk	paRing
<i>Yota</i>	panyawut, winya-panayiR	yako-	kayima, puRa	ngaRinguRa, paRinuta, ngamuata	yukun, yuRnga
<i>Yabula</i>			wartakau		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	ningkulali	petakile	yuwaRa		thiminpa
<i>Pallang</i>	paynteRothu	popati	putju	kima	yuwa
<i>Gippsland</i>	pinang	kinth-	tjiRa	pRi	pun

⁸⁰ Shared with Thura-Yura languages of SA (Hercus pers.com.).

⁸¹ KuRa has plausible cognates in various Queensland languages including Ngawun (Q) **kuru** and Margany (Q) **kula**.

⁸² Both these terms were also given for 'wife'.

⁸³ There are possible cognates in various Queensland languages: Pitta-Pitta **purnku**, Punthamara **punkulu**, Biri **punkur**, etc.

⁸⁴ Compare Gabi (Q) **maRi**, Warlpiri (NT) **mara**.

	<i>kookaburra</i> ⁸⁵	<i>lightning</i>	<i>long</i> ⁸⁶	<i>louse</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kung-kung	tuluwipa	thulangi	munhungi ⁸⁷
<i>Ledji</i>	kung-kung, kong(k)o			
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kowoRi, kung(k)o	milapu, milaku	tuRangkal	
<i>Wadi P</i>	kuRi			
<i>Wemba</i>	kurng-kurng	wayinlarr	tjurung	munya
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurng-kurng	wilem-pa-memter ⁸⁸	tjuwerung	munya
<i>Tjap</i>	kowa(R)k, kuRng-kuRng	mila(R)kuk, wilimpak	tjuwa(R)ng	munyu
<i>Djadja</i>	kuno(R)k	milakuk	kapul	munya
<i>Bung</i>	kuwa(r)tang	minanmun		murna
<i>Wannon</i>	thaRkuk	wilim, tjoRut-nyong		
<i>Warr</i>	kunith	ya(R)wan K, maRthung K, wilimnang P	wuRumpi	paRum
<i>Colac</i>				
<i>Watha</i>	kuwaRk	muRinyuk	nyiRim	munya
<i>Woi</i>	kuRng-kuRng	tjiRingu	yuRpot, nyiRiRim, kanangnail, tung-tung	munhong
<i>Thagung</i>	kuRng-kuRng	tjiRingu	yuRpot, thaynkula (=tall)	
<i>Yota</i>	wikilupka, turtjilupka	matjingkala, tjiRingkawa, kernyawa	tjuRungana	muna
<i>Yabula</i>		tjiRingkawik		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kukaRangka	naRawanyo	kinyaRo (=tall)	munhuwa
<i>Pallang</i>	nganpapuwa	naRa		
<i>Gippsland</i>	kuwaak, kukokaRak	mlangpitj		muna, nyin

⁸⁵ The English word was borrowed from languages in NSW such as Wiradjuri **guuguubarra**.

⁸⁶ 'Long' elicits a variety of 'equivalents' including 'tall'.

⁸⁷ Similar forms are common in NSW: Yuwaalaraay **munhi**, Wiradjuri **muunhu**, Gamilaraay **munyi**, etc.

⁸⁸ On the basis of cognates in other languages this word would appear to be literally 'lightning and thunder'.

	<i>magpie</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man, old</i>	<i>man, young</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kurruki	wungi, wuthungi	nharrampin	
<i>Ledji</i>		wurtungi	ngaRampin	kulkung, pala(R)tji, tininuR
<i>Wadi SH</i>		wurtungi	ngaRampin	kulkurn
<i>Wadi P</i>		wuungi	pukungi, pukalki	paitu
<i>Wemba</i>	kurruluk	peng, kuli, ⁸⁹ wuthu	nyarrampən ⁹⁰	kulkurn
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurruk	peng, wutju	nyarrampin	kulkurn
<i>Tjap</i>	kuRuk	kuli, pang	ngaRampin, mati kuli	kulkurn
<i>Djadja</i>	kuRuRk	kuli, pang	ngaRempin	kulku(r)n
<i>Bung</i>	towol	tRual, wawakal	kotpaRi, ngaRam-ngaRam	papatha, muRungkal
<i>Wannon</i>	kaRi	kuloyn	ngalanga, portpip	kulkun, nguith-nguith-maR
<i>Warr</i>	kiRi	maaR ⁹¹	ngalang, ngaRam K	nguin-nguitj-maR
<i>Colac</i>	koRoRo	thaRong, montel	pinitjandeRang	
<i>Watha</i>	paRwang	kuli	ngaRawil	kulkun, kulkul-kuli, kurt-kurt-kuli
<i>Woi</i>	paRawarn, paRawuRung	kuliyn	wikapil (old)	yan-yan
<i>Thagung</i>	paRawang	kuliyn	thaynkula (tall)	yan-yan
<i>Yota</i>		yiyiR, yenpen	thaumunga	panyupka, tinta(R)ka, malnika
<i>Yabula</i>		pau		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kuRin-kingka	tjapa	tjiRipong	makutjuwa 'youth', yuwaRu 'boy'
<i>Pallang</i>	payaRu	tjeRi	matika	yuwaRu, moRoka(r)
<i>Gippsland</i>		bRa, ka(r)nai	purtayn	pRa-wit, etc.

