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VICTORIAN LANGUAGES: A LATE SURVEY

by

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DEDICATED TO

*Stan Day and the late Nancy Egan (Wembawemba),
Eleanor Jackson Stuart (Wergaia), Jack Long (Madimadi),
and all those whose knowledge made the work possible.*

This book is a revised and enlarged
version of the author's 1969 work,
*The languages of Victoria: a late
survey*, published by the Australian
Institute of Aboriginal Studies,
Canberra, as AAS-17, L-5 and L-6.

PREFACE

This survey had its beginning early in 1962 with an elderly man at Echuca (Victoria) who still remembered some of his language, Wembawemba. Encouraged by Dr A. Capell and by Professor J. Smit recording began of this and other Victorian languages. Work was intensified in mid-1963 with help from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra. It has been apparent from the beginning that this survey was doomed to be inadequate as the languages of some entire groups of tribes disappeared completely many years ago (e.g. the languages of the Goulburn tribes), while others were virtually extinct (e.g. of Woiwuru of the Melbourne area only one or two people remember a few words from their early youth). Nevertheless as much material as possible was collected, speakers being pursued far afield, for instance, the best Maḍimad̪i speaker from Balranald was living at Point Pearce, South Australia. It would probably be true to say that there are no elderly or even middle-aged persons of Aboriginal descent in Victoria and the south of New South Wales who have not at some stage been questioned by us about the language. However fragmentary the resulting material may appear, it represents all that was left in 1962-1965, and several important speakers have since died. It is hoped that this work will in some measure supplement the scanty information that can be gained from the works of earlier writers.

As earlier writers mostly worked before the general use of phonetic script, the pronunciation of the (mostly very short) word lists they collected is uncertain; therefore both phonemic and phonetic transcriptions have been used in the vocabulary. The new material will give an idea of what some of the languages sound like and how they differed from each other. Grammar was not well represented in earlier Victorian writings, partly because of the old fallacy that Aboriginal languages were 'primitive' and that their grammar was therefore 'meagre', and partly because no one learnt any of the languages well enough to make a thorough grammatical analysis. The most detailed treatment of grammar that is available is in the very brief sketches of a number of Victorian languages by R.H. Mathews and in the manuscript by Tuckfield (1898). Fortunately one of the Victorian languages, Wembawemba, was still sufficiently well preserved for an attempt at detailed grammatical study, though some inevitable gaps resulted. The information obtained was constantly crosschecked among the speakers, and any word or form that was in any way doubtful has been excluded.

This work would not have been possible without the help of Mr T.G.H. Strehlow (University of Adelaide), Dr A. Capell (University of Sydney) and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, also the Aborigines Welfare Boards of Victoria and New South Wales were very helpful, in particular Mr Felton, Mr West and Miss K. Martin (of the Save the Children Fund). Great assistance was received from the collaboration of the ethnomusicologist, Dr Catherine Ellis of Adelaide, and of Mrs Janet Mathews of Wollongong. Professor R.G. de Bray of the University of London and the Australian National University, who went on some arduous field trips, proved invaluable with his advice, particularly on phonetics. Most of all I feel indebted to my Aboriginal friends who gave much of their time, and who became very interested in their language which had been neglected for so long.

LIST OF SYMBOLS

The phonetic symbols used in this work have been kept as close as possible to the system of the International Phonetic Association, as set out in *The principles of the International Phonetic Association*, London 1949. The major exception is the palatal series of consonants, these are in fact usually palatalised alveo-dentals. For these the standard notation of works on Australian languages has been followed (as in the *Oceania* publications and the publications of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies). Very rare symbols have been explained where they occur in the text, and are not included here.

CONSONANTS						
	Bilabial	inter-dental	Dental and Alveolar	Retro-flex	Palatal	Velar
voiced plosive	b	<u>d</u>	d	ɖ	dj	g
voiceless plosive	p	<u>t</u>	t	ʈ	tj	k
voiced fricative	w	ð	-	-	y	ɣ
voiceless fricative	-	θ	-	-	-	x
nasal	m	<u>n</u>	n	ɳ	nj	ŋ
trilled or flapped	-	-	r	ɽ	-	-
lateral	-	<u>l</u>	l	ɭ	lj	-

VOWELS						
		FRONT		BACK		
		unrounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded	
high vowels	{ close, tense	i	-	-	u	
	{ lax	ɪ	-	-	ʊ	
	{ lax, slightly centralised	-	ü	-	ɯ	
	{ very lax	ɨ	-	-	ɯ	
mid vowels	{ half-close, tense	e	ø	-	o	
	{ half-open, lax	ɛ	œ	-	ɔ	
low vowels	{ half-open	æ	-	ʌ	ɒ	
	{ open	a	-	ɑ.	-	
CENTRAL VOWELS:		accented	ɜ			
		unaccented	ə			

DIACRITICAL MARKS:

nasalised vowel ~

voiceless ˠ

full-length long vowel :

half-length ˙

retroflex sound ɻ

unreleased plosive ̚

tonic stress ˈ

secondary stress ˌ

main sentence stress ˚

subsidiary sentence stress ˘

OTHER SYMBOLS:

unattested, hypothetical form *

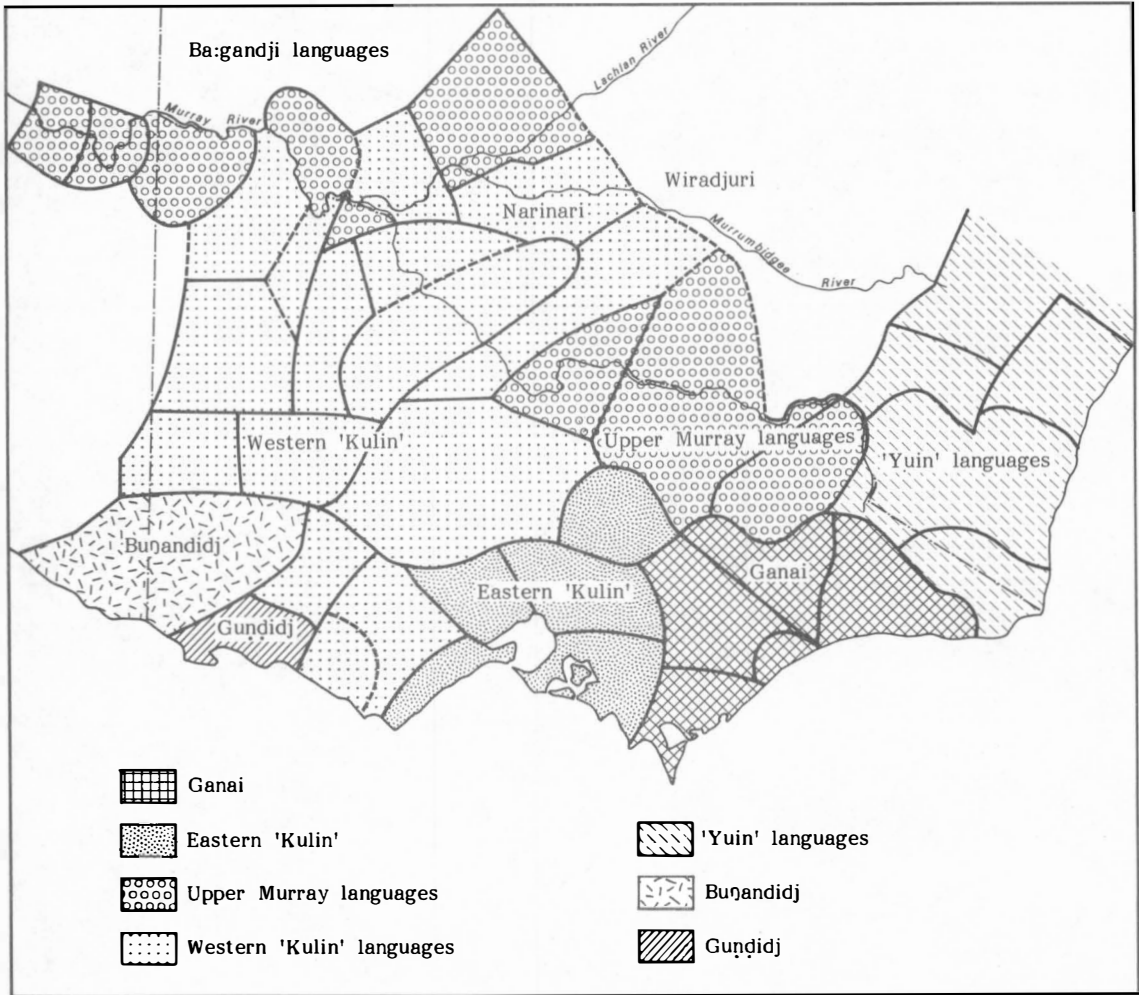
is derived from <

changes to >

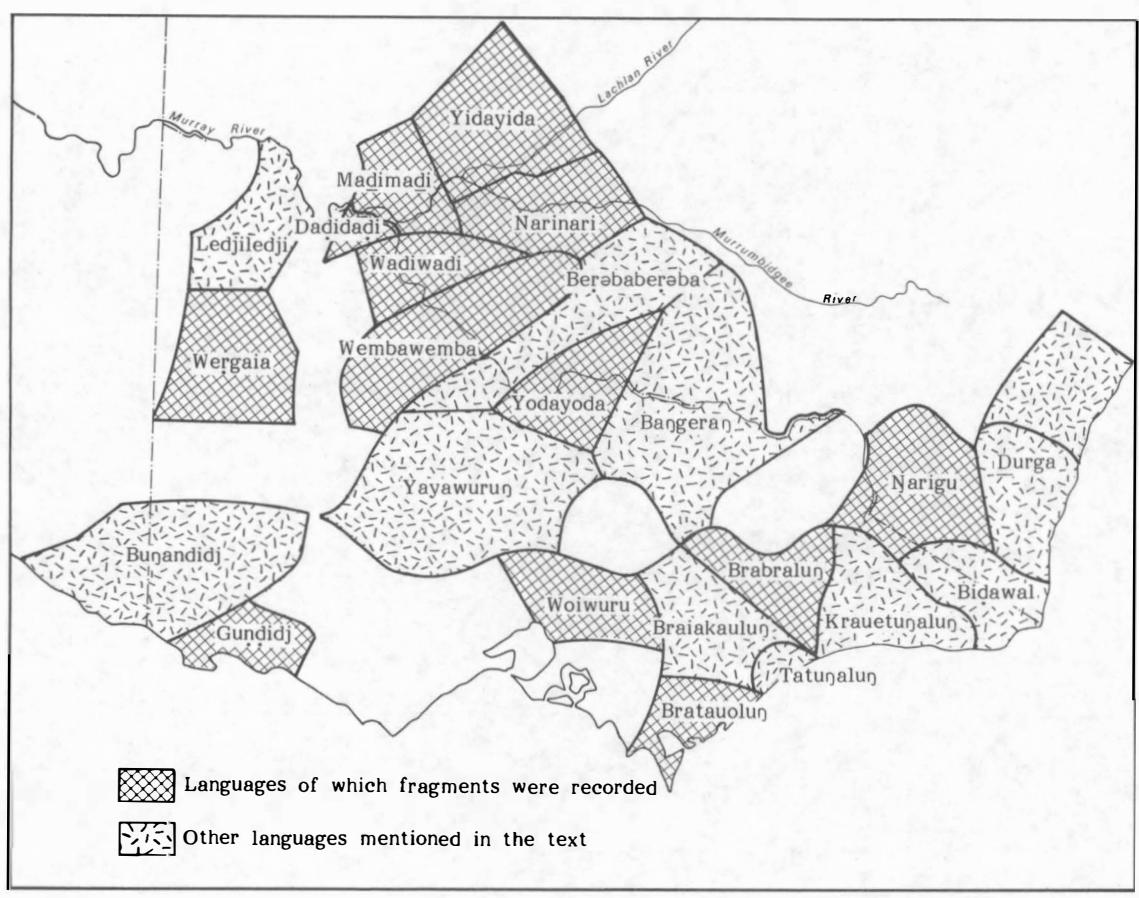
is an allophonic variant ˞

optional †

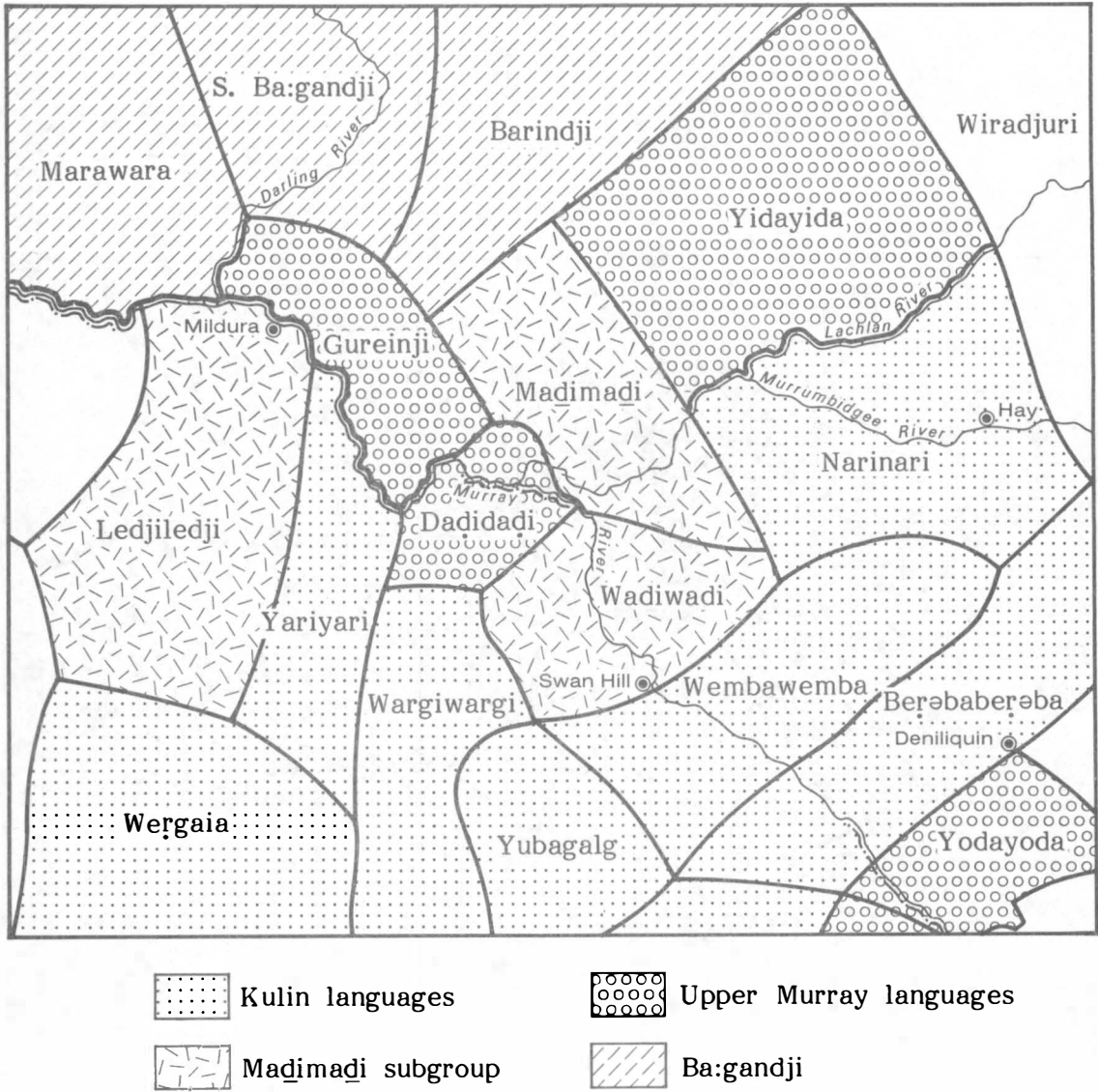
obligatory +



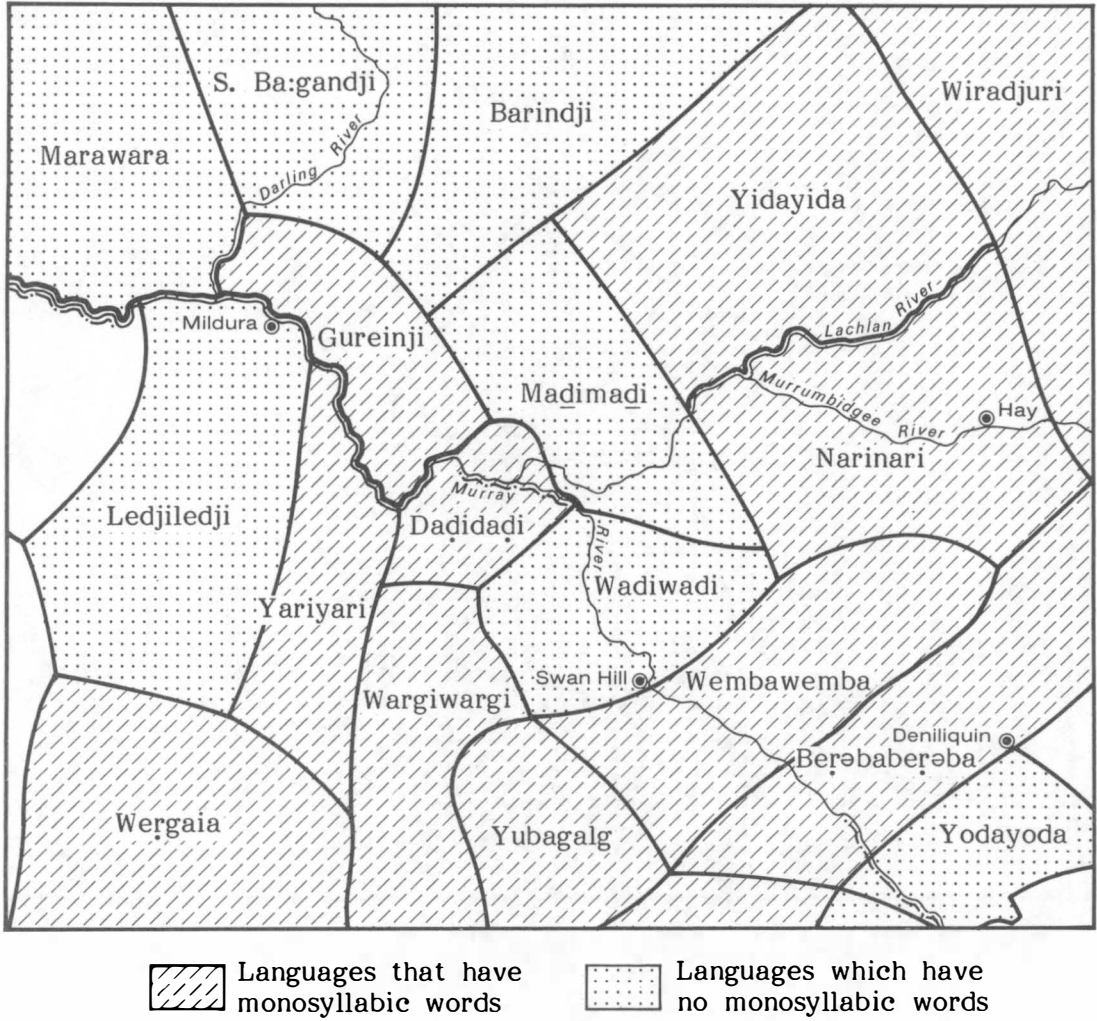
Map 1: Approximate distribution of language groups in South-east Australia



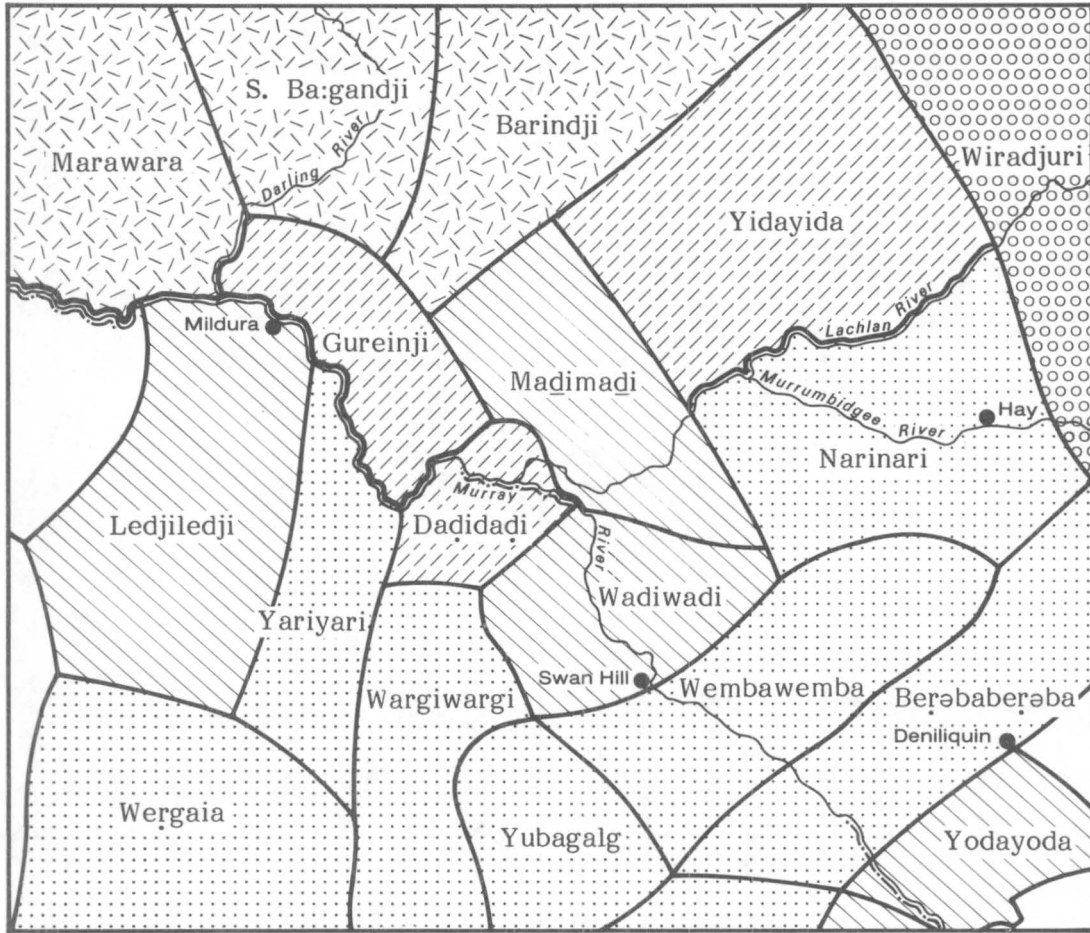
Map 2: Approximate location of particular languages








Map 3: Language map of N.W. Victoria and adjoining parts of N.S.W.



Map 4: Monosyllables in N.W. Victoria and adjoining areas of N.S.W.



-  No final consonants
-  Only vowels and continuants in final position
-  Only vowels and continuants common in final position, very few plosives, no final clusters
-  Final plosives common, some clusters
-  Final plosives common, numerous clusters

Map 5: Final consonants in N.W. Victoria and adjoining areas of N.S.W.



1. Old Wembawemba people near Moonacullah at the turn of the century.
King Dick, a woman of unknown name and a man called Margery (with rifle).
Photograph: Hubert Day.



2. Guardians of Victorian traditions: old times at Moonacullah near the turn of the century.
Photograph: Hubert Day.



3. Old Dave Taylor, grandfather of Stan Day and author of most of the Wembawemba songs. Standing up near him is his daughter (Old Dave Taylor was called Marəḍ).
Photograph: Hubert Day.



4. Jack Brown, author of the Wembawemba swearing song (with two nieces?) at Moonacullah.
Photograph: Hubert Day



5. Ebenezer Mission — as it was in the sixties.
Some restoration has since been done on the church.



6(a). Mr Stan Day at the Echuca Hospital, 1964.



6(b). Mrs Nancy Egan revisiting the Edwards River with Luise Hercus (1965).



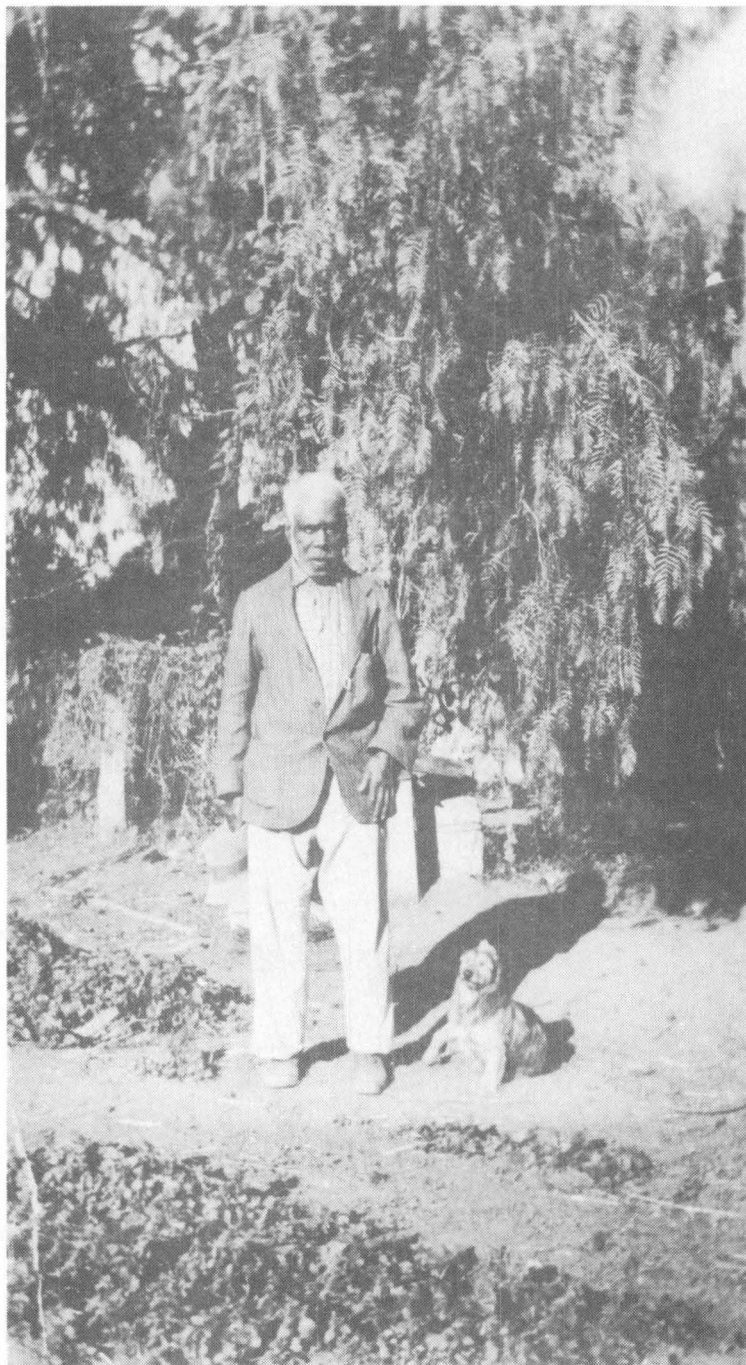
7(a). Mrs Jackson Stuart



7(b). Old Archie Pepper (Mrs Jackson Stuart's father), and Mrs Pepper, seated, with woman missionary and relatives at Kerang in the twenties.



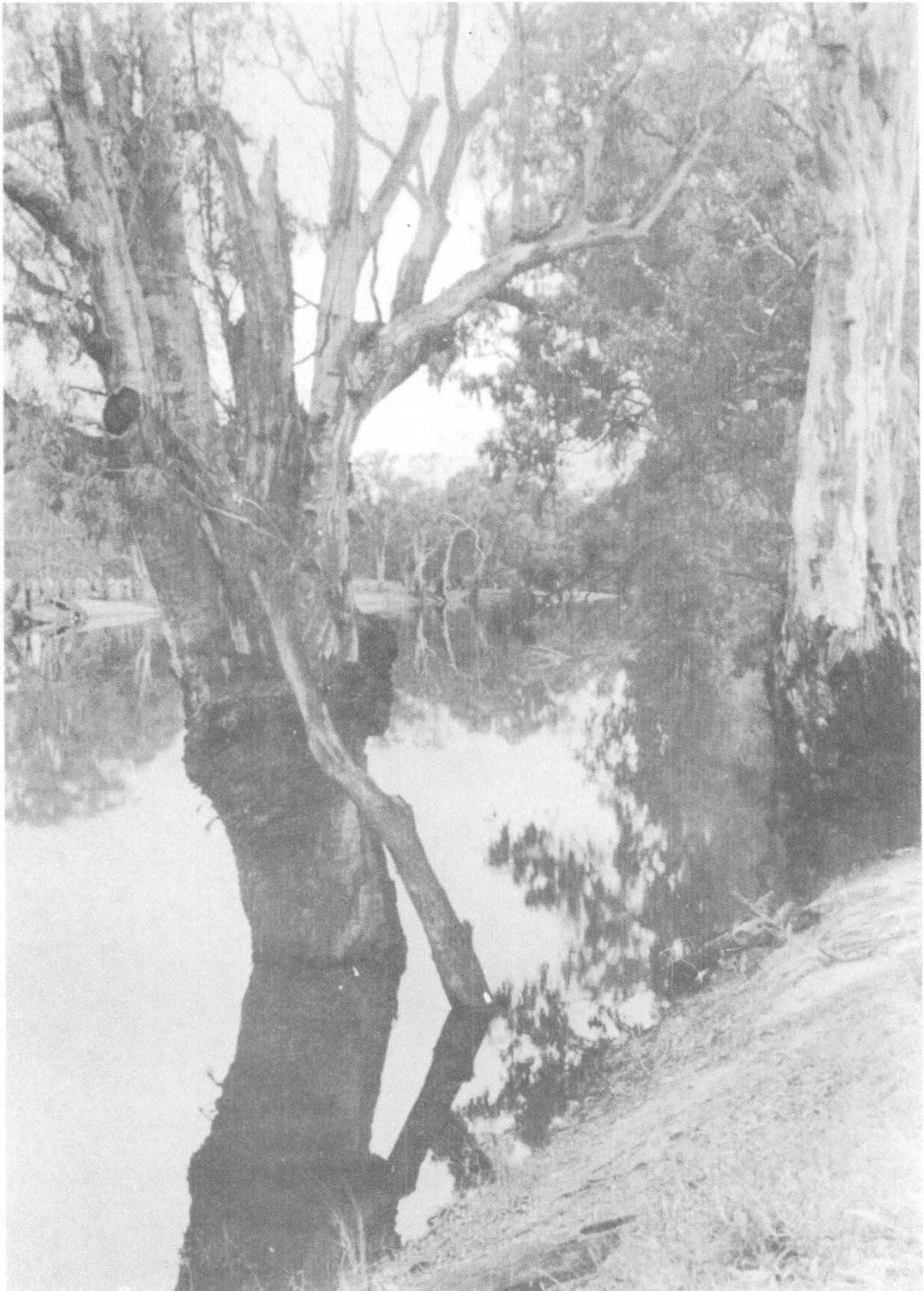
8. On the Speewa, Queen Aggie, Wadiwadi, and Mr Nichols, big gun shearer (from a postcard owned by Hubert Day).



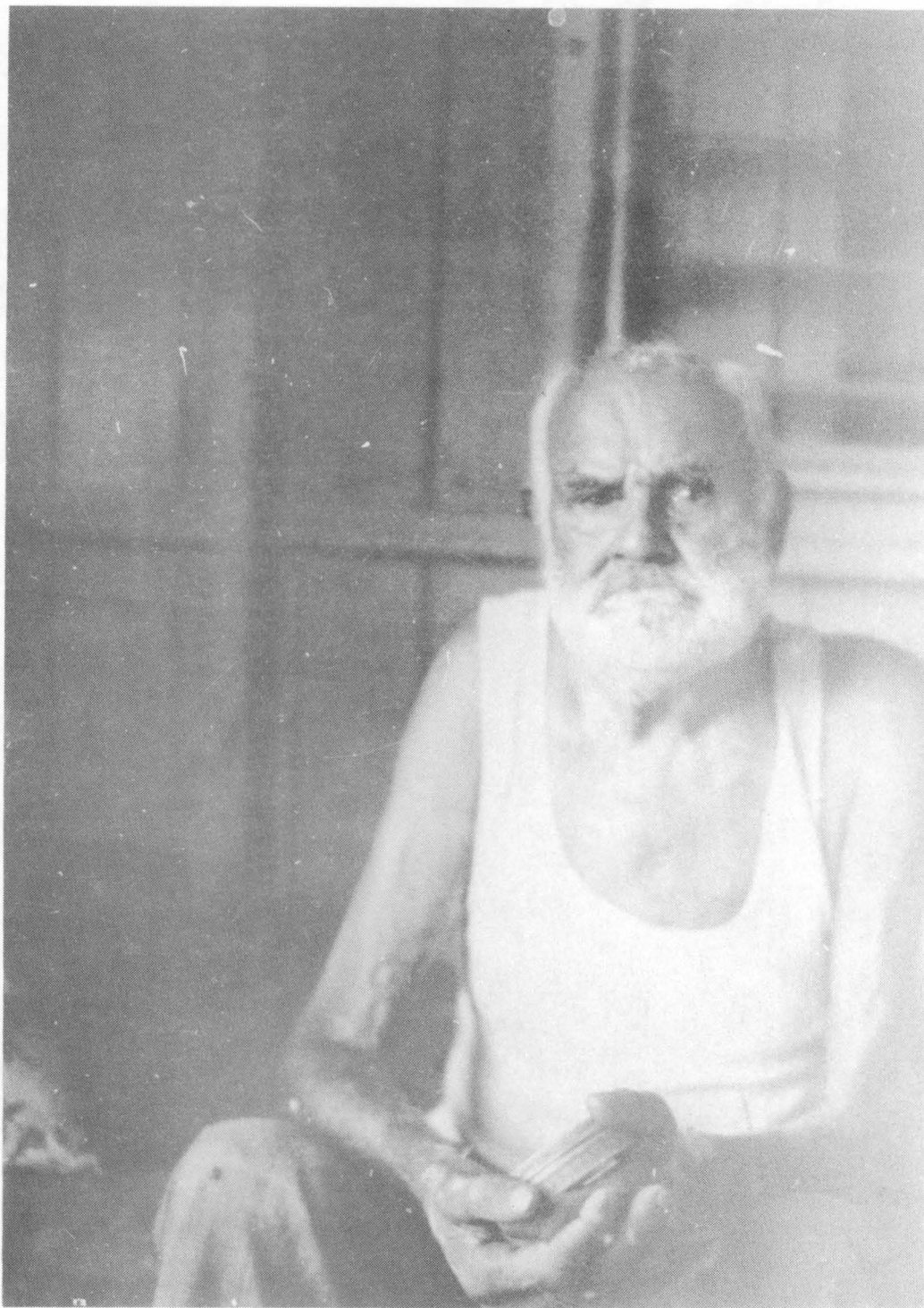
9. Dinny Myers and his dog Briggo. Dinny Myers was the last Yidayida speaker. Briggo saved Dinny Myers during the depression — he was such a brilliant rabbitier. Photograph: Hubert Day.



10. Jack Long at Pt Pearce, S.A., May 1974.



11. In Narinari country. The Murrumbidgee above Balranald.



12. Charlie Kirby at Balranald, January 1964.



13. Mrs Mary Moore near her camp by the Murray at Swan Hill, January 1964.



14. Mr Frank Wandin (Woiwuru).



15. The Wandin family: ? ; Mary Smith Wandin (little Don, because born on the Don River); Ellen Wandin; Martha Nevin; ? ; Joe Letapi Wandin.



16. Jemima Wandin nee Burns, mother of the Wandin family (b. 1854/7, d.1943).

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The term 'Victorian' is used loosely in this survey to designate the extreme south-east of Australia and to describe the groups of languages shown on Map 1.

According to the well-known theory of W. Schmidt (1919a) the Victorian languages represent the oldest stratum of Aboriginal languages and have characteristics that differentiate them from the rest of the Australian languages (the theory is disputed by Capell 1956:97). There can be no doubt as to the distinctiveness of Victorian languages: anyone who has been consistently studying Djadjala and Wembawemba and is then confronted by speakers of Ba:gandji on the Darling, or Yaralde in South Australia, or Wiradjuri in south central New South Wales, feels as if he had been transported to a foreign country. The occasional resemblances in vocabulary come almost as a surprise; such resemblances are on the whole confined to the widespread words denoted as 'Common Australian Vocabulary' by A. Capell (1956:85). This contrast between Victorian and other languages has become more striking nowadays, when some of the languages that exhibited intermediate features have disappeared, e.g. Wadiwadi (called 'Piangil' by Schmidt after a locality in the old tribal area) in the north-west, and Biḍawal in the south-east. If one attempts to draw a linguistic map of the south-east of Australia, isoglosses and isomorphs, when they are traceable, run in broad bands, cutting across various, some borderline, dialects, and there is certainly not one simple major dividing line between the Victorian and other languages.

Even within this broad limitation, Victorian languages can scarcely be regarded as a unity, and there are four major subdivisions:

1. The 'Kulin' languages.
2. The Gippsland languages.
3. The Upper-Murray languages.
4. Guṇḍidj, Buṇandidj and related languages of the south-west of Victoria and south-eastern South Australia (Dixon 1980:241, 263). There are closer links between the Kulin languages and this group than between any of the other languages.

1. There was a certain amount of uniformity among the so-called Kulin languages, which were spoken over much of the western half of Victoria and on both sides of the Murray between Robinvale and Echuca (see Map 1). Fortunately we were able to find remnants of three Kulin languages and fragments of two more:

- (a) Weṛgaia forms part of Schmidt's 'WNW Kulin', and was recorded in the form called Djadjala, originally spoken around Lakes Hindmarsh and Albacutya.
- (b) Madimadi from the Balranald district of New South Wales, is a northern form of Schmidt's 'WNW Kulin'.
- (c) Wembawemba is part of Schmidt's 'ENW Kulin'.

- (d) The very limited evidence gathered on Narinari implies that this language too formed part of 'ENW Kulin'.
- (e) Only very small fragments were obtained of an 'Eastern Kulin' language, namely Woiwuru from Healesville near Melbourne.

2. The poverty of the material now preserved in Gippsland makes it difficult to assess the exact position of the Gippsland languages, although one can see their basic affiliation with the Kulin group. Many of the resemblances were grammatical (e.g. the possessive construction). The present survey reveals considerable difference in vocabulary between the Kulin languages and the slight Gippsland fragments that remain. This confirms earlier evidence, particularly that of R.H. Mathews, 1902a (97-106 is a comparative Djadjala-Brabirawuru (Gippsland) vocabulary) and A. Capell (1962:97). If the borderline dialects were better preserved they would probably show that the differences were less abrupt than they appear now.

There were fairly close links between the Gippsland languages and the southernmost representatives of the Monaro or 'inland Yuin' (Schmidt 1919a) languages of New South Wales, namely the dialect of Njarigu that was spoken at Delegate. This latter is not a language of the Victorian type, but the scanty fragments of it that we recorded have been included here for comparative purposes. It overlapped into Victoria in the area between Orbost and Delegate along the valley of the Snowy River, and according to the testimony of the main speakers it was very closely akin to the mixed language, Biḍawal which was spoken in the extreme south-east of Victoria. It would seem therefore that the transition between the Victorian and other languages was particularly gradual in the extreme east. This does not altogether invalidate the hypothesis of the Victorian languages as a separate unit; some of the links between Njarigu and Gippsland are close, but there was hatred between the Njarigu or southern 'Monaro mob' and the 'coastal Yuin' tribes of the Eden-Bega district, as is well-known (Howitt 1904). Even now, 'coastal Yuin' people at Wallaga Lake recall with relish how "a whole lot of the Monaro mob came down near Bega to get their revenge, but King Merriman surprised and killed them all and there was a ditch full of corpses which you could smell a long way off. That's all the revenge the Monaro mob ever got". There is no doubt about the enmity between the Njarigu (inland Yuin) and the coastal Yuin but on the other hand there were friendly ties between the Njarigu and the Biḍawal and Gippsland tribes. There are also traditions which show that all these mountain tribes met in the annual search for the Bogong moth flood. The similarities between Njarigu and the Gippsland and Biḍawal languages may therefore not be fundamental: they may be an example of linguistic convergence caused by prolonged association between tribes, an example of a 'Sprachbund'.

3. There are thus certain links between the Gippsland languages and those of the Upper Murray and Goulburn valley tribes, often called 'Bangerang', of which Yodayoda may be taken as an example. Unfortunately the remnants of Yodayoda that could be collected are insignificant, despite a great deal of effort, but they tend to confirm the view that on the whole the links between the Upper Murray and Gippsland languages were closer than those between the Upper Murray and the Kulin languages which met near Echuca. The English-Aboriginal comparative vocabulary (chapter 7) illustrates this, but much valuable evidence has been irretrievably lost.

4. Unfortunately the Guṇḍidj and Buṇandidj languages of the south-west had fared just as badly as those of the Upper Murray: the few phonetic features we were able to record may — with some hesitation — probably be said to indicate that those languages were more closely linked with Kulin than were either the Gippsland or the Upper Murray languages.

CHAPTER 2

OUTLINE OF THE WEMBAWEMBA LANGUAGE

2.1 General remarks

The original extent of the territory of the Wembawemba tribe as given by Tindale is the following:

From Kerang, Vict., to Swan Hill on Loddon River; on Avoca River south to Charlton, Vict., northwards to Booroorban and Moulamein, N.S.W.; at Barham, Lake Boga and Boort.

(Tindale 1940:194)

People of this tribe concentrated on Moonacullah Mission, some 25 miles downstream from Deniliquin on the Edwards River, as did some of the closely allied Beṛəbaberəba people. Some families moved out occasionally to work on properties in the area, but they maintained their links with the Mission. The fact that the Wembawemba people remained settled as a unit led to the survival of the language to a comparatively late stage. The form of the Beṛəbaberəba language called 'Bureba' by Mathews (1902b:172-174) was very close indeed to Wembawemba. The Wembawemba informants were well aware of this similarity and often commented on it: "Some people at Moonacullah said beṛəba [ˈpɜṛəpʌ] for *no* and their language was nearly the same, just a few words were different from ours". We were fortunate enough to find three people who had been fluent speakers of Wembawemba in their youth: Stan Day, his sister Mrs Nancy Egan who were both living at Echuca, and their uncle, 'old Johnnie' Taylor of Balranald. It was many years since they had consistently used the language at the Moonacullah Mission and they were much out of practice, but they were vitally interested and had a deep love for Wembawemba. As Mrs Egan once put it: "When I got married and lived for years down at Framlingham I used to cry because I felt so lonely for the old people speaking in the language". Both she and her brother and 'old Uncle Johnnie' gradually recalled more and more Wembawemba and regained some fluency. Several other people also helped us, but their knowledge was only fragmentary.

2.2 Phonemic and phonetic notes

The phonemic system of Wembawemba does not differ radically from that of many other Australian languages (Capell 1956:4-9), but it has certain characteristics of its own. Noteworthy by their absence as separate phonemes are retroflex and palatal *l*. On the other hand the interdental *d* and the vowels *e* and *o*, which do not usually have phonemic value in many Australian languages, must be regarded as separate phonemes in Wembawemba.

2.2.1 Consonants

2.2.1.1 Consonant phonemes

The following consonant-phonemes are found in Wembawemba:

	labial	inter- dental	alveolar	retro- flex	palatal	velar
plosives	n	<u>d</u>	d	ɖ	dj	g
nasals	m	-	n	ɳ	nj	ŋ
trilled or flapped	-	-	r	ɽ	-	-
lateral	-	-	l	-	-	-
continuants	(w)	-	-	-	y	(w)

The isolated position of the interdental consonant makes this system appear very irregular, and this is in fact one of the peculiarities that separates Wembawemba from the related language Djadjala or Wergaia, as well as from Madimadi. The interdental d sound of Wembawemba generally corresponds to an intervocalic and sometimes a final dj in Djadjala:

Djadjala	Wembawemba	
bidjig	bid <u>i</u> g	<i>fly</i>
gadjega	ga <u>d</u> ega	<i>corella</i>
midjag	mi <u>d</u> ag	<i>rain</i>
widj-widj	wi <u>d</u> -wi <u>d</u>	<i>a kind of toy</i>

In Madimadi d corresponds to both the intervocalic and the initial dj of Djadjala, that is, provided the initial dj is not followed by a high front vowel:

Djadjala	Wembawemba	Madimadi	
wudju	wudu	wu <u>d</u> uŋi	<i>man</i>
djaga	djaga	<u>d</u> aga	<i>to eat</i>

There is great regularity in these correspondences, and it is clear that Wembawemba had a laminal contrast whereas Madimadi and Djadjala did not.

Wembawemba	<u>d</u> arə	<i>white</i>
	djarəɖ	<i>hard-head duck</i>

There are, however, some limitations on this laminal contrast as far as intervocalic -dj- is concerned. The only words in which dj occurs normally in intervocalic position in Wembawemba are those words which have no direct and closely related equivalent in Djadjala, at least in as far as we have been able to discover, e.g. madjəm [ˈmatjəm] *possum rug*. There are certain exceptions, e.g. Wembawemba and Djadjala midjug [ˈmɪtjUk] *skin*, but these exceptions may have definite explanations: e.g. Wembawemba and Djadjala djadjin [ˈtja:tjɪn] *your elder sister* (not *djadɪn, which has never been heard, not even as a variant); the reason for the use of intervocalic dj in Wembawemba in this case is probably assimilation to the initial dj.

These correspondences between the Kulin languages are particularly interesting in that they are not isolated in Australia: a similar link between *dj* and *d* has been reported for parts of the Western Desert (Douglas 1964:13-14) but there the development has not gone so far, and it is in some cases a matter of regional and social variation (Berndt et al 1942-45:15.52-3). The interdental sound has not been regarded as a separate phoneme in the Western Desert, whereas it must be regarded as such in Wembawemba. The whole problem of laminal contrast has been discussed by Dixon (1970).

2.2.1.2 Functional value of consonant phonemes

The functional value of the phonemes of Wembawemba can be shown by their occurrence in opposition. Examples are generally given for the medial and final position. Because of the limited material available, subminimal pairs have sometimes been used.

2.2.1.2.1 Contrasts by position of articulation

(a) Plosives:

b and <u>d</u>	<i>ɲaba</i>	<i>grandfather</i>
	<i>ɲada</i>	<i>a kind of mythical creature</i>
d and <u>d</u>	<i>gad-a</i>	<i>indeed</i>
	<i>gadag</i>	<i>armpit</i>
d, <u>d</u> and <i>dj</i>	<i>mideg</i>	<i>my husband</i>
	<i>midjeg</i>	<i>my skin</i>
	<i>midəg</i>	<i>rain</i>
<u>d</u> and d	<i>bud-ug</i>	<i>smoke</i>
	<i>bud-ug</i>	<i>private parts (female)</i>
g and <i>dj</i>	<i>wurəga</i>	<i>to speak</i>
	<i>wurədja</i>	<i>to sniff</i>
<u>d</u> and g	<i>wirəda</i>	<i>to whistle</i>
	<i>wirəga</i>	<i>to hurry</i>

(b) Nasals:

m, n, <i>nj</i> and <i>ɲ</i>	<i>mum-a</i>	<i>on to the bottom</i>
	<i>muna</i>	<i>lagoon</i>
	<i>munja</i>	<i>louse</i>
	<i>munja</i>	<i>to make</i>
n and <i>ɲ</i>	<i>giən</i>	<i>telling</i>
	<i>giəɲ</i>	<i>loose woman</i>

(c) Trilled or flapped:

r and <i>r̥</i>	<i>ɲarə</i>	<i>hair</i>
	<i>ɲarə</i>	<i>black duck</i>
	<i>lerəb</i>	<i>landrail</i>
	<i>lerəb</i>	<i>manna from scale insect, scale insect</i>

(d) Continuant:

y and w	<i>yirəga</i>	<i>to lift up</i>
	<i>wirəga</i>	<i>to hurry</i>

2.2.1.2.2 Contrasts by manner of articulation:

- | | | | | | |
|----------------|---------|--------------------|--------------|---------|-------------------|
| (a) Labials | bilba | <i>to bang</i> | (d) Palatal: | djaga | <i>to eat</i> |
| | milba | <i>to bend</i> | | njaga | <i>to look</i> |
| | wilgar | <i>dingo</i> | | djurben | <i>rained</i> |
| | | | | yurben | <i>born</i> |
| (b) Alveolars: | nadaŋ | <i>crayfish</i> | (e) Velar: | gurg-a | <i>for blood</i> |
| | naɾə | <i>hair</i> | | ɲurɣa | <i>to swallow</i> |
| | naŋəg | <i>wood-duck</i> | | wurɣa | <i>black</i> |
| | guri | <i>cousin</i> | | | |
| | guli | <i>crowd</i> | | | |
| (c) Retroflex: | baɾi | <i>oven</i> | | | |
| | baɟama | <i>wrestle</i> | | | |
| | buŋ-wil | <i>fast runner</i> | | | |
| | buɟ | <i>smoke</i> | | | |

2.2.1.3 Allophonic variations of consonants

The remarks on phonetics are based on close and repeatedly checked observations by the writer and Professor R.G. de Bray, on practice in imitating the sounds, and on well-founded criticisms made by the native speakers. We also had many discussions on problems of articulation, which were occasionally enlivened by jokes about the speech of another Wembawemba, who was always *yedaga liənjug without his teeth*.

2.2.1.3.1 Voice

(a) Single consonants

The plosive consonants of Wembawemba show the devoicing that is characteristic of many Australian languages. From the point of view of Wembawemba in particular, *b*, *d*, *ɟ*, *d̥*, *dj*, and *g* might best be transcribed as *p*, *t̥*, *t*, *t̥*, *tj*, and *k*.

Devoicing appears complete and the articulation is very tense in the case of final and intervocalic plosive consonants. Only a few examples are quoted because many can easily be found in the word list:

bidig	[¹ pIθIk ⁷]	<i>fly</i>
wudjub	[¹ wutjUp ⁷]	<i>stomach</i>
djiwaleɟ	[¹ dji·waləɟ ⁷]	<i>widgeon</i>
daga	[¹ tak ^Λ]	<i>to hit</i>

Initial plosive consonants are also devoiced, but there are some exceptions to this and devoicing is often only partial. The articulation is not quite as tense as in the case of final and intervocalic plosives. The amount of voice used may vary even among individual speakers. Consonants which are followed by a closely cognate vowel are apt to be voiced for a considerable part of their articulation, and to be articulated with less tension; this applies particularly to *dj* followed by the high and mid-front vowels, and to *g* and *b* followed by *u*. This is a case of co-articulation. Examples are:

gurg	[¹ gUr ^{k̥}]	[¹ gUr ^x]	<i>blood</i> ,	gumba	[¹ gu·mb ^Λ]	<i>to sleep</i> ,
but	gadəl	[¹ kaθəl]	<i>rubbing together of sticks</i> ;			
bunda	[¹ bUnd ^Λ]	<i>to bite</i> ,	but	bana	[¹ pa ⁿ Λ]	<i>ringtail possum</i> ;
djilega	[¹ djile ^{k̥}]	<i>sick</i> ,	djel	[¹ djɛ:l]	<i>net</i> ,	
but	djuɾa	[¹ tjuɾ ^Λ]	<i>to gossip</i> .			

These transcriptions only roughly indicate the distribution of voiced initial plosives. There is some hesitation about the amount of voice used, and some words often begin with what appears to be an almost completely devoiced initial consonant, when there is a great deal of emphasis, even before a cognate vowel:

yiri djilga [ˈyi·ri ˈtʃɪlkʌ] *he's really flash*
 djilbadjilbaninjanana [ˈtʃɪlpʌtʃɪlˈpʌnɪ,njʌnʌnʌ] *I'll flog you!*

(b) Consonant clusters

As appears from the accompanying table, only a limited number of consonant clusters occur within single words in Wembawemba. The range of consonant clusters is not as restricted as that reported for some other Australian languages, particularly Diyari (Capell 1956:7; Berndt et al 1941:3-10), but on the other hand the variety of consonant clusters used is much more restricted than in certain other Australian languages, notably Yaralde. The characteristic pattern of the consonant clusters that occur is one of the main factors that make one language 'sound very different' from another, and the differences in this respect even within Victoria are noteworthy.

(i) Table of Intramorphemic clusters in Wembawemba

Initial	br-			gw-
Medial	-mb-	-nb		
	-mbr-			
		-nd-	-nd-	
		-ndj-		-njdj
			-rg-	-rg-
		-nm-	-nm-	
			-gw-	
	-lb-	-rb-	-rb-	
	-lm-	-rm-	-rm-	
		-rmb-	-rmb-	
		-rd-		
		-rn-		
	-lg-	-rg-	-rg-	
		-rŋ-	-rŋ-	
		-rŋg-	-rŋg-	
		-rw-		
Final	-lb	-rb	-rb	
	-lm	-rm	-rm	
	-lg	-rg	-rg	
		-rn	-rŋ	

(ii) Non-nasal clusters:

The only initial clusters that are found in Wembawemba are br- and gw-. Unlike the Gippsland languages which particularly favour initial br-, Wembawemba uses it only rarely and then only in the combination bri-, as in bridjirim [ˈprɪdʒɪrɪm] *resin*. In this case devoicing is usually only partial and the second part of the initial b- tends to be voiced.

As is evident from the table, the only non-nasal clusters that occur medially and finally in Wembawemba are -gw- and l, r, and ɾ plus consonant. In all these combinations the plosive consonants are as a rule devoiced, except in the case of -gw-, where g is slightly voiced: this is to be expected as initial g is voiced when followed by u. Examples are:

miɾg-ug	[ˈmɪɾkʊk]	<i>egg</i>
wurba	[ˈwʊɾpʌ]	<i>youth</i>
milba	[ˈmɪlpʌ]	<i>to twist</i>
malgar	[ˈmalkʌɾ]	<i>waddy shield</i>
yugweg	[ˈyʊgwek]	<i>I wish I had</i>

Several different clusters of plosive plus w do not occur intramorphemically in Wembawemba, but they are frequent in junctures, and there is usually voicing of the plosive before w: e.g.

guradj-wil	[ˈgʊɾadjwɪl]	<i>fat</i>
lib-lib-wil	[ˈlɪpɪlbɪwɪl]	<i>Murray crayfish</i>

In compounds like djadj-gurɪŋeg [ˈtʃa:dʒɪrɪŋek] *my late elder sister* the voicing of the g before u tends to bring about voicing of the preceding consonant.

(iii) Nasal clusters:

The type of cluster consisting of plosive plus nasal which is so characteristic of Yodayoda (daŋapna *swan*) is never found in Wembawemba.

Plosives occurring in clusters with nasals always follow the nasal and are voiced, whether they are homorganic or not: e.g.

wemba	[ˈwɛ:mbʌ]	<i>no</i>
baŋgəl	[ˈpa:ŋgəl]	<i>wedge-tailed eagle</i>
yandin	[ˈyandɪn]	<i>me</i>
ŋɪŋgʊli	[ˈŋɪŋgʊli]	<i>you three</i>
banbar	[ˈpanbʌɾ]	<i>shovel</i>
wɪndʒa	[ˈwɪndʒʌ]	<i>where?</i>

Exceptions to this rule of voicing are only found in English borrowings that have not been properly assimilated. Thus njanjəɾar wantɪma [ˈnjænjəɾʌɾ ˈwɔntɪmʌ] is sometimes used instead of njanjarar ɣaɾga [ˈnjænjəɾʌɾ ˈɣaɾkʌ] *what do you want?*

One other possible example of a nasal followed by a devoiced plosive is ɟɪŋga [ˈki:ŋgʌ] or [ˈki:ŋkʌ], where the devoicing is probably due to the assimilatory influence of the initial k.

As is well known, the distinctions between voiced and unvoiced consonants are not of phonemic significance in Wembawemba, as in most Australian languages. But as has been shown above there is no general free variation between voiced

and unvoiced sounds. It has been proved over and over again to the writer that any infraction of the rules of voicing has the effect of sounding either incomprehensible or quite ridiculous to the native speakers.

2.2.1.3.2 Unreleased finals

The plosives *b*, *d*, *ɖ*, *dj* and *g* when they occur in a final position in a word or phrase tend to have no audible final release, particularly when the word in which they occur is not emphasised in any special way: e.g. *burngag ginjam wanab* [ˈbʊŋgək ˈkiːnjam ˈwɔnəp̚] *blow this fire* or *marga guligadj* [ˈmarka ˈgʊlɪkətj̥] *belonging to those people*; but a case of very emphatic final is *djemulagadj* [ˈdʒɛːmʊlɑːkətj̥] *shame on you!*, and here the release is clearly audible. The characteristic of no audible final release is shared by some other Australian languages (O'Grady 1964:5). There is a certain amount of variation among individual speakers, some favoured the inaudible release of the final consonants more than others.

2.2.1.3.3 Description of individual consonants

(a) Plosives

b (allophones *p*, *p̚*) is bilabial plosive. The allophone *p* differs from the corresponding English sound in that even when it is voiceless and initial it is usually totally unaspirated: there is no noticeable interval between the release of the *p* and the onset of voicing of the following vowel.

d is found almost exclusively in intervocalic and final position and there is therefore no voiced allophone, only the voiceless [t̚] [θ] are heard. Before *i* there is free variation between *d* and *dj*, e.g. *gadjinanda* [ˈkətjɪnandʌ] or *gadinanda* [ˈkəθɪnandʌ] *I am unable*. These sounds may be more aptly described as linguo-dental rather than interdental. The tongue is placed so that the tip touches the lower part of the inner surface of the upper teeth. The occlusion is usually not complete and some breath escapes between the tip of the tongue and the front teeth. The sound produced is very much akin to the English unvoiced fricative [θ], (th), except that the occlusion is nearer to complete in Wembawemba and a linguo-dental plosive *t* has often been heard. The amount of friction seems to vary among individual speakers; the two men informants favoured the fricative pronunciation, while the one woman preferred the plosive articulation. The particular kind of [θ] that is heard in Wembawemba seems to be identical with the corresponding *Ḡuḡidj* sound, although our recorded evidence for this language is very slight. The interdental sound of *ŋarigu*, as for instance in the word *wada wood, fire* differs considerably: it is at least partly voiced. Like the interdental *d* of some Spanish dialects, the *ŋarigu* sound might best be termed a bilateral interdental (for a description of this sound see Heffner 1964:158); the tongue is placed lightly between the teeth, and an occlusion is formed by the upper part of the tip of the tongue against the upper teeth, and air escapes past the sides of the tip of the tongue. It is possible that this difference was felt long ago by R.H. Mathews, who generally transcribed *Berəbaberəba d* as 'th'; thus *wudu man* (Wembawemba *wudu*) was written by him as 'wuthu', but he transcribed the *ŋarigu* word *wada fire, firewood* as 'wattha'.

d (allophones *t*, *t̚*) is an apico-alveolar plosive, the tongue-tip being raised against the teeth-ridge. The Wembawemba sound differs from the corresponding English sound only in the total lack of aspiration.

ɖ (allophones ɖ̥, ɖ̥ʰ) can be described as a truly retroflex apico-prepalatal consonant: the occlusion is made by contact between the underneath of the tip of the tongue and the front of the hard palate. (The term 'retroflex' and the need to restrict its use to designate only truly retroflex sounds have been discussed by Hála 1964.) This sound is not heard quite as frequently in Wembawemba as in many other Australian languages, but it was nevertheless a distinctive part of the consonantal system.

dj (allophones tj, tjʰ) can best be described as a slightly palatalised alveo-dental plosive. The tip of the tongue touches the back of the lower teeth, while the blade of the tongue forms an occlusion with the upper teeth-ridge and the palatal area immediately behind and above the teeth-ridge. As this occlusion is released a prepalatal form of the fricative becomes briefly audible. This articulation was very distinctive with the three best speakers, but with other Wembawemba people pronunciation approximated to the English affricative ch (tʃ). A transcription ch was invariably used by any informant who tried to spell native words containing tj.

g (allophones k, kʰ, x, ɣ) is a dorso-velar plosive. There is a certain amount of allophonic variation according to the vowels that follow g; before a front vowel, as might be expected, the position is much further forward than before u, it may even approach the mediopalatal position, [ç]. This, combined with the problem of voicing, brings about a considerable difference between the initial consonants of words like girg [ˈkɪrx, ˈçɪrx] *sky* and gurg [ˈgʊrx] *blood*. Because the pronunciation only approximates to [ç], the transcription [k] has been normally retained for g (+i).

It was noticed that in a final position after -r- the occlusion of the g is sometimes incomplete and a velar fricative is pronounced. This fricative may be optionally voiced, particularly before the initial nasal of a closely associated word, as in lerg-mul [ˈlɛrɣ mu·l] *a mob of women* and girg-min [ˈkɪrɣ mɪn] *heaven indeed or heaven only*. The latter expression was used in an often repeated saying attributed to an old Wembawemba woman as she promised her dying daughter-in-law to look after the children "wemba-gad njaṅag anything, girg-min njaṅag" [ˈwɛmbakat ˈnjaṅak ˈenɪθɪŋ, ˈkɪrɣ mɪn ˈnjaṅakʰ] *don't worry about anything, worry only about heaven*. The lax fricative pronunciation of the velar was noticed only in the final position, e.g. gurg [ˈgʊrk] or [ˈgʊrx]; in non-final position only gurgug [ˈgʊrkʊk] *his blood* is found.

(b) Nasals

m is the voiced bilabial nasal. A voiceless allophone ɱ occurs in free variation with the voiced m in a final position, particularly when final of a phrase e.g. madjəm [ˈmatjɱ] *possum rug*. A similar tendency for devoicing in a final position has been noticed in the case of other nasal consonants e.g. yumin [ˈyumɪŋ] *he was*, yuminj [ˈyumɪŋj] *he will be*, yalaŋ [ˈyalaŋ] *idiot*. No devoicing ever occurs in the case of a final nasal at the end of an accented monosyllable, e.g. mum [ˈmu:m] *bottom*.

The devoiced bilabial nasal m [ɱ] occurs also as an exclamation mm [ɱɱ] expressing doubt.

m pronounced as a syllabic ɱ, occurs only in an exclamation imitating the call of the frogmouth owl in a story where he repeats:

djinənjug djinənjug giawedj maiawedj m, m, m
 [ˈdjinənjʊk ˈdjinənjʊkˀ ˈkiɿwetj ˈmaiɿwetjˀ ɱ, ɱ, ɱ]
her footprint, her footprint, here, there, m, m, m

he calls out while he is searching for his wife.

n (allophone ŋ), is the voiced alveolar nasal, and does not differ noticeably from the corresponding English sound. It is surprisingly rare in initial position.

ŋ is the voiced retroflex nasal. It is comparatively unusual in a final position, e.g. guŋ [ˈgʊŋ] *throat*, and the devoiced allophone has never been heard.

nj (allophone ŋj) is the slightly palatalised alveo-dental nasal; this sound is similar in articulation to the corresponding plosive consonant dj.

ŋ (allophone ŋ) is a voiced dorso-velar nasal. Like the dorso-velar plosive g it shows allophonic variation according to the nature of the following vowel: thus the initial ŋ of ŋuŋgura [ˈŋʊŋgʊra] *to have a row* is distinctly velar, while before i the initial ŋ approaches a true palatal position so closely that in some cases one might almost have been justified to give a phonetic transcription [ɲ], e.g. ŋindin [ˈŋɪndɪn] or [ˈɲɪndɪn] *you*. This fronted velar ŋ remains distinct from the slightly palatalised alveo-dental nj- as in njim [ˈnʝi:m] *short-neck turtle*.

(c) Trilled or flapped consonants

The usual r-sound of Wembawemba is an alveolar consonant which is very lightly trilled and can even be reduced to a single tap. It never occurs initially. The tendency is for r to be trilled in an intervocalic position, whereas pre-consonantly it is often a single tap, e.g. in merdərug [ˈmɛrdɛrʊk] *little* the first r is weaker than the second, but as this difference is slight, and as there is some variation between the speakers on this point, no distinction has been made in phonetic script. In final position, especially after the vowel a, this r seems to be particularly weak and it has sometimes not been clear whether certain words should be transcribed with a final r or not, for instance in the case of the word for *corella* gadega(r) [ˈkaθeka(r)]. There are some words in which r has definitely been lost in the final position, but it is retained before declensional and possessive suffixes: e.g. la [ˈla:] *stone*, but gunigal lara [ˈgʊnɪkɿl ˈlarɿ] *under a stone*. The final r appears to have been pronounced with more clarity when it indicated the second person singular, e.g. bambar? [ˈpa·mbar] *are you frightened?*

ɾ is a very lightly trilled retroflex sound in which the tongue position corresponds to that for ɖ and ŋ. Because it is a retroflex sound it gives the impression of being stronger than the alveolar r, and this led to the transcription rr being used (without any regularity, however) in works published last century. (This is true to some extent of the system of transcription adopted by Mathews, but is by no means general, even in his work: mention of this matter is also made by Holmer (1963:33-34).) Like r, ɾ does not occur initially in Wembawemba. There is a tendency for ɾ to be flapped when pre-consonantal and trilled when intervocalic, but this difference is not nearly as marked as in the case of the alveolar r. The articulation of ɾ is comparatively weak in final position e.g. miɾ ba ganjug [ˈmü·ɾ pa ˈka·njʊk] *face*.

The writer had considerable difficulty in attempts to identify and imitate the r-sounds. This was partly due to variations in the speech of the informants.

(d) Lateral consonants

l is an apico-alveolar lateral. The tongue remains convex to the roof of the mouth during the articulation of this consonant: there is no raising of the back of the tongue towards the soft palate.

l has three allophonic variants, but they are so slight that they have not been noted in phonetic script:

(i) When it is initial in a word, or in intervocalic position, l has what may be termed normal articulation.

(ii) Before nasals l is very weakly articulated, e.g. in walma [ˈwalmɿ] *to forget*, mumbelm [ˈmuːmbelm] *a hat*. A very weak pronunciation of l also seems to prevail after the vowel u, regardless of what consonant follows, and there may even be some slight raising of the back of the tongue towards the soft palate. In rapid or careless speech this weak -l-sound sometimes appeared to be missed out altogether; the tongue probably failed to make contact with the teeth-ridge and was only put in an approximate position. Thus [ˈwa:ma], [ˈmuːmbeːm] and [ˈyu:pən] were written for walma, mumbelm and yulbən, but the speakers subsequently objected to such a pronunciation.

(iii) Before the plosive consonants b and g which would normally be devoiced in such a position, and after a vowel other than u, l has a very tense articulation, more so than in initial or intervocalic position, e.g., in words such as milba [ˈmɪlpɿ] *to bend*, malgar [ˈmalkɿr] *waddy-shield*.

A retroflex ɭ was heard a few times, but not regularly enough to be considered a phoneme. It was pronounced by one speaker in djilberla [ˈtʃɪlpɛrlɿ] or [ˈtʃɪlpɛ!ɿ] *to splash* and in wur-wur or wu!-wu! *blue sky*, but this latter could not be crosschecked, and was in fact not recognised by one Wembawemba speaker. A pronunciation [ˈtʃɪlkɿ] *to be flash, to be pleased* was heard as well as [ˈtʃɪlkɿ], but was also not consistent enough to warrant the inclusion of ɭ as a separate phoneme. ɭ was obviously a frequent sound in a language that bordered on Wembawemba, namely Narinari, but unfortunately only very few words of this language could be recalled: e.g. baɭa *head*.

(e) Continuants

w is a voiced, rounded bilabial fricative. The rounding of the lips is no more marked than in the English w; the lips are only lightly pushed forward and the tongue is in the u- position. w does not have any noteworthy allophone, but it appears optionally as a weak glide after o and au in hiatus with another vowel: yoereg [ˈyoːwerek] *my enemy*; it is always present in the case of ɲowe [ˈɲowe] *yes*. There is also optionally a weak glide in the case of njauɪ *sun* and both [ˈɲjauwi] and [ˈɲjauvi] have been heard. There is no glide between u and a in hiatus, as in njua [ˈɲjua] *here*. The w in the verbal suffix -uwa is usually pronounced with some emphasis and has been considered to be a full consonant and not a weak glide, e.g. in djaguwa [ˈtʃakUwɿ] *to feast*, yaguwa [ˈyakUwɿ] *to dream*.

y is the voiced palatal fricative consonant, and has no noteworthy allophones. A lengthened form of this consonant was heard occasionally in the word *yiri* *very* when it was pronounced with great emphasis: *yiri djilganda* [¹y:irI ˈtjɪlkandʌ] *I am very glad*. A y- glide is generally pronounced between the diphthong ai and a vowel in hiatus, e.g. *baial* [¹paiʷal] *swamp* and *delgaia* [¹tɛlkaiʷʌ] *he is well*. A y- glide also occurs optionally between u and i in hiatus — *guin* [¹guʷIn] *spear*, *wuin* [¹wuʷIn] *he gave*. A very weak glide has been heard occasionally between a and i in hiatus: *njaïn* [¹njaʷIn] *he saw* and *djaïn* [¹tjaʷIn] *he ate*.

2.2.1.4 Phonetics of clauses, 'sandhi'

There were only few phonetic changes that could be noted in the juncture between words. One basic principle was discernible: if a word ended in a consonant and the following word began with the same consonant, the first of these two similar consonants was omitted altogether; e.g. *galaiag ginjam* [¹kalaiʷa ˈkinjam] *ask him*, *galbudag ginjam wanab* [¹kalpʷta ˈkinjam ˈwɔnʌp] *cut up this fire-wood*. Examples of this usage were very frequent.

A very different development was noted in the few rare cases where final ŋ was followed by an initial ŋ in the next word. ŋ was heard distinctly as the final consonant of the first word, and instead of the initial ŋ of the second word a glottal stop was heard: *yiri djuɾilaŋ ŋunjimurg* [¹yirI ˈtjuɾɪlaŋ ˈʔunjɪmɹk] *a really gossipy old woman*. The glottal stop was never heard in the language except in this particular environment.

2.2.2 Vowels

2.2.2.1 Length

Vowel length is non-phonemic and is conditioned by the following consonant and by the position of the vowel within the word. The rules for vowel length are nevertheless of some importance for the pronunciation of Wembawemba.

Long vowels occurred in accented monosyllables if they were final or were followed by l, r, or a nasal. Examples:

dja	[¹ tja:]	<i>ground</i> (but note <i>djagal</i> [¹ tjakal] <i>on the ground</i> , where there is no lengthening, as the vowel is not final).
wa	[¹ wa:]	<i>crow</i>
wil	[¹ wi:l]	sometimes [¹ wi·l] <i>curler</i>
mul	[¹ mu:l]	<i>fish spear</i> , but <i>mula</i> [¹ mʷlʌ] <i>hip</i>
djel	[¹ djɛ:l]	<i>net</i>
beŋ	[¹ pɛ:ŋ]	<i>man</i>
mum	[¹ mu:m]	<i>bottom</i>
gin	[¹ ki:n]	<i>he said</i>
maŋ	[¹ ma:ŋ]	<i>cloud</i>
wan	[¹ wa:n]	<i>boomerang</i>
wanj	[¹ wa:nj]	<i>white crane</i>
dir	[¹ ti:r]	<i>stone tomahawk</i>

The application of this rule gives some insight into the problem of the compound noun: for instance the personal suffix *-wil* was not felt to be independent of the preceding part of the word, as it never bears an initial

stress accent and the vowel is never long. Similarly -mul *crowd* in the compound lerg-mul [¹lery-mu·l] never had the main accent and the vowel was only half long. This applied even with a very obvious and usually independent word like mum [¹mu:m] *bottom* when it was used in a compound where its meaning was still clear - e.g. in darə-mum *rabbit* [¹tarə-mu·m] *white-bottom (rabbit)* and durmi-mum [¹turmi-mu·m] *long-neck turtle* (of the species *Chelodina longicollis*, which has a v-shaped opening in its shell at the back), there was no full long vowel as there would be if the word mum were used on its own. It appears therefore that words used as the second part of a compound have only a secondary stress, and the vowel of such words is therefore half-long, if it is final or followed by l, r or a nasal. A compound of dja [¹tja:] *ground* which illustrates this rule is bri-dja [¹pri-tja·] *bare-ground, claypan*.

The vowel of a stressed monosyllable is long or half long when it is followed by the plosives b, d, ɖ, or g, but generally short when followed by dj or d. Examples:

wag	[¹ wa:k]	<i>paddle of a canoe</i>	dedj	[¹ tetj]	<i>black coot</i>
dud	[¹ tɯ:t]	<i>star</i>	midj	[¹ mitj]	<i>skin</i>

Examples of such monosyllables are however rare.

In polysyllables, when a stressed vowel was followed by an intervocalic nasal of w, y, d, r, or ɖ, it was usually half long, when it was followed by r, l, dj, and d it was usually short. There was some hesitation in the case of a before intervocalic b and g, and although there is no phonemic distinction by means of length, length seems to be unpredictable in this case and to vary from word to word; there was consistent lengthening in some words, and a consistent short vowel in others in similar circumstances. This can be seen from the following examples:

ɲaba	[¹ ɲapʌ]	<i>grandfather</i>
maba	[¹ ma:pʌ]	<i>to tell a lie, to pretend</i>
djaba	[¹ tja:pʌ]	<i>to hide</i>
ɲagada	[¹ ɲa:kʌtʌ]	<i>in the shade</i>
njaga	[¹ njakʌ]	<i>to see</i>

Other vowels in this position were generally short: e.g. njiba [¹njipʌ] *to bury*.

Before the clusters -ndj-, -ɲg-, and -mb- all accented vowels were usually long:

bandjel	[¹ pa:ndjəl]	<i>Murray cod</i>
biɲgal	[¹ pi:ɲgʌl]	<i>carpet snake</i>
mamba	[¹ ma:mbʌ]	<i>tired</i>

No such lengthening occurred before -nd- and -ɲɖ-, e.g. bunda [¹bundʌ] *he bites*, guɲɖug [¹guɲɖʌk] *his throat*.

Vowels in the final syllable, when they bore the secondary stress, were sometimes half long if they were followed by a nasal or r or l. This was noticed particularly when such a final syllable was felt to be a separate morpheme e.g. gaɲiɲ-baɲ [¹kaθIɲ₁ba·ɲ] *blue crane*. The personal suffix -wiɲ however always had a short vowel.

Unaccented vowels were always short. There were some instances when an unaccented vowel between the main and the secondary stressed syllables was lost completely in careless pronunciation, when the resulting consonant cluster

was acceptable in the language (for permissible consonant clusters see 2.2.3). Thus the word for *uncle* has been heard as djərəmbain [tjərəmbain] or [tjəmbain].

2.2.2.2 Vowel phonemes

There are six vowels in Wembawemba:

i	u
e	ə
	o
	a

There are also five diphthongs: ai, oi, ui, au, and iə; but only ai is frequent. Other sequences of vowels occur in the language: ia, ua, eu, ei, eo, ea. These are not diphthongs, but vowels in hiatus. The sequence aui, aia represent diphthongs in hiatus with a vowel.

The phonemic value of the vowels can be shown by their occurrence in analogous environments:

biŋga	[pɪ:ŋgʌ]	<i>carpet snake</i>
buŋga	[bu:ŋgʌ]	<i>to spear</i>
beŋgug	[pɛ:ŋgʊk]	<i>meat</i>
boŋga	[po:ŋgʌ]	<i>to smell</i> (verb intransitive); this word is <i>not</i> a borrowed word, but native to Wembawemba, as is proved by the cognate Djadjala word <i>buŋga to smell</i> .
baŋgəl	[pa:ŋgəl]	<i>witchdoctor</i>

The diphthongs ai and oi occur in the same environment:

baiŋgug	[pai:ŋgʊk]	<i>child</i>
boiŋga	[poi:ŋgʌ]	<i>to show</i>

ə can be regarded as an unaccented allophone of e in many of its occurrences; it is however a distinctive sound and can be proved to be a separate phoneme because it does not attract a secondary stress in the second syllable if followed by nj or ŋ, whereas e occurring in an identical position is accented:

ŋərəŋin	[ŋərəŋin]	<i>your hair</i>
mureŋin	[mureŋin]	<i>your head</i>

This implies a morphological distinction; ŋərəŋin is to be analysed as ŋərə-ŋin, 2nd person possessive of ŋərə *hair*, while mureŋin is to be analysed as mureŋ-in 2nd person possessive of mureŋ *head* (see 2.2.3.1b).

The vowel o also can be regarded as a phoneme only marginally; it occurs only after labial and velar consonants, and alternates freely with a in certain environments.

2.2.2.3 Diphthongs

The distinctive value of ai and oi has already been shown: the other diphthongs are au, ui, and iə.

baiga	[paikʌ]	<i>to fly</i>
buiga	[buikʌ]	<i>to fall</i>
djiəl	[dji:əl]	<i>lust</i>
djel	[djɛ:l]	<i>net</i>

The diphthong *au* has a very small functional yield; it alternates freely with *o* in a number of words: e.g. *yauwir* *meat* [¹yauwIr], [¹yowIr]; but it remains quite distinct in other words such as *njau* *sun*, *gauenda* *to crawl*, where no alternative form in *-o-* has ever been heard.

oi is very rare and occurs only after labial consonants, and preferably before nasals.

ie is also very restricted in use, though distinctive; it is found only before *n*, *l*, and *r*.

The phonemic system of Wembawemba can therefore be described as containing six vowels, two of them, *o* and *ə* being only limited phonemes. Three out of the five diphthongs, namely *au*, *oi*, and *iə* can also be considered to have a very small distinctive yield.

2.2.2.4 Phonetics and allophonic variations of vowels

i

i is a high front vowel. When it occurred in an accented position, and when it was also long or half long it was pronounced with great tension and was very close to the cardinal vowel [*i*]: *gin* [¹ki:n] *he said*.

Unaccented *i* tended to be even more lax and varied considerably in pronunciation. In careless pronunciation it was sometimes so open and so lax that it could be transcribed as [*ɪ*], and it often approximated to the *ə*-position; there was in fact sometimes no distinction made between the carelessly articulated *i*-phoneme and *ə*. But if the speaker were then asked to repeat a word he would usually pronounce [*I*] for the unaccented short *i*.

This led to considerable difficulties in transcription, particularly as a similar reduction to *ə* tended to take place in the case of the other vowels when they were completely unaccented, so that there was an appearance of confusion between phones belonging to the four phonemes *a*, *i*, *u* and *ə* (*o* does not occur in this position). In careful speech however the distinctions were made quite clearly; they are in fact distinctions of considerable importance in the analysis of the language. The lax pronunciation obscured not only distinctions between words, but even the differences between a number of verbal endings.

<i>gudal</i>	[¹ kuθɹl]	might be pronounced	[¹ kuθəl]	<i>frost</i>
<i>gudal</i>	[¹ kuθU]	might be pronounced	[¹ kuθəl]	<i>a sore</i>
<i>war̩win</i>	[¹ wɹɹwIn]	might be pronounced	[¹ wɹɹəwən]	<i>he went away</i> (third singular past tense)
<i>war̩wən</i>	[¹ wɹɹwən]	might be pronounced	[¹ wɹɹəwən]	<i>gone</i> (past participle)
<i>war̩wan</i>	[¹ wɹɹwɹn]	might be pronounced	[¹ wɹɹəwən]	<i>they go</i> (third plural present tense)

These three verbal forms at times therefore sounded very much alike, but it was usually quite obvious from the context which was meant. If there was any question of misunderstanding, or if the speaker was asked to repeat his statement, he would immediately articulate the vowel more clearly and pronounce [*I*], [*ə*], [*a*] or [*U*]. To avoid confusion it is this 'careful' pronunciation that has been taken as a basis for phonetic transcription: the 'careful' pronunciation was in fact most frequently heard on account of the halting manner in which the language was recalled.

This difficulty in the determination of unaccented vowels is extremely widespread in Australian languages. Conditions parallel to those in Wembawemba have been noted for a number of other languages, particularly by Strehlow (1944), Smythe ([195?]:8) and Capell (1962:94).

Before the retroflex consonants *ɖ*, *ɽ*, and *ŋ*, the vowel *i* was pronounced as a high rounded centralised vowel [ü]. Lip-rounding was particularly noticeable if a labial consonant preceded the *i*. Thus *mirgug* [¹mürkUk] *egg* and *birbinj* [¹pürpInj] *waddy* had a slightly more rounded [ü] than *djiŋ-djiŋ* [¹djüŋ-djüŋ] *poker*.

In the case of one speaker, a further lowering of the vowel *i* [ü] was observed before a retroflex consonant, and the resulting sound was very close to *ø*. Thus *mir-ba-ganjug* [¹mü·ɽ-pa-|ka·njUk] *face* was rendered by him as [¹mø·ɽ-pa-|ka·njUk].

Before alveolar *r* the vowel *i* is not centralised — *dir* [¹ti:r] *tomahawk*.

e

The vowel *e* underwent considerable allophonic variation.

The most usual pronunciation of *e* was as a mid-front vowel, rather more open than cardinal [e]: *dedj* [¹tetj] *black coot*, *njed* [¹njet] *between*.

Before *l*, *r* and intervocalic nasals, *e* assumed a more open quality and was pronounced as [ɛ]:

merdindug [¹mɛrtInjdUk] *small*
gena [¹kɛŋɬ] *to tie up*

In the sound-combination *'eri*, however, *e* had an allophone which was a very close vowel; usually this [e] appeared to be only very slightly more open than cardinal [e]. One could therefore easily fail to hear the difference in vowel between *'eri* and *'iri*; it is in fact not certain whether such a difference was always made. The following two words may be identical:

leri [¹lerI] *nail, shell*
liri [¹lIrI] *mosquito*

although in other environments *e* and *i* are separate phonemes.

