

*The Yorta Yorta (Bangerang) language
of the Murray Goulburn
Including Yabula Yabula*

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

FOUNDING EDITOR: Stephen A. Wurm

EDITORIAL BOARD: Malcolm D. Ross and Darrell T. Tryon (Managing Editors),
John Bowden, Thomas E. Dutton, Andrew K. Pawley

Pacific Linguistics is a publisher specialising in linguistic descriptions, dictionaries, atlases and other material on languages of the Pacific, the Philippines, Indonesia and Southeast Asia. The authors and editors of Pacific Linguistics publications are drawn from a wide range of institutions around the world.

Pacific Linguistics is associated with the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies at The Australian National University. Pacific Linguistics was established in 1963 through an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund. It is a non-profit-making body financed largely from the sales of its books to libraries and individuals throughout the world, with some assistance from the School.

The Editorial Board of Pacific Linguistics is made up of the academic staff of the School's Department of Linguistics. The Board also appoints a body of editorial advisors drawn from the international community of linguists. Publications in Series A, B and C and textbooks in Series D are refereed by scholars with relevant expertise who are normally not members of the editorial board.

To date Pacific Linguistics has published over 400 volumes in four series:

- **Series A: Occasional Papers;** collections of shorter papers, usually on a single topic or area.
- **Series B: Monographs** of intermediate length.
- **Series C: Books;** publications of greater length, especially reference books such as dictionaries and grammars, and conference proceedings.
- **Series D: Special Publications;** including archival materials, pedagogical works, maps, audiovisual productions, and materials that do not fit into the other series.

**THE YORTA YORTA (BANGERANG)
LANGUAGE OF THE MURRAY GOULBURN
INCLUDING YABULA YABULA**

Heather Bowe
Stephen Morey



Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra

Published by Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
PO Box 1428
Canberra ACT 2601
Australia

Copyright © The authors

First published 1999

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication entry:

Bowe, Heather
The Yorta Yorta (Bangerang) language of the Murray Goulburn,
S.E. Australia, including Yabula Yabula (Australia).

Bibliography.
ISSN 0078-7558
ISBN 0 85883 513 4

1. Yorta Yorta language. 2. Yabula Yabula language.
I. Morey, Stephen. II. Australian National University.
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. Pacific Linguistics.
III. Title. (Series: Pacific Linguistics. Series C-154).

499.15

Copyedited by Basil Wilson
Typeset by Jeanette Coombes
Printed by ANU Printing Service, Canberra
Bound by F & M Perfect Bookbinding, Canberra

Table of contents

Preface and acknowledgments	ix
Abbreviations	xi
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Name of the language	3
1.2 Linguistic type	4
1.2.1 Relationship of Yorta Yorta with neighbouring languages	4
1.2.2 A note on Yabula Yabula/Ngarimoro	5
1.3 Yorta Yorta clan languages	6
1.4 Territory and neighbours	12
1.5 Sociolinguistic information	14
1.5.1 Language and totemic affiliation of people noted in language manuscript material	17
1.6 Past investigations and sources	18
1.6.1 Primary source written material collected from the 1840s onwards (in chronological order)	19
1.6.1 Errors detected in the sources	26
1.7 The decline of the Yorta Yorta language	28
1.8 Present situation	29
1.9 Methodology	33
2 Phonology	38
2.1 Structure of words	38
2.2 Phonemes	41
2.2.1 Consonants	41
2.2.1.1 Discussion of the uncertain phonemes	41
2.2.1.2 Allophonic variation – voiced and voiceless stops	42
2.2.2 Vowels	42
2.2.2.1 The representation of vowels in the early written sources	43

2.2.2.2	An analysis of the mid back vowel in words like <i>Yorta Yorta</i> , involving a retroflex consonant series	44
2.2.2.3	Consultation regarding the representation of vowels in the proposed orthography	46
2.3	Phonotactics	46
2.3.1	Consonants	46
2.3.1.1	Single consonants	46
2.3.1.2	Consonant sequences	47
2.3.2	Vowels	52
2.4	Stress	52
2.5	Morphophonemics	53
2.6	Orthography	54
3	Grammar	55
3.1	Introduction	55
3.2	Nouns	55
3.2.1	Noun inflection	55
3.2.2	Noun number	59
3.3	Pronouns and demonstratives	60
3.3.1	First person pronouns	63
3.3.2	Second person pronouns	64
3.3.2.1	Some further discussion of second person singular forms	66
3.3.3	Third person pronouns	67
3.3.4	Examples of pronoun cases	68
3.3.5	<i>Yorta Yorta</i> pronoun summary	72
3.3.6	Demonstrative pronouns	73
3.3.7	Interrogative pronouns and questions	75
3.3.7.1	Interrogatives	75
3.3.7.2	Polar (yes/no) questions	78
3.3.8	Summary of case endings	78
3.4	Prepositions	79
3.5	Adjectives and numerals	82
3.6	Verbs	82
3.6.1	Verb forms recorded by R.H. Mathews	82
3.6.2	Verb conjugation types	89
3.6.3	Single syllable verbs and non-inflectional verbal morphology	90
3.6.4	Comparative examples of verbs from different sources	91
3.6.4.1	The deliberate future suffix <i>-bak</i>	95
3.7	Negation	95

3.8 Exclamations	96
3.9 Word formation	96
3.9.1 Diminutives /-idjiga/, /-unga/ and other variants	96
3.9.2 Word final formatives expressing relatedness of various sorts	97
3.9.3 Other formatives and derivational strategies	98
3.9.4 Metaphoric extension	101
3.9.5 The creation of new words after white settlement including the borrowing of words from English and other languages	102
3.9.5.1 Creation of new terms using existing formatives	102
3.9.5.2 Borrowings from English into Yorta Yorta and related languages	102
3.9.5.3 Borrowings from other Aboriginal languages	103
3.10 Word order	104
3.10.1 Transitive sentences	104
3.10.2 Copula	105
3.10.3 Interrogatives and questions	106
3.10.4 Noun modifiers	106
4 Texts	108
4.1 Sentences	108
4.1.1 Yorta Yorta speech by Aaron Atkinson	109
4.1.2 Sentences from Priscilla McKray	109
4.2 Songs – traditional	111
4.2.1 Hunting song reported by Curr	112
4.2.2 Hunting songs reported by Locke	112
4.2.3 The <i>Hairy Beka</i> chant	113
4.3 Songs – mixed Yorta Yorta and English	116
4.3.1 The song recorded by Edwards (ED)	116
4.3.2 The song recorded by Eastman (EA)	117
4.4 Hymns	117
4.4.1 <i>Bura Fera</i> ‘Pharoah’	118
4.4.2 <i>Galyan Woka</i> ‘Happy Land’	120
4.4.3 Others	120
4.5 Unanalysed text	122
5 Place names	123
6 Personal names	130

7 Yabula Yabula	132
7.1 The language, its speakers and their territory	132
7.1.1 Relationship to the Yorta Yorta language	133
7.1.2 Language name	136
7.1.3 Sources	136
7.1.4 Sociolinguistic information	137
7.2 Phonology outline	138
7.2.1 Consonants	138
7.2.1.1 Spelling conventions used in this study	138
7.2.2 Vowels	139
7.2.3 Comparison between Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula	140
7.2.3.1 Final vowel deletion	140
7.3 Syntax	141
7.3.1 Case suffixes	141
7.3.2 Pronouns	141
7.3.3 Sentence examples	147
7.3.4 Interrogatives and questions	151
7.3.5 Question forms	152
7.3.6 Verbs	153
7.3.7 Copula	154
7.3.8 Prepositions	155
7.3.9 Numerals	155
7.3.10 Comparison of Yabula Yabula and Yorta Yorta morphology	155
7.4 Yabula Yabula vocabulary list	156
 Appendix: vocabulary	 161
 A. English–Yorta Yorta vocabulary	 164
B. Yorta Yorta–English vocabulary	246
 Addendum: additional Yabula Yabula vocabulary	 275
 References	 283

Preface and acknowledgments

This work on Yorta Yorta is the outcome of several years of research by Heather Bowe. It was begun in response to an invitation by Yorta Yorta woman Lois Peeler to review the available written material on Yorta Yorta to complement the Yorta Yorta language knowledge of her mother, Mrs Geraldine Briggs, O.A., and to compile a resource book on Yorta Yorta for language revival purposes.

The authors acknowledge the inspiration of Mrs Geraldine Briggs, supported by her daughters Lois Peeler, Frances Mathysen, Margaret Wirrapanda, Zeta Thompson, Laurel Robinson (and the late Hyllis Maris and Leah Weston) who have all participated in the ongoing teaching of the Yorta Yorta language and culture – through the Worawa Aboriginal College and elsewhere. Between them they collected copies of published material on the Yorta Yorta language, and noted recollections of conversations with Theresa Middleton Clements, their beloved mother/grandmother who grew up speaking Yorta Yorta.

The language revival project, coordinated by Lois Peeler, also involved Yorta Yorta woman Sharon Atkinson, who conducted valuable interviews with many Yorta Yorta community members, including Leon Atkinson, Pearl Joyce, Francis Mathysen, Mick McIvor, Ken Briggs, Merle Bamblett, Veronica Joachme and Liz Tass, which provide a picture of what is remembered of Yorta Yorta today.

The historical written record of the Yorta Yorta/Bangerang language owes much to the cultural links formed between early pioneers and Yorta Yorta/Bangerang people and the written accounts of the language provided through their collaboration. This work draws heavily on the language records gathered and published by pastoralist Edward M. Curr, surveyor Robert H. Mathews, lawyer Sir Redmond Barry, missionary Daniel Matthews, school teacher Thomas S. James, and George A. Robinson, who held the office of Protector of Aborigines in the area of Port Philip. The language material in these records was provided by Yorta Yorta/Bangerang people including Kitty Atkinson, Aaron Atkinson, Ada Cooper, Alf Morgan, Bagot Morgan, Fred Walker, Middleton, and Urenadega (Mr Brown), who were specifically named in manuscript sources. The historical records of Daniel Mathews' Maloga mission were made much more accessible by the research of Nancy Cato.

The analysis of historical written records has been greatly facilitated by the work of linguist Luise Hercus, who, in the 1960s, travelled widely in Victoria and made tape recordings of Yorta Yorta speakers Bill Jackson, Margaret Tucker, Ron Morgan, Priscilla McCrae and Camelia Satchel, as part of her research and analysis of the languages of Victoria. Audio-taped conversations were also made by ethnomusicologist Catherine Ellis, who taped a conversation with Bill Jackson, and researcher Janet Mathews, who taped a conversation with Geraldine and Selwyn Briggs.

This research has built upon the cumulative research of other linguists who have worked on the description and analysis of Australian Aboriginal languages in general, and Victorian languages in particular. We would like to acknowledge the work of Professor R.M.W. (Bob) Dixon, who documented many of the Yorta Yorta primary sources, and Professor Barry Blake, who has shared his expertise on Victorian languages with us. This work has benefited from the comments of an anonymous reviewer for Pacific Linguistics who offered some constructive suggestions on the manuscript. We are also grateful for the support of colleagues in the Department of Linguistics at Monash University.

Heather Bowe would particularly like to thank Geraldine Triffett and Grace Koch of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies for their assistance with accessing Yorta Yorta material, and to anthropologist Rod Hagen and legal counsel Peter Seidel, Ross Howie and Brian Keon Cohen for critical discussion of the historical record in the process of the Yorta Yorta Native Title Claim.

We would both like to acknowledge the fine work of Anya Woods, who has worked as a research assistant on the Yorta Yorta project since its inception and typeset the manuscript for submission to Pacific Linguistics. We are also both grateful to our respective spouses – Robin Dennis and Kimsiew Chuah – for their support of our work.

This work is truly the result of collaboration across cultures and generations and across different areas of expertise. We hope that our contribution is of value, despite whatever inaccuracies it may contain as a result of incompleteness of the record and any misinterpretation of it on our part. We are proud to be part of this ongoing process.

Heather Bowe
Stephen Morey
October 1998

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the Yorta Yorta Vocabulary entries:

(i) Sources

A	Aaron Atkinson's speech, Newspaper article, Norman Collection
B	Baylie
Cb	Curr Bangerang 214A
Cp	Curr Pikkolātpan 214B
Ct	Curr Toolinyāgan 214C
Cr	Curr <i>Recollections of squatting in Victoria</i>
EA	Eastman
ED	Edwards
E	EIM, Sir Redmond Barry (ed.)
FM	Frances Mathyssen transcribed by Heather Bowe
GB	Geraldine Briggs, transcribed by Heather Bowe
H	Hercus
Hbj	Hercus (Bill Jackson – phonetic transcription by Heather Bowe)
Hcs	Hercus (Camelia Satchell – phonetic transcription by Heather Bowe)
Hgb	Hercus (Geraldine Briggs – phonetic transcription by Heather Bowe)
Hmt	Hercus (Margaret Tucker – phonetic transcription by Heather Bowe)
Hpmc	Hercus (Priscilla Macrae – phonetic transcription by Heather Bowe)
Hrm	Hercus (Ron Morgan – phonetic transcription by Heather Bowe)
Hsb	Hercus (Selwyn Briggs – phonetic transcription by Heather Bowe)
J	James and Chanter
JC	James Cooper (reported in O'Callaghan 1918)
KB	Ken Briggs, tape-recorded by S. Atkinson, transcribed by Heather Bowe
Ls	Locke in Smyth
Lc	Locke in Matthews in Cato
LA	Leon Atkinson, reported by S. Atkinson, transcribed by Heather Bowe
LP	Lois Peeler, transcribed by Heather Bowe
LT	Liz Tass, transcribed by Heather Bowe
Ma	Matthews, Daniel in Cato <i>The first words taken down by old Kitty</i>
Mb	Matthews (Wallithica)

Mc	Matthews' diary notes as reported by Cato (1976)
MB	Merle Bamblett, tape-recorded by S. Atkinson, transcribed by Heather Bowe
PJ	Pearl Joyce, tape-recorded by S. Atkinson, transcribed by Heather Bowe
Ra	Robinson 67/1/1-12 – Woungillum, about 80 words
Rb	Roinson 65/3/160-162 – about 60 words untitled
Rc	Robinson 65/6/87-89 – War ren il um, about 250 words
Rd	Robinson 65/6/95-96 – a comparative vocabulary of 32 words in various languages including Warrengillum and Upper Hume West (Pallanganmiddang)
RMa	R.H. Mathews – Notebook on Yota Yota, MS book 1
RMb	R.H. Mathews – Yota-yota word list 1902:179-190 and 1902 article
RMc	R.H. Mathews – 1903 article
RMd	R.H. Mathews – Thurrawal offprint – word list
RMe	Manuscript sheet – undated – folded into offprint
RMf	Annotations to offprint of 1903 Yabula Yabula article, dated 9/2/1903
RMg	Annotations to offprint of 1902 article, dated 3/12/1902
RMh	Annotations to offprint of 1902 article, undated
RMi	Aboriginal Languages Notebook 6, pp.23-29, Ngurrimauer or Yabala Language
RMj	Draft Document on Ngurrimaura language (minus first page)
Sa	Strutt in VLC
Sb	Strutt in Smyth
SM	Smyth p.196
T	Tuckfield (various)
TH	Thomas
VJ	Veronica Joachme, tape-recorded by S. Atkinson, transcribed by Heather Bowe

(ii) Language information (in brackets, e.g. {Wdj})

Dh	Dhudoroa	Woi	Woiwurrung
PI	Pallangamiddang	Yb	Yabula Yabula
Wb	Wemba Wemba	Watha	Wathawurung
Wdj	Wiradjuri	Bung	Bungaditj
Th	Thagungwurrung	Warr	Warrnambool
Gipp	Gippsland		

(iii) Areal information

Gen Aust	General Australian	SE Aust	South East Australian
Gen Vic	General Victorian	SW Vic	South Western Victoria

(iv) Grammatical abbreviations

ABL	ablative	INCL, incl	inclusive
ABS	absolutive	INST	instrument
ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
ALL	allative	NOM	nominative
BEN	benefactive	OBJ	object
C	consonant	PL, Pl	plural
COM	comitative	POS	possessive
CONT	continuous	POSS	possibility
DU, Du	dual	PRES	present
EMPH	emphatic	RECIP	reciprocal
ERG	ergative	REFL	reflexive
EXCL, excl	exclusive	SG, Sg	singular
FUT	future	SOV	subject, object, verb
GEN	genitive	V	vowel
IMP	imperative		

1 Introduction

Yorta Yorta is the name now used to refer to the group of closely related languages traditionally spoken by the people who lived in an area extending from the junction of the Murray and the Goulburn Rivers, on either side of the Murray River from west of Echuca to east of Cobram/Tocumwal, and south-east along the Goulburn River to the Mooroopna–Shepparton area (see map).¹

The last generation to grow up speaking Yorta Yorta as a first language would have lived in the period 1860–1960. However, some of the children and grandchildren of those speakers are still passing on part of the Yorta Yorta spoken heritage through their families today.

The present research builds on the work conducted as part of a community language initiative reported in Peeler, Bowe and Atkinson (1994), Bowe (1997) and Bowe, Peeler and Atkinson (1997). The present work provides a detailed analysis of records relevant to the Yorta Yorta language, together with current Yorta Yorta family resources, and proposes a practical orthography based on the apparent phonetic and phonological system of the language. This work also contains an English–Yorta Yorta vocabulary list documenting all extant sources together with proposed spelling and phonemic representations, and a reverse Yorta Yorta–English listing.

Written records relating to the Yorta Yorta language were published by a number of non-Aboriginal individuals in the late 1800s and early 1900s. These were mainly brief and mostly took little account of dialect, with the exception of Curr (1883, 1887).

As white settlement continued, people of different clans had more contact with each other and with Aboriginal people of different language groups on the new pastoral holdings and at Daniel Mathews' Maloga Mission on the north side of the Murray upriver from Echuca (1872–1889) and later at Cumeroogunga Aboriginal Reserve a little further upriver again. The contact situation accelerated the use of English and weakened some of the language distinctions.

To a large extent the wealth of variety within this language – both that related to its speakers (i.e. clan varieties, varieties due to social factors such as family relationships and age) and variation due to the speech act itself (i.e. persuasive styles of speech, ritual

¹ The current land rights claim for the area has been issued in the name of 'The Yorta Yorta Aboriginal Community 1995'. The term Bangerang (Pinegorine) was also used to refer to this group of languages (e.g. Curr 1883, 1887) and is still used by some community members today to refer to their language heritage.

language, etc.) – is lost. However, there are some fragments of evidence relating to all these. The records that we have are thus snapshots of a small part of the whole language story from different clan languages and different periods, without the entire picture to relate them completely.

In this work, we have drawn on historical sources interpreting them from a linguistic perspective and have taken into account the Anglo-Celtic or European language bias of the early writers.

Luise Hercus (1969, 1986), a linguist who began working on recording remnants of Victorian languages in the 1960s, collected a Yorta Yorta vocabulary list of 84 words still remembered by the speakers she interviewed in the 1960s; however, very few sentences were recorded by her (see section 4.1.2). Much of the vocabulary documented by Hercus is still part of the collective memory of the Yorta Yorta people as evidenced by the material tape recorded by Yorta Yorta researcher Sharon Atkinson in 1993–1994 (see section 1.8 below).

Modern material such as that of Hercus and Atkinson contains almost no evidence of features such as case endings, verb tenses or pronouns and pronominal agreement. For such grammatical information we need to refer to the much earlier published material.

R.H. Mathews, a retired surveyor, published in 1902 a grammatical sketch of Yorta Yorta which contains several sentences illustrating case suffixes, a full set of pronouns, examples of verb tenses, and other grammatical information including adverbs and interrogatives, as well as a vocabulary list of 315 words. Mathews' working notebooks and other written records, which are now in the Australian National Library, provide a more thorough description of the features he examined and are a crucial source for Yorta Yorta.

E.M. Curr (1887), in volume three of his work *The Australian race*, provides basic vocabularies for several Yorta Yorta clan or local group languages and a considerable number of phrases and sentences known to him because of his years as a pastoralist in the traditional Yorta Yorta area. Curr's material is an invaluable complement to Mathews' grammatical sketches. Curr also wrote a monograph *Recollections of squatting in Victoria* (1883), which contains substantial sections about the Bangerang people in whose land he lived.

Other language researchers of the late 1800s, including G.A. Robinson, R.B. Smyth and Sir Redmond Barry, also collected valuable Yorta Yorta material, which is available in published form or in library holdings.

Important language records have been left by other individuals who were directly involved with the Yorta Yorta people. These include the missionary Daniel Matthews whose work was recorded in his personal diaries and the Reports of the Maloga Mission. A comprehensive account of Daniel Matthews' work, including some early Yorta Yorta vocabulary lists, was published by Nancy Cato (1976) in the biography entitled *Mister Maloga*.

The tape recordings collected by L. Hercus, J. Mathews and C. Ellis in the 1960s provided valuable verification of the pronunciation of specific words, and this acts as a key to the orthographic systems used by earlier writers. Heather Bowe has had the opportunity of working on a number of occasions with Mrs Geraldine Briggs, a Yorta Yorta elder, who was also tape-recorded by Janet Mathews in 1967. Mrs Briggs' memory of the language spoken by her mother, Therese Middleton Clements, who spoke Yorta Yorta as her first language, is an important current-day resource. Geraldine Briggs' pronunciation of Yorta Yorta does not seem to have changed markedly from the 1960s to the present day.

1.1 Name of the language

The Yorta Yorta language is like many other languages of the Murray River area, in that the name of the language is based on a repetition of the word for ‘no’ in the language. Thus *yorta* means ‘no’ in Yorta Yorta; in the Wemba Wemba language, *wemba* means ‘no’; and in the Mathi Mathi language, *mathi* is the word for ‘no’. Curr (1887, vol.3, p.569) reports that “the Pikkolatpan used to speak of the Bangerang as the ‘Yoorta’ or ‘no’ blacks”.

In the early written sources, the word was variously spelled *yota*, *yotta*, *yoorta*., and *yōorta*. With respect to the vowel in the first syllable, the audio recordings of elderly speakers recorded in the 1960s consistently provide a back vowel similar in quality to the vowel in the English word ‘yawn’, with no rhotic. The letter <r> in the written sources may have been solely an indication of vowel quality. The use of the letter <j> instead of <y> (i.e. *joda joda*) for the initial consonant was obviously influenced by the European traditions taken up by linguists. The second consonant is usually represented as voiceless, probably part of a general process of intervocalic devoicing of certain consonants.

A detailed discussion of the occurrence of the mid-low rounded back vowel in Yorta Yorta words (see section 2.2) observes that this vowel occurs almost exclusively in environments where either a rhotic follows or there is a following alveolar consonant which may have been a retroflex stop consonant at some earlier time. Such a hypothesis would suggest that the source of the phonetic form [yɔta] is an underlying phonemic form /yɔɖa/ involving a high back vowel followed by a retroflex consonant which coalesces to produce the surface phonetic sequence. Such an analysis would further support the validity of the spelling *Yorta*, preferred by Yorta Yorta people today. The spelling *Yorta Yorta* reliably gives rise to a pronunciation that is close to the identifiable target in terms of vowel quality. In view of this, and the preference of Yorta Yorta people for this spelling, we recommend that the language continue to be spelled as *Yorta Yorta*.

Bangerang is also a term that referred to at least some of the groups speaking Yorta Yorta (see section 1.2), and was sometimes given as the language name. Curr (1883, 1887, vol.3, p.566ff.) describes the use of the term Bangerang to refer primarily to the Wongatban and Towroonban clans who lived in the Lower Moira (on the Victorian side of the Murray River); however, he explains that the term was also used more generally by other tribes to refer to the total group now referred to as the Yorta Yorta. The spelling Pinegorine was used by some others including Tuckfield (1842).²

During the period of the decline in the language use, and of the destruction of traditional Yorta Yorta society, the various distinctions between language names and group names have mostly fallen out of use, and what must have been a complex system of nomenclature has thus been lost.³

² Clarke (1990:398), a geographer, draws a similar conclusion referring to a working paper of R.M.W. Dixon’s that “there was a group of contiguous clans that were called Bangerang and that their language was called Jodajoda”. Clarke further comments that “Tindale unfortunately set up two separate tribes and this has misled many subsequent researchers”.

³ In this work we propose a practical orthography for Yorta Yorta based on phonological analysis reported in Chapter 2. Throughout the text, Yorta Yorta words are presented in the proposed orthography in bold italics, except where details of written sources are also being discussed, in which case the source spelling is provided as well, or where a phonemic representation is posited, in which case the phonemic form is presented between slanted lines. A suggested spelling has also been provided for local language groups, though when referring specifically to original sources, original spellings are used.

For these reasons, we look on the Bangerang and Yorta Yorta as part of the same language group, for which we use the name *Yorta Yorta*.

1.2 Linguistic type

1.2.1 Relationship of Yorta Yorta with neighbouring languages

It appears that the Yorta Yorta language was something of a language isolate within the Pama-Nyungan family of Australian languages. It shares little common vocabulary with its neighbours on any side.⁴ Lexical comparisons of Yorta Yorta with neighbouring languages yield the following very low levels of common vocabulary:⁵

Wemba Wemba (Western Kulin)	to the west	5%	(16/351)
Wiradjuri	to the north	11%	(24/273)
Thagungwurrung (Eastern Kulin)	to the south	11%	(Blake 1991:50)
Ganai (Gippsland)	to the south-east	8%	(30/386)
Dhudhuroa	north of Omeo	18%	(Blake and Reid 1995:6)
Pallanganmiddang	to the east of Albury	23%	(52/232)

Blake and Reid (1995:17) have observed that there are some words common to Yorta Yorta and the languages of South Western Victoria and Gippsland, but not to the Kulin languages in between. An example is the word for back which is *banu(th)* in Yorta Yorta and *panu* in Dhudhuroa and Bunganditj.⁶

Pallanganmiddang shows the greatest degree of overlap with Yorta Yorta of all the neighbouring languages; however, the small amount of grammatical morphology evident in the recorded Pallanganmiddang material does not seem at all similar.

⁴ Hercus (1986:viii) shows 'Yodayoda' as being part of the 'Upper Murray Languages' which include neighbouring 'Bangerang' and an unlabelled section to the east (where Pallanganmiddang and Dhudhuroa are reported) as well as some languages of the middle Murray region such as 'Yidayida' and 'Daḍidaḍi' to the north-west. The relationship between these 'Upper Murray Languages' seems to be rather slight. A comparison between the records of Daḍidaḍi which Hercus collected, and Yorta Yorta from both the Hercus and other sources, shows no correspondence at all for lexical items, and what phonological information can be gathered suggests that the two languages are quite distant. It would thus seem that the term 'Upper Murray Languages' has been used to group together languages which do not belong to the main families already identified, such as Kulin. It does not seem to suggest close relationships – at least on the lexical level – within that group of languages.

⁵ The Wemba Wemba/Yorta Yorta statistic is based on a comparison of 351 vocabulary items: Wemba Wemba (Hercus 1992) compared with the Yorta Yorta combined vocabulary list contained herein. The Wiradjuri/Yorta Yorta figure was based on a comparison of 273 vocabulary items: McNicol and Hosking (1994) compared with the Yorta Yorta combined list herein. The Pallanganmiddang figure is based on a comparison of the words listed by Curr (1887, vol.3: Upper Murray), Robinson (Rd: Palleranmitter/Upper Hume West), and Smyth (1878: Mitchell, Tangambalanga), with the Yorta Yorta combined list herein. The Ganai figure is based on a comparison of the words listed by Fesl (1985) with the Yorta Yorta combined list herein.

The vocabulary comparisons provided here are numerical comparisons of all available vocabulary items excluding pronouns and grammatical morphemes. As such they do not conform to strict lexicostatistical method, though for practical purposes the results are still suitable as indicators of language relatedness. This issue is discussed further in section 7.1.1 for Yabula Yabula, where the question of its reported relatedness to Yorta Yorta is examined in some detail.

⁶ Blake and Reid attribute this to the relatively recent expansion of the Kulin languages.

The only languages that appear to be closely related to the Yorta Yorta group of languages are the ‘Yaliba Yaliba’ language of the Pikkolātpan⁷ group and the ‘Yabula Yabula’ language of the Ngarrimowro group, both of which are described by Curr as part of the greater Bangerang group.

Curr Bangerang	with Curr Ngarrimōwro	35%	(28/78)
Curr Bangerang	with Curr Pikkolātpan	71.7%	(38/53)
Curr Pikkolātpan	with Curr Ngarrimōwro	41%	(23/56)
Yorta Yorta combined lists	with Yabula Yabula combined lists	44% ⁸	(49/112)

The Yaliba Yaliba language reported by Curr for the Pikkolatpan clan is generally regarded as a Yorta Yorta language because of its lexical similarity of around 70%.

The Yabula Yabula language, however, has much less similarity and in statistical terms might seem to be a separate language. Hercus (1986:239) reports that her informants regarded Yabula Yabula as the closest relative or even a subdivision of Yorta Yorta. For further discussion on this point see sections 1.2.2 and 7.1.1 below.

1.2.2 A note on Yabula Yabula/Ngarimoro

Curr (1883, 1887) regarded the Ngarimoro (Ngarrimōwro) language (which had *yabula* as the word for ‘no’) as part of the Bangerang group of clan languages along with Pikkolātpan (which had *yaliba* as the word for ‘no’) and the Yorta Yorta languages (which had *yorta* for ‘no’).

R.H. Mathews (1903) and James (1897) also refer to Yabula Yabula as a language closely related to Yorta Yorta, reflecting the perceptions of their Aboriginal informants.

However, the lexical correlation of around 44% might suggest that Yabula Yabula should be regarded as a separate language. These issues are examined in detail in section 7.1.1.

It is our conclusion that Yabula Yabula was spoken by a group that was closely related to the Yorta Yorta group, and probably formed part of a continuum of related local language varieties.⁹

⁷ Tindale (1974:206) suggests that the Pikkolātpan clan belongs with the Kwat Kwat group, which he identifies as extending to Barnawatha and the junction of the King and Ovens rivers. It would seem that the term Kwat Kwat referred to a sub-group of the Yorta Yorta/Bangerang macro-group (see Hagen 1996). Robinson reported Kwat Kwat/Quart(a) Quart territory at points as far apart as west of Echuca (*GAR Journal*, 6 October 1847) and towards the junction of (the Murray and) the Ovens (*Annual Report to Governor LaTrobe*, 1843; in Hagen 1996:23). Tindale regarded Kwat Kwat as a language name, an example of reduplication of the word for ‘no’ (Tindale NB. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 64:140-231). Tindale (1974:206) also lists the Emu Mudjug tribe (of Barnawatha as reported by Reid in Smyth (1878:68)) as a Kwat Kwat alternative; however, this language seems quite different with an overlap of 7% with Yorta Yorta. The Emu Mudjug languages seem to be a dialect of Wiradjuri. We do not think that much reliance can be placed on Tindale’s classification in this area. For a detailed account of the Kwat Kwat/Quart Quart references by Robinson and Tindale, see Hagen (1996:19-28, 73-78).

⁸ A revised calculation, which takes into account additional Yabula Yabula vocabulary recently found among Mathews manuscript material and listed in the addendum, raises this figure to 55% (152/274).

⁹ R.M.W. Dixon has classified Yabala Yabala and Yoda Yoda as separate languages, related the each other, but to no others at the level of the subgroup (Sommer 1997:37, 39).

1.3 Yorta Yorta clan languages

Curr (1887:567) provides a list of ten related Bangerang ‘tribes’ or local groups with the number of people belonging to each group when he first knew them, which was in the 1840s.

Wongātpan	150	persons
Tōwroonbanā	50	persons
Wollithiga	50	persons
Kāiilthiban, sometimes called Waarīngulum	50	persons
Moītheriban	300	persons
Pikkolātpan	100	persons
Angōōtheriban	100	persons
Ngarrimōwro	100	persons
Toolenyāgan	100	persons
Boongātpan	150	persons
Total	1,200	persons

Curr (1883:236-239) did not regard these figures as necessarily indicative of the number prior to European settlement. He was curious about the presence of oven mounds in the area that seemed not to have been used for at least fifty years. To him this suggested that the area may very well have had a much greater population earlier on. Fahey (1988) reviews evidence of the impact of smallpox epidemics in South Eastern Australia and draws the conclusion that the area would have supported a much larger population prior to European contact.

Curr (1883:231) provides a detailed map of the Lower Moira (on the Victorian side of the Murray River) marking the area known as *Wongat*, which he reports was the ‘headquarters’ of the Wongatpan tribe and was the area between the junction of the river Murray and the Baala, or Broken Creek, three or four miles higher up the river than Barmah. Curr describes Wongat as mostly under water in the winter, and comments that the river just thereabouts was remarkably crowded with fish.

Curr also reports that the Tōwroonban tribe, who lived to the south of the Wongātban, took their name from a sandhill called *Towro*, which is between the Madowla Lagoon and the Murray River. Curr reports that these two groups spoke of themselves as, and were called, Bangerang. (Curr describes the languages of these clans as ‘Bangerang proper’.)

Of the other groups Curr (1887:567) writes: “Besides these there were eight other tribes in the neighbourhood, which sometimes spoke of themselves, and were always spoken of by other tribes, as Bangerang”.

The Kāiilthiban, or people of Kaiela, whose country Curr (1883:232) describes as “principally on the south side of the Goulburn, extending from Tongala to Toolamba”, took their name from a section of the Goulburn between Kotoopna and Shepparton which they called *Kaiela*. According to Daniel Matthews (Cato 1976:46), this name meaning ‘father of waters’ derived from the Yorta Yorta word for father *gaiya* (We assume that the form *-la* is related to the Yorta Yorta word *wala* meaning ‘water’.) Similarly, Matthews reported that the name *Tongala* for the Murray River means ‘the great water’, which we can assume derives

from the word *dung(g)u-dja* meaning ‘big’ and the form *-la* Curr notes in his listing that this group was sometimes referred to as ‘Waaringulum’. It was the latter name that Robinson (R) recorded. The language material reported by Barry (1866–1867) for the Lower Goulburn seems to be the language for this group, because of the locality given and because the informant gave the word *kiolduban* for ‘tribe’ when asked the word. Other distinctive vocabulary also supports this conclusion.

The Wollithiga (sometimes Wollithigan) occupied the country at and about the junctions of the Goulburn and Campaspe rivers with the Murray. (It is believed that the placename Echuca is an anglicisation of part of this name.) Curr (1883:232) suggests that the first part of the name is *wala*, the Yorta Yorta word for water. Daniel Matthews believed it to mean ‘the meeting of the waters’ (Cato 1976:45). Daniel Matthews’ papers contain two lists of words reported to be Wallithica. These are published in Cato (1976:375-377). The first, a list of eleven words, was taken down from ‘Old Kitty’, later known as Kitty Cooper or Kitty Atkinson. The second is a list of nearly a hundred words acquired between 1864 and 1874.

Cato (1976:47), quoting Matthews, reports that the ‘Moira people’, whose land stretched from the Moira Lakes to the One Tree Plain, were the nearest neighbours to the Wallithica, and that *Moira* meant ‘place of many reeds’. A list of words of the Moiraduban clan published as James and Chanter (1897) was provided by Thomas Shadrach James, the schoolteacher from Maloga and Cummeragunja. Presumably, Curr’s Moitheriban are the people from Moira.

Curr provides separate word lists for the groups he identifies as Toolenyāgan, who lived in the area south of Ulupna; the Pikkolātpan, which inhabited an area north of Tocumwall, and the Ngarrimōwro, who lived on both sides of the Murray River near Yeilima.

Although the Toolinyāgan language shared with Pikkolātpan some vocabulary items not found in Bangerang (e.g. *batja* ‘possum’, *bapo* ‘father’, *napo* ‘mother’), Toolinyāgan was more similar to Bangerang, having the word *yorta* for ‘no’, whereas Pikkolātpan had the word *yaliba* for ‘no’ and Ngarrimowro had the word *yabula* for ‘no’.

Of the remaining two clans Angōotheriban and Boongatpan, Curr (1887, vol.3, p.566) provides no information other than the location of the groups on his map.

Tindale (1974:206), when referring to the Pikkolātban clan, suggests that the clan name comes from the word [pik:or] ‘emu’ – which we can recognise in the Yorta Yorta word *bigarrumdja* ‘emu’. This explanation is perhaps plausible, although it must remain rather speculative in the absence of any further detail. Alternatively the term could be derived from the word *bikorra* which means ‘chain of ponds’ (Barry (E)), which accords with geographical features of the area.

James, in his letter to R.H. Mathews of 27 September 1897 (Mathews papers, National Library of Australia), mentions a further five clans which we cannot identify: Brepouŕo, Büroogunja, Vullobala, Vullarak, Cunnijiga. James’ entire list of the ‘Yotta Yotta’ and its offshoots is as follows:

Table 2: 'Yotta Yotta' and its offshoots (James 1897)

1.	Yóttá Yóttá pure	8.	Brepówro
2.	Yábala-Yábala	9.	Būroómgunja
3.	Ngaree-mówroo	10.	Yalliba
4.	Móyir Dūbún	11.	Ungrdubun
5.	Wúngūn-Cútpen	12.	Vullōmbala
6.	Wúlee Deegun	13.	Vullarák
7.	Kíál Deebún	14.	Cunni jigga

The first clan James lists is given as 'Yóttá Yóttá pure'. It would seem that it refers to Dorunban (one of Curr's 'Bangerang proper' clans not listed by James) and/or the Dulinyagan clan of Ulupna also not listed as such by James but whose people were well represented at Maloga and Cummeragunga. James writes that the names he provides appear to represent "not only the dialects spoken but also the families that scattered severing their connection with the Yotta Yotta tribe".

In this letter James refers to an accompanying map on which he marked the boundary of 'Yotta Yotta' and numbered its offshoots. Unfortunately we have been unable to locate this map among the R.H. Mathews papers.

It is curious that James includes a group identified as Yabala Yabala as well as a group identified as Ngaree-mowro. It has been generally assumed, following Mathews' Yabala Yabala Notebook (RMi) that Ngarrimowro/Ngurrimauro and Yabala were one and the same because Ngurrimauro has the word *yabula* for 'no'. And yet Mathews at the end of his Ngurrimauro draft article (RMj) also indicates that a group he identifies as the Yabala Yabala existed in addition to the Ngurrimauro:

The Ngurrimauro language is spoken by the remnants of the tribe which formerly inhabited the level country about Tuppil Creek, Deniliquin and along the Murray River from Tocumwal to Mathoura, County of Townsend...They were met towards the south and south-west by the Yota-Yota, Bataura, Yabbula Yebula and Birrabu-birrabu,¹⁰ which are sister tongues of the Ngurrimauro. The Wirraidjuri speaking people merged upon the Ngurrimauro on the N.E.

We can only conclude that there may have been more than one group with the word *yabula* for 'no'.

Clark (1990:349-401) provided a list of fifteen clan names in his geographical summary for Yorta Yorta, although we regard some of his entries as probable variants of other clans as illustrated in Table 3:

¹⁰ The second word is almost unreadable.

Table 3: The twelve clans of the Yorta Yorta appear to be:

	Suggested spelling (Bowe)	Curr	Robinson	James (letter)	Mathews	Other	Clark's No.
1	Wongatban	Wongātpan	Wongotban	Wúngūn-cupen	–	–	2
2	Dorunban	Tōwroonban	Darrinbun	[Yotta Yotta pure?]	–	–	1, 15
3	Walidhiga	Wollithiga	Walledrigger	Wullee deegun	–	Walithica (D. Matthews)	–
4	Gayilduban/ Waringilum	Kaiilthiban/ Waarīngillum	War ren il um	Kīal deebuń	–	–	13
5	Moiraduban	Moītheriban	Merdidderban	Moyir dōbuń	–	Moiraduban (James & Chanter)	3, 14
6	Bikolatban	Pikkolātpan	Biggolatban	Yalliba	–	–	6
7	Yanguduban	Angōōtheriban	Ungidderroban	Ungōrduban	–	–	7, 12
8	Dulinyagan	Toolinyāgan	Tolelinyargine	[Yotta Yotta pure?]	–	–	10
9	Bungatban	Boongātpan	Yewn-got-ban	–	–	–	5, 11
10	Mowatban	–	Mowatban/ Bowatban	–	–	–	8
11	Derenatban	–	Derenatban	–	–	–	9
12a	Ngarimoro	Ngarrimōwro	Maddemowero	Ngaree-mōwro	Ngurrimaura	–	4
12b	Yabala Yabala	–	–	Yābala-Yābala	Yabbula Yebula	–	–
13	Baraporo	–	–	Brepouro	Birrabu-birrabu	–	–
14	Burumgandja	–	–	Būroomgunja	–	–	–
15	Balombala	–	–	Vullombala	–	–	–
16	Balarak	–	–	Vullarak	–	–	–
17	Ganidjika	–	–	Cunni jiga	–	–	–
18	Bataura	–	–	–	Bataura	–	–

Table 4: Yorta Yorta sources – cognate comparison

English	Bangerang (Cb)	Pikkolätpan (Cp)	Toolinyāgan (Ct)	Ngarrimōro (Cn)	Walithica (Mb)	Moiraduban (J)	Kieldbuban (E)	Woringillum (Ra)
kangaroo	<i>kāi-i-mer</i>	<i>wortogoa</i>	<i>tanjutcoopna</i>	<i>wardakow</i>	–	–	<i>kyemir</i>	<i>ky-e.mer.re</i>
tame dog	<i>pōk-ka</i>	<i>pokka</i>	<i>pokka</i>	<i>karnao</i>	<i>bucca</i>	–	<i>bucca (dingo)</i>	<i>tone.do.or</i>
emu	<i>pikkerōōmdja</i>	<i>pikkeroomdja</i>	–	<i>godaiami</i>	<i>bickeroomdja</i>	–	<i>bigurumja</i>	<i>big.er.ronejar</i>
snake	<i>gōna</i>	–	<i>takinjoa, gona</i>	<i>korno, littagow</i>	–	–	<i>duckindua</i>	–
Aborigines	<i>ēn-ben-na</i>	<i>beowka</i>	<i>yenbena</i>	<i>bawal</i>	<i>yenbena</i>	–	–	<i>yeen bun ner</i>
nose	<i>kōwo</i>	<i>kowo</i>	<i>kowo</i>	<i>kowo</i>	<i>cowoo</i>	<i>cowa</i>	<i>cowu</i>	<i>cow</i>
father	<i>kāi-a</i>	<i>bapo</i>	<i>bapo</i>	<i>bingalam</i>	–	–	<i>baapoo</i>	<i>bare poo</i>
mother	<i>kān-a</i>	<i>napo</i>	<i>napo</i>	<i>nga-ga-lam</i>	–	–	<i>naapoo</i>	<i>nar poo</i>
a baby	<i>ko-tōōp-ka</i>	–	<i>kotoopna</i>	<i>kothopook</i>	–	–	–	–
child	<i>yār-ka</i>	–	–	<i>ngolwaichik</i>	–	–	–	<i>yare er ker</i>
head	<i>pō-ko</i>	–	<i>poko</i>	–	<i>bocoo</i>	<i>bukko</i>	<i>bookco</i>	<i>bo-kun</i>
eye	<i>mē-ul</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>meul</i>	<i>ma, mawo</i>	<i>mare</i>	<i>maa</i>	–	<i>mare</i>
ear	<i>mār-moo</i>	<i>marmoo</i>	–	<i>maram</i>	–	<i>marmo</i>	<i>marmoo</i>	<i>mar re moo</i>
mouth	<i>wōōr-roo</i>	<i>woorro</i>	<i>woorro</i>	<i>worro</i>	<i>whirroo</i>	<i>cutta</i>	–	–
fire	<i>bīit-ya</i>	<i>biitya</i>	<i>biitya</i>	<i>kalao</i>	<i>peecha</i>	<i>bitcha</i>	–	<i>pit yer</i>
water	<i>wōl-la</i>	<i>thethowanna</i>	<i>wolla</i>	<i>banna</i>	–	<i>wullah</i>	<i>wulla</i>	<i>wol-ler</i>
smoke	<i>thōng-a</i>	–	–	<i>thonga</i>	<i>thoornga</i>	–	<i>tounga</i>	–
ground	<i>wōk-ka</i>	–	<i>wokka</i>	<i>wokka</i>	–	<i>wuk'ka</i>	<i>wuckka</i>	<i>woc.er</i>
rain	<i>kōo-kor-a</i>	<i>korkora</i>	<i>korkora</i>	<i>karokor</i>	<i>corcora</i>	<i>goerkura</i>	<i>corcora</i>	<i>ko-ker er</i>
yes	<i>ngō-e</i>	<i>ngoe</i>	<i>ngoe</i>	<i>ngoe</i>	<i>ngorwai</i>	–	<i>ngowa</i>	<i>hor</i>
no	<i>yōōr-ta</i>	<i>yalliba</i>	<i>yoorta</i>	<i>yabbala</i>	<i>yotta</i>	–	<i>yotta</i>	<i>er</i>
good	<i>kāal-in-ya</i>	–	<i>kaalinya</i>	<i>kalein</i>	–	<i>galnia</i>	<i>kalorya</i>	–
bad	<i>mat-tim-na</i>	–	<i>mattimna</i>	<i>matthir</i>	–	<i>muth'a</i>	<i>basaneep</i>	<i>bro-mer</i>
wife	<i>nge-nīwīn-ya</i>	–	<i>ngieni wiinya</i>	<i>ngeni marrai</i>	–	<i>winyar</i>	<i>wunyir</i>	<i>bun yarn ote</i>
woman	<i>wīinya</i>	–	<i>wiinya</i>	<i>marrai</i>	<i>winyir</i>	<i>winyar</i>	<i>wunyer</i>	<i>win.yer.re</i>
tribe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	<i>kielduban</i>
speak	<i>lō-it-pa</i>	–	–	<i>loitpa</i>	–	–	<i>laidpeiya</i>	<i>kun yun dite</i>
where	<i>wūnnul</i>	–	<i>wunul</i>	<i>wunul</i>	–	<i>wunul</i>	<i>wunool</i>	–
strike	<i>nyinuk</i>	–	–	–	–	–	<i>ninna</i>	<i>yin nun</i>

Table 4 provides the clan words for a small set of vocabulary items (including the words for 'mother' and 'father') in Curr's Bangerang (Cb), Pikkolatpan (Cp), Toolinyagan (Ct), James' Moiraduban (J) as well as Curr's Ngarrimwro (Yabula Yabula) (Cn) for comparison. (The entries are provided with the spelling system used by their original writers and so some of the minor variations are due to different spelling conventions.) Despite these spelling variations, it is clear that some words such as *gorrkarra* 'rain', *yurri* 'moon', *woka* 'land, ground', *galnya* 'good' are words found in all of the five clan languages. (These particular words are not found in neighbouring languages and so are distinctively Yorta Yorta words.) Words like *wurru* 'mouth' and *djina(ng)* 'foot' are also words found in all the five clan language but these words are not exclusively Yorta Yorta words – they are in wide use in Aboriginal languages across the continent.

Comparison of the complete word lists for each of the sources provided in Table 4 yields the following figures:

Curr's Bangerang (Cb)	with	Curr's Toolinyāgan (Ct)	83%	54/65
	with	James' Moiraduban (J)	80%	28/35
	with	Matthews' Walithica (Mb)	82.9%	29/35
	with	Curr's Pikkolātpan (Cp)	71.7%	38/53
	with	Robinson's Worrenilum (Ra/Rc)	85%	102/120
	with	Barry's Kielduban (E)	78.3%	119/152

The word lists provided by Curr for Toolinyāgan, by James for Moiraduban, by Matthews for Walithica, by Robinson for Worrenilum (=Kaïlthiban) and Barry (E) for Kielduban all show over 80% overlap with Curr's Bangerang and are obviously representative of closely related clan languages. Curr's word list for Pikkolātpan (Yaliba Yaliba) on the north-east extremity of the Yorta Yorta territory shows a 71.7% common vocabulary with Curr's Bangerang, so although Yaliba Yaliba is a little different from the others, it is still quite closely related. We have contrasted Robinson's Worrenilum (Ra&Rc) and Barry's Kielduban (E) which are presumably lists from the same local group and have found indeed that they have a slightly higher degree of similarity with each other than Barry's Kielduban has with Curr's Bangerang:

Barry's Kielduban (E)	with	Robinson's Worrenilum (Ra/Rc)	82.1%	87/106
-----------------------	------	-------------------------------	-------	--------

If we contrast clan languages on opposite extremities of the Yorta Yorta territory we notice that Matthews' Walithica clan language of the Echuca area in the south-west has quite a strong similarity to Curr's Toolinyāgan clan language of Ulupna in the north-east:

Matthew's Walithica (Mb)	with	Curr's Toolinyāgan (Ct)	80.5%	29/36
--------------------------	------	-------------------------	-------	-------

In comparing Curr's Pikkolātpan with its closest neighbour, Curr's Toolinyāgan, we see quite a close relationship, though marginally less than between the closest groups:

Curr's Pikkolātpan (Cp)	with	Curr's Toolinyāgan (Ct)	77.5%	31/40
-------------------------	------	-------------------------	-------	-------

The situation with Ngarrimowro (discussed above) is repeated here for ease of comparison.

Curr's Bangerang (Cb)	with	Curr's Ngarrimowro (Cn)	35%	28/78
Combined Yorta Yorta list	with	combined Yabula Yabula list	44%	49/112
Curr's Pikkolatpan (Cp)	with	Curr's Ngarrimowro (Cn)	41%	23/56

We can see that Curr's Ngarrimowro is marginally closer to Pikkolatpan, its neighbour to the east, than it is to Curr's Bangerang to the south.

We need to note that the most complete 'dialect/clan group' list is that which Curr has given for 'Bangerang'. Some of the other lists are much shorter; thus the number on which these comparisons are based is quite small.

The vocabulary list of 315 words provided by R.H. Mathews (1902) is labelled 'Yota Yota', with no clan group specified. This material was probably collected not long before the date of publication because that seems to be the period in which Mathews began to focus his attention on languages rather than social customs. The following comparisons show that Mathews' 'Yota Yota' vocabulary have a strong degree of overlap with the central Yorta Yorta/Bangerang lists of Curr, Daniel Mathews and James, who all lived in the area.

Mathews' Yota Yota (RMb)	with James' Moiraduban (J)	26/30	86.6%
	with Curr's Bangerang (Cb)	60/87	69%
	with Curr's Toolinyagen (Ct)	44/54	81.5%
	with Mathews' Wallithika (Mb)	18/24	75%

Given that Mathews probably gathered his Yorta Yota vocabulary list near the turn of the century, at Cummeragunja, it would not be surprising if it most closely resembles James' Moiraduban and also Curr's Toolinyagen, given that families from Moira and Ulupna were well represented at Maloga and subsequently at Cummeragunja.¹¹

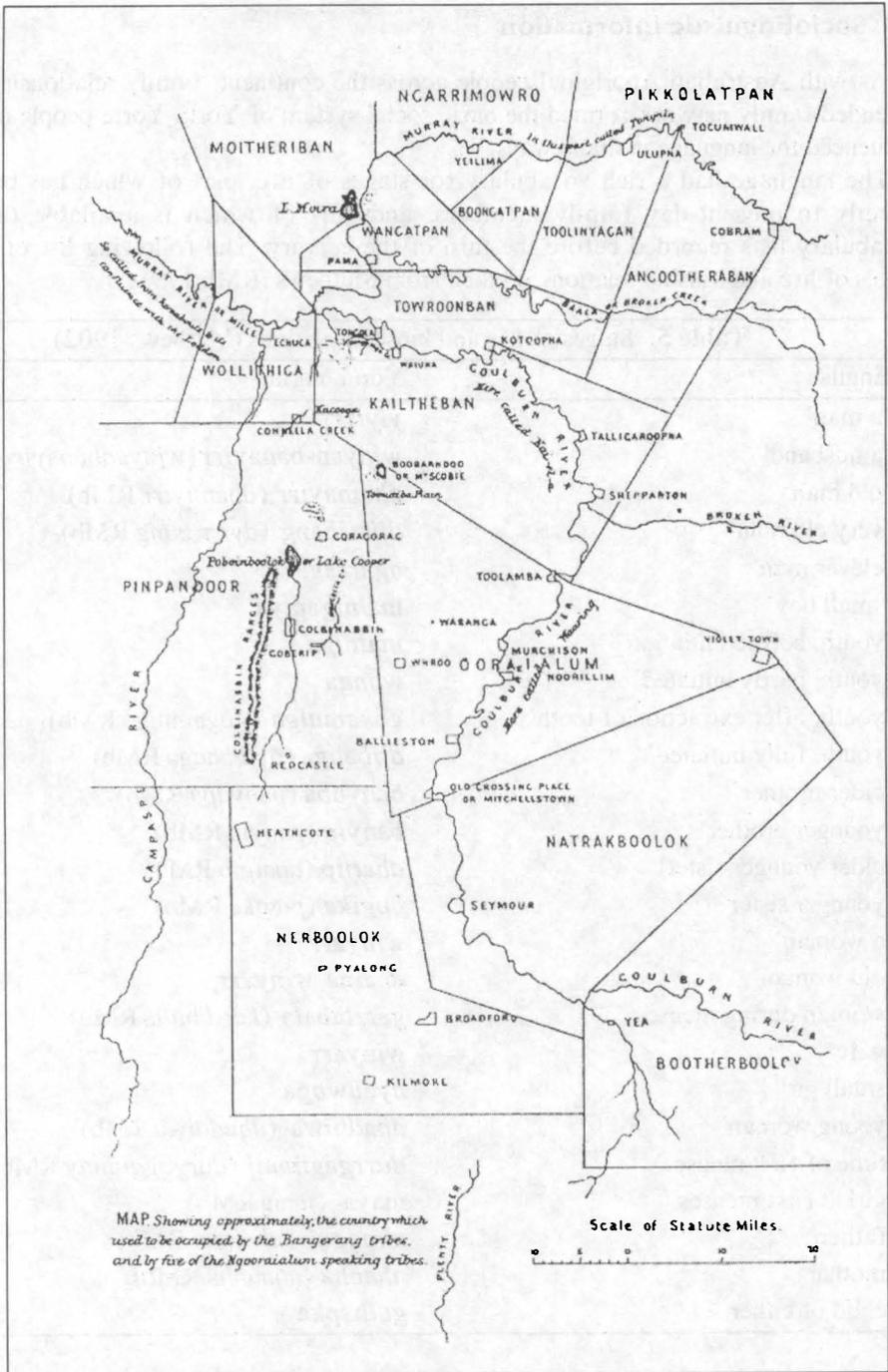
We must caution that the percentages quoted here are straight percentages of the raw counts of comparable lexical items and because of the small size of the samples must be treated as only approximate.

1.4 Territory and neighbours

The most comprehensive description of the territory of the Yorta Yorta clans was that made by Curr (1886:566ff.). Curr's map, reprinted in this work, shows Curr's ten Bangerang clans and various clans to the south which were part of the Thagungwurrung (Central Victorian) group.

Other major sources of information about the placement of the clans are Robinson and R.H. Mathews. Mathews uses the terms 'Bangerang' and 'Yota Yota'; he uses the term Bangerang to refer to a greater group of tribes including the Yorta Yorta and all the tribes to the south as far as Bass Strait. However this grouping is not supported by language evidence. Barwick (1984:118), who did a considerable amount of work on clans of the area, in recent times uses the term 'Pangerang' for the group of clans grouped together by Curr.

¹¹ We know that R.H. Mathews wrote a letter to Daniel Mathews of Maloga which Daniel's wife Janet Mathews replied to in 1898. This letter, however, was to do with R.H. Mathews' interest in intermarriage groups. R.H. Mathews also wrote around the same time to Mr T.S. James of Cummeragunja, who replied on 27 September 1897, regarding clan names, and on 3 December 1897, regarding intermarriage patterns (National Library of Australia Mathews papers MS 80006 Series 2).



Map showing approximately the country which used to be occupied by the Bangerang Tribes (Curr 1886:566)

1.5 Sociolinguistic information

As with Australian Aboriginal people across the continent, family relationships and the extended family network formed the basic social system of Yorta Yorta people and as such influenced the language in many ways.

The language had a rich vocabulary for stages of life, part of which has been passed directly to present-day family members, and part of which is available through the vocabulary lists recorded before the turn of the century. The following list of words for stages of life and kinship relations is taken from Mathews (RMb:179).

Table 5: Stages of life and kinship relations (Mathews 1902)	
English	Yorta Yorta
'a man'	<i>yiyr</i>
'a husband'	<i>winyan-banayirr</i> (<i>winyanbunayir</i> RMb)
'old man'	<i>dhamayirr</i> (<i>dhamiyirr</i> RMb)
'very old man'	<i>djirribang</i> (<i>dyirribung</i> RMb)
'clever man'	<i>ngarraga</i>
'small boy'	<i>malnigaptya</i>
'youth, before initiation'	<i>malniga</i>
'youth, partly initiated'	<i>wonga</i>
'youth, after extraction of tooth'	<i>gokamulga</i> (<i>gogamulga</i> RMb)
'youth, fully initiated'	<i>djibauga</i> (<i>dyibbauga</i> RMb)
'elder brother'	<i>banyuba</i> (<i>panyupa</i> RMb)
'younger brother'	<i>banyip</i> (<i>panyip</i> RMb)
'elder/younger sister'	<i>dhatjip</i> (<i>dhaigip</i> RMb)
'younger sister'	<i>bugika</i> (<i>pugika</i> RMb)
'a woman'	<i>winyarr</i>
'old woman'	<i>dhama winyarr</i>
'woman during menses'	<i>garrtabala</i> (<i>kartubulla</i> RMb)
'wife'	<i>winyarr</i>
'small girl'	<i>nyauwoga</i>
'young woman'	<i>dhadhiwa</i> (<i>dhuddiwa</i> RMb)
'time of first menses'	<i>durrgagimatj</i> (<i>durguggimuty</i> RMb)
'girl at first menses'	<i>maya</i> (<i>maia</i> RMb)
'father'	<i>nhungui</i> (<i>nhungui</i> RMb)
'mother'	<i>nhanha</i> (<i>nhannha</i> RMb)
'child of either sex'	<i>guthapka</i>

Mathews' kinship terms illustrate the importance of relative age. We see that there are separate terms for older brother, younger brother, older sister, and younger sister.

In addition to the kinship terms provided by Mathews we are provided with the following additional kinship terms from various other sources:

'little brother/sister'	<i>gitjika</i> (<i>kidyika</i> Ls)
'brother/sister-in-law'	<i>marra</i> (<i>murra</i> E)
'daughter'	<i>gatjina</i> (<i>kateena</i> Sb, <i>kurt-gee-na</i> E, <i>karginya</i> E)
'daughter-in-law'	<i>wongwop</i> (<i>wongworp</i> E)
'cousin'	<i>bakinal</i> (<i>baginal</i> E)
'grandfather'	<i>dhamala</i> (<i>toormala</i> E)
'grandmother'	<i>dhamala-nhanha</i> (<i>toormala-nang</i> E)

We have the following clan differences for the terms 'mother' and 'father':

English	Bangerang Curr (Cb)	Pikkolātpan Curr (Cp)	Toolinyāgan Curr (Ct)	?	Ngarrimōwro Curr (Cn)
'father'	<i>kāi-a</i>	<i>bapo</i>	<i>bapo</i>	<i>nhungui</i>	<i>bingalam</i>
'mother'	<i>kān-a</i>	<i>napo</i>	<i>napo</i>	<i>nhanha</i>	<i>nga-ga-lam</i>

We note that these are quite different from the larger neighbouring languages illustrated below. In the Wemba Wemba list we see examples of the widespread system of differentiating between paternal and maternal relatives.

<u>English</u>	<u>Wemba Wemba</u>	<u>Wiradjuri</u>
'father'	<i>mam</i>	<i>babeen</i>
'mother'	<i>pap, kuyindrruk</i> (his mother)	<i>guuni</i>
'grandparents'	<i>mim</i> (paternal and old people in general)	
'grandfather'	<i>ngapa</i> (maternal and grandfather's brothers)	
'grandmother'	<i>kuka</i> (maternal and paternal)	<i>baadhin baayjin</i>
'great grandfather'	<i>paremparem</i> (paternal)	

In the Yorta Yorta family sources we find examples of some of the kinship terms listed above as Yorta Yorta terms and also terms listed above as Wemba Wemba kinship terms. This appears to have been associated initially with intermarriage of people from Wemba Wemba, Wiradjuri and Yorta Yorta groups. It may have also been the case that an Aboriginal *lingua franca* was starting to develop in the contact situation on the Warangesda, Moonacullah, Maloga and Cummeragunja Aboriginal reserves (see also section 4.3 on songs).

Geraldine Briggs (GB), in an audio tape recorded in 1967, describes the following use of terms in her family. (She comments there that she spent a lot of time at Moonacullah reserve with her mother's sister and her uncle who was born at Gonn Station and spoke Wemba Wemba.)

'father'	<i>mama</i>
'mother'	<i>papa</i>
'grandmother'	<i>mima</i>
'grandfather, maternal'	<i>ngapa</i>
'grandfather, paternal'	<i>parem-parem</i>

These terms bear some similarity to the Wemba Wemba terms, but some realignment also appears to be taking place.

We have noted above that the social system involved a series of local groups, with slightly different languages. The fact that marriage customs result in speakers of Australian Aboriginal languages typically being multilingual/multidialectal may give rise to greater areal diffusion of vocabulary than would otherwise be expected. Additional, and perhaps more important, is the social custom of replacing lexical items for various reasons, the main one being to avoid words sounding like the names of recently deceased persons, but also to create 'respect/avoidance registers' for maintaining social distance. Curr (1887, vol.3, p.580) illustrates this phenomenon with his reference to the Toolinyagan language, explaining that in this clan language the word for 'kangaroo' used to be *kaiimer* (*gaiyimarr*) as in Bangerang, until a woman of that name died, after which it became *tanjutcoopna* (*dantjutkupna*). Similarly, the word for 'opossum rug' used to be *pinga*, but a man called *Pinga* died, and the word was changed to *koonya-wiinya* (*gunya-winyarr*).

The sociolinguistic practice of men maintaining a separate vocabulary for conversation with women in the 'potential mother-in-law' relationship, which is well known in Australian Aboriginal languages, was possibly not present in Yorta Yorta. Mathews (1904:305), in an article entitled 'Ethnological notes on the Aboriginal tribes of New South Wales and Victoria', mentions that the practice of having a specific vocabulary for addressing mothers-in-law applies to central and south-western Victoria and south-eastern South Australia. Given that Mathews' work on Yorta Yorta had already been published, and that he does not include northern Victoria in his list, we assume that his comment entails that Yorta Yorta did not.

The fact that a language does not have a specific avoidance vocabulary does not necessarily mean that people are not addressed in different ways appropriate to their social group within the extended family. For example, in Pitjantjatjara, where there is also no specific avoidance vocabulary, women in the potential mother-in-law relationship are never addressed directly, but are referred to indirectly. Curr (Ct:280) reports two ways of referring to an elder brother. The word *banyuba* (*banyooba* Cb) is used when speaking to the elder brother, whereas the form *banyubin* (*baanyoobin* Cb) is used when speaking of the elder brother. The suffix *-in* is generally used as a genitive/possessive, so perhaps Curr was confused on this point.

It seems as though there may have been a morphological relation between the terms for younger brother and older brother, involving the suffix *-a*.

<i>banyuba</i>	'older brother'
<i>banyip</i>	'younger brother'

We would expect a similar situation to pertain with the terms 'older sister' and 'younger sister'; however, the data is confusing and probably includes some inaccuracy. Reported meanings for the pair are:

<i>dhatjiba</i>	'sister' (also 'younger brother' ?)
<i>dhatjip</i>	'younger sister, elder sister' (also 'younger brother' ?)

We are not able to resolve these inconsistencies any further.

The following is an interesting example from Curr's sentence material involving a request for the loan of a spear. The verb *domak* 'lend' is in the form identified as the future (potential), normally used for uncertain events in the future. Its use in this sentence, in

preference to the direct imperative form, would probably be because this form was used for polite requests. (This example is discussed in further detail in section 3.6 on verbs.)

1. *Tomak kara ngata kama baatima boltubol.* (Cb:578)
 ‘Lend now me reed-spear, I will spear two.’
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| /doma-g | gara | ngadha | gama | badima | buldubul/ |
| domak | garra | ngatha | gama | batima | bultubul |
| lend-FUT | (now??) | I.ERG | spear | to.spear.NON.FUT? | two |

Further examples¹² of the way in which loan words have been derived are provided in section 3.8. In Chapter 4, a discussion of mixed Yorta Yorta/English texts illustrates the development of a Yorta Yorta English pidgin. Another section on hymns illustrates the development of a Christian *lingua franca* which seemed to include Yorta Yorta words as well as some Wemba Wemba and Wiradjuri words

1.5.1 Language and totemic affiliation of people noted in language manuscript material

R.H. Mathews made a number of notes regarding the language and totemic affiliation of various people in his manuscripts. These are recorded here as they are useful to an understanding of the social context.

On the first page of the Yorta Yorta entries in his Notebook 1 (RMa:1) Mathews entered: “Aaron Atkinson, native of Moira Lakes – mother was Yota –”.

On the contents page of his Notebook 1, Mathews noted: “Aaron Atkinson is a bream.”

In the top margin of the Ngurrimaur entry in his Notebook 6 (RMi:23) Mathews noted: “Middleton Yilliba Yillaba is like Yota.”

In the top margin of page 60 of the Yorta Yorta notes in his Notebook 1 (RMa:60) Mathews notes:

- Freddy Walker – Yabulla language
- Bob McDonald – Wilcania Wonguban
- Peter Stuckey knows about Jibaook.

On the cover page of an annotated offprint of his 1903 account of the Yabula Yabula Dialect (RMf) Mathews noted: “Alf Morgan for Yotta.”

These annotations contain some distinctive Yabula Yabula vocabulary that also appear in Mathews’ Notebook 6, as well as some sentences with Yorta Yorta vocabulary and pronouns. It is possible that Alf Morgan knew both languages.

On the page facing the beginning of his section on ‘Ngurrimaur or Yabala Language’ in his Notebook 6, R.H. Mathews (RMi) noted the following under a heading Yota Yota:

¹² See section 2.6 for an explanation of the structure of examples.

My mother's brother, a musk duck, has a daughter. My mother married a kangaroo, has a son = me, a kangaroo. I call that girl *ngunning*, or *ngunne*. My mother's brother has a tribal brother, B, which is also a musk duck. B has a daughter who is also a musk duck. Then I, a kangaroo, can marry her.

My mother has a tribal sister, a kangaroo, who marries a son of the musk duck.

At the end of his notes on Yabula Yabula (RMi:28), Mathews notes the names and totemic affiliation of several people:

Mr Morgan is Nankeen Crane, white Crane. Mr Baggot Morgan, Bream Black Duck

Peter Stuckey – water rat – corella – emu – curlew – whipsnake

Plain snake, *Kartya* black back and very poisonous

Fred Walker, Nankeen Crane, – white crane – Bandicoot

Leatherhead = Dūngur. These are his *maiak'um* or 'totems'

Mrs Sarah Walker Water-Fire – plains turkey – tree iguana

In a letter dated 3 December 1897, Thomas James (1897), in reply to questions from R.H. Mathews concerning Class Systems wrote: "The only thing I can gather is the Yotta Yotta belonged to the Kangaroo class".

He notes the following information concerning marriage customs:

Intermarriages were strictly forbidden – a man of the Kangaroo tribe could not choose a wife in the same tribe but must seek a wife in the Emu or Native Companion tribe &c.

In an earlier letter of the same year James (1897) noted the following:

There existed here among the chiefs only something similar to the caste system in India. One chief would pride himself as belonging to the Emu class (the highest caste) another to the White cockatoo & so on, the crow being the lowest caste.

1.6 Past investigations and sources

In addition to the primary records identified by R.M.W. Dixon for Yorta Yorta, we have further searched the records at the La Trobe Library, Melbourne, the Mitchell Library, Sydney, and the National Library of Australia, Canberra. We have included relevant vocabulary material from the G.A. Robinson manuscripts held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney; we have made crucial reference to some of the handwritten notes and annotations made by R.H. Mathews in the manuscript collection in the Australian National Library; and have included additional small amounts of material from W.H. Baylie (1843), A. Edwards (c.1875), and A. Atkinson (n.d.). We examined microfiche copies of some of the original drafts of Curr's vocabulary atlas (vol.4 of his 1886–87 publication) held in the Mitchell Library, but found no material additional to that included in the publication itself.

Our examination of the material in Taplin's (1879) vocabulary list 'No.2 Murray River', previously regarded as a Yorta Yorta source, reveals that it is of mixed origin and so we have not included it as a primary source. (For details see section 1.6.2.)

An alphabetical listing of the abbreviations used for the sources is found in the introduction to the Yorta Yorta Vocabulary at the end of this work.

1.6.1 Primary source written material collected from the 1840s onwards (in chronological order)

(i) 1842 Tuckfield, Francis

The Rev. Francis Tuckfield was a missionary at the Wesleyan Mission Station 'Buntingdale', which operated on the Barwon River near Birregurra 1833-48. In 1842 he travelled to the junction of the Goulburn and Murray Rivers to investigate the setting up of a mission there. He did not proceed with it.

- (T) Pine gorine or Natives of junction of Goulburn and Murray, *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, 1844, vol.34, pp.225, 227 (16 words). Republished in R.B. Smyth (1878), *The Aborigines of Victoria*, p.166. Melbourne: Victorian Government Printer; also in Eyre, Edward John (1845) *Journals and expeditions of discovery into central Australia*, vol.2, p.400. Reprinted 1964, Adelaide: Libraries' Board of South Australia.

(ii) 1843 Baylie, W.H.

- (B) On the Aborigines of the Goulburn District, *The Port Phillip Magazine*, 1:86-92, 134-139, 188-191 (1 sentence and 3 words of *Pangorang* are found on page 189).

(iii) 1843–1845 Robinson, G.A.

George Augustus Robinson (1788–1866) was the Chief Protector of Aborigines in the Port Phillip District from 1839 to 1849. In the course of his work he travelled extensively throughout Victoria and kept a series of diaries containing observations about Aboriginal people and the groups they belonged to. He also recorded vocabulary where possible, sometimes in his main journal and sometimes in separate notebooks. Robinson's material is not obvious as a Yorta Yorta source because the lists have been variously labelled 'Woungillum', 'War ren il um' and 'Warrengillum, languages of the Goulburn Blacks'. However, comparison with other Yorta Yorta sources reveals that these Robinson entries are clearly Yorta Yorta. This accords with Curr's note that the Kailthiban were sometimes called Waaingulum. Robinson's lists are particularly significant because Robinson's transcription system(s) differ somewhat from the other writers and provide a valuable cross-check for the reconstruction of certain words, which in turn helps build our understanding of the transcription systems being used by the other writers.

Relevant Robinson Manuscripts held in the Mitchell Library are:

- (Ra)(1843) 67/1-6: Language of the Goulburn Blacks, Woungillum; about 80 words.

67/7-11: other words which are probably Yorta Yorta.

- (Rb) (1845) 65/3/160-162: untitled and scarcely legible; about 60 words, which are clearly Yorta Yorta.

(Rc) 65/6/87-89: War ren il um; a list of 250 words; source 'U.ren ad deger' – alias Mr Brown).

(Rd) 65/6/95-96: a comparative vocabulary of 32 words in various languages, including Warrengillum on the Goulburn.

(iv) c.1855 Thomas, William

William Thomas was a Wesleyan, a principal of a school in London, who came to Australia around 1839 (a month earlier than Robinson) to take up a position as an Assistant Protector assigned to the Westernport District under Robinson. Thomas kept a journal which along with the journals of Robinson represents a major primary source for the early years of settlement. There is an extensive collection of his papers in the Mitchell Library in Sydney.

(TH) Comparative Vocabularies – listed in Mitchell Library MS 214/23 (= Microfilm CY3130) Frame Nos 156-157. 'Pangaran' – 22 words; MS 214/19 (= Microfilm CY3104) Frame No.80.

(v) 1858–1859 Strutt, C.E.

We believe Strutt was a policeman in the Echuca area. He provided material for:

(Sa) In *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines, Parliament of Victoria*, p.49 (about 50 words). Melbourne: Victorian Government Printer, 1859. (Part of this list, conflated together with material contributed by Beveridge from the Wati Wati language from near Swan Hill to the Legislative Council, was reprinted in Taplin (1879) as: '2, Murray River, Echuca', there attributed to Strutt and Beveridge.)

(Sb) (1878) In Smyth, vol.2 'Echuca', pp.68-69 – about 60 words.

(vi) 1866–1867 Barry, Sir Redmond (EIM)

Sir Redmond Barry was a Judge of the Victorian Supreme Court, and a member of Parliament, who was also interested in Aboriginal people. He was keen to see information about Australian Aborigines included in the International Exposition to be held in Melbourne in 1866 and in Paris in 1877.

(E) The vocabulary list edited by Barry for the Exposition Internationale Melbourne (published in 1867) includes about 700 entries of a language labelled 'Victoria Lower Goulburn Tribe'. The words that overlap with Mathews, e.g. (RMb) and Curr (Cb) show that it is clearly part of the Yorta Yorta group of languages. The entry corresponding to the English word 'tribe' is '*Kaildubun*' which suggests that the list was provided with the assistance of a member of the Kailthiban clan which Curr identified as living along the Goulburn. The terms given in this source for 'mother' *napu* (*naapoo* E) and 'father' *bapu* (*baapoo* E) are the terms reported by Curr for Toolenyagan and Pikkolätpan. The Barry material was gathered by unidentified collectors, who asked informants to provide language equivalents for a set of English words including a variety of abstract nouns and prepositions. In some

instances it appears that the informant may not have been able to provide a suitable equivalent; however, many of the entries illustrate the semantic possibilities of the language, e.g. 'quarrel' is rendered as 'talk + reciprocal'. The entries relating to Yorta Yorta appear to be the most comprehensive of all the lists provided in this publication.