⁸⁹ Compare forms such as **kuRi** along the NSW coast.

⁹⁰ For the form given here compare Dharuk *ngarombai*. Other terms are **tjeRipong**, **ngunyim**, **wanyim**, **wing(k)in**, **wunwul**, **wulman**.

⁹¹ Forms such as **maRi** are found in Queensland.

	<i>moon</i>	<i>mosquito</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>mouth/lip</i>	<i>nail</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	mithien		papi	thep(i)	
<i>Ledji</i>	mitian	munayn, mowayn	papai	t(h)epi, mena	li
<i>Wadi SH</i>	mi(r)tian	muntji	papi	wuRu ⁹²	l(a)iru
<i>Wadi P</i>	tuRongoi, wayn.kapai	muntji	kornu, kukui	wuRu(ngi)	
<i>Wemba</i>	mithien, waynwil	liri	pap(i), kuingkurr	tjarp, wurru	lerri
<i>Wimmera</i>	mitjiin	kiRk-kiRk	pap	tjarp	lirri
<i>Tjap</i>	yim	kiRk-kiRk, liRi	pap	wuRu	liRit
<i>Djadja</i>	yim	liRi	pap	wuRu	litji
<i>Bung</i>	purtpuy, tun-ngum, nyaRak	ketjo, kipa, muno-eRp	ngati, pap(u)	lo, kan-	li
<i>Wannon</i>	paRmpuk, thangkit	kituk, maRokaRa	nyiRang	wuRung, ngulang	piRiyn ⁹³
<i>Warr</i>	kurmtaRung K, yayaRa PW, paRanyanin K, , taRo PW	kiRk-kiRk K, maRwang(k)il P W	nyiRangai K, neRang PW	wuRung K, ngulang	piRiyn
<i>Colac</i>	pa(r)t-pa(r)t		papa	wuRu	
<i>Watha</i>	yim	nguya-nguya	ngartang	wuRu	t(h)iRip
<i>Woi</i>	mirmian, yampuk	kukuk	papa	wuRu(ng)	thiRip
<i>Thagung</i>	mirmian, yampuk	kukuk	papa	wuRu(ng)	thiRip
<i>Yota</i>	yuRi, yonggatja	pitha	kanha, napo	kata, wuRu	tilpan
<i>Yabula</i>	yuRi	puRutj	ngakalam	wuRu	
<i>Dhudhu</i>	wuRayu, paRaRu	kiRithu	papa	niwa. lenthewa	
<i>Pallang</i>	yuwaRa	molala, pita	pap	theRa	tiRiwa
<i>Gippsland</i>	weyn, ngaRang	tirtik, nyuwan	yakan	kath	thakeR

⁹² Gamilaraay (NSW) **wuru** 'throat', Wiradjuri **wuurruu**.

⁹³ **Pirri** is widespread in Lake Eyre Basin (Hercus pers.com.)

	<i>neck</i>	<i>nose</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>pelican</i>	<i>possum</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	ngani-	thinti	kiaka	pathangal	wilengi
<i>Ledji</i>	kuRinti	tjantji	kiapi	partangil, pulungal	wilangi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kumtu, tjakumtu 'throat'	tjantj[i]	kayap, yuwaya	partangal	wilangi
<i>Wadi P</i>	tulukanti 'throat'	tjanthi	yetna	ninanguRi ⁹⁴	panthenti
<i>Wemba</i>	kurn, nyani	karr	kayap, kepin	ninanguR	wile, pana 'ringtail'
<i>Wimmera</i>	kurn, nyani	karr	kayap	patjingal	wile
<i>Tjap</i>	kurn, nyani	ka(R)	kayap	patjangal	wili
<i>Djadja</i>	kurn	kaR	kayap	paRang(k)al	wila
<i>Bung</i>	kurn, kurn-tjawiRi 'throat'	kapu, kawu ⁹⁵	wanthu	paRangal	kuRamau
<i>Wannon</i>	kurn, nanin, ngalum, takit-nyaan ⁹⁶	kapung	kayap	paRangal	kuRamuk
<i>Warr</i>	ka(r)t, namin, ngalum, tala(R)k, yan	kapung	kayap K, kayapa PW	kartpiRap K	kuRamuk
<i>Colac</i>	kon, n(h)ani	kang		muRwonkel	pungu
<i>Watha</i>	kurn, nyaning	kang	kui-moyl, kuin-moyt	partangal	walert
<i>Woi</i>	kurn, thalapi-kurn 'throat'	kang	kanpu	wandjil	walert
<i>Thagung</i>		kang	kup(tun)	wandjil	walert
<i>Yota</i>	ngu/atan, ta(R)n(g)kaka, tjia	kawu	iyawa	katin, thailipna	puna, patja
<i>Yabula</i>		kawu	waRangayn	kaRikart	tumpul
<i>Dhudhu</i>	pilitjua, nyanta	thintiwa		kulaikuli	tjawa
<i>Pallang</i>	wurr	nga	ka(Re)ti	kawati	paRa
<i>Gippsland</i>	thuluyt, nyanin, kuRek	kung	kut(o)pan	puRan, pRang	wathan

⁹⁴ Yitha-Yitha **nenangku**.

