The Yorta Yorta (Bangerang) language of the Murray Goulburn
Including Yabula Yabula
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References
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 Mathyssen, 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 Mathyssen, Mick Mclvor, 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  Pikkolatpan  214B
Ct  Curr  Toolinyagan  214C
Cr  Curr  Recollections of squating in Victoria
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 The first words taken down by old Kitty
Mb  Matthews (Wallithica)
Matthews' diary notes as reported by Cato (1976)
Merle Bamblett, tape-recorded by S. Atkinson, transcribed by Heather Bowe
Pearl Joyce, tape-recorded by S. Atkinson, transcribed by Heather Bowe
Robinson 67/1/1-12 – Woungillum, about 80 words
Robinson 65/3/160-162 – about 60 words untitled
Robinson 65/6/87-89 – Warrenilum, about 250 words
Robinson 65/6/95-96 – a comparative vocabulary of 32 words in various languages including Warrengillum and Upper Hume West (Pallanganmiddang)
R.H. Mathews – Notebook on Yota Yota, MS book 1
R.H. Mathews – Yota-yota word list 1902:179-190 and 1902 article
R.H. Mathews – 1903 article
R.H. Mathews – Thurrawal offprint – word list
Manuscript sheet – undated – folded into offprint
Annotations to offprint of 1903 Yabula Yabula article, dated 9/2/1903
Annotations to offprint of 1902 article, dated 3/12/1902
Annotations to offprint of 1902 article, undated
Aboriginal Languages Notebook 6, pp.23-29, Ngurrimauru or Yabala Language
Draft Document on Ngurrimaura language (minus first page)
Strutt in VLC
Strutt in Smyth
Smyth p.196
Tuckfield (various)
Thomas
Veronica Joachme, tape-recorded by S. Atkinson, transcribed by Heather Bowe

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

Dhudoroa
Pallangamiddang
Wemba Wemba
Wiradjuri
Thagungwurrun
Gippsland

Woi
Yb
Watha
Bung
Warr

Woiwurrun
Yabula Yabula
Wathawurrun
Bungaditj
Warrnambool

(iii) Areal information

General Australian
General Victorian
SE Aust
SW Vic

South East Australian
South Western Victoria
**Grammatical abbreviations**

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<thead>
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<th>Description</th>
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<td>ablative</td>
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<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>absolutive</td>
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<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusative</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
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<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
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<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous</td>
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<tr>
<td>DU, Du</td>
<td>dual</td>
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<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
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<td>ERG</td>
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<td>SOV</td>
<td>subject, object, verb</td>
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**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 (Pingorine) 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 Malaga*.

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 yôorta. 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 [yta] is an underlying phonemic form /yucla/ 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).

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.

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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:\(^5\)

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

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 'Baggerag' 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 'Da'didi'di' to the north-west. The relationship between these 'Upper Murray Languages' seems to be rather slight. A comparison between the records of Da'didi'di 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 listen 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 Pikkolatpan group and the ‘Yabula Yabula’ language of the Ngarrimowro group, both of which are described by Curr as part of the greater Bangerang group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Combination</th>
<th>Lexical Similarity</th>
<th>(Overlap)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Curr Bangerang with Curr Ngarrimowro</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>(28/78)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr Bangerang with Curr Pikkolatpan</td>
<td>71.7%</td>
<td>(38/53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr Pikkolatpan with Curr Ngarrimowro</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>(23/56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorta Yorta combined lists with Yabula Yabula combined lists</td>
<td>44%8</td>
<td>(49/112)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (Ngarrimowro) language (which had *yabula* as the word for ‘no’) as part of the Bangerang group of clan languages along with Pikkolatpan (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 Pikkolatpan clan belongs with the Kwai Kwai group, which he identifies as extending to Barnawatha and the junction of the King and Ovens rivers. It would seem that the term Kwai Kwai referred to a sub-group of the Yorta Yorta/Bangerang macro-group (see Hagen 1996). Robinson reported Kwai Kwai/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 La Trobe, 1843; in Hagen 1996:23). Tindale regarded Kwai Kwai 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 Kwai Kwai 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 Kwai Kwai/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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Ten related Bangerang tribes (Curr 1887)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wongatpan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tōwroonbanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wollithiga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kailthiban, sometimes called Waaringulum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moitheriban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pikkolatpan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angōotheriban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngarrimōwro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toolenyāgan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boongatpan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Tōwroonbanā tribe, who lived to the south of the Wongatban, 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 Kailthiban, 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(ɡ)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 *kielduban* 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 Toolenyagan, who lived in the area south of Ulupna; the Pikkolatpan, which inhabited an area north of Tocumwall, and the Ngarrimowro, who lived on both sides of the Murray River near Yeilima.

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

Of the remaining two clans Angôotheriban 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 Pikkolâtpan clan, suggests that the clan name comes from the word [ˈpikːɔr] ‘emu’ – which we can recognise in the Yorta Yorta word *bigarrumda* ‘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: Brepouro, Bûroogunja, Vullibala, Vullarak, Cunnijiga. James’ entire list of the ‘Yotta Yotta’ and its offshoots is as follows:
The first clan James lists is given as ‘Yotta Yotta pure’. It would seem that it refers to Dorunban (one of Curr’s ‘Bangerang proper’ clans not listed by James) and/or the Dulinayan 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/Ngurrimaura and Yabala were one and the same because Ngurrimaura has the word *yabula* for ‘no’. And yet Mathews at the end of his Ngurrimauer draft article (RMj) also indicates that a group he identifies as the Yabula Yabula existed in addition to the Ngurrimaura:

> 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, County of Townsend...They were met towards the south and south-west by the Yota-Yota, Bataura, Yabbula Yebula and Birrabu-birrabu, which are sister tongues of the Ngurrimaura. The Wirraidjuri speaking people merged upon the Ngurrimaura 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:

| 1.   | Yóta Yóta pure | 8.   | Brepówro |
| 4.   | Móyir Dúbún    | 11.  | Ungrdubun |
| 5.   | Wúngun-Cútpen  | 12.  | Vullómbala |
| 6.   | Wúlle Deegun   | 13.  | Vullarák  |

10 The second word is almost unreadable.
Table 3: The twelve clans of the Yorta Yorta appear to be:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggested spelling (Bowe)</th>
<th>Curr</th>
<th>Robinson</th>
<th>James (letter)</th>
<th>Mathews</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Clark’s No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wongatban</td>
<td>Wongātpan</td>
<td>Wongotban</td>
<td>Wūngūn-cupen</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dorunban</td>
<td>Tōwroonban</td>
<td>Darrinbun</td>
<td>[Yotta Yotta pure?]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Walidhiga</td>
<td>Wollithiga</td>
<td>Walledrigger</td>
<td>Wullee deegun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Walithica (D. Matthews)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gayilduban/ Waringilum</td>
<td>Kailithiban/ Waaringilum</td>
<td>War ren il um</td>
<td>Kial deebuń</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Moiraduban</td>
<td>Moitheriban</td>
<td>Merdidderban</td>
<td>Moyir dōbuń</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Moiraduban (James &amp; Chanter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bikolatban</td>
<td>Pikkolātpan</td>
<td>Biggolatban</td>
<td>Yalliba</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Yanguduban</td>
<td>Angōotheriban</td>
<td>Ungiddernooban</td>
<td>Ungōřduban</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dulinyagan</td>
<td>Toolinyāgan</td>
<td>Tolelinyargine</td>
<td>[Yotta Yotta pure?]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bungatban</td>
<td>Boongaťpan</td>
<td>Yewn-got-ban</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5, 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Mowatban</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mowatban/ Bowatban</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Derenatban</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Derenatban</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12a</td>
<td>Ngarimoro</td>
<td>Ngarrimōwo</td>
<td>Maddemowero</td>
<td>Ngaree-mōwo</td>
<td>Ngurrimauro</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12b</td>
<td>Yabala Yabala</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Yābala-Yābala</td>
<td>Yabbula Yebula</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Baraporo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Brepouro</td>
<td>Brrabu-birrabu</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Burumgandja</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Būroongunja</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Balombala</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Vullombala</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Balarak</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Vullarak</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ganidjika</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Cunnijiga</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bataura</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bataura</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: Yorta Yorta sources – cognate comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bangerang (Cb)</th>
<th>Pikkolätpän (Cp)</th>
<th>Toolinyägan (Ct)</th>
<th>Ngarriméro (Ch)</th>
<th>Walithca (Mb)</th>
<th>Morraduban (J)</th>
<th>Kieldbuban (E)</th>
<th>Worningillum (Ra)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kangaroo</td>
<td>kai-i-mer</td>
<td>wortogoa</td>
<td>tanjutcoopna</td>
<td>wardakow</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>kyemir</td>
<td>ky-em.re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tame dog</td>
<td>pok-ka</td>
<td>pokka</td>
<td>pokka</td>
<td>karnao</td>
<td>bucca</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>bucca (dingo)</td>
<td>tone.do.or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emu</td>
<td>pikkeroomdja</td>
<td>pikkeroomdja</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>godaiami</td>
<td>bickeroomdja</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>bigurumja</td>
<td>big.er.ronejar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>göna</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>takinjoa, gona</td>
<td>korno, liggow</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>duckindua</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aborigines</td>
<td>èn-ben-na</td>
<td>beowka</td>
<td>yenbena</td>
<td>bawal</td>
<td>yenbena</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>yeen bun ner</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>kówo</td>
<td>kowo</td>
<td>kowo</td>
<td>kowo</td>
<td>cowa</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>cow</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>kái-a</td>
<td>bapo</td>
<td>bapo</td>
<td>bingalam</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>baapoo</td>
<td>bare poo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>kán-a</td>
<td>napo</td>
<td>napo</td>
<td>nga-ga-lam</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>naapoo</td>
<td>nar poo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a baby</td>
<td>ko-tóop-ka</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>kotoopna</td>
<td>kothopook</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>yár-ka</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ngolwaichik</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>yare er ker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>pó-ko</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>boco</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>bookco</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>më-ul</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>meul</td>
<td>ma, mawo</td>
<td>maa</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>mare</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>már-moo</td>
<td>marmoo</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>maram</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>marmo</td>
<td>marmoo</td>
<td>mar re moo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>wòô-roo</td>
<td>woorro</td>
<td>woorro</td>
<td>worro</td>
<td>cutta</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>cutta</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>biít-ya</td>
<td>bitya</td>
<td>bitya</td>
<td>kalao</td>
<td>bitcha</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>pit yer</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>wöl-la</td>
<td>thethowganna</td>
<td>wolla</td>
<td>banna</td>
<td>wullah</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>wolla</td>
<td>wol-ler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>thõng-a</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>thonga</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>thonga</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground</td>
<td>wók-ka</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>wokka</td>
<td>wokka</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>wuk'ka</td>
<td>wuckka</td>
<td>woc.er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rain</td>
<td>kóo-kor-a</td>
<td>korkora</td>
<td>korkora</td>
<td>karokor</td>
<td>corcora</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>corcora</td>
<td>ko-ker er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>ngô-e</td>
<td>ngoe</td>
<td>ngoe</td>
<td>ngorwai</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ngowa</td>
<td>hor</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>yôô-ta</td>
<td>yalliba</td>
<td>yalliba</td>
<td>yabbala</td>
<td>yotta</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>yotta</td>
<td>er</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>kääl-in-ya</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>käälina</td>
<td>kalein</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>galnia</td>
<td>kalorya</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>mat-tim-na</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>matimina</td>
<td>matthir</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>muth'a</td>
<td>basaneep</td>
<td>bro-mer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>nge-riv-iín-ya</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ngieni wiinya</td>
<td>ngeni marrai</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>winyar</td>
<td>wunyir</td>
<td>bun yarn ote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>wiinya</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>wiinya</td>
<td>marrai</td>
<td>winyir</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>wunyir</td>
<td>win.yer.re</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribe</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>kielduban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak</td>
<td>lô-it-pa</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>loitpa</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>laidpeiya</td>
<td>kun yun dite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>wünul</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>wunul</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>wunul</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strike</td>
<td>nyinuk</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>ninna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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), Toolinygan (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 gorrkara ‘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 languages 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
<th>Overlap</th>
<th>Common Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Curr’s Bangerang (Cb)</td>
<td>with Curr’s Toolinyagan (Ct)</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>54/65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr’s Bangerang (Cb)</td>
<td>with James’ Moiraduban (J)</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>28/35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr’s Bangerang (Cb)</td>
<td>with Matthews’ Walithica (Mb)</td>
<td>82.9%</td>
<td>29/35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr’s Bangerang (Cb)</td>
<td>with Curr’s Pikkolatpan (Cp)</td>
<td>71.7%</td>
<td>38/53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr’s Bangerang (Cb)</td>
<td>with Robinson’s Worrenilum (Ra/Rc)</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>102/120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr’s Bangerang (Cb)</td>
<td>with Barry’s Kielduban (E)</td>
<td>78.3%</td>
<td>119/152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr’s Bangerang (Cb)</td>
<td>with Curr’s Toolinyagan (Ct)</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>54/65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr’s Bangerang (Cb)</td>
<td>with Curr’s Toolinyagan (Ct)</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>54/65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word lists provided by Curr for Toolinyagan, by James for Moiraduban, by Matthews for Walithica, by Robinson for Worrenilum (=Kailithiban) 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 Pikkolatpan (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 Toolinyagan clan language of Ulupna in the north-east:

Matthew’s Walithica (Mb) with Curr’s Toolinyagan (Ct) 80.5% 29/36

In comparing Curr’s Pikkolatpan with its closest neighbour, Curr’s Toolinyagan, we see quite a close relationship, though marginally less than between the closest groups:

Curr’s Pikkolatpan (Cp) with Curr’s Toolinyagan (Ct) 77.5% 31/40

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
<th>Overlap</th>
<th>Common Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Curr’s Bangerang (Cb)</td>
<td>with Curr’s Ngarrimowro (Cn)</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>28/78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined Yorta Yorta list</td>
<td>with combined Yabula Yabula list</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>49/112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr’s Pikkolatpan (Cp)</td>
<td>with Curr’s Ngarrimowro (Cn)</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>23/56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Matthews and James, who all lived in the area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mathews’ Yota Yota (RMb)</th>
<th>with James’ Moiraduban (J)</th>
<th>26/30</th>
<th>86.6%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with Curr’s Bangerang (Cb)</td>
<td>60/87</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with Curr’s Toolinyagen (Ct)</td>
<td>44/54</td>
<td>81.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with Matthews’ Wallithika (Mb)</td>
<td>18/24</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given that Mathews probably gathered his Yorta Yorta 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 Matthews of Maloga which Daniel’s wife Janet Matthews replied to in 1898. This letter, however, was to do with R.H. Mathews’ interest in intermarriage groups. R.H. Matthews 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yorta Yorta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'a man'</td>
<td>yiyirr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'a husband'</td>
<td>winyan-banayirr (winyanbunayirRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'old man'</td>
<td>dhamayirr (dhamiyirrRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'very old man'</td>
<td>djirribang (dyirribungRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'clever man'</td>
<td>ngarraga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'small boy'</td>
<td>malnigaptya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'youth, before initiation'</td>
<td>malniga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'youth, partly initiated'</td>
<td>wonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'youth, after extraction of tooth'</td>
<td>gokamulga (gogamulgaRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'youth, fully initiated'</td>
<td>djibau ga (dyibau gaRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'elder brother'</td>
<td>banyuba (panyupaRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'younger brother'</td>
<td>banyip (panyipRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'elder/younger sister'</td>
<td>dhatjip (dhaigipRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'younger sister'</td>
<td>bugika (pugikaRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'a woman'</td>
<td>winyarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'old woman'</td>
<td>dhama winyarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'woman during menses'</td>
<td>garrtabala (kartubullaRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'wife'</td>
<td>winyarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'small girl'</td>
<td>nyauwoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'young woman'</td>
<td>dhadhiwa (dhuddiwaRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'time of first menses'</td>
<td>durrngagimatj (durguggimutyRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'girl at first menses'</td>
<td>maya (maiaRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'father'</td>
<td>nhungui (nhunguiRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>nhannah (nhannahRMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'child of either sex'</td>
<td>guthapka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'  
'brother/sister-in-law'  
'daughter'  
'daughter-in-law'  
'cousin'  
'grandfather'  
'grandmother'  

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bangerang</th>
<th>Pikkolatpan</th>
<th>Toolinyagan</th>
<th>Ngarrimowro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'father'</td>
<td>kāi-a</td>
<td>bapo</td>
<td>bapo</td>
<td>nhungui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>kān-a</td>
<td>napo</td>
<td>napo</td>
<td>nhanha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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

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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wemba</th>
<th>Wiradjuri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'father'</td>
<td>mama</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>papa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grandmother'</td>
<td>mima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grandfather, maternal'</td>
<td>ngapa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grandfather, paternal'</td>
<td>paremparem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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*.

- *banyuba* ‘older brother’
- *banyip* ‘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:

- *dhatjiba* ‘sister’ (also ‘younger brother’ ?)
- *dhatjip* ‘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.*
   ‘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 examples 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 Ngurrimauur 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 ‘Ngurrimauur or Yabala Language’ in his Notebook 6, R.H. Mathews (RMi) noted the following under a heading Yota Yota:

---

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
Plain snake, Kartya black back and very poisonous
Fred Walker, Nankeen Crane, – white crane – Bandicoot
Leatherhead = Dungiur. 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 form 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.


(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 Waingulum. 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: Warrenillum; 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.)


(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 Pikkolatpan. 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 Malaga.

(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 Katoopna’, 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 Katoopna’; four words collected by D. Matthews (Cato 1976, Appendix 4).
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.

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.


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


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.
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.


(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].)

(c.1890) Eastman MS


(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).


(RMd) Yota Yota word list annotated to offprint of article on Thurrawal Language [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].

Ngurrimaura Sources

(RMi) Aboriginal Languages Notebook 6, pp.23-29 Ngurrimauer or Yabala Language [R.H. Mathews Papers, National Library of Australia].

(RMj) Draft Document on Ngurrimaura 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.


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.
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 Mathyssen (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.
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) 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 – moani’ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'Correct word'</th>
<th>'Incorrect published form'</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Any large tree'</td>
<td>(No entry RMd)</td>
<td>(dyealna RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ti-Tree'</td>
<td><em>djiyalna</em> (jealna RMd)</td>
<td>(dyima RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Willow, wild'</td>
<td><em>djima</em> (jeema RMd)</td>
<td>(ngörtya RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Myall'</td>
<td><em>ngortya</em> (gnörtya RMd)</td>
<td>(ગાંગા RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Wattle'</td>
<td><em>ganga</em> (gànga RMd)</td>
<td>(ngummarra RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Pine'</td>
<td><em>ngamarra</em> (ngummarra RMd)</td>
<td>(waw-lulla RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Oak'</td>
<td><em>waulula</em> (waw-lulla RMd)</td>
<td>(barttya RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Cherry-tree'</td>
<td><em>barrtja</em> (barttya RMd)</td>
<td>(bāla RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Red-gum tree'</td>
<td><em>bala</em> (bāla RMd)</td>
<td>(dharnya RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'White box'</td>
<td><em>dharnya</em> (dharnya RMd)</td>
<td>(baiuna RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Yellow box'</td>
<td><em>bayuna</em> (baiuna RMd)</td>
<td>(bēruga RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Honeysuckle'</td>
<td><em>berruga</em> (bēruga RMd)</td>
<td>(bitthin RMb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Bullrushes'</td>
<td><em>bitthin</em> (bitthin RMd)</td>
<td>(maiulla RMb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Mathyssen (FM), Mick McIvor (MMcI), Ken Briggs (KB), Merle Bamblett (MB), Veronica Joachme (VJ), Liz Tass (LT). An additional conversation between Geraldine Briggs (GB), Frances Mathyssen (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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yorta Yorta 1960s</th>
<th>Yorta Yorta 1990s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Aborigines'</td>
<td></td>
<td>[wungi]*, PJ, KB, FM (perhaps related to wongatban/wongatban)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'anus'</td>
<td>mutja BJ</td>
<td>[mutja] KB, [bubu] MB {Wdj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'auntie'</td>
<td></td>
<td>[djetja]* (grandmother, old ladies) FM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'baby'</td>
<td>brai brai* SB</td>
<td>[burai] GB, FM, KB, MB {Wdj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'boogie man'</td>
<td></td>
<td>[brai-brai] FM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'boots'</td>
<td></td>
<td>[mobæng]* MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bread'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'bread (damper)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'brother'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'canoe pole'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'child'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cigarette'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'come here'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'cousin, relations'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dear, darling'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dirty'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dog'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'emu'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'entrails (of sheep)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'excrement'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'eye'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fat'</td>
<td>wolitja BJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'father'</td>
<td>mama GB {Wb}</td>
<td>[mama] GB {Wb}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fire'</td>
<td>bitja PMcC, BJ, RM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fish, black'</td>
<td>munniga BJ,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fishing'</td>
<td>duria* MT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'foot'</td>
<td>djina MT</td>
<td>[djina] MB, [djina] KB, [djinan] KB, FM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go, be off!'</td>
<td>yanagai PMcC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go away!'</td>
<td>beromdja PMcC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Yorta Yorta 1960s</td>
<td>Yorta Yorta 1990s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'good'</td>
<td>[galyan] GB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'goodness gracious'</td>
<td>[gαŋkα] KB (word used by the Joyce family for their grandfather) perhaps related to gangaba 'uncle'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
<td>[ŋapa] GB, ('Grandfather Bob Cooper') {Wb}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grandfather-maternal'</td>
<td>parem parem GB {Wb}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grandfather-paternal'</td>
<td>parem parem GB {Wb}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grandfather, clever old man'</td>
<td>[nyana]* MMc,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grandmother'</td>
<td>kuka GB, FM (Kuka Agie) {Wb}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'grandparents, old people in general'</td>
<td>mima GB {Wb}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'graves, burial ground'</td>
<td>molwa GB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ground, land'</td>
<td>woka GB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hallelujah'</td>
<td>[yamnayala] FM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'head'</td>
<td>bakora buka MT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'horse*'</td>
<td>yaramen BJ, MT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I'</td>
<td>nga PMcC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kangaroo'</td>
<td>nyatipa* BJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'knife'</td>
<td>[baa], [bara] ZT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'liar, teller of yams'</td>
<td>yambeldain GB {Wdj}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'louse' (of head)</td>
<td>[yambeldain] GB, FM {Wdj}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'long way away'</td>
<td>djinyaka* RM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'look!'</td>
<td>natjelma BJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'make believe'</td>
<td>[gemenen]* FM (perhaps from English 'gammon', meaning 'deception, pretence', deceitful</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'man'</td>
<td>[molwa] FM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mate, friend'</td>
<td>[bida], [bida]* (used by men of each other) FM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'meat'</td>
<td>djita GB, SB, PMcC, BJ, RM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'meat' (sheep's entrails)</td>
<td>[djita]a KB, FM, VJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

13
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yorta Yorta 1960s</th>
<th>Yorta Yorta 1990s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'methylated spirits'*</td>
<td>batjalan, GB, BJ</td>
<td>[gumpaN] MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'money'*</td>
<td>[batjalan] VJ, [batjalan] GB, KB, [batjalan] LT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>gana PmcC</td>
<td>[bapa] GB, FM {Wb}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bapa GB {Wb}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kwindrik MT {Wdj}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'my'</td>
<td>nyini, ngini PmcC</td>
<td>[nyini] GB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'no'</td>
<td>yorta BJ</td>
<td>[yota] GB, LP, FM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nose, running'</td>
<td>dutela LH</td>
<td>[dutala] GB, LP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'person'</td>
<td></td>
<td>[gumna]* MB or sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'policeman'*</td>
<td>ganiitjmen MT {Wdj}</td>
<td>[gandji] MB {Wdj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baramendai GB {Wdj}</td>
<td>[baramandain] FM, MB, VJ, KB {Wdj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'poor thing'</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ngærabang] (endearment) MB 'ridicule, if spoken of whites' {Wdj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'possum'</td>
<td>wileya SB {Wdj}</td>
<td>[wileya] KB, [willa] FM {Wdj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'quick'</td>
<td>batja BJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'rain'</td>
<td>gorkora BJ</td>
<td>[banyip] MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'river creature'</td>
<td></td>
<td>[maloga] GB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sand'</td>
<td>maloga RM</td>
<td>[gulan] FM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'shame'</td>
<td></td>
<td>[djambak] KB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'silly'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'speak'</td>
<td>loitjbatj BJ</td>
<td>[nyinim] FM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'struck'</td>
<td></td>
<td>[bakora buka] ('hard headed') FM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stubborn'</td>
<td>bakora* buka ('hard headed') MT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'swan'</td>
<td>danapna SB, BJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tea'</td>
<td>yalka RM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'testicles'</td>
<td></td>
<td>[gara] LT {Wdj}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that one' (far away)</td>
<td>nganaburaya GB, ngungaburaya PmcC, BJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'there' (just)</td>
<td>danyiwolega* RM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'this one'</td>
<td>nyana PmcC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thistle' (milk)</td>
<td>deyawin P McC, MT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'together'</td>
<td>bakobanj MT</td>
<td>[yapaneyepuk] FM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'trousers'</td>
<td>dhauwadhen* BJ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6: Yorta Yorta words collected in the 1960s and 1990s

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

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, bīit-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 Cb, barpa Ct, burbun E, pur.rer-pun Ra, pur rer pun Rb, bar rope bun Rc, bīrpa 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 bīit-ya Cb) as an indicator or 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] /bitja/
- ‘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 /ng/ 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 /l/, /g/. This occurs only word-externally 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 /ng/. 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 ̃ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hercus</th>
<th>Mathews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[a] stressed</td>
<td>&lt;u&gt; before double consonant (maybe only after stops)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[a] unstressed</td>
<td>&lt;a&gt; before single consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[A] unstressed final</td>
<td>&lt;a&gt; final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[A] unstressed medial</td>
<td>&lt;u&gt; before double consonant (maybe only after stops)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e] final</td>
<td>&lt;e&gt; minnhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[i] stressed after [C-stop]</td>
<td>&lt;i&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o] stressed</td>
<td>&lt;o&gt;, &lt;ö&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u] stressed</td>
<td>&lt;oa&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only exceptions in the Hercus data to these correspondences were found for the words [wən̪ːuːl] H ‘where’ and the word [wəl̪ːu] H ‘water’. For the former, Mathews gives wunool RMa, wannhul RMb. We would expect <wunnoh> to be the Mathews form, to correspond with Hercus [wən̪ːuːl]. But note that the older sources all record this word with <u> and <o>, e.g. woonul Ls, winnul Cb, wunool E. For the latter, we would expect <wulla> to correspond with Hercus [wəl̪ːu] but Mathews gives walla RMb, RMd. Perhaps after /w/, Mathews puts an <a> for /al/, 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 /ngal/ (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 /bigarrumdjia/ ‘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 us /bigarrumdjia/ ‘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 /yorrng-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 Pikkolâtpân (Cp), ngana for Toolenyâgan (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 Pikkolâtpân, appear to have lost an initial /y/ evident in other varieties, as seen in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8: Initial consonant elision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant, bull dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck, wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plenty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomahawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one, other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perhaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sick, pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Pitjantjâjara 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 ka'iyâ Lc, Sb, ka'iyôw Sb, ka'ï-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 ia'awa (iawa RMb, iaawa Cb, iaawa Cp) although other alternatives are you-a T, yow-er Ra. Alternative phonemic representations could be /yawal/, /yi.yawa/ /i.yawal/ or /i.awa/. The representation /yi.yawa/ 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 iawa Cb and iaawa RMb is indicative of stress on the second syllable, i.e. /yi.yawa/, 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 /yiyáwa/.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>‘Objective’</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Nominative reflexive/emph</th>
<th>Ergative reflexive/emph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nyu wanda</td>
<td>nyu wandak</td>
<td>nyun danak</td>
<td>nyu wandan</td>
<td>nyundungu</td>
<td>nyundakngu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is almost as though an earlier stem /nyudu/ 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 dipthongise (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’, bidjau ‘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 punna.  (or)  Punna  i.  (Cbs:576)  
‘Give me a possum.’

/i  buna  /buna  i/  
i  buna  buna  i  
give  opossum  opossum  give  
‘Give (me) i 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stops</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/dh/</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/djj/</td>
<td>(djj)??</td>
<td>/g/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/nh/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/ny/</td>
<td>(/n/)??</td>
<td>/ng/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>(lly)/??</td>
<td>(lly)/??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td></td>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>/yl/</td>
<td>(yl)/??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>/w/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>(yl)/??</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: māl-ya ‘swan’ (Cb:582) and kōlyun (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 /l/ /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:

/η/ A retroflex nasal was recorded by Hercus in just one word, which she writes as [daŋpənal] ‘swan’, which Mathews records as turnupinha 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 [danapnA], 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 yōorta (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).

/t/ 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 [‘yarkA] to [‘yalkA], 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 /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:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
i & u \\
e & o \\
a &
\end{array}
\]

Concerning the vowel [o] and its variant [ə], Hercus (1986:162) writes that [o] was a mid close sound and [ə] 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 [yota] in her word list.) Our perception of the pronunciation of the audio-taped speakers is that the word is pronounced with the more open [ə] as [yota]; however, we note that Curr (1887) represents this word with an <oor>, yoorta and yəorta. 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 [yuta] (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 [e] (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 [ə] 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 [ə] 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.
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 tingojoja 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 ‘magpie’ has been recorded by Mathews and Curr as kornga音响 (RMb:184) and ko-orn-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 [kon] 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’, [o]. It is the higher of the two that we find in the word Yorta Yorta, and also in the word for ‘rain’, /gorrrkarra/, [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:

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. /wu'lupna/.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad phonetic</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[yo:ta]</td>
<td>/yuḍa/</td>
<td>‘no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[woːlupna]</td>
<td>/wuṭubna/</td>
<td>‘sheep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /ɾ/, then we could explain the vowel quality in words such as the word for ‘rain’:

[goːrkara] /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 /buri(n)yu/ with the presence of the rhotic conditioning the lengthening and lowering of the vowel:

[bɔrnyu] /buri(n)yu/ ‘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).

[gana] /gana/ ‘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 gukurra /gugura/ ‘wrist’. By this analysis we would expect the vowel in the second syllable to become lowered, giving rise to [gugora]. This is not reflected unambiguously in the sources which provide kōkoora 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 /yuḍa/, /wuṭubna/, /gana/ as would follow from this hypothesis, but as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>yorta</th>
<th>/yoda/</th>
<th>‘no’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wolupna</td>
<td>/wolubna/</td>
<td>‘sheep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bōrinyu</td>
<td>/bori(n)yu/</td>
<td>‘arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gana</td>
<td>/gana/</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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, intervocally and word-finally, with the possible exception of /r/. Whilst the stops /g/ and /d/ 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-init</th>
<th>Intervoca</th>
<th>Word-fina</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/badja/ ‘possum’</td>
<td>/muban/ ‘mud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dh/</td>
<td>/dhoma/ ‘dear’</td>
<td>/gadagana/ ‘not, don’t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/dolma/ ‘black duck’</td>
<td>/yoda/ ‘no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dj/</td>
<td>/djunda/ ‘birds’</td>
<td>/bidja/ ‘fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>/gorgara/ ‘rain’</td>
<td>/bugan/ ‘hair of head’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /banyubaba/. For ‘sister’, the forms /dhadjab/ and /dhadjab/ 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/, wawath 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-initially</th>
<th>Intervocally</th>
<th>Word-finally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/ma-loga/ 'sandhill'</td>
<td>/dhadirim/ 'to eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/nagin/ 'tail'</td>
<td>/nagin/ 'tail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nh/</td>
<td>/nha-/ 'to see'</td>
<td>NOT FOUND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ny/</td>
<td>/nyana/ 'we' (PL. EXC)</td>
<td>/yinya/ 'light'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ng/</td>
<td>/ngadha/ 'I' (ergative)</td>
<td>/yunga/ 'to throw'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Distribution of approximants in Yorta Yorta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-initially</th>
<th>Intervocally</th>
<th>Word-finally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>/lodjba/ 'to talk'</td>
<td>/wanhal/ 'where (at)?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>NOT FOUND</td>
<td>/yiyir/ 'man'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Distribution of semivowels in Yorta Yorta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word-initially</th>
<th>Intervocally</th>
<th>Word-finally</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>/yiyir/ 'man'</td>
<td>/buray/ 'baby'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>/wanhal/ 'where (at)?'</td>
<td>/bitjaw/ 'wood'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 intitial /r/ was avoided. Initial /r/ is not found in Wemba Wemba, Woi wurrung/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 /yl/.
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 /rl/. (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 /rl/ + nasal are few. There are no examples of any consonant sequences in which /rl/ 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/   dūtyimba RMb  ‘tomahawk’
/nd/     /djunda/  tyōanda RMb  ‘birds collectively’
/nɡ/     /yang-gawa/  yanggāwa 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:


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’  kumbinna RMb, künninna RMd, cunbin E, gun bin ner Rc
/yenbena/ ‘Aborigine’  ēn-ben-a Cb, yen-bena Mb, heen-binner Rd
/banbura/ ‘spade, dig’  pūnbora Cb, bunboora E

/n-g/     /gun-gi/ ‘bag’  kunki RMb, RMd
/ban-ga/ ‘club’ (hunting)  bān-ga RMb, bānga RMd, bonnear TH
/dun-ga/ ‘leg’ (calf)  tone-gur Rc, tunga E, tunt-en-ga T
/gorn-gany/ ‘maggpie’9  ko-ōrn-gain Cb, korngañ RMb

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.