(vii) 1864–1874 Matthews, D.

Daniel Matthews was a self styled missionary who started the Maloga Mission on his family property on the NSW side of the Murray River north east of Echuca in 1874. For about ten years before that, he and his brother William had operated a store, Matthews Bros, in Echuca where they stocked hardware, firearms and ships supplies. During that time Daniel spent time in the bush with Aboriginal people in the area and became concerned about their welfare, particularly the welfare of the children. In 1865 he and his brother selected land on the Moira run that was to house the Maloga mission until 1887 when it was transferred to Cummeragunga.

Daniel Matthews' work was recorded in his personal diaries and the Reports of the Maloga Mission. A comprehensive account of Daniel Mathews' work, including the vocabulary lists, was published by Nancy Cato (1976) in the biography entitled *Mister Maloga*.

(Ma) (c.1874) The first words taken down from Old Kitty – Maloga; 11 words, also used in the manuscript 'Riverbend' (Cato 1976, Appendix 4).

(Mb) Wallithica Tribe – Echuca, Murray River, Acquired in 1864–1874; around 100 words (Cato 1976, Appendix 4).

These two sources together with the four words collected by Locke, are in manuscript form in the Mortlock Library, South Australia.

(viii) c.1875 Edwards, A.

(ED) Yorta Yorta vocabulary of 21 words, and "corroboree song composed by Johnny, their chief, on first seeing a breech-loading gun, about the year 1875". Material given to the Rutherford family of Deniliquin, who historically had attachment to the Ulupna Homestead, and passed on to members of Geraldine Briggs' family.

(ix) 1878 Locke, W.

Locke was a pastoralist on the property known as Katoopna.

(Ls) 'Notes on the language and customs of the tribe inhabiting the country known as Kotoopna', in R.B. Smyth (1878), *The Aborigines of Victoria* pp.333-335. Melbourne, Victorian Government Printer (actually printed as p.289 and pp.334-335); around 50 words, a few sentences and three songs .

(Lc) 'Words collected by William Locke of Kotoopna'; four words collected by D. Matthews (Cato 1976, Appendix 4).

(x) 1878 Smyth, Robert Brough

Robert Brough Smyth was a geologist and mineralogist who emigrated to Victoria in 1852. Smyth held office as Director of (Meteorological) Observatories, Secretary for Mines. As Chief Inspector for mines he reorganised the Geological Survey of which he was Director until he retired from public office (from *The Dictionary of Australasian Biography*). Smyth published a comprehensive two-volume work entitled *The Aborigines of Victoria*. This work is a compilation of language and cultural material collected by him from all over Victoria and is an important nineteenth-century source. It includes material contributed by Locke, Strutt and Tuckfield which is listed separately here, and also:

(SM) List of unascribed words in Smyth, p.196, in the middle of the page, but which are clearly Yorta Yorta.

(xi) 1883–1887 Curr, Edward Mickelthwaite

Edward Mickelthwaite Curr, the eldest son of Edward Curr, Tasmanian pioneer in the pastoral industry who later was instrumental in the separatist movement in Victoria, was born in Hobart in 1920, educated in England and France, and in 1841 and subsequent years was a stock owner in Victoria, Queensland and New South Wales. In 1862 he was appointed an Inspector of Sheep in Victoria, and later a Chief Inspector of Stock and was known for his successful plan for the eradication of scab in the colonies sheep (from *The Dictionary of Australasian Biography*). In 1883 Curr published a book entitled 'Recollections of Squatting in Victoria' which was an account of his pastoral activities in the Bangerang/Yorta Yorta area. Substantial parts of this book were devoted to describing the customs and activities of the Bangerang people on whose land his run was located. In 1886–1887, the Government of Victoria published Curr's four-volume compilation *The Australian Race*. This work contains vocabularies and sentence material for several of the Bangerang/Yorta Yorta languages as well as material on over 200 other languages from across the continent.

(Cb) Curr, E.M., 1886–1887, *The Australian race* vol.3, pp.582-583, 566-580. 'Bangerang'. Melbourne: Victorian Government Printer.

(Cbs) Words extracted from Bangerang sentences in (Cb).

(Cp) Curr, E.M., 1886–1887, *The Australian race* vol.3. pp.584-585. 'Pikkolātpan'. Melbourne: Victorian Government Printer.

(Ct) Curr, E.M., 1887, *The Australian race* vol.3. pp.586-587, 580. 'Toolinyāgan'. Melbourne: Victorian Government Printer.

(Cr) Curr, E.M., 1883, *Recollections of squatting in Victoria*. Melbourne: Robertson.

The fourth volume of Curr's *The Australian race* (1887) is a tabulated atlas of 125 words collected from across Australia at 300 locations. Microfiche copies of several working drafts of this atlas were inspected in the Mitchell Library; however, they provide no information additional to that contained in the published version.

(xii) 1897 James, S. and J. Chanter

The heading to this material states that: "This vocabulary list of the Moiraduban dialect was obtained for the society by J.M. Chanter MLA from Mr James of Cummeroogunga Mission School."

Thomas Shadrach James, an educated Indian school teacher from Mauritius, taught at the school on Maloga Mission and later on Cumeroogunga. He married a Yorta Yorta woman named Ada Cooper. The published material attributed to Mr James is not as extensive as we might have hoped for from a person in such a unique position to provide an account of the language. (Perhaps we might dare to hope that some materials recorded by James may be found one day, although we have also heard that some material collected by him was lost in a fire.) It is, however, widely reported that Mr James translated a few hymns into Yorta Yorta and one of these is remembered in part by a number of modern-day speakers including Geraldine Briggs, who can sing it in its entirety. This hymn features in several of the 1960s recordings and in one of the 1990s recordings.

- (J) 'Moiraduban dialect', *Australian Anthropological Journal*, March 1897, vol.4, pp.88-89.

(xiii) c.1880 Atkinson, Aaron

Aaron Atkinson, whose mother, Kitty Atkinson (Cooper) was known as 'Old Kitty' of the Wallithica clan, grew up in the Moira area and joined the residents at Maloga in 1877 when he was twenty-four years of age and already married with several children (Cato 1976:398). He was recorded in R.H. Mathews' Notebook 1 as being his informant for Yorta Yorta.

- (A) Unidentified newspaper article (ref. 112) quoting a short speech of Aaron Atkinson, part of the Norman collection in the Mortlock Library, S.A. (Photocopies of selected material collected by Nancy Norman (Cato) are available in the Mitchell Library, Sydney [ML 2621/2 vol.2, No.112].)

(xiv) c.1890 Eastman MS

- (EA) 'The Aborigines – their life and contact with the whites'. Manuscript, contained in Riverina Records, Mitchell Library, Sydney. Microfiche CY 1249. Four-line lyric, one word, and some discussion of Yorta Yorta/Yabula Yabula relations.

(xv) c.1900 Mathews, Robert Hamilton

Robert Hamilton Mathews was born in 1841 at Narellan, New South Wales. After qualifying as a licensed surveyor in 1870, he spent twenty years surveying northern New South Wales and was based initially in the New England region and later at Singleton. In 1889 he moved to Parramatta, where he acted as Deputy Coroner. During the time he spent surveying in northern New South Wales he developed an interest in traditional Aboriginal life and customs, an interest which he pursued with vigour after his retirement from surveying in the early 1890s. For the next twenty years he researched and wrote on the social life, customs and languages of various Aboriginal tribes from all over Australia. During this time

he travelled widely, interviewing informants and conducting field research, and he corresponded extensively with a large number of amateur anthropologists. Between 1890 and 1910 he published over 150 articles on the Australian Aborigines in Australian and overseas anthropological and scientific journals. He had planned to produce a single large-scale work on the Australian Aborigines, but this was not completed when he died in 1918. R.H. Mathews was the father of the ornithologist Gregory Mathews (from *Guide to the Papers of R.H. Mathews*, National Library of Australia).

- (RMa) Notebook 1 – Aboriginal languages of Victoria, pp.51-77. National Library of Australia – R.H. Mathews Papers. (R.H. Mathews records in this notebook that his Yorta Yorta informant was Aaron Atkinson.) [R.H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia.]
- (RMb) Mathews, R.H., 1902, *Languages of some native tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria*. Journal and proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales, vol.36:135-190, includes grammatical information and a vocabulary list of 315 words.
- (RMc) Mathews, R.H., 1903, Notes on some native dialects of Victoria. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, vol.37. (Yabula Yabula account pp.251-253).
- (RMd) Yota Yota word list annotated to offprint of article on Thurrawal Language [R.H. Mathews Papers. National Library of Australia].
- (RMe) Manuscript sheet – undated – folded into offprint [R.H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia].
- (RMf) Annotations to offprint of 1903 Yabula Yabula article, dated 9/2/1903 (Yorta Yorta informant noted as Alf Morgan) [R.H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia].
- (RMg) Annotations to offprint of 1902 article, dated 3/12/1902 [R.H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia].
- (RMh) Annotations to offprint of 1902 article, undated [R.H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia].

Ngurrimauro Sources

- (RMi) Aboriginal Languages Notebook 6, pp.23-29 Ngurrimauro or Yabala Language [R.H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia].
- (RMj) Draft Document on Ngurrimauro language (minus first page) c.1900 [photocopy provided by R.M.W. Dixon].

R.H. Mathews' research collectively forms one of the most important records of the Yorta Yorta language. Unfortunately, his records are not always consistent, for he had the tendency to go back and correct his published and manuscript works. He published both a substantial word list, and a sketch grammar of the Yorta Yorta language. The word list first appears in RMd – where it is annotated in ink beside a published list of Thurrawal words. It is then published as pp.179-190 of RMb. In the published version there is an error on p.186, where all the words for various types of trees between the word for 'ti tree' and the word for 'bullrushes' are incorrectly listed. We have eliminated these incorrect words from the word list and replaced them with the originally recorded entries which accord with terms reported

in other sources. For details see section 1.6.2 below. Mathews' grammatical material of Yorta Yorta is most complete in the notebook (RMa), and this we have taken to be the basic source. However it is supplemented by information in several of his annotated offprints.

(xvi) 1969 Hercus, Luise

Luise Hercus, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar at the University of Melbourne, undertook in the 1960s to tape-record what was still known of Victorian languages. She travelled extensively throughout the state, often by rail, and her published survey, together with the original recordings, are a crucial resource for work on Victorian languages.

(H) *The languages of Victoria: a late survey*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Reprinted as Hercus, L., 1986, *Victorian languages: a late survey*. PL, B-77.

Hercus' analysis of Yorta Yorta was based on taperecordings made by her of the Yorta Yorta speakers Bill Jackson (Hbj), Margaret Tucker (Hmt), Ron Morgan (Hrm), Priscilla McCrae (Hpmc) and Camelia Satchel (Hcs). Hercus also referred to an earlier tape-recording of Bill Jackson recorded by Catherine Ellis in 1963. A tape-recording of Geraldine (Hgb) and Selwyn Briggs (Hsb) recorded by Janet Mathews in 1967 would have also been available to Hercus for her analysis. We are grateful to Luise Hercus for permission to listen to the tapes she recorded. In a few instances we have made reference to the pronunciation of these individuals and have used the abbreviations noted above.

These tape-recordings, available from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Studies, are referenced as follows:

Hercus, L.	A216 (Ron Morgan)
	A217a (Ron Morgan, Priscilla McCrae)
	A995b (Bill Jackson)
	A211A (Stan Day, Margaret Tucker)
Mathews, Janet.	A1179 (Geraldine Briggs and Selwyn Briggs)
Ellis, C.	A192 (Bill Jackson)

(xvii) 1981 Atkinson, Wayne

A picture from the other side. Typescript, Melbourne.

(xviii) 1993–1995 Briggs, Geraldine

Mrs Geraldine Briggs, O.A., is a Yorta Yorta Senior Elder whose mother, Theresa Middleton Clements, grew up speaking the Yorta Yorta language. Mrs Briggs has spent many hours teaching what she remembers of her mother's language to her children, grandchildren and extended family. She also shared some this knowledge with Heather Bowe in conjunction with the Yorta Yorta Language Revival Project.

(GB) Data gathered by Heather Bowe in conversations with Geraldine Briggs.

(xix) 1993–1997 Peeler, Lois, Heather Bowe and Sharon Atkinson

In 1993, Lois Peeler, a Yorta Yorta woman, received a grant for a Yorta Yorta language revival project. Lois involved Heather Bowe as a consultant linguist, and Yorta Yorta woman Sharon Atkinson as a field researcher.

Sharon Atkinson gathered spoken material from a number of current-day speakers who remember hearing their relatives using words or phrases: Leon Atkinson (LA), Sharon Atkinson (SA), Ken Briggs (KB), Pearl Joyce (PJ), Francis Mathysen (FM), Mick McIvor (MMcI), Lois Peeler (LP) and Liz Tass (LT). This collaboration yielded the following two publications.

Peeler, Lois, Heather Bowe and Sharon Atkinson, 1994, *Yorta Yorta language revival project*. Report to ATSIC Victoria regarding ATSILIP (Australian and Torres Strait Islander Language Initiatives Project) project sourced through Lordjba Koorie Language Centre.

Bowe, Heather, Lois Peeler and Sharon Atkinson, 1997, *Yorta Yorta language heritage*. Clayton: Department of Linguistics, Monash University. (Funded by ATSIC for distribution to Yorta Yorta community members.)

1.6.2 Errors detected in the sources

The primary written sources have all been cross-checked for their integrity and the following errors and inconsistencies have been noticed:

1. As discussed above in section 1.2.2, it would appear that the pronoun forms provided by R.H. Mathews in his 1903 publication labelled 'Yabula Yabula' (RMc), are representative of the Yorta Yorta system. It would appear that the forms found in Mathews' Notebook 6, entitled 'Yabula Yabula/Ngairrimaur' (RMc) and in Mathews' Ngarrimowro draft article (RMj) represent the forms in the Ngarrimowro clan language.
2. In going through Mathews' manuscript material held in the Australian National Library we came across what appears to be Mathews' original handwritten vocabulary list for Yorta Yorta (noted in the margins of an earlier publication of his on the Thurrawal language). A comparison of this list with the published list reveals that there was a misalignment of thirteen entries in the section on Trees and Plants (RMb:186). Mathews' handwritten list accords with other sources such as Curr, whereas his published words for these items do not, so it is highly likely that an error arose. These items are noted here for reference; the incorrect items are noted for comparison following the corrected items. In our Yorta Yorta Vocabulary at the end of this publication we have included only the original correct items.

	<u>Correct word</u>	<u>Incorrect published form</u>
'Any large tree'	(No entry RMd)	(<i>dyealna</i> RMb)
'Ti-Tree'	<i>djiyalna</i> (<i>jealna</i> RMd)	(<i>dyima</i> RMb)
'Willow, wild'	<i>djima</i> (<i>jeema</i> RMd)	(<i>ngôrtya</i> RMb)
'Myall'	<i>ngorrtya</i> (<i>gnôrtya</i> RMd)	(<i>gānga</i> RMb)
'Wattle'	<i>ganga</i> (<i>gānga</i> RMd)	(<i>ngummara</i> RMb)
'Pine'	<i>ngamarra</i> (<i>ngummara</i> RMd)	(<i>waw-lulla</i> RMb)
'Oak'	<i>waulula</i> (<i>waw-lulla</i> RMd)	(<i>barttya</i> RMb)
'Cherry-tree'	<i>barrtja</i> (<i>barttya</i> RMd)	(<i>bāla</i> RMb)
'Red-gum tree'	<i>bala</i> (<i>bāla</i> RMd)	(<i>dharnya</i> RMb)
'White box'	<i>dharrya</i> (<i>dharnya</i> RMd)	(<i>baiuna</i> RMb)
'Yellow box'	<i>bayuna</i> (<i>baiuna</i> RMd)	(<i>bēruqa</i> RMb)
'Honeysuckle'	<i>berruga</i> (<i>bēruqa</i> RMd)	(<i>bitthin</i> RMb)
'Bullrushes'	<i>bitthin</i> (<i>bitthin</i> RMd)	(<i>maiylla</i> RMb)

3. In the 1879 publication *The folklore, manners, customs and languages of the South Australians* (Adelaide: Government Printer), George Taplin provides a comparative table of words selected from 43 Aboriginal languages including one labelled 'No 2. Murray River, Echuca' (Taplin 1879:142ff.). Taplin notes that this source was provided by Messrs Strutt and Beveridge (Taplin 1879:153). The list contains 42 words, 26 of which are the same as words contributed by Strutt to the *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines* (1858-1859:49, Victoria V & P of the Legislative Council) (Sa). The remaining words appear to be from a Wemba Wemba language spoken in the vicinity of Swan Hill. Curr (1887:439) gives a list of words of the 'Wotti Wotti' clan attributed to John Beveridge Esquire. Curr also refers to a pamphlet written by John Beveridge's brother Peter on the same language. Since the Beveridge entries in Taplin's Murray River list are not identical to the Beveridge entries in Curr, the additional Taplin entries may have been drawn from the Peter Beveridge list. As noted earlier in the section on sources, we have not treated the Taplin material as a primary source at all. We note the matter here to help avoid potential confusion in the future.
4. 'Yorta Yorta Tribal Language – Known Words and their Meanings'. Typed sheets – author unknown. In this more modern compilation in circulation among Yorta Yorta people, there is a list with the above title which, like the Taplin Murray River list, contains words from *two different* Murray River languages, one of which is Yorta Yorta. The top half of the list 'man – *moanit*' to 'wood – *moottaa*' in column 1, 'hand – *peeyin*' to 'emu – *pekeromdia*' in column 2, is taken directly from the Strutt list provided in Smyth (Sb:68-69). The remaining words appear to be from the Marowera language reported as spoken near the 'Junction of the Darling and Murray Rivers' by John Bulmer (Curr 1887, vol.2:238-241); however, the words do not seem to have been taken directly from the Curr source because of some slight spelling differences and the inclusion of some words not given by Curr.

1.7 The decline of the Yorta Yorta language

Speakers of Yorta Yorta came into contact with English-speaking settlers from the 1830s onwards. Edward Curr was one of the first settlers to work in the Moira area, in the 1840s, and reports encounters with Bangerang people who had never seen a white person before (Curr 1883:169). By the late 1870s, settlers occupied most of the land traditionally held by the Yorta Yorta.

Many Yorta Yorta men worked on the stations, and Aboriginal women also worked in the homesteads. Much of the traditional lifestyle was breaking down, accelerated perhaps through the new lifestyle and contact with alcohol, particularly for the young.

In 1887, Edward M. Curr wrote that when he first knew the Bangerang people (in the early 1840s), their total numbers were approximately 1,200 persons (1887:567; see section 1.3 above). However, some 40 years later, he estimated (1887:569-570): "Of the Bangerang tribes fifty or sixty persons are now all that remain".

Locke (1878:335) also commented on the magnitude of the decline in numbers: "Some years ago I revisited the scenes of my youth. The once powerful tribe of the *Pangorangs* had dwindled down to eight or ten men and four women".

Whilst we cannot be certain of the numbers of people involved, it is very clear that there was a rapid decrease in the population of the various groups which spoke the Yorta Yorta language. The causes of this decrease in population would include deaths from diseases, such as smallpox (Curr 1887:569), from deliberate killings, and from a decline in the birthrate connected to loss of land and heritage. Inevitably this would lead to a decline in the use of the language. It would be expected first that some of the differences between the varieties would be lost, and this may be the reason why, whereas the earlier recorders tended to use clan names, the later writers used the term 'Yorta Yorta'.

Daniel Matthews, a teacher and self-appointed missionary, took it upon himself to gather willing remnants of the Yorta Yorta people to the Maloga mission, which he set up on land held by him and his brother. Theresa Clements, an Aboriginal girl from Ulupna at this time, later reported that her mother, Maggie, who had been working as a laundress on Ulupna Station, was encouraged by the wife of the station owner to take her children to the mission to avoid the growing problems of life on the fringe of the stations. Theresa's father, George Middleton, who also spent some time at Maloga, was remembered as the first surviving 'little white stranger', born to an Aboriginal mother in the area. His mother had been vigilant in protecting him from the infanticide that usually befell children of white settlers and Aboriginal mothers at that time (Clements 1994).

Matthews seems to have conducted his mission solely in English, although his teacher, Thomas Shadrack James, a scholar from Mauritius who eventually married Ada Cooper, a Yorta Yorta woman, assisted with the translation of some hymns into Yorta Yorta. Two short word lists gathered by Daniel Matthews largely before he began Maloga are published in the appendix to Nancy Cato's *Mister Maloga*, and a list of words apparently provided by Mr James was forwarded by Mr Chanter, MLA, for publication in the *Australian Anthropological Journal* in 1897. We understand that the use of the Aboriginal languages was forbidden on the missions, so this would have clearly contributed to the decline of Yorta Yorta.

Apart from the work on Yorta Yorta by R.H. Mathews at the turn of the century, no other scholars attempted to describe the grammar of the language until Luise Hercus began her

work in the 1960s. During that time, Hercus reports, the last fluent speakers of the language had died.

1.8 Present situation

Mrs Geraldine Briggs, OA, a senior Yorta Yorta elder, is still actively involved in passing on Yorta Yorta vocabulary to her grandchildren and great grandchildren. During the late 1950s, when her mother Theresa (Middleton) Clements lived with Geraldine and her family, Geraldine's children had the opportunity of hearing the language spoken by their grandmother, who was born at Ulupna before moving to the Maloga mission.

Through her direct teaching, Geraldine Briggs has encouraged many of the Yorta Yorta children to embrace their language as part of the cultural programme at Worawa Aboriginal College at Healesville, and its forerunners at Frankston and Shepparton.

ATSILIP funding was granted, through Lordjba Koorie Language Centre, to groups based in Shepparton and at Worawa, working on Yorta Yorta language retrieval in 1992–1993. Heather Bowe began research on Yorta Yorta as part of the initial Lordjba project. A summary of the material collected in 1993 was documented in Peeler, Bowe and Atkinson (1994), and a more extensive account is presented in Bowe, Peeler and Atkinson (1997). Some of the material reported in those two documents is presented here beside the material collected in the 1960s to give an indication of the degree of retention of the language among community members.

Sharon Atkinson of Barmah conducted a series of interviews in 1993 with some Yorta Yorta people living in the area which yielded a list of 70 words still remembered by various people: Leon Atkinson (LA), Sharon Atkinson (SA), Pearl Joyce (PJ), Francis Mathysen (FM), Mick McIvor (MMcI), Ken Briggs (KB), Merle Bamblett (MB), Veronica Joachme (VJ), Liz Tass (LT). An additional conversation between Geraldine Briggs (GB), Frances Mathysen (FM) and Lois Peeler (LP) was recorded in Shepparton in March 1996 and is also reported here together with additional words from various short conversations between Heather Bowe and some of the above people.

This list is compared with the list of words collected by various researchers in the 1960s from Yorta Yorta people at that time: Geraldine Briggs (GB), Selwyn Briggs (SB), Bill Jackson (BJ), Priscilla McCrae (PMcC), Ron Morgan (RM), Margaret Tucker (MT) Camelia Satchel (CS). The 1960s material tape-recorded by Luise Hercus, Janet Mathews and Catherine Ellis was available from AIATSIS. A few words reported in Hercus (1969) but not able to be attributed to any particular Yorta Yorta persons from the recordings obtained, have been entered under the reference (LH).

Some of the words are also found in neighbouring languages. These are marked thus: Wemba Wemba {Wb}, Wiradjuri {Wdj}.

An asterisk has been placed beside words which have no previous record. Many of these words pertain to the new way of life resulting from contact with settlers. Others may be traditional words not previously noted.

Table 6: Yorta Yorta words collected in the 1960s and 1990s

English	Yorta Yorta 1960s	Yorta Yorta 1990s
'Aborigines'		[wungi]*, PJ, KB, FM (perhaps related to <i>wongatban/wungatban</i>)
'anus'	<i>mutja</i> BJ	[mutja] KB, [bubu] MB {Wdj}
'auntie'		[djetja]* (grandmother, old ladies) FM
'baby'	<i>brai brai</i> * SB	[burai] GB, FM, KB, MB {Wdj} [brai-brai] FM
'boogie man'		[mobæŋg]* MB
'boots'	<i>bandjewak</i> BJ	
'bread'	<i>birit</i> * GB, RM	[blrIt] GB, FM
'bread (damper)'	<i>dhangang</i> * BJ	[dhangang] FM, [dampa] KB
'broлга'	<i>berolga</i> * BJ	
'brother'		[batja] GB, SA
'canoe pole'		[gagaadja] KB, PJ (see 'paddle')
'child'	<i>yalka</i> GB, BJ, <i>yarka</i> PMcC, BJ <i>gudjaka</i> * GB	[guda] MB {Wdj} [yalka] GB, LP
'cigarette'		[doŋga] LA (see 'smoke')
'come here'	<i>yakoremdja</i> BJ	
'cousin, relations'	<i>yalnak</i> * SB	[yamak]* (spoken of my grandmother) FM
'dear, darling'	<i>doma nyieni</i> 'my dear' PMcC	[doma nyini yalka] 'my darling child' GB, FM, LP
'dirty'	<i>gunigawa</i> BJ	[gadjak] MB {Wdj}
'dog'	<i>baka</i> RM, <i>werindja</i> * BJ,	[mirigan] MB {Wdj} [baka] GB
'emu'	<i>bigerumdja</i> BJ	[bigərumdja] GB,
'entrails (of sheep)'		[maləŋandri]* KB
'excrement'		[guni] KB, [guna] LP
'eye'		[minga] SA, FM, perhaps from Wdj <i>mingan</i> 'older sister'
'fat'	<i>wolitja</i> BJ	
'father'	<i>mama</i> GB {Wb}	[mama] GB {Wb}
'fire'	<i>bitja</i> PMcC, BJ, RM	
'fish, black'	<i>mamniga</i> BJ, <i>walka</i> * SB	[madiga] VJ
'fishing'	<i>duriak</i> * MT	
'foot'	<i>djina</i> MT	[djlni] MB, [djtna] KB, [djlnan] KB, FM
'go, be off!'	<i>yanagai</i> PMcC	
'go away!'	<i>beromdja</i> PMcC	

Table 6: Yorta Yorta words collected in the 1960s and 1990s

English	Yorta Yorta 1960s	Yorta Yorta 1990s
'good'		[galyan] GB
'goodness gracious'		[yakai] LP, FM
'grandfather'		[gæŋka] KB (word used by the Joyce family for their grandfather) perhaps related to <i>gangaba</i> 'uncle'
'grandfather-maternal'		[ngapa] GB, ('Grandfather Bob Cooper') {Wb} ¹³
'grandfather-paternal'	<i>parem parem</i> GB {Wb}	[pærəm pærəm] GB {Wb}
'grandfather, clever old man'		[nyana]* MMcI, [ɪjana]* PJ, FM ('Bob Cooper')
'grandmother'		[kuka] GB, FM (<i>Kuka Agie</i>) {Wb}
'grandparents, old people in general'	<i>mima</i> GB {Wb}	[mima] GB {Wb}
'graves, burial ground'	<i>molwa</i> GB	[molwa] GB
'ground, land'		[woka] GB
'hallelujah'		[yamnayala] FM
'hard headed'	<i>bakora buka</i> MT	[nyakata buka] LP, [bakora buka] FM
'head'	<i>buka</i> MT	[buka] LP, KB
'horse'*	<i>yaramen</i> BJ, MT	[yærəmen] FM
'I'	<i>nga</i> PMcC	
'kangaroo'		[ba a], [bara] ZT
'knife'	<i>nyatjpa</i> * BJ	
'liar, teller of yarns'	<i>yambeldain</i> GB {Wdj}	[yæmbəldain] GB, FM {Wdj} [madjila]* MB, [muna] KB, LP
'louse' (of head)		
'long way away'	<i>djinyaka</i> * RM	
'look!'	<i>natjelma</i> BJ	[nangi] MB
'make believe'		[gemenen]* FM (perhaps from English 'gammon', meaning 'deception, pretence', deceitful)
'man'		[molwa] FM
'mate, friend'		[bidja], [bidj]* (used by men of each other) FM
'meat'	<i>djitiga</i> GB, SB, PMcC, BJ, RM	[djitəga] KB, FM, VJ
'meat' (sheep's entrails)		[djitəga] (sheep's entrails) MB's sister

¹³ The word *ngapa/nyana* seems to have been borrowed from Wemba Wemba *ngapa* 'maternal grandfather and his brothers', but has been extended to include respected older men in the Yorta Yorta usage.

Table 6: Yorta Yorta words collected in the 1960s and 1990s

English	Yorta Yorta 1960s	Yorta Yorta 1990s
'methylated spirits'*		[gumpaN] MB
'money'*	<i>batjalan</i> , GB, BJ	[batjəlan] VJ, [batjəlan] GB, KB, [batjalan] LT
'mother'	<i>gana</i> PmcC <i>bapa</i> GB {Wb} <i>kwindrik</i> MT {Wdj}	[bapa] GB, FM {Wb}
'my'	<i>nyini</i> , <i>ngini</i> PMcC	[nyini] GB
'no'	<i>yorta</i> BJ	[yota] GB, LP, FM
'nose, running'	<i>dutela</i> LH	[dutəla] GB, LP
'person'		[gumɪna]* MB or sister
'policeman'*	<i>ganijmen</i> MT {Wdj?} <i>baramendai</i> GB {Wdj} <i>paramegan</i> BJ	[gandji] MB {Wdj} [bæraməndain] FM, MB, VJ, KB {Wdj}
'poor thing'		[ngærəbang] (endearment) MB 'ridicule, if spoken of whites' {Wdj}
'possum'	<i>wileya</i> SB {Wdj} <i>batja</i> BJ	[wileya] KB, [willa] FM {Wdj}
'quick'	<i>birij</i> PMcC, <i>viratj</i> BJ	
'rain'	<i>gorkora</i> BJ	
'river creature'		[banyip] MB
'sand'	<i>maloga</i> RM	[maloga] GB
'shame'		[gulan] FM
'sheep'*	<i>wolupna</i> BJ	[djambak] KB
'silly'		[maltgan] MB {Wdj}, [grŋŋ- grŋŋ] FM
'speak'	<i>loitjbatj</i> BJ	
'struck'		[nyɪnɪn] FM
'stubborn'	<i>bakora* buka</i> ('hard headed') MT	[bakora buka] ('hard headed') FM
'swan'	<i>danapna</i> SB, BJ	
'tea'	<i>yalka</i> RM	
'testicles'		[gara] LT {Wdj}
'that one' (far away)	<i>nganaburaya</i> GB, <i>ngungaburaya</i> PMcC, BJ	
'there' (just)	<i>danyiwolga*</i> RM	
'this one'	<i>nyana</i> PMcC <i>deyawin</i> P McC, MT	
'thistle' (milk)	<i>bakobanj</i> MT	
'together'		[yapaneyepuk] FM
'trousers'	<i>dhauwadhen*</i> BJ	

Table 6: Yorta Yorta words collected in the 1960s and 1990s

English	Yorta Yorta 1960s	Yorta Yorta 1990s
'uncle'		[wawa] GB, FM
'water'	(<i>bana, bama</i> RM Yab), <i>wala</i> GB, SB, BJ, CS	[wala] GB, FM [warata]* KB
'when'	<i>womeriga</i> (LH)	[woməriga] GB, FM
'where'	<i>waka</i> PMcC <i>wanhal</i> PMcC, RM	
'woman'	<i>winya</i> (CS)	[winya] KB, FM
'yes'	<i>ngowe</i> PMcC, BJ	[ngowe] GB, FM

Reference to songs and sayings contained in these materials is discussed in Chapter 4.

Unfortunately a full account of the Yorta Yorta language is no longer possible. However, the existing written sources and spoken audio recordings together with current Yorta Yorta family knowledge enable us to provide a general account of many parts of the grammar. Although none of the various sources is comprehensive in isolation, the material is sufficiently in agreement to attest to the integrity of the individual sources.

1.9 Methodology

In this work we have attempted to present what is known of the phonetic detail of Yorta Yorta, to explore possible analyses of the data and to identify a preferred analysis. Consistent with the aim of providing a detailed reference work of the Yorta Yorta language to be useful for language reclamation purposes, we have chosen a transcription system that we hope is accessible to the non-specialist whilst being systematic.

We have drawn upon the following different types of sources:

- the audio-recordings recorded by Hercus and others in the 1960s and the analysis of these as presented in Hercus (1969, 1986);
- audio-recordings of modern-day Yorta Yorta people recalling words and phrases of the language passed on to them by earlier generations (Bowe, Peeler and Atkinson 1997);
- the transcription of words as recorded in the historical sources.

As far as the written sources are concerned we examined material from the general list of Yorta Yorta sources established by Dixon and others. Copies of many of these were passed on to us by Yorta Yorta people who had collected them over time. We are also grateful to R.M.W. (Bob) Dixon and to Barry Blake for providing us with copies (or improved photocopies) of some material not readily available elsewhere. An initial examination of the sources showed that there was a positive fit between vocabulary items and language fragments recalled by members of the Yorta Yorta community today and the historical records identified by linguists (Peeler, Bowe and Atkinson 1994).

Where possible we worked from original sources and primary publications, and for completeness have included in our lists diacritics provided in the sources. We have made considerable reference to archive material, including the vocabulary lists of George Augustus

Robinson, which has been helpful as an alternative source for the comparison of spelling conventions. We also located the R.H. Mathews' original grammar notebooks amongst a large amount of manuscript material of Mathews in the Australian National Library. Mathews' handwritten vocabulary list, also found there, showed that some entries in the published list had been misaligned. This disambiguated the record for some important items including the word for 'river gum' which was otherwise inconsistent with other sources. Other written material amongst the Mathews manuscripts provided alternative spellings of some items which provided us with additional data.

Cross comparison of sources revealed that the Taplin source was a hybrid secondary source incorporating some items from Strutt (Sa) and other items from another language altogether (see section 1.6.2).

For our analysis, we took the oral records as a starting point and compared them with historical sources for the same word to ascertain, where possible, the orthographic conventions being used by different recorders. We were then able to use that knowledge to posit phonetic representations of the many words for which there is no extant oral record.

As Hercus (1986:162) points out, none of her subjects were fluent speakers, and all were remembering language that had not been used for many years. We have noted that some speakers have used alternative pronunciations of words, and we have included in the vocabulary lists our transcription of alternative pronunciations found on the Hercus tapes. In places we have also proposed alternative analyses of the meaning, drawing on the context as presented on the tapes.

We provide Hercus' own phonetic transcriptions and phonemic analysis marked with the reference 'H', e.g. 'fire' ['bitja] /bidja/ H. Our own transcription of individual Hercus informants is identified by using the 'H' followed by the informant's initials, e.g. [bitja] Hbj. Our transcription of words as pronounced by modern speakers is identified by upper-case initials, e.g. [bitja] GB, LP.

Comparison of the Hercus tapes, those of modern speakers, and historic written sources has revealed an encouraging level of congruence, although of course some inconsistencies and ambiguities are also evident. For example, for the words 'fire' and 'grass' we have the following entries:

- 'fire' biitya Cb, biit-ya Cb, biitya Cp, biitya Ct, bitcha J, pee-cha Mb ['bitja] /bidja/ H, [bitja] Hbj, (see also wood, dry) pit yer Ra, pit yer Rb, pitya RMb, RMd, pitja Sa, bickya Sb, pitha SM, pe-da T
- 'grass' bārpan, bār-pan Cb, barpan Cp, barpa Ct, burbun E, pur.rer-pun Ra, pur rer pun Rb, bar rope bun Rc, būrpa RMb {para Watha}

Comparing the spoken sources with the earlier written sources we see at first glance that there seems to be considerable consistency concerning the vowels. Curr's use of a bar over a vowel (as in *biit-ya* Cb) as an indicator of word stress (see section 2.4.) is exemplified here, and is consistent with Hercus' transcription. We can observe that Mathews uses the symbol <ū> for the sound [a] and that Robinson uses the letter <u>.

With respect to consonants, we can also observe the particular way in which Robinson (Rc and Rd) records the presence of a rhotic in the word for 'grass' by the inclusion of an extra <-er-> in his representation *pur.rer-pun* Rc, as opposed to his representation of the word *pit yer* Ra where the final syllable lacks the extra <-er-> consistent with the absence of a rhotic at the end of the second syllable. Taking into account Robinson's convention, we can thus

conclude that, for this entry, all the early written sources agree with the spoken sources with respect to the vowels.

We thus provide the following analyses and proposed spelling for these words:

'fire'	bitja	[bitja]	/bidja/
'grass'	barrpan	[barpan]	/barban/

For words for which we did not have a spoken record, we have proposed an analysis based on an interpretation of the written sources with reference to our analysis of the transcription systems of various recorders, our emerging analysis of the system, and our knowledge of Aboriginal languages in general. We have also been able to draw on some of Barry Blake's work on Victorian languages, e.g. Blake and Reid (1995) who have documented cognates in a representative set of Victorian languages.

With respect to consonants the work of R.H. Mathews was generally internally consistent and broadly consistent with the audio records. We found that Mathews used the letter <r> only to indicate a rhotic (not vowel quality), as confirmed by spoken material or from other written sources such as Robinson. However, there is no indication in Mathews' material of a distinction between different types of rhotics. In fact we have not been able to come to any conclusive analysis regarding the possible presence of a retroflex rhotic, although the issue is examined in section 2.2.2.2. We conclude, following Hercus, that the rhotic was predominantly pronounced as a trill and have reflected this in the proposed spelling as **rr**, except where it occurs word-initially, and in established names such as Yorta Yorta and Moira. With respect to the written sequence <ng>, Mathews used <ngg> in some words, which we have analysed as /ŋg/ and for which we have used the written sequence **ngg**. In some instances Mathews wrote <n-g>, which we have analysed as the sequence alveolar /n/, /g/. This occurs only word-internally and we have used a hyphen to make this distinction. We conclude that where Mathews uses the sequence <ng> he is representing the velar nasal, which we represent as **ng**. We have used italics to represent words for which we lack reasonable confirmation of the phonemic structure. With respect to the sequence <ng> some such words are ambiguous and may have had either a single velar nasal, or a sequence /ŋg/. We have used **ng(g)** to represent the ambiguity in such cases.

Other possible ambiguities in the interpretation of potential digraphs have been handled as follows:

- Since there is no independent evidence of syllable-initial consonant sequences in Yorta Yorta, all word-initial written sequences <dj, dy, tj, ty> have been analysed as palatal stops and represented as /dj/ with an indication of voicing differentiated in the orthography by the use of **tj** or **dj**. (Potentially ambiguous word-medial sequences have been analysed with cross-reference to different sources where possible.)
- The sequence <ly> is recorded word-medially only in two words. There is independent evidence that /l/ can occur syllable-finally; therefore we conclude that is likely that the instances of <ly> are sequences of /l/ followed by /y/ and conclude that it is unlikely that there is a palatal lateral in Yorta Yorta.
- There is no medial sequence <ny> recorded in any source so there is no ambiguity in that context. We assume all instances of <ny> either word-initially or word-finally are instances of a palatal nasal. Mathews used the symbol ñ word-finally, and we assume it also represents a palatal nasal.

- There is no evidence of any fricatives in the language; therefore we assume that all instances of <dh, th or nh> represent interdental consonants.

Mathews' record was partly problematic with respect to vowels. We identified the following general correspondence between vowels recorded by Hercus, and vowels as represented by Mathews:

Hercus	Mathews
[a] stressed	<u> before double consonant (maybe only after stops)
[a] unstressed	<a> before single consonant
[ʌ] unstressed final	<a> final
[ʌ] unstressed medial	<u> before double consonant (maybe only after stops)
[e] final	<e> <i>minnhe</i> <i> <i>ngōwi</i>
[e] unstressed medial	<i> (only one example)
[i] stressed	<i>
[i] stressed after [C -stop]	<i>
[o] stressed	<o>, <ō>
[o:] stressed	<oa>
[u] stressed	<u>

The only exceptions in the Hercus data to these correspondences were found for the words [ʷaŋʌ] H 'where' and the word [ʷalʌ] H 'water'. For the former, Mathews gives *wunool* RMa, *wannhul* RMb. We would expect <*wunnhal*> to be the Mathews form, to correspond with Hercus [ʷaŋʌ]. But note that the older sources all record this word with <u> and <o>, e.g. *woonul* Ls, *wūnnul* Cb, *wunool* E. For the latter, we would expect <*wulla*> to correspond with Hercus [ʷalʌ] but Mathews gives *walla* RMb, RMd. Perhaps after /w/, Mathews puts an <a> for /a/, even in front of double consonants. As far as other material is concerned we have found these correspondences held generally, with the exception of the second person dual where Mathews gives forms beginning with <*bulla*->. We were inclined to analyse this, based on the above correspondences, as /bala-/, however, there is comparative evidence from other Victorian languages of the form /-bula/ as a second person dual form [Woiwurrung *wabul*, -*nybul*, -*bul*; Wathawurrung *bengbula*, -*bul*, -*bulang*; probably a shift from Proto Pama-Nyungan third dual **pula*, attested also in some other Australian languages as in Warrgamay second dual *nyubula*] (see Koukmenides 1997; Blake and Reid 1995). We have opted for the latter in the vocabulary list, although we note that this weakens our general analysis of Mathews' orthography, which may however have varied in this case by analogy with English 'bull'.

Our analysis of the phonology of the language is presented in Chapter 2 and includes a presentation of allophonic variation, phonemic inventories with example words, some discussion of uncertain phonemes, a discussion of the apparent phonotactic structure of words, evidence of stress and morphophonemic processes; all of which bear upon the reconstitution of words and their representation in the spelling system.

Diphthongs are represented phonemically as VC sequences, e.g. /aw/, /ay/; however, the diphthong pronunciation is preserved in the recommended spelling, e.g. *aiy*, *auw*, before a vowel (*gaiya dhauwadhen*) and *ai*, *au* before a consonant or at the end of a word (*naika dhau*).

Our analysis of grammatical information is presented in Chapter 3. For this we took Mathews' manuscript notebook on Yorta Yorta (RMa) as our first point of reference since this is more complete in some regards than the published article (RMb.) We have cross-analysed sentence and phrase material found in Curr (1887) and elsewhere and found general support for most of Mathews' account.

We have also addressed the issue of Yabula Yabula, presenting what is known of the phonological and grammatical systems, and providing a comparison between Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula. In this we have drawn upon the grammatical sketch of Yabula Yabula provided by Mathews (the 1903 publication as well as the manuscript language book and the draft document on Ngurrimaura language) and also sentence and phrase material provided by Curr (1887).

We have sought to document evidence as to the degree of relatedness between Yabula Yabula and Yorta Yorta as fully as possible because, on the one hand, lexical comparison might suggest separate language status, yet the social comment repeatedly refers to an acknowledged language relatedness.

2 Phonology

2.1 Structure of words

In many Australian languages the general word structure can be represented:

CV(C)CV(C) (Dixon 1980:127)

The majority of Yorta Yorta words conform to this structure; for example /wala/ 'water' is of the form CVCV.

In most Australian languages there are also a handful of words with a single syllable. The Yorta Yorta first person singular pronoun /nga/ (CV) is one such example.

In addition, in Yorta Yorta there are also many three-syllable words, although many (if not all) of these are compounds of one sort or another. For example, the Yorta Yorta word for the Murray River /dung(g)ula/, which is reported as meaning 'the great water' (Cato 1976:46), appears to be made up of the first two syllables of the word /dung(g)udja/ 'big' and a suffix /-la/ perhaps from the word /wala/ 'water' which appears in the names of rivers. The Yorta Yorta word for the Goulburn River /gaiyala/ which is reported as meaning 'father of the water' (Cato 1976:46) appears to be a compound of the forms /gaiya/ 'father' and the suffix /-la/.

The final syllable (/dja/) of the word /dung(g)udja/ 'big' is found as the final syllable of a number of Yorta Yorta words (e.g. also /bigarrumdja/ 'emu'). Other examples of compounding are the pairs /nayga/ 'duck', /nayga-idjiga/ 'little duck', /yarrga/ 'child' and /yarrga-idjiga/ 'little child'. Further examples of compounds are provided in section 3.9. Although many multisyllable words seem to be derived by compounding, there are still some words such as /bigarrumdja/ 'emu' for which the compounding is not transparent, and so we conclude that synchronically the word structure must include an option for more than two syllables.

Yorta Yorta seems to allow all consonants to occur in syllable-final position, both word-medially and word-finally. This is also true for syllable-initial position, except that /r/ seems to be rare in this position. There is only one potential example of a word-medial triple cluster, the word /yorng-gadya/ RMc 'moon', which suggests a sequence /r-N-g/. Since this is the only example of such a sequence we are inclined to conclude that this may be a case where there is an intervening vowel between the rhotic and the nasal.

With respect to vowels, the canonical Australian phonotactic structure CV(C)CV(C) requires that all words begin with a consonant, although some languages do depart from that and have dropped initial consonants in some words. (Pitjantjatjara is one such language which

has dropped the initial /y/ evident in neighbouring languages (Bowe 1990.)) In some Yorta Yorta sources we find words with an initial vowel. For some such words other sources provide evidence of an initial consonant; for example, /yurringa/ ‘knee’ was represented as *e-oringa* Cb, *urnga* E, *yor-en-o* Ra, the word /ngutan/ ‘plenty’ was recorded *o:tan* Cb, *ngotan* Ct, *o-ter* Rc, *hoo.tun* Ra. For the word for ‘tomahawk’, Curr provides the forms *ngana* for Pikkolātpan (Cp), *ngana* for Toolenyāgan (Ct), but *ana* for Bangerang (Cb). The fact that Curr provides consonant-initial forms for the word ‘tomahawk’ in two varieties (Cp) and (Ct) but not in the third (Cb) suggests that he noted a difference between them. Curr also provides examples where Bangerang, and sometimes Pikkolātpan, appear to have lost an initial /y/ evident in other varieties, as seen in the following table.

	Ct	Cp	Cb	Other
ant, bull dog	/ (g)adjidja/		<i>kagidja</i>	<i>īthitha</i> <i>gudjidja</i> RMb
duck, wood	/ (g)unyagawa/			<i>unga-ā-wa</i> <i>kunyugoa</i> RMb,d
plenty	/ (ng)utan/	<i>ngotan</i>		<i>ōtan</i>
tomahawk	/ (ng)ana/	<i>ngana</i>	<i>ngana</i>	<i>ā-na</i> <i>aanu</i> Ls, <i>ar-ne</i> Rc
go	/yanyubak/	<i>yanyoobok</i>	<i>yanyoobok</i>	<i>annubok</i> Cbs <i>yam-ya-buc</i> Ma
one, other	/ (y)iyawa/		<i>iawa</i>	<i>iaawa</i> RMb, <i>yiya</i> J
perhaps	/ (y)umbat/			<i>imbat</i> <i>yūmbat</i> TMg
sick, pain	/ (y)itjamadj/			<i>yīttya</i> , <i>ītchyoomuch</i> <i>ittyumuty</i> RMb
small	/ (y)ingarna/			<i>in-yā-nook</i> <i>ying-rna</i> RMb,d
stone	/iyoga/	<i>iorga</i>	<i>eorga</i>	<i>e-ōr-ga</i>

It seems likely that all vowel-initial words derive from a consonant-initial source; however, Curr’s record suggests that vowel-initial forms may have been standard for some words in the Bangerang variety. In the word list we have presented such words in a single entry with the initial consonant in brackets. Since the initial consonant cannot be predicted, some vowel-initial words remain.

The canonical phonotactic structure does not allow for a sequence of two vowels, yet Australian languages often have words like the Pitjantjatjara word for ‘vegetable food’ – phonetically [mai] – which can be phonemically rendered as /mayi/, thus conforming to the canonical structure. Yorta Yorta has a number of words which seem to have a sequence of vowels. The word for ‘father’ is variously represented *kaiya* Lc, Sb, *kaiyow* Sb, *kai:-a* Cb. We have represented this word phonemically as /gaya/; however, we retain the diphthong in the recommended spelling: ***gaiya***

The Yorta Yorta word for ‘one’ was often transcribed as *iawa* (*iāwa* RMb, *iaawa* Cb, *iawa* Cp) although other alternatives are *you-a* T, *yow-er* Ra. Alternative phonemic representations could be /yawa/, /yiyawa/, /iyawa/ or /iawa/. The representation /yiyawa/ derives some support from the representation of the ‘other’ as *yiya* J (cf. the relationship between *kutju* ‘one’ and *kutjapa* ‘other’ in the Western Desert). With respect to the initial segment, we note that the representation *iāwa* Cb and *iaawa* RMb is indicative of stress on the second syllable, i.e. /yiyáwa/, whereas the form /yiya/ ‘other’, which has only two syllables, would have stress on the first syllable. This could have given rise to the initial

consonant elision in the longer word. We have thus represented the word for 'one' as /*(y)iyáwa*/.

There is some evidence that Yorta Yorta speakers drew out the vowels in some words. Such a practice could give rise to the creation of diphthongs or vowel sequences. The pronunciation of the word for mother [gána] by Priscilla McCrae (Hpmc) almost suggests that the first syllable has a double length. This lengthening seems to be associated with the word stress on the first syllable but is not found in all two-syllable words.

In the pronoun data we find the following alternation in the first person plural inclusive forms:

Nominative	Ergative	'Objective'	Possessive	Nominative reflexive/emph	Ergative reflexive/emph
<i>nyuwanda</i>	<i>nyuwandak</i>	<i>nyundanak</i>	<i>nyuwandan</i>	<i>nyundungu</i>	<i>nyundakngu</i>

It is almost as though an earlier stem /*nyundu*/ is expanded to /*nyuwandu*/ in forms which would otherwise be two-syllable forms. The alternative is of course that the longer form is basic, and there is syllable elision to reduce what would otherwise be a four-syllable word.

The vowel sequences [au] and [ai] seem to diphthongise (e.g. *naika* 'duck', *bidjau* 'wood') and have been presented as vowel sequences in the recommended spelling; however, we have used a glide in the phonemic representation of such words, viz. /*buray*/ 'baby', /*nayga*/ 'duck' /*bidjaw*/. If the glides are regarded as consonants in such cases, this option requires the phonotactic structure of Yorta Yorta to admit glides as syllable-final consonants. This is not much of an issue since there are well-attested examples of all other consonants in syllable-final and word-final position. The diphthong has been retained in the suggested spelling for such words (e.g. *naika* 'duck', *bitjau* 'wood') because we believe such spelling is easier for language reclamation purposes because it avoids possible confusion with the English word-final sequences <aw> and <ay>. We retain the glide in the recommended spelling when it is word-internal, but not when it is word-final.

In view of all of the foregoing discussion we conclude that the word structure for Yorta Yorta must be represented as:

(C)V(C)(CV(C))

This syllable structure would allow a single vowel as a word. Curr (Cbs) lists the word *i* as one alternative for the verb 'give' and provides some sentence examples where a single-syllable word is recorded:

2.1	<i>i</i>	<i>punna.</i>	(or)	<i>Punna</i>	<i>i.</i>	(Cbs:576)
		'Give me a possum.'				
	/i	buna		/buna	i/	
	<i>i</i>	buna		buna	<i>i</i>	
	give	opossum		opossum	give	
		'Give (me) ¹ an opossum.'				

¹ In these examples, Curr presents the recipient 'me' in parentheses, presumably because the recipient is not overtly represented in the sentence.

2.2 *i inyanook wolla.* (or) *Wolla i inyanook.* (Cbs:576)
 ‘Give (me) a little water.’

/i (y)ingarniga wala/ /wala i (y)ingarniga/
i (y)ingarrnika wala wala i (y)ingarrnika
 give little water water give little
 ‘Give me a little water.’

Use of a single syllable as a verb form is unusual; however, a bare stem occurs as the imperative form for some Yorta Yorta verbs, and thus if the verb stem is monosyllabic, a monosyllabic imperative could result.

2.2 Phonemes

The data provided by Curr, Mathews and Hercus have been used as the starting point for detailed comparison of phonetic and phonemic description – Curr and Mathews because these sources are substantial and internally consistent for the most part, and Hercus because of its linguistic method and available tape-recordings.

2.2.1 Consonants

Hercus (1986) recorded the consonant phonemes in Yorta Yorta as having six series, with stops and nasals present in all series (except the retroflex where only the nasal was recorded). The following table shows all of the phonemes recorded by Hercus, and in addition four more in parentheses which we consider below.

	Labial	Interdental	Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar
stops	/b/	/dh/	/d/	/dj/	(/d/)??	/g/
nasals	/m/	/nh/	/n/	/ny/	(/ŋ/)??	/ng/
lateral			/l/	(/ly/)??	(/ɭ/)??	
rhotic			/r/		(/ɽ/)??	
semi-vowel	/w/			/y/		

2.2.1.1 Discussion of the uncertain phonemes

/ly/ There are two examples from the early written sources which suggest the possibility of a palatal lateral: *māāl-ya* ‘swan’ (Cb:582) and *kōlyinun* (Cb:572) ‘angry’. We think it likely that both of these are examples of a sequence of /l/ and /y/ rather than an example of a phoneme /ɭ/ /ly/, a lateral palatal.

Whether or not Yorta Yorta had a retroflex series of consonants is very hard to confirm or disclaim on the basis of the evidence we have. We note the following observations:

/ŋ/ A retroflex nasal was recorded by Hercus in just one word, which she writes as [daŋapnɤ] ‘swan’, which Mathews records as *turnupnha* RMb. Mathews appears to have used the letter <r> mainly to represent a rhotic sound. (He avoided its use in words like *yota*, where other writers seemed to have used the letter <r> as an indication

of vowel quality.) But this word may simply be an example of an /r/+n/ consonant sequence. The retroflex nature of the nasal in this word is not clearly evident to us in the audio recordings of Bill Jackson, recorded by Hercus in 1964. As Hercus (1986:163) pointed out, the retroflex consonants seem to be of great rarity. On some occasions Mrs Geraldine Briggs has pronounced this word as [daŋaɾnʌ], with a retroflex nasal; however, her memory of this word fades in and out. Apart from this there is little evidence of the retroflex nasal.

- /d/ There are no clear examples of a phonetically realised retroflex stop, either in the audio recordings made in the 1960s, or from the early written sources, apart from examples such as *yōōrta* (Cb:583), in which the <r> is possibly an indication of vowel quality (but see section 2.2.2.2 for possible analysis involving retroflex consonants).
- /ɾ/ There are no examples in the audio recordings suggesting a retroflex rhotic, nor in the early written sources. However, even in other Victorian languages, where both retroflex and alveolar rhotics are known to have been present, the early written sources tended not to make such distinctions. There may have been a retroflex rhotic which was not recorded.
- /l/ The written sources do not provide any clear evidence of a retroflex lateral. However in the audio recordings of the word for ‘child’, the pronunciation varies from [‘yarkʌ] to [‘yalkʌ], even for the same speaker. This suggests that the target for the approximant in this word may have been a retroflex lateral.

In section 2.2.2.2 we present an analysis of the mid back vowel in words like *Yorta*, which posits underlying retroflex consonants.

2.2.1.2 Allophonic variation – voiced and voiceless stops

There is consistent evidence from both the early written sources and from Hercus for the alternation of voiced and devoiced stops. The system appears to be:

- Voiced stops occur word-initially and after a nasal.
- Voiceless stops occur word-finally, after a stressed vowel, after an approximant and in combination with another stop. (Sometimes both stops in a sequence will be voiceless, other times the first stop – the syllable final stop of the preceding syllable – is voiceless and the initial stop of the subsequent syllable is voiced.)

2.2.2 Vowels

Hercus (1986:162) suggests that “e and o are full phonemes”. In her data, the phoneme /e/ is the least commonly used and occurs mainly in unstressed syllables (which might suggest that at least in some words it could be an unstressed allophone of a /i/ or /a/). However, there are certain words such as the word /ŋowe/ ‘yes’, where the final vowel is not unstressed and does not seem to be phonologically conditioned, which supports its analysis as a separate phoneme /e/.

It also seems that the occurrence of the mid back vowel [ɔ] in stressed syllables such as in the word /yoda/ makes it unlikely to be an allophone of /u/ or /a/. In the absence of clear minimal pairs or near-minimal pairs relevant to vowel phonemes, a definitive account is not

possible. However, for reclamation purposes we would favour a broadly allophonic spelling system, so the phonemic status of /e/ and /o/ is not such an issue in that context. We thus represent the vowel inventory as:

i u
 e o
 a

Concerning the vowel [o] and its variant [ɔ], Hercus (1986:162) writes that [o] was a mid close sound and [ɔ] was lower than cardinal [o] and with some lip rounding. She comments that the mid close variant [o] occurred before nasals and before /d/. (This is consistent with the transcription she provides for the word [yo:ta] in her word list.) Our perception of the pronunciation of the audio-taped speakers is that the word is pronounced with the more open [ɔ] as [yɔta]; however, we note that Curr (1887) represents this word with an <oor>, *yoorta* and *yōōrta*. Curr may have been using the <r> to indicate vowel quality or otherwise to indicate a phonetic sequence [yurta]. It is likely that Curr's representation may be closer to the original pronunciation, which may possibly have been [yuʔa] (see section 2.2.2.2 below).

Of the vowel /e/ Hercus suggests that when accented, /e/ corresponded to a very open sound [æ], well below cardinal [ɛ] (which she seems to have mostly transcribed as [ɛ]). When final, it was short but close [e], and in all other unaccented positions it was reduced to a weak neutral vowel [ə]. Our perceptions accord with these observations.²

2.2.2.1 *The representation of vowels in the early written sources*

In the early written sources, the representation of vowels is even more confusing than that of consonants, even though the vowel sounds that were being represented would mostly have been familiar to the recorders – unlike the consonants where unfamiliar sounds like lamino dentals occurred. The confusion mostly arises from two issues:

- (a) The vowel which was written <u> seems to have sometimes represented an /u/ and other times an /a/, because in English orthography the short /a/ is usually represented as <u>. R.H. Mathews, however, was aware that the letter <u> could be used instead of <oo> and sometimes changes <oo> in his handwritten notes to <u> in his published material. But he does not seem to have been consistent about this. Sometimes Mathews' letter <u> represents the sound [a]. Where <a> appears in another source, for the same word, it might be assumed that the letter <u> represents phoneme /a/, and where <oo> or <o> occurs in another source, it might be assumed that the letter <u> represents phoneme /u/. For example:

² Hercus observes that [ʌ] is lower than the corresponding vowel in Wemba Wemba, and nearer to the short [a] of German. We assume that the distinction Hercus intends here is simply one of length – the symbol [ʌ] representing a shorter variant which occurs in unaccented syllables, and the symbol [a] representing a longer variant typical of accented syllables. We have maintained this distinction in our phonetic transcription.

Mathews:	Other sources:	Phonemic reconstruction:	Meaning:
<i>munnin</i> RMa:51	<i>moonin</i> RMa:55	/munin/	‘to throw’
<i>mummun</i> RMa:51	<i>mumma, mommon</i> Cb:577,578	/muma-/	‘to take’
<i>dungoola</i> RMa:52	<i>tōngala</i> Cb 574	/dung(g)ula/	‘river’
<i>ngulla</i> etc. RMa:53	<i>ngalanook</i> RMa:57	/ngala-/	‘we’ (du.excl.)
<i>yung-a</i> RMb:190	<i>yoong'an</i> RMa:58	/yunga-/	‘to throw’

- (b) The representation of unstressed vowels by different writers seems to vary greatly for the same word ranging between between the letters <a>, <e>, or <i>, <oo>. For example, /gorgara/ ‘rain’ was written *korkora* Cp, *ko-ker er* Rc, *goerkura* J; /dung(g)udja/ ‘big’ was written *tūngooja* Cb, *turnekya* E, *dunnidya* RMb, *turnaja* E. Reconstitution in some cases has been difficult; however, sometimes additional information in word compounds has also been of assistance.

In the vocabulary list given at the end of this publication we have provided a reconstructed phonemic representation for each vocabulary item for which a confident analysis can be made, and have also provided a recommended spelling based on a broad phonetic system using the Roman alphabet. For the items we cannot be reasonably sure of we have proposed an approximate spelling given in italics in the word lists.

2.2.2.2 *An analysis of the mid back vowel in words like Yorta Yorta, involving a retroflex consonant series*

We wonder whether the source of the [ɔ] sound in words like Yorta Yorta is the surface manifestation of an underlying sequence of a high back vowel followed by a rhotic or a retroflex consonant. So far as we can see, the long mid back vowel only occurs in contexts that could be given this analysis.

The word for ‘maggie’ has been recorded by Mathews and Curr as *korngañ* (RMb:184) and *ko-ōrn-gain* (Cb:574). Curr’s syllabification suggests that the <g> is a syllable-initial velar stop, not intended as part of a digraph <ng>. Curr’s transcription could be indicative of an initial syllable [kɔn] since Curr seemed to use <or> for the sound [ɔ]. If Curr’s syllabification is accurate, Mathews’ representation of the first syllable as <korn> suggests the presence of a rhotic of some sort. Unless the phonotactic template allowed a syllable-final consonant sequence /rn/, we could conclude that Mathews’ transcription reflects a retroflex nasal. Curr’s transcription suggests that the vowel in the first syllable was long – probably similar to the vowel in the English word ‘corn’.

On the Hercus tapes we can identify two mid back vowels, one similar to the sound in the English word ‘corn’, [ɔ], and one similar to the vowel in the English word ‘con’, [ɒ]. It is the higher of the two that we find in the word Yorta Yorta, and also in the word for ‘rain’, /gorrkarra/, [gorkara] where there is evidence of a rhotic present.

Bill Jackson (Hercus Hbj) makes a clear phonetic distinction between the first vowels in the following three words:

[wala] ‘water’

[wɔlətja] ‘fat’

[wɔləpna] ‘sheep’

The first word has been recorded in other sources variously as <wala> or <wola> and we conclude that the mid back vowel in words such as this is an allophone of /a/. The second two words each have three syllables and quite similar phonetic environments for the mid back vowel. There is no apparent conditioning environment for difference in the vowels. One possible hypothesis is that the word for 'sheep' (based on the English word 'wool') has been borrowed with a retroflex lateral, i.e. /wuɭupna/.

We wonder more generally whether the source of the [ɔ] sound (as in 'corn') is a vowel followed by a retroflex consonant. Under such an analysis we would posit the following representations:

<u>Broad phonetic</u>	<u>Phonemic</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
[yɔ:ta]	/yuɖa/	'no'
[wɔ:lupna]	/wuɭubna/	'sheep'

As well as explaining the vowel quality in the above, if the process of a rhotic conditioning the lowering of a high back vowel with concomitant vowel lengthening was more general and the conditioning environment included the trill consonant /r/, as well as a retroflex /r/, then we could explain the vowel quality in words such as the word for 'rain':

[gɔ:rkara]	/gurgara/	'rain'
------------	-----------	--------

It would seem that the word for 'arm', written *bōrinya* Cb, *bor.in.noo* Rc, *bornyoo* J, *pore in you* Rb, also had the mid back vowel [ɔ]. This could also be explained by a phonemic representation /bur(i)nyu/ with the presence of the rhotic conditioning the lengthening and lowering of the vowel:

[bɔ:rnyu]	/bur(i)nyu/	'arm'
-----------	-------------	-------

The proposed vowel-lengthening process conditioned by a retroflex consonant could also explain the long vowel in the word for 'mother', assuming that the word for mother has an underlying retroflex nasal³ (the vowel lowering process not applying to low vowels).

[ga:na]	/gaŋa/	'mother'
---------	--------	----------

This hypothesis regarding the putative source of the Yorta Yorta long mid back vowel [ɔ] being a high back vowel /u/ lowered by a following rhotic, is somewhat tentative.

A possible counterexample to this hypothesis is the word *gukorra* /gugura/ 'wrist'. By this analysis we would expect the vowel in the second syllable to become lowered, giving rise to [gugɔra]. This is not reflected unambiguously in the sources which provide *kōōkoora coogoo* E. However, this example is complicated by the fact that the second syllable does not carry the primary stress which could perhaps mask the process. This is the only other counterexample that we could find. Because this proposal is tentative, we have not incorporated the consequences of it into the Yorta Yorta vocabulary list. Entries are not presented as /yuɖa/, /wuɭubna/, /gaŋa/ as would follow from this hypothesis, but as:

<i>yorta</i>	/yoda/	'no'
<i>wolupna</i>	/wolubna/	'sheep'
<i>borrinyu</i>	/bor(i)nyu/	'arm'
<i>gana</i>	/gana/	'mother'

³ Hercus transcribes this word phonetically with an interdental nasal; however, the interdental quality of this nasal is not clear to my ear in the speech of Priscilla McCrae (Hpmc) who appears to be Hercus' source for this word.

2.2.2.3 Consultation regarding the representation of vowels in the proposed orthography

When first asked how a Yorta Yorta word such as [batja] ‘possum’ should be spelled, some Yorta Yorta people have suggested <bucha>, spelling the first vowel according to the principles of English orthography – in common with words like ‘but’ – and the second consonant with the digraph <ch> in common with words like ‘chip’.

However, the writing systems used for most Australian Aboriginal languages which are still spoken do not follow such an English orthography. For example, *Uluru* (which phonetically is [uluru]), is spelled with the letter <u> rather than the possible alternative *Oolooroo* as an English based system would yield. There are advantages to following the general Australian Aboriginal system using the letter <u> instead of <oo>, the letter <i> instead of <ee> and the letter <a> instead of <u>.

Upon reflection, the majority of the Yorta Yorta people we have consulted ultimately favour the widely used Aboriginal vowel system used in words like *Uluru*, *Mabo*, *Kakadu*, and *Yothu Yindi*, and thus that is the option we are suggesting here.

2.3 Phonotactics

2.3.1 Consonants

2.3.1.1 Single consonants

It would appear that the language allowed all consonant phonemes to occur word initially, intervocalically and word-finally, with the possible exception of /r/. Whilst the stops /g/ and /dj/ appear quite generally in word-final position, final /d/ is only reliably attested in the Ablative case suffix. Finals /b/ and /m/ are also restricted.

The following examples illustrate the distribution of single consonant phonemes:

Table 10: Distribution of stops in Yorta Yorta

	Word-initially	Intervocalically	Word-finally
/b/	/badja/ ‘possum’	/muban/ ‘mud’	/banyib/ ‘younger brother’ ⁴
/dh/	/dhoma/ ‘dear’	/gadhagana/ ‘not, don’t’	/bunu(dh)/ ‘back’ ⁵
/d/	/dolma/ ‘black duck’	/yoda/ ‘no’	/ngunad/ ‘from you’ ⁶
/dj/	/djunda/ ‘birds’	/bidja/ ‘fire’	/bolgadj/ ‘cold’
/g/	/gogara/ ‘rain’	/bugan/ ‘hair of head’	/baparik/ ‘tomorrow’

⁴ Word-final /-b/ is rare and in most cases lacks cross-source validation. The form for ‘younger brother’ is consistently /banyib/ and the form for ‘elder brother’ is consistently /banyuba/. For ‘sister’, the forms /dhadjib/ and /dhadjiba/ are both recorded; however, it is not clear which means younger or older.

⁵ This is the only Mathews entry with a word-final /dh/; however, several other sources give this word without the final /dh/. Curr has only one entry with a final /dh/, *wawaith* Cb ‘black iguana’. This is not cross-validated.

⁶ Word-final /-d/ is found reliably in only two circumstances, in words given by Mathews with an Ablative ending which has the alternations [-at, -tja] (see section 3.2.3 and 3.7), and in the word *birid* ‘bread’, a borrowing from English recorded by Hercus.

Table 11: Distribution of nasals in Yorta Yorta

	Word-initially	Intervocally	Word-finally
/m/	/ma-loga/ 'sandhill'	/dangamai/ 'crow'	/dhadjim/ 'to eat' ⁷
/n/	/nagin/ 'tail'	/munara/ 'thunder'	/nagin/ 'tail'
/nh/	/nha-/ 'to see'	/minhe/ 'what?'	NOT FOUND ⁸
/ny/	/nyana/ 'we' (PL. EXC)	/yinya/ 'light' ⁹	/bununy/ 'vulva'
/ng/	/ngadha/ 'I' (ergative)	/yunga/ 'to throw'	/yaring/ 'whisker', 'beard'

Table 12: Distribution of approximants in Yorta Yorta

	Word-initially	Intervocally	Word-finally
/l/	/lodjba/ 'to talk'	/wala/ 'water'	/wanhal/ 'where (at)?'
/r/	NOT FOUND	/yaring/ 'whisker'	/yiyir/ 'man'

Table 13: Distribution of semivowels in Yorta Yorta

	Word-initially	Intervocally	Word-finally
/y/	/yiyir/ 'man'	/yiyir/ 'man'	/buray/ 'baby' ¹⁰
/w/	/wanhal/ 'where (at)?'	/gowu/ 'nose'	/bitjaw/ 'wood' ¹¹

The occurrence of /r/ has been difficult to determine because the letter <r> was sometimes used in combination with vowels to represent vowel quality. With respect to word-initial /r/: Curr (1886 vol.1:4) states that the only word beginning with /r/ in the Bangerang language was *raityo* 'mussel'. Curr (Cb:577) illustrates the Yorta Yorta pronunciation of 'Mr Richard' as 'Mitta Itchenna' which suggests that a word initial /r/ was avoided. Initial /r/ is not found in Wemba Wemba, Woiwurrung/Thangungwurrung, Dhudhuroa, Pallanganmiddang or Wiradjuri either. For examples of word-medial /r/ we have been careful to draw on sources where the presence of the sound [r] cannot be construed as a representation of vowel quality, either from the context of its occurrence or because of alternative spellings provided by the sources. The presence of word-final /r/ in the words /winyar/ 'woman' and /yiyir/ 'man' is substantiated by the fact of Mathews' handwritten vocabulary entries (RMd) having a double <r> at the end, and also because the [r] also occurs in suffixed forms, e.g. *yiyirrin* RMb, the possessive 'man's'. For a discussion of the sequence medial /r/ + consonant, see section 2.3.1.2 (d/e) below.

2.3.1.2 Consonant sequences

As a consequence of the general structure of words in the language, consonant sequences occur only across syllable junctures.

⁷ The final /m/ is quite rare, and occurs only as a verb suffix in both Curr (Cb) and Mathews (Rmb), where the meaning is unclear.

⁸ No examples are found of final /nh/ in the early written sources, although this may be due to the difficulty that those early recorders would have had in hearing a final /nh/.

⁹ It is possible that medial /ny/ represents a sequence of /n/ and /y/.

¹⁰ This assumes a vowel, glide analysis of the sequence [ai].

¹¹ This assumes a vowel, glide analysis of the sequence [au].

We have noted above that the language appears to allow all consonant phonemes to occur intervocally, all consonant phonemes except /w/ and /y/ to occur word-finally, and all consonant phonemes word-initially with the possible exception of /r/. (There appear to be a few additional restrictions on the occurrence of consonant phonemes in consonant sequences at syllable junctures: nasal + stop sequences are homorganic; approximant + nasal sequences are found, though examples of /r/ + nasal are few. There are no examples of any consonant sequences in which /r/ is the second consonant in a sequence which would be consistent with its not occurring syllable-initially.)

We provide the following examples of as many of these combinations as is reliably indicated in the data:

(a) Nasal + Stop

We find homorganic nasal–stop sequences coded in the source material for sequences familiar to English speakers:

/mb/	/dadjimba/	<i>dūtyimba</i> RMb	‘tomahawk’
/nd/	/djunda/	<i>tyōanda</i> RMb	‘birds collectively’
/ngg/	/yang-gawa/	<i>yanggāwa</i> RMb	‘fog’

Whilst it would be expected to find homorganicity in all contexts, this is not consistently recorded in the sources. For example, for the word for ‘emu’, we find the following:

/bigarumdja/	<i>pikk-er-ōōm-dja</i> Cb, <i>biggarumdya</i> RMb, /bigerundja/ ['bigərundja] H, [bigərumdja] Hbj
--------------	---

It may be that the nasal here is in fact a palatal nasal, which has not been clearly heard by the recorders, and has been similarly modified in modern oral sources. (Of course there may have also been a phonemic distinction though we have no other evidence of this.)

However, there are other examples which suggest that the homorganicity may not have been required:

/nb/		
/ganbina/	‘arise, awake’	<i>kumbinna</i> RMb, <i>kūnbinna</i> RMd, <i>cunbin</i> E, <i>gun bin ner</i> Rc
/yenbena/	‘Aborigine’	<i>ēn-ben-a</i> Cb, <i>yen-bena</i> Mb, <i>heen-binner</i> Rd
/banbura/	‘spade, dig’	<i>pūnbora</i> Cb, <i>bunboora</i> E
/n-g/		
/gun-gi/	‘bag’	<i>kunki</i> RMb, RMd
/ban-ga/	‘club’ (hunting)	<i>bān-ga</i> RMb, <i>bānga</i> RMd, <i>bonnear</i> TH
/dun.ga/	‘leg’ (calf)	<i>tone-gur</i> Rc, <i>tunga</i> E, <i>tunt-en-ga</i> T
/gorn-gany/	‘magpie’ ¹²	<i>ko-ōrn-gain</i> Cb, <i>korngañ</i> RMb

¹² Where it is clear from the source material that there is a nasal–voiced velar stop sequence, the symbols are separated by a hyphen. (The sequence /nk/ cannot be used to disambiguate the two, because the letter /k/ is used in the Yorta Yorta orthography for voiceless velar stops, and in this context the voiced variant occurs most frequently.) The sequence /ng/ is used to represent a velar nasal. The sequence /ng(g)/ is used when the matter is unclear.

For dental and palatal sequences, the sources have not recorded the nasal assimilation though we might assume assimilation would have been present. We have not introduced assimilated forms into the proposed spellings unless there was evidence of the assimilation in the sources.