When *e* [ɛ] was followed by a nasal consonant in the same syllable, there was a slight tendency towards nasalisation:

wemba [¹wɛ̃·mba] *no*
beŋ [¹pɛ̃:ŋ] *person*

The extent to which nasalisation took place seemed to vary; it was never the intense nasalisation that is characteristic of French nasal vowels.

Before retroflex consonants *e* always had a central vowel [ɜ] as its regular allophone. After labial consonants there was a slight tendency towards lip-rounding in the articulation of [ɜ], but this was so variable that it does not warrant inclusion in the phonetic notation. Thus in the word *beŋɛɽ* [¹pɜŋɜɽ] *teal-duck* one could possibly detect a little rounding in the articulation of the first but not the second [ɜ]. The rounding is nevertheless quite marked in the case of some speakers — though by no means consistent even in the speech of individuals. This hesitation has led in the past to the confusion over the spelling of the name of the allied dialect *Beɽəbabeɽəba*, one form of which was

called Bureba by Mathews (1902b:172-174). The same hesitation was noted in the Wembawemba word *berəbədən* [pɜrəpəθən, pœrəpəθən (with rounding)] *lost*, which is obviously cognate with the word *berəba no* of the neighbouring dialect.

u

When accented and long this was a high, tense back vowel, very close to the cardinal [u], as in *mul* [ˈmu:l] *fish-spear*. This very high u also seemed to be used in accented syllables before nasals, even when there was no lengthening, as in *bunda* [ˈbundʌ] *bite*.

In all other positions the normal allophone of u was a much laxer and less high back vowel [ʊ], as in *gure* [ˈkʊre] *grey kangaroo*. When it was completely unaccented u was still pronounced as [ʊ] in careful articulation, but like i it could be weakened further; it was then pronounced as [ɔ] and even [ə], e.g. *gudun* [ˈkʊθʊn] *broilga* was heard pronounced as [ˈkʊθɔn] and even [ˈkʊθən].

When followed by a retroflex consonant, u assumed a slightly centralised articulation [ɯ], but this [ɯ] was still distinctly a back vowel. The centralised quality became significant, only when a palatal consonant preceded this [ɯ] and in such cases the writer at first had considerable trouble in differentiating between the centralised back vowel [ɯ] and the centralised front vowel [ü], and in distinguishing for instance between:

djira [ˈtjürʌ] *to tear*
and *djuṛa* [ˈtjürʌ] *to gossip about somebody*

o

o was normally a half-close mid-back vowel, with moderate lip-rounding, e.g. in *bobenj* [ˈpɒɛnj] *baby*. It had two main allophones, a close [o] and an open [ɔ].

The close [o] was used in accented syllables, where the vowel was also long, as in *ṛowe* [ˈṛo:we] *yes*. (An alternative form *noṛwe* [ˈno·ṛwe] has also been heard.) This [o] was a close vowel with considerable lip-rounding, but it was still well below the cardinal [o] in position. It could be very slightly nasalised before a nasal consonant belonging to the same syllable; thus *boṅga to smell* (verb intransitive) might be pronounced almost as [ˈpõ:ŋgʌ]. But the degree of nasalisation of [o] was much less than that of [ɛ] when it occurred in the same environment, e.g. in *bengug* [ˈpẽ:ŋgʊk] *meat*.

When it was short, and particularly in those conditions in which it was in free variation with a, o was usually a very open vowel, below cardinal [ɔ], and not as far back, with some lip-rounding. Speakers were very sensitive to the difference between the [o] and [ɔ] allophones. Instead of the Wadiwadi [ˈWɔtiwɔti], a neighbouring tribe, the writer once spoke of the [ˈWɔtiwɔti] and caused much laughter: "We will soon have the [ˈWɔtawɔta] like the Yodayoda [ˈYɔtayɔta]".

Thus the allophones of o although they might not be as varied as the allophones of other vowels, were very marked and of some importance in the pronunciation of Wembawemba.

ə

The phoneme ə did not have any noticeable allophones, although in the conditions discussed above (under the vowel i) it might itself serve as a variant in certain circumstances, in careless speech, for all the other

phonemes. It was always an unaccented, roughly half-open central unrounded vowel. The only variation was in the degree of lack of emphasis with which it was pronounced: the weakest form of ə appeared in the syllable between the main and the secondary stress, where ə could in fact sometimes be omitted (see section 2.2.2.1).

a

The vowel a was generally a low front vowel, pronounced with both the back and the blade of the tongue almost flat, and the lips in a neutral position. But this vowel showed very wide allophonic variations.

In short syllables that bore the main or the secondary stress, this low front vowel [a] was the normal form of the phoneme a, e.g. malgar [ˈmaɪkʌr] *waddy-shield*.

When it was long and accented, a had an unrounded low back-vowel allophone [ɑ], e.g. in wag [ˈwɑ:k] *paddle of a canoe*, wan [ˈwɑ:n] *boomerang*.

In unaccented syllables a much weaker form of the phoneme a was found. This allophone appeared to be pronounced with the back of the tongue raised very slightly towards the soft palate, and the lips in a neutral position. This sound seems very similar to what has been described by Strehlow (1944) for Aranda. It has been transcribed by the symbol [ʌ] here, although it is a much more lax sound than is generally transcribed by the symbol [ʌ] in the international phonetic alphabet (the vowel of Southern English 'but'). In careless speech it can be weakened further to [ə].

In certain environments labial and velar consonants influence a following a which may become slightly rounded [ɔ]. There may also be some further movement of the tongue towards the soft palate, so that a variety of sounds between [ɔ] and [ɔ̃] was produced. There was much liberty on this point: one and the same speaker might for instance alternate quite haphazardly between a pronunciation [ˈwɔɾɪwʌ] *go away* and [ˈwɔɾɪwʌ]. The transcription [ɔ̃] was generally adopted rather than [ɔ], as [ɔ̃] seemed to be the most usual variant in clearly spoken words. In such environments there was no phonemic distinction between o and a. This free variation between o and a was characteristic of the following environments:

When a was preceded by initial w and followed by retroflex consonants or by r, ŋ or intervocalic n:

wərəŋɪn	[ˈwɔɾɪŋɪn]	<i>(your) left hand</i>
wərəmə	[ˈwɔɾɪmə]	<i>to scratch (so as to hurt)</i>
wanab	[ˈwɔɾɪnɔp]	<i>fire</i>
wəŋgal	[ˈwɔɾŋgʌ]	<i>reed-bed</i>

Before other consonants, even when there was an initial w there was no hesitation between a and o. Thus the following words always had a:

wa	[ˈwɑ:]	<i>crow</i>
wawa	[ˈwɑ.wʌ]	<i>to follow</i>
wadaŋ	[ˈwɑtəŋ]	<i>across</i>
wanj	[ˈwɑ:nj]	<i>white crane</i>
waledjuwa	[ˈwələtjʊwʌ]	<i>to come close etc.</i>

There was some doubt before d; the following always had a:

wadib	[ˈwɑθɪp]	<i>son</i>
wada	[ˈwɑθʌ]	<i>small black sand-goanna</i>

while the following did show hesitation between a and o:

wadændjən [ˈwɔθændjən] *dead*
wadaminjug [ˈwɔθɪmɪnjʊk] *cunning*

In the two words galedj [ˈkɔletj] *Edwards River* and banəm [ˈpɔnəm] *dampener* we find the full range of intermediate sounds between a and o even in an environment where there is otherwise no such hesitation, e.g. galiba [ˈkəlɪpɪ] *to gather up*, and bana [ˈpənɪ] *ringtail possum*. This may be due to the fact that banəm *dampener* is a recent word, and galedj is a proper name which might have been influenced by the languages of other tribes fronting the Edwards River (e.g. the Berəbaberəba and the Wadiwadi). These two words might also have been a natural exception in Wembawemba, like the words beginning with wad- which are listed above.

Just as the back of the tongue tended to be lifted towards the soft palate in the pronunciation of a after w, the front of the tongue was lifted towards the hard palate in the pronunciation of a after a palatal, with the result that there was no phonetic or phonemic distinction between a and e in certain environments. The pronunciation of this fronted and raised a varied freely from speaker to speaker and even within the speech of individuals. The most usual allophone of a in these conditions was the very low front vowel which corresponds to the phonetic symbol [æ]. But this hesitation applied only to a very restricted environment, namely to accented a between two palatal consonants:

njanja [ˈnjæ·njɪ] *what?*
njanjimən [ˈnjæ·njɪmən] *bad omen*

After y the hesitation applied when a was followed by d. This is an indication, if any is needed apart from the strong Djadjala evidence, that the d of Wembawemba originated as a separate phoneme from an original dj.

yadaŋa [ˈyæθɪŋɪ] *to miss*
yadaminjug [ˈyæθɪmɪnjʊk] *bad* etc.

There was hesitation between the pronunciation [ɜ] and [a] in the sound-group: palatal consonant or d + accented a + retroflex consonant. In the case of words like djaɾbug (*his*) *mouth* and yarga *to seek* there was therefore free variation between [ˈtjɜɾpʊk] and [ˈtjɜɾpʊk], and [ˈyɜɾkɪ] and [ˈyɜɾkɪ].

It is clear that the allophonic variations of vowels discussed above are dependent on accent and position as well as on the assimilatory influence of surrounding consonants. In the isolated case of the very close e of -'eri, as in merinj [ˈmerɪnj] *wind*, one can even speak of assimilation to the vowel of a following syllable, but this is without parallel in the language.

2.2.2.5 Phonetic notes on diphthongs

Diphthongs, with the exception of ai, are very rare and do not play an important part in the phonetic system of the language. They are all descending diphthongs, the accent falling very strongly on the first half. In the case of the diphthong iə the second half is particularly weak. With the exception of ai all the diphthongs occurred only in syllables bearing the main stress accent; ai was found in syllables bearing either the main stress or a secondary accent: miŋgain [ˈmi·ŋgain] *daughter*, maio [ˈmai·yo] *afar*.

u in the diphthong ui was a fairly close vowel, and the transcription [ui] is therefore justified. The o in oi was also fairly close, and certainly closer than the [ɔ] in English words of the type 'boy'. The diphthong ai had a front vowel [a] as its first member, while au had a back-vowel [ɑ]. There was a tendency for the second and comparatively weak element of both these diphthongs to be lowered, and an alternative pronunciation [æ], [ao] was heard. There was even one word in which ai, [æ] alternated with [æ]: gaibin (gebin) [ˈkaipIn], [ˈkæpIn] *one*. In a few words such as yawwir, yowir [ˈyauwIr], [ˈyowIr] *flesh*, au alternated with o. But apart from these very isolated and exceptional cases, ai and au were distinctive, and there was no general tendency towards monophthongisation.

It is noteworthy that Wembawemba shares the very widespread Australian preference for the use of ai at the end of exclamations, e.g. yagai, gugai. This is one of the many characteristics which show that Victorian languages, and the 'Kulin' languages in particular, despite their individuality, cannot be thought of as quite separate from the other Australian languages.

2.2.3 Accentuation

2.2.3.1 Words

The principal accent of every Wembawemba word is a strong stress accent which falls on the first syllable.

The enclitic particles -gad(a) and -min form an exception: they are usually attached to the first word of a phrase and have no independent accent: e.g. wemband-gad yanginj [ˈwɜmband-kat ˈyangInj] *I won't go*. The particle nja is more mobile: it may be enclitic and unaccented, but it may also be very heavily stressed, as in the phrase

yadaminjug-gada	ginja	nja	lery	nja
[ˈyæθa,mInjU-katʌ	ˈkinja	ˈnja	ˈlery	ˈnja]
<i>bad indeed</i>	<i>this</i>		<i>woman</i>	
<i>she's a really nasty woman</i>				

In words of three or four syllables, while the first syllable bears the main accent, the third syllable bears a secondary accent, regardless of whether it is a possessive suffix or not (this secondary stress has been marked by ˊ, placed at the beginning of the syllable bearing the secondary stress), e.g. djinənjug [ˈdjinənɟUk] *his foot*, lib-lib-wil [ˈlɪpɪb,wɪl] *Murray crayfish*.

Exceptions:

(a) A short final vowel not followed by any consonant does not take such a secondary stress e.g. djagila [ˈtjakɪlʌ] *he is eating*, burganda [ˈpʊrkandʌ] *I am sighing*.

(b) If the second syllable contains the vowel e followed by the palatalised alveo-dental nasal nj or the velar nasal ŋ this second syllable attracts the secondary accent, e.g. wireŋən [ˈwiɾɛŋən] *a dog*, murenjug [ˈmʊɾɛŋɟUk] *his head*. There may yet be a subsidiary secondary stress if such a word has four syllables, e.g. [ˈwɪɾɛŋəɟIn] *your dog*. Only the vowel e attracts this secondary stress in the second syllable, never the weak ə, e.g. [ˈdjinənɟUk] *his foot*, [ˈdjinənɟIn] *your foot*.

(c) e followed by dj in the second syllable also attracts the secondary stress – midedja [ˈmi·,tetjʌ] *he is licking*. This accentuation is particularly marked in the case of the word buledja [ˈpʊ,letjʌ] *two* where the secondary stress is almost as strong as the principal stress, which is an isolated occurrence in the language. Apart from the difference in vowel, buledja *two* thus differs completely in accentuation from a word like buludja [ˈpʊlʊtjʌ] *to a box-tree*.

(d) The connecting vowel a before endings such as -a-ŋur(ag) (1st plural), -a-ŋal(əŋ) (1st dual), -a-wal (2nd dual) never has the secondary stress, regardless of whether it occupies a normally accented position or not: e.g. in djagilaŋur [ˈtjakɪla,ŋʊr] *we eat* one might have expected the vowel of the third syllable to be accented.

In words of five or more syllables the fourth syllable usually has a very strong secondary stress, and the sixth syllable again has a subsidiary secondary stress, provided of course that it does not contain the connecting vowel mentioned above. Examples are waŋiwinjanda [ˈwɔŋɪwɪŋjandʌ] *I shall go*, waŋiwinjaŋalaŋ [ˈwɔŋɪwɪŋja,ŋalaŋ] *we will go*, djilbadjilbaninjaŋur [ˈtʃɪlpətʃɪlpənɪŋja,ŋʊr] *we will flog*.

Although the system of accentuation does not have phonemic significance, it is very strictly adhered to. Inaccuracies in accentuation provoked criticism from Wembawemba speakers more readily than almost any other kind of mistake, e.g. "We call it [ˈtamətjerɪ], but the whitefellows always say [təˈmɔdjerɪ]" (name of small creek near the old Moonacullah Mission).

2.2.3.2 Singing

In singing the accent system appears to have been utterly different from spoken speech. The speakers themselves were keenly aware of this, and often commented on it. As Mrs Egan put it: "We could always understand what the old people said, and we could talk back to them in the language, but when they started singing, then we couldn't understand. My grandfather used to be quite cross with me because he then had to go on explaining the song over and over again". A special song-language was used, which differed slightly from spoken Wembawemba, and incorporated some features that might have been characteristic of a wider area. Most of the songs recorded were composed in the 1890s largely by the grandfather and the great-uncles of the informants, though some may be much older. In subject matter the songs are mainly transitional, with some noteworthy exceptions, but musically C.J. Ellis (1964:16) has shown them to be almost unaffected by European influence. The accent system used in the songs is therefore also likely to be traditional and to reflect the very special system of accentuation that was used in singing. Such very special systems of accentuation used only in singing have been shown by T.G.H. Strehlow (1945) to exist among the Aranda-speaking peoples. Unfortunately the analysable song-material in Wembawemba is so slight that it is impossible to draw up any definite system of rules of accentuation in singing, so only examples are given:

gilanda waŋiwinjanda
[ˈkɪ·ləndə ˈwɔŋɪwɪŋjənˈdā:]
now-I go-I
I'm going away now.

The normal way of saying this would be:

gilanda waṛiwɪnj [ˈkilandʌ ˈwɔɾɪwɪŋj]

and: giwanda yɪŋa-wɪra

[ˈkɪ̄wändā: ˈyɪ̄ŋǎ-wɪ̄ra:]

Normally this would be:

[ˈkiwandʌ ˈyīŋa-wɪrʌ]

here-I this-way-along hasten
I'm going to go along this way...

And even:

djaginjar Christmas-adag
[tjǎˈkɪ̄njǎɾ ˈkrɪ̄stmʌsʌˈtāk]

normally:

[ˈtjakɪnjʌɾ ˈkrɪ̄stməsʌtʌk]
you will eat your Christmas dinner

2.2.3.3 Sentence stress

Because of the halting and fragmentary way in which the language was remembered it is difficult to form any definite conclusions about sentence stress and intonation patterns. What has been learnt of Wembawemba in this respect has some resemblance to what has been learnt of other Australian languages, notably by W. Douglas (1964:18-25) (Western Desert language) and G.N. O'Grady (1964:18-23) (Nyanjumaṭa). Sentence stress generally fell at the beginning of the sentence and any words that required special emphasis were placed in the initial position. Interrogatives and negative particles invariably carried this special emphasis, demonstrative adverbs, or other parts of speech that were particularly stressed, were also generally placed first. Another word in a medial position in the sentence could carry a subsidiary stress, not as strong as the main sentence stress but more marked than the ordinary word stress.

2.2.3.4 Intonation

As the language was not actively spoken, it was not possible to make a complete analysis of intonation: only some very general tendencies were noted. Questions were uttered with a rising intonation; this may even occur twice in one sentence in the case of a long and emphatic question, where there is a rising pitch in the pronunciation of the interrogative particle as well as the normal rising pitch that marks the end of a question. Statements tended to have a slightly descending pitch, and statements uttered in surprise or concern had a very strongly descending pitch.

Examples of some typical stress and intonation patterns are given below.

° is used to indicate that the syllable following it has the main sentence stress; ^ is used to show a following subsidiary sentence stress.

Question: wĭndjalugar?
 [°wIndjalUɪgar]
where are you?

Answer: giŋgandā
 [°ki·ŋkandʌ]
here-I
I'm here

Question: njānjærug njēmbera?
 [°njænjæɾUk 'njẽ·mbərəʌ]
what-she awaits
What is she waiting for?

Answer: yargā ŋanjidjug
 [°yarkʌ 'ŋanjɪɪtjUkʰ]
she is looking for her boy friend

Question: njānjærug njā ginmer bembengūg yūma?
 [°njæjæɾUk 'nja 'kinmer ʰpẽ·mɪbengUk 'yUmʌ]
what-it these children is
What is the matter with these children?
(An angry grandmother is speaking).

Statements: wĭlɛŋgidj-gād giŋjam baɾiŋgūg
 [°wɪlɛŋɪtj-kat 'kinjam 'paɾɪŋɪgUk]
possum-of indeed this track-his
this is a possum's track

Statement
 with surprise: ŋadā, djurba wirā gurgūg
 [°ŋaθʌ, ʰtjUɾpʌ] [°wɪrʌ ʰkUɾkUk]
my word, its raining! it runs, blood-hers
i.e. she has got a fever

Command: njugā yaŋgi djerimāg guŋgurin
 [°njukʌ ya·ŋɪ] [°djerɪmʌk 'gUɪ·ŋgUɪrɪn]
here come find mother-yours
come here find your mother

Negative: wembāndā yaŋinj
 [°wẽmbandʌ 'yaŋɪŋɪ]
not-I go-will
I won't go

Negative – with alarm (the discussion was about a snake):

—	—	—	—	—	—	—
wembā	wembā	wodəndjēn.	bundin̄j	ɲunam,	dagag	dagag.
[°wɛ̃·mbʌ	°wɛ̃·mbʌ	°wɔθəndjən.	°bundInj	°ɲunʌm	°takʌk	°takʌk.
<i>not</i>	<i>not</i>	<i>dead</i>	<i>bite-will-it</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>hit (it)</i>	<i>hit (it)</i>

— —

baranguin̄.

°paranguIn]

dead

It's not dead! It will bite you! Kill it! It's dead (now), dead.

Warning (to somebody climbing a tree):

— —

buiginjʌr̄

[°puikInjar]

You'll fall (off)!

2.3 Morphology and syntax

One can distinguish between the following classes of words in Wembawemba:

Inflected: nouns, pronouns, verbs.

Inflected only when used as 'head-word' or first word of a clause: the negative particle, interrogatives, and demonstrative adverbs of time and place.

Uninflected: other adverbs and particles, post-positions, conjunctions and interjections.

Clause structure will be analysed as part of the discussion of words in the second class.

2.3.1 Inflected words

2.3.1.1 Adjectives

There is no single category corresponding to the notion of 'adjective' in Wembawemba. Descriptive 'adjectives', implying a fairly permanent quality (e.g. 'good', 'bad', 'little), and 'adjectives of colour', share many of the features of the noun. The Wembawemba words corresponding to English adjectives implying temporary conditions must be classified with the verb, e.g. 'sick', 'frightened', 'hot', etc.

'Adjectives' implying a permanent condition or inherent quality in fact consist of noun-bases followed by various attributive suffixes. According to their formation and their meaning one can distinguish between three main types of such descriptive compounds:

(a) The possessive suffix of the third person singular, -ug can be used to form descriptive compounds from bases implying an inherent quality: thus *delgug good*, i.e. *delg-ug* could be interpreted literally as *goodness belongs to it*.

Other examples are *yadaminjug bad*, *diḍenaiug new*, *garinjug wide*, *merdindug thin*, *wadaminjug cunning*. There is a striking similarity between this formation and what is described by Dr A. Capell (1962:104) for a language from the extreme north of Australia, Dalabon. There are rare instances in Wembawemba where these possessive forms are used instead of a stative verb; e.g. *bambar you fear* was sometimes also rendered by *bambaṅin fear-yours*.

(b) Other descriptive compounds, particularly those denoting personal attributes of living beings, are formed with the personalising and 'having' suffix *-wil*, e.g. *madaṅ-wil greedy*, *liə-wil sharp*, *guradj-wil fat*, *buṅ-wil swift, fast* (particularly of a runner), *ṅungur-wil wild*. This 'having' suffix is a grammatical category that is shared by most Australian languages (Dixon 1976:203).

(c) Descriptive words indicating colour are formed with the suffixes *-dail* and *-daṅ* which appear to have been synonymous: e.g. *wuṅgadaṅ black*, *bilermadaṅ, bilermadail white*, *ḍarədaṅ, ḍarədail white*, *buledail, buledaṅ grey*, *nirudail red*. When these words are joined with nouns in complex nominal compounds the suffixes *-dail* and *-daṅ* are omitted as in *ḍarə-garug white-legs* i.e. *policeman*. Not only words denoting colour take these suffixes, there are rare instances of other descriptive compounds formed in this manner such as *biradail bald*, *beḍaiadaṅ dry* (alternative to the verbal form *beḍaia*), *gulaiadaṅ wet* (alternative to *gulaia is wet*), and *wagadaṅ obstinate*.

All these three groups of words (a, b, and c) are in fact not simple adjectives, but descriptive nominal compounds. There are only very few descriptive words which differ in formation from the three groups quoted above: *gurumbid large* (note however an alternative *gurumbid-ug large*) and *djuruṅ long* (probably participial in origin).

All the descriptive nominal compounds generally precede the main noun of noun phrases. Discussion of the inflection of the noun will naturally include these descriptive compounds.

The use of nominal descriptive compounds is reflected in English as spoken by Wembawemba and many other Aboriginal people e.g. *he is fat* is usually translated by *fat-one-that* — Wembawemba — *guradj-wil njunja*.

2.3.1.2 Nouns

2.3.1.2.1 Number

The Wembawemba language can distinguish between singular, dual and plural in nouns. This distinction was noted long ago by R.H. Mathews for Djadjala and for other languages closely related to Wembawemba. The Reverend Spieseke, on the other hand, had stated categorically: "there is no plural (or dual) number" (1876:56). This problem made the investigator so preoccupied with number that it became a standing joke among the Wembawemba speakers to say, when mentioning a word like 'sun' or 'sky': 'and now you will want to know what we would say if there were two of them or more than two ...' It was clear from all the evidence, from the songs as well as from ordinary conversational material, that the use of grammatical number was very lax, and in nouns number was only expressed if there was very strong emphasis on it. There were five different methods of expressing number in nouns:

(a) A plural can be formed by repetition of the word. This method was not used frequently and appeared to be confined to inanimate objects: e.g. *maruṅ Murray pine* (*Callitris columellaris*, nomenclature from Willis 1962), *maruṅ-maruṅ*

a forest of Murray pine; berg a prickle, berg-berg a lot of prickles (as those of an echidna); lib a spike, lib-lib a lot of spikes (whence lib-lib-wil lots of spikes - having, Murray crayfish).

(b) There is a specialised form of the plural (based on internal reduplication). This was attested only in one word: baingug *child*, plural bembengug.

(c) The postpositional forms -bula and -bara were used for the dual and plural respectively. -bula was well known from fixed locutions such as wirimbula (*two ears*), but it was rarely used otherwise, and the expression buledja wile *two* (numeral) *possum* was preferred to wile-bula *possums*-dual. An alternative form -bala was heard very rarely instead of -bula.

The plural marker -bara is not a true postposition, it is also an independent noun of quantity, and was generally associated with the possessive affix barug. Thus barug wile was heard as well as wile-bara *a lot of possums*, but both these expressions were distinctly emphatic. marug and lambrug, both meaning *many* generally preceded the noun which they qualified - lambrug wile *many possums*. None of these methods of expression was common; the plural with -bara was perhaps the most usual.

(d) The dual or plural can be indicated by special forms of the demonstrative pronouns, followed by the ordinary singular form of the noun: ginbul wile *these two possums* (dual), ginmer wile *these possums* (plural); ginbul and ginmer are the dual and plural of ginja *this*. Similarly njinjmer (from njinja) and manjamer (from manja) *that* can be used to imply a plural. This plural demonstrative can also be followed by the plural of a noun, formed by any of the methods quoted under (a) to (c) above: ginmer wile-bara *these possums*, ginmer bembengug *these children*. The special plural forms of the demonstrative pronouns can therefore act as plural markers in themselves, or they can be used in agreement with a plural noun, but it is not acceptable to use a plural noun with a singular demonstrative.

(e) Certain collective nouns can be used to imply a plural - guli *a group of people*; lerg *woman* was used in the special collective (and slightly derogatory) plural lerg-mul *a mob of women*. It seems probable that there were many other special collective terms of this kind, but they could not be recalled. guli and lerg-mul, seeing that they imply 'a group' or 'a unit', can be used either with the plural or the singular of the demonstrative pronoun, the use of the plural was far more common - delgug ginmer guli *these people are good*.

All the usage observed showed that distinction of number in nouns plays a very minor part in the grammatical structure of Wembawemba: the meaning is usually quite clear without any numerical distinction. Number was on the whole only expressed in nouns when a special need for emphasis was felt. The only exception to this was the plural form bembengug *children* which was regularly used without emphasis.

2.3.1.2.2 Case-suffixes

The cases of nouns in Wembawemba are generally formed by the addition of certain suffixes or 'relationship-markers' (Capell 1956:52). The case system of the Victorian languages that were recorded is quite complex. This complexity led R.H. Mathews in his important grammatical sketches to interpret the Victorian noun-declension too much in terms of the classical and particularly the Latin case-system.

One of the most significant features of the Wembawemba grammatical system is the use of the operative or ergative construction in nouns as opposed to

pronouns. This construction is found in many Australian languages, and it usually implies that the concept of active-passive distinction is absent from the verbal system but in Wembawemba, as in some other eastern Australian languages, there is a subject-object distinction in personal pronouns. The following inflectional forms can be distinguished in the Wembawemba noun:

- (a) absence of case-suffix
- (b) vocative
- (c) operative
- (d) general oblique
- (e) locative
- (f) ablative
- (g) genitive

(a) Absence of case-suffix

The stem of a noun, without the addition of any case-suffix, is used in Wembawemba as the subject of all intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs, e.g. *wireṇən dog* in:

wira wireṇən
runs dog
the dog is running

njananda wireṇən
I see dog
I can see a dog

The stem-form also serves to indicate the indirect object of verbs like *wuga give*, *gia tell*. The stem is further used both as the subject and as the complement of nominal or verb-less sentences, which normally consist of subject and complement. This rule applies also to descriptive nominal compounds, e.g.:

yandeug ginja wireṇən
mine this dog
this dog is mine (emphatic)

madaṅ-wil ginja wireṇən
greedy-creature this dog
this dog is greedy

delgug wireṇən
good dog
it is a good dog

There is often no case suffix when a word is used as an adjunct, which might be introduced in English by 'as regards', e.g.:

djileganda wudjubeg
sick-I stomach-my
I am sick (as regards) my stomach

Sometimes however the general oblique case is used in this sense.

Unless it is otherwise stated it is the stem-form that is given in the vocabulary.

(b) Vocative

In the majority of words the stem-form is used for the vocative, e.g. the word *wilgar dingo* in the phrase from a song: *wilgar, gudab murenainj dingo, you will hardly live...*

Although there is generally no special suffix to indicate a vocative, the vocative meaning is made quite clear by a strong secondary stress accent on the final syllable, whether this normally had a secondary stress or not, e.g. wilgar [¹wɪlɪkar] *hey, dingoo*; guŋai-gad bembəŋu [¹kuŋai-kat ¹pɛmbɛŋu] *quiet, children!* The word for 'children' forms a minor exception in that it was pronounced without the final g in the vocative in both the singular and the plural e.g. delgi baŋgu [¹tɛlkɪ ¹paŋgu] *good boy!* The final -g of this word was very weak and was often absent in other inflectional forms.

Apart from the distinctive accent the vocative is marked by a special ending in certain kinship terms. Thus waw-ug (*his*) *elder brother* became wawi, e.g. windjalugar wawi? *where are you, elder brother?*; mam *father* became mami in the vocative, as in the traditional story of the rosella parrot, who calls constantly mirguanda, mami *an egg I want, father!* Other examples of kinship terms that always end in i in the vocative are gudni *hey, younger brother*, and guinguri *mother!*, djadji *elder sister*. Descriptive possessive compounds formed with the suffix -ug are similar to kinship terms in that they are distinguished by the suffix -i in the vocative. This means that one can differentiate formally, and not only by accent and intonation, between:

yadaminjug lerg
she is a nasty woman

and

yadamiŋi lerg
(you) nasty woman!

The forms in -i are not confined to adjectives describing living beings: an expression that was heard very often on cold winter evenings was delgi wanab *lovely fire!* This exclamatory phrase differed in form and intonation from the equational clause delgug wanab *the fire is good.*

English names ending in -i were generally followed by -n in the nominative and object (suffixless) cases.

Patsin-gad gin
Patsy-indeed said
Patsy said so

Stanleyn-gad delguninj
Stanley-indeed cure-will-(he)
he (the doctor) will cure Stanley

The reason for this development may have been the feeling that final -i indicated a vocative; -n, a very usual final consonant, was therefore added to make sure that these English personal nouns were not interpreted as vocatives.

(c) Operative case

The operative case is particularly important as it expresses the agent by whom an action is performed. It is therefore used to indicate the subject of all transitive verbs, whether an object is mentioned or not. The operative case also expresses the instrument by which an action is performed. The meaning implied by the operative case is therefore quite close to the 'instrumental case' as known from the Indo-Iranian languages, and particularly the 'ergative' in Hindi.

The normal suffix of the operative case is -gu after words ending in a vowel, and -u after words ending in a consonant. The following sentences are typical in showing the Wembawemba forms of the operative case of biəl *stick*, guingur(in) *mother*, and wudu *man*:

daginjaṅuna biəlu
I will hit you with a stick

njagidjar numila? guinguru dagin ginjam lerg?
What are you crying for? Did mother smack this little girl?
 (the grandmother was speaking to the little girl)

daginandin wudugu
a man hit me

There were two isolated instances in songs where the ablative suffix was used instead of the operative: the words involved were ṅada *devil*, mada *master*.

njula malu ṅurigin ṅadaṅ
him that one swallowed, the (ugly) devil

guḍumilaṅ madaṅ
the master was complaining to him

It is impossible to conclude from these examples whether the sphere of meaning of the operative case did to some extent overlap with the sphere of meaning of the ablative. There was, however, one other instance of a similar usage in ordinary conversation — bundinjanda liaṅandag *I'll bite it with my teeth*; liaṅandag can only be analysed as liaṅ, ablative of lia *teeth*, and -andag, possessive suffix of the first person. Syncretism between the ablative and operative is found in Arabana and closely related languages (see also Blake 1977).

(d) General oblique case

The general oblique case is a very widely used case. Its basic meaning is that of 'movement towards' and it therefore shares some of the significance of the 'allative' which is common to many other Aboriginal languages, but it also shares some of the characteristic uses of the genitive and the ablative. This is why such a vague term as 'general oblique' would seem to fit in best with the Wembawemba usage. The normal suffix of the general oblique case is -a after consonant bases and -ga after vowels, but very often the final -a of -ga is lost and the suffix is simply -g. Examples of the use of the oblique case are shown in the following sentences involving the words gad(ə)n *water*, wanab *fire*, dja *ground*, baial *swamp*, guṅwil *snake*:

larbinjanda gadəna
I'll throw it into the water

buigin wanaba
he fell into the fire (when drunk)

wudag gaṅin djag
put your nose to the ground

wariwinjanda baiala
I'll go out into the swamp

mambar djeriga guṅwila
you might step on to a snake

The final r̥ of stems ending in r̥ (e.g. miṛ *eye*, laṛ *camp*) was replaced by ṅ before all vocalic case suffixes. This was not mentioned under the operative case, as there were no examples. Instances of this particular modification were frequent in the oblique case: laṛ-ṅin *your camp*, laṅa-ṅin *into your camp*, e.g.:

budega laṅaṅin
he is going into your camp

widewinjanda laṅandag
I'll go back to my own camp

Sometimes the general oblique suffix is partly obscured by the possessive suffixes that follow; e.g. widewinjanda bainguandag *I'll go back to my child*. This happened only with the suffixes -andag and -aṅurag of the first person singular and plural, as these began with -a.

The suffix of the general oblique case was often added to modern place-names and even to ordinary English words, e.g. mulamina to *Moulamein*, courthouse-a to *the courthouse*, yanginjanda train-a *I'll walk to the train*.

Some verbs were regularly accompanied by nouns in the general oblique case, when one might have expected a locative or an ablative:

baḍaminjaṅana bri-djag
I'll wrestle with you in a clay-pan
 (lit. *I'll wrestle you into a clay-pan*)

bambanda beligməna
I'm scared of the policeman (beligmən)

djabanda beligməna
I'm hiding from the policeman

The general oblique case is also associated with prepositions: e.g. njua *near*, njua biəla *near a red-gum tree* (biəl); gunagal lara *underneath a stone* (lar). Some postpositions seemed to follow the general oblique case, but unfortunately examples were not well attested. The expression duḍa-gudewinj *up to the stars* consists of duḍ *star*, -a (general oblique) and gudewinj *towards*; wogula-dawa *along the Wakool River* (wogul), occurred in a song. There was some uncertain evidence which implied that njed *between* may well have followed the general oblique case.

One of the important features of the general oblique case was its use as the genitive of nouns denoting inanimate things, e.g. woolshed-ada dalaṅa *in the woolshed of Tulla Station* (dalaṅ), njengin ṅagada biəla *he sat in the shade of a red-gum tree* (biəl).

There can thus be no question as to the extremely wide scope of the general oblique case, and a fuller record of the Wembawemba language might well have revealed an even more varied usage.

(e) Locative

There were two locative suffixes, -al (after vowels -gal), and -ada (-gada). Both suffixes were widely used but with slightly different meanings.

-al means *on* and also implies a nuance of 'direction towards', where -ada clearly designates 'location in'. Different usages of the two suffixes can be seen from the following examples:

djeriga durgal
he is standing on mud (durg), and sinking in further, getting bogged

djeriga durgada
he is standing on some mud

djagal *on the ground* (dja) was used in the expressions such as njenganda djagal *I'm sitting down on the ground*, wiriŋal means *in the coals* (i.e. of meat cooking), but one would say njaninand-gad nja wanabada *I burnt myself in the fire* (wanab), and wirega gadənada *he is swimming in the water* (gadən), and yanginanda baialada *I was walking in the swamp* (baial).

The writer was generally greeted with the question njanjarar biŋin? *how did you come?* The standard answer that was expected was biŋinanda train-ada *I came in the train* or car-ada *in a car*. Stan Day often recalled travelling wirbarada *by buggy*. The suffix -al was never used in this connection. On the other hand -al had a distinct comitative meaning which was not shared by -ada, e.g. warī-winjanda gimmer guligal *I'll go away with these people*. As is noticeable from some of the examples given above, the locative suffix -ada was used frequently with English nouns, e.g., Hubert showground-ada yumin *Hubert was at the showground*.

(f) Ablative

The suffix which marked the ablative was -(g)an. This case simply implies 'movement out of or away from':

werbinanda wiriŋal gadənən
I am getting the perch out of the water (gadən)

milagan
out of the ashes (milag)

biŋa laŋan-ug
he is coming out of his camp (laŋ)

As mentioned above there were some isolated instances of the use of the ablative in lieu of the operative case.

(g) Genitive

The genitive case is considered last because it is part of the possessive construction. The person or thing over which ownership is exercised was usually marked by a possessive suffix, and when the owner was mentioned too (usually in the genitive case) the result was in fact a double possessive construction.

As already mentioned the general oblique case was used to express the genitive of inanimate things. But there was a special, slightly emphatic genitive, which was used only for animate beings. It is a significant feature of Wembawemba grammar that there is no formal distinction between human beings and animals: this was naturally in conformity with the close associations between humans and animals and the importance of the totemic Ancestral Beings. Parts of the body, for instance, generally have the same name in humans as in other living creatures: great accuracy and insight are displayed in this. For instance dadagug *his arm* means also *wing (of a bird)*. The special genitive suffix for living beings was -idj after consonants, -gidj after nasals (other than m), and -ŋgidj after vowels, and it was frequently followed by the emphatic particle -gad, (-adj is sometimes found instead of the normal suffix -idj; this may have been due to the influence of pronominal forms, e.g. gigadj guligadj *belonging to these people* (guli), margadj guligadj *belonging to those people*, and gigadj bengadj *belonging to this man* (beŋ)). The noun marked by this special genitive suffix always preceded the noun on which it depended: e.g. wile *possum* and wireŋən *dog* are in the genitive in the following phrases:

wiləŋgidj-gad ginja baŋiŋ-ug
this is a possum's track

wireŋəŋgidj-gad birgug
a dog's tail

wireŋən-barəŋgidj birgug
the tails of these dogs

A triple possessive construction was quite a normal occurrence: a noun in the genitive could bear a possessive suffix as well. The genitive suffix — unlike any other case-marking suffix — followed, rather than preceded the possessive suffix. Thus *mam* means *father*, *mamin* *your father*, *mamiŋgidj* *of your father*:

mamiŋgidj-gad laŋ-ug
father-yours-of-indeed camp-his
your father's camp

The genitive suffix was very frequently used with proper names of English origin:

Lenni-ŋgidj-gad mumbelm
Lennie's hat

Donna-ŋgidj-gad laŋug
Donna's place

When there was no special emphasis, and particularly when a combination of words was very frequently used, ownership was sometimes not expressed at all and the two nouns were simply juxtaposed. But in this case the order of words was reversed and the (unmarked) genitive always followed the word on which it depended:

midj-ug wile
skin-his possum
a possum's skin

leri manja
nail (of) hand
fingernail

munji wuru
hair (of) lip
moustache

As is clear from these examples, there is still a distinction made between an animate owner and two objects simply belonging to one another (as in the last two examples). When the owner is animate the thing possessed was marked by the possessive suffix: *midj-ug wile*.

Because of the fragmentary way in which the language was recalled the case-suffixes were sometimes omitted. This applied to all the cases, but the speakers usually corrected this later or hesitated and stopped, feeling that something was wrong. One must therefore conclude that the system of case-suffixes was a vital and integral part of the Wembawemba language, and there was none of the laxity that was associated with the number-markers.

2.3.1.2.3 Possessive suffixes

Whenever possession was very strongly emphasised in phrases like 'this camp is mine, and not yours', special pronominal forms were used. These will be discussed as part of the pronominal system. The ordinary possessive suffixes were used whenever inalienable possession *by an animate being* was implied at all, even when there was no emphasis on it whatever. Words denoting kinship (unless they were in the vocative) or names for parts of the body were therefore only very rarely heard without a possessive suffix: a 'mother-in-law', was always thought of as 'somebody's mother-in-law', and a 'hand' as 'somebody's hand'. Even when the connection of ownership is severed the possessive is still used, e.g. *miṛg-ug its egg*, because some bird or other once owned it. Even *guni-nj-ug (his) excrement* has a possessive, because it is always associated with some living creature. The possessive suffix can alter and restrict the meaning of a noun in a particular context, associating it with one or more particular owners, e.g. *leri-nj-ug its claws*, i.e. those of a crayfish in particular; *laṛ camp*, *laṇug its camp*, i.e. *a bird's nest*, and *mamaṇurag our father*, i.e. *God*.

The forms of the possessive suffixes are the following:

Singular	Dual	Plural
1st -eg -andag	inclusive -aṇalag exclusive -aṇalagaṇ	inclusive -aṇurag exclusive -andag (-aṇuragaṇ)
2nd -in	-alag (-alagaṇ)	-adag
3rd -ug	(-bulag)	-djanag (after plosive consonants -anag)

As in other Australian languages the distinction between inclusive and exclusive depends on whether the person addressed is to be included or excluded: e.g. *laṇaṇurag our camp* (inclusive), it belongs to all of us, including you to whom I am speaking; *laṇandag* or *laṇaṇuragaṇ* (exclusive) *our camp*, it belongs to us, but you to whom I am speaking are from another camp.

It seems that in the first person singular -eg is used when the noun has no case-suffix, but -andag is used after case-suffixes: *liaṇeg my teeth* *liaṇandag with my teeth*. The suffixes that are given in brackets in the table above were rare and were not satisfactorily attested.

When a noun was already marked by a case-suffix (other than that of the emphatic personal genitive), the possessive was added after the case-suffix, and the final vowel of the case suffix could be elided: e.g. *laṇada in a camp*, *laṇadin in your camp*, *laṇadug in his camp*.

Morphophonemic changes

The possessive suffixes as listed were added directly to nouns whose stems end in consonants other than ʀ, n, ŋ, ŋj, ŋ, and rm. But with other stems a certain number of morphophonemic changes were noted, particularly in the much-used singular. These modifications were deeply ingrained in the speakers' linguistic consciousness and even the poor informants never hesitated over them. Four main changes were observed:

(i) After stems ending in a vowel the first and second person singular possessive suffixes are -ŋ-eg and -ŋ-in; -nj-ug is the suffix of the third person, e.g. in *djinə foot*, *wuru mouth*, *lia teeth*, *dja ground*, *bili stomach*:

djinəneg	<i>my foot</i>	djinəŋin	<i>your foot</i>	djinənjug	<i>his foot</i>
wuruŋeg	<i>my mouth</i>	wuruŋin	<i>your mouth</i>	wurənjug	<i>his mouth</i>
lianeg	<i>my teeth</i>	lianin	<i>your teeth</i>	lianjug	<i>his teeth</i>
bilineg	<i>my stomach</i>	biləŋin	<i>your stomach</i>	bilinjug	<i>his stomach</i>
		djaŋin	<i>your ground</i>		

(i.e. *the ground under your feet*)

All the other possessive suffixes are added directly to the stem, with elision of the initial vowel of the suffix.

As can be noted from the examples given, if the addition of -in, -ug leads to three similar vowels following each other, the unaccented vowel in the second syllable of the noun is dissimilated and never has its full value even in emphatic speech. This naturally applies in consonant stems also: e.g. *wudjub stomach*, *belly*, *wudjubeg my stomach*, but *wudjəbug his stomach* or *stomach-hers*, i.e. *pregnant*.

(ii) After stems ending in ʀ, the first and second person singular possessive suffixes are -(ə)ŋeg and -(ə)ŋin, the weak (ə) is optional (see 2.2.2.1). ŋ replaces ʀ in the third person singular and before the other possessive suffixes beginning with a vowel, e.g. *laŋaŋurag our* (inclusive) *camp*, *larđjanag their camp*. Examples are *miʀ eye* and *laʀ camp*:

miʀŋeg	<i>my eye</i>	miʀŋin	<i>your eye</i>	miŋug	<i>his eye</i>
laʀŋeg	<i>my camp</i>	laʀŋin	<i>your camp</i>	laŋug	<i>his camp</i>

gaʀ *leg* forms gaʀ(ə)ŋeg, gaʀ(ə)ŋin, but in the third person there are three different forms. The normal form is gaŋug *his leg*; -gaʀug occurs in compounds such as *darə-gaʀug white legs his*, i.e. *policeman*; gaʀənjug *kangaroo sinew* (from the back leg of a kangaroo and used for tying) was probably based on gaʀ *leg*, influenced by the nouns of group (i) and originally meant *its leg*.

Nouns ending in alveolar r simply add the possessive suffixes like the other consonant stems. The following were heard: *yauwireg my enemy*, *yauwirin your enemy*, *yauwirug his enemy*, *yauwiraŋurag our enemy*.

(iii) Nouns ending in nasal consonants other than postvocalic m insert an epenthetic plosive consonant between the nasal and the possessive suffix. Examples are —

m: *gurm breast*, *gurbeg*, *gurbim*; the third person form *gurbimug her breast* also means *milk*. Nouns in postvocalic m are not included in this rule and simply add the possessive suffixes: *mum bottom*, *mumug his bottom*, *mam father*, *mamin your father*, *mamđjanag their father*.

- n: yirən-yirən *eyebrows*, yirən-yirəndin *your eyebrows*, yirən-yirəndug *his eyebrows*.
- ŋ: guŋ *throat*, guŋdeg *my throat*, guŋdin *your throat*, guŋdug *his throat*.
- nj: nj seems to have been at least partly depalatalised before the dj which was inserted:
 biŋbinj *waddy*, biŋbindjin *your waddy*, biŋbindjug *his waddy*, (third plural) biŋbindjanag *their waddies* (the suffix was -anag because of the presence of a plosive immediately before it).
- ŋ: baŋiŋ *track*, baŋiŋgeg *my track*, baŋiŋgin *your track*, baŋiŋgug *his track*.
 A particularly interesting and frequent word of this group is beŋ *man, person, body*, beŋgug *his or its body* i.e. *meat*.
 The word giŋgurin *your mother* has a very unusual third person singular possessive form which can be included in this group because of the presence of a glide consonant: giŋdrug *his mother*.

(iv) Some nouns ending in ŋ have become associated with the vocalic nouns of group (i) and no plosive consonant appears: e.g. djaliŋ *tongue*, djaliŋgeg *my tongue*, djaliŋgin *your tongue*, djalinjug *his tongue*; njariŋ *name*, njariŋgin *your name*, njariŋjug *his name*. It was in fact only possible to tell whether such noun-stems ended in ŋ or in a vowel from the form they took before the case suffixes or when there was no suffix at all. djaliŋ *tongue* was one of the words over which there was for a while some doubt.

Kinship terms ending in ai, miŋgai *daughter*, djarəmbai *uncle*, and ŋaninjai *niece*, are slightly irregular. The final ai is lost before the possessive suffixes except in the second person singular: thus djarəmbeg *my uncle*, djarəmbag *his uncle*, djarəmbaŋurag *our uncle*, miŋgeg *my daughter*, but djarəmbain *your uncle*, miŋgain *your daughter*.

The use of the possessive suffixes and the morphophonemic modifications appear to have been fairly uniform over a large area, as will be noted from Djadjala and Maḍimaḍi and the few indications available from Woiwuru. The possessive construction can in fact be considered one of the most characteristic features of the 'Kulin' languages.

2.3.1.3 Pronouns

2.3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns of the first and second person are not frequently used in Wembawemba. The pronoun subject is on the whole expressed as part of the verb, and the pronoun object except in the third person is also generally incorporated into the verb. There is nevertheless a fairly complex system of pronouns in the language, but because of their rarity some forms were not well remembered even by the best speakers, and some were completely forgotten.

The pronoun subject was used when great emphasis was placed on the expression of person, e.g. winjarug yaŋginj *who will go?*, ŋin *you!* Normally, in a simple statement, one would say yaŋginjar *you will go* (second person singular future), person being expressed as part of the verb.

A verb in the potential mood does not indicate person, and the pronoun subject therefore has to be expressed, and is perhaps slightly less emphatic than in its other uses, e.g. in the hymn:

yandaŋ wawidj girgundidj
I would-follow God

yandaŋ wawidj waɟi bug
I would-follow His son

yandaŋ wawidj nja
I would-follow indeed

It is a salient feature of Wembawemba syntax that the pronoun subject marker always forms part of the head-word or first word of a sentence. A pronoun subject, when expressed as such, is therefore initial in any sentence or phrase: it can be preceded only by an interjection. The use of cases in pronouns appeared to be slightly different from that observed in nouns: there was no distinct operative case, but there were a clear object-case and an allative, referring only to 'direction towards'. The following cardinal forms of the pronouns were recorded:

(a) Singular

	1st person	2nd person
subject	yandaŋ (njed)	ŋin, ŋindin
object	yandin	ŋunam, (ŋunum)
allative	(yerem)	
ablative	(yigeaŋ)	(ŋuneaŋ?)
locative	(yigeo)	
possessive pronoun	yandeug	ŋindeug, ŋunjadag

The forms given in brackets are found only in songs. From the available evidence it appeared that njed (subject) was not used in the ordinary spoken language, and that it might have had associations with a wider area, particularly among the Beṛəbabeṛəba. R.H. Mathews quotes 'ngaty' for Beṛəbabeṛəba, while the Madimadi form recorded by us was yidi.

(b) Dual

	1st person	
subject (incl.)	ŋalein	No forms of the second person dual could be recorded with certainty.
subject (excl.)	ŋalaŋ	
object (incl.)	ŋalag	
object (excl.)	ŋalaŋin	
possessive	ŋaleug	(waleug?)

(c) Trial

The Wembawemba speakers were only barely conscious of a trial number in pronouns, and the examples are mainly from songs. The trial forms are derived from the personal pronouns with the addition of the word guli *group of people*, (Hercus 1966). Only the following forms could be recorded:

	1st person		2nd person
object (excl.)	yandin-guli	subject	ŋudein-guli
		object	(ŋinguli)

(d) Plural

	1st person	2nd person
subject (incl.)	yaŋurein	ŋudein
subject (excl.)	yaŋuraŋ yandaŋ	
object (incl.)	yaŋurag	ŋudag
object (excl.)	yandin	
possessive (incl.)	yaŋureug	ŋudeug
possessive (excl.)	yandeug	

The possessive forms of the pronouns were used only when there was great emphasis and contrast, *yandeug ginja wireŋən mine (is) this dog*. Normally the possessive suffix is adequate: *wireŋəneg my dog*.

Bound forms of the pronouns will be discussed as part of the verbal system.

2.3.1.3.2 Third person pronoun or demonstrative

Like many other Australian languages, Wembawemba has a remarkable number of demonstrative pronouns. At least nine different words are used in Wembawemba as demonstratives, and they express various distances in place and time. Distinctions between these pronouns are very slight, but at no stage were the different forms regarded as completely synonymous. Naturally there are no absolute rules about how great these distances are, e.g. how much further away *njinja* is than *ginja*: to some extent the choice of pronoun depended on the attitude of the speaker and whether he wanted to stress proximity or not.

The demonstrative pronouns, like the personal pronouns, differ from nouns in that they do not have any distinct operative case, i.e. the same form of the demonstrative pronoun subject was used regardless of whether the verb was transitive or not. The most usual and basic of these pronouns, *ginja*, *ninja*, *njunja* and *manja* further resemble the personal pronouns in that they distinguish an object case. This was usually formed by the addition of a final *-m*. Consciousness of this object-case of the demonstratives was rather vague, and on a few rare occasions it was used for the subject as well. The possessive case of demonstrative pronouns was formed by the addition of the suffix *-adj* to a modified base.

The demonstratives were used both pronominally and adjectivally without any formal distinction: e.g.

delgug nja manja beŋ
good indeed that man
he is a good man

njaginjanda manjam berbug
see-will-I him (that one) tomorrow
I will see him tomorrow

When used adjectivally, demonstrative pronouns, like descriptive nominal compounds implying permanent characteristics, generally preceded the noun.

The following demonstrative pronouns were recorded:

- ginja *this one right here* expressed close proximity to the speaker.
 Object: ginjam
 Possessive: gigadj (also, rarely, gigaidj), used particularly in the fixed locutions gidadj guligadj *belonging to these people* and gigadj bengadj *belonging to this man*.
 Dual: ginbul, ginjabula
 Plural: ginmer
- gila *this one now* tends to have a temporal meaning, as in gila njai *this day*. Like njula and mala it can also be used as a temporal particle.
 Plural: gilamer
- ninja *this one near here* (sometimes this word was pronounced as njinja). This pronoun usually implied proximity to the person addressed *this one near you*.
 Object: ninjam
 Plural: ninmer
- njunja *this one in the vicinity* as in njunja garginjandin *this man will-catch-me*.
 Object: njunjam
 Possessive: njugadj
 Dual: njunjabula
 Plural: njunmer
- njula *that one then*. Usually, but not always, this word had a temporary nuance implying the immediate past, as in nurgidj njula *cook, he might have swallowed that cook*.
 Plural: njulamer
- manja *that one, that one some distance away and out of sight*.
 Object: manjam
 Dual: manjabula, as in manjabula dagdjeridj *those two (not present) might-be-fighting-with-each-other*.
 Plural: manjamer
- mala *that one quite a long way off, in space or in time*. The form malu which occurs once (in Song 2) may represent a special operative form, unusual in pronouns.
 Plural: malamer
- marga *that other one, some distance away*. This rarely used demonstrative probably has mainly a contrastive meaning, as in marga guli *those other people, not us*.
 Possessive: margadj, e.g. margadj guligadj *belonging to those other people*.
- mayo *that one, very far away*. This word is mainly a particle of place, but it is occasionally used as a demonstrative pronoun.
 Plural: mayomer

The demonstrative pronouns of Wembawemba are important not only in their variety, but also in the frequency of their use. It was rare to hear a sentence that did not contain a demonstrative, and ginja was particularly frequent; its use was even wider than 'this 'ere' in some colloquial forms of English.

2.3.1.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are:

winjar *who?*, as in winjar-ug yangin *who has-come?*

njanja *what?*, as in njanja gila *what (is) this-now?*

Just as the demonstrative pronouns were closely linked with the demonstrative adverbs of place and time, the interrogative pronouns were closely linked with the interrogative adverbs. Interrogative pronouns were always used initially in a sentence and they are therefore part of the general construction involving the transference of subject-markers to the head-word of the sentence: this will be discussed in connection with adverbs of time and place and interrogative adverbs (see 2.3.2.1).

There was a derivative form, based on winjar and generally combined with a possessive suffix. This was winjadug *which?* as in winjadug dir ŋindeug? *which tomahawk (is) yours?*

2.3.1.4 Verb

The Wembawemba verbal system is comparatively simple. There are only a limited number of irregular verbs and very few auxiliary verbs. The old idea that 'Aborigines had no sense of time' is contradicted by the tense system of Wembawemba: three tenses, the past, present and future, are clearly distinguished. There is also a past participle and a present imperative. But there are certain other parts of the verb which stand outside the framework of time and which express certain moods and aspects. These are the potential continuative, which expresses the imperfective aspect, and the purposive.

Other shades of meaning are rendered by derivative verbs. These can be formed from any simple verb, provided that the derivation is compatible with the basic meaning of the verb. The main derivative formations are the reciprocal, the frequentative (which also had some intensive meaning), and several kinds of strong intensives.

2.3.1.4.1 Tense

(a) Person

A uniform system of endings expresses the number and person of the subject throughout the tense system, past, present and future. These endings were used with the verb only when the verb occupied the head position in the sentence; in this position markers indicating the pronoun object of the first or second person can also be incorporated. But when there was a negative, an interrogative or an adverbial particle which precluded the verb from occupying the initial position (see 2.3.2.1), there was a transference of the subject marker to the head-word, and the verb appeared in the basic form (that of the third person) and showed only the tense. As already stated in the discussion of pronouns, the same construction could be used if the pronoun subject was to be very strongly emphasised and was therefore expressed by a free pronoun in the initial position, e.g. in Song 5:

nudein	djuŋin	yandin
<i>you (plural)</i>	<i>gossiped (past base)</i>	<i>me</i>
<i>it was you people who gossiped about me</i>		

The subject markers used with the verb were the following:

Singular		Dual	Plural
1st person	-anda	incl. -aŋal excl. -aŋalaŋ	incl. -aŋur excl. -aŋuraŋ
2nd person	-ar	-awał	-adj
3rd person	-	-bula	-an

Of these forms, that of the third person dual was not adequately attested, owing to the general laxity in the expression of number in the third person. This laxity was also evident in nouns.

All the subject markers could be attached to the present, past, or future base of the verb, and there was no distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs.

When it was incorporated into the verb, the pronoun object of the first and second person was marked by the following bound forms:

Singular		Plural
1st person	-andin	incl. -(a)ŋurag
2nd person	-ŋuna, -ŋana	-(a)ŋudag, -(a)ŋu (short form used in songs)

No examples of the dual forms were recorded.

(b) The verbal stem

The tense marker for the present tense is -a, for the past -in, and for the future -inj. The third person singular has a zero subject marker and it therefore represents the bare tense base. Because it is by far the most frequent form of the verb, the third person singular of the present, i.e. the present base form, has been used throughout the vocabulary and the text whenever a Wembawemba verb is quoted in general terms. But in analysing the verbal system one must postulate a hypothetical verbal stem without any tense marker: this can simply be deduced by the omission of the -a which marks the present base, thus gumba (third singular present) *he sleeps*, present base gumba, stem gumb-.

(c) Present tense

The initial -a- of the subject markers is naturally amalgamated with the a that marks the present base. The present of the verb *yaŋga to walk* is therefore formed as follows:

Singular		Dual	Plural
1st person	yaŋganda	incl. yaŋgaŋal excl. yaŋgaŋalaŋ	incl. yaŋgaŋur excl. yaŋgaŋuraŋ
2nd person	yaŋgar	yaŋgawał	yaŋgadj
3rd person	yaŋga	yaŋgabula	yaŋgan

Derivative verbs formed with the intensive suffix -uwa show haplology of -wa- in the second person dual: thus winaguwa *he abandons*, winaguwaŋal *we two abandon* but winaguwal *you two abandon*, for *winaguwawal.

The pronoun object of the first and second person can be incorporated into the verb, if it is used as the head word of a sentence. The following forms can therefore be used in the present tense: njagandin *he sees me*, gaŋḍaŋana *I am calling you*, sometimes alternatively gaŋḍaŋuna, djeḍamaŋu *it is stopping you people*, njagaŋurag *he sees us*: this latter form can be clearly distinguished from njagaŋur *we see*, e.g. njagaŋur njunjam *we see him*.

Instances of the incorporation of the first and second person dual were not recorded in the present tense.

The use of the present tense was strictly limited to what the speaker regarded as the present time; it had no shade of meaning of futurity. A person picking up a stone would not say larbanda lar *I throw a stone*, but would use the future larbinjanda lar *I am going to throw a stone*. This is illustrated by the usage in the songs. Where an English speaker would say 'I am going away now', the Wembawemba poet of Song 5 says gilanda waŋiwinjanda *now I shall go away* (future tense): he is envisaged as making these final remarks just before his departure. But in 2.4.6 giwanda yiŋa wira *I am hurrying along now* (present tense) the singer is envisaged as speaking to his sons while he is actually walking along and following the tracks of a dingo.

(d) Future tense

The future base is formed by the use of the future tense marker -inj, which follows the stem of the verb. Thus in the case of yaŋga *to go* the future base is yaŋginj, and the person and number of the subject can be expressed as follows:

Singular		Dual	Plural
1st person	yaŋginjanda	incl. yaŋginjaŋal excl. yaŋginjaŋalaŋ	incl. yaŋginjaŋur excl. yaŋginjaŋuraŋ
2nd person	yaŋginjar	yaŋginjawal	yaŋginjadj
3rd person	yaŋginj	yaŋginjabula	yaŋginjan

The intensive verbs in -uwa are slightly irregular in that the -w- of the intensive marker is lost in the future: e.g. djaguwa *to feast, to celebrate*, has a future djaguinjanda *I will celebrate*. In these future forms ui is generally pronounced as a normal descending diphthong, and only very rarely as two vowels in hiatus, e.g. danguinj [ʼtu.ŋu^Uɪnj] (with a weak y glide between the two vowels in hiatus).

A shortened form is found also in the derivative verbs ending in -aia, which have a future base in -ainj (one syllable); e.g. delgaia *it is well*, delgainj *it will be well*.

Incorporation of the first and second person pronoun object was frequent in the future tense and the following forms were noted: daginjandin *he will hit me*, daginjaŋana or daginjaŋuna *I will hit you*, daginjaŋudag *I will hit you lot* (plural), daginjaŋurag *he will hit us*.

The future tense can convey a slight optative nuance as well as simply the future in time, e.g. gubilinjanda can mean *I'm going to have a drink* and also *I'd like to go and have a drink*. There was therefore sometimes a little

hesitation between the use of the future and the potential, and the speakers switched from one to the other, depending on whether the idea of wishing or the idea of futurity were to be emphasised more.

(e) Past tense

The past tense is indicated by the addition of -in to the stem of the verb. Thus the past tense base of *yaŋga to walk* is *yaŋgin*, and the subject markers can be added to this as in the other tenses.

Singular		Dual	Plural
1st person	yaŋginanda	incl. yaŋginaŋal excl. yaŋginaŋalaŋ	incl. yaŋginaŋur excl. yaŋginaŋuraŋ
2nd person	yaŋginar	yaŋginawal	yaŋginadj
3rd person	yaŋgin	yaŋginabula	yaŋginan

In the past tense as in the future, shortened forms of the derivative verbs in -uwa, -aia were used, but in the past the diphthongal pronunciation of *ui* was less usual: *weŋaguwa to carry a long way*, *weŋaguin he carried a long way*.

When the verb is the head-word in the sentence, the pronoun object of the first and second person is usually incorporated into the verb in the past as in the other tenses, and the following forms were found: *daginandin he hit me*, *daginaŋana (variant daginaŋuna) I hit you*, *daginaŋudag I hit you (plural)* and *daginaŋurag he hit us*.

(f) Past participle

The past participle is very similar to the past tense base, and it is formed by the addition of -ən to the stem of the verb. It is in fact highly probable that the past participle of Wembawemba arose from the past base. But in its syntactic usage the past participle is not synonymous with the past base. It fulfils a mainly adjectival function, e.g. *buŋgenin miŋgug he broke the egg*, *buŋgenən miŋgug a broken egg*, *waŋin he covered*, *miŋag-miŋag-waŋən giŋmer benbeŋgug these children are filthy (lit. ashes-ashes-covered these children)*. The past participle does not imply a passive, as the whole concept of active-passive distinction is absent from the language (see 2.3.1.2.2); the past participle implies that the action in relation to a particular noun (or pronoun) had taken place in the past, and was not necessarily complete.

A rare extended form of the past participle formed with the suffix -(b)odən was recorded a few times. This form seems to convey a more durative meaning than the ordinary past participle, but the examples are too few to permit any definite conclusions (this participial suffix was probably originally connected with the intensive verbs in -uwa): *beŋəbodən lost*, e.g. *beŋəbodən giŋguriŋ your mother is lost*, *njaŋəbodən continually worried*.

(g) Imperative

The imperative contains a distinction between transitive and intransitive sentences which is not found anywhere else in the verbal system of Wembawemba. It is a further peculiarity of the imperative that the subject marker always stays with the verb, and cannot be transferred to any other part of speech regardless of whether the verb is the head-word of the sentence or not. The fact that the imperative is so different in usage from the rest of the conjugation helps to make the command stand out from ordinary statements, and this has parallels in many languages.

Only the following subject markers were found in the imperative, the dual was not recorded:

	2nd person singular	2nd person plural
transitive	-ag	-agadj
intransitive	-i	(-adiadj) -iadj

Examples of the use of the imperative can be found in the following phrases: dagag *hit (him)!*, dagag ginjam beŋ *hit this man!*, dagagadj ginjam beŋ *you fellows hit this man!*; nja djemulagadj and nja manmulagadj *oh, shame on you!* are frequent exclamations of strong disgust; njengi djagal *sit down on the ground!* (lit. *sit-you ground-on!*), njernadiadj *listen you fellows!* (plural) (Song 9), waŋiwadj *go away!* (plural). Very many phrases were recorded which showed how the subject marker of the imperative is bound to the verb and is not transferred to the head-word; e.g. wemba gumbi *don't go to sleep!* (lit. *not sleep-you!*), wemba dagag ginjam wireŋən *don't hit this dog!* (lit. *not hit-you this dog!*), njuga yangi *come here!* (lit. *hither come-you!*), njuga ginjam diŋdag *bring this thing here!* (lit. *hither this bring-you!*). In imperative sentences the cardinal personal pronoun subject can be used for extra emphasis e.g. ŋin waŋiwi *you go!*

Derivative verbs in -aia, which are usually intransitive, show a zero-suffix in the second person singular imperative: -i has presumably been absorbed into the final -ai of the stem; e.g. guŋai *be quiet!*

The imperative of stative verbs was used in the formation of some compound words; e.g. djuŋgi-bili *a fat-bellied person* (lit. *swell-stomach*), darmi-mureŋ *be hard, head, a hard-headed or obstinate person*.

There was only one uncertain example of the incorporation of the pronoun object in the imperative. This was wugandin banəm *give-me bread!*, which is identical in form to the ordinary present and can therefore be translated as *he gives me bread*.

2.3.1.4.2 Forms of the verb which are outside the tense system

(a) Potential

The potential was used in both main and subordinate clauses to indicate possibility in the past, present or future, and it could also imply a wish that has not yet been fulfilled. The potential is formed in Wembawemba by the addition of the suffix -idj to the stem of the verb; e.g. yanga *to walk*, potential yangidj *would walk*. The subject of the potential is never indicated by any bound forms or subject markers except the zero-marker of the third person, but is represented by a noun, a cardinal personal pronoun or a demonstrative subject; e.g. yandaŋ gubilidj *I might have a drink*, ŋin djagilidj *you might eat it up*. In the third person the subject may be represented by the zero-marker: ŋuŋgidj njula *cook (he) might-have-swallowed that cook*.

If uncertainty is meant to be further emphasised the particle mamba *perhaps* is added to the sentence: waŋiwidj mamba *he might go away perhaps (but I doubt it)*.

(b) Continuative

The continuative expresses continuous action in the past, present or future. It is not related to any tense, but indicates the imperfective aspect. It is therefore never found in verbs that imply sudden and complete action, e.g. 'to kill', 'to depart'. The continuative was formed by the addition of -aŋ to the stem of the verb. In the case of the derivative verbs in -uwa a contracted form -ŋ was used; e.g. *wermila to bark (of dogs)*, *wermilaŋ barking*, *bilobiluwa to shine very brightly*, *bilobiluŋ shining very brightly*.

The continuative, like the potential, was never associated with bound forms of the pronoun, it can only have a noun, a personal pronoun or a demonstrative as subject. Sometimes the continuative has a distinctly adjectival function and it can then be termed 'the continuative participle'. It is very probable that the descriptive suffix -daŋ originated from this participle. The following phrases contain typical examples of the use of the continuative:

Associated with the present: *windjalug ginmer guli? where (are) these people?*, *njagag ginmer guli, njengan, djagilaŋ! look (at) these people, sitting (there), eating (continuative)*. (The speaker had arranged to meet other Wembawemba people outside a cafe, but they were already inside when he arrived).

Associated with the past, in a discussion on the morals of the young: *malamer-gad nja Jennifer wirin over there Jennifer rushed (past tense)*, *malamer-gad murbilaŋ, galind-yeraŋ (and) there (they were) kissing, loving-one-another (continuative)*. Answer: *nja djemulagadj, nja djemulagadj! Oh, dear me, how disgusting!*

When it fulfils a descriptive function the continuative usually conveys habitual rather than prolonged and continuous action at any particular stage: e.g. *yiri djuŋilaŋ ginja lerg very gossiping this woman, she is a real gossip*. The continuative can also fulfil a more distinctly nominal function, e.g. *bambandilaŋ shining in many colours, a rainbow*.

(c) Purposive

The purposive indicates that something is intended for the particular purpose expressed by the verb. It was formed by the addition of -ab to the stem of the verb, e.g. *djagila to eat up*, *djagilab (this is) for-eating-up*. The purposive is not connected with any tense and can refer to something destined to a particular purpose in the past, present or future. As the active-passive distinction is non-existent in Wembawemba, the purposive can imply either an active or a passive, as in *djagilab (this food is) for-eating*; it is always quite clear from the context what is intended. The purposive is never associated with any bound forms as subject markers; it usually has a noun subject, and sometimes the subject may be understood as in *wemba giab! (this is) not for-telling!, this is a secret!* Other examples of the use of the purposive are: *dagilab (this stick is) for-hitting-with*, *wureŋalab gold-yuləganən (Song 1) for-chasing-away (flies) gold-hung-down*.

2.3.1.4.3 Irregular verbs

There are no complex irregularities. The few verbs which one might call 'irregular' fit into the general structural system of the verb and only show slight divergences in the base-form of the tenses.

In the frequently used verb *gia to say* the -i- of the stem and the -i- of the past and future tense-marker have combined into a single vowel: *gin he said* and *ginj (he) will say*.

A separate conjugational group are verbs with a variable stem; the stem usually ends in -g- before the tense-marker of the present and always before the tense-marker of the future, but there is no -g- in the past. A few of these verbs have a stem in -ŋ(g)-:

njenganda I sit, njenginjanda I shall sit, njeŋinanda I sat,
munga (sometimes muŋa) he makes, munginj (he) will make, muŋin (he) made.

bonga (it) smells (intransitive), bonginj (it) will smell, boŋin (it) smelt;
the past participle *boŋen stinking* was recorded quite a few times, e.g.
ŋaŋubanda ginjam boŋen wireŋen smell-I (transitive) this stinking dog, I
can smell this stinking dog.

ŋaŋeŋga to drown has two alternative forms of the past,
ŋaŋeŋgin or ŋaŋeŋin (he) drowned.

Other verbs which are quite similar in appearance do not have a variable stem, but are clearly either -ŋ- or -ŋg- verbs, e.g.

bunga (he) spears bungin (he) speared
yaŋga (he) goes yaŋgin (he) went
njaŋa (it) burns njaŋinj (it) will burn

A few verbs have a vowel-stem in the past and a -g- stem in the present and future. They are:

wuga (he) gives wuin (he) gave
djaga (he) eats djain (he) ate
baga (he) cooks has a glide -w- in the past: *bawin (he) cooked.*

njaga (he) sees is probably the most complex of these verbs. The future base is always *njaginj (he) will see*. This corresponds to the present base *njaga* which is used throughout the present except in the first person singular, e.g. *njagaŋur we see*. In the past, the third person singular, which is naturally also the base form, is *njaïn (he) saw*; but in the rest of the past the contracted base *njan-* is used; e.g. *njanaŋur we saw, njananda I saw*. *njananda* also serves as the first person singular of the present, *I see*.

The verb *daga to hit* is regular; *dagin (he) hit, daginj (he) will hit*, but there is evidence of the loss of the final -g- of the stem in the derivative verb formed with -uwa: *dauwa to wound*.

In the verbs with variable stem the potential and other conjugational forms which are outside the tense-system are always based on the present stem, e.g. *njagidj (he) would see*.

2.3.1.4.4 Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs are simple and few. The auxiliary verb is usually the head-word in a sentence and takes the bound subject marker, while the main verb shows only tense. This can be illustrated by the most frequent of the auxiliary verbs *gadgina to be unable* and by *ŋua to be unwilling*:

<i>gadgina</i>	<i>njaga</i>	<i>gadjinanda</i>	<i>njaga</i>
<i>unable-he</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>unable-I</i>	<i>see</i>
<i>he can't see</i>		<i>I can't see</i>	

gadjinanda njain
unable-I saw
I could not see

gadjinanda njaginj
unable-I see-shall
I won't be able to see

nuanda djeriga
unwilling-I stand
I don't want to stand

nuanda djerigin
unwilling-I stood
I did not want to stand

yuma *to be* never acts as an auxiliary to any other verb; it is a full verb indicating a state, e.g. yadaminjug yumin *bad-she-was*. yuma differs from other verbs in that it usually only takes the tense marker and the zero-marker of the third person; it was never recorded as the head-word of a sentence and the subject marker (other than the zero-marker of the third person) was therefore always expressed by a pronoun or as part of the transferring adverb which began the sentence, e.g. ginganda yuma *here-I is* (see 2.3.2.1.4).

There are two important verbal borrowings from English: gadima *to have* (from English 'got') and wantima *to want*. gadima was never used as an auxiliary in Wembawemba and only appeared in phrases like wembanda gadima banəm *not-I have bread*. wantima can be used as an auxiliary to other verbs, e.g. wantimanda njaga *I want to see*. There may not have been any auxiliary verb 'to want' that is original in Wembawemba; the idea of wishing could be expressed by the potential, by the exclamation yugweg *I wish I had* and by the addition of -u- plus subject marker to the object that was wanted, e.g. mirg-u-anda mami *egg-want-I, father* (from the traditional story of the rosella).

ganəra *to be allowed* differs from the other auxiliary verbs in that:

(i) after ganəra the main verb can take the form of the tense-base, as after the other auxiliaries, but it can also be a purposive.

(ii) in the third person singular ganəra resembles an interrogative adverb (see 2.3.2.1) used as head-word of a sentence; after ganəra the third person is expressed not by the zero subject marker as in other verbs and auxiliary verbs, but by the third person singular possessive marker -ug. Unfortunately not many reliable examples of the use of ganəra were recorded: ganəranda njaga ginjam wireŋən *allowed-I look-at this dog, I am allowed to look at this dog* and ganərug yangab *permission-his going for* (purposive), *he is allowed to go*.

2.3.1.4.5 Derivative verbs

Derivative verbs are of considerable importance in Wembawemba. They fall into two main groups: (a) verbs derived from other verbs; (b) verbs derived from descriptive nominal compounds indicating a permanent condition.

(a) Verbs derived from other verbs

(i) Reciprocal

Reflexive and reciprocal formations constitute a characteristic feature of many Australian languages. In Wembawemba there is no independent reflexive formation; the concept of reflexive action is conveyed by the use of the word beŋ *body, self*, e.g. djilbinanda bengandag *hit-I body-onto mine, I bumped myself*.

There is a distinct reciprocal formation in Wembawemba. Reciprocals are used with the same subject and tense markers as simple verbs except that they naturally have no singular. The reciprocal is formed by the addition of the

suffix -djera to the stem of the simple verb; e.g. *daga to hit* *dagdjeran they hit one another, they fight*, *winaga to leave*, *winagdjeran they leave one another, they separate (of married couples)*, *wuga to give*, *wugdjeran they give one another presents*, *djalila to swear*, *djalildjeran they are having an argument, swearing at one another*.

When the final consonant of the verbal stem is -dj-, this simply coalesces with the initial -dj- of the reciprocal marker: e.g. *bagadja to ask, to enquire*, *bagadjeran they are looking enquiringly at each other*.

(ii) Frequentatives and intensives

In Wembawemba derivative verbs express many of the shades of meaning that are obtained in English by the use of nearly synonymous verbs, or by various adverbs. Derivation is therefore mainly of semantic importance, but it is also part of the general structure of the verbal system and often fulfils an aspectual function.

The most common derivative verbs are those in which -ila is added to the stem of the simple verb. -ila conveys a frequentative and a weak intensive and imperfective meaning. In a few cases the addition of -ila makes a considerable difference to the sense, and the semantic connection between the derivative and the simple verb is not immediately obvious, e.g. *dinḍa to take away* and *dinḍila to sew*. Usually however the derivative verbs in -ila differ only slightly in meaning from the corresponding simple verbs, e.g. *djaga to eat*, *djagila to go on eating, to eat up*, *njerna to hear*, *njernila to listen*, *ganindja to steal*, *ganindjila to go round thieving*, *djuṛa to talk about somebody*, *djuṛila to gossip*.

The frequentative meaning is particularly compatible with some verbs, and the forms in -ila can therefore be more usual than the simple verb; e.g. *weṛmila to bark* (the simple verb was never recorded), *guḍema to scold* (rare), *guḍemila to go on growling at somebody*, *bambandila to shine in many colours* (no simple verb). On the other hand there were many verbs whose meaning was felt to be incompatible with the frequentative and these verbs never formed derivatives in -ila, e.g. *dauwa to wound*, *buiga to fall*, *yanga to go*.

In certain verbs other vowels regularly took the place of the weak unaccented -i- of the suffix -ila. -ula occurs after stems ending in -b-: *birba to jump*, *birbula to hop*, *guba to drink*, *gubula* (variant: *gubila*) *to drink repeatedly*, and especially *to drink liquor*; a few verbs took -ala or -əla; e.g. *wureṇa to rouse from sleep*, *wureṇala to chase away (particularly flies)*, *lebuəla to chase up, to disturb birds*.

(iii) Intensives

The most usual method of forming a strong intensive was by the addition of -uwa to the stem of the verb, e.g. *weṛəga to carry*, *weṛəguwa to cart something heavy a long way*; *waləḍja to approach*, *waləḍjuwa to draw very close*; *djaga to eat*, *djaguwa to celebrate with a feast*. There are a few derivatives in -uwa for which a corresponding simple verb has not been recorded; e.g. *yaguwa to dream*, *daṅguwa to finish*.

Intensity was also conveyed by much rarer derivatives in -unga and -uda (once -oda by assimilation to a preceding o in *bilobiloda to shine very brightly*); e.g. *djira to tear*, *djiṛunga to tear up*; *galba to cut*, *galbuda to cut right across, also to cross a river*.

Another, but unusual way of expressing a very strong intensive was by reduplication of the verb stem, sometimes followed by -u (-uwa). The reduplicated form was further strengthened by the addition of intensive suffixes, particularly -uwa or -uda, e.g. biloda *to shine*, bilobiloda, bilobiluwa *to shine very brightly*. An example of a derivative expressing the intensity of desperation is in Song 8, where the verb is reduplicated twice: biṛgubiṛgubiṛguwag which could be translated as *undo it, for heaven's sake undo it!*

-na was occasionally added to a verbal stem and particularly to intensives without conveying any significant change of meaning, -na was probably itself a weak intensive; e.g. waledjuwa, waledjuwana *to draw very close*, djilba *to hit, to bump*, djilbadjilbana *to flog*.

(b) Other derivative verbs

There were other verbs which were clearly formed by means of derivative suffixes, but unfortunately there were not enough examples to permit an accurate analysis of the shades of meaning conveyed.

A group of verbs ending in -eṅa (once in -eṅga) probably consisted of derivatives, although the simple verbs were not generally attested; they were:

- ganjeṅa *to cough* (probably connected with ganja *to breathe*)
 ṅaneṅa *to sneeze*
 wureṅa *to rouse or awaken somebody*
 bureṅa *to snore* (probably connected with burga *to sigh* and burṅa *to blow*)
 bareṅa *to chase* (connected with baraia *to be out hunting*)

A few derivative verbs ended in -əma, e.g. guḍa *to groan*, guḍəma *to scold somebody*, badəma *to taste*. This suffix was extended in the form -ima to two English borrowings ending in -t- gadima *have* (English 'got'), and wantima *to want*.

-adja, -ədja was rarely found as a derivative suffix in Wembawemba: wurədja *to sniff*, midədja *to lick* and bagadja *to look round enquiringly* are probably such derivatives. Perhaps on the model of bagadja this suffix was extended in the forms -idja to three English borrowings ending in -k, usually with the further addition of the frequentative suffix: gugidja, gugidjəla *to cook*; mugidja, mugidjəla *to smoke tobacco*; weṛgidja, weṛgidjəla *to work*. These words were no longer felt to be borrowings, particularly weṛgidja, weṛgidjəla, which bore some resemblance in form and meaning to weṛəga *to carry*.

(c) Verbs derived either from descriptive nominal compounds or from other verbs

(i) Stative verbs

Stative verbs can be formed from the descriptive nominal compounds of Wembawemba, which imply inherent characteristics (see 2.3.1). Such verbs were formed with the suffix -aia from the nominal base; e.g. delgug *good*, delgaia *to be good*, dulu *little*, dulaia *to be little*.

A number of simple verbs in Wembawemba are stative verbs, they express a temporary condition, which is usually rendered in English by adjectival expressions. From the stem of such verbs it is possible in Wembawemba to form even more distinctly stative verbs by the use of the suffix -aia. This permits the expression of fine shades of meaning; e.g. bambanda *I fear, I am afraid*, bambilanda *I'm usually scared, I'm just a coward*, bambaianda *I am in a state of fear*; mambanda *I'm tired*, mambaianda *I'm in a state of fatigue*; ṅubanda *I'm*

full, I've just had plenty to eat, nubaianda I am satisfied, guliṅula to feel shy, guliṅulaia to be a shy person. A large number of stative verbs clearly belong to this series, but the corresponding simple verbs have not been recorded: e.g. *beḍaia to be dry, gulaia to be wet, gurumbaia to be jealous, bulgaia to be soft and liḍaia to be sharp.* The verbs *baraia to be out hunting* and *galaia to ask* are among the rare exceptions; they seem to be formed with the suffix *-aia* and yet they cannot be regarded as stative verbs.

(ii) State-inducive verbs

The few verbs in this category imply 'causing someone or something to have a particular quality'. In Wembawemba such verbs appear to be formed from the nominal stem by means of the suffix *-una*. The clearest example is *delg-ug good, delguna to make good, to cure.* The word *baranguna to kill* may probably be classed with the state-inducive verbs, though no corresponding nominal stem was recorded.