9 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.

\[ /\text{nhdh}/ \quad /\text{ngangiyandha}/ \quad \text{ngungeandha RMb} \quad \text{‘pretend’} \]
\[ /\text{nydj}/ \quad /\text{mandja}/ \quad \text{mándya RMb} \quad \text{‘plain turkey’} \]

(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.

\[ /\text{m-n}/ \quad /\text{madhimna}/ \quad \text{mat-tím-na Cb, mathimna GB} \quad \text{‘bad’} \]
\[ /\text{n-m}/ \quad /\text{wanmir}/ \quad \text{wānmir RMb, won-mir Cb} \quad \text{‘eaglehawk’} \]
\[ /\text{ny-m}/ \quad /\text{bunyma}/ \quad \text{buñima RMb} \quad \text{‘to make’} \]

(c) Nasal + Semivowel

Mathews (RMb) provides a single record of such a sequence:\[ /\text{ng+w}/ \quad /\text{ngangwura}/ \quad \text{ngúngwura RMb} \quad \text{‘heart’} \]

(d) Approximant + Nasal

The following examples illustrate the occurrence of Lateral + Nasal:

\[ /\text{l-m}/ \quad /\text{dolma}/ \quad \text{dólma RMb} \quad \text{‘black duck’} \]
\[ /\text{l-nh}/ \quad /\text{malnha}/ \quad \text{malnha RMb} \quad \text{‘a splinter’} \]
\[ /\text{l-n}/ \quad /\text{malnega}/ \quad \text{malnēga RMb} \quad \text{‘youth, before initiation’} \]
\[ /\text{l-ny}/ \quad /\text{galnyoga}/ \quad \text{gulnyoga RMb, kulnow-ga E} \quad \text{‘bald’} \]
\[ /\text{l-ng}/ \quad \text{no examples} \]

There are at least ten instances where Mathews provides examples of /\text{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 /\text{r}/ + nasal sequence.

Since /\text{r}/ was permitted word-finally in the language, we would also expect there to be cases of /\text{r}/ + nasal sequences.\[ /\text{Continued on next page} \]

---

13 This may be a compound. Other writers give \text{bura: poora} E, \text{bor:rer} Rc. Possibly \text{nga-burai ‘my heart’} (inalienable possession).
14 Curr records \text{mādliga Cb} for this word.
15 Many words are written in early written sources with consonant sequences of \text{<r>} followed by a nasal. We have been aware that the letter \text{<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
Mathews and Curr consistently differ on the way they represent the words for ‘arm’ and ‘sun’. Mathews represents the words with an /rl + 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 /yarkal ‘child’).

(e) Approximant + Stop

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Sequence</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Word Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/l-b/</td>
<td>/yilbuga/</td>
<td>yēlbuga RMb, ‘evening’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l-dh/</td>
<td>no clear examples</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l-d/</td>
<td>the only possible example is māldiga Cb ‘child’. However this word is phonemised as /malniga/ following Mathews.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l-dj/</td>
<td>/buldjubul/</td>
<td>pultyobal RMb, pulchewell Ra ‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l-g/</td>
<td>/gogamalga/</td>
<td>gogamulga RMb ‘youth, after tooth extracted’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant Sequence</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Word Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/r-b/</td>
<td>/barban/</td>
<td>būrpa RMb, bār-pan Cb, bar rope bun Rc ‘grass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r-dh/</td>
<td>/wurdhamara/</td>
<td>würthumurra RMb16 ‘bream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r-dj/</td>
<td>/djirdjiran/</td>
<td>djirdjiran RMb, chercheran E ‘hand (fingers)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Because of Mathews’ record with respect to his use of /rl/, we would consider this example valid without additional confirmation.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r-g/</td>
<td>/yarga/</td>
<td>yarga H, yare re ker Rc ‘child’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/ māāl-ya Cb (no other sources record this word) ‘swan’
/l-w/ /molwa/ molwa Cb ‘grave’
/r-y/ /baryibala/ baryebala 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/ turnupnha RMb, danapna GB ‘swan’
/munubn(h)a/ moondō̂pna Cb (derived from mō̂dna ‘leg’) ‘trousers’
/borinyub(h)na/ borinyoo:pna Cb (derived from borinyu ‘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 /lodjbal ‘to speak’ does not, however, seem to be the result of word building and suggests that the combination does occur in non-compounds.

/b-d/ /malnigabdja/ m unligaptya RMb ‘small boy’
/b-g/ /gudhubga/ guthapka RMb17 ‘child of either sex’
/d-b/ /wongadban/ Wongā̂pant Cb ‘people of Wongat’
/dj-b/ /lodjba/ lodjba H ‘to speak’
/g-b/ /irug-birug/ ī ruk-biruk Cb18 ‘tomorrow’

(i) Stop + Approximant

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

/b+l/ /Yalebla/ Yallēbla Cb ‘Yalebla’ (proper name)
/Konebla/ Konebla Cb ‘Konebla’ (proper name)
/gomimebla/ kor-mi-mē-bla Cb ‘wild turkey’
/d+l/ /didlinga/ diddling-er 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.\(^{19}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>First Syllable</th>
<th>Later Syllable</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>/yinin/ ‘to bite’</td>
<td>/malin/ ‘to hit’</td>
<td>/buli/ ‘stomach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>/bega/ ‘ghost’</td>
<td>/malel/ ‘hit!’ (imperative)(^{20})</td>
<td>/ngowe/ ‘yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>/badja/ ‘possum’</td>
<td>/wanhal/ ‘where (at)?’</td>
<td>/yunga/ ‘to throw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>/molwa/ ‘grave’</td>
<td>/dhanggoba/ ‘frog’</td>
<td>[buko]/buga/ ‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>/yunga/ ‘to throw’</td>
<td>/midura/ ‘fork of tree’</td>
<td>/djulu/ ‘sexual desire’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. kāmer ‘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’  bārpan  /bárrpan/
- ‘to search for grass’  barpānyanook  /barbānyanug/
- ‘a minnow’  jāwa  /djāwa/
- ‘to fish for minnows’  jawānyanook  /djawānyanug/

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.
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. /barbánayanug/ '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uninflected form</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baka</td>
<td>bakal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wonggoba</td>
<td>wonggobal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yiyir</td>
<td>yiyiril, yiyiral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dung(g)udja</td>
<td>dung(g)udjil, dung(g)udjal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 yiyirril and yiyirral as ergative forms of yiyirr.

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 3.11 dunngidyal yiyirral RMa:52 and 3.112 yiyirril dunngidyiil 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:

| mulleak'         | shall beat | /mali – ak/ | malyak |
| mullél'          | beat! (imperative) | /mali – l/ | malel |

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 /-awl/ as the endings respectively for the dual and plural of the words /badja/ 'possum' and /yiyir/ '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. 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 [batjə], 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 yinin 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 a 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.

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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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>-ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative/Instrumental</td>
<td>-(v)l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive/Possessive</td>
<td>-(v)n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative/Locative</td>
<td>-ung, -uk, -nak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>-narrak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(i) ABSOLUTIVE: -ø

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Uninflected Form</th>
<th>Inflected Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>/winyat/</td>
<td>winyarr RMa, wiinya Cb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td>/yiyr/</td>
<td>yiyirr RMa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘boomerang’</td>
<td>/wanya/</td>
<td>wunya RMa, wanya Sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>/baga/</td>
<td>bukka RMa, baga H</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘possum’ /badya/ buttya RMa, badja H
‘fish (perch)’ /gangubga/ kungupka RMa, kongoopka Cb
‘camp’ /manu(ng)/ manu RMa, mana Ct, maanoo Cb, manung RMb
‘implement’ /wongoba/ wongoba RMa

(ii) ERGATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL: -(V)l

(a) Ergative

3.1. *Bukkal yinnin buttya.* (RMa:51)
   ‘A dog bit a possum.’
   /baga-l yinnin badja/
   *bkal yinnin 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 munnin wanya/
   *yiyirril munnin wanya*
   man-ERG throw.NON.FUT boomerang.ABS
   ‘A man threw a boomerang.’

3.3. *Dunngidjal yiyirral tūttim 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 wunyal.* (RMa:55)
   ‘I beat a man with a boomerang.’
   /munin ngadha yiyir wanya-l/
   *munin ngatha yiyirr wanyal*
   beat.NON.FUT I.ERG man.ABS boomerang-INST
   ‘I beat the man with a boomerang.’
3.6 *Ngia natto wongobal.*

‘You hit (him with a) wongoba.’

\[\text{ngi(n)na}^1 \text{ nado wongoba-l/} \]
\[\text{ngina nato wongobal} \]

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 *yiyirran wunya*  

‘a man’s boomerang’

\[\text{yiyir-an wanya/} \]
\[\text{yiyirran wanya} \]

man-GEN boomerang

‘a man’s boomerang’

3.8 *dunngidyan yiyirrin wanya*  

‘a big man’s boomerang’

\[\text{dung(g)udja-n yiyirr-in wanya/} \]
\[\text{dunng(g)udjan yiyirrin wanya} \]

big-GEN man-GEN boomerang

‘a big man’s boomerang’

3.9 *yiyirrin dunngidyin wunya*  

‘a big man’s boomerang’

\[\text{yiyir-in dunng(g)udja-in wanya/} \]
\[\text{yiyirrin dunng(g)udjin wanya} \]

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 (*yiyirran* in 3.7, but *yiyirrin* in 3.8 and 3.9, and also *dunngidyan* in 3.8 but *dunngidyin* in 3.9).

3.10 *Kalinya maan wiinyarin.*  

‘Pretty face that woman has.’

\[\text{galinya maan winyar-in/} \]
\[\text{galinya maan wiynarrin} \]

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 mänungyin. (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 dunngidyakan 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 gäth 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 gäth 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  Karna maanoo.  
(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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'grass'</th>
<th>/bárban/</th>
<th>(bárpan) Cbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'to search for grass'</td>
<td>/barban-nyán-uk/</td>
<td>(barpányanook) Cbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'firewood'</td>
<td>/bidja/</td>
<td>(biitcháo) Cbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to search for firewood'</td>
<td>/bidjá-nyan-uk/</td>
<td>(biitányoonook) Cbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  dung gidyanarak yiyirnarak  
'with a big man'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'possum'</th>
<th>'man'</th>
<th>'woman'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>/badjal/</td>
<td>/yiyir/</td>
<td>/winyar/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual 'a couple of'</td>
<td>/badjaly/</td>
<td>/yiyiral/</td>
<td>/winyanyddjal/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural 'several'</td>
<td>/badjaw/</td>
<td>/yiyiraw/</td>
<td>/winyanboga/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mathews (RMb:169) further illustrates the use of these formatives on adjectival postmodifiers which agree with the nouns they modify:
yiyir dunngidja  /yiyir dุง(g)udja/  ‘a large man’

yiyirral dunngidyal 2 /yiyiral dุง(g)udja-al/  ‘a couple of large men’

yiyarraw dunngidyau /yiyiraw dุง(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘egg’</td>
<td>butjanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘star’</td>
<td>duta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘finger’</td>
<td>djirrtjirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
<td>dirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘toe’</td>
<td>dalpa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 djirrtjirran ‘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 Ngarrimauer (unpublished manuscript (RMjj)) differ from the forms given in the above publications principally in that

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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. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ngatha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>ngina or nyana</td>
<td>nginak or nyana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ngutha ngoonook ngoonhoo.
'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.
'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’ Ngarrimor 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 Yabula Yabula 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 (absolutive) 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/absolutive 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Accusative/Allative</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ngatha</td>
<td>nganin/nyanuk</td>
<td>ngini or nyini</td>
<td>*nyanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du.incl.</td>
<td>ngalgin</td>
<td>ngalginak</td>
<td>ngalngunan/ngalngunak</td>
<td>ngalngun</td>
<td>*ngalngunat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du.excl.</td>
<td>ngala</td>
<td>ngalak</td>
<td>ngalanan/ngalanak</td>
<td>ngalan</td>
<td>*ngalanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.incl.</td>
<td>nyuwandak</td>
<td>nyuwandak</td>
<td>nyundanan/nyundanak</td>
<td>nyuwandan^7</td>
<td>*nyundanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.excl.</td>
<td>nyana</td>
<td>nyanak</td>
<td>nyananan/nyananak</td>
<td>nyanan</td>
<td>*nyananat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 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.’

3.21  *Nga lōapaty.*  
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  
‘dear you’ 
/dhoma/  /nyini/  

dhoma nyini  
dear  1SG.POS  
‘my dear’  

3.23  thoma nien thajuba  
‘my dear sister’  
/dhoma nyini dhajuba/  
dhoma nyini dhajuba  
dear  1SG.POS sister  
‘my dear sister’  

3.24  neane trooma Mr Thomas  
‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Accusative/Allative</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>ngina nyana</td>
<td>nginak⁸ nyana</td>
<td>ngunun/ngunuk</td>
<td>nguni</td>
<td>ngunat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du.</td>
<td>bula⁹</td>
<td>bulak</td>
<td>bulanan/*balanak</td>
<td>bulan</td>
<td>*bulanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>nhurra</td>
<td>nhurрак</td>
<td>nhurranan/*nhurranak</td>
<td>nhurran</td>
<td>*nhurranat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 nhurarak 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 mānungyin. (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 ngin/
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/
gatha ngunuk ngunhu
I.ERG you-ALL gave-?
‘I gave (it) to you.’

3.30 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
‘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\textsuperscript{10}  
   /yoda-nha-n/  
   \textit{yorta-nhan}  
   NEG-see-NON.FUT

3.32 (Affirmative) seen (them)
   baanga-t-naan  
   /banga-nha-n/  
   \textit{banga-nhan}  
   PAST-see-NON.FUT

3.33 (I) have not seen (him)
   katir naan  
   /gadha nha-n/  
   \textit{gatha nhan}  
   NEG see-NON.FUT

\textbf{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 \textit{ngina}, where the nominative and ergative forms are distinguished by the suffix -\textit{k} on the ergative, and one based on \textit{nyana}, where the cases are not distinguished. (Mathews in RMa and his other writings repeatedly used \textit{nyana} in both transitive and intransitive contexts.) Forms based on \textit{ngina} and on \textit{nyana} are recorded by other writers.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{ngina} is close to the Proto Australian of the second person singular, which is posited to be \textit{ngin}\textsuperscript{*} (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.

\textsuperscript{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/.

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

\begin{verbatim}
[dhoma nyini nyana]  
//dhoma nyini nyana/  
\textbf{dhoma nyini nyana}  
\text{dear my one}
\end{verbatim}
### 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>‘Objective’</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngina, nyana</td>
<td>nginak, nyana</td>
<td>ngunun/ngunuk</td>
<td>nguni</td>
<td>ngunat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nginna RMa)</td>
<td>(nyunna RMa)</td>
<td>(ngoonook RMa)</td>
<td>(ngoonee RMa)</td>
<td>(ngoonat RMa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nginna RMc)</td>
<td>(nginnak RMc)</td>
<td>(ngunun RMc)</td>
<td>(nguni RMc)</td>
<td>(ngunat RMe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nyinna RMe)</td>
<td>(ngan Cb)</td>
<td>(ngunook J)</td>
<td>(nguni RMb)</td>
<td>(ngunee J)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nyunna RMa)</td>
<td>(nyinna RMe corrected from nyonna)</td>
<td>(ngoonook Cb)</td>
<td>(woonook E)</td>
<td>(ngunuk RMc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ngia Cb)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(ngunak RMc)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indeterminate Subject Forms**

| (yun.nun Rc) | (gine H) |
| (ngeni Cb) | (ngeni Ct) |
| (ngā Cb) | (ngia Cb) |
| (ngenya Cb) | (nginna Ct) |
| (nyenna J) | (-nginna RMb) |

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, ngia Cb, kna E.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>‘Objective’</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(da RMa)</td>
<td>(dâlook RMa)</td>
<td>(nillenak RMa)</td>
<td>(dinin RMa)</td>
<td>(neeleenaty RMa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(da RMc)</td>
<td>(daluk RMc)</td>
<td>(dêya RMc)</td>
<td>(danin RMc)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-da RMb)</td>
<td>(dalook J)</td>
<td>(nileenuck J)</td>
<td>(dinin RMb)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-da H)</td>
<td>(nolukena’ E)</td>
<td>(ootck’ E)</td>
<td>(nillin 5 J)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(nownga’ E)</td>
<td>(nillêanak RMe)</td>
<td>(dineenya 6 J)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(noolclêa RMa:57)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(none 7 E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(nulkle RMe)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(yinna-pultubul 8 E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.4 Indeterminate Subject Forms

(yinna’ E)

(maloo RMa:61)

(damala RMa:61)


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

3.34  **Yanda.**

/yan-da/  
**yanda**

go-NON.FUT.3SG.NOM

‘He is going.’

3.35  **Nguttha ngoonoo nilleanak.**

/ngadha ngunh-u nilinag/  
**ngatha ngunhu nilinak**

I.ERG give-NON.FUT 3SG.ALL

‘I gave it to him.’

3.36  **dinneanaruk bunnooth**

/dinin-arug banu(dh)/  
**dininaruk 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  
\( Nga \ kannha. \)  
\( 'I \ am \ sitting.' \)  
\( /nga \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ nganha/ \)  
\( nga \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ nganha \)  
\( I.NOM \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ sit.NON.FUT \)  
\( 'I \ am \ sitting.' \)

(ii) ERGATIVE:

3.38  
\( Ngata \ naan \ iawa \ pikkeroomdja. \)  
\( 'I \ see \ one \ emu.' \)  
\( /ngadha \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ hna-n \ iyawa \ bigarumdia/ \)  
\( ngatha \ hnan \ iyawa \ bigarrumdia \)  
\( I.ERG \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ see-NON.FUT \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ one \ emu(ABS) \)  
\( 'I \ see \ one \ emu.' \)

(iii) INDIRECT OBJECT/ALLATIVE: -\( k \)

3.39  
\( Nguttha \ ngoonook \ ngoonhoo. \)  
\( 'I \ to thee \ gave \ it.' \)  
\( /ngadha \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ ngun-ug \ ngunhu/ \)  
\( ngatha \ ngunuk \ ngunhu \)  
\( I.ERG \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ you-ALL \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ give.NON.FUT \)  
\( 'I \ gave \ (it) \ to \ you.' \)

3.40  
\( Moorangoorang \ ngata \ tomoon \ ngoonook. \)  
\( 'Always \ I \ lend \ (to) \ you.' \)  
\( /murangurang \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ ngadha \ domun \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ ngunug/ \)  
\( murrangurang \ ngatha \ domun \ ngunuk \)  
always  
\( I.ERG \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ lend.NON.FUT \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ you.ALL \)  
\( 'Always \ I \ lend \ (to) \ you.' \)

(iv) SPECIAL DATIVE/BENEFATIVE: -\( nigiya \)

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  
\( Ngutta \ ngoonoo \ bulalniggia. \)  
\( 'I \ gave \ it \ to \ them.' \)  
\( /ngadha \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ ngunhu \)  
\( ngatha \ ngunhu \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ bulalnigiya \)  
\( I.ERG \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ give.NON.FUT \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ you.DU.BEN \)  
\( 'I \ gave \ it \ to \ the \ two \ of \ you.' \)
3.42  *Ngutta ngoonoo dhullanginnagia.*

'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.*  

'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, -éruk* and */-ruk*, 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 */-aruk, -naruk*, 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*  

'at my back'

/banú(dh) nyini-árug/

*banuth nyinarruk*

back 1 SG-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 -adja (cf. ablative case for nouns -in).

3.46  **Nguttha ngoonat mummûn.**  (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  **Nelleenaty a ngutta mummûn.**  (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**

1SG.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.’
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 17: Pronominal case suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject (intransitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/Allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative of the Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive/Emphatic Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive/Emphatic Ergative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 18: Paradigm for /ngala/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject (intransitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/Allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative of the Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Special Benefactive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive/Emphatic Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive/Emphatic Ergative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Accusative/Allative</th>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SINGULAR</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nga</td>
<td>ngatha</td>
<td>nganin/yanuk</td>
<td>ngini nyin</td>
<td>*yanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ngina, nyana</td>
<td>nginak, nyana</td>
<td>ngunun/ngunuk</td>
<td>nguni</td>
<td>ngunat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>daluk nulgulaya</td>
<td>nilinan-nilinak</td>
<td>danin</td>
<td>nilinatja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DUAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 incl.</td>
<td>ngalngin</td>
<td>ngalnginak</td>
<td>ngalngunan/ ngalngunak</td>
<td>ngalngun</td>
<td>*ngalngunat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 excl.</td>
<td>ngala</td>
<td>ngalak</td>
<td>ngalan/-ngalanak</td>
<td>ngalan</td>
<td>*ngalanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bulu</td>
<td>bulak</td>
<td>bulan/ *balanak</td>
<td>bulan</td>
<td>*bulanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>damulu</td>
<td>dumuluk</td>
<td>*balanak</td>
<td>damalinya</td>
<td>bulanatja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PLURAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 incl.</td>
<td>nyuwanda</td>
<td>nyuwandak</td>
<td>nyundanan/ nyundanak</td>
<td>nyuwandan</td>
<td>*nyundanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 excl.</td>
<td>nyana</td>
<td>nyanak</td>
<td>nyananan/ nyananak</td>
<td>nyanan</td>
<td>*nyananat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>nhurra</td>
<td>nhurrak</td>
<td>nhurrnan/ *nhurrnanak</td>
<td>nhurran</td>
<td>*nhurrnanat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>damna</td>
<td>damnak</td>
<td>ngamlan/ ngamuluk</td>
<td>ngamunyan</td>
<td>d(h)alanatja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

I-bural e.g. danga-burra
I-ayal e.g. dang-aya
I-burayal e.g. nganga-burraya
I-win!
I-buraya-win
I-banarak!

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 da/aburaya ‘those near’, which is obviously related to the third person singular stem -daJa, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hercus (H)</td>
<td>delaia</td>
<td>'near here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>denjiwoga</td>
<td>'there, quite close'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dewin</td>
<td>'this one here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gaqbrawin</td>
<td>'that one quite close'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James (J)</td>
<td>damia</td>
<td>'these'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dalaburaya</td>
<td>'those near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uomnaburaya</td>
<td>'those distant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daya</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nalaya</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathews (RMa)</td>
<td>nhullaia</td>
<td>'there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dungubbera</td>
<td>'there, a little way off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngunga bunnarak</td>
<td>'a good way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhumnala</td>
<td>'over yonder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>da-e-ya</td>
<td>'here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curr (Cbs)</td>
<td>nellea</td>
<td>'that', 'that one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nelle</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nelléya</td>
<td>'that one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nelangaia</td>
<td>'there', 'up there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ondeyia</td>
<td>'here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>talkoobaia</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tungaia</td>
<td>'that one' (No.54)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EIM (E)</td>
<td>nellay</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>daya</td>
<td>'here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gungaia</td>
<td>'there'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative Pronoun</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'who?' (ergative)</td>
<td>nganung</td>
<td>(ngunnung RMh:170)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'who?' (two)</td>
<td>nganibula</td>
<td>(nganeebula RMa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'who?' (several)</td>
<td>ngani-nhurru</td>
<td>(nganeenhooro RMa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'who for?'</td>
<td>ngangi-ngadha</td>
<td>(ngunneenguddha RMa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'who from?'</td>
<td>nganinat</td>
<td>(ngunnennat RMa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'who with?'</td>
<td>nganinarruk</td>
<td>(nguneenarook RMa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'what?'</td>
<td>minhe</td>
<td>(minnhê RMa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'what for?'</td>
<td>minhe-ngadha</td>
<td>(minnhetguddha RMa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'what with?'</td>
<td>minhenek</td>
<td>(minyanook Cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'which'</td>
<td>womigmin</td>
<td>(womogin Cb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'when'</td>
<td>womerriga</td>
<td>(wummir goowirr RMa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'where (at)'</td>
<td>wanhal</td>
<td>(wunhoon RMc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'where (to)'</td>
<td>waka</td>
<td>(waga RMb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  Wünbul Ḗnbena?

‘Where are the blacks?’

/wanhal yenbena/

Wanhal yenbena

where Aborigines

‘Where are the Aborigines?’

---

14  Spelled ngadni in RMh:170.
15  Spelled nganinnakuddha in RMh:170.
3.53 *Yallebla wunnul?* (Cbs:577)
‘Where (is) Yallebla?’
/yallebla wanhal/
*yallebla wanhal*
Yallebla where
‘Where is Yallebla?’

3.54 *Wanal gana?* (Hpmc)
‘Where is mother?’
/wanhal gana/
*wanal 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 nellea?* (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?  
‘When art thou going?’

/wumirr-guwr16 nyana yanha/  
*wumirr-guwr* nyana yanha  
when you.SG go.PRES  
‘When are you going?’

3.60  *Womogin ngia mommon?*  
‘Which one will you take or seize?’

/womogin ngina-g muma-n/  
*womogin ngina-k muman*  
which you-ERG seize-PRES  
‘Which will you take/seize?’

3.7.2  Polar (yes/no) questions

3.61  *Ngia koon tabora Portpillipook?*  
‘Do you know (the) road to Port Phillip?’

/nigmaun dabora ‘Pot Pilip’-ug/  
*ngaikun daporra PortPilipuk*  
know road Port Phillip.ALL  
‘Do (you) know the road to Port Phillip?’

3.62  *Koll binabin boor?*  
‘(Is) Colbinabbin far off?’

/Golbinabin buraya/17  
*Golbinabin burraya*  
Colbinabin far.distant  
‘Is Colbinabin far off?’

3.63  *Moolanmook ngina?*  
‘Hungry you?’

/mulanmug ngina/  
*mulanmuk ngina*  
hungry you  
‘Are you hungry?’

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 womogin ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Table 23: Summary of case endings</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nouns</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject (intransitive)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/Allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive/Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefactive/Purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphatic Transitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Yorta Yorta</th>
<th>Other Source 1</th>
<th>Other Source 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘about’</td>
<td>ngawitpa</td>
<td>(arwich E)</td>
<td>ngarwikta RMi ‘around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘above’</td>
<td>bukut</td>
<td>(boot-koot E)</td>
<td>ngawidpa Cb ‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘across’</td>
<td>bairtun</td>
<td>(bait-tun E)</td>
<td>perhaps from buka ‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘after’</td>
<td>gowidjja</td>
<td>(cow-wiga E)</td>
<td>= cowejda E ‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘against’</td>
<td>nolwit</td>
<td>(nolvet, nolwet E)</td>
<td>compare nolwiterak (nooletheruck E) ‘to fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘along’</td>
<td>bumidakabiya</td>
<td>(boomeyduckubea E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘among’</td>
<td>ralpatha</td>
<td>(ralpaether E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘before’</td>
<td>damuga</td>
<td>(tamuga E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘behind’</td>
<td>gowidjja</td>
<td>(coweaja E)</td>
<td>= coweaja E ‘after’; compare witedjja gowidjja E ‘to leave behind’ (bunnhur RMi ‘behind’, ‘other side’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘below’</td>
<td>nukul</td>
<td>(nugul E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘beside’</td>
<td>gakumaitha</td>
<td>(gagurmaither E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘between’</td>
<td>dapalama</td>
<td>(tarpalama E)</td>
<td>(dû’mûr RMi ‘between’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘beyond’</td>
<td>menut</td>
<td>(mainoot E)</td>
<td>perhaps related to menu ‘hip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘by’</td>
<td>garrulyenek</td>
<td>(carulyenerk E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘down’</td>
<td>gulit</td>
<td>(goollit E)</td>
<td>= guli ‘under’; perhaps related to golinba ‘lower lip’ (nhunnaka RMi ‘down’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘during’</td>
<td>meyun</td>
<td>(meyyoon E)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘except’</td>
<td>ninenuwuda</td>
<td>(nyeneowooda E)</td>
<td>cf. wuta ‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘for’</td>
<td>minhenak guna</td>
<td>(minuelanicwunyina E)</td>
<td>probably minhenak-gadha ‘what for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘from’</td>
<td>muma</td>
<td>(mumma E)</td>
<td>from muma ‘to take, get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘in’</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>(ina E)</td>
<td>English ‘in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘into’</td>
<td>ina</td>
<td>(ina E)</td>
<td>English ‘in’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 24: Prepositions (Barry and other sources)

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

Parallel to the suggestion above for the word buktu '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’.

\[ \text{Dung(dyal yiyirral tättim buttya. (RMa:52)} \]

‘A big man killed a possum.’

\[ /\text{dung(g)udja-l yiyir-al} \text{ dadin badja/} \]
\[ \text{dung(g)udjul yiyirral datin atja} \]

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’:

- *iyawa*, *iyung*
  - ‘one’
- *bultjubul*
  - ‘two’
- *ngutan*
  - ‘plenty’

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

- *bultjubul iyung*
  - ‘three’ lit. two-one
- *bultjubul bultjubul*
  - ‘four’ lit. two-two
- *bultjubul bultjubul iyung*
  - ‘five’ lit. two-two-one
- *dausan*
  - ‘number over 5’ from English ‘thousand’
- *bultjubul biyin*
  - ‘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:
It seems that there were two tenses – future and non-future – with past time differentiated by the addition of the particle <b>banga</b>.

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 -<i>da</i> suffixed to the verb <b>yan</b>- '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' (<b>galnya</b>), followed by -<i>nga</i>, 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): -<i>n</i>, -<i>in</i>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present tense</th>
<th>mali-&lt;i&gt;n&lt;/i&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past tense</td>
<td>malin-banga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>mali-ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>mali-&lt;i&gt;l&lt;/i&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Negative imperative | gadhagana malin-
| Conditiona  | -<i>djin</i>  |
| Negative conditional | yorta-
| Reciprocal present | mali-<i>dhan</i> |
| Reciprocal past | mali-
| Reciprocal future | mali-
| Reflexive     | mali-

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 <i>e</i> to indicate a lengthening of the high front vowel [i].
(ii) PAST TENSE: \(-n(\text{banga})\)

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

3.71 \textit{Ngutta mullen' bangal.} (RMa:54)
'I did beat.'
\[
\text{nga-ha mali-banga}
\]
\textit{ngatha malin-banga}
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 \(-/\text{banga}/\) is added.

In the following example from Curr, the particle \textit{banga} seems to occur as a pro-clitic to the verb:

3.72 \textit{baanga-t-naan} (Cb:576)
'(Affirmative) seen (them).'</n
\[
\text{banga nha-n/}
\]
\textit{banga nhan}
PAST see-NON.FUT
'seen'

Mathews records the form \textit{kokuñ} as both 'die' and 'dead'. There are also a number of adjectives that are resultant states that end in \(\text{-n}\). 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 \textit{Ngutta mulleak'}. (RMa:54)
'I will beat.'
\[
\text{nga-dha mal-ak/}
\]
\textit{ngatha malyak}
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 \textit{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, \textit{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/\(^{(Cb:578)}\)

\textit{domak} gara \textit{ngatha} gama \textit{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/\(^{(RMf:252)}\)

\textsl{ngatha} yungak

1SG-ERG throw-FUT

‘I shall throw.’