/nhdh/	/ngangiyandha/	<i>ngungeandha</i> RMb	‘pretend’
/nydj/	/mandja/	<i>māndya</i> RMb	‘plain turkey’

(b) Nasal + Nasal

It appears as if Nasal + Nasal sequences were permitted, although only three are recorded. Possibly there is no record of nasal dentals because of the difficulty the recorders would have had in identifying them.

/m-n/	/madhimna/	<i>mat-tīm-na</i> Cb, <i>mathimna</i> GB	‘bad’
/n-m/	/wanmir/	<i>wānmirr</i> RMb, <i>wōn-mir</i> Cb	‘eaglehawk’
/ny-m/	/bunyma/	<i>buñma</i> RMb	‘to make’

(c) Nasal + Semivowel

Mathews (RMb) provides a single record of such a sequence:¹³

/ng+w/	/ngangwura/	<i>ngūngwura</i> RMb	‘heart’
--------	-------------	----------------------	---------

(d) Approximant + Nasal

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of Lateral + Nasal:

/l-m/	/dolma/	<i>dōlma</i> RMb	‘black duck’
/l-nh/	/malnha/	<i>malnha</i> RMb	‘a splinter’
/l-n/	/malnega/ ¹⁴	<i>malnēga</i> RMb	‘youth, before initiation’
/l-ny/	/galnyoga/	<i>gulnyaoga</i> RMb, <i>kulnow-ga</i> E	‘bald’
/l-ng/	no examples		

There are at least ten instances where Mathews provides examples of /r/ + nasal sequences, but where other recorders, particularly Curr, provide an intermediate vowel. We are inclined to think that the intermediate vowel is a phonetic effect, and that all such words are examples of the /r/ + nasal sequence.

Since /r/ was permitted word-finally in the language, we would also expect there to be cases of /r/ + nasal sequences.¹⁵ The following are some clear examples of a /r/ + nasal sequence:

¹³ This may be a compound. Other writers give *bura: poora* E, *bor.rer* Rc. Possibly *nga-burai* ‘my heart’ (inalienable possession).

¹⁴ Curr records *māldiga* Cb for this word.

¹⁵ Many words are written in early written sources with consonant sequences of <r> followed by a nasal. We have been aware that the letter <r> sometimes simply represented an aspect of vowel quality. Mathews seems to be the most reliable in this regard. There appear to be few instances in which Mathews uses the

/r-m/	/marmu/	'ear'	<i>marmu</i> RMb, <i>mar-re-moo</i> Rb, <i>mār-moo</i> Cb
/r-nh/	/ngarnha-/	'to hear'	<i>ngarnhung</i> RMb
/r-n/	/yingarna/	'small'	<i>ying-arna</i> Rmb, <i>neen gar e ner</i> Rc
/r-ny/	/dharnya/	'tree, white box'	<i>dharnya</i> Rmd, <i>tar-en-you</i> Ra
/r-ng/	/yurnga/	'sun'	<i>yōrngā</i> Rmb, <i>yōōr-ing-a</i> Cb
?/r-ng/	/marngany/	'black crow, small'	<i>mar'ngañ</i> Rm

Mathews and Curr consistently differ on the way they represent the words for 'arm' and 'sun'. Mathews represents the words with an /r/ + nasal sequence whereas Curr includes an intermediate vowel. Robinson's syllabified transcription seems to suggest the presence of an intermediate vowel, although Robinson's transcription may have simply been a way of clearly coding the presence of the rhotic. (e.g. *yar re ker* Rc /yarka/ 'child').

(e) Approximant + Stop

The following are examples in the data of the consonant sequence /l/ + stop:

/l-b/	/yilbuga/	<i>yēlbuga</i> RMb	'evening'
/l-dh/	no clear examples		
/l-d/	the only possible example is <i>māldiga</i> Cb 'child'. However this word is phonemicised as /malniga/ following Mathews.		
/l-dj/	/buldjubul/	<i>pūltyobal</i> RMb, <i>pultchewell</i> Ra	'two'
/l-g/	/gogamalga/	<i>gogamulga</i> RMb	'youth, after tooth extracted'

There are some clear examples of consonant sequence /r/ + stop:

/r-b/	/barban/	<i>būrpa</i> RMb, <i>bār-pan</i> Cb, <i>bar rope bun</i> Rc	'grass'
/r-dh/	/wurdhamara/	<i>wūrthumurra</i> RMb ¹⁶	'bream'
/r-dj/	/djirdjiran/	<i>djirdjiran</i> RMb, <i>chercheran</i> E (Because of Mathews' record with respect to his use of /r/, we would consider this example valid without additional confirmation.)	'hand (fingers)'
/r-g/	/yarga/	<i>yarga</i> H, <i>yare re ker</i> Rc	'child'

letter /r/ and other sources disconfirm the presence of an /r/. In several cases, Mathews provides an /r/ + consonant sequence and other sources render the word /r/ + vowel + consonant. This may be evidence of a trill pronunciation of /r/, after which a slight vowel effect is inevitably perceptible. This is a problem of a different sort. In such cases we rely, if possible, on comparison of additional sources.

¹⁶ Curr gives *bārtha* 'lagoon' (Cb:574), and *wortha* 'new' (Cb:573); however, Curr is inconsistent as to whether the <r> refers to vowel quality or a consonant and there are no other examples of these words.

(f) Approximant + Semivowel

The following examples illustrate the sequence /l/ + semivowel:

/l-y/	/malya/	<i>māāl-ya</i> Cb (no other sources record this word)	‘swan’
/l-w/	/molwa/	<i>molwa</i> Cb	‘grave’
/r-y/	/baryibala/	<i>baryebala</i> RMb	‘ground goanna’

(g) Stop + Nasal

One very noticeable feature of the Yorta Yorta language is the presence of a large number of words with a final sequence which seems to vary between *-pnha* and *-pna*. (The nasal is always represented as an interdental by Mathews.) These are the only examples of stop + nasal. For example:

/b-n(h)/	/danabn(h)a/	<i>turnupnha</i> RMb, <i>danapna</i> GB	‘swan’
	/munubn(h)a/	<i>moonōōpna</i> Cb (derived from <i>mōōnna</i> ‘leg’)	‘trousers’
	/borinyub(h)na/	<i>borinyoo:pna</i> Cb (derived from <i>borinyu</i> ‘arm’)	‘shirt’

The final sequence [-pna] is also found in place names such as Mooroopna and Kotupna and appears to be a productive formative (see section 3.9).

(h) Stop + Stop

There are a large number of examples of a stop + stop sequence, but many of them seem to have arisen through word-building processes. The example of /lodjba/ ‘to speak’ does not, however, seem to be the result of word building and suggests that the combination does occur in non-compounds.

/b-dj/	/malnigabdja/	<i>mulnigaptya</i> RMb	‘small boy’
/b-g/	/gudhubga/	<i>guthapka</i> RMb ¹⁷	‘child of either sex’
/d-b/	/wongadban/	<i>Wongātpan</i> Cb	‘people of Wongat’
/dj-b/	/lodjba/	<i>lodjba</i> H	‘to speak’
/g-b/	/irug-birug/	<i>īruk-bīruk</i> Cb ¹⁸	‘tomorrow’

(i) Stop + Approximant

The following are a few examples of the sequence stop + lateral:

/b+l/	/Yalebla/	<i>Yallēbla</i> Cb	‘Yalebla’ (proper name)
	/Konebla/	<i>Konebla</i> Cb	‘Konebla’ (proper name)
	/gomimebla/	<i>kor-mi-mē-bla</i> Cb	‘wild turkey’
/d+l/	/didlinga/	<i>diddling-er</i> Rmb	‘mussel’

¹⁷ This word seems to be related to the Wiradjuri word *guudha* ‘child’.

¹⁸ This word is reduplicated, and it may be that the /b/ is inserted for phonological reasons – compare the /b/ insertion in certain verbs in 3.6.3, e.g. /ga-/ ‘to sit’.

The data does not contain any clear examples of the sequence stop + /r/. However this is predictable as /r/ is not found in initial position.

2.3.2 Vowels

The following table exemplifies the occurrence of vowels. It appears that the five vowels were allowed in all positions, although final vowels other than /-a/ were clearly rather rare. Words sometimes written with a final /-o/ are also represented variously with a final /-a/, so the status of /-o/ in final syllables is questionable.¹⁹

Vowel	First Syllable	Later Syllable	Final
i	/yinin/ 'to bite'	/malin/ 'to hit'	/buli/ 'stomach'
e	/bega/ 'ghost'	/malel/ 'hit!' (imperative) ²⁰	/ngowe/ 'yes'
a	/badja/ 'possum'	/wanhal/ 'where (at)?'	/yunga/ 'to throw'
o	/molwa/ 'grave'	/dhanggoba/ 'frog'	[buko]/buga/ 'head'
u	/yunga/ 'to throw'	/midura/ 'fork of tree'	/djilu/ 'sexual desire'

2.4 Stress

Stress appears to have been an important factor in the pronunciation of Yorta Yorta words. Curr (Cb:582-583), in his word list for Bangerang proper, places bars above one syllable in each word, e.g. *kāimer* 'kangaroo'. It appears that these bars indicate the stress in each word. In this work we indicate stress by an accent above the vowel of the stressed syllable.

Curr's (Cb:579) following examples illustrate that word stress can change under affixation:

'grass'	<i>bārpan</i>	/bárrpan/
'to search for grass'	<i>barpānyanook</i>	/barbányanug/
'a minnow'	<i>jāwa</i>	/djáwa/
'to fish for minnows'	<i>jawānyanook</i>	/djawányanug/

It thus seems that the addition of the suffix /-nyanug/ shifts the stress from the first to the second syllable.

In every case where Curr lists a two-syllable word, the stress falls on the first syllable, but where the word has more than two syllables, the pattern is less consistent. Suffixes appear to cause the shift of stress to the second syllable, but there are some three-syllable words where the stress remains on the first syllable.

Mathews also showed stress marks in some of his notebook material (e.g. RMa:54). Mathews marked his syllable stress with an inverted comma *after* the stressed syllable. These examples further illustrate change of stress with suffixation.

¹⁹ When the word 'Pharaoh' is borrowed into Yorta Yorta it becomes *Fera*, further suggesting that word final /-o/ was unstable.

²⁰ This example is uncertain, and may be due to the assimilation of /i/ with the following imperative morpheme /-l/. Apart from this we have found no other examples of /e/ in a closed syllable. Although there are plenty of examples of <e> being written, they appear to be mostly examples of reduced vowel or schwa.

'I am hitting'	<i>ngutta mul'lin</i>	/ngadha málin/
'I did beat'	<i>ngutta mullen' banga</i>	/ngadha malínbanga/
'I will beat'	<i>nguttha mulleak'</i>	/ngadha malyák/

Elsewhere in this work and in the vocabulary lists we have notated syllable stress on the phonemic representation of multisyllable words where the sources provide us with information that stress is other than syllable-initial using an acute accent over the vowel of the accented syllable (e.g. /barbányanug/ 'grass').

2.5 Morphophonemics

There is variation in some of the suffixes Mathews provides; however in some cases it is unclear what is conditioning the variation.

- (1) The ergative/instrumental suffix *-(V)l* is recorded by Mathews and is also found in sentence examples of Curr (see 3.2.1). Examples:

Uninflected form	Ergative	
<i>baka</i>	<i>bakal</i>	'dog'
<i>wonggoba</i>	<i>wonggobal</i>	'type of implement'
<i>iyir</i>	<i>iyiril, iyiral</i>	'man'
<i>dung(g)udja</i>	<i>dung(g)udjil, dung(g)udjal</i>	'big'

The suffix *-l* is typically added to words ending in a vowel. The examples Mathews provides of the ergative suffix added to words that end in a consonant are confusing at best. He provides both *iyirril* and *iyirral* as ergative forms of *iyir*.

It would appear that the vowel quality may result from vowel harmony conditioned by the preceding vowels in the word, except where the ergative expression involves more than one word, in which case the vowel in the suffix on the first word is replicated in the second word, as in the following examples (see examples 3.111 *dunngidjal iyirral* RMa:52 and 3.112 *iyirril dunngidyil* RMb:169, in section 3.10 below).

- (2) Mathews (see section 3.6.1 below) records various forms of the verb *malin* 'to hit'. Two of these are:

<i>mulleak'</i>	shall beat	/mali – ak/	<i>malyak</i>
<i>mullêl'</i>	beat! (imperative)	/mali – l/	<i>malel</i>

The future and imperative forms of these verbs are accompanied by stress reassignment which is also associated with a change of vowel quality.

- (3) Mathews gives endings of */-l/* and */-aw/* as the endings respectively for the dual and plural of the words /badja/ 'possum' and /iyir/ 'man' (see section 3.2.2 below). However, for the word /winyar/ 'woman' the forms are respectively:

Singular	/winyar/
Dual	/winyandjal/
Plural	/winyanboga/

It is unclear whether the nasal in the dual and plural arises from a phonemic process or from the presence of the alternate plural marker *-n*, discussed in section 3.2.2.

2.6 Orthography

We use three orthographies in this study. Working backwards from historical written sources and audio recordings from the 1960s, we have attempted to reconstitute both phonetic and phonemic representations for all Yorta Yorta words and phrases.²¹ In addition we have developed a suggested practical orthography which incorporates systematic phonetic information in a Roman script. This orthography is used in the accompanying vocabulary list, together with phonemic representations and original source forms. It is also used for the presentation of Yabula Yabula.

Thus the word we render phonemically as /badja/ ‘possum’, and phonetically as [ˈbatjʌ], has a proposed spelling of *batja*.

In presenting examples in this publication, we give:

- (a) The original form and its source (if the source is a spoken source, this will be presented in phonemic notation)
- (b) The translation given in the source (if relevant)
- (c) A phonemic transcription (where possible)
- (d) A suggested practical orthography
- (e) An interlinear gloss
- (f) A translation (which may differ from (b))

Example:

- (a) *Bukkal yinnin buttya.* (RMa:51)
- (b) ‘A dog bit a possum.’
- (c) /bagal yinin badja/
- (d) ***bakal yinin batja***
- (e) dog.ERG bite.NON.FUT possum.ABS
- (f) ‘A dog bit a possum.’

We have used voiced stops in the phonemic representations.

Because this research was first begun in response to an interest by Yorta Yorta people in reclaiming their language, we want it to be as accessible to non-linguists as possible; hence the suggested orthography, which is based on a broad phonetic representation using the Roman alphabet.

We emphasise that the spellings suggested are simply a proposal by the authors after considerable analysis and some consultation with Yorta Yorta groups and individuals. We acknowledge that in any revival of the Yorta Yorta language, the Yorta Yorta people must adopt a spelling system that makes sense to them.

²¹ We have not yet undertaken a complete phonemic analysis of Yabula Yabula. Yabula Yabula forms are provided in an approximate systematic phonetic orthography.

3 Grammar

3.1 Introduction

Mathews (RMb) is the only Yorta Yorta source to describe aspects of the grammar; however, we are encouraged by the fact that aspects of the grammar described without very much exemplification by Mathews can be confirmed by sentence material recorded in other sources, principally Curr (1887). In addition to the examples provided in Mathews' published account (RMb) and in his manuscript Notebook 1 (RMa), we have also drawn on handwritten examples contained in annotations to various offprints of his published work.

3.2 Nouns

3.2.1 Noun inflection

Mathews (RMa) provides examples to illustrate the following noun cases:

Absolutive	-∅	(RMa:52)
Ergative/Instrumental	-(v)l	
Genitive/Possessive	-(v)n	
Ablative	-in	
Allative/Locative	-ung, -uk, -nak	
Comitative	-narrak	

(i) ABSOLUTE: -∅

Uninflected (citation) forms of nouns used in this section are provided for comparison with inflected forms. The noun object in each of the two following transitive sentences illustrates the use of the absolutive for objects. There are no examples of nouns in the subject function of intransitive sentences in the available data. However, Mathews (RMa:169) explicitly states that the accusative is the same as the nominative.

'woman'	/winyar/	<i>winyarr</i> RMa, <i>wiinya</i> Cb
'man'	/yiyir/	<i>yiyirr</i> RMa
'boomerang'	/wanya/	<i>wunya</i> RMa, <i>wanya</i> Sa
'dog'	/baga/	<i>bukka</i> RMa, <i>baga</i> H

'possum'	/badya/	<i>buttya</i> RMa, <i>badja</i> H
'fish (perch)'	/gangubga/	<i>kungupka</i> RMa, <i>kongoopka</i> Cb
'camp'	/manu(ng)/	<i>manu</i> RMa, <i>mana</i> Ct, <i>maanoo</i> Cb, <i>manung</i> RMb
'implement'	/wongoba/	<i>wongoba</i> RMa

(ii) **ERGATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL: -(V)I**(a) **Ergative**

- 3.1. *Bukkal yinnin buttya.* (RMa:51)
 'A dog bit a possum.'
 /baga-l yinin badja/
bakal yinin batja
 dog.ERG bite.NON.FUT possum.ABS
 'A dog bit a possum.'
- 3.2. *Yiyirril munnin wunya.* (RMa:51)
 'A man threw a boomerang.'
 /yiyir-il munin wanya/
yiyirril munin wanya
 man-ERG throw.NON.FUT boomerang.ABS
 'A man threw a boomerang.'
- 3.3. *Dunngidjal yiyirral tütüm buttya.* (RMa:52)
 'A big man killed a possum.'
 /dung(g)udja-l yiyir-al datim badja/
dung(g)udjal yiyirral datin batja
 big-ERG man-ERG kill.PAST possum.ABS
 'A big man killed a possum.'
- 3.4. *Yiyirril dunngidyil buttya tuttain.* (RMb:169)
 'A big man killed a possum.'
 /yiyir-il dung(g)udja-il badja dadin/
yiyirril dung(g)udjil badja datin
 man-ERG big-ERG possum kill.PAST
 'A big man killed a possum.'

Differences in the suffix vowel have been discussed above in section 2.5. Example 3.4 illustrates the SOV word order recorded in Mathews' published material for a similar sentence to 3.3.

(b) **Instrumental**

- 3.5 *Moonin nguttha yiyirr wunya.* (RMa:55)
 'I beat a man with a boomerang.'
 /munin ngadha yiyir wanya-l/
munin ngatha yiyirr wanya
 beat.NON.FUT I.ERG man.ABS boomerang-INST
 'I beat the man with a boomerang.'

- 3.6 *Ngia natto wongōbal.* (Cbs:578)
 ‘You hit (him with a) wongoba.’
 /ngi(n)a¹ nado wonggoba-l/
ngina nato wongobal
 you.ERG hit(?) (implement)-INST
 ‘You hit(?) with a wongoba.’

The instrumental use of the /-l/ suffix is confirmed by example 3.6 from Curr, despite difficulties with analysis of the form *natto*.

(iii) GENITIVE/POSSESSIVE: -(V)n

The genitive/possessive is illustrated in the following examples:

- 3.7 *iyirran wunya* (RMa:51)
 ‘a man’s boomerang’
 /iyir-an wanya/
iyirran wanya
 man-GEN boomerang
 ‘a man’s boomerang’
- 3.8 *dunngidyan iyirrin wanya* (RMa:52)
 ‘a big man’s boomerang’
 /dung(g)udja-n iyirrin-in wanya/
dung(g)udjan iyirrin wanya
 big-GEN man-GEN boomerang
 ‘a big man’s boomerang’
- 3.9 *iyirrin dungidyin wunya* (RMb:169)
 ‘a big man’s boomerang’
 /iyir-in dung(g)udja-in wanya/
iyirrin dung(g)udjin wanya
 man-GEN big-GEN boomerang
 ‘a big man’s boomerang’

Examples 3.7, 3.8 and 3.9 further illustrate the variation in Mathews’ representation of the genitive forms (*iyirran* in 3.7, but *iyirrin* in 3.8 and 3.9, and also *dunngidyan* in 3.8 but *dungidyin* in 3.9).

- 3.10 *Kalinya maan wiinyarin.* (Cbs:578)
 ‘Pretty face that woman has.’
 /galinya maan winyar-in/
galinya maan wiinyarin
 good face woman-GEN
 ‘The woman has a pretty face.’ or ‘the woman’s pretty face’.

¹ The form of the second person singular pronoun given in Curr’s Bangerang sentences (Cbs) is *ngia*, which contrasts with a transitive subject form *ngan*, and may be representative of the usage in the clan language described there. (For further discussion of second person pronouns see section 3.3.2.)

(iv) **ABLATIVE: -in**

The form *-in* is used to mark direction from.

- 3.11 *Birrah nyunna yarwool mânungyin.* (RMa:52)
'Go away from the camp.'

/bira nyana ya(r)wul manu-ung-in/
birra nyana ya(rr)wul manungin
go.on you.NOM walk.IMP camp-LOC-ABL
'Go on, walk from the camp.'

- 3.12 *Birrah nyunna dungoolin.* (RMa:52)
'Go away from the river.'

/bira nyana dung(g)ul-in/
birra nyana dung(g)ulin
go.on you.NOM river-ABL
'Go on, from the river!'

(v) **ALLATIVE/LOCATIVE: -ung, -uk, -nak** (Mathews uses the term 'Dative')

Mathews records examples with both /-ung/ (example 3.14) and /nak/ (example 3.13) in his notebook (RMa) although he mentions only the former in his published work. Curr provides an example with /-uk/ (example 3.15).

- 3.13 *Birrah nyunna yarwool dunngidyanak yiyirnak.* (RMa:52)
'Go to the big man.'

/bira nyana ya(r)wul dung(g)udja-nag yiyir-nag/
birra nyana ya(rr)wul dung(g)udjanak yiyirnak
go.on 2SG.NOM walk.IMP big-ALL man-ALL
'Go to the big man.'

- 3.14 *Birrah dhungooloong gũth nyinna.* (RMa:52)
'Go to the river.'

/bira dung(g)ul-ung gadh nyana/
birra dung(g)ulung gath nyana
go.on river-ALL particle? you.NOM
'Go on to the river.'

(Note: The meaning of the particle *gũth* is unclear here.)

- 3.15 *Ngia koon tabora Portpillipook?* (Cbs:578)
'Do you know (the) road to Port Phillip?'

/ngaigun dabora Pot Pilip-ug/
ngaikun daporra Port Pilipuk
know road? Port Phillip-ALL
'(Do you) know the road to Port Phillip?'

The suffix /-ung/ also appears to be used for locative function. Evidence for this comes from the fact that the word *manu* 'camp' is sometimes given as *manung* (see also example 3.11 above). There is no other locative suffix. Curr (Cb) provides locative examples with a zero case marker as illustrated in 3.12.

3.16 *Karno maano.* (Cb:577)

‘(She is) sitting (in the) (camp).’

/garnu manu-/

garrnu manu

sit-PRES camp-LOC

‘She is sitting in the camp.’

The Allative suffix *-uk* also occurs in a compound suffix found on nouns to indicate the purpose, translated as ‘to search for’ as in the following (Cb:579):

‘grass’	/bárbán/	(<i>bārbān</i>) Cbs
‘to search for grass’	/barban-nyán-uk/	(<i>barpānyanook</i>) Cbs
‘firewood’	/bídja/	(<i>biitcháo</i>) Cbs
‘to search for firewood’	/bidjá-nyan-uk/	(<i>biitānyoonook</i>) Cbs

Perhaps the compound forms are in fact subordinate verb forms with the noun incorporated. The form *-nyan-* could well be a form of the verb *nha-* ‘to see’.

(vi) **COMITATIVE: -narak**

Mathews (RMa) provides an example of the comitative use of the form *-narak*, marked on both the adjective and the head noun in example 3.17. In this example the adjective precedes the head.

3.17 *dunngidyannarak yiyirnarak* (RMa:52)

‘with a big man’

/dung(g)udja-narak yiyir-narak/

dung(g)udjanarrak yiyirrnarrak

‘with a big man’

3.2.2 **Noun number**

Mathews (RMb:168) and (RMa:52) reports dual and plural formatives for several words for *batja* ‘possum’, *yiyirr* ‘man’, and *winyarr* ‘woman’. We note that for the first two words the formatives are -(V)l dual and -(V)w plural; however, for *winyarr* ‘woman’, the forms are different; *winyandyal* (dual) and *winyanboga* (plural):

	‘possum’		‘man’		‘woman’	
Singular	/badja/	<i>buttya</i>	/yiyir/	<i>yiyir</i>	/winyar/	<i>winyar</i>
Dual ‘a couple of’	/badjal/	<i>buttyal</i>	/yiyiral/	<i>yiyirral</i>	/winyandyjal/	<i>winyandyal</i>
Plural ‘several’	/badjaw/	<i>buttyau</i>	/yiyiraw/	<i>iyarrau</i>	/winyanboga/	<i>winyanboga</i>

Mathews (RMb:169) further illustrates the use of these formatives on adjectival postmodifiers which agree with the nouns they modify:

<i>yiyir dunngidja</i>	/yiyir dung(g)udja/	'a large man'
<i>yiyirral dunngidyal</i> ²	/yiyiral dung(g)udja-al/	'a couple of large men'
<i>yiyarrau dunngidyau</i>	/yiyiraw dung(g)udja-aw/	'several large men'

It is not clear how general this process is for Yorta Yorta nouns, although the specification of dual and plural number is well documented for Yorta Yorta pronouns and interrogatives. Curr documents the use of *-l* for dual and plural nouns in Ngarimoro (Yabula Yabula). He gives the forms *bāwo* 'blackfellow', *bawool* 'dual' and *bāwal* 'plural'³ (unlike in Yorta Yorta, this would not be homophonous with the ergative in Ngarimoro, which is *-nga/*).

Examination of the Yorta Yorta combined vocabulary list suggests that the genitive suffix */(V)n/* also occurs as a plural marker as follows:

	Singular	Plural
'egg'	<i>butjanga</i>	<i>butjangin</i>
'star'	<i>duta</i>	<i>dutan</i>
'finger'	<i>djirtjirra</i>	<i>djirtjirran</i>
'tooth'	<i>dirra</i>	<i>dirran</i>
'toe'	<i>dalpa</i>	<i>dalpan</i>

The entries for 'egg/eggs', and 'star/stars' are quite clear on this point. The data for 'finger/fingers', 'tooth/teeth' and 'toe/toes' are not totally consistent, probably because toes, fingers and teeth do not naturally occur in isolation; however, whenever the word *djirtjirran* 'fingers' was used in the sense of 'hand', the final *-n/* always occurred. We thus conclude that the suffix */(V)n/* was sometimes used to code plurals as well as the possessive.

3.3 Pronouns and demonstratives

R.H. Mathews gives a comprehensive list of pronouns in his notebook (RMa:53, 57.) where he provides separate forms for 'nominative' and 'nominative agent' functions. The forms given there are almost identical to those in his two published articles, the account of Yota Yota (Rmb:70) and the account entitled Yabula Yabula (RMc:251). In the published works Mathews appears to have divided the information about the pronouns recorded in his notebook (RMa) into the two separate articles, the first focusing on the presence of both freestanding and bound pronouns in the language, and the second describing the occurrence of parallel transitive and non-transitive forms. At the time Mathews wrote the above articles it appears that he believed that Yota Yota and Yabula Yabula were only differentiated by different vocabularies. We conclude that both of these published sources are descriptions of aspects of Yorta Yorta. In contrast, the pronoun forms given in the Mathews Notebook 6 (RMi) for Yabula Yabula/Ngarrimaur and in his draft article on Ngarrimaur (unpublished manuscript (RMj)) differ from the forms given in the above publications principally in that

2 This form is homophonous with the ergative form as given by Mathews for the same phrase – see example 3.7.

3 It is possible that this plural form could have been *bawau*, paralleling the Yorta Yorta forms.

the nominative/ergative distinction is not maintained for non-singular pronouns.⁴ A full table of reconstituted pronoun forms is found in section 3.3.5.

The nominative and ergative singular pronouns for first and second person are summarised here and discussed in detail below:

	Nominative	Ergative
First person	<i>nga</i>	<i>ngatha</i>
Second person	<i>ngina</i> or <i>nyana</i>	<i>nginak</i> or <i>nyana</i>

In his Notebook 1 for Yorta Yorta (RMa), Mathews notes in the margin a set of forms ending in *-k* glossed as ‘me’, ‘thee’, ‘him’ and ‘us’. In the few sentence examples illustrating the use of these forms provided by Mathews, these forms occur as recipients of the verb *ngunhu* ‘give’ as illustrated below for the second person form *ngunuk* ‘you’. Curr also provides an example of the use of the same pronoun with the verb *domu-* ‘lend’.

3.18 *Nguttha ngoonook ngoonhoo.* (RMa:57)
‘I to thee gave it.’

/ngadha ngun-ug ngunhu/
ngatha ngunuk ngunhu
I.ERG you-ALL give.NON.FUT
‘I gave (it) to you.’

3.19 *Moorangoorang ngata tomoon ngoonook.* (Cbs:578)
‘Always I lend (to) you.’

/murangurang ngadha domun ngunug/
murrangurrang ngatha domun ngunuk
always I.ERG lend.NON.FUT you.OBJ
‘Always I lend (to) you.’

In his 1903 published account of Yabula Yabula (RMc), Mathews gives a paradigm which is very similar to that given in RMa, but with a final *-n* instead of a final *-k* for the objective forms. (The final *-n* for objective forms also appears in Mathews’ Ngarrimaur draft article, whereas *-k* forms are found in his Yabula Yabula notebook (RMi).) One conclusion we might draw is that the forms with the final *-n* are Ngarrimoro direct object forms, as distinct from Yorta Yorta direct object forms, which have the final *-k*.

A second hypothesis is that some Yabula Yabula speakers spoke a variety that used *-k* forms like Yorta Yorta while other speakers used the distinctive *-n* forms. Such a conclusion would be consistent with the fact that both James and Mathews treated Yabula Yabula and Ngarrimoro as separate groups in their listings of local groups (see section 1.3 above).

A third hypothesis is that one set of forms (probably the *-n* forms) were direct object forms in both Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula, and the other set (probably the *-k* forms) were dative/allative forms used for expressing the indirect object.

⁴ Mathews’ 1903 account of Yabala Yabala reads as though the occurrence of two sets of pronouns, one for the subject of transitive verbs and another for use with intransitive verbs, was discovered subsequent to his Yorta Yorta article; however, the Yorta Yorta notebook material made reference to ‘nominative agent’, and the 1902 article illustrated the ‘causative case’ for nouns functioning as subject of a transitive verb.

The only typically transitive sentence with a pronoun direct object is recorded for Yabula Yabula/Ngarimoro. In Mathews' manuscript notes of Yabula Yabula/Ngarimoro, he records a sentence 'A kangaroo scratched me'; however the ambiguity persists. In the notebook, he records the pronoun in this sentence with a final *-k*. In the draft article he provides it with a final *-n*.

All the Yorta Yorta examples we have of these 'objective' forms ending in *-k* are with verbs that could semantically take an indirect object, so it is possible that these forms may well be dative/allative forms, similar to the allative nominal suffixes *-nak, uk*.

Other writers provide little evidence one way or the other. Curr (Cb) for Yorta Yorta/Bangerang provides several sentence examples involving pronominal objects of clearly transitive verbs such as the verbs for 'see', 'spear' and 'hit'; however, in each case the pronominal is unexpressed, so Curr's material is unhelpful on this point unless we conclude that pronominal objects are never expressed – a conclusion which seems unlikely. For the word 'me', Robinson provides a form *nga* (*nar Rc, nar Rd*) that resembles the nominative form. This one example from Robinson might suggest that the Yorta Yorta pronouns follow the nominal pattern having a nominative/ergative (absolute) contrast where intransitive subjects and objects are in the nominative. However, it is possible that this is an elicitation error, and in the absence of further examples we can draw no firm conclusions.

A further factor that contributes to this complex picture is that, for non-singular pronouns, Mathews in his Ngurrimaura draft article (RMj) records that there was no distinction between transitive and intransitive subject forms. If this was so, then we would expect there to be a set of accusative pronouns, at least for the non-singular set. Diachronically a move from an ergative system to a nominative system is often accompanied by an intermediate tripartite marking system involving a separate accusative form.

Whether the hypothesised separate accusative (ending in *-n*) was found in both Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula or only Yabula Yabula is impossible to say. But we would assume that it was at least present in those dialects of Yabula Yabula that did not have a distinct ergative.

With split ergative systems we expect that third persons are more likely to be marked ergatively than first persons; however, it is also the case that singular pronouns can maintain distinctions that non-singular forms do not (Dixon 1980:289).

In summary then, it seems that Yorta Yorta may have had an ergative/absolute system for pronouns; however, it may also have had a tripartite system for at least some pronouns, involving a separate accusative ending in *-n*. Yabula Yabula/Ngarimoro may have had a tripartite system for singular pronouns. For Yabula Yabula non-singular pronouns for which separate ergative forms are not reported, we assume that a nominative/accusative contrast would have been maintained, the accusative form being the *-n* form. It seems likely that both Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula also had an Allative series of pronouns ending in *-k*. (Nouns in the allative are marked with a *-k* in both Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula.)

Apart from this problem with the object forms, Mathews' data is fairly consistent with the other fragments of source material available. The following analysis relies primarily on Mathews' Notebook 1 (RMa) material but incorporating our reanalysis of Mathews' 'objective' forms. By comparison with alternative spellings provided by Mathews and others we can be reasonably sure of most of the forms tabulated below.

These tables do not include the set of reflexive/emphatic pronouns which parallel the nominative and ergative forms with the addition of a suffix *-ngu* recorded in RMa:53, and in RMb:170 for the intransitive set.

3.3.1 First person pronouns

Table 14: First person pronouns

	Nominative	Ergative	Accusative/Allative ⁵	Possessive	Ablative
sg.	<i>nga</i>	<i>ngatha</i>	<i>nganin/nyanuk</i>	<i>ngini</i> or <i>nyini</i>	* <i>nyanat</i>
du.incl.	<i>ngalngin</i>	<i>ngalnginak</i>	<i>ngalngunan/ngalngunak</i>	<i>ngalngun</i>	* <i>ngalngunat</i>
du.excl.	<i>ngala</i>	<i>ngalak</i>	<i>ngalanan/ngalanak</i>	<i>ngalan</i>	* <i>ngalanat</i>
pl.incl.	<i>nyuwanda</i> ⁶	<i>nyuwandak</i>	<i>nyundanan/nyundanak</i>	<i>nyuwandan</i> ⁷	* <i>nyundanat</i>
pl.excl.	<i>nyana</i>	<i>nyanak</i>	<i>nyananan/nyananak</i>	<i>nyanan</i>	* <i>nyananat</i>

*Forms which do not occur in any of the sources, and have been reconstructed by extension of the apparent paradigm.

The following two examples illustrate nominative and ergative first person singular pronouns. The transitive (ergative) example is from Curr, whilst the intransitive (absolutive) example is from Mathews' notebook.

3.20 *Ngata naan iawa pikkeroodja.* (Cbs:578)
'I see one emu.'

/ngadha nha-n iyawa bigarumdja/
ngatha nhan iyawa bigarrumdja
I.ERG see-NON.FUT one emu.ABS
'I see one emu.'

3.21 *Nga lôapaty.* (RMa:58)
'I am talking.'

/nga lodjbadj/
nga lotjbatj
I.NOM talk/speak.CONT?
'I am talking.'

The following examples illustrate the possessive form of the first person singular pronoun.

-
- 5 In RMa, Mathews gives a paradigm which is very similar to RMc, but with a final *-k* instead of a final *-n* for the 'objective' forms.
- 6 The forms *nyuwandak* and *nyanak* are present in RMa, with a suffix *-k* which would make them identical to the ergative forms. We consider that this is probably an error and follow RMc where the forms are given without the final *-k*. This is confirmed by examination of the Emphatic/Reflexive Nominatives, where the *-k* suffix is not found.
- 7 This is the only plural pronoun for which evidence outside of Mathews is found, both EIM and James recording the forms *nyoondun* J and *newndun* E for the possessive 'our'. This suggests that the base may have been *nyunda* (rather than *nyuwanda*). Lengthening of the first syllable in what would otherwise be two syllable forms may have been a feature of the pronunciation of some speakers.

- 3.22 *thoma ngeni* (Cbs:577)
 'dear you'
 /dhoma/ /nyini/
dhoma nyini
 dear 1SG.POS
 'my dear'
- 3.23 *thoma nien thajuba* (Ls:335)
 'my dear sister'
 /dhoma nyini dhajuba/
dhoma nyini dhajuba
 dear 1SG.POS sister
 'my dear sister'
- 3.24 *neane trooma Mr Thomas* (A)
 'my dear Mr Thomas'
 /nyini dhoma Mr Thomas/
nyini dhoma Mr Thomas
 1SG.POS dear Mr Thomas
 'my dear Mr Thomas'

3.3.2 Second person pronouns

Table 15: Second person pronouns					
	Nominative	Ergative	Accusative/Allative	Possessive	Ablative
sg.	<i>ngina nyana</i>	<i>nginak</i> ⁸ <i>nyana</i>	<i>ngunun/ngunuk</i>	<i>nguni</i>	<i>ngunat</i>
du.	<i>bula</i> ⁹	<i>bulak</i>	<i>bulanana/*balanak</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>*bulanat</i>
pl.	<i>nhurra</i>	<i>nhurrak</i>	<i>nhurranan/*nhurranak</i>	<i>nhurran</i>	<i>*nhurranat</i>
*Forms which do not occur in any of the sources, and have been reconstituted by extension of the apparent paradigm.					

The first two examples of second person singular pronouns illustrate the use of *nyana* in both transitive and intransitive contexts and *ngina* in intransitive contexts:

- 8 This form is found only in RMc (Mathews 1903), which we regard as being an account of Yorta Yorta pronouns. It is consistent with the base *ngina*; however, see below for a more detailed discussion of the second person singular pronoun.
- 9 These forms *bulak* and *nhurrak* are present in RMa, with a suffix *-k* which would make them identical to the ergative forms. We consider that this is probably an error and follow RMc where the forms are given without the final *-k*. This is confirmed by examination of the emphatic/reflexive nominatives, where the *-k* suffix is not found.

- 3.25 *Birrah nyunna yarwool mānūngyin.* (RMa:52)
 ‘Go away from the camp.’
 /bira nyana ya(r)-wu-l manung-in/
birra nyana ya(rr)wul manungin
 go.on.IMP you.NOM walk-IMP camp-ABL
 ‘Go on, walk away from camp.’
- 3.26 *Nyunna mullen banga.* (RMa:54)
 ‘Thou didst beat.’
 /nyana malén-banga/
nyana malenbanga
 you.NOM beat-NON.FUT.PAST
 ‘You beat.’
- 3.27 *Moolanmook nginna?* (Cbs:576)
 ‘Hungry you?’
 /mulanmug ngina/
mulanmuk ngina
 hungry you.NOM
 ‘Are you hungry?’
- 3.28 *Birrah dhungooloong gūth nyinna.* (RMa:52)
 ‘Go to the river.’
 /bira dung(g)ul-ung gadh ngina/
bira dung(g)ulung gadh ngina
 go.on river-ALL particle? you.NOM
 ‘Go on to the river.’ (Note: The meaning of the particle /gadh/ is unclear)

The following example illustrates the use of the second person singular pronoun in the case Mathews labels as ‘objective’.

- 3.29 *Nguttha ngoonook ngoonhoo.* (RMa:57)
 ‘I to thee gave it.’
 /ngadha ngun-ug ngunhu/
ngatha ngunuk ngunhu
 I.ERG you-ALL give-?
 ‘I gave (it) to you.’
- 3.30 *Moorangoorang ngata tomoon ngoonook.* (Cbs:578)
 ‘Always I lend (to) you.’
 /Murangurang ngadha domun ngunug/
murrangurang ngatha domun ngunuk
 Always I.ERG lend.NON.FUT you.ALL
 ‘I always lend (it) (to) you.’

In both of the above examples we see that the verbs *-ngunhu* ‘give’, and the verb *domun* ‘lend’ take their subject in the ergative case, the recipient in what we have identified as the allative case, and the item given or lent is unexpressed. Curr provides several examples of transitive sentences with pronominal object referents in the translation; however, in each case the object pronoun has been omitted. It would seem from Curr’s examples that, if a pronominal reference can be understood from the context, then neither a pronoun nor a

bound pronoun is required, regardless of person or grammatical function, as illustrated by the brackets in Curr's translations (Cb:576):

- 3.31 (I have) not seen (them)

*yoorta-t-naan*¹⁰

/yoda-nha-n/

yorta-nhan

NEG-see-NON.FUT

- 3.32 (Affirmative) seen (them)

baanga-t-naan

/banga-nha-n/

banga-nhan

PAST-see-NON.FUT

- 3.33 (I) have not seen (him)

katir naan

/gadha nha-n/

gatha nhan

NEG see-NON.FUT

3.3.2.1 *Some further discussion of second person singular forms*

The forms that Mathews provides in his published pronoun paradigm for the second person singular pronoun are not consistent with the forms he provides in his sentence examples in RMa (and elsewhere). There is also significant variation found in other sources. We have concluded that there must have been two bases for the second person singular pronoun, one based on **ngina**, where the nominative and ergative forms are distinguished by the suffix **-k** on the ergative, and one based on **nyana**, where the cases are not distinguished. (Mathews in RMa and his other writings repeatedly used **nyana** in both transitive and intransitive contexts.) Forms based on **ngina** and on **nyana** are recorded by other writers.¹¹

This may be an example of a pronominal system in a state of change – with the nominative/ergative split either being established or being gradually abandoned. The form **ngina** is close to the Proto Australian of the second person singular, which is posited to be *ngin** (Dixon 1980:340).

All the forms of the second person singular pronoun which were listed by the various recorders are shown below, together with our proposed spelling in bold.

¹⁰ Curr's transcription is consistent with the analysis that the initial nasal in the verb 'see' is a dental nasal and the form is phonemically /nhan/.

¹¹ In Curr's sentence examples for Bangerang (Cb) we find for the second person singular *ngia* (transitive contexts) and *ngan* (intransitive contexts), whereas in Curr's Toolinyāgan (Ct) we find *ngini* (intransitive context). It thus may be that the variation is due to clan language differences. The form *nyana* is also found with the meaning 'one' in the Hercus example:

[dhoma	nytni	nyana]
/dhoma	nyini	nyana/
dhoma	nyini	nyana
dear	my	one

Nominative	Ergative	'Objective'	Possessive	Ablative
<i>ngina, nyana</i> (<i>nginna</i> RMa) (<i>nginna</i> RMc) (<i>nyinna</i> RMe) (<i>nyunna</i> RMa) (<i>ngia</i> Cb)	<i>nginak, nyana</i> (<i>nyunna</i> RMa) (<i>nginnak</i> RMc) (<i>ngan</i> Cb) (<i>nyinna</i> RMe corrected from <i>nyunna</i>)	<i>ngunun/ngunuk</i> (<i>ngoonook</i> RMa) (<i>ngunun</i> RMc) (<i>ngunook</i> J) (<i>ngoonook</i> Cb) (<i>woonook</i> E) (<i>ngunuk</i> RMe) (<i>ngunak</i> RMi)	<i>nguni</i> (<i>ngoonee</i> RMa) (<i>nguni</i> RMc) (<i>nguni</i> RMb) (<i>ngunnee</i> J)	<i>ngunat</i> (<i>ngoonat</i> RMa) (<i>ngunat</i> RMe)

Indeterminate Subject Forms¹²

(<i>yun.nun</i> Rc)	(<i>ŋine</i> H)
(<i>ngeni</i> Cb)	(<i>ngeni</i> Ct)
(<i>ngā</i> Cb)	(<i>ngīa</i> Cb)
(<i>ngena</i> Cp)	(<i>nginna</i> Ct)
(<i>nyenna</i> J)	(- <i>nginna</i> RMb)

3.3.3 Third person pronouns

The language appears to have two series of third person pronouns, one set based on a root of /d(h)a-/ and a second based on a root beginning with /n(h)-/. Both sets seem to be closely related to the demonstratives (see section 3.3.6 below). We provide the following paradigm based principally on Mathews' notebook (RMa).

	Nominative	Ergative	Accusative/Allative	Possessive	Ablative
sg.	<i>da</i>	<i>daluk</i> <i>nulgulaya</i>	<i>nilenan/nilenak</i>	<i>dinin</i> <i>nilin</i>	<i>nilinatja</i>
du.	<i>damulu</i>	<i>damuluk</i>		<i>damalinya</i>	<i>bulanatja</i>
pl.	<i>damna</i>	<i>damnak</i> <i>ngamuluk</i>	<i>damnanan/damnanak</i>	<i>damnan</i> <i>ngamunyan</i>	<i>d(h)alanatja</i>

The full list of third person singular forms is listed below for comparison. We cannot explain all of the recorded forms; however, several of the entries provided in other sources accord with the forms provided by Mathews.

¹² There are in addition forms given as 'you' which we presume to be errors for the first person, *ngā* Cb, *ngīa* Cb, *kna* E.

Nominative	Ergative	'Objective'	Possessive	Ablative
(<i>da</i> RMa)	(<i>dâlook</i> RMa)	(<i>nillenak</i> RMa)	(<i>dinin</i> RMa)	(<i>neeleenatya</i> RMa)
(<i>da</i> RMc)	(<i>daluk</i> RMc)	(<i>dēya</i> RMc)	(<i>danin</i> RMc)	
(- <i>da</i> RMb)	(<i>dalook</i> J)	(<i>nileenuck</i> J)	(<i>dinnin</i> RMb)	
(- <i>da</i> H)	(<i>nulcoolay</i> J)	(<i>ootcuk</i> ⁴ E)	(<i>nillin</i> ⁵ J)	
	(<i>nolukena</i> ¹ E)		(<i>dineenya</i> ⁶ J)	
	(<i>nownga</i> ² E)	(<i>nilleanak</i> RMe)	(<i>none</i> ⁷ E)	
	(<i>noolclêa</i> RMa:57)		(<i>yinna-pultubul</i> ⁸ E)	
	(<i>nuklea</i> RMe)			

Indeterminate Subject Forms

(*yinna*³ E)

(*maloo* RMa:61)

(*damala* RMa:61)

Notes: ¹ 'he'; ² 'she'; ³ 'it'; ⁴ 'him'; ⁵ 'his'; ⁶ 'her'; ⁷ 'his'; ⁸ 'its' (2 things).

The following sentence examples illustrate the use of some of these third person pronouns in sentences:

- 3.34 *Yanda.* (H)
 /yan-da/
yanda
 go-NON.FUT.3SG.NOM
 'He is going.'
- 3.35 *Nguttha ngoonoo nilleanak.* (RMa:57)
 'I gave it to him.'
 /ngadha ngunh-u nilinag/
ngatha ngunhu nilinak
 I.ERG give-NON.FUT 3SG.ALL
 'I gave it to him.'
- 3.36 *dinneanaruk bunnooth* (RMa:55)
 'at his back'
 /dinin-arug banu(dh)/
dininarruk banuth
 3SG-GEN.LOC back
 'at his back'

3.3.4 Examples of pronoun cases

The pronoun case system described by Mathews can be illustrated by the following sentence examples from various sources. (Some of these examples have been used above, but they are repeated here for convenience.)

(i) NOMINATIVE:

- 3.37 *Nga kannha.* (RMa:58)
 'I am sitting.'
 /nga ganha/
nga ganha
 I.NOM sit.NON.FUT
 'I am sitting.'

(ii) ERGATIVE:

- 3.38 *Ngata naan iawa pikkeroomdja.* (Cbs:578)
 'I see one emu.'
 /ngadha nha-n iyawa bigarumdja/
ngatha nhan iyawa bigarrumdja
 I.ERG see-NON.FUT one emu(ABS)
 'I see one emu.'

(iii) INDIRECT OBJECT/ALLATIVE: -k

- 3.39 *Nguttha ngoonook ngoonhoo.* (RMa:57)
 'I to thee gave it.'
 /ngadha ngun-ug ngunhu/
ngatha ngunuk ngunhu
 I.ERG you-ALL give.NON.FUT
 'I gave (it) to you.'
- 3.40 *Moorangoorang ngata tomoon ngoonook.* (Cbs:578)
 'Always I lend (to) you.'
 /murangurang ngadha domun ngunug/
murrangurrang ngatha domun ngunuk
 always I.ERG lend.NON.FUT you.ALL
 'Always I lend (to) you.'

(iv) SPECIAL DATIVE/BENEFACTIVE: -nigiya

In addition to the accusative and allative forms discussed above, Mathews (RMa) records some alternative forms which seem to be a focused benefactive.

- 3.41 *Ngutta ngoonoo bulalniggiya.* (RMa:57)
 'I gave it to them.'
 /ngadha ngunhu bula-l-n-igiya??/
ngatha ngunhu bulalnigiya
 I.ERG give.NON.FUT you.DU.BEN
 'I gave it to the two of you.'

- 3.42 *Ngutta ngoonoo dhullanginnagia.* (RMa:57)
 'I gave it to them.'
 /ngadha ngunhu d(h)ala-ngin-agiya?/?/
ngatha ngunhu dalanginagiya
 1 SG.ERG give.NON.FUT 3PL.BEN??
 'I gave it to them.'

The benefactive ending in both of the preceding examples seems to be /-agiya/ or /-igiya/, although the base of the pronouns concerned is a little unclear.

(v) **GENITIVE/POSSESSIVE: -n**

In the first and second person singular, possessive pronouns end in *-i* (*nyini* 'my', *nguni* 'your'); however, most other forms end in *-n* (like nouns in the genitive/ possessive.) The only sentence example we have of possessive pronouns ending in the *-n* form is one which is further compounded with the locative: see examples 3.44 and 3.45 below.

Locke (Ls) gives an example where the genitive/possessive form of the first person singular pronoun *nyini* is used in a benefactive sense:

- 3.43 *Beriaroo wabuja yalmin neenee.* (Ls)
 'Go and cut some bark for me.'
 /bira ya(r)wul wabudja yalma nyini/
bira ya(rr)wul wabudja yalma nyini
 go.on walk.IMP cut.IMP bark me.GEN
 'Go and cut bark for me.'

(vi) **LOCATIVE/ALLATIVE FUNCTION: -arruk arrak**

The only examples we have of a locative use of pronouns are the following, given by Mathews (RMa) for locatives of possessives. The suffix Mathews gives for the forms is variously given as *-arook*, *-êrak* and *-aruk*, which has the same final syllable as the locative/allative suffix for nouns: *-ak*, or *-uk* illustrated above. However, as we have noted, the *-ak*, *-uk* suffix is used for 'objective' pronouns which may be more like dative/allatives. We might expect to find of a locative/allative pronoun in sentences like 'I threw the ball at him', or 'I walked to him', but unfortunately we do not have such examples. We wonder whether pronouns in these typical locative/allative functions would have been marked the same as the 'objective' with *-ak*, *-uk* or perhaps may have had the same form we see used in the locative of a possessive *arruk*, *arrak*. We note here the similarity between this locative/allative form and the form *-naruk*, *-narak*, exemplified for the comitative for nouns.

Mathews provides several examples of the suffix *-narruk* used as a locative of the possessive as illustrated in example 3.44.

- 3.44 *bunnooth' nyeena'rook* (RMa:55)
 'at my back'
 /banú(dh) nyini-árug/
banuth nyinarruk
 back 1SG-GEN.LOC
 'at my back'

Sentence 3.45 exemplifies this form in pre-head position. It is surprising to find that the head is not also case-marked, as we find with adjectival modifiers in comitative phrases (see example 3.17 above) where a similar suffix is found.

- 3.45 *ngoon nêrak bunnooth* (RMa:55)
 ‘at thy back’
 /nguni-arug banu(dh)/
ngunarruk banuth
 2SG-GEN.LOC back
 ‘at your back’

(vii) **ABLATIVE: -at, -adja**

The examples we have of pronouns in Ablative function are marked with the suffix *-at*, or *-atja* (cf. ablative case for nouns *-in*).

- 3.46 *Nguttha ngoonat mummün.* (RMa:57)
 ‘I took it from thee.’
 /ngadha ngun-ad muma-n/
ngatha ngunat muman
 I.ERG you-ABL take-NON.FUT
 ‘I took it from you.’

- 3.47 *Nelleenatya ngutta mummün.* (RMa:57)
 ‘I took it from him.’
 /nilin-adja ngadha muma-n/
nilinatja ngatha muman
 DEM-ABL I.ERG take-NON.FUT
 ‘I took it from him.’

(viii) **REFLEXIVE/EMPHATIC: -ngu**

Mathews (RMa:54) provides the following three reflexive sentences:

- 3.48 *Ngango mul’lin ngangyeen.* (RMa:54)
 ‘I am beating myself.’
 /nga-ngu mālin nganyin/
ngangu malin nganyin
 ISG.NOM.EMPH beat.NON.FUT REFLEXIVE
 ‘I am beating myself.’

- 3.49 *Nyunnungo mul’lin ngangyeen.*
 ‘Thou art beating thyself.’
 /nyana-ngu malin nganyin/
nyana-ngu malin nganyin
 2SG.NOM.EMPH beat.NON.FUT REFLEXIVE
 ‘You are beating yourself.’

- 3.50 *Nhaoongo mul’lin ngangyeen.* (RMa:54)
 ‘He is beating himself.’

/da-ngu malin nganyin/
nha-ngu *malin* *nganyin*
 3SG.NOM.EMPH beat.NON.FUT REFLEXIVE
 'He is beating himself.'

In these sentences, the form *-ngu* is attached to the nominative form of the relevant subject pronoun. The invariant form *nganyin* seems to be a verbal particle required in reflexive sentences.

3.3.5 Yorta Yorta pronoun summary

We can tabulate the basic case suffixes for pronouns as:

Subject (intransitive)	-∅	/-∅/
Ergative	-(a)k	/-(a)g/ ¹³
Direct object	-∅ or <i>-nan, nun?</i>	/-∅/ or *?/-nan/, *?/-nun/
Dative/Allative	<i>-nak, -nuk</i>	/-nag/, /-nug/
Genitive Possessive	<i>-n</i>	/-n/
Locative of the Genitive	<i>-n-arruk</i>	/-n-arug/
Comitative	<i>-arruk</i>	/-arug/
Ablative	<i>-at, -atja</i>	/-ad/, /-adja/
Special Benefactive	<i>-agiya</i>	/-agiya/
Reflexive/Emphatic Nominative	<i>-ngu</i>	/-ngu/
Reflexive/Emphatic Ergative	<i>-k-ngu</i>	/-g-ngu/

Using the first person exclusive dual pronoun /ngala/ as an example we can construct the following paradigm:

Subject (intransitive)	<i>ngala</i>	/ngala/
Ergative	<i>ngalak</i>	/ngalag/
Direct object	<i>*ngala?</i> (or) <i>ngalanan</i>	<i>*ngala/?</i> (or) <i>ngalanan/</i>
Dative/Allative	<i>ngalanak</i>	/ngalanag/
Genitive Possessive	<i>ngalan</i>	/ngalan/
Locative of the Genitive	<i>*ngalanarruk</i>	<i>*ngalanarug/</i>
Comitative	<i>*ngalarruk</i>	<i>*ngalarug/</i>
Ablative	<i>*ngalanat</i>	<i>*ngalad/</i>
'Special Benefactive'	<i>*ngalagiya</i>	<i>*ngalagiya/</i>
Reflexive/Emphatic Nominative	<i>ngalangu</i>	/ngalangu/
Reflexive/Emphatic Ergative	<i>ngalakngu</i>	/ngalag-ngu/
* Forms which do not occur in any of the sources and have been reconstructed by extension of the apparent paradigm.		

¹³ First and second person singular pronouns have separate forms.

This regular pattern does not apply in full to the singular pronouns, where there are two or sometimes three stems, and some irregular endings; see section 3.3.1 above.

The following is a summary table of Yorta Yorta pronouns.

Table 19: Summary of Yorta Yorta pronouns					
	Nominative	Ergative	Accusative/Allative	Possessive	Ablative
SINGULAR					
1	<i>nga</i>	<i>ngatha</i>	<i>nganin/nyanuk</i>	<i>ngini, nyini</i>	<i>*nyanat</i>
2	<i>ngina nyana</i>	<i>nginak, nyana</i>	<i>ngunun/ngunuk</i>	<i>nguni</i>	<i>ngunat</i>
3	<i>da</i>	<i>daluk nulgulaya</i>	<i>nilinan/nilinak</i>	<i>danin nilin</i>	<i>nilinatja</i>
DUAL					
1 incl.	<i>ngalngin</i>	<i>ngalnginak</i>	<i>ngalngunan/ ngalngunak</i>	<i>ngalngun</i>	<i>*ngalngunat</i>
1 excl.	<i>ngala</i>	<i>ngalak</i>	<i>ngalanan/ ngalanak</i>	<i>ngalan</i>	<i>*ngalanat</i>
2	<i>bula</i>	<i>bulak</i>	<i>bulanana/ *balanak</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>*bulanat</i>
3	<i>damulu</i>	<i>dumuluk</i>		<i>damalinya</i>	<i>bulalnatja</i>
PLURAL					
1 incl.	<i>nyuwanda</i>	<i>nyuwandak</i>	<i>nyundanan/ nyundanak</i>	<i>nyuwandan</i>	<i>*nyundanat</i>
1 excl.	<i>nyana</i>	<i>nyanak</i>	<i>nyananan/ nyananak</i>	<i>nyanan</i>	<i>*nyananat</i>
2	<i>nhurra</i>	<i>nhurrak</i>	<i>nhurranan/ *nhurranak</i>	<i>nhurran</i>	<i>*nhurranat</i>
3	<i>damna</i>	<i>damnak ngamuluk</i>	<i>damnanan/ damnanak</i>	<i>ngamunyan</i>	<i>d(h)alanatja</i>

3.3.6 Demonstrative pronouns

A variety of demonstratives are recorded in the sources. In his 1903 publication (RMc), Mathews comments that “The demonstratives in this language are numerous, and can, by various combinations, be made to indicate position, direction, distance, person, number, possession, etc.”. It is clear that the demonstratives distinguished three degrees of proximity, and were also built on more than one stem. There also seems to be additional formatives, *-buraya* and *-win*, for which the meaning is not clear. In the following table we have extracted the base forms, but also provide the source information for comparison.

Table 20: Demonstrative pronouns				
'here' (close proximity)	'there' (medium proximity)		'over there' (far proximity)	
daya (<i>da-e-ya</i> RMa)	nhalaya (<i>nhullaia</i> RMa)	danga- (<i>dūngubbera</i> RMa)	nganga- (<i>ngungabunnarak</i> RMa)	dhamnala (<i>dhamnala</i> RMa)
(<i>daya</i> E)	(<i>nhullai</i> RMb)	(<i>dungubbera</i> RMb)	(<i>ngungabunnarak</i> RMb)	
(<i>daya</i> J)	(<i>nalaya</i> J)	(<i>tungaia</i> Cbs)	(<i>ngangaburaya</i> GB)	
(<i>dewin</i> H)	(<i>nellay</i> E)	(<i>gungaia</i> E)	(<i>ngangab(u)rai</i> Hpmc)	
(<i>ondeyia</i> Cbs)	(<i>nellea</i> Cb)	(<i>gomānda</i> Hpmc)	(<i>nganguburai</i> Hmt)	
(<i>deywin</i> Hpmc)	(<i>nēlle</i> Cb)			
(<i>womigānda</i> Hpmc)	(<i>nelangaia</i> Cbs)			
delaya (<i>delaia</i> H)				
(<i>talkoobaia</i> Cbs)				

We can extract the following suffixes but are unable to reliably suggest any meanings:

/-bura/	e.g. dangá-burra	(<i>dungubbera</i> RMa)
/-aya/	e.g. dang-aya	(<i>tungaia</i> Cbs)
/-buraya/	e.g. nganga-burraya	(GB – Hymn)
/-win/	e.g. daya-win	(<i>dewin</i> H)
/-buraya-win/	e.g. nganga-burraya-win	(<i>NaNabrawin</i> H)
/-banarak/	e.g. nganga-banarrak	(<i>ngungabunnarak</i> RMa)
	cf. baparra banarrak	(<i>pappura-bunnarak</i> RMb) 'long ago'

The stem *nganga* may well have a directional meaning 'away from' in view of its use to mean 'outside of' (E).

James provides the form *dalaburaya* 'those near', which is obviously related to the third person singular stem *-dala*, and a form *uomnaburaya* 'those distant'. There is no other clear record of a form (*w*)*omna* as a third person pronoun; however, this word may be related to that which Curr records as *ondeyia* (Cbs) 'here'.

Mathews provides a sentence example with the form that he identifies as a demonstrative meaning 'over there' as the subject:

- 3.51 *Dumnala mulledhan.* (RMA:61)
 'They (other fellows) are fighting.'
 /d(h)amnala male-dhan/
damnala maledhan
 far.proximity fight-RECIP
 '(Those) over there are fighting each other.'

There is a clear relationship between demonstratives and third person pronouns in Yorta Yorta. The third person plural pronoun is *damna* (NOM), *damnak* (ERG), whereas the demonstrative is *damnala*. There may once have been a very exhaustive system of words

which made it clear where the third person referred to was in relationship to the speaker. Much of this system is now lost, but from the above an idea can be gained of what the system might once have been.

Table 21: Demonstrative pronoun forms by source

Hercus (H)	<i>delaia</i>	'near here'
	<i>denjiwoga</i>	'there, quite close'
	<i>dewin</i>	'this one here'
	<i>ḡaḡabrawin</i>	'that one quite close'
James (J):	<i>damia</i>	'these'
	<i>dalaburaya</i>	'those near'
	<i>uomnaburaya</i>	'those distant'
	<i>daya</i>	'this'
Mathews (RMa)	<i>nalaya</i>	'that'
	<i>nhullaia</i>	'there'
	<i>dũḡubbera</i>	'there, a little way off'
	<i>ḡunga bunnarak</i>	'a good way'
Curr (Cbs)	<i>dhumnala</i>	'over yonder'
	<i>da-e-ya</i>	'here'
	<i>nellea</i>	'that', 'that one'
	<i>nēlle</i>	'this'
	<i>nellēya</i>	'that one'
	<i>nelangaia</i>	'there', 'up there'
	<i>ondeyia</i>	'here'
	<i>talkoobaia</i>	'that'
EIM (E)	<i>tungaia</i>	'that one' (No.54)
	<i>nellay</i>	'that'
	<i>daya</i>	'here'
	<i>ḡungaia</i>	'there'

3.3.7 Interrogative pronouns and questions

3.3.7.1 Interrogatives

The interrogative forms can be summarised as follows (mostly from RMa):

Table 22: Interrogative pronouns and questions

'who?'	<i>ngani</i>	/ngani/	(<i>ngânee</i> ¹⁴ RMa)
'who?' (ergative)	<i>nganung</i>	/ngan-ung/	(<i>ngunung</i> RMh:170)
	<i>nganuk</i>	/ngan-ug/	(<i>nganog</i> Cb:578)
'who?' (two)	<i>nganibula</i>	/ngani-bula/	(<i>nganeebula</i> RMa)
'who?' (several)	<i>ngani-nhurru</i>	/ngani-nhuru/	(<i>nganeenhoroo</i> RMa)
'who for?'	<i>ngani-ngadha</i>	/ngani-n-gadha/	(<i>ngunneenguddha</i> ¹⁵ RMa)
'who from?'	<i>nganinat</i>	/ngani-n-ad/	(<i>ngunnennat</i> RMa)
'who with?'	<i>nganinarruk</i>	/ngani-n-arug/	(<i>ngunneenarook</i> RMa)
'what?'	<i>minhe</i>	/minhe/	(<i>minnhê</i> RMa)
'what for?'	<i>minhe-ngadha</i>	/minhe-n-gadha/	(<i>minnhetguddha</i> RMa)
	<i>minhenuk</i>	/minhe-n-ug/	(<i>minyanook</i> Cb)
'what with?'	<i>minhalda</i>		(<i>minnhalda</i> RMa)
'which'	<i>womigin</i>		(<i>womogin</i> Cb)
'when'	<i>womerriga</i>		(<i>wummir goowirr</i> RMa)
'where (at)'	<i>wanhal</i>	/wanhal/	(<i>wunhool</i> RMc)
'where (to)'	<i>waka</i>	/wa(r)ga/	(<i>waga</i> RMb)

The case endings on the interrogatives are:

ergative	-k	/-g/	
benefactive	-ngatha	/-ngadha/	/-n-gadha/
purposive	-nak	/-nug/	/-n-ug/
ablative	-nat	/-nad/	/-n-ad/
comitative	-narruk	/-narug/	/-n-arug/ (= locative of possessive)

All but one of the recorded interrogative sentences have the interrogative pronoun in sentence-initial position. The fact that one of Curr's sentences has a non-initial order suggests that Yorta Yorta also allowed interrogative sentences to parallel the declarative word order as is the general pattern for Australian Aboriginal languages.

In the following two examples from Curr we see the word *wanhal* 'where' in both initial and non-initial position. Example 3.54 from Priscilla McCrae also has the same interrogative pronoun in sentence-initial position.

- 3.52 *Wûnnul ênbena?* (Cbs:576)
 'Where are the blacks?'
 /wanhal yenbena/
wanhal yenbena
 where Aborigines
 'Where are the Aborigines?'

14 Spelled *ngandi* in RMh:170.

15 Spelled *nganinnakguddha* in RMh:170.

- 3.53 *Yallebla wunnul?* (Cbs:577)
 ‘Where (is) Yallebla?’
 /yalebla wanhal/
yalebla wanhal
 Yallebla where
 ‘Where is Yallebla?’
- 3.54 *Wanal gana?* (Hpmc)
 ‘Where is mother?’
 /wanhal gana/
wanhal gana
 where mother
 ‘Where is mother?’
- The following sentences exemplify the use of other interrogative pronouns:
- 3.55 *Nganog baatim?* (Cbs:578)
 ‘Who speared them?’
 /ngani-ug badim/
nganuk batim
 who-ERG spear.PRES
 ‘Who speared them?’
- 3.56 *Ngain nella?* (Cbs:576)
 ‘Who is that person?’
 /ngani nhalaya/
ngani nhalaya
 who that.midproximate
 ‘Who is that?’
- 3.57 *Minyanook yanna Moira?* (Cbs:577)
 ‘Why did he go to Moira?’
 /minhe-nug yanha Moira/
minhenuk yanha Moira
 what-for go.PRES/PAST Moira
 ‘Why did he go to Moira?’
- 3.58 *Waga nyunna yunna?* (RMa:56)
 ‘Where art thou going?’
 /waga nyana yanha/
waka nyana yanha
 where you.SG go.PRES
 ‘Where are you going?’

- 3.59 *Wum'mirr goowirr' nyunna yanna?* (RMa:56)
 'When art thou going?
 /wumir-guwir¹⁶ nyana yanha/
wumirr-guwirr nyana yanha
 when you.SG go.PRES
 'When are you going?'
- 3.60 *Womogin ngia mommon?* (Cbs:578)
 'Which one will you take or seize?'
 /womigin ngina-g muma-n/
womigin nginak muman
 which you-ERG seize-PRES
 'Which will you take/seize?'

3.3.7.2 Polar (yes/no) questions

- 3.61 *Ngia koon tabora Portpillipook?* (Cbs:578)
 'Do you know (the) road to Port Phillip?'
 /ngaigun dabora 'Pot Pilip'-ug/
ngaikun daporra Port Pilipuk
 know road Port Phillip.ALL
 'Do (you) know the road to Port Phillip?'
- 3.62 *Koll binabbin boor?* (Cbs:577)
 '(Is) Colbinabbin far off?'
 /Golbinabin buraya/¹⁷
Golbinabin burraya
 Colbinabin far.distant
 'Is Colbinabin far off?'
- 3.63 *Moolanmook ngina?* (Cbs:576)
 'Hungry you?'
 /mulanmug ngina/
mulanmuk ngina
 hungry you
 'Are you hungry?'

3.3.8 Summary of case endings

There appear to be some case endings that are set off by a linker *-n-* which is homophonous with the possessive. For some functions, alternative forms are recorded with and without the linker. This may be the synchronic reflex of change. It is perhaps no

¹⁶ The form *womerriga* 'when', which was recorded by Hercus and survives to the present day, is probably a contraction of this earlier form which was also attested in Barry's material (E). This form seems to be related to *womigin* 'which', illustrated in example 3.60.

¹⁷ See sections 3.3.6, 4.2.3.

coincidence that the *-n-* linker is found as part of the accusative marker on pronouns, where the language exhibits a tripartite system.

Table 23: Summary of case endings

	Nouns	Pronouns	Interrogatives
Subject (intransitive)	∅	∅	∅
Ergative	-(V)l	-(V)k	-(V)k, -(V)ng
Direct object	∅	∅ or <i>-n-an</i>	
Dative/Allative	<i>-ung, -uk, -n-ak</i>	<i>-n-ak, n-uk</i>	
Ablative	<i>-in</i>	<i>-at, -atja</i>	<i>-n-at</i>
Possessive/Possessive	-(V)n	-(V)n	
Instrumental	-(V)l		
Benefactive/Purposive			<i>-n-ak, -n-gadha</i>
Comitative	<i>-n-arrak</i>	<i>-n-arruk</i>	<i>-n-arruk</i>
Special Dative		<i>-agiya</i>	
Emphatic Intransitive		<i>-ngu</i>	
Emphatic Transitive		<i>-k-ngu</i>	

3.4 Prepositions

In his articles on the Yorta Yorta language, R.H. Mathews does not make any reference to a word class of prepositions, although he does list a set of prepositions for the Yabula Yabula language in both RMi and RMj. Further, there do not appear to be any examples of freestanding prepositions in the vocabulary lists or sentences provided by Curr. The noun case-marking system incorporates many of the functions carried by prepositions in languages like English. However, even in case-marking languages there are usually also prepositions (or postpositions) to convey more specific locational and time relations such as ‘above’, ‘below’, ‘since’, etc.

It is not surprising therefore that we find a list of 35 words labelled ‘prepositions’ in the Barry EIM list. Some of these have parallels with each other, with Mathews’ notes on Yabula Yabula (RMi), or with individual words listed in other sources. For about half the words in the EIM list, there is some information about the word from some other sources. Most of these words are probably genuine Yorta Yorta words which the informant has adapted to meet the demands of the elicitation context. Some of the responses seem to be a result of the data-gathering method of eliciting translation equivalents. For example, the word *ngawitpa*, given for ‘around’ is elsewhere reported as meaning ‘round’. We can imagine a researcher asking for ‘around’, and drawing with his hand a circle, and receiving the response *ngawitpa* ‘round’. Similarly, the entry for ‘above’ is given as *bukut*, which is probably ‘from the head’. It is possible that the researcher, when trying to elicit ‘above’ touched his head and moved his hand upwards, thus getting the answer:

- 3.64 *buku-t*
 head-ABL
 ‘from the head’

The following list of putative prepositions shows quite a number that end in *-t*, *-tj*, *-dja*. Such words may have originated as case forms of nouns as illustrated in example 3.64.

Although in some cases the words given appear to be genuine words, there is no information about how they were used, apart from the label 'prepositions'. We can do no more than presume that a phrase such as 'around the box tree' would have consisted of the noun, case-marked in one of the oblique cases, perhaps allative (the locative case does not appear to be separately marked in Yorta Yorta) all of which would perhaps be preceded by the word for 'around'.

- 3.65 (??) *ngawitpa dharrnya-ng*
 around box.tree-LOC/ALL

Given that adjectives seem to precede the noun they modify in Yorta Yorta, it would be likely that adpositions would also precede the noun they relate to, consistent with the label 'preposition' for this class of words.

The full list of prepositions from Barry (E) is given below, together with comparable items from other sources for verification or contrast.

