

*The Mathi group of languages*

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# The Mathi group of languages

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## *Preface*

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This book reprises and expands the study of Mathi-Mathi made by Luise Hercus in the 1960s and 1970s (Hercus 1986:101–151), and adds to this an examination of historical materials from three closely related language varieties: Letyi-Letyi, Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), and Wati-Wati (Piangil).

As befits a jointly written volume, each of the authors has been involved to different extents in the different sections. Chapter 1 was largely written by Barry Blake but significantly revised and added to by Stephen Morey and Luise Hercus. Section 1.2 consists mostly of data assembled by Edward Ryan.

Chapter 2 is mostly data assembled by Edward Ryan, revised by Stephen Morey and Luise Hercus.

Chapter 3 was written by Luise Hercus, based on her 1986 grammar but considerably rewritten. It was added to, in minor ways, by Barry Blake and Stephen Morey.

The earliest, short, draft of Chapter 4 was written by Barry Blake, and then greatly expanded into its present form by Stephen Morey, with input from Luise Hercus.

Our attempt here has been to write a grammatical description that meets the needs both of linguists and members of the various communities whose languages we are writing about.



## *Acknowledgements*

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Most of all this book owes its existence to the late Jack Long, who, though very elderly and infirm, provided Luise Hercus with the benefit of his knowledge of the Mathi-Mathi language, its literature and so much about the culture that by then only he knew.

We would like to thank members of the Aboriginal community in Balranald, for their interest and moral support, particularly the late Alice Kelly.

The recordings done by Luise Hercus were funded by the then Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (now AIATSIS). Much gratitude is due to the musicologist Catherine Ellis. In the course of her musicological surveys in 1964–5 she became aware of Jack Long's linguistic knowledge: he was living a long way from his own country at Point Pearce in South Australia. She alerted Luise Hercus and that is how the recording of Mathi-Mathi began.

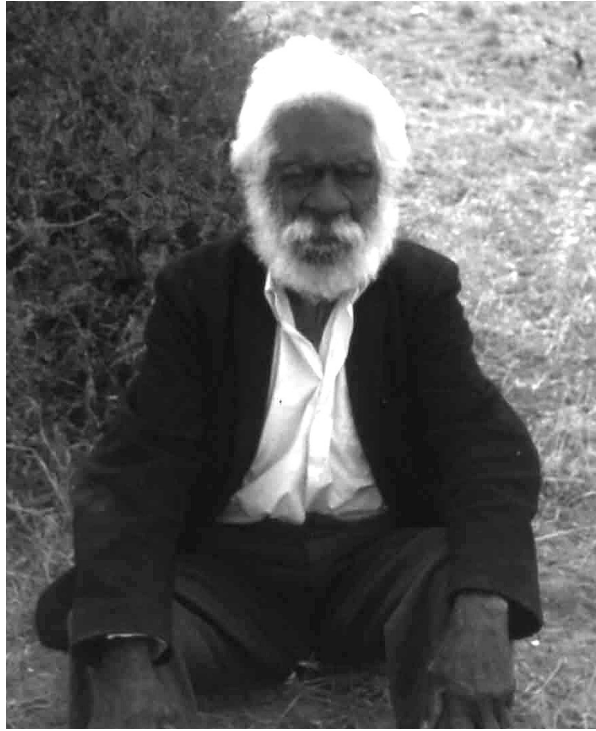
In reprising the earlier study of Mathi-Mathi and bringing into the study the related varieties of Letyi-Letyi and Wati-Wati, we have benefitted from access to original materials in the State Library of Victoria, National Library of Australia, State Library of Queensland and also the private collection of Dr. John Mathew, inherited from his grandfather of the same name. We also thank Museum Victoria and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies for permission to use several photographs.

Prof. R.M.W Dixon made his archive on Australian languages available to us at a crucial moment, and we also acknowledge the great help given by the Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages, in particular Christina Eira and Alex Blaszak, who drew our attention to other materials. We further acknowledge the assistance of Harold Koch, Debbie Loakes, William Steed and the anonymous reviewers for helpful suggestions and challenges, and also Colin Macdonald who produced the map of the languages in Section 1.

Much of the data entry for this project was done by Julie Reid and Laura Bennetts, Laura having made the first version of the comparative word list that appears as Section 6.

We thank the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology, La Trobe University, whose aid made it possible for several visits by Stephen Morey to Canberra to work on this book. La Trobe University and the Australian National University have supported Barry Blake and Luise Hercus respectively to continue their work after retirement. We are also very grateful to the wonderful team at Pacific Linguistics for their support and assistance, and in particular Nick Evans, Paul Sidwell and Julie Manley.

We all thank our respective families for aiding us in the production of this work.



Jack Long in 1970  
*(Photo courtesy of Lousie Hurcus)*



Louise Hurcus recording Jack Long in 1966  
*(Photo courtesy of Lousie Hurcus)*



Mary Moore at the Murray River  
*(Photo courtesy of Lousie Hurcus)*



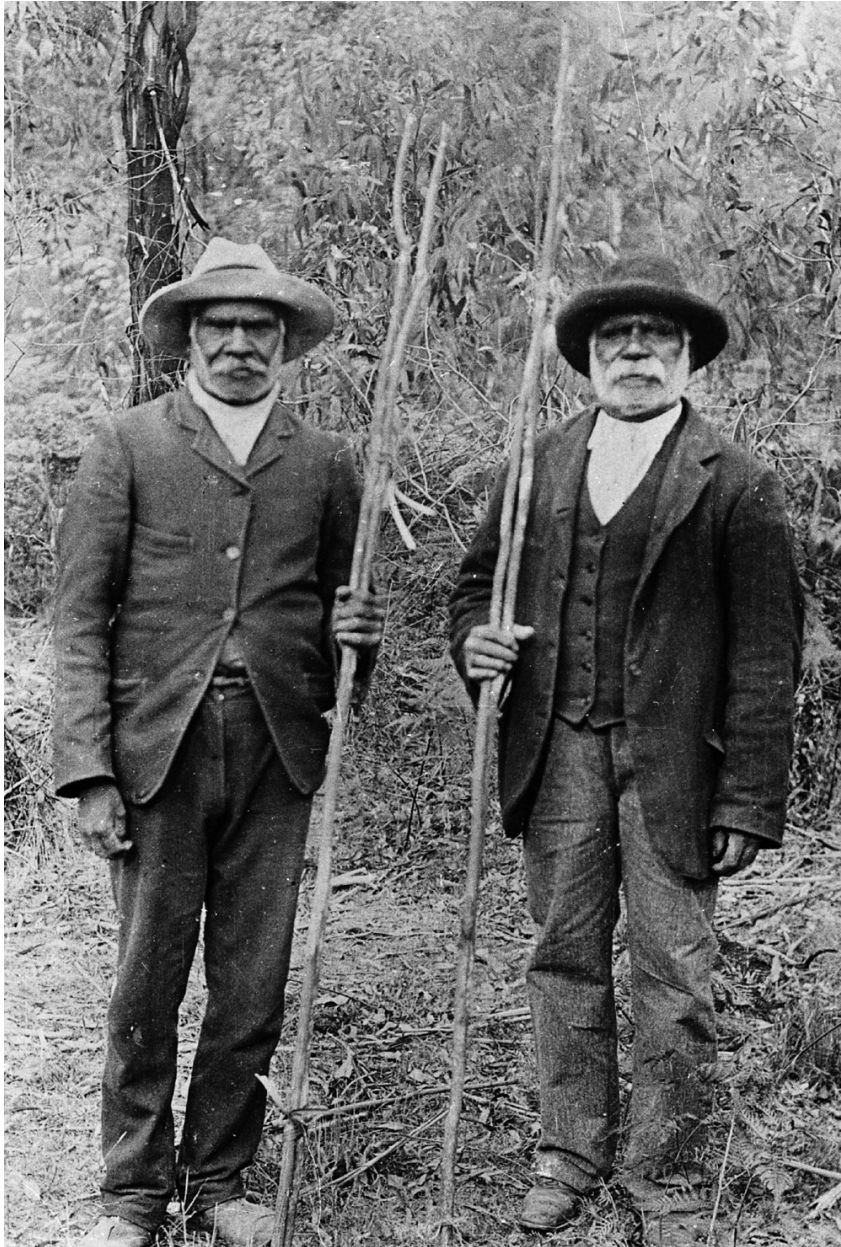
Monmoiko (Benjamin 'Lanky' Manton)  
at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, Victoria  
Photographer unknown.

*(This image is courtesy of Museum Victoria (image XP2201))*



Monmoiko (Benjamin 'Lanky' Manton)  
making fire at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, Victoria c.1918  
Photographer unknown.

*(This image is courtesy of Museun Victoria (image XP2237))*



Monmoiko (Benjamin 'Lanky' Manton) and Edward 'Ned' McLellan  
at Coranderrk Aboriginal Station, Victoria, c.1904-10  
Photographer unknown.

*(This image is courtesy of Museun Victoria (image XP2240))*



Isaac MacDuff and Maria Tangauwallin at Lake Condah, 1912

*(This image is courtesy of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) John Mathew photographic collection (Mathew.JI.BW N3838.24)*





# 1 Introduction

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## 1.1 The Mathi Group of Languages

On the basis of similarities in vocabulary and grammar we can determine that in most of central and western Victoria plus areas of adjacent states, a group of closely related languages was spoken, a group that Schmidt (1919) termed the ‘Kulin languages’. Within this large grouping we can pick out a number of smaller groupings on linguistic grounds, one of which we are calling the Mathi group after Mathi-Mathi, the best recorded of them. This group of tongues was spoken in the northwest of Victoria, the southwest of New South Wales and across the border in South Australia. The group comprises Mathi-Mathi, Letyi-Letyi and two separate tongues both called Wati-Wati in the sources, with one being also called PuRa-PuRa<sup>1</sup>. We distinguish them geographically as Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), which includes PuRa-PuRa, and Wati-Wati (Piangil). According to Jack Long, the principal source for the study of Mathi-Mathi (Hercus 1986:101), Weki-Weki and Nyeri-Nyeri were two other languages that probably belonged to this group, but there is no record at all of Nyeri-Nyeri and only a handful of Weki-Weki words so a genetic relationship cannot be posited<sup>2</sup>.

The grouping of these languages was first suggested in Beveridge (1861:14), who wrote:

The aborigines herein described inhabit the valley of the Murray River from Lake Boga to the Moorpal Lakes inclusive. They are divided into seven tribes, each tribe having a distinct name, and very nearly a distinct dialect.

“They are named as follows:- Boora Boora, Watty Watty, Waiky Waiky, Lichty Litchy, Yairy Yairy and Darty Darty. Each name is the negative of the dialect spoken by the respective tribes.

As we can see, Beveridge only named 6 tribes, but in other sources within his material, the seventh tribe is named as Mathi-Mathi. This group of seven is not a linguistic subgroup, because the last two Yairy-Yairy and Darty-Darty belong to a different language family which is not Kulin, but is usually called ‘languages of the lower Murray’ (Horgen 2004) or simply Murray River languages. Not only Beveridge, but also Howitt (1904:52)

---

<sup>1</sup> Most Australian languages have a flapped or trilled rhotic, which we represent as **rr** and a glide rhotic, which we write as **r**. Mathi-Mathi has only the former though Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) appears to have both (see 4.2.2.1). Old sources do not distinguish these r-sounds and we represent such indeterminate rhotics as upper case **R**. Further, we are employing voiceless stops in the language names Mathi-Mathi, Letyi-Letyi and Wati-Wati, though earlier linguistic work on these (such as Hercus 1986 and Blake and Reid 1998a) used voiced stops, as Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi.

<sup>2</sup> These Weki-Weki words are recorded in the John Mathews papers (AIATSIS Ms 950). These were collected from Isaac McDuff and are *wako wa* ‘no’, *ia* ‘yes’, *werap* ‘glider, flying possum’ and some moiety terms, *krokaich* and *krokigurk*. There is also a note “His lang. Mindarap” which is of uncertain meaning. Elsewhere Isaac McDuff is specifically referred to, by Lanky Manton, as a speaker of the ‘Waki Waki language’.

lists the Mathi group with Tharti-Tharti<sup>3</sup> and YeRi-YeRi, which suggests considerable social intercourse between the two groups and probably, over time, linguistic mixing. For example, the term *tharti* for ‘no’ in Tharti-Tharti occurs as a marker for time as ‘by and by’ in Wati-Wati (Hercus and Morey 2008). This is not a coincidental similarity, but a result of influence from the Tharti group to the Mathi group and vice-versa, despite the two groups being from different language families. In addition, all of these groups shared a matrilineal moiety system, which, along with other aspects of the social relationship between them, is discussed further in 2.1 below.

Turning to more strictly linguistic classifications, as already mentioned above, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Jack Long, a native speaker of Mathi-Mathi regarded Mathi-Mathi, Wati-Wati, Letyi-Letyi, Weki-Weki and Nyeri-Nyeri as a closely linked group, and “evolved a theory that ‘languages often went together in groups of five’” (Hercus 1986:101). Jack Long’s list contains only one Wati-Wati, and does not include PuRa-PuRa which was linguistically almost identical to the Wati-Wati spoken in the Swan Hill area, but seemingly a distinct social group nonetheless.

Dixon (2002) included the Mathi group of languages as part of Ta1, one of three divisions of the “Kulin subgroup”. In a later publication (Dixon 2007) Ta1 is termed the Wemba-Wemba language, Dixon choosing the name of its “central dialect about which we have the fullest information.” This language, including the Mathi group, was “spoken over a considerable area of Western Victoria north of the Great Dividing Range”, and corresponds to Western Kulin (see Blake and Reid 1998a, and 1.3.1 below).

Blake and Reid (1998a) established that the four linguistic varieties we are discussing in this book here should be treated as a single subgroup within the Western branch of Kulin. On the basis of a lexico-statistical analysis, they pointed out that “Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill) share over 80% of vocabulary with one another, which suggests they might form some kind of group” (1998a:5). Several of the diagnostic features that we use to identify this group in (1) below were already identified by Blake and Reid. They went on to add that “Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) stands somewhat apart from all the other tongues of the Western Victorian language (sc. Western Kulin), though it scores better with Madhi-Madhi, Ledji-Ledji and Wadi-Wadi (Swan Hill).” The present work confirms their findings with comprehensive exemplification and analysis.

Wafer and Lissarague (2008:63) group the four varieties as ‘Western Central Murray varieties’ and also discuss another group, Yati-Yati or Yari-Yari, of which Clark (1996:15) said “this language was apparently very similar to Wadi-Wadi”. This appears to refer to the Nyeri-Nyeri as mentioned by Jack Long (see above), and not to the Yari-Yari that was one of the Murray River languages. Wafer and Lissarague (2008:72–75) collated references (including all of those in Tindale 1974) for each of the varieties and also include a list of alternative spellings of their names.

The Wati-Wati (Piangil) sources listed in 4.3.1 have spellings equivalent to **wat(h)i** for the word for ‘no’, yet the location of the speakers, as discussed in 1.2 below, is the same as the location of Weki-Weki people. As Hercus and Morey stated :

‘The fact emerges that in some of the languages whose name is derived from a negative, that particular ‘no’ word was not the one actually being used at the time that the language was recorded.’ (2008:142).

<sup>3</sup> We cannot be sure whether the initial segment in the name of the Tharti-Tharti was a dental laminal or an alveolar apical. We have written the name with a dental laminal.

There is therefore a distinct possibility that what we call Wati-Wati (Piangil) was in fact the language of Weki-Weki people. As we have no proof that this was so, we will continue to call that variety Wati-Wati (Piangil).

## 1.2 Location of the Tribes

The core of the linguistic material in this study had its origin in a collaboration between Mathi-Mathi man Jack Long (see below 2.1.1) and Luise Hercus. It was a junction of memory and analysis. The languages concerned lie at junctions also: junctions between a number of language groups and in a territory covering the junctions of many rivers.

Sarah Martin in her unpublished November 2000 work on the *Third Mathi-Mathi Native Title Claim* has discovered important early manuscript data on the area. She found that the first pastoralist at Euston was Edmund Morey<sup>4</sup> who was there from about 1848. Morey states that the people at Euston and Lake Benanee were ‘Tati Tati’ and the next group below them were the ‘Larcha Larcha’ (Morey 1893–1908). She also found a letter from G.E. Loonus to R.H. Mathews, writing from Euston on 22.5.1898.

The Euston tribe was called Tartie Tartie which extended 5 miles west of Euston and about 40 miles east of Euston. Between Euston and Wentworth there are two other tribes. Called Lutchi Lutchie and Yirri Yirri. The Lutchie Lutchie tribe used to go south into Victoria as far as Lake Calbert.

The *Yirri Yirri* referred to here is presumably the same as the Nyeri-Nyeri one of the five languages mentioned by Jack Long.

Brough Smyth (1878: Volume I map) shows four groups on the south side of the Murray, which we associate with the languages discussed in the study. First was the *Litchy-litchy* (**Letyi-Letyi**) around Robinvale, then upstream to the *Waiky-waiky* (**Weki-Weki**) around Piangil, the *Watty-watty* (**Wati-Wati**) around Swan Hill and the *Boora-boora* (**PuRa-PuRa**) to the south of Swan Hill. Adding to this, we have Jack Long’s information about the location of the Mathi-Mathi as being spoken “between the Murray and the Balranald district of New South Wales, and as far north as the Lachlan” (Hercus 1986:101).

Howitt (1904:52) lists four of these tribes as follows:

“... about Kulkynne were the Leitchi-leitchi, also on the southern bank. The Weki-weki lived about Pyangil, and between that place and Swan Hill were the Wathi-wathi, and thence to the junction of the Loddon with the Murray the Bura-bura. On the northern side of the Murray, between Wentworth and Euston, was a strong tribe, the Ta-tathi. West of the junction of the Murrumbidgee with the Murray were the Muthi-muthi, and in the junction of these rivers the Withai-ja”

The junction of the Murray and Murrumbidgee rivers, was the country of Jack Long’s step-brother Isaac McDuff, the country of the Weki-Weki. Although there are only a handful of words recorded for the Weki-Weki language, it must have been very close to Mathi-Mathi. The Weki-Weki people are known both from Brough-Smyth’s work, and from a range of local records, in particular the Narung Station diaries, from Police Reports of an Aboriginal man called Billy the Bull<sup>6</sup>, and from the the later testimony of Mary

<sup>4</sup> No relation to one of the co-authors.

<sup>5</sup> Loonus, G.E. 1898. Letter to R.H.Mathews in the Elkin papers, Box 32-1/9/2.

<sup>6</sup> Public Records Office of Victoria; Victorian Public Records Series 937

Moore (December 1962, interview with Catherine Ellis, see 3.3.2 below), we know that they held land on both sides of the Murray River.

The Letyi-Letyi were a little to the west, and it is known from many sources that they were on the south (Victorian) side of the river. It is probable that they had a presence on the north side of the river, as evidenced by the *Lye-tee Lye-tee* word list collected by William Thomas from ‘When-im-mil alias O’Brien’ at Ki Station, west of Euston, NSW. There is no further definite information of any additional territory on the north side of the Murray. It seems that the Mournpool lakes, now in the Hattah-Kulkyne National Park, was part of their territory, as Letyi-Letyi man John Mack is described in Berndt and Berndt (1964) as “John Mack of the Munpul”. In Smyth’s map (1878: Volume 1, map), this area is shown as *Yairy-yairy*, which appears to have been a Lower Murray language. As we shall see in 2.2 below, one of John Mack’s sons was named after Lake Rungki; a place name that is associated with the Murray River languages, since Kulin languages did not have initial /r/.

Other place associations of the Letyi-Letyi can be found from the place of collection of the other word lists discussed below in 4.1. Of these lists, both Curr and MacIntyre collected their lists from Kulkyne, which would concur with the information about John Mack already discussed above. Another list in Curr (1886) was collected by F. Corney at Bumbang, just north of Robinvale.

As we have already mentioned, and will discuss in more detail in Sections 4.2 and 4.3, on linguistic criteria we identify two groups that share the name Wati-Wati. Humphrey Davy’s word list in Mathew (1899) identifies the group that is linguistically Wati-Wati (Piangil) as being on the New South Wales side on the Lower Lachlan and Murrumbidgee, in other words opposite where Smyth places the Weki-Weki and Letyi-Letyi. The association of the Wati (Piangil) groups with the lower Murrumbidgee is also confirmed by Davy’s letter to Mathew (parts of which are transcribed in 4.3.1 below).

The Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) group has closer associations with the Victorian side of the Murray. Much of the data on this group was collected by the Beveridge brothers, whose station was at Tyntynder, some 16 miles north of the present Swan Hill, on the Victorian side. We have no linguistic data collected for this group from the other side of the river in New South Wales. They did spend time there, however, as shown in the drawing by Ludwig Becker, a member of the Burke and Wills Expedition, of a group of Wati-Wati people camped at Speewa on the Murray in New South Wales just downstream from Tyntynder (Tipping 1979:55).<sup>7</sup>

Present day place names suggest that the territory of the Wati-Wati did not extend much south of the present day Swan Hill, nor did it extend far into New South Wales. Consider place names such as Cunninyeuk, north-east of Swan Hill before reaching Moulamein, which has the identifiable Wemba-Wemba **-uk** (3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessor) suffix. Cunninyeuk was thus presumably in the Wemba-Wemba area and its name is the same as *Gunneneuk*, recorded by Stone (1911) for Wemba-Wemba with the meaning ‘net peg’. It probably means something like ‘his club’ when referring to this place name.

The most upstream group of the Mathi speaking peoples was the PuRa-PuRa whose area probably extended along the Murray River somewhat to the east of Swan Hill and away from the river reached northward to around Poon Boon in New South Wales. They were also known as the

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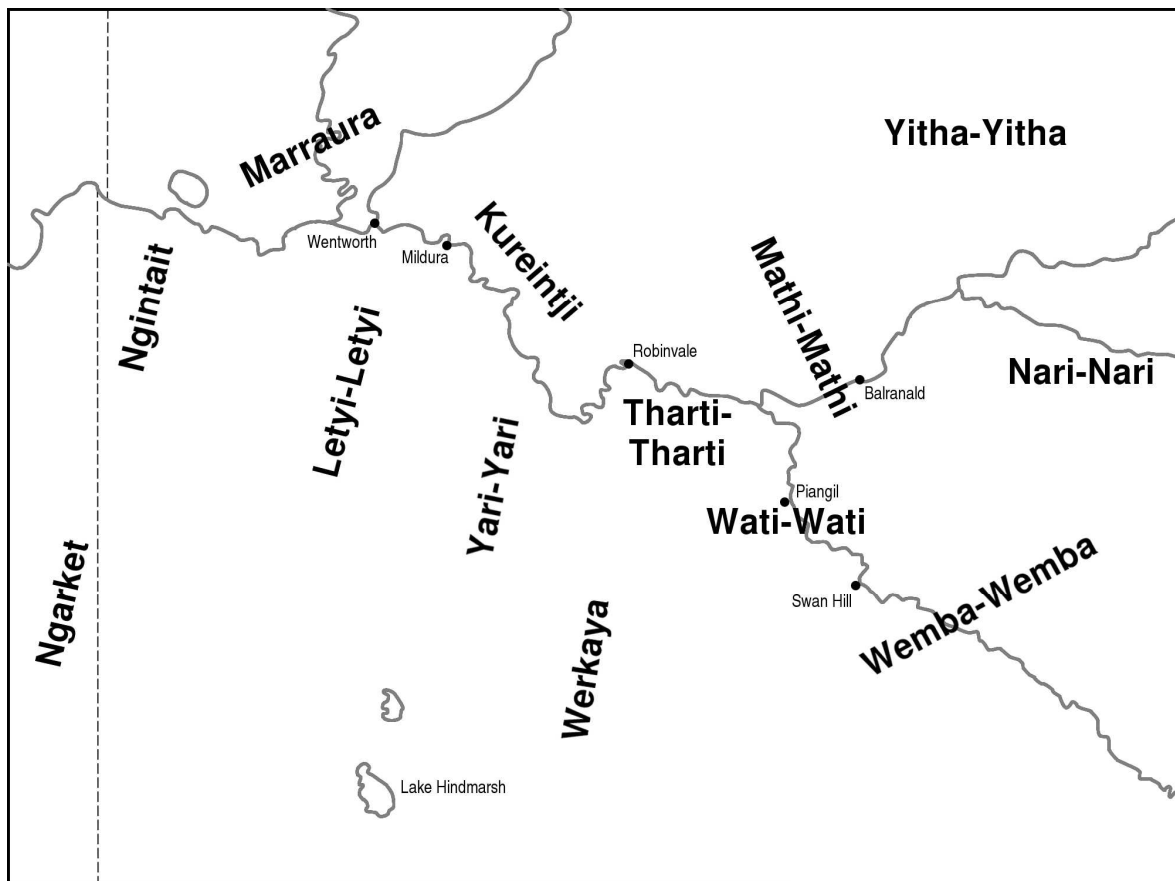
<sup>7</sup> There is also a very fine drawing of Beckers showing two women mourning (Tipping 1979:59), incorrectly listed as Mathi-Mathi, as shown by Hercus (1989).

Burrawaiu<sup>8</sup>. The location of the Mathi group of languages and neighbouring languages is shown in Map 1.

### 1.3 Linguistic relationships

#### 1.3.1 Relationships with languages outside the Mathi group

To show how the Mathi languages can be distinguished from other languages of the area we present the following lexicostatistical tables showing percentages of shared vocabulary. Table 1 includes most of the languages of Victoria including three closely related Kulin languages: Eastern Kulin covers a number of closely related dialects including Woiwurrung from the Melbourne area and Thagungwurrung from the Goulburn Valley, Wathawurrung is a language from the Geelong-Ballarat area, and Western Kulin is a mega-language that covered western Victoria north of a line running from Hamilton to Ballarat and extended into southwest New South Wales and southeast South Australia. These classifications are based on Blake and Reid (1998a). The other languages included in Table 1 are quite distinct from Kulin and from one another. However, information on the Colac language is meagre and the relationship of this language to Kulin is uncertain.



Map 1: Location of Mathi-Mathi and neighbouring languages.

<sup>8</sup> The place name *Burra Burra*, the next run downstream from Piangil, which was probably pronounced /paRa paRa/, had no relation to the name of this group.

The figures in Table 1 are based on 100 words of shared vocabulary, except those involving Yabula-Yabula, where the sources are scanty. ‘Western Kulin’ in Table 1 represents an amalgam of three closely-related dialects, namely Wemba-Wemba, Werkaya and Tjapwurrung.

The lexicostatistical relationships within Western Kulin are shown in Table 2. Notice first that all the figures are over 50% whereas all the figures in Table 1 are below 50%.

Table 1: Victoria: percentages of common vocabulary

	WK	Bu	Warr	Col	Wa	EK	YY	Ya	Dhu	Pall	Gipps
Western Kulin		31	39	31	44	41	15	23	22	20	16
Buwandik			35	20	17	23	15	11	11	10	10
Warrnambool				23	26	30	12	16	10	14	18
Colac					34	32	17	11	19	20	19
Wathawurrung						46	15	15	14	16	18
Eastern Kulin							13	15	20	22	27
Yota-Yota								37	18	27	20
Yabula-Yabula									18	20	14
Dhudhuroa										31	13
Pallanganmiddang											16
Gippsland											

Table 2: Western Kulin: percentages of common vocabulary  
(Mathi group percentages shown in shading)

	WB	Ma	Le	WS	WP	Wer	Tjap	Dja
Wemba-Wemba		70	72	75	60	86	82	72
Mathi-Mathi			81	81	66	75	66	62
Letyi-Letyi				83	57	77	68	57
Wati (Swan Hill)					64	81	71	65
Wati (Piangil)						54	54	54
Werkaya							87	70
Tjapwurrung								81
Djadjawurrung								

On the basis of these figures we can see that Mathi-Mathi, Letyi-Letyi and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) cohere in that they share over 80% of vocabulary, but Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) shares 81% with the Werkaya (Wimmera) language and 75% with Wemba-Beraba. Wati-Wati (Piangil) does not share a significantly higher percentage with the other three than with other tongues in Western Kulin. However, Wati-Wati (Piangil) does share with Mathi-Mathi, Letyi-Letyi and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) a small number of features that are not found outside this group. These are as follows:

- (1) (a) **yiti** 'I'  
 (b) the absence of final **-k** on possessor suffixes, yielding **-u** (third person singular possessor) and **-ngura** (first person plural possessor)  
 (c) the suffix **-(ng)ai** (first person singular possessor)  
 (d) the nominative suffix **-(ng)i**  
 (e) lack of bound subject and object markers'

These five features will be used as a defining diagnostic for the Mathi group of languages. In Mathi-Mathi, and possibly in the other members of the proposed group, in a number of environments, the nominative **-(ng)i** is associated with a shift of accent from the first syllable in words that have two syllables in the other Kulin tongues and, because of the final nominative suffix, have three syllables in Mathi-Mathi. This is discussed in detail in 3.1.6. In the other languages of the group, the only evidence for this stress shift is in the Wati-Wati word list recorded by Hercus (1986:231), where only two words have non-initial main stress, **kàrráwi** 'big' and **miláki** 'dust, ashes'. Both of these Wati-Wati forms are identical to the forms for the same words in Mathi-Mathi. See Table 63 below.

The loss of final **-k** on possessor suffixes appears to be related to a general tendency towards vocalic finals in Mathi-Mathi, and indeed in all the languages of the group, possibly under the influence of Paakantyi. A second element of Paakantyi influence is the borrowing of Paakantyi 1<sup>st</sup> person singular suffix **-ayi** into the languages of the Mathi group (where it is notated as **-ai**), replacing the general Kulin **-ik**.

There are a few lexical items found in these three languages but not in Kulin in general. Some of these are shown in Table 3, where a blank indicates that no word with that meaning has been recorded in the sources, and the words in parentheses are recorded but not claimed to be distinctive vocabulary. Some of these words are probably borrowed from the neighbouring Murray River languages, such as **maki~matyi** 'stone' which is probably borrowed from Yitha-Yitha, regularised by Horgen 2004 as **mA(:)k**; similar forms are found in Keramin and Yaralde.

Table 3: Lexical items in Mathi languages not found in Kulin in general.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati (Swan Hill)	Wati (Piangil)	Kulin
and	<b>nga</b>		<b>nga</b>		<b>pa</b>
by and by <sup>9</sup>	<b>tharti</b>	<b>ta(r)tim</b>	<b>ta(r)ti</b>		<b>kathang</b> WW <b>nhumiyt</b> Tjap
cockatoo, white	<b>kìrréndi</b> 'corella'	<b>kawa</b>	<b>keRangi, keRanyi</b>	<b>kaRangi, kaRandi</b>	
lightning	<b>tuluwipa</b> <sup>10</sup>		<b>tuluwi</b>	<b>tulipuwi</b>	<b>wilem</b> Wer, Tjap
long ago	<b>thàlékata</b> <sup>11</sup>		<b>tyaleka</b>		
nose	<b>thindi</b>	<b>tyandyi</b>	<b>tyandyi</b>	<b>tyandhi</b>	<b>karr</b>
quick	<b>lirrka</b>	<b>(minino)</b>	<b>lirrka</b>	<b>(minanawu)</b>	
sister, younger	<b>(perati)</b>	<b>mini</b>	<b>mini</b>	<b>mini</b>	<b>kutuk</b>
speak, say	<b>yárna</b>	<b>yarna</b>	<b>lata</b>	<b>latuna</b>	<b>kiya</b>
stone	<b>(kùthápi)</b>	<b>maki</b>	<b>maki</b>	<b>matyi</b>	<b>kutyap</b> Wer
swell up, full	<b>wawunatha</b> <sup>12</sup>		<b>wawaya</b>	<b>wawuna</b>	
woman, young	<b>mùrrúnhi</b>	<b>muRunyi</b>	<b>muRunyu(R)</b>	<b>muRuingi, muRuinyi</b>	

As noted above, Wati-Wati (Piangil) does not share a significantly higher percentage with the other three members of the proposed Mathi group than with other tongues in Western Kulin. In fact the 57% it shares with Letyi-Letyi is not significantly higher than the 54% it shares with the Wimmera Language, Tjapwurrung and Djadjawurrung. This low lexicostatistical count reflects the fact that it contains more items in common with nearby Murray River languages, most notably Yitha-Yitha, than the other three tongues do. Mathi-Mathi shares 18% of vocabulary with Yitha-Yitha, Letyi-Letyi shares 22%, Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) 27%, but Wati-Wati (Piangil) shares 35%.

The relationships between languages of the Mathi group and the Murray River languages are illustrated in Table 4. In this table, the Yitha-Yitha forms are those given in Horgen (2004), except for the word **rindi** 'river', a Tharti-Tharti form recorded in Hercus (1986).

<sup>9</sup> See Hercus and Morey (2008) for a discussion of the similarity between these words and the ethnonym Tharti-Tharti.

<sup>10</sup> Mathew (1899:215) records the word *dhyulipuk* as the word for 'lightning' at Gunbower, a source for BaRapa-BaRapa.

<sup>11</sup> These forms are clearly cognate with WW **tyelik-tyelik**, Wer **tyaliki** and similar forms in other Kulin languages but with a narrower meaning, 'yesterday'.

<sup>12</sup> These forms are perhaps related to the either Werkaya **werwa** 'to swell up (of sores, or of a damper)', Hercus 1986:212 or **waiwa** 'rise up' Hercus 1986:212



Table 4: Comparison of Mathi group languages with Yitha-Yitha.

	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)	Wati-Wati (Piangil)	Yitha-Yitha
bark (trees)	<b>míthu</b>	<b>nguRi</b>	<b>mityu nguRi-</b>	<b>ngo(r)ti</b>	<b>ngurt</b>
skin	<b>míthu</b>	<b>mitya, mityi</b>	<b>mityi</b>	<b>luku</b>	<b>luk</b>
bone	<b>kálki</b>	<b>kalk</b>	<b>kalki</b>	<b>kalki, pimbo</b>	<b>biyim</b>
cheek		<b>taiki</b>	<b>tiRk(i)</b>	<b>nurni</b>	<b>ti:k</b>
ear	<b>wímbul-</b>	<b>wimbuli</b>	<b>wiRimbul</b>	<b>ma(R)ki</b>	<b>marl</b>
man, old	<b>nhàrrámbin</b>	<b>ngaRambin</b>	<b>ngaRambin</b>	<b>pokongi</b>	<b>pik-(war)</b>
pelican	<b>pàthángal</b>	<b>partangil</b>	<b>partangal</b>	<b>ninangguRe</b>	<b>nenangu</b>
rain	<b>mìtháki</b>	<b>mandji</b>	<b>mirti</b>	<b>matyeRi, makaRi</b>	<b>maka-</b>
river, creek	<b>tíndi</b>		<b>parniwaRu</b>	<b>yeRani</b>	<b>rindi</b>
shield		<b>kiyami</b>	<b>keRami</b>	<b>maRkangi</b>	<b>murkang</b>
sister, elder	<b>tháthi</b>	<b>tyatyí, mini-</b>	<b>tatyí, mini</b>	<b>tati, mini-</b>	<b>may-uk</b>
star	<b>túrti</b>	<b>turti</b>	<b>turti</b>	<b>turti, tingi</b>	<b>turt-i: dingi:</b>
stone	<b>kùthápi</b>	<b>kuthapi, maki</b>	<b>maki</b>	<b>kwiaRpi, matyi</b>	<b>mA(:)k</b>
tomahawk	<b>pàthíki</b>	<b>patiki</b>	<b>parti</b>	<b>thayini</b>	<b>thariing<sup>13</sup></b>
yesterday	<b>kíla nhàwiki</b>	<b>tyilalu</b>	<b>kaRalko</b>	<b>kalko</b>	<b>ka(:)lkUn</b>

The words for ‘bark’ and ‘skin’ have been grouped together, because in Mathi-Mathi these words are the same (**míthu**). In Wati-Wati (Piangil), however, it seems that there were two different terms used for ‘skin’ and ‘bark’, perhaps as a result of influence from Yitha-Yitha. In the sources we have for both Wati-Wati (Piangil) and Letyi-Letyi, the Yitha-Yitha form is used for ‘bark’, but not for ‘skin’.

For many of the words in Table 4, one or more but not all of the Mathi group languages have forms that are similar to Yitha-Yitha. Often it is only the Wati-Wati (Piangil) word that is similar to Yitha-Yitha, as we see in the words for ‘bone’, ‘ear’, ‘old man’, ‘pelican’, ‘rain’, ‘shield’, ‘skin’, ‘star’ and ‘tomahawk’. However, there are a number of words where the Yitha-Yitha form is similar to several of the Mathi group, as ‘bark’ and ‘yesterday’ in both Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and Wati-Wati (Piangil). There are a small number of words such as those for ‘cheek’ and ‘river’, in which the Yitha-Yitha form shows similarity to Mathi group languages other than Wati-Wati (Piangil). This distribution suggests that the contact between Yitha-Yitha and Piangil speakers was richer than between Yitha-Yitha and other Mathi tongues.

Although the lexicon of Wati-Wati (Piangil) is less consistent with the rest of the Mathi group, this variety does exhibit a number of the features otherwise exclusive to Mathi-

<sup>13</sup> This form was not regularised by Horgen, but is the original form given by J.A. Macdonald for an ‘axe (tomahawk)’ (Horgen 2004:23).

Mathi, Letyi-Letyi and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), listed in (1) above. It has the nominative suffix *-i*, and the forms recorded for ‘I’ are *nete*, *nitte* and *ynethi*. This suggests **nyit(h)i** or **ngit(h)i** (see Table 95 in 4.3.2.3 below). We consider that the form in the other Mathi dialects, **yiti**, is likely to derive from a form with an initial velar nasal, and it may be that the Wati-Wati (Piangil) form represents an earlier form from which **yiti** derived.

The evidence presented here about Wati-Wati (Piangil) may not be sufficient to justify grouping Wati-Wati (Piangil) with the other three. Nevertheless we include it here both because it meets the diagnostic tests in (1), and because it is convenient when it comes to looking at sound correspondences in the area.

It should be made clear that in quoting words and features common to the proposed Mathi group, we are not implying that these are necessarily innovations and a basis for sub-grouping. The distinctive root for ‘nose’, for instance, shown in Table 3 is found in Dhudhuroa in northeastern Victoria as **dhindiwa**<sup>14</sup>.

In general nouns ending in a vowel or the glide **r** acquire a velar nasal augment in Eastern Kulin, Wathawurrung and the Warrnambool Language. This nasal contrasts with a word-final nasal that is part of the root in that the latter appears in the Western Kulin and Buwandik, neither of which augment. This **ng** also appears in all the tongues of the Mathi group, but it is followed by the nominative *-i*, listed above as one of the distinguishing features of the group. The words in Table 5 illustrate the distribution of **ng** in the Mathi group, Werkaya (representing Western Kulin) and Woiwurrung (representing Eastern Kulin). The forms for ‘knee’ illustrate the contrasting behaviour of a final velar nasal that is part of the root. The forms for ‘camp’ illustrate roots in *-r*. This rhotic is lost in Letyi-Letyi and palatalised in Mathi-Mathi and Wati-Wati (P).

Table 5: Velar nasal augment in Kulin languages

	‘crow’	‘foot’	‘hand’	‘man’	‘teeth’	‘knee’	‘camp’
Werkaya	<b>wa</b>	<b>tyina</b>	<b>manya</b>	<b>wutyu</b>	<b>liya</b>	<b>patying</b>	<b>lar</b>
Woiwurrung	<b>wang</b>	<b>tyinang</b>	<b>marnang</b>	-	<b>liyang</b>	<b>parring</b>	
Mathi-Mathi	<b>wangi</b>	<b>thinangi</b>	<b>manhangi</b>	<b>wuthungi</b>	<b>liya(ngi)</b>	<b>pathenggi</b>	<b>lengi</b>
Letyi-Letyi	<b>wangi</b>	<b>tyinangi</b>	<b>man(h)angi</b>	<b>wurtungi</b>	<b>liyangi</b>	<b>parting(g)i</b>	<b>langi</b>
Wati-Wati (SH)	<b>wangi</b>	<b>tyinangi</b>	<b>marna(ngi)</b>	<b>wurtungi</b>	<b>liyangi</b>	<b>parting(g)i</b>	<b>lurngi</b>
Wati-Wati (P)	-	<b>tyinangi</b>	<b>marnangi</b>	<b>wungi</b>	-		<b>layngi</b>

With nouns ending in a palatal nasal the palatal becomes a velar in the Mathi group, and, at least in Mathi-Mathi, the velar nasal augment or the initial velar of a suffix or enclitic dissimilates to a velar stop (as with the root-final velar nasal in **pathenggi**). This is shown in Table 6

<sup>14</sup> Even with clear innovations there is a problem of distinguishing an innovation in a proto-language and an innovation that spreads through daughters of a proto-language.

Table 6: Final palatal nasal reflexes in Mathi languages

	‘dark’, ‘night’	‘coals’	‘berry’	‘tongue’
Werkaya	<b>puruyn</b>	<b>wiriyn</b>	<b>tilayn</b>	<b>tyali</b> (<*tyalayn)
Woiwurrung	<b>puruyn</b>			<b>tyalang</b>
Mathi-Mathi	<b>puwinggi</b>	<b>winggi</b>	<b>tilanggi</b>	<b>thalingi</b>
Letyi-Letyi	<b>pungi, pundji</b>			<b>thalingi</b>
Wati-Wati (SH)	<b>puRung(gi)</b>		<b>tilayn</b>	<b>thalingi</b>
Wati-Wati (P)	<b>puRung(gi)</b>			<b>thalingi</b>

There is a widespread root for ‘tongue’ with a final palatal, namely **thalayn**, but some languages both in Victoria and elsewhere lack the final palatal. The Mathi group may have inherited such a form. This may account for the contrast between **puwinggi** and **thalingi**.

The velar nasal augment and **-i**, which from the historical point of view would appear to represent another augment, effectively produce a nominative **-ngi** for vowel-final stems. In (2) we have partial case paradigms for **wuthu** ‘man’ representing the majority of vowel-final stems and **kuyuni** ‘long spear’ representing the majority of consonant-final stems. Further details are given in 3.2.3.

(2)		‘man’	‘spear’
	nominative	<b>wuthungi</b>	<b>kuyuni</b>
	ergative	<b>wuthungu</b>	<b>kuyunu</b>
	oblique	<b>wuthuka</b>	<b>kuyuna</b>

### 1.3.2 Sound correspondences within the Mathi Group

#### *Correspondence of th-(r)t-R*

A number of sound correspondences can be observed across the languages of Victoria and surrounding areas and some of these divide the Mathi group (Hercus 1986, Blake and Reid 1998a). One of these involves intervocalic **ty/th-(r)t-R**. The laminal **th** is found in Mathi-Mathi and Wemba-Wemba, the laminal **ty** in Werkaya, Yartwatjali and Tjapwurrung. The form **rt** is found in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and south to the Pyrennees. This includes *Mirdiragoort* (represented only by List 200, Curr III: 446–7) and western Djadjawurrung. In Letyi-Letyi, where the data is not sufficiently rich to allow us to be sure about the place of articulation of the stop, we have mostly written **t**, though there is a probable retroflex in **wurtungi** ‘man’ and **partangal** ‘pelican’. A rhotic is found in the eastern variety of Djadjawurrung and in the languages of central and southwestern Victoria. Apart from their inherent interest these correspondences are useful in identifying sources. They are illustrated in Table 7. Djadjawurrung (at least the eastern variety recorded by E.S. Parker 1854, 1878 and J. Parker 1878) is included as an example of a language where the relevant consonant is a rhotic. It is likely that in Djadjawurrung there was a contrast between **rr** and **r**. The words listed in Table 7 probably all had **rr**, but we are writing **R** because of lack of good recordings of Djadjawurrung. The word **paRing** ‘knee’ (presumably **parring**) would have contrasted with **paRing** ‘track’ which was presumably **paring**, as suggested by its Wemba-Wemba cognate **paring**, the latter cognate set being shown in parentheses.

Table 7: th-t-rt-rr correspondences

English	Wemba	Mathi	Letyi	Wati (SH)	Wati (P)	Djadja-wurrung
	<b>th</b>	<b>th</b>	t/rt	rt	<b>th</b>	<b>R</b>
arm	<b>thathakuk</b>	<b>tháthaki</b>		<b>t(h)arta</b>	<b>t(h)aki</b>	<b>thaRak</b>
broilga	<b>kuthun</b>	<b>kùthúni</b>	<b>kutuni</b>	<b>kurtuni</b>		<b>kuRun</b>
dive	<b>puthekila</b>	<b>pùthúkatha</b>		<b>putu-</b>		
feather	<b>withən</b>	<b>wìthíni</b>		<b>wirtin(i)</b>		<b>wiRayn</b>
		Wer. <b>wityan</b>				
fly, a	<b>pithik</b>	<b>pìthíki</b>	<b>pitiki</b>	<b>pirti</b>	<b>pithi</b>	<b>piRik</b>
hail(stone)	<b>pathak</b>			<b>partawi</b>		
hot (time)	<b>karrthi</b>	<b>káthai</b>	<b>kati</b>	<b>karti</b>		<b>kaRayi</b>
knee (track)	<b>pathingguk (paring)</b>	<b>pàthéngi</b>	<b>partingi</b>	<b>partingi (paRi)</b>		<b>paRing (paRing)</b>
man	<b>wuthu</b>	<b>wùthúngi</b>	<b>wu(r)tungi</b>	<b>wurtungi</b>	<b>wungi</b>	<b>wuthu</b>
man white / spirit	<b>ngatha</b> ‘devil’		<b>ngatangi</b>	<b>nga(r)tangi</b>		
moon	<b>mithiyən</b>	<b>mìthíen</b>	<b>mitiyan</b>	<b>mi(r)tiyan</b>	-	
pelican		<b>pàthángal</b>	<b>pa(r)tangal</b>	<b>partangal</b>		<b>paRangal</b>
plenty			<b>kitawi</b>	<b>kirtawil</b>		<b>kityawil (Wa)</b>
rain	<b>mithək</b>	<b>mìtháki</b>		<b>mirti</b>	<b>matyerri</b>	
return	<b>withəwa</b>	<b>wìthíwatha</b>		<b>wirtuwa</b>		
son	<b>wathip, watyip</b>	<b>wathayu</b>	<b>watapi</b>	<b>warta(pi)</b>		
tail		<b>wìtháng(i)</b>		<b>wirt-mum</b>		<b>wiRang (Warr)</b>
taste, to		<b>pàtháima</b>		<b>partama</b>		
tomahawk		<b>pàthíki</b>	<b>patiki</b>	<b>parti</b>		<b>paRik</b>
water	<b>katən</b>	<b>kàthíni</b>	<b>katini</b>	<b>kartini kayani,</b>	<b>kayini</b>	
when	<b>nyatyərruwa</b>			<b>nharterru</b>		
whistle	<b>wirta</b>	<b>wírngatha</b>		<b>wirta</b>		<b>wiRa-</b>
wife	<b>mathimuk</b>	<b>màthím(i)</b>	<b>matumi</b>	<b>martumi</b>		

The most consistent feature of Table 7 is that where there is a dental laminal stop /th/ in Mathi-Mathi there is a retroflex stop in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill). This correspondence holds regardless of the position of stress in the Mathi-Mathi exemplar, so there is a /th/~rt/ correspondence for **pàthángal** ‘pelican’ which has second syllable stress in Mathi-Mathi, and the same correspondence is found for **káthai** ‘hot’ which has first syllable stress.

A couple of the Wemba-Wemba forms in Table 7, **nyatyərruwa** ‘when’ and **wirta** ‘whistle’ do not have laminal dentals in the position expected. Unfortunately no cognates for these words were recorded in Mathi-Mathi, though we would expect them to have laminal dental **th**.

There is one exception to the correspondence between Mathi-Mathi and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), the well-attested word for ‘water’, which is **kàthíni** in Mathi-Mathi and shows up in two forms, **kartini** and **kayini** in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill). The former is the expected

form, but the latter is found in all the sources recorded by Peter Beveridge, though not those recorded by his brother John.

The dental laminal /th/ is not entirely missing in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), being reasonably frequent in initial position. In medial position, however, it is rare, with only the examples in (3) being found, save for some words that are probably compounds such as **kilothakil** ‘good way off’ which incorporates a demonstrative **kilu-**.

- (3) **puthuma** ‘burn’ (no Mathi-Mathi cognate) (Wan, **patangpa**, Bung **patamputu**)  
**lathu** ‘empty’ (no Mathi-Mathi cognate) (Letyi **letyi** ‘no’), (WW **latyuk** ‘naked’)  
**watha** ‘to leave’ (no Mathi-Mathi cognate)  
**puthu** ‘liver’ (Mathi-Mathi **púthu**) (WW, Bung, Wan, War **puth**, Wa **puyt**, CV **puyt**, **puth**)  
**lutha** ‘to pull’ (no Mathi-Mathi cognate)

Only the word for ‘liver’ has a /th/ in medial position in both Mathi-Mathi and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) with a word that is clearly cognate. It is noteworthy that all of the words for which there is a /th/ ~ /rt/ correspondence between the two varieties listed in Table 7, are trisyllabic. As discussed below in 4.2.2.1, there is some doubt as to whether /th/ can be regarded as a separate phoneme in Wati (Swan Hill), or an allophone of /ty/. Regardless of this, certainly the word **puthu** ‘liver’ in (3) does not exhibit the correspondence of /th/ ~ /rt/.

### **Rhotics**

Another sound correspondence that divides the Mathi group involves the treatment of medial clusters the first member of which is the retroflex glide **r** (See Hercus 1986 for the first report of this correspondence). Clusters with **r** as the first member that can be found in other Kulin languages outside the Mathi group are reflected intact in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), but in the other three languages the rhotic is generally lost. As we can see in Table 8, this is the case for all the words in Letyi-Letyi for which we have records. In Mathi-Mathi and Wati-Wati (Piangil) it is often reflected as a high front segment (**i** or **y**). In Mathi-Mathi where the preceding vowel is **i**, there is no reflection of the rhotic (but see **wáiwatha** ‘to climb’ from \***wirwa**). Where the vowel is **a**, the **a** and the high front segment combine to yield **e** (See the entry for ‘camp’, for instance). In Wati-Wati (Piangil) this may occur also, it is a matter of how the digraph *ai* in the sources is interpreted. We have tentatively taken it to represent [**ai**], but it could be [**e**]. We can therefore see that in Wati-Wati (Piangil), the segments /uR/ and /iR/ in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), corresponding to /ar/ and /er/~ir/ in other Kulin languages, are realised as /ai/. In Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) where the rhotic is retained, the vowel **a** in Kulin seems to be reflected as **u** (spelled *oo* in the sources). See the entries for ‘camp’ and ‘cloud’. Since we cannot be sure that the rhotic in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) is a retroflex glide, rather than a flap or trill that we write as **rr** in Mathi-Mathi, all the forms with the rhotic in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) are written with upper case **R**.

In Table 8 we show those varieties that have a rhotic on the left hand side. We presume that the direction of sound change was from **r** > **y** /\_\_C, leading to the creation of a phonetic diphthong, **ai** or **ui**, and a later change from **ai** > **e**.

Table 8: loss of r before a consonant

English	Kulin	Wati (SH)	Wati (P)	Mathi	Letyi
	-rC	-rC	-iC	-(i)C	-C
break	purka	puku, puka		púikilà- ‘grind’	
camp	lar	luRngi	laingi	léngi	langi
catch	kerka (Wer) (karrka WW)	kaRka		kákatha	
cheek		tiRk(i)			tiki
climb	wirwa	wiRwa		wáiwatha	
cloud	marng	muRng(g)i	maingwi	ménggi	
eagle	werpil	wiRpil	waipili <sup>15</sup>		
egg	mirk	miRki	maiki	míki	mik(i)
eye	mir	miRngi, miRenggel	maingi	mir	mingi
hard	tarma	taRma, teRima		ténmatha	terrima
hawk		piRwi		píwi	
mouth	tyarp			thép(i)	thapi
pluck		kiRpa		kípatha	
run	(WW wirra)	wiRwi	waiwi	wúwatha, wárriwulàtha	
turtle	turmi-mum			túimi-mùm	
urine	kir		kimon		

In some instances **r** as the initial member of a cluster is reflected as **rr** in Mathi-Mathi (Hercus 1986:112 and 3.1.2 below).

- (4)
- |             |                    |  |
|-------------|--------------------|--|
|             | <b>Wemba-Wemba</b> | <b>Mathi-Mathi</b>   |
| black       | <b>wurkirrim</b>   | <b>wurrkirrim</b> (Wati-Wati (Piangil) <b>waikiRimbi</b> ) |
| swallow, to | <b>ngurka</b>      | <b>ngurrkatha</b>  |

The word for ‘camp’ in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), given in Table 8 as **luRngi**, has many forms in the sources. For example, Peter Beveridge (E) records *loinoo*<sup>16</sup> for ‘nest’, which appears to be marked by the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessor suffix **-u**. This form appears to indicate that the rhotic has changed to an **i** or **y**. An alternative form *larnoo*, also marked with the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular, is found in John Beveridge, who also gave the form *lingi*. The various forms of the word for ‘camp’ are given in Table 9:

<sup>15</sup> Some of the sources would suggest **wayapili**, a three syllable word. The correspondence of **r > y** however would suggest a diphthong realisation here.

<sup>16</sup> This is incorrectly written as <soinoo> in B2, with the initial clearly an error.

Table 9: Mathi-Mathi and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) forms for ‘camp’

	<b>Mathi-Mathi</b>	<b>Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)</b>	
camp.NOM	<b>léngi</b>	<b>lingi / lengi</b> <b>luRngi</b>	<i>lingi</i> JB <i>lurnge</i> MW
camp.3SG.POSS	<b>lárnú</b>	<b>larnu</b> <b>luinu</b>	<i>larnoo</i> JB, <i>loinoo</i> E

The 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessor form of ‘camp’ as recorded by Peter Beveridge, which we have regularised as **luinu**, appears to show the loss of the rhotic when marked with the **-u** suffix, whereas in Mathi-Mathi the rhotic is preserved when the suffix is added. This is the only case of this phenomenon that has been recorded.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessor marked form for ‘eye’ in Mathi-Mathi is **mírnu**, recorded in several texts. The same form is recorded in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) in several compounds as for example *wirtenmirnoo* ‘eye ball’ as recorded by Peter Beveridge (B2). The nominative form for ‘eye’ in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) appears to be **miRngi**.

There is one curious correspondence for the word ‘mother’ which is apparently **kornu** in Wati-Wati (Piangil), corresponding to a form *kuiniwore* recorded for Wati-Wati (Swan Hill). The medial **ui** in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) perhaps confirms the validity of the form **luinu** for ‘his camp’ in Table 9, but it is certainly curious to find **ui** in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) corresponding to a rhotic in Wati-Wati (Piangil) when the reverse is usually the case as seen in Table 8

Intervocalic **r** is lost in Letyi-Letyi and in many cases in Mathi-Mathi as well. From the entries for ‘lungs’ and ‘name’ it would appear that sequences of **a+i** resulting from the loss of intervocalic **r** merge to yield **e** as in Table 8 above. In this connection it should be noted that the word for ‘cloud’ appears in two forms in Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya, one form with the **r** intervocalic and the other with **r** as the first member of a cluster: Wemba-Wemba **marng** or **marəng**, Werkaya **merng** or **mereng**. The word for ‘eye’ also shows a different pattern. the intervocalic **r** of other Kulin languages is realised in Mathi-Mathi as a retroflex nasal, **rn**, possibly via the path **mir.ngi** > **mir.ni** > **mirni**.

Table 10: loss of intervocalic r

<b>English</b>	<b>Kulin</b>	<b>Mathi</b>	<b>Letyi</b>	<b>Wati (SH)</b>	<b>Wati (P)</b>
coals	WW <b>wiring</b>	<b>winggi</b>			
ear	<b>wirimbul</b>	<b>wimbula</b>	<b>wimbuli</b>	<b>wiRimbul</b>	
lungs	<b>laring</b>	<b>leng</b>		<b>lang</b>	
name, your	<b>nyari</b>	<b>nengi</b>			
night, dark	<b>puruyn</b>	<b>puwinggi,</b> <b>puwindhi</b>	<b>pungi?,</b> <b>pundi</b>	<b>puRung(g)i</b>	<b>puRung(g)i</b>
swan	<b>kunuwar*</b>	<b>kurnwarra</b>	<b>kunuwang</b>	<b>kunuwa(R)</b>	
thigh	<b>karip</b>	<b>kiap(i)</b>		<b>kaRiw(i)</b>	<b>kaRipi</b>
hole	<b>miri</b>	<b>mirni</b>		<b>miRngi</b>	

\***kunuwaRa** in Djadjawurrung and Central Victoria

There are a couple of examples of intervocalic **r** being reflected in Mathi-Mathi as **rr**<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> As discussed below in Section 3.1.1, Mathi-Mathi had only a single rhotic, written **rr**.

(5)		<b>Wemba-Wemba</b>	<b>Mathi-Mathi</b>
	dance, to	<b>waripa</b>	<b>warripa</b>
	left hand	<b>warəngin</b> ('your left hand')	<b>warrangin</b> ('your left hand')

As mentioned below in 3.1.2, there are a few words with initial **pr-** in Mathi-Mathi, such as **prindi** 'hot ashes' and **praku-praka** 'to prod'. There are in fact very few words with initial **pr** in Western Kulin altogether: The two Mathi-Mathi words do not have recorded cognates in other varieties, nor cognates with Wemba-Wemba **prrim** 'well', **prritar**, 'white ant', **prri-tya** 'claypan' and **prriyirrim** 'resin'. There is some reason to believe that a general Kulin initial **pr-** is realised as **pai-/pay-** in Wati-Wati (Piangil), where the word for 'God' is given as **payambul** (*biambule* D; *beambule* MD) a word that we believe refers to the same entity as the two **Bram** brothers of Kulin tradition. The form with initial **pay-** may have been influenced by the name of the main Ancestral Being of Central New South Wales, usually referred to as **Baiami**.

The following generalisations appear to apply to **r**:

- (6.1) Kulin \***rC** > **rC** (Wati-Wati Swan Hill)  
**yC** (Wati-Wati Piangil, Mathi-Mathi)  
**ØC** (Letyi-Letyi)
- (6.2) Kulin \***VrV** > **VrV** (Wati-Wati Swan Hill and Wati-Wati Piangil)  
**VV** (Mathi-Mathi, Letyi-Letyi)

Kulin clusters with the flap or trill **rr** as the first member are reflected without the rhotic in Letyi-Letyi. In the other three tongues there is some inconsistency as can be seen from Table 10. The **rr** is retained in Mathi-Mathi in some words, but not others. Note **puyingga** 'blow' and **kematha** 'vomit', where the former has a high front vowel and the latter an **e** that may reflect **a+i** (or **y**) as in **lengi** etc. in Table 9. With the old sources for Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and Wati-Wati (Piangil) the treatment of **rr** is not always clear, but it appears to have been reflected as a high front segment in **koimbi** 'breast' and **poipi** 'head'.

Table 11: loss of **rr** before a consonant

English	Kulin	Mathi	Letyi	Wati (SH)	Wati(P)
black		wúrrkirrim		wulkawil	waikiRimbi
blood	kurrk	kúrrk(i)	kuki	kuRki	ku(R)ki
blow, to	purrngga	pùyingga			
breast	kurrm		kumbi	koimbi	koimbi
breath	purrkEn WW		puki	paki, poki	
head	purrp	púrrpi	pupi	puRpi, poipi	poipi
quick		lírrki		liRka	
vomit, to	karrma	kématha		kaRma	

The word for 'woman' is **layu** (*laiyoo* K, *lioo* Co, *lio* A, *liue* Mc, *ly eue* Ly, *li-u* Ey) in Letyi-Letyi as opposed to **layuR** in the Swan-Hill dialect of Wati-Wati, **láyurr** in Mathi-Mathi, **layurk** in Djadjala, **lerrk** in Wemba-Wemba and **layuRki** in the Pianggil dialect of Wati-Wati. This suggests that in Letyi-Letyi rhotic loss was even more pervasive than in Mathi-Mathi.



Kulin intervocalic **rr** is usually retained as a rhotic across all varieties, as shown in Table 12. There is inconsistency here as shown by the Wati-Wati (Piangil) form **ngawa** for ‘hair’. There are no other cases of **rr** > **au** (**aw**) in Wati-Wati (Piangil) to complement the cases of **r** > **ai** seen above in Table 8.

Table 12: Retention of intervocalic **rr**

English	Kulin	Mathi	Letyi	Wati (SH)	Wati (P)
emu		kàrríngi	kaR(a)wingi	kuRwingi, kuRwi	
hair	ngarra-	*ngarra-	ngaRa pupi	ngaRanyu	ngawa pupi
man, old	nyarrambin	nhàrrámbin	ngaRambin	ngaRambin	
smoke	purt	pù(rr)índhi	puRingi	puRingi	
woman, young		mùrrúnhí	muRayungi	muRungguR	muRuing-

There are a number of words which in Mathi-Mathi show final **-rr**, such as **piyál-kárr** ‘grub from red gum’ and **pérrerr** ‘swamp’, but we do not have any cognates for these in the other languages.

The following generalisations appear to apply to **rr**:

- (7.1) Kulin \***rrC** > **rrC** (Mathi-Mathi, Wati-Wati Swan Hill)  
**yC** (Wati-Wati Piangil)  
**ØC** (Letyi-Letyi)
- (6.2) Kulin \***VrrV** > **VrrV** (all varieties)

### *Nasals*

Another correspondence involves intervocalic nasals. A laminal nasal, typically dental in Wemba-Wemba and palatal in Werkaya, Yartwatjali and Tjapwurrung, generally corresponds to an apical nasal in the Mathi group, and in Djadjawurrung, Eastern Kulin and Wathawurrung. There are the usual difficulties in interpreting the sources, but at least some tokens are retroflex. In Mathi-Mathi the relevant nasal is different in different words, but more usually apical<sup>18</sup>. The nasal correspondences are shown in Table 13:

<sup>18</sup> By contrast, the Mathi-Mathi correspondence with Wemba-Wemba laminal stops is always a laminal, as shown see in Table 7 above.

Table 13: intervocalic nasal correspondence

English	Kulin	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati (SH)	Wati (P)
	<b>laminal n</b>	<b>apical n</b>	<b>retroflex n</b>	<b>retroflex n</b>	<b>retroflex n</b>
duck	<b>nganyawil*</b>			<b>ngarni*</b>	
fire	<b>wanyap</b>	<b>wanapi</b>	<b>warnapi</b>	<b>warnapi, warnawi</b>	<b>wa(r)napi</b>
food	<b>panyim</b>	<b>panemi</b>	<b>parnimi</b>	<b>parnimi</b>	
hand	<b>manya</b>	<b>manha(ngi)</b>	<b>marnangi</b>	<b>marna(ngi)</b>	<b>ma(r)nangi</b>
rib	<b>lanyi</b>	<b>larni(ngi)</b>		<b>leningi</b>	

\***Nganyawil** is ‘musk duck’ and **ngarni** is ‘wood duck’.

In Mathi-Mathi, the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessor marker (for Class 1 nouns, see 3.2.3) is **-nhu**, which palatalises to [ɲu] after a front vowel (there is no contrast between dental and palatal nasals in Mathi-Mathi, see below 3.1.1). In Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), on the other hand, there is some evidence of a palatal~dental contrast, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessor form is always realised as **-nyu**, regardless of the quality of the previous vowel, as can be seen in Table 14:

Table 14: 3rd Singular possessor marking on Class 1 nouns in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

fruit-3SG.POSS	<b>tyiRi-nyu</b>	<i>chirine</i> w B2
foot-3SG.POSS	<b>tyina-nyu</b>	<i>chinnan</i> ew B2

### ***Weakening / Lenition***

There are several cases where Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) shows a **w** that corresponds to **p**, or more rarely **k**, in the other varieties. Our assumption is that this is a process of **p/k** leniting to **w**. Examples of this sound change are shown in Table 15. In each case, the Swan Hill variety of Wati-Wati always has the lenited **w**, and the Piangil variety always has **p**.

Table 15: Correspondence with /w/ in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati (SH)	Wati (P)
canoe	<b>yúngwip</b>	<b>(lungwi)</b>	<b>yungkuwi</b>	<b>yunggopi</b>
son	<b>wathayu</b>	<b>watapi</b>	<b>*wartiwi</b>	
stomach		<b>wutyupi</b>	<b>*wutyiwi</b>	
thigh			<b>*keRiwi</b>	<b>keRipi</b>
fire	<b>wànápi</b>	<b>wanapi, winapi, wunapi</b>	<b>wanapi, wanawi</b>	<b>wanapi, winapi, wunapi</b>
heel	<b>kànáku</b> ‘his heel’		<b>kanawu</b> ‘his heel’	
having suffix	<b>-wil</b>	<b>-kil</b>	<b>-wil</b>	
go fishing	<b>yuka</b> (see (223))	<b>yuwa</b> (see 239b)		

As we can see with the words for ‘son’, ‘stomach’ and ‘fire’, Letyi-Letyi **p** corresponds to Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) **w**, and with the words for ‘canoe’, ‘thigh’ and ‘fire’ Wati-Wati

(Piangil) **p** corresponds to Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) **w**. The correspondences with **k** are fewer, but in each case Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) has **w**.

On the other hand, the word for 'burn' which is **walpa** in Kulin languages like Werkaya and Wemba-Wemba and also in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) is **wálwa** in Mathi-Mathi.

### **Palatalisation**

In Wati-Wati (Piangil) the two sources in Curr, namely Macredie and Curr himself, show palatalisation of a velar stop (written *k* or *g*) to a palatal stop or similar (written *ch*). This occurs before a high, front vowel *i* as might be expected, but there are two examples where the vowel is *a*. Since this palatalisation is confined to two sources, the examples will be given in the original spelling. The abbreviations for the sources in Curr are Macredie (M) and Curr, Piangil (P). The other sources used for comparison are Davey (D) and Larmer (L).

(8)	English	Davy, etc.	Macredie and Curr, Piangil
	white cockatoo	<i>whalakeli</i> D	<i>willachali</i> M, <i>walechin</i> P
	rain	<i>muggaree</i> L, <i>mukaria</i> D (Yitha-Yitha <i>maggur</i> , Keramin <i>makkri</i> , ultimately borrowed from Paakantyi <b>makara</b> 'rain')	<i>maitcheri</i> M, <i>maicheri</i> P
	stone	<i>mukki</i> (WW Swan Hill) (Yitha-Yitha <i>maak</i> ; northern Paakantyi dialects <b>maku</b> )	<i>matchi</i> M
	tooth	<i>naroki</i> D	<i>ngarochi</i> P
	woman, old	<i>kuambiliki</i> D (probably a borrowing of Paakantyi <b>kumbaka</b> )	<i>tillibillechi</i> P

Note also that Mathi-Mathi, Letyi-Letyi **karriki** 'spear thrower' shows up in the Piangil source as *chaieki*, presumably **tyayiki**. The change of intervocalic **r** to **y** is independently attested (see Table 7 above). Note too that a velar stop before nominative **-i**, as in this example, is unaffected. The Piangil source contains the words *naiki* 'today' and *narochi* 'food'. The first appears not to reflect palatalisation, but we do have cognates in Wemba-Wemba **nyawik-nyawik** 'daily'. For the second, we would hope to find a form *naRoki* in a source other than Macredie or Curr, Piangil. Curr also has *natchi* for 'to see', but it is not certain whether there is an inflected form **\*nhaki** in one of the other Wati-Wati (Piangil) sources.

## 1.4 Mathi-Mathi orthography

The orthography employed in this work is based upon the following principles:

- (9)
1. All stops to are voiceless, as **thípu** ‘small heap of ashes’. The only exception to this is the second member in homorganic nasal cluster which is written voiced, as **painggu** ‘child’.
  2. In the word list and where it is judged relevant, accent is notated for Mathi-Mathi words
  3. In Letyi-Letyi, Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and Wati-Wati (Piangil), there are cases where we cannot be sure if a particular consonant is present or not. The possible consonant is shown in parentheses. For example, **moReng(g)omi** ‘bee’ is attested in both B2 and E as *morengomie*. It is not clear whether there is a homorganic nasal cluster or not, so **ng(g)** is written.
  4. Palatals are written as **ty**, **ny** and **ly**. In the few cases where we appear to have a word-final palatal nasal or lateral we write **yn** and **yl** respectively.
  5. Mathi-Mathi has only four vowels, **i**, **e**, **a**, **u**. For Letyi-Letyi, Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and Wati-Wati (Piangil), /o/ is posited when it is the only vowel attested, as in **moReng(g)omi** ‘bee’ above.
  6. Hyphens are used to indicate multi-morphemic forms, such as **práku-pràka** ‘prod with spear’.

### 1.4.1 Diphthongs:

The most challenging aspect from the orthographic point of view is how to notate phonetic diphthongs and vowel sequences. Although many Australian languages do not have phonetic diphthongs and vowel sequences, Mathi-Mathi clearly does, as witnessed by the word for ‘child’, first notated [‘baingʊ] (Hercus 1986:215). In this book stress is notated with accents, so we would write [báingʊ].

Most descriptions of Australian languages would analyse the [ai] in [báingʊ] as a combination of vowel and semivowel, or possibly vowel, semivowel and vowel, in other words writing **paynggu** or **payinggu**. Analyses such as these follow the principles for Australian languages in Dixon (2002:552) that “(a) Every syllable involves just one vowel; (b) There are no sequences of vowels.”

The stress rules of Mathi-Mathi rule out the analysis **payinggu**, an analysis that would suggest this word has three syllables. As we will see in 3.1.7.2 below, where the second syllable of word begins with a single laminal, alveolar or retroflex segment, like /y/, the second syllable is accented, as [gùyúnɪ] ‘a large spear’. If the vowel sequence in [báingʊ] was analysed as /ayi/ we would expect [bayíngʊ] but this is not found.

In order to follow the principles in Dixon (2002), we would therefore need to write **paynggu**, an analysis that would require a cluster of three consonants, /y/ /ng/ and /k/<sup>19</sup>, and it would be the only such cluster in Mathi-Mathi. Medial clusters of three consonants are found in other Australian languages (see Dixon 2002:656–7), who reports that such “triconsonantal clusters typically consist of liquid (or y) plus nasal plus stop”. This is exactly the pattern we find here and would seem to suggest that there is no need for a diphthong analysis of such vowel sequences.

<sup>19</sup> Following the principle laid out in 1.4 above, in homorganic nasal-stop clusters, the stop is written voiced. It is certainly pronounced voiced on all occasions in that position.

Earlier publications on Mathi-Mathi (Hercus 1969, 1986) employed a diphthong analysis. There is at least some scanty evidence that a diphthong analysis is necessary for Mathi-Mathi. Consider **au**, of which Hercus (1986:115) wrote “in the Mathi-Mathi material recorded **au** was phonemically distinct from **a + w**; **wauwunatha** *to swell up*, but **wawin** *your elder brother*.” These two words were transcribed phonetically as [wàuwúnaθɐ] and [wáwin] respectively. This contrast suggests that diphthongs were present. Both words were recorded and listening again to the recordings confirm a diphthong before the second /w/ in ‘swell up’ but no such diphthong in ‘elder brother’. The analysis that the word for ‘swell up’ is not **wawunatha** is further strengthened by comparison with Werkaya, where **werwa** means ‘swell up’ and **wawi** ‘elder brother’.

The word **wàuwúnatha** ‘swell up’ has second syllable accent, although the accent rules of Mathi-Mathi (3.1.7.2) are that when the second syllable begins with /w/, accent should be on the initial syllable, i.e. \***wáuwunatha**, but this is not found. This accent irregularity does not, however, prove a vowel-glide analysis since if that were the case we would expect \***wáwunatha**, which we do not get. Perhaps the stress shifts in order to show that the first syllable does indeed have a diphthong at its nucleus.

A full minimal pair that demonstrates a similar contrast between /awi/ and /auwi/ was recorded in Hercus (1986:219), shown in Table 16:

Table 16: The /awi/ ~ /auwi/ contrast

Possible spelling	Spelling in Hercus (1986)		Gloss
<b>Thìnáuwi</b>	<u>D</u> inaui	[dʒináu <sup>w</sup> ɪ]	Lake Ganaway, north of Balranald
<b>thìnáwi</b>	<u>d</u> inawi	[dʒiná <sup>w</sup> ɪ]	sulphur crested white cockatoo

When listening to the recordings of this minimal pair, it was clear that the vowel of the second syllable of **Thìnáuwi** ‘Lake Ganaway’ differed from that of the second syllable of **thìnáwi** ‘sulphur crested white cockatoo’. One possible analysis for the second syllable of **Thìnáuwi** was that it was a back low vowel, perhaps [ɔ]. Such an analysis would avoid positing diphthongs, but would create the need for an additional vowel phoneme. All in all, on the basis of this evidence, it seems that we should postulate three diphthongs for Mathi-Mathi, **ai**, **ui** and **au**.

If we were to adopt the vowel-glide analysis, by which the three diphthongs would be written **ay**, **uy** and **aw**, we would need to add several new word medial clusters, with /y/ initial. These are listed in Table 17, with examples (combined with both possible spellings).

Table 17: Possible glide-initial clusters

Cluster	Spelling with cluster	Spelling with diphthong	Gloss
ym	<b>pàtháyma</b>	<b>pàtháima</b>	‘feel’
yp	<b>páypu</b>	<b>pìyúpu, páipu</b>	‘fat’
yk	<b>páyka</b>	<b>páika</b>	‘rise’
yth	<b>pàndálaytha</b>	<b>pàndálaitha</b>	‘to be wet’
yt	<b>Káyta</b>	<b>Káita</b>	name of a creek near Balranald
yw	<b>wáywilatha, wáywulatha</b>	<b>wáiwilatha, wáiwulatha</b>	‘rise, of a flood’
yngg	<b>páynggu</b>	<b>páinggu</b>	‘child’
	<b>wáynggurrù</b>	<b>wáinggurrù</b>	‘tomorrow’

These clusters mostly fit within the list of expected clusters given by Dixon (2002:657), which lists the three most common cluster types as “(i) liquid (or *y*) plus (ii) stop; (i) liquid (or *y*) plus (ii) nasal; or (i) nasal plus (ii) stop.” One of these /yw/ in **wáywilatha** ‘to rise, of a flood’ is a /y/ plus glide cluster which would appear to be cross-linguistically less common.

One piece of evidence in favour of the vowel-glide analysis is that we do not find examples of [ai], [ui] or [au] in front of liquids, /r/ and /l/. It is easy to imagine a restriction on such clusters as /yl/ and /yr/ but less easy to motivate a restriction on diphthong plus liquid /ail/ and /air/.

Another piece of evidence for the vowel-glide analysis is provided by the only word with final [ai], **mirndai** ‘mythical giant snake’. If we analyse this as having a diphthong final, in other words two vowels, then it should presumably take the vowel-stem case endings that we see below in 3.2.3.1 below. This would yield an ergative form \***mirndaiku**, which was not attested. Rather, the ergative is **mirndayu**, the form that would be expected if the root had a final consonant, in other words **mirnday**.

A vowel-glide analysis would allow the sound change processes discussed in 1.3.2 above to be treated as a case of rhotics in other Kulin languages undergoing a process of change to *y* in Mathi-Mathi and other varieties.

The last speaker of Mathi-Mathi, Mr. Jack Long, passed away long ago, and further insight into the phonology is possible only by analysis of the recordings made in the 1960s. As we have seen, evidence can be offered in support of both a diphthong analysis and a vowel-glide analysis for elements like [ai] in Mathi-Mathi. We believe that the evidence from the word **wàuwúnmatha** ‘full’ and the contrast with **wáwin** ‘elder brother’ is strong enough to justify a diphthong analysis.

In this book, therefore, we will write **ai**, **ui**, and **au** rather than the forms **ay**, **uy** and **aw**. However, where a string [ai], [ui] and [au] is bisyllabic, we would write **ayi**, **uyi** and **awu**. Other vowel sequences will always be written as VCV, as with [ia]. Consider the word for ‘tooth’, which will be written as **liya**, rather than **lia**, an analysis confirmed by the stress pattern which is **liyágin** ‘your tooth’.

We have found no cases of **CàyíCV**, so we do not write **ayi**, but we find that we need to write both **uyi** and **ui**. The former is required because of the words in Table 18, where

second syllable stress requires writing **ùyí**. This contrasts with Table 19, where **úi** has to be analysed as a single syllable, otherwise the stress on the word for ‘to fall’ would be \***pùwíka**, and this form is not found.

Table 18: Forms with **uyi**

Gloss	Mathi Mathi form	Cognates
blow, to	<b>pùyíngga</b>	<b>purrngga</b> (Wemba, Werkaya)
night, dark	<b>pùyínggi, pùyíndhi</b>	<b>puruyn</b> (Wemba, Werkaya)

Table 19: Forms with **ui**

Gloss	Mathi Mathi form	Cognates
fall, to	<b>púika, púikatha</b>	<b>puika</b> (Wemba, Werkaya)
send away, to	<b>thúimatha</b>	
send, to	<b>púimatha</b>	<b>pumba</b> ‘throw away’ (Woi)

Phonemically we can regard the **ui** in Table 19 as a diphthong, whereas **uyi** in Table 18 is a vowel-glide-vowel sequence. This analysis is confirmed by the cognates in Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya, which have rhotics in Table 18 that are lenited to **y** in Mathi-Mathi, but which have a diphthong in Table 19.

Unlike the contrast between **auwi~auwu** and **awi~awu** discussed above, no similar contrast between **aiya** and **aya** has been found. The vowel sequences [aia] and [aiu] in word such as **láyurr** ‘woman’, **kaláyathi** ‘ask’ and **tèlkáya** ‘make good’ are all analysed as being VCV.

The word **láyurr** ‘woman’ is analysed by us as not having a diphthong, on the basis of similar phonetic evidence as that for **tèlkáya**. However the cognate word in Wemba-Wemba is **lerrk**. As already mentioned, the rhotic in Wemba-Wemba often corresponds to /y/ in Mathi-Mathi. This would leave a correspondence of the vowel /e/ in Wemba-Wemba with what we are analysing as /a/ in Mathi-Mathi, though we might expect a correspondence of /e/ with /ai/, as we see in the word for ‘kidney fat’, **páipula** in Mathi-Mathi and **pepul** in Wemba-Wemba.

The discussion above has shown that the issue of vowel sequences in Mathi-Mathi is no simple one. Our analysis can only be a tentative one in view of the small amount of data, but it does suggest that for Mathi-Mathi at least, diphthongs should be included as part of the phonemic inventory. Diphthongs in Mathi-Mathi are discussed further in 3.1.5 below.

# 2 *The Mathi-Mathi People, History and Names*

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## 2.1 Mathi-Mathi people and history

The close connection between people of the Mathi group and the linguistically unrelated people to the west has been known for a long time. The relationship between Mathi group and the Murray River people was one of the main themes of the 1884 paper by ALP Cameron. He speaks of the ‘Ithi-ithi, Wathi-wathi, Muthi-muthi, Ta-ta-thi and Keramin’:

These tribes speak different languages, but a man of any of them usually speaks two or three, and understands more.

Cameron’s statement is confirmed by Jack Long, who certainly knew several of these varieties.

The people of the Mathi group, the neighboring Murray River and the Paakantyi people to their west and north-west all had a matrilineal moiety system with the two moieties being called *Kilpara* and *Makwara*<sup>20</sup>. The Tharti-Tharti evidence on this is not well known, it comes from A.L.P, Cameron’s correspondence with A.W. Howitt<sup>21</sup>. A letter of 8.4.82 states:

Tahtahthi tribe joining the Watu Watu ..Mukwara and Kilpara and occupies the country on both sides of the Murray but primarily the north side commencing say 20 miles above Euston and extending 50 miles up to the boundary of the Muthi Muthi tribe...

and A.W. Howitt’s note 1905–07, n.d. re. the Ta-ta-thi tribe<sup>22</sup>:

The informant was Mukwara from opposite Euston, (and he quotes the following two Tharti-Tharti words):

man	numa
woman	berep

In this system of social organisation, the two moieties were called *Kilpara* and *Makwara* as stated above. This means that each tribe or group was divided into those two moieties and marriages could only occur **across** the moieties: a *Kilpara* had to marry a *Makwara* and vice versa. For a *Kilpara* to marry another *Kilpara* or a *Makwara* to marry another *Makwara* was equivalent to incest and was punishable by death. People inherited whether they were *Kilpara* or *Makwara* from their mother: it was a matrilineal moiety system.

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<sup>20</sup> The matrilineal system was described in Howitt (1904:195), and Berndt and Berndt (1964:56).

<sup>21</sup> Howitt papers, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.

<sup>22</sup> Howitt papers, Box 7, folder 1, paper 2. The reference is to a man called Whurlong who lived at Belambo.



There can be little doubt that this system was adopted through the far northwest of Victoria and adjacent areas and that it was taken over from Paakantyi people: it was observed everywhere in **Paakantyi** country from Wentworth to Bourke and into South Australia. This system is closely linked with the matrilineal moiety *Kararru/Mathari* and *Thiniwa/Kulpari* systems of the people to the northwest and north of the Paakantyi in South Australia and adjacent parts of Queensland as described by Elkin (1938) and so the area under discussion forms part of a much larger region of matrilineal moieties.

The bulk of the Murray River people and the bulk of the Kulin people did not have this system, but the people in the far north-west of Victoria and adjacent parts of NSW shared it: they formed a very special united group, although they belonged to three different types of languages, Murray River, Kulin and Paakantyi. In other words:

Yitha-Yitha, Tharti-Tharti, Keramin (Kureinyi including also Yari-Yari) and Ngintait (Yuyu) people all shared this Paakantyi system although the rest of the **Murray River** language subgroup did not.

Mathi-Mathi, Letyi-Letyi, and Wati-Wati people all shared this Paakantyi system although other **Kulin** people, like for instance the neighbouring Wemba-Wemba, did not.

Cameron's evidence on the moiety system in Mathi-Mathi was confirmed by Jack Long. His mythological world was still dominated by the moiety division: this is shown for instance in his story of the Two *Mirndai* (Maned Snakes) (see Text 13, 3.3.1 below) and that of the Two Mussel men (see Text 7, 3.3.1 below).

The reason for this situation appears to be that all these people had been neighbours for a long time, no doubt for centuries, and had gradually adapted to one another and had intermarried. Adopting the same social system made social interaction easy, and they held joint ceremonies. Mitchell on his 1836 expedition found this. He recounts how the 1835 expedition turned back near Menindee as they faced hostile Paakantyi people. Describing events on the next, 1836, expedition, Baker, on the evidence of Mitchell's journal, made the situation quite clear in an account of events on May 24 1836 at Lake Benanee:

Mitchell and his men, to their surprise recognised several of the Aborigines they had encountered at Menindee, two hundred miles away, some ten months earlier.

The fact that these people had come for a ceremony is confirmed by Baker (1997:127).

Lake Benanee is not far from present day Robinvale and both Tharti-Tharti people and Mathi-Mathi people appear to have had rights in the area.

The name Benanee could well be Mathi-Mathi and there are clear Mathi-Mathi placenames in the immediate vicinity such as Lake Caringay, a couple of kilometres to the east, probably from Mathi-Mathi **karingi**, 'emu' and Koorakee some eight kilometres to the north-east, from **kuraki** 'sand'. The name of Lake Prill just to the west of Robinvale on the other hand appears to be Yitha-Yitha/Tharti-Tharti on phonotactic grounds and definitely not Mathi-Mathi (for a discussion of some place names in the area see Hercus 1989).

There were thus three linguistically very different groups

1. Yitha-Yitha-Tharti-Tharti
2. Mathi-Mathi and the closely associated Wati-Wati and Letyi-Letyi
3. Paakantyi

They had come to form a socio-cultural block, with the shared matrilineal moiety system of Kilpara and Makwara. This situation fits in well with several other known facts,

particularly the linguistic background described by Cameron 1884. Lake Benanee was a ceremonial centre for all. Jack Long (Mathi-Mathi), whose mother came from the Kulkyne, often spoke of Lake Benanee as being a place where people met up because ‘it was the best fishing place’: it was a place that could obviously support a large population at special times.

These cultural links had some influence on the development of the Mathi-Mathi language, as will be evident from the following grammar.

The following is an amended version of the brief life history of Jack Long first published by Luise Hercus and Isobel White (1971). It is based on Jack Long’s own recollections as recorded by Luise Hercus:

### **2.1.1 Jack Long**

Jack Long, also known as Jack Edwards, lived at Point Pearce Aboriginal Settlement, which is between Port Victoria and Moonta on Yorke Peninsula, South Australia from around 1911. Point Pearce was established as a Mission to the Aborigines in 1868, and taken over by the South Australian Government in 1914, the reserved land having by then been increased to over 17,000 acres. At the time Jack Long was visited at Point Pearce, farming the land gave employment to many of the able-bodied men at the settlement, which was governed by a council drawn from the four hundred inhabitants. Though housing had been much improved, it was still below the standard of an ordinary country town. Jack Long lived in one of the older, smaller houses, and a kindly woman neighbour was paid a small sum to keep his house and his clothes clean, and to provide meals for him in her own house. He could recall vividly and accurately events in his life from up to ninety years ago. Since he lived right in the middle of the settlement, he was not cut off from everyday happenings among his neighbours, who called him ‘Mate’ or ‘Matey’. This contrasts with the care commonly given to very old Australians’ whether they be white or Aboriginal, which all too often involves complete isolation from the life of the community.

There were men at Point Pearce who rated as ‘old’ in the mid nineteen sixties and yet could remember Jack Long as a middle-aged man when they were boys, and some said he must have been a hundred and six. He thought he was about a hundred and from checking his memories Hercus and White calculated that he was born no later than 1872. After learning that he had lived the last sixty years of his life at Point Pearce, among the descendants of Naranga speakers who inhabited the area at the time of European settlement, it was surprising to discover that he was born some four hundred miles away near Balranald in New South Wales. He was of full Aboriginal descent and belonged to the Mathi-Mathi people, whose language is of the ‘Kulin’ group. He was of the Makwara moiety and his totem was kangaroo, **pukumanama**.