2.3.2 Words inflected only as head-word

2.3.2.1 Clause structure

It is a basic principle of Wembawemba that whenever words of the second class are used (see 2.3), that is interrogatives, negatives and demonstrative adverbs of time and place, they must take the position of head-word, which is otherwise generally occupied by the verb. The head-word is the most strongly accented and important part of a sentence and the subject marker is normally transferred from the verb to it. Words of class 2 will therefore be called 'transferring words'. The transference of the subject-marker from the verb to the head-word makes an interesting link between Wembawemba and a number of other Australian languages. It has been shown by A. Capell to be one of the main characteristics of the 'Western Desert' type of language (1956:22). This transference affects the whole of the grammatical structure of the clause level, and clause structure will therefore be analysed here.

There are four types of clauses in Wembawemba: statement, interrogative, imperative, equational.

In all clauses the basic patterns of word-order are fairly strictly followed, except in songs, where there is much liberty. It is a general rule that vocative phrases, exclamations, and the word *yiri very much*, can remain at the beginning, outside the clause proper, and they usually precede the true head-word. They have therefore been ignored here, as have the emphatic particles; all these will be discussed and their position will be analysed in 2.3.3.

2.3.2.1.1 Statements

There are three kinds of statements: (a) nominal statements, (b) emphatic and potential statements (other than third person potential), (c) statements containing transferring words.

(a) Normal statements

A minimum statement consists of the verb, which incorporates the subject marker (this includes the zero-marker of the third person of all the tenses and of the potential): e.g.

djagilanda
eat-I
I am eating

waɾiwidj
go-might-he
he might go

More expanded statements can be made by the addition of the following optional tagmemes (option is indicated by ±), provided that this order is always adhered to:

- (i) verb (with incorporated subject marker)
- (ii)a. (transitive verbs only) ± object; this can be in the form of an object marker, incorporated into the verb, or it can be a cardinal pronoun, noun or noun phrase.
- (ii)b. (intransitive verbs only) ± subject, if this is a noun or noun phrase.
- (iii) (transitive verbs only) ± agent or instrument (noun or noun phrase).
- (iv) ± location: noun, noun phrase or adverb of place or direction, excluding the transferring words.
- (v) ± circumstance and time: nouns, noun phrases and adverbs indicating cause or purpose, manner and time, excluding the transferring words. Statements containing more than one of these were rare and it was not possible to ascertain the relative position of 'cause' and 'manner'. 'Time' was more frequent and usually came last in the clause, unless expressed by a transferring word.

Instead of:

verb (with incorporated subject marker),
it is possible to use:
auxiliary (with incorporated subject marker) + verb,
(see also 2.3.1.4.3).

Examples of normal statements:

daginanda	ginmer bembengug	biəlu	djelig-djelig
hit-I	these children	stick-with	yesterday
verb with subject marker	object (noun phrase)	instrument	time

I hit these children with a stick yesterday

daginandin	wudjugu
hit-(he)-me	man-by
verb with zero subject marker and incorporated object	agent

a man hit me

widewinjanda	lanandag	njari
return-will-I	camp-to-mine	now
verb with subject marker	location	time

I'll go back to my camp now

(b) Emphatic and potential statements

A noun or pronoun subject can be used as the head-word for special emphasis. A noun subject or the pronoun subjects of the first and second person were always initial in a potential statement (see 2.3.1.3.1). In all these cases the minimum statement consists of subject + verb:

2.3.2.1.2 Interrogative clauses

There are two kinds of interrogative clauses: (a) those which contain interrogative pronouns and adverbs (transferring words) and (b) those without transferring words.

(a) Interrogative clauses with transferring words

Interrogative clauses with transferring words are very similar in structure to statements with transferring words. The transferring interrogative word is always initial, and incorporates the subject marker; it is followed by the verb, and this constitutes the minimum interrogative clause of this kind:

winjarug	biṇin?
<i>who-he</i>	<i>came?</i>
transferring word	verb
with incorporated	
subject marker	
<i>who came?</i>	

If a distinct subject, apart from the incorporated subject marker is expressed, it is inserted between the transferring interrogative (which still has the incorporated subject marker) and the verb:

njadjeruwalug	ginja bobenj	biṇinj?
<i>when-it</i>	<i>this baby</i>	<i>come will?</i>
transferring word	subject	verb
with incorporated		
subject marker		
<i>When will this baby be born?</i>		

The object usually follows the verb in an interrogative clause:

njanjarar	gargin	ginjam wirəngal?
<i>how-you</i>	<i>caught</i>	<i>this perch</i>
transferring word	verb	object
with incorporated		
subject marker		
<i>How did you catch this perch?</i>		

The transferring interrogative pronouns winjar *who* and njanja *what* can also be the object of the clause. They remain initial and are used with the incorporated subject marker, as usual:

winjarar	njembara?	njanjarar	gia?
<i>who-you</i>	<i>await?</i>	<i>what-you</i>	<i>say?</i>
object	verb	object	verb
transferring word		transferring word	
with incorporated		with incorporated	
subject marker		subject marker	
<i>whom are you waiting for?</i>		<i>what are you talking about?</i>	

Further expansions of this kind of interrogative clause were not recorded.

(b) Interrogative clauses without transferring words

Interrogative clauses which did not contain transferring words in the form of interrogative pronouns or adverbs were very rare. In the few clauses of this type which were recorded the interrogative meaning was conveyed by the

distinct rising pitch and also by the word order. The order of tagmemes seemed to be the following: subject (or agent) + verb ± object. Example:

guinguru	dagin	ginjam	lerg?
<i>mother-by</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>girl?</i>
agent	verb	object	
<i>did mother hit this girl?</i>			

2.3.2.1.3 Commands

The minimum command clause consists of a verb in the imperative:

war̄iwi
<i>go away</i>
verb with incorporated (imperative) subject marker

The command clause can be further expanded according to the following pattern: ± transferring word ± emphatic subject + verb (with incorporated subject marker) ± object. Instrument and circumstance would probably have followed, but were not recorded.

The absence of transference of the subject marker is characteristic of commands:

nin	baigi
<i>you</i>	<i>get-up-you!</i>
emphatic subject	verb with incorporated (imperative) subject marker
<i>get up, you!</i>	

wemba	gudemilag	ginmer bembengug
<i>not</i>	<i>growl-at-you</i>	<i>these children</i>
transferring	verb with incorporated	object
word	(imperative) subject marker	
<i>don't growl at these children</i>		

2.3.2.1.4 Equational clauses

There are two kinds of equational clauses, (a) those without, and (b) those with, transferring words.

(a) Equational clauses without transferring words

The minimum equational clause of this kind consists of complement + subject:

delgug	lerg
<i>good</i>	<i>woman</i>
complement	subject
<i>she is a good woman</i>	

gurgudj	ginja
<i>saltbush-berry</i>	<i>this</i>
complement	subject
<i>this is a saltbush-berry</i>	

The complement can consist of a descriptive nominal compound, possessive pronoun, or a noun, while the subject is usually a noun or noun phrase, or more rarely a pronoun.

There is a second type of minimal clause consisting of:
complement + verb 'to be':

delgug	yuma
<i>good</i>	<i>is</i>
complement	verb with incorporated zero subject marker
<i>(it), (he), (she) is good</i>	

This type of clause is much more flexible as it can express tense: e.g.

madaŋ-wil	beŋ	yumin
<i>greedy</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>was-(he)</i>
complement	verb with incorporated zero subject marker	
<i>he was a greedy man</i>		

Location was also frequently expressed in lieu of the complement in this kind of clause. The order then was: subject + object + verb 'to be'.

djunedjunedj	benwurada	yumin
<i>frogmouth-owl</i>	<i>hollow-tree-in</i>	<i>was-(it)</i>
subject	location	verb with incorporated zero subject marker
<i>a frogmouth owl was in the hollow tree</i>		

(b) Equational clauses with transferring words

The minimum clause of this kind consists of the transferring word with the incorporated subject marker:

windjalugar	ginganda
<i>where-you</i>	<i>here-I</i>
<i>where are you?</i>	<i>I am here</i>

Such clauses may be expanded by the use of a full subject and by the verb 'to be':

windjalug	mamin	(yuma)
<i>where-(he)</i>	<i>father-yours</i>	<i>(is)?</i>
<i>where is your father?</i>		

When the verb 'to be' is used location may be expressed by means of a noun or noun phrase; this can either precede or follow the verb:

wembanda	yumin	laŋadug
<i>not-I</i>	<i>was</i>	<i>camp-in-his</i>
transferring word	verb	location
with incorporated subject marker		
<i>I was not in his camp</i>		

or alternatively wembanda laŋadug yumin.

An equational clause which contains the verb 'to be' may also be expanded by an adjunct noun phrase implying 'with regard to':

njanjærug nja	ginmer bembengug	yuma?
<i>what-it indeed</i>	<i>these children</i>	<i>is (it)?</i>
transferring word	adjunct	verb
with incorporated		
subject marker		
<i>What's the matter with these children?</i>		

Further expansions of the equational clauses were not recorded.

2.3.2.2 Transferring words

2.3.2.2.1 Negative

The subject markers which were transferred to wemba were identical with those which would have been used with the verb:

gumbanda	wembanda gumba
<i>sleep-I</i>	<i>not-I sleep</i>
<i>I sleep</i>	<i>I'm not sleeping</i>
gumba	wemba gumba
<i>sleeps-(he)</i>	<i>not-(he) sleeps</i>
<i>he sleeps</i>	<i>he is not sleeping</i>

wemba was often repeated, not only to form the name of the language, but also in excited conversation for emphasis: dauwag ginjam bielu, wembawemba wadændjøn *hit it with a stick. It's not dead (a snake).*

wemba was also used as an absolute negation (English 'no') in answer to a question: ɳubaiar? *have you had enough?*, wemba *no*.

wembalidj *if not* was only recorded once: wembalidj delgainj, daginjanda *if he will not be good, I will smack (him).*

berəburuŋ wergidjalinj *if you don't work* occurs in Song 8. It was associated only with the song language, and was probably connected with the word berəba *no* of the neighbouring Berəbaberəba.

2.3.2.2.2 Interrogatives

The interrogative pronouns and adverbs constitute an important group of transferring words. In the case of windja *where* and windjalug *whereabouts* the transferred subject markers are identical to the subject markers that would be taken by the verb.

windjaŋur	gumbinj	garəlgug?
<i>where-we</i>	<i>sleep-will</i>	<i>tonight</i>
<i>where will we sleep tonight?</i>		

windja	wawin?
<i>where-(he)</i>	<i>elder-brother-yours?</i>
<i>where is your elder brother?</i>	

or windjalug wawin
whereabouts is your elder brother?

windjalugar
<i>whereabouts are you?</i>

Like the verb, these transferring words have a zero subject marker in the third person singular.

winjar *who*, and njanja *how?*, *what?* differ from the verbal conjugation in the third person singular; instead of the zero-marker the third person possessive suffix -ug is optionally used:

njanja gila
what-(it) this
what is this?

njanjarug yarga
what-he looks-for
what is he looking for?

winjar biñin		winjarug biñin
<i>who came?</i>	or alternatively:	<i>who-he came?</i>
<i>who came?</i>		<i>who came?</i>

It is noticeable that njanja *how?*, *what?* was probably influenced by the analogy of winjar *who*, and a stem njanjar- was used before all subject markers.

The following other interrogative words were recorded; they are given here with the subject marker of the second person singular; the possessive suffix -ug was generally used to mark the third person singular:

njagidjar *what for (you)?*
 njanjudənar *why (you)?*
 njadjəruwa *when (you)?*
 njadjəruwalar *whenabouts (you)?*
 njabar *how many (you)?*

Examples:

njabar bembəguin
how-many-you children-yours?
how many children have you got?

njagidjar dagin ginjam lerg?
what-for-you hit this girl?
what did you hit this girl for?

njadjəruwalug wariwinj
whenabouts-he go-will
whenabouts will he go?

2.3.2.2.3 Demonstrative adverbs of time and place

This important group of transferring words is clearly connected with the demonstrative pronouns. The subject markers that are transferred to these demonstrative adverbs are identical with the subject markers that would be used with the verb. A zero subject marker characterises the third person singular, and the possessive -ug which was found in some of the interrogatives was never used with the demonstrative adverbs. The following were recorded:

giŋa *here* was rare; much more frequently used was
 giŋga *here, hither*
 giawədj *this way* occurred mainly in the locution

- giawedj mayowedj *hither and thither*
- gilamen *here was found only in the locution*
- gilamen malamen *here and there*
- gigwa *right then (2.4.7)*
- giwa *right now (2.4.6)*
- gila *now is frequently used*
- gilaidja *a very long time ago*
- yina *along here (2.4.6)*
- njina *then, straight away then*
- njua *here denoted proximity to the speaker, but not as close proximity as gina. njua also approximated in use to a preposition near to and was followed by a noun in the oblique case: njua biela near to a red-gum tree. njua was probably originally a locative form of the demonstrative pronoun njunja.*
- njuga *here, hither was frequently heard in combination with yanga to walk; e.g. njuga yangi come here! It is almost certain that njuga was originally a general oblique form of the demonstrative pronoun njunja and it was still associated with the oblique in expressions like njuga djag on to the ground.*
- njuṅa *from around here*
- njula *then was also a demonstrative pronoun*
- malamen *there was used mainly in the expression gilamen malamen, and in malamen-dja a distant place*
- malamer *there. This form, identical to the plural of the demonstrative mala, was a very frequent demonstrative adverb.*
- mala *then, a little while ago (demonstrative pronoun)*
- malana *there, some distance away*
- mayo *there, a long way off (demonstrative pronoun) takes the form maya before subject markers. It was found frequently in the expression mayo-dja a distant place.*
- mayomer *there, a long way off (plural of the demonstrative pronoun)*
- mayowedj *that way*
- moye *this way (from a little distance away) was found only in songs. A form which was originally an oblique, moigu, used in the expression moigu djag this way down on to the ground is of particular interest in that it represents the only instance recorded of the use of the dative-purposive suffix -gu, which had been considered to be totally absent from Victoria. This suffix is well known from most Australian languages. The isolated survival of the form -gu in a demonstrative in the Wembawemba song-language may be added to the many other factors which indicate that the Victorian 'Kulin' languages were less isolated from the general development of Australian languages than was originally thought.*

Examples of subject transference follow the general principles set out in 2.3.2.1.

gilanda yanginj
now-I go-will
now I will go

mayanur njenginj
there-we sit-will
we'll sit over there

ɲadana *already*, though not a demonstrative adverb, is also a transferring word; e.g. ɲadananda njain *already-I saw*, *I've seen it already*.

2.3.3 Uninflected words

Only those uninflected words which are of syntactic interest will be discussed. The few postpositions that were recorded have been mentioned in the discussion of the 'general oblique case' of nouns.

Adverbs of time, other than the transferring words, were usually final in a clause, e.g. njari *now*, giloidj *today*, garəlgug *tonight*:

yanginjaɲal garəlgug
walk-will-we-two tonight
we two will go for a walk tonight

A few other adverbs, such as bilenj *as well* were used in the same way as the adverbs of time. More rarely, the adverbs of time occurred initially; for instance gadaɲ *afterwards* is found in this position. But even when they were initial, these adverbs had no influence on the general structure of the clause, which follows the normal sequence: e.g. in 2.4.6:

woɾuberbug -min yarəginj yawwirug
day-after-tomorrow-indeed seek-will-(he) meat-his
he will go out looking for his meat the day after tomorrow

There are three emphatic adverbs and two emphatic particles in Wembawemba, and they vary considerably in their use. They are yiri *very*, dunji-gad *very* and nja, and the enclitic particles -gad and -min.

yiri *very* conveys a sense of intensity, and it always precedes the word which it qualifies. yiri usually occurs with stative verbs or adjective complements, and it is often used initially, but it is not the head-word and remains outside the general framework of the clause. yiri may be quite strongly accented, but it does not carry the main sentence stress, which falls on the word which follows:

'yiri °delgug 'ginja 'beɲ
very good this man
he is a very good man

'yiri °djileganda
very sick-I
I am very sick

The rare word dunji-gad is similar in use and meaning to yiri. It was used initially. Whereas the enclitic -gad was not used with yiri, it distinctly formed part of dunji-gad:

dunji-gad mambaia beŋ
very tired-(he) man
he is a very tired man

nja is roughly equivalent to *really, indeed*. It brings emphasis to the whole clause, and particularly to the words which precede or follow it. nja may be repeated several times within a clause:

delgug nja lerg nja
good indeed woman indeed
she is a really good woman

nja was not generally found at the beginning of a clause except before an imperative, as in the frequent expression:

nja manmulagadj
oh ashamed-be-you (plural)
oh shame!

The particles -gad and -min are unaccented and enclitic to other words, generally to the head-word of a clause. Both -gad and -min serve to emphasise the word which precedes them, and there is very little difference between these two particles: -gad was more frequently used and was particularly common after the tense form of verbs; -min was more usual after the imperative and after the transferring words.

-gad brings about a slight modification in the first person subject marker; this was often reduced from -anda to -and and in careless speech even to -an:

djileganda-gad *I am sick* was pronounced also as djilegand-gad or djilegan-gad.

daginjanda-gad njunjam *I will hit him* was usually heard as daginjand-gad njunjam or daginjan-gad njunjam.

-gad was sometimes optionally extended to -gada. This optional change seemed to depend on the amount of deliberation with which the sentence was uttered, and it constantly varied even within the speech of one person, e.g.:

yandaŋ-gada yaŋginj
I go-will
I will go!

or yandaŋ-gad yaŋginj

yarga-gada ŋanjidjug
looks-for-(she) boyfriend-hers
she is looking for her boyfriend

or yarga-gad ŋanjidjug

-min was very rarely extended to -mina.

One Wembawemba speaker made much more use of -gad than the other speakers, in fact she inserted this particle into practically every sentence.

-min was very common after the imperative, it was practically the rule in expressions like dagag-min *hit (him)*.

Interjections in Wembawemba are on the whole very strongly accented. They can form a completely independent utterance, or they can be used to introduce a clause; but there is usually a slight pause after the interjection, before the beginning of the clause proper:

barai, djilganda
oh pleased-I
my word, I am pleased

Interjections therefore tend to stand apart from the clause and do not influence the grammatical structure. *ṇada*, *ṇadaigunj*, *gai gudab* and *barai* were the only interjections which were usual, but they probably represented only a small proportion of the interjections that could be used in Wembawemba.

2.4 Wembawemba songs

All the songs analysed here were sung by Mr Stanley Day. He had learnt them from his grandfather Marəḍ (David Taylor). Marəḍ, like Stanley Day, was apparently a brilliant singer, but it was said of him *gadjina birgin he could not make any songs*. The author of most of the songs, particularly the more traditional ones, was a very old man (by the turn of the century), known only as 'Tommy'. He was blind and was cared for by the Taylor family, but was not immediately related. The songs were composed mainly in the 1890s, but some have earlier origins.

A few songs were composed by Marəḍ's brother Njaii Sun, 'Grandfather' Bob Taylor. Njaii's son, 'Uncle' Johnny Taylor, born in 1881, remembered a song of Njaii other than those discussed here: it could not be analysed sufficiently to be included. The subject matter was typically transitional as in Njaii's other songs: the author had been rabbiting and had hung up all his scalps on a line to dry, but had forgotten to tie up his dogs, and when he looked in the morning all the scalps had gone, and so he made up a song about it. The songs as sung by both Stanley Day and 'Uncle' Johnny Taylor were not influenced by European music. Several other informants recalled songs, but inadequately. Mr Stanley Day had heard ritual singing, but had never been taught any, and he recalled that in the old days the women had been enthusiastic singers and had their own songs. The songs translated here, therefore, represent a negligible fragment of the original wealth of Wembawemba music and literature.

The first two short songs are connected with the tradition that the bat was sacred to the men, and the owlet-nightjar sacred to the women. This tradition has been noted, among others by Howitt, who speaks of the sex-totems of the Wotjo nation (i.e. the N.W. 'Kulin' people). Stanley Day never spoke of the bat and the owlet-nightjar as ancestral beings (*barəmbug*), but he explained as follows: "The men liked the bat, but the women were glad and would laugh if one got killed or hurt. The women loved the owlet-nightjar (*yeradedgurg*, cf. *gurg woman*). If we boys had killed a *yeradedgurg* the old women would have been after us with a walking-stick and we would have had to run for our lives. So my grandfather made two songs about this, a good song about the bat, and a really bad song about the owlet-nightjar".

The songs, except 3 and 9 (and the swearing songs) consist of only one 'verse' of poetry which was always sung twice.

2.4.1 Song 1: *ɲanudj-ɲanudj The bat*

Author: Tommy; transmitted by Marəḍ (Grandfather David Taylor)

The bat is here described with all the symbols of prestige known to the author. He is even given an English name, Mr Walker, as this was also the name of a much respected old Wembawemba man at Moonacullah.

gingga	mina mayo	Mr Walker	wira
[¹ kɪŋkɔ	mɪnɔ ¹ mayɔ]	Mr Walker	[¹ wɪrɔ]
<i>here indeed</i>	<i>from-afar</i>	<i>Mr Walker</i>	<i>hastens</i>

bilobiluŋ	goldwadjug
[¹ pɪlɔpɪlɔŋ]	goldwatch [₁ -Uk]
<i>shining</i>	<i>goldwatch-his</i>

njanjug-min	dudən	mumbelm
[¹ ɲjɛɲjUk-mɪn	¹ tUθən	¹ mUmbelm]
<i>different-indeed</i>	<i>put-on</i>	<i>hat</i>

wureŋalab	gold-yuləganən
[¹ wUɪrɛ·ŋɔɪɔp]	gold-[¹ yu·ləkɔɪnən]
<i>for-chasing-(flies)</i>	<i>gold-hung-down</i>

Here from afar hastens Mr Walker, all shiny, with a gold watch, wearing a different hat every day, with pieces of gold hanging down (instead of cork from his hat fly-net) to chase away flies.

2.4.2 Song 2: *yeraded-gurg The owl-nightjar*

Author: Tommy; transmitted by Marəḍ (Grandfather David Taylor)

yeraded-gurg	bucket-wuru	ben-wuru
[¹ yeratɛt- ¹ kUry]	bucket [-wU ¹ ru	¹ pɛ:n-wU ¹ RU]
<i>owllet-nightjar</i>	<i>bucket-mouth,</i>	<i>hollow-tree-mouth</i>

ɲaɲidj nja	cook-ada
[¹ ɲa·ɲɪtj nja]	cook [-ɔtɔ]
<i>cadge-would</i>	<i>cook-with</i>

ɲurgidj	njula	cook	bilenj
[¹ ɲurkɪtj	njUɪɔ]	cook	[¹ pɪɪlɛ·ɲj]
<i>swallow-would</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>cook</i>	<i>as well</i>

gadəŋ	mina	bagadjeridj
[¹ kəθəŋ	mɪnɔ	¹ pəkɔtjɛɪritj]
<i>later</i>	<i>indeed</i>	<i>look-enquiringly-at-each-other would</i>

wɪndjalug	nja	cook	njuŋa?
[¹ wɪndjɔɪɪUk	nja]	cook	[¹ ɲjuŋɔ]?
<i>where</i>	<i>indeed</i>	<i>cook</i>	<i>from-around-here?</i>

njula	malu	ɲurgin	ɲadəŋ
[¹ ɲjuɪɔ	mɔɪɪ	¹ ɲurkɪn	ɲa ¹ θəŋ]
<i>him</i>	<i>that-one</i>	<i>swallowed</i>	<i>ugly-devil</i>

The owl-nightjar, with a mouth like a bucket, a mouth like a hollow tree – he would go cadging from the cook, and he would even swallow that cook as well. After a while the people would look at each other asking 'where's the cook from around here? That ugly devil has swallowed him!'

2.4.3 Song 3: Going to the land of the dead

Author: Tommy; transmitted by Marəḍ (Grandfather David Taylor)

This was Tommy's favourite song, it was also his longest, and contained a number of verses. It was composed very much earlier than the other songs, shortly after the death of Tommy's own grandmother. Mr Day regretted that he had only learnt the first verse properly. Each verse apparently told of a different trial which the dead woman would have to go through to reach the Land of the Dead; if she failed she would be 'properly dead for ever'. The first verse relates how she had to escape from being ensnared in nets. The second verse was only recalled in outline and involved *gadəəl*, that is the clashing together of two big trees, and the dead person had to pass between them, just at the right moment. Other trials were described in subsequent verses. The Land of the Dead was thought of as being in the sky.

This song is of particular interest and reflects ancient traditions. The belief in trials to be undergone by the dead on their way to the Land of the Dead is closely linked with what is known of the traditions of the Wiradjuri (N.S.W.) and other south-eastern Australian people. Berndt has given an excellent summary of these traditions (1964:412).

winjar gila lebuəlan
 [ˈwinjar kila ˈlepUəlan]
who-(is) now chasing-up-birds

walbuganadj! gugminjeg
 [ˈwalpUgʌnatj ˈku:kmIɲjek]
see-you (plural)! grandmother-mine-own

birgubirgubirguwag
 [ˈpürkUˈpürkUˈpürkUwak]
undo it, oh undo it

yuguwag moigu djag
 [ˈyu:kUwak ˈmoigU ˈtjak]
put-down this-way ground-to

guin-gad-min wiri didenaiug
 [ˈguin-kat-mIn ˈwiri ˈtütəɲnaiUk]
go-on-indeed-indeed run new-one

mala ɲunum baranguinj-gad
 [ˈmala ˈɲunUm ˈparanguɲinj-kat]
that-one you kill-will

Who is this chasing up and disturbing the birds? You people look around and see! It is my own grandmother. Undo the net, for heaven's sake undo it! Put it down on the ground this way! Go on like mad! Run! There is a new (and bigger) one. That one will certainly kill you.

Notes: Line 1 is composed in accordance with what was probably a wide-spread literary convention. An old Wiradjuri song handed down from Fred Biggs to Charlie Kirby, and recorded by Dr Ellis and the writer, deals with quite a different subject matter (the story of a small boy lost in the fog), and yet the beginning shows the same literary tradition: 'Who is that disturbing the cockatoos? It is your child...'

Line 2 was addressed to imaginary bystanders, while the rest of the song was addressed to the dead woman.

gugminjeg apparently meant *my own grandmother* and was an emphatic possessive form, unattested elsewhere. The normal form was gugaŋeg *my grandmother*.

2.4.4 Song 4: Shearing on Tulla Station

Author: Njai (Bob Taylor)

Bob Taylor's songs are much more European in subject matter and style than Tommy's songs. Bob Taylor once worked on Tulla Station, and the shearing went on far too long and so he made a song about it:

njadjəruwalug	ginjam	dəŋɡinj	
[ˈnɟatɟəruwaluk	ˈkinjam	ˈtɑ:ŋɡuɟinj]	
<i>when-abouts</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>finish-will</i>	
waledjuwaninj	Christmas		
[ˈwaleɟɟuwaɟɟɪnɟ]	<i>Christmas</i>		
<i>come-very-close-will</i>	<i>Christmas</i>		
djəɡuɟɟanɟur	New Year's Day		
[ˈtɟaɟkUɟɟɟanɟur]	<i>New Year's Day</i>		
<i>have-feast-will-we</i>	<i>New Year's Day</i>		
ŋuanda	djeriga	ɡudaiəlan	all day
[ˈŋuanda	ˈtɟerɪka	ˈkuˈtaiəlan]	<i>all day</i>
<i>unwilling-I</i>	<i>stand</i>	<i>shearing</i>	<i>all day</i>
woolshedada	dalaŋa		
<i>woolshed</i> [atɟ	ˈtalaŋa]		
<i>woolshed-in</i>	<i>Tulla-of</i>		

When is this going to finish? Christmas is coming very close and we will be having our Christmas dinner on New Year's Day. Unwillingly I stand shearing all day long in the woolshed on Tulla Station.

Linguistic note: ginjam: this is one of the rare instances of the use of the object form of the pronoun as a subject.

dalaŋa: the usual Wembawemba name for Tulla was diluŋ; dalaŋ represents a partial adaptation to the Europeanised pronunciation of 'Tulla'.

2.4.5 Song 5: Jack Brown's song

Author: Jack Brown

Jack Brown was a Wembawemba man from near Deniliquin, and was not a relative but a friend of Tommy and of Marəɟ and Njai – 'these four old fellows were always together'. Jack Brown was younger than his friends. Stanley Day and Nancy Egan the grandchildren of Marəɟ, referred to him as 'poor old Jack Brown', because he always seemed to be getting into some kind of mischief.

When Jack Brown was staying at Moonacullah Mission he overheard several old women saying bad things about him, and so he made up this song:

gilanda	wəɟiwɟanda
[ˈkiˌlanda	ˈwəɟɪwɟɪnɟandɟ]
<i>now-I</i>	<i>go-away-will-I</i>

goodbye	gudən	ɲudein	gudab	
<i>goodbye</i>	['kUθən	'ɲu·te,In	kUθʌp]	
<i>goodbye</i>	<i>poor-people</i>	<i>you</i>	<i>pitying for</i>	
ɲudein-gad	djuɾin	yandin		
['ɲu·te,In-kat	'tjuɾIn	'yandIn]		
<i>you-indeed</i>	<i>talked-about</i>	<i>me</i>		
delgainjan	muyənadag			
['tɛl,kainjan	mu:yəna,tak]			
<i>good-will-be</i>	<i>minds-yours</i>			
djaginjar	Christmasadag			
['tjakinjar]	'Christmas [a,tak]			
<i>eat-will-you</i>	<i>Christmas-yours</i>			
nothinga-min	njanabodən			
<i>nothing</i> [ʌmIn	'njanapo,θən]			
<i>nothing-for</i>	<i>worried about</i>			
njanəŋ-gad	warɪwin	yauwiraŋurag		
['njanəŋ-kat	'wɔɾI,wIn	'yauwiraŋU,rak]	Repeated	
<i>thinking-indeed</i>	<i>went-(he)</i>	<i>enemy-ours</i>		

Variant of last line:

mala-gad	warɪwin	yauwiraŋurag	
['mala-kat	'wɔɾI,wIn	'yauwiraŋU,rak]	Repeated
<i>he-indeed</i>	<i>went-(he)</i>	<i>enemy-ours</i>	

I am going away now. Goodbye, you poor people, one should feel sorry for you. You talked about me. Yours minds will be easy and you will eat your Christmas dinner (in peace), not worried about anything, thinking 'he has gone, our enemy'.

Linguistic note: djaginjar in line 4 is a singular form where one might expect a plural.

2.4.5.1 Song 5(a): Jack Brown's swearing song

Mr Day stated that this song was 'full of really bad swearing, and mind you, you could swear much worse in Wembawemba than in the whitefellow language'. He refused to sing it right through and only the first two lines could be recorded. They do not refer to the same situation as Song 5, but to some different escapade of Jack Brown's, and they were sung to an entirely different tune.

gilanda	wariwinj	gamrandjadin
['ki·landʌ	'wɔɾI,wInj	'kamrandʒʌ,tin]
<i>now-I</i>	<i>go-away-will</i>	<i>Cummeroogunga-to</i>
mayanda	djigibala	yuminj
['ma·yandʌ	'tʃi·ki,pʌ,la	'yU,minj]
<i>there-I</i>	<i>cheeky-fellow</i>	<i>be-will</i>

I am going away to Cummeroogunga now. I'll be a cheeky fellow there.

Linguistic note: gamrandjadin: Cummeroogunga was the important mission station in the Yodayoda country, and in quoting the name of this mission Jack Brown has given the Yodayoda form of the allative which ends in -in. This ending can also be deduced from evidence given by Mathews (1902:169b) although there it is characteristic of the genitive-ablative.

2.4.6 Song 6: Looking for dingoes

Author: Njai (Bob Taylor)

Bob Taylor was out in the bush with his sons and decided he would send them back home, so that he could go on his own along the Wakool River looking for dingoes. So he made this song about it:

giwanda	yina	wira
[¹ ki·wan ₁ d ₁]	lyina	wi ¹ ra]
<i>right-now-I</i>	<i>this-way</i>	<i>hurry</i>

yarguwanda	wilgar	ɲurawa
[¹ yarkUwanda]	¹ wilkar	ɲura ¹ w ₁]
<i>look-for-I</i>	<i>dingo</i>	<i>?</i>

ɲaɲaɲanda	wira
[¹ ɲaɲ ₁ ɲaɲanda]	¹ wira]
<i>sniffs-(he)</i>	<i>runs-(he)</i>

ɲai	ɲjaginj	gila
[¹ ɲai]	¹ ɲjakInj	ki ¹ la]
<i>crikey!</i>	<i>see-shall-(him)</i>	<i>directly</i>

biəlangəlan	Werguladawa
[¹ piə ₁ langəlan]	¹ wɛɾkU ₁ l ₁ taw ₁]
<i>running-along-bank</i>	<i>Wakool-along</i>

ɲjiriŋdələda	ginga	mala	ɲja
[¹ ɲjiriŋdələta]	¹ kiŋk ₁	¹ mal ₁	¹ ɲja]
<i>creek-bed in</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>indeed</i>

djeridjerawug	buyəgilan	djerimumug
[¹ djerI ₁ djerawUk]	¹ bu:yəkIlan	¹ djerI ₁ mumUk]
<i>disturbed-soil (where)</i>	<i>licking</i>	<i>upwards-bottom-his</i>

waɾuberbug	yaɾəginj	yauwirug
[¹ wɔɾU ₁ berbUk]	¹ yɜɾəkInj	¹ yauwI ₁ rUk]
<i>day-after-tomorrow</i>	<i>look-for-will-(he)</i>	<i>meat-his</i>

I'm going along this way now and I'm looking around to see if I can spot a dingo as he runs along sniffing. Crikey! I might well see one directly running along the edge of the Wakool River. Here in the creek-bed is the place where the soil has been disturbed as he was licking himself, bottom upwards. He won't go looking for meat again until the day after tomorrow.

Note: Line 3 appears to be a standard description of a dingo. It occurs also in 2.4.7, where it was sung to a different tune.

The absence of a subject marker in line 4 can be explained by the fact that this clause was an exclamation with almost general significance. It could therefore perhaps be translated as *Crikey! One might see a dingo directly!*

The meaning of the word ɲurawa (line 2) has been forgotten.

2.4.7 Song 7: Kangaroos and a dingo

Author: Tommy; transmitted by Marəɖ

One day the author saw a mob of kangaroos coming directly towards him. He was surprised until he realised that there was a dingo chasing them. He decided he would go for the dingo as it was worth more, and he made this song about it:

malanda njain ginga gure
 [ˈmalanda ˈnjaɪn ˈkiŋka kUˈre]
the-other-day-I saw here kangaroos

birəbulan yerəm djurun-gudəwinj
 [ˈpirəpUlan ˈyerəm ˈtjurUŋ-ˈkUθəˌwinj]
hopping me-to lengthways

moye yigeo
 [ˈmoˌye ˈyiˌkeɔ]
this-way me-towards

njinanda-min njuməlan
 [ˈnjinandaˌmin ˈnjuməlan]
then-I (was) thinking

njanja gila
 [ˈnjænjə ˈkiˌlɔ]
what (is) this-now?

gigwanda-min njain wireŋən
 [ˈkikwandaˌmin ˈnjaɪn ˈwiˌrɛŋən]
right-then-I-indeed saw dog

ŋarəŋaranda wira
 [ˈŋarəˌŋaranda ˈwira]
sniffs-(he) runs-(he)

moye yigeo
 [ˈmoˌye ˈyiˌkeɔ]
this-way me-towards

wilgar gudab murəninj yigean
 [ˈwilˌkar kUˈθap ˈmUrəˌninj ˈyiˌkeˌan]
dingo pitying-for live-will me-from

The other day I saw a mob of kangaroos hopping towards me all in a row one after the other straight at me. I was thinking 'now what is this?', but right then I saw a dog running along sniffing and coming straight towards me. It's a pity for you, dingo, but I'll kill you.

2.4.8 Song 8: 'Sentai', the lazy dog

Author: Njai (Bob Taylor)

The author had a big good-natured dog, with a big head, but it was lazy and refused to hunt for its food, and so he made a song about it:

Sentai nja garinjug murenj
 [ˈsentai njə ˈkarɪˌnjuk ˈmuˌrɛŋ]
Sentai indeed big head

berəburunj wergidjalinj
 [ˈpɜˌrɛpUˌrunj ˈwɜˌrkɪtjəˌlinj]
if-not work-will

daginjanuna banbaru djurun-gudəwinj
 [ˈtakɪˌnjaˌnuna ˈpanˌbaru ˈtjurUŋ-ˈkUθəˌwinj]
hit-will-I-you wooden-shovel-with long-ways

wudag-min nja gaŋin njuga djag
 [wUθak-mIn nja kaŋIn njukʌ tjak]
put-down-indeed indeed nose-yours here ground-to

djindjinag birgin
 [tjintjI,ŋak pir,kIn]
wag tail-yours

Sentai, you big-headed dog, if you don't work, I will hit you with a wooden shovel lengthways (so that it will hurt more), so put your nose to the ground and wag your tail (ready for hunting).

2.4.9 Song 9: Escaping from justice in N.S.W.

Author: Tommy; transmitted by Marəɖ

This was the only song with two verses that Mr Day could recall entirely; it seemed that by the turn of the century one-verse songs were much more usual than longer ones (a really long song like 2.4.3 was an exception). The song deals with a complex situation: someone is issuing a summons against the author. The author then asks two of his friends to appear as witnesses for him, and they are scared. The matter is about to lapse when the author threatens to issue a cross-summons against the original plaintiff. The unwilling witnesses are so scared of the law altogether that they lament about what will happen to them. The author then suggests that they should cross the Murray in a canoe and go over to the Victorian side where they could not be arrested.

Verse 1:

njernadiadj nja ŋinguli gianda njua
 [njernatI,atj nja ŋingUII kianda njua]
listen-you indeed you-fellows tell-I here

buləminj njed manjam
 [puləminj njed manjam]
pull-him-in-shall I him

madembolinj courthouse-a
 [matəmbɔ,lInj] courthouse-[a]
call-together-will-(he) courthouse-to

njagidj-min nja yandin-guli
 [njakItj-mIn nja yandin-kUlli]
what-for-(he)-indeed really us-all-three?

delgaia-min manja njari
 [tel,kaiyʌ-mIn manja njarI]
good-is-(he)-indeed that-one now

ŋin nja wagadaŋar
 [ŋi:n nja wakʌta,ŋar]
you indeed persistent-are

Verse 2:

marangug-min manjam njuməlanj nja
 [maranɔ,kUk-mIn manjam njuməlanj nja]
cross-summon-his him-that-one thinking indeed

buləminj ɲalanɪn nja
 [ˈpʉləmɪnɟ ˈɲalanɪn ˈnja]
pull-in-will (he) us-two indeed

njanjug-min ɲalan yuminj
 [ˈnɟɛnɟʉk-mɪn ˈɲalan yuˈminɟ]
what-it-indeed us-two be-will?

winaguwal work-alagan
 [ˈwinakʉˌwal] ˈwork-[aləˌkən]
leave-you-two work-your-two

galbudiwal Murray-wadaɲ
 [ˈkalpʉtɪˌwal] Murray-[waˈtən]
cross-you-two Murray-across

Victorian side yuminj
Victorian-side [ˈyuˌminɟ]
Victorian-side be-will-it

Listen, you fellows, to what I am telling you, I am going to summon that man; he will call us all into court (me as defendant and you two as witnesses). (The two witnesses speak): 'Why all three of us? That man is quite good and peaceful now, it is just you that is being determined and persistent'.

I am going to cross-summon him, that's what I am thinking about.

(The two witnesses speak): 'He, (the author) is going to summon us two to appear in court, and what is going to happen to us two?'

Well, you two can just leave your jobs and cross the Murray and then you'll be all right because that's the Victorian side over there.

Notes: The English form Murray is used in this transition song, in preference to the Wembawemba, mile.

winaguwal is the second person dual of the present tense, the literal translation would therefore be *you two are leaving your jobs*.

galbudiwal is the second person dual of the imperative.

2.4.10 Song 10: An ancient tale

Author: Tommy; transmitted by Marəɟ

The authors of the songs usually spoke only Wembawemba, but they had acquired a knowledge of several other languages. Tommy, who was at least one generation older than Marəɟ and Njauɪ 'could understand half a dozen languages', although he did not normally speak them. Such wide linguistic knowledge was by no means uncommon, particularly among those old men who were renowned for their wisdom — for instance King Berak of the Woiwuru, Jacky Patchell of the Wudjubalug, and Reginald Wise of the Madimadi. In Victoria and the extreme south of N.S.W., except for a few lone survivors, the last generation of such men died in 1900 or shortly after. Their linguistic knowledge was quite different from the fortunately rare superficial polyglottism of those who have a smattering of several languages, but cannot speak any accurately.

It was quite natural that the knowledge of other languages should be displayed in songs, and so Tommy composed this song in three languages. Mr Day could only explain the short sections that were in Wembawemba: he did not even know which were the other two languages in the song.

The story of the song concerns two small groups of men from different tribes who are at war with one another. They meet on opposite sides of a river and shout challenges to one another; but as neither party is particularly good at swimming they can't have a fight.

['wu|injula gIman 'gɛnja kuŋerI]
?

yugweg mambulin
['yUkwɛk 'ma:mbU,|lIn]
I-wish-I-had kidney-fat-yours

djedamaŋu gadina njed
['tjɜtama,ŋu 'katInʌ 'njet]
stops-you-people water between

bambaŋin
['pa:mbaŋIn 'mɔnɔli,kai]
frightened-you ?

['gawinjagi 'wiregigai]
?

dauwinjaŋu binwurərai
['tauwInja,ŋu 'pInwUrə,rai]
hit-will-I-you-people stone-tomahawk-with

... I wish I had your kidney-fat. The water between us is stopping you people, you are frightened... of swimming ... I'll hit you people with a stone tomahawk.

Notes: [wiregigai], though in an unknown language, almost certainly refers to swimming, Wembawemba – wiraga *to swim*.

binwurərai; this form was not quite clear; the normal Wembawemba word for *long-handled tomahawk for fighting* is binwurai.

2.4.11 Song 11: Bob Taylor's swearing song

Author: Njau (Bob Taylor)

Bob Taylor took a strong dislike to a Chinaman who happened to be shearing in the same shed with him, and so he made up a swearing song about him.

ŋadaigunj ginja Chinaman
['ŋaθai,kUnj 'kinjʌ] *Chinaman*
my-word! this Chinaman

djeriga ?
['tjɛrIkʌ]
stands ?

wuruwiləŋ wuruwilu
['wurUwI,|ləŋ 'wuruwI,lu]
cleaning-up wool

gudəmiləŋ	madəŋ	no savvy, no savvy
[¹ kʊtəmI, ləŋ	¹ mə, θəŋ]	no savvy, no savvy
<i>grumbling-(is)</i>	<i>boss</i>	<i>no savvy, no savvy</i>

djuŋgi-bili	djuŋgi-wuru
[¹ tjuŋgi, pI, I	¹ tjuŋgi, wurU]
<i>big-belly</i>	<i>big-lip</i>

This was then followed by an array of swear-words, some in English, but only the English swearing was comprehensible and no explanation of the Wembawemba swearing was forthcoming.

My word! This Chinaman stands about (in the shearing shed) when (the others) are cleaning up and rolling the wool, and (when) the boss comes along grumbling (because things are not being done right, all he does is say) 'no savvy, no savvy'. He has a big belly and big lips ...

Note: This was the only song, apart from the fragment of Jack Brown's swearing song, in which words were not sung through twice. This may have been a characteristic of swearing songs. The lines of swearing at the end formed a long and fitting conclusion and took the place of the repetition.

CHAPTER 3

OUTLINE OF THE WERGAIA LANGUAGE: DJADJALA DIALECT

3.1 General remarks

The Wergaia language was originally spoken over a wide area in the north-west of Victoria from Dimboola to Lake Hindmarsh and Lake Albacutya along the Wimmera River, and from Yanac to Warracknabeal. The speakers of Wergaia and several smaller associated groups formed the Wudjupalug group of tribes, called 'Wotjobaluk' by Howitt (1904:55). There were some slight dialectal differences between the various subsections of the Wergaia. Remnants of several groups of the Wudjupalug people began to settle at Ebenezer Mission near Antwerp in 1861 (Werner 1959). Wergaia was one of the most important of the 'Kulin' languages and has been the subject of several studies. There are a number of different sub-dialects: the form of Wergaia spoken near Lake Albacutya was called by R.H. Mathews 'Tyattyalla', i.e. Djadjala, and described by him in 1902 (1902a: 77-84, 97-106). The Rev. Hartmann, the Rev. Hagenauer, and Rev. Spieseke made very brief studies of the language for the compilation of R. Brough Smyth (1876:39-58). Mathews (1902c:61-64) has also given a short description of a different dialect, 'the Wuttyabullak language'.

After the closing of Ebenezer Mission in 1904 many of the Wergaia people stayed in the area, though some went far afield, to Lake Boga and Lake Tyers, and knowledge of the language gradually faded. The last fluent speaker died in 1954. Our main informant, Mrs Stuart, left Ebenezer with her parents before the Mission closed; she learnt the language almost solely from her father, Archibald Pepper, a pelican-totem man, originally from Nyppo Station near Lake Albacutya, who proudly and jealously guarded his language. The only other very knowledgeable person, Walter Kennedy, still lived near the old Mission near Antwerp, and he had learnt the same dialect of Wergaia, Djadjala. There were several other people who remembered small fragments. All preferred the more general term Wergaia for their language, and this term is therefore used in this survey, although it is the Djadjala form of Wergaia that is being studied. Any variants from other Wergaia dialects will be distinguished clearly; they originate from Phenell Harrison, who recalled vocabulary used by his grandmother who came from Carr's Plains on the Richardson River (her linguistic affiliations were from further north, from the Wudjupalug country proper between Borung and Morton Plains). But the differences appear to have been very slight. Despite the great interest taken in the language - Mrs Stuart had herself started to compile a vocabulary with great care - knowledge of the grammar had faded, and the following notes on phonetics and grammar, as well as the vocabulary, can only be regarded as a supplement to the work of R.H. Mathews.

3.2 Phonemic and phonetic notes

3.2.1 Consonants

3.2.1.1 Consonant phonemes

The phonemic system of Werḡaia is very similar to that of Wembawemba, but a little more restricted and more symmetrical. This is due particularly to the absence of interdental phonemes in Werḡaia. The following consonant phonemes can be distinguished:

	labial	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar
plosives	b	d	ɖ	dj	g
nasals	m	n	ɳ	nj	ŋ
trilled or flapped		r	ɽ		
lateral		l			
continuants	(w)			y	(w)

3.2.1.2 Functional value of consonant phonemes

The functional value of these phonemes can be shown by the following minimal and subminimal pairs:

3.2.1.2.1 Contrasts by position of articulation

Plosives, b, d, ɖ, dj and g:

guba *to drink*
 guɖa *to arrive*
 gugal *sawfly larvae*
 gudeg *my younger brother*
 gudjal *dew*

Nasals m, nj and ŋ:

mimug *his maternal grandmother*
 minjug *his sweat*
 miŋug *his eye*

m and n:

min *indeed*
 mim *maternal grandmother*

m and ŋ:

munji *hair of the body*
 ŋunji *bag*

nj and ŋ:

njani *back of the neck*
 ŋani *beard*

Trilled or flapped, r and ɾ:

wiriba *to throb*
 wiɾiba *to stay*

Continuants, w and y:

yerga *to search*
 wergaia *no*

3.2.1.2.2 Contrasts by manner of articulation

Labials b, m and w:

budjug *his liver*
 wudjaia *to exude*
 mudja *to pick up*

Alveolars d, r, l and n:

gadim-gadim *boomerang*
 galinɔd *rainbow lorikeet*
 garig *spearthrower*
 gani *waddy*

Retroflex ɽ and ɖ:

gaɖug *barn owl*
 gaɽibug *his thigh*

Palatals dj, nj and y:

djiba *to float*
 njiba *to bury*
 yiba *to shine*

Velars g and ŋ:

yugwib *green parakeet*
 yuŋwib *canoe*

w and ŋ:

wadje *sand-goanna*
 ŋadje *small goblin*

g and w:

galba *to cut*
 walba *to burn*

3.2.1.3 Allophonic variations of consonants

3.2.1.3.1 Voice

One of the most outstanding and obvious differences between Wembawemba and Werḡaia is that the initial plosives of Werḡaia are always voiced. The voicing of initial plosives made the divergence between the two languages much greater than appears from the phonemic transcription in the English-Aboriginal vocabulary; even where the phonemic form of words is identical in the two languages, the voicing made the Werḡaia words 'sound different', and foreign to the speakers of Wembawemba.

In Werḡaia intervocalic consonants were usually devoiced except where they were followed by a closely cognate vowel, and where there was therefore a tendency towards co-articulation; dj intervocalic before i, and g and b intervocalic before u were on the whole voiced, though occasionally there was partial devoicing. Examples of voiced intervocalic plosives were heard for instance in bubug [ˈbubʊk] *baby*, midjiin [ˈmɪdʒiˈɪn] *moon*, as opposed to midjag [ˈmɪtʃak] *rain*.

Final plosives, particularly in polysyllables were voiceless and tense; they were true fortis sounds.

It is therefore evident that voicing of Werḡaia consonants is dependent on the environment and non-phonemic.

3.2.1.3.2 Consonant clusters

The only initial consonant cluster found in the Djadjala dialect of Werḡaia was br-, and this only occurred in the proper name Brambimbula the name of the two mythical heroic brothers; this name may well have been borrowed from another Werḡaia dialect. All initial clusters including br- are therefore almost certainly alien to Djadjala. As can be shown by the few fragments recorded, the more easterly dialect of Werḡaia, which had been brought to Ebenezer by people from Borung and Morton Plains, appears to have had both initial br- and gr-: braga *to sting*, graidjbiṛb *name of a swamp near Dimboola*. The Djadjala form of this same name was giraidjbiṛb. This, combined with the Wembawemba, Woiwuru and Ganai evidence tends to show an increase in initial clusters, and r-clusters in particular, from west to east. The initial plosive in the Werḡaia (eastern dialect) clusters br- and gr- was voiced.

The medial and final clusters which occur in Werḡaia are so similar to those listed for Wembawemba that they will not be set out separately, only the main features and the divergences will be noted.

Nasal clusters were always voiced; but clusters consisting of r, ɾ, and l plus plosive showed strong devoicing of the plosives: werḡaia [ˈwɔṛkaiʋʌ] *no*.

An interesting peculiarity of Werḡaia is the presence of the medial clusters -rbg- and -bg-, which are unknown to Wembawemba. These clusters occur in plant names: djebga *bursaria*, burbga *grey mulga*, and wadjabga *hop-bush*. The word lalabgin, which is an alternative name for wila-geḏ *the dusky wood-swallow*, may well be associated with the name of a plant. The -b- in these clusters was usually strongly devoiced and fortis, as it would be in the final position, while the -g- was usually voiced as in the initial position. It seems probable

therefore that these words were originally compounds. This view is corroborated by the existence of another distinct group of names of trees, all ending in -b: web, beb and djub. The clusters -rbg- and -bg- were therefore not originally intramorphemic.

The medial cluster -gw- differed from the corresponding cluster in Wembawemba; in Werḡaia the syllabic break was distinctly after -g-, as in yugwib [ˈyuk wip] *green parakeet* while in Wembawemba the syllabification was indefinite and perhaps tended towards [ˈyu kwɛk] in the case of yugweg *I wish I had*. This is in agreement with the distributional possibilities of clustering consonants in the two languages (for important notes on this subject see Pulgram (1965)); initial gw- was a feature of Wembawemba, but not of Werḡaia.

The medial clusters -nm- and -nb- and final -lm were not heard in Werḡaia. On the other hand the cluster ŋb, unknown to Wembawemba, occurs in daŋbil *storm-cloud*, and the cluster -rŋd- was heard distinctly in meŋdar [ˈmøŋdɑr] *thunder*, Wembawemba - maŋdar.

3.2.1.3.3 Unreleased finals

Unreleased finals were heard sometimes in Werḡaia, though not very often; this may well be due to the limited phrase material that could be recorded.

3.2.1.3.4 Description of individual consonants

Apart from the very noticeable difference regarding voicing, the divergences between Werḡaia and Wembawemba in the rendering of particular phonemes were slight. The following is a list of allophones of some plosives as found in Werḡaia:

b	[b]	[p]	[p̚]
d	[d]	[t]	[t̚]
ɖ	[ɖ]	[t̪]	[t̪̚]

As in Wembawemba, ɖ was not found initially. The voiced allophone was therefore very rare and restricted to the nasal clusters -ŋd- and -rŋd-.

dj	[dj]	[tj]	[tj̚]
----	------	------	-------

The voiced palatalised alveo-dental plosive [dj] seemed identical with the corresponding sound in Wembawemba. The devoiced [tj̚] differed in that the release appeared slower and the sound was therefore more distinctly affricate.

g	[g]	[k]	[k̚]
---	-----	-----	------

g remained distinctly velar even before the front vowels i and e and never approximated to the medio-palatal [c].

(a) Nasals

Devoicing of final nasals occurred rarely and only at the end of an utterance. The following is a list of allophones of nasal consonants:

m	[m]	[m̚]
n	[n]	[n̚]
ŋ	[ŋ]	
nj	[nj]	[ŋj]
ŋ	[ŋ]	

ŋ was pronounced in only a slightly further forward position if it was followed by i or e than if it was followed by u. The devoiced allophone was never heard.

(b) Trilled or flapped consonants

r, when intervocalic, [r] was a lightly trilled alveolar consonant. When it was preconsonant or final, [r] was very weakly articulated and was often reduced to a fricative [ʀ] or became almost inaudible. This became evident from hesitations in our transcription; for instance djarg a reed was sometimes heard as [ˈdʒɑ:k]. The most usual pronunciation was [ˈdʒɑ:ʀk] with a weak [ʀ].

ɾ, on the other hand, was a prolonged rolled retroflex consonant when intervocalic, and it was clearly articulated, though not prolonged, when it was in the preconsonant or final position, e.g. laŋɪn [ˈlaŋɪn] *your camp*.

(c) Lateral consonant

[l] was an apico-alveolar lateral. It was always clearly articulated in Wergaia, even before voiced consonants, and it was distinctly prolonged when it was in the intervocalic position. When it came at the end of the first syllable, after the strongly accented tonic vowel, l was usually pronounced as a geminated consonant [ll], e.g. wile [ˈwɪlle] *possum*, gelalag [ˈgellalɪk] *Major Mitchell cockatoo* (the second l in this word was pronounced as a slightly prolonged [l], but not a geminated [ll] because it does not follow on a tonic vowel). Gemination did not seem to occur after the vowel u, e.g. buledj [ˈbuletj] *two*. This is comparable with the weakened articulation of l after u in Wembawemba.

The gemination of l is not of phonemic significance, but it is of interest as gemination is extremely rare in Victorian languages.

(d) Continuants

w was a rounded bilabial fricative, similar to the corresponding Wembawemba sound. It was not normally used as a glide consonant in Wergaia.

y was a voiced palatal fricative. A weakly articulated form of y was used as a glide after any vowel or diphthong in hiatus with a following i: njauɪ [ˈnjauɪ] *sun*; djaɪn [ˈdjaɪn] *he ate*, midjiɪn [ˈmitjiɪn] *moon*.

3.2.1.4 Phonetics of clauses, 'sandhi'

In the very limited number of phrases recorded it was noted that initial consonants, though normally voiced, were devoiced when following on a final (and therefore devoiced) plosive consonant, particularly when the two words were closely linked or were part of a fixed locution:

dag-dag-bial [ˈdak-tak-pɪɪ] *tree-frog* (lit. *knock-knock-wood*)
 muɟ-djalɪŋ [ˈmʉ:ɟ-tjalɪŋ] *dumb* (lit. *blunt tongue*)

When two similar consonants occurred at the juncture between words, the strongly devoiced final consonant of the first word was heard clearly and the initial consonant of the second word appeared to have been lost:

banib ba gunuwar [ˈbanɪpɪ ˈɡunʉwɔɾ]
bunyip-cum-swan; a black bunyip with a long, thin neck

3.2.2 Vowels

3.2.2.1 Vowel phonemes

Like the consonant system, the system of vowel phonemes in Wergaia was more restricted than that of Wembawemba. This was due to the absence of a phonemic *o* and *ə*.

The vowel phonemes were:

i	u
e	
a	

The diphthongs were: *ai*, *au*, *ui*, *ua*, *ie*.

Length was phonemic only in very restricted environments.

The phonemic value of the vowel phonemes can be shown by their occurrence in very similar conditions:

bab-ug	<i>(his) mother</i>
beb	<i>white gum</i>
bub-ug	<i>(her) baby</i>
bib-ŋadje	<i>gecko</i>

3.2.2.2 Length

Length was usually conditioned. Long vowels occurred only in the main accented (i.e. initial) syllable.

In accented monosyllables vowels were generally long when they were final or when they were followed by a final *l*, *r*, *d*, *ɟ*, or a nasal:

wa	[^l wɑː]	<i>crow</i>
djil	[^l dʒiːl]	<i>net</i>
gar	[^l gɑːr]	<i>edible grub</i>
gad	[^l gɑːt]	<i>buggy</i>
muɟ	[^l mʉːɟ]	<i>blunt</i>
mim	[^l miːm]	<i>grandmother</i>

Exceptions

a was short when followed by *l*, *gal* [^lgal] *dog*. *e* was short when followed by nasals. This brought about some very noticeable phonetic differences between words that were phonemically identical in Wembawemba and Wergaia (Djadjala), e.g.

gen	<i>frill-neck lizard</i> , ww	[^l kɛːn],	Dj	[^l gen]	
beŋ	<i>human being</i> ,	ww	[^l pɛːŋ],	Dj	[^l beŋ]

Monosyllables ending in *-b* and *-dj* contained a short vowel: *beb* [^lbep] *white gum*; *wadj* [^lwatj] *golden wattle*.

Accented vowels were usually long or at least half-long when followed by *r* + plosive, or (in polysyllables only) by *-ndj-* *-ŋg-* and *-w-*:

burbug	[^l bʉːrbʉk]	<i>his head</i>
djarg	[^l dʒɑːrk]	<i>reed</i>
bandjil	[^l bɑːndʒil]	<i>Murray cod</i>
mindjun	[^l miːndʒʉn]	<i>grey kangaroo</i>
baŋgar	[^l bɑːŋgɑr]	<i>white-necked crane</i>
wawin	[^l wɑːwɪn]	<i>your elder brother</i>

In words of two or more syllables an intervocalic -d-, -ɟ-, -r- or nasal was generally associated with the half-length of a preceding accented vowel, but this was not an absolute rule and there was much hesitation and free variation: geɟia [ˈgøʔɪa] or [ˈgøʔɪa] *umbrella wattle*.

Monosyllables as well as polysyllables containing the sequence accented vowel + g were very complex as regards vowel-length, and it is here that there were traces of phonemic distinction by vowel-length. There were some isolated minimal pairs:

ɲag, i.e.	ɲa:g	[ˈɲa:k]	<i>a shadow</i>
ɲag		[ˈɲak]	<i>a magpie-goose</i>
ɲaga, i.e.	ɲa:ga	[ˈɲa:kʌ]	<i>into the shade</i>
ɲaga		[ˈɲakʌ]	<i>he dives</i>

There were also some examples of distinctly long and distinctly short vowels occurring in similar environments, e.g.

dug	[ˈdu:k]	<i>bullfrog</i>
nɲag-nɲag wiɾb	[ˈnɲa:kˈnɲa:k ɪwüɾp]	<i>bad omen</i>
wuga	[ˈwu:kʌ]	<i>to give</i>
nɲaga	[ˈnɲa:kʌ]	<i>to see</i>
wiga	[ˈwi:kʌ]	<i>to starve, to die</i>
dɲaga	[ˈdɲakʌ]	<i>to eat</i>
daga	[ˈdakʌ]	<i>to hit</i>
big	[ˈbik]	<i>mud, bigada [ˈbikatʌ] in the mud</i>
meg	[ˈmek]	<i>edible ground-grub</i>

Length of vowels can therefore be considered phonemic, but the functional yield of the phoneme of length is so low that it has not been introduced into the phonemic transcription of Werɟaia as a whole; except before g the length of vowels is always conditioned. There is no direct evidence to suggest that this marginal phonetic value of vowel-length is due to comparatively recent developments, e.g. the possible loss of pre-consonant r in certain environments; but such an explanation seems likely. It is worthy of note that there are very faint, but similar incipient tendencies towards phonemic rather than conditioned vowel-length in the closely related Wembawemba language, particularly in the case of accented a before b and g.

3.2.2.3 Allophonic variations of vowels

i

Accented long or half-long i is a very high front vowel, close to cardinal [i]. When accented but short, i is pronounced with less tension and it may vary between [i] and a more open [ɪ].

Unaccented i was weakly articulated and has generally been transcribed as [ɪ]; the pronunciation could however be much lower and more retracted and correspond to [ɪ] or even [ə]. This led to confusion with other vowels in unaccented position.

Before retroflex consonants i was pronounced as a centralised front vowel [ü], with marked lip-rounding after labial consonants; e.g. wiɾimbulug [ˈwüɾɪmbulug] *his ears*.

e

e was normally a half-close mid-front vowel. In unaccented positions e tended to be pronounced as the weak central vowel [ə]. [ə] was merely the unaccented allophonic variant of e and sometimes of i and a; it was not a separate phoneme.

Before r and l, e was pronounced as a very open [ɛ], and before retroflex consonants it became a central vowel [ɜ]. There was very marked lip-rounding in the pronunciation of this central vowel after labial consonants and [ø] was usually heard, and this has been adopted in transcription, although a more open variant [œ] could also occur in this environment, e.g. meɾbi [ˈmøɾpɪ] sometimes [ˈmœɾpɪ] *cousin*.

u

Accented u was a rounded, very high back vowel [u], but under the secondary accent or in unaccented positions u was pronounced as a weakly articulated [ʊ], and it could be even further weakened to [ɔ].

Before a retroflex sound u assumed a centralised articulation [ʊ] as in Wembawemba, e.g. guɖa [ˈgʊ.ɖʌ] *to arrive*.

One speaker favoured a much more open and less rounded articulation of u than any of the other Wergaia people, and even accented u was pronounced as a mid-close [o] in his idiolect, e.g. djul [ˈdju:l] *a waterbag* was rendered by him as [ˈdjo:l].

a

Normally a was a very low front vowel [a]. When a was long and accented it was very slightly retracted and corresponded approximately to the low back vowel [ɑ]; sometimes it was retracted further still to [ɒ]. In unaccented positions, particularly at the end of words, a was rendered by a very lax form of [ʌ].

The influence of preceding consonants on the pronunciation of a was much less marked than in Wembawemba: there was no evidence of any raising of the vowel a between palatal consonants; e.g. yadjaŋ [ˈyatjaŋ] *bad*. The retraction of a towards [ɔ] is confined to a very limited environment; it was noted only when a occurred between w and a retroflex consonant or ŋ. But the retraction did not go as far as Wembawemba even in this limited environment, and the pronunciation varied freely between [a] and [ɒ], while [ɔ] was only rarely heard; e.g. waɖa [ˈwa:ɖʌ] or [ˈwɒ:ɖʌ] *to come*.

3.2.2.4 Diphthongs

All diphthongs were confined to initial accented syllables. In Wembawemba only ai, but in Wergaia both au and ai, formed an exception and could also be used in unaccented syllables, particularly in the final; e.g. njauɪ *sun*, ŋarau *wild turkey*, wanjagai *catfish*.

In the Wergaia material collected by us, accented [au] alternates with [o] only in the word laueŋ [ˈlauəŋ] *mallee hen*. But in the unaccented position an allophonic variant [o] was often noted alternating freely with [au], particularly in some words ending in -au: ŋarau [ˈŋa.ro], [ˈŋa.rau] *wild turkey*; darau [ˈda.ro], [ˈda.rau] *sugar ant*; but in the case of warau *navel* only the pronunciation [ˈwa.ro] was heard.

[o] was not phonemic in Werḡaia and these words represent the only cases where o-sounds were heard in Werḡaia (apart from the pronunciation of u as [o] in the idiolect of one speaker).

ui and ie [iə], like all the Werḡaia diphthongs, were very strongly descending diphthongs; only the first part showed accentuation and length, e.g. djiel [ˈdji:əɪ] *net*, buiga [ˈbuɪkʌ] *to fall*. They occurred only very rarely, and the remaining diphthong ua was even more unusual, being confined to a few words. ua is of interest in linguistic comparison, because the corresponding Wembawemba words usually contain o; e.g. buanga [ˈbuɑŋɡʌ] *to smell*, Wembawemba - boŋga; buadj [ˈbuɑtj] *grass*, Wembawemba - bodj

3.2.3 Accentuation

In Werḡaia the main stress accent always fell on the first syllable of a word. In words of three syllables the third syllable could carry a secondary stress if it ended in a consonant. In words of four syllables the third syllable always carried a secondary stress, unless it contained the connecting vowel of the suffix -e-ŋurag (first person plural) and -e-ŋalag (first person dual).

The exceptional accentuation of e followed by nj or ŋ in the second syllable, so characteristic of Wembawemba, was not found in Werḡaia. Thus Wembawemba mureŋin [ˈmuɾeŋɪn] *your head*, murenjug [ˈmuɾɛnjʊk] *his head*, corresponds to Werḡaia, mureŋin [ˈmurəɲɪn] *your jaw*, murenjug [ˈmurəɲjʊk] *his jaw*.

3.2.4 Conclusion

It can be said in conclusion that despite the many resemblances, the phonemic systems of Werḡaia and Wembawemba differ in many respects, the Werḡaia system being simpler and more restricted. The phonetic differences between the two languages are even more distinctive, and from one single word it could be obvious whether a speaker was Werḡaia or Wembawemba.

3.3 Morphology and syntax

Knowledge of the grammar had faded considerably; even the best speakers could only form simple sentences. There is no doubt that the Werḡaia language is closely akin to Wembawemba in grammatical structure, and it follows the same basic principles, particularly as regards the transference of subject-markers. Three classes of words can be distinguished:

1. Inflected words: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs.
2. 'Transferring words', inflected only as head-word of a clause.
3. Uninflected words.

3.3.1 Inflected words

3.3.1.1 Adjectives

Impermanent features were normally described by stative verbs in Werḡaia; e.g. gadjila *he is sick*, buanga *it is smelly*, beŋgunja *he is thirsty*. The continuous and the past participle of such verbs were most frequently used to correspond to English adjectives:

gadjilan badjingeg
sick-being knee-mine
I've got a bad knee

buanen ginja yauir
rotten this meat
this meat is rotten

These participial forms however are not true adjectives; they belong to the verbal system.

The use of nominal descriptive compounds was much more limited than in Wembawemba. Examples are: delg-ug *good* (lit. *goodness belongs to it*); gulul-ug *ashamed* (lit. *shame belongs to him*); yula-wil *spiky* (lit. *spike-having*) (used also for the name of the echidna). A nominal compound is used to denote 'angry', where one might expect a stative verb: guli-ŋin (lit. *anger yours*) *you are angry*; guli-njug (lit. *anger-his*) *he is angry*.

Despite the use of stative verbs and of nominal descriptive compounds the category of 'adjective' does exist in Wergaia. It is represented by words denoting inherent characteristics such as colour and size; e.g. wuŋgirim *black*, guruŋ *big*, bulg *soft*, muḍ *blunt*.

Although phrase-material is very limited it indicates that these adjectives generally, though not always, precede the main noun in a noun-phrase. Case-suffixes were not necessarily repeated after every part of a noun-phrase, and sometimes only the adjective was followed by the case-suffix, e.g. ganjaba galg *thick scrub* (this locution also occurs in the Rev. Hagenauer's sketch of Djadjala (Smyth 1876:41)):

ganjabada galg
thick-in scrub
in thick scrub

This tendency for a noun-phrase to be felt as a unit and to be marked with only one single case-suffix is common to a number of other Australian languages (see also Dixon 1980:270). The Wergaia situation is nevertheless different: in other languages it is the final member of a noun-phrase that carries the case-marker.

3.3.1.2 Nouns

3.3.1.2.1 Number

It seems certain that in Wergaia distinction of number in nouns is lax, as in Wembawemba. On rare occasions dual and plural forms were recalled, but their use seemed to imply emphasis on the distinction of number.

(a) Dual

The suffix -bula could be added to a noun to form a dual, e.g. gulguŋ *young man*, gulguŋbula *two young men*. It seems that after nouns ending in consonants other than n, ŋ, (ŋj ?), the dual suffix was not added directly, but was extended to -inbula, or sometimes -imbula, as in wiŋimbula (*two*) *ears*; djadj *elder sister*, djadjinbula *a pair of sisters*. The name Bram shows that the morphophonemic change of m, to mb, common before possessive suffixes, occurs also before the dual suffix: Brambimbula *the two legendary brothers Bram*. There were probably many other morphophonemic changes associated with the dual suffix, but these have now been forgotten.

The dual was also indicated by the use of the word buledj *two*, e.g. wudju *a man*, buledji wudju *two men*. Both kinds of dual could be combined for emphasis, as in buledji gulgunbula *a pair of young men* and in the well-known name buledji Brambimbula *the two brothers Bram*.

(b) Plural

The plural of nouns was only rarely indicated. Three methods of forming the plural were noted:

- (i) gedjauwil *a lot* is used with the noun: gedjauwil gure *a big mob of kangaroos*.
- (ii) Repetition could serve to indicate the plural of inanimate objects and particularly of plants, e.g. walurg *porcupine grass*, walurg-walurg *a mass of porcupine grass*; bunudj *tea-tree*, bunudj-bunudj *a thicket of tea-tree*.

It is important to note that in the case of nouns denoting animate beings reduplication was often an intrinsic part of the word and did not imply plurality, e.g. gulum-gulum *a stranger*, binj-binj *a woodpecker*.

- (iii) The use of collective nouns to indicate a plural was also known in Wergaia. Sometimes these collectives implied a derogatory nuance, e.g. guli *a mob*; laiurg *woman*, laiurg-mul *a big group of women*; gal *a dog*, gal-wil-gal *a pack of (useless) dogs*.

An isolated plural formation was contained in the word djinewarug *centipede*. This word is analysable as:

djine-war-ug
foot-a lot-his

-war-ug is almost certainly cognate with Wembawemba bar-ug *a lot*; this plural-forming noun of quantity was therefore at least known, even if not currently used in Wergaia.

3.3.1.2.2 Case-suffixes

The case-system of Wergaia was very similar to that of Wembawemba, but even from the limited evidence available it appears that some of the case-suffixes differ slightly in meaning and usage. The following cases can be distinguished:

- (a) stem-form, (b) vocative, (c) operative, (d) allative,
- (e) locative, (f) ablative, (g) genitive.

(a) The stem-form

The stem-form of a noun or adjective, without any suffix, was used to indicate the subject of intransitive clauses and the object of transitive clauses. The stem-form was also used to express the complement in equational clauses. Examples are:

gurwidj <i>a friend</i>	guyun <i>a spear</i>	yair <i>meat</i>
waḁa gurwidj <i>comes friend</i>	mudjin guyun <i>picked-up spear</i>	gimba yair <i>here-it meat</i>
<i>a friend is coming</i>	<i>he picked up a spear</i>	<i>here is the meat</i>

(b) The vocative and particularising suffix -i

The suffix -i served to form the vocative of nouns of relationship, e.g. *meṛbi cousin!*, *babi mother!*. It was also used with adjectives in exclamations: *delgi yauir lovely meat!* (*delgug good*), *yadjaṅgi wudju (you) bad man* (*yadjaṅ bad*).

But apart from this usage -i fulfilled the function of a particularising suffix, especially with adjectives; it seemed to impart a slight demonstrative meaning; e.g. *buledj two*, *buledji Brambimbula the two (particular) brothers Bram*.

The particularising suffix was often used with nouns that formed the first part of a nominal compound; e.g. with *mam father*, *burb head*, *budjun phlegm*, in the following compounds:

<i>mami-wile</i>	<i>burbi-njani</i>	<i>budjuni-gar</i>
<i>father-possum</i>	<i>head-nape</i>	<i>phlegm-nose</i>
<i>male possum</i>	<i>back of the head</i>	<i>dirt from the nose</i>

The possessive suffix -ug was always elided before the suffix -i: *delgug good*, *delgi good!*

The word *baṅgug child* forms a vocative *baṅgu* as in Wembawemba. The particularising suffix -i could be added to this in the formation of compounds: *baṅgui-wile a baby possum*.

The following morphophonemic changes were observed:

- (i) an epenthetic -g- was inserted before the particularising suffix -i when the nominal stem ended in -ŋ, *guruṅ big*, *guruṅgi*.
- (ii) Nouns in -a followed this same pattern: -ŋg- was inserted before -i, *djiṅa foot*, *djiṅangi*. This points towards the probability that the particularising suffix was connected with the class 2 noun-marker -i, -ŋi of *Madimadi*.

(c) Operative case suffix -u (post-vocalic allomorph -gu)

This suffix served to indicate the subject of a transitive verb, regardless of whether an object was expressed or not. It was also used to indicate the instrument by means of which an action is carried out:

<i>bundin guṅwilu</i>	
<i>bit snake-by</i>	
<i>a snake bit him</i>	
<i>bundin guṅwilu manjiṅeg</i>	
<i>bit snake-by hand-mine</i>	
<i>a snake bit my hand</i>	
<i>dauwag badjigu</i>	
<i>chop tomahawk-by</i>	
<i>chop it with a stone tomahawk</i>	

The operative suffix was sometimes omitted, probably because knowledge of the structure of the language was fading:

<i>ṅadwil-gani</i>	<i>daga</i>	<i>burbug</i>
<i>four-sided waddy</i>	<i>hits</i>	<i>head-his</i>
<i>he's hitting him on the head with a four-sided waddy</i>		

One would have expected to hear *ganigu with a waddy*.

(d) Allative case-suffix -a (post-vocalic allomorph -ga).

Only the allative meaning of this suffix was attested; e.g.

ŋagin gadjina
dived water-into
he dived into the water (gadjin)

The original scope of this suffix might have been more extensive, like the general oblique of Wembawemba, but few indications of this have survived in the material that could be collected. There was one isolated example of the use of -a to indicate the genitive of inanimate objects:

buṛindja mamug
smoke-of father-his
father of smoke, i.e. tobacco

(e) Locative

The locative was usually formed with the suffix -ada:

yerga gadjinada
searches(-he) water-in
he is looking for something in the water

The suffix -al, which certainly also belonged to Werḡaia, had been forgotten by the informants (see Hagenauer, 'parrall' (Smyth 1876)).

An isolated locative formed with -r was found in the expression:

ŋenjag mumrin (mum-r-in)
sit bottom-on-yours
sit down on your bottom

This example is of interest, since -r is widespread as a locative suffix elsewhere in Australia, but it does not occur in Wembawemba.

(f) Ablative suffix -aŋ

Only rare instances of the use of this suffix were heard; e.g.

bigaŋ
mud-from
out of the mud (big)

(g) Genitive

In fixed locutions the genitive was not marked by any suffix. As fixed locutions were much better remembered than independent phrases, there are numerous examples of possession marked by mere juxtaposition. In such locutions the 'genitive' always occupied the second position. If the owner was an animate being, the possessive suffix was used with the thing possessed:

ŋarenjug mindjun
fur-his kangaroo
kangaroo fur

djaŋ djine
chest (of) foot
sole of the foot

Only very rare examples of the genitive suffix -(g)idj were heard. It was used with the name of animate beings:

wudjugidj badjigug
man-of tomahawk-his
this man's tomahawk

3.3.1.2.3 Possessive suffixes

The possessive suffixes serve to imply ownership or association, however remote, and their use can bring about semantic differentiation; e.g. galg *stick*, galgug *a bone* (lit. *stick-his*).

Only the following possessive suffixes could be recorded:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	-eg	(incl.) -eḡalag	(incl.) -eḡurag
2nd	-in	-	-
3rd	-ug	-bulag	-djanag

Morphophonemic changes

The four main morphophonemic changes, undergone by noun stems before the possessive suffixes in Wembawemba, are applicable in every detail to Wergaia. But the following additional modifications were noted in Wergaia:

Words of more than one syllable, ending in -a, such as ḡara *hair* showed a change of the final unaccented -a to -e before the possessive suffixes; e.g. ḡareḡin *your hair*, ḡareḡjug *his hair*. The words lia *teeth* is an exception to this rule: lianḡin *your teeth*.

After palatal nj, as in manja *hand*, final -a was changed to -i if a possessive suffix followed: manjinḡin *your hand*, manjinḡjug *his hand*.

The final -r of the word gar *nose* was lost before the possessive suffixes and the word followed the same pattern as nouns ending in vowels: gaḡin *your nose*, gaḡjug *his nose*.

An unusual change of final -b to -w before the second person singular possessive suffix was noted in the kinship terms manḡeb *daughter*, wadjiḡ son (and possibly also beḡeb *nephew*): manḡewin *your daughter*, wadjiḡbeg *my son*, wadjiwin *your son*; djarḡbab *uncle* is contracted to djarḡb- before possessive suffixes, djarḡbeg *my uncle*.

The proper name Bram did not follow the pattern of mam, mamug *father*, but showed insertion of a b before a possessive suffix: Brambug, like gurm, gurḡbug *breast*. This is probably due to the presence of r in proximity to the final m of the stem.

Sometimes the addition of the possessive suffixes brought about elision of an unaccented vowel, provided the resulting cluster was permissible in the language, e.g., wareḡ *back*, warḡmug *his back*, warḡmin *your back*.

The morphophonemic rules and the formation of singular possessive forms were very clearly remembered, but the syntax of possessive constructions had fallen into oblivion.

3.3.1.3 Pronouns

Distinctions of person were only fragmentarily recalled by means of bound forms used with the verb or with transferring words; no cardinal personal pronouns of the first and second person could be recorded.

3.3.1.3.1 Third person pronoun or demonstrative

There are a number of demonstrative pronouns indicating various degrees of distance in time or space. These demonstratives can also be used as pronouns of the third person. There is evidence that in Werḡaia, as in Wembawemba, personal and demonstrative pronouns differ from nouns in having a distinct object form. The following forms were heard:

demonstrative of immediate proximity:	ginja
	object form: ginjam (as in dagag ginjam <i>hit him!</i>)
demonstrative of close proximity:	njinja
demonstrative of distance:	manja
	further distance: mala

3.3.1.3.2 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns always occupied the initial position in a clause and their use therefore involved the transference of subject markers (see 3.3.2). The interrogative pronouns are:

winjar *who*, as in winjar djai'n *who has eaten it?*

njanja *what*

winjagur- is an interrogative meaning *which, what*, and was used with a possessive suffix, as in:

winjagurin njariŋin
what-your name-your
what is your name?

njanja was also used with the possessive suffix, as in the phrase:

njanjŋin njua
what-yours now
what's the matter with you now?

3.3.1.4 Verb

Only fragments of the Werḡaia (Djadjala dialect) verbal system could be recorded; these fragments show a strong resemblance to Wembawemba. The tense system comprises three tenses, present, past and future, the imperative and a past participle. There is also a frequently used continuative participle.

Derivative verbs were numerous and included the reciprocal and various kinds of intensives and frequentatives. The stem of all regular verbs can be arrived at from the third person present, i.e. the present base, by loss of the final -a. Often participles were used to form compounds; but in Werḡaia the stem form was also employed in compounds, e.g. gena *to tie*, gen-gen-manja

tie-up-hands, a policeman, gen-gen-guṅ tie-up-throat, a hangman; daga to hit, to knock, dag-dag-bial knock-knock-wood, a tree-frog. This usage is different from Wembawemba where this function is fulfilled by the imperative and by the participles.

3.3.1.4.1 Tense

(a) Person

In clauses which do not contain a transferring word the person and number of the subject is expressed by a suffix attached to the tense base of the verb. The following subject-marking suffixes were recorded:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person	-an	(incl.) -aṅal	(incl.) -aṅur
2nd person	-ar	(-awul)	(-adj)
3rd person	-	-bulaṅ	-ana, -eri

No phrases showing the incorporation of the pronoun object could be recalled, but there is evidence from the Wergaia text published by Hagenauer 3.4.2.1 that pronoun object incorporation existed, and contrary to the situation in Wembawemba was used in the third person too:

djedawin bulangug
they both waited for him

this is:

djedaw - in - bulaṅ - g - ug
wait - PRET - 3 dl sub - G1 - 3 sg obj

Even the best speakers began to be vague about subject markers; e.g. *ṅidjabulaṅ the two (children) are grizzling* was first thought of as a dual, and was later vaguely considered as a plural by the same person.

The second person dual and plural suffixes -awul and -adj were noted only once each, attached to a transferring word, but it can be assumed that, as usual, identical forms of the subject-marking suffixes were used with the verb.

The third person plural suffix -ana was recorded only once, in a fixed locution which was also used as a place-name: *walbana ṅadje they are burning the 'little fellow'.*

The suffix -eri was added directly to the stem without a tense marker and therefore does not really belong to the tense system. It has been included here because it was heard a number of times when a plural subject was implied; e.g. *guberi they are all drinking, njernilaṅeri they are all listening.* It seems almost certain that -eri does not represent an original Djadjala third person plural marker. There is a possibility that -eri is in some way connected with the derivative verbs in -era implying continuous and concerted action; e.g. *njaṅera to observe (njaga to see).* Verbal forms in -eri were even used in English by Wergaia 'don't go over there, there's too much guberi'.