Table 24: Prepositions (Barry and other sources)

'about'	<i>ngawitpa</i>	(<i>arwich</i> E)	<i>ngarwika</i> RMi 'around' <i>ngawidpa</i> Cb 'round'
'above'	<i>bukut</i>	(<i>boot-koot</i> E)	perhaps from <i>buka</i> 'head'
'across'	<i>baitun</i>	(<i>bait-tun</i> E)	
'after'	<i>gowidja</i>	(<i>cow-wiga</i> E)	= <i>coweadja</i> E 'behind'
'against'	<i>nolwit</i>	(<i>nolwet, nolweet</i> E)	compare <i>nolwiterak</i> (<i>nooletheruck</i> E) 'to fight'
'along'	<i>bumidakabiya</i>	(<i>boomeyduckubea</i> E)	
'among'	<i>ralpatha</i>	(<i>ralpaether</i> E)	
'before'	<i>damuga</i>	(<i>tamuga</i> E)	
'behind'	<i>gowidja</i>	(<i>coweaja</i> E)	= <i>cow-wiga</i> E 'after'; compare <i>witedja gowidja</i> E 'to leave behind' (<i>bunnhur</i> RMi 'behind', 'other side')
'below'	<i>nukul</i>	(<i>nugul</i> E)	
'beside'	<i>gakumaita</i>	(<i>gagurmaither</i> E)	
'between'	<i>dapalama</i>	(<i>tarपालarma</i> E)	(<i>dū'mūr</i> RMi 'between')
'beyond'	<i>menut</i>	(<i>mainoot</i> E)	perhaps related to <i>menu</i> 'hip'
'by'	<i>garrulyenek</i>	(<i>carulyenerk</i> E)	
'down'	<i>gulit</i>	(<i>goollit</i> E)	= <i>guli</i> 'under'; perhaps related to <i>golinba</i> 'lower lip' (<i>nhunnaka</i> RMi 'down')
'during'	<i>meyun</i>	(<i>meyyoon</i> E)	
'except'	<i>ninenuwuda</i>	(<i>nynenoowooda</i> E)	cf. <i>wuta</i> 'all'
'for'	<i>minhenak guna</i>	(<i>minuelaenicwunyina</i> E)	probably <i>minhenak-gadha</i> 'what for'
'from'	<i>muma</i>	(<i>mumma</i> E)	from <i>muma</i> 'to take, get'
'in'	<i>ina</i>	(<i>ina</i> E)	English 'in'
'into'	<i>ina</i>	(<i>ina</i> E)	English 'in'

Table 24: Prepositions (Barry and other sources)

'of'	<i>nin</i>	(<i>neyne</i> E)	<i>nyini</i> 'my'
'off'	<i>birrama</i>	(<i>broong a ma</i> E)	from <i>birrama</i> 'be off, go away'
'on'	<i>wamadaman</i>	(<i>wummadumun</i> E)	= <i>wamadaman</i> 'upon' <i>wammuthan</i> RMi 'on top'
'over'	<i>ganatj</i>	(<i>gannuch</i> E)	compare <i>mummma gana</i> J 'to hold' and <i>witedja ganin</i> E 'to leave' (<i>dhoanmi</i> RMi 'over')
'past'	<i>witjin ngata</i>	(<i>wityin-gnutta</i> E)	compare <i>witedja ganin</i> E 'to leave'
'since'	<i>baparra</i>	(<i>bopera</i> E)	compare <i>baparra banarrak</i> 'long ago' the meaning seems to be time-related.
'through'	<i>bupu</i>	(<i>boopouh</i> E)	<i>bupugi</i> RMi 'through'
'to'	<i>dorra</i>	(<i>dora</i> E)	compare <i>dorrula</i> 'this side of the water' (possibly <i>doru</i> 'close/at' + <i>la</i> 'water') and <i>banulut</i> 'over the water' (possibly <i>banu</i> 'back' + <i>la</i> 'water')
'towards'	<i>nilang-gunya</i>	(<i>neelang-goonya</i> E)	
'under'	<i>guli</i>	(<i>goolee</i> E)	= <i>gulit</i> down (<i>dhuka</i> RMi 'underneath')
'until'	<i>yakuna</i>	(<i>yuck-koona</i> E)	perhaps 'approaching', related to <i>yakurumdja</i> 'come here' and <i>yakama</i> 'come on'
'up'	<i>wuwitj</i>	(<i>wurwitch</i> E)	
'upon'	<i>wamadaman</i>	(<i>wummadumun</i> E)	= on
'with'	<i>inyabaknalyin</i>	(<i>enyebucknalyin</i> E)	
'within'	<i>duning</i>	(<i>dooning</i> E)	<i>dhūmingmūr</i> RMi 'inside'
'without'	<i>ngangu</i>	(<i>gnangoon</i> E)	'without' = 'outside of', cf. <i>ngangaburraya</i> 'there' (<i>wakkūr</i> RMi 'outside')

Parallel to the suggestion above for the word *bukut* 'above', meaning 'from the head', two more such 'prepositions' could be analysed as ablative forms:

3.66 *menut*
/menu-d/
hip-ABL
'beyond' (lit. 'from the hip')

3.67 *gowidja*
/gow-idja/
nose-ABL
'behind, after' (lit. 'from the nose')

3.5 Adjectives and numerals

In Yorta Yorta, as in many Australian languages, an adjective which modifies a case-marked noun must also be marked with the case suffix. In the following example the adjective *dung(g)udja* 'big' is marked with the suffix *-l* as is the head noun *yiyirr* 'man'.

- 3.68 *Dunngidyal yiyirral tättim buttya.* (RMA:52)
 'A big man killed a possum.'
 /dung(g)udja-l yiyir-al dadin badja/
dung(g)udjal yiyirral datin atja
 big-ERG man-ERG kill.NON.FUT possum.ABS
 'A big man killed a possum.'

For other examples of case-marked adjectives see 3.9 for genitive/possessive and 3.13 for allative. Yorta Yorta has a typical Australian system of three basic numerals for 'one', 'two' and 'plenty':

<i>iyawa, iyung</i>	'one'
<i>bultjubul</i>	'two'
<i>ngutan</i>	'plenty'

The early European observers naturally elicited the words for 'three', 'four', 'five', etc. up to 'ten' and beyond. The responses were predictable:

<i>bultjubul iyung</i>	'three'	lit. two-one
<i>bultjubul bultjubul</i>	'four'	lit. two-two
<i>bultjubul bultjubul iyung</i>	'five'	lit. two-two-one
<i>dausan</i>	'number over 5'	from English 'thousand'
<i>bultjubul biyin</i>	'ten'	lit. two hands

These compound numerals would have been created by Yorta Yorta people to meet the demands of translating larger numbers which are used in English. However, it seems clear that there were ways, perhaps by gesture language, of expressing higher numbers accurately. James (J:87) reports:

- The Head denotes 10 as – Crown of head, eyes, ears, cheeks, nose, mouth, and chin.
- The Body denotes 17 as – The back, shoulders, elbows, wrists, and fingers.
- The Legs denotes 16 as – The hips, knees, ankles, and toes. Heads, hands and feet, 30.

If James has correctly observed this, one might have expected the word *buka* 'head' to be given in some of the sources for 'ten'. Yet James himself gives *bultjubul biyin* for 'ten', literally 'two hands'.

3.6 Verbs

3.6.1 Verb forms recorded by R.H. Mathews

Mathews attempted to give a full picture of the possible forms and meanings of the forms of verbs in Yorta Yorta. He chose as his standard verb the word *malin* /malin/ 'to hit'. The full list of the forms which he recorded can be summarised as follows:

Table 25: Verb forms recorded by Mathews

present tense	<i>máli-n</i>		
past tense	<i>malín-banga</i>		
future	<i>mali-ak</i>	becoming	<i>malyák</i>
imperative	<i>mali-l</i>	becoming	<i>malé!</i> ¹⁸
negative imperative	<i>gadhagana mali-l</i>	becoming	<i>gadhagana malé!</i> ¹⁸
conditional	<i>-djin malin</i>		
negative conditional	<i>yorta-djin mali-ak</i>		
reciprocal present	<i>máli-dhan</i>		
reciprocal past	<i>mali-dhan</i>	becoming	<i>malédhan!</i> ¹⁸
reciprocal future	<i>mali-dharrak</i>		
reflexive	<i>máli-n ngangyin</i>		

It seems that there were two tenses – future and non-future – with past time differentiated by the addition of the particle *banga*.

Bound pronouns could also occur following the complete verbal form above. Mathews (1902) provides bound pronominal affixes for his entire verb paradigm; however, sentence material found in Mathews (1902) and elsewhere suggests that the pronominal affixes were not obligatory. Hercus collected an example of the third person pronoun *-da* suffixed to the verb *yan-* ‘is going’ provided in example 3.70 below. In his notebook, Mathews (RMA:57) gives the example *kalnyirnga* ‘I am well’, which is made up of *kalnyir* ‘good’ (*galnya*), followed by *-nga*, the first person singular pronoun form ‘I’.

The following example sentences contained in the sources illustrate the use of different verb forms:

(i) **PRESENT TENSE (non-future tense): -n, -in**

- 3.69 *Ngutta mul'lin.* (RMA:54)
 ‘I am hitting.’
 /ngadha mál-in/
ngatha malin
 I.ERG hit-NON.FUT
 ‘I am hitting.’
- 3.70 *Yanda.* (H:239)
 ‘He is going.’
 /yan-da/
yanda
 go.NON.FUT-3SG.NOM
 ‘He is going.’

¹⁸ It is unclear whether Mathews is reporting a lowering of the high front vowel in stressed syllables, or whether he is using the letter <e> to indicate a lengthening of the high front vowel [i:].

(ii) PAST TENSE: *-n(banga)*

The word *banga* is optionally used in past tense contexts. This word may be related to the word *banga* provided in E to mean 'correct', 'right'. Perhaps the word *banga* indicates completion (extended to mean factual).

- 3.71 *Ngutta mullen' banga.* (RMa:54)
 'I did beat.'
 /nga-dha málin-banga/
ngatha malínbanga
 I-ERG hit-NON.FUT.PAST
 'I (did) hit.'

The stress which would normally be on the first syllable shifts to the second syllable when the morpheme /-banga/ is added.

In the following example from Curr, the particle *banga* seems to occur as a pro-clitic to the verb:

- 3.72 *baanga-t-naan* (Cb:576)
 '(Affirmative) seen (them).'
 /banga nha-n/
banga nhan
 PAST see-NON.FUT
 'seen'

Mathews records the form *kokuñ* as both 'die' and 'dead'. There are also a number of adjectives that are resultant states that end in *-n*. Hercus (1986:43) reports a past participle in Wemba Wemba which was similar to the past tense. It is possible that is an example of the same phenomenon.

(iii) FUTURE (POTENTIAL) TENSE: *-k, -ak*

- 3.73 *Nguttha mulleak'.* (RMa:54)
 'I will beat.'
 /nga-dha mali-ag/
ngatha malyák
 I-ERG hit-FUT
 'I will beat.'

Examples of the future tense used in sentences are few. It seems that the future tense was used for uncertain or potential future action.

The following is an interesting example which we have not been able to fully analyse, involving a request for the loan of a spear, followed by a future intention. The verb **domak** 'lend' is in the form we have identified as the future (potential), possibly because this is the form used for polite requests in preference to the imperative. The verb expressing the intention, **badima** 'will spear', is in the form we have tentatively identified as the non-future.

This non-future form is used probably because it expresses a definite intention, rather than an uncertain potential.¹⁹

- 3.74 *Tomak kara ngata kama baatima boltubol.* (Cb:578)
 'Lend now me reed-spear, I will spear two.'
 /doma-g gara ngadha gama badima buldubul/
domak garra ngatha gama batima bultubul
 lend-FUT (now??) I.ERG spear to.spear.NON.FUT? two

Mathews gives the following additional examples of the future in his handwritten notes (RMf):

- 3.75 *Ngauttha yungak.* (RMf:253)
 'I shall throw.'
 /nga-dha yung-ag/
ngatha yungak
 I SG-ERG throw-FUT
 'I shall throw.'
- 3.76 *Thattyimeak nga.* (RMf:252)
 'I shall eat.'
 /dhadjimiág-nga/
dhatjimiáknga
 eat.FUT-I SG.NOM
 'I shall eat.'

(iv) **IMPERATIVE: -(V)l**

With some verbs the imperative ending was *-l*.

- 3.77 *Mulléal'.* (RMa:54)
 'Beat him.'
 /mali-l/
malél
 beat-IMP
 'Beat (him, her, it).'
- 3.78 *Koquil.* (Cb:578)
 'Hush.'
 ?/gagwel/
gakwel
 be quiet.IMP
 'Be quiet.'

¹⁹ This sentence also seems strange because of the position of *gama* 'spear' without a suffix. It is possible that *gana* and *gama* have been reversed.

- 3.79 *Nadjel-ma.* (H:238)
 'Look.'
 /nha-dj-el²⁰ ma/²¹
nhatjel ma
 see-?-IMP emphatic particle
 'Look.'

With other verbs the imperative form seems to have been the bare stem:

- 3.80 *Nappa wooroo.* (Cb:578)
 'Shut your mouth.'
 /naba wuru/
napa wurru
 shut.IMP mouth
 'Shut (your) mouth.'

(v) NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

Mathews gives a special form using *gathagana*:

- 3.81 *Kuddhagana mullél.* (RMa:54)
 'Beat not.'
 /gadhagana mal-el/
gathagana malel
 NEG.IMP beat-IMP
 'Do not beat.'

Hercus also records the form:

- 3.82 *Gadegana yugaia.* (H:237)
 'Don't knock (him) down.'
 /gadhagana yúng-aya/²²
gathagana yungaya
 NEG.IMP knock-IMP?
 'Don't knock (it) down.'

In the earlier sources, however, negative imperatives are expressed using the negative *yorta*.

²⁰ It is uncertain what was the function of the /dj/ which is sometimes added to verbs; cf. /lodjba/ and /lodjbadj/. See section 3.6.4 below for a fuller discussion of some of these uncertain suffixes.

²¹ Hercus is the only person to record the emphatic particle *ma* as a single morpheme. However it does occur in a number of examples provided in other sources; see example 3.88 below.

²² Hercus records *yunginas* 'he knocked down', although *yunga* is elsewhere recorded as having the meaning 'to throw'. We do not have a full analysis of the /-aya/ form although it may be an alternative to the imperative.

- 3.83 *Yoorta lō-it-pa.* (Cb:578)
 ‘Don’t speak.’
 /yoda lodjba/
yorta lotjba
 NEG speak.IMP
 ‘Don’t speak.’
- 3.84 *Itta mumi picta.* (B:189)
 ‘Don’t take this piece of wood.’
 /yoda mumi bidja/
yorta mumi bitja
 NEG take.IMP (fire)wood
 ‘Don’t take this piece of firewood.’

(vi) **POSSIBILITY**

Mathews records the suffix /-djin/ as a conditional, both in affirmative and negative sentences; however, the sense is clearly one of possibility:

- 3.85 *Nguthajin mullen’.* (RMa:54)
 ‘Perhaps I’ll beat.’
 /ngadha-djin malin/
ngathadjin malin
 I.ERG-POSS beat.NON.FUT
 ‘Perhaps I’ll beat.’

Another way of expressing possibility was to use the word **yumbat** ‘perhaps/I believe’, which is recorded by both Curr and R.H. Mathews, as in the following example:

- 3.86 *Immilang baatim imbat.* (Cbs:578)
 ‘To-day speared (I) believe.’
 /imilang badi-n yumbad/
imilang batin yumbat
 today spear-NON.FUT I believe/perhaps
 ‘I believe he speared them today.’

(vii) **NEGATIVE POSSIBILITY**

- 3.87 *Yotadjin.* (RMa:54)
 ‘Perhaps not.’ ‘Is doubtful.’
 /yoda-djin/
yortadjin
 NEG-POSS
 ‘Perhaps not.’

- 3.88 *Proma! Yoortachin ngata tomoon.* (Cb:587)
 ‘Be off! Not I will lend.’
 /bira-ma yoda-djin ngadha dumun/
birrama yortadjin ngatha dumun
 Go.on-IMP.EMPH NEG-POSS I.ERG lend.NON.FUT
 ‘Go On! I will probably not lend (it).’

(viii) REFLEXIVE

Mathews gives the form /nganyin/ as a reflexive form, which appears to be an invariant reflexive particle.

- 3.89 *Ngango mul'lin ngangyeen.* (RMa:54)
 ‘I am beating myself.’
 /nga-ngu málin nganyin/
ngangu malin nganyin
 I.NOM.EMPH beat.NON.FUT REFL
 ‘I am beating myself.’

The nominative, not the ergative, pronoun is used here. In reflexive sentences, no participant other than the subject is affected by the actions, so use of the nominative – with a transitive verb – could be motivated on those grounds.

Only Mathews gives examples of reflexive verbs.

(ix) RECIPROCAL

Mathews gives the following forms:

(a) RECIPROCAL PRESENT: *-dhan*

- 3.90 *Dumnala mul'ledhan.* (RMa:61)
 ‘They (other fellows) are fighting.’
 /d(h)amnala mále-dhan/
damnala maledhan
 over.there hit.PRES-RECIP
 ‘They (over there) are fighting.’
- 3.91 *Mullêadhun ngalngin.* (RMa:55)
 ‘We are beating each other.’
 /maledhan ngalngin/
maledhan ngalngin
 beat.PRES.RECIP 1DU.INC
 ‘We are beating each other.’ ‘We are fighting.’

There are other examples in the vocabulary list of the use of */-dhan/* as a reciprocal, including:

- 3.92 *loidpadun* (E)
 'to quarrel'
 /lodjba-dhan/
lotjpadhan
 speak-RECIP
 'to quarrel' (lit. 'to speak to each other')
- 3.93 *nin.ne.dun* (Rc:88)
 'to fight'
 /nyina-dhan/
nyinadhan
 strike-RECIP
 'to fight' (lit. 'to strike each other')

(b) RECIPROCAL PAST

In the example Mathews gives of the reciprocal past, the past time is marked only by the shift in stress (the particle *banga* being absent):

- 3.94 (*Dhumnala*) *mullê'dhan.* (RMa:61)
 'They were fighting.'
 /d(h)amnala male-dhan/
damnala malédhan
 over.there hit.PAST-RECIP
 '(They over there) were fighting.'

(c) RECIPROCAL FUTURE

- 3.95 *Dumnala mulledharak.* (RMa:61)
 'They are going to fight.'
 /d(h)amnala malé-dhar-ak/
damnala maledharrak
 over.there hit-RECIP-FUT
 'They will fight.'

3.6.2 Verb conjugation types

Mathews gives a somewhat complete picture of the verb *malin*, providing forms for the present tense, past tense, future tense, imperative, reciprocal and reflexive; however, the tense/aspect morphology which he exemplifies cannot be automatically transferred across to other verbs. Even in the list of verbs which Mathews himself gives in RMb, few verbs are given an ending *-n* and it is not clear how the verb endings which Mathews gives for *malin* apply to these verbs.

On the basis of the available data, it would seem that in addition to the conjugation exemplified by Mathews with /-n/ present and /-l/ imperative, there were at least two additional conjugation types: one exemplified by the verb *lotjba* 'to speak', which has a bare

vowel-final stem for both the simple present and the imperative; and the verb *muni* 'to throw', which has a suffix *-n* in the present but a bare vowel-final stem in the imperative.

/-i/ Conjugation:

mali 'to beat'(RMa:54)

theoretical root form	<i>mali</i>
<i>present tense</i>	<i>máli-n</i>
<i>past tense</i>	<i>malín-banga</i>
<i>future</i>	<i>malf-ak</i> becoming <i>malyák</i>
imperative	<i>malf-al</i> becoming <i>malél</i>
• reciprocal (present)	<i>máli-dhan</i>
reciprocal (past)	<i>malf-dhan</i> becoming <i>malédhan</i>
reciprocal (future)	<i>malf-dherrak</i> becoming <i>malédherrak</i>
reflexive	<i>máli-n ngangyin</i>

/-a/ Conjugation:

lotjpa 'to speak' (RMa:58 and RMc)

theoretical root form	<i>lotjpa</i>
<i>present tense</i>	<i>lotjpa</i>
<i>present tense (continuous?)</i>	<i>lotjpa-tj</i>
<i>past tense</i>	<i>lotjpa-n</i>
<i>past tense</i>	<i>lotjpa-tj-banga</i>
<i>future tense</i>	<i>lotjpa-tj-ak</i>
imperative	<i>lotjpa</i> (Cb)
negative imperative	<i>yortalotjpa</i> (Cbs)
reciprocal	<i>lotjpa-dhan</i> (E, RMc)
reciprocal future	<i>lotjpadherrak</i> (RMc:252)

Mixed Conjugations:

muni 'to throw'

theoretical root form	<i>muni</i>
present tense	<i>munin</i> (RMa:51)
continuous	<i>muna-tj</i> (RMa:58)
imperative	<i>muni</i>

yunga 'to throw'

theoretical root form	<i>yunga</i>
present tense	<i>yung-in</i> (RMf:253)
future tense	<i>yung-ak</i> (RMf:253)

3.6.3 Single-syllable verbs and non-inflectional verbal morphology

In addition to the inflectional morphology discussed above, it appears that Yorta Yorta has a number of verbs with a single-syllable stem, which combine with a variety of post-stem affixes as exemplified in the following table. For example, the forms *ngarnhung* and

ngarwul built on the stem *nga-* ‘to hear/listen’ have parallel forms *nhanha* and *nhawul* from the stem *ngar-* ‘to see/look’. The suffix *-wu* is associated with the deliberate meanings ‘listen’ and ‘look’.

Table 26: Single-syllable verbs and non-inflectional morphology

	<i>-nh-</i>	<i>-wu-</i>	<i>-tja-</i>	<i>-ka-</i>	<i>-bak</i>
<i>ga</i> ‘to sit’	<i>ganhu(ng)</i>	<i>gawul</i>	<i>gatjabak</i>	<i>gakatj</i> <i>gakatjak</i>	<i>gatjubak</i>
<i>nga(rr)</i> ‘to hear’	<i>ngarrnhung</i>	<i>ngarrwul</i>			
<i>nha</i> ‘to see’	<i>nhan(ha)</i>	<i>nhawul</i>	<i>nhatjuk</i> <i>nhatjel</i>		
<i>ngu</i> ‘to give’	<i>ngunhu</i>	<i>nguwul</i>	<i>ngutjik</i>		
<i>ya</i> ‘to go’	<i>yana</i> <i>yanda</i> <i>yan-u-bak</i> <i>yananai</i>	<i>yawu</i> <i>yawul</i>			<i>yanyubak</i>
Possible meaning:	<i>-nh</i> perhaps part of past and present stem	<i>-wu</i> deliberate, often used with imperatives ‘listen’ (cf. ‘hear’) and ‘look’ (cf. ‘see’)	<i>-tja</i> emphatic or continuous, often used with imperative	<i>-ka</i> used with both past and future	<i>-bak</i> deliberate future/intention

3.6.4 Comparative examples of verbs from different sources

Some of the verbs in section 3.6.3, together with the verb *birra* ‘go away’ are exemplified in the tables below:

Table 27: *ga-* ‘to sit’

Imperative (emphatic?)		
<i>gawul</i>	<i>Garwul</i> ‘Sit.’	(RMb:189)
Present		
<i>ga-nha</i>	<i>Nga kannha.</i> ‘I am sitting.’	(RMa:58)
<i>ga-nhu</i>	<i>Karnoo maanoo</i> ‘(She is) sitting (in the) camp.’	(Cb:577)
Future		
<i>ga-tja-bak</i>	<i>Nga gartyibak.</i> ‘I am going to sit.’	(RMf)
	<i>Kār-choo-bok</i> ‘Sit.’	(Cb:583)

<i>ga-ka-tj-ak</i>	<i>Nga gakartyak.</i> 'I will sit.'	(RMf)
Past		
<i>ga-nh-ung</i>	<i>Garnung-nga.</i> 'I was sitting.'	(RMf)
<i>banga ga-nh-u</i>	<i>Banga nga garnu.</i> 'I was sitting.'	(RMf)
<i>ga-ka-tj</i>	<i>Nga gakarty.</i> 'I was sitting.'	(RMf)

In summary:

<i>ga-nha</i>	suffix <i>-nha</i> present
<i>ga-nhu</i>	suffix <i>-nhu</i> present (perhaps arising from vowel harmony)
<i>ga-wu-l</i>	suffix <i>-wu</i> deliberate + <i>-l</i> imperative
<i>ga-tja-bak</i>	suffix <i>-tjV</i> emphatic or continuous used with the imperative and the future (suffix <i>-bak</i> future intention)
<i>ga-nhung</i>	suffix <i>-nhung</i> non-future form
<i>ga-ka-tj</i>	suffix <i>-ka</i> found only with this verb in both past and future + <i>-tj</i>
<i>ga-ka-tj-ak</i>	same, but with the future suffix <i>-ak</i>

Table 28: *nha-* 'to see'

Root		
<i>nhanha</i>	<i>Nhanha.</i> 'See.' (citation form)	(RMb:189)
Present		
<i>nhan</i>	<i>Ngaarin winyara?</i> '(Do) you see woman that?'	(Cb:576)
	<i>Naan.</i> '(I) cannot see (him).'	(Cb:576)
Past		
<i>nhan</i>	<i>Yoorta-t-naan.</i> '(I have) not seen (them).'	(Cb:576)
	<i>/yoda nha-n/</i> NEG see-NON.FUT	
Future		
<i>nha-tj-uk</i>	<i>Nā:t-chook.</i> 'See.' (prob. alternate future form)	(Cb:583)
Imperative		
<i>nha-tj-el</i>	<i>Nadjel-ma!</i> 'Look!' (imperative of verb followed by emphatic particle <i>-ma</i>)	(H)

Derived verb: imperative		
<i>nha-wu-l</i>	<i>Nhawul.</i> 'Look.'	(RMb:189)
	<i>Now.ul</i> 'To see.'	(Ra:3)
<i>nha-wu-(l)</i>	<i>Não!</i> 'See!'	(Cb:578)

In summary:

<i>nha-nha</i>	suffix <i>-nha</i> , citation form
<i>nha-n</i>	suffix <i>-n</i> , non-future
<i>nha-tj-uk</i>	suffix <i>-tj</i> , probably alternate future form
<i>nha-tj-el</i>	suffix <i>-tj</i> + imperative suffix <i>-l</i>
<i>nha-wu-l</i>	suffix <i>-wu</i> , deliberate +imperative suffix <i>-l</i>

Table 29: ya- 'to walk, to go'		
suffix <i>-na</i>		
Present		
<i>yana</i>	<i>Mīnyanook yanna Moira?</i> 'What for go Moira?'	(Cb:577)
Present – third person		
<i>yanda</i>	<i>yanda</i>	(H)
Future/Imperative??		
<i>yan-yu-b-ak</i>	<i>Annubok Worparilla.</i> 'Let us go to Worparilla.'	(Cb:577)
Imperative		
??	<i>Yananai.</i> 'Go.'	(H)
Present tense?/Root??		
<i>ya(rr)wu</i>	<i>yarrow</i> 'walk'	(E:6)
Imperative		
<i>ya(rr)wul</i>	<i>Birrah nyunna yarwool mânungyin.</i> 'Go away from the camp.'	(RMa:52)
Compound verbs		
With <i>birra</i> 'to go on'		
<i>birra-ya(rr)wul</i>	<i>birayarwool</i> /bira ya(r)wul/ go.on walk.IMP	(E)
With <i>gaga</i> 'to come'		
<i>gaga-ya(rr)wul</i>	<i>kakaiaroo</i> /gaga yarwu(l)/ come walk.IMP	(Cb:577)

In summary:

<i>ya-na</i>	suffix <i>-na</i> (which may also be <i>-nha</i>), present
<i>ya-n-da</i>	suffix <i>-n</i> non-future + bound third person pronoun <i>-da</i>
<i>ya-n(y)u-b-ak</i>	suffix <i>-n</i> + <i>-u</i> (perhaps reduced form of <i>-wu</i>) + suffix <i>-bak</i> deliberate future
<i>ya-(rr)wu</i>	suffix <i>-wu</i> deliberate
<i>ya-(rr)wul</i>	suffix <i>-wu</i> deliberate + suffix <i>-l</i> imperative

Table 30: *birra* 'to go, go away'

Imperative		
<i>bira</i>	<i>Birrah nyunna yarwool mânungyin.</i> go.on.IMP 2SG.NOM walk.IMP camp.ABL 'Go away from the camp.'	(RMa:52)
	<i>Pir! Thanuk biitya.</i> 'Haste, (I) want fire.'	(Cb:577)
<i>bira-tj</i>	<i>Biredj!</i> 'Quick, Hurry!'	(H)
<i>bir-umdja</i>	<i>Buronja!</i> 'Go away!'	(H)
	<i>Berumja beriarroo mano noothiga.</i> /bir-umdja bir(a)-yarwu-l manu nhura?/ go.on-? go.on-walk-IMP camp 2PL? 'Be off to your camp, all of you.'	(Ls:335)
<i>bira-ma</i>	<i>Proma! Yoortachin ngata tomoon.</i> 'Be off! Not I will lend.'	(Cb:578)
	/bira -ma yoda-djin ngadha domun/ go.on-IMP.EMPH NEG-POSS I.ERG.lend NON.FUT? 'Go on! I will perhaps not lend (it).'	
<i>bira-ma-gandja</i>	<i>Promaganja.</i> 'Be off.'	(Cb:577)
<i>bira-yarwul</i>	<i>Birayarwool.</i> 'Go.'	(E:6)

Birra is found only with imperative meaning and seems to have the meaning of 'to go away, to hurry on'. It is also found together with certain other verbs, e.g. /bira-yarwul/. It is possible that it is simply a particle with the meaning 'away' or 'off'; however, the range of suffixes it takes suggests that it is verb-like in some ways, although it is not found with regular tense endings.

The forms seem to be:

<i>birra</i>	stem 'to go, go away'
<i>birra-tj</i>	<i>-tj</i> suffix is emphatic or continuous, often found in the <i>-a</i> conjugation
<i>birra-mdja</i>	<i>-mdja</i> suffix only found with this verb, in the imperative
<i>birra-ma</i>	<i>-ma</i> suffix is emphatic, recorded by Hercus
<i>birra-ma-gandja</i>	<i>-gandja</i> suffix is used in the imperative (cf. <i>gamarra gandja</i>)
<i>birra-yarrwul</i>	<i>-yarrwul</i> is the deliberate imperative of the verb meaning 'to walk'

3.6.4.1 The deliberate future suffix *-bak*

A large number of verbs are given in the word lists with a *-bak* suffix. In all cases, the verbs are deliberate activity verbs. We conclude that these are future/deliberate intention forms, made up of the affix *-b*, followed by the regular future/potential suffix *-ak*. We provide a reference list of these verbs below.

'bathe'	<i>marribak</i>	<i>mārribok</i> Cb, <i>maryibũk</i> RMb, <i>marribok</i> Ct
'dive'	<i>garrubak</i>	<i>kāroobok</i> Cb
'evacuate the bowels'	<i>gunyubak</i>	<i>kōnyoobok</i> Cb
'jump'	<i>yarrkabak</i>	<i>yāārkobuk</i> Cb, <i>yarkabuk</i> RMb
'laugh'	<i>garribak</i>	<i>kāribok</i> Cb, <i>kārebak</i> RMb
'play'	<i>dayabak</i>	<i>taeyebuck</i> E
'scratch'	<i>djinbak</i>	<i>chīnbok</i> Cb
'sit'	<i>gatjubak</i>	<i>kār-choo-bok</i> Cb, <i>kartyoobok</i> Ct
'sleep'	<i>nanyubak</i>	<i>nāān-yoo-bok</i> Cb, <i>nanyoobok</i> Ct, <i>nanyoobok</i> Cp, <i>nuneybuck</i> E
'swim'	<i>yarrabak</i>	<i>yārribok</i> Cb, <i>yarrabuck</i> E
'walk'	<i>yanyubak</i>	<i>yān-yoo-bok</i> Cb, <i>anyoobok</i> Cb, <i>yanyoobok</i> Ct, <i>yanyoobok</i> Cp

3.7 Negation

The word for 'no' is *yorta* and it is used in combination with the verb, viz:

3.96 *Yoorta-t-nann.* (Cb:576)

'(I have) not seen (them).'

/yota nha-n/

yorta nhan

NEG see-NON.FUT

'Not seen.'

Curr's sentences also provide us with an example of an alternative negative *gatha* (see following) which is also exemplified in Hercus (1986:237) and is illustrated below.

3.97 *Katir naan.* (Cb:576)

'(I) cannot see (him).'

/gadha nha-n/

gatha nhan

NEG see-NON.FUT

'I cannot see him.'

- 3.98 *Gadhegana yungaia.* (H:237)
 ‘Don’t knock (him) down.’
 /gadha-· gana yunga-ya/
gatha gana yungaya
 NEG- ? throw-?
 ‘Don’t throw him down.’

3.8 Exclamations

Curr (Cbs:579) records a number of what he describes as “angry exclamations”:

- 3.99 *Kotoopna molwa!*
 /gudha-ubnha molwa/
Guthupna molwa
 child? grave
 ‘The graves of Kotoopna!’ or perhaps ‘The graves of children!’
- 3.100 *Moneroopna moocha!*
 /munara-ubnha mudja/
munarrupna mutja
 thunder-REL anus
 ‘Thunder in (your) anus!’
- 3.101 *Yakkai!*
 /yakai/
yakai
 an exclamation of pain or sorrow
- 3.102 *Kai-kai!*
 /gai gai/
gaikai
 an exclamation of surprise
- 3.103 *Yathapka!* (Cb:574)
 /yadhabga/
yathapka
 ‘Nonsense!’

3.9 Word formation

In addition to the creative complexity we have seen regarding verb formation, we can identify a number of formatives productive with nouns.

3.9.1 Diminutives /-idjiga/, /-unga/ and other variants

Curr (Cb) provides us with examples of two diminutive formatives, *-i(dji)ga* and *-unga*, the former appearing to be the most productive.

		Diminutive
'child'	yarka	<i>yarkídjiga</i>
'dog'	baka	<i>bakídjiga</i>
'duck'	naika	<i>naikídjiga</i>
'plain'	natja	<i>natjiga</i>

The formative /-unga/ is illustrated in the following four examples, although for the three of them the non-diminutive forms is not recorded.

		Diminutive
'bird'	<i>djonda</i>	<i>djondúnga</i>
	?	<i>naitjúnga</i> (mouse)
'mussel'	?	<i>didlinga</i>
'peewee'	?	<i>djilowanga</i>

In most of his examples Curr marked stressed vowels with a bar over the vowel (see source entries in the vocabulary list). We have marked stress in this work with an accent above the stressed syllable (for example, in the word *djondúnga* the second syllable is stressed). We can see that with both of the above forms the addition of the diminutive formative changes the stress from the unmarked word-initial stress, to stress on the second syllable. Even with the word *naitjúnga* 'mouse', the stress assignment is consistent with the word being a derived form because the stress is on the second syllable.

3.9.2 Word-final formatives expressing relatedness of various sorts

(i) Word-final [-pna]

The final sequence *-pna* occurs distinctively in Yorta Yorta words including modern placenames, e.g. Mooroopna, Katoopna, Ulupna. In addition to its use in placenames (see Chapter 5), this formative is used to derive the word 'trousers' from the form for 'leg', and the word for 'shirt' from the form for 'arm' and the word 'small tortoise', from the word for 'tortoise shell, plate'.

<i>munu</i>	<i>munúpna</i>
'leg'	'trousers'
<i>borr(i)nyu</i>	<i>borr(i)nyúpna</i>
'arm'	'shirt'
<i>watjerra</i>	<i>watjerrúpna</i>
'tortoise shell/plate'	'small tortoise'

(ii) The word final formative [-pka]

The formative *-pka* is found in the following words:

<i>dhulu</i>	<i>dhulúpka</i>
'low'	'short'
<i>gudha</i>	<i>guthapka</i>
'child' (Wdj)	'child, infant, baby'

The word *dhulúpka* ‘short’ is apparently derived from the stem *dhulu* ‘low’ and the word *guthapka* ‘child’ is apparently derived from the form *gudha*, which is generally reported as the Wiradjuri word for ‘child’, but is also remembered by some modern-day speakers of Yorta Yorta who have Wiradjuri connections. We also find the suffix *-pka* occurring in the word *ayapka* ‘a lie’ which can be compared with the verbal form below, and an emphatic form for ‘nonsense’.

<i>ayápka</i>	<i>yathápka</i>	<i>ngina ayandak</i>
‘a lie’	‘nonsense’	‘you lie’

The formative *-pka* occurs on both the nominal forms, whereas it is not found in the verbal expression. We might thus conclude that this formative is some kind of a nominaliser. The relationship between the first two syllables of each of the nominals is unclear.

The following pairs illustrate slightly different diminutive formatives:

		Diminutive
‘boy’	<i>malniga</i>	<i>malnigaptja</i>
‘moon’	<i>yurri</i>	<i>yurringadja</i>
‘man’	<i>iyirr</i>	<i>iyirram</i>

3.9.3 Other formatives and derivational strategies

The following related vocabulary items illustrate the use of some additional formatives which seem to be more restricted in their use.

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (a) | <i>dhama</i> | ‘old’ (respected) |
| | <i>dhamala</i> | ‘grandfather’ |
| | <i>dhamalanhanha</i> | ‘grandmother’ |
| | <i>dhamanga</i> | ‘old (respected) man’ |
| | <i>dhamayi(yi)rr</i> | ‘old (respected) man’ |
| | <i>dhamawinyarr</i> | ‘old (respected) woman’ |
| (b) | <i>dhoma</i> | ‘dear’ |
| | <i>dhomín</i> | ‘love, kiss’ (verb -non-future) |
| | <i>dhomadhomanga</i> | ‘love’ (noun) |

In the expressions above, the formative *-la* occurs in the kinship terms for grandfather and grandmother, built upon the base *dhama* ‘old’.²³ The formative *-nga* occurs in both sets (a) and (b), and in both cases seems to be associated with the formation of a noun from the attribute stem, *dhamanga* ‘old man’, from the stem *dhama* ‘old’, and *dhomadhomanga*

²³ It may be the case that this formative *-la* is also the one used to build the terms *Dung(g)ula* and *Kaiyala* which refer to the Murray River and the Goulburn Rivers respectively, though in section 1.3 above we have observed that this suffix seems to be associated with the meaning ‘water’ and is probably the last syllable of the word *wala* ‘water’.

'love', from the stem *dhoma* 'dear' (also with reduplication of the stem).²⁴ The verb *dhomin* 'love, kiss' is built on the same first syllable as the attribute *dhoma* 'dear', the final syllable *-n* being the (non-future) verb tense suffix.

The following examples illustrate the derivation of verbs from nominals. In the first three examples, the stem-final vowel is replaced by /i/.

<i>dhoma</i>	<i>dhomi-</i> (<i>dhomin</i> non-future)
'dear'	'to love'
<i>guna</i>	<i>guni-</i> (<i>gunin</i> non-future, <i>gunyubak</i> future)
'excrement'	'to evacuate bowels'
<i>dhana</i>	<i>dhani</i> (<i>dhanin</i> non-future)
'alive'	'to copulate'

In the case of 'a lie, to lie', we see a common stem with a nominal suffix for the noun, and the morpheme *-nda*.

<i>ayapka</i>	<i>ngina</i>	<i>aya-nda-k</i>
lie	you	lie-vbl-FUT
'a lie'	'you lie'	

The following words are also related to one another, being derived from a root *dhan-*, by suffixation and reduplication.

<i>dhona</i>	'alive'
(<i>banga</i>) <i>dhona</i>	'to live'
<i>dhani-dhanin</i>	'to copulate'
<i>dhanadhan</i>	'to commit sodomy' (cf. <i>dhan</i> , reciprocal)
<i>dhango dhango</i>	'noise made in copulation'

There is a suffix *-(tju)matj* which may relate to states of being:

<i>dangalatjumatj</i>	'sorry, sorrow'
<i>yitjumatj</i>	'sick'
<i>marralatjumatj</i>	'tired'
<i>wowatjumatj</i>	'sound, noise'

The word for sick seems to be derived from the stem *yitja* 'pain' plus *-matj*. However it appears that the syllable *-tju* may be a separate formative also.

Mathews (RMb) records examples of gender-specified pairs in his grammar. The female forms he provides are almost the same as the form he provides for 'mother' except that the second nasal is alveolar rather than interdental.

'mother'	<i>nhanha</i>	<i>nhannha</i> RMb
'female'	<i>nhana</i>	<i>bukka nhana</i> 'female dog' RMb <i>baiamal nhana</i> 'swan hen' RMb

²⁴ The stem *dhoma* 'dear' seems to stand in phonemic contrast to the stem *dhama* 'old'. We have wondered whether these terms may not be one and the same; however, in the vocabulary records which we have, the two stems seem to be phonetically distinguished in a systematic way throughout.

'father'	<i>nhungui</i>	<i>nhungui</i> RMb <i>nhoonguy</i> RMd
'male' (animal)	<i>nalnga</i>	<i>bukka nhalma</i> RMb <i>nalnga</i> RMg
'male' (bird)	<i>nhungui</i>	<i>baiamal noongea</i> RMa <i>nungea</i> RMb <i>nungea</i> 'father' RMg

Mathews recorded slightly different words for a male animal and a male bird. He subsequently hand-corrected an offprint of the published version found with his manuscript material (referred to here as RMg), maintaining a difference between the terms for male when referring to animals and birds. We reflect his annotations here. We note, however, the similarity between the word for 'father' and for 'male' bird, which both seem to have the same base *nhungui*.

Since Mathews is the only person who records the terms *nhanha* 'mother' and *nhungui* 'father' (other sources providing different, more widely reported terms), we might wonder whether these terms are in fact general terms for male and female in any case. However the term *nhanha* is found in quite a number of sources as part of the expression *nhanha beyin* 'thumb' ('mother of hand'), which is a typical metaphoric extension for this term in Victorian languages.

The following are some additional interesting pairs for which we can offer little comment other than what is obvious by inspection. (The apparent formatives appear in bold type.)

<i>yitja</i> 'thin'	<i>yitjumatj</i> 'sick'	
<i>mawa</i> 'blood'	<i>mawamatj</i> 'red'	<i>mawanya</i> 'veins'
<i>wowatja</i> 'loud'	<i>wowatjumatj</i> 'sound, noise'	
<i>mathi</i> 'bad'	<i>mathimatj</i> 'cruel'	<i>mathidja</i> 'cold'
<i>buka</i> 'head'	<i>bukan</i> 'hair'	
<i>daborra</i> 'path'	<i>daborrin</i> 'dry creek'	
<i>guli</i> 'under'	<i>gulan</i> 'shame' ²⁵	
<i>dunhu</i> 'to weep'	<i>dunhin</i> 'teardrop'	
<i>wala</i> 'water'	<i>walan</i> 'blister'	<i>walupka</i> 'wet'
<i>datjidja</i> 'hot'	<i>datjin</i> 'warm'	
<i>bolkatj</i> 'cold'	<i>bolkan</i> 'frightened'	
<i>banga</i> 'wind'	<i>bangin</i> 'hail, duststorm'	
<i>dhanga</i> 'thirsty'	<i>dhanyam</i> 'thirsty, dry'	<i>dhangu</i> 'to drink'
<i>dhala</i> 'darkness, night'	<i>dhalanan</i> 'black'	
<i>djiya</i> 'throat'	<i>djiyaman</i> 'fear'	
<i>djiyaman</i> 'cowardly'	<i>djiyaman nhalaya</i> 'cowardice'	<i>djiyamanuk</i> 'coward'
<i>buli</i> 'belly'	<i>buliana</i> 'pregnant'	

²⁵ We assume here a semantic relationship 'under→down→hanging head→shame'.

3.9.5 *The creation of new words after white settlement including the borrowing of words from English and other languages*

The Yorta Yorta material provides evidence of innovation by creative use of formative affixes and by the incorporation of borrowed words from English and other Aboriginal language.

3.9.5.1 *Creation of new terms using existing formatives*

Curr (Cb) reports Yorta Yorta words for the English terms 'trousers' and 'shirt' which are derived by the addition of a suffix *-pna* to the words for 'leg' and 'arm'. The suffix *-pna* has been discussed more generally in section 3.9.2 (i) above but the relevant examples have been included here for ease of reference.

<i>munu</i>	'leg'	<i>munúpna</i>	'trousers'
<i>borrinyu</i>	'arm'	<i>borrinyúpna</i>	'shirt'

3.9.5.2 *Borrowings from English into Yorta Yorta and related languages*

The following are some English based words have been borrowed into Yorta Yorta either directly from English or through another Aboriginal language:

<i>betjatjpa</i>	'paper'	(H:237) from English 'paper'
<i>birrit</i>	'bread'	(H:237) from English 'bread'
<i>dhauwadhen</i>	'trousers'	(H:237) perhaps from English 'trousers' ²⁶
<i>ganitjmen</i>	'policeman'	(H:237) from English 'chain' (also used in Wiradjuri)
<i>nyatjpa</i>	'knife'	(H:239) from English 'knife'
<i>wolupna</i>	'sheep'	(H:239) from English 'wool'

None of these words are recorded by the earlier writers, and are perhaps typical of borrowings in a later phase of the adaptation of traditional Yorta Yorta. (The voiced interdental [dh] has been used instead of the English cluster [tr] and the unvoiced interdental [th] has been used instead of the English [z] in the borrowing of the word 'trousers'; the sound [f] in 'knife' has been transferred as a sequence [tjp] and the initial [n] in 'knife' has been transferred as a palatal [ny] probably because of the high vowel in the following diphthong, and we see that the diphthong in the initial syllable of 'chain' has given rise to a sequence of two syllables.)

Hercus (1969:237) suggests that *betjatjpa* 'paper' is from English 'paper', but it is also possible that it is from the word *batjatj* 'white' recorded in the early sources by Curr and R.H. Mathews. (Robinson records the form *bewa* (*be.wur* Rc) as the word for 'white'. This looks rather close to English 'paper'.

²⁶ This word may be English 'trousers', with the English /tr/ and medial /s/ both realised as /dh/ in Yorta Yorta and the final English /s/ realised as /n/. However the word may also be based on the word *dhau*, which is attested from several sources with the meaning 'leg, calf of' or 'thigh'.

3.9.5.3 Borrowings from other Aboriginal languages

Hercus (1986) notes the following Yorta Yorta words as having widespread use in other Aboriginal languages and probably having been borrowed into Yorta Yorta at some time.

barramadain	‘policeman’	(probably) introduced from Wiradjuri
burra	‘boss’	widespread, probably Common Australian (Capell 1956:93)
dhandel	‘poison’	possibly borrowed from Kulin
minhe	‘what?’	common Australian (Capell 1956:93)
mandowe	‘foot’	alternative to tjina , probably widespread (Baker 1945:313)
yarraman	‘horse’	This is an early innovation noted as the word for horse in Mathews (Mb) Wallithica list 1864–1874, also Hercus (H), Frances Mathysen (FM <i>yaramen</i>) {also Wb yareman }. This widely used word probably spread from the Sydney area over much of Australia (Baker 1945:222).
djambak	‘sheep’	(<i>jumbaga</i> Ls, <i>jum-buc</i> Mb, <i>djambak</i> KB, {Wb <i>tyambak</i> }); in wide use throughout Australia

In Sharon Atkinson’s 1993 survey (Bowe, Peeler and Atkinson 1997), the following additional words which are shared with neighbouring languages were provided. These words may have been incorporated into Yorta Yorta from the respective languages through intermarriage and greater contact during the post-settlement period.

Table 33: Words from neighbouring languages used in Yorta Yorta

bapa	‘mother’	Wemba Wemba
bubu	‘anus’	Wiradjuri
burrai	‘baby’	Wiradjuri
gara	‘testicles’	Wiradjuri
gadjak	‘disgusting’	Wiradjuri
grong-grong	‘silly’	Wdj gwang-gwang , probably related to giwang ‘moon’
guda	‘child’	Wiradjuri
kuka	‘grandmother’	Wemba Wemba
kwindrik	‘mother’	Wemba Wemba (kuyindrruk ‘his mother’)
maligan	‘silly’	Wiradjuri
mama	‘father’	Wemba Wemba
mima	‘grandparents’	Wemba Wemba
mirigan	‘dog’	Wiradjuri
ngapa	‘grandfather – maternal’	Wemba Wemba
ngarabang	‘dear’	Wiradjuri (term of ridicule if used of whites)
pareparem	‘grandfather – paternal’	Wemba Wemba
wawa	‘uncle’	(wawin ‘elder brother’ Wemba Wemba)

Table 33: Words from neighbouring languages used in Yorta Yorta

<i>wileya</i>	'possum'	Wiradjuri
<i>yambeldain</i>	'liar, teller of yarns'	Wiradjuri (the suffix <i>-daayn</i> is used in Wiradjuri to mean 'one who'; thus <i>barramaldaayn</i> 'policeman' is 'one who grabs people' (from the verb <i>barramal</i> 'grab, get').

3.10 Word order

3.10.1 Transitive sentences

Mathews' published articles on the Yorta Yorta language (RMb) use a basic word order of subject-object-verb:

- 3.104 *Yiyirril wunya munnin.* (RMb:169)
 'A man threw a boomerang.'
 /yiyir-il wanya manin/
yiyirril wanya manin
 man-ERG boomerang.ABS throw.NON.FUT
 'A man threw a boomerang.'

However, in his notebook entries for such sentences, Mathews (RMa) gives the same sentences in the order subject-verb-object:

- 3.105 *Yiyirril munnin wunya.* (RMa:51)
 'A man threw a boomerang.'
 /yiyir-il manin wanya/
yiyirril manin wanya
 man-ERG throw.NON.FUT boomerang.ABS
 'A man threw a boomerang.'

The few transitive sentences with both participants fully expressed reported by Curr (Cb) also have an SVO order:

- 3.106 *Ngata naan iawa pikkeroomdja.* (Cb:578)
 'I see one emu.'
 /ngadha nha-n iyawa bigarumdja/
ngadha nhan iyawa bigarrumdja
 I.ERG see-NON.FUT one emu
 'I see one emu.'

It is not clear what we should conclude from this apparently conflicting data regarding word order in transitive sentences. Whether the occurrence of SVO word order in English influenced the data in that direction is impossible to tell. Obviously Mathews was aware of this issue and chose to publish his material in the SOV order for some reason. This may have been simply to make it accord with the more usual word order in other Aboriginal languages. The manuscript sheet (RMe) folded into an offprint of Mathews 1902 article contains several corrections presumably made subsequent to the notebook entries and the publication.

The sentences in this sheet are given in the SOV order which would further support the validity of the verb final order.

It is likely that both SVO and SOV word orders were possible (perhaps each having slightly different focus).

3.10.2 Copula

It appears that in simple statements both the order complement – subject and the order subject – complement occur (again depending on topic or focus).

Complement–subject:

3.107 *Mattimna kai-i-mer.* (Cb:577)

‘Kangaroo (is) bad.’

/modhimna gayimar/

mathimna gaiyimarr

bad kangaroo

‘(This) kangaroo is bad.’

3.108 *Kalnyir'nga.* (RMa:57)

‘I am well.’

/galnya nga/

galnya nga

good I.NOM

‘I am well.’

Subject–complement:

3.109 *Bānga nga kalnyir.* (RMa:57)

‘I am quite well.’

/banga nga galnya/

banga nga galnya

right I.NOM good

‘I am well.’

In examples 3.108 and 3.109 above we see that the first person singular pronoun *nga* occurs as the second morpheme in the sentence. It is possible that this pronoun is a sentence-second clitic, rather than a freestanding pronoun. This analysis is supported by the following additional example involving the third person form *-da*.

3.110 *Ityoomuch ta booli.*

‘Sick the belly.’

/(y)idjumadj-da buli/

yitjumatjda buli

sick-3SG.NOM stomach

‘The stomach is sick.’

3.10.3 Interrogatives and questions

In the surviving examples, interrogative pronouns occur sentence-initially except for one example. We conclude that although declarative word order is an option for interrogative sentences, interrogatives may also occur word-initially (see section 3.3.7.1). This is consistent with the general Australian pattern. (It is possible that the high incidence of sentence-initial interrogatives may have been influenced by the interrogatives being word-initial in English.)

Polar (yes/no) questions follow the declarative word order and were possibly marked by rising intonation (see section 3.3.7.2).

3.10.4 Noun modifiers

Mathews' material is confusing on the relative position of nouns and noun modifiers. His notebook examples were in the order adjective–noun as in example 3.111; however, in the published article, they are given in the noun–adjective order as in example 3.112.

- 3.111 *Dunngidjal yiyirral tütüm butya.* (RMA:52)
'A big man killed a possum.'

/dung(g)udja-l yiyir-al datim badja/
dung(g)udjal yiyirral datin batja
big-ERG man-ERG kill.PAST possum
'A big man killed a possum.'

- 3.112 *Yiyirril dunngidyil butya tuttain.* (RMb:169)
'A big man killed a possum.'

/yiyir-il dung(g)udja-il badja dadin/
yiyirril dung(g)udjil badja datin
man-ERG big-ERG possum kill.PAST
'A big man killed a possum.'

Curr's sentences with numerals give the numeral before the noun as seen in example 3.20 above.

Perhaps the most convincing material on noun/modifier order is example 3.113 below, which comes from the vocabulary entry provided by Robinson (Rc) for 'hill'; it was unanalysed but appears in the order modifier–head:

- 3.113 *in.ger.ner yale le* (Rc)
'hill'

/yingarna yulila/
yingarrna yulila
small mountain
'small mountain'

In this phrase, which seems not to have been further analysed by Robinson, we see a clear example of adjective–noun word order.

It is the adjective–noun order that is also found in the expression for 'beautiful land' found in the hymn fragment recalled by Geraldine Briggs (see section 4.4.2 below).

We thus conclude that both noun–modifier and modifier–noun orders were possible in Yorta Yorta. Possible evidence of the noun–adjective order is found in what appears to be the phrase ‘pretty pictures’, contained in Aaron Atkinson’s thankyou speech reported in a newspaper (see example 4.2).

4 Texts

4.1 Sentences

Curr (Cb) lists about 80 sentences as part of his material on the ‘Bangerang’ language. In addition (1887:580), he lists five sentences which he identifies as the Toolinyāgan language (Ct) and in each of the three vocabularies (Cb), (Cp) and (Ct), forms are given for the English sentences, ‘Where are the Blacks?’ and ‘I don’t know’. The sentences given by Curr represent the largest corpus of text material surviving in Yorta Yorta, and there are amongst them some quite complex forms. Most of Curr’s sentences we have been able to resolve in full or in part, and some of these are exemplified in the body of the text above.

R.H. Mathews also recorded a slightly smaller number of sentences in his notebooks and publications, most of them simple in form. These are almost all able to be fully resolved, and many have been used in the text above as examples.

Locke (Ls:335) provided seven sentences, one of which is analysed above in example 3.23. All are listed here for reference.

<i>Turneja daideja, marrilatchimut neynee</i>	‘Very hot, me too much lazy.’
<i>Thoma nien boynupa</i>	‘My dear brother.’
<i>Thoma nien thajuba</i>	‘My dear sister.’
<i>Turneja malunwick, eetumut boolie</i>	‘Very hungry, stomach empty.’
<i>Mitther eeyanook</i>	‘Give me some bread.’
<i>Berumja beriarro, mano noothiga</i>	‘Be off to your camp, all of you.’
<i>Beriarroo wabuja yalmin neenee</i>	‘Go and cut some bark for me.’

Baylie recorded one sentence (see example 3.84 above repeated here as 4.1 for ease of reference).

4.1	<i>Itta mumi picta.</i>	(B:189)
	‘Don’t take this piece of wood.’	
	/yoda mumi bidja/ yorta mumi bitja	
	NEG take.IMP (fire)wood	
	‘Don’t take this piece of firewood.’	

Hercus also recorded a few sentences, some of which we have used as examples; see example 3.34 above.

4.1.1 *Yorta Yorta speech by Aaron Atkinson*

Aaron Atkinson, whose mother, Kitty Atkinson (Cooper) was known as 'Old Kitty' of the Wallithica clan, grew up in the Moira area and joined the residents at Maloga in 1877 when he was 24 years of age and already married with several children (Cato 1976:398). He was both the informant for R.H. Mathews and also well known to Daniel Matthews and to Thomas James.

A newspaper cutting (Atkinson, n.d.), part of the Norman collection in the Mortlock library, South Australia, reports the following short extract of a vote of thanks offered at Maloga by Aaron Atkinson to a Mr Thomas, described as a phrenologist who presented a magic lantern show of biblical places. The speech was recorded as follows:

Nea-ne trooma Mr Thomas, wal-a neen a yah non bok a ba mul a-wa colnea.
 'My dear Mr Thomas, we are good and delighted to see the pretty pictures you have shown us tonight.'

We can provide the following partial analysis:

4.2 *Nea-ne* *trooma Mr Thomas,*
 /nyini dhoma/ 'Mr Thomas'
 nyini *dhoma Mr Thomas*
 1 SG.POSS dear Mr Thomas
 'My dear Mr Thomas,'

wal-a *neen a yah*
 'well'? nyana?
 ? 1 PL.EXC.NOM?

non *bok a ba mul a-wa colnea.*
 /nha-n ? molwa galnya/
 see-NON.FUT ? shadow good

'We are good and delighted to see the pretty pictures you have shown us tonight.'

The word *molwa* is variously given as meaning: 'shadow', 'grave', 'white man', and 'light'. It may be that the word has also come to mean 'photograph'. The speech was given in response to a presentation of what was called in the newspaper 'the magic lantern', presumably some sort of slide show.

4.1.2 *Sentences from Priscilla McCrae*

Priscilla McCrae/McKray was the daughter of Aaron Atkinson's younger sister Ada Cooper and Thomas Shadrach James of Maloga and Cummeragunga. Priscilla McCrae was tape-recorded by Luise Hercus in 1963 at Maroopna (Hpmc), and later by Wayne Atkinson (1981:65).

On the Hercus tapes Priscilla McCrae gives the following sentences, for which we can provide an analysis.

- 4.3 [waka nyini yana] (Hpmc)
/waga ngina yana/
waka ngina¹ yana
where you go.PRES
'Where are you going?'
- 4.4 [biretj yanagai] (Hpmc)
/biradj yana-gai/
birradj yana-gai
quick go.IMP-back?
'Quick, come back.'
- 4.5 [ngalande: wala] (Hpmc)
? water
'I want a drink of water.'
- 4.6 [wandik nyinin djitiga] (Hpmc)
/nyuwandag yinin djidiga/
nyuwandak yinin djitiga
1PL.INC.ERG bite.PRES meat
'We want to eat some meat.'/'We eat meat.'
- 4.7 [wandik nyinin duriak] (Hpmc)
/nyuwandag yinin duriag/
nyuwandak yinin duriak
1PL.INC.ERG bite.PRES fish?
'We want to eat some fish.'/'We eat fish.'
- 4.8 [dhoma nytni nyana] (Hpmc)
/dhoma nyini nyana/
dhoma nyini nyana
dear my one
'poor sick one'
- 4.9 [wanal yarka] (Hpmc)
/wanal yarka/
wanal yarrka
where child
'Where is the child?'
- 4.10 [biretj ngangabrai] (Hpmc)
/biradj ngangaburaya/
birradj ngangaburaya
quick there-far
'gone away'/'quickly (gone) far away'

¹ The only possible interpretation for the pronoun in this sentence that accords with the translation provided by the speaker is that the speaker has mixed up the alternate second person subject pronouns *ngina nyana*, with the first person possessive forms *nyini ngini*.

- 4.11 [deyawin] (Hpmc)
 /deya-win/
deya-win
 there-?
 ‘There he is’/‘There!’
- 4.12 [beromdja] (Hpmc)
 /bira-mdja/
birra-mdja
 go.away.IMP-?
 ‘Go away!’
- 4.13 [wanal gaana] (Hpmc)
 /wanal ga:na/
wanal gaana
 where mother
 ‘Where is mother?’

In *A picture from the other side*, Wayne Atkinson (1981) reports the following two sentences told to him by Priscilla McCrae, who reported that her mother, Ada (Cooper) James, and her mother’s brothers and Theresa Clements used to speak the language. “That’s how we picked up a lot of it”, she said (1981:65). See also the Hairy Beka chant, which was reported in W. Atkinson (1981) and also in Hercus (1969, AIATSIS tape archives A21 7a); see section 4.2.3.

- 4.14. *Muma woka nyini yana?*
 ‘Where you going?’

Analysis:

/mama² waga ngina yana/
mama waka ngina yana
 mother where you go.PRES
 ‘Mother, where are you going?’

- 4.15. *Moorway.*
 ‘Yes, alright.’

Analysis:

/ngowe/
ngowe
 ‘yes’

4.2 Songs – traditional

A number of traditional songs have been reported and these can be analysed in part.

² Elsewhere, e.g. example 4.13 above, Priscilla McCrae uses the Yorta Yorta term *gaana* for ‘mother’. We assume she is using the English form of address here.

4.2.1 *Hunting song reported by Curr*

The only traditional song which is translated is in Curr (1887:579):

<i>Ngoe immilang kai-i-mer,</i>	'Yes, today (we will have) kangaroo,
<i>Yoorta yanna yooringa,</i>	Not go sun (or before sundown),
<i>Wanama wai panama,</i>
<i>Yoorta purra wollikthia.</i>	Not red kangaroo fat.'

Analysis:

- 4.16. *Ngoe immilang kai-i-mer,*
'Yes today (we will have) kangaroo,'

/ngowe imilang gayimar/
ngowe imilang gaiyimar
'Yes today kangaroo,'

Yoorta yanna yooringa,
'Not go sun (or before sundown),'

/yoda yana yuringa/
yorta yana yurringa
no go sun

Wanama wai panama,

...

/wanama wayi banama/
?
eagle?

Yoorta purra wollikthia.
'Not red kangaroo fat.'

/yoda bara walidja/
yorta bara walitja
'No red kangaroo fat.'

Curr does not give a translation of the third line, which he clearly did not understand, and neither at this stage do we. The language used in the song shows considerable economy of word usage. The vocabulary is standard but the only verb that is recognisable is in a non-inflected form (perhaps because it occurs in a nominal context.)

4.2.2 *Hunting songs reported by Locke*

Three other songs, which appear to be traditional songs, are recorded by Locke (Ls) (Smyth II:335) who introduced them thus: "The three following were their favourite corroborees [sic]." These songs seem to have a traditional metre. In such songs it was customary for some syllables to be repeated or elongated to fit the rhythm. There may also have been some special song vocabulary. (It may also be that Locke was mistaken in ascribing these songs to the Yorta Yorta (which he called Pangorangs), and/or that he was not

able to transcribe them correctly). We are, however, able to analyse a few words as Yorta Yorta and so include them here for reference.

1. *Berri berri ma, jildomba*
Berri berri ma, jildomba
Berri berri ma, jildomba-naga
Athen jindema, no goi-eela;
Jindema, jindema, o-en-dethen-o.
Warrim bang-e, berri berri ma jildomba-a,
Berri berri ma jildomba, berri berri ma jildomba.
2. *Aree muthe-e, aree mutho-o*
Aree mutha, comang-a thalitanga magoonba
Malang-oree, malang-oree
Mullin mullin jing-a magoonbang-a jiltang-a
Jing-a jing-a, gothanga, magoontanga thalato
3. *Thunda irra tha, thunda ra-oo,*
Gra imalang-a imee-a;
Thunda irra tha, thunda re-o,
Gra imalang-a, imme-e-e

Analysis:

Song 1, lines 1-3, 6,7	<i>berri berri ma</i>	may be the Yorta Yorta expression <i>birama</i> 'go away'
Song 1, line 4	<i>goi-eela</i>	possibly <i>Kaiyila</i> 'Goulburn River'
Song 1, line 6	<i>bang-e</i>	may be the Yorta Yorta past participle <i>banga</i>
Song 1, line 6	<i>warrim bang-e</i>	possibly <i>worwa</i> 'climb' + <i>banga</i> PAST
Song 2, line 2	<i>mutha</i>	possibly <i>matha</i> 'canoe'
Song 2, lines 2,4	<i>magoon</i>	possibly <i>makun</i> 'fish, perch'
Song 2, line 4	<i>bang-a</i>	may be the Yorta Yorta past participle <i>banga</i>
Song 2, line 4	<i>mullin</i>	may be the Yorta Yorta word <i>malin</i> 'beat'
Song 3, lines 2,4	<i>imalang</i>	appears to be the Yorta Yorta word <i>imilang</i> 'today'

(which also appears in the corroboree song recorded by Curr)

4.2.3 *The Hairy Beka chant*

The Hairy Beka chant is the best known traditional story fragment known today for which we can confidently provide an analysis. There were apparently many stories of a hairy creature called the Beka of whom children were afraid. Curr gives the meaning of Beka as 'ghost' (pēk-ka Cb, pekka Ct). Lois Peeler recalls hearing stories from her grandmother (Theresa Middleton Clements) about the Hairy Beka which had a strong odour. It had long white hair and long arms and legs, and when it walked its bones made a creaking sound (Bowe, Peeler and Atkinson 1997:23).

When speaking to Luise Hercus, Priscilla McCrae (Hpmc) recounts a story in which an old woman, an old witch (the Beka), is said to have been left at home to mind the children while their fathers and mothers went out hunting.

They used to sit down, the old people, you know, and tell yarns. Sure it never happened. But this is where (they) used to go out hunting, see, and they'd leave this old lady home to mind the children and the fathers and mothers would go out hunting, they'd go for this day of hunting. By and by they'd be coming back and she would have to have a hole dug and a fire made and this oven heated up for the prey that they'd bring, and then they'd have a good cook up and a good meal...Then the story goes on. It's sort of a twist up.

While the mother and father were away, this old lady, the witches, like, you know, she got very nasty to the children, so she said to them "Come and get some sticks and we'll make a...(they call fire *bitja*, see), we'll make a big *bitja* now and make this oven hot for your mother and father cause they'll be...throwing it in, and so she said I'm going to go away from here, and these children come on, all go round, go right round this hole. Sit down and lean over, lean over like that". And she came along...then she'd hit that one, see, and that one'd fall in...It's a fable, but this is the yarn they used to tell, see, and some of the language came into this, she'd start at this one and she'd say: *Woningenda, gomenda, deewin ngangabrawin*. Then she'd get that one there see, and that one'd fall in.

Priscilla McCrae goes on to explain the meanings of the expressions in the counting out chant, and provides the following alternatives:

[woningənda]	Hpmc	'this one here'
[gomənda]	Hpmc	'you there'
[deyawɪn]	Hpmc	'this one'
[nganga brawɪn]	Hpmc	'you too'
[nganga b(u)rai]	Hpmc	'that one'

We can provide the following analysis for this chant:

4.17 *Woningenda gōmenda deewin ngangabrawin?*

/womigin-da	muman-da??	deya-win	nganga-buraya-win/
womiginda	mumanda??	deyawin	ngangaburrayawin
which/where?-3SG	seize-NON.FUT.3SG??	this-one	that-far-one
'Which one will he seize, this one, that far one.'			

The interpretation of the form [gomenda] as /muman-da/ is based on the almost parallel phrase provided by Curr (Cb:578) 'which one will you seize?'. The context of the chant involved choosing a child to seize and throw in the fire. The initial consonant on the field tape is not particularly clear, and is associated with some nasality on the following syllable. Given that there is no other instantiation of a word *gomen*, it seems possible that the target was /muman/ 'seize'.

This can be compared with the following sentence from Curr (Cb:578):

- 4.18 'Which one will you take or seize?'
womogin ngia mommon?
 /womigin ngina(k)?³ muma-n/
womigin ngina(k)?? muman
 which you seize-PRES
 'Which one will you seize.'

Margaret Tucker also provided a version of this chant for Luise Hercus (Hmt):

ngangaburair, ngangaburair, ngangaburair, deyawin
 '(counting out) this one...this one!'

Analysis:

- 4.19 /nganga-buraya daya-win/
ngangaburaya dayawin
 that one (far distant?) this (one)here
 'That one, that one, that one, this one!'

Related song:

Wayne Atkinson (1981:64) reports a version of the same chant provided for him by Priscilla McCrae in 'A picture from the other side'.

Priscilla McCrae reports:

the old people taught us the corroboree song and we used to sit down with our legs crossed and a pillow in our laps, beating the pillows and singing while they'd be corroboreeing. We used to sing...

Down the railway, goobya goobya (go away)
narabri der yuh win ngungarbri win
 you this one here

woolba woolba woothamayi
 that one there look

derya wyn ngungabri wyn
 this one here look

Detailed analysis is possible for most of these lines.

- 4.20. Down the railway
 Down the railway
goobya goobya
 /gabai gabai/⁴
gabai gabai
 come.IMP come.IMP
 'come along come along'

³ See discussion in section 3.3.2.

⁴ See vocabulary list for 'come': *kabai* Cb, *kub* by Ra.

narabri *der yuh win* *ngungarbri win*
 /nganga-buraya *deya-win* *nganga-buraya-win/*
ngangaburraya ***deywin*** ***ngangaburrayawin***
 that-far (one) this-one that-far-one
 'that far one, this one, that far one'

woolba woolba wothamayi
 ? ? ?

derya win *ngungabri wyn*
 /deya-win *nganga-buraya-win/*
deywin ***ngangaburrayawin***
 this-one that-far-one
 'this one, that far one.'

Allowing for the fact that the chant was a counting-out song, and there was not a strict one-to-one correspondence with the Yorta Yorta forms and the English equivalents provided to Luise Hercus by Priscilla McCrae, we conclude that the forms had the following meanings:

<i>daya</i>	'this'
<i>nganga</i>	'that'
<i>womigin</i>	'which'
<i>-win</i>	'one'
<i>-burra</i>	'mid distant'
<i>-burraya</i>	'far distant' ⁵
<i>-da</i>	'third person singular pronoun/this'

Since there is no other instantiation of the form [gomənda] from any other source, we think it may be a misremembering for the form *muman* 'seize' found in the somewhat similar Curr sentence (Cb:578) quoted above.

Regarding the usage of traditional song, Eastman (EA:8) reports:

The young of the blacks were given a rhyme to memorise depicting the leading points on their tribal boundary. Thus a clump of trees, one of which had been struck by lightning, bore their interpretation of thunder, 'Thooggera-munnera' – a word which they recited slowly – and marked a point on the territory boundary sacred to the tribe's crossing.

4.3 Songs – mixed Yorta Yorta and English

In addition to the songs in section 4.2, there are some other songs which are partly in Yorta Yorta and partly in English. They clearly belong to a later period than the song above, recorded by Curr.

4.3.1 The song recorded by Edwards (ED)

In the single manuscript sheet of A. Edwards, he records the following song:

⁵ See also [nganga buraya] (Gb) 'far far away' provided by Geraldine Briggs in the hymn "There is a happy land far far away" (section 4.4.2).

Coroboree Song of the Moira Lake tribe of blacks, composed by Johnny, their chief, on first seeing a breech-loading gun, about the year 1875

Boung ang ah! Boung ang ah! Melbourne
Ah! dunning ah! cartridge, breech-loader,
webalung oh! gebero, jedero, powder, ah pucka
wunga kingen kat, mungino, weri weri
jah mung oh! De, bung ang ah! (repeat)

None of the words in the song accord with the word recorded by Robinson for 'gun' or 'musket', (*po.mid.er.re.ger*), perhaps *bumiderrega*. It may be that the words in the song are mainly onomatopoeic, or that some of them are in fact English. For example, *weri weri* may be 'very very'.

4.3.2 *The song recorded by Eastman (EA)*

Eastman (EA:8) gives the following song, composed on the Queen's Birthday (May 24th), on which day:

the 'Big fella white queen' as the sovereign was known, stood every native a blue blanket, and for the males gave a steel tomahawk too. Whatever their methods of timing, they never missed arriving to the day at the Serpentine, where my father acted as distributor for the district. The goods were brought up by team from Bendigo, and one year they failed to turn up on time, the teams having been bogged after heavy rain. A lyric composed by one of the waiting natives ran:

Walla Walla tumble down
Wheelballa blockit
Big fella white queen
Baal givit blanket

In this song, *walla walla* is clearly Yorta Yorta *wala* 'water'; the rest appears to be Pidgin English for

Lots of water (rain) fell
 And blocked (the way for) the vehicle
 (So) the great white queen
 Didn't give out any blankets.⁶

4.4 Hymns

A number of hymns were translated into Yorta Yorta, reportedly by the teacher at Maloga, Mr Thomas Shadrack James. The best remembered of these hymns is *Bura Fera*, about Moses parting the waters and drowning Pharaoh's army. It was sung by Geraldine Briggs on the tape which Janet Mathews recorded of her in 1967. Margaret Tucker also recalled part of it on the tape of her recorded by Luise Hercus in 1962. More recently Ken Briggs recalled the first verse on the tape recorded by Sharon Atkinson in 1994 (Bowe, Peeler and Atkinson 1997).

⁶ *Baal* is the Pidgin word for 'no, not' (Dixon, Ramson and Thomas 1990:207). *Wheelballa* looks like the English 'wheelbarrow' generalised to other vehicles; *tumbledown* is Pidgin for 'fall'. So except for *walla walla* (possibly reduplicated to mean 'lots of'), the song is totally Pidgin.

4.4.1 Bura Fera 'Pharoah'

Verse 1. Womeriga Moses nyinin wala
wala yaipunei yeiputj
nowra bura fera yumna yala yala
nowra bura fera yumna yala yala
nowra bura fera yumna, burra ferra yumna
bura fera yumna yala yala

['When Moses struck/smote the water
The waters came together
And drowned all Pharoah's army
Alleluia!'] Translation provided by Geraldine Briggs

['When Moses smote the water
The water all passed over
and drowned all Pharoah's army
Alleluia!'] Translation provided by Margaret Tucker to Luise Hercus

['Moses crossed the water
The water then divided
Turned back Pharoah's army
Alleluia!'] Translation as provided by Ken Briggs to Sharon Atkinson.

Verse 2. Yunduk beku(k) Jesu
browall boke yunduk (or) barwal bokuna yumina
nowra bura ferra yumna yala yala

No one seemed to remember the translation of the second verse; however, this song seems to have been based on a negro spiritual. An English version is included in a book entitled *The story of the Jubilee Singers with their songs*, by J.B.T. Marsh (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880), about the Fisk University Jubilee Singers from Nashville Tennessee, who toured Great Britain and Europe. The verses, sung to a similar tune, are given as:

1. Gwine to write to Massa Jesus
To send some valiant soldiers
To turn back Pharaoh's army, Hallelu...
2. If you want your souls converted
You'd better be a praying
To turn back Pharaoh's army, Hallelu...
3. You say you are a soldier
Fighting for your Saviour
To turn back Pharaoh's army, Hallelu...

4. When the children were in bondage
They cried unto the Lord
He turn'd back Pharoah's army, Hallelu...
5. When Moses smote the water
The children all passed over
And turn'd back Pharoah's army, Hallelu...
6. When Pharoah crossed the water
The waters came together
And drown'd ole Pharoah's army, Hallelu...

The Yorta Yorta version seems closely related to parts of the Jubilee Singers' version. It is interesting that both versions of the refrain are remembered today:

- turned back Pharoah's army (Ken Briggs)
- drowned all Pharoah's army (Geraldine Briggs, Margaret Tucker)

No Yorta Yorta people seem to remember the English translation of Yorta Yorta verse B. Because of its reference to Jesus, we assume that the remembered verse B begins 'Gwine to write to Massa Jesus, to send some valiant soldiers' (cf. Jubilee Singers verse 1.).

The following analysis of the two remembered verses is possible (corresponding Jubilee Singers verse and line is given in parenthesis):

- 4.21 Verse A. *Womeriga Moses nyinin wala*
'When Moses smote the water.'
- /womeriga Moses nyinin wala/
womerriga Moses nyinin wala
when-? Moses strike.NON.FUT water
'When Moses struck the water' (Verse 5, line 1)
- wala yapanei yeiputj*
'the water all passed over' or 'the waters came together'
- /wala yapaneyepuk/
wala yapanei yepuk
water ? together
'the water came together' ?? (Verse 6, line 2)
- nowra⁷ bura fera yumina yala yala*
'and drowned all Pharoah's army, Alleluia.'
- /nawra bura fera 'yumina' yala yala/
nawrra burra ferra yumina yalayala
drowned?? boss* Pharoah person army Alleluia
'and drowned Pharoah's army. Allelluia.' (Verse 6, line 3)
- Verse B. *Yunduk bekuk Jesu*
'we're going to sing/pray to Jesus'

⁷ Alternatively given as *ngara*.