⁹⁵ Hercus notes **kap-** is found on the lower Murray. See also Hercus (1989:56).

⁹⁶ The Wannon and Warrnambool sources contain a confusing number of tokens. There is some uncertainty about which terms mean 'throat' as opposed to 'neck'.

	<i>quick</i>	<i>rainbow</i>	<i>rib</i>	<i>run</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	lirrka	tarrkuwil, kumangi	larning-	wuwatha
<i>Ledji</i>				papinan
<i>Wadi SH</i>	liRka, kiRki perting		leningi	wiRwi
<i>Wadi P</i>				waiwi
<i>Wemba</i>	kungayi, werrki	pampantilang	larngi	wirra, wirr(ə)ka
<i>Wimmera</i>			laan?	
<i>Tjap</i>		thaRaka wuRwuR ⁶⁵	lanyi-	piRpa
<i>Djadja</i>		thaRaki wuRwuR ⁹⁷	la(r)ning	wiRwi-
<i>Bung</i>	panpankaya, wungkunangu	tuRayn	yiyiR, yiRang	w[i]Ra-
<i>Wannon</i>	peRip, yokinpalin	tuRaam	yiyiR	wiR(e)ka, taRonin
<i>Warr</i>	maRat, maRaRan, wanguRa K, wetkurtin P	tha(r)n paRot K, thaRot paRut, tuRan, paRinanin	yiyiR K	wiR(e)ka P, kaku-
<i>Colac</i>			koRinyiti	palakala, molokana
<i>Watha</i>	yuwapa, ko(R)me	tjeRm	(nyil-i) limin	
<i>Woi</i>			tarnin	
<i>Thagung</i>			tarnin	
<i>Yota</i>	pirretj, puRketja, lawithema, wanyuwula	neRanoRma?	kangurt	yama
<i>Yabula</i>				paninya?
<i>Dhudhu</i>	weRayn, wang(k)uRela	kulpiawa		pinilai
<i>Pallang</i>				pona(r)te, etc.
<i>Gippsland</i>	wethuR, kuRthat-kuRthat	wiRakalanti	ngaRpuk	wintan, rinthan

⁹⁷ 'Arm of sky'.

	<i>see</i>	<i>shadow</i>	<i>shield</i>	<i>short</i>	<i>sing</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	nhanga, nhakata	ngaki			wangila, waingkilatha
<i>Ledji</i>	ngawa		kiyami		
<i>Wadi SH</i>	n(h)anga		keRami, maRka(R)	tulonyi	waRangka
<i>Wadi P</i>	n(h)atji		maRkantji		
<i>Wemba</i>	nyaka-	ngak	kar'm, malkarr		nyarrapa
<i>Wimmera</i>	nyanga-, nyaka	ngak	kirram, malkarr		
<i>Tjap</i>	ngawa, ngaki	ngak	malka	murt, mulup	ying- ⁹⁸
<i>Djadja</i>	ngak-		malka, kiRamal	murt	
<i>Bung</i>	ngawaya, n(h)aa	wul	malka, kirram, etc.	mu(r)t	niwiya, ngaiwin-, nuRipa-
<i>Wannon</i>	n(h)ak-	wul PW, ngajui K	malka		liR[i]tpitj-, yanyin
<i>Warr</i>	n(h)awa- K, n(g)aki PW		malka, kiRam K	mulunit, mampit	liRpin
<i>Colac</i>	nitjula-, nika-		malka, kiRam	murt	
<i>Watha</i>	nya-	mula	malka, kiRam	murt	ying-
<i>Woi</i>	nganga	mula, yunak	malka		
<i>Thagung</i>	nganga				
<i>Yota</i>	nhanha, natji	mul(a)wa	malkaR, monta	thulupka	payi-
<i>Yabula</i>	nakal		palart		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	nhaka	maRayako	malkaR, piRkanpo	kapalo (=low)	ngatjpai
<i>Pallang</i>	nhaka		piRkanpo	(ng)omepaRme	ka(r)to
<i>Gippsland</i>	thaka	ngawuk	pameRuk, turnmang	tukal	waytpal-

⁹⁸ Western Desert *yinka*, *wara*.