(b) Tenses: present, future and past

The tense-marker for the present was -a, for the future -inj and the past -in. These markers were affixed to the stem of the verb exactly as in Wembawemba. The subject markers, when used, were affixed immediately after the tense-markers. Examples are:

yeṛgan *I am searching*
 gumbar *you are sleeping*
 yeṛginjan *I shall search*
 gumbin *he slept*
 mudjinbulan *they two picked up*

(c) Past participle

The past participle, formed by the addition of the suffix -en to the stem of a verb, closely resembles the past base in -in, and may originally have represented a weakened form of it. The past participle was used adjectivally: buaṅen *rotten, smelly*, but buaṅin *it smelt*; bawen *cooked*; gien *told*.

(d) Imperative

The imperative was formed by the addition of the following suffixes to the verb stem:

	2nd person singular	2nd person plural
transitive and intransitive	-ag	
intransitive only	-i	-ia

Only the imperative in -ag was heard frequently, with both transitive and intransitive verbs. It was generally followed by the emphatic particle -min; e.g.

dagag-min *hit (him)!*
 njernag-min *listen!*
 nenjag *sit down!*
 yanag *go!*

-i was heard only with intransitive verbs, as was the plural -ia, e.g. gumbi *sleep!*, waṛiwia galwilgal *go away, you useless pack of dogs!*

3.3.1.4.2 Continuative participle

This participle conveys the imperfective aspect, and implies a prolonged and continuous action or state. It is formed by the addition of the suffix -aṅ to the stem of the verb. The allomorph -ṅ occurred in the case of verbs whose stem ended in -u, e.g., djaimbua *to yell*, djaimbuṅ *yelling continually*, njibua *to kick up dust*, njibuṅ *kicking up dust continually*. The continuative participle was the most frequently recorded form of the verb, probably because the speakers may have subconsciously equated it with the English participle in -ing.

There is evidence from Hagenauer's text (3.4.2.1) that in Wergaia the continuative participle could be based on the preterite as well as on the present tense. *bundinaŋ biting* and *biŋđinaŋ appearing* can be analysed in the following manner:

Verb stem	Past tense marker	Participial suffix
bund-	-in	-aŋ
biŋđ-	-in	-aŋ

In the recorded Wergaia material the past -aŋ forms were used to indicate relative clauses and they therefore show an important similarity to the -ŋu participles of Arabana Waŋgaŋuru and to the widespread Australian relative clause formation (Dixon 1972).

3.3.1.4.3 Irregular verbs

The irregularities in the Djadjala verb stem are very similar to those found in Wembawemba. A number of verbs have a present and a future containing a -g- which is absent in the past tense. The following were recorded:

buanga	<i>it smells</i>	
buangen	<i>rotten</i>	
djaga	<i>he eats,</i>	djaginjan <i>I'll eat</i>
dja'in	<i>he ate</i>	
wuga	<i>he gives</i>	
wu'in	<i>he gave</i>	

-w- was inserted in the formation of the past base of *baga she cooks*, *bawin she cooked*.

daga he hits is regular throughout the tense system; e.g. *daginjan I'll hit*, *dagin he hit*; but it forms a derivative containing -w-, *dauwa to wound*.

njaga to see is very irregular, and has three distinct stems, *njag-*, *njaŋ-* and *nja-*:

<i>njaga he sees,</i>	<i>njagag look!</i>	This stem is also used in the derivatives
		<i>njagila to stare at,</i> and <i>njaguda to watch.</i>
<i>njaŋan I see</i>	This stem occurs in the derivative <i>njaŋera to stare at.</i>	
<i>nja'in he saw</i>	This stem occurs in the derivative <i>njara to observe.</i>	

A stem *yan-* instead of *yang-* (*yanga to walk*) was noted in the imperative *yanag go!, walk!*.

3.3.1.4.4 Derivative verbs

(a) Verbs formed from other verbs

(i) Reciprocal

Reciprocal verbs are formed as in Wembawemba by the addition of the suffix -*djera* to the stem of the simple verb. Only the continuative participle of reciprocal verbs could be recorded: *daga to hit*, *dagdjeraŋ hitting one another, fighting*; *winaga to leave*, *winagdjeraŋ leaving one another*.

(ii) Frequentatives and intensives

The Wergaia language shows great flexibility and expressiveness in its use of derivative verbs. A number of different kinds of intensive and frequentative formations exist and each of these can convey a distinctive shade of meaning.

-ila was added to the stem of a simple verb to imply a weak frequentative and continuative meaning; e.g. *guba to drink*, *gubila to go on drinking*; *gumba to sleep*, *gumbila to go on lying down*. In many cases the derivative verb, being much more expressive, was heard quite frequently, while the simple verb was rare or not recorded at all, as with *yubila* and *mabila*, both meaning *to go on telling packs of lies, to be a liar*.

There is an isolated example of a verb in -ila derived from a noun: *babila to suck (as a baby)*, which is clearly derived from *bab mother*.

An intensive verb indicating prolonged action is formed by the addition of -unga to the stem of a simple verb, while -ua helps to form a strong intensive: *njiba to bury*, *njibua to kick up a lot of dust*, *njibunga to go on kicking up a lot of dust (said of horses or of children)*; *yiba to shine*, *yibunga to go past shining (like a falling star)*; *waða to come*, *waðunga to come along*; *djaimba to shout*, *djaimbua to yell loudly*; *wega to laugh*, *wegua to laugh loudly like a kookaburra*.

Some intensives are formed with the suffix -uda: *njaga to see*, *njaguda to watch, to look*; *wurega to talk*, *wureguda to talk a lot, to chatter*.

A few rare intensive-iterative verbs are formed from simple verbs by means of reduplication: *wurega to talk*, *wureg-wuraŋ all chattering together*. Sometimes the corresponding simple verb was not recorded, as in the case of *lerb-lerb-mala to bark (said of a whole pack of dogs)*, and *bab-bab-guma to jump around (said of children)*.

The suffix -(e)ra when added to the stem of a verb seemed to imply concerted action (see 3.3.1.4.1), e.g.

<i>nja- to see</i>	<i>njara to observe</i>
<i>njaŋa to see</i>	<i>njaŋera to stare at</i>
<i>nidja to grizzle</i>	<i>nidjeraŋ they are all grizzling together (said of a ward full of children at a hospital)</i>
<i>wurega to speak</i>	<i>wuregeraŋ they are all talking</i>
	<i>wuregeri tell (me)</i>

(b) Other derivative verbs

(i) Stative verbs

Stative verbs are usually simple verbs in Wergaia, e.g. *wigan I am hungry*, *buanga it is smelly*; but some stative verbs are formed from adjectives by means of the suffix -aia: *yadjaŋ bad*, *yadjaŋgaia to be bad*.

(ii) State-inducive verbs

Only a few verbs belonging to this group were recorded, and as in Wembawemba they were formed by means of the suffix -una, mainly from nominal and adjectival stems: *delgug good*, *delguna to make good, to cure*; *lidguna to sharpen to a point*. Sometimes the state-inducive function of the suffix -una is less obvious, as in *birŋga to come out*, *birŋguna to make (oneself) get away, to dodge*.

(iii) Unclassified derivative verbs

There are a number of other, older suffixal verb-forming elements which are probably of both semantic and aspectual significance in Werḡaia, but it is not possible to analyse these. The reason for this does not lie in the paucity of the material that was recalled, but in the fact that these suffixal elements were no longer separate morphemes, but part of the verb stem. These elements therefore do not, strictly speaking, pertain to the morphology of Werḡaia; they probably include -iwa, -ega, -iga, -(e)ḡa, -aḡa, and -ima. The meaning and function of these old formative elements can sometimes be deduced from the comparison of cognate verbs, e.g. djariga *to stand*, djarima *to hold ready, to poise, to set (pegs in a fish trap)*. In many instances, however, the semantic and morphological details of such derivations remain obscure:

buya *to kill*
buḡa *to kill (by magic)*

Despite the fragmentary nature of the remnants, it can be concluded that the system of verbal derivation played an important role in the morphology and semantics of Werḡaia. The system of verbal derivation may have been even more highly developed in Werḡaia than in Wembawemba.

3.3.2 Words inflected only as head-words

The fragments of Werḡaia do not permit a satisfactory analysis of clause structure. But the following two points emerge with clarity from a study of the materials:

- (i) the clause structure of Werḡaia must have been very similar to that of Wembawemba, at least in its major characteristics.
- (ii) 'transferring words' (interrogatives and demonstrative adverbs) were always used initially in a clause and the person and number markers were attached to them.

3.3.2.1 Interrogatives

The following interrogative adverbs were recorded:

windja *where* (cf. also windjaḡ *where from*) and
windjalug *whereabouts*; as well as the pronouns
winjar *who* and
njanja *what* (see 3.3.1.3.2).

windjar
where-you
where are you? (singular)

windjalug babin
whereabouts mother-yours
whereabouts is your mother?

windjawul
where-you-two
where are you two?

winjaradj njua
who-you (plural) here
*who are you lot there? (called to several
people knocking at a door)*

After interrogative adverbs the third person singular was indicated by a zero subject marker, as in the case of verbs.

3.3.2.2 Demonstrative adverbs of time and place

These adverbs were recalled only scantily, but their association with the demonstrative pronouns is clear:

gimba	<i>here (close by)</i>
njua	<i>here (not so close to the speaker)</i>
manjug	<i>over there, some distance away</i>
malug	<i>there (out of sight, a long way away)</i>
mala-mia	<i>long ago</i>
malug-manga	<i>long ago</i>
malub-mia	<i>later on, in the future</i>
maug	<i>over there (a very long way away)</i>

3.3.3 Uninflected words

3.3.3.1 Particles and interjections

The only emphatic particle to be recorded was -min, which was added to the imperative, e.g. gubag-min *drink it up*, djagag-min *eat it*; -min was always enclitic and unaccented as in Wembawemba.

Particles do not seem to have survived well. They are known to be among the more changeable elements of a language, and very sensitive to the dictates of fashion. Among the speakers of Wergaia the old interjections (apart from swearwords), were apparently replaced early by English expletives, considered 'smarter' or more expressive. The only interjections that were remembered were wab, said in threats and curses, e.g. wab wudjebug *damn his guts!*, and yagai, said originally in surprise and in grief; but as the language gradually declined it was considered 'a bit of a joke' to use the word yagai at all.

3.4 Wergaia texts

3.4.1 Introduction

Very little text material is available in Victorian languages, and the meagre stories that were collected by R. Brough Smyth (1878) have been severely criticised by R.H. Mathews (1902a:75):

Some of Mr R.B. Smyth's correspondents ventured to send him stories purporting to be told in certain native dialects. I have looked over all these stories, and can pronounce them to be mere ungrammatical jargon, written by men who knew nothing of the structure of the languages they were dealing with.

This judgement is harsh, but to some extent justified. Nevertheless, in the light of what has been learnt from the last speakers of Victorian languages some linguistic information can be gained from these old stories and the grammatical errors are usually transparent: wrong word divisions are most common. One old Wergaia text written down by the Rev. Hagenauer (Smyth 1878:53) has therefore been re-edited here.

In this edition the first two lines represent an exact replica of Hagenauer's text and translation respectively. The third line is a corrected phonemic rendering of the text, while the fourth line is the corresponding

corrected English translation. When no new material was available to elucidate the text and when there was any doubt, the tentative corrected version has been enclosed in square brackets.

3.4.2 Re-edition of an old Wergaia text

3.4.2.1 Text

Duan (name meaning <i>squirrel</i>)	gapm <i>tracked</i> (a)	menjun <i>kangaroo</i>	gumbarran (and was) <i>sleeping</i>
duan Duan	gabin <i>followed</i> PRET	mindjun <i>grey-male-</i> <i>kangaroo</i>	gumberan <i>sleeping-about</i> PR PART

mellan <i>out</i>	kitya <i>many</i> (a)	burain. <i>night.</i>	Weenbulain-yo (name meaning <i>spider</i>)	wàpcullen <i>found out</i>
malaŋ <i>there-from</i> ABL	gedja <i>many</i>	burunj. <i>night.</i>	wiṛimbulinju <i>Wiṛimbulinj-by</i> AG	[wabgulin] <i>found</i> PRET

Duan ba Duan and (Duan)	nyainmen <i>saw him</i> (Weenbulain)	dumang. (<i>certain way of coming</i>).
duan ba Duan and	njaïn-min <i>saw</i> PRET- <i>indeed</i> EMPH	dumaŋ. <i>coming</i> PART.

Woartan <i>Come</i>	Weenbulain <i>Weenbulain</i>	nyum <i>then</i>	bämbin <i>frighten</i>	nyum <i>that</i>	Duan ba <i>Duan and</i> (<i>made him</i>)
waḍin <i>Came</i> PRET	wiṛimbulinj <i>Wiṛimbulinj</i>	njunja <i>that</i>	bambin <i>feared</i> PRET	njunja <i>that</i>	duan ba <i>Duan and</i>

bàrpin <i>run</i>	ba <i>and</i>	wràiwìn <i>climb</i>	galk-a. <i>a tree.</i>	Nyubendin (<i>When</i>) <i>on the tree</i>
birbin <i>jumped</i> PRET	ba <i>and</i>	wiṛwìn <i>climbed</i> PRET	galga. <i>tree-to</i> ALL.	njua biṇḍin ¹ <i>there appeared</i> PRET

woartin <i>came</i>	Weenbulain <i>Weenbulain</i> (and)	bundin <i>bit through with one bite</i>	nyuin <i>that</i>	galk <i>tree</i>
waḍin <i>came</i> PRET	wiṛimbulinj <i>Wiṛimbulinj</i>	bundin <i>bit</i> PRET	njunja <i>that</i>	galg <i>tree</i>

¹This verb is not attested with certainty: it appears to be a derivative verb from biṇa *to come out*.

bendinung <i>on which was</i>	Duan, <i>Duan</i>	buiken <i>(the tree) falling</i>	tyabapcrumen <i>(Duan) jumped</i>		
biḡinanḡ <i>appearing-was</i> PRET-PART	duan, <i>Duan,</i>	buigin <i>fell</i> PRET	djaga <i>ground-to</i> ALL		
	ba <i>and</i>	geka <i>(got) to</i>	yuagi <i>another</i>		
babgumin <i>jumped-down</i> PRET	ba <i>and</i>	giga <i>this-to</i> ALL	[njanjugi] ¹ <i>other</i> POS-3, PT		
			galk, <i>tree,</i>		
			galg, <i>tree,</i>		
yingurnan <i>and so</i>	yummin <i>on</i>	malluk <i>till</i>	brangayin <i>tired</i>	Duan. <i>Duan.</i>	
yanguranḡ <i>going-round</i> IT-FR-PART	yumin <i>was</i> PRET	malug <i>there-afar</i>	baranguin ² <i>knocked-up</i> IT-PRET	duan. <i>Duan.</i>	
Tyamalluk <i>Then</i>	bundin <i>bite</i>	Weenbulain-yo <i>Weenbulain</i>	galk <i>trees</i>	waḡmawuiyen <i>round about</i>	
dja-malug <i>Place-there</i>	bundin <i>bit</i> PRET	wirimbulinju <i>wirimbulinj-by</i> AG	galg <i>tree</i>	[wanmawuin] [<i>went-round?</i>] IT-PRET	
tyagung <i>leaving</i>	giap <i>one</i>	garan <i>nyuin</i>	nyuin <i>that</i>	bendinung <i>on which was</i>	Duan. <i>Duan.</i>
djaganḡ <i>place-from</i> ABL	gaiab <i>one</i>	gurunḡ <i>big-one</i>	njunja <i>that</i>	biḡinanḡ <i>appear</i> PRET-PART	duan. <i>Duan.</i>
Tyamalluk <i>Then</i>	woartin <i>came (and)</i>	bundin <i>bit</i>	nyum <i>that</i>	galk <i>tree</i>	bendinung <i>on which was</i>
dja-malug <i>Place-there</i>	waḡin <i>came</i> PRET	bundin <i>bit</i> PRET	njunja <i>that</i>	galg <i>tree</i>	biḡinanḡ <i>appearing-was</i> PRET-PART
Duan, <i>Duan,</i>	nyuin <i>then</i>	buiken <i>fell</i>	galk. <i>the tree.</i>	Weenbulain-yo <i>Weenbulain</i>	bundin men <i>bit (killed)</i>
duan, <i>Duan,</i>	njunja <i>that</i>	buigin <i>fell</i> PRET	galg. <i>tree.</i>	Wirimbulinju <i>wirimbulinj-by</i> AG	bundin-min <i>bit</i> PRET- <i>indeed</i> EMPH

¹This word is not certain for Werḡaia, but it is attested in Wembawemba, njanjug-njanjug-min *different*.

²*killed, dead* was the normal meaning of this word in Wembawemba but it is common in Australian languages that *killed* should represent an emphatic way of saying *tired, completely knocked out*, (cf. Mathews 1902a:102).

Duan	nyuin.	Duan-a	nganangàuk	buletchi,	Bràmbambull
Duan	then.	Duan (had)	nephews	two,	Brambambull (by name)
duan	njunja.	duana	nanindjaug	buledji	brambimbul
Duan	that.	Duan GEN	nephew-his POS-3	two PT	Brambimbul DL

dàdàwin	bulanguk	wityuwa	wanjuk	larndang,
waiting	both (for)	his	return (to)	the camp,
djedawin	- bulangug	widjiwa	wanjug ¹	lanḍaḅ
waited PRET	- both-his	returns PRES	he PR-3	camp-from ABL

ba	tywràk	bewa	woartin,	bikin	beelang
and	as he did	not	come,	they went off	both
ba	djag	werga [?]	waḍin,	baigin	- bulan
and	place-to ALL	not [?]	came PRET,	rose	- both DL-3

yarkin	bulang uk	nunangurn	muityen bulang
in search of	him (and)	soon	found
yargin -	bulangug	njunjan - [?]	mudjin-bulan
searched-both-him PRET-DL-3,	OBL-3	that from ABL-[?]	found-both PRET-DL-3

tyanang-i	tyarmbap bulak.	Gapin	bulang	geu
track	of uncle (Duan).	They	tracked (him)	to the
djinangi	djarmbab-bulag.	gabin	- bulan	giu
track PT	uncle -their POS-DL-3.	Followed	- both PRET-DL-3	here

tyakal	bundinung	Weenbulain-yo.	Muityen bulang
place where	he had been bitten by	Weenbulain.	They found (him)
djagal	bundinaḅ	wirimbulinju.	mudjin - bulan
place-in LOC	biting-was PRET-PART	Wirimbulinj-by AG.	Found both PRET-DL-3

buang	bundinung	Weenbulain-yo,	ba ngepen
dead	bitten by	Weenbulain,	and buried
buanen	bundinaḅ	wirimbulinju,	ba njibin -
stinking-dead	biting-was PRET-PART	Wirimbulinj-by AG,	and buried -

¹This form, like the following waḅal *we two*, confirms the existence of a pronominal base wa- in Wergaia, as in the more easterly Kulin languages: wa- is attested for Yayawuruḅ (Smyth:163) and Wergaia (J. Mathew 1899:181). R.H. Mathews however gives a longer form 'yurwa-' for the Djadjala dialect of Wergaia.

bulang. <i>him</i>	Nugung-a <i>Of course</i>	woattin <i>they went</i>	bulanguk <i>after</i>	
bulan. <i>both</i> PRET-DL-3.	njugan <i>There-from</i> ABL	wadin <i>came both</i>	- bulangug <i>- him</i> PRET-DL-3, OBJ-3	
Weenbulain-ya, <i>Weenbulain,</i>	gapin <i>tracking (him)</i>	bulan <i>(him)</i>	tyuioorang gà. <i>all the way.</i>	
wirimbulinja, <i>Wirimbulinj-for</i> ALL,	gabin - bulan <i>followed both</i> PRET-DL-3		djuweringa. <i>long-way-to</i> ALL.	
Weenbulain-ya <i>Weenbulain (had)</i>	bultyuk <i>two</i>	mang gep. <i>daughters.</i>	Nyain bulang <i>Saw they (the Brambambull saw)</i>	
wirimbulinja <i>Wirimbulinj-of</i> GEN	buledjug <i>two-his</i> POS-3	mangeb. <i>daughter.</i>	njaïn-bulan <i>Saw-both</i> PRET-DL-3	
tyanardi <i>many</i>	wanyap <i>fires</i>	warkinnual <i>he had made</i>	ngalluganukyanbal <i>on his way</i>	nyum <i>till (they)</i>
dja - [?] <i>place - [?]</i>	wanjab <i>fire</i>	wargin <i>made</i> PRET	njual <i>there</i> LOC	[?] [?] njunja <i>that</i>
walluban <i>drew near</i>		bulan <i>where</i>	gingo <i>he</i>	ngainung. <i>lived.</i>
waledjuwin - bulan <i>drew-near-both</i> IT-PRET-DL-3			ginga <i>here</i>	nenjan. <i>sitting</i> PART.
giyaren <i>a council</i>	bulan <i>(him)</i>	nyan-o <i>how</i>	wang-ngal <i>they might</i>	gurmिंगn. <i>kill (him).</i>
giarin <i>discussed-both</i> FR-PRET-DL-3	- bulan <i>FR-PRET-DL-3</i>	njanja <i>'how</i>	wanjal ¹ <i>we-two</i> PR-DL-1	[buinjn] ? <i>strike-will</i> FUT ?'
Bràmbuk <i>Brambambull</i>	ngananep <i>the younger</i>	yàrim <i>went (to the)</i>	warn willang gal <i>windward</i>	ngäroban <i>(to be) smelled</i>
brambuk <i>Bram-POS-3</i>	nananeb ² <i>stepson</i>	yarin <i>went</i> FR-PRET	warem - wilangal <i>behind-wind-in</i> LOC	naruban <i>smelling</i> PART

¹The pronoun, though in its full form here in Wergaia immediately follows the interrogative adverb, while the verb is used in the bare tense-form without any person marker. This shows the way in which interrogatives attract the personal pronoun subject, just as they attract the bound person markers.

²The implications of this term are uncertain, cf. Yayawuruj knan-*nap stepson* (Smyth:157). The younger brother had probably been reared by his uncle.

Weenbulain-yo. <i>by Weenbulain.</i>	Weenbulain-yo <i>Weenbulain</i>	nyum <i>then</i>	ngäroben <i>smelled him</i>	bä <i>and</i>	
wirimbulinju. <i>Wirimbulinj-by AG.</i>	wirimbulinju <i>Wirimbulinj-by AG</i>	njunja <i>that</i>	garubin <i>smelt</i> PRET	ba <i>and</i>	
birnin <i>came out</i>	lärnung uk <i>of his cave</i>	tyumbin <i>showing (his)</i>	leanyuk <i>teeth</i>		
biñin <i>came-out</i> PRET	lañangug <i>camp-from-his</i> ABL-POS-3	djumbin <i>showed</i> PRET	lianjug <i>teeth-his</i> POS-3		
gurung-i. <i>big.</i>	Ngarambenyo <i>The elder</i>	baingo <i>Brambambull</i>	nganayin <i>who was near him</i>	nguityapdakitch <i>to hit</i>	
gurungi. <i>big</i> PT.	njarambinju <i>old-by</i> AG	baingu <i>child</i>	nenjin <i>sat</i> PRET	njudab <i>hiding-for</i> PURP	dagidj <i>hit-may</i> OP
ngarambenyi <i>old</i>	Weenbulain <i>Weenbulain</i>	derta <i>on his</i>	birnin <i>coming out</i>	nyain <i>saw</i>	
njarambinji <i>old</i> PT	wirimbulinj <i>Wirimbulinj</i>	daða <i>directly</i>	biñin <i>came-out</i> PRET	njañ <i>saw</i> PRET	
drangat bulak <i>the fresh</i>	leya <i>teeth</i>	tyainyo <i>belonging to</i>	mangawuk <i>his daughters</i>	buletchi. <i>two</i>	
darnad - bulag ¹ <i>new-both-of</i> DL-POS-3	lia <i>teeth</i>	- djanag ² <i>- all-of</i> PL-POS-3	mangaüg <i>daughter-his</i> POS-3	buledji. <i>two</i> PT.	
Malluk <i>After a</i>	barta <i>while</i>	gurunguk <i>the big</i>	leya <i>teeth</i>	tyumbulan <i>themselves</i>	
malug <i>There</i>	daða <i>directly</i>	gurungug <i>big-his-POS-3</i>	lia <i>teeth</i>	djumbulan <i>showing-continuously</i> CT-PART	
nyertwunin <i>presently</i>	birnin. <i>came out.</i>	Nga rambenyo <i>The elder Brambambull</i>	baingo <i>then</i>	nyum <i>then</i>	
njeduin ³ <i>rushed</i> PRET	biñin. <i>came-out</i> PRET.	njarambinju <i>Old-by</i> AG	baingu <i>child</i>	njunja <i>that</i>	

¹This word is not certain: it is probably cognate with Yayawuruj derring-knet-took new (Smyth:161).

²The use of the third person plural possessive marker -djanag, immediately after the third person dual marker -bulag may be surprising, but the meaning is clear *the teeth belonging to all of them, Wirimbulinj included.*

³This verb is not certain, it is probably an iterative-intensive verb (as shown by the u -infix) connected with the Wembawemba word njedenja *to run around, to play.*

dakin <i>hit</i>	men <i>him</i>	bropuk <i>on the head</i>	ba <i>and</i>	leanyuk, <i>teeth,</i>	ba <i>and</i>
dagin <i>hit</i>	- min PRET - <i>indeed</i> EM	burbug <i>head-his</i> POS-3	ba <i>and</i>	lianjug, <i>teeth-his</i> POS-3,	ba <i>and</i>
gutuk <i>the younger</i>	<i>Brambambull</i>	bàrpin <i>ran</i>	woiup <i>to help</i>	burnin bulang, <i>to kill him,</i>	
gudug <i>younger brother-his</i>	POS-3	birnbin <i>jumped</i> PRET	[wayab] <i>helping-for</i> PURP	buñin - bulan <i>struck - both</i> PRET-DL-3	
ba yurp <i>and thus</i>	burninbulang <i>they killed</i>	Weenbulain, <i>Weenbulain,</i>	ba <i>and</i>	buityel <i>knocked</i>	
buyab <i>killing-for</i>	PURP	buñin-bulan <i>struck-both</i> PRET-DL-3	wiṛimbulinj <i>Wiṛimbulinj</i>	ba <i>and</i>	[budjal] <i>piece-in</i> LOC
wurninbulang <i>to pieces</i>	bropuk <i>his head</i>	ba <i>and</i>	darpin <i>burnt</i>	bulang. <i>him.</i>	
buñin-bulan <i>struck-both</i>	PRET-DL-3	burbug <i>head-his</i> POS-3	ba <i>and</i>	darbin ¹ - bulan. <i>both</i> PRET-DL-3.	

3.4.2.2 Translation

Duan, the squirrel (*Phascocagle tapoatafa*) was following a male grey kangaroo and was sleeping out, away from that place, for many nights. Wiṛimbulinj, the spider, found Duan and saw him coming. Wiṛimbulinj came close and that Duan was frightened and jumped up and climbed into a tree and stayed up there. Wiṛimbulinj came and bit that tree containing Duan, and it fell to the ground. Duan jumped out and onto another tree, going on (like this) and round and round, Duan was utterly exhausted. Then going round from that place Wiṛimbulinj bit (all) the trees, and there was just one big one left containing Duan. Wiṛimbulinj came and bit the tree on which Duan was, and that tree fell. And Wiṛimbulinj bit that Duan hard (bit him to death). Duan had two nephews, sister's sons, the Brambimbul brothers. They both waited for him 'he is returning from his (last) camp', but he did not come to this place. Then they rose and searched for him, and they found their uncle's track. They both followed it right to this place where Wiṛimbulinj had bitten him. They found his decaying corpse: he had been bitten to death by Wiṛimbulinj. They buried him. From that place they then went for Wiṛimbulinj, they followed him a long way. Wiṛimbulinj had two daughters. The two Brambimbuls saw the place and the fires he had lit ... and they drew near to him sitting there. Then they discussed: 'How can we two kill him?' The younger brother, who had been reared by his

¹This word has not been attested in Wergaia, but it is confirmed by a Wembawemba word listed by Stone (1911) dappok *burn*, dappelung *burning*.

uncle, went on the windward side, so that Wiṛimbulinj could smell him. Wiṛimbulinj smelt him and came out of his camp and bared his big teeth. The older of the two young fellows sat down to hide, so that he might hit old Wiṛimbulinj directly he came out. The Brambimbuls saw the teeth of all of them, including the fresh teeth of his two daughters. Then directly he came rushing out with his teeth bared all the time. The older of the two young fellows hit him hard, he hit his head and his teeth, and his younger brother jumped over to help and they both struck Wiṛimbulinj to kill him, and they smashed his head to pieces and burnt him.

3.4.3 Another story of the Brambimbul, from Lake Boga

The legendary activities of the two brothers Bram, the Buledji Brambimbul, are well known, particularly from the work of R.H. Mathews (1905). Mrs Jackson Stuart further related a story which is of interest as it links the Buledji Brambimbul with the Eaglehawk and Crow myths, and it is also closely connected with a legend related by A.C. Stone (1911). The myth, as related by Mrs Stuart is as follows:

... These two men, they call them Buledji Brambimbul that came there (to Lake Boga), they are heavenly men. They saw this woman lying there crying at the bottom of the tree. She was crying her heart out for her baby who was up in the tree, stolen by the Eaglehawk. The woman was crying because she thought her baby was going to be eaten by the Eaglehawk. These men flew down from the sky, they must have been heavenly men, and asked her what she was crying for, and she told them: 'My baby is up there and the Eaglehawk is going to eat it'. One of them (the Brambimbul brothers) climbed up the tree, and with the help of his mate, made steps in the tree so that he could climb down the tree with the baby. They used a badjig *stone axe* ... The Brambimbul saw that the Eagle had built his nest in the fork of the tree. The Brambimbul climbed up, told the Eagle that he wanted to take the baby, and when the Eagle didn't agree ... he killed the Eagle ... The Brambimbul put the baby in the bag. The Brambimbul climbed down the tree with the baby, while the other fellow climbed up the tree to help him. They gave her the baby and cut down the tree and gathered the chips, put them into bags and said that there would never be any gum-trees growing there again, by Lake Boga, and so there weren't ...

CHAPTER 4

OUTLINE OF THE MADIMADI LANGUAGE

4.1 General remarks

Madimadi, spoken originally between the Murray and the Balranald district of New South Wales and as far north as the Lachlan, represents the north-western extremity of the Kulin languages. There can be no doubt that Madimadi belongs to these languages, and yet it shows many interesting features that make it to some extent a transitional language between the Victorian Kulin languages and the language of the Darling River, Ba:gandji. To the south and south-east Madimadi bordered on a group of minor Kulin languages which it resembled very closely: Wadiwadi (called 'Piangil' by Schmidt, 1919a) Njerinjeri (near Boundary Bend), Ledjiledji and Wegiwegi ['wæki 'wæki]. The language of the Njerinjeri was particularly close to the neighbouring Wadiwadi, it has been confused by Cameron with Narinari (1885:347). These four minor languages and Madimadi formed such a closely linked group that Jack Long, the main Madimadi speaker, had evolved a theory that 'languages often went together in groups of five'. To the north-west Madimadi bordered on Ba:gandji and to the north-east on the practically unknown Narinari, of which we were able to record only a few words.

The languages bordering on Madimadi to the north and to the west-south-west were almost, or perhaps completely, identical, as shown already by Brown (1918:249-50), and confirmed by Jack Long. They were Yidayida, which was once spoken around Oxley on the lower Lachlan, and Dadidadi, once spoken along the Murray around Euston. These two languages had no other close associations in the area and were entirely different from the Wiradjuri of central New South Wales, as well as from the Kulin languages. The distinctiveness of Yidayida (and Dadidadi) was well remembered even among those who could recall little else; the two languages were regarded as strange and peculiar. The writer was fortunate enough to meet the legendary Charlie Kirby Snr, of Yidayida and Wadiwadi descent, who was born near Oxley at the time of the 1861 floods and died in 1963. He used to joke about the so-called peculiarity of Yidayida, saying "I am a Yidayida black, and I come from the Lachlan where they talk backwards". Unfortunately he had spent much of his life with the 'Carowra Tank mob' (see Beckett 1963), and had switched to speaking mainly Niyamba: and to a lesser extent Wiradjuri, with an occasional admixture of Yidayida and Madimadi words. Yidayida and Dadidadi therefore have to be considered extinct, and all that remains are the vocabularies given by Curr (1886 vol 2:285-289) and Smyth (1876 vol 2:72), some manuscript notes by R.H. Mathews, and a few items of vocabulary and hints on pronunciation obtained from Jack Long. From this combined evidence there can be no doubt about the fact that Yidayida and Dadidadi were closely linked with the Yaralde group of languages of the Murray mouth; the presence of initial r- and final -ŋg [-ŋk], and similarities of vocabulary indicated in the word-list, are among the most striking features. These Yaralde-type languages appear like a wedge amid the Kulin languages and have more distant links along the upper Murray (Yodayoda) and right over to

Gippsland. There can be little doubt that this is due to older tribal movements along the Murray valley; the importance of waterways in Aboriginal migration and trade is well known, particularly from the works of F.D. McCarthy (for a bibliography of his works see Greenway 1963:215-220). A lengthy, legendary account of tribal movements along the Murray and of the ensuing fights was given to the writer by a man of Yaralde and Erawirun ancestry (for the wanderings of legendary heroes along the Murray see Tindale 1937:41).

Madimadi therefore, being in close proximity with very different languages, appears to be of particular interest. After many futile efforts it became possible to locate three people, at Robinvale, Swan Hill and Koralie respectively, who could recall one short song and a few words of Madimadi. Hopes of getting any further had been abandoned, when Dr Ellis discovered that Jack Long, originally known as 'John Edwards' a full-blood Madimadi living at Pt Pearce in South Australia, remembered some of his language. Over a series of visits by Dr Ellis and the writer he recalled more and more, and showed no confusion with any South Australian language, although he was over ninety and had left the Balranald district long ago. He had been a fluent speaker of Madimadi as a young man, and had been able to understand the related languages, Wadiwadi, Narinari, Njerinjeri, Ledjiledji and Wegiwegi, as well as Yidayida-Dadidadi. He was a person of outstanding intelligence. Most of the work on Madimadi is based on his evidence, corroborated by the minor speakers.

Because of the unique contribution of Jack Long to the study of Victorian languages it seems fit to include here a brief life history contributed by the writer and Mrs I.M. White to the Victorian Naturalist vol.88, January 1971.

4.1.1 The last Madimadi man

Since 1911 or thereabouts, Jack Long, also known as Jack Edwards, has lived at Point Pearce Aboriginal Settlement, which is between Port Victoria and Moonta on Yorke Peninsula, South Australia. 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. Farming this land now gives employment to many of the able-bodied men at the settlement, which is governed by a council of the inhabitants. These inhabitants, of whom there are about four hundred, are nearly all of part-Aboriginal, part-European descent with a handful who are pure Aboriginal. Though housing has been much improved over the last few years, it is still below the standard of an ordinary country town. Jack Long lives in one of the older, smaller houses, and a kindly woman neighbour is paid a small sum to keep his house and his clothes clean, and to provide meals for him in her own house. For his age of about a century he is remarkable for his physical activity and lively intelligence. He can recall vividly and accurately events in his life up to ninety years ago. Since he lives right in the middle of the settlement, he is not cut off from everyday happenings among his neighbours, who call 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 are men at Point Pearce who rate as 'old' and yet can remember Jack Long as a middle-aged man when they were boys, and some say he must be a hundred and six. He thinks he is about a hundred and from checking his memories we calculate that he was born no later than 1872. After learning that he has lived the last sixty years of his life at Point Pearce, among the descendants of Naraṅga speakers who inhabited the surrounding area at the time of European settlement, it is surprising to discover that he was born some four hundred miles away near Balranald in New South Wales. He is of pure Aboriginal descent and belongs to the Madimadi people, whose territory was on the north bank of the River Murray, and whose language is of the 'Kulin' group. He is of the Magwara moiety and his totem is kangaroo (bugumanama).

Jack Long's father was a Madimadi man, whose native name was Lalugu: his mother, called Biṅḍul was part Madimadi and part Daḍidaḍi. The Daḍidaḍi language belongs, together with Yidayida, to an isolated group with closer relationship to the languages of the Murray mouth than to those of the immediate vicinity. Biṅḍul was born on Kulkyne Station, and 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, Moulamein (on the New South Wales side). As a boy his main language was Madimadi, but he could also speak Daḍidaḍi, 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 today not only speaks it fluently and with an extensive vocabulary, but can also read and write. When we first discovered him in 1965, as a valuable informant for Madimadi, he had forgotten all but a few words of Daḍidaḍi perhaps because, as he recounts — "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. Others of his contemporaries in the Balranald

district were George Ivanhoe, Jimmy Morris and Reg Wise (Madimadi), Angus and Dinny Myers (Daḍidaḍi), Peter Bonney (part Madimadi, part Daḍidaḍi) and Sid Webber (part Madimadi, part Narinari). George Ivanhoe, whose totem was pelican (baḍaḡal), and Jimmy Morris lived to be the last of the Madimadi 'clever men'. Dinny Myers died at Moonacullah in the nineteen-forties, the last Daḍidaḍi speaker, but tragically his language died with him, except for some information given to R.H. Mathews in the eighteen-nineties by Angus Myers at Cummoragunga, and fragmentary word lists published by Curr and Brough-Smyth. Of Peter Bonney and Sid Webber we shall hear more in Jack Long's story.

When Jack Long was old enough he got work on neighbouring stations as a stockman, and later became a drover. He tells us that he held a Dalgety drover's licence, and is 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 is presumably the Act of 1911, which gave the Chief Protector the right to order an Aboriginal to stay on a particular reserve.)

He remembers the days of the Kelly Gang, and knew some of the Aboriginal police trackers, who were employed to track the bush-rangers, particularly he mentions old Muguwida. However, he may be 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 on a visit to Cummoragunga Settlement.

Jack Long remembers that many of the stations were taken over by the big companies — he mentions "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 has never been back there since. 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 says,

"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.

"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 Tailem 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 says 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".

About forty years ago Peter Bonney, an 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 Maḍimadi and Daḍidaḍi. This was the last time that Jack Long spoke his own languages with a native speaker.

4.2 Phonemic and phonetic notes

Despite its many similarities with the other Kulin languages, particularly in vocabulary, *Madimadi* stands somewhat apart from *Wembawemba* and *Wergaia* in phonetics and grammar. In those cases where *Wembawemba* and *Wergaia* differ from each other, *Madimadi* often agrees with *Wergaia*, sometimes with *Wembawemba*, and sometimes with neither. From the point of view of historical linguistics one is therefore tempted to presume that *Madimadi* had branched away from the Kulin stock before *Wembawemba* and *Wergaia* had differentiated, and that it was at least superficially influenced by the neighbouring languages of New South Wales and by the *Yaralde-type* languages.

4.2.1 Consonants

4.2.1.1 Consonant phonemes

The consonant system does not differ very markedly from that of the other Kulin languages. It is slightly more symmetrical: there is only one *r*-phoneme, but *!* and *l* are represented, as in most Australian languages, though *l* is extremely rare. The following consonant phonemes can be distinguished:

	labial	interdental and palatal	alveolar	retroflex	velar
plosives	b	<u>d</u> (dj)	d	ɖ	g
nasals	m	<u>n</u> (nj)	n	ɳ	ŋ
laterals		<u>l</u>	l	ɭ	
rolled			r		
semi-vowels	(w)	y			(w)

The functional value of these phonemes can be shown by the following minimal and sub-minimal pairs:

4.2.1.2 Functional value of consonant phonemes

4.2.1.2.1 Contrasts by position of articulation

(a) Plosives, b, d, d and g:

bagada to dig
 dagada to hit
dagada to eat
 gagada to catch

d and ɖ:
 gegada loudly
 gegada box-tree

d and ɖ:
dudi back
 duɖi star

(b) Nasals, m, n and ŋ:

gemada to vomit
 genada to tie
 geŋada to grow

n and ŋ:

garini a species of mallee
 gariŋi emu

n and ŋ:

laningu swamp
 laŋingu his ribs

(c) Laterals and rolled consonants, l, ɭ and r:

gulum-gulum wild man
 guɭugu by a kangaroo
 gurugu foliage

The rare phoneme ɭ occurs in the same environments as l:

luguwaɭ evil magic
 guyuraɭ owl

(d) Semivowels, y and w:

yiŋgada to go
 wiŋgada to whistle

4.2.1.2.2 Contrasts by manner of articulation

(a) Labials, b, m, w:

widul big
 midu skin
 bidambi resin

b and w:

buigada to fall
 wuigada to sing

(b) Interdental and palatal, d, n, (ɭ), y

nagada to see
 dagada to eat
 yagada to look for

Few sub-minimal pairs were recorded containing ɭ in contrast with other consonants; e.g. guɭuɭada he is wild and guyuni a spear. But ɭ was not in free variation with y or any other interdental-palatal consonants, nor in complementary distribution, and it can therefore be regarded as a marginal phoneme.

(c) Alveolar, l, n and r:

ŋali we two
 ŋani neck
 ŋari bull-oak

- (d) Retroflex,
- ɖ*
- ,
- ɓ*
- and
- ŋ*
- : (only sub-minimal pairs are available)

wadadin *he came*
lanadin *in your camp*
daɓa *red*

ɖ and *ɓ*:
duɓi *star*
muɓimada *to twist*

- (e) Velar,
- g*
- ,
- ŋ*
- and
- w*
- :

gurgamur *blood*
ŋurgada *to swallow*
wurgirim. *black*

4.2.1.2.3 Distribution of phonemes

As regards the distribution of phonemes Maḍimadi shares some of the features of the other Kulin languages, e.g. the absence of initial vowels and *r*, and of initial retroflex consonants; but there are also many marked differences. Maḍimadi words usually end in vowels, but *ŋ* and *n* often occur at the end of words; *m*, *ŋ*, *r*, *l*, *ɓ*, *ɖ* and *ɗ* are rare in this position, while final *d* and *g* are very rare and appear to be confined to a few borrowed words: buldag *bullock*, and bulged *pussy cat*. The only final cluster is *-nd* as in mund *heart*. The other recorded Kulin languages favour final clusters, but final *-nd* seems to be totally absent from them: on the other hand it occurs in Yidayida-Daḍidaḍi, e.g. rind *Murrumbidgee River*.

The distribution of consonant phonemes and the limited possibilities of clustering in Maḍimadi bear more resemblance to Wiradjuri and Ba:gardji than to the Kulin languages, and may well reflect some prolonged influence of New South Wales speech-patterns on a Kulin language.

Table of intramorphemic clusters in Maḍimadi					
Initial	br-				
Medial	-mb-	-nd-	-nd-	-ŋɖ-	-ŋg-
		(-nm-)	-nm-	(-ŋm-)	(-ŋw-)
			(-dg-)		
			-rm-		
			-rb-		
			(-rmb-)		
			-rg-		
			-rŋ-		
			-lb-		
			-lg-	(-!g-)	
			-lw-		
			(-ld-)		
Final	-nd				

Clusters in brackets are rare: *-ld-* occurs only in the borrowed word buldag *cattle*.

4.2.1.3 Allophonic variations of consonants

4.2.1.3.1 Voice

The devoicing of plosive consonants is not very marked in Madimadi. Plosive consonants were not articulated with great tension and were not strongly devoiced; they were never truly fortis. There was much more free variation than in the other Kulin languages and the speakers alternated readily between voiced and more or less devoiced plosives.

The following main tendencies were noted:

Initial plosives on the whole were voiced, except d followed by a or u. Medial plosives were usually devoiced. When an initial plosive was followed in the next syllable by a similar medial, and therefore devoiced; consonant, there was sometimes a tendency for regressive assimilation and consequent devoicing of the initial consonant; e.g. gagai [ˈka·kai] *over here, this way*; gegaḍa [ˈkɛ·kaʈʌ] *box-tree*.

Plosives forming clusters with nasals were always voiced, as g in wingi [ˈwiŋi] *hot coals*.

The rare final plosives were always devoiced except after a nasal, e.g. ma|iḍ-ma|iḍ [ˈma|iθ,ma|iθ] *cold south wind*, but mund [ˈmund] *heart*.

Plosives forming clusters with l, ɭ and r were always devoiced: di|ga [ˈdji|kʌ] *flash*, bulgi [ˈbulki] *soft*, li|rgi [ˈli|rkʌ] *quick*. The cluster -dg- showed partial devoicing: dedgu [ˈdetgʊ] *face*.

These tendencies were observed throughout the Madimadi material recorded, but they were only tendencies and not strict rules as in Wergaia and Wembawemba.

4.2.1.3.2 Individual consonants

The labial plosive [b], the dental [d] and the retroflex [ɖ] were pronounced much the same as in Wembawemba. The only allophones were those of devoicing; there were no instances of inaudible final release. As the retroflex ɖ did not occur in the initial position its voiced form was very rare and confined to the combination -ŋɖ-, e.g. maŋɖara [ˈmaŋɖarʌ] *thunder*.

The articulation of g, allophones [g], [k], 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 Wembawemba.

The interdental-palatal d showed wide allophonic variation, largely on account of the palatalising influence of front vowels:

/d/ [ð~tj~dj~θ]:

[ð], a voiced linguo-dental fricative in the nasal cluster -nd-: winda [ˈwiŋðʌ] *where?*, bandiɭ [ˈbanðiɭ] *a huge Murray cod*.

[tj], [dj] when followed by front vowels i, e (except in the second, accented syllable of words of more than two syllables): debu [ˈdje·bʊ] *mouth*; dudi [ˈdutji] *back*. The [tj], [dj] of Madimadi appeared to be very slightly different from the similarly transcribed Wembawemba sound, where the tip of the tongue was probably lower; the Madimadi sound was closely associated with the linguo-dental position.

[θ], the devoiced interdental, or more correctly linguo-dental fricative, in all other environments: *dadai* [ʼθaθai] *my elder sister*, *widu* [ʼwiθU] *big*, *bidigi* [ʼbiʼθI·kI] *a fly*, *durī* [ʼθurI] *bream*, *badengin* [ʼbaʼθɛŋIn] *your knee*.

The unexpected occurrence of the allophone [θ] before front vowels in the second, accented syllable appears to be connected with other characteristic features of this syllable, particularly with the lowering of vowels.

This distribution of allophones brought about some very frequent phonetic variations in morphology, one might call them morphophonetic changes, (this term seems clearer than the term 'morphologic Sandhi' used by Bloomfield, 1933: 222). These were prominent in the verbal system, as nearly all verbs were used with the addition of the suffix *-da*, and allophonic variations were no less frequent in nouns, especially before possessive suffixes:

<i>balgada</i>	[ʼbalkaθʌ]	<i>he hits</i>
<i>balgadīn</i>	[ʼbalka,tjIn]	<i>he will hit</i>
<i>balgadīn</i>	[ʼbalka,tjIn]	<i>he hit</i>
<i>wugada</i>	[ʼwu·kaθʌ]	<i>he gives</i>
<i>wugadī</i>	[ʼwu·katjI]	<i>give it!</i>
<i>midu</i>	[ʼmiθU]	<i>his skin</i>
<i>midīn</i>	[ʼmitjIn]	<i>your skin</i>
<i>dudu</i>	[ʼduθU]	<i>his back</i>
<i>dudī</i>	[ʼdutjI]	<i>back</i>

The rules governing the distribution of allophones were observed with accuracy, and any infringements on the part of the writer were either corrected or rejected with the statement: "That must be what they say on the other side (i.e. among the Wembawemba), it's not Madimadi!"

(a) Nasals

The labial nasal *m*, the dental *n* and the retroflex *ŋ* showed no significant allophonic variations, and there were no instances of the devoicing of nasal consonants in the final position.

The velar nasal *ŋ* before the front vowels *i* and *e*, and to a lesser extent before *a*, seemed to be close to the medio-palatal position and *ŋ*, followed by *i* in particular, might therefore more accurately be transcribed by [ɲ] or at least by [ŋ+]; e.g. *ŋindi* *you* was generally sounded as [ʼɲindI] or [ʼŋ+indI]. This almost medio-palatal [ɲ] or [ŋ+] remained quite distinct from the palatalised linguo-dental *n̄* [nj], as is shown by the difference in pronunciation between *garīni* [ʼgaʼrI·ŋI], or more accurately [ʼgaʼrI·ŋ+I] *emu* and *garīni* [ʼgaʼrI·njI] *a kind of mallee*. *ŋ* retained a distinctly velar articulation before *u* as in *ŋundu* [ʼŋu·ndU] *a hymn*.

The interdental-palatal *n̄* is parallel to the *d̄* phoneme and shows similar allophonic variations.

/n̄/ [(y)n̄~nj~n̄]

[(y)n̄] or [n̄] in clusters: *bandīni* [ʼbayn̄ðInI] or [ʼba·n̄ðInI] *little*, *banmada* [ʼbayn̄maθʌ] or [ʼba·n̄maθʌ] *to try*. The palatal glide [y] at the beginning of the cluster appeared to be optional, but it was never heard when the vowel *i* preceded: *winda* [ʼwin̄ðʌ] *where*.

[nj] when followed by front vowels except at the beginning of the second accented syllable: nini [ˈnjɪnjɪ] *this*, nemba [ˈnjɛmbʌ] *behind*, muruni [ˌmuˈrʊnɪ] *female*. [nj] also occurred before au in the word nauŋi [ˌnɔˈjauˌyɪ.ŋɪ] *sun*; this was probably by assimilation to the following [y].

[ŋ] in all other environments: naga [ˈnʌkʌ] *he sees*, mananai [ˌmaˈnʌnʌi] *my hand*; negadin [ˈnɛkʌtjɪn] *he will drown*.

The allophonic variations of n, unlike those of d, did not play any significant role in morphology.

(b) Lateral and rolled

The alveolar lateral l and the retroflex lateral ɭ did not seem to be subject to any allophonic variations. l, the lateral of the interdental-palatal series, happened to occur only before a back vowel or in the final position: it was a linguo-dental lateral – the tip of the tongue touched the lower edge of the upper teeth, but there was some slight palatalisation in the final position: luguwaɭ [ˈlukʊˌwʌɭ] *evil magic*.

r- sounds were much rarer in Madimadi than in the other Kulin languages. Only one kind of r, a very slightly rolled alveolar r occurred in Madimadi, and even this was not very frequent.

4.2.1.3.3 Historical and comparative note

The main development that was noted was:

Kulin *r > Madimadi i, e.g.

Wembawemba and Djadjala:		Madimadi:
duɾmi-mum		duimi-mum
<i>stinking turtle</i>		<i>stinking turtle</i>
Wembawemba:	Djadjala:	Madimadi:
buɾgena	buɾga	buigila
<i>to break</i>	<i>to break</i>	<i>to break up, to grind.</i>

Since *i + *i > i; Kulin *iɾ > Madimadi i, e.g.

Wembawemba and Djadjala:		Madimadi:
miɾgug		migu
<i>its egg</i>		<i>its egg</i>
wiɾimbulug		wimbulu
<i>his ears</i>		<i>his ears</i>

Since *a + *i > e; Kulin *aɾ, rarely also *ar > Madimadi e, e.g.

Wembawemba:		Madimadi:
maɾŋ		meŋgi
<i>cloud</i>		<i>cloud</i>
Wembawemba and Djadjala:		Madimadi:
djaɾbug		debu
<i>his mouth</i>		<i>his mouth</i>
garma		gemada
<i>to vomit</i>		<i>to vomit</i>

Wembawemba and Djadjala:	Madimadi:
njarin̩in	neŋin
<i>your name</i>	<i>your name</i>
Wembawemba:	Madimadi:
larin̩gin	leŋgin
<i>your lungs</i>	<i>your lungs</i>

Examples of this kind of correspondence are extremely common, and the development that has taken place has led to a few morphophonemic complications within Madimadi: e.g.

Wembawemba and Djadjala:	Madimadi:
lar̩	leŋi
<i>camp</i>	<i>camp</i>
lar̩uŋ	lar̩u
<i>his camp</i>	<i>his camp</i>
	lar̩nai
	<i>my camp</i> (possibly an analogical form).

There are some instances where the alveolar *r* is used in Madimadi whereas the related languages use the retroflex *ɻ* in cognate words:

Wembawemba and Djadjala:	Madimadi:
ɻur̩ga	ɻur̩gada
<i>to swallow</i>	<i>to swallow</i>
bir̩binj	ber̩bin
<i>spear-point waddy</i>	<i>spear-point waddy</i>

The absence of *ɻ* and the relative rarity of *r* are among the most immediately obvious characteristic features of Madimadi speech.

4.2.1.3.4 Semivowels

w showed no major allophonic variation. It was a slightly velarised bilabial fricative, pronounced with very little lip-rounding. The palatal fricative *y* also showed no noticeable allophonic variation.

Both [y] and [w] appeared as optional glides between back and front vowels in hiatus: *dinaui* [ɰdji¹nauwI] *Lake Ganaway*, *nauŋi* [ɰnɻjau¹yI·ŋI] *sun*, *gaiu* [ɰgaiyU] *over there*.

4.2.2 Vowels

4.2.2.1 Length

Vowel length in Madimadi is conditioned and has no phonemic significance.

Only vowels in the syllable that bears the main stress were long, though some very slight lengthening was sometimes noted in syllables bearing the secondary stress. Accented vowels were usually long, or at least half-long, before all nasals (though in the case of *n* and *ŋ* lengthening was more sporadic), also before *w* and before the clusters *nd* and *ŋg*:

mami	[¹ ma:mI]	father
wani	[¹ wa:nI]	boomerang
wuŋi	[¹ wu·ŋI]	man
lu _u i	[¹ lu·ŋjI]	grave
wuwada	[¹ wu:waθʌ]	to run
biŋgali	[¹ bi:ŋgaI]	carpet snake
mindī	[¹ mi·ndI]	cold

Accented vowels followed by g were long, or at least half-long, in many words but short in a few others:

bugi	[¹ bu·kI]	bad
<u>d</u> aga	[¹ θakʌ]	to eat

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

gu <u>d</u> abi	[₁ gu ¹ θa·pI]	stone
<u>n</u> abu	[¹ nəpU]	how many?

It is important to note that these specific variations in vowel length occurred in exactly the same environment (before g and b) as in Wembawemba and Werḡaia, and this confirms the view that there was an incipient tendency towards phonemic vowel length in the Kulin languages (cf. 3.2.2.2).

4.2.2.2 Vowel phonemes

The following vowel phonemes occurred in Madimadi: i u
e
a

The diphthongs are au, ai, ui.

The phonemic value of the vowels is shown by their occurrence in similar environments:

dema	to hear	dama	great
gema	to vomit	gima	here
gali	dog	gili	this one now
gulinada	he is angry		

4.2.2.3 Allophonic variations of vowels

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 ŋ, m and b, a much more open vowel was heard; this has been transcribed as [I], though sometimes it was more open still and could approximate to cardinal [e]. Very distinct spreading of the lips was characteristic of the articulation of this sound:

madimu	[₁ ma ¹ θI·mU]	his wife
ŋuniŋi	[₁ ŋu ¹ nI·ŋI]	a 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, and it has been transcribed as [ɪ]: miŋu [ɪmɪŋU] his eyes.

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

e

The mid front vowel phoneme *e* showed two distinct allophonic variants: Before all plosive consonants *e*, whether accented or not, was a half-open vowel, probably a little nearer to cardinal [e] than to [ɛ]. The transcription [e] has therefore been used for this sound.

bed-bed [ˈbeθ, beθ] *owlet nightjar*
debu [ˈdje·bU] *mouth*

Before all other consonants *e* was a very open vowel, more open than cardinal [ɛ], but not quite as open as [æ]. This sound has been transcribed as [ɛ]:

mengi [ˈmɛ:ŋɪ] *cloud*
deli [ˈdje·lɪ] *dragnet*

e was never pronounced as a weak central vowel [ə] in *Madimadi* except in the last syllable of the borrowed word *belidjmen* [ˈbeˈlɪtjɪmən] *policeman*.

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, which has been transcribed as [U], but it could be even more open, particularly before *m*, *ŋ*, *w* and *b*, and become almost equivalent to a close [o].

buyudi [ˈbuˈyUtɪ] *smoke*
wudunɪ [ˈwuˈθU·ŋɪ] or [ˈwuˈθo·ŋɪ] *man*
wudubar [ˈwuˈθU·pʌr] or [ˈwuˈθo·pʌr] *in the middle*

These were the only conditions in which anything approaching close [o] was heard in *Madimadi*.

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

Before retroflex consonants *u* was very slightly centralised and was pronounced as [u]:

duɖi [ˈduɖɪ] *star*

a

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

a preceded by *w*, and followed by a retroflex consonant (as in the other *Kulin* languages) or also by *r*, was retracted towards [ɔ] and the open [ɔ] position:

wad-wad [ˈwɔɖɪwɔɖɪ] or [ˈwɔɖɪwɔɖɪ] *north*
wariba [ˈwɔɖɪpʌ] or [ˈwɔɖɪpʌ] *to dance*

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

nagila usually [¹nakIɿɿ], once [¹nækIɿɿ] *to look*

Unaccented a was also pronounced as [a], but in the final syllable and particularly as a final vowel it was often weakened to a sound which has been transcribed as [ʌ], although its articulation does not seem to be nearly as far back as for the sound normally rendered by [ʌ] in phonetic script (see Heffner, 1964:106, and also Strehlow 1944:9); it was similar, though perhaps more of a front vowel than the corresponding Wergaia and Wembawemba sounds.

4.2.2.4 Diphthongs

ai, au, ui.

All three diphthongs 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 possessive marker and also in exclamations: gauai *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 Madimadi 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 Madimadi material recorded au was phonemically distinct from a + w; wauwunada *to swell up, wawin your elder brother.*

ui also occurred only in the accented initial syllable. After w, and in one particular environment after b (that is when m followed), the first part of the diphthong was often lower and the sound [oi] was heard:

buigi	[¹ buikU]	<i>shrub</i>
buimada	[¹ buimaθɿ] or [¹ boimaθɿ]	<i>to send</i>
wuigada	[¹ woikaθɿ]	<i>to sing and dance</i>

4.2.3 Accentuation

The system of accentuation of Madimadi differed considerably from the accentuation of the other Kulin languages, which invariably had a heavy stress accent on the first syllable. The accent in Madimadi 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. There are primary, secondary and tertiary degrees of stress. Primary stress is accompanied by a very slight rise in pitch.

4.2.3.1 Position of the accent

Monosyllables

These are very rare in Madimadi, but were always accented: gar [¹ga·r] *edible grub*; mund [¹mund] *heart*.

Primary stress occurs on the first syllable in words of two syllables: bugi [¹bu·kI] *bad*, damu [¹tamU] *very*.

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, g, ŋ, b, m, w;

before most clusters, e.g. ng, lw, nm, nm and rb;

more rarely before mb, nd, rg and lg, where there was some hesitation.

Examples are:

bugumanama	[¹ bukUma ₁ nam ^Λ]	<i>kangaroo</i>
buṅada	[¹ buṅaθ ^Λ]	<i>to pull out</i>
gubada	[¹ gupaθ ^Λ]	<i>to drink</i>
demada	[¹ dε:maθ ^Λ]	<i>to hear</i>
mangadin	[¹ ma·ṅga ₁ tjIn]	<i>he took</i>
walwada	[¹ walwaθ ^Λ]	<i>to burn</i>
diṅḍada	[¹ djiṅḍaθ ^Λ]	<i>to sharpen</i>

All single consonants other than labials and velars, as well as vowels in hiatus, whenever they began the second syllable, attracted the main accent into the second syllable. A weak secondary accent, marked [₁], remained on the first syllable:

buludin-buludin	[₁ bu ¹ lUtIn ₁ bu ¹ lUtIn]	<i>your whiskers</i>
wirandu	[₁ wi ¹ randU]	<i>(his) sinews</i>
muḷimada	[₁ mu ¹ ḷIimaθ ^Λ]	<i>to turn</i>
buduṅada	[₁ bu ¹ tU·ṅaθ ^Λ]	<i>to smash</i>
widinu	[₁ wi ¹ θI·nU]	<i>(his) feather</i>
maṅṅai	[₁ ma ¹ ṅṅai]	<i>my hand</i>
dinaṅu	[₁ dji ¹ naṅU]	<i>(his) foot</i>
guyuni	[₁ gu ¹ yU·nI]	<i>a large spear</i>
biali	[₁ bi ¹ yalI]	<i>red gum</i>

There were only a few isolated exceptions to this rule, particularly when the optional glide -w- began the second syllable.

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

mindarada	[₁ min ¹ daraθ ^Λ]	<i>to be cold</i>
galbaiaḍa	[₁ gal ¹ paiaθ ^Λ]	<i>to cut</i>

There was some hesitation with the clusters rg and mb, nd and lg; the primary accent was on the first syllable in some words, and on the second syllable in others.

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 baiṅgu *child!* and gauai *over here!* in the following phrase:

baiṅgu,	yiṅgadi	gauai
[¹ baiṅ ₁ gu	¹ yiṅgatjI	¹ gauwai]
<i>child,</i>	<i>come over</i>	<i>here</i>

The tertiary degree of stress or relative lack of stress was not associated with complete weakening of a syllable nor lack of distinction of vowels as in the other Kulin languages.

4.2.4 Conclusion

The allophonic variations of Madimadi thus show great divergence from those of Wembawemba and Werḡaia, particularly in the vowel system. The most noteworthy differences are:

the absence from the vowel system of very weak unaccented vowels, [ə] in particular;

the absence of the central vowel [ɜ] and of the centralised vowels [ü] and [y] and the rounded [ø] and [œ].

These characteristics, combined with the slightly raised pitch of the main accent, make Madimadi sound very different even from Werḡaia which had an identical system of four vowel phonemes. This is yet a further indication that Madimadi was basically a true Kulin language, related to Wembawemba and to Werḡaia in particular, but that it underwent phonetic alterations owing to prolonged association with languages of the Wiradjuri, Ba:gandji and Yaralde groups.

4.3 Morphology and syntax

The morphology of Madimadi is simpler than that of the other Kulin languages, and the syntax freer. Dr Capell (1962:4) has stated that the process of increasing rigidity at the syntactic level joined with morphological complication is characteristic of the development of language in Australia. The complication and syntactic fixation has not gone as far in Madimadi as in the other Kulin languages: this must have been caused at least in some measure by the language-contact situation in the Madimadi area.

Morphophonemic changes are much rarer within the structure of Madimadi than in Wembawemba and probably in Werḡaia. This is due to the patterns of phoneme distribution that apply in Madimadi and particularly to the prevalence of vocalic finals in all morphemes.

There are two classes of words in Madimadi:

Inflected words: adjectives, nouns, pronouns, verbs.

Words normally not inflected but loosely connected with the flexional system: adverbs, prepositions and particles.

4.3.1 Inflected words

4.3.1.1 Adjectives

As in the other Kulin languages, stative verbs are used to express a state or condition in Madimadi. The category 'adjective' exists; adjectives were used as part of a noun-phrase to express inherent qualities. There is thus a distinction between:

delgaiada	gini	wuduṅi		delgi	gini	wuduṅi
<i>well-is</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>man</i>		<i>good</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>man</i>
verb		noun-phrase	and	adjective		noun-phrase
<i>this man is well</i>				<i>he is a good man</i>		
bulgaiada	gini	maṅdu		bulgi-bulgi	gini	laiur
<i>soft-is</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>meat</i>		<i>old-old (soft)</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>woman</i>
verb		noun-phrase		adjective		noun-phrase
<i>this meat is tender (in a soft condition)</i>				<i>she is a very old woman</i>		

Adjectives are comparatively few in number and denote quality, dimension or colour. They precede the noun in descriptive noun phrases.

widul wuduṅi
big man
a big man

biradi dani
bare ground
bare ground

It seems from the inadequate recorded material that relationship markers were probably added to only one nominal component (noun or adjective) of a noun-phrase.

4.3.1.2 Nouns

4.3.1.2.1 Number

In Madimadi nouns, as opposed to pronouns, number was expressed only when there was emphasis on it, and in fact grammatical number as such did not really exist in the noun.

(a) Dual

There was generally no indication of a grammatical dual in nouns, but this could have been due to the speakers having forgotten. The numeral 'two' was simply used with the noun:

yingada gagai buleda wuduṅi
walk here two man
two men are coming

The Kulin dual-suffix -bula (with third person possessive suffix -bulu) was found in a few fixed dual forms, baibulu *fat (from the two kidneys)-his*, wimbulu *ears-his*.

The word bergulu *two time-sticks* probably also represents a dual and is cognate with the widespread word bargulu *two* (Ba:gandji and languages from the north-east of South Australia).

(b) Plural

There was no plural-marker in nouns. The plural was indicated by three methods:

(i) By a numeral:

nggadin yidi gima buleda-buleda giaga nauṅi
sit-will 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 demonstrative:

ninmeru wirangan nunmeru laiur
these dog those woman
a lot of dogs a mob of women there

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

wilegil-wilegil bial-bial buned-buned
galah - galah red-gum red-gum the Seven Sisters
a flock of galahs a forest of red-gum trees

4.3.1.2.2 Case suffixes

The case system of Madimadi resembles that of the other Kulin languages, but only five cases can be distinguished. Nouns fall into two classes according to the manner in which the intransitive nominative and object-case are formed. (The object-case includes the direct and indirect object, as in the other Kulin languages.) The whole system was not always strictly adhered to, and the intransitive nominative and object-case were sometimes used for the other cases as the language gradually decayed.

Table of case-suffixes used with nouns				
	CLASS 1 (postvocalic allomorph)		CLASS 2 (postvocalic allomorph)	
Intransitive nominative and object-case and vocative	-	-	-i	-ŋi
(pre-possessive allomorph, zero)	-	-	-	-
Operative	-u	-gu	-u	-ŋu (-ŋgu)
	BOTH CLASSES (postvocalic allomorph)			
Ablative		-uŋa		-guŋa
(pre-possessive allomorph)		-uŋ-		-guŋ-
General oblique		-a		-ga
Locative		-aŋ		-gaŋ
		-ada		-gada
(pre-possessive allomorph)		-ad-		-gad-
		-al		-gal
		(-ar)		
(Note: The pre-possessive allomorphs are discussed in 4.3.2.3).				

(a) Intransitive nominative, object-case and vocative

In the first class of nouns the stem-form is used to express the intransitive nominative, the object and the vocative. 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 r, l, l, m, n, ŋ or b; but there are also nouns in class 2 whose stems end in those consonants, e.g. biŋgali (class 2) *carpet-snake*, ŋagundal (class 1) *mountain duck*. Examples of the use of the intransitive nominative and object-case are given for laiur *woman* and gulum-gulum *wild man*:

luguwalu gagadin
evil-magic-by (operative) caught
he caught him with evil magic

balgadin yinan laiurgu
hit me woman-by (operative)
a woman hit me

balgadin wudunu
hit man-by (operative)
a man hit him

balgadin guyunu
hit-he spear-with (operative)
he hit him with a spear

(c) General oblique

This case serves as an allative, a prepositional case and a genitive. The allative function is illustrated by the following examples formed from daŋi *ground* and gadini *water*:

yubadi daga
put ground-to
put it on the ground

buigadin gadina
fell-(he) water-to
he fell into the water

The general oblique was used with all the prepositions recorded: nemba *behind* and gunda *underneath* (prepositions which in themselves represented fixed oblique forms), gagada *above, on top of* and wudubar *inside* (fixed locatives), and niwi-niwi *near to*. This is shown in the following examples of the oblique forms of biali *red-gum tree*, and gudabi *stone*:

badigi nemba biala
axe behind tree
there is an axe behind the tree

gani gunda gudaba
snake under stone
there's a snake underneath the stone

Only prepositions, and no post-positions were noted in Madimadi.

The genitive meaning and the sense of goal and purpose are conveyed by the general oblique, as shown in the following examples from wileni *possum*, wuduni *man* and guyuni *spear*. Although Madimadi makes no formal declensional difference between animate and inanimate, it is noteworthy that both Wembawemba and Madimadi make the same differentiation in the word-order of genitives:

the genitive of nouns denoting an animate being is initial
in a noun phrase,

the genitive of nouns denoting an inanimate object is final
in a noun phrase.

wilega dinanguru
possum-of foot-by-his (double possessive)
by a possum's foot (he was scratched)

guyuni giga wuduga
spear (is) this-of man-of
the spear belongs to this man

garigi guyuna
throwing-stick spear-of
a throwing stick for a spear

The double possessive construction was common: *wiraṅan dog, wiraṅana of a dog*:

wiraṅana widaṅu
dog-of tail-his
a dog's tail

(d) Ablative

The ablative conveys 'reaction from' as well as 'movement away from'. Examples are from *leṅi camp* (which is irregular as explained in 4.2.1.3), and from *dina-dinad owl, mamura God*:

yīṅadi nuwi laṅuṅa
come that camp-from
come out of that camp

bambada wuduṅi dina-dinaduṅa
fears-(he) man owl-from
people are frightened of the owl

mamuruṅa
God-from
from God

(e) Locative

The locative suffixes differ from each other in the shades of meaning that they convey.

-al, -gal *on, towards*, conveys an allative as well as a locative relationship:

buigadin bigal
fell mud-in
he fell down in the mud (bigi)

The distinction of meaning between -al and -aṅ is shown clearly in a sentence like the following:

wadaḍin mamural dirilaṅ
went God-to heaven-in
he went up to God in Heaven (dirili)

It is rather more difficult to differentiate between -aṅ *on, over, in* and -ada *in*:

dulurimadin bigaṅ
stuck mud-in
he got stuck in the mud

gini didi ṅengada bialaṅ
this bird sits red-gum-tree-on
this bird is sitting on a red-gum tree (biali)

dagan
ground-on
on the ground (dani)

gagai, dirilada
there heaven-in
up there, in heaven

gadinada
water-in
in the water (gadini)

The suffix -r was found only once in the fixed form wudubar *inside, in the middle*. This must now be added to the scanty evidence (3.3.1.2.2e) for the existence in the Kulin languages of the locative suffix -r.

4.3.1.2.3 Possessive suffixes

As in the other Kulin languages possessive suffixes are always added to nouns which denote anything owned by or even closely associated with, a living being. The singular of the possessive suffix was very frequent, and was often heard instead of dual and plural forms, which were very rare. This may have been due to forgetfulness on the part of the speaker.

The following forms of the possessive suffixes were recorded and their use will be discussed in the ensuing pages:

		Phonologically defined occurrences		Morphologically defined occurrences
Number	Person	with consonant stems	with vocalic stems	after the operative or oblique case-suffix
Singular	1st	-ai	-ŋai	-rai
	2nd	-in	-ŋin	-rin
	3rd	-u	- <u>ŋ</u> u	-ru
Dual	1st	-al	-ŋal	-ral
Plural	1st	-ura	-ŋura	

The possessives are secondary suffixes, (The term 'secondary suffixes' has been borrowed from Indo-Iranian linguistics where it refers to a suffix that can be used only after other suffixes. An alternative term 'second order suffix' is also widely current, e.g. L.F. Oates (1964)); they were always the final morpheme in a word, as can be seen from their use after the case suffixes. The following modifications were noted:

(a) The intransitive nominative and object suffixes -i and -ŋi of class 2 were reduced to zero before the possessives:

burbi	(burb-i)	head
burbai	(burb-ai)	my head
ḡabuḡi	(ḡabu-ḡi)	grandmother
ḡabuḡai	(ḡabu-ḡai)	my grandmother
ḡabuḡu	(ḡabu-ḡu)	his grandmother

(b) The ablative suffix -uḡa and the locative -ada were reduced to -uḡ-ad- before a possessive: laḡada *in a camp*, laḡadu (laḡad-u) *in his camp*.

The following are characteristic examples of the form and the use of the possessive suffixes in association with the case suffixes:

(a) Intransitive nominative and object:

<u>da</u> liḡi	(<u>da</u> li-ḡi)	language, tongue
<u>da</u> liḡin	(<u>da</u> li-ḡin)	your language
<u>da</u> liḡu	(<u>da</u> li-ḡu)	his language
<u>da</u> liḡura	(<u>da</u> li-ḡura)	our language
dirawada	wuḡadia	<u>da</u> liḡura
wishes	give-might	language-ours
<i>she wants me to teach her our language</i>		
winagadin	<u>da</u> liḡu	
lost	language-his	
<i>he's forgotten his language</i>		

(b) Operative:

<u>da</u> liḡu	(<u>da</u> li-ḡu)	in (lit. by) the language
<u>da</u> liḡuru	(<u>da</u> li-ḡu-ru)	in his language
<u>da</u> liḡurin	(<u>da</u> li-ḡu-rin)	in your language
yaḡada	ḡindi	<u>da</u> liḡurin
speak	you	language-by-yours
<i>you are speaking in your own language</i>		
babi		mother
babai	(bab-ai)	my mother
baburai	(bab-u-rai)	by my mother
dagadin		baburai
smacked (me)	mother-by-mine	
<i>my mother smacked me</i>		

(c) General oblique

burbi	(burb-i)	head
burba	(burb-a)	onto the head
burbaru	(burb-a-ru)	onto his head
biali	buigadin	burbaru
tree	fell	head-on-his
<i>(the branch of) the tree came down on his head</i>		

(d) Ablative:

maḡaḡi	(maḡa-ḡi)	hand
maḡaḡai	(maḡa-ḡai)	my hand
maḡaḡuḡai	(maḡa-ḡuḡ-ai)	out of my hand

mangadin mananunai
 took hand-from-mine
 he took it out of my hand

(e) Locative:

dadagi (dadag-i) arm
 dadagai (dadag-ai) my arm
 dadaganai (dadag-an-ai) on my arm

dirawi yingada dadaganai
 ant goes arm-on-mine
 there's an ant crawling up my arm

dudi (dud-i) back
 dudu (dud-u) his back
 dudadu (dud-ad-u) on his back

(f) Exception:

Because of its frequent use as a fixed locution *mamura our father, God*, was felt to be monomorphemic and case suffixes were therefore simply added:

mamural (mamura + al) to God, with God
 mamuruna from God

were recorded instead of the expected *mamalura**, *mamunura**. There is only one other similar example: *lenala towards the camp belonging to us two*. Here the first person dual possessive *-nal* precedes the allative case-marker *-a*.

(g) Morphophonemic changes:

The morphophonemic changes associated with the possessive suffixes are isolated and not very significant, owing to the general prevalence of morphemes ending in vowels (4.2.1.2.3).

Morphophonemic changes occurred in two nouns which contained an *r* in other Kulin languages, *leji camp* and *minai my eye*. Remnants of the original retroflexion have survived in *Madimadi* in the third person possessive of these nouns:

lejin your camp, minin your eye,
 but: lanu his camp, minu his eye.

giabu his leg, giabin your leg, shows a change of *b* to *w* before the first person possessive: *giawai my leg*.

The system of case suffixes and possessives in *Madimadi* therefore represents a morphophonemically simple, as well as a flexible and complete, method of expressing relationships.

4.3.1.2.4 Double possessive

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

(a) a noun designating the thing owned is followed by a possessive suffix indicating the person and number of the owner.

- (b) (i) A noun designating the owner is marked by a genitive suffix.
 (ii) If the owner is indicated by a pronoun, a possessive adjective is formed from the pronoun by means of the suffix -ŋa, e.g. *gigaŋa* *belonging to this one* from *gini* *this one*.

bialaŋa *belonging to a red-gum tree* in the expression *bialaŋa midu* *red-gum bark* (4.4.4) is an indication that such possessive adjectives were formed from nouns as well as pronouns in *Madimadi*. Possessive adjectives are found in a number of other Australian languages, (Dixon, 1980:300) but not in *Wembawemba* or *Djadjala*, nor in the neighbouring *Ba:gandji*. The nearest clear examples of possessive adjectives 'belonging to' are in the *Yaralde* language of the lower Murray, so this feature of *Madimadi* is most interesting from the comparative point of view.

4.3.1.3 Pronouns

4.3.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

Cardinal pronouns fulfil an important function in *Madimadi* sentence structure: they represent the only means of expressing person, and there was little evidence of the use of bound pronominal forms (see 4.3.2).

It is one of the major distinguishing features of *Madimadi*, as opposed to *Wembawemba* and *Weŋgaia*, that there are *no* subject indicators bound with the verb.

Personal pronouns in *Madimadi* show no differentiation between the intransitive subject and the transitive subject (operative), but show a clear distinction between subject and object. This means that *Madimadi*, like *Wembawemba* (and probably *Weŋgaia*), belonged to a group of languages in eastern Australia whose case-systems were ergative for nouns but accusative for pronouns (only for personal pronouns in *Madimadi*). The congruence between *Madimadi* and *Wembawemba* in this respect is all the more interesting, as the *Madimadi* verbal system is even more truly ergative than that of *Wembawemba*: it lacked participial forms and therefore lacked even hidden active-passive relations in embedded sentences of the kind described and analysed by K. Hale (1967).

The following forms of the personal pronouns were recorded:

SINGULAR	1st PERSON	2nd PERSON
subject	yidi	ŋindi
object	yinan	ŋinan
general oblique	yinaga	ŋinaga
ablative	yinaŋu	ŋinaŋu
possessive pronoun	yinadu	ŋinedu
DUAL	1st PERSON	
subject	ŋali	
object (incl.)	ŋalin	
object (excl.)	ŋalan	
general oblique	ŋalanga	
possessive pronoun (incl.)	ŋalidu	
possessive pronoun (excl.)	ŋaladu	
PLURAL		
object (incl.)	yaŋur	object ŋunan
possessive pronoun (excl.)	yinadu	ŋunedu

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:

naga ηindi gulinada yinaga?
why you feel-angry me-at (oblique)
why are you angry with me?

This was heard once, but on a subsequent occasion it was:

naga ηindi gulinada yinaηu? mada yidi buliga
why you feel-angry me-from not I do-bad
why are you angry with me? (ablative) I'm not doing anything bad

gima wegada gini yinaηu
here laughs this-one me-from
this fellow here is laughing at me

yuyugadin yidi ηinaηu
dreamt I you-from
I dreamt about you

The possessive pronouns were used only when possession was strongly emphasised; these pronouns often reinforced the possessive suffixes:

yinadu larηai
my camp-mine
my own camp

ηinedu danin
your country-yours
your own country

The exclusive-inclusive distinction exists in Madimadi, but from the evidence available it seems that this distinction was noted grammatically only in the object forms of the first person pronouns. There is however a Madimadi expression yidi ηa ηindi *you and I* (4.4.4), which shows that for the subject too a distinction was felt between *you and I* (inclusive) and *he and I* (exclusive). Expressions very similar to the Madimadi yidi ηa ηindi are common in Australian languages, e.g. Andigirinja (Western Desert) njundu ηali *you we-two*, i.e. *we-two, you and I*.

4.3.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Unlike the personal pronouns the demonstratives followed the 'ergative' declension of the nominal system: there was a distinct operative case and no intransitive-subject and object distinction. The case-suffix used to express the operative case differed from that used with Madimadi nouns except for the variant gilū (4.4.5.2): it appeared to be cognate with the Wembawemba ablative (which occasionally fulfilled an operative function, 2.3.1.2.2), and with the Madimadi locative of nouns. In all the Madimadi material recorded by us, the numerous demonstrative pronouns invariably followed the nominal declension and did not distinguish an object case. There is only one exception, ninan *this one* (obj). This is probably a mistake due to the influence of the personal pronoun forms yinan *me* (obj) and ninan *you sg.* (obj).

Demonstrative pronouns were numerous, indicating various degrees of proximity to the speaker. Some demonstrative pronominal forms were used as adverbs of time and place. The following forms were recorded:

(a) Immediate vicinity:

gini *this one right here* (nominative intransitive and object form)

operative	<u>ginaŋ</u>
general oblique	<u>giga</u>
possessive adjective	<u>gigaŋa</u>
plural	<u>ginmeru</u>

Example:

ŋengada gini wuduŋi gigaŋa letter
sits this man his letter
this man is waiting for his 'letter' (pension cheque)

There were a few rare instances where gigaŋa-gigaŋa was used as an indefinite pronoun: gigaŋa-gigaŋa wuduŋi *any man*.

Demonstrative adverbs:

<u>gima</u>	<i>here</i>
<u>giu giu</u>	<i>very soon</i>
<u>gindi</u>	<i>now</i>

Other pronouns from the same base:

<u>giwi</u>	<i>this one</i>
<u>gili</u>	<i>this one</i>

Operative gilaŋ, gilu (4.4.2)

giabu ... giabu *this one ... and that one* (indefinite pronoun)

(b) Vicinity:

nini *this one fairly close* (intransitive subject and object)

operative	<u>ninaŋ</u>
plural	<u>ninmeru</u>

Demonstrative adverbs:

<u>nima</u>	<i>here, quite close</i>
<u>niwi niwi</u>	<i>close by</i>
<u>niŋa</u>	<i>around here, now</i>

Another pronoun from the same base:

niwi *this one close by*

(c) Middle distance:

nuni *that one over there* (intransitive subject and object)

operative	<u>nunaŋ</u>
general oblique	<u>nuga</u>

ablative nunanun
 possessive adjective nugaŋa
 plural nunmeru

Demonstrative adverbs:

nuŋa *now, then, around here*
nuwi *over there*

Other pronouns from the same base:

nuli *that one over there*

operative nulaŋ
 ablative nuluŋ

nuwi *that one over there*

gaiu *that one over there*

ablative gaŋaŋ

Distance:

mani *that one far away*
manu *then, long ago*

These demonstrative pronouns indicating position in time and space were used adjectivally with Madimadi common nouns which were not qualified by other determinatives such as possessives (see 4.3.3.1).