3.76  Thattyimeak nga.\(^{(RMf:252)}\)

‘I shall eat.’

/dhadjimiág-nga/\(^{(RMf:252)}\)

\textit{dhatjimiáknga}

eat.FUT-1SG.NOM

‘I shall eat.’

(iv) IMPERATIVE: \textsc{-(V)l}

With some verbs the imperative ending was \textsc{-l}.

3.77  Mulléal’.\(^{(RMa:54)}\)

‘Beat him.’

/mali-l/\(^{(RMa:54)}\)

\textit{malé}

beat-IMP

‘Beat (him, her, it).’

3.78  Koquil.\(^{(Cb:578)}\)

‘Hush.’

/?/gagwel/\(^{(Cb:578)}\)

\textit{gakwel}

be quiet.IMP

‘Be quiet.’

\(^{19}\) This sentence also seems strange because of the position of \textit{gama} ‘spear’ without a suffix. It is possible that \textit{gana} and \textit{gama} have been reversed.
3.79 **Nadjel-ma.**
‘Look.’

/nha-dj-el\(^{20}\) 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.**
‘Shut your mouth.’

/naba wuru/

*napa wurrum*

shut.IMP mouth

‘Shut (your) mouth.’

(v) **NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE**

Mathews gives a special form using *gathagana*:

3.81 **Kuddhagana mullêl.**
‘Beat not.’

/gadhagana mal-el/

*gathagana malel*

NEG.IMP beat-IMP

‘Do not beat.’

Hercus also records the form:

3.82 **Gadegana yungaia.**
‘Don’t knock (him) down.’

/gadhagana yung-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 *yungaia* 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.*  
‘Don’t speak.’

/yoda lodjba/
yorta *lotjba*
NEG speak.IMP
‘Don’t speak.’

3.84  *Itta mumi picta.*  
‘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*.  
‘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.*  
‘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.*  
‘Perhaps not.’ ‘Is doubtful.’

/yoda-djin/
yorta *adjin*
NEG-POSS
‘Perhaps not.’
3.88 Proma! Yoortachin ngata tomoon. (Cb:587)
‘Be off! Not I will lend.’

\[ \text{/bira-ma yoda-djin ngadha dumun/} \]
\[ \text{birram } yortadjin ngatha dumun} \]
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.

\[ \text{/nga-ngu malin nganyin/} \]
\[ \text{ngangu malin nganyin} \]
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.’

\[ \text{/d(h)amnala male-dhan/} \]
\[ \text{damnala maledhan} \]
over.there hit.PRES-RECIP
‘They (over there) are fighting.’

3.91 Mullèadhun ngalngin. (RMa:55)
‘We are beating each other.’

\[ \text{/maledhan ngalngin/} \]
\[ \text{maledhan ngalngin} \]
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  
‘to quarrel’  
/loidja-dhan/  
lotpadhan  
speak-RECIP  
‘to quarrel’ (lit. ‘to speak to each other’)  
3.93  
nin.ne.dun  
‘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) mulle’dhan.  
‘They were fighting.’  
/d(h)amnala male-dhan/  
damnala malé’dhan  
over.there hit.PAST-RECIP  
‘(They over there) were fighting.’  

(c) RECIPROCAL FUTURE

3.95  
Dumnala mulledharak.  
‘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 *lotja‘*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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Root Form</th>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Past Tense</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mali</em></td>
<td><em>máli</em>-(n)</td>
<td><em>málñ-banga</em></td>
<td><em>málñ-ak</em> becoming <em>malyák</em></td>
<td><em>málñ-al</em> becoming <em>malél</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(-a/- Conjugation:

*lotjpa* ‘to speak’ (RMa:58 and RMc)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Root Form</th>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Present Tense (Continuous?)</th>
<th>Past Tense</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Negative Imperative</th>
<th>Reciprocal</th>
<th>Reciprocal Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>lotjpa</em></td>
<td><em>lotjpa</em></td>
<td><em>lotjpa</em>-tj</td>
<td><em>lotjpa</em>-(n)</td>
<td><em>lotjpa</em>-tj-banga</td>
<td><em>lotjpa</em>-tj-ak</td>
<td><em>lotjpa</em> (Cb)</td>
<td><em>yortalotjpa</em> (Cb)</td>
<td><em>lotjpa</em>-dhan (E, RMc)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mixed Conjugations:

*muni* ‘to throw’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Root Form</th>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Continuous</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>muni</em></td>
<td><em>munin</em> (RMa:51)</td>
<td><em>muna-tj</em> (RMa:58)</td>
<td><em>muni</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*yunga* ‘to throw’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Root Form</th>
<th>Present Tense</th>
<th>Future Tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yunga</em></td>
<td><em>yung-in</em> (RMf:253)</td>
<td><em>yung-ak</em> (RMf:253)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-nh-</th>
<th>-wu-</th>
<th>-tja-</th>
<th>-ka-</th>
<th>-bak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ga</td>
<td>ganhu(ng)</td>
<td>gawul</td>
<td>gatjabak</td>
<td>gakatj</td>
<td>gatjubak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga(rr)</td>
<td>ngarrnhung</td>
<td>ngarrwul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nha</td>
<td>nhan(ha)</td>
<td>nhawul</td>
<td>nhatjuk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngu</td>
<td>ngunhu</td>
<td>nguwul</td>
<td>ngutjik</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>yana</td>
<td>yawu</td>
<td>yanyubak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yanda</td>
<td>yawul</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yan-u-bak</td>
<td>yanai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possible meaning:
- nh perhaps deliberate, often used with imperatives 'listen' (cf. 'hear') and 'look' (cf. 'see')
- tja emphatic or continuous, often used with imperative
- ka used with both past and future
- bak 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'

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imperative (emphatic?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawul</td>
<td>Garwul</td>
<td>‘Sit.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Nga kannha.</td>
<td>‘I am sitting.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-nha</td>
<td>Karnoo maanoo</td>
<td>‘(She is) sitting (in the) camp.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-nhu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>Nga gartyibak.</td>
<td>‘I am going to sit.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-tja-bak</td>
<td>Kār-choo-bok</td>
<td>‘Sit.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-ka-tj-ak</td>
<td><em>Nga gakartyak.</em></td>
<td>‘I will sit.’</td>
<td>(RMf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>ga-nh-ung</td>
<td><em>Garnung-nga.</em></td>
<td>‘I was sitting.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banga ga-nh-u</td>
<td><em>Banga nga garnu.</em></td>
<td>‘I was sitting.’</td>
<td>(RMf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga-ka-tj</td>
<td><em>Nga gakarty.</em></td>
<td>‘I was sitting.’</td>
<td>(RMf)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary:

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

### Table 28: nha- ‘to see’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nha-wu-l</td>
<td>Nhawul. 'Look.'</td>
<td>(RMb:189)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Now.u1. 'To see.'</td>
<td>(Ra:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nha-wu-(l)</td>
<td>Não! 'See!'</td>
<td>(Cb:578)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary:

- **nha-nha**: suffix -nha, citation form
- **nha-n**: suffix -n, non-future
- **nha-tj-uk**: suffix -tj, probably alternate future form
- **nha-tj-el**: suffix -tj + imperative suffix -l
- **nha-wu-l**: suffix -wu, deliberate +imperative suffix -l

**Table 29: ya- ‘to walk, to go’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yana</td>
<td>Minyanook yanna Moira?</td>
<td>(Cb:577)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘What for go Moira?’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present – third person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanda</td>
<td></td>
<td>(H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future/Imperative??</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan-yu-b-ak</td>
<td>Annubok Worparilla.</td>
<td>(Cb:577)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Let us go to Worparilla.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>??</td>
<td>Yananai.</td>
<td>(H)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Go.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present tense??/Root??</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya(rr)wu</td>
<td>yarrow</td>
<td>(E:6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Imperative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya(rr)wul</td>
<td>Birrah nyunna yarwool mânumångyin.</td>
<td>(RMa:52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Go away from the camp.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Compound verbs**

With **birra** ‘to go on’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>birra-ya(rr)wul</td>
<td></td>
<td>(E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/bira ya(r)wul/ go.on walk.IMP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With **gaga** ‘to come’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gaga-ya(rr)wul</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Cb:577)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/gaga yarwu(l)/ come walk.IMP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In summary:

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

**Table 30: birra ‘to go, go away’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bira</td>
<td>Birrah nyunna yarwool månungyin. ‘Go away from the camp.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bira-tj</td>
<td>Biredj! ‘Quick, Hurry!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bira-umdja</td>
<td>Buronja! ‘Go away!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bira-ma</td>
<td>Proma! Yoortachin ngata tomoon. ‘Be off! Not I will lend.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bira-ma-gandja</td>
<td>Promaganja. ‘Be off.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bira-yarrwul</td>
<td>Birayarwool. ‘Go.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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-yarrwul/. 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:

- **birra** stem ‘to go, go away’
- **birra-tj** -tj suffix is emphatic or continuous, often found in the -a conjugation
- **birra-mdja** -mdja suffix only found with this verb, in the imperative
- **birra-ma** -ma suffix is emphatic, recorded by Hercus
- **birra-ma-gandja** -gandja suffix is used in the imperative (cf. gamarra gandja)
- **birra-yarrwul** -yarrwul 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'bathe'</td>
<td>marribak</td>
<td>marribok Cb, maryibuk RMb, marribok Ct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dive'</td>
<td>garrubak</td>
<td>kāroobok Cb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'evacuate the bowels'</td>
<td>gunyubak</td>
<td>konyoobok Cb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'jump'</td>
<td>yarrkabak</td>
<td>yārkobuk Cb, yarkabuk RMb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'laugh'</td>
<td>garribak</td>
<td>kāribuk Cb, kārebak RMb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'play'</td>
<td>dayabak</td>
<td>taeyebuck E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'scratch'</td>
<td>djinbak</td>
<td>chīnbok Cb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sit'</td>
<td>gatjubak</td>
<td>kār-choo-bok Cb, kartyoobok Ct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>nanyubak</td>
<td>nān-yoo-bok Cb, nanyoobok Ct, nanyoobok Cp, nuneybuck E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'swim'</td>
<td>yarrabak</td>
<td>yāribok Cb, yarrabuck E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'walk'</td>
<td>yanyubak</td>
<td>yān-yoo-bok Cb, anyoobok Cb, yanyoobok Ct, yanyoobok Cp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7 Negation

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

3.96 Yoorta-t-nann. \(\text{(Cb:576)}\)

'(I have) not seen (them).'</norta 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. \(\text{(Cb:576)}\)

'(I) cannot see (him).'</gatha nha-n/
gatha nhan
NEG see-NON.FUT

'I cannot see him.'
3.98  *Gadhegana yungaia.*
‘Don’t knock (him) down.’

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

\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textbf{Diminutive} & \textbf{Plain} \\
\textit{child} & yarka & yark\text{dj}iga \\
\textit{dog} & baka & bakh\text{dj}iga \\
\textit{duck} & naika & naik\text{dj}iga \\
\textit{plain} & natja & nat\text{g}iga \\
\end{tabular}

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 \textit{djondunga} 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 \textit{naitjunga} ‘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’.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
munu & mun\text{p}na \\
‘leg’ & ‘trousers’ \\
borr\text{(i)}nyu & borr\text{(i)}ny\text{p}na \\
‘arm’ & ‘shirt’ \\
watjerra & watjerr\text{p}na \\
‘tortoise shell/plate’ & ‘small tortoise’ \\
\end{tabular}

(ii) The word final formative [-pka]

The formative \(-pka\) is found in the following words:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
dhulu & dhul\text{p}ka \\
‘low’ & ‘short’ \\
gudha & guth\text{p}ka \\
‘child’ (Wdj) & ‘child, infant, baby’ \\
\end{tabular}
The word dhulūpka ‘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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ayapka</th>
<th>yathapka</th>
<th>ngina ayandak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘a lie’</td>
<td>‘nonsense’</td>
<td>‘you lie’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 nominal forms is unclear.

The following pairs illustrate slightly different diminutive formatives:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘boy’</th>
<th>malniga</th>
<th>malnigaptja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘moon’</td>
<td>yurri</td>
<td>yurringadja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td>yiyirr</td>
<td>yiyirram</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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) dhama     ‘old’ (respected)
   dhamala   ‘grandfather’
   dhamalanhanha  ‘grandmother’
   dhamanga  ‘old (respected) man’
   dhamayi(yi)rr ‘old (respected) man’
   dhamawinyarr ‘old (respected) woman’

(b) dhoma     ‘dear’
   dhomin    ‘love, kiss’ (verb -non-future)
   dhomadhomanga ‘love’ (noun)

In the expressions above, the formative -la occurs in the kinship terms for grandfather and grandmother, built upon the base dhama ‘old’. 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

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23 It may be the case that this formative -la is also the one used to build the terms Dunggula 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).\textsuperscript{24} The verb *dhomin* 'love, kiss' is built on the same first syllable as the attribute *dhoma* 'dear', the final syllable -\textit{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/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dhoma</em></td>
<td><em>dhomi</em>- (dhome non-future)</td>
<td>'dear' 'to love'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>guna</em></td>
<td><em>guni</em>- (gunin non-future, gunyubak future)</td>
<td>'excrement' 'to evacuate bowels'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dhana</em></td>
<td><em>dhani</em> (dhanin non-future)</td>
<td>'alive' 'to copulate'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayapka</td>
<td>ngina</td>
<td>aya-nda-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>lie-vbl-FUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'a lie'</td>
<td>'you lie'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhona</td>
<td>'alive'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bangn) dhona</td>
<td>'to live'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhani-dhanin</td>
<td>'to copulate'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhanadhan</td>
<td>'to commit sodomy' (cf. dhan, reciprocal)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhango dhango</td>
<td>'noise made in copulation'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dangalatjumatj</td>
<td>'sorry, sorrow'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yitjumatj</td>
<td>'sick'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marralatjumatj</td>
<td>'tired'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wowatjumatj</td>
<td>'sound, noise'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word for sick seems to be derived from the stem *yitja* 'pain' plus -matj. However it appears that the syllable -\textit{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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>nhanha</td>
<td>nhannha RMb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'female'</td>
<td>nhana</td>
<td>bukka nhana 'female dog' RMb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>baiamal nhana 'swan hen' RMb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{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.
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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 32: Formatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>yitja</strong> ‘thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mawa</strong> ‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wowatja</strong> ‘loud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mathi</strong> ‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>buka</strong> ‘head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>daborra</strong> ‘path’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>guli</strong> ‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dunhu</strong> ‘to weep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wala</strong> ‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>datjidja</strong> ‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bolkatj</strong> ‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>banga</strong> ‘wind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dhanga</strong> ‘thirst’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dhala</strong> ‘darkness, night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>djiya</strong> ‘throat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>djiyaman</strong> ‘cowardly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>buli</strong> ‘belly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>yitjumatj</strong> ‘sick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mawamatj</strong> ‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wowatjumatj</strong> ‘sound, noise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mathimatj</strong> ‘cruel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bukan</strong> ‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>daborrin</strong> ‘dry creek’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gulan</strong> ‘shame’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dunhin</strong> ‘teardrop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wala</strong> ‘blister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>datjin</strong> ‘warm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bolkan</strong> ‘frightened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bangin</strong> ‘hail, duststorm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dhanyam</strong> ‘thirsty, dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dhalanan</strong> ‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>djiyaman</strong> ‘fear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>djiyaman nhalaya</strong> ‘cowardice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>buliana</strong> ‘pregnant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

25 We assume here a semantic relationship ‘under→down→hanging head→shame’. 
### Table 32: Formatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dhau ‘thigh’</th>
<th>dhauwadhen ‘trousers’</th>
<th>mulanmuk ‘hungry’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mulan ‘none, spit’</td>
<td>mulandjika ‘spittle’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balmi ‘bees, honey’</td>
<td>balmitpa ‘salt, sour’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djina ‘foot’</td>
<td>djinbak ‘to scratch’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>garra ‘now’</td>
<td>garraba ‘wait a little’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djeka ‘to pour’</td>
<td>djekalmak ‘to quench’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulpa ‘deep, well’</td>
<td>gulpaga ‘waterhole’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitja ‘fire’</td>
<td>bitjau ‘firewood’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baparra ‘since’</td>
<td>baparra maltitj ‘to lose’</td>
<td>witedja gana ‘to leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gana(tj) ‘over’</td>
<td>muma gana ‘to hold’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.9.4 Metaphoric extension

The following examples illustrate the processes of semantic or metaphoric extension evident in the vocabulary examples. Some of the extensions are based on visual similarity (e.g. maggot – runny nose), while some of the extensions are more relationally based (e.g. maggot – blowfly).

- **galnya** 'good, happy, nice, beautiful, right, honesty'
- **galnya yiyirr** 'handsome' (yiyirr ‘man’)
- **galnya yitiga** 'good, pleasant smell' (yitiga? Perhaps djitiga ‘meat’)
- **galnya dhatjinerra** 'pleasant to taste' (dhatji ‘eat’)
- **maloga** 'sand, sugar'
- **woka** 'earth, ground, district'
- **dutula** 'reptile, maggot, runny nose, blowfly, bee'
- **nakin** 'animal's tail, penis'
- **molwa** 'dead man, grave, burial ground, shadow, white man, picture show'
- **borrynyu** 'arm, wing, shield, creek'
- **nhanha** 'mother, female'
- **nhanha beyin** 'thumb' ('mother of hand')

Some of the examples were no doubt produced in response to English vocabulary elicitation procedures, (particularly the Redmond Barry EIM questionnaire which had approximately 700 English items). Nevertheless, the processes evident in the creation of equivalents for the English prompts seem to be related to the general principles of metaphoric extension found in languages in general, and in Aboriginal languages in particular.
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.

- munu ‘leg’
- borrinyu ‘arm’
- munúpna ‘trousers’
- borrinyúpna ‘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:

- betjatjpa ‘paper’ (H:237) from English ‘paper’
- birrit ‘bread’ (H:237) from English ‘bread’
- dhau wadhen ‘trousers’ (H:237) perhaps from English ‘trousers’
- ganitjmen ‘policeman’ (H:237) from English ‘chain’ (also used in Wiradjuri)
- nyatjpa ‘knife’ (H:239) from English ‘knife’
- wolupna ‘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’.

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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 /h/. 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.

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

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bapa</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>Wemba Wemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bubu</td>
<td>'anus'</td>
<td>Wiradjuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burrai</td>
<td>'baby'</td>
<td>Wiradjuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gara</td>
<td>'testicles'</td>
<td>Wiradjuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gadjak</td>
<td>'disgusting'</td>
<td>Wiradjuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grong-grong</td>
<td>'silly'</td>
<td>Wdj gwang-gwang, possibly related to giwang 'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guda</td>
<td>'child'</td>
<td>Wiradjuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuka</td>
<td>'grandmother'</td>
<td>Wemba Wemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwindrik</td>
<td>'mother'</td>
<td>Wemba Wemba (kuyindrruk ‘his mother’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maligan</td>
<td>'silly'</td>
<td>Wiradjuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mama</td>
<td>'father'</td>
<td>Wemba Wemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mima</td>
<td>'grandparents'</td>
<td>Wemba Wemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirigan</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
<td>Wiradjuri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngapa</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
<td>Wemba Wemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– maternal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarabang</td>
<td>'dear'</td>
<td>Wiradjuri (term of ridicule if used of whites)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paremparem</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
<td>Wemba Wemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>– paternal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wawa</td>
<td>'uncle'</td>
<td>(wawin ‘elder brother’ Wemba Wemba)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 33: Words from neighbouring languages used in Yorta Yorta

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

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:

3.10.4 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:

3.10.5 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:

3.10.6 Ngata naan iawa pikkeroomdja. (Cb:578)
‘I see one emu.’
/ngadha nha-n iyawa bigarumdja/
*ngadha nhan iyawa bigarumdja*
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/

*mattimna 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 *Banga 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)idjumadja 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 *Dungidjal yiyirral tütîm buttya.*

‘A big man killed a possum.’

\[\text{dung(g)udja-l yiyir-al datim badja/} \]
\[\text{dung(g)udjal yiyirral datin batja} \]

big-ERG man-ERG kill.PAST possum

‘A big man killed a possum.’

3.112 *Yiyirril dungidyil buttya tuttain.*

‘A big man killed a possum.’

\[\text{/yiyir-il dung(g)udja-il badja dadin/} \]
\[\text{yiyirril dung(g)udjil badja datin} \]

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 *ing.ar ner yale le* (Rc)

‘hill’

\[\text{yingarna yulila/} \]
\[\text{yingarrna yulila} \]

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.

- Turneja daideja, marrilatchimut neynee: ‘Very hot, me too much lazy.’
- Thoma nien boynupa: ‘My dear brother.’
- Thoma nien thajuba: ‘My dear sister.’
- Turneja malunwick, eetumut boolie: ‘Very hungry, stomach empty.’
- Mitther eeyanook: ‘Give me some bread.’
- Berumja beriarro, mano noothiga: ‘Be off to your camp, all of you.’
- Beriarroo wabuja yalmin neenee: ‘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 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.’

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
1SG.POSS dear Mr Thomas
‘My dear Mr Thomas,’
wal-a neen a yah
‘well’? nyana?
? 1PL.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 ngina** 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 durigai/
 **nyuwandak yinin duriak**
1PL.INC.ERG bite.PRES fish?
‘We want to eat some fish.’/‘We eat fish.’

4.8 [dhoma nyini 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 nganga-brai] (Hpmc)
/biradj nganga-buraya/
 **birradj nganga-burraya**
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]
/deya-win/
deya-win
there-?
‘There he is’/‘There!’

4.12 [beromdja]
/bira-mdja/
birra-mdja
go.away.IMP-?
‘Go away!’

4.13 [wanal gaana]
/wanal ga:na/
wana lan 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 A217a); see section 4.2.3.

‘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.

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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):

\begin{align*}
\text{Ngoe immilang kai-i-mer,} & \quad \text{‘Yes, today (we will have) kangaroo,} \\
\text{Yoorta yanna yooringa,} & \quad \text{Not go sun (or before sundown),} \\
\text{Wanama wai panama,} & \quad \ldots \ldots \\
\text{Yoorta purra wollikthia.} & \quad \text{Not red kangaroo fat.’}
\end{align*}

Analysis:

4.16. \text{Ngoe immilang kai-i-mer,}  \\
\quad \text{‘Yes today (we will have) kangaroo,’}  \\
\quad /ngowe imilang gayimar/  \\
\quad \text{ngowe imilang gayimmar}  \\
\quad \text{‘Yes today kangaroo,’}  \\
\text{Yoorta yanna yooringa,}  \\
\quad \text{‘Not go sun (or before sundown),’}  \\
\quad /yoda yana yuringa/  \\
\quad \text{yorta yana yurrnga}  \\
\quad \text{no go sun}  \\
\text{Wanama wai panama,}  \\
\quad \ldots \ldots  \\
\quad /wanama wayi banama/  \\
\quad \text{?}  \\
\quad \text{eagle?}  \\
\text{Yoorta purra wollikthia.}  \\
\quad \text{‘Not red kangaroo fat.’}  \\
\quad /yoda bara walidja/  \\
\quad \text{yorta bara wajitja}  \\
\quad \text{‘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 berri berri ma may be the Yorta Yorta expression birama ‘go away’
Song 1, line 4 goi-eela possibly Kaiyila ‘Goulburn River’
Song 1, line 6 bang-e may be the Yorta Yorta past participle banga
Song 1, line 6 warrim bang-e possibly worwa ‘climb’ + banga PAST
Song 2, line 2 mutha possibly matha ‘canoe’
Song 2, lines 2,4 magoon possibly makun ‘fish, perch’
Song 2, line 4 bang-a may be the Yorta Yorta past participle banga
Song 2, line 4 mullin may be the Yorta Yorta word malin ‘beat’
Song 3, lines 2,4 imalang appears to be the Yorta Yorta word imilang ‘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:

[woniganda] Hpmc ‘this one here’
[gomanda] Hpmc ‘you there’
[deyawm] Hpmc ‘this one’
[nganga brawm] Hpmc ‘you too’
[nganga b(u)rai] Hpmc ‘that one’

We can provide the following analysis for this chant:

4.17 Woningenda gomenda 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):
‘Which one will you take or seize?’ womagin ngia mommon?
/womgin ngina(k)? muma-n/
/womgin 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):

ngangaburai, ngangaburai, ngangaburai, deyawin
‘(counting out) this one...this one!’

Analysis:

4.19 /nganga-buraya daya-win/
ngangaburraya 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, gooby gooby (go away)
narabri der yuh win ngungabri 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

gooby gooby
/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.
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:

daya ‘this’
nganga ‘that’
womigin ‘which’
-win ‘one’
-burra ‘mid distant’
burraya ‘far distant’
da ‘third person singular pronoun/this’

since there is no other instantiation of the form [gomànda] from any other source, we
think it may be a misremembering for the form muman ‘seize’ found in the somewhat similar
Curt 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 Curt.

4.3.1 The song recorded by Edwards (ED)

In the single manuscript sheet of A. Edwards, he records the following song:

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, *walala 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).

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*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 *walala 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
Allelulia’] 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 Pharoah’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 yapaneyepuk/
     wala yapanei yeputj
     ‘the water all passed over’ or ‘the waters came together’

/wala yapaneyepuk/
     wala yapanei yeputj
     water ? together
     ‘the water came together’ ?? (Verse 6, line 2)

     nowra7 bura fera yumina yala yala
     ‘and drowned all Pharoah’s army, Alleluia.’

/nawrra burra ferra yumina yalayala
     drowned?? boss Pharoah person army Alleluia
     ‘and drowned Pharoah’s army. Alleluia.’ (Verse 6, line 3)

Verse B.  Yunduk bekuk Jesu
     ‘we’re going to sing/pray to Jesus’

7 Alternatively given as ngara.
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 nganaburraya moya.
‘There is a happy land, far far away.’

which is analysed as:

4.22. Galyan woka nganaburraya moya.
/galyan woga nganga-buraya ‘moya/  
galyan woka ngangaburraya ?
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:

Biamie bunwil ‘The Lord’s my Shepherd
Ma min wamba min I’ll not want
Molwa ma gumba 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

Molwa wirba ma

Berri-werri

In pastures green

(he leadeth me)

The quiet waters by.'

This appears to be partly in Yorta Yorta, and partly in the Wemba Wemba language:

4.23  

Biamie bunwil

/baimiya bangal??/

spirit, God (YY) clever man, eaglehawk (WW)

Min wamba min

/nga min wemba min/

1SG (YY) no (WW)

Molwa ma gumba

/molwa nga gumba/

shade (YY) 1SG (YY) lie down (WW)

Bega

/bega/

ghost (YY)

Molwa wirb ma

/molwa wirba nga/

shade (YY) 1SG (YY)

Berri-werrei

/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
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:

- **Nyini guliga guli watjam** ‘lovely little one’  
  FM
- **guligarabok/guligalabok** ‘I’m trying to get it but I couldn’t get hold of it.’  
  Hcs
- **gapu(I) galai** ‘I’m going to have to’  
  Hcs
- **yarabi** ‘I’m going.’  
  Hcs
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**


(ii) **Tongala**

This is the Yorta Yorta term for the Murray River (*tongala* 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

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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, *moir.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 nganaburaya moya*’ in which the last word may have the meaning ‘beautiful’.

\[
Galyan woka nganaburaya moya.
\]

/galyan woga nganga-burraya ‘moya’/
galyan woka ngangaburraya ?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 *mōōma*, 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-? imperatvie (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 (Katōōpna in Curr’s list of Plains Cb:576)
- Ulupna
- Tallygaroopna
- Congupna
- Jillinupna
- Tarigoroopna (Ls:334)

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:

\[ munu \]

‘leg’
\[ munúpna \]

‘trousers’

\[ borr(i)nyu \]

‘arm’
\[ borr(i)nyúpna \]

‘shirt’

\[ watjerra \]

‘tortoise shell/plate’
\[ watjerrúpna \]

‘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 koːlpaga (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 there 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 Toolinyâgan 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-ôô-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 Kāiīooga 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 (bangā 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: wanyā wūnyā Cb, wun yer Rc, wūnyā RMb, RMd, wanyā 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 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, kи.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.
- Kā̤ooga
- Tē̤tōoga (called Tizziki Plain by the Whites)
- Goolāila
- Būnderi
- Wōkkida
- Thathūmnerna
- Wai-ō̤-na (commonly spelt Wyuna)
- Kotō̤pna
5.5 Names of Creeks

Curr (Cb) provides the following names of creeks.