	<i>sister, elder</i>	<i>sister, younger</i>	<i>sit</i>	<i>skin</i>	<i>sky</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	thathai	perrati	ngengkatha	mith-	tirrili
<i>Ledji</i>	tjatji	mianaki	ngewa-, nyenga	mitji	
<i>Wadi SH</i>		miani, minu	nganya, ngengka	mitj, loko	tiRili
<i>Wadi P</i>	tatui	mai, mikana, minuku	ngayangu	luko	
<i>Wemba</i>	tjatji	kute-	nyengka	mitj	tirril, wur-wur, tjarrang
<i>Wimmera</i>	tjatji	kutuk	ngenya, nganga	mitj	tirrel
<i>Tjap</i>	tjatji	ku(R)tuk	puRa-, ngenga-?	mitj	wuR-wuR
<i>Djadja</i>	tjatj(uk)	kutuk		mitj	wuR-wuR
<i>Bung</i>	tjati	nheRiR	nyiw(a)ia, (ng?)inga	murn	
<i>Wannon</i>	kakai	kokiaRa	ninika-	mitj	mumpul, mumpung 'cloud', wuR-wuR
<i>Warr</i>	kakai	koko-hiR (sic)	(N)inga- K, kupa	murn, mitj PW	mumung ⁹⁹
<i>Colac</i>	tatong(g)et	peRmpoRet, pang(k)et (=?)	pat-ka-		pulutnu-maRng 'big cloud'
<i>Watha</i>	tatjaRang	paRmpaRa	puRe, munkuRe	mitj	wuR-wuR
<i>Woi</i>			ngalampa	thaap, maRok	
<i>Thagung</i>			ngalampa	thaap, maRok	
<i>Yota</i>		kitjika, thatjip, putjika, paanyuip ¹⁰⁰	katju, kanu, kawui	wata, wawatja	tatala, yuRatha ¹⁰¹
<i>Yabula</i>	ngaingeRam (=?)	thatham	makuR		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	mantakuni (=?)	paRinika	nginggai	waanu	
<i>Pallang</i>	tayika		kaRati	wata	tetha, yuwivila
<i>Gippsland</i>			nyi-, panengin?	yuwun	nguR(u)t, waRan/k

⁹⁹ See 'cloud'.

¹⁰⁰ All unspecified as to 'elder' versus 'younger'.

¹⁰¹ See 'cloud'.

	<i>sleep</i>	<i>small</i>	<i>smoke</i>	<i>snake</i>	<i>speak</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kumpa(tha)	panthingi	puyuti	karni	yama-, yamkatha
<i>Ledji</i>	kumpa	pa(r)nikam	puRingi	kan(y)i	yama
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kumpa	pan(maR)u	puRingi, poto	kani	lata-, weRi-, kaya
<i>Wadi P</i>	kumpa	paitayn	pu(r)ti	ka(r)ni	
<i>Wemba</i>	kumpa	witheyuk, martuk, ¹⁰² tulu	purt ¹⁰³	kurnwil	wurreka, kiya
<i>Wimmera</i>	kumpa, toRa-	parn, tulu	puriyn	kurnwil, kummil	wurreka, kiya
<i>Tjap</i>	kumpa	wartip, watjip	purt, puRi	kurnmil	wuRak-
<i>Djadja</i>	kumpa, nguRakul	wanhimuk	purt	kurnmil	wuRek-
<i>Bung</i>	luma, kuma, wi-	muRuki	purluyn	kuRang	la-
<i>Wannon</i>	yuwat-	pukorn, kurtuwi, watawit	thuwung	kuRang	pRaipangnal, teromin
<i>Warr</i>	yuwa	kurnong K, kurni PW, kuniyi PW	thuwung	kuRang	laka-
<i>Colac</i>	kalaka	weRangayt		kanlang	lampa-, ngonon-
<i>Watha</i>	kumpa	nganyaki	purt	kurnmil	ki-la-, ki-ya-
<i>Woi</i>	yimu, ngaikul, karnampa	wayipu, wayikuRk	purt	kurnmil	thumpa
<i>Thagung</i>	karnampa	wayikuRk	purt	kurnmil	thumpa
<i>Yota</i>	nanyupuk	yinganika	thonga	kona, tuRel, takintjua	lotjpa
<i>Yabula</i>	pirtilong		thonga	kono	loytpa
<i>Dhudhu</i>	nguRa-nguRa, nyiminye	panyangatji	thumpapa	tjutjua	thuRkwai
<i>Pallang</i>	nguRa-nguRa	ngampakanya, payumuna	thuu	tjuyu	ngomipaRo
<i>Gippsland</i>	permtin	thali	thun, ¹⁰⁴ pawerndang	thuRung	thang-, thung-

¹⁰² Possibly *mirtuk*.

¹⁰³ Clear cognates are elusive. Compare Parnkalla (SA) *puiyu*, Baagandji (NSW) *pundi*, Awabakal (NSW) *poito*.