Jack Long’s father was a Mathi-Mathi man, whose native name was **Laluku**: his mother, called **Pindul** was part Mathi-Mathi and part Tharti-Tharti. **Pindul** was born on Kulkyne Station, In his childhood Jack lived on the stations on both sides of the Murray near its confluence with the Murrumbidgee, namely Kulkyne (on the Victorian side), Canally, Yanga, and Moulamein (on the New South Wales side). As a boy his main language was Mathi-Mathi, but he could also speak Tharti-Tharti, learnt from his mother’s people. It is usual for Aborigines to speak more than one language, particularly where marriages occur across linguistic boundaries. In addition Jack Long learnt English and when met at Point Pearce not only spoke it fluently and with an extensive vocabulary, but could also read and write. When first discovered by Hercus and White, as a valuable

informant for Mathi-Mathi, he had forgotten all but a few words of Tharti-Tharti perhaps because, as he recounted: ‘I lost my mother when I was a little fellow baby: she got poisoned in them early days. They used to poison the potatoes, fruits and all that, and put them out for the rabbits: it killed a lot of rabbits too, rabbits were so bad; and she happened to eat one somehow or other and she passed away’.

That the rabbits were a serious pest south of the Murray in the seventies and across the Murray by 1880 is a matter of record, and the method of extermination he describes was commonly used. The most usual poison was strychnine and one wonders how many other unwarned Aborigines met an untimely and horrible death.

His father took another wife, Charlotte McDuff, who came from further west towards the Flinders Ranges. She already had a grown son, Isaac, and helped him to bring up the motherless Jack, his brother and his sister, Maria, who eventually married John Pearce. Neither Jack Long nor his brother were ever married. Later Isaac McDuff and his son, Paddy, went off to settle at Lake Condah, and Jack saw little more of them.

Jack Long’s contemporaries in the Balranald district included George Ivanhoe, Jimmy Morris and Reg Wise (Mathi-Mathi), Angus and Dinny Myers (Tharti-Tharti), Peter Bonney (part Mathi-Mathi, part Tharti-Tharti) and Sid Webber (part Mathi-Mathi, part Narinari). George Ivanhoe, whose totem was pelican **pathangal**, and Jimmy Morris lived to be the last of the Mathi-Mathi ‘clever men’. Dinny Myers died at Moonacullah in the nineteen-forties, the last Tharti-Tharti speaker, but tragically his language died with him. Peter Bonney and Sid Webber crossed paths with Jack Long later in his life.

When Jack Long was old enough he got work on stations in the Balranald area as a stockman, and later became a drover. He held a Dalgety drover’s licence, and was emphatic that in those days, the eighteen-eighties, eighteen-nineties and nineteen hundreds, Aboriginal and white drovers were paid and treated equally and that ‘we were just as free as other men’. Later they suffered under what he calls ‘The Act’, which was ‘very hard on us’. As he had by then moved into South Australia, this was presumably the Act of 1911, which gave the Chief Protector the right to order an Aboriginal to stay on a particular reserve.

He remembered the days of the Kelly Gang, and knew some of the Aboriginal police trackers, who were employed to track the bush-rangers, particularly he mentioned old **Mukuwitha**. However, he may have been echoing the opinion of Aborigines and less-privileged white people of the time when he says:

It was a very wrong affair, it was the law-people was doing the damage, the law was the foundation of all those businesses, they didn’t treat people properly at all, no proper advice, no proper statement and all that. I know a lot of cases and those people, some of them called guilty, and didn’t do it.

The story of Jack Long’s droving days ties in closely with the building of the railways in north-western Victoria. He and his mates would drove mobs of cattle, horses and sheep from the stations on the Murray to the nearest rail-heads, their journeys getting shorter as the lines extended—the line from Kerang to Swan Hill was being built from 1882 to 1890, the Warracknabeal-Beulah line was extended to Hopetoun by 1894. Sometimes they drove a mob into the Western District ‘to Dunkeld, Casterton, Hamilton and them places’, the drovers then returning to Swan Hill by train, changing at Bendigo. Once when they were on holiday, Jack Long and George Ivanhoe and Sid Webber packed their horses and rode over to Cummaroogunga Settlement on a visit.

Jack Long remembered that many of the stations were taken over by the big companies—he mentioned ‘Australian Land Mortgage and Finance Corporation and the London Bank’ (which may have been the London Finance Corporation). This happened to Kulkyne, Yanga and Canally. ‘I was there when they took over Aborigines, stock, stations and everything’. This was presumably in the depression of the nineties when many mortgages were foreclosed and many stations were taken over by the finance companies.

He left the Balranald district finally in about 1896, and never returned. Perhaps his droving work fell off with the extensions to the railways and the take-over of the stations. He left with his mate, Sid Webber, and said:

We came to Mildura first, we worked at Mildura garden, Chaffey Brothers, and after the gardens we used to go down into them stations, stock, shearing and one thing and another, working in the woolsheds.

He also earned some money as a professional sideshow boxer. He had quite a reputation as a boxer, and for a while was a member of a well-known troupe. Once he and Sid Webber took the train from Mildura to Woomelang, saying:

and when we go to Woomelang on that line, we leave the line and go south-west to Hopetoun. Little work in Hopetoun, come down to place called Beulah, going towards Warracknabeal then. We got work here and there through farmers and that. Eventually we went into Antwerp (Ebenezer Moravian Mission), and met some of our people and children—mixed children they were. We stayed there until we come down to Bordertown and got work there. I left Sid Webber at Bordertown and came on to Tintinara, and I eventually come down to Taillem Bend, Murray Bridge and all those places and come right into these parts.

He joined up with Sid Webber again and they decided to try for work in the Renmark gardens. They went first to Adelaide to the ‘company office’ and then straight up to Renmark where they worked for two or three years. Sid Webber left him and he never saw him again. From Renmark, Jack Long went to the south-east of South Australia, first to Point McLeay and then to Point Pearce, and never went back to live in Victoria, though he travelled up and down the Murray as far as Boundary Bend, before finally settling to live at Point Pearce. After the Act of 1911 he said that he had to live at the reserve, though ‘we could still come and go and didn’t bother much, never worried much as long as we had something to do, and plenty food and stuff’.

In about 1930, some forty years before Jack Long met Luise Hercus and Isobel White, Peter Bonney, his old childhood companion and droving mate, stayed for some time at Point Pearce, working on the dam and in the stone quarry. Peter Bonney, like Jack Long, could speak Mathi-Mathi and Tharti-Tharti. This was the last time that Jack Long spoke his own languages with a native speaker.

Jack Long died at Point Pearce in 1978.

#### CODA

In considering Jack Long’s immediate family as recorded above, little is known of his brother. His sister Maria died whilst still quite young, leaving young children. Jack’s step brother Isaac McDuff moved off to Lake Condah as recorded, where he died in 1916.

Of Jack Long’s contemporaries, Reg Wise was the only figure who was able to live out his life largely in his home area, where he passed away in 1934. Peter Bonney returned closer to home in later years after many years lower down the Murray. George Ivanhoe died at Cumeragunga in 1932. While Dinny Myers did as noted die at Moonacullah in 1945,

his brother Angus actually outlived him, dying in 1951 after some years settled at Balranald following years of travelling.

## 2.2 Personal names

Although personal names in Australian Aboriginal languages have been little studied, particularly those from south-eastern Australia, many examples do survive. Personal names examined in the course of this study come from sources such as the papers of Aboriginal Protectorate officials like GA Robinson and William Thomas, the writings of early ethnographers such as ALP Cameron, RH Mathews and Rev. John Mathew and the papers of pastoralists and local government officials. Many sources of this type refer to the reluctance of Aboriginal people to give their names, fearing that hostile tribes-people may thus learn of them and use them in sorcery against them. As a result a system developed where certain names were used in the public sphere while others were used only amongst those closely related or connected. We do not know what kinds of names are represented by the list in Table 20, because these are personal names that have come down to us from the colonial period. They are most likely to be ‘public’ names given that they were generally recorded by Europeans in public situations. A new hierarchy of social intimacy can be discerned in the following examples as additional naming practices developed in the colonial period. These newer forms of names will be examined initially as they provide us with insights into the colonial social context in which to examine the more traditional names recorded.

Cross cultural contact in colonial society occurred in the most concentrated form on pastoral stations and this is reflected amongst this first group of ‘colonial’ names. Geramy Harry, Paika Dick, Paika Billy and Yanga Johnny illustrate this, as their ‘personal’ names are formed from the names of the stations with which they were associated. These names still have cultural resonance as they link those individuals with their home locations through original placenames from particular areas. In source material such names can alert us to the origin of individuals, as in the case of a blanket list from the region in which Ky Charlie is listed ahead of ‘Old Jarager’ and ‘Liliner’. Complexity remains, however, as that group is completed by ‘Yarry’ which probably refers in this case to a Mathi-Mathi man but is also found as a personal name to the east among Wemba-Wemba and Baraba Baraba people and to the west in the east of South Australia. Other examples of place related personal names are Towalky Jack, King Jerricot and Tarara Johnny. Towalky Jack’s name relates to a creek near the junction of the Murrumbidgee and Murray rivers in Weki-Weki country: this placename may itself derive from the word for ‘good’, **telki** in Mathi-Mathi. King Jerricot relates that individual to a place near Piangil otherwise recorded in the placename ‘Dairycoorte’. Tarara Johnny shows our fragmented knowledge of place as we have no record of this location beyond the personal name.

Other forms of association are seen through these ‘colonial’ personal names when we consider the case of the number of men from the region between the Murrumbidgee and Swan Hill who were named Salamander by Europeans – a cognomen which may stem from Tarramander, a local word for lizard (**taRama(r)ndeR** in Wati-Wati, cognate with Wemba-Wemba **taramarndørr** meaning ‘common grass skink’) thus paralleling Salamander in sound and meaning.

We find a less estimable comparison in the name Baboon which may have its origins in a name for ritual scars but was obviously used by Europeans as a term of abuse. This name was used as a family name for a number of generations for people who were in earlier years

associated with Poon Boon and Piangil and also had kinship links to the south in Werkaya country. The drama and also chronic misunderstandings of the colonial period are perhaps summed up in the transformation of the name Boinmaroo into Brian Boru – the Irish historical warrior king. The analysis of these ‘genuine’ personal names is needed then to move us beyond those early misunderstandings.

In Table 20 we list the names according to some linguistic criteria. The first group of names have final **-i**, which may suggest that they are nouns in the nominative case (see 3.2.3 below). The second group have final **-u** which may suggest they are nouns possessed by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular suffix (see 3.2.3.8 below). Some of these entries also include the age of the person, and sometimes their sex.

Table 20: Personal names

<b>Name</b>	<b>Notes</b>	<b>Source</b>
<b>Names with final -i</b>		
Ware.ro.billy	Aged 40, 6' high	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Kinje Kinje	Alias Ptoleme	Robinson papers, v5 p121
Nillee	Wife of Kirkininun (alias Kinje Kinje) (this could be the English name Nelly)	Thomas papers
Tarley	Daughter of Kirkininun	Thomas papers
Tinnee	Wife of Tingan	Thomas papers
Worree/Worrie	Alias Mr. Beveridge. Put cloak over A. Beveridge	Thomas papers
Yennuree	A ‘factor in the scene’ in the killing of Andrew Beveridge.	Thomas papers
Tungee	Tungee – King of the Bura Bura	Criminal Trial Brief, Public Record Office of Victoria; Victorian Public Record Series 30/6
Won.ner.gy	Aged 20	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Chy chy	Lived at Hogg’s Station. His language was called Kini Kini, and extended up the Wakool.	Robinson papers, v5 p26
<b>Names with final -u</b>		
Mun.gy.er.ten.oo	Woman 45	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Wet.ta.boo	Female 30	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Par.ky.boo	Boy 6	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Tonk.woo.len.noo	10	Robinson papers, v5 p24
Wy.mur.re.noo	29	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Narn.doo	16	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Wol.ler.mur.e.noo	10	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Pay.gy.boo	7	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Tare.ro.ong.wer.er.er.noo	8 boy	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Boinmaroo James Boinwerroo/ Boinmerroo/Boinerroo		Tyntynder Ledgers Bumbang Ledger, Holloway Family Papers, State Library of Victoria MS 12623
Pirriliboo	Died at Piangil 1860	Victorian Death Certificate 1860/9401

Walmerinue	'The chieftain w..' said to be of the Letyi-Letyi.	MK Beveridge 1863, 'epic' poem. The word <i>walmerinue</i> mean 'forgotten'
Paminammoo	Daughter of Nyarabin	MK Beveridge 1863

<b>Possibles for -u final group</b>		
Lor.er.kin.dow	Female 20	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Tare.dy.er.lo	14	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Por.der.row	8	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Ting.er.by.bo	11	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Pale.ber.re.no	9; from Toyer.wurn above 'at Beveridge's, Murray'.	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Korunno		Thomas papers
Makogo		Cameron 1884-5

<b>Names glossed by Peter Beveridge (see Table 70)</b>		
Yandy murnangin	'Left handed'	B2
Mirmile mirnen	'Squint eyed'	B2
Kyup mirmen	'One eyed'	B2
Mirmile tchantchew	'Crooked nose'	B2
Cowendurn	'The creeper'	B2
Walpa chinangin	'Burnt foot'	B2
Boceroin	'The breaker'	B2
Turangin	'Waning grass'	B2
Waikeroo Woorinen	'Ugly mouth'	B2
<b>Names ending in er.nin</b>		
Tin.gow.er.nin	Female 27	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Pen.go.er.nin	Boy 5	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Tur.er.her.nin	17	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Nor.in.jer.nin	20	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Ko.pun.in	19	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Tarinanin		Thomas papers
Bumbarinin	Alias Buonaparte	Thomas papers

<b>Various</b>		
Kow.wer.gor.er	Female 25	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Tin.ner	20	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Kow.un.dun	30	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Parng.gone.den.er	19	Robinson papers, v5 p22
To.ko.note	Very old man 50	Robinson papers, v5 p22
U.er.bur.nope	20	Robinson papers, v5 p22
Toyer.wurn/Mr. Robinson	45 Gave my name to chief man of tribe	Robinson papers, v5 p24
Koner.wurer.min	20	Robinson papers, v5 p24
Tow.er.um.dul/Moses	21	Robinson papers, v5 p24
Teem.urn/Job	17	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Nine.burn	17	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Yare.em.me	9	Robinson papers, v5 p25
Bim.bul	King of Boom Boom	Robinson papers, v5 p26

Wol.loun.jer	Murray	Robinson papers, v5 p38
Wakoon	Boom Boom	Robinson papers, v5 p38
Nor.nor.rin.jer	Alias Bullet Eye – has but one eye.	Robinson papers, v5 p121
Punjadub		Bumbang ledger 1866
Cooramin	Daughter of Ptolemy and Caroline; Caroline buried Tyntynder 1859.	VDC 1859/
When-im-nil	presumed informant for Thomas 'Lye-tee Lye-tee' list (source Ly). Name given as 'O'Brien alias When-im-nil'	Thomas papers (Ly)
Tingan	(Age) 26. Alias Bobby – 'Murray Black', convicted of killing Andrew Beveridge	Thomas papers
Kirkirrinan / Kirkirinlin / Kerkerinun	(Age) 38. Alias Ptolemy – convicted of killing Andrew Beveridge	Thomas papers
Parpell	Father of Tingan	Thomas papers
Kengoeylir	Mother of Tingan	Thomas papers
Kanniwatting		Thomas papers
Lun lung	(Age 6). Son of Tingan	Thomas papers
Mulligromin	Put cloak over A. Beveridge	Thomas papers
Wooluninun	Name partly obscure	Thomas papers
Wichimarmbul	Son of chieftain in poem.	MK Beveridge 'epic' poem transcription. This is no doubt a variant spelling of the name Weitchymumble below
Lubrina	Daughter of Wemba chief	MK Beveridge 'epic' poem transcription.
Unurmul	His son betrothed to Lubrina	MK Beveridge 'epic' poem transcription.
Tinjurmin	Son of above	MK Beveridge 'epic' poem transcription.
Nyarabin	King of the Wakey Wakey	MK Beveridge 'epic' poem transcription.
Yoyanding	Young Litchie king	MK Beveridge 'epic' poem transcription.
Cooniwar	Grandfather of above	MK Beveridge 'epic' poem transcription 'Swan'
Ngarow	Sage of the wakey wakey	MK Beveridge 'epic' poem transcription.
Turrangin	King of the Watty-Watty, author of the <i>Story of the Coorongendoo Mucki (Great Stone)</i> (Chapter 5)	B6 listed above by Peter Beveridge as Turangin 'Waning Grass'
Weitchymumble	Great-grandfather of Turrangin	B6 This name means 'Welcome Swallow'
Bamba	From an anabranh station	probably 'he is frightened'



<b>Miscellaneous names</b>		
Mönmoiko	also Benjamin (Lanky) Manton, the informant for both John Mathew and R.H. Mathews for PuRa-PuRa	
Yarry (his companions from the blanket list)		
Geramy Harry		
Ky Charlie		
Old Jarayer (Jarager?)		
Liliner		
Yarry		
Paika Billy, Paika Dick		
Yanga Johnny		
<b>Mack family</b>		
Djelwara	John Mack	
Lakamaraka	Albert Mack	
Rungkimaraka	David Mack	
Linaipun	Edith Mack	
Munpulaipun	Rosey Mack	

We are assuming that all of the names here would have had meanings known to the speakers. This is more or less confirmed by the names for which Peter Beveridge gives translations, which are discussed in Table 70 below. These have meanings that are transparent and many consist of more than one element, as *Walpa chinangin* ‘burnt foot’, **walpa tyinangin** ‘burn foot.yours’. All of these Beveridge names appear to be of the ‘public name’ type discussed earlier, a kind of nickname.

We do not suggest any meaning for the other names in Table 20, because there is no gloss provided. It is possible, for example, that the name *Tungee*, the King of the Bura Bura, represents the word **thangi** ‘land’, and we could suggest similar explanations for other names, but there is no basis for any of these beyond sound similarity.

We can, however, suggest that it is likely that many of the names with final **-u** are nouns with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessor since many nouns were never uttered except in a possessed state. We can thus conclude that most names were nouns.

There are a group of names in Table 20 that have final *-nin* or *-er.nin* mostly recorded by Robinson. These may represent verbal forms, perhaps past participles (see 3.2.5.1). We cannot, however, recognise any verbs that might form the roots of these words.

Finally there are a group of names for the members of the Mack family. Several of these are compounds with a second member *-maraka*. These names almost certainly belong to Murray River languages on linguistic evidence (see 1.2 above), and also because the mother of this family, Pinky Mack, was a Yaralde woman.

### 2.3 Place names

Almost all the information in this section is in the form of a series of Tables containing names derived from maps, mostly produced for Victorian and New South Wales Governments, and listed in Table 21 below. Apart from these, the sources are few. Both Bumbang and Kulkyne are given as place names in Letyi-Letyi (see example (240) in 4.1.4 below). The name of the Murray River is given as *Miloo* in *The Story of Coorongendoo*

*Muckie (great Stone) of Balaarook* (see Chapter 5). Bartley (1892:60) gives the names of several lakes *Gunarwe*, *Tauri*, *Makormon*, *Makoombi*, and “the great: *Betarponga*, and also names *Paika* (1892:61), and M.K. Beveridge in a letter to the *Argus*, 6/11/1884, page 9, gives the “native name” (presumably Wati-Wati) of the site of Swan Hill as *Martyrraguin (martiRakwin)*<sup>23</sup>. Hercus (1986) also listed several place names for Mathi-Mathi: **Thinawi** ‘Lake Ganaway’, **Kaita** ‘a creek near Balranald’ and **Kane** ‘Murrumbidgee River’.

Table 21: Abbreviations for the sources of information on place names

<b>Victorian Sources</b>	
Mur I:	Victorian Murray River Survey, Sheet I, Swan Hill to Piangil. 1851 done by surveyor Pritchard 1849–1851. Historical Maps Collection; Public Record Office Victoria.
Mur II:	Victorian Murray River Survey, Sheet II. Historical Maps Collection; Public Record Office Victoria.
Mur III	Victorian Murray River Survey, Sheet III. Historical Maps Collection; Public Record Office Victoria.
Mur V	Victorian Murray River Survey, Sheet V. Historical Maps Collection; Public Record Office Victoria.
Mur VII	Victorian Murray River Survey, Sheet VII. Historical Maps Collection; Public Record Office Victoria.
Mur VIII	Victorian Murray River Survey, Sheet VIII. Historical Maps Collection; Public Record Office Victoria.
Mur North	Murray River (north side) from SA border to junction with Murrumbidgee. Public Record Office Victoria.
Pen	Pental Island Royal Commission papers. Public Record Office Victoria.
Towns	1851 Townsend map in Pental Island Royal Commission papers. Public Record Office Victoria.
Hol I	Tyntynder Ledger, Holloway Papers. State Library of Victoria Ms 12623.
Hol II	Ledger book, Holloway papers. State Library of Victoria Ms 12623.
Fea	Feature Survey 106A, Lake Tyrell to the Murray. Public Record Office Victoria.
Nar	J. Hamilton’s Narung Station Diary. State Library of Victoria Ms 10261.
PRP	Pastoral Run Papers 192–196. Public Record Office Victoria.
Nay	Survey of road from Naygher to Lake Tyrell, 1851. Historical Maps Collection; Public Record Office Victoria.
Pin	Plan of Pines Runs, Wilmot Special Survey, 1869. Historical Maps Collection; Public Record Office Victoria.
<b>NSW sources</b>	
NSW	NSW Murray River above Wakool River; NSW survey 1848. State Records New South Wales
Can	Canally Map. NSW Government, Lands Department.
Tai	NSW survey Murray River, from Murrumbidgee to Taila Creek, 1848. State Records New South Wales
Dar	Survey of Murray River and road from Taila Creek to Darling River, 1848. State Records New South Wales
EBS	E.B. Scott papers. Mortlock Library (State Library of South Australia), Ms PRG 608.

<sup>23</sup> Beveridge added that “I think it would be well to restore”, a wish to bring the traditional indigenous name back into use.

Alb	1847–48 map of Murray from Darling to Albury. State Records New South Wales
Mol	Survey of road from near the Molomon, 1852. State Records New South Wales
McC	McCabe's survey of Murrumbidgee River from junction with Lachlan to the Murray. This is a monumental study with place names every half mile. State Records New South Wales
Ben	Survey of road from Benanee Creek to Lachlan River, 1849. State Records New South Wales

Each of the Tables lists the place name, its location, the name of the pastoral run (if known), the source of the information (from Table 21) and other notes.

Table 22	Murray River – from Swan Hill downstream to Robinvale
Table 23	Murray River – places associated with Letyi-Letyi
Table 24	Murray River – places perhaps associated with the YeRi-YeRi
Table 25	Murray River – from the junction of the Murrumbidgee downstream, New South Wales side
Table 26	Scrub land inland from the Murray River, Victorian side
Table 27	Scrub land east of the junction of the Murray River and Murrumbidgee
Table 28	Murrumbidgee river – from the junction with the Lachlan to the junction with the Murray
Table 29	Scrub land inland from the Murray River, New South Wales side

In the Tables below, we have noted place names that may be Tharti-Tharti or YeRi-YeRi, the Murray River languages, either on the basis of the form (initial /r/ being found in these languages but not Mathi-Mathi) or on the basis of their location. As already noted in Sections 1.3 and 2.1, there was close contact between speakers of these Murray River languages and those of the Mathi group, and it is usually quite impossible to tease apart the different languages and communities.

Some of these sources are very difficult to interpret. Hamilton's handwriting for example, is quite horrible and makes reading the Narung diaries (Nar) very difficult. Further research may one day clarify some of the many uncertainties in the Tables below.

In Table 22, we list place names along the Murray River between Pental Island, just south of Swan Hill and Wemen south-west and downstream of Robinvale. These names would be associated with the areas occupied respectively by the PuRa PuRa, Wati-Wati (both Swan Hill and perhaps Piangil groups), Weki-Weki and perhaps Letyi-Letyi. We have noted that some of these place names, from Tomaiia downstream, may indeed be Tharti-Tharti names.

We cannot interpret many of these names, but, for example, the word Nanowyee may be the word for 'sun', which Beveridge wrote as *nanowie* and which we regularise as **nanhawi**. There are a several placenames meaning 'sun' in the wider area, such Nawingi near Hattah and Nowie near Swan Hill.

Table 22: Place names – Murray River

Placename	Location	Run	Source	Comments
Wingiewingiepert	Pental Island		Various	As Stone (1911) has <i>nyetnyetpert</i> for Pental Island, this would appear to be a Wati Wati alternative. Note a final form The final <i>pert</i> may be the same form as <i>bet</i> in <i>Turang-isbet</i> below.
Boberayouk Poporiak	About a mile due south of Swan Hill. Red sandy rises edge of 1 <sup>st</sup> Swan Hill town plan.		Mur 1. Pen	
Billarungit	Bell and Wilson's Head station – later Murray Downs.		Pen	
Martaracuin	Swan Hill		Mur 1.	
Gunboa (and 2 <sup>nd</sup> location as follows) Gunbower Conbore Gunboar	'outstation of Messrs Splatt', few miles down from Swan Hill. Paddock on Tyntynder. Hut west of Ginginga. West of Tyntynder		Mur 1. Hol I Pen Mur 1	Also the Gunbower run upstream from Swan Hill.
Lall Lal	'extensive plain', 8 miles NW west of Swan Hill on road to Tyntynder. Tyntynder paddock.		Mur 1. Hol I	
Turang-isbet	Sand hill on open plain between Lall and Tyntynder.		Mur 1.	<b>thulang-</b> means 'long, tall fellow'. The final part of this name cannot be interpreted, though it appears to contain the same final element as in <i>Wingiewingiepert</i> 'Pental Island' above. There are other instances where first morpheme may be 'long fellow' but second difficult to understand – eg Tarrangisle on road from Woolshed to Conargo and Torongabby, also in Barapa Barapa country.

Wanalo	Waterhole at Turangisbet.		Mur 1.	Written in Hercus 1992 as <b>wanilu</b> and said to be a loan word from English for Swan Hill. This is unlikely given the early date of tokens and distance from Swan Hill. This placename may later have been conflated with Swan Hill, due to general location.
Wonnaloo	Paddock on Tyntynder		Hol I	
Babel	Flooded ground on river, east of Turangisbet.		Mur 1.	
Babul Baba	Paddock with lake on Tyntynder run		Hol II	
Chirongaroo	Paddock on Tyntynder.		Hol I	
Pannomilloo	Paddock and stream on Tyntynder.		Hol I	
Yamby	Paddock on Tyntynder.		Hol I	
Bulleyerra	Location of tank		Hol I	Could be near Lake Tyrell.
Tooyal	Wool sold from there 1866.		Hol I	
Kader	Flooded ground on river, 2 miles downstream from Babel.		Mur 1.	
Poliebet	Outstation of Tyntynder, 2 miles down from Babel.		Mur 1.	
Tyntyndyer Ginginga	Beveridge's Home Station.		Mur 1  Pen (Townsend map)	
Tong	On river bank at Tyntynder.		Mur 1.	
Puah	Creek which forms saltbush island across river from Tyntynder.		NSW	
Naronga	Higher ground above where Puah Creek enters Murray; north side.		NSW	
Billybit	West of Naronga, north side of river.		NSW	

Tichtubael Chitto Beal	On road from Tyntynder to Nyah.		Mur 1 B2	Glossed as 'termination of the gum timber' (see Table 70).
Dic Dic	North of Tichtubael on riverbank.		Mur 1.	
Korenglotchieur	'Limestone', 1½ miles NW of Tichtubael on road to Nyah.		Mur 1.	possibly includes the Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) word <b>kuRungandu</b> 'big'
Nowe	Small lake or plain on Tyntynderr. (Tyntynderr Run)		Fea	<b>nhawi</b> 'sun'
Waijelokar	Small lake or plain on Tyntynderr. (Tyntynderr Run)		Fea	
Wemul	North of Tyntynder, south bank of Murray.		NSW	
Bullamatungal	NW of Wemul, north of river. Due east of Borac		NSW	
Borac Berac	Higher ground above billabong, north of river, B. Boyd.		NSW	
Jillero Jillera	Lagoon north of Borac, north of river.		NSW	
Bymur Bymor	Lagoon north of river, just down from Jillera.		NSW	
Talpita	NE of Bymur.		NSW	
Gnyer Ngayer	'Outstation of Beveridge' – Nyah.		Mur 1.	
Woor Woort	6 miles NW of Nyah, track to Piangil comes to river bank.	Piangil	Mur 1.	Cf. <i>Woor-poor</i> 'bulrush' Gummow in Smyth (1878 II 175)
Cerow	On river, 1½ miles below Woor Woort.	Piangil	Mur 1.	
Piangill	'Coghill's Cattle Station'.	Piangil	Mur 1.	
Balko Balk	Beveridge's padock.	Piangil	Hol I	
Tuloibook	Crossing place on river, 2 miles down from Piangill.	Piangil	Mur II	
Coomaroop	Lake north of river, down from Bymor; Hamilton's old station, claimed by Boyd.		NSW	

Billbare Bilbore	Coghill's station, south of river, NNW of Coomaroop.		NSW	
Winkles Nhinkees	Creek down from Tuloibook		Mur II	This creek has alternative names in various sources.
Burra Burra	Byerley's Home Station.	Burra Burra	Mur II	The spelling with <rr> suggests that the first vowel is /a/, in other words <b>paRa-paRa</b> and that this is not the same as the tribal name <b>PuRa- PuRa</b> .
Burrow Burrow	J.Hamilton bought horse from here.		Nar	
Nanowyee  Nanowie Naw nowie	Saltbush plain starting 1½ miles north of Burra Burra. Open box forest to the west and scrub covered sandhills to east.	Burra Burra	Mur II  Nar	Contains the form <b>nhawi</b> 'sun'. Peter Beveridge (1889) records this form as meaning 'sun' (source B2).
Billoo	On track 2 miles NE of north end of Nanowyee Plain.	Narung	Mur II	
Nyarwon	Between sandhills and river, 1 mile north of Bildo.	Narung	Mur II	
Bun or Bung	Sandhill formation west of Nyarwon.	Narung	Mur II	
Winpa	Billabong ½ mile downstream from Nyarwon.	Narung	Mur II	
Yelkie	Billabong 1 mile down from Winpa, junction of Wakool lies between the billabongs.	Narung	Mur II	
Wittie	On riverbank.		Mur II	
Tope	Down from Wittie.		Mur II	
Toncha	Prominent rise just east of Narong Head Station.	Narong	Mur III	
Narowen Naroween	Hamilton's Head Station.	Narong		
Pildon	Low ground just east of Toncha.	Narong	Mur III	
Wenga	Stream? Joining river at Narong.	Narong	Mur III	

Torabay Toroby			Nar	Hamilton wrote "Sent sheep to Plain with hut, also creek."
Toroky			Nar	Hamilton reports that two lambs were lost and that two blacks found them, suggesting this was probably the name of a plain.
Topley	Hut.		Nar	
Tulap	Hut.		Nar	
Norobay	Hut.		Nar	
Wakool	Hut.	Narung	Nar	Probably on the Victorian side near where the Wakool River enters the Murray from NSW side.
Borong	From Reynold's 'by the Borong track'.		Nar	Reynold's station is in NSW so the track, presumably through scrub, might have been either side of river.
Buck Buck			Nar	
Wandoama	Swamp 3 miles down from Cillower	Narung	Nar	
Wamdowa			Mur III	
Ilka			Nar	Hamilton wrote "Took four weeks rations there," so may have been in Mallee.
Moornbillite Mournbelite Maurnbilite			Nar	Hamilton wrote "Sent staff to see if water there", so it could be a back run.
Carcap	Plain.		Nar	
Coleerwin Calarwin Colerwin	Plain.		Nar	
Gunday	Hut at side of Mallee.		Nar	
Cillower	Swamp, Victorian side of Murray at junction with Murrumbidgee, and to east of Wakool Creek.	Narung	Mur III	
Tomaiia	Creek and hut – Outstation of McCallum's.	Youngera	Mur III	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Pilb	Just north of McCallum's Outstation.	Youngera	Mur III	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Tata	Creek, McCallum's Outstation on it.		Mur III	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Pom	At narrow neck joining Bumbang Island.		Mur V	Probably Tharti-Tharti.



Tintalah	Across river from Euston. Grant's sheep station.		Mur Nor 1851. Murray 30.	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Taltall	Grant's Home Station, 1½ miles SW of Pom and 1½ miles SE from Euston.		Mur V	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Walle	Small lake near river, 2½ miles west of Taltall.		Mur V	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Annuello	Grant's Outstation, 15 miles south of Walle, on river.		Mur V	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Wemen	Grant's Outstation, 7 miles SW of Annuello.		Mur V	'The River at Wemen 720 links in width'.

Table 23 lists place names around the Kulkyne run, which are assumed to be associated with the Letyi-Letyi. Some of these place names are directly associated with the Mack family (see above 2.2).

Table 23: Place names – Murray River – associated with Letyi-Letyi

Placename	Location	Run	Source	Comments
Chalka Chal Karr	Creek – anabranch of the Murray.	Kulkyne	PRP	probably Letyi-Letyi
Bimpy	Hut ½ mile from point where creek leaves the Murray.	Kulkyne	PRP	probably Letyi-Letyi
Koroit	On the Murray 1 mile down from Chalka Creek upper.		Pen (purple map)	probably Letyi-Letyi
Konningburr	2 miles down from Koroit.		Pen (purple map)	probably Letyi-Letyi
Kalkein	On the Murray towards lower junction of Chalka.		Pen (purple map)	probably Letyi-Letyi
Gundare	Given as alternative for Kulkyne in Berndt and Berndt (1993)		Berndt and Berndt.	probably Letyi-Letyi
Cuntalla	Lake fed by creek from the Murray not Chalka.		Pen (purple map)	probably Letyi-Letyi
Nip Nip	Dry lake 5 miles inland from point where creek leaves the Murray. Inner boundary of run goes down 8 miles from here.	Kulkyne	PRP	probably Letyi-Letyi

Bonitt	Small lake near end of 8 mile line.	Kulkyne	PRP	probably Letyi-Letyi
Perripit Pirripit	Point where Chalka re-enters the Murray.	Kulkyne	PRP	probably Letyi-Letyi
Laitjium	Birthplace of John Mack.	Kulkyne	Berndt and Berndt.	probably Letyi-Letyi
Brockey Brockie	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool	PRP	probably Letyi-Letyi
Lockey Lockie Laka	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool	PRP Berndt and Berndt.	probably Letyi-Letyi
Kornardin Conardin	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool	Pen (purple map)	probably Letyi-Letyi
Mournpall Mournpool Moombull  Munpul	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool	Pen (purple map)  Berndt and Berndt.	probably Letyi-Letyi
Yellwell	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool	Pen (purple map)	probably Letyi-Letyi
Yerang	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool	Pen (purple map)	probably Letyi-Letyi
Rungki Roonki	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool	Berndt and Berndt.	David Mack was named <i>Rungkimaraka</i> after this lake. The name is probably Tharti-Tharti.
Lin	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool	Berndt and Berndt.	Edith Mack was named <i>Linaipun</i> . The name is probably Tharti-Tharti.
Hattah	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool		probably Letyi-Letyi
Bulla	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool		probably Letyi-Letyi
Arawak	Mournpool Lakes	Mournpool		probably Letyi-Letyi
Lanrook Laurook	Hut back in Mallee from Mournpool lakes.		PRP	probably Letyi-Letyi

Table 24 lists place names along the Murray River downstream of Kulkyne. These place names are presumed to have been associated with the YeRi-YeRi people who spoke one of the Murray River languages. The presence of place names with initial /t/, which is not found in Mathi-Mathi but is found in the Murray River languages, seems to confirm this suggestion.

Table 24: Place names – Murray River – perhaps associated with YeRi-YeRi

Placename	Location	Run	Source	Comments
Runwall	Hut? On river, with sand ridges, pines and mallee behind.		Mur VII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.

Rum	To south west of Curwap, just to west of track, between box and scrub and open plain.		Mur VII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Curwap	Back from river, just south of McGrath's Home Station.		Mur VII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Towrie	Well to NNW of Curwap, back from river, in box and scrub.		Mur VII	Probably YeRi-YeRi but note Tauri 'near Balranald' in other source.
Morpung	'Open flooded gum forest', adjacent to the river.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Troat	Due north of Morpung, close to river amongst gums.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Bilbilbourie	NNW of Troat, in gum forest close to river.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Mildura	On saltbush plain bounding river, Jamieson's Home Station.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Calcoonan	(Mildura).		Mur Nor 1851. Murray 30.	YeRi-YeRi.
Olonolon	Edge of river, box saplings growing, just east of Merbein.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Merbein	Sandhills just back from river.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Woo	Just NW of Merbein. Flooded flat near river.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Wincam	Open box forest on edge of river, just NW of Woo.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Leah	Billabong on narrow ground between loops of river, just east of where Redgrove now is.		Mur VIII	Probably <b>liya</b> 'tooth' This place is outside the Kulin area. Place names meaning 'tooth' appear widely across the landscape.
Narbourac	Hut? On NSW side of river, just north of Leah.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Mundanacre	Salt bush plain, south side of river, due west of Leah.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.
Bonarang	Swampy ground further west.		Mur VIII	Probably YeRi-YeRi.

Table 25 lists place names of the New South Wales side of the Murray River from the junction of the Murrumbidgee River and downstream. This list therefore includes places associated with the Letyi-Letyi and Tharti-Tharti, such as Meyndhuck where the Berndts recorded songs from members of the Mack family.

Table 25: Place names – Murray River – Junction of Murrumbidgee and lower – NSW side

<b>Placename</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Run</b>	<b>Source</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Wandomel Windomal Windomel	Run across the Murray from Narung.		Nar	
Tararie	NSW run junction of the Wakool and Murray, downstream side.		Can	
Benongal	Inland from Windomal.		Can	
Weimby	Run at junction of the Murray, Murrumbidgee and Tualka Creek.		Can	
Cuttaab	Reynold's Station north of the Murray between junctions of Murrumbidgee and Wakool.		Towns	
Turla	Down from junction of the Murray and Murrumbidgee, between Tittara Creek and Murrumbidgee; Lee's Cattle Station.		Tai	
Tittara	Tittara Creek, enters the Murray from north; Lake Stapylton on it.		Tai	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Wella	SW of Tittara Creek junction, across river to south; McCallum's sheep station.		Tai	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Bundagui	Billabong in bend of river, north side, north of Wella.		Tai	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Billack	WNW of Bundagui, north of river.		Tai	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Bullwall	West of Billack, north of river.		Tai	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Mailmam	WNW of Bullwall, north side of river; Ross' cattle and sheep station.		Tai	

Noeyango	Creek between river and Noeyango, alias Prooa Lake, north side.		Tai	
Prooa	Alternative name for above lake.			
Talapit	Dry billabong, north of river, linking the Murray River and Molandi Creek.		Tai	
Molandi Melamti	Creek entering the Murray just down from Noeyango/Prooa Creek, north side.		Tai	
Rungun	South of Talapit, north of river.		Tai	
Gumul	West of Rungun, north of river.		Tai	
Bunaragool	NW of Gumul, north side of river; Barlow's cattle station.		Tai	
Murtmint	Dry billabong WNW of Bunaragool.		Tai	
Billpa	Billabong north of the Murray, NW of Murtmint.		Tai	
Toocan	Billabong west of Billpa, north of the Murray.		Tai	
Taila	Creek linking Lake Taila, alias Benanee with the Murray.		Tai	
Benanee	Alternative name for above creek and lake.			
Ruel	Billabong north of the Murray, just down from junction with Taila Creek.		Dar	
Culcoorba	2 miles SW of Ruel, north of the Murray.		Dar	
Tandy	1 mile south of Culcoorba, south of the Murray.		Dar	
Nowong	NW of Tandy, north of river; Scott's sheep station, SW of Euston – Mt. Disappointment?		Dar	
Buel	NE of Euston on Murrumbidgee track; different location to Boeil below.		Mur Nor	

Oananook	Small lagoon north of river, south of Nowong.		Dar	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Bogallo	Billabong north of river, 3 miles west of Oananook.		Dar	Probably Tharti-Tharti.
Peninah	North of river, 3 miles SW of Bogallo; Scott's sheep station		Dar	
Condium	North of river, 5 miles south of Peninah.		Dar	
Balawitch	Hut	Ki	EBS	
Minmie Minnie		Ki	EBS	
Kolly Kollie		Ki	EBS	
Kaloota		Ki	EBS	
Reinding Raining	Just west of Euston.	Ki	EBS	Probably Tharti-Tharti
Minmida		Ki	EBS	This could be Minmie/ Minnie above.
Loope		Ki	EBS	
Nimmick		Ki	EBS	
Longum		Ki	EBS	
Looke				
Willalong	North of river, 2½ miles south of Condium		Dar	
Potoulook	North of river, 8 miles SW of Willalong.		Dar	
Yaricanong	5 miles WNW of Potoulook, north of river; Luscombe cattle station, Crawford sheep across river at Kulkyne.		Dar	
Nurtram	North of Yaricanong on road to Murrumbidgee.		Mu	
Bullurah	North of river, 3 miles north of Yaricanong.		Dar	
Prœnah	North of river, 6 miles NW of Bullurah.		Dar	
Branoch	North of river, ½ mile north of Prœnah.		Dar	
Thurn	North of river, 1½ miles north of Branoch.		Dar	
Toarta	North of river, 1 mile NW of Thurn.		Dar	

Lundallul	North of river, 1 mile NW of Toarta; Thurn, Toarta and Lundallul between river and Mt. Dispersion.		Dar	
Mourtreir	Creek entering river from north, 1 mile west of Lundallul.		Dar	
Tooppallung	North of river 2½ miles west of Mourtreir Creek; McKinlay's cattle station.		Dar	This placename clearly forms basis for Run name 'Tapaulin'.
Bengallow	Creek – anabranch – enters river from north, 1 mile NW of Tooppallung.		Dar	
Thandan	North of river, 9 miles NNW of Bengallow Creek outflow; Kidd's sheep station 1 mile to south across river.		Dar	
Yall	Billabong north of river, 2 miles north of Thandan; Kidd sheep station across river.		Dar	
Bengallow	North of river, inflow.		Dar	
Meyndhuck Minduk Mentook	Tributary of Bengallow Creek, 1 mile south of junction with the Murray.		Dar	In this location, the Berndts recorded songs by Minduk Jack from Pinkie Mack (in Keramin).
Coltwang	North of river, 3 miles NNW of Bengallow Creek junction.		Dar	
Tupparong	Small billabong 3 miles west of Coltwang.		Dar	
Nanoke	North of river; 2 miles SE of Jamieson's sheep station on south of river.		Dar	
Turruggana	North of river, 2 miles NNW of Nanoke; Jenkin's cattle station.		Dar	
Moontongue	Alias Golgol -Creek entering north of river 1 mile NW of Turruggana.		Dar	

Looke-a-looke-a	Streambed entering river from north, 1 mile west of Moontongue.		Dar	
Calcoonari	South of river, 5 miles west of Looke-a-looke-a; Jamieson's sheep station.		Dar	
Bœil	Billabong north of river, 4 miles west of Calcoonari, on track from Darling to Murrumbidgee.		Dar	
Tantearnong	North of river, 5 miles west of Bœil.		Dar	
Mour-quong	Alias Mt. lookout - north of river, 4 miles NW of Tantearnong.		Dar	
Bingin	Billabong north of river, 2 miles west of Mour-quong.		Dar	
Tocum	2 miles WNW of Bingin inland 2 miles from river, on Adelaide Rd.		Dar	
Tcilltaulcurra	1 mile west of Tocum, also on Adelaide Rd.		Dar	
Cossoomby Cothoomby	North of river, 1 mile up Darling from junction with the Murray.		Dar	
Calandom	Wakool River, near junction with the Murray.		Alb	
Poonboon	Boyd's Head Station, Wakool River, junction with Merrang Creek.		Alb	
Genoe	Part of chain of lakes between Merrang Creek near Poonboon and the Murray near Nyah.		Alb 1851	
Genoee			Towns	
Geer	Part of chain of lakes between Merrang Creek near Poonboon and the Murray near Nyah.		Alb	
Greer			Towns	



Waremar	Part of chain of lakes between Merrang Creek near Poonboon and the Murray near Nyah.		Alb	
Poon poor	Part of chain of lakes between Merrang Creek near Poonboon and the Murray near Nyah.		Alb	
Poonma	Part of chain of lakes between Merrang Creek near Poonboon and the Murray near Nyah.		Alb 1851	
Poomna			Towns	
Talpila	Part of chain of lakes between Merrang Creek near Poonboon and the Murray near Nyah.		Alb	
Talpile			Towns	
Goonirar	Part of chain of lakes between Merrang Creek near Poonboon and the Murray near Nyah.		Alb	
Goommur			Towns	
Wellare	Part of chain of lakes between Merrang Creek near Poonboon and the Murray near Nyah. Boyd's cattle station hut.		Alb	
Wollare			Towns	

Most of the place names listed so far have been along rivers. Table 26 lists place names that are marked in the inland areas of scrub-land away from the Murray River, on the Victoria side. There are no major rivers in this area, which goes inland approximately as far as Lake Tyrell. Smyth (1878 Vol I map) marked Lake Tyrell as the inland limit of the Wati-Wati, Weki-Weki and YeRi-YeRi. We can perhaps associate the first few names in Table 26 with the Wati-Wati, but cannot establish direct connections with any of these names.

Table 26: Place names – Scrub on the Victorian Side of the Murray River

Placename	Location	Run	Source	Comments
Murmenon Yananne Merong	Hut, tank, 'belts of Mallee, pine ridge'. East of Lake Tyrell.		Nay	

Tia-bolite  Tye bulite Tia Bulloit	‘Scattered Mallee bushes’, east of above.	Eureka	Nay  B2	Glossed by Beveridge as ‘box forest infested by gerboas or kangaroo mice’.
Malurtgoop	Hut and yard on ‘well grassed plain’.		Nay	‘Track to Chinkabook’ leads off to north.
Lynner-lyn-galler	Waterholes in mallee scrub.		Nay	
Cow	‘Extensive limestone plain’.		Nay	
Towan	Water hole and pine ridge in mallee.		Nay	
Yaninger	Pine ridge and mallee. Second placed marked ‘Yaninger’ short distance to east, ‘wel grassed plain’.		Nay	
Nyar-raby (or Nyar-aby).	Water tank and ‘gunyer’, well grassed midst pine and mallee.		Nay	
Lalla	Tank, Pines side of boundary with Gerahmin, due north of dry lake on Gerahmin side.	Pines Run.	Pin	Different location to Lall plain on the Tyntynder run.
Karina	Tank on boundary with Eureka.	Pines Run.	Pin	
Manangatang	‘Open Mallee, good grazing’.	Pines Run.	Pin	
Wainimbal  Winnimball Winnimball Winamboul	‘Open saltbush and grassy flats’, on ‘Track to Bumbang’.	Pines Run.	Pin  Nar	
Koorkahb	‘Pine Ridge’. North east of run, boundary with Lowan Flats.	Pines Run.	Pin	
Kookamba	East of run, saltbush country.	Pines Run.	Pin	
Kanimbie	East of run, ‘open saltbush flats’.	Pines Run.	Pin	
Lepi	East of run, grass and saltbush country.	Pines Run.	Pin	
Detarap	North side of Lake Tyrell.		Fea	
Tungilungight	East of Lake, on track to Nyah.	Eureka.	Fea	

Tanganeder	Turn off to it 10 miles NE of Tia Bulloit on road to Nyah.		Fea	
Turroah	Plain on Lowen Flat Run.	Lowen Flat.	Fea	
Wait	Small plain or water hole to the south of Turroah.	Lowen Flat.	Fea	
Ayaraby (or Agaraby)	East of Turroah, within boundary of Tyntynderr.	Tyntynder r.	Fea	
Burdinwaniagal	North end of Lake Wahpool, section holding (salt) water.		Fea	
Wah-pool Nouram Tyrill.	Main section of Lake Wahpool.		Fea	
Timbron Gight	Lake Timboram.	Sand Hills.	Fea	
Weewin[g?]	Small plain previously noted as Wewin, possible final 'g'.		Fea	
Yarran	Noted on Tyrell Creek at entrance to Lake, 'dry water course' also noted on Creek.		Fea	

Table 27 lists a few place names in the scrubby areas east of the junction of the Murray River and Murrumbidgee.

Table 27: Place names – East of the Junction of the Murray River and Murrumbidgee

Placename	Location	Run	Source	Comments
Mool burra Moupla Moolpa	On Edwards River, north side; Sylvester and Smith Head station.	Moolpa Head Station.	Mol	
Turora	On north side of Wakool River; Gearson's Station, Boyd's Sheep Station across river.		Mol	
Molora	Creek entering Wakool from north.		Mol	
Mondarbo	Billabong 1 mile west of Creek, plain to west.		Mol	
Calandoke Calandok	South of Wakool River, ford nearby.		Mol	

Poangala	Near billabong across Wakool from Calandoke.		Mol	
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Table 28 lists the names on the incredibly detailed map produced in the survey by McCabe of the Murrumbidgee River. We presume that all of these names refer to places within the Mathi-Mathi area.

Table 28: Place names along the Murrumbidgee River from the junction of Lachlan to the junction of the Murray

Placename	Location	Run	Source	Comments
Connmolunde Ginmolungee Gininalugee	Due south of junction of Lachlan and Murrumbidgee; Barker's Station.		McC	
Gundi	2 miles NW of Connmolunde, north side of river; sheep hut.		McC	
Pinpa	Due west of Gundi, south side of river.		McC	This looks exactly like <b>pinpa</b> , the word for 'Murray pine' in all Paakantyi dialects, and over a vast area beyond, but in Wemba-Wemba the 'Murray Pine is <b>marrung</b> and in Mathi-Mathi <b>marrinhi</b> . It could well be a borrowed placename
Paule	North of Gundi, north side of river; Barker's Cattle Station.		McC	
Kiequa	NW of Paule, north side of river.		McC	
Pongonam	West of Kiequa, north side of river.		McC	
Nap Nap	SW of Pongonam, south side of river; road from Bathurst to Melbourne crosses river at this point, T. Barker's Sheep Station.		McC	
Burda Kiany Burdakinag	Creek linking Lake Tala with Murrumbidgee; Wentworth's Station.		Towns	
Wagorea Wagora	On track from Nap Nap to Lake Talla; Wentworth's station.		Towns	

Monkeni Monkem	On track from Nap Nap to Lake Tala; Wentworth's station.		Towns Purple map Pental Island RC papers.	
Wilpee	On track from Nap Nap to Lake Talla.		Towns	
Talpee	On track from Nap Nap to lake Talla; Wentworth's station.		Towns	
Tala Tolla	Creek from Murrumbidgee to lake of same name.		Towns	
Bidyengoga	Just south of Apple Tree Hill, just west Lachlan, near junction with Murrumbidgee.		Red map Pental Island RC papers.	
Cunyērah	West of Nap Nap, north side of river.		McC	
Cunyērangah	South side of river, across from Cunyērah.		McC	
Meemingara	North side of river, west of Cunyērah.		McC	
Cooranqui	SW of Meemingara, north side of river.		McC	
Piambie	SW of Cooranqui, north side of river.		McC	
Tillwang	Across river, due south from Piambie.		McC	
Tippautip	West of Piambie, north side of river.		McC	
Cooropey	West of Tippautip, north side of river.		McC	There are two place names in the Werkaya language given by Hercus (1986:206), <b>Kurrepi terreti</b> 'name of a swamp just south of Antwerp' and <b>Kurri-pep</b> 'name of a camping place on the Wimmera River.'
Weyepe	West of Cooropey, north side of river.		McC	
Weyeba			Red map Pental Island RC papers.	
Willie	Across river, due south of Weyere; Wentworth cattle station.		McC	

Narraquong	Due south of Willie, south side of river.		McC	
Thuningbuc	Due west of Willie, north side of river.		McC	
Turrturr	SW of Thuningbuc, north side of river.		McC	
Tonguy	SW of Turrturr, north of river.		McC	
Coolinpah	SW of Tonguy, north of river.		McC	
Meemindie	SW of above, north of river.		McC	
Lungeirie	SW of Meemindie, north of river.		McC	
Murrongy	SW of Lungeirie, north of river.		McC	
Berreley	SW of Murrongy, north of river.		McC	
Pinbingoke	SW of Berreley, north of river.		McC	
Moquondie	Across river, south of Murrongy.		McC	
Cranthanum	South of Pinbingoke, north of river.		McC	
Wambathabutho	West of Cranthanum, north of river.		McC	
Waakœlee	South of Wambathabutho north of river.		McC	
Weunday	South of above, north of river.		McC	
Bayey	SW of Weunday, north of river.		McC	
Monmungy	South of Bayey, north of river.		McC	
Lattpoggy	South of Monmungy, north of river.		McC	
Olocarry	South of Lattpoggy, north of river.		McC	
Worrongebbe	West of Olocarry, north of river.		McC	
Ingatty	West of Worrongebbe, north of river.		McC	
Tilwang	South of Ingatty, north of river.		McC	
Præey	SW of Tilwang, north of river.		McC	
Thungaweny	SW of above, north of river.		McC	
Talparendy	NW of Thungaweny, north of river.		McC	

Tilconny	West of Talparendy, north of river.		McC	
Jelōwy	West of Tilconny, north of river.		McC	
Waapowy	South of above, north of river.		McC	
Mypongy	South of Waapowy, north of river.		McC	
Powokaline	South of Mypongy, north of river.		McC	
Loqualey	SE of Powokaline, north of river.		McC	
Maltharry	SW of Loqualey, north of river.		McC	
Conngarry	East of Maltharry, north of river.		McC	
Waapy	West of Conngarry, north of river.		McC	
Thancuroombally	Small lake due west of Waapy, ½ way to Paika Lake		McC	
Thundoombally	Small lake due west of Waapy, ½ way to Paika lake		McC	
Pongoylee	1 mile west of small lakes.		McC	
Eronggroey	1½ miles west of Pongoylee		McC	
Paika	Large lake 2 miles west of Erongroey		McC	
Weroma	Alternative name for Paika lake.		Red map Pental Island RC papers.	
Caraynsey	SE side of Paika lake, Hobler's sheep station.		McC	
Melyngunny	South side of Paika		McC	
Maculweary	SW side of Paika		McC	
Toaley	West side of Paika		McC	
Oocummy	NW side of Paika		McC	
Yakaytungy	ENE side of Paika		McC	
Myikay	East side of Paika		McC	
Marcum	SE of Waapy, north of river.		McC	
Wanongy	SE of Marcum, north of river.		McC	
Wyethummy	SW of Wanongy, north of river.		McC	
Tumbally	West of Wyethummy, north of river.		McC	

Dannyum	West of Tumally, north of river.		McC	
Mymerangy	West of Dannyum, north of river.		McC	
Wangoranly	West of Mymerangy, north of river.		McC	
Thackum	SW of Wangoranly, north of river.		McC	
Borothawly	West of Thackum, north of river.		McC	
Puley	South of Borothawly, north of river.		McC	
Bunny	SW of Puley, north of river.		McC	
Narrangy	West of Bunny, north of river.		McC	
Numongy	SW of Narrangy, north of river; Wentworth's sheep station.		McC	
Curroyne	South of Numongy, north of river.		McC	
Bunnya	East of Curroyne, south of river.		McC	
Yangyangypongy	SE of Curroyne, north of river.		McC	
Yellyowly	West of Yangyangypongy, north of river.		McC	
Thiambie	South of Yellyowly, north of river.		McC	
Niarcorite	South of Thiambie, north of river.		McC	
Wapangarow	South of Niarcorite, north of river.		McC	
Bowing	South of Wapangarow, north of river.		McC	
Pummalnugy	South of Bowing, north of river.		McC	
Tackboungy	SE of Pummalnugy, north of river.		McC	
Waapuggit	SE of Tackboungy, north of river.		McC	
Tiltilma	East of Waapuggit, north of river.		McC	
Conamarouthy	SE of Tiltilma, north of river.		McC	
Canopathy	SW of Waapuggit north of river.		McC	



Thrawlbindy	Billabong, west of bend in river between Tackbouny and Canopathy, north of river.		McC	
Annanomy	Old hut, SW of Canopathy, north of river.		McC	
Tramby	South of Annanomy, north of river.		McC	
Miconarowy	East of Tramby, north of river.		McC	
Nundairy	South of Miconarowy, north of river.		McC	
Winecarry	SE of Nundairy, north of river.		McC	
Cummethy	East of Winecarry, north of river.		McC	
Miconarow	SE of Cummethy, north of river.		McC	
Goongoonangy	SE of Miconarow, north side of river.		McC	
Tuppungandago??	South of Goongoonangy, Tala Creek joins river between places.		McC	Last 3 letters unclear.
Powowcalie	West of Tuppungandago?? North of river.		McC	
Poweygringreygully	SW of Powowcalie, north of river.		McC	
Latty	SSE of above, north of river.		McC	
Bongeyepoey	West of Latty, north of river.		McC	
Meyngoupy	West of above, north of river.		McC	
Poingup	South of Meyngoupy, north of river.		McC	
Kyretowe (Kieta)	South of river from Poingup, down from Burdang Kiany; Wentworth's Head Station.		McC	
Kietu			1851 Townsend map	
Treyocum threyocum	West of Poingup, north of river.		McC	
Lalong	Billabong west of Treyocum, north of river.		McC	

Pungaut pungought	South of Lalong, north of river.		McC	
Piambie	NW of Pungaut, north of river.		McC	
Punommy	South across river from Piambie.		McC	
Cannope	SW of Piambie, north of river.		McC	
Calangy	South of Cannope, north of river.		McC	
Ingerangy Ingeruny	South of Calangy, north of river.		McC	
Moeyany Moeyany	SE of Ingerangy, north of river.		McC	
Caaley Kaley	West of Moeyany, north of river.		McC	
Napungy napungey	West of Caaley, north of river.		McC	
Mooroola moorolah	SW of Napungy, north of river.		McC	
Tharry	South of Mooroola, north of river.		McC	
Yammy yamney	NW of Tharry, north of river.		McC	
Thimmy	South of Yammy, north of river.		McC	
Yeah	West of Timmy, north of river.		McC	
Threynieh	SW of Yeah, north of river.		McC	
Keah	SW of Threynieh, north of river.		McC	
Mundy	West of Keah, north of river.		McC	
Lallia	SW of Mundy, north of river; Wentworth's sheep station.		McC	
Toogah	Small lake? West of Lallia, north of river.		McC	
Tippey	West of Toogah, north of river.		McC	
Neranyeh	SW of Tippey, north of river where Yangar Creek enters from south; in boundaries of Balranald.		McC	
Powongy Powongey	NW of Neranyeh, north of river in Balranald.		McC	
Yaakey	NW of Powongy, north of river in Balranald.		McC	

Neiley	NW of Yaakey, north of river in Balranald.		McC	
Mundowey	West of Neiley, north of river in Balranald.		McC	
Tinyah	West of Mundowey, north of river in Balranald.		McC	
Yeereah	West of Tinyah, north of river in Balranald.		McC	
Cuyerr (Caiera on other maps)	SW of Yeereah, north of river, just outside of Balranald.		McC	
Momangee	Opposite Balranald.		Towns	
Yonga Yanga	Lake fed by creek leaving Murrumbidgee near Momangee.		Towns	
Pumnyan	North side of river, west of Cuyerr.		McC	
Penal	Billabong SW of Pumnyan; Scott's sheep station.		McC	
Talee	SE of Penal, north side of river.		McC	
Tinden	West of Talee, north of river.		McC	
Pindober	SW of Tiden, north of river.		McC	
Waaquill	NW of Pindober, north of river.		McC	
Toogathu	South of Waaquill, north of river.		McC	
Carbonn	West of Toogathu, north of river.		McC	
Mungapall	North of Carbonn, north of river.		McC	
Lonarob	North of Mungapall, north of river.		McC	
Mullanga	NW of Lonarob, north of river.		McC	
Tillewy	West of Mullanga, north of river.		McC	
Woyle	South of Tillewy, north of river.		McC	
Bocarín	Billabong SW of Woyle, north of river.		McC	
Bonongy	South of river, south of Bocarin; Scott's sheep station.		McC	
Bomingel			Towns	
Bogall	West of Bocarin, north of river.		McC	

Whiteby	West of Bogall, north of river.		McC	
Broquong	SW of Whiteby, north of river.		McC	
Onngurr	West of Broquong, north of river.		McC	
Brancallie	SW of Onngurr, north of river.		McC	
Merewandill	SW of Brancallie, north of river.		McC	
Cannally	South of river, across from Merewandill; 'a sheep station of Scott's ??		McC	
Canabil	South of Merewandill, north of river.		McC	
Canacul	NW of Canabil, north of river.		McC	
Weyneywat	NE of Canacul, north of river.		McC	
Pullabul	WNW of Weyneywat, north of river.		McC	
Thunthongo	SW of Pullabul, north of river.		McC	
Wullaquor	Billabong west of Thunthongo, north of river.		McC	
Cungey	Small lake north of Wullaquor, north of river; Scott's sheep station.		McC	
Meyna	WNW of Cungey, east of junction of Waldaira Creek and Murrumbidgee; Jackson's cattle station.		McC	
Tippy	North of Meyna heading up along south side of creek.		McC	
Cobangy	NE of Tippy, south side of creek.		McC	
Munnurr	NE of Cobangy, south side of Creek.		McC	
Tilltill	East of Munnurr, south of creek.		McC	
Bullum	NE of Tilltill, north of creek.		McC	
Thummy	SE of Bullum, south of creek.		McC	

Willy	NE of Thummy, north of creek.		McC	
Tingy	South of Willy, south of creek.		McC	
Cullaohoale	NE of Tingy, north of creek.		McC	
Moweymy	South of Cullaohoale, south of creek, junction with lake		McC	
Woover	North end of lake.		McC	
Wawpocket	SE of woover, NE of lake.		McC	
Morarymibill	SE of Wawpocket, east of lake.		McC	
Pounongur	South of Morarymibill, SE of lake.		McC	
Tycobbill	SW of Pounongur, south of lake.		McC	
Berrongey	NW of Tycobbill, SW of lake.		McC	
Benwill	North of Berrongey, west of lake, south of Moweymy.		McC	
Punban Bunban	2 miles south of Meyna, south of river, near junction with Murray; Scott's Station.		1851 Townsend map in Pental island RC papers.	
Pole (initial very unclear)	Scott's, junction of Murrumbidgee and Tualka Creek.		1847–48 map of the Murray from Darling to Albury.	
Wemm	Dry billabong at junction of the Murray, north of Murrumbidgee.		McC	
Tickayum	North of Wemm, north of river.		McC	

Table 29 lists place names in the scrub areas on the New South Wales side of the border. We suggest that these are associated in particular with the Mathi-Mathi and the Wati-Wati (Piangil).

Table 29: Place names – Scrub areas, New South Wales

Placename	Location	Run	Source	Comments
Lathungole	East side of junction of Benanee Creek and Murray River.		Ben	
Yulko	½ mile up creek from Lathungole, north of road to Lachlan.		Ben	
Mulinah	¾ mile south of Yulko, north of road.		Ben	
Molacrin	½ mile SW of Mulinah, south of road.		Ben	
Ettyma	½ mile SSW of Molacrin, south of road.		Ben	
Buik	½ mile SSW of Ettyma, south of road.		Ben	
Merimirim	½ mile SE of Buik, north of road.		Ben	
Wackchin	1 mile ESE of Merimirim, north of road.		Ben	
Thounman	1 mile SE of Wackchin, north of road.		Ben	
Bunaragool	2½ miles SE of Thounman, north of road; Morey cattle station.		Ben	Already listed in Murray survey.
Mailmam	5½ miles ESE from Bunaragool, north of road; Ross' cattle and sheep station.		Ben	Already listed in Murray survey.
Twawill	East of Mailman.		1847–48 map of Murray from Darling to Albury.	
Peiko	7 miles ESE from Mailmam, south of road.		Ben	Already listed in Murray survey.
Tittara	Creek crosses road 5 miles east of Peiko.		Ben	Already listed in Murray survey.
Turla	4 miles ESE of Tittara Creek crossing; Lee cattle station.		Ben	Already listed in Murray survey.
Moora	2 miles NE of Turla, north of road.		Ben	

Witteya	1 mile nne from Moora, north of road.		Ben	
Wearaawat	1 mile east of Witteya, north of road.		Ben	
Weylacul	¾ mile ESE of Wearaawat, north of road.		Ben	
Bogonoun	Billabong south side of road, 2½ miles east of Weylacul.		Ben	
Tecano	1 mile north of Bogonoun, north of road.		Ben	
Tittara	Creek crosses road 1 mile north of Tecano.		Ben	Already listed in Murray survey.
Meyna	1 mile east of Tittara Creek, on north side Murrumbidgee; Rae's sheep and cattle station.		Ben	Already listed in Murrumbidgee survey.
Cungey	8 miles east of Meyna, south of road; Scott's sheep station.		Ben	
Penal	8 miles ENE from Cungey, north of road; Scott's sheep station.		Ben	
Caiera	5 miles NE of Penal, north of road; Balranald.		Ben	Already listed in Murrumbidgee survey.
Lallia	3 miles east of Caiera, north of road; Wentworth sheep station.		Ben	
Annanomy	5 miles NE of Lallia, north of road, Creek crosses.		Ben	
Numongy	4 miles NE of Annanomy, south of road; Wentworth sheep station.		Ben	
Beybeynolee	12 miles NE of Numongy, north of road.		Ben	
Tongum	½ mile ENE of Beybeynolee, north of road.		Ben	
Paule	16 miles NE of Tongum, north of Murrumbidgee; Wentworth sheep station.		Ben	Already listed in Murrumbidgee survey.





# 3 *Mathi-Mathi*

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## 3.1 Mathi-Mathi Phonology

### 3.1.1 Consonant phonemes

The consonant system is typically Western Kulin (Hercus 1986); the only difference is that Mathi-Mathi has only one rhotic, unlike Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) which clearly had two (see below Table 60 in 4.2.2.1). As in the other Western Kulin languages there is no laminal contrast: in Mathi-Mathi only interdentalals were used, with palatal realisations only after a high vowel (see below 3.1.3.2). This also appears to differ from Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) where there is a possible laminal contrast, see 4.2.2.1 below for discussion. The following consonant phonemes can be distinguished:

Table 30: Mathi-Mathi consonant phonemes

	labial	laminal (interdental, palatal)	alveolar	retroflex	velar
plosives	<b>p</b>	<b>th, (ty)</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>rt</b>	<b>k</b>
nasals	<b>m</b>	<b>nh, (ny)</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>rn</b>	<b>ng</b>
laterals		<b>lh</b>	<b>l</b>	<b>rl</b>	
rhotics			<b>rr</b>		
semivowels	<b>(w)</b>	<b>y</b>			

The tapped rhotic **rr**, the retroflex series and also **lh** do not occur in initial position. Nevertheless the apical distinction, i.e. the distinction between alveolar and retroflex is clearly maintained in medial position, as in (10) to (12)

- (10) **kekata**            above  
**kekarta**            box-tree
- (11) **laninggu**        swamp  
**larninggu**        his ribs
- (12) **kulum-kulum**    wild man  
**kurlu**                grey kangaroo

As there are no initial retroflex consonants in Mathi-Mathi the only coronal contrast in initial position is between laminal and alveolar. This is well established in the case of the plosives as in **thaka** ‘to eat’ and **taka-** ‘to hit’. Initial alveolar **n** however is extremely rare: there are only three examples of it in the recorded Mathi-Mathi vocabulary, **nangga** ‘to keep quiet’, **nemu** ‘the same, identical’ and **numila** ‘to cry’. The situation is similar in other Kulin languages, as in Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya (Hercus 1986). The situation

with initial apicals in Pama-Nyungan has been discussed in Evans (1988) and Alpher (2004:111ff).

The contrast between apical **-l-** and laminal **-lh-** is clear only in medial position:

- (13)    **palurru**            white egret  
           **palhurru**         at last

There is also a contrast between two apical laterals, **l** and **rl**. There are no minimal pairs, but **yúmbarli** and **yúrndal** are distinguished as words for ‘emu’. One has final **-rli**, the other final **-l**; this suggests that there was a neutralisation of apical contrast in final position: only **l**, not **-rl** was heard in final position, see Table 31.

### 3.1.2 Consonant Clusters

As regards the distribution of phonemes Mathi-Mathi shares some of the features of the other Kulin languages, eg. the absence of initial vowels, and as just mentioned, the absence of initial rhotics and retroflex consonants. There are however many marked differences.

Mathi-Mathi words usually end in vowels, but the following consonants are permissible in final position:

Table 31: Final consonants in Mathi-Mathi

<b>n</b> and <b>nh</b> <b>m</b> , <b>ng</b> , <b>rr</b> , <b>l</b> , <b>lh</b> , <b>p</b> , <b>th</b> and <b>rt</b> (rarely) <b>t</b> and <b>k</b> (only in borrowed words, <b>pulket</b> ‘pussy-cat’, <b>pultak</b> ‘búlock’)
--

The only permissible final cluster appears to be **-nd** as in **mund** ‘heart’. The other recorded Kulin languages favour final clusters, yet it is precisely final **nd**, the cluster occurring in Mathi-Mathi, which seems to be totally absent from them. This cluster, however, occurs in Yitha-Yitha/Tharti-Tharti, e.g. **rind** ‘Murrumbidgee River’. A word *murnt* ‘heart’ was noted for Keramin by ALP Cameron (1884/5:366), so **mund** ‘heart’, which does not have cognates in Kulin languages, is undoubtedly a borrowing.

The distribution of consonant phonemes and the limited possibilities of clustering in Mathi-Mathi bear more resemblance to Paakantyi, the Darling River language, than to the Kulin languages, and may well reflect some prolonged influence of Paakantyi speech-patterns on a Kulin language (see Hercus 1982 for further discussion on Paakantyi). The intramorphemic clusters that were recorded are listed in Table 32.

Table 32: Intramorphemic clusters in Mathi-Mathi

Initial	<b>pr-</b>				
Medial	<b>-mb</b>	<b>-ndh-</b>	<b>-nd-</b> <b>-nm-</b>	<b>-rnd-</b>	<b>-ngg-</b>  <b>(-ngw-)</b>
			<b>(-tk-)</b> <b>(-np-)</b> <b>(-rrmb-)</b> <b>-rrp-, -rrk-</b> <b>-lp-, -lk-, -lw-</b> <b>(-lt-)</b>	<b>(-rnk-)</b>	
Final			<b>-nd</b>	<b>(-rlk-)</b>	

It seems from this list that there was probably no apical distinction in heterorganic clusters, the only exception being one doubtful example of **-rlk-** versus **-lk-**.

The many clusters shown in brackets are rare and only occur in one or two words:

- (14) **-ngw-** is found only in the one word **yungwip** ‘canoe’  
**-np-** is found in **punpangai** ‘my shin’, there is no example of **-rnp-**  
**-rnk-** is found in **yirnka** ‘to go’, there is no example of **-nk-**  
**-rrmb-** is found in **mirrmbul** ‘fish’; there is, however, a distinct possibility that this word represents a compound with **-bul** ‘two’  
**-rlk-** is found only in **thirlka** ‘to be flash, to show off’. This word was heard only once and should perhaps be transcribed as **thilka**.  
**-rnw-** is found in **kurnwarra** ‘swan’; but this is probably not intramorphemic, as **-warra** is almost certainly a formative, the whole word being /**kurn-warra**/ ‘neck-having’.

The following occur only in borrowed words:

- (15) **-lt-** was heard only in the borrowed word **pultak** ‘cattle’, which is based on ‘bullock’  
**-tk-** was heard only in the word **tetku** ‘face’ which does not appear to have any cognates in Kulin. It is likely that this is a borrowing: words for ‘face’ are usually compound nouns and **tetku** may be connected with the Murray River languages’ word for ‘head’, e.g. Keramin **tuR(V)t** (Horgen 2004), based on forms like *dirirrt* ‘head’ (Cameron 1884/5:366).

Further clusters were noted in Mathi-Mathi, but they were not intramorphemic, they occurred only in combinations with the verbalising suffix **-ma**, cf. example (156) below, and also **perrma** ‘to sneak’. This is a widespread feature, particularly in the neighbouring Paakantyi language: **parlap-ma** ‘to flash (lightning)’, **nhin-nhin-ma** ‘to shiver’.

### 3.1.3 Allophonic variations of consonants

#### 3.1.3.1 Voicing

In Mathi-Mathi, plosive consonants were not articulated with great tension and were never truly ‘fortis’. Jack Long alternated readily between voiced and more or less voiceless

plosives. There was thus much more free variation than in the other Kulin languages. In Wemba-Wemba, for example, at a phonetic level, voicing differences were much more noticeable than in Mathi-Mathi.

The following were the main tendencies regarding voicing in the recorded material; they were not rules.

Initial consonants on the whole were voiced, except **th** followed by **a** or **u**. Medial plosives were usually voiceless. When an initial plosive was followed in the next syllable by a similar medial, and therefore a voiceless consonant, there was sometimes a tendency for regressive assimilation and consequent devoicing of the initial consonant; e.g. **kakai** [káakai] over here, this way; **kekarta** [kékaɾɛ] ‘box-tree’, as distinct from **kali** [gáli] ‘dog’.

The rare final plosives and the dental fricative were always devoiced, as in **wiritap** [wírítap] ‘whirlwind’ and **marlith-marlith** [máliθ-máliθ] ‘cold south wind’. Plosives forming clusters with nasals were always voiced, as **k** in **winggi** [wí:ŋgi] ‘hot coals’<sup>24</sup>. As in many other Australian languages this voicing, though of no phonemic significance, was so conspicuous that we have taken account of it in transcription.

Plosives in all non-nasal clusters were voiceless, e.g. **-k-** in **pulki** [búlki] ‘soft’, **lirrkai** [lírki] ‘quick’.

The cluster **-tk** showed partial devoicing in the solitary example **tetku** [détgu] ‘face’.

### 3.1.3.2 Individual consonants

#### *Plosives*

The articulation of **k** allophones varied slightly owing to anticipatory assimilation to a following vowel; before the high front vowel **i**, [g] and [k] were closer to the mediopalatal position than before **u**, but this anticipatory assimilation was not as marked as in Wemba-Wemba.

The interdental fricative **th** showed similar allophonic variation on account of the palatalising influence of front vowels **th** [ð / θ / ʃ / c]:

[ð], a voiced interdental fricative occurred only in the nasal cluster **-ndh** regardless of what vowel followed: **windha** [wíŋða] ‘where?’, **pandhil** [bánðil] ‘large Murray cod’.

The allophones [ʃ] and [c] were used before the front vowels **i**, **e** (except in the second accented syllable of polysyllabic words): **thepu** [ʃépu] ‘his mouth’; **tuthi** [dúci] ‘back’, The [c], [ʃ] of Mathi-Mathi appeared to be very slightly different from the similarly transcribed Wemba-Wemba sound, where the tip of the tongue was probably lower.

[θ], the voiceless interdental, was the allophone used in all other environments: **thathai** [θáθai] ‘my elder sister’, **withu** [wíθu] ‘big’, **pithiki** [bìθíki] ‘a fly’, **thuri** [θúri] ‘bream’, **pathenggin** [bàθéŋgin] ‘your knee’.

This unexpected use of the dental allophone before front vowels in the second accented syllable appears to be connected with other characteristics of this syllable, particularly the lowering of vowels

This distribution of allophones brought about some very frequent phonetic changes. These were prominent in the verbal system, as nearly all verbs were used with the addition of the suffix **-tha**.

<sup>24</sup> As discussed in 1.4 above, we write a voiced alternate for stops in homorganic nasal-stop clusters, hence **ngg** not **ngk**.

(16)	<b>palkatha</b>	[bálkaθə]	he hits
	<b>palkathinh</b>	[bálkacɪ̃]	he will hit
	<b>palkathin</b>	[bálkacɪn]	he hit
(17)	<b>wukatha</b>	[wú:kaθə]	he gives
	<b>wukathi</b>	[wú:kacɪ]	give it!

Allophonic variations were no less frequent in nouns, especially before possessor suffixes:

(18)	<b>mithu</b>	[míθu]	his skin
	<b>mithin</b>	[mícɪn]	your skin
	<b>tuthu</b>	[túθu]	his back
	<b>tuthi</b>	[túcɪ]	back

### *Nasals*

The labial nasal **m**, the dental **nh** and the retroflex **rn** showed no significant allophonic variations.

The velar nasal **ng** before the front vowels **i** and **e**, and to a lesser extent before **a**, seemed to be close to the medio-palatal position. **ng**, followed by **i** in particular, might therefore more accurately be transcribed by [ŋ<sub>+</sub>]; e.g. **ngindi** ‘you’ was generally heard as [ŋ<sub>+</sub>indi]. This almost medio-palatal [ŋ<sub>+</sub>] still remained distinct from the palatal **ny** [ɲ], as is shown by the difference in pronunciation between **karingi** [kàrí:ŋɪ] ‘emu’ and **karinhi** [kàrí:ɲɪ] ‘mallee’. **ng** had a distinctly velar articulation before **u** as in **ngundu** [ŋúndu] ‘hymn’.

The interdental **nh** is parallel to the **th** phoneme and shows some similar allophonic variations:

#### *The laminal nasal: nh [ɲ ~ (j)ɲ ~ ɲ]*

- i) [ɲ] before front vowels<sup>25</sup>: **nhinhi** [ɲɪɲɪ] ‘this’, **nhemba** [ɲémbə] ‘behind’, **murunhi** [mùrúɲɪ] ‘female’. The palatal [ɲ] was also heard before **au** in the word **nhauyngi** [ɲàujíɲɪ] ‘sun’: this was probably in anticipation of the following glide [j].
- ii) [jɲ] or [ɲ] in clusters: **pandhingi** [bájɲðɪŋɪ] or [báɲðɪŋɪ] ‘little’, **panhmatha** [bájɲmaθə] or [báɲmaθə] ‘to try’. The palatal glide [j] at the beginning of the cluster appeared to be optional and was probably due to an anticipation of the laminal position of the tongue.
- iii) [ɲ] in all other environments: **nhaka** [ɲákə] ‘he sees’, **manhangai** [màɲáŋai] ‘my hand’; **ngekathinh** [ŋékacɪ̃] ‘he will drown’.

The allophonic variations of **nh**, unlike those of **th**, did not play any significant role in morphology.

<sup>25</sup> There are no examples of **nh** at the beginning of the second syllable when this was accented, but this could have been a possible exception, parallel to the situation with **-th-**.

### *Laterals and rhotics*

The alveolar lateral **l** and the retroflex lateral **rl** [ɭ] did not seem to be subject to any allophonic variations. **lh**, the lateral of the interdental-palatal series, happened to occur only before a back vowel or in the final position. It was a dental lateral, but there was some slight palatalisation in the final position: **lukuwalh** [lúkowaɭ] evil magic.

**r**- sounds were much rarer in Mathi-Mathi than in the other Kulin languages. Only one kind of **r**, a very slightly trilled alveolar **r** (written **rr**) occurred in Mathi-Mathi, and even this was not very frequent. On some occasions **rr** was omitted, as in the alternative pronunciation of **kúrrku** ‘blood’ which is [kú.ku].

### *Semivowels*

The semivowels did not show any noticeable allophonic variations.

Both **w** and **y** appeared as optional glides between back and front vowels in hiatus:

(19)	<b>Thinaui</b>	[çináuwɪ] ~ [çináuɪ]	Lake Ganaway
	<b>nhauyngi</b>	[ɲàujíŋɪ <sup>26</sup> ] ~ [ɲàuíŋɪ]	sun
	<b>kayu</b>	[káijʊ] ~ [káiu]	over there

### *Lengthening*

Lengthening of the lateral consonants was reported for Werkaya (Hercus 1986:77) when the lateral was the initial consonant of a syllable following the stressed syllable. A similar phenomenon is found for many consonants (though not alveolar stops and rhotics) in Paakantyi (Hercus 1982:20). Lengthening was heard in the recordings of Jack Long for Mathi-Mathi. It appears to also have been present in Letyi-Letyi in the past participle form **mikan** (see the discussion below Table 51 below).

### *3.1.4 Vowels*

The following vowel phonemes occur in Mathi-Mathi:

Table 33: Mathi-Mathi vowel phonemes

i		u
	e	
		a

The diphthongs are au, ai, ui.

The phonemic value of the vowels is shown by the following minimal and near-minimal pairs:

(20)	<b>tema</b>	to hear
	<b>tama</b>	great
(21)	<b>kema</b>	to vomit
	<b>kima</b>	here

<sup>26</sup> The pronunciation [ɲàujíŋɪ] was heard as well as [ɲàwíŋɪ].

(22)	<b>kali</b>	dog
	<b>kili</b>	this one now
	<b>kulinatha</b>	he is angry

#### 3.1.4.1 Length

Vowel length in Mathi-Mathi is conditioned and has no phonemic significance. Only vowels in the syllable that bears the main stress are long, though slight lengthening was sometimes noted in syllables bearing the secondary stress. Accented vowels are usually long, or at least half-long before all nasals though in the case of **nh** and **rn** lengthening was more sporadic, also before **w** and before the clusters **nd** and **ngg**:

(23)	<b>mami</b>	[má:mi]	father
	<b>wani</b>	[wá:ni]	boomerang
	<b>wungi</b>	[wú.ŋi]	man
	<b>lunhi</b>	[lú.ŋi]	grave
	<b>wuwatha</b>	[wú:waθə]	to run
	<b>pinggali</b>	[bí:ŋgai]	carpet snake
	<b>minti</b>	[mí.ndi]	cold
	<b>kurraki</b>	[kùrá:ki]	sand

Accented vowels followed by **k** were long, or at least half-long, in many words and only rarely short. Examples of short vowels before **k** are found in (24):

(24)	<b>puki</b>	[búki]	bad
	<b>thaka</b>	[θákə]	to eat

Before **p** the appearance of long or half-long vowels was even more sporadic:

(25)	<b>kuthapi</b>	[gùθá.pi]	stone
	<b>nhapu</b>	[ŋápu]	how many?

It is important to note that these specific variations in vowel length occurred in exactly the same environment (before **k** and **p**) as in Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya. This confirms the writer's view (LH) that there was an incipient tendency towards phonemic vowel length in the Kulin languages.

#### 3.1.4.2 Allophonic variations of vowels

##### *High front vowel /i/*

When /i/ occurred in the initial syllable and under the tonic stress, it was a very high front vowel close to cardinal [i]. In the accented second syllable, particularly before, **m** and **p**, a much more open vowel was heard; this has been transcribed as [ɪ], though sometimes it was more open still and could approximate to [e]. Very distinct spreading of the lips was characteristic of the articulation of this sound:

- |      |                 |           |          |
|------|-----------------|-----------|----------|
| (26) | <b>mathimu</b>  | [màθí.mu] | his wife |
|      | <b>nguningi</b> | [ŋùnínɪ]  | bag      |

When it was followed by a retroflex consonant, **i** was open, and centralised so very slightly that it must still be regarded as a front vowel: **mirnu** [míɲu] ‘his eye’.

When it was unaccented **i** was heard as a lax [ɪ]. Like all unaccented vowels in Mathi-Mathi it remained distinctive and showed no tendency to weaken to an indeterminate [ə] like the unaccented vowels of Wemba-Wemba.

#### *Mid front vowel /e/*

The mid front vowel phoneme **e** showed two distinct allophonic variants:

(1) before all plosive consonants **e**, whether accented or not, was a half-open vowel, probably a little nearer to [e] than to [ɛ].

- |      |                |           |                |
|------|----------------|-----------|----------------|
| (27) | <b>pet-pet</b> | [bét-bét] | owlet nightjar |
|      | <b>thepu</b>   | [cépu]    | his mouth      |

(2) Before all other consonants **e** was a very open vowel, more open than [ɛ], but not quite as open as [æ]. This sound was heard for instance in the following words:

- |      |               |         |         |
|------|---------------|---------|---------|
| (28) | <b>menggi</b> | [mé:ŋɪ] | cloud   |
|      | <b>theli</b>  | [cé.li] | dragnet |

**e** was never pronounced as a weak central vowel [ə] except in the unstressed last syllable of the borrowed word **pelithmen** [bèlɪmən] ‘policeman’.

#### *Back vowel /u/*

**u** was parallel to **i** in that three major allophonic variants were found. In the initial syllable, **u** was a high, rounded back vowel, close to cardinal [u]. Accented **u** in the second syllable was usually a much more open vowel, and particularly before **m**, **ng**, **w** and **p**, it was heard as almost equivalent to a close [o].

- |      |                  |                          |               |
|------|------------------|--------------------------|---------------|
| (29) | <b>puyuti</b>    | [bùyúti]                 | smoke         |
|      | <b>wuthungi</b>  | [wùθú.ŋɪ] or [wùθó.ŋɪ]   | man           |
|      | <b>wuthuparr</b> | [wùθú.pər] or [wùθó.pər] | in the-middle |

Apart from **w+a** this was the only environment in which the sound [o] was heard in Mathi-Mathi.

Unaccented **u** was pronounced as a lax [ʊ].

#### *Low vowel /a/*

Under the main or secondary stress, **a**, whether long or short, was usually pronounced as an open front vowel [a]. In certain environments there was allophonic variation:



The vowel **a** preceded by **w**, and followed by a retroflex consonant (as in the other Kulin languages) or also by **rr**, was retracted towards [o] and approximated the open **o** position: **wart-wart** [wɔʔ~wɔʔ] or [wóʔ~wɔʔ] ‘north’, **warripa** [wə́rɪpə] ‘to dance’.