Bāāla = Broken Creek
Dirra = teeth
Kökoma = calabash
Wōlola
Ti-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
Yalëbla, Letùpna, Moolidgiga, Kanëpka, Bărromop

(b) Names of Women
Narrungärning, Undyärning, Mårdjiga, Thõre mellapûrning, Tûrtool, Killbångaroo, Wadjibiålgrook, Mirândola, Kongöbla, Minniga, Windyärning, Bôrogoa

(c) Names of Boys
Konëbla, Möötugoa, Tungöba (‘frog’), Monorümbe, Barùpna, Waw-ra-nâ-ra-be, Mômogoa, Monâbbi

(ii) Robinson (vol.17) records the names of people of the ‘Ang-go-riil-lum clan of the Pine­
ger-ine’. For example:

- Mil-loo-ger, alias Harry
  
  Budgerbulloc

- Man-ger-ne, Larry, husband of the above
  
  Pine-bil-de-bar – 18 years Old
  
  Por-re-ror-rope – Tall man, alias Larry

(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*  
    ‘Frog’  
    /dhangoba/  
    *dhangoba*  
    ‘Frog’  

B.  *Mit-ura-baar-la.*  
    ‘Name of Susanna Crow (fork of a Gum Tree).’  
    /midhura  b(i)yala/  
    *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 Ngarrimoro 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 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 Pikkolätpan:

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bangerang “proper”</th>
<th>‘father’</th>
<th>‘mother’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gayilduban, Dulinyagan, Bikolatban</td>
<td>gaiya</td>
<td>gana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngarimoro</td>
<td>bapu</td>
<td>napu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bingalam</td>
<td>ngagalam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| Western Vic. (e.g. Wemba Wemba)    | 23                    | 15             |
| Bunanditj                          | 11                    | 15             |
| Warrnambool                        | 16                    | 12             |
| Colac                              | 11                    | 17             |
| Wathawurung                        | 15                    | 15             |
| Central Vic. (e.g. Thagungwurung)  | 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 (AIATSIS 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 that 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 Káíela’. 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)


MS: Annotations to offprint of 1903: Yabula Yabula article dated 9/2/1903, R.H. Mathews papers. Australian National Library. (RMf)
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
- 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

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:

ngarta ‘eaglehawk’ (Cn)
dikarti ‘heat’ (Cn)

Equally, these may represent a sequence of /rl/ and /rl/, 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- dumpul (RM), toompool (C) ‘possum’
-nd- ngandi (RMj) ‘who’
-nth- woluntha (C) ‘hill’ (probably homorganic as /-nhdh-/)
       pondtho (C) ‘stomach’

There are no examples of /ng/. However there is always a chance that the written /ng/ in medial position is in fact a consonant sequence. For example:

boongooma (Cn) ‘perch’

This might be notated as either bungumaor bungguma 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/ /e/ /o/ /u/

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
boriny  borntyu  ‘arm’
yalam  yalma  ‘bark’
gothopuk  guthapka  ‘baby’
maram  marrmu  ‘ear’
nyawak  nyauwoga  ‘girl’
ganok  gan-go  ‘manna’
garokor  gorrrkara  ‘rain’
malay  malya  ‘swan’

7.3 Syntax

7.3.1 Case suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td>-dha, -k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct object</td>
<td>-n?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative-Allative</td>
<td>-(a)k</td>
<td>-ak, -ang</td>
<td>-ak-anak</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>-ngan</td>
<td>-ngan</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-ka(?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>-l (?) cf. wanhal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ngurrimaure 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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### Table 37: Second person singular

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<th>(Cn)</th>
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<td>nyunna/nginna</td>
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<td>nginnak</td>
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<td><strong>S</strong></td>
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<td>ngūni</td>
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### Table 38: Third person singular

<table>
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<td>dhillak(a)/dhallungun</td>
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<td>dhal</td>
<td>da</td>
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<td>nungun</td>
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### Table 39: First person dual inclusive

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<td>ngalangan ngalangan</td>
<td>ngal(u)ngun ngaloongun</td>
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### Table 40: First person dual exclusive

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<td>ngala</td>
</tr>
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<td>Object</td>
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<td>Genitive</td>
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### Table 41: Second person dual

<table>
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<th>(RMa)</th>
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### Table 42: Third person dual

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<tbody>
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<td>A</td>
<td>bulinalak</td>
<td>damulak</td>
<td>damuluk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bullinalak</td>
<td>damulak</td>
<td>damooloo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dyewulak</td>
<td>dyewulak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td>damulu</td>
<td>damulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>damulu</td>
<td>damooloo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj.</td>
<td></td>
<td>bulleya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bulleya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>bulangangan</td>
<td>damalunya</td>
<td>damalinya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bullungunngun</td>
<td>damalunya</td>
<td>damalinya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 43: First person plural inclusive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(RMi)</th>
<th>(RMj)</th>
<th>(RMc)</th>
<th>(RMa)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>nunhurak</td>
<td>nyuwanda</td>
<td>nyuwandak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nünnhuruk</td>
<td>nyuinda</td>
<td>nyuandak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>nunhur</td>
<td>nyuwanda</td>
<td>nyuandak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nunnhur</td>
<td>nyuanda</td>
<td>nyooandak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj.</td>
<td></td>
<td>nyuwandanan</td>
<td>nyuandunan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>nunhungan</td>
<td>nyuwandan</td>
<td>nyuandan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nunhungun</td>
<td>nyuandun</td>
<td>ngooandan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 44: First person plural exclusive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(RMi)</th>
<th>(RMj)</th>
<th>(RMc)</th>
<th>(RMa)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>nginangan</td>
<td>nyanana</td>
<td>nyanak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nginnungunuk</td>
<td>nyunana</td>
<td>nyanak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>nginangan</td>
<td>nyana</td>
<td>nyanak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nginnungun</td>
<td>nyanun</td>
<td>nyanak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj.</td>
<td></td>
<td>nyananan</td>
<td>nyananak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>nginangan</td>
<td>nyanan</td>
<td>nyanan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nginnungun</td>
<td>nyananun</td>
<td>nyananak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Yorta Yorta and Yabula Yabula, but, as noted above in section 3.3 in relation to Yorta Yorta, 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 ngunnun 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’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RMj</th>
<th>RMi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>dhinya</td>
<td>dhinya, dyinya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>djingan</td>
<td>dyengan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that other</td>
<td>nganangan</td>
<td>ngunnungan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that yonder</td>
<td>nganyingan</td>
<td>ngunyingun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>ngana</td>
<td>nyuna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition there is another series of demonstratives which he describes as ‘adverbs’:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>there</td>
<td>nalai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there farther</td>
<td>nalai burra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there close</td>
<td>n(g)anakarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little way off</td>
<td>dangaburra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over yonder</td>
<td>dhanabana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some distance off</td>
<td>ngangabanarrak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>there</th>
<th>Yabula Yabula</th>
<th>Yorta Yorta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>there farther</td>
<td>nalai</td>
<td>nhalaya ‘medium proximity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there close</td>
<td>naliburra</td>
<td>nhalaya bura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little way off</td>
<td>nanakarra</td>
<td>daya ‘close proximity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over yonder</td>
<td>dangaburra</td>
<td>danga bura ‘medium proximity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some distance off</td>
<td>dhanabena</td>
<td>dhamnala ‘far proximity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nganabanarrak</td>
<td>nganga banarak ‘far proximity’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
‘I am walking.’ (RMi:25)

yani ngaya
walk.PRES 1SG.NOM
‘I am walking.’

7.4 Burriburri ngai-in yanne.
‘Tomorrow I will go.’ (Cn:581)

burriburri ngaya yani
tomorrow 1SG.NOM walk.PRES
‘Tomorrow I will go.’

7.5 Karoik barwal yanne purri burri.
‘Many blacks (will) come tomorrow.’ (Cn:582)

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  
\[ \text{Ngananuk nyuna nguki-ang?} \]  
\[ \text{ngananuk nyana nguki-ang} \]  
\[ \text{who.DAT 2SG.NOM give-FUT} \]  
\[ \text{‘Who are you going to give it to?’} \]  

(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 pronouns.

7.7  
\[ \text{Yabbale ngata nakal.} \]  
\[ \text{yabala ngatha nakal} \]  
\[ \text{NEG 1SG.ERG see.PRES} \]  
\[ \text{‘I don’t see her.’} \]  

7.8  
\[ \text{Bawunga takkan kurnau dhulkurnga.} \]  
\[ \text{bawu-nga dakan garrnau dhulkurr-nga} \]  
\[ \text{man-ERG hit.PAST dog boomerang-INST} \]  
\[ \text{‘A man hit a dog with a boomerang.’} \]  

7.9  
\[ \text{Murraiunga linnin nguliwak.} \]  
\[ \text{marray-unga lini-n nguliwak} \]  
\[ \text{woman-ERG beat-PAST child} \]  
\[ \text{‘A woman beat a child.’} \]  

7.10  
\[ \text{Kurnauunga innamin dumpul.} \]  
\[ \text{garrnau-unga inami-n dumpul} \]  
\[ \text{dog-ERG hite-PAST possum} \]  
\[ \text{‘A dog bit a possum.’} \]  

(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.  
warrdakaw-nga ngini-n yirriki-n  
kangaroo-ERG 1SG-OBJ scratch-PAST  
‘A kangaroo scratched me.’

(v) Allative

7.12 Kagu gūwak.  
gagu guwa-k  
come camp-ALL  
‘Come to the camp.’

7.13 Wannuk nyunna?  
wanak nyana  
where.to you  
‘Where are you [going] to?’

7.14 Minnhak?  
minha-k  
what-ALL  
‘What for?’

7.15 Ngananuk nyuna ngukeang?  
ngananak nyana nguki-ang  
who.to you give-FUT  
‘Who are you going to give (it) to?’

(vi) Genitive

7.16 bawungun dhulkur  
bawu-ngan dhulkur  
man-GEN boomerang  
‘a man’s boomerang’

7.17 murraiungun nūnyer  
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?  
wanal ngini marrai  
where 1SG GEN wife  
‘Where is my wife?’
(vii) Ablative

7.19  Yerrimpka guwin.

\textit{yerrimpka guw-in}
go.away camp-ABL
‘Go away from the camp.’

7.20  Wunnin nyunna?

\textit{wanin nyana}
where-ABL you
‘Where are you from?’

(viii) Purpose

In the following sentence we see the word for ‘fish’, with a final syllable \textit{-ka}, which may be a purposive suffix, since the usual form for ‘fish’ is given as \textit{munni}. This may be related to the allative suffix \textit{-k}. The Yorta Yorta allative suffix \textit{-uk} is also used for purpose (see section 3.2.1)

7.21  Yennera munnika.

\textit{yenarra mani-ka}
come fish-PURP
‘Come, for the purpose of fishing.’

(ix) Demonstratives

7.22  Dyinya gulleng lana mutther.

\textit{djinya galiny lana madhi}
this good that bad
‘This one is good and that one is bad.’

7.23  Ngani nana?

\textit{ngan(di) 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.

\begin{align*}
\textbf{dumpul} & \text{‘possum’} & \textbf{bawo} & \text{‘blackfellow’} & \textbf{marai} & \text{‘woman’} \\
\text{(RMi:28)} &       & \text{(Cn:581)} &      & \text{(Cn:581)} &       \\
\text{ singular} & \text{dumpul} & \text{dumpul} &       & \text{bawo} & \text{marai} \\
\text{ dual} & \text{dumpul bulangin} & \text{dumpul bullungin} &       & \text{bawul} & \text{marrai} \\
\text{ plural} & \text{dumpul dhanangin} & \text{dumpul dhunnungin} & \text{ manyumen} & \text{bawal} & \text{māānyoomein} \\
\end{align*}
The word *bulangin* and *dhanangin* may well be related to the pronouns, compare:

- 2nd dual genitive: *bulangan*
- 3rd dual genitive: *bulangangan*
- 3rd plural genitive: *dhanagunikan*

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: *nangulam* (nűng’ulum)
- A doe: *nangatham* (nungathum)

### 7.3.4 Interrogatives and questions

The forms recorded by Mathews are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>RMi:26</th>
<th>RMj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Where?</td>
<td>wanhal</td>
<td>wunnhal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where to?</td>
<td>wan(h)ak</td>
<td>wannuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where from?</td>
<td>wan(h)in</td>
<td>wunnin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How many?</td>
<td>yugalam</td>
<td>yugalum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What?</td>
<td>minha</td>
<td>minnha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What for?</td>
<td>minhak</td>
<td>minnhak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What with?</td>
<td>minhalda</td>
<td>minnhalda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who?</td>
<td>ngan(d)i</td>
<td>ngani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who (dual)?</td>
<td>ngan(d)ibula</td>
<td>ngandibula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who (plural)?</td>
<td>ngan(d)inhur</td>
<td>ngandinhur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose?</td>
<td>ngandin</td>
<td>nganin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who (ergative)?</td>
<td>ngandung</td>
<td>nganung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To whom?</td>
<td>ngandanak</td>
<td>ngananuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who from?</td>
<td>ngandinat</td>
<td>nganinat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who with?</td>
<td>ngandinarrak</td>
<td>nganinarak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How?</td>
<td>wanhalam</td>
<td>wannahaluman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When?</td>
<td>wamingawir</td>
<td>wunningawür</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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?*  
*Wanhalt bawal*  
where.LOC? people (Aboriginal)  
‘Where are the Aboriginal people?’ (original translation ‘Where are the blacks?’)  

7.25  *Wannuk nyunnna?*  
*Wan(h)ak nyana?*  
where.to you  
‘Where are you going?’  

7.26  *Wunnin nyunnna?*  
*Wanin nyana?*  
where.from you  
‘Where are you from?’  

7.27  *Minnha nhanan?*  
*Minhal nhanan?*  
what that  
‘What is that?’  

7.28  *Ngani nana?*  
*Ngani nana?*  
who there  
‘Who is there?’  

7.29  *Nganin dyinya?*  
*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.*  
‘I am hungry.’  
*mulanmi ngaya*  
hungry 1SG.NOM  
‘I am hungry.’  

7.31  *Moolinmi nginya?*  
‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 48: Yabula Yabula tense forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above it will be seen that the present is typically the bare stem. The past is typically -*no*. The future suffix is -ang.

For other parts of the verb, Mathews uses /line-/ ‘to beat’ as his example verb:

(ii) Imperative

| line | beat! |
| kathagera line | 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):  
| linimthur | we two are beating each other |
| linimthurren | we two were beating each other |
| linimtherrang | we two will be beating each other |
| linimthurrnunhurr | we (incl.) are beating each other |
| linimthur nginangan | 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:  
| linim(i)thur ngalak | we dual (excl.) are beating each other |
(iv) Reflexive

The suffix *-nganya* marks the reflexive form:

7.32  *daka-nganya ngaya*  
    hit-REFL 1SG.ABS  
    ‘I am beating myself.’

(v) Possibility

7.33  *Ngutthadyin linneang.*  
    *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.*  
    *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.*  
    ‘I am hungry.’  
    *mulanmi ngaya*  
    hungry 1SG.NOM  
    ‘I am hungry.’
7.37 *Matthir toompool.*
‘Opossum is bad.’

*mathi dumpul*
bad possum.ABS
‘(The) possum is bad.’

7.38 *Kalien godaiami.*
‘Emu is good.’

*galiny godaiami*
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, 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>one</th>
<th>two</th>
<th>three</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yabula Yabula</td>
<td>warrangin</td>
<td>blathurr</td>
<td>blathurr warra(ngin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yorta Yorta</td>
<td>wurrungin</td>
<td>bluthur</td>
<td>bluthurwurra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.3.10 Comparison of Yabula Yabula and Yorta Yorta morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yabula Yabula</th>
<th>Yorta Yorta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>-(,1</td>
<td>-(V)l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative/instrumental</td>
<td>-(,1</td>
<td>-(V)k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct object</td>
<td>nan</td>
<td>nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/allative</td>
<td>-(a)k</td>
<td>-(V)l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive/possessive</td>
<td>-(ngan</td>
<td>-(V)l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>-at, -atja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-karak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-narak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-nyanuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 49: Noun and pronoun morphology**
### Table 50: Yabula Yabula verb morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yabula Yabula</th>
<th>Yorta Yorta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-Ø, -n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-nbanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td>-ang</td>
<td>-ak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>-I</td>
<td>-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
<td>-mithur</td>
<td>-dhan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>-nganya</td>
<td>-n, ngangyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td></td>
<td>-nyanuk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yabula Yabula</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aborigine</td>
<td>bawu(l)</td>
<td>bawo Cn, bawal Cn, bawool Cn (YY bawu ‘body’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>borriny</td>
<td>borein Cn (YY borrinyu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>around</td>
<td>ngawika</td>
<td>ngarwika RMi, RMj (YY ngawitpa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>gothopuk</td>
<td>kothopook Cn (YY guthapka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>mathi</td>
<td>matthir Cn (YY mathi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bark</td>
<td>yalam</td>
<td>yalam Cn (YY yalma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat, to</td>
<td>lini-</td>
<td>linnin RMj, linnel RMj, linnel RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behind</td>
<td>banhurr</td>
<td>bunnhr RMi, bunnhr RMj (YY banu(th) ‘back’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Yabula Yabula</td>
<td>Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between</td>
<td>dumarr</td>
<td>dumar RMj, dümur RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bite, to</td>
<td>yinami-</td>
<td>yinnamin RMj innamin RMi (YY yin-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boomerang</td>
<td>dhalkurr</td>
<td>dhulkur RMi, dhulkur RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>mulany</td>
<td>moolan Cn, mullain RMi (YY malniga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother</td>
<td>wowa</td>
<td>wau-wa RMi, wawom Cn (YY wowa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by and by</td>
<td>ganyunguna</td>
<td>ganyunguna RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camp</td>
<td>guwa</td>
<td>guwa RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>butju</td>
<td>bootjo Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>nguliwak</td>
<td>ngulinak RMj, nguliwak RMi, ngolwaichik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>yurrathek</td>
<td>yoorathek Cn (YY yurratha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cockatoo, white</td>
<td>garrang</td>
<td>karang Cn (YY djarring) (Wadi Wadi keRangi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>codfish</td>
<td>burrunu</td>
<td>booroonoo Cn (YY burrnanga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold</td>
<td>bolaki</td>
<td>poleki Cn (YY bokalți)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come</td>
<td>yenarra</td>
<td>yennera Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come on, to</td>
<td>gaku</td>
<td>kako: Cn, kагu RMi, RMj (YY gaka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow</td>
<td>wakirr</td>
<td>wokka Cn, wakir RMi (YY wakirr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day after tomorrow</td>
<td>warra-birri</td>
<td>warrabirri RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead</td>
<td>notharrun</td>
<td>notharun Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diver (a bird)</td>
<td>dayilel</td>
<td>dai-e-lel Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>garrnaw</td>
<td>kurnau RMi, kurnau RMj, karnow, karnao Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down</td>
<td>nhunaka</td>
<td>nhunuka RMj, nhunuka RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down a river</td>
<td>yurrni</td>
<td>yurni RMj, yurni RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink, to</td>
<td>gungai-</td>
<td>kongaian Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck, black</td>
<td>wangil</td>
<td>wangirl Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eaglehawk</td>
<td>ngarrra</td>
<td>ngarta Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>marram</td>
<td>maram Cn (YY marrmu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat, to</td>
<td>dhai-</td>
<td>thaikia Cn (YY dhatji-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emu</td>
<td>godayami</td>
<td>godaiaimi Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excrement</td>
<td>guna</td>
<td>koonna Cn (YY guna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ma</td>
<td>ma, mawo Cn (YY ma, miyul)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>bingalam</td>
<td>bingalam Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female (animal)</td>
<td>nangatham</td>
<td>nungatham RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>galaw</td>
<td>kalao Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>mani(ka)</td>
<td>munni, munnika Cn (YY maniga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>(mogo)djina</td>
<td>chinna, mogo-chinna Cn (CA djina)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>blathurr-blathurr</td>
<td>placir-placir Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
<td>mirrungurr</td>
<td>mirrungur RMi, RRmj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 51: Yabula Yabula vocabulary list

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yabula Yabula</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girl (10 yrs)</td>
<td>nyawak</td>
<td>nyāwak RMi (YY nyauwoga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give, to</td>
<td>nguki-</td>
<td>ngukeang RMi (YY ngu-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give, to</td>
<td>wirra-</td>
<td>wirra Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go out, to</td>
<td>yerrimpka-</td>
<td>yerrimpka RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>galiny</td>
<td>kalein Cn, gulle:ng RMi, gulleng RMj (YY galnya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>belat</td>
<td>belart Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground</td>
<td>woka</td>
<td>wokka Cn (YY woka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>birrik</td>
<td>pirik Cn (YY biyin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heat</td>
<td>diki</td>
<td>dikarti, dekki Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td>wolantha</td>
<td>woluntha Cn (YY walu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit, to</td>
<td>daka-</td>
<td>takkan RMi, RMj (see 'kill')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how long ago</td>
<td>wamiguwirr</td>
<td>wumirrgwir RMi, RMj (YY womirrgwirr 'when?')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how many</td>
<td>yugalam</td>
<td>yugalum RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hungry</td>
<td>mulinmi</td>
<td>moolinmi Cn (YY mulan-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hush!</td>
<td>goka</td>
<td>ko-kā Cn (YY gokwil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inside</td>
<td>dhurrrningmurr</td>
<td>dhürningmur RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kangaroo</td>
<td>warrdakaw</td>
<td>wārdakau RMi, RMj; wardakow Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kangaroo</td>
<td>bunminmirr</td>
<td>poonminmir Cn (taboo form c.1880)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kill, to</td>
<td>daka-</td>
<td>takkan RMi, RMj (see 'hit')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know, to</td>
<td>naka-</td>
<td>nakal Cn (see 'see')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large</td>
<td>ngurria</td>
<td>ngurea RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lightning</td>
<td>djirringawik</td>
<td>chiringawik Cn (YY djirringawan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little way off</td>
<td>dangaburra</td>
<td>dunguboera RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>burrak</td>
<td>burāk RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male (animal)</td>
<td>nangalam</td>
<td>nungulum RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>bawu</td>
<td>bawo RMi, baw RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manna</td>
<td>ganok</td>
<td>kanog Cn (YY gango)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many</td>
<td>garroik</td>
<td>karoik Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moon</td>
<td>yurri</td>
<td>yoori Cn (YY yurri)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosquito</td>
<td>burrutj</td>
<td>burroit Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>ngagalam</td>
<td>nga-ga-lam Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>wurrru</td>
<td>worro Cn (Kulin wurr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray river</td>
<td>gaiyala</td>
<td>kaiyel, kaiela Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>native companion</td>
<td>dawirri</td>
<td>tarwirri Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>yenutj</td>
<td>yenoit Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>yabula</td>
<td>yebbula RMi, yabula RMc, yebula, yabbala RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>gowu</td>
<td>kowo Cn (YY gowu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Yabula Yabula</td>
<td>Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>yanhapu</td>
<td>yannhapu RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on top</td>
<td>wamathan</td>
<td>wammathan RMj, wammathan RMi, (YY wamadaman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>warranginy</td>
<td>wurrungin RMi, RMj; warrangen Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outside</td>
<td>wakurr</td>
<td>wakür RMi, wakurr RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over</td>
<td>dhoann(mi)</td>
<td>dhoann RMj, dhoannmi RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelican</td>
<td>garrikat</td>
<td>garikart Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perch</td>
<td>bunguma</td>
<td>boongooma Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perch</td>
<td>murrukan</td>
<td>murrukan RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plenty (many)</td>
<td>garroik</td>
<td>karoik Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possum</td>
<td>dumpul</td>
<td>dumpul RMj, toompool, du:mpul RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possum</td>
<td>gorroak</td>
<td>korak Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rain</td>
<td>garrokor</td>
<td>karokor Cn (YY gorrkarra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run, to</td>
<td>banyi-</td>
<td>banyangan, banynyeang, banynye RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scratch, to</td>
<td>yirriki-</td>
<td>yirrikin RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see, to</td>
<td>naka-</td>
<td>nakaJ Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shield</td>
<td>balat</td>
<td>palart Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shortly</td>
<td>djil</td>
<td>dyil RMi, ‘at once’, dyil RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister, elder</td>
<td>ngaigirim</td>
<td>ngaigerem Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sister, younger</td>
<td>dhatham</td>
<td>thatham Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit, to</td>
<td>mukurr-</td>
<td>mukkur RMj, RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep, to</td>
<td>birrrtil-</td>
<td>pirtilong Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>dhonga</td>
<td>thonga Cn (YY dhonga)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>gono</td>
<td>korno Cn (YY gona)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>litago</td>
<td>lattagow C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake, plain</td>
<td>gatja</td>
<td>kartya RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake, leatherhead</td>
<td>dangurr</td>
<td>dungur RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak, to</td>
<td>lot(j)ba-</td>
<td>loathb, loatban, loatbeang RMi, (YY lotjba)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spear, reed</td>
<td>dhorrongal</td>
<td>thorongal Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spear, war</td>
<td>marriyu</td>
<td>marreoo Cn (YY marre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>star</td>
<td>durrtu</td>
<td>toorto Cn (Kulin turtu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>bo(n)tha</td>
<td>botha, pondtho Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>mopo</td>
<td>moppo Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>wurrgo</td>
<td>worgo Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swan</td>
<td>malay</td>
<td>malai Cn (YY malya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim, to</td>
<td>marritj-</td>
<td>marrechang Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teeth</td>
<td>darrawil</td>
<td>tarrawil, tarrewoli Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tell, to</td>
<td>ngarri-</td>
<td>ngurreang, ngurretheba RMi (YY ngarri-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>this side</td>
<td>ngalukurr</td>
<td>ngarlukur RMj, ngallukur RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Yabula Yabula</td>
<td>Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thrash, to (beat)</td>
<td><em>lini-</em></td>
<td><em>linen, linneang, linne</em> RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td><em>blathurr-</em></td>
<td><em>bluthurwwurra</em> RMi, RMj, <em>platir</em> warrangen Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>through</td>
<td><em>bupugi</em></td>
<td><em>bupugi</em> RMi, RMj (YY <em>bupu</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thunder</td>
<td><em>mulgurruk</em></td>
<td><em>moolgoorook</em> Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thunder</td>
<td><em>bina</em>yakum*</td>
<td><em>binyakum</em> Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td><em>baka</em></td>
<td><em>bakk</em> Cn (taboo form c1880)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td><em>ganawa</em></td>
<td><em>kannawakur</em> RMi, <em>kanawa</em> RMj, <em>karnawak</em> Cn (YY <em>gananggurr</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomahawk</td>
<td><em>nagayak</em></td>
<td><em>nagaia</em> Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td><em>barri-barri</em></td>
<td><em>barri birri</em> RMi, <em>barri barri</em> RMj, <em>purriburri</em> Cn (YY <em>barrparrik</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td><em>dhala</em></td>
<td><em>thalla</em> Cn (CA <em>Tyalayn</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>totem</td>
<td><em>mayakum</em></td>
<td><em>maiak'um</em> RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree, box</td>
<td><em>bulojt</em></td>
<td><em>bulloit</em> Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree, gum</td>
<td><em>dalo</em></td>
<td><em>tullo</em> Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turkey, wild</td>
<td><em>djirrakal</em></td>
<td><em>cherakal</em> Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td><em>blathurr</em></td>
<td><em>bluthur</em> RMi, RMj; <em>platir</em> Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>underneath</td>
<td><em>ganine</em></td>
<td>*gunnine RMj, gunnine: RMi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td><em>barriyal</em></td>
<td><em>barrial</em> RMi, RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up the river</td>
<td><em>nganyerra</em></td>
<td><em>nganyera</em> Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walk, to</td>
<td><em>yani-</em></td>
<td><em>yunngal, yangerangu, yanni</em> RMi (YY <em>ya-</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td><em>bana</em></td>
<td><em>banna</em> Cn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td><em>marrai</em></td>
<td><em>marrai</em> Cn, <em>murrai</em> (?) RMi, <em>murrai</em> RMj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td><em>nanyirr</em></td>
<td><em>nunyer</em> RMi, RMj (YY <em>nanyirr</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yamstick</td>
<td><em>(worro)galawik</em></td>
<td><em>worogolik, kaloweik</em> Cn (from galaw ‘fire’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td><em>ngowe</em></td>
<td><em>ngowe</em> RMi, <em>ngower</em> RMj, <em>ngoe</em> Cn (YY <em>ngowe</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix: vocabulary

The following vocabulary\footnote{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.} 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 *quarrel (to)*)
   - laidpeiya E, [loitjpatj] /lodjba/ Hbj, loipachuk J, loit-poit-cha Mb, lō-it-pa Cbs {lotjba-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 *call (to); shout (to)*)

**spear, reed**

- **gama** /gama/
  - kā-ma Cb, kama Cp, kama Ct, gaumur Ls, ca-ma Mb, kama RMb, RMd, karmer TH (see other types of spears; *arrow*)

**spear/throwing stick**

- **womerra** /womera/
  - wommera Cr {Wdj *wamarr*}
squirrel, flying
birranga /biránga/
pirānga Cb, birranga RMb, RMd (beer. range RC, squirrel)

star
duta /duda/
tōōr-ta Cb, toorta Cp, toorta Ct, tuta E, to-tar (see comet) Ra, toota Sa, drutta, trutta Sb, tut-ta T (Gen Vic durd-) (also planet, comet, constellation)

steal, to
bitha- /bidha/
bithanda (present – third person singular)
ba-a-tun E, biddhanda RMb, RMd, bad unrilt Ra (cōther gur nether 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 /lodja/ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>b/p</td>
<td>dh/th</td>
<td>d/t</td>
<td>d/j/tj</td>
<td>d/’t</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n/y</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>rhotic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels

\[
\begin{array}{c}
i \\
\hat{i} \\
e \\
\hat{e} \\
a \\
\hat{a} \\
o \\
\hat{o} \\
\end{array}
\]

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. **yenbena** /yenbena/
ën-ben-a Cb, yenbena Ct, yen-bena Mb, heen bin ner Rc, heenbinner Rd (yeiř C, see man)

2. **beyoga**
beowka Cp

3. **wungi**
[wuŋi] KB, FM

**about** **ngawitpa** /ngawidba/
arwich E (see round)

**above** **bukut**
book-koot E (perhaps buka head + Ablative t from)

**acid** **matekami(t)**
madeycumit E (also bitter)

**acquaintance** **djuwedada** /djuwedda/
Jueada Ls

**across** **baitun**
bait-tun E

**active** **wanyarra**
wa-an-yu-ra E (also fast)

**afraid** **djiyaman**
djiyuman RMb, jiiuan RMd (also fear, terror)

**after** **gowidja**
cow-wiga E (see behind)

**afterbirth** **nyitawa** /nyidawa/
nyittawa RMb, nyittâwa RMd

**afternoon** **yilbaga** /yilbuga/
yeeluga E (see evening)
against nolwi(t)
nolweit/nolweet E

air angin
angin E

alive dhona /dhona/
dhoana RMb, RMd (see live (to))

all wuta
woota E (see ten, probably ngutanplenty)

along bumidakabiya
boomeyduckubea E

always murrangurrang/murangurang/
morrangoorang Cb

among ralpatha
ralpaether E

ancestor (y)enbena /yenbena/
anebuna E (also Aborigine, Yorta Yorta)

angry golyinan/golyinan/
köllyinant Cb, koalyunan RMb, RMd (also frightened)

animals yedabila
yedabila E

ankle yanga /yanga/
yâanga Cb, yanga E, yanga GB, yanga J, yow ung er Rc

answer (to) atalotjba
utta loidpoit E (see speak (to))

ant, big bulldog 1. gatjidja/gadjidja/
                 kagija Ct, gudyidya RMb, gudjija RMd

2. ithitha
ithitha Cb (perhaps /gadjidja/; see Table 8, ‘Initial consonant
elision’)

ant, greenhead bamanebala
bumanebula RMb, RMd

ant, little black lelitha
lelitha Cb (perhaps /gadjidja/; see Table 8; see ant, big
bulldog)

anus mutja /mudja/
mootcha Cb, muttya Cb, muttya RMb [mutja] KB (also
bottom, buttocks)

any wiyu /wiyu/
weeyoo J
arise (to)  ganbina /ganbina/
kumbinna RMb, kʊ́mbinna RMd (see awake, wake)

arm  borrinyu /bor(i)nyu/
bōrinya Cb, borinya Ct, bornu E, bornyoo J, bor.in.noo Rc,
bōrnū RMb, bōrnū RMd, po-re-ne T (also wing; river, a branch of) {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 short + borinyu arm)

arrow  gama /gama/
kaama E (also spear, reed spear)

ashes  banarru(t)
punuroot E

ask (to)  1. mina- /mina/
minamda (present 3SG)
minnamda Rmb

2. yama
yumma E

asleep  manyubak
nunyabuck E (see sleep (to); this appears to be a future form from na- to sleep)

aunt  1. bapu /babul/
bāārpo Cb

2. bapunadarrip
barboo nadarib E (see son)

3. malak
[mælək] /melag/ H [malak] GB

4. djetja /djeďa/
djitja FM (pi.ker Rc)

autumn  wanala /wanala/
wunalla E (also summer?)

awake  1. ganbina /ganbina/
cunbin E (see arise; wake)

2. gowitna
gorwitna E

axe  ngana /ngana/
gana E (see tomahawk)
baby
1. *guthupka* /gudhubga/
ko-tōōp-ka Cb, kotoopka Cr, kotoopna Ct (also *child, infant*)
{ *goothupk* Yb}
2. *burrai* /buray/[*a*
Wdj} (lahjip ED, perhaps confused with *dhatjiba* brother,
sister)
bachelor
*wapoda*
wabeda E (also *childlessness*)
back
*banu(th)* /banu(dh)/
bunu E, buno GB, bunno J, pan-noong, pan-noo Ra, pan
noong Rb, ban noo Rc, bunnuth RMb, bunnuth RMd (also
*back-bone, back of hand*) { *banu* Dh, Bung} { *banhur* behind
Yb}
back, man’s
*mukuna*
mōōkoona Cb, mookoona Cbs
backbone
*banu(th)* /banu(dh)/
pānno Cb (also back, back of hand)
bad
1. *mathi* /madhi/
muthē RMb, RMd, moutha J (basaneep E, bro – mer Rc,
bromer Rd) (also *roguery*) { *mathi* Yb}
2. *mathimna* /madhimna/
mat-tīm-na Cb, mattimna Ct, mathimna GB (also *ugly*)
3. *mathimatj*
ajhemot Sa (also *cruel*)
bag, large
*gun-gi*
kunki RMb, RMd
bag, net
*nupila*
nup-pilla Mb
bag, woman’s
*mukarr-mukarr*
mooka-mooka Cb, moo ger er moo ger er Rc
bag, woman’s net
*marra* /mara/
murra Ct, murra RMb, RMd
bald-headed
*galnyoga* /galnyoga/
gūlnyaoga RMb, RMd, kulnow-ga E (possibly from *galnya*
good + *buga* head)
bandicoot
*dhalwa* /dhalwa/
thālwa Cb, thalwa RMb, RMd
bark
1. *yalma* /yalma/
yāl-ma Cb, yalma Cp, yaalma GB, yalmin Ls, yal-mar Ra, yal
mar Rb (yalmun Rc, *stringy bark*) { *yalam* Yb}
2. *morredap* /morredap/
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, mümiang-'a RMg

*bathe (to)*
1. *marri-*

marribak (future)
märribok Cb, maribok GB, maryibük RMb

2. *boki*
bo-gee Ma (possibly Pidgin *bogey*)

*be (to)*
angurram
angoorum E (highly doubtful)

*beak*
wurru /wuru/
wóórro Cb (also *mouth, lip(s), bill*)

*beard (moustache)*
mondjarring /mondjaring/
monderng E, moon-dring Mb, moandhiuring RMb, RMd, mindering Sa (also *moustache; see beard (whiskers]*)