¹⁰⁴ Hercus records *tun* in Dardi-Dardi.

	<i>spirit/ghost</i>	<i>star</i>	<i>stomach</i>	<i>stone</i>	<i>sun</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	pungangi, puwik-	turti ¹⁰⁵	pili[ngi]	kuthapi	nhawingi ¹⁰⁶
<i>Ledji</i>		turti	witjopi, yami	maki ¹⁰⁷	nyawingi
<i>Wadi SH</i>	pakiyn, ngurtangi	turti	wutju[pi]	maki	(na)nhawi, yuRoka
<i>Wadi P</i>		turti	pela-	matji, kantoki	nhayingi
<i>Wemba</i>	murrup, pungkantij	turt	pili, wutjup	la(r)	nyawi
<i>Wimmera</i>	murrup, purk	turt	pili, wutjup	kutjap	nyawi
<i>Tjap</i>	muRup	turt	pili, wanya	laa	nyawi
<i>Djada</i>	muRup, kutjel	turt	puRingkup, putj	laarr	nyawi
<i>Bung</i>		puntjil, taman-taman, kaRantha	puli, puwi	maRi	kaRo
<i>Wannon</i>	muRup	kakathiRing ¹⁰⁸	puluyn	maRe	thiRing
<i>Warr</i>	muRup, etc.	wutjuk K, kaka-thiRing K, minkil	thukung	maRi	thiRing K, nganong PW
<i>Colac</i>		kaRat-kaRat, ngalim(ayn)		tRi	naa
<i>Watha</i>	muRup, muRum	turt-paRam	tung	laa	miRi
<i>Woi</i>	muRup, naRun	turt	putj, piling, papkurn	laang, muyidjiR ¹⁰⁹	ngawiyn, ngaimai B
<i>Thagung</i>		turt	putj, papkurn	muyidjiR	ngaimai
<i>Yota</i>	pika, etc.	turta	puli, mona	iyoRka, punga	yuRingka
<i>Yabula</i>		turtu	potha, pontho	mopo	wo(R)ko
<i>Dhudhu</i>		tjimpoa	panthaRa	tuRupa	nawayu
<i>Pallang</i>		tjimpa	muRang(k)a, ianaru	punga	winpinpi, kunta
<i>Gippsland</i>	mRatj	pRi(V)l??	pulen	walang	wurriyn

¹⁰⁵ Straightforward cognates are hard to find, but note **dhurdu**, **dhuru** in the Mari languages (Q) and Mayali (NT) **dirt** 'moon'.

¹⁰⁶ Dhurga (NSW) **nowa**, Narinyari (SA) **nang(g)i**, Ngulubulu (Q) **nyangi** 'moon'.

¹⁰⁷ Yitha-Yitha **maak**.

¹⁰⁸ Compare **thiRing** 'sun'.

¹⁰⁹ See *tomahawk*.

	<i>swan</i>	<i>swim</i>	<i>tail</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>thigh</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kumwarra	wirra	withang[i]	mangkatha, ¹¹⁰ kanakatha	
<i>Ledji</i>	kunowang				paRap[i], tanti
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kunuwaR	wiRia	piRk[i], wirtmum[i]	mana	kaRip[i]
<i>Wadi P</i>	thanapuki, thanaputj				kaRipi, poyap[i], kaingi
<i>Wemba</i>	kunuwar	wirra	pirrkuk	thirnta	karəp
<i>Wimmera</i>	kunuwar	wirra, tjipa	pirrkuk		kaRip
<i>Tjap</i>	kunuwaR	yawa	piRkuk	mana, mutjaka	kaRip
<i>Djadja</i>	kunuwaRa	wiRaka			kaRip, mulu
<i>Bung</i>	kunuwaRa, miRanguRu	yungk(a)ia	wuRum	mana	kaRip, pRani, pRam
<i>Wannon</i>	kunawaRa		wiRang, thaRath	mana	kaRip
<i>Warr</i>	kunuwaRa	yawin K, yanta, yana	wiRang	mana, wampa-	kaRip, pim K
<i>Colac</i>					kaRi-
<i>Watha</i>	kunuwaRa	yulwaRa	toR	mutjaka-	kaRip, kaRim
<i>Woi</i>	kunuwaRa	yawa, yaRaka		kunga	tjiRong/tjaRang ¹¹¹
<i>Thagung</i>	kunuwaRa	yawa		kunga	tjiRong/tjaRang
<i>Yota</i>	tarnapna, maalya, payamal ¹¹²	yaRapak	kutjaika, nakin (=penis)	mana	muna, towo
<i>Yabula</i>	malai	maRitjang			
<i>Dhudhu</i>	maliwa	pangkai	tjawa	ngantakai	
<i>Pallang</i>	mayiwa	yakathi			manta
<i>Gippsland</i>	kitai	wiRa-	wRek, taRangkal	kartpa	tjaRayn

¹¹⁰ Similar forms widespread.