4.3.1.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

The following interrogative pronouns were recorded:

winaŋu *who, which, e.g.:*

winaŋu ŋindi
who you
who are you?

winaŋu nejin
which name-yours
what is your name?

operative winagu
 general oblique winaga *whose?*
 possessive adjective winadu *belonging to whom?*

nabu *how many*
naŋi *what, how*
mini *what*

e.g. naŋi ŋindi yaŋgada
how (or what) you talk
what are you talking about?

mini ɲindi dirawada
what you want
what do you want?

general oblique naga

The fact that both *mini* and *nɲi what?* occur in *Madimadi* is of interest. There is a possibility that *mini* may have been borrowed from neighbouring languages of the Yalalde type, or from Ba:gandji; but *minga* was found in a Kulin language (Wuddyawurru) by R.H. Mathews (1904c:731). It may therefore be that the 'Common Australian' word *minaŋ what?*, so widespread in Eastern Australia, belonged to the Kulin language also, alongside the more characteristically Kulin *nɲi what?* (For a discussion on the distribution of the forms of the interrogative pronoun see Schmidt, 1909b:103).

4.3.1.4 Verbs

The *Madimadi* conjugation system was simple, the third person, which had a zero marker, was expressed by the verb, otherwise person was indicated by the pronouns. Only tense and the imperative and optative moods were expressed as part of the verb. There was however a complex system of derivative verbs.

As in the other Kulin languages the verbal stem can be deduced by the omission of the -a which marks the present tense.

4.3.1.4.1 Tense

Tense, with some aspectual nuance, was expressed by the following morphemes attached to the verbal stem:

Present (imperfective)	-a	- guba	(he) drinks,	yinga	(he) goes
Past (perfective)	-in	- gubin	(he) drank,	yingin	(he) went
Future	-in	- gubin	(he) will drink,	yingin	(he) will go

The verb *naga to see* was irregular in the formation of the past: *nai'n (he) saw*.

A few isolated adjectival forms resemble the present participle of the other Kulin languages, e.g. *delgaiadaŋ in good condition*, but there are no participles in the conjugation of *Madimadi*. 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: *wigada he is feeling weak, he is starving* (present imperfective), *wigadin he is dead, he died* (past, perfective).

4.3.1.4.2 Mood

(a) Imperative

The imperative of both transitive and intransitive verbs was formed by the addition of the morpheme -i to the verbal stem, and the optative by the addition of -ia, e.g.:

nagadi look! (imperative)

<i>nagadia</i>	<i>ɲarenu</i>	<i>wiɻermada</i>
<i>look-should</i> (optative)	<i>hair-his</i>	<i>white-is</i> (present)
<i>you should have a look at his hair, it's white</i>		

(b) Optative

The optative was common when a direct wish was expressed, but its main use was in indirectly expressed wishes:

buimadi	dalinu	galaiadia	gini	miwuru,	yingadia
send	word-his	ask-should	this	doctor,	come-should
imperative		optative			optative
<i>send a message to the clever man, saying that he should come</i>					

The fixed locution gubilaba for drinking, strong drink resembles the purposive of Wembawemba. But the purposive participle as such, like other participial forms, does not figure in the Madimadi conjugation system. The optative conveyed purpose:

galgu	balgadia
bone	kill-should
<i>a bone for killing, a pointing bone</i>	

4.3.1.4.3 Derivative verbs

(a) Verbal extensions

Derivative verbs fulfil an important aspectual as well as a semantic function in Madimadi. Apart from the rare reciprocal and the common expanded formation there were several kinds of continuatives and a completive.

(i) Reciprocal

The reciprocal was formed by the addition of the affix -dera to the stem of the verb: daga to hit, dagdera to hit one another, to fight.

(ii) Expanded verbs

The most common derivative verbs were formed by the addition of the suffix -ada to the stem of a simple or derivative verb. Occasionally one perhaps perceived a slight inchoative nuance in these -ada forms; yinga to go, yingada to go, to get going. But usually the suffix -ada does not alter the meaning of the verb; expanded and unexpanded forms alternated freely, the expanded forms being rather more frequent: daga, dagada to hit nenga, nengada to sit. The wide use of the expanded forms probably accounts for the almost total absence of 'irregular' verbs in Madimadi.

(iii) Continuative

The most common continuatives are those formed by the addition of the suffix -ila (-ula optionally after labial consonants) to the verbal stem:

nem <u>ada</u>	to smell something	nemil <u>ada</u>	to go round sniffing
daga	to hit	dagil <u>ada</u>	to go on hitting, to beat time for singing
bund <u>ada</u>	to bite (e.g. dogs)	bundil <u>ada</u>	to go on biting (e.g. lice)

A rare continuative was formed with the suffix -ina:

<u>daga</u>	to eat	<u>dagina</u>	to go on eating
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The continuative-frequentative was formed by the reduplication of the present base of the simple verb:

nir <u>ada</u>	to poke	nira-nira	to grope about, to feel for (fish under water)
----------------	---------	-----------	---

dugada to move duga-dugaada to fidget

Sometimes a change of the vowel -a to -u was noted at the end of the reduplicating base: bragu-braga to prod around;

wigada to starve wigu-wigada to feel afflicted

An emphatic continuative-frequentative was formed by the further addition of the continuative suffix -ila:

wilga to turn round wilgila-wilgilada to twist round, to tangle

(iv) Completive

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

wauwun <u>a</u> da	to swell up	wauwunm <u>a</u> da	to be full
bi <u>n</u> ada	to go out	bi <u>n</u> mada	to come right out (moon from behind clouds), to arrive

4.3.1.4.4 Verbs formed from adjectives and substantives

Stative verbs were formed from the adjectival stem by means of the suffix -aia, -aiada, aiada:

delgi good, delgaiada to be good; bandalaiada to be wet;

but the ordinary continuative suffix -ila could fulfil a similar function:

bugi bad, bugila to be bad.

-ila could also serve to form other kinds of denominative verbs:

waŋu song (his), waŋilada to sing.

There is evidence of a suffix -ew-, -iw-, used in the formation of denominative verbs: gadini water, gadiwa to flow; gulewada to get angry is probably also denominative.

4.3.2 Words normally not inflected

Words normally not inflected, interrogative and demonstrative adverbs, prepositions and some particles, are connected with the flexional system: they are nearly always petrified inflected forms.

4.3.2.1 Interrogative adverbs

The following interrogative adverbs were recorded:

winda where?

windaru, or windalu whereabouts?

naŋu how? lit. what-his?, a petrified possessive form of naŋi how?

The sentence: windaruma yiŋada
 (windaru - uma yiŋada
 where - you(?) go
 where are you going?

was heard several times as well as the expected windaru nindi yiŋada where are you going? It seems probable that -uma in windaruma (windaru-uma) represents a

bound form of the second person pronoun, unparalleled in the rest of the Madimadi evidence, but similar to the transferred subject markers of Wembawemba (2.3.2.2.2). No such bound form was ever heard with the verb in Madimadi. -uma is also the bound form of the second person singular present object in Bandjigali (Ba:gandji). The Madimadi and the Bandjigali form may be cognate.

4.3.2.2 Adverbs of time, place and manner, and prepositions

Adverbs of time and place were usually petrified locatives: *dalegada long ago*, *bagada first*, *gagada up above* (adverb and preposition). Prepositions were either of locative or oblique origin: *wudubar inside* (locative), *gunda underneath* (oblique). There were a few petrified possessives: *wainguru tomorrow* (lit. *daylight-his*) and the adverb of manner *damu very, greatly* (lit. *big-his*).

e.g. *damu nuna mindarada*
greatly here cold-is
it's very cold here

Demonstrative adverbs of time and place clearly belong to the demonstrative system (4.3.1.3.2) with the isolated exception *gau* and *gagai over there*, *gaṅaṅ from over there* and also *wegada in the distance*, which have no obvious connection with any demonstrative pronouns.

There were some rare but important instances of the use of a tense marker with the initial demonstrative adverb:

<i>gilin</i>	<i>giadia</i>
<i>now-will</i>	<i>tell-might</i>
demon.adverb + future	verb optative
<i>I'll tell (him) now</i>	

Only the future tense marker was used in this way in the recorded material, and the verb was followed by the optative marker. This usage appears to be unparalleled in the Kulin languages.

The emphatic enclitic particle -m is used mainly after adverbs and particles and more rarely nouns, e.g. *nuwi-m then* and *madi-m no more*. From a comparison of all the cases where it occurs, the particle -m appears to have a temporal as well as an emphatic meaning, e.g. *duḍim (to be) a star for ever*.

4.3.2.3 Negative

There are four negatives:

- (i) the negative adverb *mada not*
- (ii) the prohibitive adverb *maḍawa don't*
- (iii) the emphatic prohibitive adverb *naṅa-naṅa for goodness sake don't*
- (iv) the negative particle *madi no*

Negatives were always initial in a sentence.

- (i) The negative adverb *mada* can negate both nouns and verbs:

<i>mada gima bidigi</i>	<i>mada yidi nagadin ṅinan</i>
<i>not here fly</i>	<i>not I saw you</i>
<i>there are no flies here</i>	<i>I didn't see you</i>

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

*ma**da* *ŋ**indi* *bi**ŋ**madi* *gi**ma*
not *you* *come* *here*
don't come in here!

In these cases *ma**da* is always immediately followed by the pronoun subject.

(ii) The prohibitive adverb *ma**dawa* was found only with the imperative in the absence of the pronoun subject:

*ma**dawa* *ya**ŋ**adia* *ge**gada*, *de**min* *ŋ**inan*
don't *talk-may* *loud* *hear-will-(he)* *you*
don't talk so loudly, he'll hear you!

(iii) *na**ŋa*-*na**ŋa* was used as a strong prohibitive, for goodness sake *don't*.

*na**ŋa*-*na**ŋa* *ge**madia*
don't *call* *out*
don't call out, for goodness sake!

(iv) *ma**di* *no*, sometimes repeated for emphasis, is the particle used in contradicting a statement or in answer to a question:

*gu**bi**la**di* *ŋ**indi*! *ma**di* *ma**di*!
drank *you!* *no* *no!*
You've been drinking! No, of course not!

4.3.3 Some features of *Madimadi* syntax

4.3.3.1 Nouns and noun phrases

In *Madimadi* only proper nouns, and also common nouns when they are generalising and indefinite or marked by a possessive suffix, can form a tagmeme, a separate syntactic unit. An example is the word *wu**du**ŋi* *man, people* in the following sentence:

*ba**m**ba**da* *wu**du**ŋi*
fear *people (in general)*
people are scared

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

(a) Possessive noun phrases

The simplest possessive noun which can function as a tagmeme consists of a noun with a possessive suffix, which may or may not be preceded by a case-suffix (see 4.2.1.2.3). A possessive noun can become the nucleus of a noun-phrase by means of one of the following optional (marked ±) additions:

(i) ± a possessive adjective which usually precedes, but may also follow the noun:

<i>yi</i> <u><i>na</i></u> <i>du</i> <i>ma</i> <u><i>m</i></u> <i>urai</i>	<i>da</i> <u><i>li</i></u> <i>ŋin</i> <i>ŋ</i> <u><i>ine</i></u> <i>du</i>
<i>mine</i> <i>father-by-mine</i>	<i>language-yours</i> <i>your</i>
<i>by my own father</i>	<i>your own language</i>

(ii) ± a preceding genitive in the case of nouns denoting animate beings:

wilega dinaŋu
 possum-of foot-his
 a possum track

± a following genitive in the case of inanimate objects:

minu daga
 hole-its ground-of
 a hole in the ground

(b) Prepositional, demonstrative and descriptive noun phrases

Only very simple noun phrases of these types were recorded. The prepositional noun phrase consists of a preposition followed by a noun in the oblique case:

gunda gudaba
 under stone-(oblique)
 under a stone

The demonstrative noun phrase generally consists of the sequence:

demonstrative + noun ± adjective
 gini dam-dam bugi-bugi
 this dwarf bad
 this bad little fellow...

In this descriptive noun phrase the most usual sequence was:

± adverb ± adjective + noun ± apposition
 damu bugi laiur
 very bad woman
 a very bad woman

baingu muruni
 child female
 a little girl

There is inadequate evidence to show how case-suffixes were used in descriptive phrases (see 4.3.1.1).

4.3.3.2 Position of the pronoun subject

(a) In the absence of 'transferring' words

The verb, which always contains a tense or modal suffix, can be used with the addition of a zero subject marker to form a minimum statement or command clause:

yin <u>g</u> adin	del <u>g</u> aiada	demil <u>a</u> di
went-(he)	good-is-(it)	listen-(you)
he has gone	that's good	listen!

In all tenses and in the optative mood the zero-marker indicates the third person without reference to number, while the imperative mood conveys the second person, also without reference to number. All other persons and numbers were expressed by cardinal pronouns. These pronouns usually followed the verb, which was generally the head-word of the sentence:

yɪŋgadin ɲali
go-will we-two
we two will go

The pronoun object usually followed the subject:

balgadin yidi ɲinan
hit-will I you
I'll hit you

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

ɲindi yagila mirmbul
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.

(b) With 'transferring' words

When a negative adverb or an interrogative was used in a clause it was invariably the head-word of the clause. 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;

damu bagada lɪrgila
very first fast

The pronoun subject, if expressed, always followed this kind of head-word. This rule implies that the class of words which are 'transferring words' and therefore head-words in Wembawemba are also head-words in Madimadi. Apart from the unusual transference of a tense-marker discussed in 4.3.2.2 and the rare bound form of the pronoun discussed in 4.3.2.1, transference as such is not possible in Madimadi: no bound person markers (other than the zero-marker of the third person) can be used with the verb in any case. But the basic syntactic structure of 'transference' obviously operates in Madimadi as well as in Wembawemba. This leads to the sequence:

Negative (or) Interrogative + pronoun subject + pronoun object
 (or) Demonstrative adverb + (if expressed)

regardless of whether the pronoun subject is usually a bound form as in Wembawemba or a free form as in Madimadi. The following Madimadi examples illustrate this:

mada yidi demada niwi daliɲi
not I hear this language
 negative pronoun-subject verb noun-phrase-object
I don't understand this language

naga ɲindi dagadin yinan
why you hit me
 interrogative pronoun-subject verb pronoun-object
why did you hit me?

wɪndaru ɲali yɪŋgadin
where we-two go-will
 interrogative pronoun-subject verb
where will we two go?

gindi	yidi	nurgadin	bidigi
now	I	swallowed	fly
demonstrative-adverb	pronoun-subject	verb	object
<i>I've just swallowed a fly</i>			

but also:

nengadin	yidi	gima
sit-will	I	here
verb	pronoun-subject	demonstrative adverb
<i>I'll stop here</i>		

This syntactic feature of 'transference', though obscured by morphological differences, can be regarded as one of the basic characteristics of the Kulin languages.

4.4 Madimadi texts

4.4.1 Simple sentences (First published, *Victorian Naturalist*, 1970, vol.87)

nindi nengadi nagiladi
 you sit watch
 (imperative forms)
sit down and watch

mada nindi gumbi
 not you sleep
 (imperative)
don't go to sleep

dađi gini wudunji bermiladin
 soon this man sneak-will
by and by this man will sneak about

bugadin baibulu
 took kidney-fat-his
he took his kidney-fat

galgin wuduwanjin budunadin
 bone-yours inside-you destroyed
he destroyed the bones inside you

bambadin yidi buwuga
 feared I spirit-of
I was frightened of the ghost

yuyugadin yidi gini wudunji
 dreamt I this man
I dreamt about this man

gumbada gini wudunji burangada
 sleeps this man snores
this man is asleep, he's snoring

bambada nulun
 fears that-one-from
he's scared of that man

yinadu beradai mada dirawadin laiur, mada muwengadin laiur
 my younger-brother-mine not wished woman, not married woman
my younger brother didn't want a wife, he never got married

4.4.2 Mother said (*Victorian Naturalist*, 1971, vol.88:15)

mada ṅindi yingadi waribadi wegada
 not you go play long-way-off
 (imperatives)

Don't go and play a long way off.

gima waḍada bermilada buṅaṅi
 straight away comes sneaks evil-spirit
Straight away there comes and sneaks about an evil spirit.

nagadi gini buindi
 see this darkness
Look it is getting dark.

bunṅaṅi gawaṅadin gini buindi
 evil-spirit follow-will this darkness
The evil spirit will follow this darkness.

gagadin ṅinan mangadin ṅinan giaga-minu
 grab-will you take-will you altogether
It will grab you and take you away altogether.

4.4.3 When there was a flood (*Victorian Naturalist*, 1971, vol.88:16)

gadini waiwulada, gewadin ṅalan, ṅurgadin ṅalan
 water rises overtake-will us swallow-will us
The water is rising, it will overtake us and drown us.

wigadin ṅali gadinan
 perish-will we water-in
We'll perish in the water.

bai, nagadi nini daṅi gegada, yingadi ṅindi gegada guragan
 hey! see this ground above, go you up sandhill-on
Look at this high ground up there, go up to the top of the sandhill.

daṅi gau nagadi gima dirilan
 ground there see here sky-in
Look at that place up there, it's right up in the sky.

nagadi gini didi yingada ganun gadinun
 see this animal goes that water-from
Look at the animals coming away from the water.

bambada nuni gima gadinun, wuduṅi bambada
 fears that-one here water-from, man fears
Those animals are frightened of the water, and the people too.

giadin gini wuduṅi: baigadi ṅindi, mangadi guyunin, lenin, banemi
 said this man get-up you, take spear-yours, camp-yours, food
One man said: get up, take your spear, your camp and your food.

mangadi gima wanabi
 take here fire
Take the fire here.

ṅengadin ṅali gegada, niwi-ma nagiladia banema, winmuru
 sit-will we above, close-by look-may food-for, sow-thistle
We'll stop up there, and you can look for food around there, such as sow-thistles.

gadini nengada, bai nuni buigadin
water stops oh! this fall-will
The water has stopped rising, oh! it will drop soon.

mada-ma nindi bambadia, winagada galan gini gadini
not-indeed you fear-may, leaves us this water
Don't be afraid, the water is leaving us now.

bai nindi wegadi, waribadi, waniladi
now! you laugh play sing
Now you can laugh and play and sing.

4.4.4 Making a canoe (*Pacific Linguistics*, 1974, A-37:33)

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). Jack Long was probably the last man from the Murray area to be familiar with canoes of this kind. Text:

dalegada wudunji bugadin gini yunwib,
Long-ago people stripped this canoe,

mudadin bialana midu.
cut-out red-gum-belonging bark-its.

'gimam gaqada, yunwib nagi.
'Here bends, canoe look IMP.

windalu gini ninedu badigin?'
Whereabouts this your tomahawk-yours?'

'gima, gima, madadi, madadia nali
'Here, here, cut IMP, cut-would we-two

yidi gili madadia yinaga.'
I this-side cut-would this-way.'

'yidi gima madadin.'
'I here cut-will.'

'nindi yingadin madadia waragi.'
'You go-will cut-would paddle.'

buwada. 'nuwim gima buigadin.' buigada nuwi yunwib.
Pull. 'Now here fall-will.' Falls now canoe.

'yubadi, yubadi nuwi. guqadia widul wanabi.
'Put-down IMP, put-down IMP, now. Make-would big fire.

yubadin nali gini, wanaban yubadia.'
put-will we-two this, fire-on put-would.'

'guqadia nali giabun wanabi, burugulu ...
'Make-would we-two other fire, lignum-with ...

mangadi burugulu, yubadi gini wuduwada.
take IMP lignum-its put IMP this middle-in.

nengadin nali. nuwim gima - yidi gima
sit-will we-two. Now here - I here

gagadia burugulu gini buni gini wingi.
grab-would lignum-its this ashes this hot-coals.

ηali, yidi ηa ηindi gimam guηadin.
We-two I and you here made.

winagada ηali yingadin lenala,
Leave we-two go-will camp-ours-to,

yingadin ηali widiwadia.
go-will we-two return-would.

'dibada yuηwib, mangadin ηali yubadin gadina. delgaiada.'
'Floats canoe, take-will we-two put-will water-into. Good-is.'

Translation:

Long ago people used to strip these canoes, they used to cut them out from the bark of red-gum trees.

'The tree here has (the right kind of) bend in it, you can (already) see the canoe. Where is your tomahawk?'

'Here it is, cut, let us both cut. I want to cut this side, like that.'

'I will cut here.'

'You go and cut a paddle (out of a sapling).'

They pull (and lever off the bark from the tree).

'Now it is coming down.'

The bark-canoe comes down from the tree.

'Put it down, put it down now. Let us make a big fire. We will put the canoe on the fire.'

'Let us make another (smaller fire) with lignum (and small leaves) and put this inside the canoe, in the middle.'

(They put that fire in the middle and burn it to warm the canoe up properly to set it).

'We will sit (and wait). Now it is ready. I will get hold of this lignum and these ashes and hot coals (and tip them out from the inside of the canoe). We will leave now and go to our camp, we will go and come back later.'

(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).

'This canoe can float. Let us put it down into the water. It's very good.'

4.4.5 Stories of the 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 Ba:gandji 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 (1975).

4.4.5.1 The Crow

waji bugi-bugi gima dagaη. gawaηiladin muruni, laiur.
Crow bad here ground-on. Followed girl, woman.

bermiladin, bermilin laiurga, ganandadin giaga, yingadin
Sneaked round sneaked woman-after stole one, went

wuwadin ganandadin. nagadin, bambadin mada gagadia.
ran stole. Looked, feared lest catch-might

duimadin, yubadin daga, ngengadin.
Banished *put* *place-into* *stayed*.

Translation:

The crow was a bad fellow when he was here on this ground. He followed girls and women, he sneaked around and sneaked after them, he would steal one, and then he would run away and then grab another. He was always looking around frightened in case people might catch him. They banished him away (they decoyed him into a cloud) they put him up there and he stayed there.

4.4.5.2 Eaglehawk and Crow (Mankind 1971, Vol.8:140)

waji bermiladin laiurga, bermilaj buḡadin wilegilu,
crow *sneaked* *women-to*, *sneaking* *speared* *eaglehawk-by*,

balḡadin guyunu. budamadin wanabu: budamadinbiali,
struck *spear-with*. *Burnt* *fire-with:* *burnt* *tree*,

lenguru yubadin wanabi; galgi, gini leni
foliage-with-its *stacked* *fire*; *sticks*, *this* *foliage*

budamadin. waji baḡadin daḡi, nibadin gini luni,
burnt. *Crow-by* *dug* *ground*, *buried* *this* *grave*,

giagaminu guandadin. nubadin gima mini nini, mada
altogether *crawled (in)*. *Shut-off* *there* *hole* *this*, *not*

wanabu budamadin, buinduru. gumadin.
fire-by *burnt*, *smoke-by-its*. *Lay-down*.

nibadin nulaḡ baḡadin minu, bandiḡi minu. nuluḡ
Buried *him-by* *dug* *hole-its*, *little* *hole-its*. *that-from*

demadin wanabi, buindi. budamadin wanabu giagaminu. madim
heard *fire*, *smoke*. *Burnt* *fire-by* *altogether*. *No-more*

gimu buindi yiḡada, yiḡadin gimu yidi. buwadin nulaḡ
now *smoke* *goes*, *go-shall* *now* *I*. *Dragged-away* *him-by*

gini daḡi baluru nuluḡ biḡadin, guandadin waji
this *soil*. *Finally* *that-from* *got-out*, *crawled* *crow*

nagiladin: madim gima biali gegada biḡadin wingi.
looked: *no-more* *here* *wood* *above* *went-out* *hot-coals*.

baigadin nagiladin: madim gima wuduḡi, yiḡadin; mada yidi
Flew-up *looked:* *no-more* *here* *man*, *went*; *not* *I*

gini naja. baigadin, windalu gini wuduḡi yiḡadin?
this-one *see*. *Flew-up*, *whereabouts* *this* *man* *went?*

ḡai yidi gimu yiḡadin, wadaḡin gima yinadu wuduḡai,
eh! *I* *now* *go-shall*, *arrive-shall* *here* *my* *people-mine*,

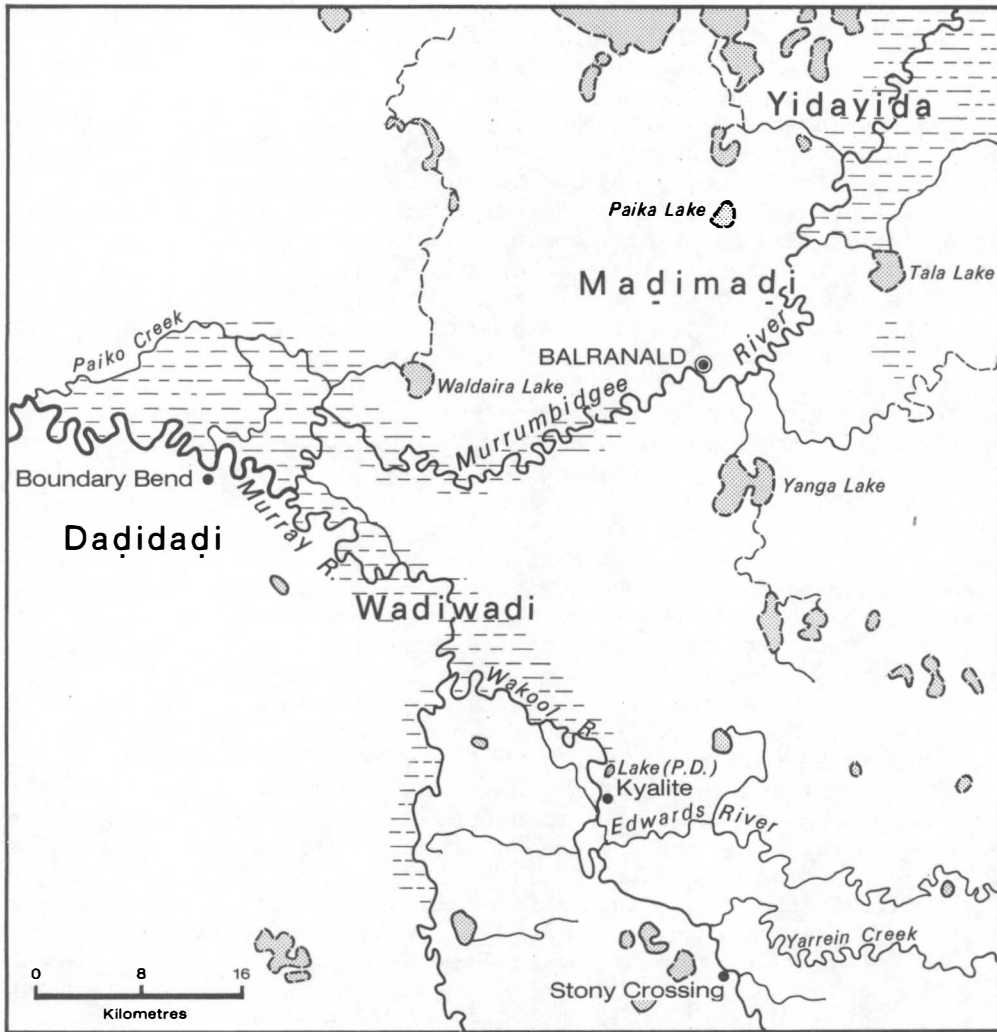
widiwadin yinadu wuduḡal, gengiḡal, wawal,
return-shall *my* *people-among* *uncle-among*, *elder-brother-among*,

beradal, minagal. gawangadin nulaḡ, waji
younger-sibling-among, *cousin-among*. *Followed* *that-one-by*, *crow*

<u>gini</u> <i>this</i>	<u>gilu</u> <i>this-by</i>	<u>wilegilu.</u> <i>eaglehawk-by.</i>	<u>wilegilu</u> <i>Eaglehawk-by</i>	<u>balgadin</u> <i>struck</i>	<u>guyunu</u> <i>spear-with</i>		
<u>nulan</u> <i>him-by</i>	<u>naburimadin</u> <i>submerged-completely</i>	<u>gadinan.</u> <i>water-in.</i>	<u>ganu</u> <i>Later</i>	<u>widiwadin</u> <i>returned</i>	<u>nuli</u> <i>he</i>		
<u>daga.</u> <i>ground-to.</i>	<u>widiwadin</u> <i>Returned</i>	<u>didi,</u> <i>bird,</i>	<u>widinu</u> <i>feather-his</i>	<u>geadin</u> <i>grew</i>	<u>wurgimadin,</u> <i>black-was,</i>		
<u>wilermadin</u> <i>white-was</i>	<u>minu,</u> <i>eyes-his,</i>	<u>burindadin.</u> <i>smoked-was.</i>					
<u>bermadin</u> <i>Sneaked</i>	<u>gini</u> <i>this</i>	<u>wudunji,</u> <i>people,</i>	<u>wilegilu</u> <i>eaglehawk-by</i>	<u>ganandadin</u> <i>stole</i>	<u>nulan</u> <i>that-one-by</i>	<u>gini</u> <i>this</i>	
<u>baingu;</u> <i>child;</i>	<u>dulangi</u> <i>tall</i>	<u>biali</u> <i>tree</i>	<u>geadin,</u> <i>grew</i>	<u>mangadin</u> <i>took</i>	<u>gini</u> <i>this</i>	<u>baingu,</u> <i>child,</i>	<u>yubadin</u> <i>put</i>
<u>gegada,</u> <i>up-above,</i>	<u>nugi</u> <i>there</i>	<u>winagadin</u> <i>left</i>	<u>gini</u> <i>this</i>	<u>baingu.</u> <i>child.</i>	<u>wudunji</u> <i>People</i>	<u>yagiladin</u> <i>searched</i>	
<u>numiladan</u> <i>weeping-continually</i>	<u>buingi-naunji:</u> <i>night-day:</i>	<u>nanan</u> <i>what-by</i>	<u>gima</u> <i>here</i>	<u>winanu</u> <i>who</i>	<u>gini</u> <i>this-one</i>		
<u>waiwadin</u> <i>climb-will</i>	<u>ginan</u> <i>this-on</i>	<u>bialan?</u> <i>tree-on?</i>	<u>windalu</u> <i>Whereabout</i>	<u>wudunji?</u> <i>man?</i>	<u>dadi-dadi</u> <i>By-and-by</i>		
<u>bin-bin</u> <i>Brown-tree-creeper</i>	<u>waiwadin</u> <i>climbed-up</i>	<u>mangadin</u> <i>took</i>	<u>nulan</u> <i>that-one-by</i>	<u>baingu.</u> <i>child.</i>			
<u>yagiladin</u> <i>Hunting-was</i>	<u>gini</u> <i>this</i>	<u>wilegilu</u> <i>eaglehawk-by</i>	<u>didu</u> <i>meat-his</i>	<u>banemu.</u> <i>food-his.</i>			
<u>bin-bin</u> <i>Brown-tree-creeper</i>	<u>gadiwadin</u> <i>descended</i>	<u>mangadin</u> <i>took</i>	<u>babanu</u> <i>mother-(LOC)-his</i>				
<u>mamanu.</u> <i>father-(LOC)-his.</i>	<u>yingadin</u> <i>Went-away</i>	<u>giagaminu.</u> <i>altogether.</i>	<u>yagiladin:</u> <i>Searched:</i>	<u>winanu</u> <i>'Who</i>	<u>gini</u> <i>this</i>		
<u>mangadin</u> <i>took</i>	<u>baingu?</u> <i>child?</i>	<u>gimu</u> <i>Here</i>	<u>gumbadin.</u> <i>sleeping-was'.</i>	<u>wegadin,</u> <i>Laughed,</i>	<u>waniladin.</u> <i>sang.</i>		
<u>galaiadin,</u> <i>Asked,</i>	<u>giaiwadin.</u> <i>told.</i>	<u>gadiwadin</u> <i>Descended</i>	<u>wanabi</u> <i>fire</i>	<u>minu</u> <i>hollow</i>	<u>budamadin.</u> <i>burnt.</i>	<u>biali</u> <i>Tree</i>	
<u>budamadin,</u> <i>burnt,</i>	<u>buigadin</u> <i>fell</i>	<u>bereran.</u> <i>lake-in.</i>	<u>dumuiladin</u> <i>Cross-will</i>	<u>gadini,</u> <i>water,</i>	<u>yingadin,</u> <i>go-will,</i>		
<u>demadin</u> <i>stand-ready-will</i>	<u>gima</u> <i>there.</i>						

Translation:

The Crow (always) sneaked after women, and (one time) as he was sneaking, the Eaglehawk speared him. He struck him with a stabbing-spear. The Eaglehawk incinerated the Crow with a big fire: he burnt a whole tree, he stacked up the fire with its foliage, he burnt the sticks and the foliage. But the Crow tricked him and got away: the Crow dug up the ground and made an underground grave, and crawled right inside. He shut off this grave-like hole and was not burnt by the fire nor suffocated by its smoke. He lay down. (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.) As he lay buried he dug a hole,



Map 6: The Balranald area

he made a very small opening (for this grave). Through that hole he could hear the fire and the smoke. The fire burnt (down) altogether.

(The Crow says to himself): 'There is no more smoke coming out now, so I can go now'. He dragged away the soil (that he had heaped up). Finally he got out from that hole and crawled out, and he had a look, the Crow: 'There is no more firewood, and the hot coals up above (the hole) have gone out'.

The Crow flew right up and looked around: 'The (Eaglehawk) fellow is not here any more, he must have gone; I can't see him'. The Crow flew up saying: 'Whereabouts has this fellow gone? Eh, I shall go now, and I shall get to the place where my own people are, I shall return among my own people, among my uncles and elder brothers, among my younger brothers and sisters and my cousins.'

(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.)

That Eaglehawk, he followed the Crow. The Eaglehawk struck the Crow with his stabbing-spear, (but this time the Crow jumped into the water) and was completely submerged by the Eaglehawk (and drowned).

Later on the Crow returned to this land, but he returned as a bird, he grew feathers and was black, and his eyes were white, (that was because) he had been through all that smoke earlier on.

(This happened by that small lake just north of Spink's Crossing (Kyalite), but the Eaglehawk, he used to camp by Yanga Lake near Balranald in a huge tree that was there.)

The Eaglehawk stalked a tribe (living in the area), and then that Eaglehawk stole a small child (from the tribe); a tall tree was growing there, and he took the child and put it high up there, and he abandoned the child there. People searched and enquired, weeping continually night and day: 'Who is the one that will climb up on this tree? And how?' By and by the Brown Tree-Creeper climbed up, and he took the child. The Eaglehawk was away hunting for his meat and his food. The Brown Tree-Creeper climbed down and he took the child to where his mother and father were. Then he went away altogether. They enquired: 'Who was it that got the child down from the tree? It was here sleeping (when we arrived back in our camp)'. They laughed and sang (and were happy).

(The Brown Tree-Creeper did not tell anybody that he had saved the baby, and they only found out about it after a long time.) They went on asking him, and so he told them.

(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.) The fire came down and burnt this hollow pipe. (He didn't see it burning, the Brown Tree-Creeper, because the fire was inside that pipe.) The tree burnt and fell into the lake. Anyone will be able to cross the water, and go and be ready standing on the other side.

(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.)

4.4.6 Mussels (*Pacific Linguistics*, 1974, A-37:37)

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 Gilpara, while the other was Makwara, and it was similar throughout the world of living beings 'when one was Gilpara, there was always a Makwara very similar to it, so the red kangaroo, burani was Gilpara, while the grey kangaroo bugumanama was Makwara'. 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.

dalegada	buleda	buleda	yingadin	wuduŋi	buleda	wanman
<i>long-ago</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>two</i>	<i>Big-Mussels</i>
buleda	mari-mari.	waŋu	giadin:	'madim	ŋindi	
<i>two</i>	<i>Little-Mussels.</i>	<i>Crow-by</i>	<i>said:</i>	<i>'No-more</i>	<i>you</i>	

mari-mari buleda, giagaminu yumin giagam.'
Little-Mussels two, altogether will-be one-indeed.

wilegilu guṅadin: 'ṅindi wanmaṅ ṅengadia dindada
Eaglehawk-by made: 'you Big-Mussels sit-might river-in

giagaminu giagam.'
altogether one-indeed. dindi- gadinada ṅengada wanmaṅ,
altogether one-indeed. River- water-in sit Big-Mussels,

berer- gadinada ṅengada mari-mari.
lagoon- water-in sit Little-Mussels.

Note: The verb *yuma to be*, which is well-known from the other Kulin languages was scarcely used in Madimadi and only occurred in this one text.

Translation:

A long time ago they went about as men, the two Big Mussel men and the two Little Mussel men.

The Crow said: 'You Little Mussels are not two any more. You will remain as one for ever.'

The Eaglehawk acted (likewise): 'You Big Mussels shall sit in the river for ever as one.'

So the big mussels stay in the river water, and the little mussels in the water of lagoons.

4.4.7 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.

murembinu baṅadin gini daṅi, bulbu. nuli nubadin
Water-rat-by dug this ground, oven-his. He shut

gini miṅu, guṅadin wanabi. bulun-bulun biṅadin. gergeru
this hole, made fire. Spark got-out. Hawk-by

gambana-dinu gagadin. widul wanabi guṅadin. walwadin
reed-seed-with caught. Big fire made. Burnt

wuringi, biali. buni-buni. budamadin dinanu.
grass, trees. Hot-ashes. Burnt foot-his.

Translation:

(Long ago there was no fire, only the water-rat had fire.) The water-rat dug this ground, he had an oven. He shut this underground passage and made fire there. The brown hawk caught a spark from that fire with the dry seed spike of the reeds. The brown hawk made a big fire with this and burnt everything, grass and trees. There were hot ashes and (some birds) burnt their feet. (That's why those birds now have webbed feet.)

4.4.8 The moon

This version of the story of the moon is very similar to the longer Ba:gandji versions recorded by J. Beckett in the late fifties and subsequently by Hercus (1982:257). Madimadi people shared exactly the same traditions as the

Ba:gandji 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 Niyamba: related to Tamsin Donaldson and myself. Ba:gandji versions were recorded by J. Beckett from George Dutton (Bandjigali) in the fifties (Beckett) and in the sixties by L. Hercus from Jack Johnson, southern Ba:gandji from Pooncarie (Hercus, 1983).

midien <i>Moon</i>	wuduŋi <i>man</i>	bugi-bugi. <i>very-bad.</i>	ganandadin <i>Stole</i>	midien <i>moon-by</i>	didi, <i>meat,</i>	nunin. <i>bag.</i>
waiwadin <i>Climbed</i>	bialan <i>tree-on</i>	dagum <i>grub</i>	yagadia. <i>seek-might.</i>	waiwadin, <i>Climbed,</i>	nagin <i>looked</i>	nagin <i>looked</i>
gagada. <i>up-high.</i>	yangadin <i>Said</i>	buleda: <i>two:</i>	'nagadi, <i>'look,</i>	gima <i>here</i>	gudabi <i>rock</i>	gagada <i>up-high</i>
degadia. <i>stand-might.</i>	waiwadin <i>Climbed</i>	degadin. <i>stood.</i>	yauwimadin <i>Disappeared</i>	gudabi <i>rock</i>	gagada. <i>up-high.</i>	
ngagada <i>Stops</i>	gau <i>there</i>	midien. <i>moon.</i>				

Translation:

The moon used to be a bad, greedy fellow. (He rolled people over) and stole their meat and their bags. One day he climbed a tree to look for tree grubs. He climbed and started looking up higher and higher. Two fellows (who were standing below) said to him: 'Look there is a rock up there, you could stand on that (to see better)'. He climbed up and stood on that rock, but the rock disappeared high up into the sky. The moon is still up there.

4.4.9 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).

miwuru <i>Clever</i>	wuduŋi. <i>man.</i>	gunadin <i>Made</i>	bandil. <i>big-cod.</i>	bandil <i>Big-cod</i>	miwuru. <i>clever.</i>	gunadin <i>Made</i>
dindi. <i>river.</i>	gagadin <i>Caught</i>	wuduŋu. <i>man-by.</i>	galbaiadin <i>Cut</i>	bandini-bandini <i>very-small</i>	gini <i>this</i>	
bandil. <i>big-cod.</i>	yungadin <i>Threw</i>	nunan <i>him-by</i>	gadina. <i>water-into.</i>	giadin <i>Said</i>	nenu: <i>name-its:</i>	
wiringil, <i>yellow-belly,</i>	duri, <i>bream,</i>	bandun... <i>small cod...</i>				

Translation:

There was a very clever man. He made the huge Murray cod. This huge Murray cod was also clever, and he made the River (Murray) (starting at the top end). Then the man caught this huge Murray cod (in Madimadi country). He cut him into small pieces and threw those back into the water, naming each piece (as he threw it): yellow-belly, bream, cod, etc. (and that's how all the different kinds of fish were made).

4.4.10 The Possum (*Pacific Linguistics*, 1974, A-37:36)

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:

giabuŋ	wileŋi	babu	na	wadaibu	bandiŋi	ŋengada	
<i>One-other</i>	<i>possum</i>	<i>mother-his</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>son-hers</i>	<i>little</i>	<i>sit</i>	
gau	bialaŋ,	beni.	midagi	buigadin,	damu	buigadin	
<i>there</i>	<i>red-gum-in,</i>	<i>hollow.</i>	<i>Rain</i>	<i>fell,</i>	<i>greatly</i>	<i>fell</i>	
buleda	na	giaga	buindi,	nauŋi.	baburu	galaiadin	
<i>two</i>	<i>and</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>nights,</i>	<i>days.</i>	<i>Mother-by-his</i>	<i>asked</i>	
gili	baingu:	'yŋgadin	nagiladin	naŋu	gima	nauŋi	na
<i>this</i>	<i>child-hers</i>	<i>'go-will</i>	<i>look-will</i>	<i>how</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>day</i>	<i>and</i>
daŋi	delgaiada?	bugim?'	'delgaiada	naŋuŋi,	dulba-dulba		
<i>place</i>	<i>good-is?</i>	<i>Bad indeed?</i>	<i>'Good-is</i>	<i>day,</i>	<i>breaks-up</i>		
galanŋi,	bugaiada		mengi	lendaŋaŋ	gima	dirili.'	
<i>weather,</i>	<i>driven-off-becomes</i>		<i>dark-cloud</i>	<i>shining</i>	<i>now</i>	<i>sky.'</i>	

Translation:

The mother Possum and her small son were sitting up in the red-gum tree. It was a hollow tree. Rain fell, rain poured down for three days and three nights. The mother asked her child: 'Go and look what the day and the place (outside) are like. Is it good or bad?' (The child answered): 'The day is good, the weather is breaking up, the dark clouds are being driven away, the sky is shining'. (But later the Possum stopped the sun coming before there was night and day, and there was argument about that. That is why he only gets up at night now.)

4.4.11 The Seven Sisters (*Pacific Linguistics*, 1974, A-37:35)

The Madimadi view of this well-known myth is discussed in the introduction to 4.4.13.

buned-buned	dalegada	gawaŋadin	giŋi	wubabu.		
<i>Seven Sisters</i>	<i>long-ago</i>	<i>followed</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>throwing-stick-theirs.</i>		
waŋadin	gima	daga	wariwadin	nuni	wubabuŋ.	
<i>Came</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>place-to</i>	<i>played</i>	<i>that</i>	<i>throwing-stick-with.</i>	
gili	nauŋi	budugadin	waburaŋ,	baim	buindi,	buned-buned
<i>This</i>	<i>sun</i>	<i>set</i>	<i>west-in,</i>	<i>oh-now</i>	<i>night,</i>	<i>Seven Sisters</i>
gaŋuŋ	waŋguruŋ	yŋgadin	wariwuladin	yungadin		
<i>there-from</i>	<i>east-from</i>	<i>went</i>	<i>played-round</i>	<i>threw</i>		
muruni-laiurgu,	yungadin	nulaŋ	bebadia	gini	dagan,	
<i>young -women-by,</i>	<i>threw</i>	<i>them-by</i>	<i>hop-would</i>	<i>this-one</i>	<i>ground-on,</i>	
gawaŋadin	yauimadin	giagaminu	waburaŋ.			
<i>followed</i>	<i>disappeared</i>	<i>altogether</i>	<i>west-in.</i>			

Translation:

Long ago the Seven Sisters used to follow their throwing stick. They came to this place and played with their throwing stick. The sun set in

bambadin nunanun wudunji
 feared this-one-from man
 People were scared of it; (- and then one day for the first time this
 mindai saw a bullock which had come to the water-hole).

gini didi gubiladin gadini.
 this beast drank water.
 The bullock had a drink of water.

gagadin gilum mindaiu, mangadin gini didi, dagadin.
 caught this-by mindai-by, took this beast, ate.
 Then it caught the bullock and took him and ate him.

bugi mindai, didi widul. wigadin.
 bad mindai, beast big. died.
 It was bad this mindai, and the bullock was too big for it, and so it died.

waiwulanu nagadin, buwadin gini gadinun.
 white-fellow-by saw, dragged this-one water-from.
 A white-fellow saw the dead mindai and dragged it out of the water - (he
 had to use a whole bullock-team to get it out, and it was then that people
 could see that the mindai was 70 to 80 yards long. That's how the bad
 mindai finished. The Magwara one was all right and it may be there yet).

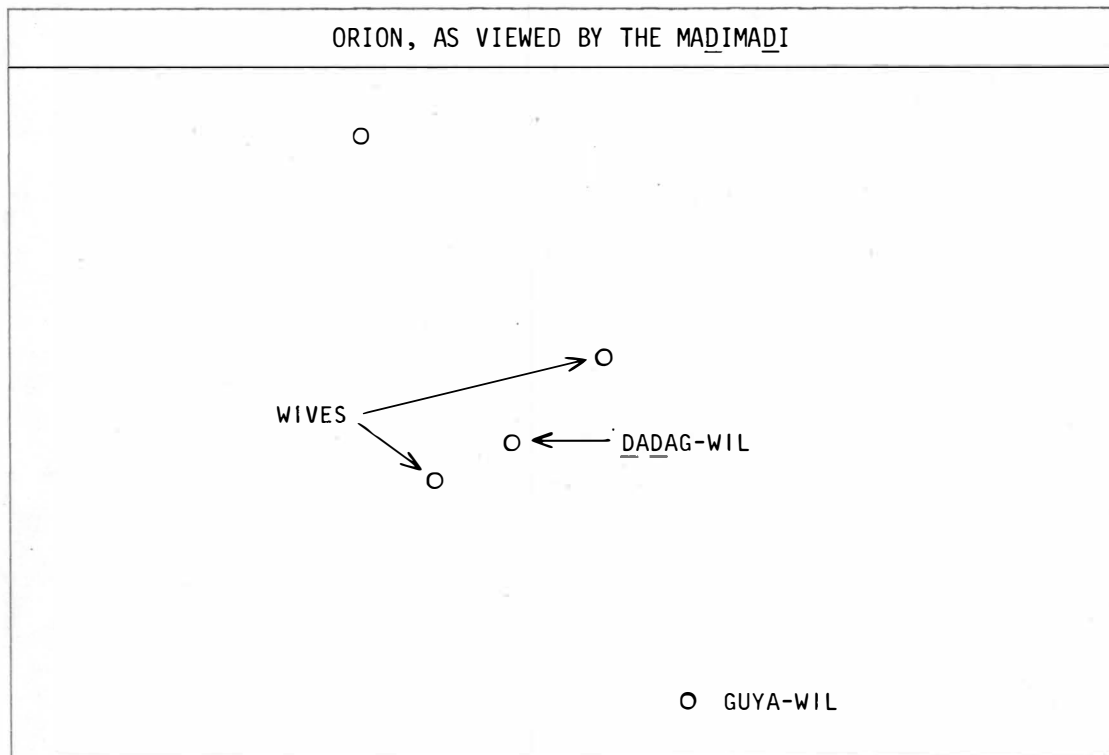
4.4.13 The story of Orion (*Pacific Linguistics*, 1974, A-37:27)

4.4.13.1 Introduction

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). The Yaralde Waijungari is the equivalent of the Madimadi Guya-wil. Jack Long, in his youth, could also speak Daḍidaḍi, a Murray River language related to Yaralde, but the legend related by him about Orion is Madimadi. The names of the main characters are distinctly Madimadi, 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), but in this 'Tatyarguil' (the Madimadi Dadag-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 Bangala speakers 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 Guya-wil and Dadag-wil in Madimadi. (Murray River tradition)
2. 'Tatyarguil' (corresponding to the Madimadi Dadag-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 wide-spread myth of Orion as one very erotic man who pursues the Seven Sisters. (Western Desert and Central Australia)



The identity of the stars that figure in the Madimadi story is fairly clear from Jack Long's description: Dadag-wil (in the middle) and his two wives form the stars of Orion's belt, while Guya-wil, the red star, is probably Betelgeuse: *they all come up together, not far from those Seven Sisters*. Ganan-ganan, has no stationary place, and is a planet.

4.4.13.2 Madimadi text

<u>wadada</u>	<u>gima</u>	<u>ganan-ganan</u> ¹	<u>buindada.</u>	<u>gumbadin</u>	<u>wudunji</u>	<u>gagadin</u>		
<i>comes</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>Ganan-ganan</i>	<i>night-in.</i>	<i>Slept</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>caught</i>		
<u>nulan</u>	<u>mangadin</u>	<u>dirilan.</u>	<u>nagilada</u>	<u>gima</u>	<u>wudunji,</u>	<u>manu</u>	<u>nulan</u>	
<i>him-by</i>	<i>took-away</i>	<i>sky-in.</i>	<i>see</i>	<i>here</i>	<i>men,</i>	<i>then</i>	<i>him-by</i>	
<u>giadin</u>	<u>dalinuru:</u>	<u>'ganan-ganan</u>	<u>gini</u>	<u>nengadin</u>	<u>dirilan.</u>	<u>gima</u>		
<i>said</i>	<i>language-by-their:</i>	<i>'Ganan-ganan</i>	<i>this</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>sky-in.</i>	<i>here</i>		
<u>dani</u>	<u>didadin,</u>	<u>mada</u>	<u>nuni</u>	<u>nengadin</u>	<u>giaga</u>	<u>dani.</u> ²	<u>wudunji</u>	<u>widul</u>
<i>place</i>	<i>changed, not</i>	<i>that-one</i>	<i>stayed</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>place.'</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>many</i>	

¹Ganan-ganan: perhaps under the influence of Christian terminology, Jack Long described this star also as a 'heavenly overseer'. The name Ganan-ganan is probably derived from the verb 'to take away', 'to steal', Madimadi ganandada, cf. Wembawemba ganindja.

²giaga dani one place: one would expect a locative, and this may be a mistake.

<u>ninmeru</u> <i>these</i>	<u>yauimadin.</u> <i>disappeared.</i>	<u>nengada</u> <i>Stay</i>	<u>gaiu.</u> <i>there.</i>	<u>dadag-wil</u> <i>Dadag-wil</i>	<u>dalegada</u> <i>long-ago</i>	<u>wadadin</u> <i>came</i>
<u>gimu</u> <i>here</i>	<u>giaga -</u> <i>one -</i>	<u>dadag-wil,</u> <i>arm-having,</i>	<u>yiñada</u> <i>thus</i>	<u>bawadin</u> <i>bore</i>	<u>baburu</u> <i>mother-by-his</i>	<u>giaga -</u> <i>one -</i>
<u>dadag-wil.</u> <i>arm-having.</i>	<u>ganandadin</u> <i>Stole</i>	<u>nulan</u> <i>him-by</i>	<u>laiur</u> <i>women</i>	<u>gini,</u> <i>these,</i>	<u>buleda</u> <i>two</i>	<u>madumu</u> <i>wives-his</i>
<u>dadag-wil;</u> <i>Dadag-wil;</i>	<u>wuduwada</u> <i>middle-in</i>	<u>nengada.</u> <i>sits.</i>	<u>mangadin</u> <i>Took</i>	<u>nulan</u> <i>them-by</i>	<u>gini</u> <i>this</i>	<u>wudunji,</u> <i>man,</i>
<u>guya-wil.¹</u> <i>Guya-wil.</i>	<u>'gawai,</u> <i>'come-on,</i>	<u>gawai,</u> <i>come-on,</i>	<u>gagadia</u> <i>catch-would</i>	<u>nali</u> <i>we-two</i>	<u>mangadia</u> <i>take-would</i>	
<u>dirilan.</u> <i>sky-in.</i>	<u>yangadia</u> <i>Speak-would</i>	<u>nali</u> <i>we-two</i>	<u>nuli</u> <i>like</i>	<u>yundal.'</u> <i>emu.'</i>	<u>buleda</u> <i>two</i>	<u>laiurgu</u> <i>women-by</i>
<u>guna-gunadin</u> <i>made</i>	<u>nenu</u> <i>sound-his</i>	<u>gigana</u> <i>this-of</i>	<u>yundal.</u> <i>emu.</i>	<u>guya-wilu</u> <i>Guya-wil-by</i>	<u>demadin,</u> <i>heard,</i>	
<u>mangadin</u> <i>took</i>	<u>guyunu</u> <i>spear-his</i>	<u>bermadia</u> <i>sneak-would</i>	<u>yundal</u> <i>emu</i>	<u>balgadia.</u> <i>kill-would.</i>	<u>buledana</u> <i>Two-by</i>	
<u>laiurgu</u> <i>women-by</i>	<u>gagadin</u> <i>caught</i>	<u>mangadin</u> <i>took-away</i>	<u>dirilan.</u> <i>sky-in.</i>	<u>yauimadin</u> <i>Disappeared</i>	<u>nuli.</u> <i>he.</i>	<u>wudunji</u> <i>Men</i>
<u>nagiladin:</u> <i>searched</i>	<u>'baigi,</u> <i>'get-up,</i>	<u>mudadia</u> <i>pick-up-should</i>	<u>guyunin</u> <i>spear-yours</i>	<u>yingadia</u> <i>go-should</i>		
<u>yagiladia</u> <i>search-should</i>	<u>nunanu</u> <i>him-from</i>	<u>nanu</u> <i>when</i>	<u>nuni</u> <i>he</i>	<u>widiwadin?'</u> <i>return-will?'</i>	<u>nagadin</u> <i>Saw</i>	<u>nuli</u> <i>him</i>
<u>gagada</u> <i>above</i>	<u>dirilan,</u> <i>sky-in,</i>	<u>dalabil</u> <i>red</i>	<u>duđi,</u> <i>star,</i>	<u>dalabil</u> <i>red</i>	<u>manđu</u> <i>flesh-his</i>	<u>na</u> <i>and</i>
<u>buleda</u> <i>Two</i>	<u>laiurgu</u> <i>women-by</i>	<u>mandadin.</u> <i>abducted.</i>	<u>nengadin</u> <i>Stayed</i>	<u>dirilan</u> <i>sky-in</i>	<u>duđim.</u> <i>star.</i>	

Translation:

Ganan-ganan came in the night, while men were asleep he took them away up into the sky. People down here said in their language: 'This Ganan-ganan lives in the sky. He changes his position, he does not stay in one place.' Many men disappeared. They stayed there (in the sky).

Dadag-wil came here long ago, he only had one arm, he was born like that. He stole two women, and so he had two wives. He dwells in the middle (between them in the sky).

They captured a man named Guya-wil. (The two wives said to one another): 'Come on, come on, let us capture him and take him up into the sky; we will do it by pretending to be emus.' The two women made a noise like an emu. Guya-wil heard it and took his spear and he wanted to sneak up and kill the emus. The two women caught him and took him away into the sky. He disappeared. People searched for him, (saying) 'get up, pick up your spear and let us look for him. When will he return?'

Then they saw him up in the sky. (They recognised him): he was a red star because he was a man with red flesh and red skin. The two women had abducted him. He remained as a star in the sky.

¹Guya-wil: this name probably means *tree-stump-having*.

CHAPTER 5

A NOTE ON NARINARI

5.1 Introduction

Tindale (1974:197) gives the following information on Narinari:

Narinari Na:rina:ri
Loc. Southern bank of the Lachlan River from Booligal to near Balranald, up the Murrumbidgee River to Hay; south to about Booorooban. According to Cameron, the Narinari were also called Wathiwathi, my information suggests they were separate tribes.
Coord. 144° 25'E × 34° 30'S.
Area 3,500 sq.m. (9,100 sq. km.)
Alt. None has been reported.
Ref: Cameron 1885, Tindale 1940.

The entry in A. Capell (1963:12) is even more depressing:

There is no information on this language.

From the geographical position of Narinari there is no hope of hazarding a guess as to its linguistic affiliations: it is not in the middle of any obvious dialect chain. To the north Narinari borders on Yidayida.¹ This language was identical with Daḍidaḍi of the Euston area, as indicated by Radcliffe-Brown (1918:249) and confirmed by Jack Long. Yidayida-Daḍidaḍi is known only from a very scanty grammatical sketch by R.H. Mathews (MS), some notes and a short vocabulary by J.A. Macdonald in Curr (1887:286) and some other brief vocabularies, particularly Larmer (1898), Beveridge in Smyth (1878:72) and Cameron (1885:347). Yidayida-Daḍidaḍi has been extinct for some time, but Jack Long recorded some vocabulary. Yidayida-Daḍidaḍi belonged to the Upper Murray language group and was totally different from the Victorian type 'Kulin' languages which bordered Narinari to the south and south-east. To the north and north-east Narinari borders on the Wiradjuri language of central N.S.W. whose affiliations are with languages further to the north, in particular with Waṅaybuwan-Niyamba: (Donaldson 1980). Geographically therefore Narinari could be associated with any of these three groups.

- (1) The Upper Murray Languages
- (2) The Kulin Languages
- (3) Wiradjuric

Or possibly even with one other group.

- (4) Ba:gandji, from the Darling River

There appeared to be no adequate information that might have enabled us to decide on any linguistic affiliation.

¹The plosive in the name Yidayida was heard as distinctly alveolar, not interdental, from Jack Long, Mary Moore and Charlie Kirby. This is also in agreement with Tindale (1974:194).

In the course of my work on Victorian languages I spoke on many occasions with Mrs Mary Moore of Swan Hill who knew a few words of Narinari, some of these words were later confirmed by her son, Jack Wise of Coomealla. I felt uncertain about this information in view of possible confusion with neighbouring languages. Narinari therefore still had to remain as a blank in the map of language affiliations (Map 1, Hercus 1969 and 1974:map).

There seemed to be no chance of ever solving the problem. But in December 1976 Jack Long, the centenarian speaker of Maḍimaḍi happened to mention the Narinari. 'They had a lot of land, but somehow they all finished early. The last one that could still talk the language well was Angus Myers, but it wasn't his own language because he was a Yidayida'. Angus Myers was in fact R.H. Mathews's informant for Yidayida (Mathews MS). Jack Long himself had heard Daḍidaḍi-Yidayida and Narinari spoken in his youth and 'could join in if other Daḍidaḍi or Narinari people were talking' as well of course as being fluent in his own Maḍimaḍi.

With his usual clarity and concern for accuracy Jack Long recalled just a few words from this very distant past of the turn of the century.

List of words

English	Daḍidaḍi	Maḍimaḍi	Narinari	(Wergaia)	(Wembawemba)
<i>man</i>	nana	wudun̄i	wudun̄	(wudju)	(ben)
<i>woman</i>	ber̄eb	layur	layurg	(layurg)	(l̄erg)
<i>fire</i>	-	wanabi	wanab [wɔnɔp]	(wanjab)	(wanab)
<i>water</i>	ɲug	gad̄ini	gayini	(gad̄jin)	(gad̄ən)
<i>stone</i>	d̄anga ¹	gud̄abi	gud̄ab	(gud̄jab)	(lar)
<i>sun</i>	n̄ang	n̄awin̄i	n̄awin̄ (?)	(njawi)	(njawi)
<i>tree</i>	-	biyali	bayil	(biyal)	(biyal)
<i>sky</i>	-	dirili	diril	(direl)	-
<i>rain</i>	-	mid̄agi	mid̄ag	(mid̄jag)	(mid̄əg)
<i>wind</i>	-	wil̄an̄i	wil̄an̄ [will̄an̄]	(wila) [will̄ɔ]	(merinj)
<i>foot</i>	d̄in	d̄inan̄i	d̄inan̄ [d̄in̄an̄]	(djine)	(djine)
<i>arm</i>	-	d̄ad̄agi	d̄ad̄jag	(dadj-)	(d̄ad̄əg)
<i>nose</i>	gab	d̄indi [di:ndi]	d̄indin [di:ndIn]	(ganj(ug))	(gar)
<i>bread</i>	d̄arugi(?)	banemi	banim [bañIm]	(banjim)	(banəm)
<i>dog</i>	-	wiran̄an	gali [gallI]	(gal)	(wireŋən, gali)
<i>kangaroo</i>	biguru	bugumanama	-	-	-
<i>musk-duck</i>	-	d̄inguru	-	-	-
<i>no</i>	yida	maḍi	nari [na:rI]	(wergaya)	(wemba)

This list represents an approximate phonemic rendering of the Daḍidaḍi, Maḍimaḍi and Narinari words recorded by Jack Long. Phonetic details have been supplied where appropriate and the corresponding Wergaia and Wembawemba forms have been added in brackets for comparison.

Jack Long confirmed the view of Cameron (1885) and others that nari means *no*.

¹d̄anga does not correspond to the words for 'stone' given for Yidayida by J.A. Macdonald (Curr 1887:286) and by Beveridge in Smyth 1878:72, it does however correspond to the entry by Jamieson (ibid:74) 'thank, stone'.

5.2 The position of Narinari

This list may seem pathetically small, but the comparative data we have from work on the Kulin languages enable us to arrive at a number of conclusions. The most important and obvious of these is that Narinari is a Kulin language. The linguistic affiliations with the Kulin group are clear, but interestingly enough the Narinari vocabulary appears to be similar to the more distant Wergaia of the Lake Hindmarsh area rather than to the immediately adjoining Madimadi.

The information from the short Narinari vocabulary further enables us to obtain a clearer picture of the geographic extent of certain phonotactic and phonemic features which are of particular interest in Aboriginal languages.

(a) Vowel length

Vowel length is phonemic in Ba:gandji (Hercus MS), in Wiradjuric (Donaldson 1980) and in Yidayida-Daḍidaḍi (ḡug :ḡu:g, this volume, p.232), but not in the Kulin group. Although nothing conclusive can be said from the small specimen of Narinari that has been recorded, it would nevertheless seem that length in Narinari was conditioned in the same way as in other languages of the Kulin group. Only two words with long vowels were noted: [di:ndIn] and [na:rI], and two occur in the words previously recorded from Mary Moore [mi:m] *cousin* and [nje:mbʌ] *to sit*. These last two words and [di:ndIn] show length in accordance with rules in Madimadi (see p.112) and similar rules in Wembawemba (see p.13) and Wergaia (see p.78) prescribing length of accented vowels before final nasals and before medial nasal + plosive clusters. [na:rI] is consistent with the lengthening before -r- which is to be found in Wergaia. With regard to non-phonemic vowel length, therefore, Narinari appears to be in line with the other Kulin languages.

(b) Gemination of consonants

Gemination of consonants after accented vowels is a widespread regional development in the east of South Australia and western N.S.W.: it is a conspicuous phonetic feature of Maljaḡaba and Ba:gandji. The Kulin languages on the whole do not show gemination of consonants after the accented vowel, it is unknown in Wembawemba and Madimadi. In Wergaia, however, -l- is geminated after the tonic vowel as in [wi||ʌ] *wind*, [ba||ʌk] *lark*. This is exactly parallel to the situation in our Narinari fragments, [wi||əŋ] *wind*, [ga||I] *dog*.

In Narinari it seems that also -n- after an accented vowel was lengthened, but at least in our fragments it was only lengthening and not full gemination as in the case of -l-. This minor phonetic feature was not shared by the main Kulin languages, but there is evidence to show that it occurred in Wadiwadi. Thus even with regard to gemination, Narinari is consistent with the Kulin language group.

(c) Laminals

The Kulin languages bear out R.M.W. Dixon's contention that 'Proto-Australian had a single laminal series' (Dixon, 1970). Only Wembawemba has

any laminal contrast, and that contrast is limited. The new evidence of Narinari is too slight for any conclusions on this difficult topic, but the use of different laminals d and dj in:

midag *rain*

and

dadjag *arm*

seems to point towards the possible presence of two laminal plosive phonemes in Narinari, as in Wembawemba.

(d) Finals

- (i) In the standard Kulin languages, both eastern and western, as exemplified by Werḡaia, Wembawemba and Woiwuru, a word can end in any consonant whatsoever, plosive, nasal, lateral or vibrant, as well as any vowel. Final clusters consisting of vibrant + peripheral plosive are also permissible. It is clear that Narinari follows this pattern.
- (ii) In the Murray River languages as exemplified by Yidayida-Daḡidaḡi the preference for final consonants and clusters goes further and final nasal + plosive clusters are common. (The occurrence of initial *r*- is also a conspicuous characteristic of this group.)
- (iii) The Wiradjuric group prefers final vowels but final nasals and laterals are also permissible.
- (iv) The Ba:gandji or Darling River language group has only vowels in final position.
- (v) Madimadi and, as will be seen Wadiwadi, are aberrant from the main Kulin group with regard to finals and approximate to the Darling River languages: practically all words end in vowels. Final plosive consonants are most exceptional; final nasals, -l and -r occur occasionally.

Narinari, belonging to group (i) is therefore standard Kulinic and more clearly connected with Werḡaia and Wembawemba in this respect than with Madimadi.

(e) Word-length and accentuation

The preference for vocalic endings means that normally Madimadi (and Wadiwadi) words are longer by one syllable than the corresponding words in neighbouring Kulin languages: Madimadi *wanabi* *fire*, Wembawemba *wanab*.

Not only does the length of Madimadi words differ from standard Kulin, but also the accent which falls on the second syllable if this begins with an intervocalic non-peripheral consonant: Madimadi [waná.pI], Wembawemba [wánʌp]. Narinari is again unlike Madimadi in this respect and is in agreement with the other Kulin languages: in all the words recorded the accent falls on the first syllable, as in Werḡaia and Wembawemba.

It seemed that in Maḍimadi (see p.119) there was a suffix *-i*,¹ *-ŋi* that was added to the majority of nouns in the nominative/accusative. This would account for instance for the Maḍimadi wuḍuŋi as opposed to Weṛgaia wudja man, or wileŋi as opposed to wile *possum*. *-ŋi*, I thought, was simply the post-vocalic allomorph of *-i*. In purely descriptive terms such an analysis of the Maḍimadi situation is justifiable (nom/acc. *-i*, *-ŋi*: general oblique *-a*, *-ga* as in wuḍuŋi, obl. wuduga). But the Narinari evidence, limited as it is, still shows that historically the matter was different. Narinari has what looks superficially like an intermediate form with final *-ŋ*, where Maḍimadi has final *-ŋi* and Weṛgaia and Wembawemba have zero as in:

	<u>Maḍimadi</u>	<u>Narinari</u>	<u>Weṛgaia</u>
<i>sun</i>	<u>nawīŋi</u>	<u>nawīŋ</u>	<u>njawī</u>
<i>foot</i>	<u>dīnaŋi</u>	<u>dīnaŋ</u>	<u>djīne</u>

Narinari in fact gives strong support to the views of A. Capell (1956:84). He contended that final *-ŋ* (which is found particularly in the Eastern Kulin languages, e.g. Woiwuru djīnaŋ *foot*) was 'original Australian' in such words but has been generally lost. Narinari can thus be regarded as preserving the original form, while Weṛgaia and Wembawemba have lost the final *-ŋ*.

Maḍimadi (and Wadiwadi) has simply added final *-i*, as in the rest of the vocabulary, thereby forming a tri-syllabic word.

¹It has been pointed out by M.A. Macdonald (1977) that in Yaralde on the Lower Murray all nominative and accusative forms of the singular pronouns end in *-i* and that there is an optional suffix *-i* that was often added to mark the singular of nouns. This Yaralde usage could be related to the Weṛgaia situation where *-i* fulfils the function of a 'vocative and particularising suffix' (Hercus 1969:127). In Maḍimadi *-i* was not optional, it was obligatory:

- (a) as a nominative marker in the personal pronouns which show a nominative-accusative distinction, yidi *I* (cf. Wembawemba njed), ŋindi *you*.
- (b) as a nominative-accusative marker in the demonstrative pronouns which follow an ergative system: nuni, nuwi, gini, nini, etc.
- (c) as a nominative-accusative marker in the majority class of nouns and adjectives.

The use of the suffix *-i* thus shows a gradation in the better-known languages of the area.

- (1) Yaralde—pronominal nominative and accusative singular and optional nominal singular marker;
- (2) (i) Wembawemba—vocative marker for kinship terms and certain adjectives.
(ii) Weṛgaia—vocative and particularising suffix.
- (3) Maḍimadi—obligatory nominative marker for pronouns and most nominals, i.e. maximum extension of suffix *-i*.

The wide use of the suffix *-i* had the effect of *eliminating all monosyllables* from the Maḍimadi language, and it therefore brought Maḍimadi into line with the nearby Ba:gandji language group which had no monosyllables. The use of the suffix *-i* also had the effect of eliminating final consonant clusters and of inhibiting imparisyllabic declension.

The origin and wider associations of this suffix still need to be investigated further, there are a number of possible though not necessarily probable cognates far afield such as for instance the 'irregular' nominative forms of the noun markers of class I in Djirbal (bayi, giyi, in Dixon 1972:44).

wuduŋi, dinaŋi thus correspond to wuduŋ, dinaŋ in exactly the same way as wanabi corresponds to wanab. Historically there is then no suffix -ŋi, only the preservation in the nominative of the old final consonant -ŋ, which was thus characteristic of the Western Kulin languages as much as of Eastern Kulin.

The evidence of Narinari, however slight, is therefore of vital significance not only in the history of the Kulin languages, but for Proto-Australian as well.

5.3 Comments on Wadiwadi

A comparison between the new Narinari data and old published Wadiwadi materials fully confirms Tindale's view that Wadiwadi and Narinari are not identical. Linguistically it can in fact be shown that Wadiwadi formed a very close group with Madimadi and Ledjiledji but differed considerably from Narinari, Werggaia and Wembawemba.

The old published material on Wadiwadi is relatively extensive, but of indifferent quality, apart from the Piangil vocabularies by Macredie and by Curr in Curr (1887:448 and 450), much of it is the work of Peter and John Beveridge, who lived at the famous Tyntynder homestead on the Murray downstream from Swan Hill. Both brothers obviously had considerable knowledge of Wadiwadi, though they made mistakes which already Curr noticed. They had little sympathy or understanding for the language. Peter writes (1884:83) 'These dialects are quite innocent of anything in the shape of grammar' and 'the dialects of these people are about as meagre in quality and quantity as they can well be'. John Beveridge has contributed a vocabulary and some phrases to Curr (1887:439) but his attitude carried through to Curr himself who writes: 'In addition to the foregoing phrases and short dialogues Mr Beveridge sent me many others which I have not thought it necessary to insert. Though they show well the rude form of conversation prevalent in our tribes...' Nevertheless, the works of the Beveridge brothers are important in that they give us information on Wadiwadi. A few of the words and phrases from Curr (1887:441) are given here, followed by the corresponding Madimadi forms, in order to show the close similarity between the two. Comparative material in Ledjiledji from the Kulkyne¹ area has also been given.

¹The Kulkyne and Bumbang vocabularies given in Curr (1887:454 and 452) are in Ledjiledji, as well as the Kulkyne vocabulary contributed by Angus MacIntyre to Smyth (1878:70). But the vocabulary also labelled 'Kulkyne' and obtained by Smyth himself 'from a native named Wye-wye-a-nine' (1878:71) is pure Wembawemba and even the phrases given there are only comprehensible in the light of Wembawemba, not Ledjiledji, e.g.

parry	ang	all	kooray	— is Wembawemba	—	ba <u>ra</u> ya	—	ŋal	gure
<i>we will look out kangaroo</i>						<i>chase</i>		PRES -l Dl kangaroo	
						<i>we two are chasing kangaroos</i>			

man	—	ak	buledya	kooyon	— is Wembawemba	—	man	—	ag	buledya	guyon
<i>you bring him two fellows' spear</i>						<i>bring</i>		-Impv Sg two		<i>spear</i>	
						<i>bring two spears</i>					

Ledjiledji, as can be gathered from other sources, has goyangi *kangaroo*, and kooiooni *spear*.

Wadiwadi sentence	Madimadi
nginna ngakin ngata laioor	ŋindi <u>nag</u> -in <u>mani</u> layur
(do) you see that woman	you NOM see-PAST that woman

nginna was probably [ŋina] with lengthening of n. Beveridge frequently also writes nginma. The view that -n- as well as -l- was lengthened after the main accent is supported by numerous spellings such as chellingoo *tongue*, liannoo *teeth* and similar instances in Ledjiledji such as nginna *you*, jennagi, chinnangi *foot*. -nn- is particularly noticeable in these old Wadiwadi and Ledjiledji vocabularies. This cannot be regarded as proof, only as an indication: spellings of this kind are not reliable, -nn- was often also written last century for simple -n-, or for interdental n-.

Wadiwadi sentence	Madimadi
darti koko woortongi barnin	daḍi biŋ - inj gugu wuduŋi
by and by many Blacks will arrive	soon come - FUT many man

woortongi implies that Wadiwadi had the same suffix -i as Madimadi (see fn. p.156), with conservation of the original final -ŋ as discussed above,

	Wadiwadi	Ledjiledji	Madimadi	Narinari
<i>man</i>	woortongi	woortongi	wuduŋi	wuduŋ
<i>wind</i>	weelangi	wilangi	wilaŋi	wilaŋ
<i>ground</i>	thungi	gangi, janji	daŋi	
<i>fire</i>	wurnaway	wunabi	wanabi	wanab
	woonobi			

This reflects the opposition between Narinari on the one hand, and the Wadiwadi group on the other.

Wadiwadi sentence	Madimadi
anaboo Tommy magna murtamoo	<u>nabu</u> Tommy mangada madim - u
how many Tommy got wife	how-many Tommy takePRES spouse 3sg POS

murtamoo shows that Wadiwadi, like the other two dialects of this group had a 3rd person singular possessive marker -u, as opposed to the general Kulin -ug: Wembawemba madimug *his spouse*. There are numerous examples in the old vocabularies to illustrate this, e.g.:

	Wadiwadi	Ledjiledji	Madimadi	Wembawemba
<i>egg -(its)</i>	mikko	mirkoo	migu	mirgug
<i>child (her)</i>	pinko, baiŋgu	piungo	baŋgu	baŋgug
<i>children (her)</i>		paimbango	baŋgu	bembengug

Likewise the first person singular possessive marker is -ai throughout the Wadiwadi group, but -eg elsewhere in the Western Kulin languages:

	Wadiwadi	Ledjiledji	Madimadi	Wembawemba
<i>father-mine</i>	marmi	mamai	mamai	mameg

These forms of the possessive are indicative of the absence of final -g as in:

	Wadiwadi	Ledjiledji	Madimadi	Narinari	Wembawemba
<i>woman</i>	laioor	laiyoo	layur	layurg	lerg

The three dialects Madimadi, Ledjiledji and Wadiwadi differed in some items of vocabulary, but they are striking in their unity with regard to the possessive suffixes and in other respects. They contrast with Narinari and the other standard Western Kulin languages. There can thus be no question of Narinari and Wadiwadi being the same.

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CHAPTER 6

PHONETIC NOTES ON OTHER VICTORIAN LANGUAGES

6.1 Guṇḍidj

Practically nothing was recorded of this language. Guṇḍidj was spoken originally in the area around Portland, Lake Condah and Warrnambool, with certain dialectal variations, and it reached as far north as Hamilton and Caramut, as has been shown by Tindale (1940:197). There was much evidence that the people who spoke this language, the Guṇḍidj-mara, had traditionally been on good terms with their western neighbours, the Buṇḍidj, with whom they often intermarried. At the end of last century remnants of the Guṇḍidj-mara lived mainly on the mission stations at Lake Condah (Massola 1963) and at Framlingham. Lake Condah is now in ruins, Framlingham has a small population and a feeling of identity still prevails (Barwick 1971). The language, including even details of its dialects, is better known than any other Victorian language, thanks to the extensive vocabulary collected by Dawson (1881), and the grammatical sketch of R.H. Mathews (1904b:54). The speakers recalled that the missionaries actively discouraged the use of the 'lingo' even in the home, and knowledge of the language therefore declined rapidly. The Framlingham dialect of Guṇḍidj appears to have been extinct for many years, and in 1962-3 only three people were alive who could recall anything of the Lake Condah language. One old lady of 88 became senile, and efforts to work with her were almost completely futile; Mrs Angus Alberts, who was the last really fluent speaker, died just before we could see her; Mr Alberts could not be questioned much at the time, and he died shortly afterwards. Valuable information was thus lost by a very short margin. The few fragments recorded by Mr Alberts are given here because his pronunciation was based on a reasonable knowledge of the language, and it may therefore elucidate the transcription of this language by Dawson and Mathews.

In view of the paucity of information the phonemic spelling can only be hypothetical.

Retroflex \int occurs in this language (wu \int o \int *hailstorm*).

o and e appear to have been phonemes as they were used in environments where they were unlikely to have been conditioned (wu \int o \int *hailstorm*, *bembai bread*).

Only tentative remarks can be made on the phonetics and allophonic variations observed:

Plosives were generally devoiced except after nasals, and it seems that initial plosives were at least partly voiced before the high front vowels, as in *din*, *bembai*, *delan*.

Very noticeable was the long and tense articulation of intervocalic m, particularly when it followed the accented vowel: from Mr Albert's pronunciation one would in fact be justified in regarding m in this position as a geminated consonant, as the syllabic break occurred during the course of the articulation

of m. *damon meat*, *dameri sheep* and *ḡamadjidj white man* were therefore transcribed phonetically as [ʰammon], [ʰtammerI] and [ʰammatjItj]. This is unusual for a Victorian language, as gemination is almost unknown in the languages recorded, except for the intervocalic [ll] in Djadjala, which was spoken not far to the north of Guḡidj. After an unaccented vowel m did not appear to be geminated: *guremug* [ʰkuremUk] *possum*.

d in the words *damon* and *maḡal meat* was a distinctly fricative sound [θ]; as in *Wembawemba* it seemed to be linguodental rather than interdental.

Of the vowel sounds the following are worthy of note:

the central vowel [ɜ] occurs before the retroflex sound r:
 ḡer [ʰɜ3:r] *horse*.

e before the nasal consonant m was a very close vowel probably not far removed from cardinal e, *bembai* [ʰbembai]. Close [e] also occurs in *moe* [ʰmoe] *black duck*.

before ḡ, a was pronounced as an unrounded back vowel [ɑ] as in [ʰmaḡɑḡ] *girl* [ʰdeḡɑḡ] *stringy-bark*.

Little of grammatical significance can be gathered from the fragments recorded. The expression *wundag din woḡa where is he coming?* tends to indicate that in interrogative sentences the transference of the subject marker was current in Guḡidj as in other Victorian languages.

The third person singular present indicative ended in -a as in the other Kulin languages – *din woḡa ganidjeruḡ a policeman is coming*.

6.2 Woiwuru

Woiwuru was the language of the Woiwuruḡ or Wurundjeri tribe, of which the Yarra-yarra of Healesville were a sub-tribe. The people traditionally inter-married with members of the Goulburn and the Murray tribes, particularly the Yodayoda. The language was still kept intact at Healesville at the beginning of this century at the Coranderrk reserve, despite this influx of people from other tribes, but the last fluent speakers died soon after that. The history of Coranderrk is one of almost unmitigated tragedy as is evident particularly from the work of Barwick (1972). We received much help from the Wandin family, the very elderly grand-nieces and grand-nephew of the famous King Berak. Unfortunately the remnants of Woiwuru that could be recorded from them are so slight that only tentative remarks can be made about phonemics and phonetics in the hope that this will help in the interpretation of the material written down last century.

6.2.1 Tentative phonemic system

b	<u>d</u>	d	ḡ	dj	g	a	i	u
m		n	ḡ	nj	ḡ	e	(o)	
		r	r̥					
		l	l̥					
w				y				

The fact that d and dj occur in similar environments makes it likely that d was a separate phoneme: *buden matter*, *bidjerim resin*, *dadjer lesser glider*.

Retroflex ʎ was heard distinctly in *gunmeʎ snake* and *yulendʎ sense* as opposed to alveolar l in *wuleli yam*.

o was probably only a limited phoneme, occurring mainly after g (*gigo go*, *yago yawn*). There was hesitation between a and o after w when r or l followed, [*'waɾendʎ*], [*'wɔɾendʎ*] *wombat*.

6.2.2 Allophones and phonetic notes

6.2.2.1 Consonants

Initial consonants were usually voiced, but there was anticipatory devoicing when a similar consonant followed in the unvoiced medial position, as in *gargridʎ* [*'karkrItʎ*] *sugar*. Consonants following on nasals were always voiced, even when final as in *waɾendʎ* [*'wɔɾendʎ*] *wombat*.

d had a slightly fricative articulation, approaching the [θ] of Wembawemba when intervocalic, *buden* [*'buθən*] *matter*, but was distinctly plosive when final: *djinid-djinid* [*'dʒinIt-dʒinIt*] *tawny frogmouth*.

6.2.2.2 Vowels

[ə] was perhaps only a very common unaccented allophone of e.

[I] was used as an allophone of i when unaccented, or when accented and followed by r or l. [U] was similarly used as an allophone of unaccented u, or when accented and followed by l. e when followed by r or by a nasal was very open and corresponded to the phonetic transcription [æ]. When followed by a retroflex sound e was retracted into the central position and was pronounced as [ɜ]. When in an unaccented position and not followed by a nasal consonant or r or l the vowel a had an allophone which approached [ʌ] as in Wembawemba. There was also a long accented allophone [ɑ:].