*beard (whiskers)*
yarring /yaring/
yár-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, bouly Sb (also stomach)

2. mona
mona E

belly full

boganamutj
powganōwmook Cb, boc-on-an-wich Mb (stomach full),
buginamutch E (full) (bul leen Rc, see stomach)

below

nukul
nugul E

belt

ganedhula /ganedhula/
knunhdhula RMb, knunhdhoola RMd

belts/strings, girls’

biyilin /biyilin/
bê-e-lin Cb

bend (to)

dutja
do-o-ja E

berry, edible orange

wilagoli
willar.cole Ra

beside

gakumaitha
gagurmaither E

between

dapalama
tarpalarma E

beyond

menu(t)
mairnoot E

big

dung(g)udja /dung(g)udja/
tun-goo-ja Cb, turneka E, turnaja E, dunngidja GB, tung-a-ja Ma, tun-gi-dja Mb, tun ne jer Rc (also large, much), turneja Ls

big water

dung(g)ula /dung(g)ula/
tong woo ler Rc (also Murray River)

bill (bird's)

wurru /wuru/
war-row E (also beak, mouth, lip(s))

bird

djunda /djunda/
chôônda Cb, tunda E, tunda GB, työanda RMb, jôando RMd, chonda/tchonda Sb

bird, little

djundunga /djundunga/
choondôonga 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 acid)
black  dhalanan /dhalanan/
thaałunun Cb, dhullanun RMb, dhullanun RMd (see dhala
darkness) (to tone er Rc)
blanket  yalanèborang /yalanéborang/
yallanèborong Cb, yallanèbora Cb
blaze  ganurra
canura E
blear-eyed  nungurra /nungura/
noong-oo-ra E (see blind)
bleed (to)  mawa /mawa/
mawow E (also blood)
blind  1. mothaj /modhadj/
moityan E, moadhaty RMb, RMd, {QLD mutyu} (also
near-sighted)
  2. yurrungurra /yurúngura/
yurúngura Cb (see blear-eyed)
blister  walan
wullun
blood  mawa /mawa/
māw-wa Cb, maw-wa Ct, mawa E, māwa RMb, māwa RMd,
mowa Sb (also bleed)
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 bang E (perhaps a
past tense form bomin bangā)
blue  bata
put ter Rc (also flower)
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(l) Aborigine Yb}

bone
lilima /lilima/
lil-di-ma Cb, lillama E, lilluma RMb, RMd, lilima S(bim ber Rc)

boogie man
mobang
mobang MB

boomerang
1. wanya /wanya/
wūn-ya Cb, wunya E, wadeenia Ls, wun yer Rc, wūn-ya RMb, wūn-ya 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)
bin
bin nito Rc, benite E

boss
burra /bura/
[ˈbura] /bura/ H

bottle of grog
dundema /dundema/
[ˈdʊndəma] /dundema/ H

bottom
mutja /mudja/
[ˈmʊdʒa] /mudja/ H (also anus, buttocks)

bow (weapon)
biyeng(g)a
bienga E

bowels
1. guna /guna/
kōōn-na Cb, ko.nare Rc viscera (also excrement)
2. batuguna /batuguna/
bartooguna Ct
3. naituna
nytona E

boy
1. malniga /malniga/
malniga Cr (see boy, little; also youth before initiation) {mulany Yb}
2. yarrka /yarga/
yarka E (also child, children)
3. yiyirram
yiyirram RMb (see yiyirman)
boy, 10–12 years  
*gokamulga*

kogomooolga Cr (also *youth without tooth*)

boy, little  
*malniga/malniga/
*måldiga* Cb (also *boy, youth before initiation*)

boy, little, very  
*malnigaptja/malnigabdjja/
mulnigaptya RMb, mûlnigaptya RMd

boy, with tooth  
*wonga/wonga/
wonga Cr (also *partially initiated youth*)

brain  
*wanangbagan*
wun-ung-ba-gun E

brains  
*lilama*
lil.er.mer Rc (probably an error; see *lilima* bone)

branch  
*manuga/manúga/
manôôga Cb, munugun E

brave  
*golimdja*
golimja E

bread  
*miterr*
mit er re Rc, mitther Ls

bread, European  
*birrit/birid/
['birît] /birïd/ H, birit ED, [bîrît] GB, FM (probably from English *bread*)

bread, damper  
*dhangan/dhangan/
['ðaŋan] /daŋan/ H, [dhaŋan] FM (dampa KB) {Wdj *dhangan* originally *bread made from seeds*}

break (to)  
1. *ganga*
gunga E, kûnga RMb, RMd

2. *bulo*
pullo Cbs

breast(s), female  
*baiyi/baiyí/
baiyi RMb, RMd, bâi-rir Cb, bai-ir Ct

bring forth young (to)  
*bamin*
bameen E

bring (to)  
1. *biya*
bya E

2. *yakama*
yukkorma RMb, RMd (perhaps *yakama* come)

brolga  
*gunugudhula/gunugudhula/
koo-noo-gôô-thoo-la Cb, goonorgoodula E, kunugudula RMb, kunugudhula RMd (also *native companion*)
brood

brother

1. wowa /wowa/
wowah ED, waa-wa RHm (Notebook 6 YbYb) (also uncle)
   {wawiWb} {wowaYb}

2. batja
   [batja] GB, SA (see old man, possum)

brother, elder

banyuba /banyuba/
pányupa RMb, baanyooba Ct, bāāyooba 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, pányip RMb, bar.nip Rc, banyip Sb (see sister,
younger)

2. dhatjiba /dhadjiba/
thā-ju-ba Cb (also sister, perhaps means younger sibling)

3. gitjika /gidjiga/
kidjika Ls (see sister, perhaps means younger sibling)

brother-in-law

marra
murra E (also step brother/sister, sister-in-law)

build (to)

mangan
mung-un E (see mana hut)

bullock

bulgana /bulgana/
bulga-na Mb, bul gane ner Rc (probably from English
bullock)

bullrushes

bithin /bidhin/
bithin RMd

bunyip

dunatpan /dunadban/
tanutbun Ls (see snake, imaginary giant)

burn (to)

1. bayirr
paï-ir Cb, by-yeer E

2. yenmatj
yenmutch J (yenritj burned)

bury

molwa /molwa/
molwa E (also grave, burial ground, dead man, corpse, white
man)

bush

wanagaga
wunugaga E (woc-er Ra, wok.er Rb see earth/ground)
buttocks  
mutja /mudja/
müt-cher Ra, mut cher Rb, mote yer Rc (also anus, bottom)

buzz  
minyerra
minyera E

by  
garrulyenek
carulyenerk E

by and by  
djinyangana
tin yew n en me Rc, dyinyanguna RMb

call (to)  
ganya- /ganya-/
ganyin (present)
ganyanda (present 3SG)
ganyanditj (emphatic imperative)
ganyanda E (see speak, shout, sing, to; also tame, pacify)

calm  
dutula
tu-tu-la E

camp  
1. manu /manu/
mään-oo Cb, mar-noo Ma, mar-noo Mb, manu RMa, manmun RMb, manung RMb, mänmun RMd (mia-mia Ma) {lat tee Rc cf. lar WbWb} (also hut)

2. mana /mana/
mana Ct (also bird's nest)

camp (to)  
mana-
mana E

cannot  
gatha /gadha/
katir Cbs

canoe  
matha /madha/
mät-tha Cb, matta Ct, mutha Mb, mut-tar Ra, mut tar Rb, mut.er Rc, mutter Rd, muttha RMb, RMd {matha Dh}

canoe pole  
gagatja /gagádjä/
[gagádjä] KB, PJ (also paddle)

cat  
banmetpa /banmedpa/
bunmedpa E (also native cat)

carry (to)  
lupa /luba/
lööppa Cb, lupa E

catch (to)  
muma- /muma/
mumma E (also get, take, hold)

catch in a net (to)  
ganya baltjerra
canya pultera E (probably ganya- tame, pacify and baltjerra a net)

centipede  
dhaltin-gin
thůltin-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 belly; also **dipa** heart)

child/children  
1. **yarrka, yalka** /yarga/, /yalga/
yär-ka Cb, yarka RMb, [‘yarka] /yarga/ H, yare er ker Rc, yerereker Rd, [yalka] GB, LP, [yalka/yarka] Hbj (also boy)
2. **guthupka** /gudhubga/
guthupka RMb, guthupka RMd [cf. **gudha** Wdj] [gudjaka] GB (koluka Sb, yoomganik loid poit E) (also infant)

childlessness  
**wapoda**
wawpoeda E (also bachelor)

children, small  
**yarrkidjiga** /yargidjiga/
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 beard), yarren TH, codnir E (also beard/whiskers)

cigarette  
**dhonga** /dhonga/
[doŋa] LA (see smoke)

claw  
**delpan** /delban/
tailpun E (see toe) (probably plural -n)

climb (to)  
1. **worwra-** /worwa-/
worwatj (present, past)
worwaja E, wūrwaty RMb, RMd
2. **dortut**
torr-too Mb (perhaps related to duta star)

cloud/clouds  
**yurratha** /yurádda/
yoorátha Cb, uradah E (also sky, heaven) {yurathek Yb}

cloud, light  
**yimudigan**
ye-moo-dy-gun E

cloud, thick  
**dhalanan yurratha** /dhalanan yuradha/
tallan in uradah E (from black + cloud)

club (leangle)  
1. **wonggoba** /wonggőba/
wongōba Cb, wongo ber Rc, wongoba TH
2. **malinya**
mallingya E (perhaps related to mali- beat)
club, fighting

barrangga(la)/barangga(la)/
burrunggala RMb, RMd, pāringa Cb

cold

1. bolkatj /bolgadj/
bol-can Mb, boalkuty RMb, RMd, bokuty RMd, bolkaty RMd, polkit E \{bolaki Yb\}

2. mathidja
ma-tig-wik Cb, mutteya E, mut tid jer Rc (see mathi bad)

come (to)
gaka or yaka

bolkatj /bolgadj/

1. bol-can Mb, boalkuty RMb, RMd, bokuty RMd, bolkaty RMd, polkit E \{bolaki Yb\}

2. mathidja
ma-tig-wik Cb, mutteya E, mut tid jer Rc (see mathi bad)

gaka gakai, gabai (imperative)
yakama (imperative emphatic)
yakarrumdja (imperative very emphatic)
gaka-yawul (come, walk imperative)
kukka RMa, cuka J, yan-nun (see run) Ra, kak-a-are-re Ra, kuck i are ro Rc, yuckcorumja E, kub by Ra

(give back)
tokookaroo E, yuckcoona E

(give here!)
cockiaroo Ls, yakkorma Cb ['ya,k MODl] /yagorumdja/ H, kabai Cb, cuka J

(give on)
yakorambo Cb, ka-kō Cb, kakaiyarro Cp, kabai Ct \{gaku Yb\}

comet
duta /duda/
tuta E, to-tar Ra (also star, constellation)

conceal, to

nhurrka /nhurga/
nhūrk RMb, nhoorka RMd

constellation
duta /duda/
tuta E (see comet; star)

content

mamana banga
mimina bong-a E (compare mamana birayaruw divorce, and banga right, correct)

cook (to)
dhurra
thurra RMb, RMd (ookoodery E, probably confused with gakayaruwul come) (un yun duc Rc)
copulate (to)  dhani- /dhani-/  
dhanin (present/past)  
dhānīn RMb (see sodomy, noise of copulation)  
corpse  molwa /molwa/  
molwa E (also grave, burial ground, dead man, corpse, white man)  
correct  bangal /bangal/  
bangal E  
corroboree (to dance a) 1. damanmu- /damānmu/  
tumman'muty RMb, RMd (also dance (to))  
2. garradha- (cur. re. yae RA, cur re yuc RB corroboree) (also dance (to))  
cough gorrawin  
cor rer win RC  
count, to wanyagomitj  
wunyugomite E, reckon  
country woka /woga/  
wuckka E, wock er RC (also earth, ground, land, district)  
courage balagamdail  
bullugamdile E  
cousin, relation 1. bakinal  
baginal E  
2. yamak  
[yalnak] SB [yamak] FM  
coward dijiyamanuk  
chi-imoon-ook CB  
cowardice dijiyamannhalaya  
teyumun nilley E (perhaps dijiyaman afraid and nhalaya there, medium proximity)  
cowardly dijiyaman  
jeemin E  
crab-hole gaka /gaga/  
kāka CB  
crane 1. galmuka  
kalmuka RMb, RMd  
2. dirrekur  
ti-re-cur re RA  
crayfish 1. borrpal /borba/  
börpa CB, bör-pa CB, ba-pa M, par par RC (burpa E, crash, probably an error for crayfish)
2. **bonggongalo**
    bong gong er lo Rc

crayfish, small  **gonuka** /gonugə/
gon-oo-ka Mb, kone ner gun Rc

creek  **natja**
nite yer Rc, natja (possibly confused with **natja plain**)
(borinya E, bormea Ls, see river, branch of; arm; wing)

creek, dry  **daborrin**
tuverin E (see pathway)

crippled  **danyan**
dun-yan E

crow
1. **dangamai** /dangamay/
tungamay E, důngami RMb, tùng'-a-ma RMi crow with white round eyes

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 black crow smaller than tùng'-a-ma

cruel  **mathimatj**
musetumut E (also bad)

cry (to)  **dunhu** /dunhu/
tunnoo E, tone noo Rc (see weep)

cure (to)  **itjawudik**
eetyawoodtic E

curing of sickness  **maya** /maya/
['məyə]/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/
ocoota E (also sore, smallpox, wound)
2. binyan
binyan E (perhaps banin cut, to)

dance (to)
1. damánmu-
tummanmoot E, dum num mitter Rc (tumman'muty RMb, 
RMd to corroboree)

2. garradha
kurradhan RMb, RMd (cur.re.yae Ra, cur re yuc Rb, to 
corroboree)

dark
1. muluk-muluk /mulug-mulug/
mőō-lok-mőō-lok Cb (see night)

2. malya
marl.yer Rc

darkness
dhala /dhala/
thāl-la Cb, tulla E, thulla J, dhulla RMb, RMd (also night)
daughter
gatjina
karginya E, kateena Sb (also step-daughter)
daughter, step
gatjina
kurt-gee-na E (also daughter)
daughter-in-law
wongwop
wongworp E
daughter-in-law
barrpirripna /barbiribna/
berberipna J (see morning, tomorrow)
day
1. gananggurr /gananggur/
kan-ān-goor-a Cb, kanenorga Cp, conamurra E, ganangoor J, 
kananngur RMb, RMd (also today)

2. wongda
wongda Sb
day after tommorow
see tomorrow, day after
dead
gukuny /guguny/
kō-koo-in Cb, kokooin Ct, ko.kwin Rc, kokuñ RMb, RMd 
(see die)
deaf
nhabadamarrmu
ngamothērmarmooch Cb, nubanamarmid E, nhubbada-
marma RMb, RMd (see forget, also marmuear)
dear
dhoma /dhoma/
troo A, dor-ma Ma, dthoor-ma Mb, [dːoːmɛ]/dome/ H, 
[dhoma] GB, FM, LP (also poor thing, see also good)
dear, my
dhomanyini /dhoma nyini/
dthoor-ma nea-ne Mb, dawma nene ED [dhoma ngiɔnti] 
[dhomanyini] Hpmc [dhoma nyini] GB
dear! (oh)
yuk-ki Mb (yakai Cbs an exclamation of pain or sorrow)

decay (to)
werriki-
waerkin E

deep
gulpa /gulba/
gul-pa Mb (also well (water))

deep

1. beka /bega/
py rer Rc (probably beka ghost)

2. debel-debel
debble Debbie Cr (from English)

dew
yawa /yawal/
yāwa RMb, yawa 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 yortano and dhonaalive)

dig (to)
1. banburra
bunboora E (also spade, wooden)

2. wayirra
wyera Sb (to dig soil)

dirty
gunigawa
[‘gonigawa]/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. darrrtya-
durtya RMb, RMd

3. dunapka-
tunapcoomja E

diver, large (bird)
munilip /munilib/
mōōnilip Cb
diver, small (bird)  dakoma /dagóma/
takōma Cb

divorce (to)  mamana birrayarrwu
mamana birrryeroo E (see go away, to, and compare mamana banga content)

(do to)  ngata-
ngyutga E

doctor  arraga
ar. rar ger Rc

dog 1. baka /baga/
pokka Cb, [baka] /baga/ H, bock Ls, bucca Mb, puck ar Rb, bucker Rc, bukka RMb, RMd, bookka Sa, [baka] GB (bucca E dingo)

2. dundo
tone.do.or Ra

3. werrindja
werindja BJ

dog, female  baka nhanha /baka nhanha/
bukka nhana (see mother, female)

dog, little or pup  bakidjiga /bagídjiga/
pokkidjiga Cb

dog, male  baka nalnga /baga nalnga/
bukka nalnga RMg, bukka nhalma RMb (see male)

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/
[’gathagana] /gadegana/ H (also not)

down  guli(t)
goollit E (see under)

down (feather)  wunudja
woon-oo-ja E

drag  galka /galga/
kulka E (see pull)

dream (to)  1. na-
nanyak (future)
nanyubak (future)
nuneck E, un yer buck Rc (related to either nha- see or na-sleep)
2. **nurraṭj**
   nurāṭe Cb

drink (to)  
1. **dhangu- /dhangu-/**
thā-goo-na Cb, tangim E, dhangun RMb, RMd, darng.oon Rc
   {thā-Gen Vic}

2. **bogiya-**
   bogiak Cp

drive away with a song (to)  **watjūka gorrrarra**
warchūka kōrkora Cb (compare gorrrarra rain)
dry, very  **dhangam**
tarng um Rc (see drink, to)
duck  **naika /nayga/**
naika Cb, negga E, ny.ker Ra, ny.ker. Rc (black duck)
duck, black  **dolma /dolma/**
[dolma] /dolma/ H, dölma RMb, dölma RMd, toma Sa (duck)
   {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
dust storm  **bangin**
bunyin RMh (see hail, wind)
eagle  
1. **gurranyin**
gourunyin E

2. **wanmirr /wanmirr/**
   wōn-mirr Cb, wānmirr RMb, wahnmirr RMd, hwammery Sb
   (also hawk)
ear  **marrmu /marmu/**
mār-moo Cb, marmoo Cp, marmoo E, marmo J, mar re moo Ra, mar re moo Rh, mar. um (or) mar.mu Rc, marmu RMb, RMd, marmo Sb (marrmo TH, ears) {marampo Dh, Pl}
   {maram Yb}
earth/ground  **woka /woka/**
wo:k-ka Cb, wokka Ct, wuckka E, wukka RMb, wokka Sb, woka T (also land, country, district)
earthquake  **nani(t)**
nuneet E
east  **yeyawa**
yeywa E (see sunrise)
eat (to)

1. dhatji- /dhadji-/  
dhatjim (past, present)  
dhatjak (future)  
dhatjimiak (intention)  
thai-chîm-i-a Cb, thaitchek Cbs, diteyim E, dutyim RMb,  
RMd, thatyak RMe, thattyim, thattyimeak RMf, tut yum Rc  
(maichiymiak Cp is probably a misprint) {dhai- Yb}

2. dhuna  
thuna Cbs

egg

butjanga /budjânga/  
poo-jâang-a Cb, pudyana E, bojanga ED, putyanga Sb {cf.  
Colac, Watha, Ga}

eggs

butjangin /budjangin/  
bud-jar nin Ra, bud jur nin Rb, pud jang un Rc, budyanga  
RMb, bujonga RMd (also testicles)

eprow

1. ngunangga/ngunangga/  
ngunangga RMb, ngoonangga RMd {Wdj nguuna}

2. gukorrin  
gookir E, ko-quor-im Ra, ko quor in Rc, ko.kurn Rc

emission, sexual

djitjin  
dyityin RMb, RMd

emphatic particle

-ma /-ma/  
[’ma] /-ma/ H

empty

mulan /mulan/  
mulan E, moolun E (none), mullun J (also none; see hungry)

emu

bigarrumdjâ /bigarumdjâ/  
pikk-er-ôom-dja Cb, pikkeroomdjâ Cp, bigurumja E,  
bigeramja ED/bigerundja/ [’bigrundja] H, bigorumja LS,  
bick-er-oom-dja Mb, big.er.ronejer Ra, bug er rone jer Rc,  
big er rone jar Rc, biggarumdyja RMb, RMd, pekeromkia Sa,  
pekeromdia Sb, bigaumcha SM [bigrumdjâ] GB

emu feathers

gorrawa  
korâwa Cb

emu’s breast

watjerra /wadjera/  
waiche:ra Cb (also plate, tortoise’s back shell)

emu, young

wula /wula/  
woola LS

enemy

muthak  
moodtuck E

enough

bangawo  
bang.er.wo Ra, bang er.wo Rb (possibly a derivative of banga  
correct)
entails (of sheep)  
malen-gandrri
[malangandrri] KB (possibly not Yorta Yorta origin)

erection  
dayu /dayu/  
taiu RMb, taioo RMd

evacuate bowels (to)  
guni- /guni/  
gunin (present, past)  
gunyubak (future)  
könyoobok Cb, ko.nin (or) ko.nur Rc (tehicka E) (see excrement)

evening  
yilbuga /yilbuga/  
yeelugna E, yēlbuga RMb, yēlbuga RMd (see afternoon)

ever  
ginuna  
ginnewna E

except  
nanyenwuda  
ynnenoowooda E

excrement  
guna /guna/  
köon-na Cb, koonna Ct, gunē RMb, gunē RMd, [guni] KB, [guna] LP {Gen Aust} (also bowels) {guna Yb}

extensive  
baimi(ya)  
boymee Ls (see God)

extensive plain  
baimi(ya)natja  
boymee natcha Ls

eye  
1. ma /ma/  
ma Cp, maa J, mare Mb, mare Ra, mare Rb, mare Rc, mà 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 -1 dual)

3. minga  
[mingga] 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 /mimidhiング(g)in/  
mimithíngin Cb

eyelash  
1. wung(g)u  
wōōngo Cb
2. *gong(g)arra*
   gongara E (ongara E, eyebrow)

   **eyelid**
   *maiyi*
   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, tāten RMd (see *to kill; to spear*)

   **family**
   *yakapna*
   yercupna E

   **far**
   *burraya* /buraya/
   boor E (also *long way away*)

   **far-seeing**
   *burranhana* /buranhana/
   purnana E (from *bura(ya) far and nhana see*)

   **fast**
   *wanyarra*
   wun-yol-ya E (also *active*)

   **fat**
   **1. walitja** /walidja/
   woll-ik-thi-a Cb, wolikthia Ct, walacha ED, [ˈwoːldjə]

   **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 *aunt*)

   **3. nhungui** /nhunguyi/
   nhungui RMb, nhoonguy RMd (see *male*)

   **4. mama**
   [mama] GB {mama Wb}

   **father. step**
   *dhamanga bapu* /dhamanga bapu/
   dorma la paapoo E (see *man, old*)

   **father-in-law**
   *unagud*
   unagood E
fear

djiyaman
yeeamin E (also afraid, terror)

feather

duna
tünno Cb, tun-na E

feel (to)

bamung(g)a
bamung(g)ada (present 3SG)
baamōǒngooda Cb, brimunga J (see touch)

female

nhanha
nonoga E (see mother; dog, female; swan, hen)

fetch (to)

muma-yanak
mumer-yar-noki Rc (related to muma- get, take, hold and ya-go)

few

1. bulwoga
poolworga E

2. (y)ingarrnika
ingar-ni-ka Mb (see small, very)

fight (to)

1. nyinidhan /nyini-dhan/
nin.ne.dun Rc, nginyēlerak Cb
(nyini hit + -dhan reciprocal)

2. maledhan /maledhan/
mul'ledhan RMa
(malin strike + dhan reciprocal)

3. nolwiterrak
nooletheruck E (see nolwit against)

fin

guduny
coodwin E

finger

djirrtjirra/djirdjira/
kértchera Cb, jercrera J, taypa Sa, teecheera Sb (also knuckle)

fingers
djirrtjirran/djirdjiran/
choochooran E (bee-en Ra, be-en Rb, be-ing Rc, see hand)
(also fist)

fire

bitja /bidja/
biitya Cb, bīt-ya Cb, biitya Cp, biitya Ct, ['bitja] /bidja/ H,
bitcha J, pee-cha Mb (see also wood, dry), pit yer Ra, pit yer Rb, doeng er (see smoke) Rc, doenger Rd, pitya RMb, RMd,
pitja Sa, bickya Sb, pitha SM, pe-da T

fire, large communal
wulumbarra/wulumbára/
wooloombára Cb, wolumbara Cr

fire sticks

marrin-bidja
mare.rin bid yer Ra (Robinson recorded the meaning as tale work, which we believe to be the Woiwurrung word djiel-warrk fire-making implements)
fire, to make  
*marrinbidja*  
mare rin bidyer Ra

firewood  
*bitjau* /bitjáw/  
biitchao Cb (*bitja*fire + plural suffix -u)

fish  
1. *mandiga* /mandiga/  
malarim B, münd-ji Cb, mani Cp, munega E, *[managA]*  
/manega/ H, mun-di-ga Mb, manica SM, madiga VJ  
{maki(ka)Yb} (see food)

2. *walka*  
walka SB

fish, bream  
1. *danela* /danela/  
*[danelA]*/danela/ H

2. *gangupka* /gangubga/  
cong-up-ka Mb (see *fish, perch*)

3. *wurrthamarra*  
würthhumurra RMb, würthumurra RM (wo-tim-e-ra Mb,  
*perch*)

fish, cod  
*burrmanga*  
bürmanga RMb, bûrma'nga RMd, boorinäwa Cb, booringawa  
Ct, poor-nang-a Mb, poo-rer.mug.er Ra, bo rung uner Rc  
(fish), borungunner Rd (*fish*) {burunuYb}

fish (like a) minnow  
*djawa* /djawa/  
jääwa Cb

fish, perch  
1. *gangupka* /gangúbga/  
kongóopka Cb, kangupka RMb, kungupgah RMb, RMd (see  
*fish, perch*)

2. *makun*  
markoon Ct

3. *dhaika*  
theika Ct

fish, trout  
*bangami*  
bungame RMb, RMd

fish (to)  
*mandiga*  
munega E

fishing  
*dunyak*  
*[donjak]* /dunjag/ H, *[duriak]* Hpmc

fist  
*djirrtjirran* /djirdjiran/  
chercheran E (also *fingers, hand*)

five  
bultjubul bultjubul iyung /buldjubul buldjubul iyung/  
bul-u-bul, bul-u-buleil Mb, petcheval petcheval enea Sa,  
bulchiba-bulchiba yeiyur J
flax
  \textit{yamen} \quad \text{yäämen} \ Cb
flea
  \textit{muna} /\textit{muna}/ \quad \text{moo-na} \ Mb \ (\text{also } \textit{dog's louse})
flesh
  \textit{djitiga} /\textit{djidiga}/ \quad \text{gib-tro-ga} \ E \ (\text{see } \textit{meat})
float (to)
  \textit{danin} \quad \text{tanin} \ E
flock
  \textit{nuthan} \quad \text{nootrun} \ E
flood
  1. \textit{dung(g)udja wala} /\textit{dung(g)udja wala}/ \quad \text{tongad}ya valah \ Sa \ (\text{see } \textit{big; water})
  2. \textit{batalwa} \quad \text{pup-pal-wa} \ E \ (\text{possibly from } \textit{bapo} \ \textit{father} + \ \textit{wala} \ \textit{water})
flower
  \textit{bata} \quad \text{putta} \ E
fly, blow
  \textit{djendjurra} \quad \text{thongera} \ Ct, jongera \ E, \ dyëndyura \ RMb, \ dyëndyura \ RMd
fly, blow, maggots
  \textit{dutula} /\textit{dudúla}/ \quad \text{toortóólla} \ Cb
fly, common house
  \textit{wowinya} /\textit{wowinya}/ \quad \text{wowiinya} \ Cb, \ wowiinya \ Ct, \ wo-in-ya \ Mb, \ wāwunya \ RMb, \ wāwunya \ RMd
fly, sand
  \textit{nanyumaloga} /\textit{nanyu-máloga}/ \quad \text{naanyoomaloyooga} \ Cb
fly (to)
  \textit{ganbina} /\textit{ganbina}/ \quad \text{gunbin} \ E \ (\text{see also } \textit{arise}, \ \textit{rise up}, \ \textit{raise})
fog
  \textit{yanggawa} /\textit{yanggawa}/ \quad \text{youngoua} \ E, \ yanggáwa \ RMb, \ yanggáwa \ RMd \ (\text{see } \textit{mist})
food
  \textit{mandiga} /\textit{mandiga}/ \quad \text{mündiga} \ Cb, \ mún-di-ga \ Cb \ (\text{see } \textit{fish})
food/meat
  \textit{mulan} \quad \text{müllan} \ RMb, \ müllan \ RMd \ (\text{see } \textit{empty}, \ \textit{none}, \ \textit{hungry})
fool
  \textit{uwalumi(t)} \quad \text{ow er loo meet} \ Rc \ (\text{also } \textit{stupid})
foot
  1. \textit{djina} /\textit{djina}/ \quad \text{chin-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 [\textit{djina}] \ Hmt, \ KB [\textit{djini}] \ MB [\textit{djinan}] \ KB, \ FM \ (\text{Gen Aust})
2. mugudjina /mugudjina/
mogochinna Cp, mogoginna Ct, meegoodyana E, monginna E

3. mandowe
['man·dowe]/mandowe/ H (probably Pidgin; see Dixon et al. (1990:198) mundowie foot, footstep)

foot, sole of

yida
yeada E (also palm of hand)

footpath

1. dana /dana/
täna Cb, dana RMb, RMd (see pathway)

2. daborra /dabora/
täbora Cb, tub ar er Rc (also pathway, road)

forehead

ngunyerr /ngunyer/
onegir, wungir E, ngûnyer RMb, nunerrer TH

forest

nurrtja
noort-ya E

forget (to)

nhabadamarrmu
nhubbadamarm RMb, RMd (also deaf)

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 moon)

friend

1. gurrtji /gurdji/
['gurrtji] /gurdji/ H

2. anganya
angarnya E

frightened

1. golyinan /golyinan/
kole le moon Ra (see angry)

2. bolkan
borl kun Rc

frog

dhanggoba /dhanggóba/
tungóba Cb, tungoba E ['dangopan] /dangoben/ H, dhungoba RMb, RMd

from

muma /muma/
mumma E (see get, take)
frost  yungaba  yungaba RMb, yungaba RMd (also ice, snow, sleet)
fruit  malnuda  malnuda E
full  wurrumarj /wurumadj/  wōōroomaitch Cb, wurumaty RMb, RMd (see mouth wuru)  (buginamutch E, see boganamutj belly full)
gather (to)  natya- natjαl (imperative)  nyt-tell E
get (to)  muma /muma/  mumma E (see take)
ghost(s)  1. beka  pēk-ka Cb, pekka Cr, beka mt
       2. mong(g)unda  mongunde E (also devil)
girl  1. nanyanbana  nunyunbunna RMb
       2. nyauwoga  nyauwoga RMb, RMd, nowoga E (yárka Cb, see child) (wind-ja Ma, see woman) {nyawak Yb}
girl, 10–14 years  gitjika /gidjiga/  gitika ED (see sister)
girl (puberty)  dhadhiwa /dhadhiwa/  dhuddhiwa Rmb (also virgin)
give (to)  1. ngu- /ngu-/  ngunhu (present, past)  ngunhuk (future)  ngutjuk (future emphatic)  nguwul (imperative)  ngōōchick Cb, knanuck E, nguwul J, nguunu 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)

['yananai/ yanhanai/ 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/
birramu (imperative emphatic)
birramdja (imperative emphatic)
birramgandja (imperative emphatic)
birra-yawu (imperative)

proma! Cb, promganja! Cb, beer re-are ro Rc, berriaroro Ls,
['borondja] /burondja/ H, boo-room-dja Mb, baromja J, beer-are-ro Ra, por rome ja Rc {Wdj birraf from birraback '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

baryebala
baryebala RMb, RMd

goanna, tree

biltjimdja /bildjimdja/
biltjimdya 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)ndun first person inclusive plural possessive pronoun – literally: ‘The father of all of us.’)