¹¹¹ **THarra** is widespread.

¹¹² Compare **paRaimal** 'emu' in Woiwurrung etc. and note Gamilaraay (NSW) **barayamal** 'swan' and Yuwaaliyay (NSW) **baayimal** 'swan'.

	<i>thirsty</i>	<i>throw</i>	<i>today</i>	<i>tomahawk</i>	<i>tomorrow</i>
<i>Madhi</i>		yungka(tha)-		pathiki	waingurru
<i>Ledji</i>	kunpuna-		kalwuR, taitikin, tartikima	patiki	murtuRu
<i>Wadi SH</i>	konam(i)a	muRuma	kili	parti	mammamapu
<i>Wadi P</i>	konamu/a		(tjali) naiki/a	thayini ¹¹³	tayayu
<i>Wemba</i>	pangka	larpa	kiluwitj	tirr	perpuk
<i>Wimmera</i>	pemgkunya	yungka		patjik	
<i>Tjap</i>	ku(r)nman	yungka	nhawiyu	patjik, pa(r)tik	peRpo-
<i>Djadja</i>			nhawiyu-mong	paRik	peRpi
<i>Bung</i>	kumunayn	yanta, yungka	kirtu	mutjiR, ¹¹⁴ partpartkurt	kalipa
<i>Wannon</i>	kurt nang-, etc.	yanta	kaRumpa P, ting(k)alen P ?	partpartkurt	tungkata
<i>Warr</i>	kurt nan(a)	yanta	ma(ng)katapa	mutjiR, partpartkurt, kaRkiyn	malangipa,tungkati
<i>Colac</i>			naliang taRawart	pa(r)tpa(r)tkot	peRipantji
<i>Watha</i>	kurt nang-	yung(k)a-	miRiyu ¹¹⁵	kaRkayn, kalpalingkuRk	yiRam-nyu, yiRam-tju
<i>Woi</i>	kunpuni	puimpa, yuma-	yaling-pu	kaRkiyn, muRing, kalpaling	yiRam-poi, puypuRuyn
<i>Thagung</i>	kunpuni			kaRkiyn	
<i>Yota</i>	thaanga	yunga	kanang(k)o(R), imilang	ngana, tatjimpa	paRpaRik
<i>Yabula</i>			kaniwa	nakayak	paRipaRi
<i>Dhudhu</i>	tjakenawa	yeRiatha	nyinyanga	mutiwa	ngang(k)aRa
<i>Pallang</i>		yunkathi	ya(Re)ntuka	nganti	yuluth-lu
<i>Gippsland</i>	kwan(tu)	pRapaRa, pitawa		kuyan, theloat	

¹¹³ Yitha-Yitha **thaRiyn**.

¹¹⁴ See 'stone'.

¹¹⁵ See 'sun'.

	<i>tongue</i>	<i>tooth</i>	<i>track</i> ¹¹⁶	<i>two</i>	<i>urine</i>	<i>walk</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	thalingi	liangi ¹¹⁷	limpu	puletha		yingatha
<i>Ledji</i>	thalingi	liang(i)	tjinanu			yana-, yawa
<i>Wadi SH</i>	tjaling[i]	liangi		puli, pulayt		yana, yawa
<i>Wadi P</i>	thalengi	n(h)aRoki	thinangi	pulatja		yana-, yangka-
<i>Wemba</i>	tjaling	lia	paring	puletja	kir	yangka
<i>Wimmera</i>	tjaling	lia	paring	puletj	kire	yana-, yangka-
<i>Tjap</i>		lia	paRing	pulatj	ki(R)i	yan-
<i>Djadja</i>	tjali	lia	paRing	pulatj	kiRi	yangka, kaRimpin
<i>Bung</i>	thali	thanga	waRi, thina	pulayt ¹¹⁸	thalupang	yan-, yawia
<i>Wannon</i>	thalayn	thangang	wuRuyn, thinang	pulayt		yana-
<i>Warr</i>	thalayn	thangang	tharn	pulatja	kiRng	yana-, puRpa- PW
<i>Colac</i>	thala	miRi		pulatuk	kiRi	yanya-, yaRana-
<i>Watha</i>	thalang	liang	ka(r)ntoR	pulayt		yani-
<i>Woi</i>	tjalang	liang	paRing	pulapil, pintjiRu	palk(a)	yana-, tuwi, tjitu
<i>Thagung</i>	tjalang	liang		pulapil	palk(a)	yana-
<i>Yota</i>		tiRa	tapuRa, tana, muku-tjina	pulapul, pulthupul	kumwung ¹¹⁹	yanyupa-, yaRu
<i>Yabula</i>		taRawil		plathiR		yan-
<i>Dhudhu</i>	thalaynpa	nayu	kaRika 'path'		tjiwa	yakamila, payilai
<i>Pallang</i>	t(h)aRa	ngangaRu?	pantjan	polithap		yanapi
<i>Gippsland</i>	tjalayn	nga(r)ntak		pulaman	werrek	yangan, yanin(g)

¹¹⁶ Some of the words given for 'track' are the words for 'foot'. It is not certain whether the entries here mean 'footprint' or 'path' or both.