As regards the distribution of phonemes, Woiwuru contains a number of clusters that are not found in Wembawemba: initial gr-, medial -rgr-, final -ndʎ. This list cannot be considered complete because of the very small sample of Woiwuru available; but it shows that Woiwuru had at least some of the tendency towards r- clusters so characteristic of the Gippsland languages. In this respect, as well as probably in many others, Woiwuru forms a transition between the Western 'Kulin' languages and the Gippsland languages.

Only the following morphological features can be deduced from the available material:

Possessive suffix second person singular -aŋ

Possessive suffix third person singular -ug

Imperative second person singular -i, -ai

Future, first person singular -injan (*galbaninjan I will hit*)

These morphological features are very similar to the corresponding forms in the other Kulin languages.

6.3 Yodayoda

The Yodayoda originally inhabited the area on both sides of the Murray between the Cobram district and some way downstream from Echuca; the northern limit of their territory was near Deniliquin, N.S.W., and the southern limit near Shepparton, Victoria. Their language was closely linked with the other so-called 'Bangerang' or Murray River languages, which were spoken on the upper Murray River and the lower Goulburn. For this particular group of languages Curr's work is based on first-hand information, and R.H. Mathews has written both a grammatical sketch and a vocabulary of Yodayoda (Mathews 1902b) and he has also left some unpublished manuscript material. The strong contrast that appears even from the early works between the 'Bangerang' languages and the neighbouring 'Kulin' group would have made information on Yodayoda particularly valuable. Speakers of Yodayoda and the closely related Yabulayabula were at first settled on the old Maloga mission, and in 1888 they were moved to Cummeroogunga, on the Murray River opposite Barmah. The story of this and of the mission is told in a neglected, but pioneering publication by a Cummeroogunga man, Ron Morgan (Morgan 1952). There is also a moving account of the early days at Maloga by N. Cato (1976). There was much intermarriage with people of Woiwuru ancestry, and constant movement between Cummeroogunga and Healesville (Coranderrk). These movements in the population have been analysed by Barwick (1972). There was also some association between the Wembawemba and Berəbaberəba of Moonacullah mission and the people of Cummeroogunga. Some Wiradjuri speakers were present on the mission, as there were links between Cummeroogunga and the old Warangesda mission on the Murrumbidgee. Partly on account of these associations with speakers of other languages, but mainly because of movement away from the mission, and because of general discouragement, the Yodayoda language was lost rapidly. The last fluent speaker died about 1950. The best speaker living in 1964 was Bill Jackson, who was born about 1880, but even he remembered only a few words and phrases from his youth. More effort was made, and more fruitlessly with Yodayoda than with any other language; this was largely because so many other people of Yodayoda ancestry would have liked to remember more, and were loath to admit that the language, tragically, had gone.

Even from the small sample that is available it is clear that there was a marked phonemic and particularly a phonetic difference between Yodayoda and the 'Kulin' languages.

6.3.1 Vowels

e and o are full phonemes: o is one of the most frequent phonemes in the language. Before nasals and before d the vowel o was a mid-close sound [o], but elsewhere it was a very open [ɔ] well below the cardinal [ɔ], but with some lip-rounding. This very open quality was reflected in the spelling oa used by writers in the last century for transcribing the Yodayoda [ɔ]. When followed by a single consonant and under the main stress [ɔ] was usually long, when followed by a double consonant and under the main stress, and in all cases when under the secondary stress, [ɔ] was half-long. This renders it one of the most prominent and characteristic sounds in the language.

When accented, e corresponded to a very open sound, [æ], well below cardinal [ɛ]. When final it was a short but close [e], and in all other unaccented positions it was reduced to a weak neutral vowel [ə].

The vowel *a* when unaccented has been transcribed by [ʌ], but it was in fact lower than the corresponding Wembawemba sound and nearer to the short [a] of German.

There was no evidence of any centralised vowels.

6.3.2 Consonants

The most noteworthy features of the consonant system were the great rarity of the retroflex consonants (*ɖ* and *ɽ* were in fact not noted) on the one hand, and the importance of the interdentalals on the other. Despite the limited information, interdental *ɖ* and *ɽ* were both quite well attested, *ɖ* both medially and initially. These interdental sounds do not appear to have been conditioned, but were full phonemes. *ɖ* had a fricative pronunciation wherever it occurred.

r was pronounced as a strongly rolled alveolar sound in the Yodayoda words recorded by both main speakers.

The distribution of phonemes in Yodayoda is strikingly different from the 'Kulin' languages: *g*, *d*, *dj*, *l*, *n*, *ŋ* and *r* can occur finally, but the overwhelming majority of words end in vowels. Intramorphemic consonant clusters that are unknown to the other Victorian languages are found in Yodayoda, particularly *-bn-*, *-lw-*, *-mdj-*, *-djb-*, and *-lm-* (attested but rare in Wembawemba). The Wembawemba speakers were very conscious of this sharp contrast between the languages: "we wouldn't have understood it (i.e. Yodayoda) any more than if they'd been speaking Japanese!"

6.4 Gippsland: the 'Ganai' language

The five main Gippsland tribes, the Bratauoluŋ, the Brabraluŋ, the Braiakaluŋ, the Krautuŋaluŋ and the Tatuŋaluŋ were known collectively as the 'Ganai' (called 'Kurnai' by 19th century and early 20th century writers, particularly by Fison and Howitt, 1880). Very little is known of their language: there is a grammatical sketch and a vocabulary in an article by R.H. Mathews (1902), there is valuable manuscript material left by Howitt, and scanty information in the compilations of Curr (1886) and Smyth (1878). The Ganai came to Lake Wellington Mission (later called Ramahyuck) near Stratford and ultimately to Lake Tyers. From the earliest times people from the Western District were moved into Lake Wellington Mission; and later Lake Tyers became a haven — and not always a welcome one — for all displaced Aborigines from the rest of the state of Victoria, with some influx even from the South Coast of N.S.W. Brabraluŋ, the language of the Mitchell and Tambo River valleys to the north of Lake Tyers, was used as a kind of lingua franca in the early days at Lake Tyers, and it appears to have differed only very little from the adjoining Ganai dialects, Braiakaluŋ, Krautuŋaluŋ and Tatuŋaluŋ. Bratauoluŋ which was spoken further west around Yarram, Pt Albert and Wilson's Promontory, differed a little more from Brabraluŋ; it was the westernmost of the 'Ganai' group and adjoined the Kulin languages. Although Lake Tyers was such an important centre of Aboriginal population, the constant influx of large groups of people from other areas led to an early breakdown of the language: apart from all this, the use of the 'lingo' was despised and discouraged by many of the missionaries. This meant that most people born at Lake Tyers around the turn of the century failed to learn anything at all of the language, to their great regret. Surprisingly enough 'Ganai' was still

spoken in some families much later than this. An old lady, Mrs Connolly, who died in the forties, is reputed to have known all the Ganai dialects: she came from Yarram, and her native speech was the western dialect, Brataoulun, but she also spoke Brabralun fluently. Impressed by her invaluable knowledge, the Rev. Owen of Geelong encouraged her to write a Brataoulun (Yarram dialect) vocabulary, which she did. But no further interest was taken and after her death the manuscript of the book was destroyed by children, and only one page was accidentally saved and shown to the writer. Mrs Connolly's son, born about 1885, had no independent knowledge of Brataoulun, but he did recall some Brabralun vocabulary from his early days at Lake Tyers. His information was confirmed by the fragments of knowledge of other people of Ganai descent, but the results are inevitably meagre.

In vocabulary there is a great difference between the Gippsland and the Kulin languages, but there is some resemblance between the Gippsland languages and Yodayoda. But as regards the phonemic system, Ganai is utterly different from Yodayoda and closely akin to the more easterly of the Kulin languages: in fact there would not appear to be any phonemic difference between the Ganai phonemic system and that postulated tentatively for Woiwuru. There are however some phonetic divergences, and marked differences in the distribution of phonemes.

The most striking of these differences is in the use of the phoneme *r*. In the Gippsland dialects *r* could be used at the beginning of a word. This characteristic is rare in Australian languages. It is found in some Cape York languages (Capell 1956, Schmidt 1919a) and in the Yaralde dialects, once spoken at the mouth of the Murray in South Australia. The clusters *br-*, *mr-* and *gr-* are common in Ganai at the beginning of words, and they are equally prevalent in Yaralde (this includes Yidayida and Daḍidaḍi along the Murray, see 4.1). This resemblance cannot be pressed too far, as many of the other clusters so characteristic of Yaralde are totally absent in Ganai, particularly the clusters containing *l*: *bl-*, *gl-*, *-ld-* etc.

Nevertheless, there seem to be some definite links between the Yaralde group of languages, Yodayoda and Ganai. In grammar Yaralde stands to some extent apart, though there are some resemblances with Yodayoda, such as for instance the use of a special injunctive or prohibitive particle: Yodayoda — *gagedana don't*, Yaralde — *dauel don't*.

Initial plosive consonants are voiced in Ganai, and so are intervocalic *b*, *d*, and optionally *dj*; when followed by a nasal or by *r* in intramorphemic clusters plosives are also voiced. In all other cases they are unvoiced. Final *g* [*k*] is completely unvoiced and is pronounced with much more tension than the corresponding sound in the Kulin languages: the German missionaries were perhaps aware of this tense articulation when they used the transcription *ck* very frequently for the final *g* [*k*] of Ganai (Smyth 1878:22-39, 92-93, 97-98).

Unlike the Wembawemba and Woiwuru *d*, Ganai *d* did not have a fricative articulation. It was really a linguo-dental plosive: the tongue was put between the teeth, but the occlusion was made between the tongue and the lower edge of the upper teeth. As the main speaker tended to pronounce the final consonant of a word with an inaudible release, it was sometimes difficult to differentiate between *d* and the palatalised alveo-dental plosive *dj*, although the two were separate phonemes e.g. *gaḍ mouth*, *gaḍj skipjack*. The difficulty in hearing the contrast between these two sounds is reflected in many spellings of earlier writers: Mathews (1902a) writes *gaty* for [*'ga:t*] *mouth*, and *karch* for [*'ga:tj*] *skipjack*, *brey* for [*'bret*] *hand*, while Smyth and Howitt wrote *bret* or *brett*.

As in the Kulin languages, retroflex consonants do not appear to be frequent in Gippsland, but they have a marked influence on preceding vowels: e has an allophone [ɜ] before a retroflex, e.g. beŋɪn [ˈbɜːŋɪn] *asleep*. Normally e was an open front vowel slightly below cardinal [ɛ], but when followed by a nasal, whether under the main accent or not, was a much closer vowel and approached a position below cardinal [e]. The close pronunciation was also noted before d in bred [ˈbrɛt] *hand*.

When a was long and accented it had a low back vowel [ɑ] as allophone, while in an unaccented position it was pronounced like the [ʌ] of Wembawemba. Before a final n or ŋ however, it remained a front [a], whether it was accented or not.

The rules governing vowel length differed from those current in the Kulin languages: long vowels were rare; the only ones noted were u in ɲu [ˈɲuː] *belt*, and accented a before final d, dj and ŋ. As in most Victorian languages, vowel-length in Ganai was certainly conditioned and not phonemic.

6.5 Southern Njarigu: by L.A. Hercus and J.E. Mathews

6.5.1 General remarks

Njarigu was once spoken on the Southern Monaro from Bombala to Nimmitabel and along the upper Snowy Valley in the Delegate area, and around Goongerah in Victoria. Little was known of this language apart from a brief vocabulary by Mathews (1908), a very short list by John Bulmer (Curr 1886:3/430) and manuscript notes by Howitt (1904). An examination of these scanty published materials makes it quite clear that Njarigu was closely related to Nunawal, which was spoken slightly further north, in the Tumut, Canberra and Yass districts, and which was described in a grammatical sketch by R.H. Mathews (1904b). Njarigu therefore seems to belong to the so-called 'Inland Yuin' group of languages of the Monaro. This older evidence was confirmed by our investigations.

It was possible to record fragments of a southern form of Njarigu as spoken on the Snowy River around Delegate, and to the south towards Orbost. Although there was no mission at Delegate, the remnants of the southern Njarigu tribe remained there during the last century and many worked on stations in the area. This southern form of Njarigu has some similarities with the language of the Biḍawal (Mathews 1907), who appear to have been a mixed tribe. According to one Njarigu man "the Biḍawal were our friends, and we had many relatives among them: they were good people and most of them wandered around the mountains between the Snowy River and the sea and they gradually all died". There were also links between the Southern Njarigu and the Gippsland tribes, and this is reflected in the vocabulary. These links may be recent (see chapter 1, Introduction): there is little phonetic and phonemic resemblance between Southern Njarigu and the Ganai languages of Gippsland.

Around the turn of the century Southern Njarigu was still currently spoken at Delegate, but gradually the people drifted away from the area: some went in search of employment to the New South Wales coast, to Bega, Moruya, and even to Pt Kembla, while others settled in Victoria at Orbost and Lake Tyers. In 1963 no descendants of the original Njarigu people were left at Delegate. As a result of this disintegration the language fell into disuse, and only fragments of Southern Njarigu were remembered by the widely scattered Aboriginal people who had come from Delegate, particularly by members of the Solomon and McLeod families, who still currently used some Njarigu vocabulary in the home. They

had completely forgotten the grammatical system and used the Nariḡu vocabulary within the framework of English, often under the illusion that they were 'speaking in the language'.

6.5.2 Phonemic and phonetic notes

6.5.2.1 Consonants

6.5.2.1.1 Consonant phonemes

The consonantal system of Nariḡu differs from that of most of the Victorian languages described in the preceding sections, but shows some similarity with Yodayoda. As in Yodayoda, the rarity of retroflex phonemes was particularly noticeable.

Consonantal system:

	labial	inter-dental	alveolar	retro-flex	palatal	velar
Plosives	b	<u>d</u>	d	ɖ	dj	g
nasals	m		n		nj	ŋ
trilled			r			
laterals			l		lj	
semivowels	(w)				y	(w)

6.5.2.1.2 Functional value of consonant phonemes

The functional value of the phonemes can be shown by their occurrence in similar environments.

(a) Contrasts by position of articulation:

Plosives b, ɖ, dj, g:

ŋabuŋ	<i>grandfather</i>	ŋaɖu	<i>small bark-dish</i>
ŋadjuŋ	<i>water</i>	ŋaguŋ	<i>great-aunt</i>

d, d and dj:

<u>d</u> uguŋ	<i>younger brother</i>	duguŋ	<i>sugar</i>
djuŋanj	<i>snake</i>		

Nasals m, n, nj and ŋ:

malub	<i>lightning</i>	nalug	<i>grass</i>
ŋalag	<i>sit down</i>	njalauŋ	<i>up</i>

Semivowels w and y:

yarabi	<i>to go</i>		
waraganj	<i>snow-gum</i>		

(b) Contrasts by manner of articulation:

Labials b, m and w:

buriga *moon*
 murili *bad woman*
 wur *good job*

Alveolars d, n, r and l:

gudaŋ *uncle* gunuŋ *excrement*
 guruŋ *unsweetened tea* gulug *to swallow*

Palatals dj and lj:

ŋadjan *mother*
 ŋaljan *ugly*

dj and y:

yaruŋ *hair*
 djaruŋ *currawong*

lj is rare and is found only medially. It is a separate phoneme and is not in complementary distribution with y. Although y is a common initial it may occur medially (e.g. ŋuyuŋ *big*).

Velars g, ŋ and w:

ganj *uncle* ŋaŋ *to bite*
 wanj *child*

It is important to note that there is contrast between the retroflex ɖ and r: maɖan-maɖan *dirty*, mara *spider*.

6.5.2.1.3 Distribution of consonant phonemes

(a) Initial consonants

Like all other languages described here, Southern ŋarigu has no initial vowels or retroflex consonants, and initial n is comparatively rare. But Southern ŋarigu differs from the Victorian languages and particularly from Ganai on account of the rarity of initial l.

Ganai (Gippsland) both initial l and r common
 Kulin languages initial l quite common, no initial r
 Southern ŋarigu initial l rare, no initial r

(b) Final consonants

About one third of the vocabulary has a vocalic final; n, nʲ and ŋ are particularly common at the end of words, and b, d, dj, g, r and l can also occur in the final position.

(c) Consonant clusters

There were no final consonant clusters, and medial clusters were limited in number. On the other hand the possibilities of initial clustering are even greater than in Ganai.

List of intra-morphemic clusters			
Initial clusters	br-	dr-	gr-
	mr-	dw-	gw-
Medial clusters	-mb-	-nd-	-ŋg-
	-mbl-	-ndr-	-ndj-
	-nb-		
			-(njgr)-
	-lb-		-lg-
	-lm-		
	-rb-		-rg-
-mj-			

The cluster -njgr- occurred only in the word ganjgruŋ *kangaroo* which is probably borrowed. Some further clusters, -lb- in galbgał *wood*, -gm- in bugmin *pregnant* and -gb- in bragbag *sticky* can hardly be classified as intramorphemic, but no definite conclusions on this are possible in the absence of morphological information.

6.5.2.1.4 Allophonic variations of consonant phonemes

(a) Voice

Plosives were generally voiced, and devoiced allophones were noted only in the final position and optionally in the clusters -lb- and -lg-:

bud	[¹ bUt]	<i>rabbit</i>
djug	[¹ djUk]	<i>to stab</i>
bib-bib	[¹ bIp-bIp]	<i>kangaroo</i>
galgun	[¹ galkən]	<i>eel</i>
galbgał	[¹ gałp ₁ ga·ł]	<i>wood</i>

(b) Notes on some individual consonants

b (allophones p, β)

The allophone β occurred before u if another b immediately followed or preceded:

bubaŋ	[¹ βu·baŋ]	<i>father</i>
bubul	[¹ βu·βUl]	<i>water</i>
bubulug	[¹ βu·βUlUk]	<i>fat</i>

Owing to coarticulation with the following u there was in these cases incomplete closure of the lips for b and this produced the very distinctive voiced unrounded labial fricative β.

d [ð]

d was generally pronounced as a bilateral interdental fricative, produced by contact of the tongue with the lower edges of the upper teeth and the escape of air past the sides of the tip of the tongue. This ð was pronounced with considerable tension.

dj (allophones tj, tʃ and ^dj)

dj was usually a palatalised alveo-dental consonant. When it occurred in the initial position the alveo-dental occlusion was very weak and the palatalised release was very prominent, particularly when i followed. This means that dj in this position approximated to y, and it was in fact occasionally heard as such. Although there was contrast between y and dj in other environments, and they were distinct phonemes, there was partial complementation in this particular environment. The phonetic transcription [dj] has been used to indicate this neutralisation, e.g. djiralgal [dʒe^lra.l₁ga.l] *small lizard*. At the end of a word dj tended to be an unreleased final consonant [tʃ̚].

g (allophone k)

The articulation of g was usually fully velar and there was no fronting of g (or of ŋ) towards the medio-palatal position because of the conspicuous and total absence of the phoneme sequences gi and ŋi from the Southern Nariḡu material recorded by us. The tribal name Daḡgai belongs to Biḡawal.

r

In Southern Nariḡu r can be very lightly trilled but is in fact usually a single tap.

The pronunciation of Southern Nariḡu is distinctive on account of allophonic variants not heard in Victorian languages, β, bi-lateral interdental ð, and ^dj, and on account of the rarity of retroflex consonants.

6.5.2.2 Vowels

6.5.2.2.1 Length

The system of vowel length is one of the most distinctive features of Southern Nariḡu, and it contrasts sharply with length in the Victorian languages.

Length is not associated with the main accent. Vowels in the first syllable were very rarely lengthened, but there was some slight and optional lengthening before m, ŋg and nd: mumuŋ [l¹mu·mUŋ] *little*; gwandidj [l¹gwa·ndItj] *old woman*; gwaŋgal [l¹gwa·ŋgal] *honey*.

In those words of three or more syllables, listed above, where the main accent fell on the second syllable, the vowel of that syllable was sometimes half-long (see 6.5.2.3).

The most frequent and conspicuous position of long vowels was in the final syllable. a was always fully long before the common final consonant n: balan [l¹ba₁la:n] *woman*; ŋaljan [l¹ŋa₁lja:n] *ugly*.

The vowel a in the final syllable was usually half-long:

before nj:	djuganj [l ¹ dju ₁ ga·nj]	<i>snake</i>
before l:	marigal [l ¹ marI ₁ ga·l]	<i>sallee wattle</i>
if it is final:	munda [l ¹ mUn ₁ da·]	<i>mouth</i> .

Vowels other than a were never lengthened in the final syllable.

6.5.2.2.2 Phonemes

The Nariḡu system of vowel phonemes is simpler than that of any Victorian language owing to the absence of phonemic e and o. Nariḡu has only three vowels:

i u
 a

and two diphthongs:

ai and au

The phonemic value of the vowels can be shown by their use in similar environments:

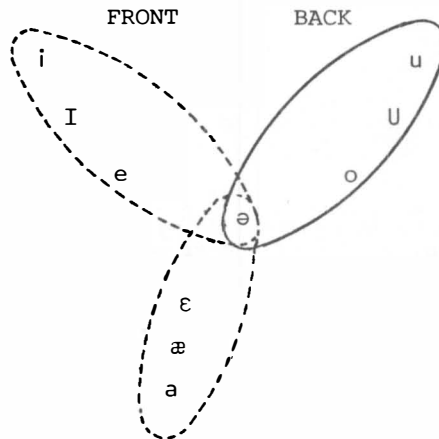
marigal *sallee wattle*
mirigan *dog*
murili *bad woman*

The diphthongs are very restricted in their use: au occurred only in the first syllable, e.g. gauḡ *echidna*, while ai occurred only in the final syllable, e.g. yaḡgai *teenage boy*, bulburai *thunderstorm*.

6.5.2.2.3 Allophonic variation of vowels

(a) Scope of allophonic variation

The scope of allophonic variation of the vowels can be illustrated by the following diagram:



(b) Unaccented vowels

Southern Nariḡu shares with Wembawemba and a number of not very closely related Australian languages a tendency towards extreme weakening of unaccented vowels. In Southern Nariḡu unaccented vowels in any syllable that follows the main stress can be reduced to the weak central vowel [ə]. The distinctive quality of the vowel was maintained when the word was repeated or pronounced very carefully. There is thus a gradation of phonetic values for each unaccented vowel. The back vowel u when unaccented, had a series of allophonic variations ranging from [U] via [o] to [ə]. The front vowel i showed similar

variations ranging from [ɪ] via [e] to [ə], while the low vowel a varied from [a] via [ɛ] to [ə]. These weak vowels have generally been indicated by the transcription [ə], or by whichever grade of vowel was most frequent:

nalug	[ˈnalək]	<i>grass</i>
garibal	[ˈgarəɪbaːl]	<i>skinny</i>
gadagan	[ˈgaðəɪgaːn]	<i>head</i>

(c) Notes on individual vowels

u showed very little allophonic variation in the accented syllable. The normal pronunciation was [U] but when the vowel was half-long the more tense articulation [u] was sometimes noted: mumuŋ [ˈmuːmUŋ] *little*.

i was usually pronounced as [ɪ]; when accented and half-long it could be more tense [i]. When it was followed by r, i was lowered and approximated to cardinal [e]: wirgara [werˈgaːraː] *whereabouts?*; guniriŋ [gUˈnerɪŋ] *silly*. Lowering of i was noticeable to a much slighter degree before l: murili [mUˈrelɪ] *bad woman*.

a whether long or short was normally a low front vowel: the low back vowel [ɑ] appears to be absent from the Ŋarigu phonetic system. a was strongly influenced by the consonant environment, notably by preceding palatals and w. a could optionally be raised and fronted to [æ] after a palatal consonant; a following nb, md, nd and ŋg inhibited this tendency.

djad-bulug	[ˈdjæt buɪUk]	<i>liar</i>
njarala	[nɟæˈraːla]	<i>to listen</i>
yarabi	[ˈyærabɪ]	<i>to go</i>

but

yangai	[ˈyangai]	<i>teenage boy</i>
njanban	[ˈnjanɪbaːn]	<i>hungry</i>
djambug	[ˈdjambUk]	<i>sheep</i>

Final nɟ could optionally bring about a diphthongal and fronted pronunciation of a preceding a:

wanj	[ˈwaɪnɟ], [ˈwæɪnɟ]	<i>child</i>
------	--------------------	--------------

A preceding w caused a to be raised and rounded to [ɔ] if d or r follow:

dwad-dwad	[ˈdwɔt-dwɔt]	<i>bark</i>
waraganj	[ˈwɔraɪgaːnɟ]	<i>white sallee</i>

The vocalic system of Ŋarigu contrasts with the vocalic system of the Victorian languages by its simplicity and by the absence of centralised vowels. The most striking difference, however, is in the distribution of vowel length: long vowels are generally heard in the first syllable in Victorian languages and in the last syllable in Ŋarigu. These differences confirm the conclusion of earlier writers that Ŋarigu belongs to the Yuin group of languages of N.S.W. It has only superficial similarities in vocabulary with the Gippsland languages of Victoria.

6.5.2.3 Accentuation

It appears probable that neither the accent nor vowel length are phonemic in Southern Ŋarigu. Both a tonic stress accent and a secondary accent could be distinguished. The tonic stress accent was associated with a very slight rise in pitch and usually fell on the first syllable of a word. There was

however a group of words of three or more syllables in which the main stress fell on the second syllable, and a secondary stress frequently fell on the final syllable of three-syllable words. They are:

budalag	[bU ¹ da·læk]	<i>goanna</i>
budira	[bU ¹ de ₁ ra·]	<i>clever man</i>
djarimiŋ	[djæ ¹ rI·mIŋ]	<i>flash</i>
djiralgal	[dje ¹ ra·l ₁ ga·l]	<i>lizard</i>
yaraman	[yæ ¹ ra· ₁ ma·n]	<i>horse</i>
miribi	[me ¹ rI·bI]	<i>thunder</i>
murili	[mU ¹ reII]	<i>bad woman</i>
njarala	[njæ ¹ ra·la]	<i>to listen</i>
djamalaŋ	[djæ ¹ ma·laŋ]	<i>platypus</i>
djimangal	[dʒI ¹ maŋ ₁ ga·l]	<i>thrush</i>
dinabili	[dI ¹ na·bIII]	<i>dirty</i>
gunirin	[gU ¹ nerIŋ]	<i>silly</i>
gunamudanj	[gU ¹ namU ₁ da·nj]	<i>poisoner</i>
yalagan	[yæ ¹ la ₁ ga:n]	<i>good</i>
waligada	[wa ¹ lIga ₁ ða·]	<i>legendary little people</i>
wirgara	[wer ¹ ga ₁ ra·]	<i>whereabouts?</i>

The second syllable, which bears the accent in these words, begins with d, r, l, m or n, (except in the last example) and this bears some resemblance to the situation in *Madimadi*. But from the scanty material available in Southern *Narigu* it is not possible to tell to what extent the accent is conditioned by the environment: there are some words with similar sound-groups where the accent falls on the initial syllable, e.g. *mirigan* [¹mIrə₁ga:n] *dog*, *dununalug* [¹dUnə₁na·læk] *to stare at something*. The rules governing the position of the accent may be very complex and are probably connected with the vowel length of the third syllable, which in its turn is conditioned by the consonantal environment (see 6.5.2.1): [¹mIrə₁ga:n], [¹dUnə₁na·læk], [¹marI₁ga·l] *sallee wattle* as opposed to [me¹rI·bI] [mU¹reII]. The only possible conclusion from our limited material is that the main accent is usually initial, and that certain consonants are associated with the accent on the second syllable in words of three or more syllables.

A weaker secondary accent usually fell on the last syllable if the vowel was long or half-long: *balan* [¹ba₁la:n] *woman*, *buguga* [¹bUgə₁ga·] *black sallee*. In words of four syllables the secondary accent fell on the third syllable if that contained a long vowel: *gambawali* [¹gambə₁wa·II] *to cry*.

The *Narigu* system of accentuation thus shows an element of variety, and is very different in effect from *Wembawemba* and *Wergaia* accentuation.

CHAPTER 7

ABORIGINAL — ENGLISH VOCABULARIES

It was common during last century to assume that 'primitive' languages had a very poor vocabulary, and even now the question is constantly asked 'how many words did these Aboriginal languages have? Surely their vocabulary is nothing compared with ours?' Only a fragment of the original Wembawemba vocabulary could be recorded; many important aspects of native life, particularly the ritual, the mythology and history of the ancestral beings and the night-time reflection of this history in the skies — all these were almost completely forgotten. But even the little that could be recorded shows that the language was wholly adequate to express the culture to which it belonged, and it showed great insight into natural history. Wembawemba had a derivation system capable of considerable expansion, and the transition songs show that it would have been a pliable language, adaptable to changing conditions. There seems no reason to adopt the strange criterion that the status of a language can be assessed by the extent of its vocabulary: this criterion is never applied to medieval European languages for instance, and nothing could be poorer than the vocabulary of certain courtly poets. Nevertheless it is important to note that this vocabulary of Wembawemba represents only a fragmentary remnant. The complete loss of the tribal system meant that the original scope of the kinship terms had been obliterated. The translations given here correspond simply to what the speakers said and this occasionally gives a glimpse of older values, as for instance in the case of Wembawemba — *ɲaba grandfather*.

In the vocabulary verbs have usually been given in the third person singular of the present, which is equivalent to the present base in the Kulin languages. Reciprocal verbs have been given in the third person plural form. Grammatical features, such as the transitive or intransitive nature of verbs, have been indicated only where there is ambiguity.

Cognate forms in other Australian languages have been noted only when they are of some particular interest. The whole problem of linguistic relationship, and the distribution of vocabulary, including the wide-spread words (the so-called 'Common Australian Vocabulary'), will need to be re-examined in the light of detailed studies of particular languages. A beginning has been made by A. Capell (1956:80-115; 1962:1-14), and by Hale and O'Grady (1966). The word-lists which follow are a contribution towards the study of this problem in an area where little is known and where there is no hope of further information.

The order in these vocabularies is:

b d d dj ḍ g l ḷ ḷ m n n nj ŋ ŋ r ṛ w y

Wembawemba vocabulary

- ba [ˈpa] *and*. This word was used in numerals as well as generally to correspond to English 'and'.
mir ba ganjug *eyes and nose*, i.e. *face*.
- bab-djinə [ˈpa·pˈdjinə] *big toe* (lit. *mother of foot*). bab is not the usual Wembawemba word for 'mother', but it occurs in this fixed locution.
- bab-manja [ˈpa·pˈmanjʌ] *thumb* (lit. *mother of hand*).
- badag [ˈpaθʌk] *hailstone*.
- badangila [ˈpaθaŋ,ɡIɪʌ] *it is hailing*.
- badan [ˈpaθaŋ] *a large black ant*.
- badema [ˈpaθəmə] *to try, or taste food*. badəmag *try it!*
- badinjin [ˈpaθI,ŋIn] (*your*) *knee*.
- baɖama [ˈpaɖʌmə] *to wrestle*.
baɖaminjana bridjag *I'll wrestle (with) you on the bare ground*. This is the interpretation of the song of the Willie wagtail, particularly when it calls in the evening time. According to the yemuragi story he was a cheeky fellow who challenged everybody to fight with him.
- bagadja [ˈpakʌtjʌ] *to look around enquiringly*.
- bagadjeran [ˈpakʌ,tjerʌŋ] *to look round enquiringly at one another, to ask one another*.
- baged-wuru [ˈbagad ˈwuru] *a mouth like a bucket*. From English 'bucket', cf. Song 2.4.2.
- bagobanj [ˈbako,banj] *milk thistle*. This word was regarded as a borrowing from Yodayoda.
- baiban [ˈpai·paŋ] *bream*, i.e. Murray herring, one of the species of *Fluvialosa*, and one of the most commonly eaten species of fish among the Wembawemba.
- baiga [ˈpai·ka] *get up, rise in flight, fly*.
- baigi, wergi, ginja beŋ *get up, quick, there is a man coming* (said as a joke among a group of girls).
- baiga-duɖ [ˈpai·ka ˈtu:t] *shooting star* (lit. *it-flies star*).
- baial [ˈpaiʌal] *swamp*.
- baingug [ˈpai:ŋgʊk] *child*. The plural of this word is bembengug *children*.
- balam-balam [ˈpaɪʌm ɪpaɪʌm] *white butterfly*.
- balen-wil [ˈpaɪɛ·ŋ ɪwɪl] *dog*. One of the many terms meaning a useless kind of dog; generally coupled with geŋ-wil. The meaning of the word balen was not clear; it also occurred in a song, ninaga balenjug, about a frog which sat on a log and jumped off and was drowned in a flood. The song was sung by one of the people who had scant knowledge of the language, and therefore not adequately translated.
- bamba [ˈpa:mbʌ] *to be frightened*.
- bambaia [ˈpa:mbaiʌ] *to be in a state of fear*.
- bambila [ˈpa:mbɪlʌ] *to be frightened all the time, to be a coward*.
- bambandila [ˈpa:mban,dɪlʌ] *to shine in many colours*.
- bambandilan [ˈpa:mban,dɪlan] *rainbow* (lit. *shining in many colours*).
- bana [ˈpanʌ] *ringtail possum*.
- banbar [ˈpanbʌr] *wooden shovel*.
- bandjəwan [ˈpa:ndjə,wʌŋ] *shoes*.
- bandəlan [ˈpa:ndə,lʌŋ] *whistling eagle, Haliastur sphenurus*. Described usually as ŋaŋa-gad *he is a cadger*.
- bandjil [ˈpa:ndjɪl] *Murray cod*.

- banəm [ˈpanəm], [ˈpɔnəm] *dampener, bread.*
- baŋəl [ˈpa.ŋəl] *witchdoctor, clever man.*
- baŋga [ˈpa:ŋa] *to dig.*
- bara [ˈpaɾa] *the red or plains kangaroo.*
- barai [ˈpaɾai] *well! Exclamation of pleasure and surprise. Also used as an exclamation calling for attention.*
- baraŋguna [ˈpaɾaŋ,ɡuŋa],
baraŋguwa [ˈpaɾaŋ,ɡuwa] *to kill.*
- bara-wil [ˈpaɾa,wil] *dust storm.*
- bare [ˈpaɾe] *kangaroo rat, Potorus tridactylus.*
- barəm-barəm [ˈpaɾəm ˈpaɾəm] (*great*)
grandfather (paternal).
- barəmbug [ˈpaɾəm,buk] (*his*)
ancestor, an ancestral being, a totem.
- barəm-gurg [ˈpaɾəm ,ɡurk] *great-grandmother.*
- baroidj [ˈpaɾoitj] *mouse. Used of the ordinary house mouse.*
- baruɡ [ˈpa:ɾuk] *a lot.*
- baɾaia [ˈpaɾaiya] *to hunt.*
- baɾeŋa [ˈpaɾeŋa] *to run after, to chase.*
- baɾəga [ˈpaɾəka], [ˈpa:ɾka] *to blow (of flies).*
wemba ninjam djagag bengug baɾəgin
bidigu *don't eat this meat, it's flyblown. This verb is probably a variant of the following.*
- baɾga [ˈpa:ɾka] *to poke or prod something with a spear. e.g. to poke in the bed of a stream looking for turtles: 'they could tell by the sound of the prodding spear whether they were just prodding stones or a turtle shell!'*
- baɾi [ˈpaɾi] *native oven.*
- baɾiŋ [ˈpaɾiŋ] *the track (of an animal person).*
baɾiŋug *his track.*
- baɾŋga [ˈpaɾŋga] *to be thirsty.*
baɾŋganda *I am thirsty.*
- bawa [ˈpa:wa] *to cook in ashes.*
- beɾaia [ˈpɜtaiya] *to dry.*
beɾaiag ninjam gan *dry that dress.*
- beɾaiadaŋ [ˈpɜtaiya,taŋ] *dry.*
- beligmən [ˈpelɪg,mən] *policeman.*
Borrowed word.
- ben [ˈpɛ:n] *a hollow tree.*
- ben-wuru [ˈpɛ:n ,wuru] *a big mouth. A mouth as big as a hollow tree.*
- bener [ˈpɜŋəɾ] *teal (duck).*
- beŋ [ˈpɛ:ŋ] *man, a human being.*
Also *body, self*, used in reflexive constructions, e.g. bengandag [ˈpɛ:ŋgan,dak] *to myself* (oblique case) djilbendingad bengandag *I banged myself.*
- bengug [ˈpɛ:ŋuk] *meat, i.e. its body.*
- berbug [ˈpɛɾbuk] *tomorrow.*
- berəba [ˈpɛɾəpɾa] *to climb (trees).*
- berəbila [ˈpɛɾə,pila] *to climb, to go climbing trees.*
- berəbom-biəl [ˈpɛɾə,pom ,piəl] *a champion climber of trees.*
- berəd-berəd [ˈpɛɾət ,pɛɾət] *spur-winged plover, Lobibyx novae-hollandiae.*
- beridj [ˈpɛɾitj] *native cat.*
- berma [ˈpɛɾma] *to sneak up on somebody or something.*
- berməraia [ˈpɛɾmə,raiya] *to pimp, to give somebody away. Used particularly of birds such as the noisy miner, who gives away a person who is sneaking up to his prey.*
- bermila [ˈpɛɾmila] *to go sneaking round.*
- beɾəba [ˈpɜɾəpɾa], beɾəbana *to lose something. beɾəbodən something lost, probably cognate with beɾəba*

- no in the closely related language Berəbaberəba.
- Berəbaberəba [ˈpɜ̃rəpɪ, pɜ̃rəpɪ] *name of a neighbouring group closely associated with the Wembawemba.*
- berəbana see berəba
- berəburuŋ [ˈpɜ̃rəpʉrʉŋ] *if not (you). Only in song language.*
- berg-berg [ˈpɜ̃rk ˈpɜ̃rk] *prickles, e.g. of an echidna.*
- bidig [ˈpiθIk] *a fly.*
- bidjəga [ˈpitjəkɿ] *to warm oneself. This verb belongs to a more widespread family of words, cf., Yodayoda — bidja fire.*
- biəl [ˈpi:əl] *red gum. Sometimes used loosely for a tree in general, and a stick.*
- biəlangila [ˈpiələŋ, gɪlɿ] *to run along the edge of a river below the actual bank, i.e. where the roots of the red gum trees are.*
- bilb [ˈpilp] *a kind of drum made out of wood.*
- bilba [ˈpilpɿ] *to bang. wemba bilbag don't bang, said to a child.*
- bilenj [ˈpi:ɿlɛ·nj] *as well, too. djaginjanda bilenj I will eat too.*
- bilermadail [ˈpɪlɛrmɿ, tail] *white.*
- bilermadaŋ [ˈpɪlɛrmɿ, taŋ] *white.*
- bili [ˈpiɿI] *stomach (external). This is not a borrowing from English 'belly' — the similarity is accidental; cf., the corresponding Djadjala word.*
- bilidj [ˈpi:ɿɪtj] *large water-leech.*
- bilobiloda [ˈpiɿɔ, piɿɔtɿ] *to shine, to glitter. Said of gold, or of the sun.*
- bilobiluwa [ˈpiɿɔ, piɿɔwɿ] *to shine intensely, to gleam.*
- bilodaŋ [ˈpi:ɿɔ, taŋ] *shining. bilodaŋ gad ginja njai the sun is very glary.*
- binwurai [ˈpinwu, rai] *stone tomahawk, with long handle. Used only for fighting, while dir was used for cutting wood, making canoes, etc.*
- biŋa [ˈpüŋɿ] *appear, come, arrive, to rise (of sun etc.). Used in many fixed locutions, e.g. biŋangad merderug his bones are sticking out.*
- biŋedj [ˈpüŋdetj] *bird—the noisy miner.*
- biŋən [ˈpüŋən] *arrived, risen. biŋən njai the sun has risen.*
- bingal [ˈpi:ŋgɿ] *carpet snake.*
- birə [ˈpirɿ] *to be bald.*
- biradail [ˈpirɿ, tail] *a bald person.*
- birba [ˈpirpɿ] *to hop.*
- birbula [ˈpirpʉɿɿ], biribula [ˈpirɪpʉɿɿ] *to go hopping along, like a kangaroo.*
- birə-wil [ˈpirə, wɪɿ] *catfish. Alternative word for wanjagai.*
- birgug [ˈpirkʉk] *(his) tail.*
- biribula see birbula
- biridjana [ˈpirɪtjɿnɿ] *to jump.*
- birbenj [ˈpürpɛnj] *a sharp spear-point waddy.*
- birga [ˈpürkɿ] *to make up a song about somebody, to compose a song. birgag ginjam beŋ make up a song about this man!*
- birguwa [ˈpürkʉwɿ] *to undo, e.g. a net.*
- birgubirgu-birguwa [ˈpürkʉ ˈpürkʉ ˈpürkʉwɿ] *to undo. More emphatic than above.*
- birmbinj [ˈpürmbɪnj] *a small bark dish. Also called 'a little canoe'. It was made on a smaller scale by stripping bark from trees in the same way as for a proper canoe.*
- birmbug [ˈpürmbʉk] *(his) marrow, the marrow of a bone.*

- birmidj [¹pürmItj] a young kangaroo, a joey.
- bobenj [¹pɔpɛ̃·nj] a small baby.
- bodj [¹pɔ:tj], boədj [¹pɔ·ətj] grass.
- boədj see bodj
- boŋən [¹pɔ·ŋən] smelly, bad (of food). Past participle of boŋga.
- boŋga [¹pɔ:ŋɿ] to smell.
Verb intransitive.
- boŋgidj-mumin [¹pɔ:ŋgItj ¹mu:mIn] term of abuse (lit. your bottom would smell).
- bri-dja [¹pri tja] bare ground, claypan.
- bridjirim [¹pri,tjIrIm] resin from the Murray pine. Used as a glue in the manufacture of stone tomahawks.
- budaia [¹buθaiɿ] to extinguish a fire. budaianda ginjam wanab I'm putting this fire out.
- budega [¹buθekɿ] to come in, e.g. into a camp. budega laŋaŋin He's going into your camp.
- budəgila [¹buθə,kIɿ] to dive into the water.
- bud [¹bu:t] private parts (female).
- buḍ [¹pɯ:ṭ] smoke.
- buḍəla [¹pɯ:ṭəlɿ] to smoke (of fire). Used only jokingly for cigarette smoking; the more usual word for cigarette smoking is mugidja.
- buḍidj [¹pɯ:ṭItj] root of reed-mace or Cumbungi, *Typha angustifolia*. The root was eaten.
- buḍug [¹pɯ:ṭUk] tobacco (lit. smoke-his).
- budjun [¹butjUn] matter, from a wound or a boil, 'sleep' from the eyes.
- buiga [¹buIkɿ] to fall down.
- buiŋga [¹bu·Iŋɿ] to show, to point out.
- bulədail [¹bu·lə,tail] grey (of hair or beard). bulədail ŋərənjug he has grey hair.
- bulədj [¹bulətj] box tree, *Eucalyptus bicolor*.
- buledja [¹buletjɿ] two.
- buləma [¹buləmɿ] to issue a summons. Probably derived via the past tense: buləmin the summons from pull him in or from the future buləminj he will summon. This word was well assimilated and barely felt as a borrowing. See Song 2.4.9.
- bulga [¹bulkɿ] to be soft.
- bulgaia [¹bulkaiɿ] to feel weak or feeble.
- bulinj [¹bulInj] a spark from a fire.
- bulpa [¹bulpɿ] to roll something on the ground, to heap up, stones, etc.
- bumba [¹bu·mbɿ] to be cold.
- bumbəl [¹bu·mbəl] blossom, flowers on trees.
- bumbila [¹bu·mbIɿ] to feel cold.
- bumbilan [¹bu·mbI,ɿlan] cold.
Continuous participle.
- bumbundila [¹bu·mbUn,dIɿ] to shake with cold.
- bun [¹bu:n] testicle.
- bunda [¹bundɿ] to bite.
- buṇbuṇwila [¹pɯŋbuṇ,wIɿ] rise, swell, of a sore or of a damper.
buṇbuṇwilaŋ a swelling or sore.
- buṇwil [¹pɯŋwIɿ] a quick, smart person, a fast runner.
- bunga [¹bu:ŋɿ] to spear someone.
- buṇuđ [¹buṇuđ̣] wire-rush. Used for basket-making. *Juncus* species, probably *Juncus australis*.
- burəgoneg [¹burə,kɔnek] a small fish with large eyes. Probably the silver perch, *Bidyanus*.

burəmban [¹burəm,ban] *root (of a tree).*

burən [¹burən] *edible grass seed, i.e. the dry seed of a native species of panicum. This was ground and made into flour.*

bureŋa [¹burɛŋʌ] *to snore. Probably cognate with burga and burnga.*

burga [¹bu·rkʌ] *to sigh.*

burgən [¹bu·rkən] *breath. gadinanda garga burgen (lit. I can't catch breath). Past participle of burga.*

burnga [¹burngʌ] *to blow, e.g. a fire. burngag ginjam wanab blow that fire!*

burɓ [¹pʊɾɓ] *little black and white shag, Microcarbo melanoleucus.*

burɔga [¹pʊɾkʌ] *to pull out.*

burɔgəna [¹pʊɾkənʌ] *to break.*

burɔnj [¹pʊɾɪnj] *night, darkness. burɔnjada at night.*

burɔunj [¹pʊɾʊnj] *green-headed ant.*

buyəgila [¹bu·yɛ,kiIʌ] *to lick (oneself). Said especially of dogs.*

dadagug [¹təθʌ,kʊk] *(his) arm. Also the wing of a bird.*

dandəl [¹təndəl] *poison. This was administered by only one poison-man, a djurmban in the tribe.*

dandəla [¹təndəlʌ] *to poison.*

darail [¹tərail] *money. A short form for darədail white stuff.*

darədail [¹təɾɛ,tail] *white.*

darədan [¹təɾɛ,tan] *white. Used particularly in darədan marŋ a white cloud.*

darə-garug [¹təɾɛ ,kaɾʊk] *policeman, i.e. white-legs. This expression comes from the old uniform with white breeches.*

darə-mum [¹təɾɛ ,mu·m] *white-bottom. One of the words coined for 'rabbit'.*

Daɗidaɗi [¹taɗI,tatI] *name of a tribe who lived in the Boundary Bend area on the Murray River.*

daga [¹takʌ] *to hit.*

dagdjera [¹taktjɛɾʌ] *to fight, to hit one another.*

Damədjəri [¹tamə,tjɛɾI] *Tamajery Creek. Near Moonacullah Mission.*

daŋ [¹ta:ŋ] *a ball game. Played with a ball made from possum skin. It was almost like football and one tribe used to play it against the other. 'But you had to be really clever to be able to play daŋ! (Howitt 1904:770).*

daŋda [¹taŋdʌ] *to touch, to push lightly.*

danga [¹taŋgʌ] *to put on (clothes, hats, etc.).*

dangəl [¹ta:ngəl] *a bunyip.*

danguwa [¹ta:ngʊwʌ] *to finish.*

daramaŋdər [¹tarʌ,maŋdər] *a very small lizard, 'the common grass skink', i.e. a species of Leiolopisma.*

darɔma [¹tarɔmʌ] *to be hard.*

darɔminjug [¹tarɔmI,njʊk] *hard, tough.*

darɔmi-mureŋ [¹tarɔmI ,mʊrɛŋ] *hard-headed, obstinate.*

dauwa [¹tauwʌ], dauwila [¹tauwIʌ] *to hit (with a weapon), so as to injure a person; as opposed to the cognate verb daga to hit, to smack.*

-dawa [¹-tawʌ] *along (by the side of). Post position, which follows the general oblique case.*

dedj [¹tetj] *bird — black coot, Fulica atra.*

delgaia [¹tɛlkaiaɾʌ] *to be well, to*

- improve, to be peaceful.
delgainj it will be well, it will be all right.
- delgug [ˈtɛlkʊk] good, nice.
- delguna [ˈtɛlkʊnʌ] to cure somebody.
- deniŋ [ˈtɛnɪŋ] ice (found on the top of stagnant water). This was not attested with certainty.
- didandi [ˈtitanɪdɪ] knife.
- diðənaiug [ˈtütə,naiyʊk] new, fresh.
- dilag [ˈtilak] (wooden) barb of a spear.
- dilanj [ˈtilanj] wild grape, berry of dillon-bush, *Nitraria schoberi*.
- dilib [ˈtilɪp] little waterhen, swamphen, *Borzana plumbea*. Named after its call.
- diluŋ [ˈtilʊŋ] native name of Tulla Station, near Wakool. The grandfather of the speakers worked there and they lived there for a long time. Tulla was in the Wembawemba territory.
- diŋda [ˈtündʌ] to take away.
diŋdag giŋjam wireŋən take this dog away.
- diŋdila [ˈtündɪlʌ] to sew (a possum rug).
- dir [ˈti:r] stone tomahawk.
- dub-dub [ˈtu:p, tʊp] yellow-billed spoonbill, *Platalea flaripes*.
- duð [ˈtʊ:t] star.
- dug [ˈtu:k] bullfrog.
- duga [ˈtu:kʌ] to move. Verb intransitive. wemba dugi don't move!, keep still!
- dulaia [ˈtulaiyʌ] to be small.
- dulaia mureŋandag [ˈtulaiyʌ ˈmu,rɛŋandʌk] I am deeply ashamed.
- dulu [ˈtulʊ] stump (of a tree).
- dulu [ˈtulʊ] little, cf. the preceding word.
- dumigal [ˈtu:mɪkʌl] tent, camp.
- dunəb [ˈtunəp] little finger.
- dunji-(gad) [ˈtunʤɪ kat] very much. Emphatic adverb.
- durg [ˈturk] mud.
- duꞤmi-mum [ˈtʊꞤmɪ, mu:m] long-necked or stinking turtle, *Chelodina longicollis*. These turtles were often eaten, and were named from the v-shaped opening at the back of the shell.
- dja [ˈtja:] ground, soil.
- djaba [ˈtja:pʌ] to hide or 'plant' something.
- djabila [ˈtja:pɪlʌ] to deceive.
- djadəl [ˈtja:təl] bullocks. English 'cattle'.
- djadjin [ˈtja:tʤɪn] (your) sister (elder).
- djadj-guriŋin [ˈtja:tʤ ˈgʊrɪ, ŋɪn] (your) late elder sister.
- djaga [ˈtjakʌ] to eat.
- djagila [ˈtjakɪlʌ] to go on eating (greedily), to eat up.
- djaguwa [ˈtjakʊwʌ], djaguwala [ˈtjakʊ,wʌlʌ] to feast, to celebrate.
- djaləŋ [ˈtjaləŋ] hot. Probably originally a participial form.
- djaləŋa [ˈtjaləŋʌ] to be hot.
djaləŋanda I am hot.
- djaləŋ-djaləŋanda [ˈtjaləŋ, tjaləŋandʌ] I am very hot. Emphatic form.
- djalbana [ˈtjalpanʌ] to drop something.
- djalbuda [ˈtjalpʊtʌ] to put something down.
- djaler [ˈtjalɛr] tree, timber. General term. Also a large branch.
- djalga [ˈtjalɪkʌ] to punch somebody, to thrust something, e.g. a spear.

- djalgun-djalgun [ˈtjalkʉn ˈtjalkʉn] native name of the late 'old Charles Sampson'. A fullblood Wembawemba probably born around 1860.
- djali-gurgug [ˈtjali ˌgurkʉk] red-capped robin, *Petroica goodenovii*.
- djalila [ˈtja,li·la] to use abusive language to someone, to swear and call someone names.
- djalildjera [ˈtjalil,tjɛrʌ] to argue, to swear at one another.
- djalinjug [ˈtjalI,njʉk] its tongue, i.e. a flame.
- djaliniŋ [ˈtjalI,ŋIn] also once [ˈtjælI,ŋIn] your tongue. This word is used in the sense of 'language'. It means 'food' in the idiomatic expressions: djaginjar djalinjug you will eat his food, wembanda djaginj djaliniŋ I won't eat your food.
- djambəg [ˈtjɑ·mbək] sheep. A widespread borrowing from English.
- djambəl [ˈtjɑ·mbəl] bird — white-winged chough, *Corcorax melanorrhamphus*.
- djaŋ [tjɑ·ŋ] chest.
djaŋin your chest.
- djaraŋ [ˈtjaraŋ] blue sky.
- djarbən [ˈtjarpən] bream. An alternative and less usual word for baiban.
- djarəba [ˈtjarəpʌ] to shut.
djarəbag ninjam door, shut this door,
djarəbag ninjam dumigal shut this tent.
- djarəḍ [ˈtjarəḍ] hard-head duck, *Nyroca australis*.
- djarəmbain [ˈtjarəm,bain], [ˈtjarm,bain] uncle. This refers only to the mother's brothers.
- djarg [ˈtjɑ·rk] sometimes [ˈtjɑ·rək] reed, *Phragmites communis*. Grows on the edge of streams. Used for the making of reed spears hence djarg can also mean reed spear.
- djarmba [ˈtjɑ·rmbʌ] to yell at somebody, so as to frighten him.
- djarwa [ˈtjarwʌ] to wash.
- djarwila [ˈtjarwIlʌ] to wash thoroughly, to get clean.
- djarba [ˈtjarpʌ] to yawn, to open one's mouth.
- djarbin [ˈtjarpIn], [ˈtjɜrpIn] (your) mouth.
- djarəm [ˈtjarəm] throwing spear. This includes the jag spear and the reed spear (Smyth 1878:1/305).
- djarəmbila [ˈtjarəm,bIlʌ] to spear fish in shallow water.
- djauəḍja [ˈtjauətjʌ] trousers. From English.
- djauər [ˈtjauər] pouch (of kangaroo).
- djeḍa [ˈtjɜtʌ] to stop, finish.
djeḍa burganda it stops (me) I sigh, was an idiomatic expression meaning I can't be bothered to do this.
- djeḍama [ˈtjɜtʌmʌ] to stop, to hinder.
- djel [ˈtjɛ:l] net.
- djelig-djelig [ˈtjɛlIk ˈtjɛlIk] yesterday.
- djelimadail [ˈtjɛlImʌ,tail] red.
- djema [ˈtjɛ·mʌ] to find, to discover.
- djemula [ˈtjɛ·mʉlʌ] to find (after a search).
- djendəl [ˈtjɛndəl] fire-stick, flame.
- djeri [ˈtjerI], [ˈtjIrI] seed of plants.
- djeridjerawug [ˈtjerI,tjɛrʌ,wʉk] a place where the soil has been disturbed and pawed by an animal.
- djeriga [ˈtjerIkʌ], [ˈtjIrIkʌ] to stand, to stand up.
bumbanda, djeriga ŋarəŋeg I'm scared, my hair is standing on end!

- djeriga-wirĩmbul [ˈtjɛrɪkɐ
ˈwʊrɪm,bʊl] *stand-up ears,*
i.e. a rabbit.
- djeri-mumug [ˈtjɛrɪ ˈmuːmʊk]
bottom upwards.
- djiba [ˈdʒɪpɐ] *to float up, to fly.*
Particularly of dust.
- djiel [ˈdʒiːɛl] *lust.*
- djilba [ˈtʃɪlɐ] *to beat, to hit.*
- djilbadjilbana [ˈtʃɪlɐtʃɪlɪpɐnɐ]
to flog.
- djilbenda [ˈtʃɪlɐndɐ] *to bump,*
to knock.
- djilberla [ˈtʃɪlɐrɪlɐ] *to splash.*
- djileb-djileb [ˈdʒɪlɛp ˈtʃɪlɛp]
little black ants that sting.
- djilega [ˈdʒɪlɛkɐ] *to be sick.*
djileganda *I am sick.*
- djilerba [ˈdʒɪlɛrɐ] *to pinch*
someone.
- djilga [ˈdʒɪlkɐ] *to show off, to be*
flash or cheeky, to be pleased.
yiri.djilganda *I am very pleased.*
- djilgaia [ˈdʒɪlkaiɐ] *to be*
conceited.
djilgaianɛŋ *a really conceited*
flash fellow.
- djilun [ˈdʒɪlʊŋ] *centipede.*
- djimban [ˈdʒɪmbɐŋ] *billy can.*
Borrowed word — tin can?
- djinab [ˈdʒɪnɐp] *sulphur-crested*
white cockatoo.
- djindjindəla [ˈdʒɪnɪtʃɪndələ]
to shave. From English 'chin'.
- djinə [ˈdʒɪnə] *foot, footprint.*
- djinəɟ [ˈdʒɪnəɟ] *sinew.*
Particularly kangaroo sinew used
for tying and sewing.
- djin-djin [ˈtʃjʊŋ ˈtʃjʊŋ] *poker,*
i.e. a long piece of wood, usually
blackbox, used for poking fires.
- djindjina [ˈdʒɪnɪtʃɪnɐnɐ] *to*
shake something.
- djirba [ˈdʒɪrɐ] *to strip a canoe.*
- djirberi [ˈdʒɪrɐrɪ] *stripping a*
canoe. Recorded only once. For
this formation see guberi.
- djirəm [ˈdʒɪrəm] *bushfire.*
- djiri-djiridj [ˈdʒɪrɪ ˈtʃɪrɪtʃɪ]
Willie wagtail.
- djirm-djirm [ˈdʒɪrɪm ˈdʒɪrɪm] *mudlark.*
The name is onomatopoeic from the
call of this bird.
- djira [ˈtʃjʊrɐ] *to tear or split.*
- djirən-djirən-mula [ˈtʃjʊrən ˈtʃjʊrən
ˈmʊlɐ] *waterbird.* (lit. *split*
hip). Probably the black-tailed
waterhen *Tribonyx ventralis.*
- djirunga [ˈtʃjʊrʊŋɐ] *to tear up,*
to split.
- djiwaled [ˈdʒɪˈwɔlɛt] *the widgeon*
or pink-eared duck,
Malacorrhynchus membranaceus.
- djuiba [ˈtʃjuɪpɐ] *to make level*
or smooth.
djuibag ninjam dja *make this*
ground level (for a camp).
- djulɪŋ [ˈtʃjuɪlɪŋ] *big black tree-*
goanna, Varanus varius.
- djulug [ˈtʃjuɪlʊk] *calf of the leg.*
- djune-djunedj [ˈtʃjuːnɛ ˈtʃjuːnɛtʃɪ]
a small owl, the tawny frogmouth,
Podargus strigoides.
- djunɔ [ˈtʃjuːnɔ] *to spit.*
- djunga [ˈtʃjuŋɐ] *to be big, to*
swell up. Used particularly in
djunga miŋug *his eye is swelling*
up, he has got a bung-eye.
- djungi-bili [ˈtʃjuŋɪ ˈpɪlɪ] *a fat*
paunch. (lit. *swell stomach*).
Also used to mean a pot-bellied
person.
- djungi-wuru [ˈtʃjuŋɪ ˈwʊrʊ] *big,*
thick lips. Considered ugly.
This expression was used in comic
descriptions, see Song 2.4.11.
- djurmban [ˈtʃjʊrɪmbɐŋ] *poisoner.*
This term was in fact the name of
the last important Wembawemba
poisoner; it is connected with the
place-name Juanbung north of Maude.

- djuṛa [ˈtjʊ·rʌ] *to talk about somebody.*
- djuṛba [ˈtjʊrβʌ] *to rain, to drip.*
Of fat into a fire.
- djuṛila [ˈtjʊ·rɪlʌ] *to gossip.*
- djuṛilaŋ [ˈtjʊ·rɪlʌŋ] *a gossiping person.*
yiri ginja djuṛilaŋ *she's a really bad gossip!*
- djuṛuŋ [ˈtjʊrʊŋ] *long, tall.*
- djuṛuŋgi-bili [ˈtjʊrʊŋɡɪ βɪlɪ] *big, long belly, a very fat person,*
cf. also djuŋgi-bili.
- djuṛuŋ-gudewinj [ˈtjʊrʊŋ ɡudɛwɪŋj] *lengthways, from head to tail.*
Of an animal.
- djuṛuŋ-wil [ˈtjʊrʊŋ wɪl] *emu,*
(lit. *long, tall creature*). This is an instance of the use of the nickname which presumably replaced the proper word for 'emu' in Wembawemba. The use of nicknames helps to account for the particularly great diversity in the words for birds in Victorian and other Australian languages. See Hercus, (1966b).
- gabəl [ˈkəpəl] *river.* General term.
- gabun [ˈkəpʊn] *grub.*
- gadab [ˈkəθʌp] *armpit.*
- gadəŋ [ˈkəθəŋ] *afterwards, later.*
- gadəgar [ˈkəθə, ɡar] *corella, white cockatoo.*
- gadəl [ˈkəθəl] *limbs of trees knocking together, banging of the time-sticks, clapping of hands.*
- gadiŋ-baŋ [ˈkəθɪŋ βa·ŋ] *white-faced crane, Ardea novaehollandiae.*
- gad(a) [ˈkət(ʌ)] *indeed.*
Emphatic particle.
- gadən [ˈkət(ə)n] *water.*
gadən miŋug *tears* (lit. *water of the eyes*).
- gadima [ˈkətɪmʌ] *to have.*
wembanda gadima banəm *I haven't got any bread!* From English 'got'.
- gadgina [ˈkətjɪnʌ] *to be unable.*
Auxiliary verb.
gadjinanda njaga *I can't see!*
- gaḍa [ˈkətʌ] *to kick.*
- gagad [ˈkəkʌt] *white ibis,*
Threskiornis molucca.
- gai gudab [ˈkai ˈkʊθʌp] *I'm sorry!*
Exclamation of sympathy.
- galaia [ˈkalaiyʌ] *to ask a question.*
galaiaŋ ginjam beŋ *ask this man!*
- galba [ˈkalβʌ] *to cut.*
- galbuda [ˈkalβʊtʌ] *to cut up, to chop* (e.g. wood), *to cross over* (e.g. a river).
- galəbul [ˈkələpʊl] *two.* This word is used more rarely than the alternative buledja.
- gali [ˈkalɪ] once pronounced [ˈkaɪ] *dog.* This word was very rare in Wembawemba, but is of significance because it is very widespread, particularly in South Australia, and in Ba:gandji; cf. Yaralde ge|i *dog.*
- galiba [ˈkalɪβʌ] *to gather up one's belongings, to collect things together.* Particularly when leaving a camp site.
- galina [ˈkalɪnʌ] *to love someone.*
- galindjera [ˈkalɪnɪdʒerʌ] *to love one another.* Reciprocal verb.
- gama [ˈka·mʌ] *common black wallaby.*
- ganera [ˈkanɛrʌ] *to allow, to permit.*
ganera-gad gumbab *let him sleep!*
- ganindja [ˈkanɪndʒʌ] *to steal.*
- ganindjila [ˈkanɪnɪdʒɪlʌ] *to steal, to go round thieving.*
- gaŋ [ˈka:ŋ] *dress.* English 'gown'.
- gaŋḍa [ˈka:ŋḍʌ] *to shout, to yell.*
- gaŋḍəla [ˈka:ŋḍələ] *to call out, to shout.*
- ganja [ˈka·ŋjʌ] *to breathe.*

- ganjenga [¹ka·njɛŋga] *to cough.*
- gar [¹ka:r] *nose.*
- garəg [¹karək] *spear-thrower.*
(Smyth 1878:308).
- garəlgug [¹karəl,kUk] *tonight.*
- garəm [¹karəm] *name of 'Grandfather'*
Tommy's dog. She was blind like
her master.
- garən [¹karən] *lignum,*
Muehlenbeckia cunninghamii.
- garəŋa [¹karəŋa] *to pour out, to*
spill.
- garga [¹karkʌ] *to grab, catch.*
- gargəra [¹karkərʌ] *to cry out*
(for help), to scream.
- garinjug [¹karI,njUk] *big, wide.*
garinjug-mureŋ *big-head.*
See Song 2.4.8.
- garma [¹karmʌ] *to vomit.*
- garorai [¹karɔ,rai] *black-tailed*
waterhen, Tribonyx ventralis.
Also called *djirən-djirən-mula.*
- gar [¹ka·r], gaŋug [¹ka·ŋUk]
(his) leg. Also used for the
handle of a tomahawk.
- garə-buɟ [¹karə ,pUɟ] *thigh, upper*
leg.
- garə-djag [¹karə ,tjak] *walking-*
stick (lit. leg on ground). The
main offensive weapon of the old
women of the tribe.
- garə-gurg [¹karə ,kUrk] *young woman.*
- garəm [¹karəm] *spear-shield.*
- garənjug [¹karə,njUk] *kangaroo*
sinew (lit. his leg). Alternative
word for the djineɟ or kangaroo
sinew used for tying such things
as handles of stone tomahawks.
- gauənda [¹kauwənda] *to crawl on the*
ground. Said of a snake or a baby.
- gauwanjed [¹kauwʌ,njet] *black-faced*
mallee kangaroo, Macropus major
melanops. Considered inedible,
'it would have a horrible smell if
you cooked it'.
- gebin [¹kəpIn], [¹kaipIn] *one.*
- gebin ba galəbul [¹kəpIn pa
¹kalə,pUɪ] *three (lit. one and*
two).
- gen [¹kɛ:n] *frill-necked lizard.*
- gena [¹kɛ:nʌ] *to tie, to tie up.*
genag ninjam baingug *tie up that*
child.
- geniŋa [¹kɛ:nIŋʌ] *to tie up.*
- geŋ-wil [¹kɛ:ŋwɪl] *a bad and*
useless dog.
- gerə-gerəg [¹kerə ,kerək] *brown*
hawk, Falco berigora. Named
after its call.
- gerinjug [¹kerI ,njUk] *(it's) fin.*
The fin of a fish.
- gia [¹ki:ʌ] *to say. Irregular verb.*
njanjarar gia *what are you*
saying?
- giawedj [¹kiʌ,wetj] *this way,*
hither. Used specially in the
expression giawedj maymayowedj
hither thither.
- giəŋ [¹ki:əŋ] *an immoral woman.*
Term of abuse.
- gigwa [¹kikwʌ] *right then.*
Song 2.4.7.
- gila [¹ki:ɪʌ] *that one.*
Demonstrative pronoun and pronoun
of third person of moderate
proximity in time or place.
Also adverb 'now', 'soon'.
gilar-gad waŋiwinj *you will go*
soon.
- gilaidja [¹ki:laitjʌ] *long ago.*
- gilamer-malamer [¹ki:ɪʌ,mɛr-
¹malʌ,mɛr] *here and there.*
- giloidj [¹kiloitj] *today.*
- ginja [¹ki:njʌ] *this one.*
Demonstrative of close proximity.
- giŋa [¹kiŋʌ] *here. Rarely used*
form. giŋanda I am here.
- giŋga [¹ki:ŋkʌ] *here, hither.*
Frequently used form.
- gira [¹kirʌ] *leaves, foliage of*
trees.

girba [ˈkirpʌ] to pull.

girg [ˈki·rk] sky, heaven. The use of this word in the sense of 'abode of God' shows an amalgamation of the original beliefs with Christian influences.

girgundidj [ˈki·rkʉnˌdItj] God (lit. of on high, of the sky).

giridja [ˈkirItjʌ], giridjila [ˈkirIˌtjIʌ] to cook on coals.

gir [ˈkü·r] urine.
girug (his) urine.

giridjila [ˈküˌrIˌtjIʌ] to urinate.

giwa [ˈki·wʌ] right now.
Demonstrative adverb of time.

Goledj [ˈkɔ·letj] the Edward River.

guba [ˈgu·pʌ] to drink.

guberi [ˈgu·pɛrI] drinking (strong) drink. This was regarded as a borrowed word. It is probably derived from the Wergaia word guberi they are drinking.

gubila [ˈgu·pIʌ], gubula [ˈgu·pʉʌ] to drink repeatedly, to drink liquor.

gubilab this (liquor) is for drinking.

gubulaŋ [ˈgu·pʉʌŋ] drunkard.
Continuous participle of gubula.

guda [ˈguθʌ] to pity someone.

gudab [ˈguθʌp] what a pity! (lit. for pitying). Exclamation.
Purposive participle of guda; used also with the particle gai in gai gudab sorry.

gudəl [ˈguθəl] dew, frost.

gudən [ˈguθən] poor, pitiful person.
Past participle of the verb guda.

gudəwinj [ˈguθəˌwInj] in the direction of. Used as a post-position. cf. also djuˌrʉŋ-gudəwinj lengthways.

gudul [ˈguθʉʌ] a sore.

gudun [ˈguθʉn] brotga.

gudaiəla [ˈgutaiəʌ] to shear.
This word could possibly be connected with the English 'to cut'.

gudenjug [ˈguˌtɛˌnjʉk] (his) younger sister. Note gudeneg my younger sister.

gudninjug [ˈgutnIˌnjʉk] (his) younger brother. Note gudninel my younger brother.

gudniŋ-gurinel [ˈguˌtnIŋˌgʉrIˌnɛk] (my) late younger brother.

Gudjewab [ˈgutjeˌwɔp] Lake Tatchewop, near Kerang (in Wembawemba country).

guda [ˈguˌtʌ] to groan.

gudəma [ˈguˌtəmʌ] to scold, to complain

gudəmila [ˈguˌtəmIʌ] to growl or complain to somebody repeatedly.
Frequentative verb.

guga [ˈku·kʌ] grandmother (both maternal and paternal). This word is also used reciprocally by the grandmother to mean grandchild.
gugandag my grandchild.

gugidja [ˈkuˌkItjʌ], gugidjala [ˈkuˌkItjʌʌ] to cook. This word, borrowed from English, was used as a general term for 'cooking' as well as for 'cooking European style'.

guin [ˈguˌIn] just go on! Usually combined with the emphatic particle guingad. This is often a threatening exclamation, said particularly to children 'you just dare go on and then ...'

guingurin [ˈguingʉˌrIn], wingurin [ˈwingʉˌrIn] (your) mother.
Note guindrug his mother. This word was also used as a general term for female: guindrug wireŋen a female dog.

gulaia [ˈgulaiyʌ] to be wet.

gulaiadaŋ [ˈgulaiyʌˌtaŋ], guledaŋ [ˈguleˌtaŋ] wet.

gulgəŋ [ˈgulkəŋ] *youth, teenager*
(up to about 15 years).

guli [ˈgulɪ] *crowd, mob.*

gulinja [ˈguːlinja] *to dislike*
someone.

gulinjanda ginjam beŋ *I dislike*
that man.

guliŋula [ˈgulɪŋʉlɪʌ] *to feel shy.*

guliŋulaia [ˈgulɪŋʉlɪaiʌ] *to be*
shy.

guliŋulaŋ [ˈgulɪŋʉlɪŋ] *a sly*
person.

guma [ˈgumʌ] *raw meat.*

gumba [ˈgumbʌ] *to lie down, to*
sleep.

gunagal [ˈgunʌ, gal], gunjigal
[ˈgunjɪ, gal] (was heard once)
underneath. A preposition followed
by the general oblique case,
gunagal lara *underneath a stone.*
The word gunagal is formed with
the locative suffix -gal; cf.
njugagunji *here underneath.*

gunəwəŋ [ˈgunə, wəŋ] *swan.*

guninjug [ˈgunɪ, njuŋ] (*his*)
excrement. The word is also used
in the sense of (*his*) *entrails.*

gunjdji [ˈgunjdʒɪ], [ˈguːnjdʒɪ]
house. A widespread term of recent
origin, spread through English.
(Baker 1945:77, 224)

guyŋ [ˈguyŋ] *throat.*

gunwɪl [ˈgunwɪl] *black snake.*
Also snake in general.

gunai [ˈkunaɪ] *quiet!* Exclamation
and command.

gunaiia [ˈguːnaiiʌ] *to keep quiet.*
wembagad gunaiia *he is never quiet.*

gunaiab-gad [ˈgunai, yap kat] *a*
secret (lit. for *keeping quiet*).

guradjug [ˈgurʌ, tjuŋ] (*his*) *fat*
(other than kidney fat).

guradj-wil [ˈgu, raːdj, wɪl] *a fat*
person.

gurə [ˈgurə] *grey kangaroo.*

gurəg [ˈgurək] *sand.*

-gurg [-kurk] *woman.* This is not
used as an independent word, but
appears only in nominal compounds,
ŋunjim-gurg *old woman.*

gurg [ˈguːrk] *blood.*
wira gurgug *her blood is running,*
i.e. she has a fever.

gurg-mali [ˈgurk, mali] *the eastern*
rosella parrot (lit. *blood chest*).

gurgudj [ˈkurkʉtʃ] *saltbush berries*
(red-coloured), the fruit of
Enchylaena tomentosa.

guri [ˈgurɪ] *cousin (male or*
female).

gurmbug [ˈgurmbʉk] (*her*) *breast,*
milk.

gurulug [ˈgurʉlʉk] *black-backed*
magpie. This word was felt to be
onomatopoeic from the carolling
song of the bird.

gurumbud [ˈgurʉm, buːt] *water-rat.*

gurədja [ˈkʉrətʃʌ] *to step on*
something or squash something.

gurəma [ˈkʉrəmʌ] *to scratch slowly*
so as to relieve an itch.

gurŋga [ˈkʉːrŋgʌ] *to be heavy,*
e.g. a bucket.

gurŋgila [ˈkʉːrŋgɪlʌ] *to be heavy*
all the time, e.g. a person.

gurŋ-gurŋ [ˈkʉːrŋ, gʉrŋ] *kookaburra.*

gurumbaia [ˈkʉrʉm, baiiʌ] *to be*
jealous.

gurumbaia-gad ginja lerg *this*
woman is jealous.

gurumbid [ˈkʉrʉm, bɪt], gurumbidug
[ˈkʉrʉm, bɪtʉk] *big, tall.*

gurumbid gadn [ˈkʉrʉm, bɪt ˈkatn]
a flood (lit. *big water*).

gurumerug [ˈkʉrʉme, ruŋ] *a very big*
Murray cod. The more normal size
cod is called bandjil. A double
name for this particular variety
of fish according to size is
found also in Madimadi and along
the Darling in Ba:gandji.

- guyən [ˈgu·yən] *stabbing spear.*
- gwa [ˈkwa] *fog.*
- gwe [ˈkwe] *friend! mate! This word was also used by husband and wife to address each other.*
- ladjug [ˈlatjUk] *naked.*
- la [ˈla:], lar [ˈla:r] *stone.*
- lambrug [ˈlambrUk] *a lot.*
- larba [ˈlarpʌ] *to throw.*
- lar [ˈla:r] *camp, home.*
lanug *his home, the nest of a bird.*
- larinjug [ˈla·rɪ,njUk] *(his) lungs.*
- larɲinjug [ˈlarɲɪ,njUk] *(his) ribs.*
- lebuəla [ˈlepUəlʌ] *to hunt up, to chase. Particularly of birds.*
- lerinjug [ˈlerɪ,njUk] *(his) claw.*
The claw of any animal or bird, also hard shell, e.g. of a crayfish.
- leri-djinə [ˈlerɪ,tjinə] *toenail.*
Also the claw of a dog etc.
- leri-manja [ˈlerɪ,manjʌ] *finger-nails. Sometimes simply leri, e.g. leriɲin your (finger)nails.*
- lerəb [ˈlɛrəp] *waterbird, the land-rail, Hypotaenidia philippensis.*
- lɛrg [ˈlɛ·rg] *woman, female.*
- lɛrg baingug [ˈlɛ·rx ˈpaingUk] *little girl, female child.*
- lɛrg mul [ˈlɛ·ry mu·l] *a mob of women.*
- lerəb [ˈlɛrəp] *manna from scale insects. This word has been adopted into English from Wemba-wemba or a closely related language, whence 'lerp insects'.*
- lia [ˈli·ʌ] *teeth.*
- lib [ˈlip] *a spike.*
- libgwil [ˈlipkwɪl] *porcupine, echidna.*
- lib-lib-wil [ˈlip lɪp,wɪl] *Murray crayfish (lit. spike-spike-creatures).*
- lidaia [ˈlɪθaiyʌ] *to be sharp, to split, to make a sharp point.*
- lidaiadaŋ [ˈlɪθaiyʌ,təŋ] *sharp, something that has a sharp point.*
- lidbug [ˈlɪtɔk] *a splinter.*
- lidguna [ˈlɪtkʊnʌ] *to sharpen to a point.*
- liə-wil [ˈliə,wɪl] *a hooked and pointed waddy used as a battle-axe, identical to the liengel of the Wergaia.¹*
- liə-wil [ˈliə,wɪl] *anything sharp or pointed (lit. that which has teeth).*
- liə-wil [ˈliə,wɪl] *mosquito.*
- liəg-wil [ˈliək,wɪl] *bull ant.*
- lil [ˈli:l] *white resin exuded by gum trees, manna.*
- lilug [ˈli·lʊk] *(its) scales, the scales of a fish.*
- liri [ˈlirɪ] *mosquito.*
- ludag [ˈlʊθak] *waterhole.*
- ludagug [ˈlʊθʌ,kʊk] *(his) lower stomach (probably derived from ludag waterhole). This word was considered vulgar.*
- lum [ˈlu·m] *ring-necked or mallee parrot.*
- maba [ˈma:pʌ] *to lie, to tell lies.*
- mabila [ˈma:pɪʌ] *to tell lies, to be deceitful.*
- mada [ˈma·θʌ] *boss, master.*
From English 'master'.
- madaŋ [ˈmæθəŋ] *greedy. Probably a participial form.*

¹See illustration in Smyth (1878:1/302).

- madan-wil [¹maθaŋ ,wɪl] *a greedy fellow.*
- madimug [¹maθɪ ,mʊk] (*his*) *wife.*
- madembola [¹ma ,tɛmbolʌ] *to call as witness in a trial.* See Song 2.4.9. This word may be connected with English 'pull (into court)', cf. buləma.
- madjəm [¹matjəm] *possum-rug.* Among the Wembawemba, possum skins were sewn together with kangaroo sinew and "a really beautiful edging was made by the white imprint of mussel shells".
- mala [¹malʌ] *that one over there.* Demonstrative pronoun implying some distance in time and space.
- malamer [¹malʌ ,mɛr] *over there (distant).* Also plural of mala *that one over there.*
- malamən [¹ma ,la .mən] *shut up!* Exclamation, used threateningly. Probably originally 'that far! (and no further)'.¹
- malamən-dja [¹malamən 'tja] *a distant place.*
- malaŋa [¹maləŋʌ] *there, a long way away.*
- malgabula [¹malɣʌ ,bʊlʌ] (*two*) *time-sticks.* These were beaten together (and not against the ground) and were used by the men. The Wembawemba women usually clapped in accompaniment to the men's singing or their own singing.
- malgar [¹malɣʌr] *waddy-shield.*¹
- mam [¹ma :m] *father.*
- mamba [¹ma :mbʌ] *perhaps.*
- mamba [¹ma :mbʌ] *to be tired.*
mambar *you are tired.*
- mambaia [¹ma :mbaiɣʌ] *to be in a state of fatigue, worn out.*
mambaianda *I am worn out.*
- mambulin [¹ma :mbʊ ,lɪn] (*your*) *kidney-fat.*
yugweg mambulin *I wish I had your kidney-fat.*
mambul- is really a dual form, referring to fat from the two kidneys.
- mam-gurineg [¹ma :m ,gurɪŋɛk] (*my*) *late father.*
- man [¹ma :n] *small (sand) leech.*
- manja [¹manjʌ] *that; that one.*
Demonstrative pronoun of distance.
- manjərab-gurg [¹manjə ,rapgʊrɣ] *plain plover, Zonifer tricolor.*
- manjə [¹manjə] *hand.*
- manmulagadj [¹manmʊlagatj] *shame on you!* Often nja manmulagadj! *how disgusting!*
- maŋ [¹ma :ŋ] *a light cloud.*
- maŋdar [¹maŋdʌr] *thunder.*
- mara [¹marʌ] *meat ant.*
- marangug [¹marəŋ ,gʊk] *a cross-summons.* The fact that such a word was used is an illustration of Aboriginal preoccupation with and fear of the law, see also Song 2.4.9.
- marəŋin [¹marʌ ,ŋɪn] (*your*) *second finger.*
- Marəɟ [¹ma .rət] *native name of David Taylor.* Grandfather of the main speakers and well-known for his knowledge of songs and histories.
- margu [¹markʊ] *that (other) one.* Demonstrative pronoun of distance (rare).
- marug [¹ma .rʊk] *a large mob (of people, animals etc.).*
- maruŋ [¹ma .rʊŋ] *Murray pine, Callitris columellaris.* (Willis 1962:57)

¹See illustration in Smyth (1878:1/330).