good
galnya /galnya/ (or galyan)
colnea A, kāal-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))
good smell

goose

goose, wild

Goulburn River

grandfather

1. dhamala
toormala E (see dhama old/wise)

2. ngapa
[ngapa] GB {Wb ngapa}

grandmother

1. dl • mala-nhanha
toormala-nang E (cf. dhama old/wise + nhanha mother)

2. guka
[kuka] GB {Wb kuka}

grass

grass for nets

grasshopper

grave/burial ground

great
dung(g)udja /dung(g)udja/
turneja Ls (also big)

greedy

1. djirrnyauwa
dyirnyauua RMb, RMd

2. dhowerrrwidja
tow er rer wid yer Rc

green
durran
tur ran Rc

grey
daugowa /dhaugowa/
ta-oo-wa E (see hair, grey)
grind (to)  

**grain duma**  
grinduma E (from English *grind*, possibly through Pidgin)

grog  

**balmi** /balmi/  
bal-mi Mb (see *bees, honey*)

ground  

**woka** /woga/  
wök-ka Cb, wokka Ct, woc.er Ra, woc er Rb, wok.er Rc,  
wukka RMb, RMd, [woka] GB (also *earth, land, country, district*) {**woka** Yb}

grub in gum tree  

**balaga** /balaga/  
beālaga Cb, balaga RMb, RMd

grub in box tree  

**merrin**  
mērin RMb, mārin RMd

grub in ground  

**guka** /guga/  
kuka RMb, RMd

guest  

**gatjan dhatjamak**  
kukyern tuchjemyuk E (see *dhatja eat*)
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 nud rer re gur Rb (see *musket*)
gurgle (to)  

**djadjingum**  
jay-jing-um E

hail  

1. **nyinuga** /nyinuga/  
nginogan Cb, ninugah E, nyinnuga RMb, RMd  
2. **bangin**  
pungin E (see *wind, dust storm*)

hair of beard  

**yarring** /yaring/  
yurringe J (also *beard, whiskers, chin*)

hair of head  

**bukan** /bugan/  
pök-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  

**yimin**  
yimiñ RMb, RMd

hair, curly  

**menmetpan bukan** /menmēdjan bukan/  
main-māit-pan pōkkan Cb
hair, grey  daugowa bukan  /daugówa búgan/
taa-o-gō-a pōkkan Cb (see grey)

hair, long  djirunganan bukan  /djirúnganan búgan/
cherúngunan pōkkan Cb (see long)

hair, short  dhulukan bukan  /dhulugan bugan/
thōōlookan pōkkan Cb (see short)

hallelujah  yalayala
[yamnayala] FM, [yalayala] GB (from English hallelujah)

hand  biyin  /biyin/
bē-yin Cb, bium Cp, beeya J, bee-yan Mb, peean Sa, peeyin
Sb (chercheran E, tyirtirran RMb, jirjirran RMd, see
fingers) {birik Yb}

hand, back of  banuth  /banudh/
punoo E (also back, back-bone)

hand, palm of  yida
yeadda E (also sole of foot)

handsome  galnya yiyirr  /galnya yiyir/
kalnya eer E (see galnya good, beautiful + yiyir man)

hang (to)  wuma  /wuma/
wumma E

happy  galnya  /galnya/
calnya E (see good)

hard  bakorra or dakorra
tuc-co-ra E (also tough)

hard-headed (child)  bakorra buka
['bakɔ-ra 'bu:kə] /bagora-buga/ H, [bakɔra buka] FM,
[nyakata buka] LP

hasten (to)  birra-  /bira/
purri Cb, pir Cb (kuck iar ro Rc (see come and go away)

hate (to)  nyunu-
nynnuck E

hatred  bida marreda
birdah meraeda E

have (to)  deyuwenerrk
deh-uye-nerrk E

hawk  wanmirr  /wanmir/
wanmir E (also eagle)

hawk, common  bitjina  /bidjina/
pittyinna RMb, RMd

he  see text, section 3.3.3
head

buka /buga/
pō-ko Cb, poko Ct, bookco E, ['bʊkə] /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 twig, hooked)

headband

marrangguling/marangguling/
murrungnungullung RMb, RMd (also net worn around forehead)

healthy

yorta itjumatj
yota-eet-ya-mite E (not sick)

hear (to)

ngarr-
ngarrnhang (present, past)
ngarrnhak (future)
ngarrnhatjak (future continuous)
nawrnack E, ngaruijak J, ngarnhung RMb, RMd (see also listen) {Th, Woi, Woi}

hearing

woda ngarrnhu
woadta-arnoo E

heart

1. dipa /diba/
tippa Cb (also chest)

2. burra
poora E, bor.rer Rc

3. ngangwurra
ngungwura RMb

heat

1. datjidja
daideja J, ti-check Cb, teetchit E, ditchach J (also hot)

2. natatj
nataty RMb, RMd

heat, great
dung(g)udja daididja
turneja daideja Ls (see dungudjabig, great)

heaven

1. yurratha /yuradha/
uradah E (also clouds, sky)

2. galnyawoka /galnya woga/
ngal'nya wuk'ka J, galyan woka GB happy land

heel

mugudjina /mugudjina/
moogoodyana E (also foot, track of foot)

hell

mathiwoka
muth'a wukka J bad land

her

see text, section 3.3.3

here

daya /daya/
daya E (also this)
hey! de
te Cbs (hullo)

high djirungana /djirungana/
gerunguna E (see long, tall)

high water dunida
tuneda E (possibly dungudja big)

hill 1. yula /yula/
yōōl-la Cb, in ger ner-yale le Rc (see mountain)
2. narraga
nurruga E

hill with trees walu
wa-al-ow E (also leaves of trees) {wolanthaYb}

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
tinger 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, fight) [′njinin] /njinin/ H (yin nin Rc, see beat)
2. nato
natto Cbs

hold (to) mumma- /muma/
mumma peytuma E (perhaps mumma and baitun across) mummagana J (perhaps mumma and gana(tj) over) (see also get, take, catch)

hole in ground mithidha /midhidha/
mithitha Ct

honesty galnya /galnya/
kalnya E (also good, beautiful, happy, sweet, nice)

honey balmi /balmi/
balmi Mb grog, bees, etc.
honeysuckle  
**berruga** /beruga/
bérooga RMb

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,
karakatarnook Cbs

2. **yarraman** /yaraman/
[ˈyarəmən] /yaramen/ H, yarra-man Mb [yəramən] FM {Wb yaraman}

host  
**gowoya**
kowoia E

hot  
**datjidja**
deet-yit Mb, day did jer Rc, daideja L (also heat)

house, home  
**gundja** /gundja/
goon-dja Mb {Wdj guundji}

how  
1. **wanhalum**
wannhalum RMb

2. **yugudhum**
yugudhum RMg

how (quantifier)  
**bandola**
bândola Cbs (bândola wollikthia ‘How fat he is’ Cbs)

hungry (to be)  
**mulanmuk**
moo-lân-mook Cb, mul-an-mutch E, mulanmuk GB,
mil-an-wich Mb, mo lau meet Rc {mulinmiYb}

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** hunt for possums, from bana possum

2. **anadjamirr**
un ud jer meer Rc

3. **birra-** /bira/
birrima E (see go away/leave (to))

hunt in trees (to)  
**wawalu** /wawalu/
wawallu RMb, RMd

hunt on ground (to)  
**mumulwa** /mumulwa/
mumulwa RMb, RMd
hurt (to) (y)itjumatyj / (y)itjumatyj/
e-eet-ya-mite E, iteumite E (also sick, miserable)

husband winyan banayirr
winyanbunayirr RMb, winyanbûnayirr RMd (bunyanwood E, see banayirr spouse), (yeyir Ct, he yer e Rc, see yiyirr man)

hush! gokwil
koquil! Cb {goka Yb}

hut manu /manu/
mano (marnoo) Lc, mano Ls (mia-mia Ma), mar-noo Ma
(also camp), mar ner Rc (marler Rd, is probably an error)
(manung RMb, RMd bark hut)

I (ergative) ngatha /ngadhâ/ ngãa-ta Cb, nguthoo J, nguttha RMa, RMc (kal-nung-a E)

I (nominative) nga / nga/ nga Cp, [ŋa] /ŋa/ H, nar Rc, -nga RMb (ngê-ni Cb, ngeni Ct, Cp, probably ngini, nyini my)

I don’t know 1. wana
wûn-na Cb, wunna Cb

2. belmain
belmain H

3. ngai
ngai RMb (see know (to))

4. ai, yorta-nhan
ai yoort-at naan Ct (I don’t know, I didn’t see)

I lie ngadjin
nart tchin Rc (see yotadjin perhaps)

ibis baipadjerruk
paipâdjerook Cb

ice yungaba
yingaba E (also sleet, snow, frost)

(in ina)
ina E (also into)
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 /gudhbuga/
goodapka E (also child, children)

innocence yeta ying
yetta yeeng E

insects bamanebala
puminebala E (also ant, greenhead)
instep  
**banu** /banu/

bun-noo E (related to *back*?)

it  
see text, section 3.3.3

itch  
**borra** /bora/

bor.rer Rc (see *skin eruption, scratch (to))

jaw  
1. **gong(g)a**

kônga Cb

2. **dalgena**

talgena E

jealousy  
**doworro**

tow-wor-row E

joint (cigarette)  
**dhonga** /tonga/

tonga E (also *smoke*)

joy  
**galnyadji**

kaalmeirgee E (from *galnya good*)

jump (to)  
1. **yarrka-** /yarga/

**yarrkan** (present)

**yarrkabak** (future)

yāārkobuk Cb, yar.re.kon Ra, yarkabûk RMb

2. **ganbina-** /ganbina-/

kun bin ner Rc (see *arise*)

kangaroo  
1. **gaiyimarr** /gayimar/

kāī-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, big kangaroo)

2. **dantjutkupna** /dandjudgubna/

tanjutcoopna Ct, tanjutcoopna E, tanjip-goopna ED

3. **wotogoa**

wortogoa Cp

kangaroo, red  
**barra** /bara/

pūrra Cb, burra RMd (burra RMb kangaroo) [ba[a] [bara] LT

kangaroo-rat  
1. **barrinuda**

barrinûda Cb {parre Wb}

2. **ngarrnuda**

ngarringurra Ct, arenewtha Ls, ngurnuada RMb, RMd

kangaroo with young one in pouch  
**nharrebula gaiyimarr**

nhurrebula kaimir RMd

kick (to)  
**garrin** /garin/

currin E, kurrin E
kidney  
walitja /walidja/  
walitya E (also fat)

kidney fat  
mamila  
mam er le Rc {Wb mambulin your kidney fat} (see lungs)

kill (to)  
1. bati-/badi-/  
batim (present, past)  
par tim Rc (see also to spear)

2. dati-/dadi-/  
datin (present, past)  
tuttim RMa, tuttain RMb

3. gunyamgan  
günümangan RMh (anchninya E, maybe be related to nyini-strike)

kilt  
ngorra  
ngöreh RMb, ngöreh RMd (also tassels worn by men)

kind, kindly  
gowola  
kowola E

kingfisher  
nurrrnamamdatba  
nurrrnamamdatba RMb, RMd

kiss (to)  
dhomi-/dhami-/  
dhomin (past, present)  
tummin E, thumæ RMb, RMd, tome min Rc (also dear, love (to))

knapsack  
beljtula  
belshula Ls

knee  
1. yurrnga  
eöringa Cb, urnga E, yor-en-o Ra, yare ren o Rb, u reng o Rc, yong (also sun, kneecap)

2. yukun  
yükün RMb, RMd

kneecap  
yurrnga  
urnga E (also sun, knee)

knife  
nyatjpa /nyadjba/  
[ˈnyatjpa]/ˈnyadjba/ H

knocked down, he  
yungi-/yungin/  
[ˈyuŋin] /ˈyuŋin/H (see yunga throw)

know (to)  
ngai-  
ngaikun (present, past)  
ngaina (imperative)  
ngai koon Cb, oikkun E, ngaina J
knuckle  
\( \text{djirrtjirra/djirdjira/} \)  
choochooran E (also finger)

koala  
1. \( \text{gurrburr/gurbur/} \)  
gürbur RMb, kürbur RMd

2. \( \text{dhakurramutja} \)  
thakuramütya RMh

kookaburra  
1. \( \text{wigilupka/wigilúbga/} \)  
wig-il-öp-ka Cb, wigilooka Cr

2. \( \text{durrdjilapka/durrdjilabga/} \)  
tooljeelupka E, dûrdyulapka RMd, dûrduyulapka RMb

lagoon  
\( \text{batha/batha/} \)  
bäärtha Cb, patho SM

lake  
\( \text{moirra/moyira/} \)  
moera E, moira J, moy.e rer Ra, moi e rer Rb (also sea?)

lame  
\( \text{(y)itjumatj/(y)ijdumadj/+ part of the body} \)  
e.g. eet-ya-mite dorcoya bornu E, lame in the right arm (see sick, hurt)

land  
\( \text{woka/woga/} \)  
(also earth, ground, country, district)

land after flood  
\( \text{dhoniga/thoniga/} \)  
thôniga Cb

large  
\( \text{dung(g)udja/dung(g)udja/} \)  
dunngidya RMb, RMd (also big, much)

lark  
\( \text{dhadadada} \)  
dhuddadudda RMb, RMd

laugh (to)  
\( \text{garri-/gari-/} \)  
\( \text{garrin (present, past)} \)  
\( \text{garribak (future)} \)  
kärribok Cb, ka-ar-in E, kârebak RMb, kar rin Rc karebak RMd

lazy  
\( \text{marralatjamatj/maraladjamadj/} \)  
murraläityamooch Cb, mo-ra-leit-ya-mit E, mur er lud jer me Rc, marrilatchimut Ls (also tired)

leaf  
\( \text{walu} \)  
wâla Cb, walou E (dawaru leaves RMb, RMd) (also leaves of trees, hill with trees)

leaf, dry  
\( \text{yalka/yalga/} \)  
yal-ca Mb (see tea)

lean (thin)  
\( \text{walibala} \)  
walibulla RMb, RMd (compare walitja/fat)
least

(y)inga

inga Ls (see little, small)

leave (to)

witedja gana

witedja ganin (present/past)

witetcha gunin E (compare ganatj over and mumagana to hold)

leave behind (to)

witedja gowidja(k)

witetcha kawitchuk E (see gowidja behind, after)

leave off (to)

witedja bangu

witetcha bunga E

left (side)

wamuya

warmooya E

leg

1. munu /munu/
mōōnna Cb, moono E, munno J (also thigh)

leg, calf of

1. dun-ga
tone gur Rc, tunga E, tut-en-ga T

2. dhau
tow Ra, tow Rb, towl Sa (see thigh, and compare dhauwadhen trousers)

lend (to)

doma- /doma/

domun (present)
domak (future)
tomoon Cb, tomak Cb

less

iyamdu

eamdo E (possibly related to little, small)

letters

yiletta

yiletta Cr (probably from English letter)

liar

1. yambeldain /yambeldain/
[yambeldain] 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 you lie.

lift (to)

butmama

bootmama E
light
yinya /yinya/
yennah E, yanya J, yinya RMb, RMd (moo-lā-wa Cb, see grave)

lightning
1. djirngawa(n) /djirngawa(n)/
tchiringāwa Cb, kernyawa Ls, tyirngawan RMb, jirngawan RMd {see Woi, Thagung, djiringu} {djirngawik Yb}
(possibly plural -n)

2. matjang(g)ala
musingala E, majangula J

lip(s)
wurru /wuru/
worro E, wor-o T or-ro Rc, wuru RMb, RMd, wor-o T,
woroo TH (also mouth, beak, bill)

lip, lower
gulinba
kolinba E (see under)

lip, upper
bakinba
buckihibra E

listen (to)
ngarr-wu- /nga(r)-wu-/ 
ngarwul RMb, RMd (see to hear)

litter (of animals)
natarrati
naturute E

little
(y)ingarrnika /y)ingarniga/
in-yā-nook Cb, eengarneka E, ingarnaka Ls, ingar-nil-ka Mb,
neen gar e ner Rc (also small, very; few)

little way (away)
dirrantji
teer run jie Rc (see near)

live (to)
bangadhona
banga donow E, thonow J (see alive)

liver
borrtha
pōtha Cb, boata E, börtha RMb, börtha RMd (ben.mer.re Rc, is an error for river)

lizard
lilisa
lileesa E (probably from English lizard)

lizard, jew
wowala
woala RMb, RMd

lizard, small
bombala
bombala RMb, RMd

locust
djana
dyunna RMb, junna RMd

long
djirrungana /djirrungana/
chirungāna Cb, gerunguna E, dyurrunguna RMb,
long ago

*baparra-banarrak*
pappura-bunnarak RMb

long way away

1. *burraya* /buraya/
poor r Rc (also far)

2. *djinyaka*
   ['djînaːkə]/djingoga/ H, [djînyaːkə] Hrm

look (to)

1. *nha-* /nha-/  
   *nhawul* (imperative)
   *nhatjelma* (imperative emphatic)
   nhawul RMb, RMd, [nhatjelma] /nadjel-ma/ H ([nاغ] MB)

2. *mirra-* /mira-/
   *mirra* (imperative)
   *mirramna* (imperative emphatic)
   mirra Cb, mirra Cr, miramna GB (mirramna! Cb, *look here*)

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/
moönna Cb, muna RMb, moonna RMd, ['mʊna]/muna/ H, [muna] KB, LP (also *flea*) {*munya* SE Aust}

love

*dhomadhomanga*
damadanganga E (perhaps *I love dhomi-nga*, reduplicated for emphasis)

love (to)

*dhomi-* /dhomi-/
*dhomin* (present, past)
tummin E (also *kiss (to); see dear*)

low

1. *guli*
goolit E (see *down, under*)

2. *dhulu*
see *low-sounding, short*

low-sounding

1. *dhulundurra*
too-un-dura E

2. *gukun*
cocoon E (also silent, silence)

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* silly (cf. *giwang* moon)}

3. *maligan*
maligan KB {Wdj *mad, insane*}

maggot  
*dutula* /dutula/  
tutula RMb, RMd (see blowfly; runny nose; bee)

magpie, black  
*biniya*
bēnia RMb, bènia RMd

magpie, common  
*gorrngany*
ko-ōrn-gain Cb, korngañ RMb

maid  
dhadhiwa /dhadhiwa/
tatewa E (see woman, young; virgin)

make a noise (to)  
*bayi-
by it Rc (see sing)*

make believe  
*gemenen*
[gemenan] FM (perhaps from Pidgin *gammon*)

make (to)  
1. *bunyma*
buyuma J, buñma RMb, RMd

2. *manma*
maa-maa Cb (moinma E to make a net)

3. *ganda* /ganda/
kanda E (see ganda sew)

make war (to)  
*nguni-
kyunin E*

male  
1. *nalnga/nhalma*
nalnga RMg (nhalma, nungea RMb) (male animal, cf. nhunguy father)

2. *yiyirr* /yiyir/
eeer kuduptka E (see yiyir man, guthapka child)

male infant to 2 years  
*yarrka* /yarka/
yarka Cr (also child, children)

mallee-hen  
*lowan* /lawan/
laua RMb, RMd (also scrub turkey), {lowanWb}
1. **yiyirr** /yiyir/
yiyir RMb, yiyirr RMd, yēyir Cr (yeyir Cr, **man 20 years**), [ˈyɻ-yaɾ] /yiyar/ 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 (yeir Cr, 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/
throw-munga-a Cb, throwmunga Cr, towmunga Ct, tumunga E, tum mun ger Rc

2. **dhamayirr** /dhamayirr/
dhamiyirr RMb, RMd

3. **baitja**
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 /djirribang/
djirribung RMb, jirribûng RMd

**man, white**
molwa /molwa/
moo-lâ-wa Cb (also **dead man, grave, burial ground, bury, corpse**)

**man, young**

1. **dindarrga**
tindarga E (malniga E, see **boy**)

2. **molwana**
mow en ner Rc

**man, young (about 16 years)** **banúpka**
pan-nôôp-ka Cb, panoopka Cr (see **brother**)

**manna (sweet tree juice)**
**gan-go** /gan-go/
kâango Cb, kaango Ct [ganok Yb]
many dung(g)udja /dung(g)udja/
tarngaga E (see big)
many, a great; plenty ngutan /ngutan/
outan E, nguttun J, ngu-tun Mb
marry (to) diyawa-
daerwak E (teerwach E, marriage)
master/boss marratha
mar-ar-tha Mb (probably from English master) (see boss)
masturbation djilany
dyiilluň RMb, jillûn RMd
mate, male friend baitja
[bitja] FM (see man, old)
me nganin
ngannin RMc (for use see section 3.3.1)
meat djitiga /djidiga/
jetuga ED ['djitaga] /djidega/ H, get-to-ga Mb [djitagA] KB, FM, VJ (wol.lit yer Rc see fat)
melon gokoma /gogoma/
kökoma Cb calabash (see water-trough)
meteor giya
ky-ya E
milk
1. ngununy
ngōōn-oo-in Cb
2. bunmin
bunmin E
milk thistle bakobany /bagobany/
[bagobanj]/bagobanj/ H (see thistle, vegetables)
miserable (y)itjumatj /(y)idjumadj/
eetyamuch E (see sick, hurt (to))
mist yanggawa /yanggawa/
youngona E (see yanggawa fog)
mister mita /mida/
mitta Cbs (from English mister)
Mitchell’s cockatoo dinap /dinab/
tin-nup Ra
money batjelan /badjelan/
[batjelan]/badjelan/ H [batjalaŋ] GB, VJ, KB, LT
moon
1. yurri /yuri/
yōor-e Cb, yoore Cp, yoreh J, yora RMb, RMd (also fresh)
{yuri Yb}
2. **yurringgadja**
yooringeja Ct, urn-gu-ya E, eu.rong gudjer Ra, eu rong gudjer Rb, u.orne gudjer Rc, urongudjer Rd, yorng-gadja RMe, yongadja Sa, yongwida Sb, yourug-kud-a T

**moonlight**
*yurringguk*
yōo-runguk Cb

**mopoke**
gokok /gogog/
kökök RMb, kökök RMd, koko Sb (also *owl*)

**more**
*nuwa*
noowa E

**morning**
1. **barrpirripna** /barbiripna/
barperipna Cb, berbiripna E, berpirra RMe (compare *morning star, tomorrow*)

2. **yawa** /yawa/
yawa RMb, RMd (also *dew*)

**morning star (Venus)**
*barrpirrdhila*
berperdhilla RMe

**mosquito**
betha /bedha/
betha Cb, bē-tha Cb, betha Mb, bētha RMB, bētha RMD {pita P1}

**mother**
1. **ganha** /ganha/
kān-a Cb, [ˈɡɑːnə] /gana/ H [gɑːnə] Hpmc, kana Sb, cana Ls

2. **napu** /napu/
napo Cp, napo Ct, nar poo Rc, narpoo Rd, naapoo E, RMD

3. **nhanha** /nhanha/
nhannha RMb (also *female*)

4. **bapa** /baba/
[bapa] GB, FM (N Vic)

**mother, step**
dhamala napu
dormala naapoo E (compare *dhamala nhanha grandfather*, and *dhamala old*)

**mother-in-law**
bayadi
bayude E

**mountain**
yulila /yulila/
yool-la E, uleela Ls, yale ler Rc, yoleler Rd, u-ler Ra
mountains (see *hill*)

**mouse**
1. **naitjunga**
naitčōonga Cb

2. **batha**
bartha Ct
moustache | *mondjarring* /ˈmɒndʒərɪŋ/  
| mōndoorin Cb, monderng E (also *beard*; see *chin*)

mouth | 1. *wrru* /ˈwurʊ/  
| wōr-roo Cb, wōrrroo Cb, woorroo Cp, wooroo Ct, whir-roo Mb, wrru Sa {SE Aust} (also *lip(s), beak, bill*)

| 2. *gata* /ˈgada/  
| kutta RMb, RMd, katra, cutta J, kotta Sb (kullue TH)

much | *dung(g)udja* /ˈdʊŋ(ɡ)ʊdja/  
| tun-gi-dja Mb (also *big, great, large*)

mud | *mupan* /ˈmʊban/  
| mōppan Cb, muppun RMb, RMd

murmur | *lotjpa ganya* /ˈlɒtjpa ɡɑːnja/  
| loidpoi carna E (see *lotjpa speak; and ganya call*)

Murray River | *dung(g)ula* /ˈdʊŋ(ɡ)ʊlə/  
| tōngula Sa, tōngala Cb, fingola Ls, tong-a-la Ma, tong-ala Mb, tong oo-ler Ra, tong-oo-ler Rb (see *river*)

muscle | *wutenya*  
| woodenya E

mushroom | *yalamba* /ˈyalarmba/  
| yal-arm-ba Mb

musket | *bumiderrega*  
| pome.rid.de ger Rc (also *gun*)

mussel | 1. *ratju*  
| rāiṭyo Cb

| 2. *yanga*  
| yanga Ct {WB nangerr}

| 3. *didlinga*  
| diddling-er RMb, RMd

my/mine | *nyini* /ˈnyini/  
| 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) | *ngortja* /ˈŋɔɾtja/  
| ngɔrtya RMd

nail, finger | *delpa* /ˈdɛlpa/  
| teelpun E, tale. *bin* Rc (see *claw, toe*) (probably plural -n)

native cat | *banmetpa* /ˈbænmoʊt̪ə/  
| punmāt̪pa Cb, būnmēt̪pa RMh

native cat, black and white | *miya*  
| miya RMb, RMd
native cat, yellow and white **barratjba**
burraty-ba RMb, RMd

native companion (brolga) **gunugudhula**
koonoogoo-thoo-la Cb, goonorgoodula E, kunugudula RMb, kunugudhula RMd

**navel**
gakadha /gagadha/
käkaga Cb, kagadha RMb, RMd

**near**
1. **girrandjamik**
kiränjamik Cbs (see *little way (away)*)

2. **dik dukuburraya**
teeke tookoobria E

**near, here**
delaya
[deilə] /delaiə/ H

**near-sighted**
mothatj /modhadj/
moadite E (see *blind*)

**neck**
1. **wanurra** /wanúra/
wanūra Cb, wunora E, wunnora J

2. **diying**
teen Rb, de en ing, de ing Rc, teeye TH (cut.tar.re Ra, see *shoulder*)

**neck, back of**
wanawurra /wanawura/
wunnawurra RMb, RMd

**nephew**
gaiga
gaiga E

**nest, bird’s**
mana /maana/
mångå Cb, maana E, manung RMb, RMd (also *camp*)

**net**
dil
tiel E {Wb tyel}

**net worn around forehead**
marrangguling /marangúling/
marangoolin, marangoolin Cb, murrungilling Ct (also *headband*)

**net (to catch in a)**
ganya baltjerra
canya pultera E (see *ganya tame, pacify*)

**net, fishing**
1. **baltjerra**
bältyire Cb, pulterya E

2. **wulwirra**
woolwyra Ct

3. **djekoga**
jegoga Ls
net (to make)  
manma  
moinma E (also make (to))

never  
yorta /yoda/  
yotta E (also no, not, don’t, wrong)

new  
wotha /wodha/  
wortha Cb

nice  
galnya /galnya/ (or galyan)  
kalnia Ls (also good, beautiful, happy, sweet, honesty)

niece  
gaka  
gaga E

night  
1. dhala /dhala(ng)/  
thalla Cb, thalla Cp, thulleng J, thalla RMb, RMd (bona Sb)  
(also darkness)

2. muluk-muluk /múlug-múlug/  
mōōlok-mōōlok Cb (see dark)

3. dutamutal  
dootmootal E (compare dua stars)

nightjar (nocturnal bird)  
yerradhng  
yerraddhung RMh

nit of louse  
dimin /dimin/  
timmin RMb, RMd

no (negative)  
1. yorta /yoda/  
itta B, yōōr-ta Cb, yoorta Ct, yotta E [ˈyo·tə] /yoda/ H, yot-ta Mb, er Rc, yota RMb, utc Ls [yotə] GB, LP, FM (also not, don’t, wrong, never)

2. yaliba /yaliba/  
yalliba Cp

not (negative)  
gathagana /gadhagana/  
(also don’t; see beat not)

noise  
wowatjumatj  
wo-at-u-myte E

noise of copulation  
dhango dhango  
dhungo-dhungo RMb, RMd

none  
mulan /mulan/  
moolun E, mullun J (also empty; see hungry)

nonsense!  
yathapka /yadhabga/  
yathāpka Cb
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north  
gowa /gowa/  
cow-wa E (same as south)

nose  
gowu /gowu/  
kōwo Cb, kowo Cp, kowo Ct, cowu E ['go:wo] /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/  
['dotəl] /dudela/ H, [dutəla] GB, LP (see maggot; blowfly)

nostril  
gowudhulu  
cowrotolo E (perhaps gowu nose and dhulu low)

now  
1. garra  
kara Cbs

2. dinyuwinya  
tinyoowinya Cbs (directly)

number over 5  
dausan  
towsan Cr (cf. English thousand)

nurse  
manarre gagaga  
manahrey gargaga E

oak (tree)  
wafulula  
waw-lulla RMd

oar  
banburra  
bun-burra E (see wooden spade, dig)

occiput (part of skull)  
wanurra /wanura/  
won.nor er Rc (also neck)

ochre, red  
buthoga /budhóga/  
putthóga RMb, puthóga RMd

off, be  
birra-ma /bira-ma/  
broong a ma E (see go away/leave (to))

old  
1. dhama /dhamə/  
thama Cb, ta-ama E (see man, old)

2. morrida  
mőrida Cb

on  
wamadaman  
wummadumun E (also upon) {wamathan Yabula-Yabula;  
RMi, 'on top'} {wamathan Yb}

one  
1. (y)iyawa /(y)iyawə/  
yeal B, iäwa 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 other)
2. iyung /iyung/
ióong Cb, ioong RMb, enea Sa (possibly related to (y)iyawama
one)

one-eyed
(y)iyawama
yowama E (perhaps (y)iyaw one plus ma eye)

other
yiya /yiya/
yeeya J

our (dual incl.)
ngalung /ngalung/
ngaloong RMa, ngalung RMc, ngalungun RMb

our (dual excl.)
ngalan /ngalan/
ngullan RMa, RMB, ngullun RMc, ngallan J

our (plural incl.)
nyuwandan /nyuwandan/
ngooodan RMa, nyuandun RMc, nyoodun J, newn-dun E

our (plural excl.)
nyanan /nyanan/
yánan RMa, nynanun RMc, ngannan RMb

outside of
ngangu /ngangu/
nganoo E without

over
ganatj
gannach E (but see also mumà gana hold, and witedja gana
leave)

overtake (to) gowi(t)
coweet E

owl
gokok /gogog/
cocok E (also mopoke)

pacify/tame (to) ganatja

canya E

paddle (canoe)
gagatja /gagadj/ kagadya RMb, RMd (also canoe pole)

pain yitja /yidja/
yittyia Cb (elumite gelairow E; elumite is perhaps an error for
(y)itjumatj sick)

pair; two
bultjubul /buljubul/
pooltoobool E (see two)

paper
betjatjba /bedjadja/
[betjatja]/bedjadja/ H (from English paper)

parrokeet
dekula /degula/
dekula RMb, dékula RMd (dékola Cb, parrot)

parrot, rosella
dudjutja /dudjudja/
tojinjia Cb, toa-jit-ya E, dudütya RMb, dûdûtya RMd (elumite
gelairow E)
parry (put aside) **djitapa**
tritepa E

past (passed by) **wjitin ngata**
wityin-gnutta E

pathway
1. **dana /dana/**
dana RMb, RMd (also road, footpath)

2. **daborra /dabora/**
(tub ar er Rc, tabora Cb, road) (also footpath)

paunch **barrthagana /bardhagana/**
bərthuguna RMd

peewee **djilowanga /djilowanga/**
tyilloanga RMb, jilooanga RMd

pelican
1. **gadin /gadin/**
kä-tin Cb, kardin E, *kar.tint* Ra

2. **dhaiyilinyinha /dhayilinyinha/**
dhaiilinyinha RMb, RMd

penis **nakin /nagin/**
nut-kin Ra, nut kin Rb, nuck keen Rc, nukkin RMb, RMd
(also tail of animal)

perhaps
1. **(y)umbat**
yūmbat RMg *(y)imbat Cbs I believe...*

2. **-djin /-djin/**
for use of this suffix see section 3.6.1 of text.