The corresponding tendency to raise **a** to [e] after a palatal consonant was not a prominent feature of Mathi-Mathi. Nevertheless owing to some co-articulation **a** was just a little more raised after an inter-dental than after other consonants, and on one or two rare occasions **a** was heard as a very open [æ] in this position:

(30) **nhakila** usually [nákɪlə], once [nǎ́kɪlə] to look

Unaccented **a** was pronounced as [a], but in the final syllable and particularly as a final vowel it was often weakened to a more laxly articulated a-sound which has been transcribed as [ɐ] in our phonetic transcription.

### 3.1.5 Diphthongs

All three diphthongs, **ai**, **au**, **ui** occurred only in a limited environment. **ai** was heard both in the accented initial syllable and at the end of a word; it was final in the first person singular possessor marker and also in exclamations: **kauwai** ‘hey, over here!’

**au** occurred only in the first syllable when it was accented and it was generally followed by **w**: this is a clear indication that the diphthong **au** in Mathi-Mathi was a secondary formation based on **a** followed by a vocalic glide and then by **w**. But this is only a historical consideration, and in the Mathi-Mathi material recorded **au** was phonemically distinct from **a + w**; **wauwunatha** ‘to swell up’, but **wawin** ‘your elder brother’, already discussed in 1.4.1 above.

**ui** also occurred only in the accented initial syllable. After **w**, and in one particular environment after **p** (with another labial, **m**, following), the first part of the diphthong was often lower and the sound [oi] was heard:

(31) **puiku** [búikʊ] shrub  
**puimatha** [búimaθɐ] or [bóimaθɐ] he sends  
**wuikatha**<sup>27</sup> [wóikaθɐ] he sings, he dances

As discussed above in 1.4.1, diphthongs in Mathi-Mathi can clearly be distinguished from vowel sequences, on the grounds of accentuation.

### 3.1.6 Accentuation.

The system of accentuation of Mathi-Mathi differed considerably from the accentuation of Werkaya and Wemba-Wemba, which invariably had a heavy stress accent on the first syllable. The accent in Mathi-Mathi was more varied in position, but it was conditioned and not of direct phonemic significance. It fulfilled the function of a prosodic phoneme, particularly in the formation of the vocative (see 3.1.7.3). There are primary, and secondary degrees of stress. Primary stress is accompanied by a very slight rise in pitch.

<sup>27</sup> There is a possibility that this word could be interpreted as **waikatha**, with rounding, after **w** of the first component of the diphthong as described in 3.1.4.ii above.

Unaccented syllables in Mathi-Mathi were not weakened as noticeably as in the other Kulin languages, and vowels in such syllables were still kept distinct and were not reduced to a schwa.

### 3.1.7 *Position of the Accent*

#### 3.1.7.1 Monosyllabic and disyllabic words

Monosyllabic words are very rare in Mathi-Mathi, but were always accented: **kar** [gár] ‘edible grub’, **mund** [múnd] ‘heart’.

Primary stress occurred on the first syllable in words of two syllables: **puki** [búkɪ] ‘bad’, **tamu** [dámʊ] ‘very’.

#### 3.1.7.2 Polysyllabics

In words of three or more syllables the primary stress was on the first syllable in the following circumstances:

- before single velar and labial consonants, **k, ng, p, m, w**
- before most clusters, eg. **ngg, lw, nm, nhm,** and **rrp**
- more rarely before **mb, ndh, rrk,** and **lk**, where there was some hesitation.

Examples are:

(32)	<b>pukumanama</b>	[búkumanàmə]	kangaroo
	<b>punggatha</b>	[búŋgaθə]	he pulls out
	<b>kupatha</b>	[gúpaθə]	he drinks
	<b>tematha</b>	[dé:maθə]	he hears
	<b>manggathin</b>	[má:ŋgacɪn]	he took
	<b>walwatha</b>	[wálwaθə]	he burns
	<b>thirndatha</b>	[jɪ̀ndəθə]	he sharpens

All single consonants other than labials and velars, as well as vowels in hiatus, whenever they began the second syllable, attracted the main accent in the second syllable. A weak secondary accent, marked [˘], remained on the first syllable:

(33)	<b>pulutin-pulutin</b>	[bùlútɪn- bùlútɪn]	your whiskers
	<b>wirrandu</b>	[wírándɔ]	(his) sinews
	<b>murlimatha</b>	[mùlímaθɛ]	to turn
	<b>puthukatha</b>	[bùθúkaθɛ]	to smash
	<b>withinu</b>	[wìθínɔ]	(its) feather
	<b>manangai</b>	[mànáŋai]	my hand
	<b>thinangu</b>	[jínáŋɔ]	(his) foot
	<b>kuyuni</b>	[gùyúni]	large spear
	<b>piyali</b>	[bìyáli]	red gum

There were only a few isolated exceptions to this rule, mainly when the optional glide -w- began the second syllable, as for instance in **yawimatha** [yáwimàθɛ] ‘to disappear’.

The accent on the second syllable was usual also when the clusters **-nd-** and **-lp-** were involved:

(34)	<b>mindarratha</b>	[mìndáraθɛ]	it is cold
	<b>kalpayatha</b>	[kálpáijaθɛ]	to cut

There was some hesitation with the clusters **-rrk-** and **-mb-**, **-nd-** and **-lk-**; the primary accent was on the first syllable in some words, and on the second syllable in others.

If the second syllable was heavy, i.e. if it was a closed syllable or contained a diphthong it also tended to attract the stress accent. In the case of closed syllables this was not an absolute rule as we have **típárrkima** ‘to glue together’ but **ngákundàl** ‘mountain duck’ is an exception. The stative verbs discussed in 3.2.5.3 below have the main accent on the first element of the falling diphthong [ai] in the second syllable as in **pùlkáyatha** [pùlkáijaθɛ] ‘to be soft’.

The Mathi-Mathi system can be summarised as follows (cf. Davis, n.d. and Evans 1995:747)

In words of more than two syllables, primary stress falls on the second syllable rather than the first

- if the second syllable contains a diphthong or is a closed syllable
- if the second syllable begins with a coronal consonant.

### 3.1.7.3 Exclamations

A special secondary stress was heard in the final syllable of any word used as an exclamation or a vocative. This form of secondary accent was associated with a very strong rise in pitch, as is shown for instance by the words **painggu** ‘child!’ and **kauwai** ‘here!’ in the following phrase:

(35)	<b>painggu!</b>	<b>yirnká-thi</b>	<b>kauwai!</b>
	[báingù	yínkacɪ	gáuwài]
	child!	come-IMP	here!
	‘Child, come here!’		

### 3.1.8 *The Mathi-Mathi accentuation system from a wider perspective*

The Mathi-Mathi accentuation system has been presented here in the same manner as Luise Hercus originally analysed it in the 1969 and 1986 works on Victorian language. The further interpretation of the system has led to interesting phonological discussions and insights on how this system developed. The first to draw attention to the special nature of Mathi-Mathi accentuation was Stuart Davis, in a MIT working paper (S. Davis, n.d.) He interpreted the rules of accentuation in Mathi-Mathi by means of a metrical analysis and importantly he saw the wider implications of the stress shift rules and parallels in other Australian languages. He took up the discussion further in his 1988 thesis summarising his metrical analysis

In sum. It has been demonstrated that a metrical analysis incorporating a level syllable structure is compatible with the Madimadi stress facts, whereas other possible analyses incorporating different syllable structures were unable to account for the Madimadi data. This then, provides additional supporting evidence for a level syllable structure (S.Davis 1988:126).

Davis also carried out a metrical analysis of two Arandic languages, Western Arrernte and Alyawarra, discussing the loss of initial syllables.

Evans (1995:747–8) put this evidence into perspective, citing other examples of languages in which second syllables beginning with apicals can attract stress. These additional data are from two Yolngu languages in Arnhem Land, Djapu and Djinang. Subsequently further work was done by Susanne Gahl, who aimed to show that “Mathi-Mathi stress is not in fact sensitive to syllable onsets” (1996:329), and she has written “a morphological analysis of Mathi-Mathi stress”.

The most thorough research was carried out by R.Goedemans and this work resulted in several publications, a chapter in the 1996 book *Stress Patterns of the World*, an article in the *Australian Journal of Linguistics* of 1997 and his thesis of 1998. He listened to some of the tapes recorded from Jack Long to check that the accentuation of Mathi-Mathi was indeed as described in Hercus (1969, 1986). He carried out measurements of vowel-length and pitch and showed that “the mean duration values directly reflect the stress patterns we are looking for” (Goedemans 1997:51) and that “differences in duration and spectral tilt reflect the pattern adequately” (Goedemans 1997:54). He furthermore confirmed that there is no significant reduction to schwa in unstressed vowels. He came to the conclusion that the shift of accent to the second syllable was morphologically based and was not triggered by coronal onsets. He argued that the shift of accent was due to initial syllable reduction in the Murray River languages and to diffusion from there into Mathi-Mathi. He nevertheless admitted that coronal onset was a factor: “stress shift to the second syllable and reduction of the first syllable was easiest when the second syllable had a coronal onset” (Goedemans 1998:190). He pointed to the shifting of stress from the initial to the second syllable as being “an areal feature of the languages spoken along the Murray River”.

The evidence that there was indeed such an areal feature is by no means obvious. If we start among the River languages closest to Mathi-Mathi there is no evidence for accents in Yitha-Yitha, and Keramin. Every one of the few Tharti-Tharti words recorded by Jack Long was accented on the first syllable. There are only a few words in Yitha-Yitha, Tharti-Tharti and Keramin that have initial clusters that might have arisen from loss of a vowel in the initial syllable such as *troot* ‘knee’ noted by Beveridge and recorded as **trut** by Jack Long for Tharti-Tharti: in these cases it is quite likely that the initial clusters could have arisen through metathesis (**\*turt** > **trut**). Tindale was as careful as always in noting accent

when he wrote down data from the Yu-Yu speaker Bob McKinley in his ‘Murray River Notes’. There is not one single example of stress on the second syllable, but when we turn the page to the next note which is not from Bob McKinley but a note from Tindale to himself, we find the name of the main Murray River Ancestor **Ngurúndari**<sup>28</sup>: this name was and is well known all the way down the river.

Going down the river from Yu-Yu to Ngayawang, there is no evidence on accents in the important work of Moorhouse and there are no initial consonant clusters. It is only in Yaralde, near the Murray mouth that we find further evidence of stress on the second syllable. Maryalyce McDonald (2002) has discussed the accent shift in detail. She examined Yaralde recordings from James Kartinyeri and several others and found a number of words in which equal stress occurs in the first and second syllable, and that in all of these words “the first consonant of the second syllable is a single apical consonant (2002:36)”. These are words where the first vowel is ‘a’.

On the other hand,

Where the vowel of the first syllable was either /u/ or /i/ and the resultant cluster is acceptable, the vowel has reduced and then deleted, producing an initial cluster (2002:37).

Even the vowel **a** in the first syllable can be elided in Yaralde if the resulting cluster is acceptable, and there is in fact one such word which has an exact parallel in the Mathi language group, Yaralde **kraw**, ‘big’ and Mathi-Mathi **kàrráwi**, and similar forms in both Wati-Wati varieties.

The tendency to shift the accent to the second syllable when that began with a coronal consonant is therefore manifest only in the southernmost of the Murray River Languages. We think that this tendency needed another trigger to become established in the Mathi language group.

We believe that the underlying cause of the situation in the Mathi group of languages was the desire to have vocalic finals, as in the Paakantyi languages. This resulted in the loss of final **-k** in the possessor markers and the addition of a final **-i** to Mathi-Mathi nouns (the possible origins of this **-i** are discussed in 3.2.3. below). Paakantyi does not allow final consonants (except in what was probably a recent development in the Maraura dialect). The rhythm of the Paakantyi language group was distinctive, as the accent was on the second syllable of polysyllabic words where there was a boundary between morphemes in the second syllable, as in:

- |      |  |                  |
|------|--|------------------|
| (36) | <b>thináma</b> < <b>thina</b> + <b>(a)ma</b> | foot-yours       |
|      | <b>palkuana</b> (pronounced /palkóna/)       | language-his     |
|      | <b>palkáthu</b> < <b>palka+athu</b>          | hit-I (ergative) |

There was some liberty as to the length of the resulting vowel and the accent in the juncture was accompanied by a rising pitch. In Paakantyi this feature was limited to the juncture with particular bound morphemes, as summarised in Hercus 1982:45:

<sup>28</sup> Tindale always marks the accent immediately before the accented syllable, so he writes ‘Ngu"rundari’

1. Pronominal subject and object markers (these do not occur in the Kurnu dialect from the Bourke area)
2. Pronominal possessor affixes
3. Optative and present participles
4. The affix *'mbala* 'with', the emphatic particle *-thinga*, and the singular-marking affix *-ulu*.

The stress-pattern in all relevant words in Paakantyi was therefore:

- |                               |                 |              |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| (37) 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable | 2nd syllable    | 3rd syllable |
| ` (secondary stress)          | ' (main stress) | (unaccented) |

As in the example of **ngitya-ulu** 'one-only'

- |                             |                    |                 |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| (38) ngi-(secondary stress) | tyó- (main stress) | lu (unaccented) |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|

It is highly likely that it was exactly this stress-pattern that influenced Mathi-Mathi, and so for instance the corresponding word in Mathi-Mathi **kiyapu** 'one' is accented as follows:

- |                             |                  |                 |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (39) kî- (secondary stress) | yá-(main stress) | pu (unaccented) |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|

In Paakantyi this accentuation pattern was conditioned by morphology, but it may well have helped to trigger the shift of accent to the second syllable in Mathi-Mathi.

### 3.2 Morphology and syntax

The morphology of Mathi-Mathi is simpler than that of the other Kulin languages, more variation in the ordering of elements is found and permitted. This must have been caused at least in some measure by the language-contact situation in the Mathi-Mathi area. Morphophonemic changes are much rarer within the structure of Mathi-Mathi than in Wemba-Wemba and probably in Werkaya.

There are three classes of words in Mathi-Mathi:

- nominals, inflected for case: adjectives, nouns and pronouns
- verbs, inflected for tense and mood
- words normally not inflected but loosely connected with the flexional system: adverbs and particles.

#### 3.2.1 *Nominals: adjectives*

Adjectives are comparatively few in number and denote quality, dimension or colour. They differ from nouns semantically and hence in their characteristic distribution, but they are not different morphologically.

As in the other Kulin languages, in Mathi-Mathi stative verbs were used instead of adjectives to express a state or condition. Adjectives on the other hand were used as part of a noun-phrase to express inherent qualities. There is thus a distinction between the use of

the stative verb **telkaya-** ‘to be well’, ‘to be in good condition’ and the use of the adjective **telki** ‘good’:

- (40) **Telkayatha**                      **kinhi**                      **wuthungi.**  
 well-is                                  this                                  man  
 verb    noun-phrase  
 ‘This man is well.’
- (41) **Telki**    **kinhi**                      **wuthungi.**  
 good    this                                  man  
 adjective/complement                      noun-phrase  
 ‘He is a good man.’

Similarly

- (42) **Pulkayatha**                      **kinhi**                      **marndu.**  
 soft-is                                  this                                  meat  
 verb    noun-phrase  
 ‘This meat is tender.’
- (43) **Pulki-pulki**    **kinhi**                      **layurr.**  
 old-old (soft)    this                                  woman  
 adjective/complement                      noun-phrase  
 ‘She is a very old woman’

Adjectives are comparatively few in number. They precede the noun in descriptive noun phrases as in:

- (44) **withul**                      **wuthungi**  
 big    man
- (45) **pirrathi**                      **thangi**  
 bare    ground

In most situations, case markers were used with only one nominal component, noun or adjective, in any noun phrase, usually in the phrase-final position, as in Wemba-Wemba and as in many other Australian languages (cf. Dixon 2002:144). There are some exceptions, such as the marking of both noun and demonstrative with the oblique in (77) below.

### 3.2.2 Nouns: number

Nouns are not inflected for number in Mathi-Mathi, though pronouns are (see below section 3.2.4). Number in nouns is usually expressed by numerals.

#### 3.2.2.1 Dual

There was generally no indication of a grammatical dual in nouns: there is no example of the use of a dual affix on nouns in the other languages of the group. The numeral ‘two’ was simply used with the noun:

- (46) **Yirnkatha kakai puletha wuthungi.**  
 walk here two man  
 ‘Two men are coming here.’

The Kulin dual-suffix **-pula**, combined with the third person possessor suffix **-u** to form **-pulu**, was found in a few fixed dual forms, **paipulu** ‘(his) fat’ (from the two kidneys), **wimbulu** ‘(his) ears’.

The word **perrkulu** ‘two time-sticks’ also represents a dual. It is cognate with the Wemba-Wemba **perkel-perkel** ‘time sticks, magic sticks’, and appears to consist of a root **perrk-** and the dual **-ulu**. Interestingly, this is very similar to the widespread word **parkulu** ‘two’, found for instance in Paakantyi and languages from the north-east of South Australia.

### 3.2.2.2 Plural

There was no plural-marker for nouns. The plural could be indicated in three different ways:

(i) By a numeral:

- (47) **Ngenggath-inh yiti kima puletha-puletha kiyaka nhauwingi .**  
 sit-FUT I here two-two one day  
 ‘I will stop here for a few days (lit. for five days).’

(ii) By the use of a plural deictic:

- (48) **nhinmerru wirangan**  
 these dog  
 ‘a lot of dogs (here)’
- (49) **nhunmerru layurr**  
 those woman  
 ‘the mob of women there’

(iii) By reduplication of the noun, which then functions as a collective noun:

- (50) **wilekil-wilekil** ‘galah-galah’ a flock of galahs  
**puneth-puneth** ‘the Seven Sisters’

Nouns forming part of these reduplicated plurals do not retain the nominative marker **-i**, as in the case of **piyali** ‘red gum’, not even on the whole word:

- (51) **piyal-piyal** ‘red-gum-red-gum’, a forest of red-gum trees

This way of forming a plural seems to have been restricted to fixed locutions.

### 3.2.3 Nouns: Case marking

Mathi-Mathi case-marking resembles that of the other Kulin languages: it follows an ergative system. There is however one main difference: in Mathi-Mathi nouns fall into two classes according to whether the nominative case marker is zero or **-(ng)i**. The nominative



in Mathi-Mathi nouns marks the subject of an intransitive predicate or any object of a transitive verb, whether direct or indirect. In pronouns there is a nominative-accusative distinction, see 3.2.4 below.

The whole system was not always strictly adhered to, and the nominative was sometimes used for the other cases. This could be due to language loss. Examples (52) and (53) are instances where the unmarked nominative case was recorded where the ergative/instrumental case would have been expected.

- (52) **takath-in perrpinh**  
hit-PAST waddy  
'hit with a waddy'
- (53) **Tarrkuwil puimath-in mamurra.**  
rainbow send-PAST God  
'God sent a rainbow.'

### 3.2.3.1 Table of case-suffixes used with nouns

Table 34: Case Suffixes

	Class 1	Class 2	
	consonant stems	C-stem	V-stem
Nominative and Vocative	-	<b>-i</b>	<b>-ngi</b>
Ergative/instrumental <sup>29</sup>	<b>-u</b>	<b>-u</b>	<b>-ngu</b>
pre-possessor allomorph		<b>-urr</b>	<b>-ngurr-</b>

	consonant stems of both classes	(postvocalic allomorph)
General oblique	<b>-a</b>	<b>-ka</b>
Ablative	<b>-unga, -ung</b>	<b>-ngung</b>
pre-possessor allomorph	<b>-ung-</b>	<b>-ngung-</b> (see example 103)
Locative (1)	<b>-al</b>	<b>-ngal</b>
Locative (2)	<b>-ata</b>	not found
pre-possessor allomorph	<b>-at-</b>	not found
Locative (3)	<b>-ang</b>	<b>-kang</b>
Locative (4)	<b>-arr</b>	

### 3.2.3.2 Examples of case-forms of nouns

We list here case forms for both classes and for words representative of all recorded finals.

As there is no attested full paradigm for any particular word, we have added what we assume the missing forms would have been, in semantically acceptable cases, for just two words, representing the two classes **wirrangana**, 'dog' (Class 1) in Table 35 and **kathini** 'water' (Class 2) in Table 37. These unattested additions are shown with asterisks.

<sup>29</sup> There is an example of an ergative **-ku** in the form **wuthuku** 'man-ERG' in sentence 4, Text 10, (216) in 3.3. below. This is reminiscent of the ergative **-ku** on vocalic stems in Wemba-Wemba (Hercus 1986:29)

Table 35: Class 1 nouns (Consonant Final)

putative root form	<b>wirrangan</b> 'dog'	<b>lukuwalh</b> 'evil magic'	<b>thina-thinath</b> 'owl'	<b>wulekil</b> eagle'
Nominative	<b>wirrangan</b>	<b>lukuwalh</b>	<b>thina-thinath</b>	<b>wulekil</b>
Ergative	<b>*wirranganu</b>	<b>lukuwalhu</b>		<b>wulekilu</b>
Ablative	<b>*wirranganunga</b>		<b>thina-thinathunga</b>	
Locative (1) <b>-al</b>	<b>*wirranganal</b>			
Locative (2) <b>-ang</b> 'on, over', 'located with'	<b>*wirranganang</b>			
General Oblique	<b>wirrangana</b>			

putative root form	<b>murrembin</b> 'water rat'	<b>layurr(k)</b> 'woman'	<b>perrerr</b> 'swamp'	<b>kerr-kerr</b> 'brown hawk'
Nominative	<b>murrembin</b>	<b>layurr</b>	<b>perrerr</b>	<b>kerr-kerr</b>
Ergative	<b>murrembinu</b>	<b>layurrku</b>		<b>kerr-kerru</b>
Locative (2) <b>-ang</b> 'on, over'			<b>perrerrang</b>	
General Oblique		<b>layurrka</b>		

putative root form	<b>kambang</b> 'reed'	<b>mithien</b> 'moon'	<b>waiwulang</b> 'white fellow'
Nominative	<b>kambang</b>	<b>mithien</b>	<b>waiwulang</b>
Ergative		<b>mithienu</b>	<b>waiwulangu</b>
General Oblique	<b>kambanga</b>		

The other case forms of these particular words are not represented in our data.

Two nouns have nominatives with final vowels other than **-i**, but the oblique cases indicate they are treated as consonant-final. Both are probably derived forms: **mamurra** is derived from **mama-ngurra** 'father-1PL.POSS', and **wapurru** may have a locative origin.

Table 36: Nouns with vowel finals other than **-i**

putative root form	<b>mamura</b> 'god'	<b>wapurru</b> 'west'
Nominative	<b>mamura</b>	<b>wapurru</b>
Ablative	<b>mamurrunga</b>	
Locative (1) <b>-al</b>	<b>mamurral</b>	
Locative (2) <b>-ang</b> 'on, over'		<b>wapurrang</b>

Table 37: Class 2 nouns (Consonant Final)

putative root form	<b>kathin-</b> 'water'	<b>pilkirr-</b> 'flood'	<b>piyal-</b> 'gum tree'	<b>kuthap-</b> 'stone'
Nominative	<b>kathini</b>	<b>pilkirri</b>	<b>piyali</b>	<b>kuthapi</b>
Ergative /Instrumental	<b>*kathinu</b>			
Ablative	<b>kathinung</b>			
Locative (1) <b>-al</b>	<b>*kathinal</b>			
Locative (2) <b>-ang</b> 'on, over'	<b>kathinang</b>		<b>piyalang</b>	
Locative (3) <b>-ata</b> 'in'	<b>kathinata</b>			
General Oblique	<b>kathina</b>		<b>piyala</b>	<b>kuthapa</b>

putative root form	<b>kuyun-</b> 'spear'	<b>pik-</b> 'mud'	<b>tirril-</b> 'heaven, sky'	<b>pap-</b> 'mother'
Nominative	<b>kuyuni</b>	<b>piki</b>	<b>tirrili</b>	<b>papi</b>
Ergative/Instrumental	<b>kuyunu</b>			<b>papu</b>
Pre-possessor Ergative <b>-urr</b>				<b>papurrai</b> ( <b>pap-urr-ai</b> mother-ERG-my)
Locative (1) <b>-al</b>		<b>pikal</b>		
Locative (2) <b>-ang</b> 'on, over'		<b>pikang</b>	<b>tirrilang</b>	<b>papang</b> as in <b>papangu</b> ( <b>pap-ang-u</b> mother-LOC-his)
Locative (3) <b>-ata</b> 'in'			<b>tirrilata</b>	
General Oblique	<b>kuyuna</b>			

putative root form	<b>mam-</b> 'father'	<b>tathak-</b> 'arm'	<b>kurrak-</b> 'sand'	<b>wanap-</b> 'fire'
Nominative	<b>mami</b>	<b>tathaki</b>	<b>kurraki</b>	<b>wanapi</b>
Ergative/Instrumental	<b>mamu</b>			<b>wanapu</b>
Pre-possessor Ergative <b>-urr</b>	<b>mamurrai</b> ( <b>mam-urr-ai</b> father-ERG-my)			
Locative (2) <b>-ang</b> 'on, over'	<b>mamang</b> as in <b>mamangu</b> ( <b>mam-ang-u</b> father- LOC his)	<b>tathakang</b>		<b>wanapang</b>
General Oblique				<b>wanapa</b>

putative root form	<b>tint-</b> 'river'	<b>puindh-</b> 'darkness'
Nominative	<b>tinti</b>	<b>puindhi</b>
Ergative /Instrumental		
Locative (3) <b>-ata</b> 'in'	<b>tintata</b>	<b>puindhata</b>

Table 38: Class 2 nouns (Vowel Final)

putative root form	<b>wuthu-</b> 'man'	<b>tha-</b> 'ground'	<b>wile-</b> 'possum'	<b>thina-</b> 'foot'
Nominative	<b>wuthungi</b>	<b>thangi</b>	<b>wilengi</b>	<b>thinangi</b>
Ergative	<b>wuthungu</b>			<b>thinangu</b>
Pre-possessor Ergative/Instrumental				<b>thina-ngurr-u</b> (foot-INST-his)
Locative (1) <b>-al</b>	<b>wuthungal</b>			
Locative (2) <b>-ang</b> 'on, over'		<b>thakang</b>		
General Oblique	<b>wuthuka</b>	<b>thaka</b>	<b>wileka</b>	

putative root form	<b>thali</b>
Nominative	<b>thalingi</b>
Ergative /Instrumental	<b>thalingu</b>

an example of a vowel final word in the ablative is **manha-ngung-ai** 'out of my hand'

putative root form	<b>punga-</b> 'evil spirit'	<b>wa-</b> 'crow'
Nominative	<b>pungangi</b>	<b>wangi</b>
Ergative/Instrumental		<b>wangu</b>

Table 39: Class 2 \*LAR (-r Final)<sup>30</sup>

putative root form	<b>lar-</b> 'camp'
Nominative	<b>lengi</b>
Ablative	<b>larnunga</b>
Locative	<b>lengata, larnata</b>
General Oblique	<b>lengala</b>

### 3.2.3.3 Comments on the tables of case-forms

There are several nouns that show irregular case-marking:

The noun **layurr** 'woman' (Table 35) is irregular. Unlike other words ending in **-rr** it takes **-k** forms in the ergative and the general oblique. This suggests that its original stem-form was **layurrk**, equivalent to Wemba-Wemba **lerrk**, Nari-Nari **layurrk**. Werkaya **layurrk**, and similar to Wati-Wati **layurrki**: the **-k**-formed part of the stem, but was lost as Mathi-Mathi does not allow final clusters.

In many cases, words that take postvocalic case suffixes or possessor suffixes, most of which have initial **-ng**, are those for which the velar nasal augment is found in a variety of Kulin languages (see Table 5 in Section 1.3.1; also Blake and Reid 1998:13). Consider **thina-** 'foot', which has been classed as vowel final (see Table 38). The cognate word in Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya is also vowel final, **tyinə**, whereas in Woiwurrung it is **tyinang**. Such velars are found in cognate words in the related Eastern Kulin and Warrnambool languages, but not in Western Kulin south of Mathi-Mathi. One exception to this is the word **thali-** 'tongue', which has final velar nasal in Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya, **tyaling**, as well as in the other Kulin languages. We nevertheless treat it as a vowel final stem in Mathi-Mathi, because it behaves in the same way as words like **thina-**. Historically the augment **-ng** may have been part of the word stem, but synchronically, in Mathi-Mathi at least, we regard it as part of the suffix.

These two words have been recorded in Mathi-Mathi with the regular instrumental forms for vocalic finals, **thalingu** 'tongue-INST' and **thinangu** 'foot-INST', but both have also been recorded with instrumental forms for consonantal finals with possessor suffix, **thalingurri** 'in your language' (example 101) and **thinanggurru** 'by his foot' (example 76). The presence of the cluster **ngg** in the latter example is unexplained. If the root was **thinang**, when the consonantal of the suffix was added, the expected form would be **thinangurru**.

There is only one word in the language as recorded that ends in a diphthong: it is the widespread Kulin word **Mirndai**, 'the Maned Snake'. It is a noun of class 1. Case-suffixes are added in their normal form, not the post-vocalic form, since the final turns into the semi-vowel **-y-** in this environment, hence:

<sup>30</sup> The presumed root form **lar** is never found in Mathi-Mathi, though is very common in other Western Kulin languages.

(54) **Mirnday-u**  
**Mirndai-ERG**

The oblique form **lengala** ‘towards the camp belonging to us two’ could be a mistake (see below 3.2.3.8.1)

## 3.2.3.4 Nominative and Vocative

In the first class of nouns the stem-form is used to express the nominative and the vocative. Except for the formation of the nominative/accusative there seems to be no other criterion, either phonetic or semantic, to differentiate between the two classes. The first class is rather small and consists of nouns ending in **rr, l, lh, m, n, ng, p** and **th**. There are also two vowel final words in Table 36 above, **mamura** ‘god’ (probably a new word from **mama-ngurra** ‘our father’) and **wapurru** ‘west’. There are also nouns in class 2 whose stems end in those consonants. Thus in the case of final **-l** we find:

- (55) **ngakundal** carpet-snake, (class 1)  
**pingkal-i** mountain duck, (class 2).

*Class 1*

Examples of the use of the nominative are given for **layurr** ‘woman’ and **kulum-kulum** ‘wild man’:

- (56) **Nhangu** **manhi** **layurr** **yarnkatha?**  
how that woman speak?  
(intr subj)  
‘How does that woman speak?’

- (57) **Wukath-inh** **yiti** **kinhi** **layurr** **thali-ngurra .**  
give-FUT I this woman language-ours  
(indirect object)  
‘I will teach this woman our language.’

- (58) **Yirkath-iya** **kulum-kulum.**  
come-IRR wild-man  
(intr subj)  
‘A wild man might come.’

*Class 2*

The vast majority of Mathi-Mathi nouns and adjectives belong to the second class, in which the stem as such never occurs as a free form, not even in the nominative, but is always followed by a case marker or a possessor suffix. Since the actual stem cannot occur as a free form, the citation form, i.e. the nominative form, is usually the one that is quoted, although many nouns (such as body parts and kinship terms) were rarely expressed without a possessor, and most of these occur in the Word List (see 6 below) with a 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular possessor suffix, respectively **-in** and **-u**.

The intransitive subject markers are shown as separate morphemes in the following examples only in order to exemplify their basic function.



## 3.2.3.4 Ergative/Instrumental

As is the case with many other Aboriginal languages the same suffix is used to mark the ergative, the agent form, i.e. the subject of a transitive sentence, and the instrumental, which denotes the means or instrument by which an action is carried out.

Examples of the use of the ergative and instrumental are given here for the following words:

- (63) Class 1  
**lukuwalh** 'evil magic'  
**wulekil** 'eaglehawk'
- (64) Class 2  
**wuthungi** 'man'  
**kuyuni** 'spear'
- (65) **Lukuwalh-u** **kangath-in .**  
 evil-magic-INST catch-PAST  
 'He caught him with evil magic.'
- (66) **Pungath-in** **wulekil-u.**  
 spear-PAST eaglehawk-ERG  
 'The eaglehawk speared (him)'
- (67) **Palkath-in** **yinan** **wuthu-ngu.**  
 hit-PAST me man-ERG  
 'A man hit me.'
- (68) **Palkath-in** **kuyun-u.**  
 hit-PAST spear-INST  
 'He hit him with a spear.'

## 3.2.3.5 General oblique

We have used the term 'general oblique' because this case serves as an allative, a purposive and also functions as a genitive/possessor case.

An allative-locative nuance is illustrated by the following examples formed from **thangi** 'ground', **kathini** water and **wanapi** 'fire':

- (69) **Puikath-in** **kathin-a.**  
 fall-PAST water-OBL  
 'He fell into the water.'
- (70) **Yupath-i** **tha-ka!**  
 put-IMP ground-OBL  
 'Put it on the ground!'
- (71) **Yupath-i** **wanap-a.**  
 put-IMP fire-OBL  
 'Put it on the fire'



In Mathi-Mathi the general oblique was used with locationals, **nhiwi-nhiwi** ‘near’ **nhemba** ‘behind’ and **kunda** ‘underneath’ and other locationals which themselves represent fixed oblique forms; **kakata/kekata** ‘above’, ‘on top of’ and **wuthuparr** ‘inside’ (fixed locatives). This is shown in the following examples of the oblique forms of **piyali** ‘red-gum tree’, and **kuthapi** ‘stone’:

- (72) **Pathiki**    **nhemba**    **piyal-a.**  
 axe            behind       tree-OBL  
 ‘The axe (is lying) behind the tree.’
- (73) **Karni**      **kunda**      **kuthap-a.**  
 snake        under        stone-OBL  
 ‘There’s a snake underneath the stone.’

The purposive meaning is found in the following examples from **layurr** ‘woman’: and **panemi** ‘food’

- (74) **Perrm-il-in**                    **layurr-ka.**  
 sneak-CONT-PAST        woman-OBL  
 ‘He kept on sneaking after women.’
- (75) **Nhak-ilath-iya**                **panem-a .**  
 look-CONT-IRR            food-OBL  
 ‘He’d go on looking for food.’

The possessor function of the general oblique is shown in the following examples from **wilengi** ‘possum’, **wuthungi** ‘man’ and **kuyuni** ‘spear’. Although Mathi-Mathi makes no formal declensional difference between animate and inanimate, it is noteworthy that both Wemba-Wemba and Mathi-Mathi make the same differentiation in the word-order of genitives.

The noun denoting the possessor (if animate) is usually initial in a noun phrase,

- (76) **wile-ka**                        **thinang-gurr-u**  
 possum-OBL                    foot-INST-his  
 ‘possum-of foot-by-his’, ‘by a possum’s foot’ (he was scratched).

But not always:

- (77) **kuyuni**                        **ki-ka**                        **wuthu-ka**  
 spear                            this-OBL                    man-OBL  
 ‘this man’s spear.’

In the case of inanimates the word marked with the general oblique comes last in the noun-phrase:

- (78) **karriki**                        **kuyun-a**  
 throwing-stick        spear-OBL  
 ‘a throwing stick for a spear’

For a rare special genitive form see example (110) below. This seems to be based on the genitive of pronouns.

### 3.2.3.6 Ablative

The ablative conveys cause as well as ‘movement away from’. Examples are from **lengi** camp (the root of which is irregular as explained in 3.2.3.2), and from **thina-thinath** ‘owl’:

- (79) **Yirnkath-i**      **nhuwi**      **larn-unga!**  
 come-IMP            that            camp-ABL  
 ‘Come out of that camp!’
- (80) **Pambatha**      **wuthungi**      **thina-thinath-unga .**  
 fears                man                owl-ABL  
 ‘People are frightened of owls.’

The variant shortened form of the ablative was heard occasionally, as in

- (81) **Puwath-in**      **kinhi**      **kathin-ung.**  
 drag-PAST            this one            water-ABL  
 ‘He dragged it out of the water.’

### 3.2.3.7 Locative

The locative suffixes differ from each other in shades of meaning, but not sufficiently to warrant a split into formal separate subdivisions.

#### a). *-al, -kal* ‘on’, ‘towards’

This suffix conveys an allative as well as a locative relationship, as with the noun **piki** ‘mud’:

- (82) **Puikath-in**      **pik-al.**  
 fall-PAST            mud-LOC  
 ‘He fell down in the mud.’

The distinction of meaning between **-al** and **-ang** is shown clearly in a sentence like (83), where **al** has a strong allative nuance. In other words the movement is towards God, and God is in heaven.

- (83) **Wartath-in**      **mamurr-al**      **tirril-ang.**  
 go-PAST            God-LOC            heaven-LOC  
 ‘He went up to God in Heaven (**tirrili**).’

#### b). *-ang and -ata*

It is rather more difficult to differentiate between **-ang** ‘on’, ‘over’, ‘in’ and **-ata** ‘in’:

- (84) **Tulurrimath-in**      **pik-ang.**  
 stick-PAST            mud-LOC  
 ‘He got stuck in the mud (**piki**)’

- (85) **Kinhi thiti ngengkatha piyal-ang.**  
 This bird sit red gum-tree-LOC  
 ‘This bird is sitting on a red gum tree (**piyali**).’
- (86) **tha-kang**  
 ground-LOC  
 ‘on the ground (**thangi**)’
- (87) **kakai, tirril-ata**  
 there, heaven-LOC  
 ‘up there, in heaven’
- (88) **kathin-ata**  
 water-LOC  
 ‘in the water (**kathini**)’

A suffix **-rr** was found only in the fixed form **wuthuparr** ‘inside’, ‘in the middle’ and the variant form **wuthuwarr**, from \***wuthup** ‘stomach’, ‘inside’ (not recorded as a separate word from Jack Long). These forms must now be added to the scanty evidence (Hercus 1986:85) for the existence in the Kulin languages of a locative suffix **-rr**.

### 3.2.3.8 Possessor Suffixes

As in the other Kulin languages, possessor suffixes are added to nouns which denote anything owned by or even closely associated with a living being. They are used in practically all situations where inalienable possession is implied. The singular of the possessor suffix was very frequently heard instead of dual and plural forms, which were very rare. This may have been due to language loss.

The following forms of the possessor suffixes were recorded:

Table 40: Possessor suffixes in Mathi-Mathi

		Phonologically defined occurrences	
Number	Person	with consonantal stems	with vocalic stems
Singular	1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>-ai</b>	<b>-ngai</b>
	2 <sup>nd</sup>	<b>-in</b>	<b>-ngin</b>
	3 <sup>rd</sup>	<b>-u</b>	<b>-nhu</b>
Dual	1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>-a</b>	<b>-ngal</b>
Plural	1 <sup>st</sup>	<b>-urra</b>	<b>-ngurra</b>

#### 3.2.3.8.1 Ordering

The possessor suffixes always follow the case markers. The only circumstance under which a possessor suffix can precede a case-maker is when it is part of a fixed locution: Thus **mamurra** ‘God’, lit ‘father-ours’ represents a fixed locution (as opposed to the use in Table 37 in 3.2.3.1 where it is an ordinary noun) and the locative case-marker could then be added to it:

- (89) **mam-urr-al**  
 Father-our-LOC  
 ‘to God’

- (90) **mam-urr-unga**  
 Father-our-ABL  
 ‘from God’

The Mathi-Mathi ordering is:

- (91) **stem + case + possessor marker**

This is in keeping with the order followed by the other Kulin languages. It differs however from that of the nearby Paakantyi language where the ordering is always:

- (92) **stem + possessor marker + case**

There was one case where the Paakantyi order appears to have been followed in Mathi-Mathi:

The word **lengala** ‘towards the camp belonging to us two’ (see 3.2.3.3 above) is exceptional. Here the first person dual possessor suffix **-ngal** precedes the general oblique marker **-a**. This could have been a mistake.

#### 3.2.3.8.2 Form of the suffixes

The first person suffix **-(ng)ai** differs from that of the other Kulin languages, which have **-(ng)ek**. The possessor suffix **-ai** is found, however, in the southern forms of Paakantyi, Southern Paakantyi proper, Maraura and probably Parrintyi. It is highly likely that the Mathi-Mathi suffix represents a borrowing from Paakantyi. There is no basis for such a suffix in the Kulin languages, but there is in these southern forms of Paakantyi, where the accusative and possessor form of the first person pronoun singular is **ngai**. There was thus borrowing of an actual morpheme, but as indicated above there was no borrowing of the structural feature of ordering.

As with the other Kulin languages, in Mathi-Mathi the forms used with vocalic stems are identical to those used with consonant stems, as shown in the table above, except for the fact that there is always a ‘linking consonant’ introduced before the suffix. As in the other Kulin languages in the first and second person singular this consonant is the velar nasal, **ng**., hence **-ng-ai** and **-ng-in**. In the third person the linking consonant in the other Kulin languages was **-ny-**: in Mathi-Mathi where there was no phonemic distinction between palatals and dentals it was similarly the dental / palatal **nh**.

These consonants, which might synchronically be termed ‘linking consonants’ are in fact derived from the corresponding Pama-Nyungan forms of the personal pronouns for the first and second person, and the deictic **\*nhu** in the case of the 3rd person masculine. For recent work on this topic see Koch (2003) and (2009).

There is a difference between Mathi-Mathi and Wemba-Wemba/Werkaya with regard to the first person dual and plural possessor markers, where the Mathi-Mathi forms lack the final **-ak** seen in Wemba-Wemba. This is illustrated in Table 41:

Table 41: Comparison between Wemba-Wemba and Mathi-Mathi possessor suffixes

	Wemba-Wemba	Mathi-Mathi
1 dual	<b>-angalak</b> (inclusive)	<b>-(ng)al</b>
	<b>-angalakang</b> (exclusive)	
1 plural	<b>-angurrak</b> (inclusive)	<b>-(ng)urra</b>
	<b>-andak, -angurrak</b> (exclusive)	

Unfortunately the Mathi-Mathi evidence is very slim and this paradigm is incomplete.

After the ergative and general oblique suffixes the consonant used to introduce the possessor markers was **-rr-**, as **thina-ngurr-u** (foot-INST-his) ‘by his foot’. There is no parallel to this in Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya. The ablative **-unga** and the locative suffix **-ata** lost their final vowel before the possessor markers as in **manha-ngung-ai** (hand-ABL-my) ‘out of my hand’ (see example 103) and **tuth-at-u** (back-LOC-his) ‘on his back’.

### 3.2.3.8.3 Examples of the use of possessor suffixes

#### *i. With the Nominative*

With the small group of nouns belonging to class 1. (3.2.3 above) the suffixes were simply added to the stem:

- (93) **layurr** ‘woman’  
**layurr-u** ‘his woman’

When a nominal of class 2 is in the nominative case and is also marked for possession the normal nominative suffixes **-i**, **-ngi** are omitted:

- (94) **purrp-i** ‘head’  
**purrp-ai** ‘my head’  
**purrp-u** ‘his head’
- (95) **ngapu-ngi** ‘grandmother’  
**ngapu-ngai** ‘my grandmother’  
**ngapu-nhu** ‘his grandmother’
- (96) **thali-ngi**<sup>32</sup> ‘language, tongue’  
**thali-ng-in** ‘your language’  
**thali-nh-u** ‘his language’  
**thali-ngurra** ‘our language’

- (97) **Tirrawatha** **wukath-iya** **thali-ngurra.**  
wish give-IRR language-ours  
‘She wants me to teach her our language.’

<sup>32</sup> The stem of this noun probably ended in **-yn** in the Kulin languages (see 1.3.1 above, but in Mathi-Mathi it has become absorbed into the large group of vocalic nouns which formed their nominative with **-ngi**. When used with the third person marker it is **thali-nh-u**, not **\*thaling-u** as one might otherwise have expected. **thalinh-u** is exactly parallel to Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya **tyaliny-uk**,

Variation of stem forms with possessor suffixes is also found with **kiyap-u** ‘his leg’, while there is lenition of **p** with the first person, which is **kiyaw-ai** ‘my leg’. This variation of **p** and **w** is also found with **wuthuparr** ~ **wuthuwarr** ‘inside’, discussed above in 3.2.3.7, and also with the ‘having’ suffix **-wil** ~ **-pil** in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) adjectives, discussed below in 4.2.2.7.

- (98) **Winakath-in**      **thali-nhu.**  
lose-PAST              language-his  
‘He’s forgotten his language.’

*ii. with the Ergative-Instrumental:*

This can be illustrated with the following examples with the nouns **papi** ‘mother’, **kuyun** ‘spear’ and **thali** ‘tongue’:

- (99) **Takath-in**              **pap-urr-ai**  
smack-PAST              mother-ERG-mine  
‘My mother smacked (me).’
- (100) **Yiti**              **nginan**              **palkath-inh**              **kuyun-urr-ai**  
I                      you ACC              hit-FUT              spear-INST-my  
‘I’ll hit you with my spear.’
- (101) **Yarnkatha**      **ngindi**              **thali-ngurr-in**  
speak              you              language-INST-yours  
‘You are speaking in your own language.’

*iii. with the General Oblique*

This can be illustrated with the noun **purrrp-i** ‘head’

- (102) **Piyali**      **puikath-in**              **purrrp-arr-u.**  
tree      fall-PAST              head-OBL-his  
‘(The branch of) the tree came down on his head.’

*iv. with the Ablative*

There is only one example of this, with the word **manha-ngi** ‘hand’

- (103) **Manggath-in**      **manha-ngung-ai.**  
take-PAST              hand-ABL-my  
‘He took it out of my hand.’

*v. with the Locative*

This can be illustrated from the example of **tathak-i** ‘arm’ :

- (104) **Tirrawi**              **yirnkatha**              **tathak-ang-ai**  
ant                      goes                      arm-LOC-mine  
‘There’s an ant crawling up my arm.’

- (105) **larn-at-ai**  
camp-LOC-my  
'in my camp'
- (106) **tuth-at-u**  
back-LOC-his  
'on his back'

*vi. Exceptions*

As in Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya, nouns originally containing a final retroflex **r**-sound had irregular forms in the 3rd person singular possessor suffix: remnants of the original retroflexion have survived in that the linking consonant is not **-nh-** as expected, but the retroflex **-rn-**:

- (107) **le-ng-in**      'your camp'  
**mi-ng-in**      'your eye'
- (108) **la-rn-u**      'his camp'  
**mi-rn-u**      'his eye'

This suggests that historically the development **lar-nhu** > **lar-nu** > **larnu** came before the change **r** > **y** in **lar-ngin** > **layngin** > **lengin**.

There is also an exceptional form for the first person, **larrngai**, instead of the expected **lengai**. As mentioned earlier, **kiyap-i** 'leg' also has an irregular first person possessor form, as shown in (109):

- (109) **kiyaw-ai**      my leg  
**kiyap-in**      your leg

3.2.3.9 Double marking of possession

Mathi-Mathi, like the other Kulin languages, has a double possessive construction:

- a. A noun designating the thing owned is followed by a possessor suffix indicating the person and number of the owner.
- b. A noun designating the owner is marked by the general oblique case suffix.

If the owner is indicated by a deictic, a genitive/oblique is formed from the pronoun by means of the suffix **-(a)nga**, e.g. **kikanga** 'belonging to this one' (from **kiki** 'this one here'), see example (112).

There is an indication (see 3.2.3.5 above) that such genitives could be formed from nouns as well as pronouns in Mathi-Mathi, as **piyal-anga** 'belonging to a red-gum tree' is used in the expression in (110):

- (110) **piyal-anga**              **mith-u**  
red gum-GEN              bark-its  
'Bark of a red gum tree'

### 3.2.4 Pronouns

#### 3.2.4.1 Personal pronouns

Free pronouns fulfil an important function in the sentence structure of languages of the Mathi-Mathi-type languages: they represent the only means of expressing person. In contrast to the situation in other Kulin languages there was no evidence in Mathi-Mathi as recorded from Jack Long of the use of bound pronouns with verbs, and this observation is borne out by data from the other languages of the Mathi group (see below Chapter 4). It is highly likely that the loss of pronominal marking in the verbal system was due to the influence of the neighbouring Murray River languages, Yitha-Yitha, Tharti-Tharti and Keramin. These languages, unlike those of the Murray mouth, did not have bound pronouns.

Mathi-Mathi was in line with the other Kulin languages, which like many other Australian languages had a nominative-ergative distinction in the nominal system and a nominative-accusative distinction in the pronominal system.

The following forms of the personal pronouns were recorded:

Table 42: Mathi-Mathi pronouns

	1st PERSON	2nd PERSON
<b>SINGULAR</b>		
Nominative	<b>yiti</b>	<b>ngindi</b>
Accusative	<b>yinan</b>	<b>nginan</b>
General Oblique	<b>yinaka</b>	<b>nginaka</b>
Ablative	<b>yinangu</b>	<b>nginangu</b>
Possessive pronoun	<b>yinathu</b>	<b>nginethu</b>
<b>DUAL</b>		
Nominative	<b>ngali</b>	
Accusative (incl.)	<b>ngalin</b>	
Accusative (excl.)	<b>ngalan</b>	
General Oblique	<b>ngalanga</b>	
Possessive pronoun (incl.)	<b>ngalithu</b>	
Possessive pronoun (excl.)	<b>ngalathu</b>	
<b>PLURAL</b>		
Accusative (incl.)	<b>yangurr</b>	<b>ngunan</b>
Possessive pronoun (excl.)	<b>yinathu</b>	<b>ngunethu</b>

Forms for the second person dual could not be recorded.

The exclusive-inclusive distinction exists in Mathi-Mathi, but the only evidence available showing that this distinction was noted grammatically is from the first person plural pronoun object form. There is however a Mathi-Mathi expression **yiti nga ngindi** ‘you and I’ (Text 4 sentence 18 in (210) below), which shows that for the dual too a distinction was felt between ‘you and I’ (inclusive), and ‘he and I’ (exclusive).

##### 3.2.4.1.1 Third person pronouns

The third person pronoun was generally not expressed at all, it was understood. Deictics served as third person pronouns when necessary for comprehension, quite often with



interchanges between different synonymous forms, as for instance in example (111) from text no. 2, an example contain three clauses which we have spread over three lines.

- (111) **Yawimath-in**      **nhuli ...**  
 disappear-PAST      he
- Nhanhu**      **nhunhi**      **withiwath-inh?**  
 when      he      come back-FUT
- Nhakath-in**      **nhuli.**  
 see-PAST      him  
 ‘He disappeared... ‘When will he come back?’ They saw him.’

We see here an interchange between **nhunhi** and **nhuli**, both were deictics derived from the base **nhu-**.

The ergative form **nhulang** is exemplified in (212), Text 6, Sentence 10.

#### 3.2.4.1.2 Some features of personal pronoun use

The distinction between the ablative and the general oblique was not always clear and there was some hesitation when the pronoun denoted the goal or the subject matter of an action:

- (112) **Nhaka**      **ngindi**      **kulinatha**      **yinaka.**  
 why      you      feel-angry      me.OBL  
 ‘Why are you angry with me?’

This was the only occasion where the oblique form was used in this function. On a subsequent occasion the ablative form was used, (113) to (114).

- (113) **Nhaka**      **ngindi**      **kulinatha**      **yinangu?**      **Matha**      **yiti**      **pukila.**  
 what for      you      feel-angry      me-ABL      not      I      do-bad  
 ‘Why are you angry with me? I’m not doing anything bad.’

- (114) **Kima**      **wekatha**      **kinhi**      **yinangu.**  
 here      laugh      this one      me.ABL  
 ‘This fellow here is laughing at me.’

- (115) **Yuyukath-in**      **yiti**      **nginangu.**  
 dream-PAST      I      you ABL  
 ‘I dreamt about you.’

#### *Possessives*

The possessive forms of the personal pronouns were used only when possession was strongly emphasised; these forms reinforced the possessor suffixes, their function was identical to the corresponding Wati-Wati words for ‘my’, ‘your’ (similar structures of double marking, possessive pronoun with noun marked by possessor suffix are found in Wati-Wati, see (299) in 4.2.2.6 below.)

- (116) **yinathu**                    **le-ngai**  
 my                                    camp-mine  
 ‘my own camp’
- (117) **nginethu**                **tha-ngin**  
 your                                country-yours  
 ‘your own country’

### 3.2.4.2 Deictics

Unlike the personal pronouns, the deictics distinguish ergative from nominative case and probably accusative from nominative as well. In the recorded material there is only one example of the nominative-accusative distinction in deictics, **nhinhan** ‘this one ACC’, which is exactly parallel to the accusative form of the first and second person singular pronoun. It seems likely therefore that Mathi-Mathi like a number of other Australian languages had a threefold distinction, nominative–accusative–ergative in the deictic pronouns.

The case-suffix **-ang** used in Mathi-Mathi to express the ergative with deictics, differs from that used with Mathi-Mathi nouns. The suffix **-ang** is cognate with the Wemba-Wemba ablative (which occasionally fulfilled an ergative function, Hercus 1986:30), and with the Mathi-Mathi locative of nouns.

The Mathi-Mathi deictics are derived from a set of base-forms of deictics found throughout the Kulin languages and beyond, going back to Pama-Nyungan in the case of **nhu-** (see 3.2.3.8. above).<sup>33</sup>

To these bases were added derivational suffixes, **-nhi**, **-li**, **-wa/wi**, and **-ma**: these have parallels in other Kulin languages, such as Wemba-Wemba (Hercus 1986).

Deictics were therefore numerous, indicating various degrees of proximity to the speaker. Some also fulfilled the function of adverbs of time and place. The following forms were recorded:

#### *a. Immediate vicinity:*

- (118) **kinhi**                    ‘this one right here’  
**kinhang**                    ‘this one right here – ergative’  
**kika**                        ‘this one right here – general oblique’  
**kikanga**                    ‘this one right here – possessive’  
**kinmerru**                    ‘this one right here – plural’

The plural forms of the deictics **kinmerru**, **nhinmerru** (see below b. vicinity) and **nhunmerru** (see below c. middle distance) in particular were used before nouns to indicate the plural as in **nhinmerru piyal-karr** ‘this big lot of grubs’ as already discussed in 3.2.2.2 above. These deictic plural forms always have a final **-u**. This is a feature characteristic of Mathi-Mathi: the corresponding words in Wemba-Wemba, **kinmerr**, **nyunmerr**, **malamerr** (Hercus 1985:57–8) were always used as such without any further suffix.

The singular forms could however also be used collectively, if small creatures were involved:

<sup>33</sup> If we include Northern **nu**, then it is pan-Australian

- (119) **Tamu**            **kinhi**            **pithiki**            **puki.**  
 really            this            fly            bad  
 ‘These flies are a real nuisance.’

An example of the use of the genitive /oblique form is the following:

- (120) **Ngenggatha**    **kinhi**            **wuthungi**    **kikanga**            letter.  
 sits            this            man            his OBL            letter  
 ‘This man is waiting for his ‘letter’ (pension cheque).’

There were a few rare instances where the reduplicated form **kikanga-kikanga** was used as an indefinite as in **kikanga-kikanga wuthungi** ‘any man’.

Other pronouns from the same base are:

- (121) **kiwi**            ‘this one’  
**kili**            ‘this one’

There is one recorded example of a form **kilu**, which was perhaps an ergative form of **kili**, with a final **-u** as in the ergative of nouns.

- (122) **Kawangath-in**            **nhul-ang**            **wangi**  
 follow-PAST            that one-ERG            crow  
  
**kinhi**            **kil-u**            **wulekil-u.**  
 this            this-ERG ?            eaglehawk-ERG  
 ‘He pursued this crow, this eaglehawk did.’

It is, however, more likely that **kilu** was used here as a locational/temporal ‘here, now’, and that it corresponds to **kili** ‘this one’ in the same way as **manhu**, ‘then, long ago’ corresponds to **manhi** ‘that one far away’: other locationals/temporals ending in **u** are **kayu** (see d. below) and Wemba-Wemba **malu** ‘over there in the distance’.

**kiyapu-kiyapu** is used with an indefinite meaning ‘this one and that one’, ‘one or other’. It was probably related to the same base or to **kiyaka** ‘one’. The close connection in Australian languages between words meaning ‘one’ and ‘other’ has been discussed by in an unpublished paper by William McGregor (1997). The following deictic adverbs are formed from the same base **ki-**

- (123) **kima**            ‘here’  
**kimu**            ‘now’  
**kindi**            ‘now’  
**kiyu-kiyu**        ‘very soon’

#### *b. Vicinity*

- (124) **nhinhi**            ‘this one fairly close’  
**nhinhang**        ‘this-ergative’  
**nhinmerru**        ‘these-plural’

An example is **nhinhi thangi**, ‘this place’. This was the most commonly used deictic. Another deictic from the same base is **nhiwi** ‘this one close by’.

The following locationals are based on **nhi-**:

- (125) **nhima** 'here, quite close '  
**nhiwi-nhiwi, nhiwi-ma** 'close by'  
**nhinga** 'around here, now'

*c. Middle distance*

- (126) **nhunhi** 'that one over there'  
**nhunhang** 'that one over there-ergative'  
**nhuka** 'that one over there-general oblique'  
**nhunhangung** 'that one over there-ablative'  
**nhukanga** 'that one over there-possessive adjective'  
**nhunmerru** 'those ones over there-plural'

Another pronoun from the same base is **nhuwi** 'that one over there'  
Other pronouns from the same base are:

- (127) **nhuli** 'that one over there'  
**nhulang** 'that one over there-ergative' (see Text 6, sentence 23)  
**nhulung** 'that one over there-ablative'

These are exemplified in:

- (128) **Pandingi** **mirnu,** **nhul-ung** **temath-in.**  
little hole.its that-ABL hear-PAST  
'It had a small hole. Through that he could hear ...'

This illustrates the ablative form of the deictic.  
From another widespread base **ka-** we find:

- (129) **kayu** 'that one over here'  
**kanhang** 'that one over here-ablative'

The following adverbs are derived from the same base:

- (130) **kakai** 'this way'  
**kawai** 'this way'

*d. Distance*

- (131) **manhi** 'that one far away'

The following adverb is derived from the same base:

- (132) **manhu** 'then, long ago'

This adverb is parallel with Wemba-Wemba **manyu** 'there, far away', but in the available Mathi-Mathi material it refers only to distance in time rather than space.

The deictic pronouns were used adjectivally with Mathi-Mathi common nouns when these were not qualified by other determinatives such as possessives (see 3.2.7.1).

### 3.2.4.3 Interrogatives

The following interrogatives were recorded:

(133)	<b>winhangu</b>	‘who, which’
	<b>winhaku</b>	‘who-ergative’
	<b>winhaka</b>	‘whose-possessive’
	<b>winhathu</b>	‘belonging to whom’
	<b>nhapu</b>	‘how many’
	<b>nhangi</b>	‘what, how’
	<b>nhangu</b>	‘how? lit. what-his?, a petrified possessive form of <b>nhangi</b> ‘what?’
	<b>nhaka</b>	‘general oblique form ‘what for’ as in sentence (112) above
	<b>minhi</b>	‘what’

These are exemplified in:

- (134) **Winhangu**      **ngindi?**  
 who                      you  
 ‘Who are you?’
- (135) **Winhangu**      **nhe-ngin?**  
 which                      name-yours  
 ‘What is your name?’
- (136) **Nhangi**              **ngindi**              **yarnkatha.**  
 how (or what)      you                      talk  
 ‘What are you talking about?’
- (137) **Minhi**              **ngindi**      **tirrawatha?**  
 what                      you                      want  
 ‘What do you want?’

The fact that both **minhi** and **nhangi** ‘what?’ occur in Mathi-Mathi is of interest. There is a possibility that **minhi** may have been borrowed from neighbouring Murray River languages type, or from Paakantyi; but *minga* was found in a Kulin language (Wathawurrung) by R.H. Mathews (1904a:731). It may therefore be that the Eastern Pama-Nyungan word **minha** ‘what?’, so widespread in Eastern Australia, belonged to the Kulin languages also, alongside the more characteristically Kulin **nhangi**; for a discussion of the distribution of the forms of the interrogative see Schmidt (1919:103).

The temporal and locational interrogatives recorded were:

- |       |                  |              |
|-------|------------------|--------------|
| (138) | <b>nhanhu</b>    | ‘when’       |
|       | <b>windha</b>    | ‘where’      |
|       | <b>windhalu</b>  | ‘whereabout’ |
|       | <b>windharru</b> | ‘whereabout’ |

For examples of their use see 3.2.6.4 below.

### 3.2.5 Verbs

Unlike other western Kulin languages, the Mathi group did not have bound person markers. Person was indicated by free pronouns or disambiguated by context. Tense and mood were indicated by suffixes. The citation form for verbs was the present tense form.

Tense was expressed by present, past and future forms. The present could moreover convey an incomplete action, and the past a completed action.

Table 43: Mathi-Mathi tense morphemes

Present	-a -	<b>kupa</b>	(he) drinks,	<b>yirnka</b>	(he) goes
Past	-in -	<b>kupin</b>	(he) drank,	<b>yirnkin</b>	(he) went
Future	-inh	<b>kupinh</b>	(he) will drink,	<b>yirnkinh</b>	(he) will go

The verb **nhaka** ‘see’ was irregular in the formation of the past as it was in Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya: **nhayin** ‘(he) saw’. The other most common irregular past form of a verb in the Kulin languages exemplified by Wemba-Wemba **wuyin** ‘he gave’ is not found in the recorded Mathi-Mathi data. This is presumably due to the addition of the stem-forming suffix **-tha**: this hides any possible irregularities in the verb root (3.2.5.2 b).

#### a. Participles

There are a few examples of the present participle as found in the other Western Kulin languages: **telkayathang** ‘in good condition’ is used adjectivally. **numilathang** occurs in the story of the Crow, Text 5, 3.3.1 below.

- (139) **Wuthungi**      **yakilath-in**      **numilath-ang**      **puinggi-nhauyingi:**  
 people            search-PAST      weeping-PTC      night-day  
 ‘People searched, weeping continually night and day.’

There is also at least one occurrence of the past participle **-an** (Wemba-Wemba **-ən**):

- (140) **Windharu**      **ngindi**      **yirnkath-an**      **kima?**  
 whereabouts      you      come-PAST.PTC      here  
 ‘Whereabouts have you come from?’

The aspectual nuances conveyed within the tense system are important in the rendering of notions that are expressed by participles in the other Kulin languages: **wikatha** ‘he is feeling weak’, ‘he is starving’ (present imperfective), **wikathin** ‘he died, he is dead’.

#### b. Purposive

The term **kupilapa** ‘for drinking’, i.e. ‘strong drink’ contains a suffix **-(a)pa** that is similar to the **-ap** purposive of Wemba-Wemba (a purposive in **-ap** is also found in Letyi-Letyi, see 4.1.3.7 below). But the purposive participle as such, like other participial forms, does not figure in the Mathi-Mathi conjugation system as recorded from Jack Long. This could have been through language loss, but it seems unlikely on account of the fact that the irrealis conveyed purpose even in fixed locutions:

- (141) **kalku**                    **palkath-iya**  
bone                            kill-IRR  
'a bone for killing', 'a pointing bone'

### 3.2.5.1 Mood

#### *a. Imperative*

The imperative of both transitive and intransitive verbs was formed by the addition of the morpheme **-i** to the verbal root, and the optative/irrealis by the addition of **-iya**:

- (142) **Nhakath-i!**  
see-IMP  
'Look!'
- (143) **Nhakath-iya.**  
look-IRR  
'He should look.'

There is at least one instance where the present stem was used as an imperative, but this might represent a fixed locution: **nhaka** 'look!'

#### *b. Irrealis*

This mood was common when a direct wish was expressed, as in

- (144) **Nhakath-iya**            **ngarre-nhu,**            **wirlerrmatha.**  
look-IRR                    hair-his                    white becomes  
'You should look at his hair, it is turning white.'

However, the main use of the irrealis was in indirectly expressed wishes:

- (145) **Puimathi**            **thali-nhu**            **kalayath-iya**    **kinhi**            **miwurru**            **yirnkath-iya.**  
send-IMP                    word-his                    ask-IRR                    this                    doctor                    come-IRR  
'Send a message to the clever man, (saying that) he should come.'

The **-iya** form also served as a general irrealis, referring to anything that had not yet happened, whether one wished this to happen or not:

- (146) **Yirnkath-iya**            **kulum-kulum.**  
come-IRR                    wild man  
'A wild man might come.'

### 3.2.5.2 Derived verbs

Derived verbs fulfil an important aspectual as well as a semantic function in Mathi-Mathi. Apart from the rare reciprocal and the common expanded formation there were several other kinds of derived verbs, continuatives and a completive.

### *a. Reciprocal*

It is most likely that Mathi-Mathi, like Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya did not have a specialised reflexive formation: the reciprocal is the only grammatical derivative verb form recorded for Mathi-Mathi.

As in the other neighbouring Kulin languages the reciprocal was formed by the addition of the affix **-therra** (Wemba-Wemba **-tyerra**) to the stem of the verb with loss of the final vowel. The only example available in our Mathi-Mathi data is the following:

- (147) **taka**                    ‘to hit’  
**taktherra**                ‘to hit one another, to fight’

### *b. The suffix -tha*

Expanded verbs with the suffix **-tha** (glossed EXP) are extremely common in Mathi-Mathi. Occasionally one perhaps perceived a slight inchoative nuance in these **-tha** forms:

- (148) **yirnka**                ‘to go’  
**yirnkatha**               ‘to go, to get going’

Apart from sometimes conveying this slight inchoative nuance the suffix **-tha** does not alter the meaning of verbs. The expanded and unexpanded forms alternate freely, the expanded forms being rather more frequent:

- (149) **taka** or **takatha**            ‘to hit’  
**ngengga** or **ngenggatha**    ‘to sit’

The expanded forms of verbs are so common that we have not separately analysed them when they occur in our examples, except when they follow a verbalising suffix, as in 3.2.5.3 below, in which case we have glossed them as EXP. The wide use of the expanded forms probably accounts for the almost total absence of ‘irregular’ verbs in Mathi-Mathi.

### *c. Continuatives*

The most common continuatives, derivational verbs showing that an action was prolonged, are those formed by the addition of the suffix **-ila** (**-ula** optionally after labial consonants) to the present stem (before the addition of the expanding suffix) with loss of the final **-a**:

- (150) **ngenmatha**                    ‘to smell something’  
**ngenmilatha**                ‘to go round sniffing’  
**taka**                                ‘to hit’  
**takila**                            ‘to go on hitting, to beat time for singing’  
**pundatha**                    ‘to bite (e.g. dogs)’  
**pundilatha**                ‘to go on biting (e.g. lice)’  
**waiwila, waiwula**            ‘to rise’

For the use of **-ila** as a verbalising suffix, see 3.2.5.3 below.

A rare continuative was formed with the suffix **-ina**:



- (151) **thaka** 'to eat'  
**thakina** 'to go on eating'

Frequentative verbs imply repeated action. They were formed by the reduplication of the present stem of the simple verb:

- (152) **nirratha** 'to poke'  
**nirra-nirra** 'to grope about, to feel for (fish under water)'  
**tukatha** 'to move'  
**tuka-tukatha** 'to fidget'

Sometimes a change of the vowel **-a** to **-u** was noted at the end of the reduplicating base, as in:

- (153) **praku-praka** 'to prod around'  
(154) **wikatha** 'to starve'  
**wiku-wikatha** 'to feel ill'

An emphatic frequentative was formed by reduplication of the verb with its continuative suffix **-ila**:

- (155) **wilka** 'to turn round'  
**wilkila-wilkilatha** 'to twist round, to tangle'

#### *e. Completive*

The completive was formed by the addition of **-ma-** to the stem of the verb:

- (156) **wawunatha** 'to swell up'  
**wawunmatha** 'to be full'  
**pirnatha** 'to go out'  
**pirnmatha** 'to come right out (moon from behind clouds), to arrive'

#### 3.2.5.3 Verbs formed from nominals

Stative verbs were formed from the adjectival stem by means of the suffix **-aya**, usually expanded to **-ayatha**:

- (157) **telki** 'good'  
**telkayatha** 'to be well, to be good'  
**pulki** 'soft'  
**pulkayatha** 'to be soft'

These are exemplified in

- (158) **Kungath-i,** **pulkaya-th-iya** **kumbath-iya.**  
get ready-IMP soft- STAT-EXP-IRR lie down-IRR  
'Get it ready (a bed) so that it should be soft and I could lie down (on it).'

The continuative suffix **-ila** could fulfil a similar verbalising function:

- (159) **puki** 'bad'  
**pukila** 'to be bad, to behave badly (see example 113)'

**-ila** could also serve to form verbs from nouns:

- (160) **wangu** 'song (his)'  
**wangilatha** 'to sing'

There is evidence of a suffix **-ewa-**, **-iwa-**, used in the formation of verbs from nouns, in one case, the word for 'water', with loss of the final consonant. These verbs tended to convey an inceptive nuance:

- (161) **kathini** 'water'  
**kathiwa** 'to flow'  
**kuli-** 'anger (cf. **kulingai** 'my temper')'  
**kulinatha** 'to be angry'  
**kulewatha** 'to get angry'

There is also evidence that the same suffix was also used to expand verbal stems:

- (162) **kiya, kiyatha** 'to tell'  
**kiwatha** 'to explain'

### 3.2.6 *Words normally not inflected*

Words normally not inflected included locationals, temporals and adverbs of manner. These are connected with the inflectional system: they are nearly always petrified inflected forms. Other uninflected words are particles.

There are some possible exceptions, where there might be inflection of an adverb:

- (163) **kilinh** **kiyath-iya.**  
now-? tell-IRR  
'(I)'ll tell (him) now.'

The form **kilinh** is probably just a variant form of the temporal **kili** 'now' with the addition of an unknown suffix **-inh** (this is formally similar to the future suffix **-inh**, see 3.2.4.2).

#### 3.2.6.1 Interrogative adverbs

The following interrogative adverbs were recorded (cf. also 3.2.4.3 above):

(164)	<b>windha</b>	‘where?’
	<b>windhalu</b>	‘whereabouts?’
	<b>windharru</b>	‘whereabouts?’
	<b>nhangu</b>	‘how?’
	<b>nhanhu</b>	‘when?’
	<b>nhapu</b>	‘how many?’
	<b>nhangi</b>	‘what, how?’
	<b>nhaka</b>	‘what for?’

The interrogative adverbs were always sentence initial, and as further discussed in 3.2.6.4 below, they were followed by the subject, necessarily so if this was a personal pronoun:

(165)	<b>Nhanhu</b>	<b>nhunhi</b>	<b>withiwath-inh.</b>
	when	he	return-FUT
	‘When will he come back?’		
(166)	<b>Windhalu</b>	<b>kinhi</b>	<b>nginethu pathik-in.</b>
	where	this	your axe-your
	‘Where is your axe?’		

### 3.2.6.2 Locationals, temporals and adverbs of manner

Locationals and temporals are usually fixed locative forms:

(167)	<b>thalek-ata</b>	‘long ago’
	<b>pak-ata</b>	‘first’
	<b>kak-ata/kekata</b>	‘above’

There is also a fixed possessor marker:

(168)	<b>wainggu-rru</b>	‘tomorrow (lit. daylight -its)’
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And another possible example:

(169)	<b>tam-u</b>	‘very, greatly (big-its)’
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This is exemplified in:

(170)	<b>Tamu</b>	<b>nhunga</b>	<b>mindarratha.</b>
	greatly	here	cold is
	‘It’s very cold here.’		

Final **-u** here appears to be the same marker found in **kayu** ‘there’ (see 3.2.4.2 above).

Some locationals could also be used with a noun in the oblique case as discussed in 3.2.3.5 above:

- (171) **wuthup-arr** 'inside'  
**kunda** (i.e. **kun-ta**) 'underneath (cf. Wemba-Wemba **kunakal**)'

Deictic locationals and temporals clearly belong to the deictic system with the exception of **wekata** 'in the distance', which does not appear to have any cognates.

### 3.2.6.3 Negative adverbs

There were four negatives:

- (172) **matha** 'not'  
**mathawa** 'don't! (prohibitive)'  
**nhanga-nhanga** 'most certainly don't! (emphatic prohibitive)'  
**mathi** 'no, negative particle'

Negatives were always initial in a sentence and were generally followed by the subject, necessarily so if this was a personal pronoun.

#### *a. General negative: matha*

This is the general negative adverb, negating a statement:

- (173) **Matha kima pithiki.**  
not here fly  
'There are no flies here.'
- (174) **Matha yiti nhakath-in nginan.**  
not I see-PAST you (ACC)  
'I didn't see you.'

**matha** could be used as a prohibitive adverb in clauses where the pronoun subject is expressed with the imperative (for emphasis):

- (175) **Matha ngindi pirnmath-i kima!**  
not you come-IMP here  
'Don't you come in here!'

#### *b. The prohibitive adverb: mathawa*

The prohibitive adverb **mathawa** was found only with verbs in the optative/irrealis form and in the absence of any pronoun subject:

- (176) **Mathawa yarnkath-iya kekata, tem-inh nginan.**  
don't talk-IRR loud hear-FUT you (ACC)  
'Don't talk so loudly, he'll hear you!'

**mathawa** is no doubt formed with the suffix **-wa**, discussed in 3.2.4.2 above and also found in Letyi-Letyi (see 4.1.3.3 below). On one occasion a variant form **mathawi** was used.

*c. The emphatic prohibitive: nhanga-nhanga*

This adverb, based on the interrogative/indefinite root **nha-** was used as a strong prohibitive, ‘whatever you do, don’t’.

- (177) **Nhanga-nhanga**      **kemath-iya!**  
 don’t                      call out-IRR  
 ‘Don’t call out, (whatever you do)!’

*d. The negative particle: mathi*

**mathi** ‘no’, sometimes repeated for emphasis, is the particle used in contradicting a statement or in answer to a question:

- (178) **Kupalath-in**      **ngindi!**      **Mathi mathi!**  
 drink-PAST              you              no-no  
 ‘You’ve been drinking! No, of course not!’

3.2.6.4 Sentences containing interrogative, deictic or negative adverbs

When a negative adverb or an interrogative was used it was invariably the first word of the sentence. This rule generally also applied, but was less strictly observed, with demonstrative adverbs of time and place and with some isolated and slightly emphatic adverbs of time and manner such as **tamu** ‘very’, **pakata** ‘first’ and **lirrkila** ‘fast’.

The pronoun subject, if expressed, always followed this kind of sentence-initial word. This rule implies that the class of words that are necessarily initial words used with bound forms of the pronoun in Wemba-Wemba are also sentence initial words in Mathi-Mathi. Though Mathi-Mathi does not have bound personal pronoun forms, the basic syntactic structure of the sentence remains the same: the initial word is followed by the personal pronoun in Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya. This leads to the sequence:

- (179) Negative / Interrogative                                      (Pronoun subject )

And on a less rigid basis:

- (180) Locational, Temporal or adverb of manner      (Pronoun subject)

This identical feature of sentence structure is shared regardless of the fact that the pronoun subject is usually a bound form in Wemba-Wemba and a free form as Mathi-Mathi.

This word-order is illustrated repeatedly in the song recorded from Mary Moore:

- (181) **Nhangi**              **ngindi**              **warra?**  
 What/how              you              do  
 Interrogative      subject              verb  
 ‘What are you doing?’

Other examples are:

- (182) **Matha**      **yiti**      **tematha**      **nhiwi**      **thalingi**,  
 not            I            hear            this            language  
 negative    subj    verb            noun-phrase-object  
 ‘I don’t understand this language.’
- (183) **Nhaka**                    **ngindi**      **takath-in**      **yinan?**  
 why                            you            hit-PAST      me  
 interrogative    subj    verb            pronoun-object  
 ‘Why did you hit me?’
- (184) **Windharru**              **ngali**              **yirnkath-inh?**  
 where                        we-two            go-FUT  
 interrogative    subj    verb  
 ‘Where will we two go?’
- (185) **Kindi**                    **yiti**              **ngurrkath-in**      **pithiki.**  
 now                            I              swallow-PAST      fly  
 deictic adv      subj    verb              noun obj  
 ‘I’ve just swallowed a fly.’

In the case of locationals, this word order is not an absolute rule; Jack Long was heard to say:

- (186) **Ngenggath-inh**      **yiti**              **kima.**  
 sit-FUT                      I              here  
 verb                          subj      deictic adv  
 ‘I’ll stay here.’

The syntactic feature of ordering with negatives and with interrogative adverbs, though obscured by morphological differences, can be regarded as one of the basic characteristics of the Kulin languages. It was not shared by the language sub-groups neighbouring Mathi-Mathi, Paakantyi and the Murray River languages, though it is found in the Warrnambool and Bunganditj languages.

### 3.2.6.5 Clitics

The use of clitics, particularly emphatic clitics, seems to be largely a personal matter, just like the use of expletives in English. Some people use them in practically every sentence, and some don’t use them at all. So for example, speaking in Wemba-Wemba, Nancy Egan used the emphatic clitics =**kat** and =**min** prolifically, while her brother Stan Day hardly ever used them. Another factor is the following: when people speak slowly and deliberately they are less likely to use emphatic clitics, and that was the case with Jack Long, who was speaking slowly, because he had not spoken his language for a long time, and had no chance of conversing with a fellow-speaker. The need to speak slowly may also account for their rarity in the sentences recorded for Letyi-Letyi and Wati-Wati, there being just one example in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), in (271) below.

The only clitic recorded was =**ma** ‘emphatic clitic’, as in:

- (187) **Windharru=ma**              **yirnkatha.**  
 where=indeed                      go  
 ‘Where are (you) going?’

An emphatic clitic =**m**, probably an abbreviated form of =**ma**, is used mainly after adverbs and particles and more rarely nouns:

- (188) **matha**            ‘not’  
 (189) **nhuwi=m**        ‘then (see Text 4, example 9)’  
       **kima=m**            ‘here (see Text 4, example 3)’  
       **mathi=m**          ‘no more’ (see Text 6, example 18)

From a comparison of all the cases where it occurs, the particle =**m** appears to have a temporal as well as an emphatic meaning, eg. **turti=m** ‘(being) a star for ever’ (Mathi-Mathi text 14, line 19).

### 3.2.7 *Some features of Mathi-Mathi syntax*

#### 3.2.7.1 Nouns and noun phrases

In Mathi-Mathi it is mainly proper nouns, and also common nouns when they are generalising and indefinite or marked by a possessor suffix, that can form a separate syntactic unit, a noun phrase consisting of just a noun. . An example is the word **wuthungi** ‘man, people’ in the following sentence:

- (190) **Pambatha**      **wuthungi.**  
       fear                man (i.e. people in general)  
       ‘People are scared.’

In all other circumstances nouns do not normally form a separate syntactic unit, but are used with attributes or determinatives to form noun phrases. There are two kinds of noun phrases, the possessive, and the locational and descriptive.

#### *a. Possessive noun phrases*

The simplest possessive noun phrase consists of a noun with a possessor suffix, which may or may not be preceded by a case-suffix:

- (191) **mam-ai**  
       father-my  
       ‘my father’  
 (192) **mam-u-rrai**  
       father-ERG-my  
       ‘my father’

A possessed noun can be the head of a noun-phrase by means of one of the following optional additions

- (i) a nominal marked for possession which usually precedes, but may also follow the noun, as in example (194), and  
 (ii) a preceding general oblique/genitive when the noun denotes an animate being, as in:

- (193) **Yinathu mam-urr-ai (manggath-in).**  
 my father-ERG-my (bring-PAST)  
 ‘My father brought it.’
- (194) **thali-ngin nginethu**  
 language-your your  
 ‘your own language’
- (195) **wile-ka thina-nhu**  
 possum-OBL foot-his  
 ‘a possum track’

(iii) a noun in the genitive/oblique case when that noun denotes an inanimate object (see also 3.2.3.5):

- (196) **mirn-u tha-ka**  
 hole-its ground-OBL  
 ‘a hole in the ground’

***b. Locational and descriptive noun phrases***

Only very simple types of these noun phrases were recorded. The locational noun phrase consists of a locational followed by a noun in the oblique case, as in (197) where **kunda kuthapa** is a noun phrase:

- (197) **Karni kunda kuthap-a.**  
 snake under stone-OBL  
 ‘There’s a snake underneath the stone.’

The deictic noun phrase could consist of the sequence Deictic NP/Deictic.PRO N ADJ, as in:

- (198) **kinhi tam-tam puki-puki**  
 this dwarf bad  
 DEICTIC PRO NOUN (ADJECTIVE)  
 ‘this bad little fellow...’

But the most usual sequence was as follows, with either an adjective or a noun used adjectivally.

- (199) **tamu puki layurr**  
 very bad woman  
 (adverb) (adjective) noun  
 ‘a very bad woman’

Or:

- (200) **painggu murunhi**  
 child young woman  
 noun noun  
 modifier head  
 ‘a little girl’



There is inadequate evidence to show how case suffixes were used in descriptive noun phrases, but there was a general tendency for all noun phrases to be marked for case only once and normally on the last member of the noun phrase. Deictics on the other hand tend to be marked for case along with the head noun, as **kilu wulekilu** ‘this-ERG eaglehawk-ERG’ in (212), text 6 sentence 18 below.

### 3.2.7.2 Minimal sentences

The verb, which always contains a tense or modal suffix can be used to form a minimal statement or command sentence:

- (201) **Yirnkath-in.**  
go-past  
‘He has gone’
- (202) **Telkayatha**  
good is (it)  
‘That’s good’
- (203) **Temilath-i**  
listen-IMP  
‘Listen!’

In all tenses and in the optative mood the verb implies the third person without reference to number, while the imperative mood implies a second person subject. All other persons and numbers are either expressed by cardinal pronouns, or recoverable by context. These pronouns usually follow the verb, which was generally the first word of a sentence, except of course in the sentences containing negatives and interrogatives discussed in 3.2.6.4 above:

- (204) **Yirnkath-inh ngali**  
go-IMP we-two  
‘We two will go.’

The pronoun object usually followed the subject:

- (205) **Palkath-inh yiti nginan.**  
hit.FUT I you  
‘I’ll hit you’

Sometimes, though rarely, the pronoun subject preceded the verb:

- (206) **Ngindi yakila mirrmbul.**  
you look for fish  
‘You are looking for fish.’

It was not possible to decide whether this rare usage represented a normal alternative, or whether it was emphatic. It might also have been due to the influence of English word order.

### 3.3 Mathi-Mathi texts

In 3.3.1 we present 14 texts recorded from Jack Long over a number of interviews between 1965 and 1968. In 3.3.2 we present a song, Text 15, from Mary Moore, recorded by Catherine Ellis.

The stories recorded were not recited uninterrupted and frequently the meaning was discussed with Jack Long as he was telling each story

#### 3.3.1 *Mathi-Mathi texts recorded from Jack Long*

(207) TEXT 1. SIMPLE SENTENCES  
(First published in Hercus 1970)

1. **Ngindi ngenggath-i nhakilath-i.**  
you sit-IMP watch- IMP  
'You sit down and watch!'
2. **Matha ngindi kumb-i.**  
not you sleep-IMP  
'Don't go to sleep.'
3. **Tharti kinhi wuthungi perrmilath-inh.**  
soon this man sneak-FUT  
'By and by this man will sneak about.'
4. **Pukath-in paipul-u.**  
take-PAST kidney fat-his  
'He took his kidney-fat.'
5. **Kalk-in wuthuw-ang-in putungath-in.**  
bone-your inside-LOC-your destroy-PAST  
'He destroyed the bones inside you.'
6. **Pambath-in yiti puwu-ka**  
fear- PAST I ghost-OBL  
'I was frightened of the ghost.'
7. **Yuyukath-in yiti kinhi wuthungi**  
dream PAST I this man  
'I dreamt about this man. '
8. **Kumbatha kinhi wuthungi purrangatha**  
sleep this man snore  
'This man is asleep, he's snoring.'
9. **Pambatha nhulung**  
fear that.one.ABL  
'He's scared of that man.'
10. **Yinathu perrat-ai matha tirrawath-in**  
My younger.brother-mine not want PAST

**layurr, matha muwenggath-in layurr**  
 woman not marry PAST woman  
 ‘My younger brother didn’t want a wife, he never got married.’

(208) TEXT 2. MOTHER SAID  
 (First published in Hercus 1970)

1. **Matha ngindi yirnkath-i warripath-i wekata.**  
 not you go-IMP play-IMP long.way.off-LOC  
 ‘Don’t go and play a long way off.’
2. **Kima wartatha perrmilatha pungangi.**  
 straight.away come sneak evil.ghost  
 ‘Straight away there will come and sneak about a vicious ghost!’
3. **Nhakath-i kinhi puyindhi.**  
 look-IMP this darkness  
 ‘Look. It’s getting dark.’
4. **Pungangi kawawath-inh kinhi puyindhi.**  
 evil.ghost follow-FUT this darkness.  
 ‘The vicious ghost will follow the darkness.’
5. **Kakath-inh nginan manggath-inh nginan kiyaka-minhu.**  
 grab-FUT you.ACC take-FUT you.ACC altogether  
 ‘It will grab you and take you away for ever.’

(209) TEXT 3. WHEN THERE WAS A FLOOD  
 (First published in Hercus 1970)

1. **Kathini waiwulatha kewath-inh ngalan, ngurrkath-inh ngalan.**  
 water rise overtake-FUT us.ACC swallow-FUT us.ACC  
 ‘The water is rising, it will overtake us and drown us.’
2. **Wikath-inh ngali kathin-ang.**  
 perish-FUT we water-LOC  
 ‘We’ll perish in the waters.’
3. **Pai! nhakath-i nhinhi thangi kekata,**  
 hey see-IMP this ground above  
 ‘Look at that place up there’
4. **Yirnkath-i ngindi kekata kurrak-ang.**  
 go-IMP you above sandhill- LOC  
 ‘Go up to the top of the sandhill.’