¹¹⁷ Lia is probably cognate with widespread forms such as **yiRa** and **tiRa**.

¹¹⁸ There is also **puwayt** with lenition of the lateral, and also **pulak** with a final **k** in lieu of **tj/yt**. This alternation is found in the alternants **Bunganditj** and **Buwandik**.

¹¹⁹ Widespread **kumpu**.

	<i>water</i>	<i>what</i> ¹²⁰	<i>where</i>	<i>whiskers</i>	<i>who</i>	<i>wife</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	kathini	nhangi, minhi	wintha	ngarra-	winhangu	mathim
<i>Ledji</i>	ka(r)tini, ka(r)tani		wintja	ngaRangi		matuni
<i>Wadi SH</i>	kayini, kayani	nganyu, nyange	wintja, winthala	ngani ¹²¹	winyaR	martum 'spouse'
<i>Wadi P</i>	kayini, tanyi			nyani-, ninini		nupu 'spouse'
<i>Wemba</i>	kat(h)En	nyanya	wintja	ngani	winyarr	mathim
<i>Wimmera</i>	katjin	nyanya	wintja	ngani	winyarr	matjim
<i>Tjap</i>	katjin	nya	wintja	nganyi	winya	matjim, nata-, tjap
<i>Djada</i>	wanyaRam	nyango	wintja	ngini, nga(r)ni	winya	maRam
<i>Bung</i>	paRi ¹²²	n(g)an	na	ngarlangarni	nganu	mala
<i>Wannon</i>	paRitj, kuwantam	nana	wintala	ngaRayn		malang
<i>Warr</i>	paRitj	ngan(y)a	wuntha K, wintha PW	ngaRayn	winya K, ngaRa	malang
<i>Colac</i>	kan		want(h)along	ngan-, bong		
<i>Watha</i>	ngupiyt (<'drink')	winya	wiya	ngaRiyn ngarnda	wela	lanapun, nganapun
<i>Woi</i>	paayn	winha	wintha	ngaRin	winhaRup	pirnpan W, winya B
<i>Thagung</i>	paayn	nganying	intha	nganyin	inhaRup	
<i>Yota</i>	wala	minhe	wanhal, warrka	yaRing ¹²³	ngani	pulatjeRu
<i>Yabula</i>	pana ¹²⁴	minhe	wanhal		nganti	pantjaReReko
<i>Dhudhu</i>	kantha	minyua	thawuna, walu	yaRan(g)pa	nganka, nganpantu	pulatjeRu
<i>Pallang</i>	waRa		wantha	yaRa(na)		pantjaReReko
<i>Gippsland</i>	yarn	nanma	wunman	yaayn, yaran	nganinte	

¹²⁰ The interrogative roots *ngan-*, *wiNHa*, *wiNHTha* (locative of *wiNHa*) and *miNHa* are widespread.

¹²¹ Pitta-Pitta (Q) and Diyari (SA) *nganka*. See also the entries for 'neck'.

¹²² Hercus (pers.com.) notes *PaRi* throughout Thura-Yura languages (SA); also Pitta-Pitta (Q) *paripi* 'river'.

¹²³ Wiradjuri (NSW) *yaRayn*, Gamilaraay (NSW) *yaray*.

¹²⁴ Djabugay (Q) *pana*.