/nyuwandak	bayiku-k	Jesu/	
nyuwandak	bayikuk	Jesu	
we	sing/pray-FUT?	Jesus	
'We're going to sing/pray to Jesus'			(cf. Verse 1, line 1)
<i>browal bokuna yumina</i>			
'to bring some valiant soldiers'			
/bira-ya(r)wul	bakora	yumina/	
birrayarrwul	bakorra	yumina	
bring-IMP	hard-headed	army? ⁸	
(Nawrra burra ferra yumina Yala yala, etc...)			(Verse 1, line 2)
			(Verse 6, line 3)

This analysis suggests that the lines as remembered are lines from a Yorta Yorta version that originally had more verses paralleling at least verses 1, 5 and 6 of the Jubilee Singers version.

4.4.2 *Galyan Woka 'Happy Land'*

Mrs Geraldine Briggs still knows part of a hymn, which is sung to the tune 'Happy Land' (The English Hymnal, 1933), the English verse of which is:

'There is a happy land, far far away, where
saints in glory stand, bright, bright as day.'

Mrs Briggs has remembered only the first line so far:

Galyan woka nganaburaya moya.
'There is a happy land, far far away.'

which is analysed as:

- 4.22. *Galyan woka nganaburaya moya.*
/galyan woga nganga-buraya 'moya'/
galyan woka nganaburaya ?
good land there far distant-
'(There is) a good land, far away...'

4.4.3 *Others*

A number of other hymns were collected into a booklet by Yorta Yorta people. These appear to us to be some kind of lingua franca, incorporating some words that appear to be of Wemba Wemba origin with words of Yorta Yorta origin, as indicated by the example below:

<i>Biamie bunwil</i>	'The Lord's my Shepherd
<i>Ma min wamba min</i>	I'll not want
<i>Molwa ma gumba</i>	He makes me down to lie

⁸ The word *yumina* appears to mean 'soldiers' or 'army'. Merle Bamblett gives the word *gumina* for 'people', which appears to be similar. The original form of this word may have been *yenbena* 'person'.

Bega In pastures green
Molwa wirba ma (he leadeth me)
Berri-werri The quiet waters by.'

This appears to be partly in Yorta Yorta, and partly in the Wemba Wemba language:

4.23 *Biamie bunwil*
 /baimiya bangəl?/?
 spirit, God (YY) clever man, eaglehawk (WW)

M min wamba min
 /nga min wamba min/
 1 SG (YY) ? no (WW) ?

Molwa ma gumba
 /molwa nga gumba/
 shade (YY) 1 SG (YY) lie down (WW)

Bega
 /bega/
 ghost (YY)

Molwa wirb ma
 /molwa wirba nga/
 shade (YY) ? 1 SG (YY)

Berri-werri
 /bir wir/
 stream, running water (WW) ?

A second hymn, which ought to be more easily analysable because of its simple structure and repetition, seems also to be of very mixed origin.

Aleena adina 'We are heirs
Mama of the father
Aleena yapadyeput We are joint heirs
Wuda baingug with the son
Aleena yalka We are children
Biamie moe of the kingdom
Aleena guagamenu We are family
Aleena ba We are one'

4.24 *Aleena adina*
 we? heirs/descendants?

Mama
 father (WW)

Aleena yapadyeput
 we joint (YY)

Wuda baingug

Aleena yalka
we child (YY)

Biamie moe
god (YY)

Aleena guagamenu
we family

Aleena ba
we one

English	Vocabulary in hymn	Yorta Yorta	Wemba Wemba
we	<i>aleena</i>	<i>nyunda?</i> (<i>ngalngin</i> 'we, dual')	<i>walangandak</i>
father	<i>mama</i>	<i>bapo, gaiya</i>	<i>mam</i>
joint	<i>yapadyeput</i>	<i>yapaneyepuk</i> (FM)	
son	<i>wuda</i>	<i>guwiga</i>	? <i>wathip</i> (<i>wuthu</i> 'man, male')
god	<i>biamie</i>	<i>baimi(ya)</i>	<i>kirrkundity,</i> <i>mam-kurringek</i>
child, children	<i>yalka</i>	<i>yarrka/yalka</i>	<i>pembengguk</i>
family	<i>guagamenu</i>	<i>yakapna</i>	
one	<i>ba</i>	<i>iyawa</i>	<i>kepin</i>

If we compare vocabulary items in the song with Yorta Yorta and Wemba Wemba we see a few identifiable items from Yorta Yorta such as *yalka* 'child', *biamie* 'god' and the word *yapaneyepuk* 'together', which is found in the Pharoah hymn. The word *aleena* 'we' may derive from the Yorta Yorta first person dual pronoun *ngalngin*. The word *mama* 'father' is similar to the traditional Wemba Wemba word. The rest of the words do not seem to be Yorta Yorta words for which we have independent confirmation, nor do they seem to be Wemba Wemba either.

4.5 Unanalysed text

The following expressions have been recorded, for which we have been unable to offer any analysis at this stage:

<i>Nyini guliga guli watjam</i>	'lovely little one'	FM
<i>guligarabok/guligalabok</i>	'I'm trying to get it but I couldn't get hold of it.'	Hcs
<i>gapu(l) galai</i>	'I'm going to have to'	Hcs
<i>yarabi</i>	'I'm going.'	Hcs

5 *Placenames*

Reference to placenames has been made in both historical and modern sources. For some placenames we have linguistic evidence from a number of different sources and can be confident of the meaning. For others, the only evidence is individual recollection, and in a few cases there is even conflicting information from personal recollection. Meanings given in various books of Aboriginal placenames are discussed and some evaluation of those entries included where appropriate. Reed (1967) *Aboriginal place names and their meanings* is an often quoted source which seems to be rather mixed in its quality. Unfortunately Reed does not state his sources. We have come across an earlier work by O'Callaghan (1918) entitled *Names of Victorian railway stations – origins and meanings* which is useful in that the author cites all of his sources. Sometimes these appear to be from languages unlikely to be related to the place concerned; however, some of the sources O'Callaghan notes for placenames in the Yorta Yorta area are words that are widely documented in the Yorta Yorta sources, and so O'Callaghan's material is of interest. It is not clear whether all of O'Callaghan's observations were the result of people actually saying that the town was named on account of the particular word. Sometimes it appears as though O'Callaghan simply matched up names of towns with vocabulary lists from Aboriginal languages from quite far afield, and in this sense the work must be seen as suggestive rather than definitive.

The placenames for which we have the clearest linguistic cross-references include the following:

5.1 Well-known Yorta Yorta placenames

(i) **Maloga**

This is the name given to Daniel Matthews' mission from Yorta Yorta *maloga* 'sand, sandhill' (*malōga* Cb, *malooga* Cr, *maloga* Lc, *maloga* Ls, *mal lo gar* Ra, *mul lo gar* Rb, *maloga* SM, *maloga* Mb, *maloga* H).

(ii) **Tongala**

This is the Yorta Yorta term for the Murray River (*tōngala* Cb, *fingola* Ls, *tong-a-la* Ma, *tong-ala* Mb, *tong.oo.ler* Ra, *tong oo-ler* Rb, *tongula* Sa). Matthews (Cato 1976) reported that the name *Tongala* for the Murray River means 'the great water', which we can assume derives from the word *dung(g)u-dja* meaning 'big' and the form *-la*, probably a reduced

form of the word *wala* 'water'. (Tongala was also the name given to Curr's property on the Goulburn; however, he acknowledges that this name resulted from some confusion and actually refers to the Murray. The town of Tongala is situated south of Curr's original homestead and is not on either river.)

(iii) Echuca

This is probably an anglicisation of the clan name Wollithiga (sometimes Wollithigan), the clan who traditionally occupied the country at the junctions of the Goulburn and Campaspe rivers with the Murray. Curr (1883:232) suggests that the first part of the clan name is *wala* the Yorta Yorta word for 'water'. Daniel Matthews believed it to mean 'the meeting of the waters' (Cato 1976:45). The second part of the word *ithiga* or perhaps *itjiga* may have meant 'junction' or 'meeting', but we have no independent evidence of this. Reed (1967) suggests that earlier Aboriginal names for Echuca were *whuhgulingia* and *woolo-thiga* (though he does not identify his sources) and also gives the meaning as meeting of the waters, junction of the rivers. He also suggests that Echuca is a corruption of *ithiga*, the local tribal name. He further suggests that Echuca was chosen by the early surveyors from the local Aborigines' description of themselves (but again does not give any sources).

(iv) Moira

The Moira area was the traditional home of the 'Moira people' (*Moiraduban* J, *Moyir dubun* (James, letter), *Moitheriban* (C). Cato (1976:47), quoting Matthews, reports that the 'Moira people', whose land stretched from the Moira Lakes to the One Tree Plain, were the nearest neighbours to the Wallithica, and that *Moira* meant 'place of many reeds'. (The only independent reference to the word for reed is *mōōgoo-ga* (Cb) which does not confirm this.) Vocabulary sources give the term *moirra* as meaning 'sea' or 'lake' (*moera* E, *moira* J, *moy.e.er* Ra, *moi e rer* Rb 'lake', *moera* E, *moira* J 'sea') and this meaning seems to be the one that is most widely documented. A further meaning 'beautiful country' is given in the typescript entitled Cummeragunja Community Book. The only other evidence of this meaning is in the second hymn sung by Geraldine Briggs with the first line '*Galyan woka nganaburraya moya*' in which the last word may have the meaning 'beautiful'.

Galyan woka nganaburaia moya.

/galyan woga nganga-burraya 'moya'/

galyan woka nganaburraya ?beautiful?

good land there-far.distant –

'(There is) a good land, far away...'

(v) Moama

R.H. Mathews, in the offprint (RMd) where he originally noted his Yota Yota vocabulary, included the entry *mōma*, a tree growing along river like willow – wh.f. 'Moama'. This entry was not included in his published list (Rmb).

(vi) **Cummeragunja (Cumeroogunga)**

This is commonly believed by Yorta Yorta people to mean ‘my home’. Matthews (Mb) provides the entry *goondja* ‘house, home’ which is also similar to the Wiradjuri term (*guunji* ‘house, hut’); however, the first part of the word *gameru* does not resemble the word ‘my’ in either Yorta Yorta or Wiradjuri. The verb ‘to sit’ has the stem *ga-*. The suffixes *-ma* and *-gandja* are well attested verb suffixes found in imperatives:

ga-ma-ra-gandja
sit-emphatic-?-imperative (cf. *bira-ma-gandja* ‘go off’)

This word could have the meaning ‘sit’ or ‘rest’.

5.2 Placenames with the suffix -pna

The sequence *-pna* is found in a number of placenames in the Yorta Yorta area and we suggest that it is distinctively Yorta Yorta in origin. For example:

Mooroopna	
Kotupna	(<i>Katōōpna</i> in Curr’s list of Plains Cb:576)
Ulupna	
Tallygaroopna	Tarigoroopna (Ls:334)
Congupna	
Jillinupna	

The sequence *-pna* appears to have functioned as a productive formative with the general meaning ‘related to’ as discussed in section 3.9.2. For example:

<i>munu</i>	<i>munúpna</i>
‘leg’	‘trousers’
<i>borr(i)nyu</i>	<i>borr(i)nyúpna</i>
‘arm’	‘shirt’
<i>watjerra</i>	<i>watjerrúpna</i>
‘tortoise shell/plate’	‘small tortoise’

The combination of consonants /pn/ is most untypical of Aboriginal languages and is not found in neighbouring languages. Moreover there is no evidence of the consonant b/p occurring in syllable-final position in other Yorta Yorta words (see section 2.3.1.2). For both of the foregoing reasons we regard placenames ending in *-pna* as being of Yorta Yorta origin.

Yorta Yorta family member, Ken Briggs of Shepparton, quoted in (Bowe, Peeler & Atkinson 1997) has suggested that the placename Mooroopna is an anglicisation of the original word ‘Mooroopoona’. Massola (1969:134) has suggested that such words end in an abbreviation of *goopna*, which refers to deep water holes in the river by which people camped. Curr (Cb) and Barry (E) provide the forms *ko:lpaga* (Cb) and *culpuga* (E) for ‘waterhole’ which we would reconstruct as *gulpaga*, which is not identical to Massola’s form, though it bears some resemblance. Putting the two ideas together we could hypothesise a form something like ‘*Muru-(gu)lpuga*’ for Mooroopna. This must remain largely conjecture at this stage, but whatever the precise etymology we can be fairly certain that placenames with this final sequence are of Yorta Yorta origin.

Alternatively, the *-pna* suffix may be related in some way to the suffix *-ban* found in group names such as Moiraduban, Bikolatban, Wongatban.

It is possible that the placenames Coomboona and Yamboona are also related to the *-pna/poona* etymology. As far as the other parts of these words are concerned, we have little information.

There are a number of other placenames ending in *-pna* for which we have some linguistic information, which we must regard as tentative.

(i) **Ulupna**

Ulupna is believed to be 'my home' (FM). However it might be that this is a confusion with Cumeragunga for which the meaning 'my home' is also given.

(ii) **Tallygaroopna**

O'Callaghan (1918) suggests that 'Tallygaroopna' means 'large tree' (Smyth II 203). However this does not accord with other Yorta Yorta references.

(iii) **Congupna**

O'Callaghan (1918) reports that 'kongoopka' (*gangupka*) means perch (Cb:574) and that this was the native name for Shepparton. Mathews also gives 'perch' as kangupka (RMb), kungupgah (RMb, RMd). Of course there is a difference in the final consonant cluster, *-pn-* in Congupna and *-pk-* in kongoopka, so these words are not unquestionably the same. A similar parallel could be drawn between the word for baby which Curr gives as 'kotoopka' for the Bangerang clans but 'kotoopna' for the Toolinyāgan clan of the Ulupna area. Whilst these observations are interesting, we should not regard them as conclusive.

5.3 Other placenames

(i) **Wyuna**

Curr (Cb:576) provides the entry 'Wai-ōō-na (commonly spelt *Wyuna*)' in his list of Plains but does not provide a specific meaning. A typesheet circulating among Yorta Yorta people entitled 'Local place names and their Aboriginal meanings' gives the meaning of *wyuna* as 'clear water'. There is no confirming evidence of this in the Yorta Yorta vocabulary sources and so we should treat this with some caution.

(ii) **Tatura**

O'Callaghan (1918) reports the meaning as being 'small lagoon' citing the reference J.C. Saxton (Victoria place names and their origins, p.62). We have no other evidence to support this conclusion. The Yorta Yorta word for 'small lagoon' given in Curr and Smyth is *batha* (*baartha* Cb, *patho* SM).

(iii) **Toolamba**

O'Callaghan (1918) reports the meaning as being either 'small lagoon' (Argus 17th June 1905) or as 'bark' (Curr vol.III, p.449). Curr cites the word *toolambi* as the word for 'bark' recorded at Piangil (downriver from Swan Hill) by Thomas McCredie. Given that this meaning of the word is not found in Yorta Yorta sources, and that the language from which this meaning is taken was not spoken in the Toolamba vicinity, we consider that neither of these meanings is very likely to be correct.

(iv) **Koyuga**

This is listed as Kāiiooga in the list of Plains in Curr (Cb:576). Given as Coyuga on the map in the back of Curr (1883). O'Callaghan (1918) gives the meaning 'a plain in the midst of a forest'.

(v) **Millewa**

Smyth (1878:196) lists Milliwa as the word for Murray River in a group of otherwise Yorta Yorta placenames; compare however the Wemba Wemba word for Murray River which is *mile*.

(vi) **Mathoura**

This is given as 'windy' in the Cummeragunja Community Book (probably after Reed (1967)); however, we have no confirming evidence for this meaning (*bang* is given as the word for 'wind' in many Yorta Yorta sources.) Neither is it the word for wind in neighbouring languages. Ken Briggs (Peeler, Bowe and Atkinson 1994) suggests that Mathoura means 'red bank' but we can find no confirming evidence for this meaning either.

(vii) **Barmah**

The meaning of this placename is unknown, but Curr (1883:231), states that it should be spelt *paama*.

(vi) **Numurkah**

O'Callaghan gives the meaning of this placename as 'warshield' (J.F.H. Mitchell's *Aboriginal dictionary*) or 'turkey' (J.J. Baylis, Goonigul, Wagga Wagga, N.S.W.). Yorta Yorta sources provide the word *malka* as 'shield', and *mandja* as 'plains turkey'. Neither of these suggestions seems to be confirmed by the Yorta Yorta data.

(ix) **Wunghnu**

O'Callaghan writes that an Aboriginal of the Murray tribes, James Cooper, identified the correct pronunciation of this placename as 'one yuh', and said that it means 'boomerang'. This equates to the Yorta Yorta vocabulary items for boomerang: *wanya* wūnya Cb, *wunyer* Rc, *wūnya* RMb, RMd, *wanya* Sa, *wonnear* TH. (O'Callaghan's reference to an

alternative meaning ‘bad’ (Curr, vol.III, p.313) relates to the Kamilaroi language of south Queensland and is unlikely to be relevant.)

(x) **Tungamah**

O’Callaghan (1918) gives the meaning of this placename as ‘crow’ (from Barry (E:3) *tungamay*). This meaning is also recorded by R.H. Mathews (*dūngami* RMb) and so we regard this as a place likely to have been named from a Yorta Yorta source. The words for crow in neighbouring languages to the north and east are quite different: *berrontha* (Pallanganmiddang), *wagara* (Barwidgee), *waagan* (Wiradjuri), *wa* (Wemba Wemba).

(xi) **Kyemery**

This is the name of a railway station on the Elmore–Cohuna line (in the vicinity of Gunbower, west of Echuca) O’Callaghan (1918) reports that this means ‘kangaroo’ (ref. Smyth 1878:196). We note the following cognate references which we reconstruct as *gaiyimarr* (*kai-imer* Cb, *kyemir* E, *koyeemar* Ls, *kiemir* Mb, *ky.e.mer.re* Ra, *ki e mer re* Rb, RMd, *kyema* Sa, *kyemery* Sb, *keimeer* SM, *ki-e-me* T) which supports this observation.

(xii) **Youanmite**

This is the name of a railway station south of Cobram between Numurkah and Tangamah. O’Callaghan suggests that this name was based on *youan*, *youang* ‘hill’. The Yorta yorta sources provide a slightly different word for ‘hill, mountain’, viz. *yula*, *yulila*, which is attested by many sources. It is not clear what we should make of this.

(xiii) **Picola**

O’Callaghan suggests that *bigola* means ‘whirling or rushing water’ (ref. Steedman, Superintendent of police at Nathalia). This is not directly confirmed in any of the Yorta Yorta sources. However, we note that the Barry (E) source provides the entry *piccora* with the meaning ‘chain of ponds’. Since the sounds [r] and [l] were often very difficult to distinguish, we think it is possible that the town of Picola was named after the chain of ponds running along the Murray to the north of Picola.

Curr (Cb:576) also provides the following names of creeks and plains.

5.4 Names of Plains

Curr (Cb) provides the following names of plains.

- Kāiooga
- Tētooga (called Tizziki Plain by the Whites)
- Goolāila
- Būnderi
- Wōkkida
- Thathūmnera
- Wai-ōō-na (commonly spelt Wyuna)
- Kotōōpna

5.5 Names of Creeks

Curr (Cb) provides the following names of creeks.

Bāāla = Broken Creek

Dīrra = teeth

Kōkoma = calabash

Wōlola

Tī-i-a

Bathīnbina

Tongolōga

6 *Personal names*

As with placenames, most personal names probably had a meaning. Of those listed below, only two are names of which the meanings are known.

Personal names of Yorta Yorta people are recorded in the following sources:

(i) Curr (Cb:575)

(a) **Names of Men**

Yallēbla, Letūpna, Moolīdgiga, Kanīpka, Bārromop

(b) **Names of Women**

Narrungārning, Undyārning, Mārdjiga, Thōre mellapūrning, Tūrtool, Killbāngaroo, Wadjibiālbrook, Mirāndola, Kongōbla, Mīnniga, Windyārning, Bōrogoa

(c) **Names of Boys**

Konēbla, Mōōtugoa, Tungōba ('frog'), *Monorūmbe, Barūpna, Waw-ra-nā-ra-be, Mōmogoa, Monābbi*

(ii) Robinson (vol.17) records the names of people of the 'Ang-go-ril-lum clan of the Pine-ger-ine'. For example:

Mil-loo-ger, alias Harry p.100

Budgerbulloc p.101

Man-ger-ne, Larry, husband of the above

Pine-bil-de-bar – 18 years Old p.102

Por-rer-por-rope – Tall man, alias Larry p.108

(iii) Thomas (Mitchell Library MS 214/19, microfilm CY 3104, Frame No.80), gives the name of: '*Parreden, a Pangaran*'.

(iv) Rev D. Mathews (Mb) gives:

Mit-ura-baal-la 'Name of Susanna Crow (fork of a Gum Tree)'

Of these names, we can confirm the meanings for the following:

- A. *Tungōba* (Cb:575)
 'Frog'
 /dhangoba/
dhangoba
 'Frog'
- B. *Mit-ura-baal-la.* (Mb)
 'Name of Susanna Crow (fork of a Gum Tree).'
 /midhura b(iy)ala/
mithurra biyala
 fork.of.tree gum.tree
 'Fork of a gum tree.'

Mathews also recorded *Mit-ura* as the 'fork of a tree' and *Baa-la* as 'gum tree'.

7 *Yabula Yabula*

7.1 The language, its speakers and their territory

The Yabula Yabula language was spoken by the Ngarimoro people, who appear to have lived originally on both sides of the Murray River around Yeilima. The information we have about the Yabula Yabula/Ngarimoro language comes from Curr's (1887:581-582, 588-589 (Cn)) word lists and phrases and from R.H. Mathews. The Mathews material includes his published material (Mathews 1903) on Yabula Yabula (RMc) and manuscript notebook entries for Yabula Yabula (RMi), and a draft article on the "Ngurrimaura language" (RMj), as well as some additional annotations made by Mathews to offprints. Mathews (RMj:6) reports that:

The Ngurrimaura language is spoken by the remnants of the tribe which formerly inhabited the level country about Tuppil Creek, Deniliquin and along the Murray River from Tocumwal to Mathoura, Country of Townsend.

This report is consistent with the map in Curr (1887:566), which shows the Ngarrimōwro tribe situated on either side of the Murray around Yeilima, extending to the north. (See map in section 1.4) There is a distinct lack of agreement between various other observers as to the exact territory of the Yabula Yabula (as pointed out by Hagen 1996). We would agree with Hagen that most of the reliable evidence is consistent with Curr's location for the Ngarimoro. (This is also the vicinity indicated by Dixon (1980:241).)

Following Mathews and Curr, we equate the Yabula Yabula language, which has *yabula* as the word for 'no,' with the Ngarimoro. However, it would seem that the situation may have actually been more complex than that. Both James (1897) and Mathews in the draft article (RMj) list Yabula Yabula and Ngarimoro as separate groups.¹ For instance, Mathews reports (RMj:6) that the Ngarimoro:

were met towards the South and South West by the Yota Yota, Bataura, Yabbila Yebula and Birrabu-birrabu, which are sister tongues of the Ngurrimaura.

We do not know why James and Mathews would have listed Yabula Yabula in addition to Ngarimoro. There may have been some speakers who used the distinctive vocabulary with a grammar essentially the same as Yorta Yorta (perhaps known as Yabula Yabula), and others (perhaps known as Ngarimoro) who used distinctive grammatical features as well. However, this is unclear as nowhere else does Mathews overtly refer to there being two Yabula varieties. We conclude that there may have been a continuum of speakers of Yabula Yabula,

¹ This cannot be due to the reliance of one of them on the other, because their observations are different in other respects.

some who used the distinctive vocabulary with a grammar essentially the same as that for the Yorta Yorta, and some who used distinctive grammatical features as well.

7.1.1 Relationship to the Yorta Yorta language

The Curr and Mathews sources together provide a vocabulary list of about one hundred and forty Yabula Yabula words, which when compared with the combined Yorta Yorta list show a lexical overlap of about 44%² (49/112). This figure is suggestive of Yabula Yabula being a separate language.

Dixon (1980:255) points out that it is when two neighbouring languages register a lexical score within the ‘equilibrium range’ of 40–60 per cent – as do the majority of contiguous languages in most parts of Australia – that we are unable ever to draw tentative conclusions from lexical comparison.

Dixon is reported by Clark (1990:396) to have concluded that Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula are different languages, having found “that they only shared 44% common vocabulary, and possessed different case inflection and verbs” though he adds Dixon’s qualification that:

Given the available data, he (Dixon) considers it unlikely that we will ever be able to decide between (a) a close genetic relationship between Jodajoda and Jabulajabula or (b) a long period of contiguity, which built up vocabulary to an equilibrium figure leading to similar pronouns but not verb and noun morphology.

Sommer (1997:39) reports that Dixon “formally assigns them to the same sub-group as separate languages”. (They are the only two languages in that sub-group.) The assignment of Yorta Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula to the same sub-group, as reported by Sommer, is a crucial aspect of Dixon’s working analysis that is not reported by Clark.

The issue of whether Yabula Yabula is regarded as a dialect of Yorta Yorta, or a closely related language at the level of the sub-group is, in some sense, only a matter of degree; however, the question of whether Yabula Yabula is diverging from Yorta Yorta or converging towards it is pertinent. We shall explore the evidence here.

The vocabulary lists range over a set of about 100 items of core vocabulary and as such are similar to the lists usually used for lexico-statistical comparison in Australia (Dixon 1980:254). However, for Curr’s basic list, 35 items of his total of 124 were left blank. Curr reports that he obtained his Ngarrimowro vocabulary from a female informant, but whether the blanks are there because he was working without a list and did not enquire about certain items, or whether the informant could only remember Yorta Yorta words and therefore did not answer, we cannot know. If Yabula Yabula was genetically related to Yorta Yorta, it is likely that Yorta Yorta alternates for some vocabulary items may have been in use as well, but it is also likely that, in such cases, the informant would have reported the distinctive Yabula Yabula terms rather than the Yorta Yorta cognate, thus creating an exaggerated level of distinctiveness. Thus the 44% overlap may be unrepresentatively low.

A second issue is that Curr and James both refer to a process of groups ‘breaking off’ from the main Bangerang/Yorta Yorta groups. James (1897) listed 14 groups representing “Yotta Yotta and its offshoots”, and commented that the names not only represent the dialects spoken, but also the families that scattered, severing their connection with the Yotta Yotta tribe. (These are listed in section 1.3.)

² The revised calculation (see addendum and fn.8, Ch.1) raises this figure to 55% (152/274).

Curr (1887:580) also writes of the splitting off of Pikkolātpan:

whilst many of its words are pure Bangerang...The equivalent of the Blacks, Blackfellow, Black woman, and no are not amongst them. It has been remarked before that when a section of a tribe broke off from the parent stem and became independent, an alteration of one or all of the above words generally took place.

It seems that both of these writers are referring to a process of divergence rather than convergence which, if it was the case for Yabula Yabula, would mean that Yabula Yabula was indeed genetically related to Yorta Yorta/Bangerang.

The degree of distinctiveness of the vocabulary seems to be based in part on a deliberateness to be distinctive, associated with a process of splitting off. Curr's observation of the replacement of certain terms implies this. Our own observations support this. For example, the terms for 'mother' and 'father' differentiate Curr's Bangerang "Proper" from other groups as illustrated below:

	'father'	'mother'
Bangerang "proper"	<i>gaiya</i>	<i>gana</i>
Gayilduban, Dulinyagan, Bikolatban	<i>bapu</i>	<i>napu</i>
Ngarimoro	<i>bingalam</i>	<i>ngagalam</i>

The replacement of these items seems to be systematic and deliberate. It is, perhaps, significant that the Ngarimoro terms for 'father' and 'mother' begin with the same manner of articulation as the Gayilduban, Dulinyagen, Bikolatban forms. The formative (*n*)*galam* is also found in the Ngarimoro words for 'male' and 'female'.

This systematic replacement of key vocabulary seems to be different from the more haphazard pattern of lexical replacement which occurs upon the death of an individual whose name approximates a particular word. Examples of this phenomenon reported to Curr by Dulinyagan and Ngarimoro informants are provided in sections 1.5 and 7.1.4 respectively.

A third issue is that the situation with Yabula Yabula does not fit any of the classic examples of language splitting or convergence discussed by Dixon (1980:33ff.). The Yabula Yabula vocabulary does not have any significantly greater degree of overlap with neighbouring languages than does Yorta Yorta. The following table, extracted from figures provided by Blake and Reid (1995:6) shows the percentage overlap of Yabula Yabula and Yorta Yorta with neighbouring languages and other Victorian languages.

Table 34: Percentage overlap of Yabula Yabula and Yorta Yorta with other languages

	Yabula Yabula	Yorta Yorta
Western Vic. (e.g. Wemba Wemba)	23	15
Bunanditj	11	15
Warrnambool	16	12
Colac	11	17
Wathawurrung	15	15
Central Vic. (e.g. Thagungwurrung)	15	13
Dhuduroa	18	18
Pallanganmiddang	18	(27) ³ 23
Gippsland	14	20
Wiradhuri	14	20

³ We have recounted the Yorta Yorta – Pallanganmiddang statistic using the Yorta Yorta combined list which yields the lower figure of 23%, which we think is more realistic.

These figures of overlap are quite low. The highest overlap is scored with Western Victoria (e.g. Wemba Wemba), although the level of 23% does not seem to be significantly above what would have been normal for neighbouring languages with no particular connection. It thus does not seem that Yabula Yabula had become less like Yorta Yorta because it had become more like a neighbouring language.

The differences and similarities between the two languages can be summarised as:

- (i) Lexical: about 40–45% similarity between two groups, not counting personal pronouns or interrogatives and demonstratives. Had we included them in the comparison, the result would have brought the lexical comparison to over 50%.
- (ii) Phonological: loss of final vowel in some words, dispreference for consonant clusters giving rise to metathesis in some words (these processes would be consistent with Yabula Yabula diverging from Yorta Yorta). For further details see section 7.2.3.1 below.
- (iii) Grammatical: Pronoun paradigms, similar but not identical. Yabula Yabula seems to be developing a nominative/accusative system for non-singular pronouns based on Yorta Yorta-type forms (see section 7.3.2 below).

Case-marking: some matches, some different, others related

Verb morphology: some similarities, some differences

(See summary at section 7.3.10 below)

A fourth consideration is the matter of bidialectalism. It seems likely that many speakers of Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula may have spoken or understood both the Yorta Yorta forms and the Yabula Yabula forms. When replying to a question from Cath Ellis as to whether Yabula Yabula was very different from Yorta Yorta, Bill Jackson commented (AIATSIIS Audiotape A 192): “No there’s no difference at all...just like Church of England and Presbyterian”.

Intermarriage patterns seemed to involve local group exogamy (but endogamy at the tribal level) as was the case quite widely throughout Australia (see section 1.5.1 above). If the Ngarimoro were part of the ‘macro’ tribe then all (or at least many) Yabula Yabula speakers would have married non-‘yabula’ speakers (either Yaliba Yaliba speakers or Yorta Yorta speakers) thus there would be many people growing up with at least a passive knowledge of the other variety. In such cases the speakers would be mutually intelligible, even although the varieties when viewed in isolation would not seem to be. This is similar to the situation that obtains in some areas with the use of alternative languages by those in mourning. Although most of the lexical items are different, the alternate system is known by all, so communication is not impaired.

Mathews’ manuscript notes suggest that his Yabula Yabula informants were also speakers of Yorta Yorta or Yaliba Yaliba. In some handwritten annotations to an offprint of his 1903 ‘Yabula Yabula’ account (RMf) Mathews noted some distinctive Yabula Yabula vocabulary, as well as some sentences that are clearly Yorta Yorta, and noted on the front is the reference ‘Alf Morgan for Yotta’. We thus conclude that many speakers may have spoken both Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula, so allowing a higher than usual degree of distinctiveness while maintaining mutual intelligibility.

One further small piece of evidence suggesting that the two languages have a close common historical origin is given by Curr (1887:581), when he states that: “This people called the Murray *Kaiela*”. Elsewhere (section 1.3 above) it has been shown that the word *Gaiyala*, which is the Yorta Yorta word for the Goulburn River, is based on the Bangerang

word, *gaiya* ‘father’ and the general Yorta Yorta term *wala* ‘water’, and means ‘father of waters’. That this expression is used by the Ngarimoro to refer to the main river of their area, despite the fact that their own words for both ‘water’ and ‘father’ are different, seems to indicate a relationship of some kind, and would be commensurate with a genetic relationship and subsequent divergence. If the Ngarimoro group had simply borrowed the neighbouring Bangerang term for the Murray River they would have borrowed *Dung(g)ula*, not *Gaiyala*.

All things considered it would seem that there was a continuum of language divergence from Yorta Yorta through the Bikolatban (who had the word *yaliba* for ‘no’) to the Ngarimoro (who had the word *yabula* for ‘no’).

This continuum may have included some speakers who used the distinctive Yabula Yabula vocabulary with a grammar essentially the same as that for the Yorta Yorta, and some who used distinctive grammatical features as well. It is our conclusion that the Yabula Yabula language should be regarded as a language that is closely related to Yorta Yorta, and that it is more likely a divergent dialect of Yorta Yorta than a separate language converging towards Yorta Yorta.

7.1.2 Language name

In common with Yorta Yorta, Yaliba Yaliba and many languages to the north-west, Yabula Yabula as a language name is formed from the duplication of the word for ‘no’, which is /yabula/. It may be that before white settlement/invasion, the people referred to themselves by a complex series of clan or locality names, of which Ngarimoro was one, whereas they were referred to by others according to the language name, and that this eventually became the way they referred to themselves, and do unto the present day. Curr, (Cn:581) provides some evidence for this: “Some of the neighbouring tribes call the Ngarrimowro the *Yabbala* = No Blacks.”

Following our practice adopted in regard to Yorta Yorta, and taking into account what we know of the phonology (see section 7.2.1 below), we propose the use of Ngarimoro for the tribal name, and Yabula Yabula for the language name.

7.1.3 Sources

- (i) Curr, E.M. 1887, ‘214D’ ‘Near Yiilima, on both sides of the Murray River – the Ngarrimowro tribe’ (III, 581-582, 588-589). (Cn)
- (ii) Hercus, L.H. 1969, *The languages of Victoria: a late survey*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
1986, *Victorian languages: a late survey*. Canberra: PL, B-77.
- (iii) Mathews, R.H. 1903, The Yabula-Yabula dialect in ‘Notes on some native dialects of Victoria’, *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 37:251-253. (Grammatical notes and vocabulary list.) (RMc)
MS: Annotations to offprint of 1903: Yabula Yabula article dated 9/2/1903, R.H. Mathews papers, Australian National Library. (RMf)

manuscript notebook: 'Aboriginal Languages Notebook 6 pp.23-29 Ngurrimauer or Yabala language.' R.H. Mathews papers, Australian National Library MS 8006. (RMi)

MS: Draft article on Ngurrimaura language (minus first page): photocopy provided by R.M.W. Dixon. (Original in R.H. Mathews papers in Australian National Library NS 8006/4). (RMj)

Yabula Yabula speakers

At the end of his notes on Yabula Yabula (RMi:28), Mathews notes the names and totemic affiliation of several people:

Mr Morgan is Nankeen Crane, white Crane. Mr Baggot Morgan, Bream
Black Duck

Peter Stuckey – water rat – corella – emu – curlew – whipsnake

Plain snake, *Kartya* black back and very poisonous

Fred Walker, Nankeen Crane – white crane – Bandicoot

Leatherhead = Dũngur. These are his *maiak'um* or 'totems'

Mrs Sarah Walker Water-Fire – plains turkey – tree iguana

We can assume that one or all of these people were Yabula Yabula speakers who provided information on the language to Mathews. In an offprint of his Yabula Yabula account (RMf), where Mathews notes some distinctive Yabula Yabula vocabulary together with some sentences which seem more likely to be Yorta Yorta sentences, he notes "Alf Morgan for Yotta". It is possible that Alf Morgan provided Mathews with information on both Yabula Yabula and Yorta Yorta.

7.1.4 Sociolinguistic information

Curr provides several interesting hints as to the richness of the sociolinguistic heritage of the language.

(i) Avoidance

He notes that the practice of the substitution of names to avoid uttering the name of a dead person occurred for this language:

About twenty-five years ago the equivalent of 'kangaroo' was *Poonminmir*, which name a girl also bore. The girl died, and *wardakow* became the term for 'kangaroo', as the name of the dead could not be uttered for many years, in accordance with a custom which seems to be universal in Australia. In like manner the tribe used to say *Bakka wirra = tobacco give*; but a boy called *Bakka* having died, the phrase was altered to *thonga wirra = smoke give*. (Cb:581)

This process would have lead inevitably and quite speedily to significant changes in vocabulary, and may explain the low proportion of lexico-statistical comparison with the Yorta Yorta varieties.

(ii) *Gesture*

Victorian languages probably had very rich gesture language (see for example Howitt (1904:727) on Wurundjeri), but unfortunately it is mostly unrecorded. Curr (Cb:581) gives no more than the following:

This people called the Murray *Kaiela*, and, though they knew the existence of the Goulburn, had no name for it. On pressing my informant on the subject, I learnt that, if she had to speak of it, she should call it *Kaiela*, pointing in its direction with her nose, so as to distinguish it from the Murray. Men generally point with the beard, women with the nose.

7.2 Phonology outline

The following phonological information can be synthesized from the material in Mathews various sources (RMc, RMf, RMi, RMj), and in some cases from Curr (Cn).

7.2.1 Consonants

A study of the words recorded for Yabula Yabula by Curr and Mathews suggest that the inventory of consonants is the same as that for Yorta Yorta (section 2.2.1 above), as follows:

/b/	/dh/	/d/	/dj/	/g/
/m/	/nh/	/n/	/ny/	/ng/
		/l/		
		/r/		
/w/			/y/	

Additionally, there are records of some words which may suggest a retroflex stop, such as:

<i>ngarta</i>	'eaglehawk'	(Cn)
<i>dikarti</i>	'heat'	(Cn)

Equally, these may represent a sequence of /r/ and /t/, or be simply a statement about the quality of the vowel, implying length and perhaps stress. In the absence of any other confirming data, and given the rarity of retroflex consonants in Yorta Yorta, we will not be notating them in this study.

7.2.1.1 Spelling conventions

(i) Voiced initials

Since Mathews usually records a voiced alternative for initial position, we will follow the practice adopted for Yorta Yorta and write all initial stops with voiced consonants.

(ii) Devoicing

Following the consistent pattern in both the data from Mathews and Curr, and in transcriptions adopted for Yorta Yorta, final stops and stops in the second syllable of two-

syllable words of the pattern CVCV(C) will be written using the voiceless consonants (exception is *kagu* ‘come’ RM).

(iii) Final consonants

Where Curr writes ‘-ein’, we have written *-iny*, where he has written ‘-oit’, we have written *-utj*, and where he writes ‘-art’, we have written *-at*.

(iv) Three-syllable words

For all three-syllable words, we follow the voicing noted in the original sources, with a preference for following Mathews if there is inconsistency between the sources.

(v) Homorganic nasal–stop sequences

There are only two words in which these sequences are recorded in Yabula Yabula, as well as two more examples where we presume that the nasal preceding a dental stop is also a dental nasal:

-mp-	<i>dumpul</i> (RM), <i>toompool</i> (C)	‘possum’
-nd-	<i>ngandi</i> (RMj)	‘who’
-nth-	<i>woluntha</i> (C)	‘hill’ (probably homorganic as /-nhdh-/)
	<i>pondtho</i> (C)	‘stomach’

There are no examples of /ng.g/. However there is always a chance that the written /ng/ in medial position is in fact a consonant sequence. For example:

<i>boongooma</i> (Cn)	‘perch’
-----------------------	---------

This might be notated as either *bunguma* or *bunguma* with a consonant sequence. We have chosen not to notate any of the medial <ng> as *ng(g)* but it must be remembered that there is a chance that some of them are.

It is interesting that in the examples of the word for ‘possum’, both sources notate the stop as a voiceless stop. In the Yorta Yorta sources, Mathews is quite consistent about notating voiced stops in nasal–stop clusters, but we will notate this word following the sources here. This may indicate another phonological difference between Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula.

7.2.2 Vowels

As in Yorta Yorta, these appear to be:

/i/		/u/
	/e/	/o/
	/a/	

The least common of the vowel phonemes is /e/ and we will notate it only where it seems to be in a stressed syllable, with unstressed <e> being notated by one of the three primary vowels (/i/, /a/ or /u/) as appropriate.

In the notation of vowels, we will follow the sources, preferring Mathew's spelling to that of Curr in case of inconsistency, but notating Mathews' <u> as /a/ if there are reasonable grounds for believing that /a/ is intended.

7.2.3 Comparison between Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula

Whilst it appears that in general the two languages are phonologically similar, there is advantage in listing some comparisons:

(i) Phoneme inventory

- (a) Consonants: similar, status of retroflex uncertain in both
- (b) Vowels: /e/ rarest of the vowels in both languages

(ii) Initials

There are no words with vowel initials in Yabula Yabula; there are some words with vowel initials in Yorta Yorta, due to the dropping of initial /y/ or sometimes /ng/ in front of /a/.

(iii) Finals

Final /m/, /d/ and /o/ seem to be present in Yabula Yabula, but very rare in Yorta Yorta.

(iv) Consonant sequences

Yorta Yorta has /bn(h)/, and several stop–stop sequences (/bdj/, /bg/, /db/, /gb/ as well as /lw/ and /ly/), none of which seem present in the Yabula Yabula data. One word which does contain an interesting consonant sequence is *yerrimpka* 'go' (RMj, RMi). Unfortunately we are unable to analyse this word into component morphemes. Furthermore, there are very few examples of homorganic nasal–stop sequences in the Yabula Yabula data.

Yabula Yabula does have initial /bl-/ for one well-attested word, a sequence never found in Yorta Yorta.

7.2.3.1 Final vowel deletion

There are a number of Yabula Yabula words which are closely related to Yorta Yorta words, but which show deletion of the final vowel. Some of the examples show simple final deletion, and some appear to be cases of metathesis, perhaps due to a dispreference for consonant clusters. Alternatively, the vowel in the final syllable of these Yabula Yabula words may have been lost in Yorta Yorta and a word-final vowel added. This could have been the process by which the distinctive consonant clusters in Yorta Yorta (e.g. *-pka*, *-pna*) developed.

Yabula Yabula	Yorta Yorta	English
<i>boriny</i>	<i>borrnyu</i>	'arm'
<i>yalam</i>	<i>yalma</i>	'bark'
<i>gothopuk</i>	<i>guthapka</i>	'baby'
<i>maram</i>	<i>marrmu</i>	'ear'
<i>nyawak</i>	<i>nyauwoga</i>	'girl'
<i>ganok</i>	<i>gan-go</i>	'manna'
<i>garokor</i>	<i>gorrkara</i>	'rain'
<i>malay</i>	<i>malya</i>	'swan'

7.3 Syntax

7.3.1 Case suffixes

Table 35: Yabula Yabula case suffixes

	Noun	Pronoun	Interrogative
Nominative	-∅	-∅	-∅
Ergative	<i>-nga</i>	<i>-dha, -k</i>	
Direct object		<i>-n?</i>	
Dative-Allative	<i>-(a)k</i>	<i>-ak, -ang</i>	<i>-ak, -anak</i>
Genitive	<i>-ngan</i>	<i>-ngan</i>	<i>-in</i>
Ablative	<i>-in</i>	?	<i>-in</i>
Locative			<i>-l (?)</i> cf. <i>wanhal</i>
Purpose	<i>-ka (?)</i>		

7.3.2 Pronouns

With the exception of a small number of forms for singular pronouns which have been recorded by Curr, almost all of the pronouns are recorded by R.H. Mathews in the various published and non-published sources.

These various sources are not consistent with each other, and in particular Mathews' notebook entries on Yabula Yabula show forms which are sometimes quite different from the other sources. For the purpose of comparison, all the forms are listed below, with the main Yorta Yorta Source (Mathews' notebook RMa) listed alongside for reference.

Furthermore, in Mathews' manuscript sources, his notebook on the Ngurrimaurer language (RMi) and his draft article on the Ngurrimaura language (RMj), there are corrections in the manuscript source. For example, in the draft article (RMj), the first person exclusive transitive (ergative) form was first written as *nyinanak*. The *i* in the first syllable is altered to *u*, and the final syllable is changed first to *-g*, and then to *-ng*, giving a final form of *nyunanang*, which we have regularised to *nyananang*. In the tables below, only the final form in each manuscript source is listed.

The spellings have been regularised according to the rules given above in the section on phonology, and the original spellings are given below each word in non-bold italics.

Table 36: First person singular

	Curr: (Cn)	Mathews: Ngurrimauer Notebook (RMi)	Mathews: Ngurrimaura Draft Article (Rmj)	Mathews:Yabula Yabula Article (1903) (RMc)	Mathews:Yorta Yorta Notebook (RMa)
A	<i>ngatha</i> <i>ngata</i>	<i>ngatha</i> <i>nguttha</i>	<i>ngatha</i> <i>nguttha</i>	<i>ngatha</i> <i>nguttha</i>	<i>ngatha</i> <i>nguttha</i>
S	<i>ngaya</i> <i>ngaiir</i>	<i>ngaya</i> <i>ngaia</i>	<i>ngaya</i> <i>ngaia</i>	<i>nga</i> <i>nga</i>	<i>nga</i> <i>nga</i>
Obj.		<i>nyanak</i> <i>nyeanak</i>	<i>nganin</i> <i>ngeanin</i>	<i>nganin</i> <i>ngannin</i>	<i>nyanuk</i> <i>nyanook</i>
Gen.	<i>ngini</i> <i>ngeni</i>	<i>nyani</i> <i>nyeani</i>	<i>ngini</i> <i>ngēni</i>	<i>nyini</i> <i>nyēni</i>	<i>nyini</i> <i>nyeenee</i>

Table 37: Second person singular

	(Cn)	(RMi)	(Rmj)	(RMc)	(RMa)
A		<i>nyana/ngina</i> <i>nyunna/nginna</i>	<i>nginak</i> <i>nginnak</i>	<i>nginak</i> <i>nginnak</i>	<i>nyana</i> <i>ngunna</i>
S	<i>nginya</i> <i>nginya</i>	<i>nyana/ngina</i> <i>nyunna/nginna</i>	<i>ngina</i> <i>nginna</i>	<i>ngina</i> <i>nginna</i>	<i>ngina</i> <i>nginna</i>
Obj.		<i>ngunak</i> <i>ngunak</i>	<i>ngunun</i> <i>ngunun</i>	<i>ngunun</i> <i>ngunun</i>	<i>ngunuk</i> <i>ngoonook</i>
Gen.		<i>nguni</i> <i>ngūni</i>	<i>nguni</i> <i>nguni</i>	<i>nguni</i> <i>nguni</i>	<i>nyuni</i> <i>ngoonee</i>

Table 38: Third person singular

	(RMi)	(Rmj)	(RMc)	(RMa)
A	<i>dhalak(a)/dhalangan</i> <i>dhullak(a)/dhallungun</i>	<i>dhalak</i> <i>dhullak</i>	<i>daluk</i> <i>daluk</i>	<i>daluk</i> <i>dâlook</i>
S		<i>dhal</i> <i>dhal</i>	<i>da</i> <i>da</i>	<i>da</i> <i>da</i>
Obj.	<i>nanangin</i> <i>nunnungin</i>	<i>nanangin</i> <i>nunnungin</i>	<i>deya</i> <i>dēya</i>	<i>nilenak</i> <i>millenak</i>
Gen.	<i>nangan</i> <i>nungun</i>	<i>nangan</i> <i>nungun</i>	<i>danin</i> <i>danin</i>	<i>danin</i> <i>danin</i>

Table 39: First person dual inclusive				
	Mathews: Ngurrimauer Notebook (RMi)	Mathews: Ngurrimaura Draft Article(RMj)	Mathews:Yabula Yabula Article (1903) (RMc)	Mathews: Yorta Yorta Notebook (RMa)
A	<i>ngalinik</i> <i>ngullinik</i>	<i>ngalngin</i> <i>ngalngin</i>	<i>ngalnginak</i> <i>ngalnginnak</i>	<i>ngalnginak</i> <i>ngalnginnak</i>
	<i>ngalyan</i> <i>ngullian</i>			
S			<i>ngalngin</i> <i>ngalngin</i>	<i>ngalngin</i> <i>ngalngin</i>
Obj.			<i>ngalngunan</i> <i>ngalngunan</i>	<i>ngalngunak</i> <i>ngalngoonak</i>
Gen.	<i>ngalangan</i> <i>ngullungun</i>		<i>ngalngun</i> <i>ngalngun</i>	<i>ngal(u)ngun</i> <i>ngaloongun</i>

Table 40: First person dual exclusive				
	(RMi)	(RMj)	(RMc)	RMa)
A	<i>ngalik</i> <i>ngullik</i>	<i>ngalang</i> <i>ngalang</i>	<i>ngalak</i> <i>ngullak</i>	<i>ngalak</i> <i>ngullak</i>
S			<i>ngala</i> <i>ngulla</i>	<i>ngala</i> <i>ngulla</i>
Object			<i>ngalanan</i> <i>ngullunan</i>	<i>ngalanuk</i> <i>ngalanook</i>
Genitive	<i>ngalin</i> <i>ngullin</i>		<i>ngalan</i> <i>ngullun</i>	<i>ngalan</i> <i>ngullan</i>

Table 41: Second person dual				
	(RMi)	(RMj)	(RMc)	(RMa)
A	<i>bulak</i> <i>bullak</i>	<i>bula</i> <i>bulla</i>	<i>bulak</i> <i>bullak</i>	<i>bulak</i> <i>bullak</i>
S			<i>bula</i> <i>bulla</i>	<i>bulak</i> <i>bullak</i>
Object			<i>bulan</i> <i>bullun</i>	
Genitive	<i>bulangan</i> <i>bullungun</i>		<i>bulan</i> <i>bullun</i>	<i>bulan</i> <i>bullun</i>

Table 42: Third person dual				
	Mathews: Ngurrimauer Notebook (RMi)	Mathews: Ngurrimaura Draft Article (RMj)	Mathews:Yabula Yabula Article (1903) (RMc)	Mathews: Yorta Yorta Notebook (RMa)
A	<i>bulinalak</i> <i>bullinalak</i> <i>dyewulak</i> <i>dyewulak</i>	<i>dhawula</i> <i>dhowula</i>	<i>damulak</i> <i>damulak</i>	<i>damuluk</i> <i>damoolook</i>
S			<i>damulu</i> <i>damulu</i>	<i>damulu</i> <i>damooloo</i>
Obj.			<i>buleya</i> <i>bullēya</i>	
Gen.	<i>bulanganan</i> <i>bullungunngun</i>		<i>damalunya</i> <i>damalunya</i>	<i>damalinya</i> <i>damalinya</i>

Table 43: First person plural inclusive				
	(RMi)	(RMj)	(RMc)	(RMa)
A	<i>nunhurak</i> <i>nūnnhuruk</i>	<i>nyuwanda</i> <i>nyuinda</i>	<i>nyuwandak</i> <i>nyuandak</i>	<i>nyuwandak</i> <i>nyooandak</i>
S	<i>nunhur</i> <i>nunnhur</i>		<i>nyuwanda</i> <i>nyuanda</i>	<i>nyuwandak</i> <i>nyooandak</i>
Obj.			<i>nyuwandan</i> <i>nyuandan</i>	<i>nyuwandanak</i> <i>nyoondanak</i>
Gen.	<i>nunhungan</i> <i>nunhungan</i>		<i>nyuwandan</i> <i>nyuandun</i>	<i>nyuwandan</i> <i>ngoondan</i>

Table 44: First person plural exclusive				
	(RMi)	(RMj)	(RMc)	(RMa)
A	<i>nginanganak</i> <i>nginnungunuk</i>	<i>nyanana</i> <i>nyunana</i>	<i>nyanak</i> <i>nyanak</i>	<i>nyanak</i> <i>nyanak</i>
S	<i>nginangan</i> <i>nginnungun</i>		<i>nyana</i> <i>nyana</i>	<i>nyanak</i> <i>nyanak</i>
Obj.			<i>nyananan</i> <i>nyanunan</i>	<i>nyananak</i> <i>nyananak</i>
Gen.	<i>nginangan</i> <i>nginnungun</i>		<i>nyanan</i> <i>nyanan</i>	<i>nyanan</i> <i>nyanan</i>

Table 45: Second person plural

	Mathews: Ngurrimauer Notebook (RMi)	Mathews: Ngurrimaura Draft Article (RMj)	Mathews: Yabula Yabula Article (1903) (RMc)	Mathews: Yorta Yorta Notebook (RMa)
A	<i>nhurrak</i> <i>nhurak</i>	<i>nhurra</i> <i>nhura</i>	<i>nhurrak</i> <i>nhurak</i>	<i>nhurrak</i> <i>nhoorak</i>
S			<i>nhurra</i> <i>nhura</i>	<i>nhurrak</i> <i>nhoorak</i>
Object			<i>nhurrunan</i> <i>nhurunan</i>	
Genitive	<i>nhurrangun</i> <i>nhurungun</i>		<i>nhurrun</i> <i>nhurun</i>	<i>nhurran</i> <i>nhooran</i>

Table 46: Third person plural

	(RMi)	(RMj)	(RMc)	(RMa)
A	<i>dhanagunika</i> <i>dhannagunikka</i>	<i>dhananana</i> <i>dhananana</i>	<i>damnak</i> <i>damnak</i>	<i>damnuk</i> <i>damnoo(geah)</i>
S			<i>damna</i> <i>damna</i>	<i>damnuk</i> <i>damnoo(geah)</i>
Object			<i>dhamnan</i> <i>dhamnan</i>	
Genitive	<i>dhanagunikan</i> <i>dhannagunikun</i>		<i>ngamnyun</i> <i>ngamnyun</i>	<i>ngamngin</i> <i>ngamngin</i>

In comparing the four Mathews sources, it can be seen that the Ngurrimauer notebook (RMi) is the most different from the Yorta Yorta notebook (RMa), and that the draft article on Ngurrimaura (RMj) and the 1903 article on Yabula Yabula (RMc) contain features of both. This is true for everything except the 'objective' forms, where RMa and RMi are consistent. For first person singular forms, we are fortunate to also have the forms which Curr (Cn:582) records in his sentences.

It is likely that Mathews' 1903 publication on Yabula Yabula (RMc) was completed before the Yabula Yabula notebook entries (RMi) because we have found an annotated offprint of the Yabula Yabula article (RMf) containing vocabulary notes that appear in the notebook entry. It would seem that Mathews must have collected some additional material before compiling the Ngurrimauer draft article (RMj).

7.3.2.1 *The 'objective case' for first and second singular pronouns*

Mathews gives an 'objective' form of pronouns for both YortaYorta and Yabula Yabula, but, as noted above in section 3.3 in relation to YortaYorta, these may have been confused with dative/allative forms.

However, Mathews does give two sentence examples which have a pronoun which is clearly the direct object of a verb. The first example from Mathews' Notebook (RMi) has the pronoun ending in *-k*, which is the ending used elsewhere in a dative/allative function (see examples (7.12)-(7.15) below).

- 7.1 *Wardakaunga nyeanak yirrikin.* (RMi:24)
wardakau-nga nyana-k yirriki-n
 kangaroo-ERG 1SG-OBJ scratch-PAST
 'A kangaroo scratched me.'

The example provided in the Draft Article (RMj), has the pronoun ending in *-n*, and both there and in the material published on Yabula Yabula in 1903 (RMc) the 'objective' forms are given in *-n*.

- 7.2 *Wardakau-nga ngeanin yirrikin.* (RMj:3)
wardakau-nga ngani-n yirriki-n
 kangaroo-ERG 1SG-OBJ scratch-PAST
 'A kangaroo scratched me.'

Mathews was clearly confused about the form and or presence of an 'objective' pronoun, as is further shown in RMj when listing the form for 'me', presumably the direct object, which seems to have been originally written *ngeanak*, and to have been altered to *ngeanin*. The same is true for the 'objective' pronoun ending for the second person singular, which is noted as *ngunun* in RMj and *ngunak* in RMi.

This uncertainty parallels a similar uncertainty relating to the 'objective' forms of the Yorta Yorta pronouns. We have concluded for Yorta Yorta that the direct object forms may have ended in *-n*, and the dative/allative forms may have ended in *-k*. The same conclusion should probably be drawn here. If the non-singular pronouns did not have ergative forms, we would expect there to have been direct object forms as well as dative/allative forms, at least for those pronouns that had lost the ergative, but possibly through the whole paradigm.

7.3.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Mathews records the following as 'demonstratives':

		RMj	RMi
this	<i>dhinya</i>	<i>dhinya</i>	<i>dhinya, dyinya</i>
that	<i>djingan</i>	<i>dyengan</i>	<i>dyengan</i>
that other	<i>nganangan</i>	<i>ngunungan</i>	<i>nhunungan</i>
that yonder	<i>nganyingan</i>	<i>ngunyingun</i>	<i>ngungungan</i>
that	<i>ngana</i>	<i>nyuna</i>	<i>lana</i>

In addition there is another series of demonstratives which he describes as 'adverbs':

there	<i>nalai</i>	<i>nullai</i>
there farther	<i>nalaiburra</i>	<i>nullaibura</i>
there close	<i>n(g)anakarra</i>	<i>nunnakurra</i>
a little way off	<i>dangaburra</i>	<i>dungubbera</i>
over yonder	<i>dhanabana</i>	<i>dhunnabana</i>
some distance off	<i>nganganarrak</i>	<i>ngungabunnarak</i>

In the Draft Article (RMj), Mathews adds:

The demonstratives in this language, by the combination of simple root words, can be made to indicate position, distance, number, person, movement etc. The demonstratives are therefore very numerous and of various forms, frequently taking the place of pronoun of the third person in the singular, dual and plural. This accounts for the great diversity of the third personal pronouns, which have little or no etymological connection with the others.

It is unclear what relationship these various demonstratives have to the forms given as third person pronouns. There appear to be several different stems, which we might group into two sets – stems which commences with a stop – either a laminal (palatal or dental) or apical (alveolar), and those commencing with a nasal – which can be either laminal, apical or velar, as spellings with *nh-*, *ny-*, *n-* and *ng-* are all found. In addition there is the form *lana* recorded in RMi for ‘that’.

We can also compare the Yorta Yorta forms (see section 3.3.5).

	Yabula Yabula	Yorta Yorta
there	<i>nalai</i>	<i>nhalaya</i> ‘medium proximity’
there farther	<i>nalaiburra</i>	<i>nhalaya bura</i>
there close	<i>nanakarra</i>	<i>daya</i> ‘close proximity’
a little way off	<i>dangaburra</i>	<i>danga bura</i> ‘medium proximity’
over yonder	<i>dhanabena</i>	<i>dhamnala</i> ‘far proximity’
some distance off	<i>nganabanarrak</i>	<i>nganga banarak</i> ‘far proximity’

7.3.3 Sentence examples

Mathews and Curr both provide sentence examples. Mathews’ were included in his notes for the purpose of showing certain grammatical points, and thus were comprehensive in those areas. Curr’s sentences provide valuable corroboration of some points.

(i) Intransitive subject

- 7.3 *Yanni ngaia.* (RMi:25)
 ‘I am walking.’
yani ngaya
 walk.PRES 1SG.NOM
 ‘I am walking.’
- 7.4 *Burriburri ngai-in yanne.* (Cn:581)
 ‘Tomorrow I will go.’
burriburri ngaya yani
 tomorrow 1SG.NOM walk.PRES
 ‘Tomorrow I will go.’
- 7.5 *Karoik barwal yanne purri burri.* (Cn:582)
 ‘Many blacks (will) come tomorrow.’
garoik bawul yani burriburri
 many Aborigines walk.PRES tomorrow
 ‘Many Aborigines (will) come tomorrow.’

For pronouns the intransitive subject is marked with the nominative form (which is sometimes the unmarked form) and for nouns the intransitive subject is in the unmarked absolutive.

(ii) **Transitive pronoun subject**

- 7.6 *Ngananuk nyuna ngukeang?* (RMi:27)
 'Who art thou going to give it to?'
ngananuk nyana nguki-ang
 who.DAT 2SG.NOM give-FUT
 'Who are you going to give it to?'

(iii) **Ergative/instrumental case**

The ergative case is used to encode the instrument and the agent of a transitive verb for nouns, and for singular pronouns⁴

- 7.7 *Yabbale ngata nakal.* (Cn:582)
 'Not I see (her).'
yabala ngatha nakal
 NEG 1SG.ERG see.PRES
 'I don't see her.'
- 7.8 *Bawunga takkan kurnau dhulkurnga.* (RMi:23)
bawu-nga dakan garrnau dhulkurr-nga
 man-ERG hit.PAST dog boomerang-INST
 'A man hit a dog with a boomerang.'
- 7.9 *Murraiunga linnin nguliwak.* (RMi:23)
marray-unga lini-n nguliwak
 woman-ERG beat-PAST child
 'A woman beat a child.'
- 7.10 *Kurnauunga innamin dumpul.* (RMi:23)
garrnau-unga inami-n dumpul
 dog-ERG bite-PAST possum
 'A dog bit a possum.'

(iv) **Direct object**

This sentence, and an alternative version in RMi (see example 7.1 above), remain the only sentences in either Yabula Yabula or Yorta Yorta which use a pronoun in a clearly direct object function. We conclude that the *-n* form illustrated in 7.11 is more likely to be the correct form for the direct object.

⁴ There are two second person singular forms used in sentence examples, *nyana* and *ngin(y)a*. Mathews (RMi) illustrates the use of *nyana* in both transitive and intransitive contexts. Curr's examples (Cn:581-582) show the form *ngina* used in intransitive contexts. *Moolinmi nginya?* 'Hungry you?' *Warnuk nginya yanne?* 'When will you go?'

- 7.11 *Wardakau-nga ngeanin yirrikin.* (RMj:3)
warrdakaw-nga ngini-n yirriki-n
 kangaroo-ERG 1SG-OBJ scratch-PAST
 ‘A kangaroo scratched me.’

(v) Allative

- 7.12 *Kagu gūwak.* (RMi:23)
gagu guwa-k
 come camp-ALL
 ‘Come to the camp.’
- 7.13 *Wannuk nyunna?* (RMi:26)
wanak nyana
 where.to you
 ‘Where are you [going] to?’
- 7.14 *Minnhak?* (RMi:26)
minha-k
 what-ALL
 ‘What for?’
- 7.15 *Ngananuk nyuna ngukeang?* (RMi:27)
ngananak nyana nguki-ang
 who.to you give-FUT
 ‘Who are you going to give (it) to?’

(vi) Genitive

- 7.16 *bawungun dhulkur* (RMi:23)
bawu-ngan dhulkur
 man-GEN boomerang
 ‘a man’s boomerang’
- 7.17 *murraiungun nūnyer* (RMi:23)
marray-u-ngan nanyir
 woman-GEN yamstick
 ‘a woman’s yamstick’

Curr provides a sentence with a first person genitive pronoun. This is the same form that Mathews records in RMj (and similar to the form in Yorta Yorta).

- 7.18 *Wunnul ngeni marrai?* (Cn:582)
wanal ngini marrai
 where 1SG.GEN wife
 ‘Where is my wife?’

(vii) Ablative

- 7.19 *Yerrimpka guwin.* (RMi:23)
yerrimpka guw-in
 go.away camp-ABL
 'Go away from the camp.'
- 7.20 *Wunnin nyunna?* (RMi:26)
wanin nyana
 wana-in nyana
 where-ABL you
 'Where are you from?'

(viii) Purpose

In the following sentence we see the word for 'fish', with a final syllable **-ka**, which may be a purposive suffix, since the usual form for 'fish' is given as *munni*. This may be related to the allative suffix **-k**. The Yorta Yorta allative suffix **-uk** is also used for purpose (see section 3.2.1)

- 7.21 *Yennera munnika.* (Cn:582)
 'Come and fish.'
yenarra mani-ka
 come fish-PURP
 'Come, for the purpose of fishing.'

(ix) Demonstratives

- 7.22 *Dyinya gulleng lana mutther.* (RMi:27)
djinya galiny lana madhi
 this good that bad
 'This one is good and that one is bad.'
- 7.23 *Ngani nana?* (Rmi:26)
ngan(d)i ngana
 who that/there
 'Who is there?'

(x) Other noun marking

(a) Number

Both Mathews and Curr illustrate singular, dual and plural marking for some nouns.

	<i>dumpul</i> 'possum' (RMi:28)	<i>bawo</i> 'blackfellow' (Cn:581)	<i>marai</i> 'woman' (Cn:581)
singular	dumpul <i>dumpul</i>	bawo <i>bāwo</i>	marai <i>marrai</i>
dual	dumpul bulangin <i>dumpul bullungin</i>	bawul <i>bawool</i>	
plural	dumpul dhanangin <i>dumpul dhunnungin</i>	bawal <i>bā-wal</i>	manyumen <i>māānyoomein</i>

The word *bulangin* and *dhanangin* may well be related to the pronouns, compare:

2nd dual genitive	<i>bulangan</i>
3rd dual genitive	<i>bulanganan</i>
3rd plural genitive	<i>dhanagunikan</i>

For further examples of plural marking, see the interrogative pronouns in section 7.3.4 below.

(b) Gender

Mathews records the following gender terms for animals:

a male	<i>nangulam</i>	(<i>nǔng'ulum</i>)
a doe ⁵	<i>nangatham</i>	(<i>nungathum</i>)

7.3.4 Interrogatives and questions

The forms recorded by Mathews are:

		RMi:26	RMj
where?	<i>wanhal</i>	<i>wunnhal</i>	<i>wunnhal</i>
where to?	<i>wan(h)ak</i>	<i>wannuk</i>	<i>wannuk</i>
where from?	<i>wan(h)in</i>	<i>wunnin</i>	<i>wunnin</i>
how many?	<i>yugalam</i>	<i>yugalum</i>	<i>yugalum</i>
what?	<i>minha</i>	<i>minnha</i>	<i>minnhg</i>
what for?	<i>minhak</i>	<i>minnhak</i>	
what with?	<i>minhalda</i>		<i>minnhalda</i>
who?	<i>ngan(d)i</i>	<i>ngani</i>	<i>ngandi</i>
who (dual)?	<i>ngan(d)ibula</i>		<i>ngandibula</i>
who (plural)?	<i>ngan(d)inhur</i>		<i>ngandinhur</i>
whose?	<i>ngandin</i>	<i>nganin</i>	<i>nganin</i>
who (ergative)?	<i>ngandung</i>		<i>nganung</i>
to whom?	<i>ngandanak</i>	<i>ngananuk</i>	
who from?	<i>ngandinat</i>		<i>nganinat</i>
who with?	<i>ngandinarrak</i>		<i>nganinarak</i>
how?	<i>wanhalaman</i>	<i>wannhalumman</i>	
when?	<i>wamingawir</i>	<i>wunningawür</i>	<i>wumminggwir</i> 'how long ago'

⁵ Mathews provides this information under a general heading 'Gender animals'. It would seem that he is using the term 'doe' to mean female animals generally.

Mathews is inconsistent throughout about whether the root of the word for 'where' is *wan-* or *wanh-* and he is similarly inconsistent as to whether the root of the word 'who' is *ngan-* or *ngand-*.

- 7.24 *Wunul bawal?* (Cn:589)
Wanh *bawal*
 where.LOC? people (Aboriginal)
 'Where are the Aboriginal people?' (original translation 'Where are the blacks?')
- 7.25 *Wannuk nyunna?* (RMi:26)
Wan(h)ak *nyana?*
 where.to you
 "Where are you going?"
- 7.26 *Wunnin nyunna?* (RMi:26)
Wanin *nyana?*
 where.from you
 'Where are you from?'
- 7.27 *Minnha nhanan?* (RMi:26)
Minha *nhanan?*
 what that
 'What is that?'
- 7.28 *Ngani nana?* (RMi:26)
Ngani *nana?*
 who there
 'Who is there?'
- 7.29 *Nganin dyinya?* (RMi:26)
Nganin *dyinya?*
 whose this
 "Whose is this?"

7.3.5 Question forms

The following two sentences given by Curr indicate that polar questions are marked by intonation:

- 7.30 *Moolinmi ngai-ir.* (Cn:581)
 'I am hungry.'
mulanmi *ngaya*
 hungry 1SG.NOM
 'I am hungry.'
- 7.31 *Moolinmi nginya?* (Cn:581)
 'Hungry you?'
mulanmi *ngina*
 hungry 2SG.NOM
 'You are hungry.'

7.3.6 Verbs

RMi gives paradigms for six verbs, two of which (*line* ‘beat’ and *mukkur* ‘sit’), are also given in RMj.

(i) Tense Forms

	‘beat’	‘run’	‘walk’	‘speak’	‘sit’	‘tell’
present	<i>line</i> <i>linne</i>	<i>banye</i> <i>bañnye</i>	<i>yani</i> <i>yanni</i>	<i>lotjbi</i> <i>loatbi</i>	<i>mukurr</i> <i>mukkur</i>	<i>ngarri-theba</i> <i>ngurretheba</i>
past	<i>linen</i> <i>linnen</i>	<i>banyan</i> <i>bañgan</i>	<i>yangal</i> <i>yanggal</i>	<i>lotjban</i> <i>loatban</i>	<i>mukurren</i> <i>mukkuran</i>	<i>ngarri-an</i> <i>ngurrean</i>
future	<i>lineang</i> <i>linneang</i>	<i>banyeang</i> <i>bañnyeang</i>	<i>yangerrangu</i> <i>yanngerangu</i>	<i>yangerrangu</i> <i>loatbeang</i>	<i>mukkurri-ang</i> <i>mukkureang</i>	<i>ngarri-ang</i> <i>ngurreang</i>

From the above it will be seen that the present is typically the bare stem. The past is typically *-n*. The future suffix is *-ang*.

For other parts of the verb, Mathews uses /line-/ ‘to beat’ as his example verb:

(ii) Imperative

<i>linel</i>	beat!
<i>kathagera linel</i>	don’t beat!

In RMj the word is written *kutthagwuna*, which is itself a correction from the earlier form *kutthagurra*. *Kutthagwuna* could be regularised as *gathagana*, making it phonemically identical to the corresponding Yorta Yorta form, and perhaps just slightly different phonetically.

(iii) Reciprocal

The suffix *-m(i)thur-* is used to indicate the reciprocal.

(RMi):	<i>linimthurr</i>	we two are beating each other
	<i>linimthurren</i>	we two were beating each other
	<i>linimtherrang</i>	we two will be beating each other
	<i>linimthurrnunhurr</i>	we (incl.) are beating each other
	<i>linimthurr nginangan</i>	we (excl.) are beating each other

Note that in the first three examples no pronoun subject is given, which may suggest that the unmarked subject of a reciprocal is the first person dual: i.e. the speaker and the hearer. In the other two examples, where there are plural pronouns, a form is given which has no ergative suffix. This form is consistent with the pronouns given for the first person plural by RMi. The absence of a suffix may be explained by it being self-evident that in a reflexive clause the pronoun is both subject and object.

However, in the following example, RMj gives the dual exclusive form which is known from Yorta Yorta, and gives it with an ergative case marker:

RMj:	<i>linim(i)thur ngalak</i>	we dual (excl.) are beating each other
------	----------------------------	--

(iv) Reflexive

The suffix *-nganya* marks the reflexive form:

- 7.32 *daka-nganya ngaya* (Rmi:26)
 hit-REFL 1SG.ABS
 'I am beating myself.'

(v) Possibility

- 7.33 *Ngutthadyin linneang.* (RMj:5)
ngatha-djin line-ang
 1SG.ERG-POSS beat-FUT
 Perhaps I might beat.'

This, which Mathews calls 'conditional', is formed by adding the suffix *-djin* to the pronoun, and putting the verb in the future tense. An example with a similar meaning is:

- 7.34 *Ngai linneang nguttha.*
ngai line-ang-ngatha
 DOUBT beat-FUT-1SG.ERG
 'I don't know whether I shall beat or not.'

Mathews (RMj:6) defines *Ngai* as 'I don't know or I am doubtful'.

(vi) Negation

The form *yabula* 'no' also appears to function as a sentence negator, as in the following example:

- 7.35 *Yabbal ngata nakal.* (Cn:589)
yabula ngatha nakal
 not I.ERG know
 'I don't know.' (*nakal* also = 'see')

7.3.7 Copula

In the surviving sources for the Yorta Yorta language (section 3.10), the most clear examples are of sentences in the order Subject-Complement. However the only three sentences recorded for Yabula Yabula give the sentence order as Complement-Subject.

- 7.36 *Moolinmi ngai-ir.* (Cn:581)
 'I am hungry.'
mulanmi ngaya
 hungry 1SG.NOM
 'I am hungry.'

7.37 *Matthir toompool.* (Cn:581)
 'Opossum is bad.'

mathi dumpul
 bad possum.ABS
 '(The) possum is bad.'

7.38 *Kalien godaiami.* (Cn:582)
 'Emu is good.'

galiny godaimi
 good emu
 'Emu is good.'

7.3.8 Prepositions

As noted above in section 3.4, although he does not record any prepositions for Yorta Yorta, Mathews does give a series for Yabula Yabula, which are discussed in full in that section.