5. **Thangi kayu nhakath-i kima tirril-ang.**  
ground there see-IMP there sky-LOC  
'Look at that place there, its right up in the sky.'
6. **Nhakath-i kinhi thiti, yirnkatha kang-ung kathin-ung.**  
see-IMP this animal go this-ABL water-ABL  
'Look at the animals coming away from the water!'
7. **Pambatha nhunhi kima kathin-ung wuthungi pambatha.**  
fear that one here water-ABL man fear  
'Those (animals) are frightened of the water, the people too.'
8. **Kiyath-in kinhi wuthungi: paikath-i ngindi manggath-i**  
say-PAST this man: get up-IMP you take-IMP  
**kuyun-in leng-in panemi.**  
spear-your camp-your food  
'One man said: get up, take your spear, your camp and your food.'
9. **Manggath-i kima wanapi.**  
take-IMP here fire  
'Take the fire here.'
10. **Ngenggath-inh ngali kekata nhiwi=ma nhak-ilath-iya**  
sit-will we above close.by=indeed look-CONT-IRR  
**panem-a, winmurru.**  
food-OBL wild.cabbage  
'We'll stay up there and would look for food around there, such as wild cabbages'
11. **Kathini ngenggatha.**  
water stops  
'The water has stopped rising.'
12. **Pai! nhunhi puikath-inh.**  
oh! this fall-FUT  
'Oh! It will drop soon.'
13. **Matha=ma ngindi pambath-iya winakatha ngalan**  
not=indeed you fear-might leave us.ACC  
**kinhi kathini.**  
this water  
'Don't be afraid, the water is leaving us now.'
14. **Pai! ngindi wekath-i warripath-i wangilath-i.**  
Oh! you laugh-IMP play-IMP sing-IMP  
'Oh! (Now) you can laugh and play and sing.'

(210) TEXT 4. MAKING A CANOE  
(first published in Hercus 1974:33)

The various methods used in the making of bark-canoes in the south-east of Australia are well-known (Smyth 1878:408; Berndt and Berndt 1964:101–102, Edwards 1972). Jack Long was probably the last man from the Murray area to be familiar with the methods of making canoes of this kind.

1. **Thalekata wuthungi pukath-in kinhi yungwip.**  
long ago man strip-PAST this canoe  
'Long ago people used to strip these canoes.'
2. **Matath-in piyal-aka mith-u.**  
cut-PAST red.gum-GEN bark-its  
'They used to cut the bark of red-gum trees.'
3. **Kima-m kartatha yungwip nhak-i.**  
here-indeed bends canoe look-IMP.  
'The (tree) here has (the right kind of) bend in it, you can (already) see the canoe.'
4. **Windhalu kinhi ngingethu pathik-in.**  
whereabouts this your tomahawk-your  
'Where is this tomahawk of yours?'
5. **Kima kima matath-i matath-iya ngali.**  
here here cut-IMP cut-IRR we-two  
'Here it is, cut, let us both cut.'
6. **Yiti kili matath-iya yinaka.**  
I this-side cut-IRR mine.  
'I want to cut this side, for my part.'
7. **Yiti kima matath-inh.**  
I here cut-FUT  
'I will cut here.'
8. **Ngindi yirnkath-inh matath-iya warraki.**  
you go-FUT cut-IRR paddle  
'You go and cut a paddle (out of a sapling).'
9. **Puwatha. 'Nhuwim kima puikath-inh.'**  
pull now here fall-FUT  
'They pull (and lever off the bark from the tree). 'Now it is coming down.'
10. **Puikatha nhuwi yungwip.**  
falls now canoe.  
'The bark-canoe comes down from the tree.'
11. **'Yupath-i, yupath-i, nhuwi kungath-iya withul wanapi.**  
put.down-IMP put.down-IMP now make-IRR big fire  
'Put it down, put it down now. Let us make a big fire.'

12. **‘Yupath-inh ngali kinhi, wanap-ang yupath-iya.’**  
 put-FUT we this fire-LOC put-IRR  
 ‘We will put it here, we’ll put it on the fire.’
13. **Kungath-iya ngali kiyapung wanapi, purrukulu.**  
 make-irr we two other fire lignum  
 ‘We’ll make another fire, with lignum.’
14. **Manggath-i purrukulu, yupath-i kinhi wuthuw-ata.**  
 take-IMP lignum put-IMP this midde-LOC  
 ‘We will get some lignum and put this inside, in the middle.’

Jack Long added that “They put that fire in the middle to warm the canoe up properly to set it.”

15. **Ngenggath-inh ngali.**  
 sit FUT we  
 ‘We’ll sit (and wait)
16. **Nhuwim kima yiti kima .**  
 now here I here  
 ‘We’ll sit (and wait). I’ll sit here. Now it is ready.’
17. **Kakath-iya purrukulu kinhi punhi kinhi winggi.**  
 get-IRR lignum these ashes these hot.coals  
 ‘Get the lignum ashes and hot coals, (and tip them out from the inside of the canoe)’
18. **Ngali yiti nga ngindi kimam kungath-in.**  
 we-two I and you this.here make-PAST.  
 ‘We two, you and I made this!’
19. **Winakatha ngali yirnkath-inh le-ngal-a.**  
 leave we two go-FUT camp-ours-OBL  
 ‘We will leave now and go to our camp.’
20. **Yirnkath-inh ngali withiwath-iya.**  
 go-FUT we-two return-IRR  
 ‘We will go and come back later.’

Jack long explained that “They had to have it pliable and they pegged it in to have it set and have the right shape, then when it was ready they took the pegs out.”

21. **Thipatha yungwip manggath-inh ngali yupath-iya kathin-a.**  
 floats canoe. take FUT we-two put-IRR water-OBL  
 ‘This canoe can float. Let’s take it and put it into the water.’
22. **Telkayatha.**  
 good is.  
 ‘All is well.’

## (211) TEXT 5. THE WICKED CROW

The following two stories of the Crow are part of the well-known south-eastern Australian tradition about Eaglehawk and Crow. The stories link in well with the Paakantyi legend studied by Tindale (1939), and the minor versions given by Hercus (1982:246). A survey and interpretative study of the Eaglehawk and Crow traditions was published by Blows (1995).

1. **Wangi puki-puki kima thak-ang.**  
crow bad here ground-LOC  
'The crow was a bad fellow when he was here on this ground.'
2. **Kawangilath-in murruni, layurr.**  
follow-PAST girl woman  
'He followed girls and women.'
3. **Perrmilath-in, perrmil-in layurr-ka.**  
sneak round-PAST sneak-PAST woman-OBL  
'He sneaked around and sneaked after women.'
4. **Kanandath-in kiyaka, yirnkath-in.**  
steal-PAST one go-PAST  
'He would steal one, and then he would go away.'
5. **Wuwath-in kanandath-in.**  
run away-PAST steal-PAST  
'He would run away and steal another.'
6. **Nhakath-in, pambath-in matha kakath-iya.**  
look-PAST fear-PAST not catch-IRR  
'He was always looking around frightened in case people might catch him.'
7. **Thuimath-in, yupath-in thak-a, ngenggath-in.**  
banish-PAST put-PAST place-OBL stay-PAST  
'They banished him away (they decoyed him into a cloud) they put him up there and he stayed there.'

(212) Text 6. Eaglehawk and Crow  
(first published in Hercus 1971)

1. **Wangi** **perrmilath-in** **layurr-ka,** **perrmil-ang** **pungath-in**  
crow sneak-PAST women-OBL sneak-PRES.PTC spear-PAST

**wulekil-u.**

eaglehawk-ERG

‘The Crow (always) sneaked after women, and (one time) as he was sneaking, the Eaglehawk speared him.’

2. **Palkath-in** **kuyun-u.**  
strike-PAST spear-INST

‘He struck him with a stabbing-spear.’

3. **Puthamath-in** **wanap-u** **puthamath-in:**  
burn-PAST fire-INST burn-PAST

‘Then the Eaglehawk burnt the Crow in a (big) fire:

4. **Piyali** **lengg-urr-u** **yupath-in** **wanapi;** **kalki,** **kinhi** **lengi.**  
tree foliage-INST-its stack-PAST fire sticks this foliage

‘He burnt a whole tree, he stacked up the fire with its foliage, he burnt the sticks and the foliage.’

5. **Puthamath-in** **wangi** **pangath-in** **thangi,** **nhipath-in**  
burn-PAST crow dig-PAST ground bury-PAST

**kinhi** **lunhi.**

this grave

‘(But the Crow tricked him and got away) the Crow got (slightly) burnt, he dug up the ground and made an underground cave like a grave’

6. **Kiyakaminhu** **kuwandhath-in.**  
altogether crawl.in-PAST

‘He crawled right in there.’

7. **Nhupath-in** **kima** **mingi** **nhinhi**  
shut-PAST there hole this

‘He shut off this grave-like hole.’

8. **Matha** **puthamath-in,** **puindh-urr-u.**  
not burn-PAST smoke-ERG-its

‘The smoke did not burn him.’

9. **Kumbath-in.**

lay -PAST.

‘He (just) lay there.’

Jack Long added that “he might have slept there for a day or two, anyhow he could feel how the heat was by that dirt he had heaped up.”



10. **Nhipath-in** **nhulang** **pangath-in** **mirnu,** **pandingi** **mirnu.**  
bury-PAST he-ERG dig-PAST hole-its little hole.its.  
'He made a very small opening (for this grave).'
11. **Nhulung** **temath-in** **wanapi,** **puindhi.**  
that.ABL hear-PAST fire smoke  
'Through that hole he could hear the fire and the smoke.'
12. **Puthamath-in** **wanap-u** **kiyakaminhu.**  
burn-PAST fire-ERG altogether  
'The fire burnt (down) everything (above).'
13. **Mathim** **kimu** **puindhi** **yirnkatha** **yirnkath-inh** **kimu** **yiti.**  
no more now smoke go go-FUT now I.  
'(The Crow says to himself): 'There is no more smoke coming out now, so I can go now.'
14. **Puwath-in** **nhul-ang** **kinhi** **thangi.**  
drag-PAST he-ERG this soil  
'He dragged away the soil (that he had heaped up).'
15. **Palhurru** **nhulung** **pirnath-in.**  
finally that-ABL get out-PAST  
'Finally he got out from that hole.'
16. **Kuwandhath-in** **wangi** **nhakilath-in:** **mathim** **kima**  
crawl-PAST crow look-PAST no.more here  
**piyali** **kekata.**  
wood above  
'And he crawled out, and he had a look, the Crow (thinking): There is no more firewood up there.'
17. **Pirnath-in** **winggi.**  
go.out PAST hot.coals.  
'And the hot coals up above (the hole) have gone out.'
18. **Paikath-in** **nhakilath-in** **mathim** **kima** **wuthungi.**  
fly up PAST look-PAST no more here man  
'Crow flew right up and looked around (thinking): The (Eaglehawk) fellow is not here any more.'
19. **Yirnkath-in;** **matha** **yiti** **kinhi** **nhaka.**  
go-PAST not I this.one see.  
'He has gone, I can't see him.'
20. **Paikath-in,** **windhalu** **kinhi** **wuthungi** **yirnkath-in?**  
fly-up-PAST whereabouts this man go-PAST  
'The Crow flew up (saying): Whereabouts has this fellow gone?'
21. **Ngai** **yiti** **kimu** **yirnkath-inh** **wartath-inh** **nhima** **yinatu**  
eh! I now go-FUT arrive-FUT here my

**wuthung-ai.**

people-mine

'Eh, I shall go now, and I shall get to the place where my own people are.'

22. **Withiwath-inh**    **yinathu**    **wuthung-al,**    **kengging-al,**  
return-FUT            my            people-LOC    uncle-LOC

**waw-al**                      **perrat-al**                      **minak-al.**  
elder.brother-LOC    younger.sibling-LOC    cousin-LOC

'I shall go back among my own people, among my uncles and elder brothers, among my younger brothers and sisters and cousins.'

23. **Kawangath-in**    **nhul-ang,**    **wangi**    **kinhi**    **ki-lu**    **wulekil-u.**  
follow-PAST            that.one-ERG    crow    this    this-ERG    eaglehawk-ERG.  
'That Eaglehawk, he followed the Crow

(Jack Long explained: 'Later on he went hunting, the Crow, and fishing by the river, the Wakool; it wasn't exactly by the river, it was a kind of lake just north of the Wakool Crossing, Spink's Crossing (Kyalite), about nine miles from where the Edward joins the Wakool.')

24. **Wulekil-u**            **palkath-in**    **kuyun-u.**  
eaglehawk-ERG    strike-PAST    spear-INST  
'The Eaglehawk struck the Crow with his stabbing-spear.'
25. **Nhul-ang**    **kapurrimath-in**                      **kathin-ang.**  
he-ERG            submerge.completely-PAST    water-LOC  
'(But this time the Crow jumped into the water) and was completely submerged by the Eaglehawk (and drowned).'
26. **Kangu**    **withiwath-in**    **nhuli**    **thak-a,**            **withiwath-in**    **thiti.**  
later            return-PAST    he            ground-OBL    return-PAST    bird  
'Later on the Crow returned to this land, but he returned as a bird.'
27. **Within-u**    **kengath-in**    **wurrkiri-math-in**    **wilerr-math-in**            **mirn-u.**  
feather-his    grow-PAST    black-become-PAST    white-become-PAST    eyes-his  
'He grew feathers and was black, and his eyes were white'
28. **Purrindhath-in.**  
smoked-PAST  
'(That was because) he had been through all that smoke earlier on.'
29. **Perrmath-in**    **kinhi**    **wuthungi**    **wulekil-u**            **kanandath-in**  
sneak-PAST            this            man            eaglehawk-ERG    steal-PAST
- nhulang**            **kinhi**    **painggu;**    **tulanggi**    **piyali**    **kengath-in,**  
that one-ERG            this            child            tall            red gum            grow-PAST
- manggath-in**    **kinhi**    **painggu**    **yupath-in**    **kekata**    **nhuki**  
take-PAST            this            child            put-PAST            on top            there

**winakath-in kinhi painggu.**  
leave-PAST this child

‘The Eaglehawk stalked people (living in the area), and then that Eaglehawk stole a small child (belonging to them); a tall tree was growing there, and he took this child and put it high up there, and left it up there.’

30. **Wuthungi yakilath-in numilath-ang puinggi-nhauyngi.**  
people search-PAST weeping-PTC night-day  
‘People searched and enquired, weeping continually night and day.’

31. **Nhanang kima winhangu kinhi waiwath-inh kinh-ang**  
how here who this one climb-FUT this-LOC

**piyal-ang?**

tree-LOC

‘Who can climb up on this tree? And how?’

32. **Windhalu wuthungi?**  
whereabout man  
‘Whereabouts is there such a man?’

33. **Tati-tati pinh-pinh waiwath-in manggath-in**  
by-and-by Brown-tree-creeper climb up-PAST get-PAST

**nhul-ang painggu.**

he-ERG child.

‘By and by the Brown Tree-Creeper climbed up, and he took the child.’

34. **Yakilath-in kinhi wulekil-u thit-u panem-u.**  
hunt-PAST this eaglehawk-ERG meat-his food-his  
‘The Eaglehawk was away hunting for his meat and his food.’

35. **Pinh-pinh kathiwath-in manggath-in pap-ang-u**  
Brown-tree-creeper come down-PAST take-PAST mother-LOC-his

**mam-ang-u.**

father-LOC-his.

‘The Brown Tree-Creeper climbed down and brought back the child to his mother and to his father.’

36. **Yirnkath-in kiyakaminhu.**  
go way-PAST altogether  
‘Then he went away altogether.’

37. **Yakilath-in: Winhangu kinhi manggath-in painggu?**  
search-PAST who this get-PAST child  
‘People enquired: ‘Who was this one that got the child down (from the tree)?’

38. **Kimu kumbath-in.**  
 here sleep-PAST  
 ‘It was here sleeping (when we arrived back in our camp).’
39. **Wekath-in, wangilath-in.**  
 laugh-PAST sing-PAST  
 ‘They laughed and sang (and were happy).’
40. **Kalayath-in kiyawathin.**  
 ask-PAST speak-PAST  
 ‘They asked about it and talked about it.’
41. **Katiwath-in wanapi mirn-u puthamath-in.**  
 descend-PAST fire hollow-its burn-PAST  
 ‘The fire came down and burnt this hollow pipe.’

(Jack Long explained: ‘You know that trees have a pipe, a hollow inside them that goes right down to the bottom, well the Brown Tree-Creeper must have dropped his fire-stick into this pipe when he was up on top of that big tree there. He didn’t see it burning, the Brown Tree-Creeper, because the fire was inside that pipe’).

42. **Piyali puthamath-in, puikath-in perrerr-ang.**  
 tree burn-PAST fall-PAST lake-LOC  
 ‘The tree burnt and fell into the lake.’
43. **Tumuilath-inh kathini, yirnkath-inh, temath-inh kima.**  
 cross-FUT water go-FUT stand-FUT there  
 ‘Anyone will be able to cross the water, and go and stand there (on the other side).’

(Jack Long explained: ‘This accounts for the present shape of Yanga Lake which is almost divided into two by a ridge, the ‘Great Tree’ of the legend. One can walk on this ridge when the water is low.’)

(213) TEXT 7. MUSSELS  
 (first published, Hercus 1974:37)

Despite its brevity, the story of the Mussels is interesting in that it shows the importance attached to the moiety system. One pair of mussels was Kilparra, while the other was Makwarra, and it was similar throughout the world of living beings ‘when one was Kilparra, there was always a Makwarra very similar to it, so the red kangaroo, **purrangi** was Kilparra, while the grey kangaroo **pukumanama** was Makwarra’. The two pairs of mussel men were therefore on opposite sides in the quarrel between the Eaglehawk and the Crow, and in retribution for having joined in the fight each pair was made into a single mussel.

1. **Thalekata puletha-puletha yirnkath-in wuthungi,**  
 long ago two-two go-PAST man

**puletha wanmarn puletha marri-marri.**  
 two Big.Mussel two Little Mussel.  
 ‘A long time ago they went about as men, the two Big Mussel men and the two little Mussel men.’

2. **Wang-u kiyath-in mathim ngindi marri-marri puletha,**  
 crow-ERG say-PAST no more you Little-Mussels two,  
 ‘The Crow said: ‘You Little Mussels are not two any more.’

3. **Kiyakaminhu yum-inh\* kiyakam.**  
 altogether be-FUT as one.  
 ‘You will remain as one for ever.’

4. **Wulekil-u kungath-in: ngindi wanmarn ngenggath-ia tind-ata,**  
 eaglehawk-ERG make-PAST you Big.Mussels sit-IRR river-LOC  
**kiyakaminhu kiyakam.**  
 altogether one-indeed.  
 ‘The Eaglehawk acted (likewise): ‘You Big Mussels shall sit in the river for ever as one.’

5. **Tindi- kathin-ata ngenggatha wanmarn.**  
 River- water-LOC sit Big.Mussels,  
 ‘So the big mussels stay in the river water.’

6. **Perrerr-kathin-ata ngenggatha marri-marri.**  
 Lake-water-LOC sit Little-Mussels.  
 ‘And the Little Mussels in the water of lagoons.’

\***yuminh** in line 3 above is of special interest: **yuma** to be, which is well-known from the other Kulin languages was rare in Mathi-Mathi and only occurred in this one text, (cf. below Text 9, No. 1 for the preferred option in Mathi-Mathi, a verbless copula sentence).

(214) TEXT 8. THE OBTAINING OF FIRE

Smyth (1878) has given an account of a number of Southeast Australian myths about the obtaining of fire. The brief story related by Jack Long is consistent with these traditions. He began by explaining that “Long ago there was no fire, only the water-rat had fire”, then:

1. **Murrembin-u pakath-in kinhi thangi pulp-u.**  
 water-rat-ERG dig-PAST this ground oven-his  
 ‘The water-rat dug this ground, he had an oven.’

2. **Nhuli nhupath-in kinhi mirnu kungath-in wanapi.**  
 he shut-PAST this hole, make-PAST fire  
 ‘He shut this underground passage and made fire there.’

3. **Pulunh-pulunh pirnath-in.**  
 spark get.out-PAST  
 ‘Sparks got out.’

4. **Kerrkerr-u kambanga-thin-u kakath-in.**  
kestrel-ERG reed-seed-with catch-PAST.  
'The brown hawk caught (them) with a dry seed spike of reeds.'
5. **Withul wanapi kungath-in.**  
big fire make-PAST.  
'He made a big fire.'
6. **Walwath-in wurringgi, piyali.**  
burn-PAST grass trees  
'It burnt everything, grass and trees.'
7. **Punhi-punhi putamath-in thina-nh-u.**  
hot-ashes. burn-PAST foot-his  
'There were hot ashes and (some birds) burnt their feet. (That's why those birds now have webbed feet.)'

## (215) TEXT 9. THE MOON

This version of the story of the moon is very similar to the longer Paakantyi version recorded by Tindale in the Pantyikali dialect from George Dutton in 1938. Mathi-Mathi people shared exactly the same traditions as the Paakantyi with regard to the origin of the moon. What is known as the moon myths of other people in the area is very different, e.g. the moon myths in Ngiyampaa related to Tamsin Donaldson and L. Hercus. The following Mathi-Mathi version resembles the Southern Paakantyi version recorded in the late sixties by L. Hercus from Jack Johnson, who came from Pooncarie (Hercus 1982:257).

1. **Mithien wuthungi puki-puki.**  
moon man very-bad  
'The moon used to be a bad, greedy fellow.'
2. **Kanandath-in mithien-u tithi, ngunhingi.**  
steal-PAST moon-ERG meat bag  
'The moon (rolled people over) and stole their meat and their bags.'
3. **Waiwath-in piyal-ang takum yakath-iya.**  
climb-PAST tree-LOC grub seek-IRR.  
'(One day) he climbed up a tree to look for grubs.'
4. **Waiwath-in nhak-in nhak-in kakata.**  
climb-PAST look-PAST look-PAST up.high  
'He climbed and looked, and looked up high.'
5. **Yarnkath-in puletha: nhakath-i, kima kuthapi kekata**  
say-PAST two look-IMP here rock up high

**thekath-iya.**

stand-IRR

‘Two fellows (who were standing below) said to him: ‘Look there is a rock up there, you could stand on that (to see better)’.’

6. **Waiwath-in thekath-in.**  
climb-PAST stand-PAST  
‘He climbed up and stood (on that rock).’
7. **Yawimath-in kuthapi kekata.**  
disappear-PAST rock up high  
‘(But) the rock disappeared high up (into the sky).’
8. **Ngenggatha kayu mithien.**  
stay there moon.  
‘The moon is still up there.’

## (216) TEXT 10. THE MURRAY COD

A much fuller version of this comparatively well-known myth was heard by R.M. Berndt from a Yaralde speaker from the lower Murray (Berndt 1974:203).

1. **Miwurru wuthungi.**  
clever man  
‘There was a clever man.’
2. **Kungath-in pandhil.**  
make-PAST big.cod  
‘He made the huge Murray cod.’
3. **Pandhil miwuru, kungath-in tindi.**  
big.cod clever one make-PAST river.  
‘This huge Murray cod was also clever, and he made the River (Murray) (starting at the top end).’
4. **Kakath-in wuthu-ku.**  
catch-PAST man-ERG  
‘Then the man caught this huge Murray cod (in Mathi-Mathi country).’
5. **Kalpayath-in pandhingi-pandhingi kinhi pandhil.**  
cut-PAST small-small this big.cod  
‘And cut him into small pieces, this big cod.’
6. **Yunggath-in nhunhang kathin-a, kiyath-in nhe-nhu:**  
throw-PAST him.ERG water-OBL say-PAST name-its  
**wirrnggil, thurri, pandung...**  
yellow.belly bream small cod...  
‘He threw those back into the water naming each (as he threw it): yellowbelly, bream, cod etc. (and that’s how all the different kinds of fish were made).’

(217) TEXT 11. THE POSSUM  
(first published in Hercus 1974:36)

This text remains very fragmentary, as Jack Long could not recall the main events of the story. The Possum had done ‘something wrong connected with the morning’ and was therefore condemned to be nocturnal. Only the beginning of the story could be recorded:

1. **Kiyapung** **wilengi** **pap-u** **nga** **wathaip-u** **pandhingi**  
one-other possum mother-his and son-hers little  
**ngenggatha** **kayu** **piyal-ang,** **peni.**  
sit there red gum-LOC hollow  
‘A mother possum and her tiny son were sitting in the redgum tree, there was a hollow.’
2. **Mithaki** **puikath-in,** **tamu** **puikath-in** **puletha** **nga**  
rain fall-PAST greatly fall-PAST two and  
**kiyaka** **puindhi,** **nhauyingi.**  
one nights days  
‘Rain fell, it poured down for three days and three nights.’
3. **Papu-rru** **kalayath-in** **kili** **painggu** **yirnkath-inh**  
mother-ERG-his ask-PAST this child go-FUT  
**nhakilath-inh** **nhangu** **kima** **nhauyingi** **thangi**  
look-FUT how now day place  
**telkayatha** **puki=m?’**  
good is bad=indeed  
‘The mother asked her child: ‘Go and look what the day is like and the place (outside) is like. Is it good or bad?’
4. **‘Telkayatha** **nhauwingi** **thulpa-thulpa** **kalangi,** **pukayatha**  
good is day break up weather driven.off-become  
**menggi** **lendhanang** **kima** **tirrili.**  
dark cloud shining now sky  
‘(The child answered): ‘The day is good the weather is breaking up, the dark clouds are being driven away, the sky is shining’.

Jack Long added that “But later the Possum stopped the sun coming, that was before there was night and day, and there was argument about that. That is why the possum only gets up at night now.”



(218) TEXT 12. THE SEVEN SISTERS  
(first published in Hercus 1974:35)

The Mathi-Mathi view of this well-known myth is discussed below, text 14.

1. **Puneth-puneth thalekata kawangath-in kinhi wupap-u.**  
Seven Sisters long.ago follow-PAST this throwing stick-theirs  
'Long ago the Seven Sisters used to follow their throwing stick.'
2. **Wartath-in kima thak-a warriwath-in nhunhi**  
come-PAST here place-OBL play-PAST that  
**wupap-ung.**  
throwing stick-ABL  
'They came to this place and played with their throwing stick.'
3. **Kili nhauyingi putukath-in wapurr-ang, paim puindhi,**  
this sun set-PAST west-LOC oh! night  
**puneth-puneth kangung wainggurr-ung yirnkath-in warriwulath-in.**  
Seven Sisters there-ABL east-ABL go-PAST play-PAST  
'The sun set in the west, behold, it was night, and the Seven Sisters came from the east and played.'
4. **Yunggath-in murruni-layurr-ku, nhulang pepath-iya kinhi**  
throw-PAST young women-ERG they-ERG hop-IRR this-one  
**thak-ang.**  
ground-LOC  
'They threw their throwing stick, these young women so that it would leap along the ground.'
5. **kawakath-in yawimath-in kiyakaminhu wapurr-ang.**  
follow-PAST disappear-PAST altogether west-LOC  
'They followed it and disappeared altogether in the west.'

(219) TEXT 13. MIRNDAI, THE MANED SNAKE  
(first published in Hercus 1970)

Jack Long related a Mathi-Mathi version of the story of **Mirndai**, the 'maned snake'. This creature is well-known in legends from many parts of Victoria and is variously called 'myndie', 'mindi', 'murndi' in earlier records. It is described as having a huge long body and a large head. The Mathi-Mathi version of the story of **mirndai** is interesting for its linguistic content, and for the way it combines the old legend with newer material. Such adaptations are usually made by people to whom the mythology is still a reality that has to be reconciled with changed circumstances. This version of the **mirndai** story also confirms that the Paakantyi (Darling River) type of moiety system with the division into Kilparra and Makwarra extended into the Mathi-Mathi area. It had previously been known to exist among the neighbouring Tharti-Tharti and Wati-Wati (Curr 1886, II: 285). The **mirndai** is also mentioned in the Wati-Wati *The Story of Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone) of Balaarook* (see 5):

1. **Mirndai tulanggi.**  
**Mirndai** long  
 ‘The **Mirndai** was long.’
2. **Nganing-ang-u kengath-in puluth-u.**  
 back of neck-LOC-his grow-PAST mane-his  
 ‘It had a mane growing from the back of its neck.’
3. **Mirndai kiyaka Kilparra, kiyaka makwarra.**  
**Mirndai** one Kilparra one Makwarra  
 ‘One **Mirndai** belonged to the Kilparra moiety, the other was a Makwarra.’
4. **Kilparra kuletha-wil, makwarra telku.**  
 Kilparra savage Makwarra good  
 ‘The Kilparra one was savage, but the Makwarra one was tame.’
5. **Puki kinhi Mirndai, thak-ang larnu.**  
 bad this **Mirndai** ground-LOC camp-his  
 ‘That Kilparra **Mirndai** was bad. It lived in the ground.’

Jack Long added “But it would get in and out through the water-hole and on fine days it would be out or sitting waiting in that spring.”

6. **Kathin-ata ngenggatha pepatha kathini.**  
 water-LOC sits jumps up water  
 ‘It would sit in the water-hole and the water would then rise up suddenly.’
7. **Pirnath-in kanakath-in wuthungi, muyu-ngurr-u,**  
 come out-PAST grab-PAST man spirit power-INST-his  
**kakath-in nhinhan, tundath-in nhinhan.**  
 catch-PAST him.ACC paralyse-PAST him.ACC  
 ‘It would come out of the water, and grab a man by means of its spirit power. It grabbed him and paralysed him.’

Jack Long added that “if you got away in time you were all right. It had this power in its eye”

8. **Mirnda-yu thakath-in, ngurrkath-in.**  
**Mirndai-ERG** eat-PAST swallow-PAST  
 ‘The **Mirndai** then ate and swallowed him.’
9. **Wawunmath-in Mirndai, telkayath-in pili-nhu, marnd-u.**  
 become full-PAST **Mirndai** good-PAST stomach-his flesh-his  
 ‘The **Mirndai** was satisfied then, its stomach and its whole being felt good.’
10. **Pambath-in nhunha-ngung wuthungi.**  
 fear-PAST this.one-ABL man  
 ‘People were scared of it; (and then one day for the first time this **Mirndai** saw a bullock which had come to the waterhole).’

11. **Kinhi thiti kupilath-in kathini**  
 this beast drink-PAST water  
 ‘The bullock had a drink of water.’
12. **Kakath-in kil-u Mirnday-u, manggath-in kinhi thiti,**  
 catch-PAST this-ERG **Mirndai-ERG** take-PAST this beast  
**thakath-in.**  
 eat-PAST  
 ‘Then the **Mirndai** caught the bullock and took him and ate him.’
13. **Puki Mirndai, thiti withul, wikath-in.**  
 bad **Mirndai** beast big die-PAST  
 ‘It was bad this **Mirndai**, and the bullock was too big for it, and so the **Mirndai** died.’
14. **Waiwulang-u nhakath-in puwath-in kinhi kathin-ung.**  
 white-fellow-ERG see-PAST drag-PAST this one water-ABL  
 ‘A whitefellow saw the dead **Mirndai** and dragged it out of the water.’

Jack Long added that “He had to use a whole bullock-team to get it out, and it was then that people could see that the **Mirndai** was 70 to 80 yards long. That’s how the bad **Mirndai** finished. The Makwarra one was all right and it may be there yet.”

(220) TEXT 14. THE STORY OF ORION  
 (first published in Hercus 1974:27)

The story of Orion as told by Jack Long and edited below is of particular interest as it illustrates the strong links in traditions along the Murray River: a very similar legend is known from Yaralde speakers near the Murray mouth (Meyer, 1846; Laurie 1917), and this tradition has been studied by Tindale ‘The legend of Waijungari’ (1937) and by R.M. and C. Berndt (1996). The Yaralde **Waijungarri** is the equivalent of the Mathi-Mathi **Kuya-wil**. Jack Long, in his youth, could also speak Tharti-Tharti, a Murray River language related to Yaralde, but the legend related by him about Orion is Mathi-Mathi. The names of the main characters are distinctly Mathi-Mathi, i.e. ‘Kulin’, but the substance of the legend belongs to the Murray River tradition. It is significant that there is another ‘Kulin’ version from Western Victoria (Smyth 1878:433 and Morieson 1996). In this version ‘Tatyarguil’ (the Mathi-Mathi **Thathak-wil**) and his two wives are quite unconnected with Orion, and form the constellation Aquila: Orion is represented by legends of boys dancing. This tradition has counterparts in southern Central Australia where Parnkalla elders, speaking to Luise Hercus, have described Orion as ‘the boys with the tired feet’.

Jack Long’s version of the story of Orion thus represents an important link in the network of traditions of Orion which can be summarised as follows:

1. The Orion myth of Waijungari and Nepele (Yaralde), called **Kuya-wil** and **Thathak-wil** in Mathi-Mathi. (Murray River tradition)
2. ‘Tatyarguil’ (corresponding to the Mathi-Mathi **Thathak-wil**) with his two wives forms Aquila, and Orion has a separate myth connected with ‘boys dancing’ before the Seven Sisters. (‘Kulin’ tradition, Western Victoria)

3. Orion ‘the boys with the tired feet’ is linked more closely with the Seven Sisters: the boys are tired from chasing the Seven Sisters. (Southern Central Australia)
4. The important and widespread myth of Orion as an erotic man who pursues the Seven Sisters. (Western Desert and Central Australia).

The identity of the stars that figure in the Mathi-Mathi story is fairly clear from Jack Long’s description: **Thathak-wil** (in the middle) and his two wives form the stars of Orion’s belt, while **Kuya-wil**, the red star, is probably Betelgeuse: ‘they all come up together, not far from those Seven Sisters’. **Kananh-kananh**, has no stationary place, and is a planet.

1. **Wartatha kima Kananh-kananh puind-ata.**  
comes here **Kananh-kananh** night-LOC  
‘**Kananh-kananh** came in the night.’
2. **Kumbath-in wuthungi kakath-in nhulang manggath-in**  
sleep-PAST men catch-PAST he.ERG take away-PAST  
**tirril-ang.**  
sky-LOC  
‘While men were asleep, he grabbed them and took them away up into the sky.’
3. **Nhakilatha kima wuthungi, manu nhulang kiyath-in**  
see-CONT here man then he.ERG say-PAST  
**thali-ngurr-u: Kananh-kananh kinhi ngenggath-in tirril-ang.**  
language-ERG-his **Kananh-kananh** this sit-PAST sky-LOC  
‘People down here said in their language: This **Kananh-kananh** lives in the sky.’

Under the influence of Christian terminology, Jack Long described the star **Kananh-kananh** as a ‘heavenly overseer’. The name **Kananh-kananh** is probably derived from the verb ‘to take away’, ‘to steal’, Mathi-Mathi **kanandatha** cf. Wemba-Wemba **kanindya**.

4. **Kima thangi titath-in, matha nhunhi ngenggath-in**  
here place change-PAST not that.one stay-PAST  
**kiyaka thangi.**  
one place  
‘He changed place. He did not have one fixed place.’
5. **Wuthungi withul nhinmerru yawimath-in.**  
men many these disappear-PAST  
‘Many men disappeared.’
6. **Ngenggatha kalu.**  
stay there  
‘They stayed there (in the sky).’

7. **Thathak-wil thalekata wartath-in kimu kiyaka thathak-wil.**  
**Thathak-wil** long-ago come-PAST here one arm-having  
 ‘Thathak-wil came here long ago, he only had one arm.’
8. **Yingata pawath-in pap-urr-u kiyaka thathak-wil.**  
 thus bear-PAST mother-ERG-his one arm-having  
 ‘He was born like that with just one arm.’
9. **Kanandath-in nhulang layurr kinhi, puletha mathum-u.**  
 steal-PAST he.ERG women here two wives-his  
 ‘He stole two women here (on this earth) and so he had two wives.’
10. **Thathak-wil wuthuw-ata ngenggatha.**  
**Thathak-wil** middle-LOC sits  
 ‘Thathakwil stays there in the middle (between the two women).’
11. **Manggath-in nhulang kinhi wuthungi, Kuya-wil.**  
 take-PAST them.ERG this man **Kuya-wil**  
 ‘They captured a man named **Kuya-wil**.’
12. **‘Kawai, kawai, kakath-iya ngali manggath-iya tirrila.**  
 come on come on catch-IRR we-two take-IRR sky-OBL  
 ‘Come on, come on, let us capture him and take him up into the sky.’
13. **Yarnkath-iya ngali ngurli yurndal.**  
 speak-IRR we-two like emu  
 ‘We will do it by pretending to be emus.’
14. **Puletha layurr-ku kunga-kungath-in nhenh-u kika-nga**  
 two women-ERG make-PAST sound-its this-GEN  
**yurndal.**  
 emu  
 ‘The two women made a noise like an emu.’
15. **Kuya-wil-u temath-in.**  
**Kuya-wil-ERG** hear-PAST  
 ‘**Kuya-wil** heard it.’
16. **Manggath-in kuyun-u permath-iya yurndal palkath-iya.**  
 take-PAST spear-his sneak-IRR emu kill-IRR  
 ‘He took his spear and he wanted to sneak up and kill the emus.’
17. **Puletha-nga layurr-ku kakath-in manggath-in tirril-ang.**  
 two-ERG<sup>34</sup> women-ERG grab-PAST take-PAST sky-LOC  
 ‘The two women grabbed hold of him and took him away into the sky.’
18. **Yawimath-in nhuli.**  
 disappear-PAST he  
 ‘He disappeared.’
19. **Wuthungi nhakilath-in ‘Paik-i, muthath-iya kuyun-in**  
 men search-PAST get up-IMP pick.up-IRR spear-yours

<sup>34</sup> It is not clear why the rare and mainly pronominal genitive ending **-anga** is used here (see 3.2.3.9).

**yirnkath-iya.**

go-IRR

‘People searched for him, (saying) ‘Get up, pick up your spear let us go.!’

20. **Yakilath-iya nhunhangu, nhanhu nhunhi withiwath-inh?**  
 search-IRR him-ABL when he return-FUT

‘Let us look for him’. When will he return?’

21. **Nhakath-in nhuli kakata tirril-ang.**  
 see-PAST he above sky-LOC

‘Then they saw him, up there in the sky.’

22. **Tharlapil turti, tharlapil marnd-u nga mith-u.**  
 red star red flesh-his and skin-his

‘(They recognised him): he was a red star because he was a man with red flesh and red skin.

23. **Puletha layurr-ku mandath-in.**  
 two women-ERG abduct-PAST

‘The two women had abducted him.’

24. **Ngenggath-in tirril-ang turti=m.**  
 stay-PAST sky-LOC star=indeed

‘He remained as a star in the sky.’

**3.3.2 Mathi-Mathi songs recorded from Mary Moore**

The first song is from a recording made by Mary Moore for the musicologist Catherine Ellis in December 1962. Mary originally came from Ebenezer and was of Werkaya descent, but she spent a lot of her time at Balranald and married a Mathi-Mathi man, Reginald Wise. Late in her life she lived in an old – and leaking – blue caravan at ‘Murray Downs’ on the New South Wales side of the Murray, at the edge of a settlement established by the Swan Hill police sergenat, Sergeant Feldtman, for Aboriginal people who until then had been simply camping by the river. It was there that Catherine Ellis recorded her. Mary subsequently sang the same song for Luise Hercus.

**(221) Nhángindi wárra, nhángindi látha****Nhángindi wárra, windha panhími**

What are you doing, what are you talking about?

What are you doing, where is the bread?

**Nhángindi látha, nhángindi wárra****Nhángindi windha kàrríngi****Windha panhími, nhángindi wárra,**

What are you talking about, what are you doing?

What are you ... Where is the emu

Where is the bread, what are you doing?

And she explained:

**nhangindi warra** means what are you doing then..**nhangindi latha** means what are you talking about**windha karringi** where is the emu, where is the meat. **yawi** is the meat**Comments:**

**Nhangindi** is a contraction of **nhangi ngindi** ‘what you’, which is the typical sequence in Mathi-Mathi sentences with interrogative adverbs, see 3.2.6.4.

**Yawi** ‘meat’ does not occur in the song and is not attested for Mathi-Mathi, it is presumably a rendering of the Werkaya **yawir** ‘meat’, word that Mary remembered from her youth.

In answer to Cath Ellis’s question ‘Where did that song come from?’ Mary answered

Mathi-Mathi song, that is a Balranald song

if I tell you Wekiweki is further down, Canally station, it would be about about 30 miles down, they had different tribes....

In answer to Cath Ellis’s question ‘Where did you learn that song from?’ Mary answered:

Oh, grandmother Reynolds that lived in Balranald. For years this old lady was mainly around Balranald, she was the oldest lady around Balranald. She used to sing like ... but we didn’t understand she’d sing some kind of song, and sometimes you’d understand and sometimes you didn’t, and she used to sing to us

Immediately after the discussion about learning the song in (221), Mary Moore sang the following song:

(222) **nhangin wikalya (??) yukani nhiyin turi ... nhunyi yukani (rukani?) nhiyanda nhinya**

She explained the meaning of this song as follows:

She liked to go fishing and get us to get more worms for fishing and she would bring in the fish, that is Mathi-Mathi, Balranald language still. **yanggali** that is the worms and **turi** was the fish that is bream **bandyil** that is the cod.

The word for ‘worms’ was given by Jack Long as **tháנגgali** ‘worm’ and a similar word was recorded for Wati-Wati (Piangil) by Davy as *tungali*. This word does not occur in the song. The Mathi-Mathi words that we can recognise from this song are **nhangi** ‘what’, **wikatha** ‘hungry’, **thúrri** ‘freshwater bream’ and **nhunhi** ‘that one over there’. The form **yukan-** may be related to the Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) word **yuwangila** (see 239b below).. As discussed above in 1.3.2, there are cases where Wati-Wati **w** corresponds to stops in Mathi-Mathi.

On the basis of these words, our best effort at analysing this song is given in (223) and (224):

(223)	<b>nhangin</b>	<b>wikalya</b>	<b>yukani</b>	<b>nhiyin</b>	<b>turi</b>
	<b>nhang-in</b>	<b>wikatha</b>	<b>yukan-i</b>	<b>nhiyi-n??</b>	<b>thurri</b>
	what-your??	hungry	fish?-IMP	close by-??	bream
	‘What are you hungry (for)? Go and fish for bream!’				

(224)	<b>nhunyi</b>	<b>yukani</b>	<b>nhiyanda</b>	<b>nhinya</b>
	<b>nhunhi</b>	<b>yukan-i</b>	<b>nhiyi-anda??</b>	<b>nhinhi</b>
	over there	fish?-IMP	close by-??	here
	‘Fish over here, close by!’			

# 4 *Letyi-Letyi, Wati-Wati, Pura-Pura and Wati-Wati (Piangil)*

## 4.1 Letyi-Letyi

### 4.1.1 Sources

The sources for Letyi-Letyi are unfortunately very meagre. All of them either identify the people as Letyi-Letyi (in various spellings), or have the word **Letyi** or a similar form as the word for ‘no’. The Letyi-Letyi sources are as follows:

Table 44: Letyi-Letyi sources

Abbreviation	Author	Details
Co	Corney, F.	List 202: ‘Bumbang on the Murray River’ (Curr 1886 III:452–3).
K	Curr, E.M	List 203: ‘Kulkyne’ (Curr 1886 III:454–5).
Mc	McLeod	‘Phrases’ (Curr 1886 III:438–9).
Ly	Thomas, W.	‘Lye-tee Lye-tee (or Ki Near Euston, S of Murray)’ Mitchell Library MS 214, Box 21.
Ey	Eyre, E.J.	‘Boraiper, or East of Moorunde’ in Eyre (1845:395–7).
B	Beveridge, P.	Words from the ‘Litchoo-Litchoo tribe’ in Beveridge (1883:71), reproduced in Beveridge (1889:172).
A	MacIntyre, A	‘Kulkyne’, word list in Smyth (1878 II:70)

Source Co, the Bumbang list in Curr (1886) bears a note: “The name of the tribe is Laitchi laitchi.” The word for ‘no’ is given as *laitji*. Source K, the Kulkyne list, collected by Curr himself, is very similar, so it can be taken to reflect the same dialect. The word for ‘no’ here is given as *laitche*. The third source in Curr, Mc, is included in his introduction to Book the Eighteenth and consists of a few “phrases, belonging to one of the Laichi-laichi families...forwarded to me by Mr McLeod, who I understand speaks the language.” (1886 III:438)

Source Ly is found in the papers of William Thomas in the Mitchell Library (MS 214, Box 21: 259), where there is a section entitled *Language and customs of Australian Abor.: miscellaneous papers 1838–1868*, containing a one page vocabulary from the “Lye-tee Lye-tee (or Ki Near Euston, S of Murray)”. Underneath the title the words “O’Brien\_alias\_When-im-nil” are written. This is presumably the name of the person who gave the words to Thomas. This source consists of 89 entries including some pronouns and a few sentences transcribed below in 4.1.4. The list also includes illustrations of eight weapons, the names of which are *Wonnee* (boomerang), *Boop-pum*, *Nool-la will* (type of shield), *Gee-am-me* (broader type of shield), *Koo-non-nee* (type of spear), *Lee-ill-ville* (club), *Wittow-ill* (double jagged spear), *Ben-meal* (club), *Kur-rek-kee* (woomera). Smyth



(1878 I:299f, 350f) discusses similar weapons in great detail. At the top of the page there is a note from Thomas that “Fred<sup>k</sup> Gibbs, son of Mr. Gibbs of Lower Plenty, knows this language well.” Nothing is known about Mr. Gibbs.

Eyre (1845) includes a comparative list from nine languages around Australia. The sixth of these, source Ey, is called ‘The Boraipar, or East of Moorunde’. This list includes *latto* ‘no’ and matches the other Letyi-Letyi sources quite well. It probably lacks preconsonantal r, as far as one can tell from the notation, but **r** shows up as an apparent intervocalic rhotic in *me-rik-ki* ‘egg’ and *mer-ring-y* ‘eye’, which matches with Wati-Wati (Swan Hill). Although there are only 35 entries, there is a set of pronouns and the notation is very good. This source is particularly significant in that it relates to an area well to the west of the area the other sources relate to. Moorunde is on the Murray south of Blanchetown. Eyre refers to ‘the *Boraipar* or language of the *Arkatko* tribe, who inhabit the scrub to the east of the Murray’ (1845:331). The name *Arkatko* can be equated with **Ngarkat** (*Ngerget*) on Tindale’s map (Tindale 1974). Eyre missed the initial **ng** as he did in other names such as *Aiawong* for **Ngayawang**. The **-ko** is an augment used in Ngayawang to avoid a final consonant; compare Ngayawang *tollun-ko* ‘egg’ with Yu-Yu *thullan*, and *purroil-ko* ‘kangaroo’ with Yu-Yu *poorool*. Yu-Yu is the Murray River language upstream from Ngayawang. Ngayawang and Yu-Yu belong to a different family of languages (the Murray River languages, see 1.1 above, also Horgen 2004). On linguistic grounds, we include this list with Letyi-Letyi.

Source B consists of seven words from the *Litchoo Litchoo* Tribe in Beveridge 1883:71 (reproduced in Beveridge 1889:172).

The final Letyi-Letyi source, A, found in Smyth (1878 II:70), is a list entitled *Kulkyne* from Angus MacIntyre. This is a list of 45 English words, given below in Table 45, where MacIntyre’s list is reproduced in the two left hand columns. Some of the English meanings, especially some body parts, have two equivalents in Aboriginal language, shown separated in MacIntyre’s list by a hyphen, or sometimes by a comma. In most cases for which two forms are given, the first is a Murray River word and the second is Letyi-Letyi. Where the form of a word accords with other Letyi-Letyi sources, such as *kotabi* ‘stone’, it is accepted as Letyi-Letyi in this list. It is particularly likely that words with final **-i** will be Letyi-Letyi, rather than Keramin or one of the other Murray River languages. Those words accepted as Letyi-Letyi are given in bold. In our analysis, 27 words are Letyi-Letyi and 32 are from one of the Murray River languages, mostly Keramin, although sometimes also Yitha-Yitha/Tharti-Tharti. In the right hand column, some comparative data is presented. The Murray River language data is from Horgen 2004. Words are given as listed in Horgen, in bold if the form follows Horgen’s regularisation and in italics if the form from the original source is given.

Table 45: MacIntyre’s Kulkyne List

MacIntyre’s Kulkyne List		Comparative data
English	Australian	
Man	<b>Wotungi</b>	
Woman	<b>Lio</b>	
Father	<b>Màami</b>	
Mother	<b>Pàapie</b>	
Son	<b>Piungo</b>	

Daughter	<b>Muring</b>	
Brother	<b>Bullardie</b>	
Sister	<b>Mène</b>	
Head	Durut- <b>boopi</b>	Keramin <b>tur(V)t</b> ; ‘head’
Hair	Kiut- <b>carangie</b>	Ngayawang has <i>kittarto</i> (Mo) for ‘hair between pubis and umbilicus’. We suggest that <i>carangie</i> is therefore probably the Letyi-Letyi word for ‘pubic hair’
Eye	Mai	Keramin <b>mi(ya)</b>
Ear	Mural- <b>wimboli</b>	Keramin <b>mur-al</b> ; Yi <b>marl</b>
Mouth	Dhuck- <b>chapie</b>	Keramin <b>thAk</b>
Tongue	Màat	Keramin <b>mat-a</b>
Tooth	Ruruc- <b>leang</b>	Keramin <i>mate-ruke</i> (EIM), possibly ‘one tooth’, where <b>mata</b> means ‘one’
Hand	Wuin	Keramin, Yitha <b>wAyn</b>
Finger	<b>Munangi</b>	
Foot	Jahn	Yitha <b>than(i)</b>
Toe	Nagugadun	Keramin <i>ak-a-quim</i> (Jam); Yitha <b>ngay-thUn gnàe-thun</b> (Bev)
Belly	Meurt	Keramin <b>murt</b>
Blood	Kuroc	Keramin <b>kuR(u)k</b> ; Yitha <b>koruk</b>
Sun	Nung	Keramin <b>nang(k)</b> ; Yitha <b>nang(k)(i)</b> ;
Moon	Bait	Keramin <b>payt</b> ; Yitha <b>bayt(i)</b>
Morning star	Nunkumbil	This is likely to be a Murray River Language word, containing the form <b>-pil</b> , which is the Murray River word for ‘star’, as shown in the next entry
Star	<b>Narre-bil</b>	Keramin <i>pirI</i> (EIM), <i>boul</i> (Jam); Ngayawang. <i>pil-le</i> (E); <i>pedli</i> (Tap2); Yu-Yu <i>billee</i> (Fu). All of this suggests that the word <i>narre</i> might be a Letyi-Letyi word for ‘star’, perhaps the name of a particular star.
Sky	Nerick	no cognates found
Night	Biangri	Keramin <b>wanggRi</b> . The form in MacIntyre is probably two morphemes, <b>pai-wanggRi</b> , by analogy with the word for ‘day’. Compare, however, Mathi-Mathi <b>wáyingurrù</b> ‘tomorrow’
Day	Beianung	Keramin <i>bay-a-nauk</i> (Jam), <i>nũnk</i> (Cam), <i>nungan</i> (Mcf.); cf. Paakantyi <b>paatyirka</b> , moon
Fire	Neic- <b>wunapi</b>	Keramin <b>nik</b> ; cf. Paakantyi <b>nhiki</b> ‘charcoal’
Air	Nàaung, <b>nàandie</b>	No cognates in the Murray River lists; presumably <i>nàandie</i> is the Letyi-Letyi form
Wind	Weirreit	Keramin <b>wiRith</b> , but Mathi <b>wirritap</b>
Earth	<b>Teangie</b>	
River	Ludht, <b>kolaidhe</b>	Keramin <b>lut(h)</b> / <b>lat(h)</b> . Presumably <i>kolaidhe</i> is the Letyi-Letyi word for ‘river’, perhaps <b>kulatyi</b> (also found as the Wemba-Wemba word for the Edward River, <b>Kolety</b> ).
Sea	No term for this word	
Stone	<b>Kotabi</b>	
Tree	Bullot- <b>bullandi</b>	Yitha <i>bulloot</i> ‘box tree’ (Bev), also widespread Kulin cf. Wemba <b>puleyt</b> ; possibly <i>bullandi</i> is a Letyi-Letyi word for ‘box tree’
Wood	<b>Leitpar</b>	Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) <b>letwel</b> ‘stick’
Stick	<b>Kulgi</b> , boorp	Keramin <b>bup</b> ‘wood’;

Bird	<b>Waangi</b> , warrandul	Presumably <i>waangi</i> is the Letyi-Letyi word for ‘crow’. But in Keramin the word is <b>wa(:)k</b> .
Egg	Bait, <b>miki</b>	Keramin <b>bEt</b> , Yitha <b>be:t</b> . This might be cognate with Paakantyi <b>pardi</b> ‘egg’
Snake	<b>Karnie</b>	Keramin <i>thoke</i> (Jam); Yitha <b>dun, du:n</b>
Eagle	Maundil	Keramin <i>maw-an-dil</i> (Jam); Yitha, <i>mundle</i> (Bev)
Crow	Wàak	Keramin <b>wa(:)k</b> , widespread, Paakantyi <b>waaku</b>
Mopoke	Rorp-rorp, <b>duni-dunit</b> .	The only Keramin form recorded is <i>co-cock</i> (Jam)
Kangaroo	Bulukone, <b>quangi</b>	Ker. <i>paulouraka</i> (EIM), <i>bu-lu-cool</i> (Jam), <i>buloker</i> (Mcf.); also recorded as <i>bullucur</i> by Kreft (1862:18).

There are also numerous references in the literature to what we will call Letyi-Letyi (see for example Clark 1990:401–3, Wafer and Lissarague 2008:74, Clark and Ryan 2009.).

#### 4.1.2 Characteristics of Letyi-Letyi

Letyi-Letyi had the following characteristics:

- (a) Like the other languages of the Mathi group, Letyi-Letyi exhibited the **-ng** augment and the nominative marker **-i**, though the latter is not recorded on every token in the Curr lists. In some instances a word in List 202 lacks it while in other instances a word in List 203 lacks it, as we can see in Table 46. All the nouns in the Eyre list contain a final **-i**.

Table 46: Comparison of Letyi-Letyi words in Curr (1886)

English	202: Corney	203: Curr
blood	<b>guki</b>	<b>guk</b>
camp	<b>lang</b>	<b>langi</b>
crow	<b>wang</b>	<b>wangi</b>
egg	<b>mik</b>	<b>miki</b>
kangaroo	<b>kuyangi</b>	<b>kuyang</b>
one	<b>kayapi</b>	<b>kayap</b>
tooth	<b>liyang</b>	<b>liyangi</b>

- (b) In most cases original rhotics are lost. See Table 8, Table 11 and Table 10 above in chapter 1. Letyi-Letyi final **rr** is also lost, as per the correspondence of Mathi **layurr** ‘woman’ with Letyi-Letyi **layu**. Rhotic finals are retained in this word in the other languages so it may be that rhotic loss is further developed in Letyi-Letyi than the two varieties of Wati-Wati. Rhotics are, however, retained in some cases, as shown in Table 12 above.
- (c) Letyi-Letyi shares with Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), Wati-Wati (Piangil) and *Mirdiragoort* (Curr List 200) an intervocalic apical stop corresponding to an intervocalic laminal in both Mathi-Mathi and Wemba-Wemba. See Table 7 in chapter 1 and Blake and Reid (1998a).

### 4.1.3 Grammar

From the limited amount of material in the Letyi-Letyi sources, the following can be gleaned about the grammar of Letyi-Letyi.

#### 4.1.3.1 Phonology

Not much can be said about the phonology of Letyi-Letyi. The consonant inventory was probably very similar to that of Mathi-Mathi (see 3.1.1 above). We do not know if there was any contrast between palatal and dental laminals as may have been present in Wati-Wati (see 4.2.2.1 below). We have regularised some words with **th** and some with **ty**, following the original sources, but we do not claim a phonemic distinction between these. It is likely that Letyi-Letyi had only one rhotic consonant, which is even less frequent than the rhotic in Mathi-Mathi (see 1.3.2 above)

Angus MacIntyre's list (Smyth 1876 II:70) contains four words accepted as Letyi-Letyi which are marked with a grave accent. These are given in (225).

- (225) *màami* 'father'  
*pàapie* 'mother'  
*mène* 'sister'  
*nàandie* 'air'

In the phonetic transcriptions of Mathi-Mathi (Hercus 1986:215,224), both the words for 'mother' and 'father' show a long /a/ (notated as [a:]) and initial syllable stress. This initial stress and associated vowel length appears to be what MacIntyre intends to convey with the grave accent.

#### 4.1.3.2 Nouns

Evidence for the noun endings can be deduced from the sentences and from the word lists. As is the case with all the languages of the group, the 'citation' and 'nominative' form of nouns has final **-i**. For example, Corney's list has mostly nouns in the citation or nominative form in **-i**. Most body part terms in Corney, for example, end in **-i**, but not *wimbola* 'ear', where the meaning is dual, and *menna* 'mouth' and *liang* 'teeth'

The form with final **-i** is used for both intransitive subject and object, as with **kiyapi** 'one' in (240) below. In (226), on the other hand, **kayap/kiyap** is not marked with **-i**.

- (226) *Wakey*                      *nung*      *kaiup*.  
 Give me one  
**Wuki**                      **nang**      **kayap**  
 give-IMP                  that      one  
 'Give me one'

The possessor forms are presumed to be:

- (227) 1<sup>st</sup> Sg **-ai**; cf. Corney *mamai* 'father' (probably literally father-1SG) and *papai* 'mother' (probably literally mother-1SG). The form *pàapie* (possibly **pap-ai** mother-1SG) is given by Angus McIntyre.  
 2<sup>nd</sup> Sg **-in**; not attested for Letyi-Letyi  
 3<sup>rd</sup> Sg **-u**; which is found in (241):

Possessed nouns are found, as in (241), where the form is **parnimu**. The **-i** form **parnimi** (*birnimi*) is found in the word list, showing that **-u** in **parnimu** is a suffix (literally ‘his food’). The Mathi-Mathi form **panemi** was frequently used with the 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessor marker in Mathi-Mathi: food usually belonged to somebody and was marked so.

There are some examples of noun derivation in Letyi-Letyi. The first kind is marked by a suffix **-kil** meaning ‘having’ as **layukil** literally ‘having a woman’, meaning ‘husband’, seen below in (231), where the form is *lieuki*, and also recorded by Thomas in the form *li-oo gil*. An alternative analysis of this word is that the root is **layuk-** combined with the suffix as **layuk-wil**.

The same suffix is also found in the form **-wil**, as in **liya-wil** ‘type of club or waddy’ which is literally ‘tooth having’. The form of the word ‘tooth’ in Letyi-Letyi is **liyang(i)**, (*liang* Co, *liangi* K, *lee ung ee* Ly, *leang* A). In the suffixed form, both the nominative ending **-i** and the augment **-ng** are omitted, perhaps suggesting that the compound **liyawil** was formed before the augment **-ng** was added to the noun. This suffix is also found as **-wil** in Mathi-Mathi: **liyá-wil** ‘waddy with point and hook’. Other Letyi-Letyi words including a **-wil** suffix include **nula-wil** ‘shield’ and possibly **penmil** (*ben-meel* Ly), also a type of club.

Compounding is a second type of noun derivation. Examples include **muR(i)-tyaty** (*mouri tati* D) ‘sister’, which includes the root **muR** ‘young woman’ and the word for elder sister **tyaty**. The first element appears to be marked by a suffix **-i**, which is perhaps the nominative suffix. The root **muR** occurs in several sources for ‘young woman, woman and daughter’. We regularise the word for ‘young woman’ as **muRunyi**, based on *moroigne* ‘women’ Mc, *moo ra yong ee* Ly and *muring* ‘daughter’ A. The lack of nominative marker on the last form may indicate some variety in the nominative forms (suggesting **muRuyn**). A similar compound is found in Mathi-Mathi with **painggu murrunhi** ‘girl’, lit. ‘child-young woman’).

#### 4.1.3.3 Pronouns

By comparing the sources, the following pronominal forms can be presented.

Table 47: Pronouns in Letyi-Lejti

singular	I	<b>yeti</b> ( <i>yeti</i> Mc, <i>yette</i> , <i>yett</i> Ly) <b>yetwa</b> ( <i>yet-wa</i> Ey),
	you	<b>n(g)ini</b> ( <i>ninnee</i> Ly) <b>n(g)inwa</b> ( <i>nin-wa</i> Ey) <b>n(g)inin</b> ( <i>nin-in</i> Ly)
	she	<b>n(h)inyala</b> ( <i>nin-yala</i> Ey)
dual	we	<b>ngalangali</b> ( <i>ngal-long-alle</i> Ey) <b>ngali</b> ( <i>nall-lee</i> ‘we’ Ly)
	you	<b>wulang</b> ( <i>wool-lang</i> Ey)
	they	<b>bulang</b> ( <i>bool-lang</i> Ey)
plural	we	<b>yangwa</b> ( <i>yang-wer</i> Ey)
	you	
	they	<b>wuthu</b> ( <i>woot-to</i> Ey [= ‘man’])

As already noted, most of these forms were recorded by Eyre. Eyre’s forms for both 1<sup>st</sup> person and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular have a characteristic final **-wa**, which is marked off by a hyphen in the original source. This may represent a suffix, perhaps the nominative.

The second person singular forms have a base **n(g)in** and appear to show a paradigmatic pattern, which may be:

- (228) **-i**            **n(g)ini** (Ly)  
**-wa**            **n(g)inwa** (Ey)  
**-in**            **n(g)inin** (used as an accusative in (258) below)

It is not known whether the forms with **-i** and **-wa** suffixes were used in different functions, although for the first person forms, shown in (229), the **-i** suffix was used for transitive subjects in two examples and the **-wa** suffix for an intransitive subject once. No accusative form was recorded.

- (229) **-i**            **yeti** (used as ergative in (246) and (258) below)  
**-wa**            **yet(w)a** (used as nominative in (243) below)

The suffix **-wa** is no doubt cognate with the suffix **-wa/wi** which is used to form deictics in Mathi-Mathi (see 3.2.4.2) and could represent a reflex of pan-Australian **\*-pa**, common as an augment.

The pronouns with these apparent case suffixes are seen in McLeod's sentences, where the form **yeta** is found in an intransitive sentence "I am going too" and the form **yeti** in a transitive sentence "I see two women." A three way ergative ~ nominative ~ accusative (A~S~O) split for pronouns is not found in Mathi-Mathi (though it is found in demonstratives), but it is present in some neighbouring languages (as for example in Paakantyi on the Darling River), so it would not be implausible to find it for Letyi-Letyi, which although genetically part of the Mathi group, was immediately adjacent to Paakantyi, which also has a suffix **-wa** 'indeed, very much so', an emphatic particle used with pronouns and exemplified in the sentence **ngurta watu-tyi-na, ngurta-wa** 'you took it away, *you* lot indeed', where **ngurta** is a 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural pronoun.

An alternative analysis is that the **-wa** form represents the 'general oblique' (see above 3.2.3.5).

There is also a **-wa** form on the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural pronoun in Table 47 above. The stem of this form parallels the Mathi-Mathi **yangur** (see above 3.2.4.1), an inclusive plural object form, and the suffix parallels the other examples given by Eyre.

The accusative for pronouns in Mathi-Mathi is **-an** (Hercus 1986:126). The notation with <i> in (258) might therefore suggest a vowel reduction, perhaps to **-ən**.

#### 4.1.3.4 Demonstratives

Table 48 presents some demonstrative forms.

Table 48: Demonstratives in Letyi-Letyi

proximal	here	<b>kima</b> ( <i>kima</i> Mc), see (241)
	this	<b>n(h)uli</b> ( <i>nulli</i> Mc), see (242)
distal	there	<b>n(h)iyu</b> ( <i>neyaw</i> Mc), see (240)
	there	<b>kayi</b> ( <i>ki ee</i> Ly), see discussion below; similar to Mathi-Mathi <b>kayu</b> in (129) above.
	that	<b>n(h)ang</b> ( <i>nang</i> Mc), see (248)

The proximal demonstrative adverb **kima** ‘here’ is also used to express present time. This is exemplified by Thomas in (256) below. A similar phenomenon is found in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) in Mathews’ examples (see Table 89 below):

The distal demonstrative **kayi** is recorded by Thomas in the form *yan ner ki ee* ‘go there’. On the basis of Table 48 and by comparison with Mathi-Mathi, we conclude that in Letyi-Letyi the proximal was realised as **ki-** and the distal as **kayi-**.

The meanings of **n(h)uli**, **n(h)iyu** and **n(h)ang** are inferred from their use in the sentences in 4.1.4 below. There may have been another demonstrative **n(h)uwa**, see (250b) below. This would parallel the Wati-Wati demonstrative in Table 83 below.

#### 4.1.3.5 Interrogatives

Only one interrogative is found in the Letyi-Letyi sources:

Table 49: Interrogatives in Letyi-Letyi

where?, when?	<b>wing(g)a</b> ( <i>winga</i> ‘when, where’ Mc), <b>wintya</b> ( <i>windje</i> ‘where’ K, <i>winta</i> Ly ‘where is he’)
---------------	--

The form of the interrogative in McLeod’s sentences is **wing(g)a**, translated as both ‘when’ and ‘where’, as shown in (247) and (250) below. We presume this is the same as the form recorded in K and Ly.

#### 4.1.3.6 Adjectives

Very few adjectives have been recorded for Letyi-Letyi. They are listed in Table 50, grouped in the categories suggested by Dixon (2004). All of the adjectives recorded are cognate with the forms in Mathi-Mathi.

Table 50: Adjectives in Letyi-Letyi

gloss	Letyi-Letyi form	sources	notes
<i>Dimension</i>			
small	<b>pa(r)nikam</b>	barnikum Co, barnigam K	Mathi <b>pándhingi</b>
big	<b>wirtuR</b>	wirtoor K	Mathi <b>wíthul</b>
big	<b>witap</b>	wittab Co	
<i>Value</i>			
good	<b>telki</b>	talge K, delgi Mc, Co	Mathi <b>télki</b>

Unlike in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), we have been unable to observe any patterns in the form of these adjectives. See 4.2.2.7 below for a detailed discussion of adjectives in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill).

#### 4.1.3.7 Verbs

We can deduce the following forms of the verb in Letyi-Letyi:

Table 51: Verbal Morphology in Letyi-Lejti

past	<b>-in</b>	<b>kiyin</b> ‘go.PAST’ ( <i>ki in Ly</i> ) (WW <b>kiya</b> )
past participle	<b>-an (-ən)</b>	<b>mikan</b> ‘tired/ill-PAST.PTC’ ( <i>mikkgun</i> Mc)
imperative	<b>-i</b>	<b>wuki</b> ‘give-IMP’ ( <i>wooki</i> Mc)
negative imperative	<b>latya + V</b>	<b>latya yarna</b> ‘neg speak’ ( <i>lacha yarna</i> Mc)
continuative / frequentative	<b>-il(y)a</b>	<b>tyakil(y)an</b> ‘eat-CONT-PAST.PTC’ ( <i>chekilian</i> K)
purposive	<b>-ap</b>	<b>kupilap</b> ‘drink-PURP’ ( <i>goobilup</i> Co); <b>tyakalap</b> ‘eat-PURP’ ( <i>jakkalub</i> ‘food’ Co)
intensifier	<b>-uwa</b>	<b>yang-n-uwa</b> ‘go-EXP-PURP’ ( <i>yangnuwa</i> ‘(are you) going’ Mc)

All of these forms have parallels in Mathi-Mathi, and as in Mathi-Mathi there is no evidence of bound pronominals on verbs.

**Past:**

A likely example of the past marker **-in** is found in (258) below, presented here as (230). Thomas’ translation is ‘Me tell you’ but the form of the verb suggests the past.

- (230) *Yette nin-in ki in Ly*  
**Yeti n(g)in-in kiyin**  
 I you-ACC tell.PAST  
 ‘I told you.’

This is an irregular verb **kiya** in Wemba-Wemba which forms an irregular past **kiin** with a long /i/.

Another possible example of past tense (231): where the form **yawn yaun** has a final -n, and is translated as past tense. Here the suffix is not **-in** and this might therefore be an example of the past participle.

- (231) *Winga yaun lieuki? Mc*  
**Wing(g)a yawan layu-ki(l)**  
 where go.PAST woman-HAVING  
 ‘Where has my husband gone?’

**Past participle:**

There is a distinction between past and past participle in better-recorded Kulin languages, such as Wemba-Wemba (Hercus 1986), where the past is marked by **-in** and the past participle by **-ən**. We might expect a similar pattern of unstressed vowel + **n** here, but the evidence for a past participle in Letyi-Letyi is weak, particularly given the inconsistency in notation of unstressed syllables. Possible examples of the past participle form are in (241), where **kirnamban** ‘I am hungry’ may be a past participle, and (244), where the form **mikan** (*mikkgun*) is translated as ‘I am very tired’ and appears to be a verbal form. The Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) form **mikapaynki** is suggested to literally mean ‘the body hurts’ (for ‘tired’) by analogy with Paakantyi **mika** ‘to hurt’. The form *mikkgun* suggests that a simple intervocalic **-k-** is not a complete regularisation. Perhaps the form is **mik-kan**, with gemination. Paakantyi also has non-phonemic gemination at the beginning of the second syllable, which is further evidence of this being a Paakantyi loan, where, for



example, there is a contrast **miiki** ‘eye’ with a long vowel, and **miki** ‘sickness, pain’ with a short vowel and a geminated consonant.

**Imperative:**

The imperative suffix **-i** is exemplified in **wuki** ‘give!’, in example (241) of the sentences below. It is likely that, as in Mathi-Mathi, the present/citation form of verbs with **-i** imperative was **-a**, and we assume a present/citation form of the verb ‘give’ is **wuka**.

**Negative imperative:**

The negative imperative/ prohibitive construction is relatively clear from (249) below. As in many other languages of Victoria, it consists of the negative (here **latya**) plus the present/citation form of the verb.

There is both a parallel and a difference from Mathi-Mathi in this construction. In Mathi-Mathi there is a special negative imperative form **matha** which combines with the imperative form in **-i**, as **matha ngindi kumbi** ‘don’t you sleep’ (**kumb-i** sleep-IMP), in Text 1, sentence 2 in (207) above. Letyi-Letyi form also employs a negative imperative in **-a**, **latya**, but the verb is not in the imperative **-i** form, as **latya yarna** ‘don’t talk’ in (249) below<sup>35</sup>.

**Other derived forms:**

There are a number of verbal suffixes found in other northwestern Victorian languages that appear to be present in the Letyi-Letyi data. These are **-ila** ~ **-ula**, **-uwa** and **-una**.

An examples of the continuative **-ila** is found in the form *chekilian* ‘eat’ in K<sup>36</sup>. We assume that the root in the form *chekilian* is **tyaka** ‘eat’, by comparison with the data in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), for which R.H. Mathews recorded *tyakleanda*.

- (232) *Chekilian*  
**tyaka-ila-an.**  
 eat-CONT-PAST.PTC

An alternative form of the suffix is **-ula**, found after labial consonants, demonstrated in (233).

- (233) *Koomba ulli.*  
*(Well! go to) sleep you*  
**Kumba-ul(a)-i**  
 sleep-CONT-IMP  
 ‘Go to sleep.’

In this example the continuative has in the form **-ula**, a variant found after labial consonants, compare Wemba-Wemba **pirrpula** ‘go on hopping along (like a kangaroo)’ and **tyemula** ‘find (after searching)’.

An intensifier form **-uwa** possibly found in the following example from Mc (also given as (243a) below), *winga yangnowa?* ‘Where (are you) going?’ At first it appeared to us that *yangnowa* might represent the verb **yan-** ‘go’ and a 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun with a form

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the form without final **-i** represents a more general prohibition rather than one addressed directly to someone, more like ‘no talking!’.

<sup>36</sup> The form *chekilian* and the WS form *tyakleanda* both suggest a possible palatal lateral **-ilya**. However, given that **-ila** is a widespread form found in several Kulin languages, we will write this as **-ila**.

something like **n(h)uwa**. However, McLeod clearly felt that there was no pronoun expressed in the example, hence his placing the pronoun in brackets in English. Our analysis of this example is given in (234), where we suggest that **-uwa** is the intensifier and there is a possible augment **-n**.

- (234) *Winga yangnowa?*  
*Where (are you) going?*  
**Winga yang-n-uwa**  
 where go-EXP-INTENS  
 ‘Where are you going?’

There is much that we do not know about the Letyi-Letyi verbs. Consider the following, which contains the forms recorded for the verb **yan-** ‘go’, as shown in Table 52, with putative stem forms in the right hand column.

Table 52: Forms of the verb **yan-** ‘go’ in Letyi-Lejti

<b>yan-, yuwan-</b>	
yeng Mc	<b>yang-</b>
yang Ly	<b>yang-</b>
yang-n-uwa Mc ‘(are you) going?’	<b>yang-</b>
yan ni Ly	<b>yan(a)-</b>
yan nun un Ly ‘go away’	<b>yan(a)-</b>
yan ner ki ee Ly ‘go there’ (the verb ‘go’ plus a demonstrative)	<b>yan(a)-</b>
yoowannur Mc ‘(I will) go too’	<b>yuwa-</b>
yaun Mc (see (245b) below, this form is probably a past participle of ‘go’)	<b>yuwa-</b>

This table suggests that there may have been some irregularity in this verb. The first three lines have a root form of the verb that appears to be **yang**, with a velar nasal final; the next three forms have a root form that looks like **yan(a)-** (these were all recorded by Thomas), and the last two forms have **yuwa**.

We have already discussed *yangnuwa* in relation to (234).

Of the **yan** forms, *yanni* appears to be an imperative; although it is not glossed as such by Thomas. *yan ner ki ee* appears to consist of the root of the verb, perhaps **yana**, with a distal demonstrative, unless this is actually an imperative form which either employs the root form as **yana kiyi** ‘go there’ or is an example of vowel reduction, with the underlying form being **yan-i kiyi** ‘go-IMP there’. The form *yan nun un* ‘go away’ appears to contain a suffix which had a form something like **-nan**, but whose meaning is unknown. The gloss of ‘go away’ would suggest that it is not a past participle. Other forms with a final something like **-nan** include *wir-rin-go-non* and *koo-y-yoo-o-non* both recorded by Eyre with the meaning of ‘hot’. This form with **-nan** might be some kind of demonstrative, as suggested by two examples from Thomas (Ly), *yan-nī* ‘going’ (presumably **yan-i** ‘go-IMP’) and *yan-nun-nin-er* ‘go away’, which we have not been able to analyse in full.

The forms with a root **yuwa/yawa** are found with two suffixes, something like **-(u)na**, found in (243b) below where the form *yeta yoowannur* is translated as ‘I will go (too)’. This may be a case of a further intensifier. The other example with this root has a past **-n** as in (231) above. If this is literally ‘where has the woman-having one (i.e. husband) gone’, then a past participle reading is appropriate.

Another form that may be related is (239b), here repeated as (235)

- (235) *Yoo-ong-illa.*                      Mc  
*(They are) fishing'*  
**Yuwa-ang-ila.**  
 go-EXP-CONT  
 'They are fishing.'

If this is indeed a form of the verb 'go', then it literally means '(they) usually go'. Alternatively there may have been a verb **yuwa(ng)** meaning 'to fish' (see also *yukani* in Mary Moore's song, 3.3.2 above, from a song about fishing).

#### 4.1.3.8 Syntax

Verbless interrogative sentences do not contain a copula, as in (238a) and (239a). A similar phenomenon is also found in Mathi-Mathi.

Locatives are also indicated by verbless copula structures as in (236):

- (236) *Boralgi                      neyaw                      Kulkyne*  
*Two women (are at) Kulkyne*  
**Purraltiyi                      nhiyu                      Kulkyne**  
 two                                      there                      Kulkyne  
 'Two women are at Kulkyne.'

There appears to be considerable word order variation in Letyi-Letyi, as has been observed for many Australian languages. Consider (237):

- (237) *Tartem                      nully                      tchowa                      welang.*  
*Presently I will eat opossum*  
**Thartem                      nhuli                      tyawa                      wilang**  
 later                                      this                      eat                      possum  
 'Presently I will eat opossum.'

If our interpretation here is correct, then the demonstrative **nhuli** and the noun **wilang** 'possum' probably form a discontinuous noun phrase, **nhuli wilang** 'this possum'. This phrase has been separated by the very **tyawa** 'eat'. An alternative analysis for this sentence is that **nhuli** refers to a 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject, and the correct translation is 'Presently he will eat a possum'. If this analysis is correct, then we do not have a discontinuous noun phrase, rather a time adverbial followed by the subject, as is the tendency in related languages like Wemba-Wemba (Hercus 1986).

#### 4.1.4 Sentences

The following sentences are from McLeod and quoted in Curr (1886 III:438f). They are presented here with two lines in italics (the original forms) followed by three lines in normal type, a bold line presenting the regularisation, a gloss line, and a free translation. The examples have been grouped here in pairs or sometimes longer strings (as (241) below) since they form small dialogues, often of question and answer. In the original they are all presented separately.

- (238a) *Winga wortongi?*  
*Where (are the) blacks?*  
**Winga wu(r)tu-ngi?**  
 where people-NOM  
 ‘Where are the Blacks?’
- (238b) *Lachong nurongan.*  
*(I have) not seen (them)*  
**Latya(ng) n(h)aRa-ang-an.**  
 not-? see-EXP?-PAST.PTC  
 ‘I have not seen them.’
- (239a) *Winga moroignee?*  
*Where (are all the) women?*  
**Winga muRuny-i?**  
 where young.woman-NOM  
 ‘Where are the women?’
- (239b) *Yoo-ong-illa.*  
*(They are) fishing*  
**Yuwa-ang-ila.**  
 go-EXP-CONT  
 ‘They are fishing.’ (lit: ‘(they) are frequently going (i.e. to fish)’)’

A very similar form in (243b) is translated as ‘go’ and for this reason we have glossed this with the verb ‘go’. It is possible that this example represents a verb **yuwang-** ‘to fish’, otherwise unattested.

- (240a) *Gea-abbi neyaw Bumbang.*  
*One woman (is at) Bumbang*  
**Kiyapi nhiyu Bumbang.**  
 one.NOM there Bumbang  
 ‘One (woman) is at Bumbang.’
- (240b) *Boralgi neyaw Kulkyne.*  
*Two women (are at) Kulkyne*  
**Purraltiyi nhiyu Kulkyne.**  
 two.NOM there Kulkyne  
 ‘Two (women) are at Kulkyne.’

Quite often in Aboriginal languages place names are quoted in their stem form without a case suffix (as in Arabana-Wangkangurru, Hercus 1994:88).

We have not regularised the form of the place names Bumbang and Kulkyne. Presumably they would be **Pambang** and **Kalkayn** following our orthographic principles (see above 1.4)

- (241a) *Krenambun.*  
*(I am) hungry*  
**KiR(i)namb-an?**  
 hungry-PAST.PTC  
 ‘I am hungry.’
- (241b) *Wooki burnimo.*  
*Give (me some) food*  
**Wuk-i parnim-u.**  
 give-IMP food-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Give me some food.’
- (241c) *Kimma.*  
*Here (is some)*  
**Kima.**  
 here  
 ‘Here is some.’
- (242a) *Tartem nully tchowa welang.*  
*Presently I will eat opossum*  
**Thartem nhuli tyawa wilang.**  
 later this eat possum  
 ‘Presently I will eat opossum.’

Notes that an alternative analysis for this sentence is presented in (237) above.

- (242b) *Karwingi delgi.*  
*Emu good (Emu is the best)*  
**Ka(R)wingi telki.**  
 emu-NOM good-NOM  
 ‘Emu is good.’
- (243a) *Winga yangnowa?*  
*Where (are you) going?*  
**Winga yang-n-uwa?**  
 where go-EXP-INTENS  
 ‘Where are you going?’
- (243b) *Yeta yoowannur.*  
*I will go (too)*  
**Yeta yuwana.**  
 I.NOM go  
 ‘I am going too.’
- (244a) *Mikkgun.*  
*(I am very) tired*  
**Mik-an.**  
 tired-PAST.PTC  
 ‘I am very tired.’

- (244b) *Koomba ulli.*  
*(Well! go to) sleep you*  
**Kumba-ul(a)-i.**  
 sleep-CONT-IMP  
 ‘Go to sleep.’

When first glossing this example, we considered the possibility that *ulli* might represent a 1<sup>st</sup> person dual bound pronoun, cognate to **-ngal** in other Kulin languages. The whole might then mean ‘lets you and I sleep’. However, as one of the features of the whole Mathi group is that there are no bound pronominals, this reading is not accepted. We analyse this as an example of the continuative, in the variant form **-ula**, followed by the imperative.

- (245a) *Winga yaun lieuki?*  
*Where (is) my husband?*  
**Winga yaw-an layu-ki(l).**  
 where go-PAST.PTC woman-HAVING  
 ‘Where has my husband gone?’

The reading of **layukil** for ‘husband’ is confirmed by Thomas’ recording *li-oo gil* in Ly.

- (245b) *Yenga nulli tartem.*  
*(You) will see him presently.*  
**Yenga nhuli thartem.**  
 go?? this.one presently  
 ‘He will come presently.’

The form *yenga* is presumed to be a form of the verb ‘go’.

- (246) *Yetti nyen boolagi lieu.*  
*I see two women*  
**Yeti nhayin pulatyi layu.**  
 I.ERG see.PRES? two woman  
 ‘I see two women’

Note: The word written *nyen* is always translated with present time, where as *ninon* (as in (247b) below) is translated with past time.

- (247a) *Winga kooyoni?*  
*Where (is my) war-spear?*  
**Winga kuyun-i?**  
 where spear-NOM  
 ‘Where is the spear?’

- (247b) *Lacha ninon.*  
*(I have) not seen (it)*  
**Latya nhayin-an**  
 not see-PST  
 ‘I have not seen it’

The original translation by McLeod suggests that the first person is not overtly marked in the sentence and that the ownership of the spear is perhaps only an implied relation. However, an alternative reading of the first portion of (247) would read the second word as **kuyun-ai** ‘spear-1SG.POSS’. McLeod appears to use <i> for the sound **ai** quite frequently, as with *ninon* which we read as **nha(y)inan**

In Mathi-Mathi the verb ‘see’ has an irregular past tense form **nha(y)in**. The form in (247) is obviously different from the Mathi-Mathi form.

- (248) *Wakey nung kaiup.*  
*Give me one*  
**Wuki nang kayap.**  
 give-IMP that one  
 ‘Give me one.’
- (249) *Lacha yarna.*  
*Do (not) talk*  
**Latya ya(r)na.**  
 not talk  
 ‘Don’t talk.’
- (250a) *Winga winyarigen Tommy?*  
*When will Tommy come back?*  
**Winga winyarikin(j) Tommy?**  
 where return.FUT? Tommy  
 ‘When will Tommy come back?’
- (250b) *Winga yang nooa?*  
*When go you?*  
**Winga yang -n-uwa?**  
 when go -EXP-INTENS  
 ‘When will you go?’

The reading of (250b) follows that in (243a). It is also possible that *nooa* is some kind of demonstrative (see 4.1.3.4).

The following sentences are from Thomas (source Ly).

- (251) *Yen-nar-ka*  
*Come here*  
**Yana-ka**  
 go-??  
 ‘Come here.’
- (252) *Yan-ner-ki-u*  
*Go there*  
**Yana kayu**  
 go there  
 ‘Go there.’

- (253) *Bart-now-ee.*  
*Let me see*  
**Pat-nhawi**  
 and-see.IMP  
 ‘And (let) me see.’
- (254) *Yett-nur-ung-er*  
*Me hear him*  
**Yet(i) n(h)aR-ang-a**  
 I hear-PRES.PTC-?  
 ‘I hear (him).’
- (255) *Nar-run-un-nin*  
*Me hear*  
**N(h)aRa-nan-in**  
 hear-?-?  
 ‘... hear??’
- (256) *Kim-min-nur-nin*  
*Me see*  
**Kima-in n(h)aRa-nin**  
 here-? see-?-  
 ‘I see??’
- (257) *Yetta-narry-in.*  
*Me know*  
**Yeta n(h)aR-in**  
 I.NOM hear-PAST??  
 ‘I heard (it).’

The previous four examples all have the same verb, **n(h)aR-**, variously translated by Thomas as ‘hear’, ‘see’ and ‘know’. In each case there are some additional morphology on the verb, perhaps the past suffix **-in**, and perhaps some other elements.

- (258) *Yette nin-in ki in.*  
*Me tell you*  
**Yeti n(g)in-in kiyin**  
 I.ERG you-ACC tell.PAST  
 ‘I told you.’

#### 4.1.5 *A Letyi-Letyi song*

The following song in Berndt and Berndt (1964:Appendix 7.22) was “composed by John Mack himself and referred to the meeting of groups of people from different areas for a large ceremony.” John Mack was a Letyi-Letyi man (see above 2.2)

The song was given by the Berndts in the following form:



1.	Gima-ngala-gima ngala	walindjin	ngaitja	
	Stay here you and I camp	a long way	distant	
	Gima-ngala-gima	elpe-elp.		
	Stay here you and I camp	a better place.		
2.	Gima-ngala-gima	walindjin	ngaitja	gen-gima.
	Stay here you and I camp	a long way	distant	camping here.
3.	[first line repeated]			
4.	Urvererulk gimainya gimainya...	walindjin	ngaitja	gima.
	Walking you and I stay	a long way	distant	camp.
	We'll camp here, we two, far away.			
	We'll stay, we two, at this better place.			
	We'll camp here, we two, away...			
	Walking, we two, far from that distant camp, here we'll stay.			

From this song we recognised the Letyi demonstrative **kima** 'here' and the 1<sup>st</sup> person dual pronoun **ngal(i)** (see above Table 47)

The word *walindjin* may be a verb 'to approach'. Consider WW: **waletya** 'to approach'; Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) **walowal** 'near'; Thomas records **wali pundyi** (*warlee poondjee* Ly) 'another day'; which may also be related.