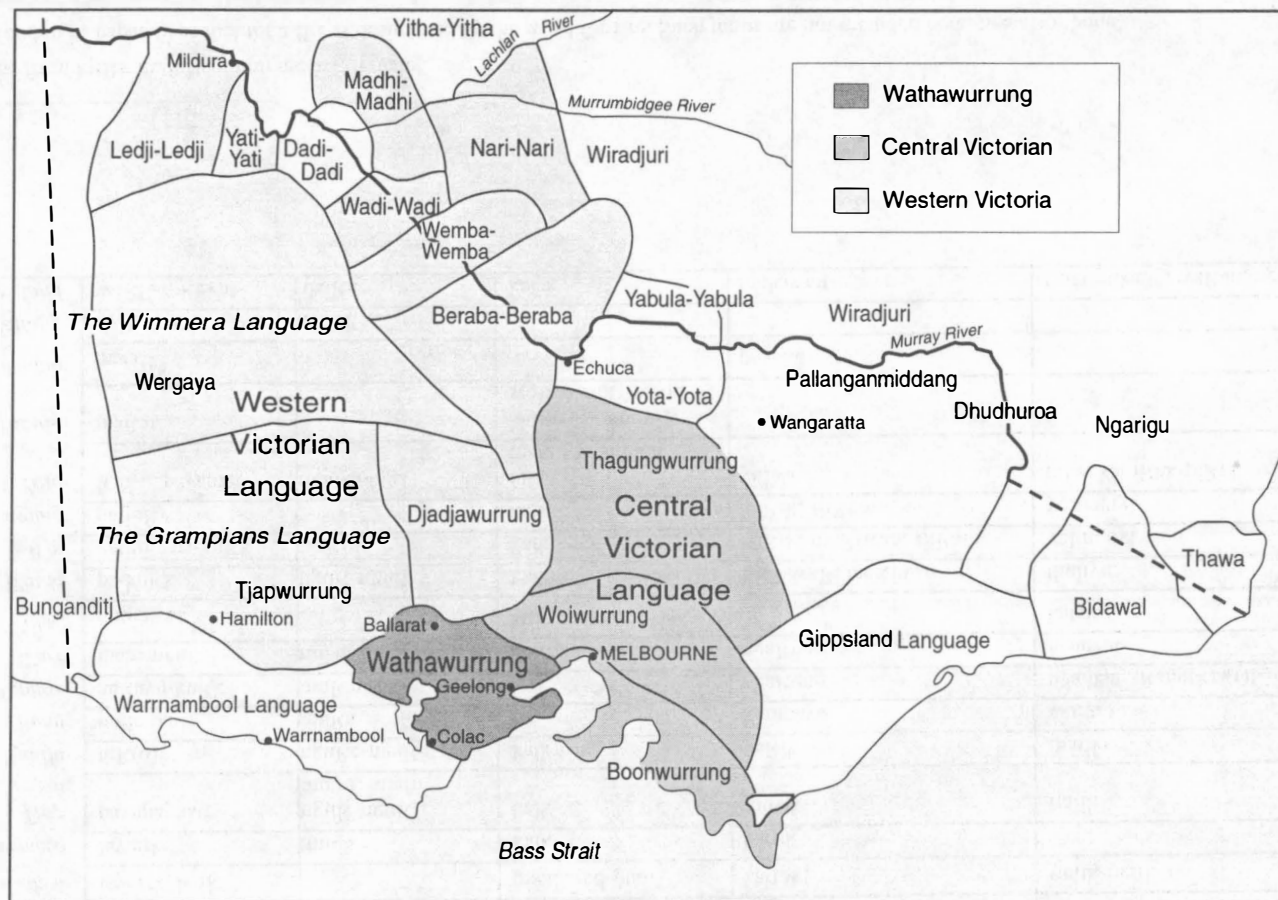
	<i>woman</i> ¹²⁵	<i>wombat</i>	<i>wood</i> ¹²⁶	<i>woomera</i>	<i>yesterday</i>
<i>Madhi</i>	layurr		kalki	karriki	kila nhawiki 'that day'
<i>Ledji</i>	layu			kaRiki	tjilaluk
<i>Wadi SH</i>	layuRi			keRi, koRi	kaRalko
<i>Wadi P</i>	layuRki			tjayeki	kalko
<i>Wemba</i>	layurrk, lerrk		piyal 'red gum'	karrak	tjelik-tjelik
<i>Wimmera</i>	layurrk	mutja	kalk	karrik	
<i>Tjap</i>	paynpaynku	nguR-nguR, mutja, miam	kalk	kaRik	tjaliki
<i>Djada</i>	tuR(o)j	nguRe-nguRe	kalk	yeRik	thaliki
<i>Bung</i>	purle-purle	muRa		kumpayn	wurtu
<i>Wannon</i>	neRayn-kuRk	muRayn	lurt	ngaRung	ngankat, tRang(k)a(r)t
<i>Warr</i>	thanampuL	miam K	wurnkuit	ngaRung	ngankat
<i>Colac</i>	nutnuwet ¹²⁷		kuRuRuk		kalata
<i>Watha</i>	pa-kuRk	nguR-nguR	kalk	waR-waR, maRiwan	thaliyu
<i>Woi</i>	patjuR, pa-kuRk	waRiyn	kalk	kaRik, maRiwan, tjiRam	yalinguyt
<i>Thagung</i>	patjuR		kalk	kaRik, tjiRam	yalinguyt
<i>Yota</i>	winya, payapia	mum yanga	muta, 'tratyola', manuka 'branch'	yulwa	pikauka, iRak-piRak
<i>Yabula</i>	maRai		kalowik 'wood', woRokolik 'wood'		
<i>Dhudhu</i>	mala ¹²⁸			payuka	
<i>Pallang</i>	tjaRi	nawaRa			
<i>Gippsland</i>	wuRkat, Rukat	nhaRut	kalak	maRiwan	(mal)pukang, waRan, ngintawa

¹²⁵ The form **kuRk** in this column means 'female'.

¹²⁶ Wood in its capacity as fuel for a fire is designated by the word for fire. Such terms are not included here. See also 'bone'.

¹²⁷ This looks like an error. The form given may be a second person pronoun.

¹²⁸ See **mala** 'wife'.



MAP 1: APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF VICTORIAN LANGUAGES