perhaps not **yortadjin**
yotadyin RMb *(yotadyin RMb perhaps)*

person
1. **wamayirr**
wama-eer E (probably related to *yeyir man*)

2. **gumina**
[gumina] MB

person, Aboriginal

(y)enbena /*(y)enbena/*
ën-ben-na Cb (see man, Aboriginal)

person, peculiar **gungena**
gungena NM (see mad)

pierce (to) **gota /goda/**
gotta E

pigeon, bronzewing **mungubarra /mungūbara/**
mungoburra RMb, mungo'burra RMd (mongobera Cb, moongubera E, mongoobra Sa *pigeon*)

pigeon, wild **daponga /dabonga/**
taponga SM
pinch, to

pipe-clay

darrunga /darrūnga/
tarnga RMb, RMd, tarūnga Cb

pitch (to)

yunga /yunga/
yung-a RMb, yoonga RMd (also throw)

pity

bu

buh E

plain (topography)

natja /nadja/
nāītya Cb, na-at-ya E, natcha Ls, nat yer Rc

plain, small

natjiga /nadjiga/
nāītyiga Cb

planet

duta /duda/
tōōr-ta Cb, toorta Cp, toorta Ct, tuta E, to-tar (see comet) Ra,
toota Sa, druttra, truttra Sb, tut-ta T, {Gen Vic durd- } (also
star, comet, constellation)

plant, a

danam
turnum E

plate (of bark or porcelain)

watjerra /wadjera/
waichēra Cb (see tortoise, back shell of; emu's breast)

platypus

1. wannagapipuwa
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 good)

pleasant to taste

galnya dhatjinerra /galnya dadjinera/
kalnya-taginerä E (see dhatji eat (to))

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 /demilbòr(i)nya/
demilbòrinya Cb, timmulbornya RMb, RMd (puppy-ja E,
perhaps baipadjerruk ibis) (see borinyu wing)

pluck (to)

gina

ginna E
poison dhandel /dhandel/  
[ˈdændəl] /dandel/ H {Wb thandel poison, evil, magic}
policeman 1. barramadain /baramadayn/  
[ˈbærəmədəɪn] /baramadain/ H, [bærəmədəɪn] FM, MB, VJ, KB {Wdj one who grabs people}  
2. ganidjmen /ganidjmen/  
poor man molwa /molwa/  
mul low er Rc (see man, white; grave, corpse)
poor thing dhoma /dhome/  
[ˈdɒːme] /dome/ H (see dear)
possum 1. bana /bana/  
pünna Cb, pün-na Cb, punna Cr, bunna Ls, pan.ner Ra, pun-ner Rb, pun ner Rc, punner Rd {cf. pana ringtail possum WbWb}  
2. batja /badja/ or baitja  
baitya Cp, baitya Ct, putya E, bitcha ED, [ˈbotʃə] /badja/ H, boit-ya Mb, buttya RMb, buttya RMb, RMd, pipca SM (see also man, old and mate)
poor thing dhoma /dhome/  
[ˈdɒːme] /dome/ H (see dear)
possum cloak 1. bigang(g)a /bigáng(g)a/  
bigânga Cb  
2. gunya-winyarr  
koonya-winya Ct (possibly woman’s cloak, see winyar woman)
possum, ringtail bintjarrama /bindjaráma/  
piinjarâma Cb, bindyarama RMb, RMd
pour (to) djeka- /djega/-  
jekalma E
prawn gunuga /gunuga/  
kōñoonga Cb
pregnant buliyana /bulïyana/  
bullēana RMb, bullēana RMd (see buli stomach)
pretend (to) ngangiyandha  
ngangeandha RMb, RMd
pretty galnya /galnya/  
kalinya Cbs (see good)
private parts, female bununy /bununyl/  
burnin E (also vulva)
private parts, male  
nakin /nagin/  
knuckin E (also penis, tail of an animal)

pull (to)  
galka molka /galga molga/  
kalka molka E (see galka drag)

pup/little dog  
bakidjiga /bagidjiga/  
pokkidjiga Cb (also dog, little)

push (to)  
dowama-  
dowamatj (present)  
taumite E (also shove)

quail  
borkir /borgir/  
börkir RMb, börkir RMd, porcurit E, börinyin Cb (probably an error for arm)

quarrel (to)  
lotjpadhan /lodjbadhan/  
loipadun E (lotjpa speak + -dhan reciprocal)

quench/put out (to)  
djekalma /djejalma-/  
jecalmuck E (see djekapour)

quick  
wanyawala  
wunyuuwula RMb, RMd

quick! hurry!  
birratj /biradj/  
purkeja E, pur-ech! pur-ech! Mb, purri Cb, pir Cb, ['biretj] /biredj/ H (see go away, leave)

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, ['gorkarra] /gorgara/ H, goerkura J, cor-cora Mb, ko-ker er Rc, ko.uer Rc, koerer (or) konergun Rd, görgurra RMb, görgurra RMd, koo-kokora Sa {garokorYb}

rainbow  
nirranoma /niranóma/  
nairanôrma Cb, nir-nom-a Mb

raise/lift (to)  
ganbina- /ganbina-/  
gunbinama- E (also rise, jump)

rat  
barreta /bareta/  
bäreta Cb

rat, water  
1. wowa  
wôwa Cb

2. wolithola  
wo lithola Ct
rattle (to)  

**ditorro**  
dittauro E

red

1. **mawamatj** /mawamadj/  
môrmuch Cb, moamaty RMb, RMd (to line.min er Rc)  
(see mawa blood)

2. **bathayik**  
bâáthaiik Cb

reed

**daku**  
taako E (kar.mer Ra; see reed spear)

reed necklace

**djagoga** /djagóga/  
jagóga Cb (moo go gan Rc, see reeds)

reeds

**mukuga** /muguga/  
môögoo-ga Cb (moo go gan Rc, reed necklace)

reptiles

**dutula** /dudula/  
tutula E (see nose, a running; bee, maggots, blow fly)

request (to)

**minamda** /minamda/  
minamda RMb, RMd (also ask (to))

respect

**galnyan yakurrumdja**  
kalnyany yacoorumya E (galnyan good, perhaps also related to yakurumda come here)

retain (to)

**nang(g)adi-narngadimma J**

revenge

**yapun ngutun wunun**  
yappend gnutun wunun E

rib

**gangurr** /gangur/  
kâângooort Cb, carng-oor E

right (good)

1. **galnyan** /galnyan/  
kalnirrin RMb, RMd (see good)

2. **banga** /banga/  
banga E (also correct)

right (side)

**dorrkoya**  
dorcoya E

rise/get up (to)

**ganbina** /ganbina/  
cunbina E (also raise, jump, lift (to))

river

1. **dung(g)ula** /dung(g)ula/  
(also Murray River: dungala RMb, tongula J, tongala Sb, tonnla SM) (kiela E see Goulburn River) {kiewra Pallannmidang}

2. **banmirra**  
ban.mer.re Rc (see steep, valley) (ben.mer.re Rc liver, misprint for river)
river, a branch of  
borrinyu /borrinyu/  
börinya Cb (also arm, wing, shield)

river creature  
banyip  
[banyip] LP, MB (see also danatban bunyip)

road  
daborra /dabora/  
tub ar er Rc, tabora Cb (also footpath, pathway)

roast (to)  
dhurra  
thurra RMb, RMd (also cook (to))

rogue/bad person  
mathimna /madhimna/  
mattimna Cb (also bad)

roguery  
mathi /madhi/  
mudta E (also bad)

root  
gona  
goner E (also snake)

rope  
wuthul wuthul /wudhul wudhul/  
with il with il Rc (also string)

rough  
guta(t)  
coor-tat E

round  
ngawitpa /ngawidba/  
ngarwidpa Cb (see about, squinting) {ngawika around Yb}

run (to)  
yama /yama/  
yamin (present, past)  
yama (imperative)  
yambak (future)  
yumn ner Rb, yan nun Rc, yunnun Rd, yimma E, yemmeh J, yam.ner Ra, yumma RMb, RMd, yambok Sa (see walk (to); go along (to))

run away (to)  
birramdja  
biet-tum-ja E (see go away/leave (to))

run from (to)  
yamin nani(t)  
yain naynit E

run to (to)  
yamin nonu(k)  
yamin noynuck E

salt  
balmitpa /balmidba/  
balmidpa E (also sour and balmi bees, honey)

same  
nawiya  
nawia J

sand  
1. maloga /malóga/  
malóga Cb, ['maJOgA] /maloga/ H, maloga Mb [malogA] GB (also sandhill, sugar)
2. **watjaga** /wadjaga/
   watyaga RMb, wajâga RMd

sandhill
1. **maloga** /maloga/
   malôga Cb, malaogga Cr, maloga Lc, maloga Ls, mal lo gar Ra, mul lo gar Rb (maloga SM ‘sandhill near Echuca’) (also *sand, sugar*)

2. **wamwadja maloga**
   wammudyalmulloga RMb (compare *wamwadja gully*)

sap
   **walapkami(t)**
   wallupcumit E

scorpion
   **dila** /dila/
   tilla RMb, RMd

scratch (to)
1. **yirrka** /yirga/
   yerka E, yerka RMB, RMd

2. **borra** /bora/
   boyrer Rc (also *skin eruption, itchy; smallpox*)

3. **djinbak**
   chinbok Cb

scream (to)
   **yirri**-
   **yirritj** (present emphatic)
   yeerite E

sea
   **moirra** /moyira/
   moera E, moira J (also *lake*)

search for (to)
   **yamutj** /yamudj/
   yamuty RMb, yamooty 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, nāit-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 *look*) (ngaarin Cbs) (for a full list of the forms of this verb, see section 3.6.4)

seed
   **butjangin** /budjangin/
   pudyangin E (also *eggs; testicles*)

semen
   **bula** /bula/
   bulla RMb, RMd

send (to)
   **wotja-** /wodja-/
   wotjan (present, past)
   wôtyan RMb, wotyan RMd
sense/intelligence

**gabarra** /ˈɡabrə/  

sew (to)

**ganda-** /ˈɡanda/  
**gandinda** (present 3SG)  
kandinda E (see **make**)

sexual desire

**djilu** /ˈdʒilu/  
dyillu RMb, jillu RMd

shadow

**molwa** /ˈməlwa/  
mōólwa Cb (related to **molwa** corpse, etc.)

shadow of tree

**molwa** /ˈməlwa/  
mulāwa RMb, mulāwa RMd (see **man**, **white**)  
{mula Watha, Woi}

shag (bird)

**wongonga** /ˈwʊŋɡəŋɡə/  
wongōnga Cb

shake (to)

**rokima djuwet**  
rockeyma duet E (perhaps from English **rock him**)

shame

**gulan**  
[gulan] FM

sharp edge or point

**bagadalin** /ˈbɑɡədəlɪn/  
buggadhilliŋ RMb, RMd (bugadillan E, sharp)

sharp of hearing

**ngarrnunγ**  
kngarnung E (see ngar- **hear** (to))

she

see text, section 3.3.3

sheep

1. **wulupna** /ˈwʊləpna/  
[ˈwʊˌləpna] /ˈwʊləbna/ H (from English wool) [woːˈləpna] Hbj  
2. **djambak** /ˈdʒəmˌbæk/  
jumbaga Ls, jum-buc Mb, [djambak] KB {Wb tyambak}

shield

1. **malka** /ˈmɑlkə/  
māl-ka Cb, marka Cp, murka E, mull TH (mālka Cb, club shield) (mūlka RMb, RMd waddy, shield) {Gen Vic}  
2. **monda**  
mōnda Cb  
3. **borrinyu**  
bornyir RMb, RMd (also arm, wing, branch of river)

shine (to)

1. **walwunmutj** /ˈwɔlˌwʊnmʊdʒ/  
walwunmuty RMb, walwunmuty RMd  
2. **ngalmin**  
ngalmin J
shingleback (lizard)  mutirr /mudir/
                   mutirr RMb

shirt             borrinyupna /bor(i)nyúbna/
                   borrinyōōpna Cb (see arm)

short            dhulupka /dhułubɡa/
                   thoolōōpka Cb, toolupka E, thuluka RMb, thoolooka RMd
                   (see low)

shoulder         gatirr /ɡadir/
                   kātin Cb, guttir E, cuttir J, cut tar re Rb, kut-te Rc, kuttir
                   RMb, RMd

shout (to)        1. ganya- /ɡanya/
                   kanyandiga E {Wb karnda-} (see call)
                   2. yarrka-
                   yargandeia E (compare yarka jump)

shove (to)        dowama-
                   dowamatj (present)
                   toanmite E (also push (to))

shrimp           gando
                   kāndow Cb

shrub            wanagaga
                   wunugaga E (also bush)

shut, close (to)  napa /naba/
                   nappa wooroo Cbs (hold your tongue/shut your mouth)

sick             (y)itjumatj /i(y)idjumadj/
                   itchyoomuch Cb, ait-u-mut Mb, ittyumuty RMb, ittyoomuty
                   RMd (see yitja pain; also hurt (to), miserable) (to.tel.er Rc –
                   see dutula running nose, stinking)

sick in the belly (y)itjumatj buli /i(y)idjumadj buli/
                   eet-ya-mite booley E (also stomach, empty)

sick in the chest (y)itjumatj dipa /i(y)idjumadj dibal/
                   eet-ya-mite tippa E (see chest)

sick in the head  (y)itjumatj buka /i(y)idjumadj bugal/
                   eet-ya-mite booko E (see head)

sick in the limbs (y)itjumutj dunga
                   (eet-ya-mite) tunga E (see leg (calf))

sick with pain    (y)itjumatj-nga /i(y)idjumadj-nga/
                   eet-ya-mite-nga E (probably I am sick with pain; see nga I)

side             guwalnila
                   kualnilla E

silence          gukul
                   coo-cool E (see guka die)
silent

gukun
coocoon E (also low-sounding) (see guka die)

since

baparra
bopera E (see long ago)

sinews

mawo
ma-wow E (perhaps mawa blood)

sing (to)

1. bayiya /bayiya/
bayeet E, bā-i-ya Rmb, bayiya RMB, bā-ee-ya RMd, bye.e.er Ra, vy-it Rc (make a noise)

2. ganya /ganya/
kun ne ger Rc (jas-muc Mb) (see call, shout)

sister

1. dhatjiba /dhadjiba/
(thajuba Ls, taigipa Sb) (also brother, younger)

2. gitjika /gidjiga/
ko-je ker Rc, kidjeka E, ghatcha ED, djetja FM (gid-dit-ka Cb, elder sister) (Wb, Tjap, Bung djatji elder sister) (perhaps younger sibling, see girl, 10–14 years)

sister, elder

1. dhatjip /dhadjib/
thaigip Cp, thaigip Ct, dhaigip Rmb (see sister)

sister, step/in law

1. marra
murra E (also brother, step/in law)

2. wanya
wunyer E

sister, younger

1. bugika /bugiga/
poo-gika Ct, pugika RMb

2. dhatjip
thā-jip Cb (also sister, elder)

3. banyuip
baanyooip Cp (see brother, younger)

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, sit down) (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 smallpox, scratch (to))

sky
1. yurratha /yuradha/
uradah E, yuradha RMb, yorradha RMd, yurata (also cloud, heaven)

2. dutala
data|ala Sb (perhaps means night sky) (ky er Rc, kyer Rd, given for sky are very similar to gaiya father and may have resulted from confusion over the concept ‘Our Father in Heaven’.)

sleep (to)
na- /na-/ nanha (present) nanyubak (future) nawul (imperative)
nään-yoo-bok Cb, nanyoobok Cp, nanyoobok Ct, nyneybuck E, nunha RMb, RMd, now-wul Rc, nowul Rd (also dream (to))

sleepy
ngalyen ngulyēn RMb, ngulyēn RMd (wy-yeen E)

sleet
yungaba yingaba E (also frost, snow, ice)

slow
1. dharramdjaba thurramdyuba RMb, RMd

2. gowit koweet E (see gowidja after, behind)

small
(y)ingarrna /(y)ingarna/
iyanook 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 to scratch)

2. gutha /gudha/
(coo-ter Ra, see sore)

smell/odour
bang(g)anun /bang(g)anun/
banganun E

smell (to)
mingga- /minga-/
inga E, ming-a RMb, RMd, ming-un Rc (sweet — probable meaning: sweet-smelling)

smoke
dhonga /dho(wa)nga/
thanga Cb, thōng-a Cb, tounga E, [ˈdoŋa] /doŋa/ H, tho-or nga Mb (see also tobacco), thōanga RMb, thōanga RMd (also
smooth

dapu
tapoo E

snake

1. gona /gonal/
gō-na Cb, gona Ct, kona Sa, kona Sb (also root) {gono Yb}

2. dakindjuwa /dagindjuwa/
takinjoa Ct, duckindua E (’dakennjuo) /dagenjua/ H snake, probably brown)

3. durrel
[’dural] /durel/ H (dorg er Rc – probable misprint for dhonga smoke)

snake, black

mingurrinya /mingurinya/
mingurinya RMb, RMd

snake, carpet

mamel /mamel/
mamell RMb, RMd

snake, imaginary giant

dunatpan /dunádpnan/
toonatpan Cb (see bunyip)

snipe

djito
drittte E

snow

1. yungaba
yingaba E (also frost, sleet, ice)

2. mayabil
my er bil Rc

sodomy, to commit

dhanadhan /dhanadhan/
dhanadhan RMb, RMd (dhani- copulate + dhan reciprocal)

soft

yita /yida/
y-e-e-ta E (also tender)

some

gathan
garthun J

son

1. guwiga
kōōiga Cb (yaka Sb, see child)

2. nadarrip
nadrib E (see bapu nadarip aunt)

son, step

wewin
waywin E

son-in-law

gononyway
gonononyway E

sore, a

1. gutha /gudha/
koot-tha Ct (coo-ter Ra, small pox) (see wound) {Wb kuthuk}
2. **warrunitjega**  
war-u-need-je ga E

**sorry**  
dangalatj-djamitj /dangaladj-djamidj/  
dunngalaty-dyumity RMb, jumity RMd (tung a lite ja meet E sorrow)

**sound**  
wowatjumati  
wo-at-u-myte W

**sour**  
balmitpa /balmidba/  
balmidpa E (also salt)

**south**  
gowa /gowa/  
cow-wa E (same as north)

spade, wooden  
banburra  
pünborra Cb (also dig, oar)

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 quarrel (to))

laidpeiya E, ['lo:t jpA] /lodjba/ H, loipachuk J, loit-poit-cha Mb, lő-it-pa Cbs {lotU)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 call (to); shout (to))

spear (to)  
batim(a) /badim(a)/  
baitim, baatin, baathima Cb (see also to kill)

spear  
1. marre  
mare TH {mariyuYb}

2. nanaptakurr  
nunnupterkurr TH

3. nala  
nullar TH (see nala nala waddy)

4. marrina  
murrinner TH

spear, emu  
goyirr /goyir/  
köyir Cb (koyir Cp war spear) (quio eer-e Rc bark spear)

spear, fishing  
1. mula /mula/  
mööla Cb
2. *wanaga* /wanaga/
wortega RMb, RMd (wunnuga Ct *war* spear)

spear, lever

*yulwa* /yolwa/
yółwa RMb, yólwa RMd (also *throwing stick*, *woomera*)

spear, reed

*gama* /gama/
kar.mer Rc, kaama Sa, kā-ma Cb, kama Cp, kama Ct, gaumur Ls, ca-ma Mb, kama RMb, RMd, karmer TH (see other types of spears; *arrow*)

spear/throwing stick

*womerra* /womera/
wommera Cr {Wdj *wamarr*}

spear, with glass

*gowiko*
coico Ls

spear, wood

*djikurra* /djigura/
dyikura RMb, dyeeookora RMd, jikola Ls, jē-k-kor-a Cb *war* spear

spirit

*mulana*
moolana (*gone to God*) E

spirit, the good (God)

*baimi(ya)* /baimi(ya)/
baimia J (see extensive)

spit (to)

1. *dhupan* /dhuban/
tōōpan Cb, thupen RMb, RMd

2. *mulan* /mulan/
mol lun Ra, mol lun Rb, mo lan Rc (see *spittle*, *none*, *empty*)

spittle

*mulandjika* /mulandjiga/
mulanjicka E (see *spit*)

splinter, a

*malnha* /malnha/
malnha RMb, RMd (also *sting* (to))

spouse

*banayirr*
bunyanwood E (*husband*) winyanbunayir RMb (*husband*)

spring (season)

*werra*
werra E

spring (water)

*bomin* /bomin/
bomin E

squinting

*ngawitpa* /ngawidba/
ngarwitpa E (see *about*, *round*)

squirrel, flying

*birranga* /biránga/ 
pirānga Cb, birranga RMb, RMd (beer.rang er Rc, *squirrel*)

stand (to)

*dana-*/dana-/
ta-ana E, dana RMb, RMd
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stand up (to)  
ganbina /ganbina/  
kun bin Rc (see arise, rise, get up, lift, raise, jump)

star  
duta /duda/  
tōor-ta Cb, toorta Cp, toorta Ct, tuta E, tot-tur Rb, to-ter Rc,  
to-tar (see comet) Ra, toota Sa, druutra, trutra Sb, tut-ta T  
{Gen Vic durd-} (also planet, comet, constellation)

stare at (to)  
nhatjel-  
nhattyillim RMb, RMd (see see)

start (to)  
1. birra  
bree E (see go away/leave (to), hasten)

2. yama-ditepa  
yimma tidepa E (compare yama run)

stars  
dutan /dudun/  
tutūn RMd, tutuŋ RMb

steal (to)  
bitha- /bidha-/  
bithanda (present – third person singular)  
ba-a-tun E, biddhanda RMb, RMd, bad un-rilte Ra (soter  
gur ner Rb is probably a misunderstanding of gathagana  
don’t) (u.lo.mer Rc)

steep  
banmirra  
(see river, valley)

stem  
wuwan /wuwan/  
wurwan E

stick  
djikurra /djigura/  
tratyola Sb (also twig for possum hunting; see spear, wood)

sting  
gakadja /gagadja/  
gagadya E

sting (to)  
malnha- /malnha-/  
malna E (also splinter)

stink  
dutula /dudula/  
to.tul.er Rc (see runny nose)

stink (to)  
ditjumurra- /didjumura-/  
tiginoora Cb (see stinking)

stinking  
ditjumurra /didjumura/  
te-jim-er-a E, didyumura RMb, didyoomura RMd

stomach  
buli /buli/  
boo:li-i Cb, botha Cp, bōōli Ct, pole-ling Ra, pole-ling Rb, bul  
leen Rc (Gen Vic buli, bili) (also belly) (bartugana E, see  
batuguna bowels)

stomach, empty  
(y)itjumatji buli /(y)idjumadj buli/  
eetumut boolie Ls (see sick in the belly)
stomach full

*boganamutj*
boc-on-an-wich Mb (see belly full, full)

stone

1. *iyoga*
e-ōr-ga Cb, eorga Cp, iorga Ct, eeoga Sb

2. *bunga*
būnga RMb, būnga RMd, bo-ren-a T (compare hunting club)
   \{pungaPl\}

storm

*banga gorkorra*
barnmu coorcoora E (see wind, rain)

strike (to)

nyini- /nyini-/nnin
nyinin (present, past)
nyina (imperative)
nyiniak (future)
nyinidhan (reciprocal) (see fight)
nginyuk Cb, ninna E (see hit), nyinna RMb, RMd [nyinin] FM
(nyinin H, hit) (yin nun Rc, beat) nyinnin RMc, nyinniak RMc

string

*wuthul* wuthul /wūdhul wūdhul/
wōōthool-wōōthool Cb (also rope)

strip (to)

*gomniya*
komnia E

strong

*dung(g)uludja* /dung(g)uludja/
tongueyuluga E, dunngolōdyia RMb, dunngolōdyia RMd
(see dungudja big)

stupid

*uwalumi(t)*
ow er loo meet Rc (also fool)

stubborn

*bakorra buka*
[bakora buka] FM (also hard-headed)

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 sand, sandhill)

2. *djalma*
   [’djalma] [’djal’mə] /djalma/ H

sulky

*gaiwadan*
ky wud un Rc

summer

*wanala*/wanala/
wanalla E (also autumn?)

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, yōrnga RMb, yōrnga RMd, yonga Sa, yongya Sb, yourug-ga T (Wdj yirri, yirra) (also knee, knee-cap)

sunrise **yeyurringal**
yeyu-rurnyal E

sunset **gukalga**
gugalga E (also twilight)

sunshine **dhadjowa**
dhūddyaurar RMb

swallow (to) **yaiya** /yaya/
yāiya Cb

swamp **gakan** /gagan/
cacan E

swan
1. **danapna** /danapna/
ta-eelipna, [danapna], [daŋapna] GB, [‘daŋapna] /daŋapna/H, turnupnha RMb, RMd, danapna sb

2. **malya** /malai/
māāl-ya Cb (see goose) {malai Yb}

3. **yowa**
yow wer Rc

swan, cock **bayamal nhunguwi** /bayamal nhunguwi/
baiamal nungea Rmb (see *father*)

swan, hen **bayamal nhanha** /bayamal nhanha/
baiamal nhanha Rmb (see *mother, female*)

sweet
1. **galnya** /galnya/
kaal-in-ya Cb (also good, beautiful, happy, nice, honesty)

2. **dhunadhatj**
thurathaich Ct (probably *dhuna* and *dhatj* - eat) (bognnditeya taginera E is based on the word *dhatj* - eat) (ming un Rc probably means sweet smelling)

sweet drink **borren**
por.ren Ra

sweetheart **bottingan**
bot-tin-gen Mb

swelling **yegu**
yegu E

swim (to) **yarrwa-**
yarrwa (imperative)
yarrwin (present, past)
yarrabak (future)
yārrribok Cb, yarrabuck E, yarwa RMb, RMd, yarrabok Sa,
tail of animal

1. nakin /nagin/
nukkin RMb, RMd, nukkin E (also penis)

2. gukatja /gugádja/
koogáija Cb, kukkanadya 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 get, hold, catch)

talk (to)
lotjpa /lodjba/
loita Cb, loit.but Rc loidpeiya E, loatbaty RMb, RMd (also speak (to))

tall
djirrungana/djirrungana/
chiroongôôna Cb, dyurrungunna RMb, jurrungunna RMd (see long)

tame
nambaga /nambaga/
numbuga E

tassels, worn by men
ngorra /ngora/
ngôra Cb (also kilt)

taste (to)
bawa /bawa/
bâawa Cb, bowa E, baw-wa E

tea
yalka /yalga/
yelka ED, ['yalka] /yalga/ H, yal-ca Mb (also leaf, dry) {Wdj yalgudry}
teal (small duck)
aikidjiga/naigidjiga/
aikidjiga B

tear, teardrop
dunhin
dotnen E (see dunhu weep)
teeth
dirran /diran/
dîr-ra Cb, dirran Cp, dirran Ct, dirrun E, derrara LS, deria Mb, teer-run Ra, teer-run Rb, dirrÜN RMb, RMd, tirra Sa, derra Sb, terrung TH

teeth, double or back
gung(g)ja
koonga E

teeth, single or front
dumatpa /dumadba/
toomadpa E

tell (to)
garri-
ngairiatty RMb, ngariety RMd {ngari-Yb}
temples  
*bukoyel*  
buckcoyel E (perhaps related to *buka* head)

ten  
1. *bulbjubul biyin* /bulbjubul biyin/  
bulchiba bee’yun J (see two hands)

2. *wuta djirrtj*  
woota-pleghty E (all fingers)

tender  
yita /yita/  
yeta E (also soft)

terror  
djiyaman  
deeyamun E (also fear, afraid)

testicles  
*bujtジャンgin* /budjangin/  
bud-jar nin Ra, bud jur nin Rb, budyanga RMb, budjang’a RMd (also seed, eggs) ([gara] LT (Wdj))

that one (quite close)  
ngangaburrayawin/ngangaburrayawin/  
['ŋŋɑŋą,brawyn] /ŋŋbrawyn/ 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 (gunaia E)

there (farther)  
dangaburraya/dangaburraya/  
dungubbera RMb

there (farther still)  
ngangaburraya /ngangaburraya/  
ngungabunnarak RMb, [nganaburraya] Hmt,  
[ngangaburrayawin, ngangaburrayawin] Hpmc

there (quite close)  
dendjiwoga  
['dɛndʒiwo:ka] /denjiwoga/ H

there (exclamation)  
unya  
oonya Cbs

they  
see text, section 3.3.3

thick  
dako(t)  
tuccord E

thigh  
1. *munu* /munu/  
mōn-nə Cb, moono E, mone-noo Ra, mone noo Rb, mone noo Rc, monno Sa (also leg)

2. *djiirimna, ngura djiirimna* /ngura)djiirimna/  
teer r re men en ner Ra, ngurgatyirimna RMb, ngura jirimna RMd
thi n
think (to)

nangarrna
nangarna E

thirst

dhanga /dhanga/
thanga RMb, thâng’a RMd (see drink)

thirsty

dhangam
thâān-ga Cb, tang-um E, thang-um RMb, RMd (see drink)

thirsty (to be)
dhawanya-
dhawanyak (future)
towan-yuc Mb

this one here
deya-win /deya-win/

thistle

bakobany /bagobany/
bucer rer bun Ra, [bakobany] /bagobany/ H (also milk thistle, vegetables)

threaten (to)
birramdja
boorumdja E (see go away/leave (to))

three

bultjubul iyung /buldjugul iyung/
bol-tu-bol i-oong Cb, balabool ia Cp, boltubol ioong Ct, pooltooobooleer E, kingermin ED, bul-u-bul-eil Mb, pult tche well e Rb, put yer wul e Rc, petcheval enea Sa, bulchibayeiyur J

throat
djiya /djiya/
chee E, dyia RMb, RMd

through

bupu
boopouch E {bupugi Yb}

throw (to)
yunga /yunga/
yungan (present, past)
yungak (future)
yünga Cb, younga E, ung-a Mb, yoongan RMa, yungak RMf (see pitch (to)) {Watha yunga} (For a full list of the forms of this verb, see section 3.6.2.)

throw forcibly (to)
muni- /muni-/
muna (imperative)
muninn (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/
yōöl-wa Cb, yoolwa Ct, mutta E, yova (Sa?) (also **woomera, lever spear**)

2. **womerra** /womera/
wammmmara Sa (also **spear**)

thrust (to)

**ningninata**
ning-nin-utta E

thumb

**nhanha biyin**
nanga E, nam-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/
thaogggera-munnera EA

tide

**bipkurra**

bibcora E

tie (to)

1. **guna**
kūnne Cb

2. **mondala**

mondulla E, **knot-tie, to**

time of first menses

**durrugagimatj**
durguggimuty RMb, RMd

tired

**marralatjumatj** /maraládjamadj/
murraláityamooc Cb, murralleitumuch E, mur er lut yer nit Rc, murralatymaty 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/
immil-ang Cb (e-na-sang Mb)

2. **gananggurr** /gananggur/
kanangor Ct, kannangngur 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 tchu 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, aauu Ls, ar.ne Re

tomorrow

barrpirrik /barbirig/
part parick B, bār-per-ik Cb, parparik Ct, bar-par-ic Mb, {Wb perrpuk} (also see morning, dawn) {bari-bari Yb}
(perhaps related to since and long ago)

2. datjimba /dadjimba/
dūtyimba RMb, RMd

tomorrow, the day after

1. yiya barrpirrik /yiya barbirig/
e-re-baparic Mb (see other; tomorrow)

2. yiyrarrak gananggurr /yiyrirak gananggur/
yiyrirrak-kanangar Rmb (probably another day)

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, batbeere Rd (see morning)

tortoise, back shell of

watjerra /wadjéra/
waichēra Cb (also plate, emu's breast)

tortoise, large

bayadherra /bayādhera/
baiādthera Cb

tortoise, small

watjerrupna /wadjerūbna/
wadjerōōpna Cb (see tortoise)

touch (to)

bamung(g)a /bamung(g)a/
bamunga E (see feel)

tough

dakorra
duc-cora E (also hard bakora; see hard-headed)

towards

nilang gunya /nilang gunya/
neelang-goonya E

track of foot

mugudjina /mugudjina/
moo-goo-jin-na Cb

tree. box

1. dharrnya /dharrya/
thāunya Cb, tharmia Ls tar-en-you Ra, tar ren yon Rb (see tainya Sb tree) (see tree, white box)