The word *ngaitja* is presumed to mean 'distant'

The word *elpe-elp* could be be **yalpi** 'straight' (Wati-Wati Swan Hill) related to **yulp** WW 'right hand, straight'

The word *urvererulk* may be based on **yuwa** 'go'; possibly even with the nominaliser **-ri**. The final **-k** is a problem because this final does not occur in this language.

Our suggested translation for this text is therefore:

1. 'let us (stay) here, let us (stay) here, approached from far, let us (stay) here ... (here straight???)'
2. 'let us (stay) here, let us (stay) here, approached from far, let us (stay) here'
3. 'let us (stay) here, let us (stay) here, approached from far, let us (stay) here ... (here straight???)'
4. 'walking ... let us (stay) here, approached from far.'

## 4.2 Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

As already discussed in Chapter 1, the variety that we are terming Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) has as its sources material that is named as both Wati-Wati (in various spellings) and PuRa-PuRa. In several early publications these are listed as separate tribes, but linguistically they are so similar that we have grouped them together in this publication. It is likely that we will never be able to know what linguistic features (if any) might have distinguished Wati-Wati from PuRa-PuRa, save the word for ‘no’ which is **wati** in the first and **puRa** in the second. The sources are discussed separately, however, those for Wati-Wati in 4.2.1.1, and those for PuRa-PuRa in 4.2.1.2.

### 4.2.1 Sources

#### 4.2.1.1 Wati-Wati sources

The sources that are identified as Wati-Wati are mainly those of the the Beveridge brothers, Peter, John and Mitchell. Apart from that there are also eighteen words recorded by Hercus (1986:359–60), and 36 words in Mereweather (1859), and four words in Howitt (1904). (Wafer and Lissarrague (2008:73) also list a number of sources that do not necessarily contain linguistic material. Many of these were taken from Tindale (1974).

The attitude of the Beveridge family to the Wati-Wati was somewhat complex. On the one hand we have comments in the ‘Philology’ chapter of B2 (Beveridge 1889) that “the dialects of these people are about as meagre in quality and quantity as they well can be” (1889:175) and that the languages have “a paucity of words”, comments that suggest an unsympathetic attitude to the languages and the people. Some of these comments may actually be important observations about the language, such as “these dialects are quite innocent of everything in the shape of grammar, grammatical relations being denoted by prolongations, accentuations or position” (1889:174).

When reading the *Story of the Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone)*, on the other hand (see Chapter 5 below), it is hard not to get a feeling of considerable respect for the Wati-Wati people by Peter Beveridge. After leaving the Swan Hill area, he set up a property at French Island and called it *Boorongie* (WS **puRungi** ‘scrub’), and he used a Wati-Wati word, *Talko* (**telku** ‘good’), as his pseudonym.

The Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) sources are as follows:

Table 53: Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) sources

Abbreviation	Author	Details
E	Beveridge, P (?)	‘Swan Hill Tribe’ in Barry (1867)
JB	Beveridge, J.	List 199: ‘Swan Hill and Tyntynder’ (Curr 1886 III:439–445).
B1	Beveridge, P	‘Of the aborigines inhabiting the Greater Lacustrine and Riverina Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachlan and Lower Darling’ Beveridge (1883)
B2	Beveridge, P	<i>The Aborigines of Victoria and the Riverina. Melbourne.</i> Beveridge (1889)
B3	Beveridge, P	‘Tyntynder’. Word list in Smyth (1878 II:73)
B4	Beveridge, P	‘Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines’ (1858–9)
B5	Beveridge, P	‘A few notes on the dialects, habits, customs and mythology of the Lower Murray aborigines.’ in P. Beveridge (1861–4).
B6	Beveridge, P	Manuscript collection in the State Library of Victoria, MS104
LH	Hercus, L	‘Wadiwadi Vocabulary’, Hercus (1986:231)
Me	Mereweather, J.D.	<i>Diary of a Working Clergyman in Australia and Tasmania, kept during the years 1850–1853</i> , Mereweather (1859)
Ho	Howitt, A.W.	A few words found in Howitt (1904).

Source E (Barry 1867) consists of a large word list in 13 Australian Aboriginal languages, one from New Caledonia and translations in English and French. The spelling, and the closeness of the material to the word list in B2 (Beveridge 1889), suggests that Peter Beveridge was the author.

Source JB contains not only the standard Curr list, but also a page of extra words and three pages of phrases and sentences.

The sources from Peter Beveridge are of different value. B1 contains around 50 ‘Watty-Watty’ words scattered through the text and there is a short section on ‘Philology’ (1883:71–4), not that this contains much more than a few derogatory remarks. B2, on the other hand, contains a large vocabulary, a dozen sentences and a translation of the Lord’s Prayer. This translation differs from that in B4, a source that also contains several sentences. B3 is a short list published in Smyth (1878 II:73) and B5 contains very little language data.

Source B6 are the various parts of the Beveridge papers in the State Library of Victoria, MS104. This contains 5 folders including a draft of *The Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina* (B2) as well as several stories that include language data. The most important of these is the *Story of the Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone)* (see 5 below).

Source LH consists of 18 words of ‘Wadiwadi’ (Hercus 1986:231), and some ‘Comments on Wadiwadi’ (Hercus 1986:157–158).

Source Me contains 36 words described as belonging “to a tribe on the Edwards River”. This list is included here on the basis of forms like ‘water’ *kàtinee* and ‘big’ *gùraniàntu*, the second of which, in the regularised spelling **kuRungandu** is a form found only in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill).

## 4.2.1.2 PuRa-PuRa sources

The sources for PuRa-PuRa are a single source from Rev. John Mathew, one from Robinson and several sources from R.H. Mathews. The latter are very confusing, and we will rely principally on the Notebook source (MB).

The PuRa-PuRa sources are as follows:

Table 54: PuRa-PuRa sources

Abbreviation	Author	Details
PP	Mathew, J.	'Pura Pura at Swan Hill on the Murray', Manuscript word list (John Mathew's questionnaire) copy in the AIATSIS library <sup>37</sup> .
MV	Mathews, R.H.	'The Bureba Language', Mathews (1902:172–5)
MW	Mathews, R.H.	'The Wamba Wamba Language', Mathews (1903:179–188)
MB	Mathews, R.H.	'Bûră'bûră' Language' R.H. Mathews papers, National Library of Australia MS 8006 (notebook 1:39–42)
Y	Mathews, R.H.	'Wamba-Wamba' (with Bureba-Bureba written adjacent) R.H. Mathews papers, National Library of Australia, MS 8006, Folder 1, document Y.
RE	Robinson, G.A.R.	'Edward River dialect, John Phillips, Medway, September 20, 1852, at sea', in G.A.R. Robinson papers (Clark 2000:227)

Source PP is handwritten on Rev. John Mathew's standard questionnaire (*Vocabulary of Australian Aboriginal Language*), in two languages "(1) Pura Pura at Swan Hill on the Murray, and (2) Puraba Puraba spoken at Morea(?) on the Edwards Vic.". Only the Pura Pura list is included in this study. The list was "taken down from the lips of Mönmoiko (Benjamin Manton) about 60 years of age at Coranderk, Victoria, 25/1/09." Mönmoiko was also known as Lanky Manton and was R.H. Mathew's Bûră'bûră' informant for MB (see below). Mathew further noted that Mönmoiko "saw Burke and Wills going away in 1861" and about his moiety said "He calls himself a Wangi (crow) but doesn't know".

Sources MV, MW and MB are from R.H. Mathews and present a confusing array of material that seems to mix data from Wemba-Wemba or some other dialect of Western Kulin with data that fits with the Mathi group. Mathews does mention (in marginal comments in one of the offprints of one his papers) that "the Burrawaiu" were at "Swan Hill, Boon Boon". Poon Boon is the name of a station on the Lower Edwards, which George Augustus Robinson definitely visited on his 1846 journey. Burrawaiu presumably refers to PuRa-PuRa. The source for R.H. Mathews was probably also Lankey Manton.

In discussing the complexity of the Mathews materials, we present first of all a few forms from Wemba-Wemba, Burreba-Burreba and Mathi-Mathi that we use as diagnostics in sorting out which language some of the source material belongs to (Table 55).

<sup>37</sup> We have not been able to find the location of the originals of these questionnaires.

Table 55: Pronouns in Wemba-Wemba, Burreba-Burreba and Mathi-Mathi

	Wemba-Wemba		Burreba-Burreba		Mathi-Mathi	
	free	bound	free	bound	free	Bound
1 <sup>st</sup> person	<b>yandang</b>	<b>-anda</b>	<b>ngayt</b>	-	<b>yiti</b>	-
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<b>ngin</b>	<b>-arr</b>	<b>ngin</b>	-	<b>ngindi</b>	-
my	<b>yandeuk</b>	<b>-ek</b>	<b>yekayuk</b>	<b>-ak</b>	<b>yinathu</b>	<b>-(ng)ai</b>
your	<b>ngindeuk</b>	<b>-in</b>	<b>nginayuk</b>	<b>-in</b>	<b>nginethu</b>	<b>-(ng)in</b>
his/her		<b>-uk</b>		<b>-uk</b>		<b>-(nh)u</b>

Source MV for PuRa-PuRa is a grammatical sketch. It contains Mathi-type pronouns *yetti* and *nginda*, but these have genitive forms in *-uk*: *yettiuk*, *ngindeuk*. These appear to be confluations of Mathi-Mathi pronouns with Wemba-Burreba suffixes. This source also includes a verb paradigm with person/number marking: *ngangan* ‘I sit’, *ngangar* ‘you sit’, *nganga* ‘he sits’, etc. (reproduced in Appendix 6) which appears to belong with Wemba-Wemba rather than the Mathi group. It does not agree with Mathews’ Burreba-Burreba sketch grammar (1904b:291–4), some forms from which are given above. Burreba-Burreba (*Bûr’raba- Bûr’raba* in the manuscript) is independently attested as a dialect close to Wemba-Wemba, but by Mathews’ account it has some distinctive pronouns and lacks bound pronouns for subject.

In one of the offprints of this paper (National Library of Australia MS 8006/8/227), Mathews hand-wrote alternative spellings of the pronouns next to the printed versions as follows:

Table 56: Handwritten pronoun forms in Mathews’ offprint MS 8006/8/227

1 <sup>st</sup> person	<b>ngaty</b>	
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<b>ngin</b>	
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	<b>nyuinya</b>	
my	<b>-igandak</b>	probably a suffix to <b>yetti-</b>
your	<b>ngindeuk</b>	
his/her	<b>magaddyam</b>	

These forms show features of both Wemba-Wemba and Burreba-Burreba but not of Mathi-Mathi. On the basis of this, we assume that this article does not deal with the Wati-Wati/PuRa-PuRa language and the inclusion of the Mathi-like pronominal forms in the printed article was an error.

Source MW contains a grammatical sketch entitled *The Wamba Wamba language*. It is consistently Mathi-type in that it has pronouns *yeti* and *nginma* (the latter independently attested) plus Mathi-type possessor enclitics (**-ai**, **-in**, **-u**), but it does also include the verb paradigm referred to above under the 1902 entry with person/number marking: *ngangan* ‘I sit’, *ngangar* ‘you sit’, *nganga* ‘he sits’, etc. (given as Appendix 1, Section 7). No other source for the Mathi group indicates any bound pronominal forms other than possessor markers. There is a strong suspicion that this paradigm does not belong to any dialect of the Mathi group.

There are three grammatical sketches in manuscript form that underlie the published sketch:

- 1) *Bûrâ’bûrâ’ Language* (R. H. Mathews MS 8006 notebook 1:39–42), source MB,

2) *Wamba-Wamba* (with Bureba-Bureba written adjacent) (R.H. Mathews MS 8006, Folder 1, document Y). This consists of only two pages and does not contain the verb paradigm that the other sources do. Words from this source have not been included in our combined word, but we have used it to discuss case marking, abbreviated as Y.

3) *Wamba-Wamba* (with Bura-Bura written adjacent) (Folder 1, document AW)

There are some variations between the sources which are summarised below in Table 57. The bound forms **-n** and **-rr** are taken from the verb paradigms in the various sources.

Table 57: Comparison of Wamba-Wamba pronominals in several Mathews sources

	Wamba published (MW)		Wamba (Y)		Wamba (AW), Bura-Bura (MB)	
	free	bound	free	bound	free	bound
1 <sup>st</sup> person	<b>yeti</b>	<b>-n</b>	<b>yeti</b>	-	<b>yeti</b>	<b>-n</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<b>nginma</b>	<b>-rr</b>	<b>nginda</b>	-	<b>nginma</b>	<b>-rr</b>
my	<b>yaniyu</b>	<b>-ai</b>	<b>yethiyuk</b>	<b>-ak</b>	<b>yeniyu</b>	<b>-ai</b>
your	<b>nginiyu</b>	<b>-in</b>	<b>ngindeyuk</b>	<b>-in</b>	<b>nginiyu</b>	<b>-in</b>
his/her		<b>-u</b>		<b>-uk</b>		<b>-u</b>

The ‘Wamba-Wamba’ material can be identified specifically with the Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) material collected by the brothers Beveridge (except for the person/number marking on the verb). There is the retroflex stop in **wurtu** ‘man’ and the form **lurugi** ‘camp’, which combines the retention of the rhotic and the distinctive **u** vowel. This ‘Wamba-Wamba’ material certainly cannot be identified with Wemba-Wemba as in Hercus (1986).

Source RE from George Augustus Robinson, is a list headed “*Edward River’ dialect, John Phillips, Medway, September 20, 1852, at sea*”, which is transcribed in Clark (2000:227). Many of the forms in this list cannot be related to any of the four Mathi-Mathi varieties with certainty, but based on the word for ‘no’ being *bur rah*, we have included it under PuRa PuRa. There are some curious forms however, such as *bath.the* ‘tommyhawk’ (sic) which is **pàthiki** in Mathi-Mathi but **parti** in other Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) sources. There are some compound forms like *whoon.yen.ran.con.zacka* ‘give it to me’ (which may include **wuka** ‘give’ **yinan** ‘me’ plus **thaka** ‘eat’ and may mean ‘give it to me to eat’) and *tung.ah.loue.car.lee.angel* ‘to eat’, which presumably contains **tyakela-** ‘eat’. Interestingly in both cases there is a nasal initial to the second syllable, as *whoon.yen* and *tung.ah*. Beyond this we cannot say anything about these examples. We presume that the reason for these forms being so poorly notated is that they are second hand forms, remembered by John Phillips who then gave them to Robinson. We have included these in the Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) column of our combined word list.

## 4.2.2 Grammar

### 4.2.2.1 Phonological notes

#### *Consonants*

It would appear that the consonant inventory of Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) was something like that in Table 58: We have listed only one lateral for lack of evidence of more, but in

view of the three laterals in Mathi-Mathi, we might expect additional lateral contrasts in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) as well.

Table 58: WATI-WATI CONSONANT PHONEMES

	labial	dental	palatal	alveolar	retroflex	velar
plosives	<b>p</b>	<b>th</b>	<b>ty</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>rt</b>	<b>k</b>
nasals	<b>m</b>	<b>nh</b>	<b>ny</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>rn</b>	<b>ng</b>
laterals				<b>l</b>		
rhotics				<b>rr</b>	<b>r</b>	
semivowels	<b>(w)</b>		<b>y</b>			

In Mathi-Mathi (see 3.1.1 above), there is no phonemic contrast between dental and palatal laminals, with the palatal allophone appearing when followed by front vowels. In Wati-Wati however, there appears to be a phonemic contrast between dental **th** and palatal **ty**, with examples of **ty** followed by non-front vowels in both initial and medial position. This is shown in Table 59

Table 59: Phonemic contrast of /th/ and /ty/ in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

gloss	Wati-Wati (SH)	form in sources	Mathi-Mathi
	<b>th</b>		<b>th</b>
ground	<b>thangi</b>	thungi JB, tungie E, B2, B3	<b>thángi</b>
liver	<b>puthu</b>	boethoo E, boetho B2	<b>púthu</b>
red	<b>thalawil</b>	dalawil PP	<b>thárla, thárlapil</b>
reed spear	<b>tharami</b>	tharami JB, dharaamo ? PP	
bad	<b>yathang</b>	yethong B2	
	<b>ty</b>		<b>th</b>
tongue	<b>tyalingi</b>	chellingnoo JB, tchellenew E	<b>thàlingi</b>
matter, boil	<b>putyuni</b>	potchonie B2	<b>pùthúni</b>
skin	<b>mityu</b>	meetchoo B2	<b>míthu</b>

On the face of it Table 59 would appear to show a clear phonemic contrast, but the situation is slightly more complicated. Only one of the sources of the word **thangi** has <th> written, whereas the others write simply <t>. We have presumed that this represents an initial /th/. Other words that we have analysed with initial /th/ in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) either have only <d> or <t> initials in the sources, as with **thalawail** ‘red’ or else do not have Mathi-Mathi equivalents, as with **tharami** ‘reed spear’ (**tyarəm** in Wemba-Wemba). So the evidence for an initial /th/ in Wati-Wati corresponding to initial /th/ in Mathi-Mathi is a little thin.

There is good evidence for medial /ty/ in Wati-Wati. The words **puthu** ‘liver’ and to **putyuni** ‘matter, boil’ are as clear a minimal pair as we have for Wati-Wati, and both come from the same source, B2.

One piece of evidence against a phonemic contrast between /th/ and /ty/ is found in the pronouns. The possessor suffix on pronouns is usually written as **-thu**, by all sources, but there is one example where there is /th/~ty/ variation. This is in the two versions of the Lord’s Prayer, the 1889 version of which spells the 1<sup>st</sup> dual exclusive possessor pronoun (our) as **ngalathung ngallathong** as in (388) below, but in the 1868 version it is spelled **ngalatyu Gueletcho** as in (398.1) below, although the Lord’s Prayer texts are probably the

least reliable of the Wati-Wati sources. On balance, the evidence in Table 59 suggests a phonemic contrast between /th/ and /ty/ in Wati-Wati, which means that there were six places of articulation in Wati-Wati consonants

Whereas Mathi-Mathi had a single rhotic (see above 3.1.1, 3.1.3), it appears that Wati-Wati had two rhotics, an alveolar tap or trill, which we write as **rr**, and a retroflex glide, which will write as **r**. The latter is not found in Mathi-Mathi, save in a single word, **mir** ‘eye’. Hercus (1986) recorded seven Wati-Wati words with rhotics, given in Table 60 (respelled according to the principles outlined in 1.4 above). The words for ‘big’, ‘dog’ and ‘emu’ have **rr** and both correspond to **rr** in Mathi-Mathi. The words for ‘ear’ and ‘egg’ have **r** and correspond to a lost **r** in Mathi-Mathi. The last two words, ‘do’ and ‘eye’ have **r** in Wati-Wati, corresponding to a rhotic in Mathi-Mathi.

Table 60: Rhotics in Wati-Wati (Hercus 1986)

	English	Wati-Wati (Hercus 1986)	Mathi-Mathi cognate
<b>rr</b>	big	kàrráwi	kàrráwi
	dog	wírrenggèl	wírrárgan
	emu	kúrrwinj	kàrríngi
<b>r</b>	ear	wírimbèl	wímbulù
	egg	mírki	míki
	do	wára	wárra(tha)
	eye	mírenggèl	mir

On the basis of Table 60 we predict that where there is a rhotic present in Wati-Wati and in cognate words in Mathi-Mathi, then the alveolar **rr** was the rhotic found in Wati-Wati, as with ‘dog’, cognate with **wírrárgan** in Mathi-Mathi. Where a rhotic is present in Wati-Wati and not in the cognate Mathi word, but is found as a retroflex in other Kulin languages, we suggest that retroflex **r** was present, as with ‘egg’, which is cognate to **míki** in Mathi-Mathi and **mirk** in Wemba-Wemba. However, the exceptions already outlined in Table 60 give pause for caution here. Therefore, except for words recorded by Hercus (1986), we do not speculate as to the form of the rhotic and write a generic **R**.

A few words were recorded with both initial **l** and initial **t** in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill). As can be seen from Table 61 there is no clear correlation between the initial consonant and the source. Alternation between initial **l** and **t** is found in other Kulin languages. It is interesting to note that the root that shows up in Mathi-Mathi **larninggu** ‘his/her ribs’ shows up with initial **l** in other Western Kulin dialects and Wathawurrung, but as **tarnin** in Eastern Kulin.



Table 61: Initial /t/ ~ /l/ variation in Wati-Wati

English gloss	l-initial	t-initial	other languages
camp	<b>lur</b> ngi MB, PP	<b>tur</b> ngi B2	WK <b>lar</b>
lungs	<b>lan</b> gi B2	<b>tan</b> gi E	WW <b>lari</b>
lerp	<b>lar</b> p B1, JB	<b>tar</b> p E	WW <b>lerəp</b>
nails	<b>liRi</b> B2, PP, RE	<b>tiRi</b> E	WK <b>lirri</b>
frost	<b>len</b> angi B2	<b>ten</b> angi B1, B2	Dja, Wa <b>taan</b>
sew	<b>liRin</b> ga E	<b>tiRin</b> ga B2	Tjap, Wa <b>tiringa</b>
calm	<b>lityiRi</b> E	<b>tityiRi</b> B2	
cry	<b>lum</b> la E	<b>tum</b> la E, B2	widespread <b>lung-</b> ?
palm of hand	<b>long-marn</b> angi	<b>tong-marn</b> angi	

Probably related to this is the relationship between the Wati-Wati word for ‘young man’, **niniwuR**, as recorded in the *Story of the Coongendoo Muckie (Great Stone)* (B6) and the Letyi-Letyi form **tininu**, suggesting variation between /n/ and /l/.

### Vowels

It appears that like Mathi-Mathi (see above 3.1.4), Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) probably had a 4 vowel system, /i/ /e/ /a/ /u/. Hercus (1986:113) provided the phonetic transcriptions on which the discussion below is based.

Phoneme /i/ was realised as [i] with two exceptions. In a stressed syllable followed by the retroflex **r**, where it was realised as [y], as we see in the words for ‘eyes’ and ‘ears’ in Table 63 below. This contrasts with the word for ‘dog’, where /i/ in a stressed syllable is followed by a trill **rr** and there is no rounding. In most cases Hercus (1986) writes [ɪ] as the realisation of /i/ in unstressed syllables.

Phoneme /a/ was realised as [a] in all non-final syllables. There is only one word recorded by Hercus (1986) with final /a/, **wara** [wóɾə] ‘do, make’. In final position it is possible that /a/ was routinely realised as [ɐ] but the evidence is too thin to be certain. In the two examples of /a/ in syllables following **w**, /a/ was realised as [ɔ], as in **wara** [wóɾə] and also **wati** [wóti] ‘no’. We do not take this as evidence of a separate phoneme /ɔ/. We also find further evidence for this in the spelling *wotti* for ‘no’ in (357b) below.

Phoneme /u/ was recorded very infrequently by Hercus for Wati-Wati (Swan Hill). In stressed syllables it is realised as [u] and in final, unstressed, position, as [ʊ], as [báingʊ] ‘child’.

Phoneme /e/ is realised as [e] except in unstressed syllables where a schwa was pronounced, as for example **letwel** [létwəl] ‘stick’ (Hercus 1986:231). The schwa is analysed as the unstressed pronunciation of /e/ because /i/. /a/ and /u/ have other unstressed variants (discussed above). In most examples that have final /e/, however, it is realised as [e], as in **nginde** [ŋínde] ‘you’. This pattern differs from the realisation /i/, /a/ and /u/ in final position.

Aside from the evidence in Hercus (1986), the status of /e/ as a phoneme in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) has to be provisional. Comparisons between words with stressed /e/ in Mathi-Mathi and cognate words in Wati-Wati do not give overwhelming evidence for phoneme /e/, as shown in Table 62:

Table 62: Possible cases of /e/ in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

<b>gloss</b>	<b>Wati-Wati (SH)</b>	<b>form in sources</b>	<b>Mathi-Mathi</b>
cockatoo, corella	<b>keRangi, keRanyi</b>	kerangie B2, kerenyi JB, kerangie E	<b>kìrréndi</b>
frost, ice	<b>tena, lena</b>	lenangin B2, tenangin B1	<b>ténha</b>
good	<b>telku</b>	talko tt, B1, B2, telko JB, talku PP	<b>télki</b>

In Mathi-Mathi, when /e/ was followed by consonants other than plosive, as in all the cases in Table 62, it was realised as a very open vowel (see example (28) in (3.1.4.2) above), and was phonetically transcribed as [ɛ]. It was also realised as long in the stressed position. The sources in Table 62 often write <a> in the position corresponding to Mathi-Mathi /e/ and this may represent a low front vowel similar to that described by Hercus 1986. Nevertheless we cannot be completely sure of this.

Variation between /e/ and /(a)r/ is also found in the Wati-Wati sources. In John Beveridge's sentences we find the form *ngeringnerinum* in (358b) below, with the meaning presumed to be 'day'. The first part of this compound, regularised as **ngaRing-nyeRi-nam** contains a form **ngaRingi** for 'day, sun'. In John Beveridge's story, however, (362a) below, we find the word for day spelled as *ngengni*, which may represent **ngengi**<sup>38</sup>. In Wati-Wati (Piangil) we find **n(g)aingi** and the correspondence of /ar/ and /e/ with Piangil /ai/ is well established (see above 1.3).

Only one monosyllabic word, **taan** 'frost', 'ice', has been recorded. This would have been realised with a non-contrastive long vowel, as were such words in Mathi-Mathi (see above 3.1.7.1).

#### *Accent/Stress*

One of the most pervasive features of Mathi-Mathi is the accent system, first described in Hercus (1986:115), discussed by Goedemans (1998) and further developed in 3.1.6 to 3.1.8 above. Hercus (1986:231) lists 18 Wati-Wati words, of which 11 are two syllable words with the accent, as expected, on the first syllable. The other 7 words are listed in Table 63, respelled according the principles followed in this book but with the original phonetic transcription of Hercus.

Table 63: Accent in Wati-Wati (after Hercus 1986:231)

<b>gloss</b>	<b>Wati-Wati</b>	<b>Phonetic</b>	<b>Mathi-Mathi</b>
<b>initial accent</b>			
dog	<b>wírrenggèl</b>	[wíreŋgàl]	<b>wìrráŋan</b>
ear	<b>wírimbèl</b>	[wýɾimbəl]	<b>wímbulù</b> 'his ear'
eat, to	<b>tyákela</b>	[cákəla]	<b>tháka, thákila</b>
entrails	<b>kálikan</b>	[gálgan]	
eye	<b>mírenggèl</b>	[mýreŋgəl]	<b>mír</b>

<sup>38</sup> It is possible that this is a case of a misreading of the consonant <r> as <n>, and the word should have notated as *ngengi*.

2 <sup>nd</sup> syllable accent			
big	<b>kàrráwi</b>	[gàráwɪ]	<b>kàrráwi</b>
dust, ashes	<b>miláki</b>	[mìláki]	<b>milaki</b> (this word is not recorded marked with stress)

The accent patterns recorded by Hercus for Wati-Wati do not always match those in Mathi-Mathi. For example, although the words for ‘ear’ and ‘eat’ have initial accent in both languages, ‘dog’ has initial accent in Wati-Wati and second syllable accent in Mathi-Mathi. Although the data is meagre, we can perhaps assume that Wati-Wati also had some complex accent patterns.

Surprisingly there is almost no evidence for similar accent patterning in the other varieties. This is surprising because, for example, of the people who recorded Wati-Wati varieties, R.H. Mathews was known to notate stress in other languages (see Bowe and Morey 1998:53 for stress shifts notated by Mathews in Yorta-Yorta). Yet there is no sign of stress marking except for the name of the language written *Bûrà’bûrà’*, presumably **puRápuRà** where the stroke marks accent in the preceding syllable.

The very scanty evidence we have been able to present here suggests that the accent system in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), at least, was probably not of exactly the same type as that in Mathi-Mathi, and that it probably differed from the typical Kulin pattern.

#### 4.2.2.2 Nouns

##### 4.2.2.2.1 Noun Class

In the Mathi group of languages, two noun classes are present. These are described in 3.2.3 above. Class 1 has zero final in the nominative/accusative, where Class 2 has -i.

Table 64 lists some of the nouns that in Wati-Wati appear to be class 1, in other words that appear in citation without the final -i that is typical of most nouns in Mathi-Mathi. Table 64 is a representative sample, covering all nouns from Class 1 (no final -i) listed in Beveridge 1889:179–181. They are given with their original form, and with Mathi-Mathi cognates.

Table 64: Class 1 nouns in Wati-Wati

Wati-Wati	form in B2	Mathi-Mathi cognate	Gloss	Notes
<b>puRpakuwan</b>	burbagoan		animal	maybe based on the root for ‘head-’
<b>tyutyiwart</b>	joejiwert	<b>thíti</b>	bird	<b>-wart</b> looks like some kind of suffix to a form cognate with Mathi
<b>pupupkuR</b>	poopoopcour		child (feminine)	widespread Kulin
<b>pupup</b>	poopoop		child (masculine)	widespread Kulin
<b>koimapil</b>	koimabil		corpse	
<b>teRaRiwil</b>	terariwil		comet	
<b>kelela</b>	gellela		cockatoo, Major Mitchell’s	Stone wrote <i>Galalic</i> as ‘corella’ in Wemba-Wemba (Hercus 1992)

<b>karta(R)</b>	kurter		cockatoo, crestless pink eyes	
<b>wilik-wilik</b>	willick willick	<b>wilékil</b>	cockatoo, slate colour	
<b>tyeRin</b>	tcherin		cockatoo, black red crest and tail (i.e. galah) <sup>39</sup>	
<b>waRangan</b>	warangan		crow, gregarious, not carrion	
<b>wiRangin</b>	wirrangin	<b>wírrángan</b>	dog	widespread; Hercus Wati-Wati <b>wírenggèl</b> (1986:231)
<b>tulum</b>	tolem (JB)	<b>tùlúmi</b>	duck, black	widespread
<b>tarnawaR</b>	tarnawar		duck, black	
<b>perneR</b>	berner	<b>pérner</b>	duck, teal	widespread
<b>wotya</b>	wotchor		duck, whistling	
<b>taRamang</b>	tartamung		duck, the tribe generally	

As can be seen, there are relatively few Mathi-Mathi cognates known for the class 1 nouns in Wati-Wati. This suggests that some of these words may be borrowings from outside the Mathi group. It is also significant that nouns derived by means of the **-wil** suffix (see below) do not ever occur with final **-i**. Several of those that are present are class 2 in Mathi-Mathi, such as **thíti** ‘bird’ and **tùlúmi** ‘black duck’. In the former case, the Wati-Wati form consists of the cognate of **thíti**, realised as **tyityi** and a suffix of unknown meaning. In the latter case, the word recorded by John Beveridge is clearly not **-i** final and so assigned to Class 1, whereas that recorded for Mathi-Mathi is clearly Class 2.

Class 2 nouns are much more frequent, and we will only exemplify a few.

Table 65: Class 2 nouns in Wati-Wati with Mathi-Mathi Cognates

<b>Wati-Wati</b>	<b>form in B2</b>	<b>Mathi-Mathi cognate</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Notes</b>
<b>pun(h)i</b>	boonie	<b>púnhi</b>	ashes	
<b>wenggi</b>	wenkie		bachelor	
<b>wiyi</b>	weeie		brother-in-law	
<b>moReng(g)omi</b>	morengomie		bee	
<b>wani</b>	wannie	<b>wáni</b>	boomerang	
<b>yungwi</b>	eunkoie	<b>yúngwip</b>	boat	-p final in Werkaya
<b>muRnggi</b>	moornkie	<b>ménggi</b>	cloud	
<b>keRangi</b>	kerangie	<b>kírrénti</b>	corella	
<b>wangi</b>	wangie	<b>wángi</b>	crow (carrion)	
<b>tyendyu</b> ‘his nose’	tchainchew	<b>thíndi</b>	nose	presumably the nominative in Wati is <b>tyendyi</b>

<sup>39</sup> Beveridge has confused the glosses for *tcherin* and *willick willick*. The latter is clearly the word for ‘galah’ in Mathi-Mathi.

<b>mirti</b>	mirtie	<b>mìdhági</b>	rain	
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As can be seen in Table 65, Mathi-Mathi cognates with class 2 nouns (again a representative sample) are more frequent. There are words for which no Mathi-Mathi form is known such as ‘bachelor’, ‘brother-in-law’ and ‘bee’, but apart from them, all other forms virtually agree or differ only in ways that are regular, as discussed in 1.3 above.

Finally there are a small number of words for which it is difficult to assign a class. For example **langu** ‘its lung’ in Wati-Wati is clearly cognate to **lenggin** ‘your lungs’ in Mathi-Mathi, but as we not have an unpossessed form recorded, we do not know whether the Wati-Wati root is **lang** or **langi**, though the latter is more likely because Class 2 is much more frequent.

Consider the word for sinew, **wiràndu** in Mathi-Mathi and **wiRanyu** (*wiranew* B2) in Wati-Wati. Both are clearly marked for 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessor, literally ‘its/his/her sinew’, as is so frequently found with body parts. In Mathi-Mathi the nominative form was most likely **wiràndi** (Class 2) because had it been Class 1 it would have been **wirand**, with final -nd, a cluster in Mathi-Mathi only found in **múnd** ‘heart’, a borrowed word from Keramin.

One very interesting Class 2 noun is ‘emu’ which is found both as **kurwing(g)i** (*kurweenge*MB, *kurwingie* B2, E, *kurwangi* PP), assuming a putative root of /kurwi/ and **kurwi** (*kurwie* B2, B1), which assumes a putative root of /kurw-/. JB also records this word as *kurwing kurwi*, which combines features of both forms. Hercus recorded this word in Wati-Wati as **kúrwiyn** which would be Class 1.

There are some words that vary in class across the four language varieties that we are dealing with here. Some of these are listed in Table 66; Class 1 tokens are shown in bold.

Table 66: Variation in Noun Classes in Mathi languages

gloss	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati (Swan Hill)	Wati (Piangil)
	Class 2	Class 2	<b>Class 1</b>	Class 2
duck, black	tùlúmi	tulumi tolomi K, toolomi Co	<b>tulum</b> <b>tolem JB,</b>	thulumi tolomi P,D, tolomie MD
	<b>Class 1</b>	Class 2	<b>Class 1</b>	Class 2
eye	<b>mir</b>	mingi, miRingi	<b>mir, miRenggel</b>	mayingi
	<b>mírnu</b> ‘his ~’	mingi Co, K, myng-ee Ly	<b>mirnoo B2, JB,</b> <b>B3, E2; mirngi</b> <b>PP</b>	meingi D, mi-ingi Ca; maingo M, maingi D, meingee MD
	<b>Class 1</b>	<b>Class 1</b>	<b>Class 1</b>	Class 2
child	<b>báinggu</b>	<b>paymbang(g)u</b>	<b>bayn.gu</b>	bayn.gongi
		<b>paimbango</b> ‘children’ K	<b>pinko JB</b>	pangongi D

Whilst Table 66 is not a comprehensive study of noun class membership (indeed such a study would not be possible with so little material), it is noteworthy that in each of the three cases selected here, the noun in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) is Class 1, and the noun in Wati-Wati (Piangil) is Class 2. It appears from this that Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) was more likely to have more Class 1 nouns than its close relatives, perhaps because of closer contact

with neighbouring Kulin languages like Wemba-Wemba that did not have the nominative marking in *-i* that is the typical feature of Class 2. This more or less confirms the observation of Table 64 above where we saw more Class 1 nouns in Wati-Wati than in Mathi-Mathi.

Consider however the word for ‘frost, ice’, which is **ténha** (class 1) in Mathi-Mathi. In Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), this word is recorded in two forms, a Class 2 form, **tenangi(n)** (*tennangin*, *lenangin* B2, *tenangin* B1)<sup>40</sup> and a Class 1 form, **tan** (*taan* ‘ice’ B2, *tann* ‘ice’ E). Since both instances of **tan** are glossed ‘ice’ and the instances of **tenangi-** are glossed ‘frost’, it is not impossible that in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) the two forms had acquired different but related meanings. On the other hand this word may be an example of a word that has forms in both classes.

There is a further complication. The final *-n*, recorded by B1 and B2 for **tenangi(n)** looks like a 2<sup>nd</sup> person possessor suffix, but it is unlikely perhaps implausible that such a suffix would be attached to the word for ‘frost’. We are not at present able to interpret this suffix.

#### 4.2.2.2.2 Number

Mathews normally includes a section on number, though often, as here, all he has to report are number words as shown in ((259):

- (259) a kangaroo                    **kuRangi** (*koorange* MB, *kurange* Y, *karrange* MW)<sup>41</sup>  
 two kangaroos                **kuRangi pulang** (*bullang* MB, MW)  
 several kangaroos         **kuRangi kirtawil** (*girtawil* MB, *girtawal* Y, *girtawal* MW)

**Kirtawil** is the word for ‘plenty’, ‘many’, ‘much’ or ‘the colloquial ‘mob’’. Mathews gives the numbers as follows in the published grammar: **yuwaya** (*yuwaia*) ‘one’, **bula** (*bull* MB, MW, *bull* Y) ‘two’.

There are examples of morphological dual marking in Beveridge, such as ((260):

- (260) *pienkumboolai*                    B2  
*children*  
**payingku-m-bula**  
 child.3SG.POSS-FORM-DL  
 ‘two children’

Another example of dual marking has a variant form of the dual suffix, **-ulu**, in (261) from the *Story of the Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone)*, where the word for the number ‘two’ (usually **pulayt**) is marked by **-ulu**. The context of this example is that the two hungry travellers have found a lowan’s (mallee fowl) nest and have there discovered food enough for them. What they uttered is (261).

<sup>40</sup> There is initial l~t variation in some other words, so we do not know whether the form *lenangin* is a variant or an error.

<sup>41</sup> The spellings with ‘a’ as the first vowel are odd. This root has **u** as the first vowel in a variety of other dialects.

- (261) *politulu murnangin mirk* B6  
 (eggs to the number of the fingers on both hands)  
**pulaty-ulu**      **marnangin**      **miRk**  
 two-DL              hand.2SG.POSS      egg  
 ‘Eggs (to the number of fingers) on your two hands’

#### 4.2.2.2.3 Gender

Likewise Mathews normally includes a reference to gender, usually natural, and usually marked lexically, as shown in (262).

- (262) a male possum      **wilangi mamu** (*willunge mamu* d, p)  
 a female possum      **wilangi papu** (*willunge babu* d, *willunge baba* p)

This use of words meaning ‘mother’ and ‘father’ to indicate gender in animals was widespread in south-eastern Australia, while in Central Australia words meaning ‘woman’ and ‘old man’ were generally used.

#### 4.2.2.2.4 Case

A summary of recorded Wati-Wati case markers is found in Table 67, with nouns of both Class 1 and Class 2. The putative root forms of these nouns are given in the second row. For Class 1 nouns the root and nominative forms are the same, for Class 2, the nominative form adds **-ngi** (for vowel and **-r** final roots), or **-i** for consonant final roots, as in Mathi-Mathi (See 3.2.3 above).

Table 67: Wati-Wati case markers

	Class 1	Class 2		
root	<b>layuR</b> ‘woman’	<b>wurtu-</b> ‘man’	<b>kayan(i), kartin(i)</b> ‘water’	<b>luR-</b> ‘camp’
nominative, Ø, <b>-(ng)i</b>	<b>layuR</b>	<b>wurtungi</b>	<b>kayani, kartini</b>	<b>luRngi</b>
ergative, <b>-(l)u</b>	<b>layuRu</b>	<b>wurtulu</b>		
ablative, <b>-ang</b>				<b>luRnang</b> Y, <b>luRnu</b> MB, MW
allative, <b>-(dh)al</b>				<b>lu(R)ndhal*</b>
locative, <b>-ata</b>			<b>kartinata</b> JB	
genitive, <b>-a</b>		<b>wurtuwa</b>	<b>kayaniya</b> B2	

\*This was written *loorndhal*. Since the *th* indicates dental and the nasal-stop cluster is presumably homorganic, this suggests *r* is indicating quality and or length rather than a rhotic consonant. This is further supported by the spelling *loondhal* used by Beveridge in *The Story of the Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone)* (see (274) below).

The paradigm in Table 67 can be compared with the attested case marking for the same four words in Mathi-Mathi, presented as Table 68. For a discussion of the **k** and **ng** augments, see above 3.2.3.1.

Table 68: Mathi-Mathi case markers

	Class 1	Class 2	Class 2	Class 2 (final -r)
putative root form	<b>layurr</b>	<b>wuthu-</b>	<b>kathin-</b>	<b>lar-</b>
	‘woman’	‘man’	‘water’	‘camp’
Nominative Ø (Class 1), <b>-i</b> (Class 2)	<b>layurr</b>	<b>wuthungi</b>	<b>kathini</b>	<b>lengi</b>
Ergative <b>-u</b>	<b>layurrku</b>	<b>wuthungu</b>		
Ablative <b>-ang</b>			<b>kathinung</b>	<b>larnunga</b>
Locative (1) <b>-al</b>		<b>wuthungal</b>		
Locative (2) <b>-ang</b> ‘on, over’			<b>kathinang</b>	
Locative (3) <b>-ata</b> ‘in’			<b>kathinata</b>	
Genitive <b>-a</b> (Hercus ‘general oblique)	<b>layurrka</b>	<b>wuthuka</b>	<b>kathina</b>	<b>lenga-la</b> ‘camp-ours-to’

The differences between the Wati-Wati and Mathi-Mathi case marking are :

1. The **k-** is not present in the ergative of **layuR** ‘woman’ in Wati,
2. An otherwise unattested **-lu** suffix is present in the ergative of **wuthu-** ‘man’ in Wati. This suffix is widespread for ergative throughout Australia.
3. The locative/allative is realised as **-thal** in the only example found so far. The stop augment here may well have been confined to this word, so we are assuming that the form of the suffix is in fact **-al**.
4. There is a curious ablative form **-u** in some Mathews sources.
5. The genitive is found with two words, both of which have vowel final stems, **kayani** ‘water’ and **wurtu** ‘man’. When forming the genitive a glide in harmony with the final vowel is inserted rather than the **k** found in Mathi-Mathi. Thus we get **wurtuwa** ‘of the man’ in Wati-Wati, in contrast to Mathi-Mathi **wuthuka**.

The following are illustrative sentences and phrases from Mathews:

- (263) *Kaloo woortoole thakkin goorange.* (MB)  
**Kalu wurtu-lu thak-in kuRangi.**  
 that-ERG man-ERG kill-PAST kangaroo  
 ‘The man killed a kangaroo.’

(also *Wurtule garange thakkin* MW, *Wurtulu karange thakkin* Y)

The ergative marking in (263) is presumably **-lu**, although in only one source (Y) is the form written as *wurtulu*. The form *woortoole* in MB, as shown in (263) may represent a unstressed final syllable, or it may represent a different suffix **-li**. Since the ergative on the word ‘woman’ is clearly **-u** in (264), it is most likely **-lu** in (263).

- (264) *Thakkin laiooroo bupoo.* (MB)  
**Thak-in layuR-u pupu**  
 hit-PAST woman-ERG child  
 ‘A woman hit a child.’

(also *laiuru bupu thakkin* MW, Y)



- (265) *woortooa wanne* (MB)  
**wurtu-a wani**  
 man-GEN boomerang  
 ‘a man’s boomerang’
- (266) *Yanna loorndhal (loornge ‘camp’)* (MB)  
**Yana lu(R)ndhal**  
 go camp.ALLATIVE  
 ‘Go to the camp’
- (267) *Werriwo nungala loorn-oo.* (MB)  
**WiRiwa nungala lu(R)nu**  
 go.away there? camp.ABLATIVE  
 ‘Go away fom the camp’

Mathews notes that adjectives follow the noun they qualify and agree in case, but he does not give any examples of case concord.

Beveridge records several examples where the noun is preceded by the adjective, as **kuRungandu maki** *Coorongendoo Muckie* ‘big stone’. It is likely that the word ‘big’ is here marked by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular possessor suffix, **-u**, and that this is literally ‘its bigness, the stone’ (see 4.2.2.7 below). A second combination of ‘adjective’ and noun is **panu ngaRambin** *pannoo ngarumbin* ‘little old.man’ also from the *Story of the Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone)*. Here also the adjective also has final **-u**. Thus we find no confirmation of Mathews’ claims of case agreement.

In general the sentences in J. Beveridge 1886 lack the ergative case suffix on nouns, but there are in fact very few nouns that are transitive subjects in the surviving sentences. Two cases are (268) and (269):

- (268) *Anaboo Tommy magna murtamoo?*  
*Has Tommy got a wife yet? i.e. How many Tommy got wife?*  
**Nganabu Tommy mangga martamu.**  
 how.many Tommy get wife  
 ‘Has Tommy got a wife yet?’
- (269) *Nalli woortongi woen noonthi.*  
*Which blacks gave her to him? i.e. Which Blacks gave that one?*  
**Nhali wurtungi wuyin n(h)undhi.**  
 which people give.PAST that  
 ‘Which Blacks gave her to him?’

In (268) the subject *Tommy* is a proper noun and a non-Wati-Wati proper name at that; perhaps case marking of borrowed words was not required. In (269) we have a clearer example of the lack of ergative marking; similar sentences recorded for Mathi-Mathi would show ergative on the word **wurtungi**, but it is absent here. Presumably the ergative case is not required here for the disambiguation of meaning, since (269) follows on from (268) in a text that is a kind of dialogue, and the goal is understood to be *Tommy*. Nevertheless the lack of ergative marking makes us suspicious as to the reliability of these sentences.

On the other hand, the locative is recorded in Beveridge:

- |       |                |                  |   |
|-------|----------------|------------------|---|
| (270) | <b>waRki</b>   | <b>waRk-ata</b>  | <i>wurkido, wurkerda</i> ‘on the plain’         |
|       | <b>puRungi</b> | <b>puRungata</b> | <i>booroongarda</i> ‘to the mallee’ [= ‘scrub’] |
|       | <b>kartini</b> | <b>kartinata</b> | <i>kertenarda</i> ‘to water’.                   |

Assuming that the forms *wurkido* and *wurkerda* are referring to the same things, these all have a suffix that seems to be the same as the Mathi-Mathi locative **-ata**. Note that the form **kartin-** is the same as Letyi-Letyi; the word for ‘water’ in the Peter Beveridge sources for Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) is **kayini**. But Mathews’ PuRa-PuRa has *katni* for ‘water’, suggesting /**kartni**/, which would have the same stress pattern as the Wemba-Wemba **kathən** with the addition of the **-i** suffix. JB also lists *kerlini* in his word list which is most probably an error for *kertini* so both /**kayin-**/ and /**kartin-**/ seem to have been roots for ‘water’ in Wati (Swan Hill)

In the translation of the Lord’s Prayer (1889) (see (388) below), Beveridge gives the nominative form *tyrrily* for ‘in heaven’ which does not contain the locative suffix; we would expect **tiRilata**. The quality of the Lord’s Prayer is inferior to the other Beveridge materials, and cannot be relied on.

There are several examples from the Beveridge texts of the use of the genitive **-a**, (271) and (272). The 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun **ngindi** is found in three sentences in Peter Beveridge. It appears to be a subject form, see (396) below.

- |       |   |                  |               |                        |
|-------|---|------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| (271) | <i>Bumbuma</i>  | <i>wirrupola</i> | <i>nginty</i> | (B1) Beveridge 1883:70 |
|       | <i>stupid (sic) ears</i>                              | <i>you</i>       |               |                        |
|       | <b>pamba=ma</b>                                       | <b>wiRmbul-a</b> | <b>ngindi</b> |                        |
|       | stupid-indeed   | ear-GEN          | 2SG           |                        |
|       | ‘You are stupid-eared (lit: you are stupid of ears).’ |                  |               |                        |

The form **=ma** in (271) appears to be the same as the emphatic clitic in Mathi-Mathi (see 3.2.6.5 above.)

In (272) we see the structure possessum-GEN possessor(-POSS). This is a compound form, literally ‘her breast’s water’. The primary entity to be possessed is the breast, belonging to a human possessor. Body parts are almost always recorded with a default 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular possessor suffix.

- |       |                 |                  |      |
|-------|-----------------|------------------|------|
| (272) | <i>kayania</i>  | <i>koorumboo</i> | (B2) |
|       | <i>milk</i>     |                  |      |
|       | <b>kayani-a</b> | <b>kuRumbu</b>   |      |
|       | water-GEN       | breast.3SG.POSS  |      |

Not every example of a possessive construction has this structure. In (273), the phrase **lowan mi(R)ku** ‘lowan’s eggs’ has the structure possessor possessum-POSS, literally ‘lowan, its eggs’. It may be that for a body part construction such as this, the genitive marking was optional.

- |       |                                     |                      |                |                     |      |
|-------|-------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------------|------|
| (273) | <i>Yanda</i>                        | <i>yukkin</i>        | <i>lowan</i>   | <i>mikko.</i>       | (JB) |
|       | <i>I</i>                            | <i>wanted</i>        | <i>lowan’s</i> | <i>eggs</i>         |      |
|       | <b>Yanda</b>                        | <b>yak-in</b>        | <b>luwan</b>   | <b>mi(R)k-u.</b>    |      |
|       | <i>I</i>                            | <i>look for-PAST</i> | <i>lowan</i>   | <i>egg-3SG.POSS</i> |      |
|       | ‘I was searching for lowan’s eggs.’ |                      |                |                     |      |

Note that the form of the word ‘egg’ is **miRk-** in all the other Wati-Wati sources, and we assume that *mikko* in (273) is an error for something like *mirko*.

In (274), on the other hand, the word for ‘lowan (mallee fowl)’ is marked by the genitive.

- (274) “*Nga, nga, lowan a loondthal*” B6  
 (Hello, hello! A lowan’s nest.)  
**Nga, nga, luwan-a lundhal**  
 EXCL EXCL lowan-GEN nest.LOC  
 ‘Hello, hello! A lowan’s nest.’

The difference between (273) and (274) would be explained by the fact that in the first, **luwan mirku** is a compound, whereas in the second, **luwana lundhal** is a NP with possessor.

#### 4.2.2.2.5 Noun formation

As in Letyi-Letyi (see above 4.1.3.2), new nominals in Wati-Wati were formed both by suffixation and by compounding. The ‘having’ suffix **-wil**, cognate to the Letyi-Letyi **-kil** ~ **-wil** and Mathi-Mathi **-wil**, forms new words, as shown in Table 69:

Table 69: Nouns derived with a **-wil** suffix in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

gloss	form	sources	notes
club, waddy, type of comet	<b>liyawil</b>	leawill B2	literally ‘tooth having’
	<b>teRaRiwil</b>	terariwill E, B2	
echidna	<b>likwil</b>	likwil PP	literally ‘spike-having’; <b>lik</b> is ‘spike, spine’ WW <b>lip</b>
husband	<b>layilu</b>	lielu JB	probably / <b>layuR-wil-u</b> / ‘woman-having-3SG.POSS’
widower	<b>luRkulawil</b>	loorkoolawill E, loorkoolahill B2	perhaps includes the root / <b>layuR</b> / ‘woman’

As can be seen with the word **layilu** in Table 69, these nouns are found with the final possessor suffixes. They appear to be class 1 nouns, because they have no final **-i** in the nominative case. Most words in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) that contain the suffix **-wil**, or a presumably related suffix **-pil**, are here included with adjectives, see below 4.2.2.7. It is quite possible that all such ‘adjectives’ in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) were in fact nouns.

A second noun forming suffix may be an **-R** suffix. Consider (275)

- (275) **pukuyn** ‘break’, perhaps **puku-iyen** ‘break-FUT’ (‘will break’), or **puku-(i)n** ‘break-PAST.PTC’ (‘broken’) (see below 278) (*bookoin* B2, *bookoing* E)  
**pukeRuyn** ‘breaker’, used as a proper name (*boceroin* B2, *bokeroin* B1)

It is possible that the proper name **pukeRuyn** could be analysed as **puku-r(u)-iyen** ‘break-NOMZ-FUT’, meaning ‘one who will break’, alternatively the form **-Ruyn** is an agent nominalising suffix. Either way nominalisation seems to be conveyed by **-r**. As we see below in Wati-Wati (Piangil) there is a formative **-ri**, which combines with verbs



These compounds are somewhat curious. First of all, the second element does not have the nominative suffix *-i*. This word is attested as having that suffix, as in the form *tcherkie* (E), so the lack of it in the forms in (278) suggest one of two possibilities. One, (a), is that there are two forms of this noun, one a class 1 word, without the suffix *-i*, as **tyeR(i)k**, and the other a class 2 word with the suffix, as **tyeRki**. Note that the [i] in the class 1 instance is apparently an epenthetic insertion. The second possibility (b) is that this is a class 2 noun which loses its nominative suffix *-i* when compounded.

The following proper names that appear to be compounds were listed by Peter Beveridge in B2, as in Table 70:

Table 70: Proper names in compound form, from Beveridge (B2)

<b>gloss</b>	<b>form</b>	<b>sources</b>	<b>notes</b>
<i>personal names (p177)</i>			
left-handed	<b>yandi marnangin</b>	yandy murnangin	2 <sup>nd</sup> singular suffix ??
squint-eyed	<b>miRmayl mirnin</b>	mirmile mirnen	2 <sup>nd</sup> singular suffix ??
one-eyed	<b>kayap mirnin</b>	kyup mirnen	2 <sup>nd</sup> singular suffix ??
crooked-nose	<b>miRmail tyendyu</b>	mirmile tchantchew	lit “crooked his nose”
burnt food	<b>walpa tyiangin</b>	walpa chinangin	2 <sup>nd</sup> singular suffix ??
ugly mouth	<b>waikeRu wuRinin</b>	waikeroo woorinen (also spelled <i>waikeroo woorinen</i> )	2 <sup>nd</sup> singular suffix ??
<i>place names (p178)</i>			
termination of the gum timber	<b>tyitu piyal</b>	chittoo beal	
black stump	<b>wuRkin tulu</b>	workin doloo	see Table 86
broken reed	<b>pukuyn tyeRik</b>	bocoin tcheric	see above (278)
crooked pine	<b>miRmayl maRung</b>	mirmile maroong	
box forest infested by gerboas or kangaroo mice	<b>tayi bulayt</b>	tye bullite	

Several kinship terms are obviously compounded, as shown in Table 71:

Table 71: Compound kinship terms in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

<b>gloss</b>	<b>form</b>	<b>sources</b>	<b>notes</b>
stepbrother	<b>tyiRaku</b>	giragoo E	
stepfather	<b>keRam-keRam mamu</b>	kerumkerum mamoo B2	the form <b>mamu</b> is literally ‘his/her father’
stepmother	<b>papuRun(g)gi</b>	babooroonkie E	derived from <b>papu</b> ‘his/her mother’
stepsister	<b>tyeRikuRi</b>	gerrycoorie E, jerykorie B2	
stepson	<b>keRam-keRam wartuwu</b>	kerumkerum wertuwoo E, kerumkerumwertwoo B2	includes the form <b>wirtiwi</b> ‘his/her son’
uncle		neerpuollomamoo E, werpoolomamoo B2	this word includes the form <b>mamu</b> is literally ‘his/her father’. E and B2 presumably recorded the same form, one being a printing error.

Other compounds (all marked with the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessor suffix) include

- **kumbupoko** ‘love’ (*koombooboko* B2, *koomboobooks* E) which is clearly a compound based on the word for ‘breast’ **koimbi** (*koimbo* JB)<sup>42</sup> and another word **poko** of unknown meaning, though perhaps related either to **puku** ‘break’ or the Wati-Wati (Piangil) form **pokongi** ‘old man’. In Mathi-Mathi there are a number of examples of words based on the word **pili-** ‘stomach’, conveying abstract emotions, such as **wálwa pílínhu** ‘jealous’, literally ‘stomach burning’.
- **tyinalapu** ‘claw’ (*ginalapoo* B2, *ginallapoo* E) which clearly includes the root of the word for ‘foot’, **tyinangi**.
- **teRpimatang(g)i** ‘sharp of hearing’ (*derhmatangie* E, *derbimatungie* B2), which includes the verb **teRpima** ‘hear’ and a nominal form **tang(g)i** of uncertain meaning. The word for ‘silence’ **tangtangima** (*tung-tungima* E) appears to be related to **teRpimatang(g)i**.

#### 4.2.2.3 Pronouns

One of the features common to the earlier sources for many Victorian languages is the considerable variety of pronominal forms. In Beveridge’s Wati-Wati and R.H Mathews’ and John Mathew’s PuRa-PuRa, this variation includes:

1. Alternative forms for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular pronouns
2. The use of two different demonstratives as true pronominals, especially for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person
3. The combination of demonstratives and pronominals for some non-singular constructions

<sup>42</sup> Both *koombooboko* and *koimbo* are related to **kuRumbu** (example 272) through reduction of /R/.

Table 72 presents what we will term true pronominals, in other words pronominal forms for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons and those translated as 3<sup>rd</sup> singular that we believe are not demonstratives acting as pronominals. Table 72 represents a synthesis of all the evidence presented from the different sources.

Table 72: Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) pronouns (Overview)

	Nom/Erg	Acc	Gen	Possessor suffixes
		<b>-in</b>	<b>-ayu, -athu</b>	
1Sg	<b>yeti</b>	<b>yenin</b>	<b>yenayu</b>	<b>-ai</b>
1Sg (alternative)	<b>yanda</b>	<b>yandin</b>		
2Sg	<b>nginma</b>	<b>nginin</b>	<b>nginayu</b>	<b>-(ngin)</b>
2Sg (alternative)	<b>ngindi</b>			
3Sg	<b>ngundhi</b>		<b>ngukayu</b>	<b>-ny(u)</b>
1Dl.incl	<b>ngalai</b>		<b>ngalaithu(ng)</b>	<b>-al</b>
1Dl.excl	<b>ngalu</b>	<b>ngalungin</b>	<b>ngalathung, ngalatyu*</b>	<b>-alu</b>
2Dl	<b>ngula</b>		<b>ngulathu</b>	
2plu	<b>pula(-ng)</b>	<b>pulin</b>	<b>pulathu</b>	
1Pl.incl	<b>yanguR</b>		<b>yanguRathu</b>	<b>-anguRak</b>
1Pl.excl	<b>yandha(-ng)k</b>		<b>yandhathu</b>	
2Pl	<b>nguta</b>	<b>ngutin</b>	<b>ngutathu</b>	
3Pl	<b>(-)thana</b>	<b>(-)thanin</b>	<b>(-)thanathu</b>	

The alternative 2<sup>nd</sup> person **ngindi** is found in three sentence examples, (395) where it may be a possessor, and (271) and (396) where the function is that of the subject. We have listed it as a subject pronoun because **ngindi** in Mathi-Mathi is a subject pronoun. The most frequently encountered subject form in the Wati-Wati sources, however, is **nginma**, a form also found in Robinson (RE) as *in.mar*.

There are alternative forms for the 1<sup>st</sup> person dual exclusive possessor, **ngalathung** and **ngalatyu**. These are found in the alternative versions of the Lord's Prayer, exemplified in (388) and (398) respectively. In the 1889 Lord's Prayer there is also *ngelletchie* glossed as 'us'.

The form of the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural exclusive is found as *yandhank* in R.H. Mathews. This looks similar to the alternative 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun **yanda**, although the latter is never found with a homorganic laminal nasal stop cluster.

In the genitive, singular forms have a suffix **-ayu**, whereas the non-singular forms employ the possessor suffix **-athu**. This sound relationship between /th/ and /ay/ has already been commented on 1.3. We find it for example in words such as Mathi-Mathi **kàthini** 'water' which corresponds to Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) **kayani** and **kartini**.

The third person plural form is often found in combination with demonstratives; it seems to have also occurred on its own, but is not attested in any sentences, only in paradigms from R.H. Mathews (Table 73) and John Mathew (Table 76).

The accusative forms are marked with the suffix **-in**, mostly following the information gained from Mõnmoiko (Benjamin Lanky Manton) and recorded by John Mathew (Table 76). The only attestation of this suffix in the texts is in (279):

- (279) *Jeleka noonthi wurtoo yanden boin. JB*  
*Long ago he back mine speared.*  
**Tyeleka n(h)undhi wart-u yandin puwin**  
 long.ago he back-3SG.POSS me spear.PAST  
 ‘Long ago he speared my back.’ (lit “speared me its back”)

Note that this example also shows a body part possessed by the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessor, a default marker for nouns in these languages (see Hercus 2005), even although that body part is actually possessed by the first person. Similar ‘mixing’ of persons is found in (292) below.

In Table 72 we have listed the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular form as **ngundhi** (variant **n(h)undhi** in the Beveridge sentences). This decision is based on the fact that the genitive form **ngukayu** has the **-ayu** ending also found on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular genitive forms. However, it may be that **ngundhi** is a demonstrative, not a pronoun, as (280), where it is found modifying a head noun, the NP bracketed

- (280) *Yeri toorta noonthi keu kulki. (JB)*  
*Well! carry that one, there, tree.*  
**YeRi turta (n(h)undhi kiyu kalki)<sub>NP</sub>**  
 well carry 3SG there tree  
 ‘Well, carry that tree there.’

In (281), we see the form **ngundhi/nhundhi** in the function of a direct object, marked by an unknown suffixal form **-la**. If the form followed the paradigm in Table 72, we would expect the accusative to be marked by **-in**, but this form is not attested.

- (281) *Nginma ngakin noonthalla? (JB)*  
*(Do) you see that person?*  
**Nginma ngakin n(h)undhala.**  
 you see 3SG-?  
 ‘Did you see that person/him?’

A clear case of subject use of this form is found in (282)

- (282) *Nalli moorignoor noonthi? JB*  
*Which girl did he get? i.e. Which girl he?*  
**nhali muRunyuR n(h)undhi?**  
 which young.woman 3SG  
 ‘Which girl did he (get)?’

The original forms of the pronouns will be given in the following Tables. Mathews in his manuscript sketch of Bûrà’bûrà’ (MB) gives a full list of pronouns, as shown in Table 73:



Table 73: Pura-Pura pronouns (MB)

I	Yetti	Yenneoo	Mine
Thou	Nginma	Nginneoo	Thine
He	Kinyee	Keekinga	His
We	Ngullai	Ngullaidhoo	Ours
We	Ngullo	Ngulladhoo	Ours
You	Ngoola	Ngooladhoo	Your
They	Kalloobullang	Kekinga booladhoo	Their
We	Yang'oor	Yangooradhoo	Ours
We	Yandhank	Yandhadhoo	Ours
You	Ngoota	Ngootadhoo	Your
They	Kalloodhanna	Dhannadhoo	Their

These pronouns are nominative (on the left) and genitive (on the right), with the English glosses on the far left and far right respectively.

We are treating the forms for 3<sup>rd</sup> singular 'he' and 'his' as demonstratives (see 4.2.2.4 below).

The form for plural 'their', *dhannadhoo* may have been intended to be compounded with the genitive demonstrative **kekunga**, as is the case with the form for dual 'their'. This combination of pronoun and demonstrative is a feature of several Wati-Wati sources and is discussed below in relation to Table 77.

Only two of the pronominal forms, *kalloobullang* 'they (dl)' and *yandhank* 'we (plu.excl)', have final consonants. In each case the formation of the genitive for those numbers involves dropping the final consonant(s) and adding the non-singular genitive pronominal suffix written *-adhoo* consistently by Mathews.

Peter Beveridge lists pronouns in the 1889 book (B2) and in EIM (E), and these are given in Table 74:

Table 74: Wati-Wati pronouns (Peter Beveridge)

	<b>EIM</b>	<b>B2</b>	
I	Zetty <sup>43</sup>	Yetty	
My	Zanniyow	Yanniyow	
Me	Zetty	Yetti*	Beveridge notes: "This, 'twill be seen, is the same as the personal pronoun I."
We	Kinniathouma	Kinniathouma	looks like 3 <sup>rd</sup> plural form
Our	Ngallaathoong	Ngallathong	looks like the dual form from Mathews
Us	-	Ngelletchie	this form is not in the word list, but found only in the Lord's Prayer translation (1889:191)
You	Nginma	Nginma	
Your	Kinyie	Kinyie	this appears to be an error; it is listed as demonstrative (i.e. 3 <sup>rd</sup> person reference)

<sup>43</sup> The initial <Z> perhaps represents a palatal fricative. It is interpreted as a form of /y/.

He	Keeloo	Keelo	
His	Kaykoonga	Kaykoonga	
Him	Kaykunga	Kaykunga	same as the possessive form 'his'
She	Koorgerung	Koorgerung	
They	Wirriwa	Wirriwa	
Myself	Nguckioo	Nukioo	looks like a possessive form
Himself	Ngoonyengum	Noongyingum	perhaps based on the form <b>ngundhi-</b>
Herself	Kiurnin	Kiurnin	based on <b>ki-</b> as also with 'he, his, him'
Itself	Zelliwooro	Yelliwooro	

Beveridge used several of these pronominal forms in his sentences (see 4.2.3.4), the 1889 Lord's Prayer version (see 4.2.3.7) and the *Story of the Coorongeno Muckie (Great Stone)* (see 4.2.3.7).

There appear to be some errors in the paradigm in Table 74. Firstly, the word *kinyie* is given as 'your', whereas the same form occurs in Mathews as 'he'. We suspect that this is an error both because other **ki-** forms used as pronominals are clearly demonstratives, with 3<sup>rd</sup> person reference. In addition, the form *kinyie* is not the possessive form of the demonstrative which is **kekunga**, recorded by Beveridge and as well by Mathews (see Table 73) and in the list produced for John Mathew (Table 76).

There are a number of curious forms in this list *koorgerung* 'she', *wirriwa* 'they', *yelliwurroo* 'itself' which cannot be related to any of the other pronominal forms (similarly Mathi-Mathi **wekata** 'over there' also has no associates). The form *kiurnin* 'herself' may be based on the **ki-** demonstrative, and may have the **-in** accusative/object marker. The form *nukioo* 'myself', on the other hand, looks like the possessive, with the final **-ayu** suffix. The form *ngoonyengum~noongyingum* appears to relate to the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular pronominal based on **ngundhi-/nhundhi**, already discussed above.

The form *kinniathouma* 'we', which is employed in the 1889 Lord's prayer with that gloss, is curious. If our analysis about the combination of demonstratives and pronouns (see below under Table 77) is correct, then this form should mean 'they', **kinyu-thana**, being in the nominative case – a combination of the **ki-** demonstrative and the 3<sup>rd</sup> plural **-thana**. However, it is found in both the word lists and in the 1889 Lord's Prayer and in sentence (385) with the meaning 'we'.

John Beveridge did not give a word list, but the pronouns from his sentences appear to be more reliable as examples of Wati-Wati grammar than those from Peter Beveridge's sentences. John Beveridge does not list pronouns (save 'I' and 'you') but employs a great many in the sentences. These are listed in Table 75 with the context given.

Table 75: Wati-Wati pronouns (From John Beveridge's Sentences)

Form	Meaning	Context	Example	Notes
<b>yeti</b>	1SG	A, O unstated	(336), (339), (374)	also in word list
<b>yeti</b>	1SG	A, O stated	(283)	
<b>yanda</b>	1SG	A, O unstated	(344)	
<b>yanda</b>	1SG	A, O stated	(273)	with the verb <i>yukkin</i> 'want'
<b>yanden</b>	1SG	O	(338)	glossed as 'mine'

<b>nginma</b>	2SG	A, O stated	(332), (333), (335)	
<b>nginma</b>	2SG	S	(362)	
<b>nginma</b>	2SG	recipient	(374)	
<b>ngindi</b>	2SG			only in word list 1886:445
<b>nginiyu</b>	2SG.POSS/GEN		(359)	
<b>n(g)undhi</b>	3SG	S	(333)	
<b>n(g)undhi</b>	3SG	O	(348), (356)	
<b>n(g)undha-la</b>	3SG.OBJ?	O	(281)	also <i>thnala</i> 1886:442

Unlike Mathews (Table 73) above, the John Beveridge sentences show some variation in pronominal forms. For example, 1<sup>st</sup> person agents can be expressed either with **yeti** in (283), or with **yanda**, already seen in (273) above.

- (283) *Yette ngyn kurwing* JB  
*I see (an) emu, or emus.*  
**Yeti nyayin kurwing**  
 I see PAST emu  
 ‘I see emu(s).’

This suggests that **yeti** and **yanda** were alternative versions of the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular subject pronoun. There is no evidence for one being ergative and one being nominative from the data available. It seems that Wati-Wati, just like Mathi-Mathi only had a nominative-accusative distinction in personal pronouns. As already mentioned in 4.1.3.3, Letyi-Letyi may have had a three way distinction for personal pronouns.

The pronouns in the list produced for John Mathew are given in Table 76:

Table 76: PuRa-PuRa pronouns (From John Mathew PP)

Gloss	Form
I	yetī
Mine	yanaio
Me	yenin
Thou	nginma
Thine	nginaio
Thee	nginin
He	kanu ‘that one’
His	kanaiu
Him	kanyu
We	yangur
Our	yanguratu
Us	-
You	nguta
Yours	ngutaradhu
You (object)	ngutin
They	thuna
Theirs	thunaadhu
Them	dhunin

The forms recorded for ‘he’, ‘his’ and ‘him’ are treated as demonstratives (and glossed ‘that one’ by Mathew). But it will be noted that the genitive ‘his’ is **kanayu**, not **kekunga** as is usually found with the demonstratives. The form **kanayu** is what we would expect of a genitive singular pronoun.

In addition to these forms, which correspond pretty well with those in R.H. Mathews and both Beveridges, there are some forms written on the top of the last page. These are given in Table 77, though they are difficult to read and there may be some errors of transcription:

Table 77: Pura-Pura pronouns (From John Mathew MS (PP) – handwritten forms at the top of the page)

keknga ngalluatu	‘poss’	a combination of the possessive form of the demonstrative and the possessive form of the 1 <sup>st</sup> dual, as <b>kekunga ngalathu</b>
kanyu ngaliengin	‘obj’	combination of a demonstrative and 1 <sup>st</sup> dual; suggests that the 1 <sup>st</sup> dual object form would be <b>ngalengin</b> , with second vowel uncertain
kanyu ngalungin	‘me and another’	
ngaluatu	‘belonging’	1 <sup>st</sup> dual possessive
ngaliaangan	‘obj’	1 <sup>st</sup> dual object
buleadhiu	‘poss’ ?	3 <sup>rd</sup> ? dual possessive
bulin	= ‘obj’	3 <sup>rd</sup> ? dual object

The forms in the first three rows of Table 77 appear to be combinations of the **ki-** based demonstrative, marked for the appropriate case, with the pronoun marked for the same case. So ‘our’ would be **kekunga ngalathu**, literally ‘of this our one’.

This combination had already been seen in R.H. Mathews, as in the examples below:

Table 78: Complex Pronouns: Subject forms from Mathews

dual	3	<b>kalupulang</b>	( <i>kalloobullang</i> MB)
		<b>kinyipulang</b>	( <i>kinyebulang</i> Y)
plural	3	<b>kaluthana</b>	( <i>kalloodhanna</i> MB)

Table 79: Complex Pronouns: Genitive forms from Mathews

dual	3	<b>kekunga bulathu</b>	( <i>kekinga booladhoo</i> MB)
plural	3	<b>thanathu</b>	( <i>dhannadhoo</i> MB)

There is no example of the combination of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural genitive **-thanathu** in combination with with a demonstrative.

#### 4.2.2.4 Demonstratives

A full list of the forms recorded that as demonstratives in the original sources is given in Table 80:

Table 80: Demonstratives in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

Source	Gloss	Form	Notes
B2 (word list)	here	kima	
B2 (Lord's prayer)	here	kimma	
JB (sentences)	here	kima	
JB (story)	here	kaki	
PP	how	nanjoro	
JB (story)	others	yooia	
JB (story)	that kind	enagabo	
B2 (word list)	there	kio	
JB (list p440)	there	ngala	
JB (sentences)	there	thnala	
JB (sentences)	there	keo	
JB (story)	there	nua	
B2 (sentences)	this	keelynowie	as <i>keelynowie</i> 'today'
JB (story)	this	keeli	as <i>keeli ngengni</i> 'this day'

In addition, the following forms, translated into English with third person pronouns, are analysed as being demonstratives.

Table 81: Demonstratives used as pronominals in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

Source	Gloss	Form	Notes
B2 (sentences)	kingie	your	This is clearly a demonstrative form.
B2 (sentences)	keeloo	he	
B2 (sentences)	kaykoonga	his	
PP	kanu	he	listed under 'he' but marked as 'that one'
PP	kanaio	his	
PP	kanyu	him	
MB	kinyee	he	
MB	keekinga	his	

There are no examples of the use of these demonstratives as pronominals in the John Beveridge sentences.

Our analysis of these demonstratives with initial **k-** is presented in Table 82, and those with initial **ny-** in Table 83.

Table 82: k- Demonstratives in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

proximal	here	<b>kima</b> ( <i>kima</i> ‘here’ B2, JB), see (287)
	here	<b>kaki</b> ( <i>kaki</i> ‘here’ JB), see (288)
	this	<b>kili</b> ( <i>keeli</i> ‘this’ JB, B2), see (362)
	this one	<b>kilu / kalu</b> ( <i>kilu</i> ‘he’ B2, <i>kaloo</i> ‘that fellow’ MB), possible ergative from, see (284), (285)
	this one	<b>kinyi</b> ( <i>kinyee</i> ‘he’ MB), see discussion to (286)
	of this one	<b>kekunga</b> ( <i>kaykoonga</i> ‘his’ B2), see (386)
distal	there	<b>kiyu</b> ( <i>keo</i> ‘that’ JB, <i>kio</i> ‘that’ B2), see (348)
	that one	<b>kanu</b> ( <i>kanu</i> ‘that one’ PP)
	of that	<b>kanayu</b> ( <i>kanaio</i> ‘his’ PP; <i>kanyu</i> ‘him’ PP)

There is possibly a relationship between **kaki** and **kakai** ‘come on!’ in (317) below.

Table 83: ny- Demonstratives in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

distal	there	<b>nyuwa</b> ( <i>nua</i> ‘there’ JB), see (308)
	those	<b>(n)yuwa</b> ( <i>yooia</i> ‘others’ JB), see (372)

The form **kilu/kalu** is found in both Mathews and Beveridge sentence examples. It has ergative function in both cases and is marked with final **-u**, which is the ergative case marker. It can both head an NP, as in (284), and modify an NP head, as **kalu wurtungi** in (285):

- (284) *Keeloo bokoin kaykoonga tertow.* B2  
**Kilu pukuyn kekunga tarta-u**  
 that broke that.one.POSS arm-3sg.POSS  
 ‘He broke his arm.’

The **-unga** form is reminiscent of the Mathi-Mathi ablative.

- (285) *Kaloo woortoole thakkin goorange.* MB  
**Kalu wurtu-lu thak-in kuRangi.**  
 that-ERG man-ERG kill-PAST kangaroo  
 ‘The man killed a kangaroo.’

A related form **kili**, with a final **-i** is only found in a compound meaning ‘today’, as already shown in Table 48 above, see (362) below.

The form **kinyi** is glossed simply as ‘he’, but is not exemplified in any sentences in this meaning. It is, however, found in the form **kingi** (*kingie*), glossed by Beveridge (1889) as ‘your’, as in (286)

- (286) *Kingie murtoomoo banie* B2  
*Your sweetheart (is) handsome*  
**Kinyi martumu pani**  
 this one spouse.3SG.POSS handsome  
 ‘This wife is beautiful.’

The form **kinhi** is also found in Mathi-Mathi with the gloss ‘this one right here’ (Hercus 1986:128). There seems little doubt that the gloss by Peter Beveridge as ‘your’ is an error, given that the form is found with 3<sup>rd</sup> person reference, and clearly demonstrative in both Mathi-Mathi and in Mathews. The form is not found in John Beveridge’s sentences.

The possessed form of the **ki-** demonstrative is **kekunga**, illustrated in (284) and already discussed with regard to the demonstrative~pronoun combinations in the section on pronouns above.

There are in addition two words for ‘here’, **kima**, the more commonly found, already discussed with regard to the verbal paradigms above, and demonstrated in (287):

- (287) *Kima yetti ngakin.* JB  
*I see them now; i.e. Here I see.*  
**Kima yeti ngakin**  
 here I see.PRES  
 ‘I see them now.’

This example demonstrates the use of **kima** as a proximal demonstrative with temporal rather than locational reference. Local reference is also attested for **kima**, as in (379) below.

A second word glossed as ‘here’ is **kaki**, demonstrated in (288):

- (288) *Kaki yannin kertenarda.* JB  
*He is coming to water, i.e. Here comes water-drink*  
**Kaki yanin kartin-ata**  
 here come water-to  
 ‘He is coming to water.’

Both (287) and (288) are translated by John Beveridge in the present tense, yet in both cases the verbs have final **-in**, normally the past suffix (see below 4.2.2.8). The presence of a proximal demonstrative seems to imply present tense.

Three forms of the demonstrative are treated as distal, because they are translated with ‘that’ or ‘there’. These are **kiyu**, exemplified in (289), and **kanu** and **kanayu**, both of which occur only in the word list PP.

- (289) *Wingeregni laioor keo?* JB  
*What women (are) there.*  
**WingeRenyi layuR kiyu.**  
 what-? woman there  
 ‘What women are there?’

The word **kiyu** is also used to modify a head NP, as in (290), (already seen as (280) above) where the noun **kalki** ‘tree’ is modified by the **ny-** demonstrative **n(h)undhi** and the **ki-** demonstrative **kiyu**.

- (290) *Yeri toorta noonthi keu kulki.* (JB)  
*Well! carry that one, there, tree.’*  
**YeRi turta (n(h)undhi kiyu kalki)<sub>NP</sub>**  
 well carry 3SG there tree  
 ‘Well, carry that tree there.’

The form *enagabo* ‘that kind’ in Table 80 is probably related to the word for ‘how many’ (see below Table 84), always written by Beveridge with initial <a> as <anaboo>. In Mathi-Mathi, the word for ‘how many’ is **nhápu**. We are tempted to posit that these two forms refer to the same form, perhaps **anapu**. This would be the only word in the language that has no initial consonant, so we have glossed it as **(ng)anapu**, particularly considering that initial velar nasals are often unheard and untranscribed by the early sources.

#### 4.2.2.5 Interrogatives

The Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) Interrogatives are listed in Table 84

Table 84: Interrogatives in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

what	<b>n(h)angi</b> ( <i>nangi</i> E, <i>nǎngī</i> B2), see (292)
what	<b>n(h)ali</b> ( <i>nalli</i> JB), see (293), (294)
what, which	<b>winga-</b> ( <i>wingeregni</i> JB, <i>wingayatoo</i> E), see (331). This form might be <b>windya</b> , as we see below for ‘where’.
when	<b>nati-</b> ( <i>natte</i> JB, <i>nerteroo</i> B2), see (387)
where	<b>windha-</b> <b>windya-</b> ( <i>winthaga</i> JB, <i>windyalō</i> PP, <i>wintala</i> JB), see (362), (291)
whose	<b>winyaRa</b> ( <i>winyara</i> PP)
why	<b>nangi</b> ( <i>nangi</i> PP)
how much	<b>(ng)anapu</b> ( <i>anaboo</i> JB), see (352)

The interrogative **nangi** ‘what’ is only found by itself, as in (292), whereas **nhali** is found modifying a noun, as in (293), as well as by itself, as in (294)

- (292) “*Nangie nerinew nginty*” B6 Story of the Great Stone  
 (What is your name?)  
**Nangi**      **nyeRinu**      **ngindi**  
 what      name.3SG.POSS      2SG  
 ‘What is your name? (lit: You, what its name?)’
- (293) *Nalli moorignoor noonthi?* JB  
*Which girl did he get? i.e. Which girl he?*  
**n(h)ali** **muRunyuR**      **n(h)undhi?**  
 which      young.woman      that  
 ‘Which girl did he get?’
- (294) *Nalli jackla?* JB  
*What (do they) eat?*  
**N(h)ali**      **tyakla**  
 what      eat  
 ‘What do they eat?’

The form **(ng)anapu** is also used in yes/no questions, as in (295). John Beveridge’s translation seems to clearly indicate that although the literal meaning of this is ‘how many wives has Tommy got’, the question is actually asking if Tommy has any wife. This reading of the meaning is confirmed by the answer to (295) which is an exclamation **iya** ‘yes’ (see (355b) below). If the meaning of (295) was ‘how many wives does Tommy



have?’ we would have expected an answer meaning ‘one’ or ‘two’ or some other quantifier.

- (295) *Anaboo Tommy magna murtamoo?* JB  
*Has Tommy got a wife yet? i.e. How many Tommy got wife?*  
**(Ng)anapu Tommy mangga martamu.**  
 how.many Tommy get wife  
 ‘Has Tommy got a wife (yet)?’

Example (295) has a parallel in Mathi-Mathi, recorded by Hercus (1986:158) and presented again here:

- (296) **Nhapu Tommy manggatha mathim-u.**  
 how.many Tommy take.PRES spouse-3SG.POSS  
 ‘How many wives has Tommy got?’

Several of the interrogatives are found with suffixes, such as **-ka** and **-la/lo** for ‘where’. Consider (297):

- (297) *Winta (or winthaga) nginma yaen keeli ngengni?* JB  
*Where you went this day*  
**Windha (windhaka) nginma yayin kili ngengi?**  
 where you go.PAST this day  
 ‘Where did you go today?’

The function of these suffixes is not known.

#### 4.2.2.6 Possessor Suffixes

Possessor suffixes are shown in Table 85.

Table 85: Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) possessor suffixes

		vowel stems	consonant stems
singular	1	<b>-ai</b>	
	2	<b>-ngin</b>	<b>-in</b>
	3	<b>-nyu</b>	<b>-u</b>
dual	1 incl.		<b>-al</b>
	1 excl.		<b>-alu</b>
plural	1		<b>-anguR(ak)</b>

No non-singular 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person suffixes have been recorded, and we do not know whether the 1<sup>st</sup> person plural suffix **-anguR(ak)** is inclusive or exclusive. The possessor suffixes are exemplified in (298):

(298)	<b>wan-ai</b> ( <i>wannai</i> MB, p)	‘my boomerang’
	<b>tyina-ngai</b> ( <i>chinangai</i> PP)	‘my foot’
	<b>miR-ngai</b> ( <i>mirangai</i> PP)	‘my eye’
	<b>wiRmbul-ai</b> ( <i>wirmbulai</i> PP)	‘my ear’
	<b>kir(a)w-ai</b> ( <i>[kīra]-wī</i> PP)	‘my [thigh]’
	<b>wan-in</b> ( <i>wannin</i> MB, p)	‘your boomerang’
	<b>kuna-ngin</b> ( <i>koonangin</i> B2)	‘your faeces’
	<b>tyina-ngin</b> ( <i>chinangin</i> B3, PP)	‘your foot’
	<b>wiRmbul-in</b> ( <i>wirmbulin</i> PP)	‘your ear’
	<b>tyina-nyu</b> ( <i>chininew</i> B2)	‘his/her foot’
	<b>wan-u</b> ( <i>wannoo</i> MB, <i>wannu</i> p)	‘his boomerang’
	<b>tart-u</b> ( <i>tertow</i> B2)	‘his/her arm’
	<b>kir(a)w-u</b> ( <i>kīrawō</i> PP)	‘his/her thigh/leg’ (given as ‘thigh’)
	<b>wan-al</b> ( <i>wannal</i> ms, <i>wannul</i> p)	‘our (dual inc.) boomerang’
	<b>wan-alu</b> ( <i>wannaloo</i> MB, <i>wannullu</i> d)	‘our (dual ex.) boomerang’
	<b>wan-anguR</b> ( <i>wannungur</i> p)	‘our (plural) boomerang’
	<b>mami-nguRak</b> ( <i>mamingorak</i> PP)	‘God (lit: our (plural) father)’
	<b>piyangg-anguRa</b> ( <i>piankangoora</i> B2)	‘our (plural) flesh’ (given as ‘body’)

John Beveridge lists the following forms (Curr 1886:440)

- (299) *yannaio baabai* ‘my (own) mother’  
*ngookaio baabin* ‘his (own) mother’ (this should be *ngookaio baaboo*)  
*ngineo baabin* ‘your (own) mother’  
*yannaio maamai* ‘my (own) father’  
*ngookaio maamai* ‘his (own) father’ (this should be *ngookaio maamoo*)  
*ngineo maamai* ‘my (own) mother’ (this should be *ngookaio maamin*)

The first, third and fourth of these examples show agreement between the possessive pronoun (see above Table 72) and the possessor suffix on the noun. The first example is analysed as in (300):

- (300) *yannaio*      *baabai*  
‘my (own) mother’  
**yanayu**      **pap-ai**  
my              mother-1SG.POSS

This type of possessive construction, a possessive pronoun with a possessum marked by the possessor suffix, is also found in Mathi-Mathi, as in examples (116) and (117) in 3.2.4.1.2 above. In Mathi-Mathi this construction implies strong emphasis of the possession.

The second line of (299) has a 2<sup>nd</sup> person possessor suffix with a 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessive pronoun, which we assume is an error, and we similarly assume error in the fifth and sixth lines of (299). Other inconsistencies are found in the texts, as in (301), where **layuR** ‘woman’ is not marked by any suffix; whereas we might have expected **nginiyu layuR-in** (‘woman-2 SG.POSS’).

- (301) *Wintala nginio laioor?* JB  
*Where is your wife?*  
**Windhala nginayu layuR.**  
 where your wife  
 ‘Where’s your wife?’

Another interesting example of possession is (302), in which the body part, ‘back’ is marked for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular possession, literally ‘he speared me, its back’. As already mentioned, the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular possessor suffix is the default marker, particularly for body parts (see Hercus 2005).