- maṛab-maṛab [ˈmaṛap ˌmaṛap] *grinding stone used for grinding stone-tomahawks.*
- maṛaŋ-maṛaŋ [ˈmaṛaŋ ˌmaṛaŋ] *mirage.*
- maṛəŋ [ˈma·rəŋ], maṛŋ [ˈma·rŋ] *a dark cloud.*
- mayo [ˈma·yo] *over there.*
Demonstrative pronoun and adverb of distance.
- mayo-dja [ˈma·yo ˈtja] *a place a great distance away.*
- mayomer [ˈmayo ˌmɛr] *over there, far away.* Also used as plural form of the demonstrative pronoun.
- mayowedj [ˈmaiyo ˌwetj] *thither, some distance away.*
Particularly in the expression *giawedj, maiowedj here and there.*
- med-meṛil [ˈmɜt ˌmɜ ˌrɪl] *large black cormorant, Phalacrocorax carbo.*
- merdərug [ˈmɛrtə ˌrɪk] *(his) bone.*
- merdindug [ˈmɛrtɪn ˌdɪk] *small, thin.* Said particularly of people.
- merinj [ˈmɛrɪnɟ], [mɪrɪnɟ] *wind.*
- meṛgug [ˈmɜrɟkɪk] *(his) ankle.*
- midəg [ˈmɪθɛk] *rain.*
- midedja [ˈmi·tɛtɟɪ] *to lick.*
Particularly a wound.
- midug [ˈmi·tɪk] *(her) husband.*
- midjug [ˈmitɟɪk] *(his) skin, also the bark of a tree.*
- milag [ˈmilɪk] *ashes, dust.*
- milag-milag-warən [ˈmilɪk ˌmilɪk ˌwɔrən] *dirty, covered in ashes.*
- milba miŋug [ˈmilpɪ ˌmɪŋɪk] *to wink.*
- milba-milba [ˈmilpɪ ˌmɪlpɪ] *to bend.*
milba-milba-gad badi gug *he is kneeling down.*
- milbila [ˈmilpɪlɪ] *to bend or twist something.*
- Mile [ˈmile] *the River Murray.*
- mim [ˈmi:m], mima [ˈmi·mɪ] *grandparents (paternal).* Also used as a general term for old people.
- min [mɪn] *emphatic enclitic particle.*
wemba-min *no (thank you) said in answer to an offer.*
- mingain [ˈmi·ŋain] *(your) daughter.*
- miṛ [ˈmɪr] *eye.*
miŋug *his eye.*
- miṛ-ba-ganjug [ˈmɪr pɪ ˌka·ŋɪk] *(his) face (lit. his eye and nose).*
- miṛgug [ˈmɪrɟkɪk] *(its) egg.*
- miri [ˈmɪrɪ] *a hole (in the ground).*
- moe [ˈmowe] *nest, home.*
Rare word.
- moye [ˈmo·ye], obl. moigu [ˈmoigu] *this way (from some distance away), towards.* Followed by the general oblique form of the noun, e.g. *moigu djag down to the ground.* See 2.3.2.2.3.
- mudja [ˈmutɟɪ] *to pick up something.*
- mugidja [ˈmukɪtɟɪ], mugidjəla [ˈmukɪtɟɪlɪ] *to smoke (tobacco).*
From English.
- Muguwida [ˈmukɪwɪθɪ] *This was the name, sometimes shortened to Muguda [ˈmukɪtɪ], of a part-Wembawemba, part-Madimadi man who lived to a great age. He was a grown man at the time of the first white settlements along the Murray, and he acted as police-tracker in the 1860s. In his youth he had two successive narrow escapes from death: he was speared in a tribal fight and accidentally poisoned by bad meat. The old Wembawemba men foretold that two such brushes with death signified that Muguwida would live to a remarkable age, which he did.*

- mul ['mu:l] *wooden spear used for fishing.*
- mula ['mulʌ] *hip.*
- Mulaminada ['mulamI, natʌ] *at Moulamein.*
- Mulbaŋ ['mu:lbaŋ] *the native (Wiradjuri) name of Jack Johnston, the last important Wiradjuri 'clever man'.¹ Mulbaŋ was greatly feared by the Wembawemba as he was reputed to have 'sung' his brother-in-law, Ned Briley, a Wembawemba man.*
- mum ['mu:m] *bottom, rump.*
- mumbelm ['mu:mbelm] *hat.*
- muna ['mu:nʌ] *a lagoon. The name of the mission, Moonacullah, is probably derived from Muna-Goledj lagoon-Edward River. The word muna appears also in other place-names, e.g. Boorahnoomoon (near Yarrawonga).*
- munja ['mu:njʌ] *louse.*
- munji ['mu:njI] *hair, other than head hair.*
- munji-wuru ['mu:njI, wUrU] *moustache (lit. hair (of) lips).*
- munjug ['mu:njUk] *elbow (his).*
- muŋa ['muŋʌ] *to do, to make.*
muŋag ginjam wanab *make this fire.*
- murbila ['murpIʌ] *to kiss.*
- muregug ['mure,kUk] *(his) cheek.*
- murenda ['murendʌ] *to be alive.*
- mureŋ ['mureŋ] *head.*
delgug murenjug *good head-his, he is clever.*
- murub ['murUp] *ghost.*
- muyən ['mu:yən] *mind, thought.*
windjalug muyəŋin *where is your*
- mind?, what are you thinking about?*
- delgug muyənjug *he has a nice mind, he has a good character.*
- ninja ['ninjʌ], njinja ['njinjʌ] *this one. Demonstrative of close proximity; plural ninjmer or njinmer.*
- niŋag ['nüŋʌk] *frog.*
- niŋa ['niŋʌ], njija ['njiŋʌ] *then, then straight away. Referring to the immediate time of the event; gigwa ... niŋa when ... then straight away.*
- nirudail ['ni:rU, tail] *red.*
- noŋwe ['no:ŋwe], ŋoŋwe ['ŋo:ŋwe] *yes.*
- numila ['numIʌ] *to cry, to weep.*
- nja ['nja] *really, indeed.*
Emphatic adverb.
- njaba ['njapʌ] *how many?*
njabar bembenguin *how many children have you got?*
- njadjəruwa ['njatjə,rUwʌ] *when?*
njadjəruwar widəwinj *when will you go home?*
- njadjəruwalug ['njatjə,rUwʌk] *when-abouts?*
- njaga ['njakʌ] *to see, to watch, to think of, to consider.*
Irregular verb.
- njagamuna ['njakʌ,munʌ] *to be careful, to look out.*
njagamuni *look out! Exclamation to express danger.*
- njagidja ['njakItjʌ] *why? what for?*
njagidjar-gad ninjam dagin? *why did you hit him?*
- njagila ['njakIʌ] *to look, to watch.*

¹See also Berndt (1946-47:329, 330). Wembawemba stories about Mulbaŋ and earlier 'clever men' confirm Berndt's view on cultural contact between the Wiradjuri and their southern neighbours.

- njaləndjin [ˈnjələ,ndʒɪn] (*your*)
mother-in-law.
- njani [ˈnjani] *neck, back of the neck*.
- njanja [ˈnjənʒa] *what? how?*
- njanjimən [ˈnjənʒɪ,mən] *a very bad omen*. Particularly one presaging the death of a close relative. Such an omen is the appearance of a person's ancestral animal, barembug, in unusual surroundings, e.g. a kangaroo walking right up to the dogs of a person whose totem was a kangaroo; a possum coming in daytime into the camp of a person whose totem was a possum (these were the respective totems of the speakers):
njanjimən ginja wile biŋin *it is a bad omen that this possum came*.
njanjimən was also used as an exclamation, *what's up?, what's wrong?*
- njanjudən-gad [ˈnjənʒutən ɟkat] *why? for what reason?*
- njanjug-(min) [ˈnjənʒɪk mɪn],
njangug-njangug-min *other, different*.
As in njanjug-njanjug-min mumbelm *a different hat (every day)*.
- njaŋa [ˈnjaŋa] *to worry about something*. Transitive verb, past participle njaŋabodən *worried*.
- njaŋa [ˈnjaŋa] *to burn*.
nja a-gad ginja njai *the sun is burning*.
- njarəba [ˈnjaɾəpa] *to 'sing' someone, 'to point the bone'*. Also used as a general term meaning *to sing*.
- njarəmbən [ˈnjaɾəm,bən] *an old man*.
- njarəpila [ˈnjaɾəpɪla] *to sing, 'to sing' somebody, 'to point the bone'*. A widespread word.
- njari [ˈnjari] *now*. Uninflected adverb of time.
- njarinjin [ˈnjari,ŋɪn] (*your*) *name*.
- njarinjin [ˈnjari,ŋɪn] (*your*) *fore-head*. Not felt to be connected with the preceding word.
- njai [ˈnjai] *sun, daylight*.
This was also the native name of the great-uncle of the speakers, Bob Taylor.
- njaiɟal [ˈnjai,ɟɪkɪl] *in the daytime*. Formed with the locative suffix -gal.
- njaiɟ-njaiɟ [ˈnjai,ɟɪk ˈnjai,ɟɪk] *daily*.
- njed [ɟnjet] *I*. Personal pronoun used only in the song language, see Song 2.4.9.
- njed [ɟnjet] *between*.
Postposition, rare.
- njedənja [ˈnjetenʒa] *to play, to run around*.
- njelinjɟ [ˈnjelɪ,ŋɪk] *dirt from the nose*.
njɟnɟ ginjam njelinjɟ *wipe off this dirt (from the child's nose)*.
- njembəra [ˈnjɛ:mbəɾa] *to wait for someone*.
- njenga [ˈnjɛ:ŋɟa] *to sit*.
Irregular verb, past base njeŋin.
- njengina [ˈnjɛ:ŋɟɪna] *to sit, to sit round*.
- njerna [ˈnje:ɾna] *to listen, to hear*. Also used in the sense of *to recall, to remember*.
- njernda [ˈnje:ɾnda] *to know (a fact, not a person)*. Past participle njerndən *something that is known*. This word is clearly connected with the verb 'to hear'. This derivation, implying that 'hearing is knowing' is common in Australian languages and contrasts with the Indo-European method of expression 'I have seen' = 'I know'. The most treasured knowledge of the Aborigines was that which they had learnt from their elders.

njernila [ˈnjeːrnɪlɪ] *to listen.*

njiba [ˈnjɪpɪ] *to bury.*

njim [ˈnjiːm] *the short-necked turtle, Emydura macquarii.*
This turtle does not taste as nice as the long-necked species and was not generally eaten.

njinja [ˈnjɪnjɪ] *this one.*
See ninja.

njiŋa [ˈnjɪŋɪ] *then, straight away then.* See niŋa.

njiŋa [ˈnjɪŋɪ] *to wipe, to wipe off.*

njiriŋ [ˈnjɪriŋ] *the steep sloping edge of a river.*

njiriŋdɔla [ˈnjɪriŋdɔlɪ] *a creek-bed.*

njiriŋ-wil [ˈnjɪriŋwɪl] *the bank of a river (lit. that which has steep edges).*

njua [ˈnjuɪ] *here, near.* Adverb.
Also used as a preposition:
njua biɔla *near a red-gum tree.*

njuaməna [ˈnjuɪmənɪ] *to come right here.*

njuaməna darə-garug *a policeman is coming right here.*

njuga [ˈnjuːkɪ] *this way, here.*
Adverb, probably originally the general oblique form of the demonstrative pronoun njunja:
njuga njinjam diŋdag *take it over here.*

njugadj guligadj [ˈnjuːkatj
ˈgulɪkatj] *belonging to these people.*

njuga-gunji [ˈnjuːkɪ ˈgunjɪ] *here underneath.*

njuga-waŋa [ˈnjuːkɪ ˈwɔŋɪ],
[ˈnjuːkɪ ˈwɔŋɪ] *to come.*

njuga-yanga [ˈnjuːkɪ ˈyɔŋɪ] *to come this way, to approach.* Used frequently in the imperative:
njuga-yangi *come here!*

njula [ˈnjuːlɪ] *this one now.*
Demonstrative pronoun of proximity.

njuma [ˈnjuːmɪ] *to know (a person).*
wembanda njuma ginjam lerg *I don't know this woman.*

njumila [ˈnjuːmɪlɪ] *to think.*
njiŋa njumilin, njanja gila *then he thought, what is this now?*

njunja [ˈnjunjɪ] *that, that one over there.* Demonstrative pronoun of medium distance.

njuŋa [ˈnjuŋɪ] *around here.* Also used as demonstrative pronoun 'that one from around here', e.g. wemba dugi, berma njuŋa-gad *don't move, that fellow from around here is sneaking (a bird).*

ŋaba [ˈŋapɪ] *maternal grandfather.*
This term was still used by the speakers to include the brothers of the maternal grandfather.

ŋabundeg [ˈŋapʊndɛk] *my grand-child.* Said by the maternal grandfather.

ŋada [ˈŋaθɪ] *devil, goblin.*
A small almost human creature that lived in the reed-beds. He was the Wembawemba equivalent of the Wergaia ŋadje or 'little people'. He was regarded as harmless; he would appear at dusk and sometimes even talk to people in their own language and camp near them, particularly if they had caught lobsters, his favourite food.

ŋada [ˈŋaθɪ], [ˈŋaθa] *my word! really!* Emphatic particle which is initial in an utterance, e.g. ŋada ginja djuŋba *my word, it is raining,* or ŋada-gad yadaminjug ginja baiŋgug *my word, this is a naughty child.* The exclamation ŋada was regarded as unconnected with the word ŋada *devil, goblin.*

ŋadaigunj [ˈŋaθaɪkʊnj] *my word!*
Exclamation to arrest attention.

- ʔadana [ˈʔaːtʌnʌ] *already*. This word was a transferring adverb: ʔadananda njernin *already-I have heard (it)*.
- ʔadan [ˈʔaːtan] *a small crayfish*.
- ʔadan-wil [ˈʔaːtan ɹwɪl] *the nankeen crane* (lit. *crayfish-creature*).
- ʔag [ˈʔa:k] *shade, shadow*.
 ʔagada *in the shade*.
 This word can also be used to mean 'photograph', e.g. diŋdinj ʔagin *he will take your photograph*.
- ʔagəg [ˈʔakək] *pied goose*.
- ʔai [ˈʔai] *exclamation, usually translated by 'crikey'*.
- ʔaliug [ˈʔalɪuk] *belonging to both of us*. Emphatic possessive.
- ʔalombəɟ [ˈʔalɔmɪbɜt] *a champion dodger, an expert at dodging spears*.
- ʔanəŋa [ˈʔanɛŋʌ] *to sneeze*.
- ʔanəg [ˈʔanək] *wood duck*.
- ʔanə-wil [ˈʔanə ɹwɪl] *musk duck*.
- ʔani [ˈʔani] *waddy*. General term.
- ʔani [ˈʔani] *beard*.
- ʔaninjug [ˈʔanɪnjʊk] *a bearded fellow*.
- ʔaninjain [ˈʔanɪnjain] (*your*) *niece*.
- ʔanudj-ʔanudj [ˈʔanʊtj ˈʔanʊtj] *bat*. Regarded as the men's 'bird' and sacred to the men. See Song 2.4.1 (Howitt 1904:144-5).
- ʔanjidjug [ˈʔanjɪtjʊk] (*her*) *lover*. Sometimes also used in the sense of *husband*.
- ʔaŋa [ˈʔa:ŋʌ] *to cadge*.
 Particularly food.
 ʔaŋin *he went round cadging (food)*.
- ʔaŋgərel [ˈʔa:ŋgərel] *black-billed spoonbill, Platalea regia*.
- ʔarə [ˈʔarə] *hair*.
- ʔarəli [ˈʔarəlɪ] *water-weed*.
 This term applies particularly to *Triglochin procera*.
- ʔarərel [ˈʔarkərel] *straw-necked ibis, Threskiornis spinicollis*.
- ʔari [ˈʔari] *oak-tree, a species of casuarina*. Probably the bull oak.
- ʔarag [ˈʔarʌk] *whirlwind*.
- ʔarəŋanda [ˈʔarʌŋanda] *to sniff*. Particularly of dogs.
- ʔarə [ˈʔarə] *black duck*.
- ʔarəmaŋala [ˈʔarəmaŋala] *to tell lies*.
- ʔarəŋga [ˈʔarəŋga], ʔarəŋga [ˈnaːrəŋga] *to drown*.
- ʔarəŋgən [ˈʔarəŋgən], ʔarəŋən [ˈʔaːrəŋən] *drowned*.
- ʔarəŋa [ˈʔaːrəŋa] *to copy someone in order to make fun of him*.
- ʔarəŋila [ˈʔaːrəŋɪla] *to pretend, to tell lies*.
- ʔarəuba [ˈʔarəʊpa] *to smell*.
 Verb transitive.
 ʔarəubanda ginjam boŋən bengug *I can smell this rotten meat*.
- ʔin [ˈʔi:n] *you*. Singular person singular pronoun.
- ʔindeug [ˈʔindeɪuk] *yours*.
 Emphatic possessive. Very rarely an alternative form ʔindaiug [ˈʔindaiɪuk] was heard.
- ʔinguli [ˈʔiŋgʊli] *you three*.
 Personal pronoun, trial.
- ʔua [ˈʔuːʌ] *to be unwilling*.
 Auxiliary verb.
- ʔuba [ˈʔuːpa] *to be full, to be satisfied*.
 ʔubanda-gad *I've had enough*.
- ʔubaia [ˈʔuːpaia] *to feel satisfied*. Used in the expression ʔubaiaŋ-gad *feeling satisfied?, have you had enough?*

- nubən [ˈnu·pən] *full, satisfied.*
 This word was used in many vulgar expressions, e.g.
 nubən-min-gad ludagin? *is your lower stomach (at last) full?*
 Also nubən-min-gad mumug etc.
- nudein [ˈnu·te,In] *you.* Personal pronoun plural.
- nudeug [ˈnu·te,Uk] *yours.* Emphatic possessive of the second person plural.
- nula- [ˈnula-] *like.*
 nulanda *like me.*
- nunjama [ˈnunjamA] *to inspire pity.*
 nunjama-gad ginja lerg *this woman inspires pity, I feel sorry for this woman.*
- nunjami [ˈnunjamI] *sorry! poor thing!* Exclamation of sympathy.
- nunji [ˈnunji] *a bag.*
- nunjim-gurg [ˈnunjim,guRk] *an old woman.*
- nungura [ˈnu:ngUrA] *to be wild with someone, to have a row.*
- nungur-wil [ˈnu:ngUr,wIl] *wild, furious.*
- nurga [ˈny:rka] *to swallow.*
 nurginanda bidig *I swallowed a fly.*
- wa [ˈwa:] *crow, i.e. the raven, Corvus coronoides.*
- wada [ˈwaθA] *brown sand-goanna, Varanus gouldii.*
- wadaminjug [ˈwaθA,mInjUk], [ˈwaθA,mInjUk] *cunning.*
- wadəndjən [ˈwaθən,djən], [ˈwaθən,djən] *dead.*
- wadib [ˈwaθIp], [ˈwatjIp] *son.*
- wadibug [ˈwaθIpUk], [ˈwatjIpUk] *his son, i.e. Jesus Christ; also its young one referring to any animal or bird.*
- wadan [-,watan] *across.* This word is used as a postposition, e.g.
 Murray-wadan *across the Murray,*
 baial-wadan *across the swamp.*
- Wadiwadi [ˈwatI,watI], [ˈwətI,wətI] *name of a neighbouring group, downstream on the Murray from Swan Hill. Members of this group later lived at Balranald.*
- wadjbala [ˈwatjpaɫ] *white man.*
 From English 'white fellow'.
- wag [ˈwa:k] *paddle of a canoe, shaped like a pole.* "They never needed to change the paddle over from one side to the other, they were so skilled."
- wagadaŋ [ˈwaka,təŋ] *determined, obstinate.*
 Originally a participial form.
- wagadaŋa [ˈwaka,təŋA] *to be obstinate.*
- wagadaŋar *you are an obstinate fellow.*
- wa-guriŋin [ˈwa: ,guriŋIn] (*your*) *late elder brother.* cf.
 wawin *your elder brother.*
- wainlar [ˈwainlɑr] *lightning.*
 Not attested with certainty.
- walawalag [ˈwalA,walAk] *little black cormorant, Phalacrocorax ater.*
- walbugana [ˈwalpU,kanA] *to look around and see.*
- waledja [ˈwaletjA] *to come near, approach.*
- waledjuwa [ˈwale,tjUwA], waledjuwana [ˈwale,tjUwanA] *to come very close.*
- waleug [ˈwale,Uk] *belonging to you two.* Emphatic possessive, not attested with certainty.
- walma [ˈwalma] *to forget.*
- wan [ˈwa:n] *boomerang.*
- wanab [ˈwanAɫ], [ˈwɔnAɫ] *fire, firewood.* galbudag ginjam wanab *cut up this firewood.*
- Wanilu [ˈwanI,lU] *Swan Hill.*
 From English.
- wantima [ˈwɔntImA] *to want.*
 Borrowed from English.

njanjarar wantima *what do you want?* sometimes said instead of njanjarar yarga?

wanj ['wa:nj] *white crane, egret.*

wanjagai ['wanjɿkai] *catfish.*

wangəl ['wa:ŋəɿ], ['wɔ:ŋəɿ] *reed-bed, a mass of cumbungi.*

wangərəl ['wa:ŋəɿrəl], ['wɔ:ŋəɿrəl] *large black and white cormorant. Probably Phalacrocorax varius.*

warəm ['warəm], ['wɔrəm] *back, of person or animal.*

warmandag ['warmanɿdɿk] *behind me.*

warmanin ['warmənɿn] *behind you.*

warə ['warə], ['wɔrə] *to walk, to come. Used mainly in the expression njuga warə come here!*

warəma ['warəmɿ], ['wɔrəmɿ] *to scratch so as to hurt. As opposed to gurəma to scratch to relieve an itch.*

warən ['warən], ['wɔrən] *covered. milag-milag-warən covered in ashes.*

warəndja ['warəndjɿ], ['wɔrəndjɿ] *to wade in water.*

warəŋel ['warəŋel], ['wɔrəŋel] *large long-necked turtle, Chelodina expansa. The shell of this turtle was used as a dish.*

warəŋin ['warəŋɿn], ['wɔrəŋɿn] *(your) left hand.*

wariba ['warɿpɿ], ['wɔrɿpɿ] *to dance.*

warəwa ['warɿwɿ], ['wɔrɿwɿ] *to go away.*

wawa ['wa:wɿ] *to follow.*

wawin ['wa:wɿn] *(your) elder brother.*

wawur ['wa:wɿr] *soft feathers, down.*

wega ['wɛ:kɿ] *to laugh.*

weguwa ['wɛ:kɿwɿ] *to laugh loudly. Used particularly of the call of the common possum.*

wemba ['wɛ:mbɿ] *no. Often repeated, wembawemba no, certainly not;*

whence the name of the tribe and the language.

wembalidj ['wɛ:mbaɿɿtj] *if not.*

wenj-wenj ['wɛ:nj ɿwɛnj] *clothes.*

werbana ['wɛrpanɿ] *to pull out, to catch (a fish).*

werbaninanda ginjam wirengəl *I caught this perch.*

werga ['wɛrkɿ] *to hurry.*

wergi ['wɛrkɿ] *quickly! hurry up! Often repeated for emphasis; wergi-wergi hurry!*

werguwerguwa ['wɛrkɿwɛrkɿwɿ] *to move with frenzied speed. Intensive verb. Used particularly in the expression werguwerguwi hurry up, quick!*

wərbug ['wɜrɿpɿk] *the trunk of a tree.*

wərəga ['wɜrɿgɿkɿ], wərga ['wɜrɿkɿ] *to carry something.*

wərguwa ['wɜrɿkɿwɿ] *to carry something heavy a long way.*

wergidja ['wɜrɿkɿɿtjɿ], wergidjəla ['wɜrɿkɿɿtjɿlə] *to work. This word was almost certainly connected with wərga to carry but it was also based at least to some extent on English 'work' particularly in its semantic development. It was not felt to be a borrowed word.*

Wergul ['wɜrɿkɿl] *the Wakool River. A partly anglicised variant ['wɔkɿl] was heard once.*

wərmila ['wɜrmlɿ] *to bark. wemba wərmili don't bark.*

widəgama ['wɿθɛɿgamɿ] *scorpion, i.e. little wallaby.*

widən ['wɿθən] *feather.*

widəwa ['wɿθəwɿ] *to return, to go home. njadjeruwar widəwinj? when will you go home?*

widəyug ['wɿθɛɿyɿk] *small, little.*

wid-wid [ˈwiɪwɪɪ] *leaping kangaroo*.
A long stick with a small knob, a toy which bounced along over a great distance when thrown.¹

wida [ˈwüɪʌ] *to whistle*.

widjərigon [ˈwiɪtjəɪkən]
birdgerigar.

wiga [ˈwi:kʌ] *to be hungry, to starve, to die*.
wiganda *I'm hungry*,
wiginjanda *I'll die*.

wil [ˈwi:l] *curlew*, i.e. the stone curlew. This is a very widespread word, found also in the Western Desert languages.

wilə [ˈwilə] *common silver-grey possum*.

wiləg-wiləg [ˈwilək ɪwɪlək] *galah*.

wilga [ˈwilkʌ] *to turn round*.

wilgar [ˈwilkʌr] *dingo*.

winaga [ˈwinakʌ] *to leave off, to let go of something*.

winagdjera [ˈwinakɪtjɛrʌ] *to leave one another, to separate (of married couples)*.

winaguwa [ˈwinakɪwʌ] *to abandon*.

windja [ˈwindjʌ] *where?*

windja-gad [ˈwindjʌ kʌt] *where indeed?* Used as a fixed locution to mean *I don't know*.

windjalug [ˈwindjʌɪlʊk] *whereabouts?*

winma [ˈwinmʌ] *to cover up something*, e.g. meat with ashes.

winjadug [ˈwinjʌɪtʊk] *which one?*

wira [ˈwirʌ] *to run, to flow*.

wiraga [ˈwirakʌ] *to swim*.

wirbar [ˈwirpʌr] *a buggy*.

wirəga [ˈwirəkʌ] *to hurry, to run*.

wirəŋən [ˈwiɪrɛŋən] *dog*. General term, used occasionally to include the dingo.

wirəŋgal [ˈwiɪrɛŋɡʌl] *fish, the callop, yellow-belly*. Sometimes also named 'perch'.

wir̄ba [ˈwüɪr̄pʌ] *to hide oneself*.

wir̄imbəlinj [ˈwüɪɪmbəɪɪnɪj] *spider*.

wir̄imbula [ˈwüɪɪmɪbʊɪʌ] *ears*.
wir̄imbulug *its ears, the scalp of a rabbit*.

wir̄in [ˈwüɪɪɪn] *hot coals*.

woi [ˈwoi] *a song*.

wuda [ˈwuθʌ] *to put down, to lower something to the ground*.

wudu [ˈwuθʊ] *man, male*.
wudu baingug *a small boy*.

wudja [ˈwutjʌ] *sap*. Particularly of wattle trees.

wudja-wudja [ˈwutjʌ ɪwutjʌ] *sweet*. The sweet sap of wattles which was a popular food.

wudjəbug [ˈwutjəɪpʊk] *pregnant (lit. belly-hers)*.
gurumbid wudjəbug *she is very big with child*.

wudjəd [ˈwutjət] *a species of duck, the blue winged shoveller*.

wudjub [ˈwutjʊp] *stomach, belly*.
djileganda wudjubeg *I am sick in my stomach*.

wuga [ˈwu.kʌ] *to give*. Irregular verb.

wugwug [ˈwukwʊk] *boobook owl, Ninox boobook*.

wuibuwala [ˈwuiɪpʊwʌlʌ] *to blow up (of a storm)*.

wuibuwala midəg *a rainstorm is blowing up*.

¹See illustration in Howitt (1904:265).

- wulma [ˈwulmʌ] *to be old.*
 yiri wulma *he is very old.*
 This verb was derived from the following word, wulmən, which was regarded as a past participle.
- wulmən [ˈwulmən] *old man.*
 A borrowed word from English. The tendency to borrow 'old man' from English appears to have been early and widespread (Strehlow 1944:44).
- wurba [ˈwurpʌ] *youth, teenage boy, about 15 to 18 years.*
- wurega [ˈwurekʌ] *to speak.*
- wureŋa [ˈwureŋʌ] *to call someone, to wake someone up.*
- wureŋala [ˈwu,rɛŋala] *to chase away, e.g. to whisk away flies.*
- wurəɟa [ˈwurətjʌ] *to sniff, to scent.* Said mainly of humans, as opposed to ŋaraŋaranda.
- wurəɟil [ˈwurətjɪl] *a magic fire.*
 This was greatly feared by the Wembawemba. Only one man in the group, the wurəɟil-manug was allowed to light such a fire. A piece of a garment, covered in sweat, or any other thing that came directly from the intended victim was put together with some sticks into a deep hole and set alight. If no fresh air was allowed to penetrate into this hole, the victim would fall ill, and groans would be heard from the magic fire, and the victim would slowly die. A wurəɟil was lit at the end of the last century as a punishment for Mrs Morrison, a Wembawemba woman who had married a squatter at Murrabit. A white man heard about it, and heard the groans from the fire and dug it up, and Mrs Morrison recovered.
- wurəɟil-manug [ˈwurətjɪl ˈma.nʊk] *executioner.* Apart from lighting the wurəɟil to kill offenders against traditional law, it was also his duty to kill malformed babies whom he stifled soon after birth.
- wurəɟjug [ˈwurətjʊk] *the smell of (his) perspiration.*
- wuru [ˈwurʊ] *mouth, lips.*
 wurəɟjug *his mouth.*
- wuruwila [ˈwurʊ,wɪlʌ] *to clean up, to tidy and roll wool in a woolshed.*
- wuruwila [ˈwurʊ,wɪlʊ] *wool.*
 From English.
- wurəwurədail [ˈwurə,wurətʌɪl] *blue.*
- wurɟadail [ˈwurɟkʌ,tʌɪl] *black.*
- wurɟadaŋ [ˈwurɟkʌ,tʌŋ] *black.*
- wurɪb [ˈwurɪp] *cockatiel, cockatoo-parrot.*
- wurwur [ˈwurwʊr] *blue sky.*
 Once also wu!wu!.
- yadaga [ˈyæθakʌ] *to be without.*
 yadaga lianjug *he hasn't got any teeth.*
- yadanga [ˈyæθaŋɡʌ] *to be bad.*
- yadaia [ˈyæθaiyʌ] *to be bad, to be useless.*
- yadaminjug [ˈyæθʌ,mɪnʃʊk] *bad, nasty, ugly, deformed.*
- yadaŋa [ˈyæθaŋʌ] *to miss, e.g. when throwing a spear.*
- yaguwa [ˈyakʊwʌ] *to dream.*
- yalaŋ-yalaŋ [ˈyalaŋ ˌyalaŋ] *idiot, stupid person.*
- yaləb-yaləb [ˈyaləp ˌyaləp] *the first finger.*
- yanab-wil [ˈyanap ˌwɪl] *dog.*
 one of the many alternative names for 'dog', apart from the usual wireŋən.
- yanaraŋ [ˈyana,rʌŋ] *sparrow hawk.*
 Probably *Accipiter cirrocephalus*.
- yandaŋ [ˈyandaŋ] *I.* Personal pronoun.
- yandeug [ˈyande,ʊk] *mine, my own.*
 Emphatic possessive.
- yaŋga [ˈyaŋɡʌ] *to walk.*

- yanguwa [ˈyɑŋɡʊwɑ] *to walk past.*
- yangəman [ˈyɑŋgəˌmɑn] *calf about twelve months old.* From English 'young one'.
- yəŋureug [ˈyɑŋʊreˌʊk] *ours* (inclusive). Emphatic possessive.
- yərəman [ˈyərəˌmən] *horse.* This widely used word probably spread from the Sydney area over much of Eastern Australia (Baker 1945:222).
- yərɡa [ˈyɑrkɑ], [ˈyɜrkɑ], once (in a song) [ˈyɜrkɑ] *to search for.* Also *to expect* as in *yərɡa bobenj she is expecting a baby.*
- yərɡuwa [ˈyɑrkʊwɑ] *to look for, to search for over a long distance.*
yərɡuwanda wilgar I am looking around for dingoes.
- yəuwir [ˈyəuwɪr], yowir [ˈyɔwɪr] *fish.* General term; also *flesh.*
- yəuwira [ˈyəuwɪrɑ] *to dislike, to hate.*
- yəuwireg [ˈyəuwɪˌrek] *(my) enemy* (lit. *flesh*).
- yəmin-yəmin [ˈyɛˌmɪn ˌyɛmɪn] *burial ground, graves.*
- yəmuraɡi [ˈyɛˌmʊˌrɑkɪ] *Dreamtime, long ago, a Dreamtime legend.*
yəmuraɡi-gada gin he told a Dreamtime story.
- yeradedj-gurg [ˈyerɑdetj ˌɡʊrk], yeraded-gurg [ˈyerɑˌdet ˌɡʊrk] *owlet-nightjar.* For the importance of this bird as a sex-totem see Song 2.4.2 (Howitt 1904:144-5).
- yɪŋa [ˈyɪŋɑ] *this way.*
yɪŋa-wira to hurry along this way.
- yiri [ˈyiri] *very.* Emphatic adverb, usually precedes the word which is to be emphasised.
- yɪrəɡa [ˈyürəkɑ] *to pull or drag something along, or to lift up something, stretching it.*
- yɪrəɡal [ˈyürəkɑl] *straight, drawn out.*
- yɪrən [ˈyürən], yɪrən-yɪrən [ˈyürən ˌyürən] *eyebrows.*
yɪrən-yɪrəndin your eyebrows.
- yubila [ˈyupɪlɑ] *to tell a lie, to deceive somebody.*
- yuga [ˈyʊ:kɑ] *to paint, to smear with grease.*
- yugal [ˈyʊ:kɑl] *friend.*
winjar yugalin who is your friend?
- yugana [ˈyʊ:kɑnɑ] *to rub.*
 Particularly with grease.
- yuguwa [ˈyʊ:kʊwɑ] *to put down (on ground).*
- yugweg [ˈyʊkˌwɛk] *I wish I had!*
 Exclamation.
- yulbən [ˈyʊˌlɐn], [yʊˌpən] *right hand.* Also *straight*, said of a track.
- yuləɡa [ˈyʊˌləkɑ] *to hand down.*
- yuma [ˈyʊmɑ] *to be.* The verb 'to be' is not always expressed, which means that the verb yuma is slightly more distinctive in meaning than English 'is'.
 In other languages there are numerous parallels to such a distinctive meaning of 'to be', 'to exist', e.g. Spanish *esta*.
- yunwidj [ˈyʊŋwɪtj] *a bark canoe.*
 Also *a large dish made of bark.*
- yurbən [ˈyʊrɐn] *born.*
 Past Participle.
- yurma [ˈyʊrmɑ] *to slip, to stumble.*

Wergaia vocabulary¹

- ba [ba] *and*.
 banjim-ba-yauir *bread and meat*.
 ba was used especially in numerals,
 e.g. buledj ba buledj *two and two*.
- Babadug [¹ba·pʌ, dʊk] *name of a swamp
 near Dimboola just north of
 Walbana-nadje*.
- bab-bab-guma [¹bap bap ,gʊmʌ] *to
 jump around*. Said particularly of
 children.
- bab-bidjig [¹ba·p ¹bitʃɪk] *blowfly,
 i.e. mother of maggot*.
- babdjanag [¹ba·ptʃa, nʌk] *womenfolk
 (lit. their mothers)*.
- bab-djine [¹ba·p ,tʃɪnə] *big toe
 (lit. mother of foot)*.
- babi- [¹ba:pɪ] *female*. This particu-
 larising form of babug *mother*
 was used in compounds; e.g.
 babi wile *a female possum*.
- babila [¹ba:pɪlʌ] *to suck*. As a
 baby; clearly derived from babug
mother.
- bab-manja [¹ba·p ,manʃʌ] *thumb
 (lit. mother of hand)*.
- babug [¹ba:pʊk] *(his) mother*.
- badjig [¹batʃɪk] *stone tomahawk*.
- badjinal [¹batʃɪ, ŋʌl] *pelican*.
- badjɪngug [¹batʃɪŋ, gʊk] *(his) knee*.
- bagen [¹bakən] *cooked*.
- bagenen dulu [¹bakənən ¹duɮʊ]
a rotten stump.
- bagud [¹bakʊt] *wild currant,
 Astroloma species*.
- baiban [¹bai·paŋ] *breem, Fluvialosa
 species*.
- baiga [¹baikʌ] *to fly, to rise up
 in flight*.
- baɪngug [¹baɪŋgʊk] *child*.
- balag [¹balʌk] *small bird, lark*.
 Probably the skylark or brown
 songlark.
- bamba [¹ba·mbʌ] *to be afraid*.
- bamben [¹ba·mbən] *frightened*.
- bandjil [¹ba:ndʒɪl] *Murray cod*.
- banib [¹banɪp] *bunyip*. These
 creatures were usually envisaged
 by Wergaia people as large and
 dark. One looking like a black
 pig was reputed to have been seen
 floating in Lake Hindmarsh.
- banib-ba-gunuwar [¹banɪpʌ ¹gʊnʊ, wɔɾ]
*a kind of water-monster, dark-
 coloured, with long neck (lit.
 bunyip and swan)*. This was seen
 in Lake Albacutya by an uncle of
 the speakers.
- Banji-bunag [¹banʒɪ ,bʊnʌk] *name
 of the area around Ebenezer
 Station, near Antwerp*. Howitt
 mentions 'Banju-bunan, north of
 the Wutjubaluk'. This location
 is not strictly speaking in
 Djadjala country, but belongs to
 a different dialect of Wergaia.
- Banjigu [¹banʒɪ, gʊ] *a camping
 place between Djub-djub-galg
 and Guri-beb*.
- banjim [¹banʒɪm] *bread*.
- banjim-ba-yauir [¹banʒɪm ba ¹yauwɪr]
food (lit. bread and meat).
- baŋda [¹baŋdʌ] *waterweed.
 Triglochin?*
- baŋal [¹ba:ŋʌl] *doctor, clever
 man*.
- bangar [¹ba:ŋaɾ] *white-necked
 crane, Ardea pacifica*.
- bara [¹ba·rʌ] *red kangaroo*.

¹Unless otherwise stated these words are from the Djadjala dialect of Wergaia.

- baɾɛŋ [ˈbaɾɛŋ] *river*.
- baɾɛŋgi-djuɭ [ˈbaɾɛŋgi ˈdju:ɭ] *name of a bend in the Wimmera River just south of Jeparit. djul waterbags made of wallaby skin used to be filled there. A Wergaia legend tells of how a big kookaburra sat there and laughed so loudly that all the waterbags fell down and were spilled.*
- baɾɛŋgi-gadjin [ˈbaɾɛŋgi ˈgatʃɪn] *running water, river water. Cognate with Wembawemba baraia.*
- baɾga [ˈbaɾkʌ] *to sting. Used of insects, prickles etc.; to spear someone with a jabbing spear.*
- baɾi [ˈbaɾi] *oven.*
- baɾɪnjuɟ [ˈbaɾɪnjuɟ] *(his) lower leg.*
- baɾɪŋuɟ [ˈbaɾɪŋuɟ] *(his) track, road.*
- bawa [ˈba.wʌ] *to cook.*
- beb [ˈbɛp] *white gum, Eucalyptus viminalis.*
- bebul [ˈbɛpʊl] *fat, also kidney-fat.*
- bedj [ˈbetʃ] *flint or quartz. Used as barb on spears.*
- belidjmen [ˈbelɪdʃmən] *policeman.*
- benabial [ˈbenʌbiʌl] *name of a native of giant stature. He 'roamed over Cannobeals Plains (they should be called Benabial's Plains) near Lake Albacutya. Shortly after white occupation he fled to the Grampians, and he may still be there'.*
- beɳɛɾ [ˈbɔŋɜɾ] *teal duck.*
- beŋ [ˈbeŋ] *human being. This word is not used as much as the corresponding Wembawemba word; wudju man was sometimes used instead of beŋ.*
- beŋgeb [ˈbeŋgɛp] *nephew.*
- beredj-beredj [ˈbɛɾetʃ ˈbɛɾetʃ] *spur-winged plover.*
- berma [ˈbɛɾmʌ] *a sneak.*
- berm-berm [ˈbɔɾm ˈbɔɾm] *red-kneed dotterel or sandpiper, Erythrogonys cinctus.*
- berŋga [ˈbɔɾŋgʌ], berŋga wanjab *to make or set (a fire).*
- berŋgunja [ˈbɔɾŋgʊnjʌ] *to be thirsty.*
- bial [ˈbiʌl], [ˈbiəl] *red gum.*
- bial-gar [ˈbiʌl ˌgʌr] *edible grub from red gum trees.*
- bib-ŋadja [ˈbi:p ˌŋatʃʌ] *lizard: gecko. This lizard was feared and was believed to inflict serious poisonous bites.*
- Bidjamani-wanjab [ˈbitʃamaɪni ˈwanʃʌp] *name of a swamp very close to Antwerp. It probably denotes a place 'where people warm themselves at a fire'; cf. Wembawemba bidjəga.*
- bidj-bidj [ˈbitʃ ˌbitʃ] *common sandpiper, Tringa hypoleuca.*
- bidjɛŋgal [ˈbitʃɛŋgʌl] *mountain duck.*
- bidjig [ˈbitʃɪk] *maggot.*
- bidjigal [ˈbitʃɪgʌl] *sweet quandong, 'wild peach', Santalum acuminatum.*
- bidjin [ˈbitʃɪn] *river mussel. 'Children used to make holes in the shells to use them like a whistle'.*
- bidjirim [ˈbitʃɪrɪm] *resin. Of Murray pine in particular. Used as glue, e.g. in the manufacture of stone tomahawks.*
- big [ˈbɪk] *mud.*
- big-big [ˈbɪk ˌpɪk] *pig. From English.*
- big-burberug [ˈbɪk ˌbʊɾpəɾʊk] *the nankeen crane, Nycticorax caledonica (lit. muddy-head).*
- bilba [ˈbilpʌ] *to hit, to bang.*
- bili [ˈbillɪ] *belly.*

- bili-burb [¹billI₁bUrp] *bald*.
Also bili-burbug *someone who has a bald head*.
- bilidj [¹billItj] *leech*.
- bilwilarnjed [¹bilwI₁larnjet],
bil-wil-lar-njed *short-necked tortoise, Emydura macquari* (lit. *smooth creature shelters between*).
- bini-ŋari [¹binI₁ŋarI] *blue-bonnet parrot*.
- binj-binj [¹binj₁bInj] *treecreeper, woodpecker*. Probably the black-capped sitella, *Neositta pileata*.
- bingal [¹bi·ŋgʌl] *carpet snake*.
- birgug [¹birkUk] *tail of an animal*.
Also used in the sense of *penis*.
- biringe [¹birInge] *tea*.
- biṛbinj [¹bürpInj] *spear-point waddy*.
- biṛŋga [¹bürŋgʌ] *to cut*. Past participle *biṛŋgen cut*.
- biṛmbug [¹bürmbUk] *marrow of a bone*.
- biṛŋga [¹bürŋgʌ] *to rise*.
Said of the sun or moon... *biṛŋga njau*, *biṛŋga midjiin*.
- biṛŋgua [¹bürŋgUʌ] *to come out, to rise right up (of sun, stars etc)*.
- biṛŋguna [¹bürŋgUŋʌ] *to dodge, e.g. to dodge a spear*.
- biur-galg [¹biyUr₁galk] *sweet-drink tree, Banksia ornata*. The flowers were soaked in water to extract the honey.
- braga [¹brakʌ] *to sting*. This word belongs to the Eastern Werŋaia dialect and is equivalent to Djadjala — *baṛga*.
- Brambimbul [¹brambIm₁bUl] *two mythical heroes*. (Identified with two birds?) Always called *buletji* Brambimbul *the two brothers Bram*.
- buadj [¹buatj] *grass*.
- buanen [¹bu·aŋən] *rotten, smelly*.
Particularly of meat.
- buanga [¹bu·aŋgʌ] *to smell*.
Verb intransitive.
- bubug [¹bu·bUk] *baby, infant before it can walk*.
- bud [¹bu·t] *private parts (female)*.
- budjegad [¹butjə₁gʌt] (*introduced*) *cat*. From English 'pussy-cat'.
- budjug [¹butjUk] (*his*) *liver*.
- budjun [¹butjUn] *matter, running sore*.
- budjuni-ga [¹butjU₁nI₁gʌ:] *dirt or mucus from the nose*.
- buḍidj [¹buḍItj] *root of the Cumbungi reed*. Edible.
- buiga [¹buikʌ] *to fall*.
- buiber [¹buipər] *long-necked turtle, Chelodina longicollis*.
- buiena [¹buiyənʌ] *to swing, e.g. birds from branches*.
- buigen gira [¹buikən₁girʌ],
buiena gira [¹buiyənʌ₁girʌ] *'greenie' bird, Meliphaga penicillata; (lit. falling among branches)*.
- Bulabul [¹bulʌ₁bUl] *name of the large plain west of Lake Albacutya*. It was in Werŋaia country.
- bulabul [¹bulʌ₁bUl] *little black ants*.
- buledj [¹buletj] *two*.
- buledj ba buledj [¹buletj₁ba₁buletj] *four*.
- bulg [¹bu·lk] *soft*.
- bulg-djine [¹bu·lk₁djinə] *'soft feet', a sheep*. On account of its little feet.
- buludj [¹bulUtj] *box-tree*.
- bumbel [¹bumbəl] *flowers on trees, blossom*.
- Bumberdil [¹bumber₁dIl] *Lake Baker*.
Kerang area, originally in Wemba-wemba country.

- bunaḍug [ˈbunaɪtʊk] *broad-leaved mallee*, probably *Eucalyptus incrassata*.
- bunamala [ˈbunʌmʌlʌ] *fine-leaved mallee*, *Eucalyptus gracilis*.
- bun-bun-ware-wil [ˈbuːn bʊn ɪwɔrə ɪwɪl] *brown*.
- bunda [ˈbʊndʌ] *to bite*.
- bunudj [ˈbʊnʊtʃ] *mallee tree*.
Species uncertain.
- bunjaḍ [ˈbʊnjʌt] *eel*.
Eels were considered revolting and greasy and were not eaten by Wergaia people although eels were found in the Wimmera. The habit of eating them was introduced by contact with Woiwuru people.
- bunḍ [ˈbʊnḍ] *basket-rush, wire-rush*.
- burb [ˈbuːrɪp], [ˈbuːrɪpʊk] *head*, also *hill*, e.g. Widji-burb *Wycheproof, basket-grass hill*.
- burbga [ˈbʊrɪpɡʌ] *grey mulga, Acacia brachybotrya*.
- burbi-njani [ˈbuːrɪpɪ ɪnjʌnɪ] *back of the head*.
- burg [ˈbuːrɪk] *spirit, soul*. This word was clearly associated with the idea of breath, and is cognate with verbs meaning 'to breathe', Wembawemba — *burga to breathe*, Djadjala and Wembawemba — *burŋga to blow*.
- burŋga [ˈbʊrŋɡʌ] *to blow*.
- burga [ˈbʊrɡʌ] *to break, to pull out (feathers)*.
- buṛindja-mamug [ˈbʊrɪndʒʌ ɪmɑːmʊk] *tobacco (lit. father of smoke)*.
- buṛinj [ˈbʊrɪnj] *smoke*. Probably cognate with *buṛunj darkness* (Holmer 1963:38).
- buṛunj [ˈbʊrʊnj] *darkness, night*.
- buṛunj [ˈbʊrʊnj] *green ant*.
- buya [ˈbuːyʌ] *to kill*.
- buyub [ˈbuːyʊp] *pigface*.
Mesembryanthemum species. The leaves were eaten for their salt content.
- Daḍidaḍi [ˈdaḍɪɪdaḍɪ] *name of a tribe on the Murray near Euston*.
- Daḍidanja [ˈdaḍɪɪdanjʌ] *name of a salt swamp near Dimboola*.
- dadjug [ˈdʌtʃʊk] *(his) arm*.
- dadjin [ˈdʌtʃɪn] *top of arm near the shoulder*.
dadjingug *the top of his arm*.
- daga [ˈdʌkʌ] *to hit, to shoot, to strike (of lightning)*.
- dag-dag-bial [ˈdʌk tʌk ɪpiʌl] *a tree frog*. Usually found hiding under the bark of red gum trees.
- dagdjera [ˈdʌktjɛrʌ] *to fight*.
- dagingar [ˈdʌkɪŋɡaːr] *wattle-bird*.
- daguna [ˈdʌkʊnʌ] *to hit repeatedly, to kill*.
- dagunga [ˈdʌkʊŋɡʌ] *to punch someone*.
- danju [ˈdʌnjʊ] *black mallee tree, Eucalyptus uncinata*.
- daŋbil [ˈdaːŋbɪl] *thundercloud*.
- darau [ˈdaːrɔ], [ˈdaːraʊ] *sugar ant*.
- dauwa [ˈdauwʌ] *to hit (with a weapon), to chop (wood, with an axe)*.
- dedj [ˈdetj] *black coot, Fulica atra*.
- delgug [ˈdɛɪlkʊk] *good, beautiful*.
- delguna [ˈdɛɪlkʊnʌ] *to cure*.
- deri- [ˈderɪ-] *white*. Used only in compound nouns.
- deri-djaŋ meḍ-meṛel [ˈderɪ ɪtʃʌŋ ɪmɔṭmɔṛɛl] *large white-chested cormorant, Phalacrocorax fuscescens*.

didji-garub [¹didjI ,garUp] *mouse*.
Species uncertain.

dilanj [¹dillanj] *wild grape, the edible fruit of the dillon-bush, Nitraria schoberi*.

dirag [¹dirak] *turpentine bush 'old man weed', Beyeria leschenaultii var. ledifolia*. The leaves of this plant were used as a medicine particularly against fever (Smyth 1878:2/173).

Direl [¹dirəl], [¹direl] *Lake Tyrell*.

direl [¹dirəl], [¹direl] *sky*.

direlug [¹dirə,lUk] (*His*) *sky, heaven*.

diwel-diwel [¹di:wəl 'di:wəl] *zebra duck*.

duan [¹du·aŋ] *squirrel, Phascogale tapoatafa*.

dub-dub [¹du·p tUp] *temples (of the head)*.

duḍ [¹duḍ] *star*.

dug [¹du·k] *a large frog*. Probably the bullfrog.

dugur [¹dukUr] *bark of trees*.

dulagi-gani [¹dula,kI 'ganI] *a kind of waddy*.

dulu [¹dulu] *small, little, short*.

dulu [¹dulu] *tree-stump*. Probably the same as *dulu small*.

duluŋ-wil [¹duluŋ ,wIl] *a small, fat, stumpy person*.

dundel [¹du·ndəl] *lizard*. Described as thick medium sized and living among rocks, probably White's skink, *Egernia Whitii*.

duḍgud [¹duḍp,guḍ] *a small, silvery fish*. Probably the silver perch, *Bidyanus*.

duḍmi-mum [¹duḍmI ,mUm] *the long-necked or stinking turtle, Chelodina longicollis*. The name refers to the indentation in the shell near the tail.

dja [¹dja:] *ground, earth*.

djadjin [¹dja·tjIn] (*your*) *elder sister*.

djaga [¹djakʌ] *to eat*.

djagila [¹djakIlʌ] *to eat, to eat up*.

djagua [¹djakUʌ] *to celebrate, to have a feast*.

djaimba [¹djaimbʌ], djaimbua [¹djaimbUʌ] *to shout at someone in order to frighten him*.

djaləŋ [¹djaləŋ] *brown snake*.

djalega [¹djaləkʌ] *kangaroo rat*.

djalga [¹tjalkʌ] *to sharpen a weapon*. Also *to pull*:
djalga ŋəŋəjug *to pull someone's hair*.

djalja [¹djalIʌ] *to scold, to use abusive words to someone*.

djalineg [¹djalI,ŋek] (*my*) *tongue*.

djali-wudjub [¹djalI ,wUtjUp] *the common grass skink, Leiopisma species; (lit. tongue inside)*.

djaŋ-djine [¹djaŋ 'djine] *sole of the foot (lit. chest of foot)*.

djangug [¹dja·ŋUk] (*his*) *chest*.

djaŋ-manja [¹djaŋ 'manjʌ] *palm of hand (lit. chest of hand)*.

djarem [¹dja·rəm] *a small throwing spear made from reeds, bamboo spear*.¹

djarg [¹dja:rk] *reed, Phragmites communis*.

djariga [¹djarIkʌ] *to stand*.
djarigag *halt!* also *to a child stand still!*

¹See illustrations of various reed spears in Smyth 1878:1/305).

- djarima [ˈdjarəmə], [ˈdjarImʌ]
to hold ready, e.g. a shield;
to poise a throwing spear for
throwing.
- djarima galgug [ˈdjarImʌ ˈgalkUk]
to set sticks as pegs for a
fishing net.
- djarmbab [ˈtjarmbap] *uncle,*
mother's brother. This word is
clearly connected with bab *mother.*
There is a lexical as well as a
semantic link between these two
kinship terms in other Australian
languages, e.g. Adnjamadana in
the Flinders Ranges, ɲami *mother,*
ɲamaɲa *mother's brother.*
- djarmbeg [ˈtjarm,bek] (*my*) *uncle*
(*mother's brother*).
- djarug [ˈtjarUk] *dark-leaved yam.*¹
- djarb [ˈdjarp], rarely [ˈdjɜrp]
mouth.
- djauei [ˈdjaue,ɪI] *uncle.*
More distantly related man of the
same generation as one's father.
Djauei Djured *old Henry Fenton*
from Warracknabeal.
- djebga [ˈdʒɛpgʌ] *shrub, Bursaria*
spinosa.
- djedawa [ˈtjɔːtʌwʌ] *to stop, to be*
stationary.
- djeradedj-gurg [ˈdʒɛrʌdetj ɪgUrK]
owlet-nightjar.
- djeri [ˈdʒɛrɪ] *seed (of grasses).*
- djib [ˈdʒɪp] *small turtle.*
Probably refers to young specimens
of the common long-necked or
stinking turtle.
- djiba [ˈdʒɪpʌ] *to float.*
- djibua [ˈdʒɪpʊʌ] *to float past.*
- djidjed [ˈtʃɪtjɜtʃ] *grass parrot.*
Psephotus haematonotus.
- djidug [ˈdʒɪtʃUk] *end.*
- djiel [ˈdʒi:əl] *lust.*
- djiel-gurg [ˈdʒi:əl ɪgUrK] *loose*
woman.
- djil [ˈdʒi:l] *a net.*
- djilba [ˈdʒɪlpʌ] *to hit, to jolt.*
- djilba-djilba [ˈdʒɪlpʌ ɪtʃɪlpʌ]
to jog, e.g. a buggy.
- djilbagana [ˈdʒɪlpʌ,kʌnʌ] *to hit.*
- djilga [ˈdʒɪlkʌ] *to show off, to*
be cheeky.
djilgi baingu *you cheeky boy.*
- djilgua [ˈdʒɪlkʊʌ] *to show off, to*
be very conceited.
- djin [ˈdʒɪn] *needlewood, Hakea*
leucoptera.
- djinab [ˈdʒɪnʌp] *sulphur-crested*
white cockatoo.
- Djindjinder [ˈdʒɪndʒɪndər]
Tyntynder, near Swan Hill.
Not a Werगाia name, but heard
from Werगाia informants.
- djine [ˈdʒɪnə] *foot.*
- djine-warug [ˈdʒɪnə ɪwarUk],
djine-warug [ˈdʒɪnə ɪwarUk]
centipede (lit. having a lot of
feet).
- djine-djinedj [ˈdʒɪnə ɪtʃɪnetj]
the frogmouth owl.
- djined [ˈdʒɪnətʃ] *kangaroo sinew.*
- djire-djiredj [ˈdʒɪrə ɪtʃɪretj]
bird, Willie wagtail.
- djirm-djirm [ˈdʒɪrm ɪdʒɪrm]
mudlark, magpie-lark.
- djiwan [ˈdʒiːwʌn] *grey thrush,*
Colluricincla harmonica.
- djub [ˈdʒʊp] *shrub.* Probably
species of *Melaleuca.* The
branchlets of this shrub were

¹This is probably the same as dyarruk listed by Smyth 1878:2/173, and identified as *Geranium dissectum* by F. von Müller.

- used as a hook for getting out ground-grubs.
- djub-djub-galg [ˈdʒup ˌtʃʊp ˈgalk] *an important camping place on the Avoca River, where djub, Melaleuca, was abundant.*¹
- djubi-djubi [ˈdʒupɪ ˌtʃʊpɪ] *tiny bird. Species unknown.*
- djudjuwura [ˈtʃʊtʃʊwʊrʌ] *to gossip about somebody.*
- djuel-djuel [ˈdʒuəl ˈdʒuəl] *pink-eared or zebra duck. See also diwel-diwel.*
- djul [ˈdʒu:l] *a waterbag. See baŋengi-djul.*
- djulba [ˈdʒulpʌ] *to get, to fetch. Particularly water.*
- djulug [ˈdʒu:lʊk] *tripe (lit. water-bag-his).*
- djul-wil [ˈdʒul ˌwɪl] *musk duck (lit. bag creature). From the large, fleshy bag under the bill of the male musk duck.*
- djuŋda [ˈdʒuŋdʌ] *to spit. If a black doctor spits on a person, that person dies; 'he djuŋdin him'.*
- djuŋga [ˈdʒuŋgʌ] *to swell up (a sore).*
- djuŋgila [ˈdʒuŋkɪlʌ] *to talk about somebody.*
- djuweŋuŋ [ˈdʒuːwəɪrʊŋ] *long, tall.*
- djuweŋuŋ-wirimbul [ˈdʒuːwəɪrʊŋ ˌwɪrɪmɪbʊl] *rabbit (lit. long ears).*
- djuweŋuŋ-galg [ˈdʒuːwəɪrʊŋ ˈgalk] *tall, thin person (lit. long-bones).*
- gaba [ˈgʌpʌ] *to chase, to follow.*
- gad [ˈgɑ:t] *a buggy. English 'cart'. gad-yaraman horse and buggy, waŋewia gad yaraman drive away in a buggy!*
- gadim-gadim [ˈgʌtɪm ˈgʌtɪm] *boomerang.*
- gadjab [ˈgʌtʃʌp] *armpit.*
- gadjegar [ˈgʌtʃəˌkɑr] *corella, white cockatoo.*
- gadjila [ˈgʌtʃɪlʌ] *to be sick.*
- gadjilaŋ [ˈgʌtʃɪlʌŋ] *sick. Continuous participle; gadjilaŋ lia toothache, gadjilaŋ wirimbul earache.*
- gadjin [ˈgʌtʃɪn] *water.*
- gaɟuk [ˈgʌtʃʊk] *owl. Probably the barn owl.*
- gaiab [ˈgʌɪʌp] *one.*
- gal [ˈgʌl] *tame dog.*
- galba [ˈgʌlpʌ] *to cut, to split in half.*
- galben-galben [ˈgʌlpən ˈgʌlpən] *knife (lit. cut-cut).*
- gale- [ˈgʌlə-] *male. This word was used in compound nouns, e.g. gale-wile buck possum. See also mami-wile.*
- galg [ˈgʌlk] *stick.*
- galg-galg [ˈgʌlk ˌgʌlk] *brown hawk, Falco berigora (lit. stick-stick). The name could come from the call of the bird, 'karra karra karrakatchy' (Condon 1957:10).*
- galgiar [ˈgʌlkɪˌɪʌr] *stick. Rare word perhaps from another Wergaia dialect.*
- galgug [ˈgʌlkʊk] *(his) bone. Also the branch of a tree. See galg.*
- galinud [ˈgʌlɪnʊt] *blue mountain parrot, Trichoglossus moluccanus.*
- gal-wil-gal [ˈgʌl wɪl ˌgʌl] *a big pack of dogs. Derogatory term.*
- gama [ˈgʌmʌ] *common black wallaby, Wallabia bicolor.*

¹Derived from this locality is the tribal name 'Yupalgalkwourndich' mentioned by Howitt (1904:53), referring to people living 'east of Wotjobaluk, Mallee scrub towards Avoca River'.

- gambar [ˈgambar] *reed, the lesser reed mace or Cumbungi, Typha angustifolia.*
- gam-gam [ˈgam ˌgam] *horse.*
- ganagug [ˈganʌkʊk] *his heel.*
- gani [ˈganɪ] *club, large waddy.*
A variant form ganji was also heard, possibly from another Wergaia dialect.
- ganindjila [ˈganɪndʒɪlʌ] *to steal (money, wife or any possessions).*
- ganinji-maṅḍar [ˈganɪnjɪ ˈmaṅḍar] *wild potato. Tuberosus plant, species uncertain, perhaps Thysanotus species.*
- ganjaba galg [ˈganjapʌ ˈgalk] *thick scrub.*
- ganjanga [ˈganjaŋʌ] *to cough.*
- gaṅḍulaŋ [ˈgaṅḍʊlʌŋ] *grey butcher bird.*
- gar [ˈga:r] *nose.*
ganjug (*his*) *nose.*
- gar [ˈga:r] *edible grub (from trees).*
- gara [ˈgarʌ] *bush kangaroo, Wallabia rufogrisea.*
- garga [ˈkarkʌ] *to grab, to catch.*
- garig [ˈgarɪk] *spearthrower.*
Used also in jest for a very ugly hooked nose.¹
- garindjan [ˈgarɪndʒan] *little pied cormorant, Microcarbo melanoleucus.*
- garma [ˈgarmʌ] *to vomit.*
- garurai [ˈgarʊraɪ] *black-tailed waterhen, Tribonyx ventralis.*
- garibug [ˈgarɪpʊk] (*his*) *thigh.*
- garina [ˈgarɪnʌ] *to grow.*
djarg garinjin gadjinada *reeds grew in the water.*
- garinjin [ˈgarɪnɪn] (*your*) *leg.*
ganug *his leg.*
- gauenda [ˈgauwendʌ] *to crawl (of snakes and babies).*
- gaur [ˈgaur] *emu.*
- gedjawil [ˈgetjɔwɪl], [ˈgetjauwɪl] *a lot, many (lit. many having).*
- gedia [ˈgø:tɪʌ] *umbrella tree, umbrella wattle, Acacia oswaldii.*
- gedug [ˈgø:tʊk] *variant of gadug owl.*
- gelalag [ˈgellʌlak] *Major Mitchell cockatoo*
- gen [ˈgen] *frill-necked lizard.*
- gena [ˈgenʌ] *to tie.*
- gengen-manja [ˈgengen ˌmanjʌ] *policeman (lit. tie up hands).*
- gengen-guṅ [ˈgengen ˌguṅ] *hangman (lit. tie up throat).*
- geŋ [ˈge:ŋ] *rushes, Juncus species.*
- gerem [ˈgø:rəm], girem [ˈgürəm] *a spear shield (Smyth 1878:1/333).*
- gerga [ˈgø:rkʌ], [ˈgarʌkʌ] *to grab, to catch.*
gerga guṅḍug *to grab somebody's throat, to strangle someone.*
- gernda [ˈgø:rɲdʌ] *to shout, to yell.*
- gia [ˈgi:ʌ] *to tell, to say.*
- gien [ˈgi:ən], gien-gurg [ˈgi:ən ˌgʊrk] *loose woman. Abusive term.*
- gila-gila-beb [ˈgilʌ ˌgɪlʌ ˌbeb] *tree. Juvenile form of the white gum, beb.*
- gimba [ˈgimbʌ] *here.*
- gini [ˈgɪnɪ] *forehead.*
gininjug *his forehead.*
- ginja [ˈgɪnjʌ] *this one right here.*

¹See illustration of various Victorian forms of spearthrowers in Smyth 1878:1/309.

- gira [ˈgɪrʌ] *leaf*.
- Giraidj-birp [ˈgɪrɪtj ˈbʊrɪp],
Graidj-birp [ˈgrɪtj ˈbʊrɪp]
name of a salt swamp near Antwerp.
- Giridji-gal [ˈgɪrɪtjɪ ˈgal],
Gridji-gal [ˈgrɪtjɪ ˈgal]
*a fishing place on the Wimmera,
near Antwerp. 'A dog was always
there'.*
- girinjug [ˈgɪrɪnɪjʊk] *his fins.*
The fins of a fish.
- gɪrɛ [ˈgʊrɛ], gɪrenji [ˈgʊrɛnɪjɪ]
*urine. This word occurred in the
expression gɪrenji-gal dog's urine.*
- gɪrma [ˈgʊrɪmʌ] *to urinate.*
- guba [ˈgʊpʌ] *to drink.*
gubag *drink it up!*
- guberi [ˈgʊpɛrɪ] *they are
drinking. This form of the verb
was introduced into English as a
general term for 'drinking plonk
(cheap wine)'.*
- gubila [ˈgʊpɪlʌ] *to drink, to go
on drinking.*
- gudug [ˈgʊtʊk] (*his*) *younger
brother or sister. It is of
interest that in Werḡaia, as
opposed to Wembawemba and Madi-
madi there is only one word for
'younger brother or sister'.
There are many parallels to the
Werḡaia system, e.g. in the
Western Desert languages, but
'elder brother' and 'elder sister'
appear to be generally differen-
tiated in Australian languages;
this is probably connected with
the importance of seniority in a
family; 'the eldest girl was the
boss of the girls'.*
- gudjab [ˈgʊtjʌp] *stone.*
- gudjal [ˈgʊtjal] *dew, frost.*
- gudji [ˈgʊtjɪ] *a species of
kangaroo, probably the black-
faced mallee kangaroo.*
- gudjun [ˈgʊtjʊn] *broilga.*
- guda [ˈgʊtʌ] *to arrive, to come.*
- gugal [ˈgʊkʌl] *sawfly larvae
(hanging in bunches from trees).*
- gugun [ˈgʊgʊn] *grandfather
(paternal).*
- gul-gul [ˈgʊl ɡʊl], gulu-gulu
[ˈgʊlʊ ɡʊlʊ] *a species of dove.*
Probably 'the peaceful dove',
Geopelia placida. The name is
derived from its call.
- gulgun [ˈgʊlkʊn] *youth, young man.*
- guli [ˈgʊlɪ] *a mob, a crowd of
people.*
- gulien [ˈgʊlɪən] *angry, roused.*
- gulinjug [ˈgʊlɪnɪjʊk] *the sting of
an insect. Also used as a
predicative term he is angry,
gulinjin you are angry.*
- guli-wil [ˈgʊlɪ wɪl] *poison.*
Used for *poison administered by
a poisoner as well as for snake
poison* (Howitt 1904:363).
- gulud [ˈgʊlʊt] *she-oak, Casuarina
suberosa. The wood was used
especially for making shields.*
- gululug [ˈgʊlʊlʊk] *ashamed.*
- gulum-gulum [ˈgʊlʊm ˈgʊlʊm]
*stranger. Especially a dangerous
stranger, a wild blackfellow.*
An uncle of the main speaker
was killed by gulum-gulum in the
1860s.
- guma [ˈgʊmʌ] *a nasty or bad person.*
Term of abuse. The widespread
word *gum methylated spirits* may
be connected with this.
- guma [ˈgʊmʌ] *uncooked, raw.*
Felt to be unconnected with the
preceding word.
- gumba [ˈgʊmbʌ] *to sleep, to lie
down, to set (of sun).*
- gumbila [ˈgʊmbɪlʌ] *to be lying
down, to rest.*
- gune [ˈgʊnɛ] *excrement, also
entrails.*
- gunuwaɾ [ˈgʊnʊwɔɾ] *swan.*
- gunḡug [ˈgʊḡʊk] (*his*) *throat.*

- gunwil [ˈgʊŋwɪl], gunmil [ˈgʊŋmɪl]
black snake. Sometimes used as
 a general term for *snake*. The
 variant gunmil belongs to the
 eastern dialect of Wergaia.
- gun-gun [ˈgʊŋ ɡʊŋ] *edible berry*,
 probably of mistletoe.
- guradj [ˈɡurətj] *bad, forbidden*.
- guradj gadjin [ˈɡurətj ˈɡatjɪn]
strong drink (lit. *bad, forbidden*
water).
- gurag [ˈɡurək] *sand*.
 gura-gurag *a lot of sand, a*
sandhill.
- Gurbalug [ˈɡʊrɒlʊk] *The Lake*
Hindmarsh Tribe. This was
 originally one of the more
 important Wergaia groups.
- gurbin gulud [ˈɡʊrɪn ˈɡulʊd]
bird, woodpecker, Neositta
chrysoptera.
- gure [ˈɡurə] *grey kangaroo*.
- Gurebi deredi [ˈɡurəpɪ ˈdɛ·rətɪ]
name of a swamp just south of
Antwerp.
- gurewa [ˈɡurəwə] *bird, hoary-headed*
grebe, Podiceps poliocephalus.
- gurg [ˈɡʊrk] *blood*.
- gurgali [ˈɡʊrkəli] *parrot, Eastern*
rosella. So called from the red
 colouring of its head and chest.
- Guri-beb [ˈɡʊrɪ ˈbɛp] *name of a*
camping place on the Wimmera
River, cf. beb white gum.
- gurm [ˈɡʊrm] *breast*.
 gurmbug *her breast, milk*.
- gurug [ˈɡʊ·rʊk] *magpie*.
- gurumbed [ˈɡʊ·rʊmɪbʊt] *water-rat*.
- gurun [ˈɡʊ·rʊŋ] *big, tall, high*.
- gurun djulug [ˈɡʊ·rʊŋ ˈdju·lʊk]
greedy (lit. *big-tripe-his*).
- gurwidj [ˈɡʊrwɪtj] *friend, mate*.
- gurun [ˈɡʊrʊŋ] *bird, pied*
currawong, Strepera graculina.
- gurun-gurun [ˈɡʊrʊŋ ˈɡʊrʊŋ] *kookaburra*.
- guyawug [ˈɡʊ·yʌwʊk] *dead tree*.
- guyun [ˈɡʊyʊn] *stabbing spear*.¹
- laiurg [ˈlai·yʊrk], leurg
 [ˈlɛ·yʊrk] *woman*.
- laiurg-mul [ˈlai·yʊrk ˈmu·l],
 leurg-mul [ˈlɛ·yʊrk ˈmu·l]
a mob of women.
- lalabgin [ˈlallap.kɪn] *martin*,
dusky wood swallow.
 wilaged is an alternative name
 for the same bird.
- lanun-gurg [ˈlɑ:nʊŋ ˈɡʊrk] *a young*
girl, a young (unmarried) woman.
- langi [ˈlɑ:ŋɪ] *dusky moorhen*,
Gallinula tenebrosa.
- lardji-burbug [ˈlɑrdʒɪ ˈbʊrɒpʊk]
grey-haired.
- lar [ˈlɑ:r] *camp, home*.
- Lar [ˈlɑ:r] *name of a swamp just*
east of Walbana ndje.
- larngug [ˈlɑ:rŋɪgʊk], larngug
 [ˈlɑrɪŋɪgʊk] *lung (his)*.
- lauau [ˈlɑuʌn], [ˈlɔʌn] *mallee*
hen, lowan.
- ledj-ledj [ˈlɛ·dʒ ˈlɛtj] *a*
mysterious creature in the shape
of a large dog. Purple coloured
 according to one speaker,
 reddish-ginger according to
 another who claims to have seen
 one in her youth.
- legil [ˈlɛ:kɪl] *bull ant*.
- lerblerbmala [ˈlɛrɒlɛrɒp.mala]
to bark.
- lia [ˈli:ʌ] *teeth*.
- lia-wil [ˈli·ʌ wɪl] *sharp, pointed*.
 Said particularly of waddies.

¹See illustration in Smyth (1878:1/307).

- lib [ˈlip] a spike.
- lib-lib-wil [ˈlip lɪp ˌwɪl] lobster, Murray cray. Not native to Lake Hindmarsh. The word is acknowledged as a borrowing.
- lidguna [ˈlitkʉnʌ] to sharpen to a point.
- liengel [ˈliəŋgəl] a kind of hooked waddy, a fighting club.¹
- lil [ˈli:l] white manna from gum trees.
- lirg [ˈlɪrk] death adder.
- liri-djine [ˈlɪrɪ ˌtʃɪnə] toenail.
- liri-manja [ˈlɪrɪ ˌmɔnjʌ] fingernail.
- lirinjug [ˈlɪrɪŋjʉk] shell (its), the shells of mussels. Also claws (its), the claws of crayfish. The term could be used as a possessive, claws-its to designate crayfish.
- lirinjug [ˈlɪrɪŋjʉk] money (lit. shells).
- lum [ˈluːm] mallee or ringneck parrot, *Barnardius barnardi*.
- mabila [ˈmɑ:pɪlʌ] to tell lies.
- madjgad [ˈmatʃgʌt] gun, i.e. musket. daga madjgad to shoot.
- madjimug [ˈmatʃɪmʉk] (his) wife.
- maieg [ˈmaɪyʉk] over there, a long way off.
- malamia [ˈmallaɪmɪˌʌ] long ago.
- Malanuen [ˈmallaɪŋʉn] name of a swamp near Antwerp. Just south of Walbana ŋadje.
- malgar [ˈmalkʌr] waddy shield.
- malubmia [ˈmallaɪpɪmɪˌʌ] later on, in the future.
- malug [ˈmallaɪk] there, out of sight, a long way off.
- malugmanga [ˈmallaɪk ˌmɔŋʌ] long ago.
- mam [ˈmɑ:m], mamug [ˈmɑːmʉk] father, male. mami was used in the formation of adjectival compounds, e.g. mami-bulg-djine a ram, (lit. male sheep).
- mamba [ˈmɑːmbʌ] maybe, perhaps. Used adverbially and as a particle.
- mameŋurag [ˈmameɪŋʉrʌk] our Father, God.
- manega [ˈmɑːnəkʌ] to bring, to fetch.
- manja [ˈmɔnjʌ] hand.
- manja [ˈmɔnjʌ] that. Demonstrative pronoun of distance.
- Manjaŋur [ˈmɔnjʌŋʉr] Lake Mannoar in the Kerang district, outside Weragaia territory.
- manjerab-gurg [ˈmɔnjəɾap ˈgʉrk] plain plover, *zonifer tricolor*. From the red mark above its beak.
- manjug [ˈmɔnjʉk] over there, some distance away.
- mangeb [ˈmɑːŋgeɾ] daughter.
- manŋmangilan [ˈmɑːŋmɔŋɪlʌŋ] pregnant.
- mara [ˈmarʌ] meat ant.
- mareŋ [ˈmarəŋ] branch of a tree.
- maruŋ [ˈmarʉŋ] Murray pine. maruŋ-maruŋ a forest of Murray pines.
- medja [ˈmɛːtʃʌ] not to know a person, to be a stranger to them.
- med-mereŋ [ˈmø:t ˈmøɾəŋ], med-meɾel [ˈmø:t ˈmøɾɛl] large black cormorant, *Phalacrocorax carbo*.
- meg [ˈmɛk] white ground grub, edible.
- meɾb [ˈmøɾp] cousin (male or female).

¹See illustration in Howitt (1904:265), and Smyth (1878:1/302).

- meren ['mø:ren], merŋ ['mø:rŋ]
cloud.
- merg ['mørk] *ankle.*
- merg-manja ['mørk 'manjʌ] *wrist*
 (lit. *ankle of the hand*).
- merndaŋ ['mørndʌŋ] *thunder.*
- midjag ['mitjʌk] *rain.*
- midjiin ['midji,ɪn] *moon.*
- midjug ['mitjʌk] (*his*) *skin, the*
bark of a tree.
- midjug-mindjun ['mitjʌk 'mi:ndjʌn]
kangaroo skin.
- midjug-wile ['mitjʌk 'wilə] *possum*
skin.
- Milewa ['milləwʌ] *the Murray.*
 This was not a Wergaia word; it
 was borrowed from Wadiwadi.
- mim ['mi:m] *paternal grandparent.*
- min [-'mɪn] *indeed.* Emphatic
 particle, often used after the
 imperative; njudag-min *hide (it)!*
- mindjun ['mi:ndjʌn] *grey kangaroo.*
- minjug ['mi:njʌk] *perspiration,*
strong smell of perspiration.
- miŋdai ['müŋdai], ['møŋdai] *the*
maned snake. A huge hairy snake
 which is believed to have been
 sighted in the Wimmera district
 and near the Murray even early
 this century, 'before all the
 mallee was rolled'.
- miŋug ['müŋʌk] (*his*) *eye.*
 miŋin *your eye.*
- miŋ ba ganjug ['mür ba 'ganjʌk]
 (*his*) *face* (lit. *eye and nose his*).
- mirg ['mürk] *egg.*
- mudəŋ ['mutʒŋʌ] *to follow, to go*
after.
- mudja ['mutjʌ] *to pick up.*
- mud ['mʌ:t] *blunt, useless.*
- mud-djaliŋ ['mʌ:t 'tjalɪŋ] *dumb*
 (lit. *blunt tongue*).
- mud-miŋug ['mʌ:t 'müŋʌk] *blind*
 (lit. *blunt-eye-his*).
- mud-wiriŋbul ['mʌ:t 'würɪm,ɪbʌl]
deaf (lit. *blunt-ears*).
- mula ['mulʌ] *hip.*
- mum ['mu:m] *bottom, behind.*
- munimug ['munɪ,mʌk] *tiny bird of*
outer foliage. Species uncertain,
 thornbill or weebill.
- munja ['mu:njʌ] *louse.*
- munja ['mu:njʌ] *yam 'like a radish',*
Microseris scapigera.
 See Smyth (1878:2/173).
- munji ['mu:nji] *hair of the body.*
- munji-wuru ['mu:nji ,wʌrʌ]
moustache (lit. *hair of lip*).
- munjub ['mu:njʌp] *thick waddy with*
long handle.
 See Smyth (1878:1/300).
- munjugal ['mu:njʌ,gal] *bird —*
white-winged chough.
- muŋal ['mu:ŋʌl] *blue trout.*
- muragug ['murʌ,kʌk] (*his*) *cheek.*
- mureŋ ['mureŋ] *jaw.*
- mureug ['mu:re,ʌk] *prickles.*
 Particularly those of the burr.
- murimurum ['murɪ,mʌrʌm] *tobacco.*
 See also buŋindja-mamug.
- murub ['murʌp] *ghost, spirit.*
- murubug ['murʌ,pʌk] *his spirit,*
soul (after death).
- muruged ['murʌ ,gʒt] *parrot, rock*
pebbler, Polytelis anthopeplus.
- niŋag ['nu:mɪʌ] *to weep, to cry.*
- numila ['nu:mɪʌ] *to weep, to cry.*
- njaga ['nja:kʌ] *to see.*
- njagila ['nja:kɪʌ] *to stare at.*
- njag-njag-wirb ['nja:k 'nja:k 'würp]
a bad omen, sickness or death.
 When someone comes with his face
 covered in ashes, this is such an
 omen.

njaguda [ˈnja:kUtʌ] *to watch.*
 njalinj-gurg [ˈnjallInj ˈgUrʌ] *mother-in-law.*
 njani [ˈnjanI] *neck.*
 njanja [ˈnjanʌ] *what?*
 njanera [ˈnjanəʀʌ] *to observe, to take notice.*
 njara [ˈnja:rʌ] *to observe, to watch.*
 njarambin [ˈnja:rʌm,bIn] *old man.*
 njarambin ɲadje [ˈnja:rʌm,bIn ˈɲatjə] *a bent little old man. Slightly derogatory.*
 Njarimbalug [ˈnja:rIm,balʌk] *name of a small subgroup of the Wergaia from around Warracknabeal.*
 njariŋin [ˈnja:rI,ŋIn] *(your) name.*
 njauɪ [ˈnjauɪ] *sun.*
 njeba [ˈnjeβʌ] *to get into (a canoe).*
 njerna [ˈnjeʀnʌ] *to hear.*
 njernila [ˈnjeʀnIlʌ] *to listen.*
 njiba [ˈnjipʌ] *to bury.*
 njibua [ˈnjipʌ], njibuŋa [ˈnjipʌŋʌ] *to kick up.*
 njibua dja *to kick up the dust.*
 njinja [ˈnjinjʌ] *this one.*
 Demonstrative pronoun.
 njiri [ˈnji:rI] *beer, strong drink.*
 njua [ˈnju:ʌ] *here, quite close.*
 winjaradj njua *who is there.*
 njuda [ˈnju:ɬʌ] *to hide something.*
 Njun-garud [ˈnju:n ˈga:rʌt] *a monster. A solitary giant that roamed the mallee sandhills north of Lake Hindmarsh.*
 ɲa [ˈɲa:] *yes.*
 ɲaba [ˈɲapʌ] *grandfather (maternal).*
 ɲabul-ɲabul [ˈɲapʌl ˈɲapʌl] *grub (from box-trees).*
 ɲad-wil-gani [ˈɲat wIl ˈganI] *a kind of waddy (four-sided).*

ɲadje [ˈɲatjə] *goblin.*
 A mysterious being that attacks humans at night. 'Old George Pepper, uncle of the speaker escaped from the ɲadje by building a shelter of porcupine grass'. The ɲadje always came in families at night, including ɲadje babies. They were 'little people like humans, only smaller'. They fled at dawn, amid horrid howls. They were very hairy and the men's faces were covered in whiskers.
 ɲag [ˈɲa:k] *shadow.* Wergaia people considered it the height of rudeness for someone to let their shadow fall over another person. Even young children were taught about this.
 ɲag [ˈɲak] *pie'd goose.*
 ɲaga [ˈɲakʌ] *to jump, to dive.*
 ɲagin gadjina *he jumped into the water.*
 ɲalbagadja [ˈɲalpʌ,katjʌ] *Lake Albacutya.*
 ɲali [ˈɲallI] *back of the neck.*
 ɲal-ɲal [ˈɲa:l ɲʌl] *freckled duck.*
 ɲalug [ˈɲallʌk] *aunt.*
 ɲamadj [ˈɲamatj] *sea, ocean.*
 ɲani [ˈɲanI] *beard.*
 ɲanidjin [ˈɲanI,tjIn] *(your) husband.*
 ɲanj [ˈɲanj] *casuarina.* Probably *Casuarina cristata*, the *belah*.
 ɲanje-wil [ˈɲanjə ˈwIl] *musk duck.*
 ɲaŋgerel [ˈɲa:ŋgə,rel] *black-billed spoonbill.*
 ɲaŋur [ˈɲaŋʌr] *black tree-goanna, Varanus varius.*
 ɲarau [ˈɲa:rau], [ˈɲa:ro] *the bustard or plains turkey.*
 ɲare [ˈɲarə] *hair or fur.*
 ɲare-burb [ˈɲarə ˈbu:rβ] *hair of the head.*

ɳarenjug [¹ɳarə,ɳjʊk] *hairy, furry*
(lit. *hair-his*).

ɳarenjug wile *possum fur*.

The expression ɳarenjug yauir
(lit. *hairy meat*), was used as a
joke for 'hare's meat' under the
influence of English.

ɳargurel [¹ɳargʊ,rel] *straw-necked*
ibis.

ɳari [¹ɳa:rI] *oak tree, Casuarina*
species (bull oak).