7.3.9 Numerals

As given by Mathews in (RMj:7):

one	<i>warrangin</i>	<i>wurrungiñ</i>
two	<i>blathurr</i>	<i>blutthur</i>
three	<i>blathurr warra(ngin)</i>	<i>blutthurwurra</i>

7.3.10 Comparison of Yabula Yabula and Yorta Yorta morphology

Table 49: Noun and pronoun morphology

	Yabula Yabula		Yorta Yorta		
	Nouns	Pronouns	Nouns	Pronouns	Interrogative
Nominative			-∅	-∅	
Ergative/instrumental	<i>-nga</i>	<i>-dha, -k</i>	<i>-(V)l</i>	<i>-dha, -(V)k</i>	<i>-ung</i>
Direct object		<i>-nan</i>	-	-∅(or) <i>-nan</i>	
Dative/allative	<i>-(a)k</i>	<i>-ak, -ang</i>	<i>-nak, -ung, -uk</i>	<i>-(V)k</i>	<i>-ak</i>
Genitive/possessive	<i>-ngan</i>	<i>-ngan</i>	<i>-(V)n</i>	<i>-(V)n</i>	<i>-in</i>
Ablative	<i>-in</i>	?	<i>-in</i>	<i>-at, -atja</i>	<i>-at/-in</i>
Comitative			<i>-narak</i>	<i>-narak?</i>	<i>-narak</i>
Purposive	<i>-ka</i>		<i>-nyanuk</i>		
Locative					<i>-l</i>

Table 50: Yabula Yabula verb morphology

	Yabula Yabula	Yorta Yorta
Present	-∅	-∅, -n
Past	-an	-nbanga
Future	-ang	-ak
Imperative	-l	-l
Reciprocal	-mithur	-dhan
Reflexive	-nganya	-n, ngangyin
Purposive		-nyanuk

Comparison of the above table shows that although there are some differences between Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula noun and verb morphology, there are also significant similarities. Yabula Yabula has a different ergative marker from Yorta Yorta for nouns. The genitive marker has a velar nasal onset, but matches otherwise. The dative/allative and ablative markers match, and the purposive marker is clearly related.

With respect to verb morphology, the Yabula Yabula present is unmarked, as it is for some conjugations in Yorta Yorta. Past tense is marked with the same suffix as Yorta Yorta, although Yorta Yorta has a separate past tense adverb as well. The Yabula Yabula future marker has a final velar nasal whereas Yorta Yorta has a final velar stop. The imperative forms match, the reflexive forms are related, but Yabula Yabula has a different reciprocal marker.

7.4 Yabula Yabula vocabulary list

This list is intended to be an appendix to the sketch grammar of Yabula Yabula above, and as such it does not include:

- (i) pronouns
- (ii) interrogatives and demonstratives
- (iii) verbal forms
- (iv) noun number

Table 51: Yabula Yabula vocabulary list

English	Yabula Yabula	Sources
Aborigine	bawu(l)	<i>bawo</i> Cn, <i>bawal</i> Cn, <i>bawool</i> Cn (YY <i>bawu</i> 'body')
arm	borriny	<i>borein</i> Cn (YY <i>borrinyu</i>)
around	ngawika	<i>ngarwika</i> RMi, RMj (YY <i>ngawitpa</i>)
baby	gothopuk	<i>kothopook</i> Cn (YY <i>guthapka</i>)
bad	mathi	<i>matthir</i> Cn (YY <i>mathi</i>)
bark	yalam	<i>yalam</i> Cn (YY <i>yalma</i>)
beat, to	lini-	<i>linnin</i> RMj, <i>linnēl</i> RMj, <i>linnēl</i> RMi
behind	banhurr	<i>bunnhur</i> RMi, <i>bunnhur</i> RMj (YY <i>banu(th)</i> 'back')

Table 51: Yabula Yabula vocabulary list

English	Yabula Yabula	Sources
between	<i>dumarr</i>	<i>dumar</i> RMj, <i>dūmur</i> RMI
bite, to	<i>yinami-</i>	<i>yinnamin</i> RMj <i>innamin</i> RMI (YY <i>yin-</i>)
boomerang	<i>dhalkurr</i>	<i>dhulkur</i> RMI, <i>dhulkur</i> RMj
boy	<i>mulany</i>	<i>moolan</i> Cn, <i>mullaiin</i> RMI (YY <i>malniga</i>)
brother	<i>wowa</i>	<i>wau-wa</i> RMI, <i>wawom</i> Cn (YY <i>wowa</i>)
by and by	<i>ganyunguna</i>	<i>ganyunguna</i> RMI, RMj
camp	<i>guwa</i>	<i>guwa</i> RMI, RMj
canoe	<i>butju</i>	<i>bootjo</i> Cn
child	<i>nguliwak</i>	<i>ngulinak</i> RMj, <i>nguliwak</i> RMI, <i>ngolwaichik</i> Cn 'children'
cloud	<i>yurrahek</i>	<i>yoorahek</i> Cn (YY <i>yurratha</i>)
cockatoo, white	<i>garrang</i>	<i>karang</i> Cn (YY <i>djarring</i>) (Wadi Wadi <i>keRangi</i>)
codfish	<i>burrunu</i>	<i>booroonoo</i> Cn (YY <i>burrnanga</i>)
cold	<i>bolaki</i>	<i>poleki</i> Cn (YY <i>bolkatj</i>)
come	<i>yenarra</i>	<i>yennera</i> Cn
come on, to	<i>gaku</i>	<i>kako</i> : Cn, <i>kagu</i> RMI, RMj (YY <i>gaka</i>)
crow	<i>wakirr</i>	<i>wokka</i> Cn, <i>wakir</i> RMI (YY <i>wakirr</i>)
day after tomorrow	<i>warra-birri</i>	<i>warrabirri</i> RMI, RMj
dead	<i>notharrun</i>	<i>notharun</i> Cn
diver (a bird)	<i>dayilel</i>	<i>dai-e-lel</i> Cn
dog	<i>garrnaw</i>	<i>kurnau</i> RMI, <i>kurnau</i> RMj, <i>karnow</i> , <i>karnao</i> Cn
down	<i>nhanaka</i>	<i>nhunnaka</i> RMj, <i>nhunnaka</i> RMI
down a river	<i>yurnni</i>	<i>yurni</i> RMj, <i>yurni</i> RMI
drink, to	<i>gungai-</i>	<i>kongaiang</i> Cn
duck, black	<i>wangil</i>	<i>wangirl</i> Cn
eaglehawk	<i>ngarra</i>	<i>ngarta</i> Cn
ear	<i>marram</i>	<i>maram</i> Cn (YY <i>marrmu</i>)
eat, to	<i>dhai-</i>	<i>thaikia</i> Cn (YY <i>dhatji-</i>)
emu	<i>godayami</i>	<i>godaiami</i> Cn
excrement	<i>guna</i>	<i>koonna</i> Cn (YY <i>guna</i>)
eye	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i> , <i>mawo</i> Cn (YY <i>ma</i> , <i>miyul</i>)
father	<i>bingalam</i>	<i>bingalam</i> Cn
female (animal)	<i>nangatham</i>	<i>nungathum</i> RMI
fire	<i>galaw</i>	<i>kalao</i> Cn
fish	<i>mani(ka)</i>	<i>munni</i> , <i>munnika</i> Cn (YY <i>maniga</i>)
foot	<i>(mogo)djina</i>	<i>chinna</i> , <i>mogo-chinna</i> Cn (CA <i>djina</i>)
four	<i>blathurr-blathurr</i>	<i>platir-platir</i> Cn
front	<i>mirrungurr</i>	<i>mirrungur</i> RMI, RRMj

Table 51: Yabula Yabula vocabulary list

English	Yabula Yabula	Sources
girl (10 yrs)	nyawak	<i>nyāwak</i> RMi (YY <i>nyauwoga</i>)
give, to	nguki-	<i>ngukeang</i> RMi (YY <i>ngu-</i>)
give. to	wirra-	<i>wirra</i> Cn
go out, to	yerrimpka-	<i>yerrimpka</i> RMi, RMj
good	galiny	<i>kalein</i> Cn, <i>gulle:ng</i> RMi, <i>gulleng</i> RMj (YY <i>galnya</i>)
grass	belat	<i>belart</i> Cn
ground	woka	<i>wokka</i> Cn (YY <i>woka</i>)
hand	birrik	<i>pirik</i> Cn (YY <i>biyin</i>)
heat	diki	<i>dikarti</i> , <i>dekki</i> Cn
hill	wolantha	<i>woluntha</i> Cn (YY <i>walu</i>)
hit, to	daka-	<i>takkan</i> RMi, RMj (see 'kill')
how long ago	wamiguwirr	<i>wummirgwir</i> RMi, RMj (YY <i>womirrguwirr</i> 'when?')
how many	yugalam	<i>yugalum</i> RMi, RMj
hungry	mulinmi	<i>moolinmi</i> Cn (YY <i>mulan-</i>)
hush!	goka	<i>ko-kā</i> Cn (YY <i>gokwil</i>)
inside	dhurningmurr	<i>dhürningmur</i> RMi, RMj
kangaroo	wardakaw	<i>wārdakau</i> RMi, RMj; <i>wardakow</i> Cn
kangaroo	bunminmirr	<i>poonminmir</i> Cn (taboo form c.1880)
kill, to	daka-	<i>takkan</i> RMi, RMj (see 'hit')
know, to	naka-	<i>nakal</i> Cn (see 'see')
large	ngurria	<i>ngurea</i> RMj
lightning	djirringawik	<i>chiringawik</i> Cn (YY <i>djirringawan</i>)
little way off	dangaburra	<i>dunguboera</i> RMj
long ago	burrak	<i>burāk</i> RMi, RMj
male (animal)	nangalam	<i>nungulum</i> RMi
man	bawu	<i>bawo</i> RMi, <i>baw</i> RMj
manna	ganok	<i>kanog</i> Cn (YY <i>gango</i>)
many	garroik	<i>karoik</i> Cn
moon	yurri	<i>yoori</i> Cn (YY <i>yurri</i>)
mosquito	burrutj	<i>burroit</i> Cn
mother	ngagalam	<i>nga-ga-lam</i> Cn
mouth	wurru	<i>worro</i> Cn (Kulin <i>wurru</i>)
Murray river	gaiyala	<i>kaiyel</i> , <i>kaiela</i> Cn
native companion	dawirri	<i>tarwirri</i> Cn
night	yenutj	<i>yenoit</i> Cn
no	yabula	<i>yebbula</i> RMi, <i>yabula</i> RMc, <i>yebula</i> , <i>yabbala</i> Cn RMj
nose	gowu	<i>kowo</i> Cn (YY <i>gowu</i>)

Table 51: Yabula Yabula vocabulary list

English	Yabula Yabula	Sources
now	<i>yanhapu</i>	<i>yannhapu</i> RMi, RMj
on top	<i>wamathan</i>	<i>wammathan</i> RMj, <i>wammuthan</i> RMi, (YY <i>wamadaman</i>)
one	<i>warranginy</i>	<i>wurrungiñ</i> RMi, RMj; <i>warrangen</i> Cn
outside	<i>wakurr</i>	<i>wakkūr</i> RMi, <i>wakur</i> RMj
over	<i>dhon(mi)</i>	<i>dhoann</i> RMj, <i>dhoanmi</i> RMi
pelican	<i>garrikat</i>	<i>garikart</i> Cn
perch	<i>bunguma</i>	<i>boongooma</i> Cn
perch	<i>murrukan</i>	<i>murrukan</i> RMi
plenty (many)	<i>garroik</i>	<i>karoik</i> Cn
possum	<i>dumpul</i>	<i>dumpul</i> RMj, <i>toompool</i> , <i>du:mpul</i> RMi
possum	<i>gorrak</i>	<i>korak</i> Cn
rain	<i>garrokor</i>	<i>karokor</i> Cn (YY <i>gorrkarra</i>)
run, to	<i>banyi-</i>	<i>banyngan</i> , <i>banynyeang</i> , <i>banynye</i> RMi, RMj
scratch, to	<i>yirriki-</i>	<i>yirrikin</i> RMi, RMj
see, to	<i>naka-</i>	<i>nakal</i> Cn
shield	<i>balat</i>	<i>palart</i> Cn
shortly	<i>djil</i>	<i>dyil</i> RMi, 'at once', <i>dyil</i> RMj
sister, elder	<i>ngaigirrim</i>	<i>ngaigerem</i> Cn
sister, younger	<i>dhatham</i>	<i>thatham</i> Cn
sit, to	<i>mukurr-</i>	<i>mukkur</i> RMj, RMi
sleep, to	<i>birrtil-</i>	<i>pirtilong</i> Cn
smoke	<i>dhonga</i>	<i>thonga</i> Cn (YY <i>dhonga</i>)
snake	<i>gono</i>	<i>korno</i> Cn (YY <i>gona</i>)
snake	<i>litago</i>	<i>littagow</i> C
snake, plain	<i>gatja</i>	<i>kartya</i> RMi
snake, leatherhead	<i>dangurr</i>	<i>dūngur</i> RMi
speak, to	<i>lot(j)ba-</i>	<i>loatb</i> , <i>loatban</i> , <i>loatbeang</i> RMi, (YY <i>lotjba</i>)
spear, reed	<i>dhorrongal</i>	<i>thorongal</i> Cn
spear, war	<i>marriyu</i>	<i>marreoo</i> Cn (YY <i>marre</i>)
star	<i>durrtu</i>	<i>toorto</i> Cn (Kulin <i>turtu</i>)
stomach	<i>bo(n)tha</i>	<i>botha</i> , <i>pondtho</i> Cn
stone	<i>mopo</i>	<i>moppo</i> Cn
sun	<i>wurrgo</i>	<i>worgo</i> Cn
swan	<i>malay</i>	<i>malai</i> Cn (YY <i>malya</i>)
swim, to	<i>marritj-</i>	<i>marrechang</i> Cn
teeth	<i>darrawil</i>	<i>tarrawil</i> , <i>tarrewoli</i> Cn
tell, to	<i>ngarri-</i>	<i>ngurreang</i> , <i>ngurretheba</i> RMi (YY <i>ngarri-</i>)
this side	<i>ngalukurr</i>	<i>ngarlukur</i> RMj, <i>ngallukur</i> RMi

Table 51: Yabula Yabula vocabulary list

English	Yabula Yabula	Sources
thrash, to (beat)	<i>lini-</i>	<i>linnen, linneang, linne</i> RMi
three	<i>blathurr-warra(ngin)</i>	<i>blutthurwurra</i> RMi, RMj, <i>platir warrangen</i> Cn
through	<i>bupugi</i>	<i>bupugi</i> RMi, RMj (YY <i>bupu</i>)
thunder	<i>mulgurruk</i>	<i>moolgoorook</i> Cn
thunder	<i>binyakum</i>	<i>binyakum</i> Cn
tobacco	<i>baka</i>	<i>bakka</i> Cn (taboo form c1880)
today	<i>ganawa</i>	<i>kannawakur</i> RMi, <i>kanawa</i> RMj, <i>karnawak</i> Cn (YY <i>gananggurr</i>)
tomahawk	<i>nagayak</i>	<i>nagaiak</i> Cn
tomorrow	<i>barri-barri</i>	<i>barri birri</i> RMi, <i>barri barri</i> RMj, <i>purriburri</i> Cn (YY <i>barrparrik</i>)
tongue	<i>dhala</i>	<i>thalla</i> Cn (CA <i>Tyalayn</i>)
totem	<i>mayakum</i>	<i>maiak'um</i> RMi
tree, box	<i>bulutj</i>	<i>bulloit</i> Cn
tree, gum	<i>dalo</i>	<i>tullo</i> Cn
turkey, wild	<i>djirrakal</i>	<i>cherakal</i> Cn
two	<i>blathurr</i>	<i>blutthur</i> RMi, RMj; <i>platir</i> Cn
underneath	<i>dhuka</i>	<i>dhuka</i> RMi, RMj
up	<i>ganine</i>	<i>gunnine</i> RMj, <i>gunnine:</i> RMi
up the river	<i>barriyal</i>	<i>barrial</i> RMi, RMj
walk, to	<i>nganyerra</i>	<i>nganyera</i> Cn
walk, to	<i>yani-</i>	<i>yunnagal, yanngerangu, yanni</i> RMi (YY <i>ya-</i>)
water	<i>bana</i>	<i>banna</i> Cn
woman	<i>marrai</i>	<i>marrai</i> Cn, <i>murrai(?)</i> RMi, <i>murrai</i> RMj
wood	<i>(worro)galawik</i>	<i>worogolik, kaloweik</i> Cn (from <i>galaw</i> 'fire')
yamstick	<i>nanyirr</i>	<i>nunyer</i> RMi, RMj (YY <i>nanyirr</i>)
yes	<i>ngowe</i>	<i>ngowe</i> RMi, <i>ngower</i> RMj, <i>ngoe</i> Cn (YY <i>ngowe</i>)

Appendix: vocabulary

The following vocabulary¹ list is presented in two parts:

- A. an alphabetical English–Yorta Yorta compilation including all available source entries for each English meaning, and a head word presented both in a broad phonetic orthography and in phonemic representation;
- B. a Yorta Yorta–English listing.

The English–Yorta Yorta list is exemplified here and conventions discussed:

speak (to)	1. lotjpa /lodjba/ lotjpa (present, past) lotjpatj (present, past continuous) lotjpatjak (future continuous) lotjpa (imperative) lotjpadhan (reciprocal, see <i>quarrel (to)</i>) laidpeiya E, [loitjpatj] /lodjba/ Hbj, loipachuk J, loit-poit-cha Mb, lō-it-pa Cbs { lot(j)ba -Yb} (a full list of the forms of this verb is found in section 3.6.2)
	2. ganya- yun-nin Ra, kun yun dite Ra, kun yin Rb (see <i>call (to)</i> ; <i>shout (to)</i>)
spear, reed	gama /gama/ kā-ma Cb, kama Cp, kama Ct, gaumur Ls, ca-ma Mb, kama RMb, RMd, karmar TH (see other types of spears; <i>arrow</i>)
spear/throwing stick	womerra /womera/ wommerera Cr {Wdj wamarr }

¹ This vocabulary list is a refined version of an earlier draft compilation of Yorta Yorta source material presented in Peeler, Bowe and Atkinson (1994). The English–Yorta Yorta listing presented in the 1994 report was based on a compilation passed on to Lois Peeler by Barry Blake for our use. An amended and expanded version of the list also appears in Bowe, Peeler and Atkinson (1997), and the detail in that revision owes much to the analysis presented in the present work, which involves some significant departures from the Blake compilation including the additions of diacritics to Curr and Mathews sources, the correction of the Mathews (1902) vocabulary where his handwritten documents show misalignment, the exclusion of all the Taplin material, the inclusion of early material recorded by George Augustus Robinson and written material from a few other minor sources. The list also includes phonetic transcriptions of spoken material collected from Yorta Yorta family members as part of the research conducted by Bowe, Peeler and Atkinson in 1992–1997.

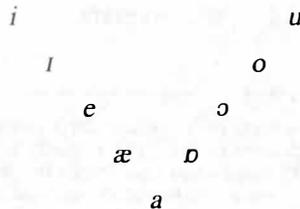
squirrel, flying	birranga /biránga/ pirāanga Cb, birranga RMb, RMd (<i>beer.rang er Rc, squirrel</i>)
star	duta /duda/ tōōr-ta Cb, toorta Cp, toorta Ct, tuta E, to-tar (see <i>comet</i>) Ra, toota Sa, druttra, truttra Sb, tut-ta T {Gen Vic durd- } (also <i>planet, comet, constellation</i>)
steal, to	bitha- /bidha/ bithanda (present – third person singular) ba-a-tun E, biddhanda RMb, RMd, <i>bad</i> unrilte Ra (cot ther gur ner Rb is probably a misunderstanding of gathagana don't) (u.lo.mer Rc)

The Yorta Yorta head word in broad phonetic orthography is presented in bold for ease of reference. The entry for **lotjpa** /lodjba/ exemplifies the difference between the phonemic representation and the broad phonetic orthography. The phonemic analysis is based on the principles discussed in Chapter 2 of the main text. The non-voiced variants in the vocabulary list reflect the allophonic variation also discussed there. Where the phonemic analysis is not clear, the entry is given in italics.

Hercus' transcriptions are reproduced as they appear in Hercus (1986), where interdental consonants are represented with underlining and retroflex consonants are represented with a dot under the consonant. For other entries based on audio-tape a phonetic representation is provided using the following symbols:

Consonants	Labial	Interdental	Alveolar	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar
stops	<i>b/p</i>	<i>dh/th</i>	<i>d/t</i>	<i>dj/tj</i>	<i>q/t</i>	<i>g</i>
nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ny</i>	<i>ṅ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
lateral			<i>l</i>		<i>ɭ</i>	
rhotic			<i>r</i>		<i>ɽ</i>	
glide	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

Vowels



In order to avoid ambiguities that could arise from the use of digraphs, the following practices have been adopted: the sequence /ng/ denotes a velar nasal, the sequence /ngg/ denotes a velar nasal followed by a velar stop. A hyphen is used between /n-g/ to denote an alveolar nasal followed by a velar stop. Where the source material is itself potentially

ambiguous, the sequence /ng(g)/ is used. A hyphen is used between /n-y/ to denote an alveolar nasal followed by a palatal glide, otherwise /ny/ denotes a palatal nasal.

Diphthongs are represented phonemically as VC sequences, e.g. /aw/, /ay/; however, the diphthong pronunciation is preserved in the recommended spelling: *aiy*, *auw* before a vowel (e.g. *gaiya*, *dhauwedhen*) and *ai*, *au* before a consonant, or at the end of a word (e.g. *naika*, *dhau*).

Stress is marked on the phonemic representation with an acute accent over the vowel of the accented syllable, as illustrated in the example for 'flying squirrel'. In the source entries, original marking has been included where practical.

Where practical, source entries have been listed against the English term actually indicated in the source; however, where a departure from this practice has been necessary, the English meaning in the original source has been included in parentheses; e.g. in the entry for flying squirrel, the entry provided by Robinson (Rc) includes the fact that Robinson gave the meaning as 'squirrel' rather than 'flying squirrel'.

Where possible, information regarding areal terms or cognates in neighbouring languages has been provided in brackets; e.g. the entry *womerra* 'throwing stick' provided only by Curr in *Recollections of squatting in Victoria* is noted as being similar to the Wiradjuri term {Wdj *wamarr*}.

Where a word given in the sources is regarded by us as very dubious, it is listed in brackets and an explanation given for it, as in the entry for 'steal (to)', where Robinson gives the form *cot ther gur ner*, which we suggest is a misunderstanding for *gathagana* 'don't'. Sometimes a form in brackets is inexplicable, and is thus simply reported without any attempt to provide a proposed spelling for that word, as in the Robinson form *ul.lo.mer*, given for 'steal (to)'.

A. *English-Yorta Yorta vocabulary*

Aborigine (Yorta Yorta)	1. (y)enbena / <i>(y)enbena/</i> ēn-ben-a Cb, yenbena Ct, yen-bena Mb, heen bin ner Rc, heenbinner Rd (yeyir Ct, see <i>man</i>)
	2. beyoga beowka Cp
	3. wungi [wuŋi] KB, FM
about	ngawitpa / <i>ngawidba/</i> arwich E (see <i>round</i>)
above	bukut book-koot E (perhaps buka <i>head</i> + Ablative t <i>from</i>)
acid	matekami(t) madeycumit E (also <i>bitter</i>)
acquaintance	djuweda / <i>djuweda/</i> jueada Ls
across	baitun bait-tun E
active	wanyarra wa-an-yu-ra E (also <i>fast</i>)
afraid	djiyaman dyiuman RMb, jiuman RMd (also <i>fear, terror</i>)
after	gowidja cow-wiga E (see <i>behind</i>)
afterbirth	nyitawa / <i>nyidawa/</i> nyittāwa RMb, nyittāwa RMd
afternoon	yilbuga / <i>yilbuga/</i> yeeluga E (see <i>evening</i>)

against	nolwi(t) nolwet/nolweet E
air	angin angin E
alive	dhona /dhona/ dhoana RMb, RMd (see <i>live (to)</i>)
all	wuta woota E (see <i>ten</i> ; probably ngutan <i>plenty</i>)
along	bumidakabiya boomeyduckubea E
always	murrangurrang /murangurang/ morrangoorang Cb
among	ralpatha ralpaether E
ancestor	(y) enbena /yenbena/ anebuna E (also <i>Aborigine, Yorta Yorta</i>)
angry	golyinan /golyinan/ kōlyinun Cb, koalyunan RMb, RMd (also <i>frightened</i>)
animals	yedabila yedabila E
ankle	yanga /yanga/ yāānga Cb, yanga E, yanga GB, yanga J, yow ung er Rc
answer (to)	atalotjba utta loidpoit E (see <i>speak (to)</i>)
ant, big bulldog	1. gatjidja /gadjidja/ kagija Ct, gudyidya RMb, gudjija RMd 2. ithitha īthitha Cb (perhaps /gadjidja/; see Table 8, ‘Initial consonant elision’)
ant, greenhead	bamanebala bumanebula RMb, RMd
ant, little black	lelitha lelītha Cb (perhaps /gadjidja/, see Table 8; see <i>ant, big bulldog</i>)
anus	mutja /mudja/ mootcha Cb, muttya Cb, muttya RMb [mutja] KB (also <i>bottom, buttocks</i>)
any	wiyu /wiyu/ weeyoo J

arise (to)	ganbina /ganbina/ kumbinna RMb, künbinna RMd (see <i>awake</i> , <i>wake</i>)
arm	borrinyu /bor(i)nyu/ bōrinya Cb, borinya Ct, bornu E, bornyoo J, bor.in.noo Rc, bōrnu RMb, bōrnû RMd, po-re-ne T (also <i>wing</i> ; <i>river</i> , a <i>branch of</i>) { boriny Yb} (see discussion of phonemisation, section 2.3.1.2(c))
arm, lower part of	borrinyu /bor(i)nyu/ por-in-noo Ra, pore in you Rb
arm, upper	dolela-borrinyu tole.ler.bore in Ra, tole ler bore in Rb (possibly dhulu <i>short +</i> borinyu <i>arm</i>)
arrow	gama /gama/ kaama E (also <i>spear</i> ; <i>reed spear</i>)
ashes	banarru(t) punuroot E
ask (to)	1. mina- /mina/ minamda (present 3SG) minnamda Rmb 2. yama yumma E
asleep	nanyubak nunyabuck E (see <i>sleep (to)</i> ; this appears to be a future form from na- <i>to sleep</i>)
aunt	1. babu /babu/ bāārpo Cb 2. hapunadarrip barboo nadarib E (see <i>son</i>) 3. malak [mæɪɫək] /melag/ H [malak] GB 4. djetja /djedja/ djitja FM (<i>pi.ker</i> Rc)
autumn	wanala /wanala/ wunalla E (also <i>summer</i> ?)
awake	1. ganbina /ganbina/ cunbin E (see <i>arise</i> ; <i>wake</i>) 2. gowitna gorwitna E
axe	ngana /ngana/ gana E (see <i>tomahawk</i>)

baby	<p>1. guthupka /gudhubga/ ko-tōōp-ka Cb, kotoopka Cr, kotoopna Ct (also <i>child, infant</i>) {gothopuk Yb}</p> <p>2. burrai /buray/ [burai] GB, FM, KB, MB, [brai-brai] SB, FM {cf. burai <i>baby</i> Wdj} (lahjip ED, perhaps confused with dhatjiba <i>brother, sister</i>)</p>
bachelor	<p>wapoda wabeda E (also <i>childlessness</i>)</p>
back	<p>banu(th) /banu(dh)/ bunu E, buno GB, bunno J, pan-noong, pan-noo Ra, pan noong Rb, ban noo Rc, bunnūth RMb, bunnuth RMd (also <i>back-bone, back of hand</i>) {banu Dh, Bung} {banhur <i>behind</i> Yb}</p>
back, man's	<p>mukuna mōōkoona Cb, mookoona Cbs</p>
backbone	<p>banu(th) /banu(dh)/ pānno Cb (also <i>back, back of hand</i>)</p>
bad	<p>1. mathi /madhi/ mutthē RMb, RMd, moutha J (basaneep E, bro – mer Rc, bromer Rd) (also <i>roguery</i>) {mathi Yb}</p> <p>2. mathimna /madhimna/ mat-tīm-na Cb, mattimna Ct, mathimna GB (also <i>ugly</i>)</p> <p>3. mathimatj ahjemot Sa (also <i>cruel</i>)</p>
bag, large	<p>gun-gi kunki RMb, RMd</p>
bag, net	<p>nupila nup-pilla Mb</p>
bag, woman's	<p>mukarr-mukarr mooka-mooka Cb, moo ger er moo ger er Rc</p>
bag, woman's net	<p>marra /mara/ murra Ct, murra RMb, RMd</p>
bald-headed	<p>galnyoga /galnyoga/ gūlnyaoga RMb, RMd, kulnow-ga E (possibly from galnya <i>good + buga head</i>)</p>
bandicoot	<p>dhalwa /dhalwa/ thālwa Cb, thalwa RMb, RMd</p>
bark	<p>1. yalma /yalma/ yāl-ma Cb, yalma Cp, yaalma GB, yalmin Ls, yal-mar Ra, yal mar Rb (yalmun Rc, <i>stringy bark</i>) {yalam Yb}</p>

2. **morredap** /moredap/
mor-redap Ra, mor re dup Rb
3. **gatja**
cartya E
- bark, dry **djila** /djila/
dgil-la Mb (see also *tobacco*)
- bat **mumiyanga**
mumianga RMb, mūmiang-'a RMg
- bathe (to) 1. **marri-**
marribak (future)
māribok Cb, maribok GB, maryibük RMb
2. **boki**
bo-gee Ma (possibly Pidgin *bogey*)
- be (to) **angurram**
angoorum E (highly doubtful)
- beak **wurru** /wuru/
wōorro Cb (also *mouth, lip(s), bill*)
- beard (moustache) **mondjarring** /mondjaring/
monderng E, moon-dring Mb, moandhiuring RMb, RMd,
minding Sa (also *moustache*; see *beard (whiskers)*)
- beard (whiskers) **yarring** /yaring/
yāār-ring Cb, yaaring Cb, yar.reen Rc (yurringe J *hair of beard*) {similar in Dh, Pa, Ga, Wdj} (see *beard, moustache*; also *chin*)
- beat (to) **mali-** /mali-/
malin (past, present)
malil (imperative)
mulleel RMb, mullin RMb, RMd (yin nun Rc, see *hit*) (for a full list of the forms of this verb, see section 3.6.2)
- beautiful **galnya** /galnya/
kalimna Ls (also good, happy, sweet, nice, honesty)
- bee 1. **balmi** /balmi/
balmi Mb, (*grog, bees*, etc.) (this is probably the correct word for *bee*)
2. **dutula** /dudula/
tutula E (also *maggots; fly, blow*) (probably incorrect for *bee*)
- before **damuga**
tamuga E
- behind **gowidja**
coweaja E (see *after*)

belly	1. buli /buli/ bulli RMb, RMd, bouilly Sb (also <i>stomach</i>) 2. mona mona E
belly full	boganamutj powganōwmook Cb, boc-on-an-wich Mb (<i>stomach full</i>), buginamutch E (<i>full</i>) (bul leen Rc, see <i>stomach</i>)
below	nukul nugul E
belt	ganedhula /ganedhula/ kunnedhula RMb, kunnedhoola RMd
belts/strings, girls'	biyilin /biyilin/ bē-e-lin Cb
bend (to)	dutja do-o-ja E
berry, edible orange	wilagoli willar.cole Ra
beside	gakumaiha gagurmaither E
between	dapalama tarpalarma E
beyond	menu(t) mairnoot E
big	dung(g)udja /dung(g)udja/ tūn-goo-ja Cb, turnekya E, turnaja E, dunngidja GB, tung-a-ja Ma, tun-gi-dja Mb, tun ne jer Rc (also <i>large, much</i>), turnaja Ls
big water	dung(g)ula /dung(g)ula/ tong woo ler Rc (also <i>Murray River</i>)
bill (bird's)	wurru /wuru/ war-row E (also <i>beak, mouth, lip(s)</i>)
bird	djunda /djunda/ chōōnda Cb, tunda E, tunda GB, tyōanda RMb, jōando RMd, chonda/tchonda Sb
bird, little	djungunga /djundúnga/ choondōōnga Cb, choondoonga Cr
bird, young	nadjirr nadjir E

bite (to)	yin- /yin-/ yinin (present, past) yina (imperative) inna E, yinnin RMb, RMd { yinami-Yb }
bitter	matekami(t) madeycumit E (also <i>acid</i>)
black	dhalanan /dhalanan/ thaālunun Cb, dhullanun RMb, dhullanun RMd (see dhala <i>darkness</i>) (to tone er Rc)
blanket	yalaneborrang /yalanéborang/ yallanēborong Cb, yallanēbora Cb
blaze	ganurra canura E
blear-eyed	nungurra /nungura/ noong-oo-ra E (see <i>blind</i>)
bleed (to)	mawa /mawa/ mawow E (also <i>blood</i>)
blind	1. mothatj /modhadj/ moityan E, moadhaty RMb, RMd, {QLD mutyu } (also <i>near-sighted</i>) 2. yurrungurra /yurúngura/ yurúngura Cb (see <i>blear-eyed</i>)
blisters	walan wullun
blood	mawa /mawa/ māw-wa Cb, maw-wa Ct, mawa E, māwa RMb, māwa RMd, mowa Sb (also <i>bleed</i>)
bloom on trees	bowarring bōwurring RMb, bo-wurring RMd
blow (hit)	nalan nullun E
blow on a fire (to)	boma /boma/ pōörnma Cb, boama RMb, RMd, bomit or banga E (perhaps a past tense form bomin banga)
blue	bata put ter Rc (also <i>flower</i>)
blunt (edge)	manha /manha/ mo-on-na E, manha RMb, RMd
blunt point	nharrapka nhurupka RMb, RMd

boat	darra /dara/ turra E
body	bawu bawow E { bawu (1) <i>Aborigine</i> Yb}
bone	lilima /lilima/ lil-di-ma Cb, lillama E, lillumma RMb, RMd, lilima Sb (<i>bim</i> ber Rc)
boogie man	mobang mobang MB
boomerang	1. wanya /wanya/ wūn-ya Cb, wunya E, wadeenia Ls, wun yer Rc, wūnya RMb, wūnya RMd, wanya Sa, wonnear TH, one-yuh JC {Gen Aust, wan- }
	2. gurrong(g)a kooronga Ct
boots	bandjewak /bandjewag/ [ˈbandjəwək] /bandjewag/ H, boin-du-wue Mb
born (to be)	binita bin nito Rc, benite E
boss	burra /bura/ [ˈbʊrʌ] /bura/ H
bottle of grog	dundema /dundema/ [ˈdʊndəmə] /dundema/ H
bottom	mutja /mudja/ [ˈmʊtʃʌ] /mudja/ H (also <i>anus, buttocks</i>)
bow (weapon)	biyeng(g)a bienga E
bowels	1. guna /guna/ kōōn-na Cb, ko.nare Rc <i>viscera</i> (also <i>excrement</i>)
	2. batuguna /batuguna/ bartoogoonna Ct
	3. naituna nytona E
boy	1. malniga /malniga/ malniga Cr (see <i>boy, little</i> ; also <i>youth before initiation</i>) { mulany Yb}
	2. yarrka /yarga/ yarka E (also <i>child, children</i>)
	3. iyirram iyirram RMb (see <i>iyir man</i>)

boy, 10–12 years	gokamulga kogomoolga Cr (also <i>youth without tooth</i>)
boy, little	malniga /malniga/ māldiga Cb (also <i>boy, youth before initiation</i>)
boy, little, very	malnigaptja /malnigabdja/ mulnigaptya RMb, mūlnigaptya RMd
boy, with tooth	wonga /wonga/ wonga Cr (also <i>partially initiated youth</i>)
brain	wanangbagan wun-ung-ba-gun E
brains	lilama lil.er.mer Rc (probably an error; see <i>lilima bone</i>)
branch	manuga /manúga/ manōōga Cb, munugun E
brave	golimdja golimja E
bread	miterr mit er re Rc, mitther Ls
bread, European	birrit /birid/ [ˈbirit] /birid/ H, birit ED, [birit] GB, FM (probably from English <i>bread</i>)
bread, damper	dhangan /dhangan/ [ˈðaŋan] /d̪aŋan/ H, [dhaŋaŋ] FM (dampa KB) { Wdj dhangan originally <i>bread made from seeds</i> }
break (to)	1. ganga gunga E, kunga RMb, RMd 2. bulo pullo Cbs
breast(s), female	bayi /bayi/ baiyi RMb, RMd, bāi-ir Cb, bai-ir Ct
bring forth young (to)	bamin bameen E
bring (to)	1. biya bya E 2. yakama yukkorma RMb, RMd (perhaps yakama <i>come</i>)
brologa	gunugudhula /gunugudhula/ koo-noo-gōō-thoo-la Cb, goonorgoodula E, kunugudula RMb, kunugudhula RMd (also <i>native companion</i>)

brood	gatjapna katchupna E
brother	1. wowa /wowa/ wowah ED, waa-wa RHm (Notebook 6 YbYb) (also <i>uncle</i>) { wawi Wb } { wowa Yb } 2. batja [batja] GB, SA (see <i>old man, possum</i>)
brother, elder	banyuba /banyuba/ pānyupa RMb, baanyooba Ct, bāānyooba Cb, barnube E, boynupa Ls ('speaking to elder brother' baanyooba Ct, 'speaking of elder brother' baanyoobin Ct banyubin)
brother, step	marra murra E (also brother/sister-in-law, step sister)
brother, younger	1. banyip /banyib/ banyip Ct, pānyip RMb, bar.nip Rc, banyip Sb (see <i>sister, younger</i>) 2. dhatjiba /dhadjiba/ thā-ju-ba Cb (also <i>sister</i> , perhaps means <i>younger sibling</i>) 3. gitjika /gidjiga/ kidjika Ls (see <i>sister</i> , perhaps means <i>younger sibling</i>)
brother-in-law	marra murra E (also step brother/sister, sister-in-law)
build (to)	mangan mung-un E (see mana <i>hut</i>)
bullock	bulgana /bulgana/ bulga-na Mb, bul gane ner Rc (probably from English <i>bullock</i>)
bullrushes	bithin /bidhin/ bitthin RMd
bunyip	dunatpan /dunadban/ tanutbun Ls (see <i>snake, imaginary giant</i>)
burn (to)	1. bayirr pāi-ir Cb, by-yeer E 2. yenmatj yenmuch J (yenritj <i>burned</i>)
bury	molwa /molwa/ molwa E (also <i>grave, burial ground, dead man, corpse, white man</i>)
bush	wanagaga wunugaga E (woc-er Ra, wok.er Rb see <i>earth/ground</i>)

buttocks	mutja /mudja/ mut-cher Ra, mut cher Rb, mote yer Rc (also <i>anus, bottom</i>)
buzz	minyerra minyera E
by	garrulyenek carulyenerk E
by and by	djinyangana tin yew n <i>en me</i> Rc, dyinyanguna RMb
call (to)	ganya- /ganya-/ ganyin (present) ganyanda (present 3SG) ganyanditj (emphatic imperative) ganyanda E (see <i>speak, shout, sing, to</i> ; also <i>tame, pacify</i>)
calm	dutula tu-tu-la E
camp	1. manu /manu/ māān-oo Cb, mar-noo Ma, mar-noo Mb, manu RMa, manmun RMb, manung RMb, mânmũn RMd (mia-mia Ma) { <i>lat tee</i> Rc cf. <i>lar</i> WbWb } (also <i>hut</i>) 2. mana /mana/ mana Ct (also <i>bird's nest</i>)
camp (to)	mana- mana E
cannot	gatha /gadha/ katir Cbs
canoe	matha /madha/ māt-tha Cb, matta Ct, mutha Mb, mut-tar Ra, mut tar Rb, mut.er Rc, mutter Rd, muttha RMb, RMd { mautha Dh }
canoe pole	gagatja /gagádja/ [gagádja] KB, PJ (also <i>paddle</i>)
cat	banmetpa /banmedpa/ bunmedpa E (also <i>native cat</i>)
carry (to)	lupa /luba/ lōōppa Cb, lupa E
catch (to)	muma- /muma/ mumma E (also <i>get, take, hold</i>)
catch in a net (to)	ganya baltjerra canya pultera E (probably ganya- <i>tame, pacify</i> and baltjerra <i>a net</i>)
centipede	dhaltin-gin thũltin-gin RMb, RMd

chain of ponds	bikorra piccora E
cheek	damul /damul/ tarmul TH
cheeks	damula /damula/ tamoola E
chest	dipa /diba/ dippa J, pully E (see buli <i>belly</i> ; also dipa <i>heart</i>)
child/children	1. yarrka, yalka /yarga/, /yalga/ yār-ka Cb, yarka RMb, [ˈyarkʌ] /yarga/ H, yare er ker Rc, yerereker Rd, [yalka] GB, LP, [yalka/yarka] Hbj (also <i>boy</i>) 2. guthupka /gudhubga/ guthūpka RMb, guthuupka RMb, gūthūpka RMd {cf. gudha Wdj} [gudjáka] GB (koluka Sb, yoomganik loid poit E) (also <i>infant</i>)
childlessness	wapoda wawpoeda E (also <i>bachelor</i>)
children, small	yarrkidjiga /yargídjiga/ yar-kid-ji-ga Cb, yer-gedge-eka E, yar-gid-i-ka Mb
chin	yarring /yaring/ yun.nin Ra, yun-nin Rb, yar.reen Rc, yaring Sa (see <i>beard</i>), yarren TH, codnir E (also <i>beard/whiskers</i>)
cigarette	dhonga /dhonga/ [doŋa] LA (see <i>smoke</i>)
claw	delpan /delban/ tailpun E (see <i>toe</i>) (probably plural -n)
climb (to)	1. worrwa- /worwa-/ worwatj (present, past) worwaja E, wūrwaty RMb, RMd 2. dorrtu torr-too Mb (perhaps related to duta <i>star</i>)
cloud/clouds	yurratha /yurátha/ yoorátha Cb, uradah E (also <i>sky, heaven</i>) { yurathek Yb}
cloud, light	yimudigan ye-moo-dy-gun E
cloud, thick	dhalanan yurratha /dhalanan yuradha/ tallan in uradah E (from <i>black + cloud</i>)
club (leangle)	1. wonggoba /wonggóba/ wongóba Cb, wong go ber Rc, wongoba TH 2. malinya mallinya E (perhaps related to mali- <i>beat</i>)

club, fighting	barrangga(la) /barangga(la)/ burrunggala RMb, RMd, pāringa Cb
club, hunting	ban-ga /ban-ga/ bān-ga RMb, bānga RMd, bonnear TH (compare <i>stone</i>)
cockatoo, black	ngarring /ngaring/ ngāring Cb, nyanang RMb, RMd
cockatoo, white	djarring /djaring/ jār-ing Cb, jarim Cp, gar.rin Ra, tyarring RMb, jarring RMd, jarring Sa { garang YY}
cold	1. bolkatj /bolgadj/ bol-can Mb, boalkuty RMb, RMd, bolkuty RMd, bolkaty RMd, polkit E { bolaki Yb} 2. mathidja ma-tīg-wik Cb, mutteya E, mut tid jer Rc (see mathi bad)
come (to)	gaka or yaka gaka, gakai, gabai (imperative) yakama (imperative emphatic) yakarrumdja (imperative very emphatic) gaka-yawul (<i>come, walk</i> imperative) kukka RMa, cucka J, yan-nun (see <i>run</i>) Ra, kak-a-are-re Ra, kuck i are ro Rc, yuckcorumja E, kub by Ra (come back) tokookaroo E, yuckcoona E (come here!) cockiaroo Ls, yakkorma Cb ['ya.ko.rumdjak] /yagorumdjag/ H, kabai Cb, cucka J (come on) ya-kōr-ma Cb, ka-kō Cb, kakaiyarro Cp, kabai Ct { gaku Yb}
comet	duta /duda/ tuta E, to-tar Ra (also <i>star, constellation</i>)
conceal, to	nhurrka /nhurga/ nhūrka RMb, nhoorka RMd
constellation	duta /duda/ tuta E (see <i>comet, star</i>)
content	mamana banga mimina bong-a E (compare mamana birayarwu <i>divorce</i> , and banga <i>right, correct</i>)
cook (to)	dhurra thurra RMb, RMd (kookoodery E, probably confused with gakayarwul <i>come</i>) (un yun duc Rc)

copulate (to)	dhani- /dhani-/ dhanin (present/past) dhânin RMb (see <i>sodomy, noise of copulation</i>)
corpse	molwa /molwa/ molwa E (also <i>grave, burial ground, dead man, corpse, white man</i>)
correct	banga /banga/ banga E
corroboree (to dance a)	1. damanmu- /damánmu/ tumman'muty RMb, RMd (also <i>dance (to)</i>) 2. garradha- (cur.re.yae Ra, cur re yuc Rb <i>corroboree</i>) (also <i>dance (to)</i>)
cough	gorrawin cor rer win Rc
count, to	wanyagomitj wunyugomdite E, <i>reckon</i>
country	woka /woga/ wuckka E, wock er Rc (also <i>earth, ground, land, district</i>)
courage	balagamdail bullugamdile E
cousin, relation	1. bakinal baginal E 2. yamak [yalnak] SB [yamak] FM
coward	djiyamanuk chi-īmoon-ook Cb
cowardice	djiyamannhalaya teyumun nilley E (perhaps <i>djiyaman afraid</i> and <i>nhalaya there, medium proximity</i>)
cowardly	djiyaman jeemin E
crab-hole	gaka /gaga/ kāka Cb
crane	1. galmuka kalmuka RMb, RMd 2. dirrekur ti-re-cur re Ra
crayfish	1. borrpa /borba/ bōrpa Cb, bōr-pa Cb, ba-pa M, par par Rc (<i>burpa</i> E, <i>crash</i> , probably an error for <i>crayfish</i>)

	2. bonggongalo bong gong er lo Rc
crayfish, small	gonuka /gonuga/ gon-oo-ka Mb, kone ner gun Rc
creek	natja nite yer Rc, natja (possibly confused with natja plain) (borinya E, bormea Ls, see <i>river, branch of; arm; wing</i>)
creek, dry	daborrin tuverin E (see <i>pathway</i>)
crippled	danyan dun-yan E
crow	1. dangamai /dangamay/ tungamay E, dŭngami RMb, tŭng'-a-ma RMi <i>crow with white round eyes</i> 2. wakirr /wagir/ wōk-ka Cb, wokkir Cp, waagare Sa, warkil Sb, wor kun ner Rc {Gen Vic wa, Wdj waagan} {wakir Yb} 3. marrngany mar'ngañ RMi <i>black crow smaller than tŭng'-a-ma</i>
cruel	mathimatj musetumut E (also <i>bad</i>)
cry (to)	dunhu /dunhu/ tunnoo E, tone noo Rc (see <i>weep</i>)
cure (to)	itjawudik eetyawoodtic E
curing of sickness	maya /maya/ [ˈmaiʔʌ] /maia/ H
curlew	1. goka ko-kar Ra 2. biluwuba billuoba RMb, RMd
cut (to)	1. dhairri- thai-ir-i-chuk Cb 2. wabudja wabuja Ls 3. banin bunnin E
cut (injury)	1. gutha /gutha/ coota E (also <i>sore, smallpox, wound</i>)

	2. <i>binyan</i> binyan E (perhaps <i>banin</i> cut, to)
dance (to)	1. <i>damánmu-</i> tummanmoot E, dum num mitter Rc (tumman'muty RMb, RMd to <i>corroboree</i>) 2. <i>garradha</i> kurradhan RMb, RMd (cur.re.yae Ra, cur re yuc Rb, to <i>corroboree</i>)
dark	1. <i>muluk-muluk</i> /mulug-mulug/ mōō-lok-mōō-lok Cb (see <i>night</i>) 2. <i>malya</i> marl.yer Rc
darkness	<i>dhala</i> /dhala/ thāl-la Cb, tulla E, thulla J, dhulla RMb, RMd (also <i>night</i>)
daughter	<i>gatjina</i> karginya E, kateena Sb (also <i>step-daughter</i>)
daughter, step	<i>gatjina</i> kurt-gee-na E (also <i>daughter</i>)
daughter-in-law	<i>wongwop</i> wongworp E
dawn	<i>barrpirripna</i> /barbiribna/ berberipna J (see <i>morning, tomorrow</i>)
day	1. <i>gananggurr</i> /gananggur/ kan-ān-goor-a Cb, kanenorga Cp, conamurra E, ganangoor J, kananngur RMb, RMd (also <i>today</i>) 2. <i>wongda</i> wongda Sb
day after tomorrow	see <i>tomorrow, day after</i>
dead	<i>gukuny</i> /guguny/ kō-koo-in Cb, kokooïn Ct, ko.kwin Rc, kokuñ RMb, RMd (see <i>die</i>)
deaf	<i>nhabadamarrmu</i> ngamothērmarmooch Cb, nubanamarmid E, nhubbada-marma RMb, RMd (see <i>forget</i> , also <i>marmu</i> ear)
dear	<i>dhoma</i> /dhoma/ trooma A, dor-ma Ma, dthoor-ma Mb, [ðo:me] /dome/ H, [dhoma] GB, FM, LP (also <i>poor thing</i> , see also <i>good</i>)
dear, my	<i>dhomanyini</i> /dhoma nyini/ dthoor-ma nea-ne Mb, dawma nene ED [dhoma ngiəni] [dhoma nyini] Hpmc [dhoma nyini] GB

- dear! (oh) 1. **yakai** /yagay/
yuk-ki Mb (yakkai Cbs an exclamation of pain or sorrow)
2. **gaikai**
kaikai Cbs (an exclamation of surprise)
- decay (to) **werrki-**
waerkin E
- deep **gulpa** /gulba/
gul-pa Mb (also *well (water)*)
- devil 1. **beka** /bega/
py rer Rc (probably **beka** ghost)
2. **debel-debel**
debble debble Cr (from English)
- dew **yawa** /yawa/
yāwa RMb, yāwa RMd (also *morning*)
- die (to) 1. **guku-** /gugu/
gukun (past, present)
gukunbanga (past)
gukunyah J, kukuñ RMb, RMd (see *dead*)
2. **yortanangin**
yootunangin E (perhaps **yorta** no and **dhona** alive)
- dig (to) 1. **banburra**
bunboora E (also *spade, wooden*)
2. **wayirra**
weera Sb (*to dig soil*)
- dirty **gunigawa**
[ˈɡunigawa] /gunigawa/ H (see **guna** excrement)
- discontent **yortamummum**
yotta mum mum E
- disrespect **birrya**
birrya E
- district **woka** /woka/
wuckka E (also *earth, ground, land, country*)
- dive (to) 1. **garru-**
kāroobok Cb
2. **darrya-**
durtya RMb, RMd
3. **dunapka-**
tunapcoomja E
- diver, large (bird) **munilip** /munilib/
mōñilip Cb

diver, small (bird)	dakoma /dagóma/ takōma Cb
divorce (to)	mamana birrayarrwu mamana birryeroo E (see <i>go away, to</i> , and compare mamana banga content)
(do (to)	ngata- knygutta E
doctor	arraga ar. rar ger Rc
dog	1. baka /baga/ pokka Cb, [baka] /baga/ H, bocka Ls, bucca Mb, puck ar Rb, bucker Rc, bukka RMb, RMd, bookka Sa, [baka] GB (bucca E <i>dingo</i>) 2. dundo tone.do.or Ra 3. werrindja werindja BJ
dog, female	baka nhanha /baka nhanha/ bukka nhana (see <i>mother, female</i>)
dog, little or pup	bakidjiga /bagídjiga/ pokkidjiga Cb
dog, male	baka nalnga /baga nalnga/ bukka nalnga RMg, bukka nhalma RMb (see <i>male</i>)
dog, tame	baka /baga/ pōk-ka Cb, pokka Cp, pokka Ct
dog, wild	wokida /wogida/ wōk-id-da Cb, wokkida Ct
don't	gathagana /gadhagana/ [ˈgaθəgana] /gadegana/ H (also <i>not</i>)
down	guli(t) goollit E (see <i>under</i>)
down (feather)	wunudja woon-oo-ja E
drag	galka /galga/ kulka E (see <i>pull</i>)
dream (to)	1. na- nanyak (future) nanyubak (future) nuneck E, un yer buck Rc (related to either nha- see or na-sleep)

	2. nurratj nurāite Cb
drink (to)	1. dhangu- /dhangu-/ thā-goo-na Cb, tangim E, dhangun RMb, RMD, darng.oon Rc { tha- Gen Vic}
	2. bogiya- bogiak Cp
drive away with a song (to)	watjúka gorrkarra warchūka kōrkora Cb (compare gorrkarra rain)
dry, very	dhangam tarng <i>um</i> Rc (see <i>drink, to</i>)
duck	naika /nayga/ naika Cb, negga E, ny.ker Ra, ny.ker. Rc (<i>black duck</i>)
duck, black	dolma /dolma/ [ˈdɔlmʌ] /dolma/ H, dōlma RMb, dōlma RMD, toma Sa (<i>duck</i>) {Gen Vic dul- } (nāi-ka Cb)
duck, little	naikidjiga /naygidjiga/ naikidjiga Cb
duck, wood	(g) unyagawa /g)unyagáwa/ unga-ā-wa Cb, kunyugoa RMb, RMD
•uring	meyun meyyoon E (also <i>while</i>)
dust storm	bangin bunyin RMh (see <i>hail, wind</i>)
•agle	1. gurranyin gourunyin E
	2. wanmirr /wanmir/ wōn-mir Cb, wānmirr RMb, wahnmirr RMD, hwammery Sb (also <i>hawk</i>)
ear	marrmu /marmu/ mār-moo Cb, marmoo Cp, marmoo E, marmo J, mar re moo Ra, mar re moo Rb, mar. <i>um</i> (or) <i>mar.mu</i> Rc, marmu RMb, RMD, marmo Sb (marrmo TH, <i>ears</i>) { marampo Dh, Pl} { maram Yb}
earth/ground	woka /woka/ wo:k-ka Cb, wokka Ct, wuckka E, wukka RMb, wokka Sb, woka T (also <i>land, country, district</i>)
earthquake	nani(t) nuneet E
east	yeyawa yeywa E (see <i>sunrise</i>)

eat (to)	<p>1. dhatji- /dhadji-/ dhatjim (past, present) dhatjak (future) dhatjimiak (intention) thai-chīm-i-a Cb, thaitchek Cbs, diteyim E, dutyim RMb, RMd, thatyak RMe, thattyim, thattyimeak RMf, tut yum Rc (maichimiak Cp is probably a misprint) {dhai-Yb}</p> <p>2. dhuna thuna Cbs</p>
egg	<p>butjanga /budjānga/ poo-jāāng-a Cb, pudyana E, bojanga ED, putyanga Sb {cf. Colac, Watha, Ga}</p>
eggs	<p>butjangin /budjangin/ bud-jar nin Ra, bud jur <i>nin</i> Rb, pud jang un Rc, budyanga RMb, bujonga RMd (also <i>testicles</i>)</p>
elbow	<p>1. ngunangga /ngunangga/ ngunangga RMb, ngoonangga RMd {Wdj nguuna}</p> <p>2. gukorrin gookir E, ko-quor-im Ra, ko quor in Rb, ko.<i>kurn</i> Rc</p>
emission, sexual	<p>djitjin dyityin RMb, RMd</p>
emphatic particle	<p>-ma /-ma/ ['ma] /-ma/ H</p>
empty	<p>mulan /mulan/ mulan E, moolun E (<i>none</i>), mullun J (also <i>none</i>; see <i>hungry</i>)</p>
emu	<p>bigarrumdja /bigarumdja/ pikk-er-ōōm-dja Cb, pikkeroomdja Cp, bigurumja E, bigeramja ED /bigerundja/ ['bigərundja] H, bigorumja Ls, bick-er-oom-dja Mb, big.er.ronejer Ra, bug er rone jer Rb, big er rome jar Rc, biggarumdya RMb, RMd, pekeromkia Sa, pekeromdia Sb, bigaumcha SM [bigərumdja] GB</p>
emu feathers	<p>gorrawa korāwa Cb</p>
emu's breast	<p>watjerra /wadjera/ waiche:ra Cb (also <i>plate</i>, <i>tortoise's back shell</i>)</p>
emu, young	<p>wula /wula/ woola Ls</p>
enemy	<p>muthak moodtuck E</p>
enough	<p>bangawo bang.er.wo Ra, bang er.wo Rb (possibly a derivative of bang <i>correct</i>)</p>

entrails (of sheep)	malen-gandrri [maləngandrɪ] KB (possibly not Yorta Yorta origin)
erection	dayu /dayu/ taiu RMb, taioo RMd
evacuate bowels (to)	guni- /guni/ gunin (present, past) gunyubak (future) kōnyoobok Cb, ko. <i>nin</i> (or) ko. <i>nur</i> Rc (tehicka E) (see <i>excrement</i>)
evening	yilbuga /yilbuga/ yeelugna E, yēlbuga RMb, yēlbuga RMd (see <i>afternoon</i>)
ever	ginuna ginnewna E
except	nanyenwuda nynenoowooda E
excrement	guna /guna/ kōōn-na Cb, koonna Ct, gunē RMb, guné RMd, [guni] KB, [guna] LP {Gen Aust} (also <i>bowels</i>) { guna Yb}
extensive	baimi(ya) boymee Ls (see <i>God</i>)
extensive plain	baimi(ya) natja boymee natcha Ls
eye	1. ma /ma/ ma Cp, maa J, mare Mb, mare Ra, mare Rb, mare Rc, mā RMd, maa Sa, maa Sb, ma T, mare TH { mir Gen Vic} { ma Yb} 2. mi(yul) mē-ul Cb, meul Ct, mē RMb, mē RMd {Wdj mil } (possibly mi eye plus -I <i>dual</i>) 3. minga [mɪŋɑ] SA, FM (cf. ming eye reported for Central Victorian language by Thomas)
eye, white of	bitjetma pityetma E
eyeball	gona conner E
eyebrow	mimithing(g)in /mimidhíng(g)in/ mimithīngin Cb
eyelash	1. wung(g)u wōōngo Cb

	2. gong(g)arra gongara E (ongara E, <i>eyebrow</i>)
eyelid	maiya may E
eyesight	djerrimem cherrymem E
face	1. maan /maan/ maan Cb, main E, maen J
fall (to)	dati- /dadi-/ datin (present, past) tāātin Cb, dattin E, datin E, tātēn RMb, tātēn RMd (see <i>to kill</i> ; <i>to spear</i>)
family	yakapna yercupna E
far	burraya /buraya/ boor E (also <i>long way away</i>)
far-seeing	burranhana /buranhana/ purnana E (from bura(ya) <i>far</i> and nhana <i>see</i>)
fast	wanyarra wun-yol-ya E (also <i>active</i>)
fat	1. walitja /walidja/ woll-ik-thi-a Cb, wolikthia Ct, walacha ED, [ˈwɔːledʒɹ] /woledja/ H, [wɔːlɛtʃɹ] Hbj, wallaktya [noun] RMb, walitya [adj.] RMb, walitya RMb, wallaktja [noun] RMd, walitya RMd, walitya [adj.] RMd (also <i>kidney</i>) 2. banola panola E
father	1. gaiya /gaya/ kāi-a Cb, kaiya Lc, kaiya, kaiyow Sb 2. bapu /babu/ bapo Cp, bapo Ct, baapoo E, baapoo Ls, bare poo Rc, barepoo Rd (also <i>aunt</i>) 3. nhungui /nhunguyi/ nhungui RMb, nhoonguy RMd (see <i>male</i>) 4. mama [mama] GB { mama Wb}
father, step	dhamanga bapu /dhamanga bapu/ dorma la paapoo E (see <i>man</i> , <i>old</i>)
father-in-law	unagud unagood E

fear	djiyaman yeeamin E (also <i>afraid, terror</i>)
feather	duna tünno Cb, tun-na E
feel (to)	bamung(g)a bamung(g)ada (present 3SG) baamōōngooda Cb, brimunga J (see <i>touch</i>)
female	nhanha nonoga E (see <i>mother; dog, female; swan, hen</i>)
fetch (to)	muma-yanak mumer-yar-noki Rc (related to muma- <i>get, take, hold</i> and ya- <i>go</i>)
few	1. bulwoga poolworga E 2. (y)ingarrnika ingar-ni-ka Mb (see <i>small, very</i>)
fight (to)	1. nyinidhan /nyini-dhan/ nin.ne.dun Rc, nginyēlerak Cb (nyini <i>hit</i> + -dhan <i>reciprocal</i>) 2. maledhan /maledhan/ mul'ledhan RMa (malin <i>strike</i> + dhan <i>reciprocal</i>) 3. noiwiterrak nooetheruck E (see noiwit <i>against</i>)
fin	guduny coodwin E
finger	djirtjirra /djirdjira/ kērtchera Cb, jerchera J, taypa Sa, teechera Sb (also <i>knuckle</i>)
fingers	djirtjirran /djirdjiran/ choochooran E (bee-en Ra, be-en Rb, be-ing Rc, see <i>hand</i>) (also <i>fist</i>)
fire	bitja /bidja/ biitya Cb, biit-ya Cb, biitya Cp, biitya Ct, ['bitjʌ] /bidja/ H, bitcha J, pee-cha Mb (see also <i>wood, dry</i>), pit yer Ra, pit yer Rb, doeng er (see <i>smoke</i>) Rc, <i>doenger</i> Rd, pitya RMb, RMd, pitja Sa, bickya Sb, pitha SM, pe-da T
fire, large communal	wulumbarra /wulumbára/ woolombára Cb, woolumbara Cr
fire sticks	marrin-bidja mare.rin bid yer Ra (Robinson recorded the meaning as <i>tale work</i> , which we believe to be the Woiwurrung word djiel-warrk <i>fire-making implements</i>)

fire, to make	marrinbidja mare.rin bidyer Ra
firewood	bitjau /bitjáv/ biitchão Cb (bitja <i>fire</i> + plural suffix -u)
fish	1. mandiga /mandiga/ malarim B, münd-ji Cb, mani Cp, munega E, [ˈmənəgʌ] /manega/ H, mun-di-ga Mb, manica SM, madiga VJ { maki(ka) Yb} (see <i>food</i>) 2. walka walka SB
fish, bream	1. danela /danela/ [ˈdənəlʌ] /danela/ H 2. gangupka /gangubga/ cong-up-ka Mb (see <i>fish, perch</i>) 3. wurrthamarra wúrthumurra RMb, wúrthumurra RM (wo-tim-e-ra Mb, <i>perch</i>)
fish, cod	burrmanga bûrmanga RMb, bûrma'nga RMd, boorināwa Cb, booringawa Ct, poor-nang-a Mb, poo-rer.mug.er Ra, bo rung uner Rc (<i>fish</i>), borungunner Rd (<i>fish</i>) { burunu Yb}
fish (like a) minnow	djawa /djawa/ jāāwa Cb
fish, perch	1. gangupka /gangúbga/ kongōpka Cb, kangupka RMb, kungupgah RMb, RMd (see <i>fish, perch</i>) 2. makun markoon Ct 3. dhaika theika Ct
fish, trout	bangami bungame RMb, RMd
fish (to)	mandiga munega E
fishing	dunyak [ˈdɒnjak] /dunjag/ H, [duriak] Hpmc
fist	djirtjirran /djirdjiran/ chercheran E (also <i>fingers, hand</i>)
five	bultjubul bultjubul iyung /buldjubul buldjubul iyung/ bul-u-bul, bul-u-buleil Mb, petcheval petcheval enea Sa, bulchiba-bulchiba yeiyur J

flax	yamen yāāmen Cb
flea	muna /muna/ moo-na Mb (also <i>dog's louse</i>)
flesh	djitiga /djidiga/ gib-tro-ga E (see <i>meat</i>)
float (to)	danin tanin E
flock	nuthan nootrun E
flood	1. dung(g)udja wala /dung(g)udja wala/ tongadya wollah Sa (see <i>big; water</i>) 2. bapalwa pup-pal-wa E (possibly from bapo <i>father</i> + wala <i>water</i>)
flower	bata putta E
fly, blow	djendjurra thongera Ct, jongera E, dyēndyura RMb, dyēndyura RMd
fly, blow, maggots	dutula /dudúla/ toortōōlla Cb
fly, common house	wowinya /wowinya/ wowiinya Cb, wowiinya Ct, wo-in-ya Mb, wāwunya RMb, wāwunya RMd
fly, sand	nanyumaloga /nanyu-máloga/ naanyoomāldyooga Cb
fly (to)	ganbina /ganbina/ gunbin E (see also <i>arise, rise up, raise</i>)
fog	yanggawa /yanggawa/ youngoua E, yanggāwa RMb, yanggāwa RMd (see <i>mist</i>)
food	mandiga /mandiga/ mündiga Cb, mün-di-ga Cb (see <i>fish</i>)
food/meat	mulan müllan RMb, mûllan RMd (see <i>empty, none, hungry</i>)
fool	uwalumi(t) ow er loo meet Rc (also <i>stupid</i>)
foot	1. djina /djina/ chīn-na Cb, jinna J, jet-cha-ra Mb, tin-ner Ra, tin ner Rb, tin ner Rc, tyunna RMb, RMd, jenna Sa, chinna Sb, gen-a T, ginna E [djina] Hmt, KB [djini] MB [djinan] KB, FM {Gen Aust}

	2. mugudjina /mugudjina/ mogochinna Cp, mogoginna Ct, meegoodyana E, monginna E
	3. mandowe [ˈmɑnˌdɔwe] /mandowe/ H (probably Pidgin; see Dixon et al. (1990:198) mundowie <i>foot, footstep</i>)
foot, sole of	yida yeada E (also <i>palm of hand</i>)
footpath	1. dana /dana/ tāna Cb, dana RMb, RMd (see <i>pathway</i>) 2. daborra /dabora/ tābora Cb, tub ar er Rc (also <i>pathway, road</i>)
forehead	ngunyerr /ngunyer/ onegir, wungir E, ngūnyer RMb, nunnerrer TH
forest	nurrtja noort-ya E
forget (to)	nhabadamarrmu nhubbadamarm RMb, RMd (also <i>deaf</i>)
forgiveness	watjaanan watya unun E
four	bultjubul bultjubul /buldjubul buldjubul/ bol-tu-bol bol-tu-bol Cb, balabool balabool Cp, boltubol- boltubol Ct, pooltoobool pooltoobool E, bul-u-bul, bul-u-bul Mb, petcheval petcheval Sa, bulchiba-bulchiba J
frequent (to)	utanana- ootanernok E
fresh	yurri yourra E (see <i>moon</i>)
friend	1. gurrtji /gurdji/ [ˈgʊrtji] /gurdji/ H 2. anganya angarnya E
frightened	1. golyinan /golyinan/ kole le moon Ra (see <i>angry</i>) 2. bolkan borl kun Rc
frog	dhanggoba /dhanggóba/ tungōba Cb, tungoba E [ˈdɑŋgɔpən] /dangoben/ H, dhungoba RMb, RMd
from	muma /muma/ mumma E (see <i>get, take</i>)

frost	yungaba yūngaba RMb, yūngaba RMd (also <i>ice, snow, sleet</i>)
fruit	malnuda malnuda E
full	wurrumatj /wurumadj/ wōōroomaitch Cb, wurumaty RMb, RMd (see <i>mouth wuru</i>) (buginamutch E, see boganamutj belly full)
gather (to)	natya- natjal (imperative) nyt-tell E
get (to)	muma /muma/ mumma E (see <i>take</i>)
ghost(s)	1. beka pēk-ka Cb, pekka Cr, beka mt 2. mong(g)unda mongunde E (also <i>devil</i>)
girl	1. nanyanbana nunyunbunna RMb 2. nyauwoga nyauwoga RMb, RMd, nowoga E (yārka Cb, see <i>child</i>) (wind-ja Ma, see <i>woman</i>) { nyawak Yb}
girl, 10–14 years	gitjika /gidjiga/ gitika ED (see <i>sister</i>)
girl (puberty)	dhadhiwa /dhadhiwa/ dhuddhiwa Rmb (also <i>virgin</i>)
give (to)	1. ngu- /ngu-/ ngunhu (present, past) ngunhuk (future) ngutjuk (future emphatic) nguwul (imperative) ngōōchick Cb, knanuck E, nguwul J, ngunu RMb, ngoonoo RMd { Yb nguki- }
	2. i i Cb, eeyanook Ls (ya-coma Mb is perhaps confused with yakama come) (mun ne ger Rc)
give up (to)	wutja wucha J
glad	wulanhan bakaba wullanhan-bukkaba RMb, RMd
glow	motjin morchin E

- go along/walk (to) **ya-** /*ya-*/
yanha (present)
yanda (present 3SG)
yanhanai (imperative emphatic)
yawul (imperative)
yanyubak (future)
 ['yɑnʌnɑɪ] /yananai/ H, yanda H, birayarwool E, yam-ya-buc Mb, yam-ya-bee Ma, yam-ya-buc Ma (also *walk, to*) {Gen Aust **ya-**} (for a full list of the forms of this verb, see section 3.6.4)
- go away/leave (to) **birra-** /*bira-*/
birrama (imperative emphatic)
birramdja (imperative emphatic)
birramgandja (imperative emphatic)
birra-yawu (imperative)
 proma! Cb, promganja! Cb, beer re-are ro Rc, berriaroo Ls, ['bʊrɒndʒɑ] /burondja/ H, boo-room-dja Mb, baromja J, beer-are-ro Ra, por rome ja Rc {Wdj **birra**from **birra**back 'If your back is turned toward something then you are either turned away from or moving away from it.' McNicol and Hosking 1994} (for a full list of the forms of this verb see section 3.6.4)
- goanna **girriwa**
 giriwa GB {Wdj **girrawaa** *tree goanna*}
- goanna, black **wawatj**
 wawaith Cb
- goanna, ground **barryibala**
 baryebala RMb, RMd
- goanna, tree **biltjimdja** /bildjimdja/
 biltyimdya RMb, RMd (beljimja Cb, *yellow iguana*)
- God
 1. **baimi(ya)** /baimi(ya)
 baimia J the good spirit
 2. **mamu-nyu(wa)ndan**
 mamu-knondun E (perhaps **mama** *father* and **nyu(wa)ndan** first person inclusive plural possessive pronoun – literally: 'The father of all of us'.)
- good **galnya** /galnya/ (or **galyan**)
 colnea A, kaāl-in-ya Cb, kalinya Cr, kaalinya Ct, kalorya E, galyan GB, galnia J, col-nea Ma, kalinya RMb, RMd (thama Sa, to *muc* er Rc, tomucer Rd, see **dhoma** *dear*) (also *beautiful, happy, sweet, nice, honesty*) {**galiny** Yb}
- good gracious!
 1. **yakai** /yagay/
 yuck hi ED, [yakai] LP, FM (see *dear!* (*oh*) (an exclamation of pain or sorrow))