- (302) *Jeleka noonthi wurtoo yanden boin.* JB  
*Long ago he back mine speared.*  
**Tyeleka n(h)undhi wart-u yandin puwin**  
 long ago he back-3SG.POSS me spear.PAST  
 ‘Long ago he speared my back.’ (lit “speared me its back”)

Compounds can also be possessed, as in *mikapaingai* PP and *mikapinkoo* E, *mickapinkoo* PP ‘tired’. These are formed from a verb **mika** ‘hurt’, compounded with **paing(g)i** ‘body’, which is showing 1<sup>st</sup> person possessor agreement in the PP source, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessor agreement in the Beveridge sources. Literally ‘its/my body hurts’. Similar forms are found in Letyi-Letyi (see above 4.1.3.7).

#### 4.2.2.7 Adjectives

The examination of property concepts, including adjectives, in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), benefits from the typology established by Dixon (2004), whereby the four ‘core semantic types of adjectives’ are suggested as follows:

- Dimension – e.g. big, small, tall, short, wide, deep
- Age – e.g. new, young, old
- Value – e.g. good, bad, lovely, odd, strange
- Colour – e.g. black, white

According to Dixon (2004), the peripheral types of adjectives include:

- Physical property – hard, soft, heavy, wet, rough, strong, clean, hot, cold, and including a subclass of corporeal terms– sick, well, tired, dead, absent
- Human propensity – jealous, happy, kind, clever, generous, cruel
- Speed – quick, fast, slow

As far as we can tell from the data, in Wati-Wati, the categories of ‘dimension’ and ‘value’ are expressed by noun-like forms that carry nominal morphology, apparently being marked either by 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessor **-u** or nominative **-i**. There are no examples of Dixon’s ‘age’ category. To describe a person as old or young, special nouns such as **ngaRambin** ‘old man’ or **kaluwuR / kaluR** ‘old woman’ are employed.

Colour terms, corporeals and some of the physical property class are nominals with the ‘having’ suffix **-wil** (alread discussed above 4.2.2.2.5).

Dixon's more peripheral types, most of 'physical property' and 'speed' are represented by a mixture of terms, many of which are clearly verbs. The terms within 'physical property' relating to taste, 'sweet' and 'bitter' are both clearly nouns. A selection of Wati-Wati adjectives is presented in Table 86:

Table 86: Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) adjectives

<b>gloss</b>	<b>Wati-Wati form</b>	<b>sources</b>	<b>notes</b>
<i>dimension</i>			
small	<b>panu, panmaRu</b>	panmaroo E, B2, banu PP, banooloo MB; pannoo E, panoo JB, pawnoo B2	final <b>-u</b> suggests 3 <sup>rd</sup> singular possessor 'its smallness'
big	<b>kuRungandu</b>	koorongandoo B2, koorongando E, koorrong★ntoo MB kurong-untu MW,	final <b>-u</b> suggests 3 <sup>rd</sup> singular possessor 'its bigness'
big	<b>kaRawi</b>	kàrráwi LH, karaway JB	shared with Murray River languages
big	<b>muRpuR</b>	murpur B2, E	
high	<b>kiRkaRa</b>	kerkarra E, kirkarra B2	Paakantyi <b>karkanya</b> 'high up, sky'
short	<b>tulu-</b>	toolentha, toologni JB, toloneu B2, toollonen E, tulunyu PP,	The form in JB suggests <b>tulungi</b> 'high-NOM', and the forms in B2 and PP suggest <b>tulunyu</b> 'high-3SG'
long	<b>t(h)uRang(g)i</b>	toorangal B2, tsoorangal E, tuergini JB, turwarngi PP	final <b>-ng(g)i</b> suggests nominative marking
thin	<b>wilpeRu</b>	wilperoo E	final <b>-u</b> suggests 3 <sup>rd</sup> singular possessor 'its thinness'
<i>value</i>			
good	<b>telku</b>	talko tt, B1, B2, telko JB, talku PP;	
bad	<b>wikeRu</b>	wickeroo E, B2, waikidoo JB	final <b>-u</b> suggests 3 <sup>rd</sup> singular possessor 'its badness'; The form <b>wikaRu</b> may be based on the root <b>wika</b> 'hungry', 'starving', 'dead'
bad	<b>waRawitangi</b>	warawitangi PP	final <b>-ng(g)i</b> suggests nominative marking
bad	<b>yathang</b>	yethong 'evil' B2	perhaps a noun
beautiful	<b>pani</b>	bannie B6 MS140/2 (a)	final <b>-i</b> suggests nominative marking
<i>colour</i>			
black	<b>wulkawil</b>	wulkawil PP	suffix <b>-wil</b> 'having'
black	<b>wuRkin</b>	workin B2	found in a compound, probably a past participle, see below (303)
red	<b>thalawil</b>	dalawil PP	suffix <b>-wil</b> 'having'
white	<b>tarawil</b>	tarawil PP	suffix <b>-wil</b> 'having'

<i>corporeal</i>			
addled, spoiled	<b>wertawil</b>	wertawil JB	literally ‘young having’, means ‘spoiled’
bald	<b>piRawil</b>	birrawie E, birrawil B2	suffix <b>-wil</b> ‘having’
blind	<b>mokin(gguR)</b>	mokin E, B2, mokin-gur PP	this form lacks the ‘having suffix’, but the Wati-Wati (Piangil) form is <b>panmapil</b>
deaf	<b>murtulapil</b>	nurtulahil E, nurtulabil B2	suffix <b>-pil</b> is probably related to <b>-wil</b> ‘having’
deaf	<b>warnawil</b>	wamauil PP	suffix <b>-wil</b> ‘having’
fat	<b>piangwil</b>	piangwill E, piangwil B2	literally ‘flesh having’
lame	<b>nga(R)pen</b>	ngarpen E, B2	probably a verb with past participle, see below (304)
<i>physical property</i>			
heavy	<b>piRimapil</b>	pirimabil PP	suffix <b>-pil</b> is probably related to <b>-wil</b> ‘having’
light (in weight)	<b>tyipawil</b>	jibauwil PP	suffix <b>-wil</b> ‘having’
strong	<b>wung(g)uRwil, wung(g)uRu</b>	woonkoorwil E, wonkoowie B2, wonkeroo B2	the forms here show both the ‘having’ suffix and the 3 <sup>rd</sup> person possessor
tame	<b>lawiwil</b>	lowywill E, loywill B2	suffix <b>-wil</b> ‘having’
ugly	<b>ngumluwiwil</b>	ngomloiwil JB (also given as wonkoorwil in B2, which is the same word as ‘strong’)	perhaps in the meaning of ‘wild’, compare ‘tame’
hard	<b>teRma</b>	terma B2, E.; terrima ‘tough’ E, B2	a verb, compare <b>ténmatha</b> ‘to be hard’ in Mathi-Mathi
soft	<b>polku</b>	polkoo E, B2	probably a verb, compare <b>pùlkáyatha</b> ‘to be soft’ in Mathi-Mathi
heavy		kurandu/kurangku PP	
sharp	<b>kati</b>	kattie E	perhaps related to the word for ‘heat’
sweet	<b>wutya-wutya</b>	wootchawootha B2, wothawootha E	
sweet	<b>kuli</b>	kooli JB	nominal form with nominative ending??
bitter	<b>kiRiyi</b>	kiryie ‘acid’ B2, keryie ‘acid’ E	nominal form with nominative ending??
<i>speed</i>			
fast	<b>kiRki perting</b>	kerky perting B2, kirkyperting E	
fast, quick	<b>liRka</b>	lyrka B2, lirka E	a verb, compare <b>lírrki</b> in Mathi-Mathi
slow	<b>ya(R)mbi(l)</b>	yarmbie B2, yarmbil E	suffix <b>-pil</b> is probably related to <b>-wil</b> ‘having’
slow		parta PP	

Very few of these are found in any sentence examples, but we do have the form **wuRkin tulu** ‘black stump’ (*workin doloo* B2), see above Table 70. The word for ‘black’ in this

example, **wuRkin** is clearly related to **wulkawil** above, and also to the Mathi-Mathi **wúrrkirrim**. Our analysis of this example is given in (303):

- (303) *workin doloo* B2  
*black stump*  
**wuRkin** **tulu**  
 black stump  
 ‘black stump’

The various Beveridge sources record a number of different forms for ‘lame’. For example E gives *ngarpen woramie tarton* ‘lame, either arm’, *ngarpen woramie chinangin* ‘lame, either foot’ (**tyinangi** ‘foot’) and *ngarpen woramie murnangin* ‘lame, either hand’ (**marnang(g)i** ‘hand’). The forms written *ngarpen* may represent examples of the past participle, exemplified in (314) below.

B2 gives *tutchatartow* ‘lame in arm’, *tutchachinangin* ‘lame in foot’, *tutchamurnangin* ‘lame in hand’ and *ngarpenngwngimgie* ‘lame in leg’ (we are unable to interpret this form).

The three forms in E have a similar structure. In (304) we present a possible analysis of one of these forms, where the structure *ngarpen worami* although literally ‘lame in my back’ appears to be lexicalised and meaning simply ‘lame’.

- (304) *ngarpen* *worami* *tarton*  
*lame, either arm*  
**ngaRpa-en** **waRm-ai?** **tharta-in?**  
 cripple- back-1SGPOSS? arm-2SGPOSS?  
 PAST.PTC?  
 lit: ‘my back is crippled, your arm’

The use of past participle with a property term is similar to the structure in (303), and may perhaps suggest that many of the ‘colour’, ‘corporeal’ and ‘physical property’ terms had two forms:

- root-**wil** (as **wulkawil** ‘black’ in Table 86)  
 root-**in** (as **wuRkin** ‘black’ in 303)

The three forms in B2 have a first element **tatya** perhaps meaning ‘crippled, lame’, which is not marked by any participle.

In E there are also the following forms with an element **wiRuma**, apparently a verb, as *wiroma lungie* E ‘pain in the chest’, *wiroma poorp* ‘pain in the head’, *wiroma leetcha* ‘pain in the limbs’ and *wiroma wotthiwee* ‘pain in the stomach’. The first of these is analysed in (305):

- (305) *wiroma* *lungie* E  
*‘pain in the chest’*  
**wiRuma** **thangi**  
 pain chest.NOM  
 lit: ‘the chest is paining’

There is an intensifier of adjectives, **tamu**, translated as ‘very’. The same form is found in Mathi-Mathi, where it can also intensify a clause. See example (170) in 3.2.6.2 above.

B2 gives a form *tuwoo talko* ‘more good’ (probably a error for *tumoo talko*) and a second form *nga loorongandoo tumootalko* ‘and much more good’. The form *loorongandoo* appears to be a misprint for the word **kuRungandu** ‘big’, so this latter is analysed as in (306).

- (306) *nga loorongandoo tumootalko* B2  
*and much more good*  
**nga**      **kuRungandu**      **tamu**      **talku**  
 EXCL      big.3SGPOSS      very.3SGPOSS      good.3SGPOSS  
 ‘and much more good’

The form **tamu** is also seen below in (378), and may be present in two words recorded by Beveridge *enwyatum* E and *enwgatum* B2 ‘less’.

#### 4.2.2.8 Verbs

The tense marking was probably the same as in Mathi-Mathi, as in (307):

- (307) present                      **-a**  
 past                                  **-in**  
 future                                **-iyn**

As will be discussed below, since the past and future suffixes are both high vowel followed by nasal, it may have been difficult for the early recorders to distinguish. There is a slightly different paradigm in Mathews, which will be discussed below in Table 89

The following verbal morphology has been recorded in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill):

Table 87: Verbal Morphology in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

past	<b>-in</b>	<b>yakin</b> ‘searched for’, see (309)
future	<b>-iyn</b>	<b>puwiyn</b> ‘will spear’, see (312)
past participle	<b>-an (-ən)</b>	<b>purtowan</b> , ‘dived’, see (314)
present participle	<b>-ang</b>	<b>kupilang</b> ‘drinking’, see (321)
imperative	<b>-i</b>	<b>waRami</b> ‘light (a fire)’, see (315)
continuative-frequentative	<b>-ila</b>	<b>kupilang</b> ‘drinking’, see (321)
intensifier	<b>-uwa</b>	<b>kurt-uwa</b> , ‘cut’, see Table 88
intensifier	<b>-una</b>	<b>kalp-una</b> , ‘cut’, see Table 88
reciprocal	<b>-tyeRa</b>	<b>t(h)aktyeRang</b> ‘fighting’, see (322)

Examples (308) and (309) contrast an unmarked verb, which is translated with past tense, and a morphologically past marked verb:

- (308) *Nalli*      *nginma*      *yukka*      *nua?*      JB  
*What (did)*      *you*      *want*      *there*  
**Nhali**      **nginma**      **yaka**      **nyuwa?**  
 what      you      look for      there  
 ‘What did you look for there?’

- (309) *Yanda yukkin lowan mikko. JB*  
*I wanted lowan's eggs*  
**yanda yak-in luwan mi(R)k-u.**  
 I look for-PAST lowan egg-3SG.POSS  
 'I was searching for lowan's eggs.'

Several verb common verbs seem to have an irregular past form, as **wuyin** in (310), from the root **wuka** 'give', and **yayin** in (311) from the root **yana**, **yangga** 'come, go'.

- (310) *Nalli woortongi woen noonthi. JB*  
*Which blacks gave her to him? i.e. Which Blacks gave that one?*  
**n(h)ali wurtungi wuyin n(h)undhi**  
 which people give.PAST that  
 'Which Blacks gave her to him?'
- (311) *Winta (or winthaga) nginma yaen keeli ngengni? JB*  
*Where you went this day*  
**windha (windhaka) nginma yayin kili ngengi**  
 where you go.PAST this day  
 'Where did you go today?'

Other examples of past forms are **ngurmin** 'got' in (362e), **nhayin** 'saw' in (380) and **bukuyn** 'broke' in (386).

There are some problematic **-in** endings. Both (287) and (288) above are translated by John Beveridge in the present tense, yet in both cases the verbs have final **-in**, normally the past suffix. We are not able to explain this inconsistency. It is significant that with the verb 'see', John Beveridge writes *ngyn* for a form that he translates in the past, as in (333a) below, and *ngakin* for a form that he translates in the present, as in (336a) below. It is highly likely that the verb 'see' was irregular, as it is in many Australian languages.

The future tense form is not differentiated from the past by Beveridge in the word *boin*, which occurs as a past tense in (302) above, but as a future in (312). We analyses *boin* in (302) as **puw-in** spear.PAST, whereas the same form appears to be future in (312). Since the form of the suffix is almost the same (**-i** + nasal), we suggest that the failure to differentiate future from past was an error on Beveridge's part.

- (312) *Darti yetti boin. JB*  
*By-and-be I (will) spear (him).*  
**tharti yiti puwiyn**  
 later I spear.FUT?  
 'Later, I will spear him.'

Another possible future example is (313)

- (313) *Munmunerbo yetti tukkin JB*  
*To-morrow I will kill (him).*  
**manmanabu yeti thaki(y)n**  
 tomorrow I kill.FUT?  
 'Tomorrow I will kill him.'

The past participle is exemplified in (314):



- (314) *boortowennowie* B2, E  
*sunset*  
**purtuwa-n**      **n(h)awi**  
 dive-PAST.PTC    sun

Other examples include the following from the *Story of the Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone)* (See below 5) “Had he not caught the *mind*i as he did, *yet*ty (I) would have been *boondan* (bitten), although I should not have died from the *wallanoo* (wound), but no matter, his motive was a good one!”. The form *boondan* is a past participle **pundan**. The word for ‘full’ in PP, *wawaian* is the past participle of **wawaya** ‘swell up’.

Imperatives<sup>44</sup> are exemplified in (315):

- (315) **waRami**            ‘make [a fire]!’ B2  
**wuka**                ‘give!’ 1889 Lord’s Prayer  
**yakna**                ‘take!’ 1889 Lord’s Prayer  
**puthama**            ‘make [a fire]!’ JB, see (347b) below  
**kopo**                 ‘drink!’ B6, see (316)

Although we might expect the imperative to be marked by **-i**, in most Wati-Wati imperative examples that are found in the texts, the verb is not marked. Consider (316), from the *Story of the Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone)*.

- (316) “*Kopo, nginma.*” B6  
 (Drink, you)  
**Kupu,**      **nginma.**  
 drink      2SG  
 ‘Drink, you!’

There are a number of words that may be inherently imperative. Consider **kakai** and **puR(u)m** in (317), also from the *Story of the Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone)*:

- (317) *Ka Ki*      *nginma* B6  
 (Come here you)  
**Kakai**      **nginma.**  
 come on!    2SG  
 ‘Come here, you!2019
- Boorm* B6  
*Quickly*  
**PuRm**  
 quick!  
 ‘Quick!’

Similar examples from John Beveridge are found in (318), (319) and (320) (see also **kawai** in Mathi-Mathi, Text 14, line 12 in (220) above).

<sup>44</sup> Note that in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) both intransitive and transitive verbs can take the imperative **-i**, as in Mathi-Mathi (see 3.2.5.1). The pattern for Wemba-Wemba, on the other hand, is that **-i** is only found with intransitive verbs and a different suffix for transitives (Hercus 1986:44)

- (318) *Kapo.* JB  
 (Be) quiet  
**Kapo**  
 quiet  
 ‘Be quiet.’
- (319) *Koorgni!* JB  
 Silence!  
**kuRnyi**  
 silence  
 ‘Silence!’
- (320) *Goway! Puthama wurnaway.* JB  
 Come on! make a fire.  
**kawai puthama warnawi**  
 hurry! make? fire  
 ‘Come on! Make a fire.’

The continuative-frequentative in combination with the present participle is found in (321):

- (321) *kupilang* PP  
 ‘drinking’  
**kup-ila-ang**  
 drink-CONT-PTC

An alternative spelling of *kupilanda* is also found in PP. This resembles the Wemba-Wemba 1st person singular present tense ending. Apart from Mathews paradigm in Appendix 7 below, this is the only case of a person ending on a verb in Wati-Wati, if *kupilanda* is an example of a suffix **-anda** meaning 1st person.

As already mentioned in Table 87, there may have been some intensifying suffixes in Wati-Wati. Both **-uwa** and **-una** are found in Wemba-Wemba and may be present in the words listed in Table 88

Table 88: Intensifying suffixes in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

koortowa	<b>kurta-uwa</b>	cut-INTENS	E
kerton	<b>kurta-n</b>	cut-PAST.PTC	E
gulpoona	<b>kalpa-una</b>	cut-INTENS	E
galpoona	<b>kalpa-una</b>	cut-INTENS	B2

The reciprocal is exemplified in (322), in combination with the present participle. The root verb here is **thaka** ‘hit’ and the reciprocal is cognate with Mathi-Mathi **-therra**. It is suggested by the form **thaktyeRa** ‘to fight’, which has the following forms in the sources *thalcherung* B2, *thaliberung* E and *tuktyirang* PP. Note that the spelling of the initial consonant of the root form varies between <t> and <th> both in this derived form, and also when it is a bare root meaning ‘hit’.

- (322) *thalchering* (B2), *thaliberung* (E), *tuktyirang* (PP)  
*fight*  
**thak-tyeR-ang**  
 hit-RECIP-PTC  
 ‘fighting’

As noted in 4.2.1.2 above, Mathews includes a verb paradigm in his papers with marking for first, second and third person in singular, dual and plural. Apart from the single word *kupilanda* discussed earlier, there is no evidence in any other source for any kind of bound pronominal representation in the Mathi group and the person/number inflection does not appear in some of the sentence examples that Mathews gives. For these reasons we omit the paradigm from the grammar proper and present it in appendix 7.

In the Bura-Bura manuscript Mathews gives the following:

Table 89: PuRa PuRa Paradigm (MB)

<b>Yiti kima waRaya</b>	<i>Yetti gimma warraia</i>	‘I am talking’
<b>Yiti waRayan</b>	<i>Yetti warraian</i>	‘I was talking’
<b>Yiti tharti waRayn</b>	<i>Yetti dharte warrain</i>	‘I will talk’
<b>Yiti kima nganyin</b>	<i>Yetti gimma nganyin</i>	‘I am sitting’
<b>Yiti ngayanan</b>	<i>Yetti ngaianan</i>	‘I was sitting.’
<b>Yiti nganginyin</b>	<i>Yetti nganginyin</i>	‘I will sit’

In this paradigm both future examples contain some suggestion of palatalisation, either in the verb root or on the final, which would concur with the future form posited in (307) above. The past forms are both **-an** not **-in**, but this may be examples of the past participle. The present is in **-a** for ‘talk’ **-in** for ‘sit’.

There is an interesting parallel with some sentences found in several versions of the Beveridge sources (for example B2, 1889:174)

- (323) *Callo yetty wirwi* I went  
*Callo mitha yetty wirwi* I went a long time ago  
*Yetty wirwy* I go, or am going  
*Datty yetty wirwy* I will go  
*Berha yetty wirwy* I will go to-morrow  
*Urgin berha yetty wirwy* I will go the day after tomorrow

In the Mathews sentences in Table 89, we see the use of the proximal demonstrative **kima** ‘here’ translated in the present, indicating that **kima** was used to indicate proximal temporal reference as well as proximal spatial reference (the same is true in Mathi-Mathi, see sentence 2 in text 2 (208) above, where **kima** is glossed as ‘straight away’). The distal demonstrative **kalu** is found in the Beveridge sentences translated as past, indicating again the use of demonstratives for temporal reference. In both the future is indicated by **tarti** ‘by and by’. The use of demonstratives to mark temporal relations is not uncommon in the world’s languages.

Interestingly the Beveridge sentences show no variation in the form of the verb **wiRwi** ‘go’, which perhaps indicates that this particular verb was not inflected for tense.

To conclude our discussion of verbs, in Table 90 we present all the forms of the verb ‘go’. As in Letyi-Letyi (see above Table 52) there is variation of the root forms of this verb between **yan-** and **yang**.

Table 90: Forms of the verb **yan-** ‘go’ in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)

<b>yan-</b>	
<b>yangana</b> ‘I am going’ PP	<b>yang-</b>
<b>yanna</b> JB	<b>yan(a)-</b>
<b>yannin</b> JB	<b>yan(a)-</b>
<b>yaen</b> JB	<b>yan(a)-</b>
<b>yon.oh</b> ‘go away’ RE	<b>yan(a)-</b>
<b>yannawoo</b> E, B2	<b>yan(a)-</b>

The form *yangana* appears to contain some kind of suffix, **-na**, of unknown meaning. The form *yannawoo* may contain the intensive **-uwa**.

#### 4.2.2.9 Copula

There is no copula verb in the examples that we have, as (324):

- (324) *Yeti wurtongi*  
*I (am) a man*  
**yeti wurtongi**  
 I.nom Aboriginal man.nom  
 ‘I am an Aboriginal man.’

A related phenomenon, the predicative use of adjectives, is handled in the same way, as in (325):

- (325) *Kingie murtoomoo banie.* B2  
*Your sweetheart (is) handsome*  
**Kingi martumu pani**  
 that wife handsome  
 ‘Your wife is pretty.’

#### 4.2.2.10 Negation

As in Mathi-Mathi, see above 3.2.6.3, the negative **wati** occurs in clause first position, as a general negative adverb. This is demonstrated in (326):

- (326) *Watty bambin.* B6  
*not frightened*  
**Wati pambin.**  
 NEG fear.PST  
 ‘Not frightened.’

It can also occur with nouns, as in (327). In this example, the phrase **wati kalk** is a separate unit from the other portions of the sentence, which comes from a story of fishing.

- (327) *Kurka, tumoo kurka, waty kulk koorongiadoo mungie tino* B2  
*Pull, again pull; it's no log, but a big fish biting.*  
**karRka tamu kaRka wati kalk kuRungandu mandyi tinu**  
 grab more grab NEG wood big fish bite  
 'Pull, pull again. It is not wood, it is a big fish biting.'

It appears that **wati** was also used as a negative particle meaning simply 'no' and not combining with any other word, as in (328):

- (328) *Wotti! Kuloor.* JB  
*He only got an old woman; i.e. No! old woman.*  
**Wati kuluR**  
 not old.woman  
 'No (he only got) an old woman.'

#### 4.2.2.11 Exclamations

Two exclamations are recorded, **nga**, translated by Beveridge as 'hello!', already exemplified in (274) above, and **yeRi** in (329), which John Beveridge translates as 'because'.

- (329) *Yeri yanda winia maranda.* JB  
*because I threw away many*  
**YeRi yanda winiya maRanda.**  
 well I throw.away many  
 'Because I threw away many of them.'

#### 4.2.2.12 Clitics

There is a curious marker on the word *kulk-* 'bone' in (330). The form **-ali** might conceivably be a plural personal suffix (maybe 1<sup>st</sup> dual), or perhaps a clitic meaning 'only'.

- (330) *Yetti ngurangna pipaloo noonthi. Wotti, kulkali.*  
**Yiti ngaRangna pipal-u n(h)undhi Wati. kalk-ali.**  
 I believe fat-3SG.POSS that.one no bone-?  
 'I believe fat that one. No, all bones.'

### 4.2.3 Sentences

#### 4.2.3.1 Sentences from John Beveridge (Curr 1886:III: 440ff)

These are given with Beveridge's original text and translation in italics, a regularisation of the Wati-Wati form in bold, a gloss and a free translation.

- (331a) *Winyerangi woortongi ngata?*  
*Who is that Blackfellow, i.e., What Blackfellow that.'*  
**WinyeRangi wurtungi ngata?**  
 who person that  
 'Who is that Blackfellow?'

- (331b) *Winta.*  
*I don't know.*  
**Windha.**  
 Where(ever)  
 'I don't know.'

Interrogative words also function as indefinites. **Windha** 'where' functions here as an indefinite and parallels the use of English 'whatever' given as a reply. This usage of the indefinite in Australian languages is typically translated as 'I don't know.'

- (331c) *Wotti yetti ngakin.*  
*I cannot see him! i.e. Not I see.*  
**Wati yeti ngakin.**  
 not I see.PRES?  
 'I did not/cannot see him.'
- (332) *Nginna ngakin ngata laioor?*  
*(Do) you see that woman?*  
**Nginma nyakin ngata layuR?**  
 you see.PRES? that woman  
 'Did you see that woman?'
- (333a) *Karalko yetti ngyn.*  
*I saw her yesterday; i.e. Yesterday I saw.*  
**KaRalko yeti ngayin.**  
 yesterday I see.PAST  
 'I saw her yesterday.'
- (333b) *Noonhi kongin-kongin.*  
*She (is) pretty.*  
**N(h)undhi kongin-kongin.**  
 she pretty  
 'She is pretty.'
- (334) *Ngomloiwil ngata kuloor.*  
*Ugly is that old woman.*  
**Ngumluwiwil ngata kuluR.**  
 ugly that old.woman  
 'Ugly is that old woman.'
- (335) *dati koko wortongi birnin.*  
*By-and-be many Blacks will arrive.*  
**Tarti koko wurtungi pirni(y)n.**  
 later many person arrive(-FUT)  
 'By and by many Blacks will arrive.'
- (336a) *Kima yetti ngakin.*  
*I see them now; i.e. Here I see.*  
**Kima yeti ngakin.**  
 here I see.PRES?  
 'I see them now.'

- (336b) *Wintala?*  
*Where?*  
**Windhala?**  
 where  
 ‘Where?’
- (336c) *Kilothukkil wurkido.*  
*(A) good way off (on the) plain.*  
**Kilothakil warkitu.**  
 good.way.off plain-LOC  
 ‘A good way off on the plain.’
- (337) *Nginma ngakin noonthalla?*  
*(Do) you see that person?*  
**Nginma ngakin n(h)undhala.**  
 you see.PST 3SG-?  
 ‘Did you see that person/him?’
- (338) *Jeleka noonthi wurtoo yanden boin.*  
*Long ago he back mine speared.*  
**Tyeleka n(h)undhi wart-u yandin puwin.**  
 long.ago he back-3SG.POSS? me spear.PAST  
 ‘Long ago speared me on the back.’
- (339) *Munmunerbo yetti tukkin*  
*To-morrow I will kill (him).*  
**Manmanapu yeti thaki(y)n.**  
 tomorrow I kill.FUT?  
 ‘Tomorrow I will kill him.’
- (340a) *Yette ngyn kurwing*  
*I see (an) emu, or emus.*  
**Yeti ngayin kurwing.**  
 I see emu  
 ‘I see emu(s).’
- (340b) *Kapo.*  
*(Be) quiet*  
**Kapo.**  
 quiet  
 ‘Be quiet.’
- (340c) *Kilothukkil.*  
*(He is a) long way off.*  
**Kilothakil.**  
 long.way.off  
 ‘He is a long way off.’

- (341a) *Koorgni!*  
*Silence!*  
**KuRnyi!**  
 silence  
 ‘Silence!’
- (341b) *Darti yetti boin.*  
*By-and-be I (will) spear (him).*  
**Tarti yiti puwiyn.**  
 later I spear.FUT?  
 ‘Later, I will spear him.’
- (342a) *Kaki yannin kertenarda.*  
*He is coming to water, i.e. Here comes water-drink*  
**Kaki yanin kartin-ata.**  
 here come water-ALL  
 ‘He is coming to water.’
- It is possible that the form *yannin* is a future form.
- (342b) *Wotti ngoonhi yanna kertenarda.*  
*No he won’t come to water; i.e. Not he come water.*  
**Wati ngundhi yana kartin-ata.**  
 not that go water-to  
 ‘No, he won’t come to water.’
- (343a) *Yetti ngurangna pipaloo noonhi.*  
*I believe fat that one.*  
**Yiti ngaRangna pipalu n(h)undhi.**  
 I believe fat.3SG.POSS 3SG  
 ‘I believe that one is fat.’
- (343b) *Wotti, kulkali.*  
*No, (all) bones.*  
**Wati, kalk-ali.**  
 no bone-?  
 ‘No, all bones.’
- (344) *Kima yanda boin.*  
*Now I’ll spear him; i.e. Here I spear.*  
**Kima yanda puwiyn.**  
 here I spear-FUT??  
 ‘Now, I’ll spear him.’
- (345) *Thnala delbin.*  
*There (he is) dead.*  
**Thanala telpin.**  
 there dead.PAST.PTC  
 ‘There, he is dead.’



- (346) *Koko pipaloo.*  
*He is fat; i.e. Plenty fat.*  
**Koko pipalu.**  
 plenty fat.3SG.POSS  
 ‘He is fat.’
- (347a) *Goway! Puthama wurnaway.*  
*Come on! make a fire.*  
**Kawai! Puthama warnawi.**  
 hurry! make fire? fire  
 ‘Come on! Make a fire.’
- (347b) *Wotti wurnaway.*  
*There is) no wood.*  
**Wati warnawi.**  
 no firewood  
 ‘There is no wood.’
- (348) *Yeri toorta noonthi keu kulki. (JB)*  
*Well! carry that one, there, tree.’*  
**YeRi turta (n(h)undhi kiyu kalki.**  
 well carry 3SG there tree  
 ‘Well, carry that tree there.’

Note that in the story recorded by John Beveridge below, in (369) *yeri* is glossed ‘because’.

- (349a) *Berin yetti.*  
*Hungry I*  
**PiRin yeti.**  
 hungry.PAST.PTC I  
 ‘Hungry I.’

The word **piRin** literally means ‘dead’

- (349b) *Kakkai jakla.*  
*Hasten, eat*  
**Kakai tyakla.**  
 come on eat  
 ‘Come, eat!’
- (349c) *Darti yetti jakla.*  
*By-and-by I (will) eat.*  
**Tarti yeti tyakla.**  
 later I eat  
 ‘By-and-by I will eat.’
- (350a) *Wintala woortongi?*  
*Where (are the) blacks?*  
**Windhala wurtungi?**  
 where people  
 ‘Where are the blacks?’

(350b) *Winta.*  
*I don't know; literally, where.*  
**Windha.**  
 Where(ever)  
 'I don't know.'

(351) *Ngurngonngabbe nginma*  
*Nonsense speak you*  
**Ngan.ngan.ngapi nginma.**  
 nonsense you  
 'Nonsense, speak you.'

The word **ngan.ngan.ngapi** appears to be a reduplicated word, possibly with onomatopoeic function, something like English *hullabaloo*.

(352a) *Keo, yetti ngyn Ulupna.*  
*There, I saw (them at) Ulupna*  
**Kiyu yiti ngayin Ulupna.**  
 there I see-PAST Ulupna.  
 'There, I saw them at Ulupna.'

(352b) *Anaboo?*  
*How many?*  
**Nganapu?**  
 How many?  
 'How many?'

(352c) *Koko.*  
*Many*  
**Koko.**  
 Many.  
 'Many.'

(353a) *Nalli jackla?*  
*What (do they) eat?*  
**N(h)ali tyakla?**  
 what eat  
 'What do they eat?'

(353b) *Kurwing, cherenthu, ngna beechon-beechon.*  
*Emu, fruit, and flour*  
**KuRwing tyeRendhu nga pityan-pityan.**  
 emu fruit and flour  
 'Emu, fruit and flour.'

We have regularised *ngna* as **nga**. There are a number of cases in the Wati-Wati texts of <ngn>, and it is not certain how these should be regularised. In some cases, such as (374) below, we regularise it as **ngg**, but in the case of (353b) it is regularised as simply **ng**.

- (354a) *Wingeregni laioor keo?*  
*What women (are) there.*  
**WinyeRangi layuR kiyu?**  
 who woman there  
 ‘Who is/are the woman/women there?’
- (354b) *Koko.*  
*Many*  
**Koko.**  
*Many.*  
 ‘Many.’
- (355a) *Anaboo Tommy magna murtamoo?*  
*Has Tommy got a wife yet? i.e. How many Tommy got wife?*  
**Nganapu Tommy mangga martamu?**  
 how.many Tommy get wife  
 ‘Has Tommy got a wife (yet)?’
- (355b) *Ea.*  
*Yes*  
**Iya.**  
*yes*  
 ‘Yes.’
- (356) *Nalli woortongi woen noonthi?*  
*Which blacks gave her to him? i.e. Which Blacks gave that one?*  
**N(h)ali wurtungi wuyin n(h)undhi?**  
 which people give.PAST that  
 ‘Which Blacks gave her to him?’
- (357a) *Nalli moorignoor noonthi?*  
*Which girl did he get? i.e. Which girl he?*  
**n(h)ali muRunyuR n(h)undhi?**  
 which young.woman that  
 ‘Which girl did he get?’
- (357b) *Wotti! Kuloor.*  
*He only got an old woman; i.e. No! old woman.*  
**Wati! KuluR.**  
 not old.woman  
 ‘No (he only got) an old woman.’
- (358a) *Natte woortongi kaki yanna?*  
*When (will the) blacks here come?*  
**Nhati wurtungi kakai yana?**  
 when people come! go  
 ‘When will the Blacks here come?’

- (358b) *Pola ky-up ngeringnerinum*  
*(In) three days*  
**Pula-kayap ngaRing-nyeRi-nam.**  
 two-one day-name?-?  
 ‘Three days’

The form **ngaRingi** for ‘day’ would be reasonable as the Wati-Wati (Piangil) form is **n(g)aingi** and the correspondence of /r/ with Piangil /ai/ is well established. It appears as *ngengni* in JB

- (359a) *Wintala nginio laioor?*  
*Where is your wife?*  
**Windhala nginayu layuR?**  
 where you.GEN wife  
 ‘Where’s your wife?’
- (359b) *Munmunderbo bernin.*  
*To-morrow coming*  
**Manmanapu pirniyn.**  
 tomorrow arrive.FUT?  
 ‘Tomorrow coming.’
- (360a) *Anaboo nginna ngaken yanio laioor?*  
*Have you seen my wife? i.e. How much you seen my woman*  
**Nganapu nginma ngakin yaniyu layuR?**  
 how.many you see.PAST me.GEN woman  
 ‘Have you seen my wife?’
- (360b) *Ea.*  
*Yes*  
**Iya.**  
 yes  
 ‘Yes.’
- (360c) *Winta?*  
*Where*  
**Windha?**  
 where  
 ‘Where?’
- (360d) *Keo wurkerda.*  
*There, on the plain*  
**Kiyu waRk-ata.**  
 there plain.LOC  
 ‘There, on the plain.’
- (361) *Nanga noonthi wara?*  
*What (is) she doing?*  
**Nhanga n(h)undhi waRa?**  
 what that do  
 ‘What is she doing?’

## 4.2.3.2 Story in John Beveridge (in Curr 1886)

- (362) *Winta (or windhaga)* *nginma* *yaen* *keeli* *ngengni?*  
*Where* *you* *went* *this* *day*  
**Windha** **nginma** **yayin** **kili** **ngengi?**  
**(windhaka)**  
 where *you* *go.PAST* *this* *day*  
 ‘Where did you go today?’
- (363) *Yaen* *boorongarda.*  
*(I) went (to the)* *mallee*  
**Yayin** **puRung-ata.**  
*go.PAST* *scrub-LOC*  
 ‘I went to the mallee [= ‘scrub’].’
- (364) *Nalli* *nginma* *yukka* *nua?*  
*What (did)* *you* *want* *there*  
**Nhali** **nginma** **yaka** **nyuwa?**  
*what* *you* *look for* *there*  
 ‘What did you look for there?’
- (365) *Yanda* *yukkin* *lowan* *mikko.*  
*I* *wanted* *lowan’s* *eggs*  
**Yanda** **yak-in** **luwan** **mi(R)k-u.**  
*I* *look for-PAST* *lowan* *egg-3SG.POSS*  
 ‘I was searching for lowan’s eggs.’
- (366) *Nga* *nga* *anabon* *nginma* *ngurmin?*  
*Aye* *Aye* *how many (did)* *you* *get*  
**Nga** **nga** **nganapu-n\*** **nginma** **nguRmin?**  
*yes* *yes* *how.many-?* *you* *get.PAST*  
 ‘Yes, yes, how many did you get?’

\*The final -n is probably an anticipation of the following initial nasal.

- (367) *Koko.*  
*Plenty*  
**Koko.**  
*plenty*  
 ‘Plenty.’
- (368) *Wotti* *nginma* *mangna* *kirtawil* *kaki.*  
*Not* *you* *brought* *many* *here*  
**Wati** **nginma** **mangna** **kirtawil** **kaki.**  
*not* *you* *bring* *plenty* *here*  
 ‘You did not bring many here!’
- (369) *Yeri* *yanda* *winia* *maranda.*  
*because* *I* *threw away* *many*  
**YeRi** **yanda** **winiya** **maRanda.**  
*well* *I* *throw.away* *many*  
 ‘Because I threw away many of them.’

- (370) *Nukka nginma winia wertawil mikko?*  
*Why you threw away addled eggs?*  
**Nhaka nginma winiya wirtawil mi(R)ku?**  
 why you throw.away spoiled egg.3SG.POSS  
 ‘Why did you throw away the spoiled eggs?’

**wirta-wil** literally means ‘with (containing) little one’. The meaning here is that the eggs have young chicks growing in them, and are consequently not good to eat.

- (371) *Yeti gera enganabo.*  
*I like that kind*  
**Yiti tyeRa e-nganapu.**  
 I like ?-how many  
 ‘I like that kind.’

- (372) *Darti yanda ngurmin yooia,*  
*By-and-by I will get others,*  
**Tarti yanda nguRmin yuwaya,**  
 Later I get.FUT? others [see ‘one’]  
 ‘By-and-by I will get others.’

- (373) *nga yetti wotti winia wertawil mikko.*  
*and I not throw away addled eggs*  
**nga yiti wati winiya wirtawil mi(R)ku.**  
 and I not throw.away spoiled egg.3SG.POSS  
 ‘And I (will not) not throw away the spoiled eggs.’

- (374) *Yeti wongna nginma.*  
*I will give (them) to you*  
**Yiti wungga nginma.**  
 I give you.  
 ‘I will give them to you.’

#### 4.2.3.3 Sentences in John Beveridge’s word list (1886:445)

- (375) *Winthægno woortongi?*  
*Where are the Blacks?*  
**Windh-engu wurtungi?**  
 where-? man.NOM  
 ‘Where are the Blacks?’

- (376) *Wotte yetti derbima.*  
*I don’t know*  
**Wati yeti teRpima**  
 not I know  
 ‘I don’t know’

## 4.2.3.4 Sentence in Beveridge 1883:70

- (377) *Bumbuma wirrumpola nginty*  
*stupid (sic) ears you*  
**Pamba=ma wirrmbul-a ngindi.**  
 fear=EMPH ear-GEN you  
 ‘You are stupid-eared (lit: you are stupid of ears).’

The word for ‘stupid’ appears to be based on that for ‘fear’, with a formative **-ma**.

## 4.2.3.5 Sentence in Beveridge 1889 (B2)

- (378) *Kurka, tumoo kurka, waty kulk koorongiadoo mungie tino*  
*Pull, again pull; it's no log, but a big fish biting.*  
**KarRka tamu kaRka wati kalk kuRungandu mandyi tinu.**  
 grab more grab NEG wood big fish bite  
 ‘Pull, pull again. It is not wood, it is a big fish biting.’

The following are found in Beveridge 1889:190–1:

- (379) *Yetty wirwie Melbourne kurrawillow, nga keelynowie*  
*I went (to) Melbourne yesterday and to-day*  
**Yiti wiRw(a)i Melbourne kaRawilu nga kili-nhawi**  
 I go Melbourne yesterday and this-day  
*wirtoowa kimma.*  
*come back here*  
**wirtuwa kima.**  
 return here  
 ‘I went to Melbourne yesterday, and today came back here.’
- (380) *Yette nine wilker wirangin jakla talko koorangie keelynowie.*  
*I saw (a) wild dog eating (a) good kangaroo to-day*  
**Yiti nhayin wilka wiRangin tyakla telku kuRengi kili-nhawi.**  
 I saw wild dog eat good kangaroo this-day  
 ‘I saw a wild dog eating a good kangaroo today.’
- (381a) *Watty kayani jerry yallum.*  
*No water lies (in the) well*  
**Wati kayani tyaRi yalam.**  
 no water stand well  
 ‘There is no water in the well’, lit: ‘No water lies in the well’
- (381b) *Kooronando Nowie kopa.*  
*(the) great sun (has) drunk (it)*  
**KuRungandu n(h)awi kupa.**  
 big sun drink  
 ‘The great sun has drunk it.’

- (382a) *Wilker wirangin boondan kingie kaatle kurowillow.*  
*(a) wild dag bite your cattle yesterday*  
**Wilka wiRangin pundan kingi cattle kuRuwilu.**  
*wild dog bite.PAST? that cattle? yesterday*  
 ‘A wild dog bit your sheep [sic] yesterday.’
- (382b) *Yeti nine.*  
*I saw (him).*  
**Yeti nhayin.**  
*I see-PAST*  
 ‘I saw him.’
- (383) *Kingie murtoomoo banie.*  
*Your sweetheart (is) handsome*  
**Kingi martumu pani.**  
*that wife handsome*  
 ‘Your wife is pretty.’
- (384) *Nginma warramie warnowie.*  
*You make (a) fire*  
**Nginma waRami warnawi.**  
*you make fire*  
 ‘You make a fire.’
- (385) *Kinniathouma nine polite polite kannie.*  
*We saw four snakes*  
**Kiniyathana nhayin polayt polayt kani.**  
*that.PL see-PAST two two snake*  
 ‘We saw two snakes.’
- (386) *Keeloo bokoin kaykoonga tertow.*  
*He broke his arm*  
**Kilu pukuyn kekunga tarta-u.**  
*that broke his arm-3SG.POSS*  
 ‘He broke his arm.’
- (387a) *Nerteroo?*  
*When?*  
**nharteRu?**  
*when*  
 ‘When?’
- (387b) *Keelynowie*  
*Today?*  
**Kili-n(h)awi.**  
*today*  
 ‘Today.’



(387c) *Wintya?*  
*Where?*  
**Wintya?**  
 where  
 ‘Where?’

(387d) *Boorongie.*  
*(In the) scrub*  
**PuRongi.**  
 scrub  
 ‘In the scrub.’

(388) Lord’s Prayer in Beveridge 1889

- |    |  |                 |                  |                 |               |               |                 |
|----|--|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. | <i>Ngallathong</i>                     | <i>Mamoo</i>    | <i>jerry</i>     | <i>Tyrrily,</i> |               |               |                 |
|    | Our Father, who art in heaven,         |                 |                  |                 |               |               |                 |
|    | <b>Ngalathung</b>                      | <b>Mamu</b>     | <b>tyaRi</b>     | <b>TiRili</b>   |               |               |                 |
|    | 1DL.EXCL.POSS                          | father.3SG.POSS | stand            | sky             |               |               |                 |
| 2. | <i>talko</i>                           | <i>kingie</i>   | <i>nirrinew,</i> |                 |               |               |                 |
|    | hallowed be Thy name,                  |                 |                  |                 |               |               |                 |
|    | <b>telku</b>                           | <b>kingi</b>    | <b>nyeRi-nyu</b> |                 |               |               |                 |
|    | good                                   | this            | name-3SG.POSS    |                 |               |               |                 |
| 3. | <i>kingie</i>                          | <i>weeia</i>    | <i>yunga</i>     | <i>kimma</i>    |               |               |                 |
|    | Thy kingdom come,                      |                 |                  |                 |               |               |                 |
|    | <b>kingi</b>                           | <b>wiya</b>     | <b>yanga</b>     | <b>kima</b>     |               |               |                 |
|    | this                                   | smile           | go               | here            |               |               |                 |
| 4. | <i>kingie</i>                          | <i>ngainga</i>  | <i>lurka</i>     | <i>kimma</i>    | <i>tungu</i>  | <i>ngooly</i> | <i>Tyrrily</i>  |
|    | Thy will be done on earth as in heaven |                 |                  |                 |               |               |                 |
|    | <b>kingi</b>                           | <b>ngainga</b>  | <b>luRka</b>     | <b>kima</b>     | <b>thangi</b> | <b>nguli</b>  | <b>thirrili</b> |
|    | this                                   | wishes?         | beat,do          | here            | earth         | yonder        | sky             |

We have regularised *tungu* to **thangi** by reference to the same word in the alternative version of the Lord’s Prayer (see 4.2.3.7 below). It is possible that the final *u* written here represents **u**, but we cannot suggest any explanation for a suffix **-u** here.

- |    |                          |                    |                    |                    |               |  |  |
|----|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------|--|--|
| 5. | <i>wooka</i>             | <i>ngallathing</i> | <i>bernimie</i>    | <i>keelynowie,</i> |               |  |  |
|    | Give us our daily bread, |                    |                    |                    |               |  |  |
|    | <b>wuka</b>              | <b>ngalathong</b>  | <b>parnimi</b>     | <b>kili-nhawi</b>  |               |  |  |
|    | give                     | 1DL.EXCL.POSS      | bread              | this-day           |               |  |  |
| 6. | <i>nga</i>               | <i>yakna</i>       | <i>ngallathong</i> | <i>wickeroo</i>    | <i>warra,</i> |  |  |
|    | and forgive us our sins, |                    |                    |                    |               |  |  |
|    | <b>nga</b>               | <b>yakna</b>       | <b>ngalathong</b>  | <b>wikeRu</b>      | <b>waRa</b>   |  |  |
|    | and                      | take               | 1DL.EXCL.POSS      | bad                | do            |  |  |

7. *ngooly kiniathouma yakno wickeroo warra neardoo*  
 as we forgive others,  
**nguli kinyathana yakna wikeRu waRa niartu?**  
 yonder this.3PL take bad do others

For discussion of **kinyathana** see above 4.2.2.3 above

8. *nga tinda ngelletchie watty barrie wickeroo warra*  
 and lead us not into temptation,  
**nga tinda ngala-tyi wati paRi wikeRu waRa**  
 and lead 1DL.EXCL-? not road bad deed
9. *nga yakna yethong derbimin talking in*  
 but deliver us from evil.  
**nga yakna yathong terpim-in tolkayn**  
 and take bad think-PST finish.PAST.PTC
10. *nginma kirtowel kirtowel wonkeroo.*  
 You are very powerful.  
**nginma kirtawil kirtawil wung(g)uRu**  
 you many many strong

#### 4.2.3.6 Sentences in Beveridge's Story of the Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone) (B6)

- (389) “*Nga, nga, lowan a loondthal*”  
 (Hello, hello! A lowan's nest.)  
**Nga, nga, luwan-a lundhal.**  
 EXCL EXCL lowan-GEN nest.LOC  
 ‘Hello, hello! A lowan's nest.’
- (390) *politulu murnangin mirk*  
 (eggs to the number of the fingers on both hands)  
**pulaty-ulu marnangin miRk**  
 two-DL hand.2SG.POSS egg  
 ‘Eggs (to the number of fingers) on your two hands’
- (391) “*Niniwoor wortongie birra. Yetty tumla coorongendoo. Ka ki nginma. Boorm.*”  
 (Ah, the young man is dead. I shall cry very much. Come here you. Quickly.)  
**NiniwuR wurtungi piRa.**  
 young? man die  
 ‘The young man is dead.’  
**Yeti tumla kuRangandu.**  
 1SG cry big  
 ‘I cry a lot.’  
**Kakai nginma.**  
 come on! 2SG  
 ‘Come here, you!’

**PuR(u)m!**

quick!

'Quick!'

- (392) "*Pioo, pioo. Niniwoor wortongie. Watty bambin.*"  
(Good, Good. young man and not frightened)

**Payu, payu.**

good! good!

'Good, good'

**NiniwuR wurtungi.**

young? man

'(He is) a young man'

**Wati pambin.**

NEG fear.PST

'Not frightened.'

- (393) "*Tolkine kayanie yetty, coorangondoo; wintialloo yetty kopo.*"  
(I am dry very much. Where shall I drink.)

**Tolkayn kayani yeti kuRungandu;**

finish.PAST.PTC water 1SG big

'I am very thirsty.'

**windhalu yeti kupa.**

where 1SG drink

'Where (can) I drink?'

- (394) "*Kopo, nginma.*"  
(Drink, you)

**Kupu nginma.**

drink 2SG

'Drink, you!'

- (395) "*Nangie nerinew nginty? Yetty Ngowdenout.*"  
(What is your name? Mine is Ngowdenout)

**Nangi nyeRinu ngindi?**

what name.3SG.POSS 2SG

'What is your name?'

**Yeti Ngautenut(h)."**

1SG PROPER NAME

'I am Ngowdenout.'

- (396) "*Eya, watty nginty bambin*"  
(yes, you're not frightened)

**Eya, wati ngindi pambin.**

yes, NEG 2SG fear.PST

'Yes, you are not frightened.'

- (397) *coorongandoo muckie loondhal*  
**kuRungandu**      **maki**      **lundhal**  
 big                      stone              hut.ALL  
 ‘(into) the big rock house’

#### 4.2.3.7 Lord’s Prayer in Beveridge 1868–9

The 1868 version of the Lord’s Prayer, presented here as (398), differs in several ways from the 1889 version. Grammatically it seems to be a kind of pidgin, and it contains forms that we would not expect in Mathi-Mathi, such as **-uk** ‘3SG.POSS’ in (398.1), which is the Wemba-Wemba and Werkaya 3<sup>rd</sup> person possessor suffix not found in Wati-Wati. Similarly we see an invariant use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> singular pronoun **nginma**, even when it should be possessive, as in (398.2). Compare, however, the use in (395), from the *Story of the Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone)* where the alternative nominative pronoun is used in the same construction.

There are some words in this 1868 Lord’s Prayer that we have not regularised. These are listed in Table 91. None of these words have been listed in the combined vocabulary for Wati-Wati.

Table 91: Words from 1868 Lord’ Prayer not found in 1889 version

1868 Lord’s Prayer	1889 Lord’s Prayer	gloss in Lord’s Prayer	regularised	meaning	Notes
<i>gena</i>	<i>jerry</i>	living	<b>tyaRi</b>	stand	We. <b>tyarrika</b>
<i>guinigan</i>	<i>nirrinew</i>	name	<b>nyeRi-nyu</b>	name	3 <sup>rd</sup> singular possessor in B2
<i>quanyan</i>	<i>ngainga</i>	wishes			forms like this not attested in other sources; <b>tírráwa</b> ‘wish’ in Mathi-Mathi
<i>burka</i>	<i>lurka</i>	be done			<b>luRka</b> glossed as ‘beat’ in B2
<i>qua</i>	<i>nga</i>	and			
<i>guunthy</i>	-	in the			
<i>quaky</i>	<i>nowie</i>	day	<b>nhawi</b>	day, sun	The spelling <i>quaky</i> might represent <b>ngaki</b> . There are other cases of <b>w ~ k</b> variation.
<i>janemoonyary</i>	-	million			
<i>guay</i>	-	amen			possibly cognate with WW <b>kwe</b> ‘eh friend’

We have presented the Lord’s prayer with Beveridge’s original and gloss in italics, a regularised spelling in bold, and a gloss in normal typeface. No attempt has been made to

re-translate these examples. The frequent use of <gu> in word initial position in these examples looks like an error for <gn>, by which Beveridge meant to convey **ng**.

1	<i>Gueletcho</i>	<i>Mamook</i>	<i>gena</i>	<i>Tyrrily,</i>
	<i>Our</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>living</i>	<i>in heaven</i>
	<b>ngalatyu</b>	<b>Mamu(k)</b>	<b>?</b>	<b>tiRili</b>
	our.DL	father-3SG.POSS	?	sky

This looks like a classic case of the dual being used in place of the plural. It is possible that Jack Long used the dual in this way in a couple of cases.

2.	<i>talko</i>	<i>Guinma</i>	<i>Guinigan</i>				
	<i>good</i>	<i>Thy</i>	<i>name</i>				
	<b>telku</b>	<b>nginma</b>	<b>?</b>				
	good	you					
3.	<i>Guinma</i>	<i>wery</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ky</i>			
	<i>Thy</i>	<i>smile</i>	<i>come</i>	<i>here</i>			
	<b>nginma</b>	<b>wiya</b>	<b>kakai</b>				
	you	laugh	come!				
4.	<i>Guinma</i>	<i>quanyan</i>	<i>burka</i>	<i>kimma</i>	<i>thungy</i>	<i>gnooly</i>	<i>Tyrrily</i>
	<i>Thy</i>	<i>wishes</i>	<i>be done</i>	<i>on this</i>	<i>earth</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>heaven</i>
	<b>nginma</b>	<b>?</b>	<b>?</b>	<b>kima</b>	<b>thangi</b>	<b>nguli</b>	<b>tiRili</b>
	you			here	ground	yonder	sky
5.	<i>Wega</i>	<i>gueletcho</i>	<i>bunimy</i>	<i>keely</i>	<i>quaky</i>		
	<i>Give</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>bread</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>day</i>		
	<b>wuka</b>	<b>ngalatyu</b>	<b>parnimi</b>	<b>kili</b>	<b>ngaki</b>		
	give	1DL.EXCL.POSS	bread	this	day		
6.	<i>qua</i>	<i>yakna</i>	<i>gueletcho</i>	<i>waiknoo</i>	<i>warra</i>		
	<i>and</i>	<i>take away</i>	<i>our</i>	<i>evil</i>	<i>deeds</i>		
	<b>nga</b>	<b>yakna</b>	<b>ngalatyu</b>	<b>wikeRu?</b>	<b>waRa</b>		
	and, excl	take	1DL.EXCL.POSS	bad	do		
7.	<i>gnooly</i>	<i>ngally</i>	<i>yakna</i>	<i>waiknoo</i>	<i>warra</i>	<i>niadia</i>	
	<i>as</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>take away</i>	<i>evil</i>	<i>deeds</i>	<i>of others</i>	
	<b>nguli</b>	<b>ngalu</b>	<b>yakna</b>	<b>wikeRu?</b>	<b>waRa</b>	<b>niartu?</b>	
	yonder	1DL.EXCL	take	bad	do	others	
8.	<i>qua</i>	<i>tinda</i>	<i>gueletcho</i>	<i>watty</i>	<i>guunthy</i>	<i>barry</i>	
	<i>and</i>	<i>lead</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>in the</i>	<i>road</i>	
	<b>nga</b>	<b>tinda</b>	<b>ngalatyu</b>	<b>wati</b>	<b>ngundhi</b>	<b>paRi</b>	
	and	lead	1DL.EXCL.POSS	NEG	that	track	
	<i>waiknoo</i>	<i>warra</i>					
	<i>(of) evil</i>	<i>deeds</i>					
	<b>wikeRu?</b>	<b>waRa</b>					
	bad	do					

9. *qua*      *yakna*      *yethung*      *dubimin*      *tolkyne*  
*and*      *take away*      *evil*      *thoughts*      *altogether*  
**nga**      **yakna**      **yathang**      **teRpim-in**      **tolkayn**  
*and*      *take*      *bad*      *think-PAST?*      *finish.PAST.PTC*
10. *ginma*      *kirtowel*      *kirtowel*      *wonkeroo*  
*You (are)*      *thousand*      *thousand*      *strong*  
**nginma**      **kirtawal**      **kirtawal**      **wungguRu**  
*you*      *many*      *many*      *strong.3SG.POSS*
11. *janemoonyary*      *quaky*  
*a million*      *days*  
?      ?
12. *Guay*  
*Amen*  
?

#### 4.2.3.8 PuRa-PuRa Sentences, recorded by John Mathew (PP)

- (399) *Yeti*      *wurtongi*  
*I (am) a man*  
**Yeti**      **wurtongi**  
I.nom      Aboriginal person.nom  
‘I am an Aboriginal man.’
- (400) *Nginma*      *wurtongi*  
*You (are) a man*  
**Nginma**      **wurtongi**  
2.nom      Aboriginal person.nom  
‘You are an Aboriginal man.’

### 4.3 Wati-Wati (Piangil)

#### 4.3.1 Sources

Though specifically asked by Mathew’s questionnaire (MD), in what is probably the most important source for this variety, Davy did not give a name to the group whose language he provided information about, saying only “The words obtained are those of the “Oxley”, “Reed Beds” or “Lower Lachlan and Murrumbidgee” Tribe or tribes embracing an area of about 2000 square miles.”

ALP Cameron, in his letter to Howitt, names the group as “Wata Wata”, although in his JRAI article he terms the same group “Wathi-wathi”. This latter spelling suggests a laminal stop rather than a coronal /t/, and given that this group was close to the Mathi-Mathi, perhaps the spelling of their name ought to be Wathi-Wathi. Robinson spells their name as Watte Watte paralleling Mutte Mutte (i.e. Mathi-Mathi). As already mentioned in chapter 1

above, there is a possibility that what we call Wati-Wati (Piangil) was in fact the language of Weki-Weki people, though this cannot be proven.

As already discussed in chapter 1 above there are two lists in Curr labelled Piangil, which are very similar to one another, which although belonging to the Mathi group of dialects, are clearly different from Mathi-Mathi, Letyi-Letyi and the other Wati-Wati sources. Using these lists as criterial we can identify the ‘Lower Lachlan and Murrumbidgee’ list in Mathew as belonging to this dialect and also three lists by A.L.P. Cameron and one by Larmer and some other sources. Wafer and Lissarrague (2008:75) give alternative spellings Biangil and Biyangil for this variety.

The Wati-Wati (Piangil) sources are as follows:

Table 92: Wati-Wati (Piangil) sources

Abbreviation	Author	Details
Bar	Bartley, Nehemiah	Eight words on page 65 of his 1892 book.
Ca	Cameron, A.L.P.	Letter to A.W. Howitt 13 November 1881. <i>Howitt Papers XM 113</i> , Museum of Victoria.
CaH	Cameron, A.L.P.	‘Notes on some tribes of New South Wales.’ Cameron (1884-5:344-370)
P	Curr, E.M.	List 201[b] ‘Piangil’ in Curr (1886 III:450-1)
MD	Davey, H.	Manuscript word list (John Mathew’s questionnaire) copy in the AIATSIS library.
D	Davey, H.	‘Lower Lachlan and Murrumbidgee’ in Mathew (1899:208ff)
L	Larmer, J.	‘Junction of Lachlan and Murrumbidgee’. Larmer (1898:227-228).
M	Macredie, T.	List 201[a] ‘Piangil’ in Curr (1886 III:448-9).
MK	Mathews, R.H.	‘Kinship terms for Wathi Wathi and Wimmera.’ National Library of Australia MS 8006, Series 7, Folder 3b.
RW	Robinson, G.A.	‘Languages of Mutte-Mutte and Watte-Watte. Saturday 2 May 1846’, G.A. Robinson papers, Mitchell Library, Volume 65, part 3:191-195. (See Clark 2000:224).
RM	Robinson, G.A.	‘Murrumbidgee’ G.A. Robinson papers, Mitchell Library, Volume 65, part 3. (See Clark 2000:231).

Source Bar contains eight words (1892:65) and a series of names of lakes (1892:61). It is identified as Wati-Wati (Piangil) on the basis of comparison with the other sources and the locations at which the data was collected.

Source Ca contains vocabulary in the Piangil dialect plus some words from Bidjara (central Queensland), while Cah contains a short word list plus a second list of kinship terms.

Source MD is a manuscript, a questionnaire filled in for John Mathew, and the basis of source D. It contains some material not found in D, and also some slightly different spellings.

Source L is a small list of 31 words. Just over 20 are clearly Yitha-Yitha or some other Murray River tongue. Six words seem to belong to the Mathi group and on the basis of a few words such as **thinangi** ‘cold’ and **kelali** ‘warm’ they have been included under Wati-Wati (Piangil). The remaining words are hard to place.

Source MK is a list of kinship terms for Wathi Wathi and Wimmera. It is reproduced in full below in Appendix 2, 8.

Source RW contains ‘Watte-Watte’ and ‘Mutte-Mutte’, and was transcribed by Clark (2000:224). On the basis of words like *muk.keer.(e)* ‘rain’, and *yung.goip.pe* ‘canoe’, we identify the Watte-Watte here with the Piangil dialect. Source RM, transcribed by Clark (2000:231), is identified as Wati-Wati (Piangil) on the basis of linguistic tokens like *serm.na.po.ki* ‘swan’, for which other Piangil sources have **thanapuki**, but all the other varieties have something like **kunuwaR**.

As illustrated in Table 2 in 1.3 above, Wati-Wati (Piangil) shares only about 60% of vocabulary with the other Mathi dialects. The following words are not found in the other Mathi dialects:

- (401) **payu** ‘good’ (Macredie, Curr)  
**wayn.ngi** ‘light’ (Macredie, Curr, Davy)  
**wayn.gapai** ‘moon’ (Cameron, Davy, Larmer)  
**yet(i)na** ‘one’ (Macredie, Curr, Davy)  
**pandindi** ‘possum’ (Curr, Davy, Macredie)  
**luko** ‘skin’ (Macredie, Curr, Davy)  
**paitayn** ‘small’ (Curr, Macredie)  
**ko(R)nu** ‘mother’ (Macredie, Curr, Davy)

Wati-Wati (Piangil) shows more influence of the neighbouring non-Kulin varieties than the other languages of the group. A few words are shared with Yitha-Yitha but not with other Mathi dialects. **Thayini** ‘axe’, for instance, looks as if it has been borrowed from Yitha-Yitha **tharing**, with the intervocalic rhotic having undergone the **r** → **y** change illustrated in Table 8 in 1.3. The word *ngorti*, recorded by Davy for ‘bark (of tree)’, resembles the Yitha-Yitha word for ‘bark’ *ngoort* and appears to be a borrowing with the addition of **-i** to avoid a consonant ending.

There is also some relationship between Wati-Wati (Piangil) and Paakantyi. One of the alternatives of the word for rain is **makaRi**, which may be a borrowing from **makara**, the word for rain in all Paakantyi dialects. Similarly, **yet(i)na** ‘one’ in (401) is similar to Paakantyi **yantha** ‘one’ (see Hercus 1982 for further details on Paakantyi).

This language variety that we are terming Wati-Wati (Piangil) did not long survive the occupation of the land by white settlers. Already in 1888, in his letter to John Mathew, Humphry Davy observed that

*“I had great difficulty in obtaining the words for the “forms”, very few of the old blacks who thoroughly understand the native tongue being left alive.. It is only from the old and inteligent (sic) ones I could get correct meanings and words ...”*

In his letter to Mathew, Davy gave some cultural information about these people, and because both of the paucity of information about their language, and the fact that this letter is an unpublished source, we repeat some of it here:

*“Along the marshy grounds of the Murrumbidgee and Lachlan rivers in this district there are patches of reeds and “Combungie” or “Wangles”. The latter grows all over the riverflats – in early days much more dense than at present, generally attaining a hight of 7 or 8 feet, and as they grow in the black mud flats that are covered for months, and often years with water a foot deep, they have a long white taproot a foot or 18 inches longs. These were pulled up and collected by the gins of each small domestic tribe or family of 40 or 50. An oven was excavated generally averaging 3 or*



*4 feet deep and 15 or 20 feet across – round with the dirt placed all round ready to replace – mostly on the margin of a lake or river bank. Half a ton was often thus prepared for a large oven, in which when ready was placed many tons of dry wood. Then in the centre the “wangle” roots were placed and covered by layers of long grass and light dry wood. When complete the whole was set on fire and the excavated dirt returned as a covering. The cooking process lasted according to the quantity of material – several days, when done water was constantly baled on the oven until the ... had cooled off. It was then opened up and the food came out almost white as snow and was not unlike parsnip or potato cooked. This operation has been given up 25 or 30 years here.”*

### 4.3.2 Grammar

#### 4.3.2.1 Phonology

Very little can be said about the phonology of Wati-Wati (Piangil). Variation between velar and coronal consonants (both palatal and apical) is observed in several words.

Table 93: Velar ~ Coronal variation in Wati-Wati (Piangil)

	velar		coronal (palatal)	
	k		ty	
crow	walakali	whalakeli D, whallakellie MD	walatyali	willachali M, walechin P
swan	thanapuki	tanapuki D, dunabogi M	thanapuyt	thanabootch P
rain	makaRi	mugga.ree L, mukaria D, muckaria MD; muk keer e RW (cf. Paakantyi makara)	matyeRi	maicheri P, maitcheri M

	velar		coronal (apical)	
	ng(g)		nd	
white cockatoo	keRang(g)i	kerangi P	kaRandi	karandi P
possum	pang(g)andi	paangendi P	pandandi	bendindi M, pondandi D, pondandie MD

	velar		coronal (palatal)	
	ng		ny	
ground	thangi	tongie MD	thanyi	dunyi M
man	wungi	woongi D, woongie ‘the backs’ MD	wunyi	woonyi M
brilga	tuRkangi	toorkuangi D; toorquangie MD	tuRkanyi	turkanyi M, torkanyi P

Similarly a /th/ ~ /ty/ variation has been noticed. These are allophones in Mathi-Mathi, but as argued above in 4.2.2.1, they are probably separate phonemes in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill). The following pairs exemplify possible laminal variation:

Table 94: Laminal variation in Wati-Wati (Piangil)

	<b>dental</b>		<b>palatal</b>	
	<b>th</b>		<b>ty</b>	
two	<b>pulat(h)al</b>	polatol MD	<b>pulatya</b>	bolaja M
ear	<b>t(h)ulandi</b>	toolandi P	<b>tyulandu</b>	cholarndoo M
bad	<b>thilika</b>	thilika Ca	<b>tyilika</b>	chilka P

In regularising words of this variety we will write the form used in the source; this does not imply that a phonemic distinction between palatals and dentals was present in Wati-Wati (Piangil).

We cannot say much about the vowel system of Wati-Wati (Piangil) save that there were probably the same vowel phonemes as in the other languages, with the status of /o/ quite marginal.

#### 4.3.2.2 Noun

As in all the varieties of the Mathi group, most nouns in Wati-Wati (Piangil) belong to Class 2, in other words have **-i** as the nominative ending. There are a number of nouns that are Class 2 in Wati-Wati (Piangil) which are Class 1 in other varieties, as has already been pointed out in Table 66. Another such word is **yunggopi** ‘canoe’ (Mathi-Mathi **yungwip**),

An interesting example of a noun which is class 1 in the other varieties and class 2 in Wati-Wati (Piangil) is the word for woman, **layuRki** (*liorkie* MD). This has the nominative **-i** set off by an augment **-k**. In Mathi-Mathi, the augment **-k** is found with this word in the ergative and genitive/general oblique cases, but the nominative is unmarked and has the form **layurr**. This suggests that the original form of the word was **layuRki** and the Mathi-Mathi form represents the loss of **-ki**. The word **layuRki** is found in Wati-Wati (Piangil) as the object in a short sentence given below as example (407).

Even when the words are not cognate, the Wati-Wati (Piangil) form is likely to have final **-i**. Consider the word for ‘pelican’, which is **ninangguRi** in Piangil, **pàthàngal** in Mathi-Mathi, **partangil** in Letyi-Letyi and **partangal** in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill).

There are very few nouns which are recorded in more than one form. Some are recorded in nominative and possessed forms, as **tyulandi** ‘ear.NOM’ (*toolandi* P) and **tyulandu** ‘ear-3SG.POSS’ (*cholarndoo* M).

Several kinship terms appear to have a similar final **-uwi**, as **ngapunuwuwi** (*naponui* Ca) ‘mother’s father’, **matuwuwi** (*matui* Ca) ‘father’s father’, **mayimuwi** (*mi-imui* Ca) ‘father’s mother’,

There are some compounds that are less transparent in Wati-Wati (Piangil) than in Wati-Wati Swan Hill. Consider **paRthangi** ‘(big) toe’ (*parthangie* MD). The cognate word in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) is **papa tyinangi** (*bobachinangi* PP) which is transparently ‘mother of foot’ (literally ‘mother-GEN foot.NOM’). The word for ‘mother’ in Piangil is **karna**, rather than the ubiquitous form based on **pap-** which is found in the other varieties discussed here. It is also possible that **paRthangi** includes a form meaning ‘little’, related to **paitayn** in Table 98 below.

Similarly, the forms *pilporkeonango* D, MD and *papgoonarnyin* M ‘bowel’, appear to be literally ‘mother of excrement’ **pap(a)kunangu** (mother-GEN excrement-3SG.POSS) ~ **pap(a)kunangin** (mother-GEN excrement-2SG.POSS).

The word for ‘five’ appears to be **ninu-mangi**, with the sources as *ninumanyi* (D), *ninumangee*, *ninumanyee* (MD). The first element is unknown, but the second element is

clearly the word for ‘hand’, although the usual form for hand is **ma(r)nanggi**, so **mangi** looks like a special compounding form.

The dual **-pul** appears to be present in the word for ‘God’ is given as **payambul** (*biambule* D; *beambule* MD). We believe this is the Wati-Wati (Piangil) way of referring to the two Bram brothers of Kulin mythology, where initial **pr-** becomes **pay-** and the final *bule* is a dual suffix.

There are some other noun formation processes. For example the word ‘food’ **tyakuRi** (*takoori* D, MD; *tarochi* M) is the word for ‘eat’ accompanied by a suffix **-ri** which has unknown significance. The same suffix is found on the verb **kupa** ‘drink’ in Table 100. It is possible it is some kind of nominalizer, as a similar phenomenon as been observed with **-r** in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), see (275) above.

An example of a compound form is **kili n(h)a(i)ki** ‘today’ which is a compounded form of **n(h)aying(g)i** ‘sun’ and the proximal demonstrative **kili**.

#### 4.3.2.3 Pronouns and Demonstratives

The following pronominal forms can be found in the word lists:

Table 95: Pronouns in Wati-Wati (Piangil)

I	<b>nyit(h)i</b>	<i>nitte</i> P, <i>ynethi</i> D, MD; <i>ynethi</i> ‘me’ D, MD <i>nete</i> D, see below (406)
		<i>nulgi</i> M
mine		<i>naika</i> D, MD
	<b>ngathi</b>	<i>nathi</i> CaH
you		<i>nundi</i> M, <i>ninte</i> P
		<i>ynyaa</i> D, MD
your	<b>ngina</b>	<i>gnīna</i> D
him	<b>kikinga</b>	<i>kīkinga</i> D, <i>keekinga</i> MD
his	<b>n(h)uka</b> or <b>nguka</b>	<i>nooka</i> D, MD; <i>wooka</i> CaH
we	<b>yangun</b>	<i>youngoun</i> D, MD

Some bound forms of the pronouns can also be deduced. In Robinson’s list (RW), a number of body parts are shown with final **-(ng)in** and this we assume to be the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular possessor. These are listed in Table 96:

Table 96: Bound pronominals in Robinson (RW)

Form	Regularised	Meaning
teen.din	<b>tyandyin</b>	your nose
tal.laeng.en	<b>thalingin</b>	your tongue
mar.kin	<b>maRkin</b>	your ear
hole.kin; ole.kin	<b>nha(r)lkin</b>	your chin
poi.pin	<b>puiplin</b>	your head
kone.din; kine.din	<b>ku(r)ndin</b>	your neck
mung.arng.in	<b>ma(r)nangin</b>	your hand
pil.leeng.in	<b>pilingin</b>	your stomach
waren.en	<b>warinin</b>	your penis
kieng.in	<b>kayangin</b>	your leg
tin.narng.in	<b>tyinangin</b>	your foot
ko.koin	<b>kukuyin</b>	your elbow
na.ray.un	<b>narayin</b>	your back
mo.men	<b>mumin</b>	your buttocks

The word for ‘your head’ probably shows the **r > y** sound change referred to above, compare Mathi-Mathi **púrrpu** ‘his head’. The way that Robinson writes the word suggests that this was a two syllable word, and consequently we write **puiplin** not **puyipin**. Robinson’s spelling of the word for ‘hand’ suggests we should write **mangangin**. The form given in Table 96 accords with the other Wati-Wati (Piangil) sources (see below the entry for ‘hand’ in the Combined Word List, 6).

Very few demonstratives are recorded. By analogy with Wati-Wati (see above 4.2.2.4), we can deduce that the proximal demonstrative ‘this’ is **kili**. Compare the form **kilin(h)a(i)ki** (*keelinakie* MD) ‘today’, which is probably literally ‘this sun’, and example already discussed above in 4.3.2.2.

#### 4.3.2.4 Interrogatives

THE WATI-WATI (PIANGIL) INTERROGATIVES ARE LISTED IN Table 97.

Table 97: Interrogatives in Wati-Wati (Piangil)

who?	<b>n(h)eng(g)a</b>	<i>nenga</i> D
what?	<b>n(h)ang(g)uwa</b>	<i>nungoa</i> D
why?	<b>n(h)ang(g)urra</b>	<i>nungora</i> D
when	<b>wati</b>	<i>wutti</i> D
where		<i>narrakanian</i> D
	<b>windha</b>	<i>winta</i> M, <i>wuntha</i> P; <i>winda</i> ‘I don’t know’ M, P

#### 4.3.2.5 Adjectives

Only a small number of adjectives have been recorded in Wati-Wati (Piangil). As we have already seen in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill), (4.2.2.7 above), ‘dimension’ and ‘value’ most often appear to be nominals, showing the final **-i** which is presumed to be the nominative.

Colour terms differ from those in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) is that they all end in a homorganic nasal-stop combination plus the nominative, **-mbi** and **-ndi**, which may be some kind of suffix. Other words with the same final segments are all nouns, as **tulambi** ‘bark of a tree’, **koimbi** ‘breast’, **kaRandi** ‘white cockatoo’ and **tyulandi** ‘ear’, but in the

case of the nouns, these are not suffixes, with, for example /mb/ in **koimbi** being part of the root.

The ‘corporeal’ and ‘physical property’ terms are, as in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) often found with the ‘having’ suffix, which is realised here as **-pil** rather than **-wil** as seen in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill).

The Wati-Wati (Piangil) adjectives are listed in Table 98:

Table 98: Wati-Wati (Piangil) adjectives

<b>gloss</b>	<b>Wati-Wati form</b>	<b>sources</b>	<b>notes</b>
<i>dimension</i>			
small	<b>paitayn</b>	baitan M, baiedain P	
small	<b>paipi</b>	biabi D, bieabie MD	
big	<b>kaRawi, kaRai</b>	karawe P, guraway M, kraii D, cryie	
short	<b>tunathaiki</b>	toonathaigi D; toonathaigie	NOM – same as Wati (S)
long	<b>tiyangi</b>	tiangi D, tiangie MD	NOM – same as Wati (S)
<i>value</i>			
good	<b>piRimali</b>	biri-imuli Ca, primalia D, MD	also used for ‘right’, ‘sweet’
bad	<b>puki</b>	booki D, bookie MD	
bad	<b>waikatanyi</b>	wykatanyee M	
bad	<b>tyil(i)ka</b>	chilka P, thilika Ca	
<i>colour</i>			
black	<b>waikiRimbi</b>	waikerimbi D; wykerimbie MD	
red	<b>kuRuRkandi</b>	kooroorgandi D, kooroorgandie MD	see ‘blood’
white	<b>p(i)liyandi</b>	pliandi D, pliandie MD	
<i>corporeal</i>			
blind	<b>panmapil</b>	panmapil D, MD	
dead	<b>piRapil</b>	berapil D, MD	
deaf	<b>maRkenki</b>	markenki D, markenckie MD	
<i>physical property</i>			
light (in weight)	?	nymno MD	???
strong	<b>wung(g)uRapi(l)</b>	wongorapi D, wongorapie MD	almost certainly final <b>-pil</b> .
heavy	<b>wendhapil</b>	wenthepil D, MD	
<i>speed</i>			
slow	<b>yalimungi</b>	yalimongi D, yalimongie MD	

The term ‘quick’ is *minanaw* in D, *minauaw* in MD and this is regularised as **mininau** and is found used adverbially in (402) below.

We have one record of the same Wati-Wati (Piangil) root used both as an adjective and as a verb. The word **piRapil** ‘dead’ was already seen in Table 98, but it is also recorded as *berathin* D, MD, which we analyse as **piRa-th-in**, ‘die-EXP-PAST.PTC’.

## 4.3.2.6 Verbs

We have very little information about verbal morphology. Only the following can be gleaned:

Table 99: Verbal Morphology in Wati-Wati (Piangil)

imperative	<b>-i</b>	<b>limbi</b> ‘speak-IMP’ ( <i>limbie</i> MD), as in (402)
past participle	<b>-an</b>	<b>kupan</b> ‘drink-PAST.PTC’ ( <i>kopan</i> P), <b>piRathin</b> ‘die-EXP-PAST.PTC’ ( <i>berathin</i> D, MD ‘dead’)
intensive	<b>-una</b>	<b>latuna</b> ‘speak’ ( <i>ngetthelotoona</i> D ‘I tell’), as (409)
augment	<b>-tha</b>	<b>piRathin</b> ‘die-EXP-PAST.PTC’ ( <i>berathin</i> D, MD ‘dead’)

The imperative is exemplified in (402). The ‘adverb’ **minana** is clearly related to the form **minanu** discussed in the previous section, hence its regularisation with this form.

- 402) *menina limbie* MD  
*speak quickly*  
**minina limbi**  
 quickly speak.IMP  
 ‘Speak quickly.’

The forms **wuki** *wookie* MD ‘give’ and **yangathi** *yangathie* D, MD ‘go’ are almost certainly imperative (see the combined Word List).

The verb ‘drink’ occurs in several different forms in the sources, shown in Table 100

Table 100: Forms of ‘Drink’ in Wati-Wati (Piangil)

koopung M	<b>-ang</b>	present participle	<b>kupang</b> ‘drink-PTC’
kopan P	<b>-an</b>	past participle	<b>kupan</b> ‘drink-PAST.PTC’
koopori D, kooporie MD	<b>-Ri</b>	nominaliser ?	<b>kupoRi</b> ‘drink-NOMZ?’

The **-tha** suffix on verbs which is common in Mathi-Mathi (see 3.2.5.2 above) is also clearly found in Wati-Wati (Piangil) as in as **yangatha** (*yangathie* D, MB) ‘go’ and **kumbatha** (*kombathe* D, MD) ‘sleep’. The form *we.wa.tu.ly* (RM) as a possibly imperative of **waiwi** ‘run’ is recorded by Robinson. It may contain the **-tha** suffix, and the continuative-frequentative **-ila** followed by the imperative **-i**.

The intensive **-una** is found in **latuna**. This is exemplified in (403):

- 403) *ngetthelotoona* D  
*I tell*  
**nyit(h)i lat-una**  
 I speak.INT  
 ‘I tell.’

## 4.3.2.7 Negation

The only negative examples have the negative in the form **wata**, as in (404)

- 404) *warta* *primalia* MD  
*wrong*  
**wata piRimali**  
 neg good  
 ‘Wrong.’

### 4.3.3 Sentences

The following additional sentences are found in the various sources:

- 405) *Winthouwoongie* *tonorro* MD  
*Where are the blacks*  
**windhawungi** ?  
 where.man ?  
 ‘Where are the (Aboriginal) people?’
- 406) *warthenete* *naagana* MD  
*I don’t know*  
**watanyiti nhakana**  
 neg.I see/know  
 ‘I don’t know.’
- 407) *ynetemowa* *liorkie* MD  
*marry*  
**nyitimuwa layuRki**  
 I.like woman  
 ‘I like (that) woman.’
- 408) *gnetyahtnaining* MD  
*know*  
**nyitinangin**  
 I.hear  
 ‘I know, I hear.’
- 409) *ngetthelotoona* D  
 I tell  
**nyitilatuna**  
 I.tell.INTENS  
 ‘I tell.’

# 5 *The Story of Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone) of Balaarook—A Wati-Wati Story Related to Peter Beveridge by Turangin.*

The *Story of Coorongendoo Muckie (Great Stone) of Balaarook* is preserved in the Peter Beveridge Papers at the State Library of Victoria, MS 140/2, section (a), pages 9-16. It was originally printed in a newspaper (we do not know which one or when), and cut out and pasted into an exercise book. Underneath the title is written “as related by Turangin, King of the Watty-Watty Tribe”. At the very end of the story the word *Boorongie* is printed at the bottom, this being the name of Peter Beveridge’s property on French Island, and a Wati-Wati word, **puRungi** ‘scrub’. The title words of the story are analysed by us as **kuRungandu maki** ‘big-3SG.POSS stone.NOM’.

***Dating the story:***

This story tells of an 18<sup>th</sup> century journey by foot from the Murray River to Lake Hindmarsh and back again. The story was perhaps told to Peter Beveridge by Turangin in about 1850–1860 and written down and published some time after that. At that time Turangin was an elder, described as King of the Wati-Wati, and so perhaps he would have been around 50 years old, born in about 1810. His grandfather might have been therefore born in about 1760, and was very small when the events related here occurred. This would date the journey to around 1770.

The story is told in the left hand column, and Wati-Wati words in the story are shown in bold italics. These are shown regularised with glosses in the right hand column. Sentences are shown with full glosses, with Beveridge’s original spelling and translation on the left, and a regularisation with morpheme by morpheme gloss on the left.

<p><b><i>“Nga, nga, lowan a loondthal”</i></b>          (“Hello, hello! A lowan’s nest.”)</p>	<table border="0"> <tr> <td><b>Nga,</b></td> <td><b>nga,</b></td> <td><b>luwan-a</b></td> <td><b>lundhal</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td>EXCL</td> <td>EXCL</td> <td>lowan-GEN</td> <td>nest.LOC</td> </tr> </table>	<b>Nga,</b>	<b>nga,</b>	<b>luwan-a</b>	<b>lundhal</b>	EXCL	EXCL	lowan-GEN	nest.LOC
<b>Nga,</b>	<b>nga,</b>	<b>luwan-a</b>	<b>lundhal</b>						
EXCL	EXCL	lowan-GEN	nest.LOC						



The Story of *Coorongendoo Muckie* (Great Stone) of Balaarook  
(**kuRungandu maki** ‘big-3SG.POSS stone.NOM’)

As related by *Turrangin*, King of the *Watty Watty* Tribe:

“When my *cokernew* (grandfather) was but a very small boy, long before the *turrawil ngurtangies* (white devils) came with their numberless stock to overrun the country, and drive away the teeming game, from whence the *Woortongies* (aborigines) drew their food supply in abundance, and with little more trouble than was just sufficient to give zest to the daily chase, his father, then quite a young man, was deputed by the tribe to accompany the *Ngalloo Watow* to the far Wimmera on tribal business.”

It was the season of *peetchen-peetchen* (flowers), when the whole country was glowing with bloom. The *mirnoo* (eye) blinding brilliance of the *booyoop* (mesembryanthemum) never gave greater promise of abundant foliage. *Kurwis* (emus) no doubt would be plentiful and fat, when the booyoop figs became ripe, so that the *Woortoongies* looked forward to the time when they would revel to their heart’s content in the fat things of the *tungie* (earth).

*Weitchymumble* (such was my cockernew’s father’s name) did not feel at all delighted at being sent off so on so weary a tramp at that delicious season, but he knew he had to go notwithstanding the prospect of so much abundance; therefore he put the best face on it that he could assume and went with out demur. After a long weary tramp of many day’s duration though the close-growing *boorongie* (mallee scrub), where very short rations of *kayanie* (water) had been the rule, whilst the *nowie* (sun) struck down on the arid earth, with potency seldom felt out of a desert country, one blazing afternoon *Weitchymumble* and the *Ngalloo Wato*, much to their joy, found themselves on the margin of Lake Hindmarsh, although the clay-colored water of that lake was not by any means inviting, still they gladly walked in until it reached their shoulders, then, slightly

**t(h)aRangin** (proper name).

Beveridge records this word as meaning ‘waning grass’ in B2. The name is perhaps related to the Wemba-Wemba **tharətail**,

**tharətang** ‘white’

**kukanyu** (grandfather.3SG.POSS)

**nga(r)tangi** (devil, white man)

**wurtungi** (man)

**ngalu watu** (messenger). In a note on page 11, Beveridge says

“Ngallow Watow, literally postman, one of which is possessed by every tribe. Their functions consist in carrying news, conducting barter andc. Their persons are held sacred therefore they can travel through even hostile tribes with impunity.”