2. liluma

lii 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(i)yala/
bēul Cb, bēla Ls, bāla RMd, bala E, pyala Sa, baa-la Mb,
py-o-ner Ra, py.o.ner Rb (pay.ar.lare Ra, white gum)
(puck-ar-dog Ra) {GenVic: piyal Wb; bial Woi}

2. muta
mo-ter Rc (see wood)

tree, hollow  
darrdabala
durdabulla RMb, RMd

tree, honeysuckle (Banksia)  
berruga /beruga/
bēruga RMd

tree, leaning  
gandjima
kandyima RMb, kāndjima RMd

tree, myall  
ngorttja /ngordja/
gnōrtya RMd

tree, native cherry  
barrtja /bardja/
bārtja Cb, barttya RMd

tree, oak  
waulula
waw-lulla RMd

tree, pine  
ngamarra /ngamāra/
ngamāra Cb, ngummarra RMd

tree, red gum  
biyala /biyala/
(see tree, gum (red))

tree, tea-tree  
djijyalna /djealna/
jealna RMd

tree, wattle  
ganga /ganga/
gānga RMd

tree, white box  
dharrnya /dharnya/
dharnya RMd (see tree, box)

tree, willow, wild  
djima /djima/
jeema RMd

tree, willow, growing along river  
moma /moma/
mōma RMd (cf. Moama)

tree, yellow box  
bayuna /bayuna/
baiuna RMd

trousers  
1. munupna /munubna/
moonnōōpna Cb (see munu leg)
2. *dhauwadhen*

[ˈdauwəˈθən] /dauaden/ H (possibly from English *trousers*)

turkey, plains

**mandja** /mandja/
mändya RMb, mändya RMd, mincha SM

turkey, scrub

**lowan** /lowan/
löwan Cb (also *mallee-hen*)

turkey, wild

**gomimebla**
kor-mi-mē-bla Cb

twig, hooked twig for extracting grubs from trees

**undima**
undēma Cb (see *head, back of*)

twig used in possum hunting

**djikura** /djigura/
ji-ēk-or-a Cb (see *spear, wood*)

twilight

**gukalga**
gugalga E (also *sunset*)

two

**bultjubul** /buldjubul/
bathubel B, bol-tu-bol Cb, balabool Cp, boltubol Ct,
pooltooool E, bulchubul ED, bul-u-bul Mb, pultzewell Ra,
pult che wele Rb, put yer wul Rc, putyerwl Rd, bultzewbal RMb, petcheval Sa, bul’chiwa J (pul-Gen Vic)

two and two; four

**bultjubul** /buldjubul buldjubul/
bul-tu-bul-bol-tu-bol T

ugly

**mathimna** /madhimna/
mumatna E, matimma Cbs (also *bad*)

uncle

1. **gang(g)aba** /kang(g)abal
kangaba E, karāngoba Cb ([gærŋka] KB Joyce family word for *grandfather*)

2. **wowa** /wowa/
[ˈwɔwɔː]/wowa H [wawa] GB, FM (also *brother*) (Gen Vic *elder brother*) (o-loke Rc, possibly from English *uncle*)

under

**guli** /guli/
goolee E

unkind

**mogagowa**
mogagoa E

until

**yakuna** /yaguna/
yuck-koona E

up

**wuwitj**
wurwitch E

upon

**wamadaman**
wummadumumum E

urine

**gumung** /gumung/
[gomwʊŋ] /gumwʊŋ/ H, gumuñ RMb, RMd
us (dual incl.)  *ngalgunan*  ngalgunan RMc
us (dual excl.)  *ngalanan*  ngullanan RMc
us (plural incl.)  *nyuandanan*  nyuandunan RMc
us (plural excl.)  *nyananan*  nyanunan RMc, knanan E
valley  *banmirra*
    pun-ir-ra E (see steep, river)
vegetables as food  *bakobany* /bagobany/
buckubin E (see milk thistle)
veins  *mawanya*
own yer Rc (see mawa blood)
venereal  *biwa*
bëwa RMb, bëwa RMd (bo.neen Rc, perhaps related to bununy vulva)
virgin  *dhadhiwa* /dhadhiwa/
tatewa E (also young girl (puberty))
vomit (to)  *yakalam*
yakalum RMb, RMd, yacullum E (given as puke in E)
vulva  *bununy* /bununy/
bunuñ RMb, boonuñ RMd (burnin E, also private parts, female)
waddy (type of weapon)  *nala* /nala nala/
nulla-nulla EA
wait a little  *garraba* /garaba/
karabah Sa
wake (to)  *ganbina* /ganbina/
gun bin ner Rc (also jump, rise, raise, lift, get up)
walk (to)  *ya-* /ya-/
yanha (present)
yanda (present 3SG)
ya(rr)wul (imperative)
yanyubak (future)
yân-yoo-bok Cb, yanoobok Cp, yanoobok Ct, yarrow E,
yam-ya-bee Ma, yam-ya-buc Ma, yam-ya-buc Mb, yan Rc,
yarwul RMb, RMd (also go (to); see go along (to)) {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 daddja hot)

wash (to)  

* yalwel
  
  yalwel E

water  

1. *wala /wala/
  
  wöl-la Cb, wolla Cr, wolla Ct, wulla E, walla EA [wolla] /wala/ H, wol-lar Rc, woller Rd, walla RMb, RMd, wollah Sa, [wala], GB, FM (warata KB) {wara PI}

2. *dhethogana
  
  thethoganna Cp

water, dirty  

* mapagowa /mapagowa/
  
  mappagoa RMb, RMd

waterhole  

* gulpaga /gulba/
  
  kółpaga Cb, culpuga E (waller Rc see water)

water, over the  

* banulu(t)
  
  pan no loot Ra, pun no loot Rb (probably over the river)

water, this side of  

* dorrula
  
  tor r you lar Ra, tor you lar Rb, tor r you lar Rb (probably this side of the river)

water-trough, wooden  

* gokoma /gogoma/
  
  kó-roma Cb (see melon)

we (dual incl. erg.)  

* ngalginak /ngalginag/
  
  ngalginak RMa, ngalginak RMb

we (dual incl. nom.)  

* ngalgin /ngalgin/
  
  ngalgin RMa, RMc, -ngalgin 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*
mutten E

weapon, type of  

*witj*  

/widj widj/  
witch-witch EA

weapons  

*data*

datta E (probably related to *datin to kill*)

weep (to)  

dunhu  

/dunhu/  
tunna E, dünhu RMb, dünnh RMd

well (water)  

gulpa /gulba/
gulpa E (see *gulpaga* waterhole)

west  

*garruna* /garuna/  
caru-na E

wet  

*walupka* /walúbga/  
waalóóoka Cb

what?  

*minhe* /minhe/  
minne Cb, [mine] /mine/ H, minnhe RMb in-the-lay Ls  
*(what is it)* (also *mine-ma* *what's its name* 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/  
[ˈwomərɪɡa] /womeriga/ H, womeriga GB, FM

2. *womir-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/  
[ˈwaɾɡa] /warga/ H [waka] Hpmc, waga RMb

3. *barraba*  
baraba ED

whereabouts?  

*wanhal* /wanhal/  
[ˈwanəl] /wanal/ H, [wanal] Hpmc, wannahul RMb

where from/whence?  

*wanhin*  
wunyin RMb (see *whither*)
where to/whither? \textit{wanhal-matj} \par wannhalmuty RMb

which \textit{womogin} \par womogin Cb [wonigemda] Hpmc

while \textit{meyun} \par mey-yoon E (also \textit{during})

whirlwind \textit{momimira} \par mommeera Sb

whisker \textit{yarring} /yaring/ \par yāring Cb (also \textit{chin, beard/whisker, hair of beard}) \{\textit{ngar-}\textit{-SW Vic (ngariyn Watha); yar- E Vic (yaranGipp)}\}

whistle (to) \textit{letja-} \par lērtchooma Cb, ledtuma E, lēta RMb, lēta RMd

white 1. \textit{batjatj} /badjadj/ \par baatchāitpa Cb, pet-tyaity RMb, RMd (see paper)

2. \textit{bewa} \par be. wur Rc (perhaps English for \textit{paper})

white man \textit{molwa} /molwa/ \par mul.low.wer Ra, mul low er Rc, mulower Rd (also \textit{bury, grave, burial ground, dead man, corpse})

who \textit{ngani} /ngani/ \par ngani RMb

who for? \textit{nganinguda} \par nganinguddha RMb, nganinaknguddha RMg

who from? \textit{ngani-nat} /ngani-nad/ \par nganinnat RMb

who with? \textit{ngani-narrak} /ngani-narag/ \par nganinarak RMb

who? (dual) \textit{ngani-bula} /ngani-bula/ \par nganibula RMb

who? (plural) \textit{ngani-nhura} /ngani-nhura/ \par nganinhura RMb

whose (is it)? \textit{ithal} /idhāl/ \par ithāl Cb

widow \textit{guku-winyarr} \par googooinga E (see \textit{die (to); woman})

widower \textit{mabuka} /mabuga/ \par mubpooka E

widowhood \textit{mabutja} /mabudja/ \par mapoucha E
wife nyini winyarr /nyini winyar/
ngë-në wëni-ya Cb, ngieni wëniya Ct, wunyir E, winyar
RMb, RMd (see my; woman) (bun yarr ote Rc, see banayir
spouse)

wild wakeda
wakeda E

wild dog baka /baga/
buck.er Rc (also dog)

wind bangë /bangë/
bë-aang-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, börinya Cb (see arm, river, a branch of; shield)

winter bupolga /bubolga/
boobolga E

wish (to) wunyung(g)atha dayung
wunyungutta-teung E

with inyabaknalinyin
enyebucknalinyin E

within duning
dooning E

woman during menses garrtabala
kartubulla RMb, RMd

woman 1. winyarr /winyar/
win-yir Mb, winyar RMb, RMd [winy] KB, FM ['winjar]
/winjar/ H
2. bayabiya /bayábiya/
païâbia Cb

woman, Aboriginal 1. winyarr /winyar/
wiën-ya Cb, wiinya Ct, wunyer E, own yare rer Rc,
ownyarerer Rd {Wdj inarr}
2. bayabiya /bayábiya/
païâbia Ct, pyabea Sa
3. momidijiga
momidgiga Cp (layarut Sb)

woman, couple winyandjal /winyandjal/
winyandyal RMb

woman, old 1. gumuka /gumuga/
kör-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 young girl (puberty), virgin, maid) (now-o-ger Ra, see nyauwoga girl) (or.rut ter Rc, oruter Rd) (begaira E)

wombat
dhukandirra
tur kun der er Rc, dhuggandhira RMh (mumyanga E, see bat)

women, several
winyanboga /winyanboga/
winyanboga RMb

wood
1. bitja /bidja/
biit-chā-o Cb, biityao Ct, beet yer Rc, beetyer Rd (pee-cha Mb dry wood) (picta B piece of wood) (see also fire, firewood)

2. muta
mootta Sb (see tree, red gum)

woomera
yulwa /yulwa/
ulewar Ls, youlwar TH (also throwing stick, lever spear)

wound, injury
wurrinidjiga
wurrinigyeega E

wound (to)
gutha- /gudha-/
cutta E, kuthana RMb, RMd (goo-tan E, wounded) (see gutha sore)

wrist
1. gukurra /gugura/
kōōkoora Cb, coogoooda E

2. wunanga /wunanga/
woonānga Cb, wonunger Rc

wrong
1. yorta /yoda/
yata E (also no, not, don't, never)

2. mathindhan
muddhindhūn RMb, RMd (see bad)

yam
mayila /mayila/
māīela Cb, maiyilla RMb

yamstick
1. nanyirr
nūnyer RMb, RMd {nanyirYb}

2. gana
kūnna Cb (mar-wrong Mb)

yes
ngowe /ngowe/
ngō-e Cb, ngoe Cp, ngoe Ct, gno wa E, ngaway ED, [ŋə:we] /ŋəwe/ H, ngor-wai Mb, hor Rc, ngowi RMb, [ngowe] GB, Fm {Wb nongwe, Wdj ngaawa, nga, 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/
yununna RMa

you (singular, nom.)
1. *ngina* /ngina/
nginna RMa, RMc, nyenna J, -nginna RMb, ngena Cp, nginna Ct, ['nine] /nine/ H (ngā Cb, ngia Cb, perhaps in error for nga f)
2. *nyana* /nyana/
yununna 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.)
nhurra /nhurag/
nhooorak RMa, nhurak RMc, -nhurak RMb (noothiga Ls)

you (plural, nom.)
nhura /nhura/
nhura RMc (nhooorak RMa)

you (plural, acc.)
*nhurranan*
hurranan RMc

you here??
*woningenda*
['wonijingda] /woningenda/ H [woningenda] Hpmc
[wominganda] (perhaps *womigin-da which one*

you there??
*gurwijingenda*
['gurwijendga] /gurwijingenda/ H [gomanda] Hpmc (see discussion section 4.2.3)

young
*wurrtta*
woorta E

your (singular)
*nguni* /nguni/
goonee 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/  
malnéga RMb, malnéga RMd (also boy)  

youth, fully initiated  
djibauga /djibauga/  
dyibbaugha RMb, jibauga RMd, gebowga E  

youth, after tooth extraction  
gokamulga /gogamulga/  
gogamulga RMb, gogamoolga RMd  

youth, partly initiated  
wonga /wonga/  
wônga RMb, wônga 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
balagamdai
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 batja
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
honesuckle tree (Banksia)

betha
mosquito

betjatjba
paper

bewa
white

beyogae(l)
man, Aborigine (Bikolatban clan)

bida marreda
hatred

bigang(g)a
possum cloak

bigarrumja
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

bitji na
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

borrynu  
arm, lower part of arm, wing, shield, branch of river

borrynyu  
shirt

borkirr  
quail

borrpa  
crayfish

borrrtha  
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

bulunan
you (DU, ACC)

bulwoga
few

bumidakabiya
along

bumiderrega
gun, musket

bunga
stone

bunmin
milk

bununy
private parts, female, vulva

bunyma
to make

bupolga
winter

bupu
through

burra
heart, boss

burrai
baby

burranhana
far-seeing

burraya
long way away, far

burrmanga
cod fish

buthoga
red ochre

butjanga
egg

butjjangin
eggs, seed, testicles

butmama
to lift

daborra
footpath, pathway, road

daborrin
dry creek

dakindjuwa
snake

dako(t)
thick

dakoma
small diver (bird)

dakorra
tough

daku
reed

dalgena
jaw

damanmu-
to dance a corroboree

damánmu-
to dance

damuga
before

damul
cheek

damula
cheeks

dana
footpath, pathway

dana-
to stand

danam
a plant

danapna
swan

danela
bream (fish)

dangaburraya
there (farther)

dangalatj-djamitj
sorry

dangamai
crow

danin
to float
dantjutkupna  
kangaroo

danyan  
crippled

dapalama  
between

daponga  
wild pigeon

dapu  
smooth

darra  
boat

darrdabala  
hollow tree

darrryaa-  
to dive

darrungaa  
pipe-clay

data  
weapons

data-  
to fall

datain(PRES, Past)
data-  
to kill

datjijdja  
heat, hot
datjimba  
tomahawk
datjin  
warm
daugowa  
grey
daugowa bukan  
grey hair
dausan  
number over 5 (thousand)
dauwirr  
deaf tree
daya  
here
daya-  
to play
dayabak (FUT)
dayu  
errection
dee-  
hey!
debel-debel  
devel
dekula  
parroket
delaya  
neat, here
delpan  
claw, nail, finger, toe(s)
demilborr(i)nya  
spur-winged plover
dendjijwoga  
there (quite close)
deya-win  
this one here
deyuwenerrrk  
to have
dhadadada  
lark
dhadhiwa  
girl (at puberty), virgin, young woman, maid
dhadjijowa  
sunshine
dhajika  
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 nga
  old man

dhamanga bapu
  stepfather

dhamayirr
  old man

dharmalala
  yonder

dhanadhan
  to commit sodomy

dhandel
  poison

dhangana
  thirst

dhangam
  very dry, thirsty

dhangan
  bread, damper

dhanggoba
  frog

dhango dhango
  noise of copulation

dhangu-
  to drink

dhani-
  to copulate

dhanin (PRES/Past)

dhanu-
  to want

dhanuk (FUT)

dharramdjaba
  slow

dharrnya
  box tree (white)

dhatji-
  to eat

dhatjim (Past, PRES)

dhatjak (FUT)

dhatjimiak (Intention)

dhatjiba
  younger brother, sister

dhatjip
  elder sister

dhatjip
  younger sister

dhau
  leg (calf), thigh

dhauwadhen
  trousers

dhawanya-
  to be thirsty

dhawanyak (FUT)

dhethogana
  water

dhoma
  dear, poor thing

dhoma nyini
  my dear

dhomadhomanga
  love

dhom-
  to kiss, love

dhomin (Past, PRES)

dhona
  alive

dhonga
  cigarette, joint, smoke, tobacco
dhoniga  
land after flood

dhowerrwidja  
greedy

dhugerrra 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  
own

dipa  
chest, heart

dirran  
teeth

dirrantji  
little way (away)

dirrekur  
crane

ditjumurra  
stinking

ditjumurra-  
to stink

ditorro  
to rattle

diyawa-  
to marry

diying  
neck

djajningum  
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]

**-djin**  
perhaps

**djina**  
foot

**djinbak**  
to scratch

**djinyaka**  
long way away

**djinyangana**  
by and by

**djirribang**  
very old man

**djirrimna ngura** **djirrimna**  
thigh

**djirngawa(n)**  
lightning

**djirnyauwa**  
greedy

**djirrtjirra**  
finger, knuckle

**djirrtjirran**  
fingers, fist

**djirrungana**  
high, long

**djirrungana**  
tall

**djirrungan na 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

**djundunga**  
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)
dorrutu
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
snake
durradjilapka
kookaburra
durrel
snake
durrgagimati
women, 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.EMPH)
gaka-yawul (come, walk IMP)
gakadha
navel
gakadja
sting
gakan
swamp
gakumaitha
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
galnyadjji
joy
galnyan
right, good, nice
galnyan yakurrumdja
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
ganedithula
belt
gang(g)aba
uncle
ganga
to break
ganga
wattle tree
gan-go
man (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 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)
garrribak (FUT)
garrin
to kick

garrkadanuk
horse

garrtabala
woman during menses

garru-
to dive

garrulyenek
by

garruruna
west

gata
mouth

gatha
cannot

gathagan
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

ginunun
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
gonuká
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
graindu ma
  to grind
grong-grong
  mad
guduny
  fin
guka
grandmother
guka
grub in ground
gukaalgaguna
sunset, twilight
gukatja
tail of animal
gukorrin
ehow
ghukutori
to die
gukun (Past, PRES)
gukun bangalow-sounding, silent
gukunylow, under
gukuriawrist
ghuku-winyearr
widow
gulan
shame
guli
down
gulinbalower lip
gulpadepth
gulpawell (water)
gulpagawaterhole
gumina
person
gumakauld woman
gumung
urine
guna
bowels, excrement
guna
to tie
gundja
home, home
gung(g)a
double or back teeth
gungena
peculiar person
gun-gi
large bag
guni-
to evacuate bowels
gunin (PRES, Past)
gunyubak(FUT)
gunigawadirty
gunugaprawn
gunugudhulabrolga
gunyamgan
to kill
ungunyagawa
wood duck
gunya-winyarr
possum cloak
gurranyineagle
gurrburr
koala
gurrong(g)a
boomerang
gurrtji
friend
gurruwingenda
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

**maiyi**
eyelid

**makorrna**
wild goose

**makun**
perch (fish)

**malak**
aunt
maledhan  
few

maлен-гандрри  
entails (of sheep)

mali-  
to beat
malin (Past, PRES)  
malil (IMP)

maligan  
mad

malinya  
club (leanngle)

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 bangang  
content

mamana birrayarrwu  
to divorce

mamel  
carpet snake

mamila  
kidney fat

mamila  
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

marre
spear

marri-
to bathe
marribak (FUT)

marrina
spear

marrinbidja
to make fire

marrin-bidja
fire sticks

marrmu
ear

marrngany
crow

matekami(t)
acid, bitter

maten
weak

matha
canoe

mathi
bad, roguery

mathi woka
hell

mathidja
cold

mathimatj
bad, cruel

mathimna
bad, ugly, rogue, bad person

mathindhan
wrong

matjang(g)ala
lightning

mawa
to bleed

mawa
blood

mawamatj
red

mawanya
veins

mawo
sinews

maya
curing of sickness

mayabil
snow

mayila
yam

menmetpan bukan
hair, curly

menu
hip

menu(t)
beyond

merrin
grub in box tree

meyun
during, while

mi(yul)
eye

mimithing(g)in
eyebrow

mina-
to ask
minamda (PRES 3SG)

minamda
to request

minga
eye

minga-
to smell
mingan (PRES)

mingurinya
black snake

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

mulandjiika
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)

na-
to sleep
nanya (PRES)
nanyubak (FUT)

na-
to sleep
nanyubak (FUT)

nadarrrip
son

nadjirr
young bird

naikka
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

nangarra

to think
nani(t)  earthquake
nanyambana  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
natjurrrak  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
ngangaburraya  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
either
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
defaf
nhabadamarrmu
to forget
nhalaya
there
nhanha
female
nhanha
mother
nhanha biyin
thumb

nharrapka
blunt point

nharrebula gaiyumarr
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

nurratji
to dream

nurrnamamdatba
kingfisher

nurrta
forest

nuthan
flock

nuwa
more

nyana
you (SG, alternative to ngina)

nyana
we (PL.EXCL NOM)

nyanak
we (PL.EXCL 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)

nyinin (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

watjuka 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 ban wir
husband

winyanboga
several women

winyandjal
woman, couple

winyarr
woman, Aboriginal woman

witedja banga
to leave off

witedja gane

to leave

witedja gow dja(k)
to leave behind

witj witj
type of weapon

witjin ngata
past (passed by)

wiyu
any

woda ngarrifahu
hearing

woka
country, district, earth, ground, land
wokida
wild dog

wolithola
water rat

womerrra
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
worrwatj (PRES, Past)

wotha
new

wotja-
to send
wotjan (PRES, Past)

wotogoa
kangaroo

wowala
brother, uncle

wowala
water rat

wowata
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

wunyung(g)atha dayung
to wish

wurridjiga
wound, injury

wurrrta
young

wurrthamarra
bream (fish)

wurrurru
beak, bird’s bill, lip(s), mouth

wurrummatj
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(t)
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)
yarraban (FUT)
yathapka 
nonsense!
yawa 
morning dew
yedabila 
animals
yegu 
swelling
(y)enben 
Aborigine (Yorta Yorta), ancestor, Aboriginal man/person
yenmatj 
to burn
yerradhag 
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 
light
yirri- 
to scream
yirritj (PRES EMPH)
yirrka 
to scratch
yita 
soft, tender
yitja 
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
yiyaarrak gananggurr
the day after tomorrow

(y)iyawa
one

(y)iyawama
one-eyed

iyirr
male, man

iyirram
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

yunadjia
grasshopper

yunga
to throw, pitch

yungan (PeES, Past)
yungak (FUT)

yungaba
frost, ice, sleet, snow

yungi-
his knocked down

yurrathäa
cloud/clouds, heaven, sky

yurri
moon

yurri
fresh

yurringgadjia
moon

yurringguk
moonlight

yurrnga
knee, kneecap

yurrnga
sun

yurringurrang
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 “Ngurrimarer” 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Batāwurru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngurrimawurru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Copied
Bā-τaura
Ngurrimarer 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/Ngurrimauer 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Afraid</th>
<th>Blood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dyêmul</td>
<td>gurok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afterbirth</td>
<td>Bloom on trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyittim</td>
<td>butthunik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alive</td>
<td>Blow fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhororang</td>
<td>dyoandyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angry</td>
<td>Blunt, edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûlanhur</td>
<td>nhurrupo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ant, bulldog ant</td>
<td>Bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bûm’inamari</td>
<td>gwiat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anus</td>
<td>Boomerang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moanyu</td>
<td>dhûlûr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arise</td>
<td>Box, yellow box</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kummerang</td>
<td>baddyirmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>Boy, small boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burêng</td>
<td>nguliwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back</td>
<td>Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunnhu</td>
<td>Munang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad</td>
<td>Bream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mútthir</td>
<td>Gau-ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bald-headed</td>
<td>Breast, female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gullingw’uk buku</td>
<td>Bûmir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandicoot</td>
<td>Bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kangapin</td>
<td>Yagulama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bat</td>
<td>Brother, elder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murniang</td>
<td>Wauwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beard</td>
<td>Brother, younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarrâk</td>
<td>Dhatthim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beat</td>
<td>Bullrushes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>linniung</td>
<td>Bathunik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belly</td>
<td>Camp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boadha</td>
<td>Guwul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belt</td>
<td>Canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunnedhul</td>
<td>Bûttyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bite</td>
<td>Catfish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>innimul</td>
<td>Wannhak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Child of either sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woke</td>
<td>Nguliwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind</td>
<td>Clever man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>môtye</td>
<td>Ngarak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
climb
karrian
cloritis
ngulu
cockatoo, white cockatoo
karran
cod
buranhung
cold
bulléke
cold
bulleki
come
yakul
conceal
nhurupkun
copulation
dhànung
corella
gallalak
corroboree
bimmin
crane
durkare
crow
wakir
dance
kurradhir
day
gunnawakur
dead
nüthuran
defaf
nhuppige
die
nuthur
dog
gürnau
drink
notal
duck, black duck
wang’al

duck, woodduck
ngarnea
dust storm
warrim maramarpün
eaglehawk
ngutte
ear
maram
eat
dhekki
egg
buttyang
elbow
kokor
emission
dyiggunir
emu
gudhemifi
excrement
gunu
eye
mäwo
fall down
münmikeang
fat
guratch
fat
dhuramari
father
nungilambingulum
fire
gallau
fly, common house fly
wün’yunguñ
food, meat
dyuttük
foot
tyinna
forehead
ngunu
frog
dyinnang
frost  
yûngau  
full  
wûrumûntyë  
galah  
bil'labling'  
girl, small girl  
nyawok  
give  
guukeang  
glad  
kullanher bulkkup  
go  
gorowa  
good  
galleng  
grass  
ballak  
greedy  
dyirrinwayu  
ground  
wukka  
hand  
birre  
hawk, fish hawk  
murraganthil  
head  
buku  
headband  
kûr'ungur  
hear  
ngurriman  
heart  
ngain-ngûr  
heat  
dikke  
hill  
yulik  
honey  
dûrtûl  
hot  
dikke  
hungry  
mûlinmi  
hunt on ground  
bau-in-yâkia  
husband  
gûlugudylîl  
iguana, ground iguana  
wûruwrûtraty  
iguana, tree iguana  
dhulupil  
kangaroo  
wardakà  
kangaroo-ra  
gûre  
kilt for men  
gôrê  
kilt for women  
belingeke  
knee  
watti  
koala, native bear  
gûrbur  
large  
gûrean  
laugh  
galek  
lean  
walarî  
leaves of trees  
dawwrik  
leg  
thurra  
lightning  
mûddyungûl  
liver  
bûdhä  
lizard, jew lizard  
bolan  
lizard, small lizard  
dyuggulûty  
lizard, wood lizard  
dyaggulûty
louse
munnhu

low or short
dhū'arthup

mad or crazy
gurauartyami

maggot
tūrtūl

maggpie, black magpie
dyirrim

mallee-hen
dhauk

man
bawa, bāwu

masturbation
dyillumani

menses, time of first menses
dūrgairramani

mirage
wūnyir

moon
yūre

mopoke
kokok

mosquito
būrroth

mother
ngunguthum, nūngalim

mouth
wurra

mud
muppu

mussel (river)
walt'ěk

mussel in swamps
dirlinngūrrik

nankeen
dhani

native cat, black and white
miya

native companion
dharwarri

naval
kadhakat

near
dhalkundyi

neck, back of neck
wannawur

net bag
murra

net bag for sorcery
murrāŋ

net bag for weapons, nations
dhalaŋmana

night
nyinnityur

nit of louse
dimmo

nose
gauwo

ochre, red ochre
wūddyuurok

old man
dyirrabang

opossum
dūmpūl

opossum, ringtail opossum
bindyaram

paddle
daro

parrokeet
deko

pathway
darna

pee wee
delung

pelican
daialil

penis
wenawin

perch
murrukan

pine
wuraka
pipe-clay  
darrang

plains turkey  
dyrrakal

porcupine  
minniminthill

pregnant  
boadhilli

pretend  
dhuli

quick  
bürkega

rain  
kurupkur

rainbow  
nirrinhim

red  
gür'umingari

right  
gullennhūr

run  
banyean

sand  
watyap

sandhill  
wattyak

scorpion  
dille

scratch  
irrikal

scratch with claw  
yirriam

see  
nakal

semen  
bültēk

shadow of man  
mullau

shield, spear shield  
bullart'

shield, waddy shield  
mürka

shingleback  
baddyalupna

shoulder  
kutthir

sick  
kūrrūm

sing  
beaka

sister, elder sister  
dyettya

sister, younger sister  
dhatthim

sit  
mukkur

sky  
yurāt

slap with hand  
nhulān

sleep  
birtil

sleepy  
guye

slow  
warrakumā

small  
ging kirring

smell  
ming-a

smoke  
dhoang-a

snake, black snake  
mimg'urūn

snake, brown snake  
litthagau

snake, carp; snake  
mamūl

sorry  
dyrāk'omē

spear lever  
mākim

spear, fishing spear  
mulla
spear, reed  
  _kama_

spear, wood  
  _dyekur_

spider  
  _papir'ma_

squirrel, flying squirrel  
  _yera_

stand  
  _dani_

stars  
  _turtu_

steal  
  _baddhanthan_

stinking  
  _mingwari_

stone  
  _bunga_

strike  
  _takang_

strong  
  _dhiramerri_

suck a wound  
  _nōtun_

suck as a child  
  _būnathul_

summer  
  _wunnhalūng_

sun  
  _wāgo_

swamp yam  
  _nyelka_

swan  
  _mullai_

swim  
  _yauek_

take  
  _bapa_

talk  
  _loatybi_

tall or long  
  _wurītim_

teeth  
  _tharrawul_

tell  
  _ngurre-heang_

testicles  
  _marta_

thirsty  
  _dhangum_

throat  
  _gore_

throw forcibly  
  _yungun_

thunder  
  _binyakum_

tired  
  _murralkumi_

tree, any leaning tree  
  _kūlpēn_

tree, cherry tree  
  _tyu-wok_

tree, oak (she)  
  _wa-lul_

tree, red gum tree  
  _dhūllu_

tree, Ti-tree  
  _dyema_

tree, white box  
  _dhulīout_

tree, willow, wild  
  _ngurōty_

trout  
  _bung'ama_

urine  
  _kumak_

venereal  
  _bēukau_

vomit  
  _wuggalamai_

vulva  
  _bunu_

walk  
  _yanyirra_
wallaby
ngūr'ianpun

water
barnha

water-rat
ngorikau

wattle
kuttim

weep
dungirang

whirlwind
maramirr

whistle
wete

white
tūrtimari

wife
guluguduyul

winter
warring

woman
murrake

woman (several women)
manyaman

wrong
mutthir

yam, dry land
ngaiam

yamstick
nun'yir

youth, after extraction of tooth
gogamul

youth, before initiation
müllên

youth, fully initiated
waanga
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Howitt, A.W., 1904, *The native tribes of Southeast Australia*, London.


(RMa) R.H. Mathews – Aboriginal Languages Notebook 1, pp.81-77.

for (RMb) R.H. Mathews 1902 see above

for (RMc) R.H. Mathews 1903 see above

n.d. Reports of the Maloga Mission 1878-1900. MS held in Mortlock Library, SA.


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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.


**Tape-Recordings**

Tape-recordings (from 1960s) (available from Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander Studies)

Hercul, 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.