	2. gaikai (see <i>dear!</i> (<i>oh</i>) (an exclamation of surprise))
good smell	doma to-mer Rc
goose	malya /malya/ malya E (see <i>swan</i>)
goose, wild	makorrna /magorna/ macorna SM
Goulburn River	gaiyala /gayala/ kāiela Cb, kai:ela Cb, koyeela Ls, ky-el-er Ra, ky e ler Rb, kyal Sa
grandfather	1. dhamala toormala E (see dhama <i>old/wise</i>) 2. ngapa [ngapa] GB { Wb ngapa }
grandmother	1. dhama-nhanha toormala-nang E (cf. dhama <i>old/wise</i> + nhanha <i>mother</i>) 2. guka [kuka] GB { Wb kuka }
grass	barrpan /barban/ bārpan Cb, bār-pan Cb, barpan Cp, barpa Ct, burbun E, pur.rer-pun Ra, pur rer pun Rb, bar rope bun Rc, bürpa Rmb { para Watha }
grass for nets	gotupna /godubna/ kotoopna Lc
grasshopper	yunadja /yunádja/ yunādyā RMb, RMd
grave/burial ground	molwa(n) /molwa(n)/ mōlwan Cb, [ˈmɔːlwʌ] /molwa/ H, [molwa] GB (also <i>bury</i> , <i>dead man</i> , <i>corpse</i> , <i>white man</i> ; (n) possibly denotes plural)
great	dung(g)udja /dung(g)udja/ turneja Ls (also <i>big</i>)
greedy	1. djirrnyauwa dyirnyaua RMb, RMd 2. dhowerrwidja tow er rer wid yer Rc
green	durrān tur ran Rc
grey	daugowa /dhaugowa/ ta-oo-wa E (see <i>hair</i> , <i>grey</i>)

grind (to)	grainduma grinduma E (from English <i>grind</i> , possibly through Pidgin)
grog	balmi /balmi/ bal-mi Mb (see <i>bees, honey</i>)
ground	woka /woga/ wōk-ka Cb, wokka Ct, woc.er Ra, woc er Rb, wok.er Rc, wukka RMb, RMd, [woka] GB (also <i>earth, land, country, district</i>) {woka Yb}
grub in gum tree	balaga /balaga/ beālaga Cb, balaga RMb, RMd
grub in box tree	merrin mērin RMb, mārīn RMd
grub in ground	guka /guga/ kuka RMb, RMd
guest	gatjan dhatjamak kukyern tuchjemyuk E (see <i>dhatja eat</i>)
guilt	yalaga matan yaluge mutun E
gully	wamwadja /wamwadja/ wam-wud-ya E
gum (sap)	gitjugo gidtogo E, guttuma E
gun	bumiderrega po.mid.er.re.ger Ra, po <i>nud rer</i> re gur Rb (see <i>musket</i>)
gurgle (to)	djadjingum jay-jing-um E
hail	1. nyinuga /nyinuga/ ngīnogān Cb, ninugah E, nyinnuga RMb, RMd 2. bangin pungin E (see <i>wind, dust storm</i>)
hair of beard	yarring /yaring/ yurringē J (also <i>beard, whiskers, chin</i>)
hair of head	bukan /bugan/ pōk-kan Cb, bukkun J, bo-kun Ra, bo-kun Rb, bo.ko Rc, bo.kan Rc, bukan RMb, RMd, bookun E, buckun E, boko
hair on pudendae	yiminy yimiñ RMb, RMd
hair, curly	menmetpan bukan /menmédban bugan/ main-māit-pan pōkkan Cb

hair, grey	daugowa bukan /daugówa búgan/ taa-o-gō-a pōkkan Cb (see <i>grey</i>)
hair, long	djirrunangan bukan /djirúnganan búgan/ cherúngunan pōkkan Cb (see <i>long</i>)
hair, short	dhulukan bukan /dhulugan bugan/ thōōlookan pōkkan Cb (see <i>short</i>)
hallelujah	yalayala [yamnayala] FM, [yalayala] GB (from English <i>hallelujah</i>)
hand	biyin /biyin/ bē-yin Cb, bium Cp, beeya J, bee-yan Mb, peean Sa, peeyin Sb (chercheran E, tyirtyirran RMb, jirtyirran RMd, see <i>fingers</i>) { birik Yb}
hand, back of	banuth /banudh/ punoo E (also <i>back</i> , <i>back-bone</i>)
hand, palm of	yida yeadda E (also <i>sole of foot</i>)
handsome	galnya yiyirr /galnya yiyir/ kalnya eer E (see galnya <i>good</i> , <i>beautiful</i> + yiyir <i>man</i>)
hang (to)	wuma /wuma/ wumma E
happy	galnya /galnya/ calnya E (see <i>good</i>)
hard	bakorra or dakorra tuc-co-ra E (also <i>tough</i>)
hard-headed (child)	bakorra buka [ˈbakɔːra ˈbuːkʌ] /bagora-buga/ H, [bakɔːra buka] FM, [nyakata buka] LP
hasten (to)	birra- /bira/ purri Cb, pir Cb (kuck iar ro Rc (see <i>come</i> and <i>go away</i>))
hate (to)	nyunu- nynnuck E
hatred	bida marreda birdah meraeda E
have (to)	deyuwenerrk deh-uye-nerrk E
hawk	wanmirr /wanmir/ wanmir E (also <i>eagle</i>)
hawk, common	bitjina /bidjina/ pittyinna RMb, RMd
he	see text, section 3.3.3

head	buka /buga/ pō-ko Cb, poko Ct, bookco E, [ˈbuːkʌ] /buga/ H, bukko J, bo-coo Mb, bo.ko Rc, boko Rd, boko RMb, RMd, boko Sa, po-ko T, boorkoo TH, [buka] LP, KB (mwongery Sb)
head, back of	undima undema E (compare <i>twig, hooked</i>)
headband	marrangguling /marangguling/ murrunggulling RMb, RMd (also <i>net worn around forehead</i>)
healthy	yorta itjumatj yota-eet-ya-mite E (<i>not sick</i>)
hear (to)	ngarr- ngarrnhang (present, past) ngarrnhak (future) ngarrnhatjak (future continuous) nawrnack E, ngaruijak J, ngarnhung RMb, RMd (see also <i>listen</i>) {Th, Woi, Woi}
hearing	woda ngarrnhu woadta-arnoo E
heart	1. dipa /diba/ tīppa Cb (also <i>chest</i>) 2. burra poora E, bor.rer Rc 3. ngangwurra ngūngwura RMb
heat	1. datjidja daideja J, tī-check Cb, teetchit E, ditchach J (also <i>hot</i>) 2. natatj nataty RMb, RMd
heat, great	dung(g)udja daididja turneja daideja Ls (see dungudja <i>big, great</i>)
heaven	1. yurratha /yuradha/ uradah E (also <i>clouds, sky</i>) 2. galnyawoka /galnya woga/ ngal'nya wuk'ka J, galyan woka GB <i>happy land</i>
heel	mugudjina /mugudjina/ moogoodyana E (also <i>foot, track of foot</i>)
hell	mathiwoka muth'a wukka J <i>bad land</i>
her	see text, section 3.3.3
here	daya /daya/ daya E (also <i>this</i>)

hey!	de te Cbs (<i>hullo</i>)
high	djirrungana /djirungana/ gerunguna E (see <i>long, tall</i>)
high water	dunida tuneda E (possibly dungudja big)
hill	1. yula /yula/ yōōl-la Cb, in ger ner-yale le Rc (see <i>mountain</i>) 2. narraga nurruga E
hill with trees	walu wa-al-ow E (also <i>leaves of trees</i>) { wolantha Yb }
hill without trees	dubirr touv-vir E
him	see text, section 3.3.3
hip	1. menu meynoo E (perhaps related to munu leg, thigh) 2. dingerra ting er rer Rc
his	see text, section 3.3.3
hiss	djaini(t) jayinit E
hit/strike (to)	1. nyini- /nyini-/ nyinin (present, past) nyina (imperative) nyiniak (future) nyinidhan (reciprocal, <i>fight</i>) [ˈnjɪnɪn] /njinin/ H (yin nin Rc, see <i>beat</i>) 2. nato natto Cbs
hold (to)	muma- /muma/ mumma peytuma E (perhaps muma and baitun across) mummagana J (perhaps muma and gana(tj) over) (see also <i>get, take, catch</i>)
hole in ground	mithidha /midhidha/ mithitha Ct
honesty	galnya /galnya/ kalnya E (also <i>good, beautiful, happy, sweet, nice</i>)
honey	balmi /balmi/ balmi Mb <i>grog, bees, etc.</i>

honeysuckle	berruga /beruga/ bêrooga R Mb
hooked twig for extracting grubs from trees	andima /andíma/ undēma Cb
hope	imigo emeego E
horse	1. garrkadanuk /gargadanug/ corkitarnook Ls, cock-er-a-nook Mb, kul ker tar noke Rc, karakaternook Cbs 2. yarraman /yaraman/ [ˈyɑrɒmən] /yaramen/ H, yarra-man Mb [yæramən] FM { Wb yaraman }
host	gowoya kowoia E
hot	datjidja deet-yit Mb, day did jer Rc, daideja L (also <i>heat</i>)
house, home	gundja /gundja/ goon-dja Mb { Wdj guundji }
how	1. wanhalum wannhalum R Mb 2. yugudhum yugudhum R Mg
how (quantifier)	bandola bāndōla Cbs (<i>bāndōla wollikthia</i> ‘How fat he is’ Cbs)
hungry (to be)	mulanmuk moo-lān-mook Cb, mul-an-mutch E, mulanmuk GB, mil-an-wich Mb, mo lau meet Rc { mulinmi Yb }
hungry, very	dung(g)udja mulanwitj turneja malunwick Ls
hunt (to)	1. -nyanuk /-nyanug/ attached to the noun as goal of the hunt, e.g. banányanuk <i>hunt for possums</i> , from bana <i>possum</i> 2. anadjamirr un ud jer meer Rc 3. birra- /bira/ birrima E (see go away/leave (to))
hunt in trees (to)	wawalu /wawalu/ wawallu R Mb, R Md
hunt on ground (to)	mumulwa /mumulwa/ mumulwa R Mb, R Md

hurt (to)	(y)itjumatj / <i>(y)itjumatj/</i> e-eet-ya-mite E, iteumite E (also <i>sick, miserable</i>)
husband	winyan banayirr winyanbunayir RMb, winyanbūnayirr RMd (bunyanwood E, see banayirr spouse), (yeyir Ct, he yer e Rc, see yyirr man)
hush!	gokwil koquil! Cb { goka Yb}
hut	manu / <i>manu/</i> mano (marnoo) Lc, mano Ls (mia-mia Ma), mar-noo Ma (also <i>camp</i>), mar <i>ner</i> Rc (marler Rd, is probably an error) (manung RMb, RMd <i>bark hut</i>)
I (ergative)	ngatha / <i>ngadha/</i> ngāā-ta Cb, nguthoo J, nguttha RMa, RMc (kal-nung-a E)
I (nominative)	nga / <i>nga/</i> nga Cp, [ŋɑ] / <i>ŋɑ/</i> H, nar Rc, -nga RMb (ngē-ni Cb, ngeni Ct, Cp, probably ngini, nyini my)
I don't know	1. wana wūn-na Cb, wanna Cb 2. belmain belmain H 3. ngai ngai RMb (see <i>know (to)</i>) 4. ai, yorta-nhan ai yoort-at naan Ct (<i>I don't know, I didn't see</i>)
I lie	ngadjin nart tchin Rc (see yotadjin perhaps)
ibis	baipadjerruk paipādjerook Cb
ice	yungaba yingaba E (also <i>sleet, snow, frost</i>)
(in	ina ina E (also <i>into</i>) This may indicate that the locative case was marked by the genitive suffix -in .
industrious	u to...um er lud Jer me Rc (unreadable)
infant	guthupka / <i>gudhbuga/</i> goodapka E (also <i>child, children</i>)
innocence	yeta ying yetta yeeng E
insects	bamanebala puminebla E (also <i>ant, greenhead</i>)

instep	banu /banu/ bun-noo E (related to <i>back</i> ?)
it	see text, section 3.3.3
itch	borra /bora/ bor.rer Rc (see <i>skin eruption, scratch (to)</i>)
jaw	1. gong(g)a kōnga Cb 2. dalgena talgena E
jealousy	doworro tow-wor-row E
joint (cigarette)	dhonga /tonga/ tonga E (also <i>smoke</i>)
joy	galnyadji kaalmeirgee E (from <i>galnya good</i>)
jump (to)	1. yarrka- /yarga/ yarrkan (present) yarrkabak (future) yāārkobuk Cb, yar.re.kon Ra, yarkabük RMb 2. ganbina- /ganbina-/ kun bin ner Rc (see <i>arise</i>)
kangaroo	1. gaiyimarr /gayimar/ kāi-i-mer Cb, kyemir E, koyeemar Ls, kie-mir Mb, ky-e.mer.re Ra, ki e mer re Rb, RMd, kyema Sa, kyemery Sb, keimeer SM, ki-e-me T (ky e mer re Rc, <i>big kangaroo</i>) 2. dantjutkupna /dandjudgubna/ tanjutcoopna Ct, tanjutcoopna E, tanjip-goopna ED 3. wotogoa wortogoa Cp
kangaroo, red	barra /bara/ pūrra Cb, burra RMd (burra RMb <i>kangaroo</i>) [ba[a] [bara] LT
kangaroo-rat	1. barrinuda barrinūda Cb { parre Wb } 2. ngarrnuda ngarringurra Ct, arenewtha Ls, ngurnuada RMb, RMd
kangaroo with young one in pouch	nharrebula gaiyimarr nhurrebula kaiimir RMd
kick (to)	garrin /garin/ currin E, kurrin E

kidney	walitja /walidja/ walitya E (also <i>fat</i>)
kidney fat	mamila mam er le Rc {Wb mambulin <i>your kidney fat</i> } (see <i>lungs</i>)
kill (to)	1. bati- /badi-/ batim (present, past) par tim Rc (see also <i>to spear</i>) 2. dati- /dadi-/ datin (present, past) tüttim RMa, tuttain RMb 3. gunyamgan gūnyumgan RMh (anchninya E, maybe be related to nyini-strike)
kilt	ngorra ngōreh RMb, ngôreh RMd (also <i>tassels worn by men</i>)
kind, kindly	gowola kowola E
kingfisher	nurnnamamdatba nurnnamamdatba RMb, RMd
kiss (to)	dhomi- /dhomi-/ dhomin (past, present) tummin E, thumē RMb, RMd, tome min Rc (also <i>dear, love (to)</i>)
knapsack	beltjula belshula Ls
knee	1. yurrnga eōringa Cb, urnga E, yor-en-o Ra, yare <i>ren</i> o Rb, u reng o Rc, yong (also <i>sun, kneecap</i>) 2. yukun yukûn RMb, RMd
kneecap	yurrnga urnga E (also <i>sun, knee</i>)
knife	nyatjpa /nyadjba/ [ˈnʲatʲpʌ] /njadjba/ H
knocked down, he	yungi- /yungin/ [yʊŋɪn] /yʊŋin/ H (see yunga throw)
know (to)	ngai- ngaikun (present, past) ngaina (imperative) ngai koon Cb, oikkun E, ngaina J

knuckle	djirrtjirra /djirdjira/ choochooran E (also <i>finger</i>)
koala	1. gurrburr /gurbur/ gŭrbur RMb, kŭrbur RMD 2. dhakurramutja thakuramŭtya RMh
kookaburra	1. wigilupka /wigilŭbga/ wig-il-ŏp-ka Cb, wigilooſka Cr 2. durrdjilapka /durrdjilabga/ tooljeelupka E, dŭrdyulapka RMD, dŭrdyulapka RMB
lagoon	batha /batha/ bāartha Cb, patho SM
lake	moirra /moyira/ moera E, moira J, moy.e.rer Ra, moi e rer Rb (also <i>sea</i> ?)
lame	(y)itjumatj /((y)idjumadj/ + part of the body e.g. eet-ya-mite dorcoya bornu E, <i>lame in the right arm</i> (see <i>sick, hurt</i>)
land	woka /woga/ (also <i>earth, ground, country, district</i>)
land after flood	dhoniga /thoniga/ thōniga Cb
large	dung(g)udja /dung(g)udja/ dunngidya RMb, RMD (also <i>big, much</i>)
lark	dhadadada dhuddadudda RMb, RMD
laugh (to)	garri- /gari-/ garrin (present, past) garribak (future) kāribok Cb, ka-ar-in E, kārebak RMb, kar rin Rc karebak RMD
lazy	marralatjamatj /maraladjamadj/ murrālāityamooch Cb, mo-ra-leit-ya-mit E, mur er lud jer me Rc, marrilatchimut Ls (also <i>tired</i>)
leaf	walu wāla Cb, walou E (dawaru <i>leaves</i> RMb, RMD) (also <i>leaves of trees, hill with trees</i>)
leaf, dry	yalka /yalga/ yal-ca Mb (see <i>tea</i>)
lean (thin)	walibala walibulla RMb, RMD (compare walitja <i>fat</i>)

least	(y)inga inga Ls (see <i>little, small</i>)
leave (to)	witedja gana witedja ganin (present/past) witechā gunin E (compare ganatj over and mumagana to hold)
leave behind (to)	witedja gowidja(k) witechā kawitchuk E (see gowidja behind, after)
leave off (to)	witedja banga witechā bunga E
left (side)	wamuya warmooya E
leg	1. munu /munu/ mōōnna Cb, moono E, munno J (also <i>thigh</i>)
leg, calf of	1. dun-ga tone gur Rc, tunga E, tut-en-ga T 2. dhau tow Ra, tow Rb, towl Sa (see <i>thigh</i> , and compare dhauwadhen trousers)
lend (to)	doma- /doma/ domun (present) domak (future) tomoon Cb, tomak Cb
less	iyamdu eamdoo E (possibly related to <i>little, small</i>)
letters	yileta yiletta Cr (probably from English <i>letter</i>)
liar	1. yambeldain /yambeldain/ [yambəldain] GB, FM {Wdj} 2. madjila madjila MB
lie (a)	ayapka aiāpka Cb, i up ker moon Rc, yeth.up.ker Ra gammon , ny.up.ker Ra gammon , i up koo mut Rc gammon (see also ngadjin I lie)
lie (to)	ayanda- ayandak (future) ngeni andaik Ct <i>you lie</i> .
lift (to)	butmama bootmama E

light	yinya /yinya/ yannah E, yanya J, yinya RMb, RMd (moo-lā-wa Cb, see <i>grave</i>)
lightning	1. djirrngawa(n) /djirrngawa(n)/ tchiringāwa Cb, kernyawa Ls, tyirngawan RMb, jirngawan RMd {see Woi, Thagung, djiringu } { djiringawik Yb} (possibly plural -n) 2. matjang(g)ala mugingala E, majangula J
lip(s)	wurru /wuru/ worro E, wor-o T or-ro Rc, wuru RMb, RMd, wor-o T, woroo TH (also <i>mouth, beak, bill</i>)
lip, lower	gulinba kolinba E (see <i>under</i>)
lip, upper	bakinba buckihbra E
listen (to)	ngarr-wu- /nga(r)-wu-/ ngarwul RMb, RMd (see <i>to hear</i>)
litter (of animals)	natarрати naturute E
little	(y) ingarnika / (y)ingarniga/ in-yā-nook Cb, eengarneka E, ingarnaka Ls, ingarni-ka Mb, neen gar e ner Rc (also <i>small, very; few</i>)
little way (away)	dirrantji teer run jie Rc (see <i>near</i>)
live (to)	bangadhona banga donow E, thonow J (see <i>alive</i>)
liver	borrtha pōtha Cb, boata E, bōrtha RMb, bōrtha RMd (ben.mer.re Rc, is an error for <i>river</i>)
lizard	lilisa lileesa E (probably from English <i>lizard</i>)
lizard, jew	wowala woala RMb, RMd
lizard, small	bombala bombala RMb, RMd
locust	djana dyunna RMb, junna RMd
long	djirrngana /djirngana/ chirungāna Cb, gerunguna E, dyurrungunna RMb,

	jurrungunna RMd (see <i>high, tall</i>) (djingaga H, <i>long way away</i>) {tjurungWb}
long ago	baparra-banarrak pappura-bunnarak RMb
long way away	1. burraya /buraya/ poor r Rc (also <i>far</i>) 2. djinyaka [ˈdjɪnɑ:kʌ] /djingaga/ H, [djɪnyɑ:kʌ] Hrm
look (to)	1. nha- /nha-/ nhawul (imperative) nhatjelma (imperative emphatic) nhawul RMb, RMd, [natjelma] /nadjel-ma/ H ([nanj] MB) 2. mirra- /mira-/ mirra (imperative) mirramna (imperative emphatic) mirra Cb, mirra Cr, miramna GB (mirramna! Cb, <i>look here</i>)
lose (to)	baparra maltitj buppera malteech E
lose the way (to)	maltitj daborra malteech tabarra E (see dabora road)
loud	wowatja wo-o-at-a E
louse	muna /muna/ mōōnna Cb, muna RMb, moonna RMd, [ˈmʊnʌ] /muna/ H, [muna] KB, LP (also <i>flea</i>) {munya SE Aust}
love	dhomadhomanga damadanganga E (perhaps <i>I love dhomi-nga</i> , reduplicated for emphasis)
love (to)	dhomi- /dhomi-/ dhomin (present, past) tummin E (also <i>kiss (to)</i> ; see <i>dear</i>)
low	1. guli goolit E (see <i>down, under</i>) 2. dhulu see <i>low-sounding, short</i>
low-sounding	1. dhulundurra too-un-dura E 2. gukun cocoon E (also <i>silent, silence</i>)
low-water	nanadja nar, nunardya E

lungs	mamfla mamille Cb, manara E
mad	1. gonémudj kornāi rmooch Cb 2. grong-grong grong-grong FM {Wdj gwaang-gwaang <i>silly</i> (cf. giwang <i>moon</i>)} 3. maligan maligan KB {Wdj <i>mad, insane</i> }
maggot	dutula /dutula/ tutula RMb, RMd (see <i>blowfly</i> ; <i>runny nose</i> ; <i>bee</i>)
magpie, black	biniya bēnia RMb, bēnia RMd
magpie, common	gorrngany ko-ōrn-gain Cb, korngañ RMb
maid	dhadhiwa /dhadhiwa/ tatewa E (see <i>woman, young</i> ; <i>virgin</i>)
make a noise (to)	bayi- by it Rc (see <i>sing</i>)
make believe	gemenen [gemənən] FM (perhaps from Pidgin <i>gammon</i>)
make (to)	1. bunyma buyuma J, buñma RMb, RMd 2. manma maa-maa Cb (moinma E <i>to make a net</i>) 3. ganda /ganda/ kanda E (see ganda <i>sew</i>)
make war (to)	nguni- kyunin E
male	1. nalnga/nhalma nalnga RMg (nhalma, nungea RMb) (<i>male animal</i> , cf. nhunguy <i>father</i>) 2. iyirr /iyir/ eēr kuduptka E (see iyir <i>man</i> , guthapka <i>child</i>)
male infant to 2 years	yarrka /yarka/ yarka Cr (also <i>child, children</i>)
mallee-hen	lowan /lawan/ laua RMb, RMd (also <i>scrub turkey</i>), { lowan Wb}

- man 1. **iyirr** /iyir/
iyir RMb, iyirr RMd, yēyir Cb (yeyir Cr, *man 20 years*),
[ˈyɪˌyar] /yiar/ H
2. **molwa**
[molwa] FM (moanit Sb man, Aboriginal (*white man*; also
bury, grave, burial ground, dead man, corpse; see *young man*
molwana))
- man, Aboriginal 1. **(y)enbena** /(y)enbena/
ēn-ben-na Cb, yeen bun ner Ra, yenben Sa, yen-benon Mb,
e:n-ben-na Cb, yenbena Ct, ainbootha Ls (yeyir Ct, yeeyir J,
yay-yer-er Ra, yay yare re Rc, yayaree Rd see *man*) (eer
nalagoona E, see *man* and **nalnga** *male*) (also *ancestor*)
2. **beyogal**
beowkal Cp (**beyogal** is probably a plural form)
- man, clever 1. **ngarraga** /ngaraga/
ngaraga RMb, ngar'aga RMd
2. **ngana**
[nyana] MMCl [ŋana] PJ, FM
- man, dead **molwa** /molwa/
moa Sb (also *grave, bury, burial ground, corpse, white man*)
- man, old 1. **dhaman(g)a** /dhamán(g)a/
thow-mūnga-a Cb, thowmunga Cr, towmunga Ct, tumunga E,
tum mun ger Rc
2. **dhamayirr** /dhamayir/
dhamiyirr RMb, RMd
3. **bitja**
bitja FM (see *possum* – also used by men of their mates. The
use of this word derives from reference to a big old possum
as an old man.)
- man, very old **djirribang** /djiribang/
dyirribung RMb, jirribūng RMd
- man, white **molwa** /molwa/
moo-lā-wa Cb (also *dead man, grave, burial ground, bury,*
corpse)
- man, young 1. **dindarra**
tindarga E (malniga E, see *boy*)
2. **molwana**
mow en ner Rc
- man, young (about 16 years) **banúpka**
pan-nōōp-ka Cb, panoopka Cr (see *brother*)
- manna (sweet tree juice) **gan-go** /gan-go/
kāango Cb, kaango Ct {**ganok** Yb}

many	dung(g)udja /dung(g)udja/ tarngaga E (see <i>big</i>)
many, a great; plenty	ngutan /ngutan/ outan E, nguttun J, ngu-tun Mb
marry (to)	diyawa- daerwak E (teerwach E, <i>marriage</i>)
master/boss	marratha mar-ar-tha Mb (probably from English <i>master</i>) (see <i>boss</i>)
masturbation	djilany dyillun RMb, jillun RMd
mate, male friend	baitja [bitja] FM (see <i>man</i> , <i>old</i>)
me	nganin ngannin RMc (for use see section 3.3.1)
meat	djitiga /djidiga/ jetuga ED [ˈdʒitəgʌ] /djidega/ H, get-to-ga Mb [dʒitəgʌ] KB, FM, VJ (wol.lit yer Rc see <i>fat</i>)
melon	gokoma /gogoma/ kōkoma Cb <i>calabash</i> (see <i>water-trough</i>)
meteor	giya ky-ya E
milk	1. ngununy ngōōn-oo-in Cb 2. bunmin bunmin E
milk thistle	bakobany /bagobany/ [bagobanj] /bagobanj/ H (see <i>thistle</i> , <i>vegetables</i>)
miserable	(y)itjumadj /(y)idjumadj/ eetyamuch E (see <i>sick</i> , <i>hurt (to)</i>)
mist	yanggawa /yanggawa/ youngona E (see yanggawa <i>fog</i>)
mister	mita /mida/ mitta Cbs (from English <i>mister</i>)
Mitchell's cockatoo	dinap /dinab/ tin-nup Ra
money	batjelan /badjelan/ [batjəlan] /badjelan/ H [batjəlan] GB, VJ, KB, LT
moon	1. yurri /yuri/ yōōr-e Cb, yoore Cp, yoreh J, yora RMb, RMd (also <i>fresh</i>) { yuri Yb}

	<p>2. <i>yurringgadja</i> yooringeja Ct, urn-gu-ya E, eu.rong gudjer Ra, eu rong gud jer Rb, u.rone gud jer Rc, urongudjer Rd, yorn-gadya RMe, yongadya Sa, yongwida Sb, yourug-kud-a T</p>
moonlight	<p><i>yurringguk</i> yōōrunguk Cb</p>
mopoke	<p><i>gokok</i> /gogog/ kōkōk RMb, kōkōk RMd, koko Sb (also owl)</p>
more	<p><i>nuwa</i> noowa E</p>
morning	<p>1. <i>barrpirripna</i> /barbiripna/ barperipna Cb, berbirripna E, berpirra RMe (compare <i>morning star, tomorrow</i>)</p> <p>2. <i>yawa</i> /yawa/ yawa RMb, RMd (also <i>dew</i>)</p>
morning star (Venus)	<p><i>barrpirrdhila</i> berperdhilla RMe</p>
mosquito	<p><i>betha</i> /bedha/ betha Cb, bē-tha Cb, betha Mb, b̄̄tha RMb, bētha RMd {<i>pita</i> P1}</p>
mother	<p>1. <i>ganha</i> /ganha/ kān-a Cb, [ˈgɑnʌ] /gɑnʌ/ H [gɑ:nʌ] Hp̄mc, kana Sb, cana Ls</p> <p>2. <i>napu</i> /napu/ napo Cp, napo Ct, nar poo Rc, narpoo Rd, naapoo E, RMd</p> <p>3. <i>nhanha</i> /nhanha/ nhannha RMb (also <i>female</i>)</p> <p>4. <i>bapa</i> /baba/ [bɑpɑ] GB, FM {N Vic}</p>
mother, step	<p><i>dhamala napu</i> dormala naapoo E (compare <i>dhamala nhanha</i> <i>grandfather</i>, and <i>dhama</i> <i>old</i>)</p>
mother-in-law	<p><i>bayadi</i> bayude E</p>
mountain	<p><i>yulila</i> /yulila/ yool-la E, uleela Ls, yale ler Rc, yoleler Rd, u-ler Ra <i>mountains</i> (see <i>hill</i>)</p>
mouse	<p>1. <i>naitjunga</i> naitchōōnga Cb</p> <p>2. <i>batha</i> bartha Ct</p>

moustache	mondjarring /mondjaring/ mōndoorin Cb, monderng E (also <i>beard</i> ; see <i>chin</i>)
mouth	1. wurru /wuru/ wōōr-roo Cb, wōōrroo Cb, woorro Cp, wooroo Ct, whir-roo Mb, worru Sa {SE Aust} (also <i>lip(s)</i> , <i>beak</i> , <i>bill</i>) 2. gata /gada/ kutta RMb, RMd, katra, cutta J, kotta Sb (kullue TH)
much	dung(g)udja /dung(g)udja/ tun-gi-dja Mb (also <i>big</i> , <i>great</i> , <i>large</i>)
mud	mupan /muban/ mōppan Cb, muppun RMb, RMd
murmur	lotjpa ganya /lodjpa ganya/ loidpoit carna E (see <i>lotjpa speak</i> ; and <i>ganya call</i>)
Murray River	dung(g)ula /dung(g)ula/ tongula Sa, tōngala Cb, fingola Ls, tong-a-la Ma, tong-ala Mb, tong oo-ler Ra, tong-oo-ler Rb (see <i>river</i>)
muscle	wutenya woodenya E
mushroom	yalamba /yalamba/ yal-arm-ba Mb
musket	bumiderrega pome.rid.de ger Rc (also <i>gun</i>)
mussel	1. ratju rāityo Cb 2. yanga yanga Ct {WB nangerr} 3. didlinga diddling-er RMb, RMd
my/mine	nyini /nyini/ nea-ne A, ngeni Cp, ngieni Ct, nea-ne Mb, nea-ne A, nyeenee RMa, nee-nee Ls, nyee-nee J, ny-ne E, ngi Cbs [nyini] [ngieni] Hpmc
myall (tree)	ngorrtja /ngordja/ ngōrtya RMd
nail, finger	delpan /delban/ teelpun E, tale. <i>bin</i> Rc (see <i>claw</i> , <i>toe</i>) (probably plural -n)
native cat	banmetpa /banmedba/ punmāitpa Cb, būnmētpa RMh
native cat, black and white	miya miya RMb, RMd

native cat, yellow and white	barratjba burraty-ba RMb, RMd
native companion (broлга)	gunugudhula /gunugudhula/ koo-noo-gōō-thoo-la Cb, goonorgoodula E, kunugudula RMb, kunugudhula RMd
navel	gakadha /gagadha/ kākaga Cb, kagadha RMb, RMd
near	1. girrandjamik kirānjamik Cbs (see <i>little way (away)</i>) 2. dik dukuburraya teeke tookobria E
near, here	delaya [ˈdelɑɪʲɑ] /delaia/ H
near-sighted	mothatj /modhadj/ moadite E (see <i>blind</i>)
neck	1. wanurra /wanúra/ wanōra Cb, wunora E, wunnora J 2. diyng teen Rb, de en ing, de ing Rc, teeye TH (cut.tar.re Ra, see <i>shoulder</i>)
neck, back of	wanawurra /wanawura/ wunnawurra RMb, RMd
nephew	gaiga gaiga E
nest, bird's	mana /mana/ mānga Cb, maana E, manung RMb, RMd (also <i>camp</i>)
net	dil tiel E { Wb tyel}
net worn around forehead	marrangguling /marangúling/ maranōōlin, marangōōlin Cb, murrungilling Ct (also <i>headband</i>)
net (to catch in a)	ganya baltjerra canya pultera E (see <i>ganya tame, pacify</i>)
net, fishing	1. baltjerra bālyire Cb, pulterya E 2. wulwirra woolwya Ct 3. djekoga jegoga Ls

	4. bopa bupa Ma
net (to make)	manma moinma E (also <i>make (to)</i>)
never	yorta /yoda/ yotta E (also <i>no, not, don't, wrong</i>)
new	wotha /wodha/ wortha Cb
nice	galnya /galnya/ (or galyan) kalnia Ls (also <i>good, beautiful, happy, sweet, honesty</i>)
niece	gaka gaga E
night	1. dhala /dhala(ng)/ thalla Cb, thalla Cp, thulleng J, thalla RMb, RMd (bona Sb) (also <i>darkness</i>) 2. muluk-muluk /múlug-múlug/ mōōlok-mōōlok Cb (see <i>dark</i>) 3. dutamutal dootmootal E (compare duta stars)
nightjar (nocturnal bird)	yerradhang yerraddhung RMh
nit of louse	dimin /dimin/ timmin RMb, RMd
no (negative)	1. yorta /yoda/ itta B, yōōr-ta Cb, yoorta Ct, yotta E ['yo-ta] /yoda/ H, yot-ta Mb, er Rc, yota RMb, uta Ls [yotʌ] GB, LP, FM (also <i>not, don't, wrong, never</i>) 2. yaliba /yaliba/ yalliba Cp
not (negative)	gathagana /gadhagana/ (also <i>don't; see beat not</i>)
noise	wowatjumatj wo-at-u-myte E
noise of copulation	dhango dhango dhungo-dhungo RMb, RMd
none	mulan /mulan/ moolun E, mullun J (also <i>empty; see hungry</i>)
nonsense!	yathapka /yadhabga/ yathāpka Cb

north	gowa /gowa/ cow-wa E (same as <i>south</i>)
nose	gowu /gowu/ kōwo Cb, kowo Cp, kowo Ct, cowu E ['go:wɔ] /gowo/ H, cowa J, cow-oo Mb, cow Ra, cow Rb, cow.o Rc, kauwu RMb, RMd, kow Sa, kow-o T, kowyo TH { kawu Bung} { gowo Yb}
nose, a running	dutula /dudula/ [ˈdʊtəlʌ] /dudela/ H, [dʊtəla] GB, LP (see <i>maggot</i> ; <i>blowfly</i>)
nostril	gowudhulu cowrotolo E (perhaps gowu <i>nose</i> and dhulu <i>low</i>)
now	1. garra kara Cbs 2. dinyuwinya tinyoowinya Cbs (<i>directly</i>)
number over 5	dausan towsan Cr (cf. English <i>thousand</i>)
nurse	manarre gagaga manahrey gargaga E
oak (tree)	waulula waw-lulla RMd
oar	banburra bun-burra E (see <i>wooden spade, dig</i>)
occiput (part of skull)	wanurra /wanura/ won.nor er Rc (also <i>neck</i>)
ochre, red	buthoga /budhóga/ putthōga RMb, putthōga RMd
off, be	birra-ma /bira-ma/ broong a ma E (see <i>go away/leave (to)</i>)
old	1. dhama /dhama/ thama Cb, ta-ama E (see <i>man, old</i>) 2. morrida mōrida Cb
on	wamadaman wummadumun E (also <i>upon</i>) { wamathan Yabula-Yabula; RMi, 'on top'} { wamathan Yb}
one	1. (y)iyawa /(y)iyáwa/ yeal B, iāwa Cb, iawa Ct, eya E, yayah ED, iawa Cp, e-ow-a Mb, yow-er Ra, yow wee Rc, yower Rd, yower Rd, iaawa RMb, you-a T yee'yur J (see also <i>other</i>)

	2. iyung /íyung/ ĩoong Cb, ioong RMb, enea Sa (possibly related to (y)iyawa <i>one</i>)
one-eyed	(y)iyawama yowama E (perhaps (y)iyawa <i>one</i> plus ma <i>eye</i>)
other	yiya /yiya/ yeeya J
our (dual incl.)	ngalngun /ngalngun/ ngaloongun RMa, ngalngun RMc, ngalungun RMb
our (dual excl.)	ngalan /ngalan/ ngullan RMa, RMb, ngullun RMc, ngallan J
our (plural incl.)	nyuwandan /nyuwandan/ ngooandan RMa, nyuandan RMc, nyoondun J, newn-dun E
our (plural excl.)	nyanan /nyanan/ nyânan RMa, nyanun RMc, ngannan RMb
outside of	ngangu /ngangu/ gnagoo E <i>without</i>
over	ganatj gannach E (but see also muma gana <i>hold</i> , and witedja gana <i>leave</i>)
overtake (to)	gowi(t) coweet E
owl	gokok /gogog/ cocok E (also <i>mopoke</i>)
pacify/tame (to)	ganya- /ganya-/ canya E
paddle (canoe)	gagatja /gagádja/ kagadya RMb, RMd (also <i>canoe pole</i>)
pain	yitja /yidja/ yíttya Cb (elumite gelairow E; elumite is perhaps an error for (y)itjumatj <i>sick</i>)
pair; two	bultjubul /buldjubul/ pooltoobool E (see <i>two</i>)
paper	betjatjba /bedjadjba/ [betjatjɣʌ] /bedjadjba/ H (from English <i>paper</i>)
parroquet	dekula /degula/ dēkula RMb, dēkula RMd (dēkola Cb, parrot)
parrot, rosella	dudjutja /dudjudja/ tojinja Cb, toa-jit-ya E, dudūtya RMb, dūdūtya RMd (elumite gelairow E)

parry (put aside)	djitapa tritepa E
past (passed by)	witjin ngata wityin-gnutta E
pathway	1. dana /dana/ dana RMb, RMd (also <i>road, footpath</i>) 2. daborra /dabora/ (tub ar er Rc, tabora Cb, <i>road</i>) (also <i>footpath</i>)
paunch	barrthagana /bardhagana/ bŭrthuguna RMd
peewee	djilowanga /djilowanga/ tyilloanga RMb, jilloanga RMd
pelican	1. gadin /gadin/ kā-tin Cb, kardin E, <i>kar.tint</i> Ra 2. dhaiyilipnha /dhayilipnha/ dhailipnha RMb, RMd
penis	nakin /nagin/ nut-kin Ra, nut kin Rb, nuck keen Rc, nukkin RMb, RMd (also <i>tail of animal</i>)
perhaps	1. (y)umbat yūmbat RMg (y)imbat Cbs <i>I believe...</i> 2. -djin /-djin/ for use of this suffix see section 3.6.1 of text.
perhaps not	yortadjin yotadyin RMb (yotadyin RMb <i>perhaps</i>)
person	1. wamayirr wama-eer E (probably related to yeyir man) 2. gumina [gumina] MB
person, Aboriginal	(y)enbena /(y)enbena/ ēn-ben-na Cb (see <i>man, Aboriginal</i>)
person, peculiar	gungena gungena NM (see <i>mad</i>)
pierce (to)	gota /godal/ gotta E
pigeon, bronzewing	mungubarra /mungúbara/ mūngoburra RMb, mūngo'burra RMd (mongōbara Cb, moongubera E, mongoobra Sa <i>pigeon</i>)
pigeon, wild	daponga /dabonga/ taponga SM

pinch, to	birra- p̄irra Cb
pipe-clay	darrunga /darrúnga/ tarnga RMb, RMd, tarúnga Cb
pitch (to)	yunga /yunga/ yung-a RMb, yoonga RMd (also <i>throw</i>)
pity	bu buh E
plain (topography)	natja /nadja/ nāitya Cb, na-at-ya E, natcha Ls, nat yer Rc
plain, small	natjiga /nadjiga/ nāityiga Cb
planet	duta /duda/ tōōr-ta Cb, toorta Cp, toorta Ct, tuta E, to-tar (see <i>comet</i>) Ra, toota Sa, druttra, truttra Sb, tut-ta T, {Gen Vic durd- } (also <i>star, comet, constellation</i>)
plant, a	danam turnum E
plate (of bark or porcelain)	watjerra /wadjera/ waichēra Cb (see <i>tortoise, back shell of, emu's breast</i>)
platypus	1. wanagapipuwa wannagapippua RMb 2. berranga beranga E
play (to)	daya- /daya-/ dayabak (future) taeyabuck E
pleasant to smell	galnya yitiga /galnya yidiga/ kalnya-yiteka E (see <i>good</i>)
pleasant to taste	galnya dhatjinerra /galnya dadjineri/ kalnya-taginera E (see dhatji <i>eat (to)</i>)
pleasure	bang(g)arra bome(t) bungura baumet E
plenty	(ng)utan /(ng)utan/ ōtan Cb, ngotan Ct, hoo.tun R, ao-ter Rc
plover, spur-winged	demilborr(i)nya /demilbór(i)nya/ demilbōrinya Cb, timmulbornya RMb, RMd (puppy-ja E, perhaps baipadjerruk <i>ibis</i>) (see borinyu <i>wing</i>)
pluck (to)	gina ginna E

poison	dhandel /dhandel/ [ˈðandəl] /dandel/ H {Wb thandel <i>poison, evil, magic</i> }
policeman	1. barramadain /baramadayn/ [ˈbærʌmʌdaɪn] /baramadain/ H, [bærəmədɪn] FM, MB, VJ, KB {Wdj <i>one who grabs people</i> } 2. ganidjmen /ganidjmen/ [ˈɡanɪdʒmən] /ganidjmen/ H, [ɡandʒi] MB (from English <i>chain-man</i>)
poor man	molwa /molwa/ mul low er Rc (see <i>man, white; grave, corpse</i>)
poor thing	dhoma /dhoma/ [ˈðoːme] /dome/ H (see <i>dear</i>)
possum	1. bana /bana/ pūnna Cb, pūn-na Cb, punna Cr, bunna Ls, pan.ner Ra, pun-ner Rb, pun ner Rc, punner Rd {cf. pana <i>ringtail possum</i> WbWb} 2. batja /badja/ or baitja baitya Cp, baitya Ct, putya E, bitcha ED, [ˈbatʃʌ] /badja/ H, boit-ya Mb, buttya RMb, buttya RMb, RMd, pipca SM (see also <i>man, old</i> and <i>mate</i>) 3. wileya /wileya/ wile SB [wɪleya] KB [wɪlɔ] FM {cf. wilay Wdj}
possum cloak	1. bigang(g)a /bigáng(g)a/ bigānga Cb 2. gunya-winyarr koonya-wiinya Ct (possibly woman's cloak, see winyar <i>woman</i>)
possum, ringtail	bintjarrama /bindjaráma/ piinjarāma Cb, bindyarama RMb, RMd
pour (to)	djeka- /djega-/ jekalma E
prawn	gunuga /gunuga/ kōōnooga Cb
pregnant	buliyana /bulíyana/ bullēana RMb, bullēana RMd (see buli <i>stomach</i>)
pretend (to)	ngangiyandha ngangeandha RMb, RMd
pretty	galnya /galnya/ kalinya Cbs (see <i>good</i>)
private parts, female	bununy /bununy/ burnin E (also <i>vulva</i>)

private parts, male	nakin /nagin/ knuckin E (also <i>penis, tail of an animal</i>)
pull (to)	galka molka /galga molga/ kalka molka E (see galka drag)
pup/little dog	bakidjiga /bagídjiga/ pokkídjiga Cb (also <i>dog, little</i>)
push (to)	dowama- dowamatj (present) taumite E (also <i>shove</i>)
quail	borrkirr /borgir/ börkir RMb, bôrkir RMd, porcurit E, bôrinyer Cb (probably an error for <i>arm</i>)
quarrel (to)	lotjpadhan /lodjbadhan/ loidpadun E (lotjpa speak + -dhan reciprocal)
quench/put out (to)	djekalma /djegalma-/ jecalmuck E (see djeka pour)
quick	wanyawala wunyuwula RMb, RMd
quick! hurry!	birratj /biradj/ purkeja E, pur-ech! pur-ech! Mb, purri Cb, pir Cb, ['biretj] /biredj/ H (see <i>go away, leave</i>)
quick, be	lowithima low-ith-e-ma Mb
quondong, fruit	malinyodo malinyodo Cb
rain	gorrkarra /gorgara/ kor-a Cb, korkora Cp, Ct, corcora E, gorcora E, ['gɔrkʌrʌ] /gorgara/ H, goerkura J, cor-cora Mb, ko-ker er Rc, ko.u rer Rc, koerer (or) konergun Rd, gôgurra RMb, gôgurra RMd, kôo-kokora Sa { garokor Yb}
rainbow	nirranoma /niranóma/ nairanôrma Cb, nir-nom-a Mb
raise/lift (to)	ganbina- /ganbina-/ gunbinama- E (also <i>rise, jump</i>)
rat	barreta /bareta/ bāreta Cb
rat, water	1. wowa wōwa Cb 2. wolithola wollithola Ct

rattle (to)	ditorro dittauro E
red	1. mawamatj /mawamadj/ mōrmuch Cb, moamaty RMb, RMd (to line.min er Rc) (see mawa blood) 2. bathayik baāthaiik Cb
reed	daku taako E (kar.mer Ra; see <i>reed spear</i>)
reed necklace	djagoga /djagóga/ jagōga Cb (moo go gan Rc, see <i>reeds</i>)
reeds	mukuga /muguga/ mōōgoo-ga Cb (moo go gan Rc, <i>reed necklace</i>)
reptiles	dutula /dudula/ tutula E (see <i>nose, a running; bee, maggots, blow fly</i>)
request (to)	minamda /minamda/ minnamda RMb, RMd (also <i>ask (to)</i>)
respect	galnyan yakurrumdja kalnyanyn yacoorumya E (galnyan <i>good</i> , perhaps also related to yakarumdja <i>come here</i>)
retain (to)	nang(g)adi- narngadimma J
revenge	yapun ngutun wunun yappun gnutun wunun E
rib	gangurr /gangur/ kāāngoort Cb, carng-oor E
right (good)	1. galnyan /galnyan/ kalnirrin RMb, RMd (see <i>good</i>) 2. banga /banga/ banga E (also <i>correct</i>)
right (side)	dorrkoya dorcoya E
rise/get up (to)	ganbina /ganbina/ cunbina E (also <i>raise, jump, lift (to)</i>)
river	1. dung(g)ula /dung(g)ula/ (also <i>Murray River</i> : dungala RMb, tongula J, tongala Sb, tonnla SM) (kiela E see <i>Goulburn River</i>) { kiewra Pallanmidang} 2. banmirra ban.mer.re Rc (see <i>steep, valley</i>) (ben.mer.re Rc <i>liver</i> , misprint for <i>river</i>)

river, a branch of	borrinyu /borinyu/ bōrinya Cb (also <i>arm, wing, shield</i>)
river creature	banyip [banyip] LP, MB (see also danatban bunyip)
road	daborra /dabora/ tub ar er Rc, tabora Cb (also <i>footpath, pathway</i>)
roast (to)	dhurra thurra RMb, RMd (also <i>cook (to)</i>)
rogue/bad person	mathimna /madhímna/ mattimna Cb (also <i>bad</i>)
roguey	mathi /madhi/ mudta E (also <i>bad</i>)
root	gona goner E (also <i>snake</i>)
rope	wuthul wuthul /wudhul wudhul/ with il with il Rc (also <i>string</i>)
rough	guta(t) coor-tat E
round	ngawitpa /ngawidba/ ngarwīdpa Cb (see <i>about, squinting</i>) { ngawika around Yb}
run (to)	yama /yama/ yamin (present, past) yama (imperative) yambak (future) yum ner Rb, yan nun Rc, yunnun Rd, yimma E, yemmeh J, yam.ner Ra, yumma RMb, RMd, yambok Sa (see <i>walk (to)</i> ; <i>go along (to)</i>)
run away (to)	birramdja biet-tum-ja E (see <i>go away/leave (to)</i>)
run from (to)	yamin nani(t) yain naynit E
run to (to)	yamin nonu(k) yamin noynuck E
salt	balmitpa /balmidba/ balmidpa E (also <i>sour</i> and balmi bees, honey)
same	nawiya nawia J
sand	1. maloga /malóga/ malōga Cb, [ˈmɑ.lɔːgʌ] /maloga/ H, maloga Mb [məlogʌ] GB (also <i>sandhill, sugar</i>)

	2. watjaga /wadjaga/ watyaga RMb, wajâga RMd
sandhill	1. maloga /maloga/ malôga Cb, malooga Cr, maloga Lc, maloga Ls, mal lo gar Ra, mul lo gar Rb (maloga SM ‘sandhill near Echuca’) (also <i>sand, sugar</i>) 2. wamwadjâ maloga wammudyamulloga RMb (compare wamwadjâ gully)
sap	walapkami(t) wallupcumit E
scorpion	dila /dila/ tilla RMb, RMd
scratch (to)	1. yirrka /yirga/ yeerka E, yerka RMb, RMd 2. borra /bora/ boyrer Rc (also <i>skin eruption, itchy, smallpox</i>) 3. djinbak chînbok Cb
scream (to)	yirri- yirritj (present emphatic) yeerite E
sea	moirra /moyira/ moera E, moira J (also <i>lake</i>)
search for (to)	yamutj /yamudj/ yamuty RMb, yammooty RMd
see (to)	nha- /nha-/ nhan, nhanha (present, past) nhatjuk (future) nhawul (imperative) naan Cbs, nao Cbs, now-oo Ra, noul Rb, ar.run.nun Rc, nâit-chook Cb, naan Cb, nana E, now.ul Ra, nhanha RMb, RMd, nhawul RMb, now.ul Ra (bamo J) {Gen Aust nga/nya/nha } (also <i>look</i>) (ngaarin Cbs) (for a full list of the forms of this verb, see section 3.6.4)
seed	butjangin /budjangin/ pudyangin E (also <i>eggs; testicles</i>)
semen	bula /bula/ bulla RMb, RMd
send (to)	wotja- /wodja-/ wotjan (present, past) wōtyan RMb, wotyán RMd

sense/intelligence	gabrra /gabra/ [ˈgabrʌ] /gabra/ H (probably from Australian Pidgin cobra , gabarra <i>head</i> , Dixon et al. 1990:198)
sew (to)	ganda- /ganda/ gandinda (present 3SG) kandinda E (see <i>make</i>)
sexual desire	djilu /djilu/ dyillu RMb, jillu RMd
shadow	molwa /molwa/ mōlwa Cb (related to molwa <i>corpse</i> , etc.)
shadow of tree	molwa /molwa/ mulāwa RMb, mulāwa RMd (see <i>man</i> , <i>white</i>) { mula Watha, Woi }
shag (bird)	wongonga /wongónɡa/ wongōnga Cb
shake (to)	rokima djuwet rockeyma duet E (perhaps from English <i>rock him</i>)
shame	gulan [gulan] FM
sharp edge or point	bagadalin /bagadalin/ buggadhulliñ RMb, RMd (bugadillan E, <i>sharp</i>)
sharp of hearing	ngarrnung kngarnung E (see ngar- <i>hear (to)</i>)
she	see text, section 3.3.3
sheep	1. wulupna /wulubna/ [ˈwuːlʊpna] /wulubna/ H (from English <i>wool</i>) [wɔːlʊpna] Hbj 2. djambak /djambag/ jumbaga Ls, jum-buc Mb, [djambak] KB { Wb tyambak }
shield	1. malka /malɡa/ māl-ka Cb, marka Cp, murka E, mull TH (mālka Cb, <i>club shield</i>) (mülka RMb, RMd <i>waddy, shield</i>) { Gen Vic } 2. monda mōnda Cb 3. borrinyu bornyir RMb, RMd (also <i>arm, wing, branch of river</i>)
shine (to)	1. walwunmutj /walwunmudj/ walwunmuty RMb, walwûnmuty RMd 2. ngalmin ngalmin J

shingleback (lizard)	mutirr /mudir/ mutirr RMb
shirt	borrinyupna /bor(i)nyúbna/ borinyōōpna Cb (see <i>arm</i>)
short	dhulupka /dhulúbga/ thoolōōpka Cb, toolupka E, thuluka RMb, thoolooka RMd (see <i>low</i>)
shoulder	gatirr /gadir/ kātin Cb, guttir E, cuttir J, cut tar re Rb, kut-te Rc, kuttir RMb, RMd
shout (to)	1. ganya- /ganya/ kanyandiga E {Wb karnda- } (see <i>call</i>) 2. yarrka- yargandeia E (compare yarka jump)
shove (to)	dowama- dowamatj (present) toanmite E (also <i>push (to)</i>)
shrimp	gando kāndow Cb
shrub	wanagaga wunugaga E (also <i>bush</i>)
shut, close (to)	napa /naba/ nappa wooroo Cbs (hold your tongue/shut your mouth)
sick	(y)itjumatj /((y)idjumadj/ it̄chyoomuch Cb, ait-u-mut Mb, ittyumuty RMb, ittyoomuty RMd (see yitja pain ; also <i>hurt (to)</i> , <i>miserable</i>) (to.tel.er Rc – see dutula running nose, stinking)
sick in the belly	(y)itjumatj buli /((y)idjumadj buli/ eet-ya-mite booley E (also <i>stomach, empty</i>)
sick in the chest	(y)itjumatj dipa /((y)idjumadj diba/ eet-ya-mite tippa E (see <i>chest</i>)
sick in the head	(y)itjumatj buka /((y)idjumadj buga/ eet-ya-mite booko E (see <i>head</i>)
sick in the limbs	(y)itjumutj dunga (eet-ya-mite) tunga E (see <i>leg (calf)</i>)
sick with pain	(y)itjumatj-nga /((y)idjumadj-nga/ eet-ya-mite-nga E (probably <i>I am sick with pain</i> ; see nga I)
side	guwalnila kualnilla E
silence	gukul coo-cool E (see guka die)

silent	gukun cocoon E (also <i>low-sounding</i>) (see guka die)
since	baparra bopera E (see <i>long ago</i>)
sinews	mawo ma-wow E (perhaps mawa blood)
sing (to)	1. bayiya /bayiya/ bayeet E, bā-i-ya Rmb, bayiya RMb, bâ-ee-ya RMd, bye.e.er Ra, vy-it Rc (<i>make a noise</i>) 2. ganya /ganya/ kun ne ger Rc (jas-muc Mb) (see <i>call, shout</i>)
sister	1. dhatjiba /dhadjiba/ (thajuba Ls, taigipa Sb) (also <i>brother, younger</i>) 2. gitjika /gidjiga/ ko-je ker Rc, kidjeka E, ghatcha ED, djetja FM (gīd-dit-ka Cb, <i>elder sister</i>) {Wb, Tjap, Bung djatji elder sister } (perhaps <i>younger sibling, see girl, 10–14 years</i>)
sister, elder	1. dhatjip /dhadjib/ thaigip Cp, thaigip Ct, dhaigip Rmb (see <i>sister</i>)
sister, step/in law	1. marra murra E (also <i>brother, step/in law</i>) 2. wanya wunyer E
sister, younger	1. bugika /bugiga/ poo-gika Ct, pugika RMb 2. dhatjip thā-jip Cb (also <i>sister, elder</i>) 3. banyuip baanyooip Cp (see <i>brother, younger</i>)
sit (to)	ga- /ga-/ ganhu (present) gatjubak (future) gawul (imperative) karno Cbs, kār-choo-bok Cb, kartyoobok Ct, karnu E, kartyoobok E, garwul RMb, RMd (cun-be-ha Mb, kar noo Rc, <i>sit down</i>) (for a full list of the forms of this verb, see section 3.6.4)
skin	1. wata /wada/ wata E, wata J, wot ter Rc {Pallang wada } 2. wowatja wo-wāid-ja Cb

skin eruption, itchy	borra /bora/ boora Cr (also <i>smallpox, scratch (to)</i>)
sky	1. yurratha /yuradha/ uradah E, yuradha RMb, yorradha RMd, yurata (also <i>cloud, heaven</i>) 2. dutala datala Sb (perhaps means <i>night sky</i>) (ky er Rc, kyer Rd, given for <i>sky</i> are very similar to gaiya <i>father</i> and may have resulted from confusion over the concept 'Our Father in Heaven'.)
sleep (to)	na- /na-/ nanha (present) nanyubak (future) nawul (imperative) nāān-yoo-bok Cb, nanyoobok Cp, nanyoobok Ct, nyneybuck E, nunnha RMb, RMd, now-wul Rc, nowul Rd (also <i>dream (to)</i>)
sleepy	ngalyen ngulyēn RMb, ngulyēn RMd (wy-yeen E)
sleet	yungaba yingaba E (also <i>frost, snow, ice</i>)
slow	1. dharramdjaba thurramdyuba RMb, RMd 2. gowit koweit E (see gowidja <i>after, behind</i>)
small	(y) ingarrna / (y)ingarna/ inyanook Cb, ying-arna RMb, RMd
small, very	(y) ingarrnika / (y)ingarniga/ ingarnika Cb, eengarneka E
smallpox	1. borra /bora/ (bor.rare Rc skin eruption) (boyrer Rc <i>to scratch</i>) 2. gutha /gudha/ (coo-ter Ra, see <i>sore</i>)
smell/odour	bang(g)anun /bang(g)anun/ banganun E
smell (to)	minga- /minga-/ mingan (present) minga E, ming-a RMb, RMd, ming-un Rc (<i>sweet</i> – probable meaning: <i>sweet-smelling</i>)
smoke	dhonga /dho(wa)nga/ thanga Cb, thōng-a Cb, toungea E, [ˈðoŋa] /dɔŋa/ H, thoor-nga Mb (see also <i>tobacco</i>), thōanga RMb, thōanga RMd (also

	<i>joint, cigarette</i> { thuwung Colac, Wannon, Warr}, { thuu Pl}, { thun Gipp}, { dhonga Yb}
smooth	dapu tapoo E
snake	1. gona /gona/ gō-na Cb, gona Ct, kona Sa, kona Sb (also <i>root</i>) { gono Yb} 2. dakindjuwa /dagindjuwa/ takinjoa Ct, duckindua E ([ˈdakenjua] /dagenjua/ H <i>snake</i> , probably brown) 3. durrel [ˈdʊrəl] /durel/ H (dorng.er Rc – probable misprint for dhonga <i>smoke</i>)
snake, black	mingurrinya /mingurinya/ mingurinya RMb, RMd
snake, carpet	mamel /mamel/ mamell RMb, RMd
snake, imaginary giant	dunatpan /dunádpan/ toonátpan Cb (see <i>bunyip</i>)
snipe	djito drittoe E
snow	1. yingaba yingaba E (also <i>frost, sleet, ice</i>) 2. mayabil my er bil Rc
sodomy, to commit	dhanadhan /dhanadhan/ dhanadhan RMb, RMd (dhani- <i>copulate</i> + dhan <i>reciprocal</i>)
soft	yita /yida/ ye-e-ta E (also <i>tender</i>)
some	gathan garthun J
son	1. guwiga kōōiga Cb (yaka Sb, see <i>child</i>) 2. nadarrip nadrib E (see bapu <i>nadarip</i> aunt)
son, step	wewin waywin E
son-in-law	gononyway gonnonyway E
sore, a	1. gutha /gudha/ koot-tha Ct (coo-ter Ra, <i>small pox</i>) (see <i>wound</i>) {Wb kuthuk }

	2. warrunitjega war-u-need-je ga E
sorry	dangalatj-djamitj /dangaladj-djamidj/ dunngalatj-dyumity RMB, jumity RMD (tung a lite ja meet E sorrow)
sound	wowatjumatj wo-at-u-myte W
sour	balmitpa /balmidba/ balmidpa E (also <i>salt</i>)
south	gowa /gowa/ cow-wa E (same as <i>north</i>)
spade, wooden	banburra pūnbora Cb (also <i>dig, oar</i>)
spark	bopiya po-pee-a E
speak (to)	1. lotjpa /lodjba/ lotjpa (present, past) lotjpatj (present, past continuous) lotjpatjak (future continuous) lotjpa (imperative) lotjpadhan (reciprocal, see <i>quarrel (to)</i>) laidpeiya E, ['lɔ:tjpa] /lodjba/ H, loipachuk J, loit-poit-cha Mb, lō-it-pa Cbs { lot(j)ba - Yb} (a full list of the forms of this verb is found in section 3.6.2) 2. ganya- kun yun dite Ra, kun yin Rb, yun-nin Ra (see <i>call (to); shout (to)</i>)
spear (to)	batim(a) /badim(a)/ baatim, baatin, baathima Cb (see also <i>to kill</i>)
spear	1. marre mare TH { mariyu Yb} 2. nanaptakurr nunnupterkuer TH 3. nala nullar TH (see nala nala waddy) 4. marrina murrinner TH
spear, emu	goyirr /goyir/ kōyir Cb (koyir Cp <i>war spear</i>) (quoio eer-e Rc <i>bark spear</i>)
spear, fishing	1. mula /mula/ mōōla Cb

	2. wanaga /wanaga/ wunnaga RMb, RMd (wunnuga Ct <i>war spear</i>)
spear, lever	yulwa /yolwa/ yōlwa RMb, yōlwa RMd (also <i>throwing stick, woomera</i>)
spear, reed	gama /gama/ kar.mer Rc, kaama Sa, kā-ma Cb, kama Cp, kama Ct, gaumur Ls, ca-ma Mb, kama RMb, RMd, karmar TH (see other types of spears; <i>arrow</i>)
spear/throwing stick	womerra /womera/ wommera Cr {Wdj wamarr }
spear, with glass	gowiko coico Ls
spear, wood	djikurra /djigura/ dyikura RMb, dyeekoorā RMd, jikola Ls, jēk-kor-a Cb <i>war spear</i>
spirit	mulana moolana (<i>gone to God</i>) E
spirit, the good (God)	baimi(ya) /baimi(ya)/ baimia J (see <i>extensive</i>)
spit (to)	1. dhupan /dhuban/ tōōpan Cb, thupen RMb, RMd 2. mulan /mulan/ mol lun Ra, mol lun Rb, mo lan Rc (see <i>spittle, none, empty</i>)
spittle	mulandjika /mulandjiga/ mulanjicka E (see <i>spit</i>)
splinter, a	malnha /malnha/ malnha RMb, RMd (also <i>sting (to)</i>)
spouse	banayirr bunyanwood E (<i>husband</i>) winyanbunayir RMb (<i>husband</i>)
spring (season)	werra werra E
spring (water)	bomin /bomin/ bomin E
squinting	ngawitpa /ngawidba/ ngarwitpa E (see <i>about, round</i>)
squirrel, flying	birranga /birānga/ pirānga Cb, birranga RMb, RMd (beer.rang er Rc, <i>squirrel</i>)
stand (to)	dana- /dana-/ ta-ana E, dana RMb, RMd

stand up (to)	ganbina /ganbina/ kun bin Rc (see <i>arise, rise, get up, lift, raise, jump</i>)
star	duta /duda/ tōōr-ta Cb, toorta Cp, toorta Ct, tuta E, tot-tur Rb, to-ter Rc, to-tar (see <i>comet</i>) Ra, toota Sa, druttra, truttra Sb, tut-ta T {Gen Vic durd- } (also <i>planet, comet, constellation</i>)
stare at (to)	nhatjel- nhattyillim RMb, RMd (see <i>see</i>)
start (to)	1. birra bree E (see <i>go away/leave (to), hasten</i>) 2. yama-ditepa yimma tidepa E (compare <i>yama run</i>)
stars	dutan /dudun/ tutūn RMd, tutuñ RMb
steal (to)	bitha- /bidha-/ bithanda (present – third person singular) ba-a-tun E, bidhanda RMb, RMd, <i>bad</i> un-rilte Ra (cot ther gur ner Rb is probably a misunderstanding of gathagana <i>don't</i>) (u.lo. <i>mer</i> Rc)
steep	banmirra (see <i>river, valley</i>)
stem	wuwan /wuwan/ wurwan E
stick	djikurra /djigura/ tratyola Sb (also <i>twig for possum hunting; see spear, wood</i>)
sting	gakadja /gagadja/ gagadya E
sting (to)	malnha- /malnha-/ malna E (also <i>splinter</i>)
stink	dutula /dudula/ to.tul.er Rc (see <i>runny nose</i>)
stink (to)	ditjumurra- /didjumura-/ tigīnmoora Cb (see <i>stinking</i>)
stinking	ditjumurra /didjumura/ te-jim-er-a E, didyumura RMb, didyoomura RMd
stomach	buli /buli/ boo:l-i Cb, botha Cp, bōōli Ct, pole-ling Ra, pole-ling Rb, bul leen Rc {Gen Vic buli, bili } (also <i>belly</i>) (bartugana E, see batuguna <i>bowels</i>)
stomach, empty	(y)itjumatj buli /(y)idjumadj buli/ eetumut boolie Ls (see <i>sick in the belly</i>)

stomach full	boganamutj boc-on-an-wich Mb (see <i>belly full, full</i>)
stone	1. iyoga e-ōr-ga Cb, eorga Cp, iorga Ct, eeoga Sb 2. bunga būnga RMb, būnga RMd, bo-ren-a T (compare <i>hunting club</i>) { punga Pl }
storm	banga gorkorra barnmu coorcoora E (see <i>wind, rain</i>)
strike (to)	nyini- /nyini-/ nyinin (present, past) nyina (imperative) nyiniak (future) nyinidhan (reciprocal) (see <i>fight</i>) ngīnyuk Cb, ninna E (see <i>hit</i>), nyinna RMb, RMd [nyinin] FM (nyinin H, <i>hit</i>) (yin nun Rc, <i>beat</i>) nyinnin RMc, nyinniak RMc
string	wuthul wuthul /wúdhul wúdhul/ wōōthool-wōōthool Cb (also <i>rope</i>)
strip (to)	gomniya komnia E
strong	dung(g)uludja /dung(g)uludja/ tongueyuluga E, dunngolōdya RMb, dunngolōdya RMd (see dungudja <i>big</i>)
stupid	uwalumi(t) ow er loo meet Rc (also <i>fool</i>)
stubborn	bakorra buka [bakora buka] FM (also <i>hard-headed</i>)
suck a wound (to)	nota /noda/ nota RMb, RMd
suck as a child (to)	bama /bama/ bama RMb, RMd
sugar	1. maloga /maloga/ maloga ED, maloga Mb (also <i>sand, sandhill</i>) 2. djalma [ˈdjalma] [ˈdjalˈma] /djalma/ H
sulky	gaiwadan ky wud un Rc
summer	wanala /wanala/ wanalla E (also <i>autumn?</i>)
sun	yurrnga /yurrnga/ yōōr-ing-a Cb, yooringa Cp, yooringa Ct, eeluga E,

eu.rong.ar Ra, eu.rong.ur Rb, u.raeng.er Rc, uronger Rd,
yōrngā RMb, yōrngā RMd, yongā Sa, yongya Sb, yourug-ga
T {Wdj yirri, yirra} (also *knee, knee-cap*)

sunrise	yeyurringal yeyu-rurnyal E
sunset	gukalga gugalga E (also <i>twilight</i>)
sunshine	dhadjowa dhūddyauar RMb
swallow (to)	yaiya /yaya/ yāīya Cb
swamp	gakan /gagan/ cacān E
swan	1. danapna /danabna/ ta-eelipna E, [danapna], [daŋapna] GB, [ˈdɑŋɑpnɒ] /danabna/ H, turnupnha RMb, RMd, danapna sb 2. malya /malya/ māāl-ya Cb (see <i>goose</i>) {malai Yb} 3. yowa yow wer Rc
swan, cock	bayamal nhunguwi /bayamal nhunguwi/ baiamal nungea Rmb (see <i>father</i>)
swan, hen	bayamal nhanha /bayamal nhanha/ baiamal nhana Rmb (see <i>mother, female</i>)
sweet	1. galnya /galnya/ kāāl-in-ya Cb (also <i>good, beautiful, happy, nice, honesty</i>) 2. dhunadhatj thunathaich Ct (probably dhuna and dhatj- eat) (bognnditeya taginera E is based on the word dhatj- eat) (ming un Rc probably means <i>sweet smelling</i>)
sweet drink	borren por.ren Ra
sweetheart	botingan bot-tin-gen Mb
swelling	yegu yegu E
swim (to)	yarrwa- yarrwa (imperative) yarrwin (present, past) yarrabak (future) yāribok Cb, yarrabuck E, yarwa RMb, RMd, yarrabok Sa,

	yar-ro.wun Rc, <i>yarowuro</i> (or) <i>yaroween</i> Rd (mi-buc Mb) { Woi, Thagung, Tjap <i>yawa</i> }
tail of animal	1. nakin /nagin/ nukkin RMb, RMd, nukkin E (also <i>penis</i>) 2. gukatja /gugádja/ koogāija Cb, kukkadya RMg
take (to)	muma /muma/ muman (present, past) muma (imperative) mommon Cbs, mummun RMa RMb, mumi B, mumma E, mumma RMb, RMd, mum mer Rc (also <i>get, hold, catch</i>)
talk (to)	lotjpa /lodjba/ loitpa Ct, loit.but Rc loidpeiya E, loatbaty RMb, RMd (also <i>speak (to)</i>)
tall	djirrungana /djirungana/ chiroongōōna Cb, dyurrungunna RMb, jurrungunna RMd (see <i>long</i>)
tame	nambaga /nambaga/ numbuga E
tassels, worn by men on belts	ngorra /ngora/ ngōra Cb (also <i>kilt</i>)
taste (to)	bawa /bawa/ bāawa Cb, bowa E, baw-wa E
tea	yalka /yalga/ yelka ED, [ˈyalka] /yalga/ H, yal-ca Mb (also <i>leaf, dry</i>) {Wdj yalgu <i>dry</i> }
teal (small duck)	naikidjiga /naigidjiga/ naikidjiga B
tear, teardrop	dunhin dotnen E (see dunhu <i>weep</i>)
teeth	dirran /diran/ dīr-ra Cb, dirran Cp, dirran Ct, dirrun E, derrara Ls, deria Mb, teer-run Ra, teer-run Rb, dirrūn RMb, RMd, tirra Sa, derra Sb, terrung TH
teeth, double or back	gung(g)a koonga E
teeth, single or front	dumatpa /dumadba/ toomadpa E
tell (to)	ngarri- ngairiaty RMb, ngariety RMd { ngari- Yb}

temples	bukoyel buckcoyel E (perhaps related to buka head)
ten	1. bultjubul biyin /buldjubul biyin/ bulchiba bee'yun J (see <i>two hands</i>) 2. wuta djirrtj woota-plegty E (all fingers)
tender	yita /yita/ yeta E (also <i>soft</i>)
terror	djiyaman deeyamun E (also <i>fear, afraid</i>)
testicles	butjangin /budjangin/ bud-jar nin Ra, bud jur <i>nin</i> Rb, budyanga RMb, budjang'a RMd (also <i>seed, eggs</i>) ([gara] LT {Wdj})
that one (quite close)	ngangaburrayawin /ngangaburayawin/ ['ŋaŋa,brawin] /ŋaŋbrawin/ H
thaw, the	dong(g)u tongu E
their	see text, section 3.3.3
them	see text, section 3.3.3
there	nhalaya /nhalaya/ nhullai RMb (gungaia E)
there (farther)	dangaburaya /dangaburaya/ dungubbera RMb
there (farther still)	ngangaburaya /ngangaburaya/ ngungabunnarak RMb, [nganaburaya] Hmt, [ngangaburayawin, ngangabrawin] Hpmc
there (quite close)	dendjiwoga ['denjiwo:kʌ] /denjiwoga/ H
there (exclamation)	unya oonya Cbs
they	see text, section 3.3.3
thick	dako(t) tuccord E
thigh	1. munu /munu/ mōñ-na Cb, moono E, mone-noo Ra, mone noo Rb, mone no Rc, monno Sa (also <i>leg</i>) 2. djirrimna, ngura djirrimna /(ngura) djirimna/ teer r re men en ner Ra, ngurgatyirrimna RMb, ngura jirrimna RMd

	3. dhau towo Ct (see leg, calf of and compare dhauwadhen trousers)
thin	itja eta E (possibly related to itjumatj sick, but see also walitja fat)
think (to)	nangarrna nangarna E
thirst	dhanga /dhanga/ thanga RMb, thâng'a RMd (see <i>drink</i>)
thirsty	dhangam thāān-ga Cb, tang-um E, thang-um RMb, RMd (see <i>drink</i>)
thirsty (to be)	dhawanya- dhawanyak (future) towan-yuc Mb
this one here	deya-win /deya-win/ [ˈdɛ:win] /dewin/ H [deyawin] Hmt [deewin, deyawin] Hpmc
thistle	bakobany /bagobany/ bucer rer bun Ra, [bakobany] /bagobany/ H (also <i>milk thistle</i> , <i>vegetables</i>)
threaten (to)	birramdja boorumja E (see <i>go away/leave (to)</i>)
three	bultjubul iyung /buldjubul iyung/ bol-tu-bol ī-oong Cb, balabool ia Cp, boltubol ioong Ct, pooltoobooleer E, kingermin ED, bul-u-bul-eil Mb, pult tche well e Rb, put yer wul e Rc, petcheval enea Sa, bulchiba-yeiyur J
throat	djiya /djiya/ chee E, dyia RMb, RMd
through	bupu boopouh E { bupugi Yb}
throw (to)	yunga /yunga/ yungan (present, past) yungak (future) yūnga Cb, younga E, ung-a Mb, yoongan RMa, yungak RMf (see <i>pitch (to)</i>) { Watha yunga } (For a full list of the forms of this verb, see section 3.6.2.)
throw forcibly (to)	muni- /muni-/ muna (imperative) munin (present, past) munadj (present emphatic) muniak (future) munna RMb, RMd, moonin RMa, munin RMf, muneak RMf,

- moonaty RMa (for a full list of the forms of this verb, see section 3.6.2.)
- throwing stick
1. **yulwa** /yulwa/
yōōl-wa Cb, yoolwa Ct, mutta E, yova (Sa?) (also *woomera*, *lever spear*)
 2. **womerra** /womera/
wammara Sa (also *spear*)
- thrust (to)
- ningninata**
ning-nin-utta E
- thumb
- nhanha biyin**
nanga E, narn-bee-ing (cf. *finger*) Ra, narn being Rb, nhanha RMb, RMd (see *nhanha mother* ; *biyin hand*)
- thunder
1. **munarra** /munara/
mōn-er-a Cb, murnera Cp, monera Ct, munura E, manena Ls, mun-e-ra Mb, munnara RMb, RMd { Wb *marndarr* }
 2. **dhugerra munarra** /dhugera munara/
thooggera-munnara EA
- tide
- bipkurra**
bibcora E
- tie (to)
- 1 **guna**
kūnne Cb
 2. **mondala**
mondulla E, *knot-tie*, *to*
- time of first menses
- durrgagimatj**
durguggimuty RMb, RMd
- tired
- marralatjumatj** /maraládjumadj/
murralāītyamooch Cb, murraleitumuch E, mur er lut yer *nit* Rc, murralatyamaty RMb, RMd (also *lazy*)
- (to
- dorra**)
dora E The allative case marker **-ung** or **-uk** should be used on nouns, e.g. **dungul-ung** *to the river*)
- tobacco
- dhonga** /dhonga/
thoor-nga Mb (also *smoke*), dgil-la Mb (see also *djila bark*, *dry*)
- today
1. **imilang** /imilang/
īmmil-ang Cb (e-na-sang Mb)
 2. **gananggurr** /gananggur/
kanangor Ct, kannanngur RMb (also *day*) { **ganawa** Yb }
- toe(s)
1. **delpan** /delban/
dril-punt E, taypa Sa, daybon Sb, dale bun Rc (see *claw*, *nail*, *finger*) (probably plural **-n**)