**pityan-pityan** (flowers)

**mirnu** (eye-3 SG.POSS)

**puyup** (pig-face, mesembryanthemum)

**kaRwi** (emus)

**wurtungi** (man)

**thangi** (earth)

**wetyimumbel** (proper name) This name corresponds to Werkaya **wity-wity-mambel** which is the ‘welcome swallow’. The Werkaya speaker Mrs Jackson Stuart commented on that word a number of times, noting that she thought it was strange.

**puRungi** (mallee scrub)

**kayani** (water)

**nhawi** (sun)

stooping, drank to repletion, after which they rolled lazily about in the dirty water like two great musk ducks during breeding season.

They enjoyed their *botoine* (bath) as only those who have travelled a long two hundred miles over an arid region, under the rays of a torrid *nowie*, can, and when they returned to the bank they felt refreshed, and quite able to do justice to a meal of *wallups* (sleeping lizard), which they had captured during their march that day. Cooking the *wallups* necessitated a fire, and course that fire made a smoke, which was soon observed by the keen-sighted *Woortongies* of the lake, so before the *Ngalloo Watow* and his companion had well finished their savory meal several of the tribe had cautiously approached to within reconnoitering distance of the travellers, prepared, if necessary, to take the fat from the kidneys of the intruders; this extreme measure was, however, soon found to be unnecessary, as the loud tone of their facetious conversation, induced by the fact of their having reached the end of their journey, together with the refreshing bath and hearty meal in which the indulged, soon made the scouts aware they were in the vicinity of friends of the *Watty Watty* tribe, from the far *Milloo* (Murray).

The scouts soon joined the travellers from the *Milloo*, and fraternised after the (p10) fashion of the Aborigines prior to the advent of European customs; that is to say they walked up to the fire, squatted down by its side without saying one word, until the time (which was considerable) had expired which Australian savage etiquette demands on these occasions. After that, however, they talked fast enough, pawing each other down while in the most approved and affectionate manner. As a matter of course, the residue of *wallups* was not allowed to go to waste, as the scouts quickly devoured them with remarkable gusto, whilst greeting the travellers with their savage welcome. By the time the last vestige of the *wallups* had disappeared, the lengthening *ngoky* (shadow) of the *marong* (pine), under which they sat showed that the *nowie* would soon take its departure, so that if they meant to reach the camp of the lake tribe with light, they had but little time to lose. The scouts therefore, saying as much to the travellers, picked up their spears and led the way, and it was not

**putuyn** (bath)  
**walap** (sleeping lizard)  
**Milu** (Murray)

**ngaki** (shadow)  
**maRung** (pine)  
**kal** (dog).

long before the yelping of *culs* (dogs) told the tired *Watty Wattys* that they had a last finished their very trying journey.

Whatever the business which had brought the *Watty Watty Ngalloo Watow* and his companions so far from the fair *Milloo*, did not transpire as far as *Weitchymumble* was concerned; however it kept the *Ngalloo Watow* and the *Ngarumbins* (elders) of the lake tribe pretty well engaged in constant palaver for some days, which had the effect of giving the travellers time to recruit their worn energies, and that was something considering that they had to plod their weary back again, with the anything but pleasing probabilities of all the *yallums* (wells) on the route being found dry; they were drying up fast enough on their outward journey, and the *nowie* had blazed down with the fervency of a *wean chirrick* (a reed bed on fire), even from the day on which they set out from the *mamoo kayanie* (father of waters), and to procure the water during the whole of such a long dreary *barri* (road) from the *bootle bootle* (*hakea stricta*) or even the *weir* (water mallee) itself was an undertaking calculated to daunt the courage of the most persevering aborigine.

However, it had to be done, so after three or four days' palaver and rest, one morning at grey dawn the two *Watty Wattys* turned their steps along their outward track. They got over the first three days of their return journey with comparative ease, their *kayanie mocres* (wallaby skin water bags) which they had filled to the top before leaving Lake Hindmarsh, together with an occasional *bootle-bootle* tree, having proved ample sufficient for their water supply, notwithstanding the extreme heat which obtained at the time. The fourth day, however, was different; at dawn on the morning of that day they quite finished the last of their water; still, this fact did not give them much uneasiness, as they made sure of meeting with *weir* or *bootle-bootle*, some time during the day. But in this they were woefully disappointed, as not a stick of either tree met their eager glances until, as they were about to seek a camping-place as the sun was setting, to their delight they espied a small forest of *bootle-bootles*, on the crest of a neighbouring sand hill. Of course they were soon amongst the long-looked for trees, digging away with right good will, and when they had succeeded in

**ngarambin** (elders)

**yalam** (well)

**mamu kayani** (father of waters, literally father.3SGPOSS water.NOM. The word *mamoo* is written incorrectly in the original and was crossed out. This presumably refers to the Murray River.)

**wiyn tyeRk** (reed bed on fire)

**paRi** (road)

**wiya** (water mallee) WW **wiya**, Werkaya has **wiyar katyin** (where **katyin** means 'water'.)

**putul-putul** (*Hakea stricta*)

**kayani mukuR** (wallaby skin water bags)

unearthing a few roots, they stripped the ends of them of the bark, then they stretched themselves on their backs, placed the cleaned ends of the roots in their mouths, and sucked away as would two famished calves on meeting with their mothers. When they had slaked their excessive thirst, they commenced digging (p11) a further supply of roots, with the view of replenishing their water bags, but their bags were not more than half full, they had exhausted the supply, there only being a limited number of *bootle-bootles* in this clump.

They had scarcely completed the water-procuring operations, when *Weitchymumble* ejaculated.

“*Nga, nga, lowan a loondthal*”  
(Hullo, hullo! A lowan’s nest.)

and, sure enough, there it was, a great conical heap of sand, with a diameter of about twelve feet, with an altitude of seven feet. *Weitchymumble* was soon on his knees at the summit of the cone, scraping down the sand with his hands, going gradually round and round the cone as he scraped, until he had hollowed a basin of about a yard and a half across. Up to this time he had been working as though a wagger depended on his velocity, but now that the cavity had become large and deep, he proceeded with more care, and presently was rewarded by bringing to light the pink end of an egg. When this welcome though unexpected sight appeared, he exercised great caution still, ere ‘twas long he had unearthed *politulu murnangin mirk* (eggs to the number of the fingers on both hands). Thus, therefore, in the essential matter of food and water, they were provided, at least for one night. When *Weitchymumble* had secured all the eggs the *Ngalloo Watow* set to work to make fire by rubbing a narrow lathlike piece of saltbush across a sun crack in a pine log. A few minutes of rapid friction were sufficient to perform the operation, therefore the camp fire was soon made, and half of the *lowan*’s eggs set on end in the sand before it were in a short time nicely simmering away, being stirred the while with a thin twig, through an opening at the top end, made for that purpose; thus the yolks and whites were all mixed together, and when cooked they presented the appearance and consistency of a

**Nga, nga, luwan-a**  
EXCL EXCL lowan-GEN  
**lundhal**  
nest.LOC

**pulaty-ulu marnangin miRk**  
two-?DL hand.2SG.POSS egg  
‘eggs (to the number of fingers on)  
two hands’  
**telku** (good)

rich yellow paste, and, as to the taste thereof, the adjective *talko* (good) conveyed by a very remote idea.

Thus the night of their fourth day's toil closed around them, whilst enjoying better lines than the earlier part thereof had promised, for the two travellers were as well off as any unsophisticated aborigines could well be; therefore they enjoyed themselves accordingly, ate their frugal supper with zest, and afterwards slept the sleep which physical well-being, pretty well wearied, absence of fear, and the cravings of nature fully satisfied can give. The dawn of the fifth morning found them well forward on the road; they did not stay in the camp after they awoke to cook the remaining eggs, intending to do so when they stopped at noon for their mid-day rest. Long before that hour, however, the effects of the torrid sun, together with the blistering sand, made them fain to seek the *ngoky* (shade) of a desert *maroong* (calytris), where they tossed about uneasily in the sweltering heat. They did not cook their eggs, as had been their intention, but made them serve both as food and water, their small store of that essential having all been exhausted during their frizzling journey of that morning. The small relief afforded by the raw eggs was of but short duration, in fact it is questionable whether, after a short time, the effects of the eggs did not tend to the increase of their painful thirst rather than the contrary.

At all events, soon after the eggs had been (p12) consumed their thirst become to such a degree intolerable that they determined, notwithstanding the fierce heat, to proceed on their way, with the expectation of falling in with some *weir* or *bootle-bootle* trees, from either of which they could readily procure their much-needed supply of *kayanie*. So with painful and not very rapid steps they plodded along wearily enough through the glowing, almost incandescent atmosphere, and although they endeavored to keep as much as possible in the shade of arboriferous scrub as they travelled, still, even in the shade, the temperature was but little if any less than in the full blaze of the sun itself. Not the slightest breath of air was there to stire the panting foliage; even its natural harshness and rigidity had to give way before the furnace-like heat which was all pervading. No sound, either great all small, save that

**ngaki** (shade)

**maRung** (calytris pine)

**wiya** (water mallee)

made by themselves was to be heard, no bird twittered, and not even a buzzing insect hummed. The silence of desolation was round and about the weary, worn wayfarers, and so impressed them that they too were silent in their torrid misery. But anon, the *Ngallow Watow* (who was leading) endeavoured to give voice to a cluck of pleasure, but alas! poor fellow, his tongue was too dry for such an effort, therefore the cluck fell still-born at its birth, so he had to content himself by weakly waving his arm to attract his fellow's notice, which when he had succeeded in doing, he pointed ahead, where but a short distance off waved the rich brown foliage of the long-looked-for and most welcome *weir*.

As a natural consequence, the sight of the water-giving *weir* infused fresh energy into their thirst-tormented frames; and although their thirst was too great to allow of speech, their eyes expressed the joy they fain would have spoken. New vigor now coursed through their sluggish veins and strung anew their flaccid thews and sinews, making them once again to tread the earth like veritable men. It is seldom that the stoicism or stolidity innate to the aborigines is overcome, no matter what circumstances may arise. On this occasion, however, it was thrown to the winds, and the genuine feelings of well worn human nature found as ready expression, as far as it could be conveyed by signs, in these two nearly exhausted savages, as it would have done had they been veritable civilised beings. The travellers were on the crest of one of the rolling mallee sand dunes when they sighted the brown foliage of the water-giving *weir*, and although it seemed almost at their feet, they had many more ridges to cross before they reached it, but the prospect of a cool and copious drink in such near proximity, kept their new found spirits from flagging, and enabled them within a reasonable time to surmount the last ridge which lay between them and life. Yes, life! for at that time water to them was very life indeed, as one more day without water would have abruptly ended the careers of the *Ngallow Watow* and *Weitchymumble*, and then, alas! the story of the "great stone" would never have been written.

### **KuRungandu Maki (Big Stone)**

When the *Ngallow Watow* and *Weitchymumble* stood on the ridge overlooking the *weir*, they were struck with the most profound astonishment to see an immense conical mound, such as they had never seen before, standing in the very midst of the *weir*. Naturally, this unusual sight frightened them very much, but the anguish which they were suffering, by reason of their extreme thirst, forced them to overcome their fears; therefore, they walked down the rise with seeming boldness, although trembling all the while, until quite close to the base of the wonderful mound, where (to add to their great astonishment) they observed a peculiar looking *pannoo ngarumbin* (little old man) sitting basking in the fierce rays of the sun.

(p13) The parched state of the traveller's mouths was too great to allow of their giving expression in words to this fresh source of surprise, but they mutually looked all they were unable to express, as they still kept on towards the base of the cone. When all at once *Weitchymumble* made a dash right up to the *Pannoo Ngarumbin*, much to his companion's astonishment, but before the latter could have given expression to the very shortest ejaculation (supposing he had been able to make one), the former had grasped an immense *mind* by the throat, and torn it, writhing and twisting, from round the leg of the basking *Pannoo Ngarumbin* (who chanced to be asleep), thus in all probability saving his life. *Weitchymumble* placed the head of the *mind* against a tree, and beckoned to the *Ngallow Watow* to come to his aid. The latter was quickly by his side, when, delivering a well-directed tomahawk stroke, he severed the head from hideous reptile, whereupon *Weitchymumble* threw the body of the loathsome creature as far from him as his strength would allow, and then sank to the earth, perfectly exhausted, the excitement of the snake episode being greater than his toil and thirst worn *physique* could bear.

"*Ngu*", exclaimed the *Pannoo Ngarumbin*, when he saw *Weitchymumble* sink to the ground.

**panu ngaRambin** (little old man)

**mirndai** (large mallee snake) In a note on page 15, Beveridge says "Mindi, the aboriginal name for a straw-colored snake which attains a large size. The writer has seen them eight, nine and ten feet long. Their bite is nearly as fatal as the sting of a deaf adder. They are peculiarly mallee snakes." See Text 13, 3.3.1 above for the Mathi-Mathi story of the **mirndai**.

**ngu** (EXCL)

**“Niniwoor wortongie birra. Yetty tumla coorrongendoo. Ka ki nginma. Boorm.”**

(Ah, the young man is dead. I shall cry very much. Come here you. Quickly.)

Addressing the *Ngalloo Watow*, “And we’ll carry him into my *loondthal* (home) out of the sun.”

**“Pioo, pioo. Niniwoor wortongie. Watty bambin.”**  
(Good, Good. young man and not frightened)

“Had he not caught the *mind*i as he did, *yetty* (I) would have been *boondan* (bitten), although I should not have died from the *wallanoo* (wound), but no matter, his motive was a good one!”

**“Pioo, pioo. Niniwoor wortongie. Watty bambin.”**  
(Good, Good. young man and not frightened)

So it was that the *Pannoo Ngarumbin* lamented, as he and the *Ngalloo Watow* carried limp form of *Weitchymumble* to the cone, where, when they had arrived, they placed their burden on the ground, whilst the former struck the side of the mound, which proved to be a *muckie* (stone) three times in rapid succession, ejaculating emphatically at each stroke

**“Katie, katie”**  
(Sharp, sharp)

and as the last stroke fell on the stone cone a large section of it moved inwards, leaving an opening large enough to drive a carriage through. Again lifting the senseless body of *Weitchymumble*, they carried him through the opening, and as soon as they had gained the interior, the *Pannoo Ngarumbin* repeated quickly

**NiniwuR wurtungi piRa.**  
young man man die  
**Yeti tumla kuRangandu.**  
1SG cry big  
**Kakai nginma.**  
come on! 2SG  
**PuRu(m)**  
quick!

**lundhal** (camp.LOC)

**Payu, payu.**  
good! good!  
**NiniwuR wurtungi.**  
young? man  
**Wati pambin.**  
NEG fear.PST

**yeti** (1SG)  
**punda** (bite)  
**walanu** (wound.3SG.POSS)

**maki** (stone)

**Kati, kati**  
sharp sharp  
[note: This word appears to be related to the word for ‘heat’, Mathi-Mathi **káthai**, WW **karrthi**]



**“Ngopo, ngopo”**  
(Shut, shut)

when immediately the open section of the cone silently returned to its former position. The *Ngalloo Watow* was so taken aback and frightened when he saw the great stone section falling back into the opening that he actually forgot all about the great thirst from which he had been so lately suffering. Indeed, this was altogether a new experience to him, and he did not like it by any means.

Meanwhile, however, the *Pannoo Ngarumbin* was busying himself about *Weitchymumble*; he had procured a fluid of some kind or other possessing a most pungent, though agreeable, *ngarwa* (smell), which he was endeavoring all he could to get his patient to swallow, and after a little time his efforts were crowned with success, as *Weitchymumble* not (p14) only swallowed the fluid, but with a great sigh he opened his eyes, much to the gratification of his assiduous nurse. The fluid which the *Pannoo Ngarumbin* had administered, whatever it may have been, not only brought *Weitchymumble* to his senses, but it also had the effect of loosening that young man’s tongue, which prior to that had been cleaving to the roof of his mouth, rendering anything like articulate speech wholly impossible, therefore a few minutes after opening his eyes he sighed forth, but yet loud enough to be understood,

**“Tolkine kayanie yetty, coorangondoo; wintialloo yetty kopo.”**  
(I am dry very much. Where shall I drink.)

Hearing which the *Pannoo Ngarumbin* immediately produced a large curiously carved wooden vessel full to the brim of clear, cool water, saying

**“Kopo, nginma.”**  
(Drink, you)

*Weitchymumble* did not require to be twice told, for as the *Pannoo Ngarumbin* spoke, he seized the vessel greedily with both hands and drank to this utmost satisfaction, after which he handed the vessel

**Ngupu ngupu**  
Shut shut

**ngaRwa** (smell)

<b>Tolkayn</b>	<b>kayani</b>	<b>yeti</b>
finish.PAST.PTC	water	1SG
<b>kuRungandu</b>		
big		
<b>Windhalu</b>	<b>yeti</b>	<b>kupa?</b>
where	1SG	drink

**Kupa, nginma.**  
drink 2SG

**putkan** [this word is probably the same as WW **purrkən** ‘breathed’. It contains the past participle suffix -an.]

to the *Ngalloo Watow*, who likewise gladly drank, and that, most astonishingly, and to the great wonderment of both, the vessel remained as full as though it had not been touched. However, the thirst of the two travellers was completely *boetkna* (quenched), besides they felt refreshed otherwise, much more so indeed than either ever felt before after a simple drink of water; this fact naturally gave rise to considerable wonder in them, which they gave expression to by clucking with the tongue, and occasionally ejaculating “*ngu!*”.

Being both refreshed, and feeling, in fact, in as good cue as the did when leaving the *Miloo* on their outward journey, they began looking about them with the view to discover what kind of place they had got into, and what manner of *Wortongie* their host was; the latter was found to be a puny old man, with long white hair, and a venerable beard of the same colour, but with only one eye, and strange to say, it was twice the size of an ordinary man’s eye; and more singular still, it was placed in the very centre of the forehead, giving the owner an expression of countenance which could scarcely be called taking. When the *Pannoo Ngarumbin* thought that he and his surroundings had been sufficiently scrutinised, turning to *Weitchymumble* he said,

“*Nangie nerinew nginty? Yetty Ngowdenout.*”  
(What is your name? Mine is Ngowdenout)

*Weitchymumble*, trembling with fear, told the *Ngowdenout* his name, together with that of his tribe, and where he had been, and how he and his companion came nearly dying through lack of water; that they had seen the *weir* which surrounded the *coorongondoo muckie* from afar off, and hastening

**ngu!** (excl)

**Nangi**     **nyeRinu**  
what        name. 3SG.POSS

**ngindi.**

2SG

**Yeti**     **Ngautenut(h).**

1SG     PROPER NAME

(On page 15, Beveridge writes the following note: “Ngowdenout – the spirit of the mal’ee. He is both good and bad by turns; it merely depends on the whim of the moment how he may act. He is all-seeing, all-powerful, and invulnerable to everything earthy.”)

**partinyu** (knee.3SG.POSS)

to it as only famishing men will hasten, espied the *mind* on the point of striking striking his fangs into the old man's *pettinew* (knee), when he rushed in and tore the reptile before it had time to strike:

**“Eya, watty nginty bambin”**  
(yes, you're not frightened)

“Had you not bravely seized the *mind* when you did, I should have been bitten sure enough, but the bite would not have done me any harm, for I am *Ngowdenout*, and there is nothing on earth that can hurt me.

“Your intention, however, when you seized the reptile at your own peril was of the best, therefore I honor you accordingly, and it is scarcely necessary to add, that being honored by me is something to be proud of, as no doubt, your *mamoo* (father) has told you frequently.

“It needs not that I should tell you that whatever any of your tribe may do, no matter how secretly it may be done, is known to me, (p15) even your trip to the Wimmera tribes, and all that transpired on your journey there, with the difficulties in the matter of water on your return, even to the *mind* episode, were all right well know to me before you set out; in fact it was my influence which induced your *mamoo* and the other *ngarumbins* of the tribe to send you to the Wimmera.

“But enough of this. No doubt your *wootchiwoos* are *birra* (bellies are empty). Come along and *jackla* (eat); I have some fresh lowan eggs, some delicious *bitrne* (ants' eggs) and a splendid supply of the finest *laarp*, to all of which are both heartily welcome. After you have eaten you had better *coomboo* (sleep) for a time, and then you will be enabled to perform the rest of your journey with ease.

**Eya, wati ngindi pambin**  
yes, NEG 2SG fear.PST

**mamu** (father.3SG.POSS)

**wutyiwu** (stomach.3SG.POSS)

**biRa** (die)

**tyakila** (eat)

**pitirni** (ant's eggs)

**laRp** (lerp, manna from scale insects). (Beveridge notes on p15

“Laarp, white cottony-looking substance which in the very hot weather is deposited by a small green insect, in vast quantities, on the young shoots, or suckers, which spring luxuriantly the season after the mallee has been burnt. It is exceedingly sweet, with a slightly almond flavor. The aborigines are extremely fond of it, and will travel miles and undergo great privation

“I shall now say good bye to you as you will not see me any more, as I have other matters to attend to which take me hence. Eat until your *wootchiwoos* are *coorangandoo* (bellies are full), then sleep without fear, and when you wake pursue your *barri* (road). Good bye.”

When the *Ngowdenout* had thus spoken, he simply disappeared ere he had well done.

They saw him as he spoke, and when he had done he was gone, how or by what means the *Ngalloo Watow* and *Weitchymumble* failed to discover. As might be expected, they wondered greatly, although they endeavoured all they could to keep their wonder within proper bounds, fearing lest they should think of the *Ngowdenout* in a manner that he would not like; therefore, to stifle their speculative wonder, they immediately commenced operations on the food, to which they did ample justice, applying, as their needs dictated, to the never-lessening vessel.

When the travellers had satisfactorily replenished man's ever recurring vacuum, they could scarcely do less than have a quiet look at their surroundings, which on the whole were one enormous puzzle to them. They were perfectly well aware that they had come into the interior of the immense stone cone through an aperture formed by a small section thereof opening inwards, at the *Ngowdenout's* word of command, at least the *Ngalloo Watow* knew this to be so. Poor *Weitchymumble* had neither sense or motion at the time; however, his companion noted the manner of their entrance, and told him then he also knew about it. From the appearance of the cone as seen by them in the first instance, they were under the impression that it could not possibly cover any very great area, as they fancied that they took in the whole of it at one glance, and yet here stretching before them, and to the right and left as well, as far as they could see, was a piece of country a pretty as they had ever beheld, nicely dotted over with all kinds of beautiful shrubs and trees, though the foliage of which *irejewirts* (birds) (p16) of every hue hopped about in peace and serenity;

and fatigue to procure it. Its fattening qualities are very great.”)

**kumba** (sleep)

**paRi** (road)

**tyutyiwirt** (bird)

the *coolumboolbob* (crested pigeon) perched on a *yanup* (myall) tree within a few yards, cooed to its mate without the slightest fear, notwithstanding the near proximity of the travellers; whilst the sage *kooiwara* (laughing jackass) pruned his feathers, chucking the while, and altogether looking the personification of feathered contentment. And the tiny, timorous *tie* (kangaroo-mouse) skipped playfully beneath a *peetical* (quandong) tree and nibbled out the kernels of the nuts which had fallen from thence, and of which they were so fond, with all the practiced coolness of a favoured little pet. Truly, but for the fact of the stone wall behind them, together with the unnatural tameness displayed by all the animals about, the *Ngallow Watow* and his companion might readily have fancied themselves in an oasis, such as is frequently met with in the mallee scrub, instead of where they were, with stone walls round and about them.

They did not say much to each other on the strange subject, however, whatever may have been the bent of their rebellious thoughts the idea of the near neighbourhood of the *Ngowdenout* kept them very quiet. So then, what with their self-imposed silence and the drowsy nature of the mild atmosphere, together with the hearty meal which they had just enjoyed, the drowsy god was too much for them, therefore they gradually sank back fast asleep under the stately pine, beneath whose grateful shade they had so freely partaken of the *Ngowdenout's* lavish hospitality.

It wanted nearly two hours of sundown when the *Ngalloo Watow* and *Weitchymumble* fell asleep under the pine tree in the *Ngowdenout's* abode, and to their surprise when they awoke they found the sun just rising. At first they were under the impression that it was only about to set, until they considered about their bearings, and even then they were in great doubt until they perceived that it was gradually attaining a higher altitude, when of course their doubts were removed, and they knew they had entered on a new day. After they had thoroughly realised this fact, they naturally looked about for the stone cone, or so much of it as could be seen from the position in which they went to sleep the previous evening, but not one vestige of it was to be seen. Seemingly it had vanished as did the owner to the

**kulumbulpup** (crested pigeon)

**yanap** (myall tree)

**kuiwaRi** (kookaburra)

**taiyi** (kangaroo rat)

**pityikal** (quandong tree)

**yuyu** (dream)

day before; at all events it was gone sure enough, and puzzle about it they might, still it was altogether beyond their comprehension, and at last, after they had thought it well over and compared one with the other, they began to fancy that each had a most imposing *yoyo* (dream), until the sight of the curiously carved water vessel, out of which the *Ngowdenout* had given them to drink the day before, dispelled that idea quite; and when close beside the water vessel they discovered as much cooked as would suffice them for at least two days, they were morally convinced that everything which they had seen and performed the previous day was as real as any other thing which which they were acquainted.

In almost speechless awe they gathered the food into their *mocres mocres* (bags), then filled their water bags from the curiously-carved vessel, and then these things were completed they cogitated gravely as to the course they were to pursue to reach the *Miloo*. They had not to consider long, however, as to their course, for they quickly observed a *barri* (road) freshly broken\* which (from intuition as it were) they know the *Ngowdenout* had marked for them; nor did their intuition lead them astray, for sticking closely to it (the track) they, after two days toilsome march, reached the *bannie* (beautiful) *Miloo* and their own people, with more and stranger news than ever *Ngalloo Watow* was the bearer of before.

And now, even to this day, the story of the *Ngowdenout* and his *coorongandoo muckie loondhal* is as fresh in the memory of the *Watty Watty* tribe as it was the day after *Weitchymumble* and his companion had related it to their awe-subdued tribe.

**pani** (beautiful)

\* “Road freshly broken. In travelling through scrub the leading aborigine breaks an occasional twig as he passes along, with the view of indicating the correct route to those coming behind.”

**kuRungandu**    **maki**    **lundhal**  
big                    stone    hut.ALL  
‘into the big rock house’

# 6 *Combined Mathi Group Word List*

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## *Combined vocabularies*

The following table presents the vocabularies for the four tongues on which we have data. The words are in alphabetical order of the English glosses except that terms for birds have been listed alphabetically following the entry for ‘bird’, and kinship terms are in a separate table at the end of the main vocabulary, see Section 6.1.2 below.

Cognates, where available, have been included, partly for interest and partly to authenticate the accuracy of glosses for words attested by only one or two tokens.

## *Mathi-Mathi*

Almost all of the data comes from Hercus 1986 and items from there do not show source information. The only other source are the ‘Mutte Mutte’ words recorded by Robinson in source RW (see below under Wati-Wati (Piangil)).

## *Letyi-Letyi (see Table 44)*

- A McIntyre, A. ‘Kulkyne’, word list in Smyth (1878 II:70)
- B Beveridge, P. ‘Litchoo-Litchoo tribe’ in Beveridge (1883:71), (1889:172)
- Co Corney, F. ‘Bumbang on the Murray’, word list in Curr (1886 III:452–3)
- Ey Eyre, E.J. ‘Boraiper’, word list in Eyre (1845:395–7)
- K Curr, E.N. ‘Kulkyne’, word list in Curr (1886 III:454–5)
- Ly Thomas, W. ‘Lye-tee Lye-tee’, word list and sentences. Thomas papers, Mitchell Library MS214, Box 21.
- Mc McLeod, Mr. ‘Phrases’ in Curr (1886 III:438–9)

## *Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)*

### *Wati-Wati sources (See Table 53)*

- B1 Beveridge, P. Words and phrases in Beveridge (1883).
- B2 Beveridge, P. Words and phrases in Beveridge (1889).
- B3 Beveridge, P. ‘Tyntynder’, word list in Smyth (1878 II:73).
- B4 Beveridge, P. Word list and phrases in the *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines* (1858–9).
- B5 Beveridge, P. Word list and notes in Beveridge (1861–4).
- B6 Beveridge, P. Words, sentences and stories in the Beveridge Papers, State Library of Victoria MS104.
- E ‘Swan Hill tribe’, word list in Barry (1867)
- Ho Howitt, A.W. Words in Howitt (1904)
- JB Beveridge, J. Word list and sentences in Curr (1886 III:439–445).
- LH Hercus, L. ‘Wadi-Wadi’, word list in Hercus (1986:231) and discussion (1986:158)
- Me Mereweather, J.D. Word list in Mereweather (1859)

### *PuRa-PuRa sources (See Table 54)*

- MV Mathews, R.H. ‘The Bureba Language’, in Mathews (1902:172–5)
- MW Mathews, R.H. ‘The Wamba Wamba Language’ in Mathews (1903:179–188)

- MB** Mathews, R.H. ‘Bûrä’bûrä’Language’ R.H. Mathews papers, National Library of Australia MS 8006 (notebook 1:39–42)
- PP** Mathew, J. ‘Pura Pura’, word list in copy of manuscript, AIATSIS Library
- RE** Robinson, G.A.R. ‘Edward River dialect’, in G.A.R. Robinson papers (Clark 2000:227)

*Wadi-Wadi (Piangil) (See Table 92)*

- Bar** Words in Bartley 1892:65
- Ca** Cameron, A.L.P. Letter to A.W. Howitt, *Howitt Papers XM 113*, Museum of Victoria.
- P** Curr, E.M. ‘Piangil’, word list in Curr (1886 III:450–1)
- MD** Davey, H. Word list in copy of manuscript, AIATSIS Library
- D** Davey, H. ‘Lower Lachlan and Murrumbidgee’, word list in Mathew (1899:208ff)
- L** Larmer, J. ‘Junction of Lachlan and Murrumbidgee’. Word list in Larmer (1898:227–228).
- M** Macredie, T. ‘Piangil’, word list in Curr (1886 III:448–9).
- MK** Mathews, R.H. ‘Kinship terms for Wathi Wathi and Wimmera.’ National Library of Australia MS 8006, Series 7, Folder 3b.
- RW** Robinson, G.A. ‘Languages of Mutte-Mutte and Watte-Watte., G.A. Robinson papers (Clark 2000:224).
- RM** Robinson, G.A. ‘Murrumbidgee’ G.A. Robinson papers (Clark 2000:231).

*Indeterminate*

Source AM: A certain James Mathew contributed a letter to *The Mildura Cultivaor*, September 1, 1917 in which he quotes a word list from Albert Mack of Port Macleay Mission Station, South Australia. Most of the 49 entries in this list are known from other sources to belong to languages in the Mildura area, but they cannot be pinned down to a particular tongue. A few entries have been included in our sources where they confirm a word known from only one or two tokens, but although they supply confirmation of some glosses, they cannot be taken as evidence of the word in a particular tongue.

*Conventions*

Modern phonetic notation from Hercus and transcriptions of old sources into a broad phonetic form are entered in large type. The original sources are in smaller type.

Diphthongs are marked as **ai**, **ui**, whereas sequences of two vowels are shown as **iya**, **uyi**. The difference is shown by the stress patterning whereby the second syllable of a sequence of two vowels can be stressed, but the second element of a diphthong is not. Compare Mathi-Mathi,

night, dark                      **pùyínggi**, pùyíndhi  
    **pùyíndhata** ‘at night’

and

fall, to                              **púika**, púikatha

*Possessed nouns*

As in many Victorian languages, many nouns (such as body parts and kinship terms) were very rarely expressed without a possessor, and most of these occur in citation with a 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular possessor suffix, respectively **-in** and **-u**. In Mathi-Mathi it is not always possible to tell whether a word has a consonant or vowel root (see Section 3.2.3.2).



We will not be proposing root forms for these nouns in this word list, but will indicate the meaning in the form **thàtháku** ‘his arm’ or **nuRayin** ‘your back’.

In some cases the unpossessed form seems to be present in one of the languages. Compare the words ‘bone’: Mathi-Mathi **káلكu** ‘his bone’, Letyi-Letyi **kalk** (*kaalk* K), Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) **kalku** ‘his bone’ and Wati-Wati (Piangil) **kalki** ‘bone’ (*kulki* CaH). We cannot confidently reconstruct **kalki** as the root form for either Mathi-Mathi or Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) because of the consonant final **kalk** in Letyi-Letyi, which could also be the root form in those two varieties.

## 6.1.1 General Word List

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
active			katkiRa katkira B2, katkirra E [Wer kertkert]	
addled (of eggs) [lit. 'young having']			wertawil wertawil JB	
air, breath		puRki pour kee Ly nandi nãandie A	paki backie E, bokie B2 WW purrkæn 'breath'	
alive [see 'healthy']			puRinya boorinyer JB, burunyar PP purinyarer 'live' PP	puRwuki poorwoki D [see 'air'] poorwokie MD
all [see 'plenty']				
altogether, complete	kìyákamĩnhu  'having it in one'		tolkayn  tolkingin B2, tolkyne B4, tolkine 'all gone, finished' B6	
ancestor [see also 'great grandfather']	pàrrĩmbu [WW parrəmbuk, parrəm-parrəm 'grandfather']		ngamaloRuwi ngamalloroie B2, ngamalloroie E  [this may contain <i>ngama</i> , the widespread word for 'mother', not otherwise found in Kulin]	
and	ngá pá [widespread Kulin]		nga nga B2	
anger [see also 'wild'] be angry get angry wild man, killer	kùlĩngai 'my anger' kùlĩnatha kùlėwatha kùlum-kùlum			
animal, beast, meat	thiti			
ankle			maRiwu 'his ankle' murriwoo E [WK merrk, marrk]	
ant	tĩrráwi			
arm [see also 'wing']	thàtháku 'his arm' tut tar kin RW		t(h)arta  kaukantartow E	t(h)aki  tarki D, tarkie MD

English	Mathi-Mathi [presumed to be Mathi-Mathi, literally 'your arm'] [WW thathak, Wer tatyuk 'his arm']	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)  tut-tow-er RE  tertow B2, tartau PP	Wati-Wati (P)  daki Ca
arm, fore			makinu(r)na-, markinurnanew E, ngurnunginu- ngurnoonginoowo B2	
arm, upper			ngunyeRu [see 'elbow'] ngoonyeroo E	
armpit	kàtháwa [WW kathap, Wer katyap]			
arrive, come	pírnmatha [WK pirna]		pirna berna, bernin JB, birnin 'come' JB wa(r)ta wata JB [Wer warta]	
ashes cold  hot  small fragment of ashes produced by a fire-drill hot heap	milaki [WW milak]  príndi  thípu  púnhi [WW, Wer puyñ]		milaki  milagi H peRinyi berrigni JB  pun(h)i boonie B2, E	
ask, to	kàláyatha  [WW kalaya]		kaliya (kalaya?), kalika kuliya B2, kulliga E	
at last, finally	pàlhúrru			
autumn			wiyat weat B1, B2, E [WW wit 'winter', Wer wiatt gettye 'springtime', 'little warm']	
awake [see 'air', 'alive']			pu(R)ko-  burkoyn E, bukoya B2  nynklong E	

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
baby <sup>45</sup>		pupup boobop Co, popop K [WW popeyn]	pupu, popo JB, bupo PP  poopoop B2, E, bupu MW, MV pupup-kuR <sup>46</sup> poopoopcour 'female child' B2 n(g)ilamum neillamoom E, neillumoom B2 [Dja ngilamum, Tjap ngilam 'new born baby'] [appears to contain the form mum 'bottom']	pupi, pupupi pobi P,  popopi D, popopie MD bobi M
bachelor			wenggi wenkie B2, E	
back	túthi  tut.tin RW 'your back'		waRmu 'his back'  warmoo B2, E  [Wer warrem, WW warrəm] wart(i) wurtoo JB [Wer, Tjap wart]	nuRayin 'your back' nu ray un RW
bad, (to be)	púki(la) [cognates to the north include Paakantyi puka 'rotten, dead']		wikeRu <sup>47</sup> wickeroo E, B2, waikidoo JB  yathang  yethong 'evil' B2 [WW yathang, Wer yatyang] waRawitangi warawitangi PP	puki booki D, bookie MD  bon.ca.bon.ca 'no good' RM  waikatanyi wykatanyee M thilika, tyil(i)ka  chilka P, thilika Ca
bad (sick)	thilékatha 'sick' [WW tyileka 'sick']	tyilika  chelegan K		
bad, bitter tasting salty water [see 'bitter']	kìrréthi kìrréthi kathini [Wer kurraty, Tjap kirrity]		kiRiyi kiryie 'acid' B2, keryie 'acid' E	

<sup>45</sup> **Pupup** is the common Kulin word for 'baby'. There is also a Kulin word **painggu** 'child'. Some of the sources gloss **pupup** as 'child' and some gloss **painggu** as 'baby'.

<sup>46</sup> The form **kurrk** meaning 'female', 'blood' and 'red' is found in most of the Kulin languages.

<sup>47</sup> The form **wikaRu** may be based on the root **wika** 'hungry', 'starving?', 'dead'.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
bag	ngùnhíngi [WW ngunyi]		mukuR-mukuR mockoor mockoor B2, mocre- mocre B2, B1 [mugerra mugerra 'kangaroo skin bag' Woi, also recorded for other languages by Robinson, Clark 2000:257]	
bald [see 'bare']			piRawil birrawie E, birrawil B2 [WW birratayil]	
ball, ball game	yúkum <sup>48</sup> yúkum yunggathin 'He threw a ball'			
barb, wooden spear	tílárnu [WW tilak]			
bare, clear (ground)	pírrathì [see 'bald']			
bark, of trees	míthu <sup>49</sup>	nguRi mori Co, ngori K	mityu michoo JB, midhuk PP nguRi moorium B2, E	laikoti laikoti P [WW larkurt 'thin bark'] ngo(r)ti ngorti D; gnortie MD [Yi <i>ngoort</i> ] tulambi toolambi M
bark, to	káwirràtha			
bath [see 'wash']			putuyn botoine B6 MS140/2 (a)	
be [see Mathi-Mathi text 7]	yuma			
beard	[see 'whiskers']			
beat, to	[see 'hit, to']			
beautiful [see 'handsome']				
bee			moReng(g)omi morengomie E, B2	
behind (adv and prep)	nhémba			
believe [see 'hear', 'understand']				

<sup>48</sup> In the game of **yukum** players would contest the ball, throw it on the ground and throw it from one to another, and the opposing side would try to get it.

<sup>49</sup> Mathi-Mathi **mithu** nd Wati-Wati **mityu** forms are both literally **mith/mityu** 'its skin'.

English bend, to	Mathi-Mathi kártatya, kartatha	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) purtaRi, purtani  purtaree E, purtanie B2	Wati-Wati (P)
berry, edible; dillon bush Nitraria billardieri	tílanggi ‘wild grape, dillon bush’ [WW tilayn]		tilayn dillines B2 [probably pluralised using English ‘s’, and is likely to be a WW or similar form]	
big	kàrráwi  wíthul  tángi ‘large, tall’	wirtuR  wirtoor K [Woi wuRthapu] witap wittab Co	karrawi kàrráwi LH, karaway JB muRpuR  murpur B2, E  kuRungandu koorongandoo B2, koorongando E corongandoo ‘exclamation when seeing a large flight of ducks’ B2:175, koonando B2 kooronguntoo MB kurong-untu MW, kurando PP [WW kurrumbit, Wer kurrung]	kaRawi, kaRai karawe P, guraway M krai D, cryie [Yar grauwi]
bill (beak)	[see ‘lips’, ‘mouth’]		wuRungu ‘its beak’  woorogno JB, woorinen E	
bird [generic word for edible creature, see ‘animal’]	thíti		tyutyiwirt  joejiwirt E, joejiwert B2	yaRi-yaRi <sup>50</sup>  yarri yarri D, yarrie yarrie MD
bird call			geralka beralka B2	
broilga	kùthúni <sup>51</sup>	kuturni  gotarni Co, kotorni K	ku(r)tuni  courtenie B2, koortinie B1 koortonie E, koortani JB kurtongi PP	tuRkanyi, tuRkuangi turkanyi M, torkanyi P toorkuangi D; toorquangie MD

<sup>50</sup><sup>51</sup> Compare Wergaya **yawir** ‘meat’ and Wemba-Wemba **yawirr** ‘any edible creature’.<sup>51</sup> The same root is found throughout Western Kulin and in the Warrnambool language. The intervocalic consonant shows up differently in different languages. See Blake and Reid 1994. The Wati-Wati (Pianggil) forms may be cognate with YuYu *toorkul*.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
brown tree-creeper	pính-pinh, túni			
bustard			ngaRau ngarrow B1, ngarran B2 [WW, Wer ngarrau] ngurawi 'turkey' PP	nuway 'wild turkey' MD
cockatoo, black-red			tyaRi(y)n  tcherin B2 [Wa tyaRiyn]	
cockatoo, black-yellow			wiRani  wirranie B2, wirani PP, [WK wiRan ]	
cockatoo, galah	wilékil		wilik-wilik willick willick B2 'slate cockatoo' [WW wilək-wilək]	
cockatoo, Major Mitchell			kelela  gellela B2 [WW kalalək, Wer kalalak]	
cockatoo, pink eyes			karta  kurter B2 [Wer katyekarr]	
cockatoo, white	kirréndi 'corella'  thínáwi 'sulphur-crested' [WK tyinap]	kawa  kawa K, kowa Co	keRang(g)i, keRanyi kerangie B2, kerenyi JB, kerangie E  karanyi PP [Ya kaRang]	kaRang(g)i, kaRandi kerangi P, karandi D carandie MD  [Yar <i>kranti</i> ]  tyuRanyi juranyi M
crane, white egret	pálúrru			
crow	wángi  [widespread Kulin wa]	wangi  waangi K, wong Co, waangi 'bird' A	wangi  wongi JB, wangie B2, E, B3 wangi PP  waRangan  warangan 'gregarious ~' B2	walatyali, walakali walechin P, whalakeli D, whallakellie MD  willachali M, wal.la.kel.ly RM

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
duck <sup>52</sup>	ngárri		taRamang taramung E, tartamung B2	
duck, black	tùlúmi	tulumí tolomi K, toolomi Co	tulum tolem JB,  tarnawaR tarnawar B2, tanuwar PP	t(h)ulumi tolomi P,D, tolomie MD tholomi M tal.lo.am.bee RM
duck, fringe-bill			ngana-ngani <sup>53</sup> ngananganie B2	
duck, mountain	ngákundàl [WW ngakundal]		nynkoornel B2	
duck, pink-eared	wúya-wùya			
duck, teal	pérnerr [widespread Kulin]		perneR  berner B2	pe(r)naRi  pin.nary RM
duck, whistling			wotyá, witya(R) wotchor B2 [WW wutyurt ‘blue-winged shoveller duck’]	
duck, wood		ngalayn  naline Co, ngalain K	ngarni [Wer nganye-wil, WW nganək] ngernie B2, ngurni JB ngurnei PP	ngaRi  naari P, D, naarie MD, mari M (ngari = ‘black duck’ in other WK)
eagle, eaglehawk	wùlékil		wiRpil wirpile E, wirpill B2, werpil JB werapil PP [Wer weRapil ]	waipili waiapili D; wyapilie MD why.pal.ly RM
emu <sup>54</sup>	kàrríngi  yúmbarli, yúrndal	kaR(a)wingi  karwingi Co, C  karawingi K	kaRwingi, kurrwiyn  kurweengeMB, kurwingie B2, E kurwing kurwi JB, kurwie B2, B1 [WK kawir]	paRimali [Dja paRamal, CV paRaimal] buraimalli P, barrimali M thung(g)ati, thang(g)ati

<sup>52</sup> In Victoria **tulumí** is widespread for ‘black duck’ and **ngare** is found in a number of Kulin languages with this meaning, though it appears to be ‘wood duck’ in a number of languages to the north including Wiradjuri and Gabi. The form **perner** for ‘teal duck’ is found in Wemba-Wemba and Wergaya. In Wemba-Wemba ‘wood duck’ is **nganə-wil** and in Wergaya it is **nganye-wil**.

<sup>53</sup> Nganyewil and similar forms are found in other Western Victorian tongues meaning ‘musk duck’.

<sup>54</sup> Some of the sources for Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) give forms for ‘large emu’ and ‘small emu’, but these are phrases including words for ‘big’ and ‘small’. For ‘large emu’ we have: *kooronguntoo kurweenge* MB, and *kurwinge kurong-untu* MV, MW. For ‘small emu’ we have *banooloo kurweenge* MB, *kurwinge bannutu* MV and *kurwinge banutu* MW. **Karringi** also refers to the dark patch in the Milky Way.



English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) kurwangi PP, kúrrwinj LH	Wati-Wati (P) thungati D, thungatie MD
goose			ngaki [WK ngak(- ngak)] ngakie B2, nquckie E	
hawk	píwi 'small hawk, poss. Nankeen kestrel' kérr-kèrr 'brown ~, kestrel' [WW kerrək-kerrək] wáwal 'night ~'		piRwi  pirwie E, B2	
kookaburra	kúng-kúng <sup>55</sup>	kungkung, kung(g)u gongong Co, kongo K [WK kurng- kurng]	kung(g)o,  koorgno, koongo JB  kuiwaRi  koeworie B2, E,  kooiwara B6 MS140/2 (a) gurung gurung PP	kuwaRi  kori P, koori M, kowari D cowarie MD [Wa kuwaRk]
mallee fowl, lowan	láwáni  [WK lawan 'brush turkey']		lawani  lowan JB	
magpie, blackbacked	kùrrúki [WW kurruluk, Wer gurruk]			
owl  owl, tawny frogmouth  owlet nightjar	kùyúral  thína-thinath  péth-pèth <sup>56</sup>	t(h)uni- t(h)unit duni-dunit 'mopoke'A [WW tyune- tyuneyt 'tawny frogmouth']	wiRmal [Wer wirimal; WW wirimal 'powerful ~'] wirmal B2, E  tyini-tyini  jinny-jinny 'mopoke'B3 [Wer tyine-tyinity, etc. = 'tawny frogmouth']	
parrot			kuRan-kuRan koorankooran E, B2 [WW kurən kurən, 'rock pebbler]	
pelican	páthángal	partangil purtangil Co	partangal pirtangal B2,	ninangguRi ninangure D,

<sup>55</sup> The form **kurng-kurng** is found in several Kulin languages including Wemba-Wemba, Wergaia and Woiwurrung.

<sup>56</sup> The owlet or nightjar was a bird of ill omen, bringing news of death.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
	puttarng.ne RW	pulungal, boolungal K	pirtangie E purtagnal JB, partangal PP	ninanguray MD nanangore P  neuankari M [Yi <i>nenangoo</i> ] din.not.cury RM; nin arn koo re RW
pigeon			tapi tuppie B2, E tuppy ‘bronzewing’ JB [WK tap ‘bronzewing’] kulambil- kolumbilbob ‘pigeon, crested’ JB, coolumboolbob B6 MS140/2 (a) <sup>57</sup>	
plover, spurwing			piRith-piRith [also other Kulin] perit perit B2, E, perrit-perrit JB perrit-perrit B3 ‘eaglehawk’ ming(ge)Rayi mingerai JB [ Wer manyerrap-kurk]	
quail			puRung(g)i booroongie E, boorongie B2 [WK puRunggi]	
restless flycatcher	yilélipurri, yilélpurri			
small bird			wiyt-wiyt weet weet MKB ‘small birds’ [WB wiyt-wiyt muRumbul, Wer wiyt-wiyt mambel ‘welcome swallow’]	
snipe			kuwampalith quambalith B2	
swan	kúrnwarra  [widespread Kulin: kunawar]	kunuwang  goonowong Co, koo-no-wang K	kunuwaR  konawar JB, koonoowar B2, E  kunawar PP	thanapuki, thanapuyt tanapuki D, tanapookie MD; dunabogi M; tenarpogee Bar thanabootch P

<sup>57</sup> Perhaps coincidence, but the common domestic pigeon is *Columba livia*. Could the form *columba* have been used in English and then borrowed?

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P) serm.nar.po.gee RM; [YY tarnapna]
turkey, wild [see 'bustard']				
willie wagtail	thírri-thírri [WW tyirri-tyirriyt and similar in other WK and Woi]			
woodpecker	túni <sup>58</sup>			
bite, to	púndatha púndilátha 'to go on biting'		punda boondan E, B2 [Kulin punda] tino JB 'bite' (of fish)	
bitter [see also 'bad, bitter tasting']			ngomie B2, ngamie E	
black	wúrrkirrim wúrrkirrimátha 'to be black' [WW wurkatang, Wer wurkirim]		wuRkawil wulkawil PP	waikiRimbi waikerimbi D; wykerimbie MD
blaze <sup>59</sup>			puRpa boorba E	
blear-eyed			n(h)im-n(h)im-ku(R) <sup>60</sup> niminkoor E, nimniminkoor B2	
blind			mokin mokin E, B2, mukin-gur PP	panmapil panmapil D, MD
blister			kertin-kertin kertin-kerinew E, kertenkerten B2	
blood	kúrrku 'his blood' kúrrkámurr 'blood' [Kulin kurrk]	kuki  gooki Co, kok ee	kuRk(i),  koorko JB, koorkoo E, kurki PP coorcoo B2 tyinka-tyinka jinka-jinka B3  kertrow 'bleed' B2,	kuRku  karko P, karku D, kurrkoo MD koorkioo M koorki CaH

<sup>58</sup> The woodpecker was the 'news bird'. It could understand what people were saying and repeat it elsewhere.

<sup>59</sup> It is possible that this word refers to a light streak, such as can be seen on some animals. No cognates could be found to clarify meaning.

<sup>60</sup> In some of the Kulin tongues to the south there is Wathawurrung **nhim-nhim** and **nyima**, Tjapwurrung **nyim**, Djadjawurrung **nyima** all meaning 'blind'.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) kertroo koorkoo 'bleed' E	Wati-Wati (P)
blow, to	pùyingga 'to blow a fire'		puR(o)ngka  booronka B2 [Wer purngga]	boo-roo-knin
blunt			murtu <sup>61</sup> mortoo E, B2	
boat [see 'canoe']				
body [see 'flesh']			paynki [see 'tired'] piankangoora B2, piankangooroo E [literally 'our flesh']	
boil, abscess <sup>62</sup>	pùthúni			
boil, to			thalurta thalourda B2, E [these words are given as verbs, but water was not boiled in traditional society so the meaning of this word is unclear] cod.dir.ney.mur.rah RE 'boiling water'	
bone	kálku 'his bone' <sup>63</sup>	kalk  kaalk K	kalku 'his bone'  kulkoo E, kulko, calwe B3 pimbi	kalki  kalko M, kulki CaH
bone for pointing	kálku			pimbo
boney	pálkathiya kálku-wil		bimbi Co	bembo P, dimbo AM [Yi biim 'bone']
boomerang	wáni <sup>64</sup>	wani wonnee Ly	wani wannie E, B2, wanne MB, MV, MW wan oo, woni JB, wani PP	wani onei D, oneie, wouni MDfclub
bottom, rump	múmu 'his bottom' [Kulin mum]	mumi  mum mee Ly		mumin 'your buttock' momen RW
bowels [see 'excrement']		kunangi  kurnangi Co	kunangin 'your bowels' coonangin B2,	pilpa-kunangu 'his bowels' pilporkeonango D,

<sup>61</sup> The form **murt** 'blunt' is recorded in Wergaia and forms such as *moort* meaning 'short' are recorded in southern Kulin languages (Blake and Reid 1998a).

<sup>62</sup> See also 'matter'. Compare Wemba-Wemba **putyun** 'matter from wound, boil', also Woiwurrung **puthen**.

<sup>63</sup> **Kalk** occurs in Eastern Kulin and in Wergaya as 'wood', 'tree', 'stick', as well as 'bone'; note also **kalak** 'tree' in Gippsland. **Kalka** 'spear' is found in Queensland, e.g. Guugu-Yimidhirr.

<sup>64</sup> The form **wan** occurs in Wemba-Wemba and this root is also found in languages of central and eastern Victoria, and further afield, sometimes with the meaning 'digging stick'.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
		waRungi warrongi K	goonangroo JB gunang PP [this form suggests this word was a consonant final stem in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)] manta-manta muntermunter ? muntir-muntir koonan-gin E	MD  papgoonarnyin M (lit. mother of excrement) peto beto P
box-tree	kékarta		tayi pulayt tye bulite 'box forest' B2 [This is a place name; the first element of which is 'kangaroo rat'. This name is further discussed in Chapter 2]	
boy [see also 'child']	wùtháipa páingguwi	painggu piungo 'son' A	painggu, paynku  banggo MW, MV, MB, piankoo E, B2 bain-go PP	painggungi  piangongi D
brains	mík-pùwu {=egg (of) head}		miRk-puRpu mirkpoorpoo E, B2 [=egg (of) head]	
branch			kurna, karna kurnanew E, kurnanew E	
brave			kityewa kitcherkwa B2, kitchenwa E	
bread [see also 'food']	pánémi			
break up, to [also 'break up (of weather)']	thúlpa-thúlpa, thulpurratha			
break, to			pukuyn <sup>65</sup> bookoin B2, bookoing E bukai... PP	murnda murnda D, MD
breaker			pukeRuyn boceroin B2, bokeroin B1 (proper name, B2 see Table 70)	
bream, freshwater	thúrri			

<sup>65</sup> **Bukuyn** may be 's/he will break'. See Hercus 1986: 130. Compare Wemba-Wemba **purkəna**, Wergaia **purka**.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
breast		kumbi kombi K [WK kurrm]  kutapi kutabi Co	koimbu ‘her breast’ koimbo JB  [WW kurmbuk ‘her breast’] naikalamum [see ‘baby’] nykalamoom E, nycalamoom B2 thanggin ‘your breast’ tunkin AM, tengai ? PP, [WK tyang]	koimbi koimbi P, D, koimbie MD  tandiyu tandioo M
bring, to, take, to	mánggatha  kakatha ‘to get’		mangga, mana  manin B2, E, mangna JB, mingi.cad.din.rey ‘fetch water’ RE (kartini ‘water’); gee.ro.ka ‘to fetch’ RE maki  make.be.al.lee ‘bring wood’ RE (piya- ‘wood’) marnakakayi murnakakai PP [kakai = ‘hither’] nguRma- ngurmin JB waiwa <sup>66</sup> wywa B2, E	manak(a)ya, minga manakia D, manakioo MD [widespread mana]  minga kiene Bar ‘bring water’
brood			muRung(g)alu mooroongalloo B2, E [see also ‘girl’]	
bucket, native <sup>67</sup>		tuku took ko Ly		
build, to			pupa poorpa B2, E	
bull-oak	ngárri			
burn, to	wálwa [WK walpa]		walpa walpa chinangin ‘burnt foot’ B2 (proper name on p177)	

<sup>66</sup> Beveridge gives *wiewa* for ‘to lift’ and ‘to raise’ and *wywa* may be another spelling of the same word. ‘to raise’

<sup>67</sup> Source B1 gives *coolaman*, but this is a word from eastern NSW which was borrowed into English. Source B2 gives *coolaman* for ‘water vessel’.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
	pu <sup>thamatha</sup> 'burn' and 'cook' (trans), 'melt'		nyanga nunga B2, E, ngangia JB [WW nyanga] pu <sup>thuma</sup> <sup>68</sup>  pu <sup>thuma</sup> JB	
bury, to [see also 'shut']	nhí <sup>patha</sup>  [WK nyipa]		tu <sup>rantangu</sup>  tu <sup>rontungoo</sup> E, B2	
bush, a [see 'shrub']				
by and by	tá <sup>thi</sup> , tá <sup>rti</sup> , tha <sup>ti-thati</sup>	ta <sup>rtim</sup> , tha <sup>rtem</sup> ta <sup>rtem</sup> 'presently' Mc) ka <sup>lwa</sup> ka <sup>lwa</sup> K  tyi <sup>laluka</sup> chi <sup>laloga</sup> K [WW tyelik- tyelik 'yesterday']	t(h) <sup>arti</sup>  da <sup>rti</sup> , da <sup>ti</sup> JB	
cabbage, wild	wi <sup>nwirru</sup>			
calf of leg			pu <sup>Rawu</sup> 'his calf' po <sup>rawoo</sup> E, B2, bu <sup>rauw</sup> PP	tu <sup>langiyani</sup> to <sup>olangianne</sup> MD
call, to  call loudly and repeatedly  to call someone'	ka <sup>rndatha</sup> <sup>69</sup> 'to shout' ka <sup>rndutha</sup> - ka <sup>rndutha</sup>  ka <sup>rndulàtha</sup>		ka <sup>rnda</sup>  ku <sup>rnda</sup> E, B2, cun <sup>tta</sup> 'howl' RE [common Kulin]	
calm			li <sup>tyiRi</sup> , ti <sup>tyiRi</sup> li <sup>tcherry</sup> E, ty <sup>cherry</sup> B2 [Tjap ti <sup>tyeRak</sup> ]	
camp	lé <sup>ngi</sup> <sup>70</sup> la <sup>rngai</sup> 'my camp' [lar 'camp' widespread Kulin]	la <sup>ng</sup> , la <sup>ngi</sup> la <sup>ng</sup> Co, la <sup>ngi</sup> K	lu <sup>Rngi</sup> li <sup>ngi</sup> JB, lu <sup>rnge</sup> MW, lu <sup>rnge</sup> MV lo <sup>rnge</sup> MB, to <sup>orangie</sup> B2, lu <sup>rngi</sup> PP	la <sup>ngi</sup> , li <sup>ngingi</sup> la <sup>ngi</sup> P, li <sup>ngingi</sup> D; li <sup>ngingie</sup> MD la <sup>iinyea</sup> g  lo <sup>ondie</sup> MD ly <sup>ullin</sup> 'camp or

<sup>68</sup> See also the entry for 'to cook'. Hercus records **budamadha** 'cook on coals'.

<sup>69</sup> The root **karnda** 'to shout, to call' is also found in Wemba-Wemba, Wergaya and Tjapwurrung. See also 'shout'.

<sup>70</sup> The root **lar** is found throughout the Western Victorian language.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P) resting place' Bar
canoe	yúngwip <sup>71</sup>  yun.goip RW	lungwi longwe K, longoi Co	yungkuwi unkooi JB, unkooie B1 eunkoie 'boat' E, B2, yung-goi PP	yunggopi yongopi D, yungobi M, yougopie MD  yangoibi P, young.gour.pee.kee.l o RM; yung goip pe RW
carry, to			wali- walliga E, walliya B2  walalanda PP	kaRatha karatha D, caratha MD
cat, introduced	púlket [English]		koortowa B2 [possible mishearing of 'cut']	
cat, native	pirríki-pirríki <sup>72</sup>			
catch/grab to	kákatha		kaRka kurka B2, E [WW karrka, Wer kerka]	
cattle, bullock	púltak			
centipede	wírra-wirra			
ceremony, corroboree	thàrráyamu			
chain of ponds			wu(y)ndang- wu(y)ndang woondung woondung B2 woindung-woindung E	
change, to [recorded only in connection with the weather]	thúlpa-thúlpa, thulpurratha			
change place, to	titatha			
cheek		taiki tay kee Ly, tatkin AM [Yi tik]	tiRku 'his cheek' tircoo E, tercoo B2 [Wer taRak]	nurni, narni nurni D, nurnee MD  kone din RW ?
chest	thánggi thánggu 'his ~' [WK tyang]		thang(g)i thungo JB, tungoo E, B2	

<sup>71</sup> Forms similar to **yungwip** are found throughout the Western Victorian language. The Mathi-Mathi form lacks the nominative -i suffix.

<sup>72</sup> Albert Mack records *peeriki*.



English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
child [see 'boy']	páinggu	paimpainggu  paimbango 'children' K	painggu, paynku  páinggu LH, pinko JB  painggumbula 'two children' pinekumboola 'children' E, B2 baingumbola PP pir.rer.con 'boy' RE; pie.un.go 'girl' RE	painggungi, paynkungi pangongi D; pangongie MD  marandobangi P  panyi baenyi 'baby' M
chin		nani nun nee Ly [Wer nganik, Tjap nganyi]	puRpu kani <sup>74</sup> poorpuganinpie E, poorpuganingin	nha(R)lki nharlki D, nharlkie MD  hole.kin, ole kin RW 'your chin'
chop, to, cut, to	mátatha			
claw [see 'foot']			tyinalapu ginalapoo B2, ginallapoo E	
claypan	pírrathì tháangi 'bare ground'			
clever [see 'doctor, clever man']				
climb, to [see 'lift']	wáiwatha		wiRwa werwa E, B2 [WK wirwa]	
cloud	ménggi 'dark cloud' <sup>75</sup> wápungùrr ménggi 'thunder cloud'	la(R)ki  lark kee Ly	muRng(g)i  moornkie B2, E, moorngi JB  murngi PP	maingwi  manguay D
club [see 'waddy'] <sup>76</sup>		penmil ben-meel Ly  liawil lee-ill-ville Ly	pinpinpi kaningi pinpinbyganingie B2, E  kaningi kaningi PP [Kulin kani 'digging stick']	munopi moonopi D, moonopie MD
coals, hot	wínggi [WW wiring, Wer wiriyn]			

<sup>73</sup> Sources B2 and E give *watty pinkoo* for 'childlessness', but this is literally **wati painggu** 'not his child'.

<sup>74</sup> Compare **ganimi** 'waddy', **ganingi** 'club'.

<sup>75</sup> In Wemba-Wemba **marəng/marng** is 'dark cloud'. The root **murn** is found in Bunganditj and the Warrnambool Language. **La(R)** is found in Eastern Kulin.

<sup>76</sup> The form *nulla nulla* is recorded by B1 for Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) with the meaning 'bludgeon'. But this is a word from the Dharuk language of the Sydney area. Forms similar to Letyi-Letyi **liawil** (lit. 'tooth-having') are found in other Kulin tongues.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
cold	míndi  mindáradha ‘be ~’  pánhmatha míndi ‘feel cold’	mindyi  mendji K, mangi Co meen-je-mun Ey	yepRa  yebra B2, JB, B1  puloyn-  boilinga JB  miRinyuma mirrinumoo B1 mirrinewma B2, E, merrianema E mirinuma PP [Kulin mirriyn ‘cold, cold wind, wind’	tinandyi, tinang(g)i tinangi D, tingangie MD; tenangee L puluyn-  poloinga P, bulloinkurrori M
come, to [see ‘arrive’]	wáрта wártatha  [WK warta]	yanaka yin-nar kar Ly, yennaga Co, K [widespread yan- ‘go’] niyaRin near yar in ‘coming’ Ly	yangga, yana yanga B2, E, yanna JB	tulanda tolanden MD
come on	kàwái ‘come on!’ [WK kaka ‘come here’]		kakayi [Bu kakayi]  kaki JB, kakaiyana PP kokwa wy ‘host’ E, cokwawy ‘hast’ B2 kuck-ky-annah RE	kakai  kagai M, P [Dja kagai] cow.ey cow.ey ‘come here’ RM
come out	pírnmatha (pírnmatha nhauyingi, telkayatha ‘The sun is coming out, it is fine.’)			
comet			teRaRi-wil terariwill E, B2	
cook, to	wálwa ‘to burn’ wálwatha ‘cook in ashes’ wálwathin ‘cooked’ pùtámatha ‘cook on coals’ [see also ‘melt’]		pu(R)ka  buka B2, burka E  [Wer paka, Tjap pawa]	
corpse			koimapil koirmahil E, koimabil B2	
country [see ‘ground’]				

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
crawl, to	kùwándatha [WW kauwənda, Wer kauwenda]			
crayfish, small; yabby	yápiyt ‘small ~, yabbie’ [WK yapity]		yapi yapi JB, yappie B1, yabi PP	yapi, yapityi yappi M, yabbechi P
crayfish, large	thíp-thìp ‘large Murray ~’ thípil ‘very large ~’	(ringwang) <sup>77</sup> ringwong Co  wuluna wolona K	tyipel  chipel JB [Yi <i>thapul</i> ]	tyipoli  chiboli , tipalie MD
creep, to [see also ‘crawl’]			kuwenda- cowendurn B2, B1 ‘the creeper’ [This is listed as a personal name in B2, Table 70] The form may be a past participle, and may be related to the word for ‘fog’	
crippled			ngaRpa <sup>78</sup> ngarpa E, B2	
crooked			miRmayl mirmile tchantchew ‘crooked nose’ B2, B1 mirmile m`aroong ‘crooked pine’ B1, B2 mirama PP	tuRapil toorapil D, MD
cross over, to	tùmúwilatha			
cruel			kuli wutyu ‘angry stomach’ kooly wotchoo E, B2	
cry softly, grizzle	ngítha [Wer ngitya]			
cry, to	númila		lumla, tumla loomla E, toomla B2, E numile PP; lo.am.a.lung RE	luma looma D, MD [widespread lung-]
cure, to			pipatyiRa, pipakiRa pipagera E, pipagira B2	

<sup>77</sup> This word is probably a loan from the Murray River languages, as shown by the initial **r**. The form -wang is clearly the Yitha-Yitha and Keramin form for ‘hand’ (Horgen 2005), and would refer to the crayfish’s claw. It is found in the word for ‘pig-footed bandicoot’, *landwang* (Krefft 1862).

<sup>78</sup> Cognates include Tjapwurrung *gnarpah*, Wathawurrung *gnurbo*, Djadjawurrung *knurp-per* ‘lame’ and Woiwurrung *ngarrboon* ‘lame’.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
curse, to	màrrámatha màrrámin 'cursed'			
cut, to [see also 'chop']	kàlpáiyatha [Kulin kalp]		kurto-, koortowa, kerton E kalpuna gulpoona E, galpoona B2	
dance, to [see 'play']	wàrrípa [WK waripa]		wiRiwa wirrewa B2, wirriwa E, wariba	
dark [see 'night']				
day [see also 'sun']	nhàuyíngi [WK nyawi]	ngawingi ngarwingi K, nowingi Co  katyiyi kat tye yee Ly  wali pundyi warlee poonjee 'another day' Ly	ngawingi, nhawi ngaengi JB ngengni JB, nowie B6 MS140/2 (a) kili-nhawi keely-nowie B3 [lit. 'this sun']  ngeringnerinum JB	nhangi, nhaingi nangi D, naiingi P, nainye M, nangie MD
day before yesterday		tilalaki latlu  till lar lu ker lat- loo Ly		
dead [see 'die']				
deaf			murtulapil nurtulahil E, nurtulabil B2 [Wer murt wirimbul] <sup>79</sup> wamawil wamauil PP	maRkenki markenki D, markenckie MD
decay, to			t(h)uR-t(h)uRa doordora E, doordora 'dewy' B2 [Wa thur 'dew']	
devil			ngambakutyala ngambacootchala B2	
dewy [see 'decay']				
die down, wither	pùtúkatha			
die, dead	wíkatha wíkatthin 'dead' [WK wika 'to	wika- waekin Co, wegan K	piRa birra B2, B1, pira PP, berra E  telpin	piRapil, piRathin berapil D, MD berathin D, MD  talpi-

<sup>79</sup> **Murt** is the word for 'short' in a number of Kulin tongues. See also 'dumb'.

English	Mathi-Mathi die']	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) delbin JB	Wati-Wati (P) telbi P, dalbein M
dig, to [see 'scratch']	pákatha		pang(g)a	
dig a grave, to (Mathi-Mathi Text 5)	pángatha 'dig lightly, scratch'		bunga E, B2 [WK pangga]	
dillon [see 'berry, edible]				
dish [lit. 'small', a small, flat dish]	pándhingi			
dislike intensely	kùléthuwàtha [see 'anger']			
disappear [see 'vanish']				
disturb, to chase up	lépatha			
dive, to [see also 'sunset']	pùthúkatha		pu(R)tua boortoya E, boortoin B2, boortowen E, B2	
divorce, to			yeRin yerrin B2, zerrin E [Wer yarang 'go away]	
do, make to	wárra(tha)  kúnga(tha) [Wer kunga]		waRa wára LH; wara 'do' JB, warra 'deed' B2 warramie 'make' B2, E waramulanda 'make' PP ngankoi ngunkoi E, ngunkoie B2 puthama 'make fire' [see 'burn']	kunga konga 'make' D, MD
doctor, clever (man)	mìwúrru [Yaralde miwi 'power', Wakangurru minparu 'clever man']		panyal, pang(g)al banyal, bangal B2, baangal B1, bungal B5 [Kulin pangal]	
dog	wìrrárgan [WW wirrengən]		wirrangan wirangen JB, wirrangan B2, MB  wirrangan B2, MW, E, B1, MV, B2 werangan PP ware.ning.ing RE wirrengel H wìrrèngèl LH	tìRilumbi terilumbi D, terielumbie 'native dog' MD

English	Mathi-Mathi káli [WK kal]	Letyi-Letyi kali kaali K, kolli Co, cul B1	Wati-Wati (SH) kal kal B6 MS 140/2 (a)	Wati-Wati (P) kali kalli P, kali M
don't	mátawa, nhánga-nhánga			
don't know [see also 'where']		windya windja K [widespread windja/windha]	wind(h)a winta JB [WW windja-kat]	warthenete naagana D
down	káwai mútatha 'to lift/get down'		wawalu wawalloo B2, E	
drag, to, pull, to	puwatha		liyampu leampoo B2, E	
dream, to	yùúkatha		yowi-yowi yoe yoe B2, zoezoe E [R.H. Matthews gives a form <i>Yattyaty</i> for 'dream' in Wer (Tyattyali) NLA MS 8006/3/4]	
dreamtime [ = 'long ago', q.v.]	thálékata			
drink	kúpa, kúpatha [WW, Wer kupa]	kupila- goobilup Co, kopelian K	kup(il)a kopa B2, kopla JB, kopoe B2, E kupilanda PP, kupilang 'drinking' PP	kup- koopung M, kopan P
drink, intox. (N)	kúpilàpa			koopori D, kooporie MD
drown, to	ngékatha			
dust, ashes	miláki [WW milak] púlpí 'dust and ashes mixed'		milaki  miláki LH	
ear	wímbulù 'his ~'  [Kulin wiri + pul(a) 'two]	wimbuli  wimboli K, wimbola Co  whym-boo-lee Ly, wimpoli A	wiRimbul, wiRimbel wirimbèl LH  wirumbool B2, E  wirumpoolen B3, wirimpoolo JB mum-wiRmbul  moomwirumbool B2, E	tyulandi  toolandi P, cholarndoo M ( 'his/her ear' )  ma(R)ki <sup>80</sup>  maarki D, marrkie MD
ear lobe [=bottom ear]				

<sup>80</sup> The **ma(R)ki** form in Wati-Wati (Piangil) invites comparison with forms in the Lower Murray languages such as Yitha-Yitha *marl*, Keramin *mur* and with forms in the Upper Murray languages such as Yota-Yota **maRmu**.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P) markin RW 'your ear', maliki CaH
east			karta kurter E, B2 [compare 'heat']	
eat	tháka thákila, thákina 'go on eating, eat up' [WK tyaka]	tyawa tchowa C  tyaka- chekilian K  pulakikilup Co [= pula tyakila?]	tyakila tyákela LH, jakla B2, jakkla JB, jackla E  tyakleanda PP, tyakilang 'eating' PP  tung.ah.loue.car.lee.a ngel 'to eat' RE	thawa thowun P  tyakana jikanal M ti.e.cor.ee RM  yakandin D, MD, [possibly related to tyaka-] yerendingi D
echidna			likwil [lit: 'spike- having'] likwil PP [WW lipkwil]	yeRendingi  yerendingie 'porcupine' MD
egg	míki [WK mirk]	miki mikke K, meg Co, miki A me-rik-ki EY	mirki mírki LH  mirkoo JB, B3, murkoo E mikko JB, mirki PP	maiki maiki M, neki P
elbow	ngunhukin 'your elbow' wo.nor.kin RW. This word was not recorded by Hercus [Wer ngunyuk]	nunuki [WW munyuk] noun noo kee Ly	ngonyuRu  ngonyooro JB [see 'arm, upper']  kaniwu-kaniwu guniwoo-guniwoowo E	kukuyin 'your elbow' kokoin RW
empty [see 'no']			lathu [WW latyuk 'naked'] lathoo B2, E  piRana pirana PP	teRawuna  terawna D, teraiona MD
enemy			katpa-katpi cartpercartpie B2, kartparkartpie E	
entrails			kalikan kálíkan LH	
ever			puRpuwang(g)an poorpooangan E, B2	
exclamation, surprise	pái			

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
excrement		kurnangi kornongi K [widespread kuna]  kalingi galingi Co	kuna- gonangroo JB koonangin B2, E [lit: 'your faeces' glossed as 'evacuate (i.e. <i>fears</i> )' in B2]	kunangi kooanyin M, koonanga P  koonangon D, MD
explain, to	kíwatha			
eye  eye, parts of	mir mírnu 'his ~'  ming.in RW 'your eye' [Kulin mir]	mingi mingi Co, K, myng-ee Ly  miRingi mer-ring-y Ey	miRngi, (miR) mirnoo B2, JB, B3, E2 mirngi PP mirenggel mírenggèl LH  wirtenmirnoo 'eye ball' B2 wirtinmirnoo 'eye lid' E, wirtmirnoo 'eye lid' B2 [see 'feather'] wiRingku mirnu wirringkoomirnoo 'eye brow' E wirringcoomirnoo 'eye lash' B2 turna mirnu turnamirnoo 'lower lid' E	maingi meingi D, mi-ingi Ca  maingo M, maingi D meingee MD  meeuyi CaH
face	tétku		tyampa mirnu tchampamirnoo E, tehampamirnoo B2, chinpa murang PP	paying(g)i biingi D, biingee MD
fall, to	púika, púikatha [WK puika]		puika boikan, boikin E, B2, PP	puika poikin D, MD
family			kirtapin kangowu kertapin kangowoo E, kirtapin is literally 'a lot/mob belonging to you' kungowoo E, kirtapin kangoewoo B2	
far	wekata [this word includes a locative suffix]		wiRya weryie B2, wirrya E  kilothakil kilothukkil 'good way off' JB	me.ar.paje.you 'further' RM



English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
far-sighted			wiRya mirnu werimirnoo B2, wirryamirnoo E	
fast [see 'quick']			kiRki perting kerky perting B2, kirkyperting E	
fat (inc. 'kidney fat')	piyúpulu, páipulu <sup>81</sup> páipulatha 'to be ~' [WK papul, pepul]	pipul(a)  pibola Co  kandyu  kaanjo K	pipalu 'his fat'  pipaloo JB  piangwil  piangwill E, piangwil B2 [literally 'flesh- having']	kalpind(i)u  kalbindo P, kalbendioo M [Dhu kalimbu]
feather [see 'tail']	withíni widhínu 'his ~/wing'		wirtinu 'its feather' weertinew B2, wirtinen E [WW withən, Wer widjan]	
feel (have feelings), to	pánmatha yiti pánmatha mindí 'I feel the cold'. See pathaima.			
feel, to [see 'touch']				
female [see 'girl', 'woman']	mùrrúnhi		papu 'female animal' <sup>82</sup> baboo E, babu MW, baboo MB	
fever, to have a	wálwatha márndu			
few [see 'three']		pulekwiya pooleckwia Ey	ngimananima ngimmananima B2, E panmaru panmaroo B2 [see 'small']	
fight, to	tákt hèrratha [root form is <i>thaka</i> combined with -tyerra 'reciprocal']		thaktyeRa-, thalcherung B2, thaliberung E  tuktyirang PP [root form is <i>thaka</i> combined with -tyeRa 'reciprocal'] waRanyeRa waragnera 'fight' JB	tikaRiya tikaria D, tiekaria MD

<sup>81</sup> **Payipula** as a general word for 'fat' including kidney fat and **puwipulu** for 'fat excluding kidney fat'.  
<sup>82</sup> The root **pap** is 'mother' in Kulin languages.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
fin			wernawu 'its fin' wernawoo B2, E	
finger [see 'hand']		yulut maningi eulut mun ning Ly, munangi A	ngaRinguR ngarringoor B2, E	ngaRinguRi naraugori D, naraugorie MD
fire [see also wood']	wànápi  wun.nar.pe RW  [WW wanap, Wer wanyap]	wa(r)napi, wunapi winabi, wanabi, wirnabi K woornabbi Co, woon ar bee Ly wan-nap-pe, wol-pool Ey, wunapi A	wanapi, wa(r)nawi wanawi winapi Ca, D, wunabi P wanup B5, B3, wonauwi PP warnowie B2, E, wurnaway JB 'means both <i>fire</i> and <i>firewood</i> ' winggel  wínggel LH [see 'coals'] we.an.ging RE	wanapi, winapi, wunapi woonobi M, woonapi CaH minna wenarpe 'bring fire' Bar wun nar pe RW  won.no.won.nor.be RM winapie D, winapie MD
fire, a magic	wùrréthu <sup>83</sup>			
first, beforehand	pákata (locative form) pákata yiti kupilathinh 'I'll have a drink first'			
fish yellow belly Murray cod very large variety of Murray cod freshwater bream	mírrmbul wírrínggil pándung pándhil  thúrri	pirndi birndi K	mandyi munchi JB  pandyil  bundgell B2, bandjil PP, bundgell E	wiRamtyali wirrumjali M pandi(li) baanda P, parndeli D, parndellie MD
fish, to	tháimilàtha to spear fish in shallows'	yu(w)ungila yoo-ong-illa Mc	tipeRai tiherael B2, tiberaie E	
fist <sup>84</sup>			milpa millpa E, milpa B2	
five	pùlétha pùlétha kiyáka [literally '2 2 1']		kayap marnangin ['your 1 hand'] kayap marnang- kyup murnangin B2  ryup murnangin B5, enwya murnangin E	ninumanyi, ninumang(g)i ninumanyi D, ninumangee, ninumanyee MD

<sup>83</sup> A magic fire, identical to the **wuretyil** of the Wemba-Wemba, something that had the scent of the intended victim was lit and buried (cf also 'quandong' below).

<sup>84</sup> **Milpa** is found in a number of Kulin languages meaning 'to bend'. It is not confirmed in the meaning 'fist' in other sources and probably is just describing the bending of the fingers in making a fist.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
flash, to be; show off	thírlka			
flesh	márndu <sup>85</sup>		payan(g)gi piankie B2, E	
float, to	thípatha [WK tyipa]		tyipa [WW, Wer tyipa] chipa E, B2	
flock			ngalangalu ngullangulloo E, ngullanguloo B2	
flood	pílkirri waiwilatha pílkirri 'flood rising'		pong(g)eRu bongeroo E, B2	
flow, to	kàthíwatha			
flower			pityan peetchan B2, E, beechon- beechon JB, PP [also 'flour']	
fly, a	píthíki [common WK root, see Table 7, section 1.3.2]	pitiki betegi K	pirti perti JB, pitie B2, E, birti PP	pithi, pityi beti P, pichi M  yilongoure D, MD
fog	kùwángi [WW kwa]		kuwangi  cowangie B2, kowangie E [see also 'creep, to']	
foliage	léngi			
follow, to	káwanga, kawatha (Text 2) kawangilatha (Text 5)			
food	pànémi 'vegetable food, bread' [WW banyim]	parnimi  birnimi K, burnimo Mc tyakalap <sup>86</sup>  jakkalub Co	parnimi  bernimoo JB, bernimie B2 murna pa kurni  moornabakurnie 'veg. food' E yawa(R) yauwar PP	tyakuRi  takoori D, MD; taroichi M wilpeRu wilberoo P

<sup>85</sup> This word can also be used in the sense of 'creature' or 'person'; **puki-puki marndu** 'bad and useless person'

<sup>86</sup> This is a purposive verbal form 'for eating'.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
foot	thínáŋgi [widespread tyina/thina]	tyinangi chinnongi K, jennagi Co tin nang Ly, tchin-nang-y Ey	tyinangi chinangoo JB, chinnanew B2, E chinangin B3, chinangi PP; air.nah.ing RE  keli tyinanyu ‘sole of foot’ kellychinnanew B2, kelly chimnanew E wirt-tyinanyu ‘instep’ wirtchinnanew E, witchinanew B2 [cf. WK wart ‘back’]	tyinangi chinnaan P, jennanyim M tinangi Ca, tinanghi CaH  tin narngin RW [‘your foot’] mamberi D, mamberia MD
forehead	kíni [WK kini]		kiningi giningi PP, kinninew B2, E	kiningi kernangi D, kernangee MD
four	pùlétha pùlétha  [pula ‘2’ widespread]	pulatyí- pulatyí  boolagi-boolagi Co, polaidji K polaidji a, poolette- poolette Ey	pola-pola, pulayt- pulayt  pola pola JB, polay polay E polite-polite B2	pulatyá-pulatyá, pulathal-pulathal, pulatyíl-pulatyíl polaigill-pollaigill P  bolaja bolaja M; polathol polatol MD
fresh			tang(g)eRu tangeroo B2, tangereo E	
friend			marnanyeti murnunyetic B2, murnunyetic E [see marna ‘hand’]	
frightened, to be	pám batha [Kulin pamba]		pamba- bambin B2, E ‘cowardly’, pambun PP pambauwil PP, pambun PP, bumbuma ‘stupid’ B1	kaing(g)a- kaingon D, MD ‘afraid’  cang.go.ree RM
frog	thínápi [possibly based on widespread thina ‘foot’]		nini [WW, Wer nirnak]  neenie B2, neeni E	tyinapi  jin.nar.pe RM
frost, ice	ténha [similar forms in other Kulin tongues]		tenangi, lenangi  lenangin B2, tenangin B1 tennangin B2 tan (taan) taan ‘ice’ B2, tann	

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) 'ice' E	Wati-Wati (P)
fruit			tyiRinyu =?? cherenthu JB, chirineu B2, tchirineu E	
full [see 'swell up']				
get up [see 'rise']	wérrpatha		paika pykie pykie B2 [WW paika] piekie E 'rise', pikie B2 'rise' pie-e-kar 'come up' RE	cum.mar.ee RM
get, to [see 'bring']				
girl	páinggu- mùrrúnhi 'child young woman'		muRung(g)uR  mooroongoor B2, moorongoor B1  panu layuR 'small woman' bannoolaioor MB, bannulaiurMV, MW, banlaiyur PP pupu-kuR pupoopcour E	maiwangupi  maiwangupi D; mywangupie MD [murruwing Yi]
give	wúkatha  [WK wuka, widespread root]	wuki  wakey Mc, wookey Mc	wuk- [WW, Wer wuka] waekie E, woekie B2, wuka PP woga, wock JB, wooka give! B2 wogna, wongna JB, woorda JB whoon.yen.ran.con.za cka 'give it to me' RE	wuk-  wooki D, wookie MD  [probably an imperative form]
glider, sugar	thìrráwal			
glue, to	tìpárrkimà- tìpárrkimà			
go	yírka	yan-, yuwan- yan ni Ly, yeng Mc, yuwana, yoowannur Mc yan nun un 'go away' Ly yan ner ki ee Ly 'go there' [widespread yan- 'go']	yan- yanawoo E, B2, yaen JB yannin JB, yanna JB  yangana 'I am going' PP yon.oh 'go away' RE	yangatha yangathie D, MD
go away	wàrríwatha [WW wariwa, Wer warewa]		wiRiwiya werawia JB, wirwie B2, wirtwoowa B2;	bar.ar.war RM [Woi paRawi 'go

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) wirwy 'go', 'went' B5, B2	Wati-Wati (P) down']
go down, descend [see 'flow']	katiwatha T5			
go out, to be extinguished <sup>87</sup>	pírna			
goanna	ngànúrri 'black tree ~' wàthàngi 'brown sand ~'		nganu(R)  nganur 'black (goanna)' PP	wainbali  wainbali D, wynbalie MD wirmbil Ercildoune in Mathew
god <sup>88</sup>	mámurra 'our Father'		maminguRak mamingorak PP [literally 'our father']	payambul biambule D; beambule MD
good	télki tèlkáyathàng 'in good condition' [WW, Wer telkuk]	telki talge K, delgi Mc, Co	telku talko B5, B1, B2, telko JB, talku PP tuwoo talko 'more good' B2 nga loorongandoo tumootalko 'and much more good' B2 payu pioo E, B6 MS140/2 (a) [exclamation form] cow-rack-cah 'it's good' RE	piRimali biri-imuli Ca, primalia D, MD [also 'right', 'sweet']  payu baioo P, bai-ai-oo M
grab, to	kànákatha, kakatha T2			
grass	wùrrínggi púti-púti 'edible seeds'	puatyí boaidji K, boadgi Co [WK, Woi puwayt]	wul(u)ngi woolukie E, woolnkie B2 woolngi JB, wulkni PP	wul(u)ngi woolngi P, worlengi D worlengie MD; woolooi M
grave	lúnhi 'burial ground'		thambu 'his grave'  thumboo JB	
grey	púr-ra-púr-ra Púr-ra-púr-ra ngarringin 'Your hair is grey.'		pulaRu poolaroo E, B2	
grind, to (seed)	púikilátha,			

<sup>87</sup>

The second meaning, 'to be extinguished (in reference to a fire)' might be due to the influence of English.

<sup>88</sup> The words listed under 'God' belong to two totally different cultures. The Mathi-Mathi and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) entries refer to the Christian God, 'Our Father', but the Wati-Wati (Piangil) word belongs to the Kulin tradition of the *Bram/Pram* brothers. These names are obviously related to the corresponding words in the other Kulin languages, such as the *buledji Brambimbul* of Werkaya traditions. The form -*bule* in the Wati-Wati (Piangil) words is presumably a dual suffix.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
	pàrrípatha			
grizzle, to [see 'cry']	ngítha [Wer ngitya]			
grope, to	nhírra-nhírra			
ground	thángi  [WK, Wa tya]	tyangi, tyandyi janji K, gangi Co jgan nee Ly 'earth' teangi 'earth' A	thangi  thungi JB, tungie E, B2, B3 tungie 'earth' B1  tungu 'on earth' B2 ngeRingi thangi nyeringutimgie 'country' E ngerringitamgie 'country' B2 ta-ngi 'country' PP  pimbul pimble B2	thangi, thanyi  tongi D, thanni P, dunyi M; tongie MD
grow, to	kéngatha 'of plants'		kaRing(g)a  karinga PP [WK karinga 'grow', 'swell']	k(a)Rananga  krananga D [Yar kringgun], crananga MD
grub, in trees	kárr, tákum piyál-kárr 'grub from red gum'			
guest			wiRka wirker B2, E	
gully			telakil tellaagill E	
gum, red gum [see also 'tree']	piyáli 'red gum'  piyal-piyal 'red gums' [piyal widespread Vic.]		piyal  chitto beal 'end of timber' B1, B2	
gum (of tree)			kuRkuwi kookoie B2, kooroie E lili lili JB [WW lil]	
gum (of teeth)			puloRotakin boollorotakin B2, boollorotakin E	
gypsum			kalkulpan kalkoolban B1	
hail (N)			partowi pertowie B2 [WW pathak]	

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
hair	ngàrrágin 'your ~'  púrrpu- ngàrrágin 'your head hair' [Wk, Wa ngarra]	ngaRa pupi  narapopi Co, pope K  nra boo pe Ly	ngaRanyu (pui <u>pu</u> )  nguragnoo poibo JB, ngarabue PP  nyenenen E, gningin B3  ngarranew B2; nerran-nun RE	ngawa pui <u>pi</u>  nouobopi D, nouobopie MD, na boebo M ngua-poibi P; poi pin RW  gnowpooipi CaH
hand	màn <h>á</h> ngai 'my ~' [see Table 13 section 1.3.2 for forms in other Kulin tongues]	ma(r)nang(g)i  munnagi Co, mun nag-ee Ly  mirnongi K, man-nan-gy Ey	marnang(g)i  murnagna JB, murnungin B3  murnanew B2, E, murnangi PP; mur.nah.ing RE wirt-marnanyu wirtmurnanew 'back of hand' E, B2 tong-marnangi 'palm' <sup>89</sup> longmarnangin B2, tongmurnanew E	ma(r)nang(g)i  munani P, monanying M  mumangi D, murnangee MD  man.narg.go RM munanghi CaH  mung.ang.in 'your hand'; mun.ang RW
hand, left	wàrrágin 'your ~' [WW wara]		yandi marnangin  yandy murnangin 'left handed' (personal name) B2	
handsome, beautiful			pani  banie E, B2, bannie B6 MS140/2 (a) 'beautiful'	
hang up to dry	wilángatha			
hang, to			pirtuwa pirtoowa E, B2	
happy [see 'healthy']				
hard, to be	ténmatha <sup>90</sup> [WW tarma]		teRma terma B2, E [WW tarma] terrima 'tough' E, B2	
hate, to			kimowan kimowan E, kimowan B2	
head	púrrpu 'his ~'	pupi	puRpi	pui <u>pi</u>

<sup>89</sup> Compare Werkaya **tyang-manyá** 'palm of hand', lit. chest of hand.

<sup>90</sup> Compare terms for 'frost' and 'ice'.



English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
		popai K, boo-pee Ly, poor pai Ey popi Co, boopi A	poibo JB, poorpie B2, E  poorp B3, burpi PP	poibi P, poapi D, poapie MD, pooipi CaH boebo M, po-ipi Ca  poi.pin RW 'your head', given as 'hair'
head-louse	thúni, thúni-thúni mùnhúngi <sup>91</sup>			
healthy [see 'alive']			puRing(g)a booringer E, B2, boringer 'happy' E	
hear, to (also believe, know, think, understand)	téma, tématha  témila 'to listen, attend, think' Nhangu ngindi témilátha 'What are you attending to, what are you thinking about?'	n(h)aRa-  nar run un Ly 'I hear', nur-ung-er Ly  WW, Wer nyerna]	teRpima  derbima B2, JB, E, derbimin B2, E  tarbman PP, derbimin 'thoughts' B2 derbeima 'think' B2, werbima 'think' E ngurangna 'believe' JB 168	nangon D, MD  nangonraorina 'think' D, MD, naagana MD [all these entries probably reflect the verb 'to see']
heart	múnd [Ker. mund]		monredoo B2, monrendoo E pertinthnu JB	
heat, hot	káthai [WK katye]  walwa 'to burn, be hot' walwatha marndu lit. 'His flesh is hot,' i.e. 'he has a fever.'	ka(r)ti kute Co, kattai K  wir-rin-go-non Ey  koo-y-yoo-o-non Ey	karti kurti JB, kortai PP  mypantenie B2, mypanture E	kelali kelali D, kelalie MD  nhanga  nunga P  [WW nyanga 'to burn']
heavy			kurandu/kurangku PP [see 'big'] pirimabil PP	wendhapil wenthepil D, MD
heel	kánáku 'his		kanuwu 'his heel'	

<sup>91</sup> The forms **munhu** and **munyu** are widespread in Victoria and adjacent areas

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
	heel' [WK kanak]		kunowoo B2, kunoowoo E	
hey!	kái			
hide, to	kànímatha		limba limpen B1, limpin B6 MS140/3 (f) [looks like a past form]	
high			kiRkaRa kerkarra E, kirkarra B2 [Paa karkanya 'high up, sky']	
hill <sup>92</sup>	púrrpi, púpi  [WK purrp]		puRpu poorpoo E, B2, poorpo, poibo JB panyul banyole JB, bankool B2, banyul- banyul PP, bankool 'tribal district' E	puRpuRkui porporkui D; porporquie MD
hip	tànúyin 'your hip'		mula [WW mula]  moollonew B2, moolonew E, molomgin AM	
hit, to; beat, to	táka tákilatha 'hit continually' pálkatha 'hit with weapon' [WK taka]		taka, thaka tukka D, tucka 'a blow' E dhakala PP dhaka MBu luRka lurka B2 [also 'a blow', 'to do'], luka E	taka tucka 'strike' MD
hither [see 'come on']	kákai  [WK kaka 'come here']		kakai  kaki JB, kakkai 'hasten' JB	
hold, to			teRmalung(g)a tismaloonga B2, termeloonga E	
hole [see 'eye']	mírni mírnu dhága 'hole in ground, cave'		mirngi PP	nguRngi ngurngi D; gnurngie MD
horse	yèrrámin <sup>93</sup>			

<sup>92</sup> **Purpi** is literally 'head' and **puRpu** 'its head'. The form **banyul** is found in other Kulin languages

<sup>93</sup> This word was borrowed from a NSW language into English and then into other Aboriginal languages including Mathi-Mathi

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
hot [see 'heat']				
house [see 'camp']			kundyi PP <sup>94</sup>	
how			nhanguRu nangoro PP	
howl [see 'call']				
how many, how much	nhápu [WW nyapa, Wer nyapurr]		(ng)anapo anaboo JB, anabon JB	
hum, to, a song (preparatory to singing it)	ngúinggilàtha			
hungry <sup>95</sup>	wíkatha [WK wika]	kanampan, kRinampan kanamban K, krenambun Co, Mc	piRa (wutyuwu) beea JB, berin JB, pīranda, pīranakirtnanda PP 'pīranda = wanting, from pira, dead' birra wotchowoo B1, B2 kiRmambiya kirmambia E; courer- con RE	kaipiRa kraibira D, kaybira MD  tapun tabun P, dabun M  wow.ween.nung RM terona MD
hunt, to	kákilàtha		kerraworidoolie B2, kirawondoolieE	
hurry, to [see 'quick']	lírka			
hurt [see also 'pain', 'sore']			tuwa toowa B2 [Wer tua 'to kick'] wiRoma wirroema E [Wer wirima]	
hut [see 'camp']			lundhal loondthal B2, B1	
ice [see 'frost']				
initiation ceremony			puRpang burbung Ho:591	
initiation instrument			pupandeRi	

<sup>94</sup> This word was borrowed from languages of north-east NSW and then into languages in other areas.

<sup>95</sup> Both **wika-** and **piRa** mean 'to die'. The semantic shift is reminiscent of English **starve**, which once meant 'to die'. Compare the cognate German **sterben**.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) pupanderi Ho:591 “made of the fur of opossums twisted into yarn, plaited in a circular form and fixed on a piece of thin flat wood”	Wati-Wati (P)
insect			tyaulam tchowlum E, thoulum ‘~ with wings’ B2 pulapul bulla bul ‘creeping ~’ B2	
inside [see ‘middle’]	wùthúparr, wùthúwarr			
itch, to	tíwurràtha, kíkíwalatha			
jaw			kentenolurkin B2, kentenolmkin E	
jealous	wálwa pilínhu ‘stomach burning’			
joint			pundom- pundomu boondom- boondomoo E, B2	
jump, to	pérrpatha			
kangaroo	kúrlu púkumanàma ‘red ~’	kuyangi goyangi Co, koaing K, quangi A	kuRangi koorange MB, koorange B2, B3  koorengi JB, koorangic E korange MW, karrange MV kooranye MB, kurangi PP [WK kurra, kurre]	kuRangi korangi P, M, kuarangi D  quarangie MD
kangaroo rat			tayi tie B6 MS140/2 (a)	
kick, to	káwatha, káwilàtha [WW karta]		karna, kaRa  kirna B2, kunna E, kurra E [Kulin kara ‘to kick’]	
kidney			wirtinyu wertinew E, wertinu JB [see ‘back’]	
kill, to			peRa- burengungim PP; be.rar RE taka [see ‘hit’]	peRa- peronmin MD

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) tukkun JB  sulkinuan B2, sulkinnan E	Wati-Wati (P)
kind			yeRang(g)a yeranga E	
kiss, to			punda takawu [see 'bite'] boondartarkow B2, boondatarkow E	
knee	pàthénggin 'your ~' [see Table 7, section 1.3.2 for other Kulin forms]	partingi  par tin gee Ly	partinyu 'his knee'  pirtinew B2, pettinew  ngani-partinyu 'knee cap' nyonipettinew E, nganipertinew B2	
knife				kalingali kalingalie MD, cullingharly Bar
know [see also 'hear']	téma 'know a fact'	yata(R) naRi  yattar narry 'I know' Ly	teRpima  derbima JB nineawa B2, E	ngetgathnaining D,  gnytyahtnaining MD [probably contains <i>nyeti</i> 'I']
knuckle			yeRiwa yerywa B2  puRp-marnanyu puRp-marnanyu ['head of hand'], poorpmurnanew E	
koala			patyanmum pūtyanmum PP 'forked? bottom' [WK patyanmum]	
lagoon			kanpakuR gunbakoor JB	
lake [see 'swamp']				
<sup>96</sup> lame				
language [see 'tongue']				

<sup>96</sup> Source E gives *ngarpea woramie tarton* 'lame, either arm', *ngarpea woramie chinangin* 'lame, either foot' and *ngarpea woramie murnangin* 'lame, either hand'. Source B2 gives *tutchatartow* 'lame in arm', *tutchachinangin* 'lame in foot', *tutchamurnangin* 'lame in hand' and *ngarpennngwngimgie* 'lame in leg'.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
later on	kángu			
laugh, to	wéka [WK weka]		wiya <sup>97</sup> weeia B2, E	
lazy			eval B2, eual E	
lead, to			tinda tinda B2 (L'sP)	
leaf	kùrrúku, púnggi, kému 'leaf edible'		kiRinyu [WW, Wer kirra] kerenthu JB, kirnanew E	
learn, to [see 'search']	yákila			
leave off, stop	wínákatha [WK winaka]			
leave, to			watha watha E, B2	
left-handed			yandi marna yandy murnangin B1, B2	
leg	kìyápa  kaerng.in RW 'your leg'	paRapi par ra pee Ly, paRapu, barabo K [WW paRap, Wer paRi]	paRau burau PP	kayeng(g)i, kiangie MD  kiengin RW 'calf' [probably 'your calf'] car.no RM
lerp			laRp taarp B2, laarp B1, lerpi 'sweet' JB [WW lerap 'manna from scale insects']	
less			enwyatum E, enwgatum B2	
lie, to tell lies	nhéngumàtha			
lift, to			waiwa wiewa B2, E, waiwa PP, wiewa 'raise' E [WK waiwa]	wama (waima?) wama D, MD [Wa waima]
light (N)	wáingurrù	waingi wai-inge K pipi(R)  beber Co	waingi wainki PP nyawingi  ngaenngi JB [see 'sun', 'day'] yana yanna B2, E [see 'go']	waingi waingi M, waingo P, waiange D, wyangay MD

<sup>97</sup> This root is found in various languages including the Karnic languages, e.g. Pitta-Pitta.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
light (in weight)			tyipawil jibauwil PP	nymno MD
lightning	tùlúwipa		tuluwi ma(r)ndaRa tului mondara PP  [literally ‘lightning (and) thunder’. ] milapu millapoo E, millagoo B2  wainalang PP	tulipuwi  tolipoie D; tolipoie MD
lignum	pùrrúkul			
like, as	ngúrli [similar forms in other WK]		nguli ngooly B2	
like, to [see ‘wish’]				
lip	wungin ‘your ~’  [Kulin wurru ‘mouth, lip’]	piliRap  bill lee rap Ly	mityu wuRu [lit. ‘mouth its skin’] metchooworroneu E  mipoworroneu E ‘lower lip’ woortogno JB	pilathu wungi  belathowongi D,  belathoroongee MD
listen, to [see ‘hear’]				
litter (of young)			pulumuwa poolmmua E	
little (see ‘small’)				
little people, legendary dwarfs	màkulíth <sup>98</sup> , thám-thàm			
live, to			kinaRung(g)ayina kinaroongaina E, kinaroongaiva B2	pooksomaoki D, pooksomaokie MD
liver	púthu ‘his ~’ [Kulin puty]		puthu boethoo E, boetho B2	
lizard			yukun eukoon B2 [Wer yugurn shingle-back] walap wallup E, ‘sleeping ~’ B2 [Wer walab ‘blue- tongue’] taRama(r)ndeR	

<sup>98</sup> According to the Mathi-Mathi there were two kinds of ‘little people’, those who lived in trees, and those who lived in caves. The **màkulíth** were slightly bigger than the **thám-thàm**. Compare Paakantyi **maakutya** ‘the fiend with a bag’.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
lizard, frill-necked	wirrákuthì		turamunder B2 ‘small fly-catcher’ [WW taramarndərr ‘common grass skink’] kenti	
lizard, gecko	pípap [WW pip-ngatha]		kentie B2 [WW, Wer ken]	
long	thùlánggi <sup>99</sup>		t(h)uRang(g)al, t(h)uRang(g)i toorangal B2, tsoorangal E tuergini JB, turwarngi PP [similar forms in other WK]	tiyangi  tiangi D, tiangie MD
long ago	thàlékata [marked with the locative suffix -ata]		tyaleka jeleka JB  kalu mitha callo mitha JB, callo B2	
look after, to	pàyánggatha			
look for [see ‘search’]				
look, to [see ‘see’]	nhákila			
lose, to			wilayn piRi willain B2, E wilayn biRi ‘lose the way’ willain berie E, willainiebirrie B2	
loudly	kékata		wirtoo E [This word is cognate with the Mathi and Letyi words for ‘big’]	
love			kumbupoko [see ‘breast’] koombooboko B2, koomboobooks E	
low			kumuwal koomoowal E, B2	
lump			tanka tunka PP [WW thankawiR]	toopatoopowle MD

<sup>99</sup> **Thulanggi Piyali** ‘Tall Trees’. This was the name of the subgroup of Mathi-Mathi people to which John Edwards belonged. He derived his other name ‘Jack Long’ from this.



English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
lungs	lénggu ‘his ~’ lénggin ‘your ~’ [WW, Wer laring]		langu, tangu ‘his lungs’  tangoo E, lango B2	
lustful person, larrikin man	thiyálayi [WW, Wer tyiyel]			
magic evil, poison	lúkuwálh			
make to	kungatha T2			
male	wùtháipa [human]		mamu <sup>100</sup> [animal] mamoo E, mammoo B2, mamo MW, MB	
mallee	kàrrínhi			
man	wúngi, wùthúngi [Wer wutyu]	wurtungi  woo tong ee Ly, wotungi A  wortongi ee, Mc, woortongi Co  woo-ta-wolli Ey	wurtungi  woortunge MB, wortongi, wurtongi PP  woortongi JB, wortongie B2, f, E; woore.tunge RE; boong.ung ‘Blacks’ RE  wurtunge MV,MW, wartongie B1  wutya wootcha JB kulingi kulingi PP	wungi, wunyi  woongi D, woongie ‘the backs’ MD  woonyi M  wuungi Ca, woani P  woongee CaH konai D [Ya ko:mi] woon.gay RM
man, old	nhàrrámbin	nyaRambin, ngaRambin <sup>101</sup> ngarampin K, nram nram byn Ly muwami  mowmi Co	nyaRambin, ngaRambin ngarumbin E, B1, ngurambin JB  narambin PP	pokongi boo.keel.boo RM bukulki M, pokongi ?  pokkoni P, pokongi D, pocongie MD, bick nanna L [Yi bik (nana), Ke pikwaar] <sup>102</sup> ,
man, white	wáiwùlang	ngatang [see ‘spirit’] ngatang K	nga(r)tangi  ngurtangi JB	kuthobi M, kotoli P

<sup>100</sup> The root **mam** ‘father’ is found throughout Victoria.

<sup>101</sup> The root **ngaram** is found throughout Western Kulin.

<sup>102</sup> This is probably related to the Keramin word for ‘old man’, *pikwaar*. See Horgen (2004) and Hercus (1989)

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
man, young		kulkung kool kung Ly  pala(R)tyi balarje K  tininu tininu(R), tininur Co	kulkurn colcrune E, kolkroon JB; kolkurn B2  [WK kulkurn]  niniwuR niniwoor (B6 Great Stone story)	kulkurni kolkorni D, colcorni MD ‘man’ kulkooi M [see ‘man’] payitu  paitoo P
mane	pulutu ‘his ~’ [see moustache]			
many [see ‘plenty’]				
marriage			ngangkulang ngangeulung E, ngangkulung B2 [Dj mankalang]	
marry, to	mùwénggatha		wuyin martumi ‘gave spouse’ woyinmurtoomie B2, woyin murtoomie E  wukamungain PP [wuka ‘give’]	muwa layuRki  ynetemowa liorkie MD [literally ‘I like the woman’]
matter [see also ‘boil, abscess’]	pùthúni [WK, Woi putyun]		putyuni potchonie B2	
meat (also any edible creature)	thíti [T-Y thirta]		puRpakuwan, burbagooan ‘animal’ B2 burhagooan ‘animal’ E	nharmauerupil MD
melt, to [see ‘burn’]	pùtámatha			
messenger <sup>103</sup>			ngala watu gualla wattow B ngualla wattow B1	
meteor			putyima putchema B2, putchima E	
middle, in the [see ‘inside’]	wùthúparr wùthúwarr			
milk [see ‘breast’]			kumbo, koimbo, kuRumbu koombo, koimbo JB,	koimbi  koimbi D; coimbie

<sup>103</sup> Beveridge 1889:173 writes that “The *Nyallow Wattows* (postmen), it is true, are linguists sufficient to be able to converse with various tribes all round their own, even to a distance of a hundred miles, or more. Had these travelled men still been extant, their extended tribal knowledge would have been of incalculable service to the enquirer in all matters pertaining to the multifarious dialects of the aborigines; as, however, the occupations of these men vanished as settlement and civilisation advanced, the task to the philologist these days is both wearisome and unsatisfactory.”

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) cooroomboo B2 kooroomboo kayanie B1 [=breast water] kooroomboo kayanie B1 [=breast water]	Wati-Wati (P) MD
mind, thought [see also 'vapour']	múyu windha muyungin 'where is your mind?' 'what are you thinking about?'			
mirage	yùlúlu			
miserable			tuRonya turonya E	
mist			mirtai PP	takombi takombie MD
moon	mìthíen [WW mithian, Wer mityin]	mitian mityeyan Co, mittean K mett te am Ly  mit-y-yah EY	mi(r)tian mitiam B5, mittiam B2 mertein JB, meatianB3 mitian B2, JB, E, B1, mittian B2 mit-y-ah [bocobothal] B1  puka(pu)tha bukudho PP; [bocobothal] B1 bok-a-botha	wayn.kapai wangupie D, MD; waingaipui Ca wine.got.by L, wāngupi CaH taRunggiya?  tooroongoi P, tarongia M [Warr. taRu]  budt MD (reading uncertain)
morning [see 'tomorrow']			murnmurnepu  murmurnerpoo E, murmurnerp B2	tayia  tiia D, tieiea MD
mosquito		muwayn, munayn moaing-moaing K, moonine Co	mundyi [muntyi Wb] moontchi JB [mundji WP] liriwi PP	mundyi, mundi  mungi M, P, mundi D, mundie MD [Ke mantha]
moustache	pùlútin-pùlútin 'your ~'	nra?? cappee Ly	mu(n)yiwuRu  miwooranthnu JB, moimworo E moiyonworo B2 [WW, Wer munyi wurru]	
mouth	thépu 'his ~' [WW, Wer djarb]  tep.in 'your mouth' RW,	tyapi teap-pee Ly, chapie A, gappe K	wuRu wooronew B2, werronew E  worogna JB, wurongi PP	wuRungi wroni P, warongi D, warongee MD  wooroogoo M

English	Mathi-Mathi tippin AM [glossed as 'tongue' by Robinson]	Letyi-Letyi  menna Co	Wati-Wati (SH) [Kulin wurru]	Wati-Wati (P)
move, to move around, fidget	túkatha [WW tuka] túka-túkatha  títhatha 'change places'			
much, greatly	támu		tamu tummo 'more' B2, E	
mud	píki [Kulin pik 'soil', etc.]		pilpi  bilby JB	
musical instrument (type)			kalaR  kalar Ho:592 "humming instrument", "this [...] is supposed to have a wonderful magic influence"	
mussel	wánmarn 'river mussels' (considered inedible)  márrri-márrri 'small mussels found in swamps, etc.'		war(n)marn  warmurn 'large ~' JB maRi  muri 'mussel used as knife' PP nunkir 'small ~' JB	
myall (tree)			yanap yanup B2, B6 MS140/2 (a)	
nail, finger		li ma(r)ningi lee mun-ning 'finger nail' Ly	leRi marnangi lyroomurnangin B2, tyroomurnanew E lirri murnang PP lyre.mun.nan RE [WW lerri, Wer lirri 'nail', 'claw']	leRi ma(r)nanggi larimongngi D; larimongngie MD
name	nhéngin 'your ~'		nhaRi nirrinew B2 'his/her ~'	
navel		wuRung woor rong Ly [cf. Wer warrau]		nar.ree RM

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
name of the neighbouring Paakantyi group	Parrindyi "that's really 'ground language' from their ground, i.e Paakantyi <b>parri</b> , 'scrub'."			
near	nhiwi-nhiwi		walowal walowal E, B2	wot.ton.re.ta RM 'close'
near-sighted			walowal mirnu walowalamirnoo B2, walowalmirnoo E	
neck [see 'throat']	ngáningin 'your ~ [WW, Wer nyani]		nyanangi  nyaninew 'back of head' E	
nest [same as 'camp']	léngi lárnú 'its camp'		larnu, lengi soinoo B2, loinoo E, larnoo, lingi JB	
net	théli [WW tyel, Wer tyil] [Robinson refers to the name of Lake Tala as being related to the word for net, <i>ta.re.le.</i> see Chapter 2]		inally E	
never			nung(g)an booranoongan E, noongan B2 [buRa='not']	
niece			tyawilkuRi tchowilkoorie B2, schowilcoorie E	
night, dark	pùyínggi, pùyíndhi pùyíndhata 'at night' [Kulin puriyn]	pundi, (also <b>pung(g)i?</b> ) paungi Co, bondjie Ly bondji 'dark' K, alogobondji K  kuli  kolli Co	puRung(g)i  borangie B2, E 'evening' boorangi JB, puruni PP wooka-boorangi JB, wooka JB kuRali  kuralie B2, kurrallie E	puRung(g)i  borongi P, boorongi M booroongi 'dark'  moorprondi D, moorprondie MD proandia D, MD 'dark'
no	máthi máthim 'no more'  mátha,	latyi laitchi Co, laitche K, latto Ey lacha 'not' Mc,	wati wáti LH; wotti JB, watty E, B2, B1, wadi MM WS puRa(pa)	wati wattai M, warti D, wartie MD, waati P  bu.rat.ba RM, wat.tee

English	Mathi-Mathi máthawa ‘not’ nhanga-nhanga ‘not’	Letyi-Letyi lachung Mc litchoo B1	Wati-Wati (SH)  bureba MB, pura PP; bur.rah RE  piRatha beratha ‘none’ E, biratha B2	Wati-Wati (P) RM
nonsense			ngarnkonkapi ngurngonngabbe JB	kundali koondarley ‘gammon’ Bar
noise [also glossed as ‘low sounding’]			ngumbel-ngumbel ngoomb lengoomble E, ngoomb lngoomble B2 ngoomb lengoombloo B2, goomble- goombloo E	
north (‘Where the hot winds come from’)	wárt-wárt		moiwilak  moiweelak E, moiwellak B2	
nose	thíndi	tyendyi  geangi Co, geongee Ly  jenji K, cheen-je Ey, ginkin AM	tyendyu ‘his nose’  tchainchew B2, tchainchoo E, chenje PP; gin-gin RE miRmail tyendyu ‘crooked nose’  mirmile tchantchew B2, B1 wutyu tyendyu ‘nostril’ wotchootchainchew B2, E [lit. ‘stomach of nose’]	tyandyi, tyandi  changi P, djaindo M  tiendi D, tiendie MD  thiundhi Ca theeuthi CaH  teendin, (t)yaen din, RW ‘your nose’
ogre (in legends)			ngaRon ngaron B2	
old [see also ‘old man’]	nhàrrámbin		ngaRambin ngarumbin B2 poopoonger E	
old, very	púlki-púlki			
one	kíyáka	kiyapi gee-abi Mc, geyabi Co, kiap K kei-arpe Ey	kayap kyup B2, JB, ryup B5, kaiap PP  yuwaya yuwaia MV, MW, yoowaia MB yuaia MB, MW, yooia ‘others’ JB	yet(i)na yetina D, MD yaitna P,  yetua M, yatitua CaH

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) enwya E, yoori JB [WK kayap]	Wati-Wati (P)
one (or other)	kiyapu(ng)			
oven	pulpi (Text 8)			
overtake, to	kéwatha			
paddle, oar	wàrráki [WW wak, Wer warrek]		wa(R)ki  warkie B2, E maroong B1 [see 'pine']	
pain, to be in			wiRoma wiroma E <sup>104</sup>	
paint, to	pínggatha			
paint-mark	nhirrépi			
pair [see 'two']			polityula politeula B2, politula E	
paralyse, to	túndatha			
people/person <sup>105</sup>			kulingi kulingi PP [WW kuli; the term Kulin is cognate with this]	
pick up, to	mútha [WW, Wer mutya, muthatha]			
pine, Murray [main wood used for making fire]	màrrínhi [WK marrung]		maRung maroong B1 <sup>106</sup>	
pity, to	wíku-wíkatha márndai <sup>107</sup>			
place	thaki cf. Kulin tya 'country, etc.]			
plain			wa(R)ki warkie E, wurkie B2, wurky JB wurkido 'on the plain' JB wurkerda 'on the plain' JB [similar forms in other Kulin tongues]	

<sup>104</sup> Source E gives *wiroma lungie* E 'pain in the chest', *wiroma poorp* 'pain in the head', *wiroma leetcha* 'pain in the limbs' and *wiroma wotthiwee* 'pain in the stomach'. See also 'sore'.

<sup>105</sup> All words given for 'people' or 'person(s)' were also given for 'man' and are listed there

<sup>106</sup> Sources B1 and B2 give *mirmile maroong* 'crooked pine'. Compare 'nose, crooked'. See also 'paddle'.

<sup>107</sup> Lit. 'My flesh is dying'.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
planet [meaning not clear, see 'morning', 'tomorrow']			nginawu- marnmarnep, nginawuminwum a nginawoomurmurnerp B2 nginnawoomminwoo ma E	
platypus			marti martie E, mardi JB	
play, to [see 'dance']	warripatha		waRa  wara B2, E [see 'do']	
pleasant smelling			tyiRiwatyu <sup>108</sup> jirywotchoo B2, gerrywatchoo	
pleasant tasting			talku partuma [ 'good taste' ] purtnema B2 talkoo partuma E	
plenty/many	kúku	kitawi ketawi K, kit- tarwe Ey  [WW kithuwil, Wer, Wa kityuwil]	kirtawal, girtaawal MV, girtawil M?, kirtowel B5, kretuarl PP kirtowel, kertowel '1000' B2, kirrtowal 'all' E maRanda maranda JB  koko co co B2, B1, koko ?, col col B5	maRandu marandoo P, murandoo CaH kopeko kopeko M, bar.wee RM
pluck, to	kípatha		kiRpa kirpa E, B2 [WK kiRpa]	
poison	thándel [also WW, Woi] lúkuwálh [also 'evil magic']			
policeman	pàrramatán [Wiradjuri barramaldaayn] pèlitymen [English]			
possum (brush- tail)	wiléngi  [WK, Wa wile,	wilengi  willang K,	wilengi  weelengi JB, wilangi	pandandi, pang(g)andi bendindi M,

<sup>108</sup> Compare Paakantyi -suffix **-wartu** 'smelling of'.



English	Mathi-Mathi wila]	Letyi-Letyi welang Mc  wolangi Co	Wati-Wati (SH) PP  willange MB, willangic E, willengie B2  malangi  mullangie B1, mullangiel B2	Wati-Wati (P) pondandi D, pondandie MD paangendi P [WW pana 'ringtail ~']
possum, flying (tuan) possum skin drum	tùwángi [Wer tuwang]			
pour, to			kangala kangala B2, kingala E	
power	mùndárru 'his power; power of medicine man'			
pretty			kongin-kongin JB	
prickle, spike	thálkila thalkila-pil 'prickly'			
privates, female		ma... Ly [source difficult to decipher]	potu bottoo B2 [WW, Wer put] tyirt(h)iRu tchirrtirroo E	
privates, male	withangu (lit: 'his tail') wittarng.in 'your tail' RW.		pona(na)pakaRut  bonanabacurroot B2, bonnabakaroot E, bottoo E [but see preced. and WW]	waren.en 'your penis' RW
prod around for fish or turtles in water, to [see 'spear]	práku-pràka 'with spear' [WW parka]			
pull out	púngatha [also 'catch fish']			
pull, to or drag	púwatha [Dj puka]		lutha  sutha B2, lutha E	
pupil (of eye)	winggu mingi wínggumìngin 'your ~' [cf. Wati wiringgu mirnu 'eyebrow']			
push, to			yuRawa eurawa B2, eurawa E [also 'to shove', 'to	

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) thrust']	Wati-Wati (P)
put down, to	yúpatha [Dj yuRpa]			
quandong tree	kúti-kùti [widespread S.A.] <sup>109</sup> mírngun 'fruit of bitter quandong' mírngun wùthúngi 'One of the rare individuals who could enjoy the bitter quandong' pìthíkan 'fruit of sweet quandong', "wild peach"		pithikal  peetical B6 MS140/2 (a) [Wer pityikal]	
quench (thirst)			putka- (should perhaps be purrka, cf. 'air' above) boetkan E, boetkna B2, B6 MS 140/2 (a)	
quick	lírrki lírrka, lírrkila 'be quick' lírrkila 'quickly'	minino menino L 'hurry'	liRka lyrka B2, lirka E  werka PP, boorm B6	mininau minanaw D, minauaw MD mit.te.wad.gee RM
quiet, to be	nángga		kapo 'be quiet' JB [probably widespread kapo 'look out!'] wor.ron.war RE	
race			tong(g)eRundi tongeroondie B2	
rain	mítháki [WW míthəli, Wer mityak]  mit.tar.ke RW	mandyi naanji K, mangi Co, mankie AM  meen-chy EY (see 'cold')	mirti meerti JB, mertie E, mirtie B2  midhai PP	matyeRi maicheri P, maicheri M [midyag D], mac.ca.rey RM makaRi  mugga.ree L, mukaria D, muckaria, mugair MD; muk keer e RW [Yi <i>maggur</i> , Paa makara]
rain, to	thúpa [WW		mit(h)i	

<sup>109</sup> This tree was connected with a magic practice. A hole could be carved in the tree and something that had belonged to the intended victim would be put in the hole and tied up with kangaroo-tail sinew. The victim would then begin to feel tired and would slowly waste away.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
	tyurpa]		meetie E [WW mithek]	
rainbow	tárrku-wíl <sup>110</sup> kumangi [WW tarraki- wurl-wurl and similar in other WK.]		dirawuru PP	worngrie D, MD; maihap MD
raise [see 'lift']				
red	thárla, thárlapil		thalawil dalawil PP  tyingki  jinky B2	kuRuRkandi kooroorgandi D, kooroorgandie MD [forms built on kurrk 'blood' in other Kulin tongues, also Yar kurungulun]
reed 'cumbungi'  reed, broken  reed bed on fire	kámbang <sup>111</sup> kum.bee RW  [WW, Wer kambang]		kambang, kumpung B2  tyeRki, [widespread tyarrk] tcherkie E  pukuyn tyeRk 'broken reed' bocoin tcheric B2, bocoin tcherik B1 wiynt tyeRk 'fire reed' wean chirrik B6 <sup>112</sup>	kambanggi kum barng ge RW 'root of bulrush' wannel  wangle MD [in the letter] [WW wangel]
resin/gum	pithámbi (of Murray pine) <sup>113</sup>		kuRkuwi  kookoie 'gum' B2, koorkoie 'gum' E [cf. Kulin kurrk 'blood'] lili lili 'gum' JB [WW lil]	
return, to	withíwatha [WW withəwa, Wer wityiwa]	winyaRika- winyarigen Mc	wirtuwa wirtoowa B2, E	
rib	lárnínggu 'his ribs' [Kulin larn-]		leniingi  leuninew E, leningi	

<sup>110</sup> Also the name of a constellation.

<sup>111</sup> The roots of this plant were roasted and eaten. They were an important food item.

<sup>112</sup> Despite the presence of 'i' in the notations, we write teaRk (probably tyarrk) in light of other western Kulin dialects.

<sup>113</sup> Similar forms in other Kulin languages include WW **prityerrim**, We **pityirrim**, Woi **pityerrim**.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) JB	Wati-Wati (P)
right [see 'good']			tilkaiya? PP	primalia MD
rise [see also 'get up', 'swell']	páika 'rise in flight' wáyiwilatha, wáiwulatha [of flood] wérrpatha [of stars, sun]		payika  pika 'fly' E, B2 [WK paika 'get up, fly']	
river, creek	tíndi [Yitha rindi]  káne 'the Murrumbidgee River'	kulaithi  kolaidhe A	parniwaRu  barniwarroo E, B2, bamawur B5 berniwur JB, panuar PP  pannoo bamawur 'creek' B5 [panu 'small'] pannooberniwar E, paunoobarnawar B2 kuyu parniwaR 'dry creek' koyo barniwaR, koioberniwar E lurtowi, lurtokal loortowie JB, loortokal JB [Yi <i>lutte</i> 'Murray River'] milu 'Murray River' milloo B5, millooie MKB [WW mile 'Murray River']	yeRani  yerani D; yeranie MD
rock [see 'stone']				
root	pámáangga		ngaRiyalu ngarryaloo E, ngaryaloo B2	
rough			keRinkeRinu kerrinkerrimoo E, kerrinkerrimoo B2	
rub, to	yúka-yùkatha 'rub with grease' [WW yukana]			
run, to; run away, to	wúwatha  wàrríwulàtha  'run around, play'	papinan [possibly past participle form] pap pin nun Ly	wiRwi  wirrwie E, wirrwie B2 wirawan PP, werriwo M	waiwi  waiwi D, waiwe MD  we.wa.tu.ly RM

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) wir.no.nar.war.ing.un g ‘the dog is running’ RE [WW wirra]	Wati-Wati (P)
rush (n)	púngert ‘for net- making’ [WW, Wer pungurt]		punguR  boongoor B1	
salt			kawi cowie B2, E	
same, identical	nému			
sand	kùrráki  [WW kurrək, Wer kurrak]		kuRaki [almost certainly a alveolar /r/ as kurraki] kooraki JB	
sap, juice	mítínu		nhila- nillangow B2, nillanyow E [Wer nyila]	
savage (man)	kulethawil		pukiyn wurtungi bukeen wortongie B2 [cf. Mathi buki(la) ‘bad’]	
say, to	kíyatha, [WK kiya] yenkatha			
scent, smell	wúrrèthu [but see also under ‘fire magic’]			
scratch, to (scratch an itch, dig ground lightly; see ‘dig’)	pángatha		pang(g)a  bunga E [WK pangga ‘dig lightly’]	
scrub [see ‘dark’, ‘night’]			puRungi  boorongarda JB boorongiie B6 MS 140/2 (a) boorongie ‘in the scrub’ B	
sea			ngamath ngamuth B2 [Wer ngamadj, Warr. ngamat(h)]	
search, seek, to	yáka yákila, yákilatha ‘go round searching’, also ‘learn’		yaka yukka JB [Kulin yarka]	
see, to	nhákatha,	nhawa	nhaka, nhanga	nhaka, nhatyi

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
	nhánga [widespread root n(h)a-]	ninon Mc, nyen Mc kim min nun nin 'I see' Ly bart now er 'let me see' Ly nurongan Mc, yettang Co, ngawan K	nanga B2, E, ngaekla JB, ngyn JB nine 'saw' B2, ngakin JB, nangin PP	natchi P, nykan M naagana MD  waretemingo D, MD
seed	tínu puti-puti (ground into flour)		wirtiwu [see 'son'] wirtiwoo E, B2	
send away to, banish, to	thúimatha			
send, to	púimatha			
sense, brains	mík-pùwu [egg of head] <sup>114</sup>			
sew, to			tiRinga, liRinga tirringa B2, liringa E [WW tirndila, Tjap, Wa tiRinga]	
shadow	ngáki [Kulin ngaki]		ngaki nguki PP	n(g)uwaki nouwakie MD
shady place	púku			
shake with cold	yikikatha			
shake, to			ngang(g)awiRan( g)gi ngangawirankie E	
sharp	thírndatha 'to sharpen' <sup>115</sup>		kati [see 'heat']  kattie E	
sharp of hearing [see also 'hear']			teRpimatang(g)i derhmatangie E, derbimatungie B2	
sheep	thúmbang			thumbangi toombarnee Bar
shield		kiyami geyami Co, keami K gee-am-me ly Ey, gee-am me 'broad ~' Ly  nulawil	keRami kerami JB [WK kerem] maRka(R), malka(R)  marcur E, mureur B2,	maRkangi markandgi P, murkangi M [Yi murkaang]  tyaikuli

<sup>114</sup> This expression for brains has calques in other languages, including Baagundji **thartu- parti**.

<sup>115</sup> Especially to sharpen a stone axe. This was done 'first with a rough stone, and then with a fine stone like slate.'

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) mulgar PP [malkarr is widespread]	Wati-Wati (P) kuaikuli D, chaiculie MD
shin	pínpangai ‘my ~’			
shining, glittering	léndhanang			
shirt	thàtháku ‘its arm’			
short			tulu- toolentha, toologni JB, toloneu B2, toollonen E, tulunyu PP, [YY thulupka] [Kulin tulu ‘small’]	tunathaiki toonathaigi D; toonathaigie
shoulder		niti neet tee Ly, midkin AM	tyertiRu tchertirioo B2, tartow E [see ‘arm’]	
shout, to	kárndatha [Kulin karnda]		karnda kurnda [also ‘scream’] E [see ‘call’]	
shrimp	kànákal			
shrub, plant	púiku		murndia moorndia E [also ‘plant’] moorndie ‘plant’ B2	
shut, to [see ‘bury’]	nhúpatha		ngupu ngupu B6 MS140/2 (a)	
sick	thilékatha ‘to be sick’ [WW tyileka]		maRinmaRini murrinmurrinie E	
sickness	wípu-wípu [Wer wirp]			
side			yuRipula eurybulla E	
silence be quiet!			tangtangima tung-tungima E kuRnyi, kuRkiya koorgni! JB, koorgia B2, E [WW, Wer kuRunggaya]	
sinew	wírándu		wiRa- wirenen E, wiranew B2	
sing, to	wángilàtha, wáinggilàtha wúigatha ‘sing and dance in ceremony’		waRanga warranga B2, E, warangwarane PP [WW waranga]	yarkoi D, yarcooie MD

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
sit, to	ngénggatha [WW nyengga, Wer ngenya]	ngiwa, nyenga- ngewan K, nienga Co	nganya, ngeng(g)a  nganya B2, ngennga JB, ngangan PP	ngayango  naiango M, ngaiingun P  yantha D, MD
skin <sup>116</sup> [see also 'bark']	míthu 'his/her/its skin' míthátha 'to skin' [WK, Wer mity]	mitya, mityi  metcha Co, metche K	mityu 'his skin'  meetchoo B2, meetihoo E michoo JB, midhuk PP	luku  loko E, looko D, MD, P, loopko M
sky	tírríli [WW tirril, Wer tirrel]		tíRili tyerily E, tyrilie B2, tyrilly B2 tyrrily B1, terrili JB, tirril PP	tíRili trailee D, MD; traile MD
sleep, to	kúmba, kúmbatha [Kulin kumba]	kumba  komban K, kompaup Co koomba Mc	kumba  kumba JB, koomba B2, E ~ koomba M, koombian P kumbia...PP who-rowel RE	kumbatha  kombathe D, MD
sleepy			wupiya puRpu woopiapoorpoo E [see 'head'] wopia 'asleep' E, B2	
slow			ya(R)mbi(l) yarmbie B2, yarmbil E parta PP	yalimongi yalimongi D, yalimongie MD
small	pándhingì pándhingì 'soft of voice'  pandingi (Text 5)	pa(r)nikam barnikum Co, barnigam K	panu, panmaRu panmaroo E, B2, banu PP, banooloo MB pannoo E, panoo JB, pawnoo B2 [WK pan]	paitayn baitan M, baiedain P  paipi  biabi D, bieabie MD [Ke baie]
smell, to	ngénmatha 'to smell something' ngénmilàtha 'to sniff about'		ngaR(u)wa  ngarwa E, B2, ngurwa E [WW, Wer ngarupa ]	
smell (n)			puwangi [widespread Kulin]	naRuta

<sup>116</sup> Root **mity-/mith-** is found throughout Western Victoria. The **luku** form found in Wati-Wati (Piangil) is similar to Yitha-Yitha **luk**.



English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) buangi PP, boangie E, B2	Wati-Wati (P) naarota D, MD
smoke	pù(rr)índhi pu(rr)índhatha 'to smoke' [Wer, Dj puriyn] <sup>117</sup>	puRingi burringi Co, poringi K	puRingi boorangni JB, burunyi PP pooringa E, pooringi B2 pu(r)tu [Kulin purt] boto JB	purti borti D, bortie MD, boti M, pooti P
smoke-signal	pùyúti			
smooth			yuRauRu?? eurawroo E [WK yuRyuR]	
snake	kárni 'black snake' mírndai 'big, mythical'	kan(y)i  kanni Co, kaanyi K, karnie A [WK, Woi ka(r)ni]	kani  kani JB, kannie B2, kaunie E  penggal 'carpet snake' [Wer, WW pinggal]	kani  karni D, M, kaani P
sneak, to	pérrma, pérrmatha pérrma-pérrma 'sneak steadily' pérrmila 'go round sneaking', <sup>118</sup> pérrmilang 'sneaking' [WW, Wer perrma]			
sniff, to [see smell, to]				
snore, to	púrranggatha [WW purrenga]			
soft, to be	púlki pùlkáyatha 'be soft' [WK pulk 'soft']		polku polkoo E, B2	
song	wángu		tyawi(l) tchowie B1, tchowiel B2	
song, ceremonial	ngúndu			
sore			wiRpu 'his sore', wiRom wirpoo E, B2 <sup>119</sup> [Wer	

<sup>117</sup> Pùyíndhi is also 'night', 'dark'; one term often covers 'smoke' and 'dark' in s-e mainland. The root is widespread, e.g. Western Desert **puyu**.

<sup>118</sup> Said of **kulum-kulum** 'a killer'.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) wirp]	Wati-Wati (P)
sorry for someone	wiku-wikatha marndai lit. My flesh fades away, i.e. I am sorry for you			
sound			kaliya(R) kulliar B2, kullyare E	
south	márlith-márlith [also ‘cold south- wind]		tyalan tchalan E, B2	
spark	púlunh-púlunh  [WW puliyn]		pulang-pulang  boolang-boolang E <sup>120</sup>	
speak, to	yárnkatha, yárna	yarna  yarna ‘to talk’ Mc	weRia  werien E, werriea B2  warraian MB, waraie? PP [WK wurreka] lata láta LH, lata ‘tell’ JB	limba-  limbi D, limbie MD
spear, reed		tyami  chaame K, garne ‘spear’ Ly muli  mooli Co	thaRami  tharami JB [WW tyarəm]  dharaamo ? PP	panhundi, panyundi banyoondi M, panondi P,  ponondi D, ponondie MD noodlii D, noodleei MD ‘wood spear’
spear, war	kùyuni [Kulin etc. kuyun]  muruwe  mo.row.we RW	kuyuni, kooyooni Mc, kooiooni Co  wirtyulgaione K, kor-non-nee Ly wittow-ill ‘double jagged ~’ Ly	kuyuni kuiyuni PP  ptacumbicoinew B2, ptarmbikoinie E pama  bamar JB	kuyuni, kayuni kooiooni P, kalkarangoyono M; kaioni MD; koryin RW
spear, to	púnggatha, púnggilátha pálkatha [also ‘hit with weapon’] [WW punga]		puin (past tense)  boyn JB	

<sup>119</sup> Source B2 gives *wirom tungie* ‘sore [of chest], *wiromapoorp* ‘sore [of head] and *wirom watchowoo* ‘sore of stomach’. These match terms given by E for ‘pain’.

<sup>120</sup> Source B2 gives this for ‘speak’, but this is presumably an error.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
	práku-pràka 'spear turtles' [see 'prod'] tháima-tháima, tháimalàthaá 'spear fish'			
spider	wìrrínmalù [WW wirimbəliyn, Wer wirimbuliyn]			
spider, red- backed	wìrrínmalù thárlapìl túthu 'spider, red its back'			
spirit	púngangì Puki kinhi púngangì 'This is an evil spirit.'		nga(r)tangi [see 'man, white']	popopondi
evil ghost (Text 2)	púwikìn 'your soul' [cf. WW pungandiyt]		ngurtangi JB, ngortangi 'demon' PP ngautenut(h)  ngondenont B1, ngowdenout B2, B6 gnawdenoorte, gnawderoot B5 ngambakutela gnambacootehela B5 'evil spirit'  kanikatui konikatuie B2, konikatnie B1 'water spirit' thathapuli tha-tha-puli Ho:494 "supreme supernatural being" taliwutu taliwutu 'ghost' PP bukeen B2, gilly watchewooE	popopondi D; poppopondie MD pongarnoti pongarnotie MD
spirit power	múyu-ngúrr-i			
spit, to	thúmatha			
spittle			tyawa(r)nu tchowarnoo E [WK tyawaR]	
spoiled, to be			wirtawil wirtawil JB 'addled' (of eggs)	
spring, to			pak(i)Ruthakutu	

English [cf paika ‘get up’]	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) bakeootbakcootoo E, bakiootbakiootoo B2 bakiroothakootoo B2, bakroothakootoo B1	Wati-Wati (P)
spring of water [see ‘well’]			meRkin merkin B2, E	
squint-eyed			miRmayl miR- [‘crooked eye’] mirmile mirnen B2 mirmile mirnew B1	
squinting			wo(r)nma wornmer B2, E [Dj, Wa wim-miR]	
stand, to	thékatha tánga ‘stand around’ thématha ‘stand up, be ready’		tyaRi jerry E, B2  [WW tyerrika, other WK and Wa tyarrika]	
stars  constellation name constellation name constellation name Aquila Pleiades, 7 sisters  Venus	túrti [WK, Wa turt]  kálhanh- kálhanh <sup>121</sup> tárku-wil [also ‘rainbow’] kúya-wil  tháthak-wil púneth-púneth  [see ‘sunrise’, ‘twilight’]	turti toorti K, Co, too tee Ly naRi narre A	turti toort B5, B1, B2, toorti JB toortie B2, E, turti PP  paneRu turti pannerootoortie E [‘small star’] panmarootoortie B1, panmarootoortier B2 p122 [cf. panu- ‘girl’] boorongcortchal B2	turti too.rt-tee L, toorti M  tooti P, toorty D, MD tingi  tingie D, MD [Yi dingi]
start, to			tungka toongka B2, toonka E	
stay on, to	ngénggatha			
steadily, slowly	pátingi pátingi pátingi tuikathi ‘move steadily’			
steal, to	kánánda [WW kanintya, Dja kanandila		patya bechin, becha JB, pagn B2, paja E	

<sup>121</sup> The entries in the Mathi-Mathi column are names of particular constellations

English	Mathi-Mathi etc.]	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
steep			piling(g)alu pillingaloo B2, pillingaloo E	
stem			puRwalangu poorwallangoo B2, E	
step on, squash, destroy to	pùtúngatha			
stick	kálki [Kulin kalk] wùpápu 'throwing stick' <sup>122</sup>  wàrráki 'paddle'  pérrkulù 'time stick' <sup>123</sup> [WW perkel-perkel 'magic stick'] wuth-wuth 'waddy for throwing, <i>leaping</i> <i>kangaroo</i> '	kalki kulgi A  letpa  letipar A	kalk culk B2  letwel, litwil  létwel LH; ledwel MM, WS [WW litwil 'kindling'] piRawarí 'time stick'  birrawarie B1, birraworie B2	
sting			kuli [Wer kuli ] koolinew B2, koollinen E	
sting, to			punda [= 'to bite'] boondan E	
stir, to poke (fire)	nhírratha			
stomach	pílínhu 'his ~'  [widespread Vic. pili]	wutyupi [WK wutyup], wichobi K, whit choo bee Ly yami  yami Co  bingee B1 [borrowed via English from Sydney area]	wutyiwi  wotchowoo JB, B2, B1, wotchawoo E wootchiwoo B3, wutowe PP mitu  mittoo B2, E	pilingi  bellanyin M, beleni P,  belangi D, belangee MD pil.leeng.in RW 'your stomach'
stone	kùthápi  [Wer kutyap WW kuthap 'large stone']	kuthapi  kotabi A  maki [Yi mak]	   maki [Yi mak]	kanduki, kuya(R)pi kandogi P, kwiarpi D; quiarpie MD  matyi

<sup>122</sup> This had a slight knob at one end, made from a sapling. it was half way between a **wiyt-wiyt** and a **perrpinh** 'spear-point waddy'.

<sup>123</sup> Possibly cognate with **parrkulu** 'two' in languages to the north and northwest.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi maaki K, mukki Co	Wati-Wati (SH) mukki JB  langi langi PP [Woi lang 'stone']	Wati-Wati (P) matchi M
stop, to		nau-ga.mo L		
storm			tyaRwangi tchurwangi tchwaroo E	
straight			yalpi yalbi PP [WK yulp]	wiatki uiethe D, wietkie MD
strip, to	pukatha (Text 2)		puR(k)ulu booroloo B2, borkooloo E	
strong			wung(g)uRwil, wung(g)uRu woonkoorwil E, wonkoowie B2, wonkeroo B2 [WK, Wa wung(g)uRwil] burtom burtom PP	wung(g)uRap(a)i  wongorapi D, wongorapie MD
stuffed with food			pukuyn wutyuwu ['his stomach will burst'] bocoin wootchowoo B2 bocoin wotchowoo B1	
stump			tulu workin doloo B2, workin dolo B1 'black stump' [WK tulu 'small', 'tree-stump']	
stupid			tat-tar-bil RE	cul.lu.in.tow.wat.ter RM
submerge to	ngàpúrrimatha			
suck, to	páwatha			
sugar ant	tìrráwi			
sugar wood	márndi			
summer	káthai		karti kurtie B2, E, B1	

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
sun	nhàuyíngi now.weenge RW  [WK nyawi]	nhawingi, nyawingi ngwingi K, nowingi Co  ngor vein ye Ly, nau-wing-y Ey, nowie E	nhawi(ngi), nanhawi na nowie B1, nanowie B2, nauwingi PP nowi JB, nowie B5, B2, E  yuRoka euroka B2, B1 [YY yuRingga]	nhayingi  na.eng.hee L, naianyi M  ngaiingi P, nangaye D, MD; ngangi Ca, n <sup>^</sup> nghi CaH nung D, MD [Yi, Ke nunk] nareng.e RW
sunrise			puRong kutyal <sup>124</sup> boorongkootchal E boorongkootchal 'Venus' B1, boorongcortchal 'Venus' B2	
sunset			purtowen n(h)awi boortowennowie B2, bortowen nowie E 'sun has gone down'	
swallow, to	ngúrrkatha [WK ngurka]			
swamp, lake	pérrerr		totolil totoilil E, totoieil B2	
swampy ground	lànínggu			
sweet		telki  talge K [see 'good']	wutya-wutya [WW wutya-wutya] wootchawootha B2, wotthawootha E wutea PP  kuli kooli JB	payu  baioo P [see 'good']  primalia D, MD [see 'good'] bango M
swell up, to; be full	wàwúnatha <sup>125</sup>  wàwúnmatha 'be full'		wawaya  wawya B2, E, wawaian 'full' PP [Wer werwa 'swell']	wawuna  wonounna 'full' D; wououna MD  t(h)upa toopa 'swell' MD

<sup>124</sup> Compare **burungi** 'darkness' and Wemba-Wemba **kutyal** 'morning dew'.

<sup>125</sup> Jack Long remembered some powdered red gum wood being mixed with flour from grass seeds to act as a rising agent.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
swim	wirrákatha		wiRiya [WK wirraka] weerweng E, weeria B2	
tail	withángu ‘its tail’ [see ‘feather’]		wirtmumu ‘its tail’ [lit. feather bottom?] westmoomoo B2, wirtmoomoo E piRku ‘its tail’ [WK pirrk] pirko JB, birku PP	piRkoi  berkoi D, bercoei MD
take (away), to [see ‘bring’]	mánggatha, kánákatha		mana [widepread root] manna B2, E, murnakaku PP	manapa  manapa D, MD
take away, to grab	kánákatha		yakna, yakno B2	
tame			lawiwil lowywill E, loywill B2 (possibly an error for ‘husband’, literally ‘woman-having’)	
taste, to, to try	pàtháima ‘to touch’  pánhmatha ‘to try, taste, feel’		partama  purtuma E, B2, purtama B2, [WW pathema ‘try, taste food’]	
tea	thírri			
tear (in eye)			mirnu kayani ‘water of eye’ katcumirmoo E, mirnen kayanie B1, B2 mirnooakayanie B2	
tell, to	kìyáwatha, kíwatha [WK, Wa kia]	kiya  ki in Ly	kaya  kaya JB kinyanda PP  lata lata JB [see ‘speak’] JB	latuna ngetthelotoona D [=‘I tell’]; gnetthe lotoona MD
temples	nháni		kini mirnu kinnimirmoo E, kinnimiroo B2 [lit. forehead its eye]	



English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
ten			pulayt marnangin 'his two hands' polite murnangin B2 [= two hands]	kinoneto murnangi D, MD
tender			puRpukunyen poorpoogoonyen B2, E	
thaw, to			boria B2, boira E	
thigh	see 'leg'	wurtipi woort tee pee Ly tanti  andi Co	keRiwu 'his thigh' kero JB, kerriwo E kerrywo B2, kerawo PP [WK, Wa karip]	keRipi garipi Ca, kiripi D kiripie MD  boyarbin M
thin			wilpeRu wilperoo E	
think [see 'hear']				
thirsty		kunpuna konbunan K  [CV kunpuni]	kunima konema E, B2, konamia JB tolkayn kayani  tolkine kayanie B1, B2 [lit. 'all gone water']	kunema konema P, gonamooM, koornoman D, MD, cornooman MD [Yi, Ke konoolum]
thistle <sup>126</sup>	wínmurrù			
threaten, to			kooringio E, koorngie B2	
three	pùlétha pa kiyáka '2 + 1'	pooleckwia Ey	pulayt kayap  bulleyooai MB [= two one] pola ky-up JB, polite kyup B2  polay enwya E, buleyuwaia PP buleyuwaia PP	pulathal yetna/yeta polaigilla yaitna P  polatol yata D, MD polathol yaytah MD; bolaja yetua M; poolatil yaliti CaH
throat		t(h)ulukundi  tulugundi Ca  kuRindi korin dee Ly 'neck'	tyakurndu ['his throat'] tcharroomdoo E, tehackoorndoo B2 kurndu koorndoo E, B2 'neck'	ku(r)ndu kone.din; kine.din RW 'your neck'

<sup>126</sup> Plant with edible leaves, 'native cabbage', probably sow-thistle, a species of Sonchus.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) [Kulin, Warr kurn 'throat']	Wati-Wati (P)
throw, to	yúంగా, yúంగాgatha [WK, Wa yungga 'throw']		muRuma  mooroona E, moorooma B2 winiya winia 'throw away' JB	
thumb			pap marnangin (lit 'your mother of hand') bahmurnangin E [see 'toe, big']	balipmunanghi CaH
thunder	márndarra [widespread Vic.] márndarra- dùlúwiba 'thunderstorm' thunder, to márndaka	marnda  murnda K	marnda  munder JB, B2, E	marndaRi  mundari P, M, D; mundarie MD
tickle, to	kikiwilatha			
tie, to			parti-tyaRi- pertyjering E, pirty jeriming B2 [WB partiyt 'string']	
tired		mikan mikkgun Mk  [WW mikun]	mikapaynki <sup>127</sup> mikapinkoo B2, mickapinkoo E mikapaingai PP waRa paynki wara pynki JB	maylpaluku mailpalooko D, MD
today		kulwuR kull woor Ly  tatyikin taitigin K, dartigima Co	kili nhawi keelynowie B2 'this sun/day' keeli ngengni JB	kili na(i)ki kilmaki D, keelinakie MD naiki P jalinaika M
toe		pap thinang parp tee nung 'toe' Ly [lit: 'mother of foot']	pap(a) tyinangi bobachinangi PP, bap k, B3 bahchinangin B2 [cf. 'thumb']	pathangi parthangi D; parthangie MD [presumably from pap thinangi 'mother- foot']
tomahawk	pàthiki [see Table 7, section 1.3.2 for other Kulin forms]	pa(r)tiki battegi K, patigi Co  narnanki	parti perti JB, pirdi PP  bath.the RE	thayini taiinya M, thaieni P, tiennie D, tienniae MD  [Yi thaRing]

<sup>127</sup> These expressions appear to be literally 'body hurts'. Compare Paakantyi **mika** 'to hurt'; see 'body', 'flesh'.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi nurn nan gee Ly	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
tomorrow (also used in the sense of 'light' and 'daylight')	wáingurrù	murtuR(u)  mordar Co, mordur K moor tu ro Ly	marnmarnapu  munmunerbo JB, murmonibo PP murmurnerpoo '~ morning' B2  berha B urgin berha 'day after tomorrow' B	tayayu  tai-ai-oo P  piyu  biioo M  koongonda D, MD
tongue  (also 'language')	thàlingi  [widespread root tyalayn]	tyalingi, thalingi challange K, tall lee ne Ly	tyalingi  chellingnoo JB, tchellenew E tchilinen B3	tyalingi, thalingi  talayin M, chelengi P  turlengi D, turlengee MD tal laeng en RM 'your tongue'
tooth    tooth, double	liyángin 'your ~'  [Kulin liya]	liyang(i)  liang Co, liangi K lee ung ee Ly, leang A,	liyangin 'your tooth' leangin B3, liannoo JB, teangin B2, leangin E, lia PP lee-ang-ing RE wiRp-liya- wirpleanpie E, wirpleangin B2	n(h)aRoki  naroki D, narokie MD ngarochi P, narrookoo M
tortoise [see 'turtle']				
totem	parrembu 'his ancestral ~'			
touch, feel, to	pathaima yiti pathaimin 'I actually felt it', e.g. fish in the water. [WW pathema 'try food, taste]		puma E, punnia B2	
toy	wúth-wùth 'throwing toy' [similar in other Kulin]		watywi  wotchwie B2 'a type of game'	
track	límbu	tyinanu 'its foot(print)' chinnano K	limbanu  limbanu 'path' PP  tyinangi 'foot(print)' dyinangi PP,	laimbi  laimbi D; laimbie MD thinangi 'foot(print)' thinangi D, thinangie

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) chinanya P paRi barrie 'road' B2 [Kulin pari(ng)] toorake JB [probably English]	Wati-Wati (P) MD yaanyi M
tree [see 'gum, red']	pìyáli  [also 'red gum', widespread Vic.] nhárlanh <sup>128</sup>  péngi 'hollow ~'		kalki [widespread Vic.] kulkie E, kulky, kulki JB boorongie B3 [see 'scrub'] bap PP  piyali bee-al-ley 'wood' RE	payli  paila D; pailee MD
tribe			nairingumagnicie E	
trousers	tìrráwurrù			
tubers of water lily			lapuR  laboor B1	
turn round, to	wílka [WW wilka]			
turtle	túimi-mùm 'indented bottom' [WW, Wer turmi- mum] nhími 'short necked, Emydura macquarii'' [WW nyim] wùrrángu 'long necked, large, Chelodina expansa' [WW warengel] <sup>129</sup> thípi-thípi 'small, long- necked, immature Chelodina longicollis'			
twilight			woRka-woRka worka-worka E; worka worka 'Venus' B1, B2	
twist, to	mùrlímatha			
two	pùlétha	pulatyí,	pula, pulayt	pulatyá, pulatyíla,

<sup>128</sup>An unidentified species, small, with inedible fruit that splits open, probably *Pittosporum phillyreoides*.<sup>129</sup> This was forbidden meat for the Mathi-Mathi.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
	[widespread root pula]	pulayt poo-lette Ey  boralgi C	bulle MV, MB, bullee MB, MW bullet MW, pola JB, polay E polite B2, politi B5, bule PP	pulathal bolaja M, polaigilla P  polatol D, MD; polathol MD poolatil CaH
ugly			wikawikapi wickawickabie E waikeroo woorinen 'ugly mouth' B2, (proper name, Table 70) waikeroo woorinew 'ugly mouth' B1 wong(g)uRwil wonkoorwil B2 ngomloiwil JB	
underneath	kúnda			
understand [see 'hear']				
unkind			nalangi nullanga E, nullungie B2	
up, above	kákata, kékata			
urine				kimon keemon D, MD [WW kir, Wer kire]
valley			tumtumu doomdoomo E, B2 [probably related to Mathi tuwumi-mum and WW turmi-mum 'turtle'. Hercus 1992:56 added "these turtles were named from the v-shaped opening at the back of the shell."]	
vanish, to	yáwimátha			
vapour [see 'mind'] <sup>130</sup>	mùyúnhu 'its vapour, steam' mùyúngin 'your mind'			
vegetables			moornalhakumie B2	
very	táma, támu walwatha tamu 'very hot'			

<sup>130</sup> The mind was envisaged as a sort of vapour, closely associated with but not identical to the breath or spirit that left the body after death, cf. **puwikin**

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
	[Dj tami]			
vomit, to	kématha		kaRma kurma B2, E [Kulin karma]	
waddy, club	kàními  kànáki ‘4 sided’ [Wer kani] múnhápi ‘long handle’  [Wer munyup] lìyá-wil ‘with point and hook’ [WK liawil, Wa liangwil, Woi liangil]] pérrpinh ‘spear point’ [WW pirpeyn, Wer pirpiyn]		liyawil ‘tooth having’ leawill B2, terkill E, B2 nulla nulla B2 [Dharuk (Sydney) word]	
walk	yírn.katha [yan- widespread toot]	yana yannow Co, yea yinn nun Ly yawa yawan K, yaun Mc	yana yana E, yangana PP  yawa yarwa JB	yana yanna P, yen D, yena MD yangal M cum.mar.ca.ta.ca ‘walk away’ RM
want [see ‘wish’]				
warm		kel.lal.lee L	nang(g)a nunga B2, E [see ‘sun’]	
wash, to	yúnggatha		pa(r)ta purta E, B2	
water	kàthíni [WW katən, Wer, Tjap katyin]	kartini kaatini K, kartini Co  kart ta nee Ly  tar-nar Ey kon- ne Ey	kayani, kartini hayannie B5, kainie E, kertini JB  kayanie B1, B2, kertenarda JB [this is a locative form] cawie <sup>131</sup> kayanie ‘salt water’ B2, katni PP  cad-din-ney mur.rah ‘boiling water’ RE. The meaning of <i>mur.rah</i> is not known	kayini ki-ini Ca, kiemie D, MD, kieui CaH; minga kiene Bar ‘bring water’  teeni P, tainyi M (possible initial letter error for k-)
waterhole, well			yalam yallum JB, E, ‘well’ B2	

<sup>131</sup> This seems to be *kawi*, the Kaurna word for ‘water’, perhaps with reference to the sea.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) yallun 'in well' B2 [Wer yalam] kuRan kayani koooran hayannie 'large ~' B5	Wati-Wati (P)
water-rat	kúlpi, mùrrémbin			
waterweed [prob. Triglochin procera]	kathina wurrithu [cf. 'water']			
wave, to	wénggilátha			
weak			tartin-tartin dertindertine B2, dartindartinE mika mika PP	wang(g)athe wongathe D, MD
weather	kàlángi			
weave, to	yùrrúngatha			
well, now			yeRi yeri JB	
well, to be [see 'good']	tèlkáya, tèlkáyatha			
west	wapurru		tyalup tschaloop E, tchaloop B2	
wet, to be	pàndálaiθα			
what?	nhángi nhanang 'what by?' [WW, Wer nyanya] mínhi		nyange, nganyu nyánge LH  nangic E, nganyu MB nanga JB, nangi PP, nalli JB	nungoa D
when?	nhánhu	winga Mc	nharteRu nerteroo E, B2 [WW nyatyErruwa ] natte JB, naturo PP	wati wutti D  (this may be an error for the word 'no')
where?	wíndha <sup>132</sup> [WK windja, widespread form]	windha, windya winda Mc, windje K, winta Ly	windha(la), windya(la) windyella MB, wintya E, winta JB  wintala JB [YY, Ya windhal ] wintaga JB, wingeregna JB, windyalo PP	narrakanian D

<sup>132</sup> Interrogatives can function as indefinites and words for 'where' are often translated as, 'I don't know.' The forms *winta* JB and *windya* PP are given with this gloss.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
whereabouts?	windhálu [WW, Wer windjalug]			
which?	winhángu		winyatu winyatoo E [WK winya(tuk)] nhali nalli JB	
whirlwind	wirritap			
whiskers	tétku ngàrrágin 'your face hair'	ngaRangi  narringee Co, ngaragi K n(g)aningi  nun nin-nee Ly [WK ngani] pili tanti bellee tun dee Ly	ngani  nganninew E, ngenninew B2 ngeninthu JB, ngenengroo JB ngaangai ? PP	manangi  monangi D, manangee MD ninini P, nyamygo M  [YY mondeRing, Yar menaki]
whistle, to	wírngatha		wirta wirta B2, E [WW, Tjap wirta]	
white	wirlérrma wirlérrmadha 'be white'		t(h)aRawil tarawil PP  [Kulin tharra]	p(i)liyandi pliandi D, pliandie MD
who?	winhángu	winyaR  winyarigen Mc	winyaR [Wer winyarr] winyar MB, winyara PP winyerangi JB, wingerenyi JB	n(h)eng(g)a  nenga D  ning.our.ree.yar.e.car 'What your name?' RM
why? what for?	nháka		nhang(g)i nangi PP	n(h)ang(g)oRa nungora D
wild [see 'anger']	kùlhúlatha 'be wild' kùlétha-wil 'fierce, furious' kùlum-kùlum 'wild blackfellow who would kill people'		wilka(R)  wilker B2, wilkur E  bukeen B1 [see 'spirit', 'savage']	
wilga	púrri			
wind	wiláangi [Wer wila]	wilangi willangi K, wilangi Co wilangi PP, wee lar nee Ly	wilangi weelangi JB, willangie B2, E, B3	wilangi willong.he L, wilangi D; willangee MD wilanyi  willain P, woolanyi M
wing [see 'arm']	thàtháku		(kaRi) tarta	



English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH) turtow JB, kerrytartow B2 karrytarton E	Wati-Wati (P)
winter			mayangi miangie B1, myangie B2, E [WK, Wa maya(ng)]	
wish, desire, like to	tírráwa		tyeRa  gera 'to like' JB  yaka yukka, yukkin JB 'want' ngainga ngainga B2 (L'sP) 'wish'	muwa  gnetemowa D, ynetemowa MD [literally 'I like']
woman	láyurr <sup>133</sup>	layu laiyoo K, lioo Co, lio A lieu Mc, ly eue Ly, li-u Ey	layuR(i) laioori MB, liour B3, leyoor JB laiur MV, MB, MW, lyoor B1, B2, E laioor JB, laiur PP	layuRki liorki Ca, D, liorkee CaH laioori M, laiorki P
woman, loose	thíłpi-kùma			
woman, old		kalpuR, kaluR kalbor kalbor Ly, kallor Ly, kalao K, bowbi Co [Wer, Tj kala- kala-kurrk]	kaluwuR, kaluR  gallour B2, E, galour B2, B1 kuloor JB, kulaiwur PP	kaluwuR  kallawur M  tillibillechi P, kuambiliki D; quambilikie MD [these three forms have a final element -piliki]
woman, young	mùrrúnhi  (see above 'girl')	muRunyi  moo ra yong ee Ly moroignee 'women' Mc  muring 'daughter' A	muRunyu(R)  mooroongoor E, B1, B2 moorignoor JB  wooroongoor 'young virgin' B2 malkuR, mulkoor 'virgin' B2 mulcoor 'virgin' E	muRuingi, muRuinyi moroingham 'woman' D, MD baali P,  muruwing yi 'girl' RE
wood [see also 'stick']		kalki  kaalk K, kulgi	kalki  kulkie B1, kulki JB,	kalki  kulki M, kaalki P

<sup>133</sup> The form **layurr(k)** is found throughout the Western Victorian language.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
firewood [see 'fire']		Co [Kulin kalk] warnampi wurnambie K	kalki PP warnawi wurnaway JB	pittarkuri D; pittarcurie MD
woomera	kàrríki [Kulin karrik]	kaRiki  kairki K, kurigi Co kur-rek-kee Ly, kur-rek-kee Ly	keri JB, korrie E  womera B2 [Dharuk (Sydney) word]	tyayiki  chaieki P
worm	tháγγgali			thanggali tungalie MD
wound			wiRpi wirpie E, wirpii B2 [see 'pain', 'sore'; WK wirp] walanu wallanoo E, B6	
wrist			maRk marna markmurnangin B2 murnanow E [cf. 'hand, back of'] [Wer merg-manyá ]	
write down, to; draw to	píγγgatha			
writhe, to, struggle (like a fish out of water)	kírrpa			
wrong			warawitungi PP	wata piRimali warta primalia MD
yabby [see crayfish, small']				
yam			thapo(R) thabor JB	
yamstick			kaningi kenninge MV, MB, MW [Kulin kani 'digging stick']	
yell at someone	kémbatha			
yes	ngíúwi	ngaya, ayi-ayi nia Co [W ngayi] ngo B1 ai-ai K	yiya, la, ngawe ea, eyer JB, eya B2, eyer B1, iya B2  yea PP, la, lah E; e.har RE nga JB, ngungui; ngáuwe LH	yiya yeai D, MD, ea M, iia P  ye.ly RM
yesterday	kíla nháwíki	tyilalu chilalog K, till lar lu her Ly WW djelig-	kaRalko karalko JB  kuRuwilu	kalko kalko M, P [Yi kaalkun] keelonakie MD

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi djelig]	Wati-Wati (SH) kurra willow B2	Wati-Wati (P)
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6.1.2 Kinship Terms

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
mother	pápin ‘your mother’ [Kulin pap-]	papai (probably ‘my mother’) papai K, Co paapie A; parp-pe Ey	papu ‘his/her mother’  baboo JB, B2, E kuiniwore PP	karna  korna D, corna MD kornoo M, konoo P  kukui Ca [YY kanha]
father	mámi [WK, CV mam]	mami mamai Co, K,  maami A, marm-me Ey	mami mamoo JB, B2, mamie B3) konye  konye PP	mami mamui Ca, marmi M  mamoma D, MD  maamoo P mur.rar.ket RM
aunt (mother’s sister)			kuyinguRu ‘his mother’s sister’ koingeroo E, B2 [WW kuingkuri ‘mother, also poss. ‘female’ ]	kunui  Gūnui Ca
aunt (father’s sister)	[WK ngaluk]			niyinggui  Nī-nigui CaH, ni-ingui Ca
uncle (father’s brother)			neerpuollomamoo E, werpoolomamoo B2  (this form includes the word for father, <i>mama</i> , and the 3 <sup>rd</sup> singular possessor suffix)	mamui  mamui Cah, Ca [= ‘father’]
uncle (mother’s brother)	kéngginìn ‘your uncle’			kunui Gūnui Ca
ancestor [see also ‘great grandfather’]	pàrrimbu [WW parrəmbuk, parrəm-parrəm ‘grandfather’]		ngamaloRui ngamalloroie B2, ngamalloroie E  [this may contain <i>ngama</i> , the widespread word for mother, not otherwise found in Kulin]	
grandmother	ngápungài [my		kuka	kokonui

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
(mother's mother)	~]			Kokonūi Ca, CaH
grandmother (father's mother)	kúkingi [WK kuka and kuki used for grandparents]		kuki cokineu E, cokinew B2 'his/her grandmother'	mayimui mi-imui f's m Ca
grandfather (mother's father, also grandchild)	ngápúnìn ['your maternal ~] [WK ngapa, Wa ngapuni]			ngapuni naponui 'm's f' Ca
grandfather (father's father)			kuka corkernoo E, cockernoo B2 'his/her grandfather' kuka was widely used in WW]	matui matui f's f Ca
great-grandfather/mother	párrim-párrim			
ancestor	pàrrímbu [WW parrəmbuk, parrəm-parrəm 'grandfather']		ngamaloRuwi ngamalloroie B2, ngamalloroie E  [this may contain <i>ngama</i> , the widespread word for mother, not otherwise found in Kulin]	
mother-in-law			man(g)guRung(g)u mankooroongoo B2, E	
sister, elder	tháthai 'my elder sister'  mínákin 'your eldest sister'	tyatyí  chache K, chage Co muR(i)-tyatyí  mouri tati D [cf. 'woman, young']	tatyí-  tajin PP	mui thati  mowie tatie MD  thatui  tatui Ca
sister, younger  sibling, younger	pèrrátin 'your ~'	mini, minaki  mear nar kee 'sister' Ly mene 'sister' A	mini  menoo JB, meanii E, meanie 'sister' B2	mini ~ mayini, minukui minukui Ca, maina P, mekana 'sister' M mainni ki D, mainnee kie MD [Yi <i>maiook</i> , Ke <i>mai-ik</i> ]
brother, elder	wáwin 'your elder brother'	wawi	wawu 'his elder brother'	wawi, muRi

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
	[WK wawi]	waar wee Ly, waawe K  mundundi moondoondi Co	wawoo JB, E, B2, B3, wawi PP	wawi waawoo P, wawi Ca, woni D, mourie wauie MD m(a)ya mia M,
brother, younger; sibling, younger	pèrrátin ‘your younger sibling’	pambi  bambi Co  paladi bullardie ‘bro’ A	palaRu  palaroo B2, balarin B3  palleroo E, bulara PP	maimi, maimi wawi mamui Ca, maimie wouie MD
brother-in-law			wiyi, wiRi weeie B2, werie E	
daughter		manggipi mang ki ee pee Ly [Wer manggep and similar in other Kulin]]	manggi munkie E, B2  layuR wirtiwi liour wertiwoo B3 [lit.woman her offspring]	
son	wàtháyu [WW wathip, other WK watyip]	watapi wat ta bee Ly, wa-ipui Ca	wirtiwi ‘his son’ wertoowoo E, wirthoo B2 wirthoo E, wirthoo ‘young of bird’ B2	wayipui wa-ipui Ca
daughter-in-law			meth-kuRi methcoorie E, B2	
sister-in-law			woengirie B2, E	
cousin or sister, eldest <sup>134</sup>	mìnákin ‘your cousin’		yinakumu ‘his cousin’  inagoomoo E, B2	
nephew			nganangi-p(a)i ngunungipie B2, E	
niece			tyawilkuRi tchowilcoorie B2, schowilcoorie E	
wife	màthímu [WW mathim, other WK matyim]	martumi mar toon ee Ly, mut-to-min Ey	martumi murtamoo JB, murtoomie B2, E  murtoomoo uu, mootomi PP	lileli lileli D, lilelie MD  nopui Ca [see ‘husband, spouse’]

<sup>134</sup> Cousin here in the sense of mother’s sister’s or father’s brother’s daughter.

English	Mathi-Mathi	Letyi-Letyi	Wati-Wati (SH)	Wati-Wati (P)
spouse	màthúmu [see also 'husband', 'wife']			
husband		layu(R)kil ly-oo gil Ly  [this is a form of 'layuR-wil', 'wife-having']	lay(uRw)ilu 'her husband' lielu JB [perhaps literally woman-having-3Sg'] martumi murtoome B2, E nganidyak PP	n(h)upa  nopui Ca, nopa D, MD
widow			tang(g)uR tungoor B2, E	
widower			luRkulawil loorkoolawil E, loorkoolahill B2	
son-in-law			keRam-keRam mamu kerumkerum mamoo B2 kerrumkerummamoo E [the form <i>mamu</i> is literally 'his/her father'] [same as step-father']	
stepmother			papuRun(g)gi babooroonkie E giragoo E	
stepfather			keRam-keRam mamu kerrumkerummamoo E kerumkerum mamoo B2 [the form <i>mamu</i> is literally 'his/her father'] [same as 'son-in-law']	
stepsister			tyeRikuRi gerrycoorie E, jerykooorie B2	
stepbrother			tyiRaku ['his/her ~', see also 'stepsister'] giragoo E	
stepson			keRam-keRam wartiwu kerumkerum wertuwoo E kerumkerumwertwoo B2 [the form <i>wartuwu</i> is	

<b>English</b>	<b>Mathi-Mathi</b>	<b>Letyi-Letyi</b>	<b>Wati-Wati (SH)</b> literally 'his/her son']	<b>Wati-Wati (P)</b>
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## 7

## Appendix 1: Inflected verb forms in Mathews

This verb paradigm is found in ‘The Bureba Language’, Mathews (1902:172–5), and also in ‘Bûrâ’bûrâ’ Language’ R.H. Mathews papers, National Library of Australia MS 8006 (notebook 1:39–42) (source MB). The forms in italics show alternative spellings in the manuscript source. As discussed above in 4.2.1.2, we do not accept this paradigm as being a correct reflection of verb morphology in Wati-Wati (Swan Hill).

Table 101: Verb Inflection: **nganga** ‘to sit’ from Mathews

		present	past	future
sing.	1	<b>ngangan</b>	<b>nganginan</b>	<b>nganginyan</b>
	2	<b>ngangarr</b>	<b>nganginarr</b>	<b>nganginyarr</b>
	3	<b>nganga</b>	<b>ngangin</b>	<b>ngangiyn</b>
dual	1 inc	<b>ngangangal</b>	<i>(ngangangul MB)</i>	
	1 ex	<b>ngangangalu</b>	<i>(ngangangulloo MB, ngangangullu p)</i>	
	2	<b>ngangangula, nganganyulu</b>	<i>(ngangangoola MB, nganganyulu p)</i>	
	3	<b>ngangapulang</b>	<i>(ngangabullang MB, ngangabulang p)</i>	
plural	1 inc	<b>ngangangurr</b>	<i>(ngangangoor MB, ngangangur p)</i>	
	1 ex	<b>ngangandhak</b>	<i>(ngangangoo MB, ngangandhak p)</i>	
	2	<b>nganganguta</b>	<i>(ngangangoota MB)</i>	
	3	<b>ngangathana</b>	<i>(ngangadhanna MB)</i>	



## 8

## Appendix 2: Kinship Terms in Wathi Wathi

This list of Kin Terms is taken from the R.H. Mathews papers, National Library of Australia MS 8006, Series 7 Folder 3b 20–25. The manuscript is headed “The following are the terms used by the Wathi Wathi tribe ...”

The MS is damaged and where we are reconstructing unreadable portions, these are in brackets.

The author of the manuscript included the following notes:

“M signifies Male speaking

[F signifies Fe]male speaking

x According as the person spoken (to) is younger or older than the speak(er)”

	<b>English</b>	<b>Wathi Wathi Tribe</b>
	Elder brother	Wawi
	Younger brother	Miamui
	Elder sister	Tatui
	Younger System	Mīnukui
	Father	Mamui
	Father’s brother	Mamui
	Mother’s sister’s husband	Mamui
	Father’s sister’s husband	Kakui
	Mother’s brother	Gūnui
	Mother’s sister	Gūnui
	Father’s brother’s wife	Gūnui
	Mother’s brother’s wife	Nī-nigui
	Father’s sister	Nīnigui
	Father’s father	Matūi
	Father’s father’s brother	Matūi
	Father’s father’s sister	Matūi
	Father’s mother	Mī-mūi
	Father’s mother’s sister	Mī-mūi
	Father’s mother’s bother	Mī-mūi
	Mother’s father	Naponūi
	Mother’s father’s brother	Naponūi
	Mother’s father’s sister	Naponūi
	Mother’s mother	Kokonūi
	Mother’s mother’s sister	Kokonūi
	Mother’s mother’s bother	Kokonūi
	Husband	Nopui
	Sister’s Husband	Nopui

	Husband's sisters's husband	x Wawi or Mīamui
	Wife	Nopūi
	Wifes's sister	Nopūi
	Wife's brother's wife	x Tatui or Mīnukui
	Wife's brother	Pingaipui
	Husband's sister	Indapui
[F]	Brother's daughter's son	Naponūi
[F]	Daughter's son	Kokonūi
[F]	Sister's daughter's son	Kokonūi
[F]	Husband's mother	Bo-ika-thūi
[M]	Brother's daughter's son	Naponūi
[M]	Sister's daughter's son	Kokonūi
[M]	Wife's mother	Nalūdūi
F	Father's brother's son	x Wawi or Mīamui
F	Father's brother's daughter	x Tatui or Mīnukui
F	Mother's sister' son	x Wawi or Mīamui
F	Mother's sister' daughter	x Tatui or Mīnukui
F	Father's sister's son	Malūnui
F	Father's sister' daughter	Indapui
F	Mother's brother's son	Malūnui
F	Mother's brother's daughter	Indaipui
F	Son	Wa-ipui
F	Sister's son	Wa-ipui
F	Husbands' brother's son	Wa-ipui
F	Husbands' sister's son	Natowui
F	Brother's son	Natowui
F	Brother's son's son	Matūi
F	Son's son	Mī-mūi
F	Sister's son's son	Mī-mūi
F	Husband's brother	Nopui
F	Brother's wife	Indapui
F	Son's wife	Bo-ika-thūi
F	Daughter's husband	Nalūdūi
F	Husband's father	Bo-ika-thūi
M	Father's brother's son	x Wawi or Mīamui
M	Father's brother's daughter	x Tatui or Mīnukui
M	Mother's sister' son	x Wawi or Mīamui
M	Mother's sister' daughter	x Tatui or Mīnukui
M	Father's sister's son	Niripui
M	Father's sister' daughter	Malūnui
M	Mother's brother's son	Niripui
M	Mother's brother's daughter	Malūnui
M	Son	Wa-ipui
M	Brother's son	Wa-ipui
M	Wife's sister's son	Ing-gipui
M	Sister's son	Ing-gipui
M	Son's son	Matūi
M	Brother's son's son	Matūi
M	Sister's son's son	Mī-mūi
M	Daughter's son	Naponūi
M	Brother's wife	Nopūi

M	Sister's husband	Pingaipūi
M	Son's wife	Bo-ika-thūi
M	Daughter's husband	Ngūtha-ngūthūi
M	Wife's father	Ngūtha-ngūthūi

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<sup>135</sup> This publication was issued in French and English, but it is the French version that was first made available to us via R.M.W. Dixon.

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## *Abbreviations*

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ABL	ablative	NOM	nominative
ACC	accusative	NOMZ	nominalizer
CONT	continuative	OBJ	object
ERG	ergative	OBL	oblique
EXP	expanding suffix	PAST	past tense
FUT	future	PAST.PTC	past participle
GEN	genitive, general oblique	POS	possessive, possessor
IMP	imperative	PRO	pronoun
INST	instrumental	PTC	present participle
INTR	intransitive subject	RECIP	reciprocal
SUBJ			
IRR	irrealis	STAT	stative
LOC	locative		

### *Language abbreviations*

Bu	Buwandik, Bunganditj	Wa	Wathawurrung
Col	Colac language	Warr	Warrnambool language
Dhu	Dhudhuroa	WB	Wemba-Beraba
Dja	Djadjawurrung	Wer	Werkaya
EK	Eastern Kulin	Woi	Woiwurrung
Gipps	Gippsland language	WK	Western Kulin
Ke	Keramin	WP	Wati-Wati (Piangil)
Le	Letyi-Letyi	WS	Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)
Ma	Mathi-Mathi	WW	Wemba-Wemba
Paa	Paakantyi	Ya	Yabula-Yabula
Pall	Pallanganmiddang	Yar	Yaralde
Tjap	Tjapwurrung	Yi	Yitha-Yitha
T-Y	Thura-Yura	YY	Yorta-Yorta