	2. natjurrak /nadjurag/ nat-choo-roke Ra, nut <i>tchu</i> roke Rb, na-at-yir E
together	yapaneyepuk [yapaneyepuk] FM
tomahawk	1. (ng) ana /(ng)ana/ ngana Cp, ngana Ct, ngna-nai Mb, ā-na Cb, aanu Ls, ar.ne Rc 2. datjimba /dadjimba/ dütyimba RMb, RMd
tomorrow	barrpirrik /barbirig/ part parick B, bār-per-ik Cb, parparik Ct, bar-par-ic Mb, {Wb perrpuk } (also see <i>morning, dawn</i>) {bari-bari Yb} (perhaps related to <i>since</i> and <i>long ago</i>)
tomorrow, the day after	1. yiya barrpirrik /yiya barbirig/ e-re-baparic Mb (see <i>other; tomorrow</i>) 2. yiarrak gananggurr /yiyirak gananggur/ yiyirrak-kanangar Rmb (probably <i>another day</i>)
tongue	dhaling /dhaling/ thāl-ling Cb, talhng E, tal.lin Ra, tal-lin Rb, tal leen Rc, saleng Sa, tallye Sb, tallan TH {Gen Vic}
tonight	barrpirr /barbir/ bat beer re Rc, <i>batbeere</i> Rd (see <i>morning</i>)
tortoise, back shell of	watjerra /wadjéra/ waichēra Cb (also <i>plate, emu's breast</i>)
tortoise, large	bayadherra /bayádhera/ baiädthera Cb
tortoise, small	watjerrupna /wadjerúbna/ wadjerōpna Cb (see <i>tortoise</i>)
touch (to)	bamung(g)a /bamung(g)a/ bamunga E (see <i>feel</i>)
tough	dakorra duc-cora E (also <i>hard bakora</i> ; see <i>hard-headed</i>)
towards	nilang gunya /nilang gunya/ neelang-goonya E
track of foot	mugudjina /mugudjína/ moo-goo-jīn-na Cb
tree, box	1. dharrnya /dharnya/ thāunya Cb, tharmia Ls tar-en-you Ra, tar ren yon Rb (see tainya Sb <i>tree</i>) (see <i>tree, white box</i>) 2. liluma lil loo mer Rc

tree, dead	dauwirr /dauwir/ dauwir RMb, dau-wir RMd
tree, fork of	miturra /midura/ mit-ura Mb
tree, gum (red)	1. biyala, bala /b(iy)ala/ bēul Cb, bela Ls, bâla RMd, bala E, pyala Sa, baa-la Mb, py-o-ner Ra, py.o.ner Rb (pay.ar. <i>lare</i> Ra, <i>white gum</i>) (puck-ar-dog Ra) {GenVic: piyal Wb; bial Woi} 2. muta mo-ter Rc (see <i>wood</i>)
tree, hollow	darrdabala durdabulla RMb, RMd
tree, honeysuckle (Banksia)	berruga /beruga/ bêruga RMd
tree, leaning	gandjima kandyima RMb, kândjima RMd
tree, myall	ngorrtja /ngordja/ gnôrtya RMd
tree, native cherry	barrtja /bardja/ bârtja Cb, barttya RMd
tree, oak	waulula waw-lulla RMd
tree, pine	ngamarra /ngamára/ ngamāra Cb, ngummara RMd
tree, red gum	biyala /biyala/ (see <i>tree, gum (red)</i>)
tree, tea-tree	djiyalna /djealna/ jealna RMd
tree, wattle	ganga /ganga/ gânga RMd
tree, white box	dharrnya /dharnya/ dharnya RMd (see <i>tree, box</i>)
tree, willow, wild	djima /djima/ jeema RMd
tree, willow, growing along river	moma /moma/ môma RMd (cf. Moama)
tree, yellow box	bayuna /bayuna/ baiuna RMd
trousers	1. munupna /munubna/ moonnōpna Cb (see munu <i>leg</i>)

	2. dhauwadhen [ˈðauˠʌθən] / <u>dau</u> adēn/ H (possibly from English <i>trousers</i>)
turkey, plains	mandja /mandja/ māndya RMb, māndya RMd, mincha SM
turkey, scrub	lowan /lowan/ lōwan Cb (also <i>mallee-hen</i>)
turkey, wild	gomimebla kor-mi-mē-bla Cb
twig, hooked twig for extracting grubs from trees	undima undēma Cb (see <i>head, back of</i>)
twig used in possum hunting	djikurra /djigura/ ji-ēk-or-a Cb (see <i>spear, wood</i>)
twilight	gukalga gugalga E (also <i>sunset</i>)
two	bultjubul /buldjubul/ bathubel B, bol-tu-bol Cb, balabool Cp, boltubol Ct, pooltoobool E, bulchubal ED, bul-u-bul Mb, pultchewell Ra, pult che wele Rb, put yer wul Rc, putyerwl Rd, bultyolbal RMb, petcheval Sa, bul'chiba J { pul -Gen Vic}
two and two; four	bultjubul bultjubul /buldjubul buldjubul/ bul-tu-bul-bol-tu-bol T
ugly	mathimna /madhimna/ mutimna E, mattimna Cbs (also <i>bad</i>)
uncle	1. gang(g)aba /kang(g)aba/ kangaba E, karāngoba Cb ([gæŋkɑ] KB Joyce family word for <i>grandfather</i>) 2. wowa /wowa/ [ˈwɔːwʌ] /wowa/ H [wawa] GB, FM (also <i>brother</i>) {Gen Vic <i>elder brother</i> } (o-loke Rc, possibly from English <i>uncle</i>)
under	guli /guli/ goolee E
unkind	mogagowa mogagoa E
until	yakuna /yaguna/ yuck-koonā E
up	wuwitj wurwitch E
upon	wamadaman wummadumum E
urine	gumung /gumung/ [ˈgumwʊŋ] /gumwʊŋ/ H, gumuñ RMb, RMd

us (dual incl.)	ngalngunan ngalgnunan RMc
us (dual excl.)	ngalanan ngullunan RMc
us (plural incl.)	nyuandanan nyuandunan RMc
us (plural excl.)	nyananan nyanunan RMc, knanan E
valley	banmirra pun-ir-ra E (see <i>steep, river</i>)
vegetables as food	bakobany /bagobany/ buckubin E (see <i>milk thistle</i>)
veins	mawanya own yer Rc (see mawa <i>blood</i>)
venereal	biwa bēwa RMb, bēwa RMd (bo.neen Rc, perhaps related to bununy <i>vulva</i>)
virgin	dhadhiwa /dhadhiwa/ tatewa E (also <i>young girl (puberty)</i>)
vomit (to)	yakalam yakalum RMb, RMd, yacullum E (given as <i>puke</i> in E)
vulva	bununy /bununy/ bunuñ RMb, boonuñ RMd (burnin E, also <i>private parts, female</i>)
waddy (type of weapon)	nala nala /nala nala/ nulla-nulla EA
wait a little	garraba /garaba/ karabah Sa
wake (to)	ganbina /ganbina/ gun bin ner Rc (also <i>jump, rise, raise, lift, get up</i>)
walk (to)	ya- /ya-/ yanha (present) yanda (present 3SG) ya(rr)wul (imperative) yanyubak (future) yān-yoo-bok Cb, yanyoobok Cp, yanyoobok Ct, yarrow E, yam-ya-bee Ma, yam-ya-buc Ma, yam-ya-buc Mb, yan Rc, yarwul RMb, RMd (also <i>go (to)</i> ; see <i>go along (to)</i>) { ya Gen Aust} { yani -Yb} (for a full list of the forms of this verb, see section 3.6.4)

want (to)	dhanu- dhanuk (future) thanuk, thanyanuk Cb (nga-nook Mb, perhaps related to ngunu give)
warm	datjin deetyin E (see dadidja hot)
wash (to)	yalwel yalwell E
water	1. wala /wala/ wōl-la Cb, woolla Cr, wolla Ct, wulla E, walla EA ['wala] /wala/ H, wol-ler Rc, woller Rd, walla RMb, RMd, wollah Sa, [wala], GB, FM (warata KB) { wara Pl } 2. dhethogana thethowganna Cp
water, dirty	mapagowa /mapagowa/ muppagoa RMb, RMd
waterhole	gulpaga /gulbaga/ kōlpaga Cb, culpuga E (wal.ler Rc see <i>water</i>)
water, over the	banulu(t) pan.no.loot Ra, pun no-loot Rb (probably <i>over the river</i>)
water, this side of	dorrula tor.r.you-lar Ra, tor you lar Rb, tor.r.you lar Rb (probably <i>this side of the river</i>)
water-trough, wooden	gokoma /gogoma/ kō-koma Cb (see <i>melon</i>)
we (dual incl. erg.)	ngalnginak /ngalnginag/ ngalnginnak RMa, ngalnginnak RMy
we (dual incl. nom.)	ngalngin /ngalngin/ ngalngin RMa, RMc, -ngalngin RMb
we (dual excl. erg.)	ngalak /ngalag/ ngullak RMa, RMc
we (dual excl. nom.)	ngala /ngala/ ngulla RMa, RMb, RMc (yanun J)
we (plural incl. erg.)	nyuwandak /nyuwandag/ nyooandak RMa, nyuandak RMc, -nyuandak RMb
we (plural incl. nom.)	nyuwanda /nyuwanda/ nyuanda RMc (nyooandak RMa)
we (plural excl. erg.)	nyanak /nyanag/ nyanak RMa, RMc, -nyanak RMb
we (plural excl. nom.)	nyana /nyana/ nyana RMc (nyanak RMa) .

weak	maten muten E
weapon, type of	witj witj /widj widj/ witch-witch EA
weapons	data datta E (probably related to datin to kill)
weep (to)	dunhu /dunhu/ tunna E, dūnhu RMb, dûnhu RMd
well (water)	gulpa /gulba/ gulpa E (see gulpaga waterhole)
west	garruna /garuna/ caru-na E
wet	walupka /walúbga/ waalōpka Cb
what?	minhe /minhe/ mīnne Cb, ['mīne] /mīne/ H, minnhee RMb in-the-lay Ls (<i>what is it</i>) (also mine-ma <i>what's its name</i> H)
what for?	minhetguda /minhedguda/ minnhetgudda RMb, minnenagunna RMg, RMh, minuelaenic wunyina E
what with?	minhalda /minalda/ minnhalda RMb
wheat	wuthum woo-thum Mb
when?	1. womerriga /womeriga/ ['wōmerigʌ] /wōmərīgʌ/ H, womeriga GB, FM 2. womirr-guwirr wum'mir goowirr' RMa, wummir RMb (whamergoover yackoona E, is probably womir-guwir and yakama come) { wamingawir Yb}
where?	1. wanhal /wanhal/ wunul Ct, wunool E, woonul Ls, wanal Hrm, wunnhool RMa 2. waka /wa(r)ga/ ['warkʌ] /warga/ H [waka] Hpmc, waga RMb 3. barraba baraba ED
whereabouts?	wanhal /wanhal/ ['wʌnʌl] /wʌnʌl/ H, [wanal] Hpmc, wannhul RMb
where from/whence?	wanhin wunyin RMb (see <i>whither</i>)

where to/whither?	wanhal-matj wannhalmuty RMb
which	womigin womogin Cb [wonigemda] Hpmc
while	meyun mey-yoon E (also <i>during</i>)
whirlwind	momirra mommeera Sb
whisker	yarring /yaring/ yāring Cb (also <i>chin, beard/whisker; hair of beard</i>) {ngar-SW Vic (ngariyn Watha); yar- E Vic (yaran Gipp)}
whistle (to)	letja- lērtchooma Cb, ledtuma E, lēta RMb, lêta RMD
white	1. batjatj /badjadj/ baatchāitpa Cb, pet-tyaity RMb, RMD (see <i>paper</i>) 2. bewa be. wur Rc (perhaps English for <i>paper</i>)
white man	molwa /molwa/ mul.low.wer Ra, mul low er Rc, mulower Rd (also <i>bury, grave, burial ground, dead man, corpse</i>)
who	ngani /ngani/ ngani RMb
who for?	nganinguda nganinguddha RMb, nganinaknguddha RMg
who from?	ngani-nat /ngani-nad/ nganinnat RMb
who with?	ngani-narrak /ngani-narag/ nganinarak RMb
who? (dual)	ngani-bula /ngani-bula/ nganibula RMb
who? (plural)	ngani-nhura /ngani-nhura/ nganinhura RMb
whose (is it)?	ithal /idhál/ ithāl Cb
widow	guku-winyarr googooinga E (see <i>die (to); woman</i>)
widower	mabuka /mabuga/ mubpooka E
widowhood	mabutja /mabudja/ mapoucha E

- wife **nyini winyarr** /nyini wínyar/
nge-ni wīiny-ya Cb, ngieni wiinya Ct, wunyir E, winyar
RMb, RMd (see *my; woman*) (bun yarn ote Rc, see *banayir*
spouse)
- wild **wakeda**
wakeda E
- wild dog **baka** /baga/
buck.er Rc (also *dog*)
- wind **bang** /banga/
bāāng-a Cb, baanga E, bang.er Ra, bareng er (or) bare-ng.er
Rc, barenger Rd, bangya Sb
- wing **borrinyu** /bor(i)nyu/
boorn-u E, bōrinya Cb (see *arm; river, a branch of; shield*)
- winter **bupolga** /bubolga/
boobolga E
- wish (to) **wunyung(g)atha dayung**
wunyungutta-teung E
- with **inyabaknalyin**
enyebucknalyin E
- within **duning**
dooning E
- woman during menses **garrtabala**
kartubulla RMb, RMd
- woman
1. **winyarr** /winyar/
win-yir Mb, winyar RMb, RMd [winya] KB, FM ['winjar]
/winjar/ H
2. **bayabiya** /bayábiya/
paiābia Cb
- woman, Aboriginal
1. **winyarr** /winyar/
wīin-ya Cb, wiinya Ct, wunyer E, own yare rer Rc,
ownyarerer Rd {Wdj **inarr**}
2. **bayabiya** /bayabiya/
paiabia Ct, pyabea Sa
3. **momidjiga**
momidjiga Cp (layarut Sb)
- woman, couple **winyandjal** /winyandjal/
winyandyal RMb
- woman, old
1. **gumuka** /gumuga/
kōr-moo-ka Cb, kormooka Ct, gormuga E, kor.ro moo ker R
2. **dhama winyarr** /dhama winyar/
dhamawinyar RMb, RMd (see **dhama old**) (win.yer.re Ra)

woman, white	molwa winyarr /molwa winyar/ malawa uniar Ls
woman, young	dhadhiwa /dhadhiwa/ thāthewa Cb, dhuddiwa RMb, RMd (also <i>young girl</i> (<i>puberty</i>), <i>virgin</i> , <i>maid</i>) (now-o-ger Ra, see <i>nyauwoga girl</i>) (or.rut ter Rc, oruter Rd) (begaira E)
wombat	dhukandirra tur kun der er Rc, dhuggandhira RMh (mumyanga E, see <i>bat</i>)
women, several	winyanboga /winyanboga/ winyanboga RMb
wood	1. bitja /bidja/ biit-chā-o Cb, biityao Ct, beet yer Rc, beetyer Rd (pee-cha Mb <i>dry wood</i>) (picta B <i>piece of wood</i>) (see also <i>fire</i> , <i>firewood</i>) 2. muta mootta Sb (see <i>tree</i> , <i>red gum</i>)
woomera	yulwa /yulwa/ ulewar Ls, youlwar TH (also <i>throwing stick</i> , <i>lever spear</i>)
wound, injury	wurrinidjiga wurrinigyega E
wound (to)	gutha- /gudha-/ cutta E, kuthana RMb, RMd (goo-tan E, <i>wounded</i>) (see gutha sore)
wrist	1. gukurra /gugura/ kōōkōora Cb, coogooda E 2. wunanga /wunanga/ woonānga Cb, wo.nunger Rc
wrong	1. yorta /yoda/ yata E (also <i>no</i> , <i>not</i> , <i>don't</i> , <i>never</i>) 2. mathindhān muddhindhūn RMb, RMd (see <i>bad</i>)
yam	mayila /mayila/ māīela Cb, maiyilla RMb
yamstick	1. nanyirr nūnyer RMb, RMd { nanyir Yb} 2. gana kūnna Cb (mar-wrong Mb)
yes	ngowe /ngowe/ ngō-e Cb, ngoe Cp, ngoe Ct, gno wa E, ngaway ED, [ˈŋo:we] /ŋowe/ H, ngor-wai Mb, hor Rc, ngoowi RMb, [ngowe] GB, Fm {Wb nongwe , Wdj ngaawa , ngaa , ngaayn } { ngowe Yb}

yesterday	1. irruk-birruk iruk-biruk Cb
	2. bigauga bigauga Cp
yonder	dhamnala /dhamnala/ dhumnala RMa
you (singular, erg.)	1. nginak /nginag/ nginnak RMc, RMa
	2. nyana /nyana/ nyunna RMa
you (singular, nom.)	1. ngina /ngina/ nginna RMa, RMc, nyenna J, -nginna RMb, ngena Cp, nginna Ct, [ˈŋine] /ŋine/ H (ngā Cb, ngīa Cb, perhaps in error for nga I)
	2. nyana /nyana/ nyunna RMa, yun.nun Rc, yunnun Rd
you (singular, acc.)	ngunun ngunun RMc
you (dual, erg.)	bulak /bulag/ bullak RMa, RMc, -bullak RMb
you (dual, nom.)	bula /bula/ bulla RMc (bullak RMa)
you (dual, acc.)	bulunan bullunan RMc
you (plural, erg.)	nhurrak /nhurag/ nhoorak RMa, nhurak RMc, -nhurak RMb (noothiga Ls)
you (plural, nom.)	nhurra /nhura/ nhura RMc (nhoorak RMa)
you (plural, acc.)	nhurranan nhuranan RMc
you here??	woningenda [ˈwɔniŋendʌ] /woniŋenda/ H [woniŋenda] Hpmc [womɪŋənda] (perhaps womigin-da <i>which one</i>)
you there??	gurrwingenda [ˈgɔrwɪŋendʌ] /gurwiŋenda/ H [gomənda] Hpmc (see discussion section 4.2.3)
young	wurra woorta E
your (singular)	nguni /nguni/ ngoonnee RMa, nguni RMc, RMb, ngunnee J

your (dual)	balan /balan/ bullan RMa, RMb, bullun RMc
your (plural)	nhurran /nhuran/ nhooran RMa, nhuran RMb, nhurun RMc
youth, before initiation	malniga /malniga/ malnēga RMb, malnêga RMd (also <i>boy</i>)
youth, fully initiated	djibauga /djibauga/ dyibbauga RMb, jibauga RMd, gebowga E
youth, after tooth extraction	gokamulga /gogamulga/ gogamulga RMb, gogamoolga RMd
youth, partly initiated	wonga /wonga/ wōnga RMb, wōnga RMd (also boy whose tooth is not to be knocked out)

B. Yorta Yorta-English vocabulary

ai, yorta-nhan
I don't know

anadjamirr
to hunt

andima
hooked twig for extracting grubs
from trees

anganya
friend

angin
air

angurram
to be

arraga
doctor

ata lotjba
to answer

ayanda-
to lie
ayandak (FUT)

ayapka
a lie

bagadalin
sharp edge or point

baimi(ya)
extensive

baimi(ya)
God, the good spirit

baimi(ya) natja
extensive plain

baipadjerruk
ibis

baitja
mate, old man

baitun
across

baka
dog, tame dog, wild dog

baka nalnga
male dog

baka nhanha
female dog

bakidjiga
little dog, or pup

bakinal
cousin, relation

bakinba
upper lip

bakobany
milk thistle, vegetables as food

bakorra buka
hard-headed (child), stubborn

bakorra or **dakorra**
hard

balaga
grub in gum tree

- balagamdail**
courage
- balan**
your (DU)
- balmi**
honey bee
- balmi**
grog
- balmitpa**
salt, sour
- baltjerra**
fishing net
- bama**
to suck as a child
- bamanebala**
insects, greenhead ant
- bamin**
to bring forth young
- bamung(g)a-**
to feel, touch
bamung(g)ada (PRES 3SG)
- bana**
possum
- banarru(t)**
ashes
- banayirr**
spouse
- banburra**
to dig
- banburra**
oar, wooden spade
- bandjewak**
boots
- bandola**
how (quantifier)
- bang(g)anun**
smell/odour
- bang(g)arra bome(t)**
pleasure
- banga**
correct, right, good
- banga**
wind
- ban-ga**
club, hunting
- banga dhona**
to live
- banga gorkorra**
storm
- bangami**
fish, trout
- bangawo**
enough
- bangin**
dust storm, hail
- banin**
to cut
- banmetpa**
cat, native cat
- banmirra**
steep river, valley
- banola**
fat
- banu**
instep
- banu(th)**
back, backbone
- banulu(t)**
over the water
- banúpka**
young man (about 16 years)
- banuth**
back of hand
- banyip**
younger brother
- banyip**
river creature
- banyuba**
elder brother
- banyuip**
younger sister
- bapa**
mother

bapalwa

flood

baparra

since

baparra maltitj

to lose

baparra-banarrak

long ago

bapu

aunt, father

bapu nadarrip

aunt

barra

red kangaroo

barraba

where?

barramadain

policeman

barrangga(la)

fighting club

barratjba

yellow and white native cat

barreta

rat

barrinuda

kangaroo-rat

barrpan

grass

barrpirr

tonight

barrpirrdhila

morning star (Venus)

barrpirrik

tomorrow

barrpirripna

dawn, morning

barrthagana

paunch

barrtja

native cherry tree

barryibala

ground goanna

bata

blue flower

batha

lagoon

batha

mouse

bathayik

red

bati-

to kill

batim(a)

to spear

batja

brother

batja or **baitja**

possum

batjatj

white

batjelan

money

batuguna

bowels

bawa

to taste

bawu

body

bayabiya

woman, Aboriginal woman

bayadherra

tortoise, large

bayadi

mother-in-law

bayamal nhanha

hen swan

bayamal nhunguwi

cock swan

bayi

female breast(s)

bayi-

to make a noise

bayirr

to burn

- bayiya**
to sing
- bayuna**
yellow box tree
- beka**
devil, ghost(s)
- belmain**
I don't know
- beltjula**
knapsack
- berranga**
platypus
- berruga**
honeysuckle tree (Banksia)
- betha**
mosquito
- betjatjba**
paper
- bewa**
white
- beyoga(l)**
man, Aborigine (Bikolatban clan)
- bida marreda**
hatred
- bigang(g)a**
possum cloak
- bigarrumdja**
emu
- bigauga**
yesterday
- bikorra**
chain of ponds
- biltjimdja**
tree goanna
- biluwuba**
curlew
- binita**
to be born
- biniya**
black magpie
- bintjarrama**
ringtail possum
- binyan**
cut (injury)
- bipkurra**
tide
- birra**
to start
- birra-**
to go away/leave/hasten/start/hunt
- birrama** (IMP EMPH)
- birramdja** (IMP EMPH)
- birramgandja** (IMP EMPH)
- birra-yawu** (IMP)
- birra-**
pinch, to
- birranga**
squirrel, flying
- birratj**
quick! hurry!
- birrit**
bread, European
- birrya**
disrespect
- bitha-**
to steal
- bithanda** (PRES - 3PL.SG)
- bithin**
bullrushes
- bitja**
fire, wood
- bitjau**
firewood
- bitjetma**
white of eye
- bitjina**
common hawk
- biwa**
venereal
- biya**
to bring
- biyala**
red gum tree
- biyalabala**
red gum tree

- biyeng(g)a**
bow (weapon)
- biyilin**
girls' belts/strings
- biyin**
hand
- boganamutj**
stomach full
- bogiya-**
to drink
- boki**
to bathe
- bolkan**
frightened
- bolkatj**
cold
- boma**
to blow on a fires
- bombala**
small lizard
- bomin**
spring (water)
- bonggongalo**
crayfish
- bopa**
fishing net
- bopiya**
spark
- borra**
itch, itchy skin eruption, smallpox
- borra**
to scratch
- borren**
sweet drink
- borrinju**
arm, lower part of arm, wing, shield,
branch of river
- borr(i)nyupna**
shirt
- borrkirr**
quail
- borrrpa**
crayfish
- borrtha**
liver
- botingan**
sweetheart
- bowarring**
bloom on trees
- bu**
pity
- bugika**
younger sister
- buka**
head
- bukan**
hair of head
- bukoyel**
temples
- bukut**
above
- bula**
you (DU, NOM)
- bula**
semen
- bulak**
you (DU, ERG)
- bulgana**
bullock
- buli**
belly, stomach
- buliyana**
pregnant
- bulo**
to break
- bultjubul**
pair; two
- bultjubul biyin**
ten
- bultjubul bultjubul**
two and two; four
- bultjubul bultjubul iyung**
five

bultjubul iyung three	daborrin dry creek
bulunan you (DU, ACC)	dakindjuwa snake
bulwoga few	dako(t) thick
bumidakabiya along	dakoma small diver (bird)
bumiderrega gun, musket	dakorra tough
bunga stone	daku reed
bunmin milk	dalgena jaw
bununy private parts, female, vulva	damanmu- to dance a corroboree
bunyma to make	damánmu- to dance
bupolga winter	damuga before
bupu through	damul cheek
burra heart, boss	damula cheeks
burrai baby	dana footpath, pathway
burranhana far-seeing	dana- to stand
burraya long way away, far	danam a plant
burrmanga cod fish	danapna swan
buthoga red ochre	danela bream (fish)
butjanga egg	dangaburraya there (farther)
butjangin eggs, seed, testicles	dangalatj-djamitj sorry
butmama to lift	dangamai crow
daborra footpath, pathway, road	danin to float

dantjutkupna
kangaroo

danyan
crippled

dapalama
between

daponga
wild pigeon

dapu
smooth

darra
boat

darrdabala
hollow tree

darrtya-
to dive

darrunga
pipe-clay

data
weapons

dati-
to fall
datin (PRES, Past)

dati-
to kill

datjidja
heat, hot

datjimba
tomahawk

datjin
warm

daugowa
grey

daugowa bukan
grey hair

dausan
number over 5 (thousand)

dauwirr
dead tree

daya
here

daya-
to play
dayabak (FUT)

dayu
erection

de
hey!

debel-debel
devil

dekula
parroquet

delaya
near, here

delpan
claw, nail, finger, toe(s)

demilborr(i)nya
spur-winged plover

dendjiwoga
there (quite close)

deya-win
this one here

deyuwenerrk
to have

dhadadada
lark

dhadhiwa
girl (at puberty), virgin, young woman,
maid

dhadjowa
sunshine

dhaika
perch (fish)

dhairri-
to cut

dhaiyilipnha
pelican

dhakurramutja
koala

dhala
darkness, night

dhalanan
black

dhalanan yurratha
thick cloud

dhaling
tongue

dhaltin-gin
centipede

dhalwa
bandicoot

dhama
old

dhama winyarr
old woman

dhamala
grandfather

dhamala napu
stepmother

dhamala-nhanha
grandmother

dhama(n)g
old man

dhama(n)ga(b)apu
stepfather

dhama(n)g
old man

dhama(n)g
yonder

dhama(n)g
to commit sodomy

dhama(n)g
poison

dhama(n)g
thirst

dhama(n)g
very dry, thirsty

dhama(n)g
bread, damper

dhama(n)g
frog

dhama(n)g dhama(n)g
noise of copulation

dhama(n)g-
to drink

dhama(n)g-
to copulate
dhama(n)g (PRES/Past)

dhama(n)g-
to want
dhama(n)g (FUT)

dhama(n)g
slow

dhama(n)g
box tree (white)

dhama(n)g-
to eat
dhama(n)g (Past, PRES)
dhama(n)g (FUT)
dhama(n)g (Intention)

dhama(n)g
younger brother, sister

dhama(n)g
elder sister

dhama(n)g
younger sister

dhama(n)g
leg (calf), thigh

dhama(n)g
trousers

dhama(n)g-
to be thirsty
dhama(n)g (FUT)

dhama(n)g
water

dhama(n)g
dear, poor thing

dhama(n)g nyini
my dear

dhama(n)g
love

dhama(n)g-
to kiss, love
dhama(n)g (Past, PRES)

dhama(n)g
alive

dhama(n)g
cigarette, joint, smoke, tobacco

dhoniga

land after flood

dhowerrwidja

greedy

dhugerra munarra

thunder

dhukandirra

wombat

dhulu

low

dhulukan bukan

short hair

dhulundurra

low-sounding

dhulupka

short

dhuna

to eat

dhunadhatj

sweet

dhupan

to spit

dhurra

to cook, roast

didlinga

mussel

dik dukuburraya

near

dil

net

dila

scorpion

dimin

nit of louse

dinap

Mitchell's cockatoo

dindarrga

young man

dingerra

hip

dinyuwinya

now

dipa

chest, heart

dirran

teeth

dirrantji

little way (away)

dirrekur

crane

ditjumurra

stinking

ditjumurra-

to stink

ditorro

to rattle

diyawa-

to marry

diyng

neck

djadjingum

to gurgle

djagoga

reed necklace

djaini(t)

hiss

djalma

sugar

djambak

sheep

djana

locust

djarring

white cockatoo

djawa

fish (like a) minnow

djeka-

to pour

djekalmak

to quench/put out

djekoga

fishing net

djendjurra

blow fly

- djerrimem***
eyesight
- djetja***
aunt
- djibauga***
fully initiated youth
- djikurra***
wooden spear, stick, twig used in
possum hunting
- djila***
dry bark
- djilany***
masturbation
- djilowanga***
pee wee
- djilu***
sexual desire
- djima***
wild willow tree
- djijin**
perhaps
- djina***
foot
- djinbak***
to scratch
- djinyaka***
long way away
- djinyangana***
by and by
- djirribang***
very old man
- djirrimna ngura djirrimna***
thigh
- djirrngawa(n)***
lightning
- djirnyauwa***
greedy
- djirrtjirra***
finger, knuckle
- djirrtjirran***
fingers, fist
- djirrungana***
high, long
- djirrungana***
tall
- djirrunganan bukan***
long hair
- djitapa***
parry (put aside)
- djitiga***
flesh, meat
- djitjin***
sexual emission
- djito***
snipe
- djiya***
throat
- djiyalna***
tea-tree
- djiyaman***
afraid, fear, terror, cowardly
- djiyaman nhalaya***
cowardice
- djiyamanuk***
coward
- djunda***
bird
- djungunga***
little bird
- djuweda***
acquaintance
- dolela-borrinyu***
upper arm
- dolma***
black duck
- doma***
good smell
- doma-***
to lend
- domun*** (PRES)
- domak*** (FUT)
- dong(g)u***
the thaw

dorra

to

dorrkoya

right (side)

dorrtu

to climb

dorrula

this side of water

dowama-

to push, shove

dowamatj (PRES)**doworro**

jealousy

dubirr

hill without trees

dudjutja

parrot, rosella

dumatpa

single or front teeth

duna

feather

dunapka-

to dive

dunatpan

bunyip, imaginary giant snake

dundema

bottle of grog

dundo

dog

dung(g)udja

big, great, large, many, much

dung(g)udja daididja

great heat

dung(g)udja mulanwitj

very hungry

dung(g)udja wala

flood

dung(g)ula

river, Murray River, big water

dung(g)uludja

strong

dun-ga

calf of leg

dunhin

tear, teardrop

dunhu

to cry, weep

dunida

high water

duning

within

dunyak

fishing

durran

green

durrdjilapka

kookaburra

durrel

snake

durrgagimatj

time of first menses

duta

star, planet, comet, constellation

dutala

sky

dutamutal

night

dutan

stars

dutja

to bend

dutula

bee, blow fly, maggot(s), reptiles

dutula

calm

dutula

runny nose, stink

ga-

to sit

ganhu (PRES)**gatjubak** (FUT)**gawul** (IMP)**gabrra**

sense/intelligence

- gadin**
pelican
- gagatja**
canoe pole, paddle
- gaiga**
nephew
- gaikai**
(oh) dear!, good gracious!
- gaiwadan**
sulky
- gaiya**
father
- gaiyala**
Goulburn River
- gaiyimarr**
kangaroo
- gaka**
crab-hole
- gaka**
niece
- gaka** or **yaka**
to come
gaka, gakai, gabai (IMP)
yakama (IMP.EMPH)
yakarrumdja (IMP very EMPH)
gaka-yawul (*come, walk* IMP)
- gakadha**
navel
- gakadja**
sting
- gakan**
swamp
- gakumaita**
beside
- galka**
drag
- galka molka**
to pull
- galmuka**
crane
- galnya**
beautiful, happy, pretty, sweet, good,
nice, honesty
- galnya dhatjinerra**
pleasant to taste
- galnya woka**
heaven
- galnya yitiga**
pleasant to smell
- galnya yiyirr**
handsome
- galnyadji**
joy
- galnyan**
right, good, nice
- galnyan yakarrumdja**
respect
- galnyoga**
bald-headed
- gama**
arrow, reed spear
- gana**
yamstick
- gananggurr**
today, day
- ganatj**
over
- ganbina-**
raise/lift, rise, jump, arise, get up,
wake, stand up, to fly
- ganda-**
to sew, make
- gandinda** (PRES 3SG)
- gandjima**
leaning tree
- gando**
shrimp
- ganedhula**
belt
- gang(g)aba**
uncle
- ganga**
to break
- ganga**
wattle tree

gan-go
manna (sweet tree juice)

gangupka
bream, perch (fish)

gangurr
rib

ganha
mother

ganidjmen
policeman

ganurra
blaze

ganya
to sing

ganya-
to call

ganyin (PRES)

ganyanda (PRES 3SG)

ganyanditj (EMPH.IMP)

ganya-
to pacify/tame

ganya-
to shout

ganya
to speak

ganya baltjerra
to catch in a net

garadha-
(to dance a) corroboree

garra
now

garraba
wait a little

garradha
to dance

garri-
to laugh
garrin (PRES, Past)
garribak (FUT)

garrin
to kick

garrkadanuk
horse

garrtabala
woman during menses

garru-
to dive

garrulyenek
by

garruna
west

gata
mouth

gatha
cannot

gathagana
don't, not (negative)

gathan
some

gatirr
shoulder

gatja
bark

gatjan dhatjamak
guest

gatjapna
brood

gatjidja
big bull-dog ant

gatjina
daughter

gatjina
step daughter

gemenen
make believe

gina
to pluck

ginuna
ever

girrandjamik
near

girriwa
goanna

- gitjika**
younger brother, girl 10–14 years,
sister
- gitjugo**
gum (sap)
- giya**
meteor
- goka**
curlew
- gokamulga**
youth after extraction of tooth,
boy 10–12 yrs
- gokok**
mopoke, owl
- gokoma**
melon
- gokoma**
wooden water-trough
- gokwil**
hush!
- golimdja**
brave
- golyinan**
angry, frightened
- gomimebla**
wild turkey
- gomniya**
to strip
- gona**
eyeball
- gona**
root
- gona**
snake
- gonémudj**
mad
- gong(g)a**
jaw
- gong(g)arra**
eyelash
- gononyway**
son-in-law
- gonuka**
small crayfish
- gorrawa**
emu feathers
- gorrawin**
cough
- gorrkarra**
rain
- gorrngany**
common magpie
- gota**
to pierce
- gotupna**
grass for nets
- gowa**
north/south?
- gowi(t)**
to overtake
- gowidja**
after, behind
- gowiko**
spear, with glass
- gowit**
slow
- gowitna**
awake
- gowola**
kind, kindly
- gowoya**
host
- gowu**
nose
- gowudhulu**
nostril
- goyirr**
emu spear
- grainduma**
to grind
- grong-grong**
mad
- guduny**
fin

- guka***
grandmother
- guka***
grub in ground
- gukalga***
sunset, twilight
- gukatja***
tail of animal
- gukorrin***
elbow
- guku-***
to die
- gukun*** (Past, PRES)
- gukun banga*** (Past)
- gukul***
silence
- gukun***
low-sounding, silent
- gukuny***
dead
- gukurra***
wrist
- guku-winyarr***
widow
- gulan***
shame
- guli***
low, under
- guli(t)***
down
- gulinba***
lower lip
- gulpa***
deep
- gulpa***
well (water)
- gulpaga***
waterhole
- gumina***
person
- gumuka***
old woman
- gumung***
urine
- guna***
bowels, excrement
- guna***
to tie
- gundja***
house, home
- gung(g)a***
double or back teeth
- gungena***
peculiar person
- gun-gi***
large bag
- guni-***
to evacuate bowels
- gunin*** (PRES, Past)
- gunyubak*** (FUT)
- gunigawa***
dirty
- gunuga***
prawn
- gunugudhula***
brolga
- gunyamgan***
to kill
- (g)unyagawa**
wood duck
- gunya-winyarr***
possum cloak
- gurranyin***
eagle
- gurrburr***
koala
- gurrong(g)a***
boomerang
- gurrtji***
friend
- gurrwingenda***
you there??
- guta(t)***
rough

gutha
cut (injury), smallpox, a sore

gutha-
to wound

guthupka
child/children, infant, baby

guwalnila
side

guwiga
son

i
to give

imigo
hope

imilang
today

ina
in

inyabaknalyin
with

irruk-birruk
yesterday

ithal
whose (is it)?

ithitha
big bull-dog ant

itja
thin

itjawudik
to cure

iyamdu
less

iyoga
stone

iyung
one

lelitha
little black ant

letja-
to whistle

lilama
brains

lilima
bone

lilisa
lizard

liluma
box tree

lotjpa
to speak, talk
lotjpa (PRES, Past)
lotjpatj (PRES, Past CONT)
lotjpatjak (FUT CONT)
lotjpa (IMP)
lotjpadhan (RECIP, see *quarrel (to)*)

lotjpa ganya
murmur

lotjpadhan
to quarrel

lowan
mallee-hen, scrub turkey

lowithima
be quick

lupa
to carry

ma
eye

-ma
emphatic particle

maan
face

mabuka
widower

mabutja
widowhood

madjila
liar

maiya
eyelid

makorrna
wild goose

makun
perch (fish)

malak
aunt

- maledhan**
few
- malen-gandrri**
entrails (of sheep)
- mali-**
to beat
- malin** (Past, PRES)
- malil** (IMP)
- maligan**
mad
- malinya**
club (leangle)
- malinyodo**
quondong (fruit)
- malka**
shield
- malnha**
a splinter
- malnha-**
to sting
- malniga**
boy, little boy, youth before initiation
- malnigaptja**
very little boy
- malnuda**
fruit
- maloga**
sand, sand hill, sugar
- maltitj daborra**
to lose the way
- malya**
dark
- malya**
goose, swan
- mama**
father
- mamana banga**
content
- mamana birrayarrwu**
to divorce
- mamel**
carpet snake
- mamila**
kidney fat
- mamfla**
lungs
- mamu-nyu(wa)ndan**
God
- mana**
camp, bird's nest
- mana-**
to camp
- manarre gagaga**
nurse
- mandiga**
fish, food
- mandiga**
to fish
- mandja**
plains turkey
- mandowe**
foot
- mangan**
to build
- manha**
blunt (edge)
- manma**
to make, make a net
- manu**
camp, hut
- manuga**
branch
- mapagowa**
dirty water
- marra**
woman's net bag
- marra**
brother/sister-in-law, step
brother/sister, sister
- marralatjamatj**
lazy, tired
- marrangguling**
net worn around forehead, headband

marratha	master/boss	mawamatj	red
marre	spear	mawanya	veins
marri-	to bathe	mawo	sinews
marribak (FUT)		maya	curing of sickness
marrina	spear	mayabil	snow
marrinbidja	to make fire	mayila	yam
marrin-bidja	fire sticks	menmetpan bukan	hair, curly
marrmu	ear	menu	hip
marrngany	crow	menu(t)	beyond
matekami(t)	acid, bitter	merrin	grub in box tree
maten	weak	meyun	during, while
matha	canoe	mi(yul)	eye
mathi	bad, roguery	mimithing(g)in	eyebrow
mathi woka	hell	mina-	to ask
mathidja	cold	minamda (PRES 3SG)	
mathimatj	bad, cruel	minamda	to request
mathimna	bad, ugly, rogue, bad person	minga	eye
mathindhan	wrong	minga-	to smell
matjang(g)ala	lightning	mingan (PRES)	
mawa	to bleed	mingurinya	black snake
mawa	blood	minhalda	what with?
		minhe	what?

minhetguda
what for?

minyerra
buzz

mirra-
to look

mira (IMP)

miramna (IMP EMPH)

mita
mister

miterr
bread

mithidha
hole in ground

miturra
fork of tree

miya
black and white native cat

mobang
boogie man

mogagowa
unkind

moirra
lake, sea

molwa
bury, corpse, dead man

molwa
white man, poor man, man

molwa
shadow, shadow of tree

molwa winyarr
white woman

molwa(n)
grave/burial ground

molwana
young man

moma
willow tree, growing along river

momidjiga
Aboriginal woman

momirra
whirlwind

mona
belly

monda
shield

mondala
to tie

mondjarring
beard, moustache

mong(g)unda
ghost(s)

morredap
bark

morrida
old

mothatj
blind, near-sighted

motjin
glow

mugudjina
foot, heel, track of foot

mukarr-mukarr
woman's bag

mukuga
reeds

mukuna
man's back

mula
fishing spear

mulan
empty, none

mulan
food/meat

mulan
to spit

mulana
spirit

mulandjika
spittle

mulanmuk
to be hungry

muluk-muluk
dark, night

- muma**
from
- muma**
to take
muman (PRES, Past)
muma (IMP)
- muma-**
to catch, hold, get
- muma-yanak**
to fetch
- mumiyanga**
bat
- mumulwa**
to hunt on ground
- muna**
flea, louse
- munarra**
thunder
- mungubara**
bronzewing pigeon
- muni-**
to throw forcibly
muna (IMP)
munin (PRES, Past)
munadj (PRES EMPH)
muniak (FUT)
- munilip**
large diver (bird)
- munu**
leg, thigh
- munupna**
trousers
- mupan**
mud
- murrangurrang**
always
- muta**
(red) gum tree, wood
- muthak**
enemy
- mutirr**
shingleback (lizard)
- mutja**
anus, bottom, buttocks
- na-**
to dream
nanyak (FUT)
nanyubak (FUT)
- na-**
to sleep
nanha (PRES)
nanyubak (FUT)
nawul (IMP)
- nadarrrip**
son
- nadjirr**
young bird
- naika**
duck
- naikidjiga**
small duck, teal
- naitjunga**
mouse
- naituna**
bowels
- nakin**
penis, male private parts, animal's tail
- nala**
spear
- nala nala**
waddy (type of weapon)
- nalan**
blow (hit)
- nalnga/nhalma**
male
- nambaga**
tame
- nanadja**
low-water
- nanaptakurr**
spear
- nang(g)adi-**
to retain
- nangarrna**
to think

nani(t)
earthquake

nanyanbana
girl

nanyenwuda
except

nanyirr
yamstick

nanyubak
asleep

nanyumaloga
sand fly

napa
to shut, close

napu
mother

narraga
hill

natarrati
litter (of animals)

natatj
heat

natja
creek

natja
plain (topography)

natjiga
small plain

natjurak
toe(s)

nato
to hit/strike

natya-
to gather
natjal (IMP)

nawiya
same

nga
I (NOM)

nga djin
I lie

ngai
(I don't know)?

ngai-
to know
ngaikun (PRES, Past)
ngaina (IMP)

ngala
we (DU EXCL NOM)

ngalak
we (DU EXCL ERG)

ngalan
our (DU EXCL)

ngalanan
us (DU EXCL)

ngalmin
to shine

ngalngin
we (DU INCL NOM)

ngalnginak
we (DU INCL ERG)

ngalngun
our (DU INCL)

ngalngunan
us (DU INCL)

ngalyen
sleepy

ngamarra
pine tree

(ng)ana
tomahawk, axe

ngana
clever man

ngangaburra
there (farther still)

ngangaburrayawin
that one (quite close)

ngangiyandha
to pretend

ngangu
outside of

ngangwurra
heart

- ngani**
who
- ngani-bula**
who? (DU)
- nganin**
me
- ngani-narrak**
who with?
- ngani-nat**
who from?
- nganinguda**
who for?
- ngani-nhura**
who? (PL)
- ngapa**
grandfather
- ngarr-**
to hear
ngarrnhang (PRES, Past)
ngarrnhak (FUT)
ngarrnhatjak (FUT CONT)
- ngarraga**
clever man
- ngarri-**
to tell
- ngarring**
black cockatoo
- ngarrnuda**
kangaroo-rat
- ngarrnung**
sharp of hearing
- ngarr-wu-**
to listen
- ngata-**
to do
- ngatha**
I (ERG)
- ngawitpa**
about, round (squinting)
- ngina**
you (SG, NOM)
- nginak**
you (SG, ERG)
- ngorra**
tassels worn by men on belts, kilt
- ngorrtja**
myall (tree)
- ngowe**
yes
- ngu-**
to give
ngunhu (PRES, Past)
ngunhuk (FUT)
ngutjuk (FUT EMPH)
nguwul (IMP)
- ngunangga**
elbow
- nguni**
your (SG)
- nguni-**
to make war
- ngunun**
you (SG, ACC)
- ngununy**
milk
- ngunyerr**
forehead
- (ng)utan**
plenty, many
- nha-**
to see, look
nhan, nhanha (PRES, Past)
nhatjelma (IMP EMPH)
nhatjuk (FUT)
nhawul (IMP)
- nhabadamarrmu**
deaf
- nhabadamarrmu**
to forget
- nhalaya**
there
- nhanha**
female
- nhanha**
mother

nhanha biyin
thumb

nharrapka
blunt point

nharrebuta gaiyimarr
kangaroo with young one in pouch

nhatjel-
to stare at

nhungui
father

nhurra
you (PL, NOM)

nhurrag
you (PL, ERG)

nhurran
your (PL)

nhurranan
you (PL, ACC)

nhurrka
to conceal

nilang gunya
towards

ningninata
to thrust

nirranoma
rainbow

nolwi(t)
against

nolwiterrak
few

nota
to suck a wound

nukul
below

nungurra
blear-eyed

nupila
bag, net

nurratj
to dream

nurramamatba
kingfisher

nurrtja
forest

nuthan
flock

nuwa
more

nyana
you (SG, alternative to *ngina*)

nyana
we (PLEXCL NOM)

nyanak
we (PLEXCL ERG)

nyanan
our (PL EXCL, POSS)

nyananan
us (PL EXCL, OBJ)

-nyanuk
to hunt

nyatjpa
knife

nyauwoga
girl

nyini
my/mine

nyini-
to hit/strike
nyinin (PRES, Past)

nyina (IMP)

nyiniak (FUT)

nyinidhan (RECIP, *fight*)

nyini winyarr
wife

nyinidhan
to fight

nyinuga
hail

nyitawa
afterbirth

nyuandanan
us (PL INCL)

nyunu-
to hate

- nyuwanda**
we (PL INCL NOM)
- nyuwandak**
we (PL INCL ERG)
- nyuwandan**
our (PL INCL)
- ralpatha**
among
- ratju**
mussel
- rokima djuwet**
to shake
- unagud**
father-in-law
- undima**
back of head
- undima**
twig, hooked twig for extracting
grubs from trees
- unya**
there (exclamation)
- utanana-**
to frequent
- uwalumi(t)**
fool
- uwalumi(t)**
stupid
- wabudja**
to cut
- waka**
where?
- wakeda**
wild
- wakirr**
crow
- wala**
water
- walan**
blister
- walapkami(t)**
sap
- walibala**
lean (thin)
- walitja**
fat
- walitja**
kidney
- walka**
fish
- walu**
hill with trees
- walu**
leaf
- walupka**
wet
- walwunmutj**
to shine
- wamadaman**
on, upon
- wamayirr**
person
- wamuya**
left (side)
- wamwadja**
gully
- wamwadja maloga**
sandhill
- wana**
I don't know
- wanaga**
fishing spear
- wanagaga**
bush, shrub
- wanagapipuwa**
platypus
- wanala**
autumn, summer
- wanangbagan**
brain
- wanawurra**
back of neck
- wanhal**
where? whereabouts?

wanhal-matj
where from, whither?

wanhalum
how

wanmirr
eagle, hawk

wanurra
neck, occiput (part of skull)

wanya
boomerang

wanya
stepsister, sister-in-law

wanyagomitj
to count

wanyarra
fast, active

wanyawala
quick

wapoda
bachelor, childlessness

warrunitjega
a sore

wata
skin

watja anan
forgiveness

watjaga
sand

watjerra
emu's breast

watjerra
plate (of bark or porcelain)

watjerra
tortoise, back shell

watjerrupna
tortoise, small

watjúka gorrkarra
to drive away with a song

waulula
oak tree

wawalu
to hunt in trees

wawatj
black goanna

wayirra
to dig

werra
spring (season)

werrindja
dog

werrki-
to decay

wewin
step son

wigilupka
kookaburra

wilagoli
edible orange berry

wileya
possum

winyan banayirr
husband

winyanboga
several women

winyandjal
woman, couple

winyarr
woman, Aboriginal woman

witedja banga
to leave off

witedja gana
to leave

witedja gowdja(k)
to leave behind

witj witj
type of weapon

witjin ngata
past (passed by)

wiyu
any

woda ngarrinhu
hearing

woka
country, district, earth, ground, land

- wokida**
wild dog
- wolithola**
water rat
- womerra**
throwing stick, spear
- womerriga**
when
- womigin**
which
- womirr-guwirr**
when?
- wonga**
partly initiated youth, boy with tooth
- wongda**
day
- wonggoba**
club (leangle)
- wongonga**
shag (bird)
- wongwop**
daughter-in-law
- woningenda**
you here??
- worrwa-**
to climb
worrrwatj (PRES, Past)
- wotha**
new
- wotja-**
to send
wotjan (PRES, Past)
- wotogoa**
kangaroo
- wowa**
brother, uncle
- wowa**
water rat
- wowala**
jew lizard
- wowatja**
loud
- wowatja**
skin
- wowatjumatj**
noise, sound
- wowinya**
common house fly
- wula**
young emu
- wulanhan bakaba**
glad
- wulumbarra**
large communal fire
- wulupna**
sheep
- wulwirra**
fishing net
- wuma**
to hang
- wunanga**
wrist
- wung(g)u**
eyelash
- wungi**
Aborigine (Yorta Yorta)
- wunudja**
feather down
- wunying(g)atha dayung**
to wish
- wurrinidjiga**
wound, injury
- wurrta**
young
- wurrthamarra**
bream (fish)
- wurru**
beak, bird's bill, lip(s), mouth
- wurrrumatj**
ful
- wuta**
all
- wuta djirrtj**
ten

wutenya
muscle

wuthul wuthul
rope, string

wuthum
wheat

wutja
to give up

wuwan
stem

wuwitj
up

ya-
to go along/walk

yanha (PRES)

yanhanai (IMP EMPH)

yanda (PRES 3SG)

ya(rr)wul (IMP)

yanyubak (FUT)

yaiya
to swallow

yakai
(oh) dear!, good gracious!

yakalam
to vomit

yakama
to bring

yakapna
family

yakuna
until

yalaga matan
guilt

yalamba
mushroom

yalaneborrang
blanket

yalayala
hallelujah

yaliba
no (negative)

yalka
tea, dry leaf

yalma
bark

yalwel
to wash

yama
to ask

yama
to run

yamin (PRES, Past)

yama (IMP)

yambak (FUT)

yama-ditepa
to start

yamak
cousin, relation

yambeldain
liar

yamen
flax

yamin nani(?)
to run from

yamin nonu(k)
to run to

yamutj
to search for

yanga
ankle

yanga
mussel

yanggawa
fog, mist

yapaneyepuk
together

yapun ngutun wunun
revenge

yarraman
horse

yarring
beard, whisker(s), hair of bear, chin

yarrka
male infant to 2 years, boy

yarrka-
to jump

- yarrkan** (PRES)
yarrkabak (FUT)
- yarrka-**
 to shout
- yarrka, yalka**
 child/children
- yarrkidjiga**
 small children
- yarrwa-**
 to swim
- yarrwa** (IMP)
yarrwin (PRES, Past)
yarrabak (FUT)
- yathapka**
 nonsense!
- yawa**
 morning dew
- yedabila**
 animals
- yegu**
 swelling
- (y)enbena**
 Aborigine (Yorta Yorta), ancestor,
 Aboriginal man/person
- yenmatj**
 to burn
- yerradhang**
 nightjar (nocturnal bird)
- yetaying**
 innocence
- yeyawa**
 east
- yeyurringal**
 sunrise
- yida**
 sole of foot, palm of hand
- yilbuga**
 afternoon, evening
- yileta**
 letters
- yiminy**
 hair on pudendae
- yimudigan**
 light cloud
- yin-**
 to bite
- yinin** (PRES, Past)
yina (IMP)
- (y)inga**
 least
- (y)ingarrna**
 small
- (y)ingarrnika**
 few, little, very small
- yinya**
 ligh
- yirri-**
 to scream
- yirritj** (PRESEMPH)
- yirrka**
 to scratch
- yita**
 soft, tender
- ytja**
 pain
- (y)itjumatj**
 to hurt
- (y)itjumatj**
 miserable, sick
- (y)itjumatj** + part of the body
 lame
- (y)itjumatj buka**
 sick in the head
- (y)itjumatj buli**
 sick in the belly, empty stomach
- (y)itjumatj dipa**
 sick in the chest
- (y)itjumatj-nga**
 sick with pain
- (y)itjumutj dunga**
 sick in the limbs
- yiya**
 other
- yiya barrpirrik**
 the day after tomorrow

yiarrak gananggurr
the day after tomorrow

(y)iyawa
one

(y)iyawama
one-eyed

yiirr
male, man

yiirram
boy

yorta
no (negative), never, wrong

yorta itjumatj
healthy

yorta mum mum
discontent

yortadjin
perhaps not

yortanangin
to die

yowa
swan

yugudhum
how

yukun
knee

yula
hill

yulila
mountain

yulwa
lever spear, throwing stick, woomera

(y)umbat
perhaps

yunadja
grasshopper

yunga
to throw, pitch

yungan (PRES, Past)

yungak (FUT)

yungaba
frost, ice, sleet, snow

yungi-
he knocked down

yurratha
cloud/clouds, heaven, sky

yurri
moon

yurri
fresh

yurringgadja
moon

yurringguk
moonlight

yurrnga
knee, kneecap

yurrnga
sun

yurrungurra
blind

Addendum: additional Yabula Yabula vocabulary

The following vocabulary was recently found by the authors amongst Mathews' papers in the National Library. It contains 269 words marked "Ngurrimarar" of which about 190 words are previously unattested. It is clearly the same language as in the word list in section 7.4. As it was discovered too late to be integrated into this book, it is presented below without analysis.

This list is found as a pencil annotation to the "Yota Yota" vocabulary in an offprint of Mathews (1902). This offprint is in the National Library of Australia, MS 8006/11. It can be identified by the handwritten notes on the front cover, which read:

Batāwurru	
Ngurrimawurru	
Copied	
Bā-aura	
Ngurrimarar vocabulary	p.169
Amendments of Yota Yota	p.170

A preliminary recalculation of the comparison between the Yorta Yorta combined vocabulary lists and the total Yabula Yabula/Ngurrimauar vocabulary, excluding demonstratives, pronouns and interrogatives, yields a cognate overlap of 55% (152 words out of 274). This suggests a closer relationship than the figure of 44% overlap based on the previously available vocabulary of 112 words.

afraid	<i>dyēm̄ul</i>	blood	<i>gurok</i>
afterbirth	<i>nyittim</i>	bloom on trees	<i>butthunik</i>
alive	<i>dhoroaŋ</i>	blow fly	<i>dyoandyun</i>
angry	<i>kūlanhur</i>	blunt, edge	<i>nhurruŋpo</i>
ant, bulldog ant	<i>būm'inamari</i>	bone	<i>gwiat</i>
anus	<i>moanyu</i>	boomerang	<i>dhūlkūr</i>
arise	<i>kummerang</i>	box, yellow box	<i>baddyirmi</i>
arm	<i>burēŋ</i>	boy, small boy	<i>nguliwak</i>
back	<i>bunhu</i>	break	<i>muñmang</i>
bad	<i>mūtthir</i>	bream	<i>gau-ur</i>
bald-headed	<i>gullingw'uk buku</i>	breast, female	<i>bōmir</i>
bandicoot	<i>kangapin</i>	bring	<i>yagulama</i>
bat	<i>murniang</i>	brother, elder brother	<i>wauwa</i>
beard	<i>yarrāk</i>	brother, younger brother	<i>dhatthim</i>
beat	<i>linniung</i>	bullrushes	<i>batthunik</i>
belly	<i>boadha</i>	camp	<i>guwul</i>
belt	<i>kunnedhul</i>	canoe	<i>būttyu</i>
bite	<i>innimul</i>	catfish	<i>wannhak</i>
black	<i>woke</i>	child of either sex	<i>nguliwak</i>
blind	<i>mōtye</i>	clever man	<i>ngarak</i>

climb	<i>karrian</i>	duck, woodduck	<i>ngarnea</i>
clitoris	<i>ngulu</i>	dust storm	<i>warrim maramarpūn</i>
cockatoo, white cockatoo	<i>karran</i>	eaglehawk	<i>ngutte</i>
cod	<i>buranhung</i>	ear	<i>maram</i>
cold	<i>bullēke</i>	eat	<i>dhekki</i>
cold	<i>bulleki</i>	egg	<i>buttyang</i>
come	<i>yakul</i>	elbow	<i>kokor</i>
conceal	<i>nhurupkun</i>	emission	<i>dyiggunir</i>
copulation	<i>dhanung</i>	emu	<i>gudhemiñ</i>
corella	<i>gallalak</i>	excrement	<i>gunu</i>
corroboree	<i>bimmil</i>	eye	<i>māwo</i>
crane	<i>durkare</i>	fall down	<i>mūñmikeang</i>
crow	<i>wakir</i>	fat	<i>guratch</i>
dance	<i>kurradhir</i>	fat	<i>dhuramari</i>
day	<i>gunnawakur</i>	father	<i>nungilambingulum</i>
dead	<i>nūtthuran</i>	fire	<i>gallau</i>
deaf	<i>nhuppige</i>	fly, common house fly	<i>wūn'yunguñ</i>
die	<i>nuthur</i>	food, meat	<i>dyuttūk</i>
dog	<i>gūrнау</i>	foot	<i>tyinna</i>
drink	<i>notal</i>	forehead	<i>ngunu</i>
duck, black duck	<i>wang'al</i>	frog	<i>dyinnang</i>

frost	<i>yŋgau</i>	hungry	<i>mū'inmi</i>
full	<i>wūrumŋntye</i>	hunt on ground	<i>bau-in-ya-kia</i>
galah	<i>bil'labilnging'</i>	husband	<i>gulugudyūl</i>
girl, small girl	<i>nyawok</i>	iguana, ground iguana	<i>wurruwūraty</i>
give	<i>ngukeang</i>	iguana, tree iguana	<i>dhulupil</i>
glad	<i>kullanher bulkkup</i>	kangaroo	<i>wardaka</i>
go	<i>gorowa</i>	kangaroo-rabbit	<i>gūre</i>
good	<i>galleng</i>	kilt for men	<i>ngōre</i>
grass	<i>billak</i>	kilt for women	<i>belingek</i>
greedy	<i>dyirrinnyau</i>	knee	<i>watti</i>
ground	<i>wukka</i>	koala, native bear	<i>gūrbur</i>
hand	<i>birre</i>	large	<i>ngurean</i>
hawk, fish hawk	<i>murraganthil</i>	laugh	<i>galek</i>
head	<i>buku</i>	lean	<i>walari</i>
headband	<i>kūr'ungur</i>	leaves of trees	<i>dawwrik</i>
hear	<i>ngurriman</i>	leg	<i>thurra</i>
heart	<i>ngain-ngūr</i>	lightning	<i>muddyungūl</i>
heat	<i>dikke</i>	liver	<i>bōdha</i>
hill	<i>yulik</i>	lizard, jew lizard	<i>bolan</i>
honey	<i>dūrtūl</i>	lizard, small lizard	<i>dyugguluty</i>
hot	<i>dikke</i>	lizard, wood lizard	<i>dyagguluty</i>

louse	<i>munnhu</i>	naval	<i>kadhakat</i>
low or short	<i>dhüb'arthup</i>	near	<i>dhalkundyi</i>
mad or crazy	<i>gurai'artyami</i>	neck, back of neck	<i>wannawur</i>
maggot	<i>türtül</i>	net bag	<i>murra</i>
magpie, black magpie	<i>dyirrim</i>	net bag for sorcery	<i>murrañ</i>
mallee-hen	<i>lauek</i>	net bag for weapons, nations	<i>dhalañmana</i>
man	<i>bawa, bāwu</i>	night	<i>nyinnityur</i>
masturbation	<i>dyillumani</i>	nit of louse	<i>dimmo</i>
menses, time of first menses	<i>dürgairramani</i>	nose	<i>gauwo</i>
mirage	<i>wünyir</i>	ochre, red ochre	<i>wüddyuurok</i>
moon	<i>yüre</i>	old man	<i>dyirrabang</i>
mopoke	<i>kokok</i>	opossum	<i>dūmpül</i>
mosquito	<i>bürroth</i>	opossum, ringtail opossum	<i>bindyaram</i>
mother	<i>ngunguthum, nüngalim</i>	paddle	<i>darö</i>
mouth	<i>wurra</i>	parroquet	<i>deko</i>
mud	<i>muppu</i>	pathway	<i>darna</i>
mussel (river)	<i>walli'ek</i>	peewee	<i>delung</i>
mussel in swamps	<i>dirling'urrik</i>	pelican	<i>dhaiailil</i>
nankeen	<i>dhani</i>	penis	<i>wenawin</i>
native cat, black and white	<i>miya</i>	perch	<i>murrukan</i>
native companion	<i>dhawari</i>	pine	<i>wuraka</i>

pipe-clay	<i>darrang</i>	shingleback	<i>baddyalu_{na}</i>
plains turkey	<i>dyirrakal</i>	shoulder	<i>kutthir</i>
porcupine	<i>minniminthill</i>	sick	<i>kürürüm</i>
pregnant	<i>boadhilli</i>	sing	<i>beaka</i>
pretend	<i>dhuli</i>	sister, elder sister	<i>dyettya</i>
quick	<i>bürkega</i>	sister, younger sister	<i>dhatthim</i>
rain	<i>kurupkur</i>	sit	<i>mukkur</i>
rainbow	<i>nirrinhim</i>	sky	<i>yurāt</i>
red	<i>gür'umingari</i>	slap with hand	<i>nhulan</i>
right	<i>gullennhür</i>	sleep	<i>birtil</i>
run	<i>banyean</i>	sleepy	<i>nguye</i>
sand	<i>watyap</i>	slow	<i>warrakuma</i>
sandhill	<i>wattyak</i>	small	<i>ging kiring</i>
scorpion	<i>dille</i>	smell	<i>ming-a</i>
scratch	<i>irrikal</i>	smoke	<i>dhoang-a</i>
scratch with claw	<i>yirriam</i>	snake, black snake	<i>ming'gurñi</i>
see	<i>nakal</i>	snake, brown snake	<i>litthagau</i>
semen	<i>büllēk</i>	snake, carpenter snake	<i>mamül</i>
shadow of man	<i>müllau</i>	sorry	<i>dyirāk'ome</i>
shield, spear shield	<i>bullart'</i>	spear lever	<i>mākim</i>
shield, waddy shield	<i>mürka</i>	spear, fishing spear	<i>müllä</i>

spear, reed	
<i>kama</i>	
spear, wood	
<i>dyekur</i>	
spider	
<i>papir'ma</i>	
squirrel, flying squirrel	
<i>yera</i>	
stand	
<i>dani</i>	
stars	
<i>turtu</i>	
steal	
<i>baddhanthan</i>	
stinking	
<i>mingwari</i>	
stone	
<i>bunga</i>	
strike	
<i>takang</i>	
strong	
<i>dhiramerri</i>	
suck a wound	
<i>nōtun</i>	
suck as a child	
<i>būnathul</i>	
summer	
<i>wunnhalūng</i>	
sun	
<i>wāgo</i>	
swamp yam	
<i>nyelka</i>	
swan	
<i>mullai</i>	
swim	
<i>yauek</i>	
take	
<i>bapa</i>	
talk	
<i>loatybi</i>	
tall or long	
<i>wurītim</i>	
teeth	
<i>tharrawul</i>	
tell	
<i>ngurre-heang</i>	
testicles	
<i>marta</i>	
thirsty	
<i>dhangum</i>	
throat	
<i>gore</i>	
throw forcibly	
<i>yungun</i>	
thunder	
<i>binyakum</i>	
tired	
<i>murralkumi</i>	
tree, any leaning tree	
<i>kūlpen</i>	
tree, cherry tree	
<i>tyu-wok</i>	
tree, oak (she)	
<i>wa-lul</i>	
tree, red gum tree	
<i>dhūllu</i>	
tree, Ti-tree	
<i>dyema</i>	
tree, white box	
<i>dhuliout</i>	
tree, willow, wild	
<i>ngurōty</i>	
trout	
<i>bung'ama</i>	
urine	
<i>kumak</i>	
venereal	
<i>bēukau</i>	
vomit	
<i>wuggalamai</i>	
vulva	
<i>bunu</i>	
walk	
<i>yanyirra</i>	

wallaby
ngūr'ianpun
 water
barnha
 water-rat
ngorikau
 wattle
kuttim
 weep
dungirang
 whirlwind
maramirr
 whistle
wete
 white
tūrtimari
 wife
gulugudyul

winter
warring
 woman
murrake
 woman (several women)
manyaman
 wrong
mutthir
 yam, dry land
ngaiam
 yamstick
nun'yir
 youth, after extraction of tooth
gogamūl
 youth, before initiation
mūllēn
 youth, fully initiated
waanga

References

- Atkinson, Aaron, n.d., Speech in newspaper article, Mortlock Library, Norman Collection, SA.
- Atkinson, Wayne, 1981, A picture from the other side. Typescript. Melbourne.
- Baylie, W.H., 1843, On the Aborigines of the Goulburn district. *The Port Phillip Magazine* 1:86-92, 134-139, 188-191.
- Baker, S.J., 1945, *The Australian language*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.
- Barry, Sir Redmond, 1866-1867, *Vocabulary of dialects spoken by Aboriginal natives of Australia*. Melbourne: Exposition Internationale Melbourne.
- Barwick, Diane, 1984, Mapping the past: an atlas of Victorian clans 1835-1904. In *Aboriginal History* 8:100-132.
- Blake, Barry, 1991, Woiwurrung, the Melbourne language. In R.M.W. Dixon and B. Blake, eds, *The handbook of Australian languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blake, Barry J. and Julie Reid, 1995, Classifying Victorian languages, *LaTrobe University Working Papers in Linguistics*, vol.8, 1-59.
- Bowe, Heather, 1997, Language issues related to the Yorta Yorta Land Claim. Report filed in the case for the claimants in the Federal Court of Australia in the Native Title case 'The Members of the Yorta Yorta Aboriginal Community and the State of Victoria and Others'.
- Bowe, Heather, Lois Peeler and Sharon Atkinson, 1997, *Yorta Yorta language heritage*. Clayton: Monash University, Department of Linguistics.
- Capell, A., 1956, *A new approach to Australian linguistics*. (Oceania Linguistic Monographs 1). Sydney: University of Sydney.
- Cato, Nancy, 1976, *Mister Maloga: Daniel Matthews and his Maloga Mission*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Clark, Ian D., 1990, *Aboriginal languages and clans: an historical atlas of western and central Victoria 1800-1900*. Monash University Publications in Geography No.37. Melbourne: Monash University Department of Geography and Environmental Science.
- Clements, Theresa, 1994, *From old Maloga*. In Peeler, Bowe and Atkinson 1994.
- Cummeragunja Community Book. 1987. Unpublished.
- Curr, E.M., 1883, *Recollections of squatting in Victoria from 1841 to 1851*. Melbourne: Robertson.

- 1886–1887, *The Australian race: its origin, languages, customs, places of landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent*. 4 vols. Melbourne: Victorian Government Printer.
- Dixon, R.M.W., 1980, *The languages of Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R.M.W., W.S. Ramson and Mandy Thomas, 1990, *Australian Aboriginal words in English – their meaning and origin*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Eastman, H.M., c.1890, *The Aborigines – their life and contact with the whites*. Manuscript held in Mitchell Library, Riverina Records, Sydney. Microfiche CY 1249.
- Edwards, A., c.1875, Letter and list of words passed on to the Briggs family. Manuscript.
- The English Hymnal*, 1933, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fahey, Charles, 1988, *Barmah forest, a history*. Melbourne: Department of Conservation, Forests and Lands.
- Hagen, Rod, 1996, Yorta Yorta claims to areas in the Murray and Lower Goulburn region of Victoria and New South Wales pursuant to the Native Title Act, 1993 (Commonwealth). Report on anthropological and socio-historical issues. Report filed in the case for the claimants in the Federal Court of Australia in the Native Title case 'The Members of the Yorta Yorta Aboriginal Community and the State of Victoria and Others'.
- Hercus, Luise, 1969, *The languages of Victoria: a late survey*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- 1986, *Victorian languages: a late survey*. Canberra: PL, B-77
- Howitt, A.W., 1904, *The native tribes of Southeast Australia*, London.
- James, Thomas Shadrach, 1897, Letter to R.H. Mathews, September 27. R.H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia MS8006 Series 2.
- James, S. and J. Chanter, 1897, Moiradubun dialect. *Australian Anthropological Journal* 1(4):88-89.
- Locke, W., 1878, Notes on the language and customs of the tribe inhabiting the country known as Kotoopna. In R.B. Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, 333-335, Melbourne: Victorian Government Printer.
- 1976, Words collected by William Locke of Kotoopna. In Cató, 1976, Appendix 4.
- Mathews, Robert Hamilton, 1902, Languages of some native tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria. *Journal and proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 36:135-190.
- 1903, Notes on some native dialects of Victoria. *Journal and proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 37:251-253.
- 1904, Ethnological notes on the Aboriginal tribes of New South Wales and Victoria. Letter to Daniel Mathews, *Journal and proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 38:203-387.
- c.1868–1912, Unpublished notebooks, offprints, and annotations to offprints. R.H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia MS8006 Series 2.
- (RMa) R.H. Mathews – Aboriginal Languages Notebook 1, pp. 51-77.
- for (RMb) R.H. Mathews 1902 see above
- for (RMc) R.H. Mathews 1903 see above

- (RMd) R.H. Mathews – Thurrawal offprint – word list
- (RMe) Manuscript sheet – undated – folded into offprint
- (RMf) Annotations to offprint of 1903 Yabula Yabula article, dated 9/2/1903
- (RMg) Annotations to offprint of 1902 article, dated 3/12/1902
- (RMh) Annotations to offprint of 1902 article, undated
- (RMi) Aboriginal Languages, Notebook 6, pp.23-29: Ngurrimau or Yabala Language
- (RMj) Draft article on Ngurrimaura (minus first page) in folio MS 8006/4
- Mathews, Daniel, 1976, The first words taken down from Old Kitty – Maloga. Wallithica Tribe – Echuca, Murray River, Acquired in 1864–1874. In Nancy Cato, *Mister Maloga*, Appendix 4., St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- n.d. Reports of the Maloga Mission 1878-1900. MS held in Mortlock Library, SA.
- Mathews, Janet, 1898, letter to R.H. Mathews, June 3. R.H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia MS8006 Series 2.
- Morgan, Ronald, 1952, *Reminiscences of the Aboriginal station at Cummergunja and its Aboriginal people*. Barmah: published by a few friends of the author.
- O’Callaghan, T., 1918, *Names of Victorian railway stations – origins and meanings*. Melbourne: Government Printer.
- Peeler, Lois, Heather Bowe and Sharon Atkinson, 1994, *Yorta Yorta language revival project*. Report to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, Melbourne.
- Reed, A.W., 1967. *Aboriginal place names and their meanings*. Sydney: A.H. and A.W. Reed. (paperback edition 1970)
- Robinson, G.A., 1843–1845, Various manuscripts held by Mitchell Library: (Ra)67/1-6; 67/7-11; (Rb)65/3/160-2; (Rc)65/6/87-9; (Rd)65/6/95-6.
- Smyth, R.B., 1878, *The Aborigines of Victoria*. Melbourne: Victorian Government Printer.
- Sommer, B.A., 1997, Yoda Yoda: language and territoriality. Report filed by the State of New South Wales in the Federal Court of Australia in the Native Title case ‘The members of the Yorta Yorta Aboriginal Community and the State of Victoria and Others’.
- Strutt, C.E., 1858–1859, In *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines together with proceedings of committee, minutes of evidence and appendices*, p.49. Melbourne: Government Printer.
- 1878, In Smyth, 1978, vol.2, pp.68-69.
- Taplin, George, 1879, *The folklore, manners, customs and languages of the South Australians*. Adelaide: Government Printer.
- Thomas, William, c.1855, Comparative vocabularies. Held by Mitchell Library: MS 214/23 (=Microfilm CY 3130) Frame Nos.156-157. Pangaran; MS 214/19 (=Microfilm CY 3104) Frame No.80.
- Thieberger, Nick and William McGregor, eds, 1994, *Macquarie Aboriginal words*. Sydney: Macquarie Library.
- Tindale, Norman B., 1974, *Aboriginal tribes of Australia: their terrain, environmental controls, distribution, limits and proper names*. Canberra: ANU Press.

Tuckfield, Francis, 1842, Pine Gorine or natives of junction of Goulburn and Murray. *House of Commons Sessional Papers*, 1844, 34:225, 227. (Republished as R.B. Smyth, 1878, p.166.)

Tape-Recordings

Tape-recordings (from 1960s) (available from Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies)

- | | |
|----------------|--|
| Hercus, L. | A216 (Ron Morgan) |
| | A217a (Ron Morgan, Priscilla McCrae) |
| | A995b (Bill Jackson) |
| | A211A (Stan Day, Margaret Tucker) |
| Mathews, Janet | A1179 (Geraldine Briggs and Selwyn Briggs) |
| Ellis, C. | A192 (Bill Jackson) |

Interviews conducted by Sharon Atkinson in 1993:

Leon Atkinson, Pearl Joyce, Francis Mathyssen, Mick McIvor, Ken Briggs, Merle Bamblett, Veronica Joachme.

Tape recording of Geraldine Briggs, Frances Mathyssen and Lois Peeler in 1996.