ɳaruba [¹ɳarʊpʌ] *to smell something*.

ɳaruban yadjaɳ yauir *I can smell*
meat that's gone bad.

ɳaud-ɳaud [¹ɳaut ¹ɳaut] *name of a*
mythical creature on the whole
malevolent. According to the
Djadjala legend he hopped along
on one leg, saying in a deep voice
'djinenjug djinenjug' '*his leg,*
his leg'. People tried to chase
him unsuccessfully. Stories
about ɳaud-ɳaud are widespread,
and range from the Upper Murray
people of Eastern South Australia
(Swan Reach) to the Woiwuru of
Central Victoria. According to
the Woiwuru, the ɳaud-ɳaud was
dangerous and evil. According to
the Upper Murray people he was
just a malformed giant, who was
ultimately imprisoned by the
people in a cave where he
starved to death.

ɳayir [¹ɳa·yIr] *place name, Nyah,*
near Swan Hill, outside Werगाia
territory.

ɳebau [¹ɳe·po] *Nypo station, near*
Lake Albacutya. This formed part
of the Djadjala territory.¹

ɳenja [¹ɳenja] *to sit*.

ɳenjag mumrin *sit down on your*
behind.

ɳeri [¹nɳrI] *black duck*.

The expression ɳeri ba beɳer
black ducks and teal ducks is
sometimes used as a general term
for ducks.

ɳidja [¹ɳi·tja] *to whimper, to*
grizzle.

ɳidjera [¹ɳi·tjɛrʌ] *to cry softly*
together (of children).

ɳinji-waɳin [¹ɳinji,wɔɳIn] *greedy*.

ɳulwila [¹ɳu·lwIlʌ] *to make a fool*
of oneself, to pretend something
that is not true.

ɳunji [¹ɳunjI] *bag*.

ɳunjim-gurg [¹ɳunjIm ,gʊrk] *an old*
woman.

ɳungur-wil [¹ɳungʊr ,wIl] *strong*.

ɳuraɳ [¹ɳu·raɳ] *lignum,*
Muehlenbeckia species.

ɳurga [¹ɳʊɾka] *to swallow, to bite*.

The latter meaning is rare in
Djadjala, bunda being the standard
word for 'to bite' but it is of
interest to note the unusual fact
that there is a closely cognate
form in Yaralde [ɳɔrkən] *to bite*.

ɳurgen-ɳurgen-djine [¹ɳʊɾkən
¹ɳʊɾkən ¹djinə] *a lizard (lit.*
bitten-bitten-foot). Species
uncertain. It was considered
dangerous, injecting poison into
people's feet.

wab [¹wɔp], [¹wɔp] *exclamation of*
disgust and threat.

As in wab wudjebug *damn his guts*.

wadj [¹watj] *golden wattle,*
Acacia pycnantha.

wadjabga [¹watjaɳpɳa] *hopbush,*
Dodonaea species.

wadje [¹watjə] *brown sand-goanna*.

¹Djadjala people, particularly the family of the speakers, stayed on there for a long while "because Mr Archibald, who founded the station, was very good to them". This was at least partly a cause of the survival of the Djadjala language. When Mr Archibald died, they moved to Ebenezer Mission, about 1860.

- wadjib [ˈwatjɪp] *son*.
- wadjib-djine [ˈwatjɪp ˈdjɪnə] *toe*.
- wadjim-gurg [ˈwatjɪm ɹɹɪrk] *white woman*.
- wada [ˈwɑːtʌ], [ˈwɑːtʌ] *to come*.
- Wadidirabul [ˈwɑːtɪdɪrʌbʊl],
Wadidira-ɲadja [ˈwɑːtɪdɪrʌ ˈɲatjə]
A camping place on the Wimmera River very close to Antwerp, where crayfish were often caught.
- wadunga [ˈwɑːtʊŋɡʌ] *to come along*.
gimba wadunga *here he is, coming along*.
- waiwa [ˈwai.wʌ] *to get up, to rise*.
waiwag dja *get off the ground*.
- walab [ˈwallʌp] *blue-tongue lizard, sleepy lizard*.
- walan [ˈwallʌŋ] *wood duck*.
- walba [ˈwalpʌ] *to burn*.
- Walbana ɲadje [ˈwalpanʌ ˈɲatjə]
name of a swamp area near Antwerp (lit. they are burning the little fellow (ɲadje)). Where long ago one of the 'little people' was captured and burnt.
- walurg-walurg [ˈwallʊrg ɹɹɪrk]
porcupine grass.
- wanjab [ˈwanjʌp] *fire*.
- wanjagai [ˈwanjʌkai] *catfish*.
- wangal [ˈwɔŋɡʌl] *reed-bed*.
- warag [ˈwɑ.rʌk] *net bag*.
- warau [ˈwɑ.ro] *navel*.
- waregug [ˈwɑ.rəɪkʊk] *the paddle of a canoe*.
- warem [ˈwɑ.rəm] *back*.
Noun warmug *his back*.
- wareŋ [ˈwɑ.rəŋ] *bird, swift*.
Not clear whether the fork-tailed or spine-tailed species.
- wareŋeŋ [ˈwɔrəɪŋeŋ] *duck hawk, Falco longipennis*.
- warewa [ˈwɔrəwʌ], [ˈwɑrəwʌ] *to go away*.
- warğa [ˈwɔrkʌ] *to make, e.g. a fire*.
- wawi [ˈwɑ:wɪ] *elder brother*.
- web [ˈwɛp] *native willow*. Probably *Pittosporum phillyreoides*.
- wedug [ˈwɔːtʊk] (*his*) *shoulder*.
- wega [ˈwɛ:kʌ] *to laugh*.
- wegua [ˈwɛ:kʊʌ] *to laugh loudly*.
Said particularly of possums and kookaburras.
- werbil [ˈwɔrɪpɪl] *eaglehawk*.
- werbug [ˈwɔrɪpʊk] (*its*) *trunk, the trunk or butt of a tree*.
- werga [ˈwɔrkʌ] *not*. Negative adverb.
- wergaia [ˈwɔrkaijʌ] *no*. Usually repeated; *wergaia-wergaia not at all*.
- werwa [ˈwɔrwʌ] *to swell up (of sores, or of a damper)*.
- wiar-gadjin [ˈwiʌr ˈgatjɪn] *water-tree*. Used of any of the species of mallee-gum from whose roots water could be obtained, especially *Eucalyptus incrassata* and *Eucalyptus dumosa*.
- widjan [ˈwitjʌn] *feather*.
- widji [ˈwitjɪ] *basket-grass*.
- Widji-burb [ˈwitjɪ ˈbʊrɪp] *basket-grass hill, i.e. Wycheproof*.
- widjiwa [ˈwitjɪwʌ] *to come back, to return*.
- widj-widj [ˈwitj ɹɹɪtj],
widj-widj gani [ˈwitj ɹɹɪtj ˈɡani]
a long stick with a small knob, 'leaping kangaroo'.¹
- widj-widj-mambel [ˈwitj ɹɹɪtj ˈmɑmbəl] *bird, welcome swallow*.
- wiga [ˈwi:kʌ] *to die, to starve*.
- wigen [ˈwi:kən] *dead*.

¹See illustration in Howitt (1904:265).

wil [ˈwi:l] *bird, stone-curlew.*

wila [ˈwillʌ] *wind.*

wila-geḍ [ˈwillʌ ɟø.t̪] *bird, martin, dusky wood-swallow.*
Alternative name for lalabgin.

wilaŋ-wilaŋ [ˈwillʌŋ ɹwɪlʌŋ]
a whirlwind, a willy-willy.
Word from the eastern Wudjubalug dialect of Werḡaia.

wile [ˈwille] *common silver-grey possum.*

wilem-ba-meṛṇḍar [ˈwilləm bʌ ˈmɛɹṇḍʌɾ]
lightning and thunder.
daga wilem-ba-meṛṇḍar *lightning and thunder strike.*

wilger [ˈwilkər] *dingo.*

wilug-wilug [ˈwillʊk ˈwɪllʊk] *galah.*

winaga [ˈwinʌkʌ] *to leave, to abandon.*

winagdjera [ˈwinak ɹtjɛɾʌ] *to leave one another.*

windja [ˈwindjʌ] *where?*

windjalug [ˈwindja ɹlʊk] *whereabouts?*

winiŋ [ˈwinɪŋ] *native cherry, Exocarpus cupressiformis.*

winjagurin [ˈwinjʌ ɟʊɾɪn] *what?, which-(your).*
winjagurin njariniŋ *what is your name?*

winjar [ˈwinjʌɾ] *who?*
winjar djain *who has eaten it?*

wirab [ˈwirʌp] *blackfish.*

wiraga [ˈwirakʌ] *to swim.*

wiran [ˈwirʌn] *strong drink, wine.*

wirengal [ˈwirəŋ ɟʌl] *fish, yellow-belly, perch.*

wiriba [ˈwirɪpʌ] *to throb.*

wiribura [ˈwirɪpʊɾʌ] *to twist.*

wirima [ˈwirɪmʌ] *to chase away.*

wiri-miṛ [ˈwirɪ ɹmɪɾ] *sore eye, bung eye.*

wiṛb [ˈwɪɾp] *sickness, sore.*

wiṛbug [ˈwɪɾpʊk] *(his) side.*

wiṛiba [ˈwɪɾɪpʌ] *to stay, to remain.*

wiṛbi *stay here!*

wiṛimal [ˈwɪɾɪmʌl] *a big light-coloured owl. Probably the powerful owl, Ninox strenua.*

wiṛimbuɹ [ˈwɪɾɪm ɹbʊɹ] *ears.*

wiṛimbulinj [ˈwɪɾɪm ɹbʊɹɪnʃ] *spider.*

wiṛinj [ˈwɪɾɪnʃ] *hot coals.*

wiṛinj-guṇḍug [ˈwɪɾɪnʃ ɟʊṇḍʊk]
the red wattle-bird (lit. hot-coals throat).

wiṛwa [ˈwɪɾwʌ] *to climb up (a tree).*

Wudiyedi [ˈwʊɹɪ ɹɛtɪ] *a camping place on the Wimmera River, near Antwerp. Where there were lots of mussels.*

wudjaia [ˈwʊtjʌiʌ] *to exude.*

wudjaia minjug [ˈwʊtjʌiʌ ˈmi:nʃʊk]
to sweat, to perspire.

wudju [ˈwʊtjʊ] *man.*

wudjub [ˈwʊtjʊp] *stomach, heart, 'insides'.*

wudjug [ˈwʊtjʊk] *duck, the blue-winged shoveller, Spatula rhynchotis.*

Wudjum-bial [ˈwʊtjʊm ˈbiʌl]
a camping place on the Wimmera near Dimboola.

wuga [ˈwʊ:kʌ] *to give. Also to hand over a girl in marriage.*

wuŋa [ˈwʊ:ŋʌ] *to give away. Particularly food.*

wura-wil [ˈwʊɾʌ ɹwɪl] *a very large jagged throwing spear.¹*

¹See illustration in Smyth (1878:1/304).

- wuredjug [ˈwurə,tjʊk] *smell of perspiration.*
- wurega [ˈwurəkʌ] *to speak.*
- wurega yadjan [ˈwurəkʌ ˈyatjan] *to speak badly, to swear.*
- wureguda [ˈwurə,kʊtʌ] *to go on talking.*
- wuregwuraŋ [ˈwurək,wʊrʌŋ] *speaking together, gabbling.*
- wurenag [ˈwurə,nak], wureŋag [ˈwurə,ŋak] *crayfish. Small species.*
- wurenjug [ˈwurə,njʊk] *(his) mouth. Used also in the sense of the junction of a small river with a bigger one.*
- wurma [ˈwu.rmə] *to ask.*
- wuru [ˈwurʊ] *mouth.*
- Wuruni-bial [ˈwurʊ,ŋɪ ˈbiʌl] *Warracknabeal (mouth of creek with red gum trees).*
- wurɟirim [ˈwurɟɪ,rɪm] *black.*
- wurɟib [ˈwurɟɪp] *cockatoo parrot or cockatiel.*
- wurɟinjug [ˈwurɟɪ,njʊk] *back of (his) knee.*
- wuyun-wuyungel [ˈwu.yʊŋ ,wʊyʊŋ,gəl] *whirlwind.*
- yabidj [ˈyapɪtj] *small crayfish, 'yabbie'. Term borrowed from Wergaia or a closely related language.*
- yadjan [ˈyatjan] *bad, ugly.*
- yadjanɡaia [ˈyatjan,gaiyʌ] *to be bad, sick.*
yadjanɡaia burbug (lit. *bad-is head-his*), *he is an idiot.*
- yadjan-wil [ˈyatjan ,wɪl] *a bad fellow.*
- yagai [ˈyakai] *oh, is that so!*
Exclamation of surprise and regret; uttered on hearing of an unexpected death.
- Yaigir [ˈyai.kɪr] *a camping place on the Wimmera River. Location not quite certain.*
- yalam [ˈyallʌm] *waterhole.*
- yalub-yalub [ˈyallʊp ,yalʊp] *bird, pipit or groundlark, Anthus australis.*
- yanga [ˈyɑŋʌ] *to go, to walk.*
yanag yanag *go.*
- yangag [ˈyɑŋgʌk] *bird. Either a kind of wattlebird or the noisy friar bird. yangag was also the name of a constellation.*
- yangua [ˈyɑŋɡʊʌ] *to walk along.*
- yauir [ˈyauwɪr] *meat.*
- yauireg [ˈyauwɪ,rek] *my enemy (lit. my meat).*
- yerga [ˈyɜrɡʌ] *to search, to look for something.*
- yiba [ˈyipʌ] *to shine (as a star).*
- yibunga [ˈyipʊŋɡʌ] *to go along shining. As a comet or a shooting star.*
- yubila [ˈyʊ.pɪlʌ] *to hide something, to lie, to deceive.*
- yugun [ˈyʊ.kʊŋ] *lizard. Species uncertain; described as 'yellow sleepy lizard'; could be the shingleback.*
- yugwib [ˈyukwɪp] *green parakeet, Glossopsitta pusilla.*
- yula-wil [ˈyulʌ ,wɪl] *echidna, 'porcupine'. Also adjective spiky.*
- yunga [ˈyʊŋɡʌ] *to throw.*
- yungudja [ˈyʊŋɡʊtʃʌ] *to throw away on the ground.*
- yurben [ˈyʊrβən] *born.*
- yurɟin-yurɟin-njani [ˈyürɟɪn ˈyürɟɪn ˈnjani] *'stormbird', the fantail-cuckoo, Cacomantis flabelliformis.*
- yunwib [ˈyʊŋwɪp] *canoe.*

Madimadi vocabulary

- ba [ˈba] *and*.
- babi [ˈba:pI] *mother*.
- badaima [ˌbaˈθaimʌ] *to feel, to touch*.
yidi badaimin *I actually felt it*,
e.g. a fish in the water while
underwater fishing.
- badan̄al [ˌbaˈθaːŋal] *pelican*.
- badengin [ˌbaˈθeŋIn] (*your*) *knee*.
- badigi [ˌbaˈθiːkI] *tomahawk*.
- badiŋi [ˈbaːtIŋI] *steadily, slowly*,
e.g. badiŋi badiŋi duigadi *move*
steadily. The word is usually
repeated.
- bagada [ˈbakaθʌ] *to dig*.
- bagada [ˈbakatʌ] *first, beforehand*.
bagada yidi gubiladin *I'll have*
a drink first.
- bai [ˈbai] *exclamation of surprise*
and of encouragement.
- baingada [ˌbaiˈŋaθʌ] *to look*
after, to take care of.
- baibulada [ˈbaipUlaθʌ] *to be fat*.
- baibula [ˈbaipUlu] *fat*. General
term for fat, including kidney
fat; see also biubulu.
- baiga [ˈbaikʌ], baigada [ˈbaikaθʌ]
to get up, to rise (e.g. a flame),
to rise in flight (birds).
baigadin ginmeru didi gembadin
these birds flew up and screeched.
- baingu [ˈbaingu] *child*.
- baluru [ˌbaˈluru] *at last*.
- balgada [ˈbalkaθʌ] *to hit, to wound*.
- baluru [ˌbaˈluru] *white crane,*
egret.
- bamba [ˈbaːmbʌ], bambada [ˈbaːmbaθʌ]
to be frightened.
- bambanga [ˈbamˈbaŋŋʌ] *root*.
- bandil [ˈbaːnðI], [ˈbajnðI]
a huge Murray cod.
- bandiŋi [ˈbaːnðI,ŋI], [ˈbajnðI,ŋI]
little (canoe) i.e. a small flat
dish.
- bandiŋi [ˈbaːnðI,ŋI], [ˈbajnðI,ŋI]
little, soft of voice.
- banmada [ˈbanjmaθʌ] *to try, to*
taste, to feel.
banmadia, dagadia *try it, eat it!*
yidi banmada mindi *I feel the*
cold.
banmada is probably a variant of
the expanded form of badaima *to*
feel.
- Banbali [ˈbanba,li] *name of a*
tribe known to Jack Long in
the extreme south-east of South
Australia around Kingston.
Alternative name for the Meintank
tribe (Tindale 1940:180).
- bandalaida [ˌbanˈdalaɪaθʌ] *to be*
wet.
- banduŋ [ˈbanduŋ] *small Murray cod*.
- banemi [ˌbaˈneːmI] *bread, vegetable,*
food.
- banada [ˈbaŋaθʌ] *to scratch (so as*
to relieve an itch). Also *to dig*
the ground very lightly, to
scrape soil.
- baramadan [ˈbaramaˈdan] *policeman*.
This word was used by Madimadi
people at Balranald, but it was
probably borrowed from Wiradjuri.
- baribada [ˌbaˈriːpaθʌ] *to grind*
(seed).
- barim-barim [ˈbarImˈbarIm] *great-*
grandmother.
- barimbu [ˌbaˈriːmbu] (*his*) *totem*
also irregularly accented
[ˈbarIm, bu] (*his*) *ancestor*.
- Barindji [ˈbarIntji] *name of a*
tribe, a subdivision of the
Ba:gandji who lived in the area
north of the Madimadi. Jack Long
said, "They were not far from the
Madimadi. Barindji, that's really

- 'ground language', from their ground [i.e. country]". Barindji in Ba:gandji actually means 'belonging to bari the scrub' (Hercus 1982:11).
- bawada [ˈbaːwaθa] to suck.
- bed-bed [ˈbɛθ, bɛθ] bird, owl-nightjar. This was a bird of ill omen for Madimadi people; it brought news of death. While discussing nocturnal birds Jack Long recalled seeing the night parrot long ago, but he had forgotten its name in Madimadi.
- Bega [ˈbeːka] name of a lake about 15 miles north of Balranald. Now called Paika.
- belidmen [ˈbɛːlɪtmən] policeman.
- Benani [ˈbɛnaɪnɪ] Lake Benanee, between Balranald and Euston. A favourite native fishing ground.
- benɛr [ˈbɛnɛr] teal duck.
- beni [ˈbɛːŋɪ] a hollow tree.
- beradin [ˈbɛːraːtɪn] (your) younger sibling.
- berbada [ˈpɛrpaθa], bebada [ˈpɛːpaθa] to jump.
- berbin [ˈpɛrɪn] spear-point waddy.
- berer [ˈbɛrɛr] a swamp, lagoon.
- bergulu [ˈpɛːrkuɪu] time-sticks. It seems possible that this word is cognate with the wide-spread word bargulu two which is found in all the Darling languages, in Diyari and as far west as Arabana. This word for 'two' has not been found in the Kulin languages.
- bermila [ˈbɛrmlɪa] to sneak round. Said of gulum-gulum a killer.
- bial-bial [ˈbiyaɪ ˈbiyaɪ] forest of red-gum trees.
- bial-gar [ˈbiːyaɪ ˈgar] edible gum from red-gum trees.
- biali [ˈbiːyaɪlɪ] river red-gum. Also general term for stick, wood.
- bibab [ˈpiːpɒp] gecko (lizard).
- bidambi [ˈbiːθaːmbɪ] pine-resin, glue.
- bidigan [ˈbiːθɪkan] 'wild peaches', the fruit of the sweet quandong tree.
- bidigi [ˈbiːθɪkɪ] a fly.
- bigi [ˈbiːkɪ] mud.
- bilgiri [ˈbɪlkɪrɪ] a flood. waiwilada bilgiri a flood is rising.
- bilidi [ˈbiːlɪtɪ] large water-leech.
- bilinu [ˈbiːlɪnɪ] (his) stomach, belly.
- bin-bin [ˈbɪn bɪn] bird, the brown-tree-creeper (woodpecker).
- binbanai [ˈbɪnbənɪ] (my) shin.
- biŋa [ˈbɪŋa] to go out, to emerge, to become extinguished. This latter meaning could be due to a translation-borrowing from English.
- biŋmada [ˈbɪŋmaθa] to come, to come out (of the sun from behind clouds). biŋmada nauini, delgaiada the sun is coming out, it is fine.
- bingada [ˈbiŋgaθa] to paint someone in preparation for a ceremony, to write down, to mark something. bingada dalinu she is writing down the language.
- bingali [ˈbiŋgəlɪ] carpet snake.
- biradi [ˈbɪraɪtɪ] clear, bare (ground), a claypan. This word is irregular in accentuation.
- birigi-birigi [ˈbɪrɪkɪ bɪrɪkɪ] native cat.
- biubulu [ˈbiːyubuɪu] fat (ordinary fat, not kidney-fat). See baibulu.
- biwi [ˈbiwɪ] bird, a small hawk, probably the Nankeen kestrel.
- bragu-braga [ˈbraːku ˈbrakɪ] to prod around (for fish or turtles under water).

- brindi [ˈbrɪndɪ] *hot ashes.*
- budu [ˈbuθu] (*his*) *liver.*
- budugada [ˌbuθu·kaθʌ] *to jump in (into the water), to dive.*
- buduni [ˌbuθu·nɪ] *matter (from a wound), a boil.*
- budamada [ˌbuˈtamaθʌ] *to heat up, to cook on hot coals, to griddle, to be incinerated in a bushfire.*
budamadin biali, dani, budamadin wanabu *the trees were burnt, even the ground, burnt by the fire.*
budamada was also used to refer to fat melting away near a fire.
- budi-budi [ˈbutɪ ˌbutɪ] *seed which was ground and made into flour.*
Species of plant unknown.
- budugada [ˌbuˈtu·kaθʌ] *to die down, to wither, to set.*
- budunada [ˌbuˈtu·naθʌ] [ˌbuˈto·naθʌ] *to smash, to squash.*
- bugada [ˈbu·kaθʌ] *to take off (clothes).*
- bugi [ˈbu·ki] *bad.* This word is cognate to a widespread (e.g. in Ba:gandji) group of words meaning 'bad', 'rotten'. This word is often repeated for emphasis, bugi bugi nini didi *this meat is really bad.*
- bugila [ˈbu·kiɪʌ] (*he is*) *a bad person; he is no good... he does something wrong.*
mada yidi bugila *I'm not doing anything wrong.*
- bugu [ˈbu·ku] *shade, shady place.*
- bugumanama [ˈbu·kuˌmaˌnamʌ] *kangaroo.*
This was Jack Long's totem. It probably refers to the red kangaroo.
- buiga [ˈbuikʌ], buigada [ˈbuikaθʌ] *to fall.*
buigadin gadina *he fell into the water.*
- buigilada [ˈbuikɪˌlaθʌ] *to grind.*
buigilada dinu *she is grinding grass-seed.*
- buigu [ˈbuiku] *shrub.* General term.
- buimada [ˈboimaθʌ], [ˈbuimaθʌ] *to send, e.g. in the phrase inspired by the Christian missionaries buimadin mamuru darguwil God sent a rainbow.*
- bu(r)indi [ˌbuˈ(r)ɪndɪ] *smoke.*
This word was synonymous with buyudi. There is obviously a link between bu(r)indi *smoke* and buindi *darkness.* The notions of 'smoke' and 'darkness' were associated in many Australian languages (Holmer 1963:38), including those of the Kulin group: Djadjala burinj *smoke, burunj darkness.*
- bulbi [ˈbulpɪ] *dust and ashes mixed.* This word was also used as the name of a favourite camping ground very near Balranald, where there were numerous native ovens.
- buldag [ˈbuldʌk] *cattle.* English bullock.
- buleda [ˌbuˈleθʌ] *two.*
- buleda ba giaga [ˌbuˈleθʌ ba ˌkiˈyakʌ] *three (two and one).*
- buleda buleda [ˌbuˈleθʌ ˌbuˈleθʌ] *four (two and two).*
- buleda buleda giaga [ˌbuˈleθʌ ˌbuˈleθʌ ˌkiˈyakʌ] *five (two and two and one).*
- bulgaiada [ˌbulˈkaiaθʌ] *to be soft.*
- bulged [ˈbulket] *cat (European), i.e. 'pussy-cat'.*
- bulgi [ˈbulki] *soft.*
- bulgi-bulgi [ˈbulki ˌbulki] *very old. bulgi-bulgi laiur a really old woman.*
- buludin-buludin [ˌbuˈluˌtɪn ˌbuˈluˌtɪn] (*your*) *moustache, whiskers, mane.*
- bulun bulun [ˈbulʊn ˌbulʊn] *a spark from a fire.*
- buni [ˈbunɪ] *a small heap of smouldering ashes for starting a fire.*

bundada [ˈbundaθʌ] *to bite.*
wiraŋanu bundadin giawai *a dog bit my leg.*

bundilada [ˈbundI,laθʌ] *to go on biting, e.g. lice.*

buned-buned [ˈbuneθ ˈbuneθ] *the constellation of the Seven Sisters, or Pleiades.*

buŋada [ˈbuŋaθʌ] *to pull out, to take meat out of the ashes.*

buŋaŋi [ˈbuŋa,ŋI] *ghost, spirit.*
bugi gini buŋaŋi *this is an evil spirit.*

buŋeɟ [ˈbuŋeɟ] *rushes (for net-making).*

buŋgada [ˈbuŋgaθʌ] *to spear.*

buŋgi [ˈbuŋgi] *leaves of trees.*

buŋgilada [ˈbuŋgi,laθʌ] *to spear.*

bura-bura [ˈburʌ,bUrʌ] *grey.*
bura-bura ŋariŋin *you have grey hair.*

burbi [ˈburpi] *hill.* The r was weakly articulated and bubi was also heard. burbi, bubi is equivalent to the word for 'head' used without a possessive suffix, exactly like the Djadjala word burb *hill*, burbug (*his*) *head*.

burbu [ˈburpu] (*his*) *head.*

burbu ŋaraŋin [ˈburpu,ŋaˈraŋIn] (*your*) *hair of the head.*

huri [ˈhuri] *a tree.* Probably the wilga.

burugul [ˈbuˈrUKU] *lignum.*

buwada [ˈbuˈwaθʌ] *to pull, to drag.*

buwigin [ˈbuˈwi,kIn] sometimes [ˈbuːkIn] (*your*) *spirit, your breath, the soul which leaves the body after death.*

buyinga [ˈbuˈyInŋʌ] *to blow (a fire).*

buyingi [ˈbuˈyi,ŋŋI] (var. buindi) *night, darkness.*
buyingada (var. buindada) *at night.*

buyudi [ˈbuˈyUːtI] *smoke.* This word is one of the most widespread general Australian words and has cognates particularly in Western Desert languages.

dadai [ˈθaθai] (*my*) *older sister.*

dadagi [ˈθaθaki] *arm.*

dadagu [ˈθaˈθakU] *shirt* (lit. *arms-its*).

daga [ˈθakʌ], dagada [ˈθakaθʌ] *to eat.*

dagila [ˈθakIʌ], dagina [ˈθakInʌ] *to go on eating.*

daima-daima [ˈθaimʌ ˈθaimʌ] *to get fish by spearing it in shallow water.*

daimilada [ˈθaimI,laθʌ] *to spear fish in shallow water.*

dalegada [ˈθaˈlekatʌ] *in the past, a long time ago, in the Dreamtime.*

dalgila [ˈθalkIʌ] *prickle, spike.*

dalgila-bil [ˈθalkIʌ,bI] *prickly, 'spike-having'.*

dalini [ˈθaˈli,ŋI] *tongue, word, speech, language.*
yinadu dalinai Madimadi *my language is Madimadi.*

daɭa [ˈθaɭʌ], daɭabil [ˈθaɭa,bI] *red.*

dam-dam [ˈθam ˈθam] *little people, legendary dwarfs.* According to the Madimadi there were two kinds of such people, those living in trees, and those who lived in caves. These latter also had another name, now forgotten.

dandel [ˈθandɛl] *poison.*

dangali [ˈθaŋga,li] *worms.* Found in river banks.

dangu [ˈθaˈŋgu] (*his*) *chest.*

daŋi [ˈθaŋI] *ground, place.*

daraianu [ˈθaˈraianU] *a ceremonial dance, corroboree.*
daraianu wariba *to dance a ceremonial dance.*

- debu [ˈdʒeːbʊ] *mouth.*
- degada [ˈdʒeːkaθʌ] *to stand.*
- deli [ˈdʒeːlɪ] *a drag-net.*
- demada [ˈθɛːmaθʌ] *to stand up, to be ready.* This word corresponds to the Djadjala djarima *to hold ready, to set upright*, cf. also Ba:gandji (Darling River language) darma *straight.*
- dib-dib [ˈdʒɪp ˌtʃɪp] *Murray crayfish.*
- dibada [ˈdʒɪpʌθʌ] *to float* (cf. Wembawemba and Wergaia djiba *to float*).
- dibi-dibi [ˈdʒɪpɪ ˌtʃɪpɪ] *small long-necked tortoise, immature Chelodina longicollis.*
- dibil [ˈdʒɪpɪl] *large Murray crayfish.*
- dibu [ˈdʒɪpʊ] *a small fragment of hot ashes, produced by a fire-drill.*
- didi [ˈdʒɪtɪ] *meat.* Also used in the sense 'edible creature', bird, fish, reptile or animal.
- dielai [ˈdʒɪˈleːlai] *bad, lustful fellow.*
- dilbi-guma [ˈdʒɪlɪpɪ ˌgʊmʌ] *a bad girl, a loose young woman.*
- dilegada [ˈdʒɪˈleːkaθʌ] *to be sick, to be sore.*
- dilga [ˈdʒɪˌlɪkʌ] *to be flash.*
- dinabi [ˈdʒɪˈnaːpɪ] *frog.* This word is probably connected with the word for 'foot' as in some other Australian languages, e.g. Arabana thidnamara *feet and hands, frog.*
- dina-dinad [ˈdʒɪnʌ ˌtʃɪnʌθ] *tawny frogmouth owl.*
- dinani [ˈdʒɪˈnʌnɪ] *foot.*
- Dinaui [ˈdʒɪˈnauːwɪ] *Lake Ganaway, north of Balranald.*
- dinawi [ˈdʒɪˈnaːwɪ] *sulphur-crested white cockatoo.*
- dindi [ˈdʒɪndɪ] *nose.*
- dinɔ̃dada [ˈdʒɪnɔ̃daθʌ] *to sharpen.* Especially to sharpen a stone axe. This was done 'first with a rough stone, and then with a fine stone like slate'.
- dirawal [ˈdʒɪˈraːwʌl] *squirrel, the lesser glider.*
- diri [ˈdʒɪːrɪ] *tea.*
- diridiri [ˈdʒɪrɪˌtʃɪrɪ] *bird, Willie wagtail.*
- duba [ˈθʊpʌ] *to pour down (of rain).*
- duimada [ˈθʊɪmaθʌ] *to send a person away, to banish.*
- dulang [ˈθʊˈlʌŋɪ] *long, tall.*
- dulang biali [ˈθʊˈlʌŋɪ ˌbiˈyʌlɪ] *long trees.* Name of the subgroup of Madimadi to which John Edwards belonged. He derived his other name 'Jack Long' from this.
- dulba-dulba [ˈθʊlɪpʌ-ˈθʊlɪpʌ], dulburada *to break up, to change completely.* This word was only recorded in connection with the weather.
- dumada [ˈθʊːmaθʌ] *to spit.*
- dumban [ˈθʊmbʌŋ] *sheep.*
- duni [ˈθʊnɪ] *louse.* Sometimes this word is repeated, not necessarily implying a plural, duni duni *louse or lice.*¹
- duri [ˈθʊrɪ] *fish, bream, Fluvialosa species.*
- daɟi [ˈdaɟɪ] *by and by, after a while.*
- daga [ˈdakʌ], dagada [ˈdakaθʌ] *to hit.*

¹In contrast with 4.3.1.2.1.

- dagderada [ˈdak,θɛraθʌ] to fight.
- dagila [ˈdakɪlʌ] to hit continually.
bergulu dagilada he is beating
(time with) time-sticks.
- dagum [ˈdakUm] tree grub.
- dama [ˈdaːmə], damu [ˈdaːmU] very
greatly. Adverb.
walwada damu it is very hot.
- danuyin [ˌdaˈnuɪn] (your) hip.
- daŋa [ˈdaːŋʌ] to stand about, to
hang around.
mada daŋi, ŋindi don't stand
around.¹
- daŋi [ˈdaːŋɪ] big.
- dargu-wil [ˈdarkU ˌwɪl], [ˈdɛrkU
ˌwɪl] rainbow. Also name of a
constellation.
- dedgu [ˈdɛtɡU] (his) face. Also
used in the more restricted sense
of (his) jaw.
- dedgu ŋaraŋin [ˈdɛtɡU ˌŋaˈrəŋɪn]
beard (lit. face-hair).
- delgaia [ˌdɛlˈkaɪʌ], delgaiada
[ˌdɛlˈkaɪaθʌ] to be good, to be
well. Also used about the weather:
delgaiada it is fine.
- delgaiadaŋ [ˌdɛlˈkaɪa,θaŋ] good,
in good condition, e.g. sharp
(of an axe).
- delgi [ˈdɛːlkɪ] good.
- dema [ˈdɛːmə], demada [ˈdɛːməθʌ]
to hear, to listen, to understand.
demin ŋinan, demin he'll hear
you, he'll hear!
yidi demada niwi daliŋi Madimadi
I understand this Madimadi language.
dema also means to know,
yidi nina dema I know it.
- demila [ˈdɛːmɪlʌ] to listen, to
attend, to think.
naŋu ŋindi demilada what are you
attending to?, what are you thinking
about?
- dena [ˈdɛnʌ] frost, ice.
- denmada [ˈdɛnmaθʌ] to be hard, to
be tough (of meat).
damu nini denmada maŋdu this
meat is very tough.
- dibargimada [ˌdiˈbarkɪ,maθʌ] to
stick to something, to adhere.
This word is sometimes repeated:
dibargima-dibargima to stick
together, to glue.
- didada [ˈdiθʌθʌ] to move, to
change places.
didada giabuŋa daga he shifts to
another place.
- dilaŋu [ˌdiˈlaŋU] the wooden barb
of a spear.
- dilaŋi [ˌdiˈlaŋɪ] wild grape,
fruit of *Nitraria schoberi*,
dillon bush.
- dindi [ˈdɪndɪ], once [ˈθɪndɪ]
river. General term.
- dinu [ˈdiːnU] seed. Particularly
edible grass seed.
- dirawa [ˌdiˈraːwʌ] to wish, to
want.
- dirawi [ˌdiˈraːwɪ] ant (small).
- dirawuru [ˌdiˈraːwU,ɾU] trousers.
From English.
- dirili [ˈdiˈrɪːlɪ] sky, heaven.
Some of the notions connected
with this were influenced by
Christianity.
wadadin mamura dirilaŋ, mangadin
gilaŋ, baiangadin, delgaiada
God came from heaven, and that
one (God) took him (i.e. the dead
man) and looked after him; all is
well. This was said by old Madi-
madi men returning from (non-
Christian) funerals in Jack Long's
youth.
- diwurada [ˈdiwU,raθʌ] to itch, to
irritate.

¹Unique exception to 4.3.3.2.

duani [,du¹a·ŋI] *squirrel*. Probably *Phascogale tapoatafa*.

du¹i ['du·tjI] *back*.

du¹i ['duʔI] *star*.

dugada ['dukaθΛ] *to move*.

duga-dugada ['dukaΛ ,dukaθΛ] *to move around, to fidget*.

duimi-mum ['duimI ,mU·m] *ordinary long-necked turtle*.

dulum¹i [,du¹lU·mI] *black duck*.

dulurimada [,du¹lUrI ,maθΛ] *to get stuck (in mud), to get bogged*.
dulurimadin bigan he got stuck in the mud.

duluwiba [,du¹lo·wIpΛ] *lightning*.
mandara ba duluwiba *thunder and lightning*.

dumuilada [,du¹muIlaθΛ] *to cross over*.

du¹ndada ['du¹ndaθΛ] *to paralyse*.

duni ['dunI] *bird, the woodpecker or brown treecreeper*. It was a 'news-bird'; it could understand what people were saying and would repeat it elsewhere.

gadawa [,ga¹θa·wΛ] *armpit*.

gadayi ['kaθΛyI] *summer, heat*.

gadini [,ga¹θI·nI] *water*.

gadiwada [,ga¹θI·waθΛ] *to flow*.

gaḍadja ['gaḍatjΛ] *to bend*.

gagada ['ka·kaθΛ] *to catch, to grab*.

gagada ['ka·katΛ] *up there, above*.
Locative form.

gagai ['kakai] *here, this way*.
belidjmen yingada gagai *a policeman is coming this way!*

gagilada ['ka·kI ,laθΛ] *to go hunting*.

gai ['kai] *hey!* Exclamation:
gai yidi ninan dagadin *hey! I'll hit you!*

Gaida ['gaitΛ] *creek near Balranald*.
Named after a fish that was plentiful there.

gaiu ['gaiyU] *over there (not very far away)*.

galan-galan ['galan 'galan] *name of a constellation*.

galaiada [,ga¹laiaθΛ] *to ask a question*.

galaiadi nuni waiwulan *ask that whitefellow over there!*

galani [,ga¹la·ŋi] *weather, atmosphere*.

galbaiada [,gal¹paiθΛ] *to cut*.

galgi ['galkI] *stick*.

galgu ['galkU] (*his*) *bone*.

galgu balgadia ['galkU 'balka ,tjIΛ] *a pointing bone (lit. bone, may kill)*.

galgu-wil ['galkU ,wI] *bony*.

gali ['gaI] *dog*.

gamban ['ga·mban] *the lesser reed-mace, cumbungi*. The roots of this plant were roasted and eaten.

ganagada [,ga¹nakaθΛ] *to take away, to grab*.

ganagal [,ga¹na·kal] *shrimp*.

ganagi [,ga¹na·kI] *waddy, fighting waddy with a stone jag*. This word is probably derived from the following word.

ganagu [,ga¹na·kU] (*his*) *heel*.

gananda [,ga¹nandΛ] *to take away, to steal*.

Gane ['gane] *the Murrumbidgee River*.

ganimada [,ga¹ni·mΛθΛ] *to hide*.

ganimi [,ga¹nI·mI] *waddy*.

gaṅḍada ['gaṅḍaθΛ] *to shout*.

gaṅḍuda-gaṅḍuda ['gaṅḍUθΛ 'gaṅḍUθΛ] *to call someone repeatedly and loudly*.

gaṅḍulada ['gaṅḍU ,laθΛ] *to call someone*.

gaṅi ['ka·ŋI] (*black*) *snake*.

gar ['ga·r] *edible grub*.

garawi [,ga¹ra·wI] *big, tall*.
Said of people.

- garigi [,ga¹rI·kI] *spear-thrower, woomera.*
- garini [,ga¹rI·nɟI] *a species of mallee tree.*
- garɪni [,ga¹rI·ŋI] *emu. This is also the name of the dark patch in the Milky Way.*
- gauada ['gauwaθΛ], gauilada ['gauwI₁laθΛ] *to kick.*
- gauai ['gauwai] *down here (adverb), hey! over here, come on (exclamation).*
- gauirada ['gauwI₁raθΛ] *to bark (of dogs).*
- gawai [,ga¹wai] *come on!*
- gawaŋa ['gawaŋΛ] *to follow.*
- gegada ['ke·katΛ] *loudly. mada yaŋgadia gegada don't talk loudly. gegada is probably cognate with Wembawemba gargəra to cry out.*
- gegada ['ke·kaʃΛ] *box tree.*
- gemada ['ge·mΛθa] *to vomit.*
- gembada ['ge·məθΛ] *to shout, to yell, to screech.*
- gemu ['ge·mU] *edible leaf. As of native cabbage.*
- geŋada ['ge·ŋaθΛ] *to grow. geŋada gadinada wurida there are waterweeds growing in the water.*
- genginin ['ge·ŋgI₁nIn] *(your) uncle.*
- ger-ger ['ke·r₁ker] *bird, brown hawk.*
- gewada ['gewΛθΛ] *to overtake.*
- giaba [,gi¹yabΛ] *leg. giawai my leg.*
- giabu ... giabu [,gi¹yabU ... ,gi¹yabU] *one ... the other. waŋilada gini, giabu waŋilada giabu this one is singing, and now that one, now another one ... This word is connected with giaga one.*
- giabuŋ *variant of giabu.*
- gia ['gi(y)Λ], giada ['gi(y)aθΛ] *to say, to tell.*
- giaga [,ki¹yakΛ] *one.*
- giaga minu [,ki¹yakΛ₁mInU] *altogether, completely.*
- giawada [,ki¹yawΛθΛ] *to tell. This is a derivative verb, based on giada to tell.*
- gibada ['gi·pΛθΛ] *to pluck. gibadin widinu he plucked out his wing feathers.*
- gigi ['ki¹kI] *here, now.*
- gigiwalada [,ki¹ki·wΛ₁ΛθΛ] *to itch. gigiwalada bubunai itches head-mine, my head itches.*
- gila nauigi ['gila ,ŋjau¹yIkI] *this day very close. i.e. yesterday.*
- gilbara ['gilparΛ] *a matrilineal moiety.*
- gili ['gilI] *this, this one now. gili gurgin bawada this one sucks your blood—in a discussion about insects.*
- gima ['gimΛ] *here, right now. yidi gima wigada I am hungry right now.*
- gindi ['gindI] *now.*
- gini ['ginjI] *this, this one right here. Plural ginmeru.*
- girba ['girpΛ] *to struggle, to writhe. Like a fish out of water.*
- giredi [,gi¹retjI] *bad, sour. giredi gadini undrinkable salt water.*
- girendi [,gi¹rendI] *white cockatoo, corella.*
- giu-giu ['gi·U¹gi·U] *over here (quite close).*
- giwada ['gi·waθΛ] *to say, to tell (in detail) to explain.*
- giwi ['gi·wI] *this one right here.*
- guandada [,gu¹andaθΛ] *to crawl. Said of both snakes and babies.*
- guaŋi [,gu¹aŋI] *fog, mist, low cloud.*
- guba ['gupΛ], gubada ['gupaθΛ] *to drink.*

- gubilaba [¹gupI₁lap₁] (*strong*)
drink.
- gubilada [¹gupI₁laθ₁] *to go on drinking.*
- gudabi [₁gu¹θa·pI] *stone, pebble.*
Also *hailstone.*
- guduni [₁gu¹θU·nI] *broilga.*
- gudi-gudi [¹gutI₁gutI] *quandong tree, Santalum acuminatum.* 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 into the hole and tied up with kangaroo-tail sinew. The victim would then begin to feel tired and would waste away slowly.
- gugini [¹kukIηI] *grandmother (paternal?)*
- gugu [¹kU·kU] *a lot.*
- gululada [₁gu¹lU₁laθ₁] *to be wild, to be infuriated.*
- gulbi [¹gulpI] *water-rat.*
- guleda-wil [₁gu¹leθa₁wI] *wild, fierce.*
- guleduwada [₁gu¹leθU₁waθ₁] *to hate, to dislike someone strongly.*
- gulewada [₁gu¹lewaθ₁] *to get cross.*
- gulinada [₁gu¹lInaθ₁] (*he is*)
angry.
- gulinai [₁gu¹lI·nai] (*my*) *temper, anger.*
- gulum-gulum [¹gulUm₁gulUm] *a bad wild blackfellow who would kill people.*
- gu!u [¹gu!U] (*grey*) *kangaroo.*
- gumani [₁gu¹ma·ηI] *raw.* (cf. Wembawemba and Werɣaia guma).
- gumba [¹gumb₁], gumbada [¹gumbaθ₁] *to sleep.*
- gunda [¹gund₁] *below, underneath.*
Preposition gunda gudaba *underneath a stone.*
- gunwara [¹gunwɔr₁] *swan.*
- gunə [¹gunə₁], gunada [¹gunəθ₁] *to do, to make.*
- mada yidi gunin bugi *I didn't do anything bad.*
- gun-gun [¹gu·ŋ₁guŋ] *kookaburra.*
- guragi [₁gu¹ra·kI] *sand.*
- gurgamur [₁gur¹ka·mUr] *blood.*
gurgamur gadiwadin *there was blood flowing.*
- gurgu [¹gurkU], also once [¹gu·kU] (*his*) *blood.*
- gurugi [₁gu¹ru·kI] *bird, magpie.*
- gurugu [₁gu¹ru·kU] *leaves, small boughs.*
- guyuni [₁gu¹yU·nI] (*large*) *spear.*
- guyural [₁gu¹yU·raI] *owl.*
Probably the barn owl, *Tyto alba.*
- laiur [¹laiyUr] *woman.*
- laningu [₁la¹nI·ŋU] *swampy ground.*
- laningu [₁la¹ŋI·ŋU] (*his*) *rib.*
- lanu [¹la·ŋU] *his camp, the nest of a bird.*
- lawani [₁la¹wa·nI] *mallee hen, lowan.*
- lebada [¹lepaθ₁] *to chase away, to disturb.*
- Ledjiledji [¹letjI₁letjI] *name of a neighbouring tribe who lived in the Robinvale area.*
- lendanaŋ [¹lɛnd₁naŋ] *shining.*
- lengin [¹lɛ·ŋIn] (*your*) *lungs.*
- leni [¹lɛ·ŋI] *a camp.*
larnai *my camp.*
- leni [¹lɛ·ŋI] *foliage.*
- lianin [₁li¹y₁ŋIn] (*your*) *teeth.*
- lia-wil [₁li¹yawI] *waddy with a sharp and pointed hook.*
- limbu [¹li·mbU] (*his*) *track, mark.*
dinanga limbu *footprint.*
- lirga [¹lirk₁] *to be quick, to act quickly.* lirga yingada *he is going quickly.*
- lirgi [¹lirkI] *quick! hurry up!*
Imperative. lirgi lirgi gunadi wanabi *quickly! get a fire going.*

- lirgila [ˈlirkɪlɪ] *to be quick, to act quickly.* There is also an adverb *lirgila quickly.*
 lirgila ŋindi yangada, mada yidi demada *you are talking fast, I can't understand.*
- luguwaɭ [ˈlukU,waɭj] *evil magic, poison.*
 luguwaɭu gagadin *he caught him with magic.*
- luni [ˈluːnɪ] *grave, burial ground.*
 nibadin lunada *they buried him in a grave.*
- ma [-mɪ] *enclitic particle, used for emphasis. Generally follows the imperative and adverbs of place: niwi-ma close by (indeed) mada-ma not (indeed).*
- madi [ˈmaθɪ] *no, nothing.*
 Negative particle.
- madim [ˈmaθɪm] *no more, no longer.*
 madim niŋa gadini widul *the water is no longer deep here.*
- madimu [ˌmaˈθɪ.mU] *(his) wife.*
- madumu [ˌmaˈθo.mU] *spouse*
 (variant of madimu).
- mada [ˈmatɪ] *not, don't.* Negative adverb.
- madada [ˈmadaθɪ] *to chop.*
- madawa [ˈmatawɪ] *don't.*
 Prohibitive adverb.
- magulid [ˈmakU,ɪɪθ] *little fellow.*
 Legendary creature only slightly bigger than the dam-dam.
- magwara [ˈmakwarɪ] *a matrilineal moiety.*
- maɭid-maɭid [ˈmaɭɪθ ˈmaɭɪθ] *the south, the cold wind that comes from the south.*
- mami [ˈmaːmɪ] *father.*
- mamura [ˈmaːmUra] *God (lit. our Father).*
- mananai [ˌmaˈnaːnai] *my hand.*
- manj [ˈmanjɪ] *that one some distance away.*
- mandada [ˈmandəθɪ] *to take away,*
 cf. mangada.
- manɖaga [ˈmanɖakɪ] *it is thundering.*
- manɖara [ˈmanɖarɪ] *thunder.*
- manɖi [ˈmanɖɪ] *sandalwood tree, sugarwood tree, Myoporum platycarpum.*
- manɖu [ˈmanɖU] *flesh, meat.*
 This word can be used in the sense of 'creature', 'person'; bugi-bugi manɖu *bad and useless person*; see also the expressions wigu-wigada manɖai and walwada manɖu.
- mangada [ˈmaːŋgaθɪ] *to take away,*
 var. mandada.
- maramada [ˌmaˈraːməθɪ] *to curse, to pronounce a powerful spell.*
- maramin [ˌmaˈraːmɪn] *cursed, forbidden.*
 madawa ŋindi dagadia gini waranɖ maramin *do not eat this large long-necked turtle, it is forbidden.*
- mari-mari [ˈmarɪ-ˈmarɪ] *little mussels, found in lagoons and swamps.*
- marini [ˌmaˈrɪnɪ] *Murray pine.*
 This was the main wood used for making fire.
- mengi [ˈmɛːŋɪ] *cloud, dark cloud.*
- midada [ˌmiˈθaθɪ] *to skin.*
 midadin midu *he took off the skin.*
- midagi [ˌmiˈθakɪ] *rain.*
- midien [ˌmiˈθɪɪɛn] *moon.*
- midu [ˈmiθU] *(its) bark, skin.*
- midinu [ˌmiˈtɪ.nU] *(its) sap, juice.*
- mig-buwu [ˈmik ˌbuwU] *(his) brains.*
 This word was a compound of migi *egg.* The expression 'egg of the head' is used for 'brains' in other Australian languages, e.g. Ba:gandji.

- migi [ˈmiːki] egg.
- mini [ˈminji] what?
mini ɲindi dirawada what do you want?
- minagin [ˌmiˈnaːkiŋ] (your) eldest parallel cousin. Refers to one's eldest sister or cousin (mother's sister's or father's brother's daughter). dadin was any older sister, minagin was the eldest.
- mindarada [ˌminˈdaːraθa] to be cold.
- mindi [ˈmiːndi] cold.
- miŋdai [ˈmiŋdai] mythical giant snake, 'maned' snake.
- miŋgun [ˈmiŋɡun] a bitter quandong.
- miŋgun wuduŋi [ˈmiŋɡun ˌwuˈθuːŋi] a bitter-quandong man. One of the rare people who could eat and even enjoy bitter quandongs; such people were regarded with some admiration.
- miŋi [ˈmiŋi] hole.
- miŋu [ˈmiŋu] (his) eyes.
- miŋu daga [ˈmiŋu ˈθakʌ] his hole of the ground, a cave.
- mirmbul [ˈmirmbuɪ] fish. Collective term. Applied particularly to the flesh of fish.
- miwuru [ˌmiːˈwʊru] clever man. This word is clearly cognate with a number of similar words in other Australian languages, e.g. Wangkangurru — minbaru clever man, Yaralde — miwi power.¹
- muda [ˈmuθʌ] to pick up, to find.
- mudada [ˈmudaθʌ] to get down, to lift down.
- muɭimada [ˌmuˈɭimaθʌ] to turn, to twist.
- mumu [ˈmuːmu] (his) bottom.
- munabi [ˈmuˈnaːpi] round knob waddy.
- munuŋi [ˌmuˈnuːŋi] louse, head louse.
- mund [ˈmuːnd] heart.
mundin your heart.
- mundaru [ˌmunˈdaːru] (his) power, the inner power of a 'clever man'.
mundaru damu gini miwuru he is a medicine man of great power.
- murembin [ˌmuˈreːmbiŋ] a kind of water-rat.
- muruni [ˌmuˈruːni] female.
baŋgu muruni female child, girl.
- muyunu [ˌmuˈyʊːnu] (its) vapour, steam. The vapour coming out of an oven.
- muyunin [ˌmuˈyʊːniŋ] (your) mind (lit. your vapour). The mind was envisaged as a kind of vapour, closely associated but not identical with the breath or spirit that left the body at death. cf. Madimadi — buwigin. Note also windalu muyunin where is your mind?, what are you thinking about?
- nabu [ˈnapu] how much? how many?
nabu baŋgu ɲinedu how many children have you got?
- naga [ˈnakʌ] why? what for?
naga ɲindi gulinada what are you getting cross for?
- naga [ˈnakʌ], nagada [ˈnakaθʌ] to see.
mada yidi nain I never saw him, I don't know him.
- nagila [ˈnakila], once, [ˈnækila] to look, to search.
- naɭan [ˈnaɭʌn] tree, a small tree with inedible fruit which splits open: probably Pittosporum phillyreoides.
- nanu [ˈnanu] when?
- nani [ˈnani] temples.

¹For the whole concept of 'power' and 'clever men' see Elkin (1945:55).

- nani [ˈnanɪ] *what?*
- nana-nana [ˈnanɪ ˈnanɪ] *no, don't!*
Emphatic prohibitive adverb.
nana-nana gembadi *don't call out.*
- nanu [ˈnanu] *how?*
- narambin [ˌnaˈraːmbɪn] *old.*
- nauŋi [ˌnɔːuˈŋi] *the sun, day.*
ŋingadin yidi gima buleda buleda nauŋi *I'll stay here for a few days.*
- nemba [ˈnjɛmba] *behind.* Preposition
nemba biala *behind a red gum tree.*
- neŋin [ˈnjɛːŋɪn] *(your) name.*
- neŋumada [ˈnjɛːŋuˌmaθɪ] *to tell lies.*
- nibada [ˈnjɪpaθɪ] *to bury.*
- nima [ˈnjiːmɪ] *here, now.*
- nimi [ˈnjiːmi] *short-necked tortoise, Emydura macquarii.*
- nini [ˈnjiːni] *this.* Demonstrative pronoun. Plural ninmeru.
- niŋa [ˈnjiŋɪ] *here, around here, now.*
- nirada [ˈnjiːraθɪ] *to stir, to poke (a fire).*
- nira-nira [ˈnjiːra ˌnjɪra] *to feel about (for fish under water), to grope for something.*
- nirebi [ˌnjiːreːpi] *paint mark.*
- niwi [ˈnjiːwi] *this one close by.*
- niwi-niwi [ˈnjiːwi ˌnjɪwi] *near, close by.*
- nubada [ˈnupaθɪ] *to shut.*
- nugi [ˈnukɪ] *there, then.*
- nuli [ˈnuli] *this one quite close.*
Demonstrative pronoun.
- nuni [ˈnunɪ] *that, that one (quite close).*
- nuna [ˈnuna] *now, around here.*
- nuwi [ˈnuːwi] *this one not far away.* Also used as adverb *over there.*
- nangga [ˈnangɪ] *to keep quiet.*
- nemu [ˈnɛːmu] *the same, identical.*
- numila [ˈnumɪlɪ] *to cry, to weep.*
- ŋa [ˈŋa] *and, moreover* (linking particle).
- ŋabunin [ˌŋaˈpuˌnɪn] *(your) maternal grandfather.* This is a reciprocal term meaning also *grandchild.*
- ŋabuŋai [ˈŋapuˌŋai] *(my) grandmother.*
- ŋaburimada [ˌŋaˈpuˌriˌmaθɪ] *to submerge completely, to go under.*
- ŋagi [ˈŋaːki] *shadow.*
- ŋagundal [ˈŋakunˌdɪl] *mountain duck.*
- ŋali [ˈŋalɪ] *we two.* Dual pronoun.
- ŋaniŋin [ˌŋaˈniˌŋɪn] *(your) neck.*
- ŋanum [ˈŋanum] *louse.*
- ŋanuri [ˌŋaˈnuˌri] *black tree-goanna.*
- ŋaraŋin [ˌŋaˈraŋɪn] *(your) hair.*
- ŋari [ˈŋaːri] *duck.* Species uncertain.
- ŋari [ˈŋaːri] *tree, bull oak.*
Probably *Casuarina leuhmanii.*
- ŋegada [ˈŋekaθɪ] *to drown.*
- ŋenmada [ˈŋɛːnmaθɪ] *to smell something.*
- ŋenmilada [ˈŋɛːnmɪˌlaθɪ] *to sniff about.*
ŋenmilada diŋaŋa wuredu *he is sniffing for the scent of a track.*
- ŋengada [ˈŋɛːŋaθɪ] *to sit, to stay somewhere.* The use of the same word for 'to sit' and 'to stay' is characteristic of many Aboriginal languages, and has been introduced into English as spoken by Aboriginal people, e.g. 'I have been sitting here for several years now'.
- ŋida [ˈŋiːθɪ] *to grizzle, to cry.*

- nindi [ˈŋindɪ] *you*. Personal pronoun.
- ninedu [ˈŋinɪˈnetu] *yours*. Possessive.
- niwi [ˈŋinɪˈyUwɪ] *yes*.
- ningilada [ˈŋinɪŋɪlɪθɪ] *to hum a song (preparatory to singing it)*.
- ŋuɪ [ˈŋuːɪ] *like*. This particle precedes the term of comparison.
- ŋunɪŋɪ [ˈŋunɪŋɪˈŋɪ] *bag*.
- ŋundu [ˈŋunɪˈndu] *a ceremonial song, 'a hymn'*. The following shows Christian influence: gili ŋundu waŋilada dirila, mamuruŋa *he is singing a hymn to heaven, to God*.
- ŋurgada [ˈŋurkaθɪ] *to swallow*.
- wabuŋur mengi [ˈwapuŋur ˈmɛːŋɪ] *thundercloud*.
- wadaŋi [ˈwaθaŋi] *brown sand-goanna*.
- Wadiwadi [ˈwɔtɪˈwɔtɪ] *name of a neighbouring tribe closely associated with the Madimadi*.
- wada [ˈwɔtɪ], wadaɖa [ˈwɔtɪθɪ] *to come, to arrive*.
gima wadaɖin *he'll come directly*.
- wad-wad [ˈwɔːt ˈwɔt] *north*.
"Where hot winds come from".
- waiŋgilada [ˈwaiŋɪlɪθɪ] *to sing*. An alternative form of this word appears to be waŋilada.
- waiŋguru [ˈwaiŋɪrU], waiŋuru [ˈwaiŋɪrU] *tomorrow*.
yɪŋgadin yidi waiŋguru *I'm going away tomorrow*. The word is also used in the sense of *light* and *daylight*.
- waiwada [ˈwaiˈwaθɪ] *to climb*.
- waiwilada [ˈwaiˈwɪlɪθɪ] *to rise up, e.g. a flood*.
- waiwulada [ˈwaiˈwulɪθɪ] *to rise, variant of waiwilada to rise*.
- waiwulan [ˈwaiˈwulan] *whitefellow*.
yɪŋgada gagai waiwulan *a white-fellow is coming here*.
- walabi [ˈwaˈlɪˈpɪ] *blue-tongue lizard*.
- walwa [ˈwalwɪ], walwada [ˈwalwɪθɪ] *to burn, to be hot*.
walwa manu bilinu *that woman is jealous (lit. her stomach is hot)*;
walwada manɖu *his flesh is hot i.e. he has got a fever*.
- wanabi [ˈwaˈnɪˈpɪ] *fire*.
- wani [ˈwaːnɪ] *boomerang*.
- wanman [ˈwaːnman] *river mussels*. Considered inedible.
- wani [ˈwaːŋɪ] *crow*.
- waŋilada [ˈwaːŋɪlɪθɪ] *to sing*.
- waŋu [ˈwaːŋu] *(his) song*.
- warada [ˈwɔraθɪ] *to do, to make*.
mini warada *what's he doing?*
- waragi [ˈwaˈrɪˈkɪ] *stick used as canoe paddle*.
- waranin [ˈwaˈrɪˈŋɪn], [ˈwɔˈrɪˈŋɪn] *(your) left hand*.
- wariba [ˈwɔˈrɪˈpɪ] *to dance, to play*.
- wariwada [ˈwɔˈrɪˈwɪθɪ] *to go away*.
- wariwulada [ˈwaˈrɪˈwulɪθɪ] *to run round, to play*. This is a continuative verb formed from wariwa *to go*.
- wauwunada [ˈwauˈwunɪθɪ] *to swell up (of a damper)*. Mr Long remembered some powdered red gum wood being mixed with the flour from grass seeds to act as raising agent.
- wauwunmada [ˈwauˈwunmɪθɪ] *to be full*. Connected with the preceding word on account of one's stomach swelling up.
- wawal [ˈwaːwɪ] *bird, night hawk*.
- wawin [ˈwaːwɪn] *(your) elder brother*.
- wega [ˈweːkɪ], wegada [ˈweːkɪθɪ] *to laugh*.
- wegada [ˈweːkɪθɪ] *a long way off*.

Wegul [ˈwe:kU] *the Wakool River.*

wengilada [ˈweŋI,laθʌ] *to wave, to signal someone.*

wengilada gini wudunji mananu, galaiada naga *This man is waving with his hand, he's asking for something.*

werbada [ˈwɛrpaθʌ] *to rise.*

werbada nauŋi *the sun is rising.*

wibu-wibu [ˈwi:pU ˈwɪpU] *sickness, disease. Cognate with Wergaia — wirb, cf. njag njag wirb a bad omen, an omen of sickness, e.g. wibu-wibu winagadin the sickness has gone.*

widaŋu [ˈwiːθaŋU] *(its) tail.*

widinu [ˈwiːθɪnːU] *feather.*

widiwada [ˈwiːθɪˌwaθʌ] *to come back, to return.*

widiwadi gauai *come back down here (to someone climbing a tree).*

widul [ˈwiθU] *big, a lot, many.*

wigada [ˈwiːkaθʌ] *to die, to be hungry, to starve, to feel exhausted.*

wigadin [ˈwiːka,tjɪn] *dead (lit. he died).*

wigu-wigada maŋdai [ˈwiːkU ˈwiːkaθʌ ˈmaŋdai] *I am sorry for you (lit. my flesh fades away (for you)).*

wilaŋada [ˈwiːlaŋaθʌ] *to hang up.*

wilaŋi [ˈwiːlaŋɪ] *wind.*

wilegil [ˈwiːleˌkiɪ] *galah.*

wileŋi [ˈwiːleŋɪ] *possum.*

wilga [ˈwɪlkʌ] *to turn round.*

wilgila-wilgilada [ˈwɪlkɪla ˈwɪlkɪ,laθʌ] *to tangle, to twist.*

wilerma [ˈwɪːɛrma] *white.*

wilermada [ˈwɪːɛrmaθʌ] *to be white. ŋarenu nagadia wilermada look at his hair, it is white.*

wimbulu [ˈwiːmbU,ɪU] *(his) ears.*

winaŋu [ˈwiːnaŋU] *who? which? winaŋu ŋindi who are you?*

winda [ˈwiŋðʌ] *where?*

winda ŋindi *where are you?*

windalu [ˈwiŋˈðalU], windaru [ˈwiŋˈðarU] *whereabouts?*

windalu ŋali yingadin *where shall we two go?*

windaŋu [ˈwiŋˈðaŋU] *from where?*

winaga [ˈwiːnaˌkʌ] *to leave off, to stop, to lose.*

ŋindi winagadin dalinŋi *you have lost your language.*

winmuru [ˈwiŋmU,rU] *plant with edible leaves, 'native cabbage'. Probably sow-thistle — a native species of Sonchus.*

wingada [ˈwiŋgaθʌ] *to whistle.*

wingi [ˈwiːŋɪ] *(hot) coals.*

wingumiŋin [ˈwiŋU,mɪŋɪn] *the pupil of (your) eye.*

wiragada [ˈwiːraˌkaθʌ] *to swim.*

wiragudi [ˈwiːragU,tjɪ] *frill-necked lizard.*

wirandu [ˈwiːrandU] *sinew. giaga-wirandu leg sinew (of kangaroo).*

wiraŋan [ˈwiːraŋan] *dog.*

wira-wira [ˈwɪrʌ ˈwɪrʌ] *centipede.*

wiridab [ˈwiːrɪtʌp] *whirlwind.*

wirinmalu [ˈwiːrɪnma,ɪU] *spider.*

wirinmalu dalabil dudu [ˈwiːrɪnma,ɪU ˈθaːlɪbɪl ˈduθU] *red-back spider (lit. spider red-back-his).*

wiringil [ˈwiːrɪŋɪl] *fish, the yellow-belly or callop.*

Important food species.

wubabu [ɿwu¹papU] *throwing stick with a slight knob on one end, made from a sapling. It was half way between a widj-widj (Smyth 1878:1/302) and a berbin spear-point waddy. It bounced like a widj-widj.*

wudaiba [ɿwu¹θaipɿ] *male.*
wudaiba baingui *a male child.*

wudubar [ɿwu¹θu.pɿr], [ɿwu¹θo.pɿr]
var. wuduwar [ɿwu¹θu.wɿr] *in the middle.*

ŋengada wudubar *he is sitting in the middle.*

wudunji [ɿwu¹θu.ŋɿ], [ɿwu¹θo.ŋɿ]
man, a male human being, people in general.

wud-wud [ɿwuθɿwUθ] *waddy for throwing, 'leaping kangaroo'.*

wuga [ɿwu.kɿ], wugada [ɿwu.kəθɿ]
to give, to take.
wugadi gini duri *take this bream (out of the water).*

wuigada [ɿwoikaθɿ] *to sing and dance. Especially of ceremonial singing.*

wulegil [ɿwu¹le.kɿl] *eaglehawk.*

wunji [ɿwu.ŋɿ] *man. General term.*

wuraŋu [ɿwu¹ra.nU] *large tortoise, Chelodina expansa. This was forbidden meat for the Madimadi.*

wuredu [ɿwu¹reθU] *scent, smell.*
A magic fire, identical to the wurədjil of the Wembawemba: something that had the scent of the intended victim, was lit and buried.

wurgirim [ɿwurkɿrɿm] *black.*
mada yidi ŋinan nagada, wurgirim
I can't see you, it's pitch dark.

wurgirimada [ɿwurkɿrɿməθɿ] *to be black.*

wuridu [ɿwu¹rɿθU] *weed, plant.*
Particularly in gadina wuridu
waterweed, i.e. probably Triglochin procera.

wuringi [ɿwu¹rɿŋɿ] *grass.*

wurŋin [ɿwu:rŋɿn] *your mouth.*

wuwada [ɿwu:wəθɿ] *to run.*

wuya-wuya [ɿwuyɿ ɿwUyɿ] *bird, pink-eared duck.*

yabid [ɿyapɿθ] *small crayfish, yabbie.*

yaga [ɿya:kɿ] *to look for something.*

yagila [ɿya:kɿlɿ] *to go round searching for something. Also to learn.*

dirawada gili giwadia dalingura,
yagilada *she wants us to tell (her) our language, she is learning (it).*

yana [ɿyənɿ] or rarely [ɿyənɿ]
to speak.

yangada [ɿyənɡəθɿ] *to speak.*

Yanuru [ɿyənUrU] *Yanga Lake near Balranald.*

yauimada [ɿyauwɿməθɿ] *to vanish, to disappear.*

yauwimadin gini dam-dam *this 'little fellow' has disappeared.*

yeramin [ɿyɛ¹ramɿn] *horse.*

yidi [ɿyitɿ] *I. Personal pronoun.*

yigigada [ɿyi¹kɿkəθɿ] *to shake with cold, to shiver.*

The accentuation of this word was irregular.

yilelilburi [ɿyil¹leɿlɿpUrɿ],

yilelhuri (shortened form)

[ɿyil¹leɿpUrɿ] *bird, 'almost the same as the Willie wagtail (diridiri)'. Probably the restless flycatcher.*

yinadu [ɿyi¹na·tU] *mine*.

yinaga [ɿyi¹na·kʌ] *this way*,
and yinada *thus*. These are
allative and locative forms
respectively of a demonstrative
base yi(ŋ)- which is attested
also in Wembawemba yinɔ *this way*.

yinɔ [ɿyɪŋɔ], yinɔgɔ [ɿyɪŋɔθʌ]
to go, to walk.
yinɔgɔ sometimes conveys *to*
start off walking.

Yuara [ɿyu¹arʌ] *name of a creek*
near Balranald. Important as a
ceremonial ground. 'There were
a lot of native ovens there'.

yuba [ɿyu·pʌ], yubɔ [ɿyu·pʌθʌ]
to put something down.
yubɔ gagɔ *to put something*
on top of a heap.

yuga-yugɔ [ɿyukʌ ɿyukaθʌ] *to*
smear, to rub with fat.

yugum [ɿyu·kUm] *a ball, a ball-*
game rather like football.
For references see Wembawemba dan.
Players would contest the ball,
throw it on the ground and throw
it on from one to the other, and
the opposing side would try to
get it.

yuyugɔ [ɿyu¹yUkaθʌ] *to dream*.
yuyugɔdin yidi ŋinaŋu *I dreamt*
about you.

yululu [ɿyu¹lU·lU] *mirage*.
Regarded as a spirit that
appeared occasionally and always
kept at a distance from people.

yumbaɿi [ɿyumbaɿI] *emu*.
Alternative word to garinɿi.

yunɔal [ɿyunɔal] *emu*.
Alternative word to garinɿi and
yumbaɿi.

yunɔ [ɿyunɔ], yunɔgɔ [ɿyunɔθʌ]
to throw.
yugum yunɔdin *he threw a ball*.

yunɔgɔ [ɿyunɔθʌ] *to wash*.
yunɔgɔdi gɔdinu *wash it with*
water.

yunwib [ɿyunwɪp] *a bark canoe*.

yurunɔ [ɿyurUŋaθʌ] *to weave a*
net or a net bag.

Wadiwadi vocabulary¹

baingu [ˈbaɪŋu] *child*.
 djagela [ˈtʃakəla] *to eat*.
 galigan [ˈgalɪgaːn] *entrails, 'insides'*.
 garawi [ˌgaˈraːwɪ] *big*.
 gurwinj [ˈgurwɪnj] *emu*.
 lada [ˈlatʌ] *to say, to speak*.
 njane ɲinde lada *what are you saying?*
 ledwel [ˈletwəl] *stick, wood*.
 milagi [ˌmiˈlakɪ] *dust, ashes*.
 mirengel [ˈmürɛŋgəl] *eyes*.

mirgi [ˈmürkɪ] *egg*.
 njane [ˈnjane] *what?*
 njane ɲinde wəɾa *what are you doing?*
 ɲauwe [ˈɲauwe] *yes*.
 ɲinde [ˈɲinde] *you*.
 wadi [ˈwɔːti] *no*. The name of the tribe and of the language is derived from this.
 wəɾa [ˈwɔːɾʌ] *to do, to make*.
 wiŋgel [ˈwiːŋgəl] *fire*.
 wirengel [ˈwireŋgəl] *dog*.
 wiɾimbel [ˈwürɪmɪbəl] *ears*.

Narinari vocabulary

baba [ˈpaːpʌ] *fire*. Identical with the Gippsland word for 'light'.
 baɭa [ˈpaɭʌ] *head*.
 banim [ˈbaɳɪm] *bread*.
 bayil [ˈpaɪɪl] *tree*.
 ɖadjag [ˈθatʃʌk] *arm*.
 ɖinaŋ [ˈθinaŋ] *foot*.
 ɖindin [ˈθiːndɪn] *nose*.
 ɖuguli [ˌθuˈkuli] *whitefellow*.
 diril [ˈtirɪl] *sky*.
 gali [ˈgali] *dog*.
 gayini [ˌgaˈyiːni] *water*.
 guɖab [ˈkuθʌp] *stone*.
 layurg [ˈlayurk] *woman*.
 manma [ˈmanmʌ] *to hit*.

mara [ˈmara] *hand*.
 midag [ˈmiθʌk] *rain*.
 mim [ˈmiːm] *cousin*.
 ɳawɪŋ [ˈɳawɪŋ] *sun*.
 naŋa [ˈnaŋa] *yes*.
 nari [ˈnaːri] *no*.
 Narinari [ˈnaːri ˈnaːri] *no-no; name of the Narinari language and people*.
 njemba [ˈnjeːmbʌ] *to sit*.
 wəɳab [ˈwɔːnʌp] *fire*.
 wiləŋ [ˈwilləŋ] *wind*.
 wuɖuŋ [ˈwuθuŋ] *man*.
 wuɖu [ˈwuɖu] *ears*.
 yudi [ˈyuti] *meat*.

¹These fragments and those of Narinari have been crosschecked with the different speakers and are reasonably certain, but there remains a possibility of Madimadi and perhaps even Ledjiledji influence. The phonemic system postulated in the notation of Wadiwadi, Daɖidaɖi and Narinari must be regarded as hypothetical, because of the shortage of material.

Dađidadi vocabulary

- barag [ˈbarak] kangaroo.
 berəb [ˈbɜrəp] woman.
 biguru [ˈbikUrU] kangaroo.
 ɔani [ˈθanI] foot.
 ɔanga [ˈθaŋkʌ] stone.
 ɔarugi [ˈθarkUkI] bread.
 ɔin [ˈθin] foot.
 dađi [ˈda.ɟi] no.
 dingada [ˈdingata] to sit. Cognate with a widespread series of words, e.g. in northern South Australia, Guyani—ɔiganda, Arabana—ɔangada to stay, to sit.
 dulang [ˈdʊlank] crow.
 dun [ˈdu:n] snake.
 Djurmbaŋ [ˈdʒurmbaŋ] name (Yidayida) of a place now called Juanbung, some 15 miles west of Oxley.
 gab [ˈkap] nose.
 gabim [ˈkapIm] leg.
 nana [ˈnanʌ] man.
 nang [ˈnaŋk] sun.
 nanar [ˈnaɪna.r] man.
 ŋug [ˈŋuk] mother.
 ŋu:g [ˈŋu:k] water.
 raug [ˈra:Uk] camp.
 reniŋ [ˈreniŋ] emu.
 rind [ˈri:nd] the Murrumbidgee River. Also a general term for 'river'.
 rinme [ˈrinmə] child.
 ruwe [ˈru:we] country, ground.
 rumilaŋ in our ground, our country. rumilaŋ dingada we are sitting on our ground, we are stopping in our country.
 wogwoi [ˈwɔkwɔi] possum.
 yau [ˈyau] yes.
 yida [ˈyItʌ] no. Used in Dađidadi and in Yidayida (the two languages were identical). The last families of the Yidayida tribe intermarried with Wadiwadi people and with the Mađimađi. The last full Yidayida was the tall and stately 'Queen Caroline of Oxley', mother of the Farrant family.

Guṇḍidj vocabulary

- barainj [ˈparainj] *grandfather*.
 baridj [ˈparItj] *water*.
 bambai [ˈbembai] *bread*.
damon [ˈθammon] *meat*. Alternative to maḍal, apparently an old dialectal distinction.
 dameri [ˈtammerI] *sheep*.
 delaŋ [ˈdeləŋ] *bark of a tree*. Particularly of the stringy-bark tree.
 dimba [ˈdImbʌ] *here*.
 din [ˈdi:n] *this*. As in *din woḍa ganidjeruŋ this is a policeman coming*, and *din woḍa maŋḍar this is a thunderstorm coming*.
 duboŋ [ˈtuŋoŋ] *a species of fish, the congolli or tupong*. The most common fish at Lake Condah. The name *tupong* for this species of fish, *Pseudaphritis bursinus* appears to have been borrowed from Guṇḍidj into English, on account of the common occurrence of this fish in the Portland Warrnambool area.
 gaɪ [ˈkaɪ] *dog*.
 ganidjeruŋ [ˈkanIdjə,rUŋ] *policeman*.
 garən [ˈkarən] *kangaroo*. Probably the grey kangaroo, once common in the area.
 gunəwoŋ [ˈkUnə,wɔŋ] *swan*.
 gurəmuŋ [ˈkUrə,mUk] *silvergrey possum*.
 guyuŋ [ˈkuyUŋ] *snake*.
 maḍal [ˈmaθʌɪ] *meat*.
 malaŋ [ˈmaləŋ] *girl, sweetheart*.
 maŋḍara [ˈmaŋḍarʌ] *thunder*.
 mar [ˈma:r] *man*.
 maranj [ˈmaranj] *stringy-bark tree*.
 mayəŋ [ˈmayəŋ] *rain*.
 moe [ˈmo:e], [mo·Ye] *black duck*.
 murub [ˈmUrUp] *ghost*.
 ŋaga [ˈŋakʌ] *look*.
 ŋamadjidj [ˈŋamma,tjItj] *white person*.
 ŋaud-ŋaud [ˈŋaut ˈŋaut] *fiend, killer, person from an unknown tribe*.
 ŋeŋ [ˈŋɜ:r] *horse*.
 wainbaŋ [ˈwainbaŋ] *fox*.
 winj [ˈwi:nj] *fire, light*. Was also used of a candle by the old people.
 woḍa [ˈwɔtʌ] *come*.
 wu!ol [ˈwu!ɔɪ] *hailstorm*.
 wunda [ˈwUndʌ] *where*. As in *wundag din woḍa where is he coming?*
 yeb [ˈyeɐ] *light*.
 yudi [ˈyutI] *fire*.
 yurəŋ [ˈyUrəŋ] *sugar*.

Two phrases from the Buñandidj language (Mt Gambier)¹

- bejid wilidj [ˈbe·ŋIt ˈwilItj] *no sleep*. Always said by her father after he had been fishing for *tupong* all night.
 didman luen [ˈdIɪmʌn ˈlu·ən] *I am hungry*.

¹These were recalled by the old woman whose father came from Mt Gambier.

Woiwuru vocabulary

- ba ['ba] *and*.
- babeb ['ba:pəp] *mother*.
- balam-balam ['balam 'balam] *white butterfly*.
- baŋa ['ba:ŋʌ] *water*.
- bauwe ['pau'we] *pshaw!* Exclamation of disgust.
- bengi ['be:ŋɪ] *meat*.
- Berag ['bæ:rʌk] *name of the famous great-uncle of the speakers*.
He was the last chief of the Yarra-Yarra tribe.¹
- bidjerim ['bitjərɪm] *sticky resin, glue*.
- buden ['bu:θən] *thick spit, matter*.
- buled-mum ['bulət 'mu:m] *bird, grey shrike-thrush, Colluricincla harmonica*.
- bulen-bulen ['bulən 'bulən] *lyre-bird*.
- bundi ['bu:ndɪ] *small waddy, stick with knob on*. This is a very widespread word, found in Gippsland and on the South Coast of N.S.W. This word might have spread comparatively recently and might therefore not be original in Woiwuru.
- bundjil ['bu:ndjɪl] *eaglehawk*.
- buŋ ['bu:ŋ] *bandicoot*. Probably the short-nosed bandicoot.
- Bured ['bu:rət] *native name of the main female speaker*.
- buyuŋ ['bu:yUŋ] *egg*.
- dandel ['θandəl] *poison*.
- dadjeŋ ['datjɜŋ] *the lesser or sugar glider*.
- daleb ['daləp] *milk thistle, Silybum marianum*. A common imported weed in the area, this plant was eaten when young.
- daŋag ['da:ŋʌk] *billy can*.²
- daɖub ['daɖʉp] *head*. This word is isolated in Victoria but has cognates elsewhere; e.g. in Ba:gandji — daɖu *head*, and in Naranga — daɖu *hill*.
- did-did ['di:t 'di:t] *the magpie-lark or mudlark*. From the bird's call.
- djambi ['dja:mbɪ] *brother-in-law*. This is a widespread word found also on the South Coast of N.S.W.
- djiel-waŋg ['djiəl 'waŋk] *fire-sticks of the drill type*. Speakers demonstrated how these were collected and used at Healesville. They were made from the thin upright shoots of only one species of shrub, the austral mulberry or orangewood *Hedycarya angustifolia*. The fire-drills were exported to north Victoria: this was confirmed by the Wembawemba speakers 'we got these drills by swapping something else for them because the right sort of tree doesn't grow around here (by the Murray)'.¹
- djilbi-djilbi ['djiɪlpɪ 'djiɪlpɪ] *the black-faced cuckoo-shrike or blue jay, Coracina novaehollandiae*. Probably 'beat! beat!'. The name is considered to be an imitation of this bird's call.
- djilendja ['djiɪləndʒʌ] *policeman*.
- djinaban ['tjinʌpʌŋ] *name (used by an old lady of the Terrick-*

¹For the biography of 'Berak', see Massola (1960:252-256). See also Mathews (1903:246).

²See description in Smyth (1878:2/126).

- Terrick tribe*) for the speaker's mother, i.e. younger daughter. This word was not Woiwuru, but came from the Pyramid Hill area (Yayawurŋ).
- djinan [ˈdʒɪnən] (*your*) foot.
 djinug (*his*) foot.
- djinid-djinid [ˈdʒɪnɪt ˈdʒɪnɪt]
bird, the tawny frogmouth, Podargus strigoides. This owl seems to have inspired fear, and its call was considered ominous.
- djinguŋ [ˈdʒiŋŋŋ] *sassafras.*
 Leaves of this plant were still used by the people from Healesville for flavouring tea.
- djiremelaŋ [ˈdʒɪrɛmə, ləŋ] *an ugly person with a screwed-up face.*
- djiri-djiri [ˈdʒɪrɪ, dʒɪrɪ] *Willie wagtail.*
- djirinedad [ˈdʒɪrɪnɛ, dat] *Xmas bush, Prostanthera lasianthos.*
 This word appears to have belonged to the Goulburn tribe, but it was the only term used at Healesville and was apparently preferred to the original local 'Coranderrk' even by King Berak himself.
- galaŋ-galaŋ [ˈgalaŋ ˈgalaŋ] *frog-spawn.* When attached to tussocks in the creek.
- galarmi [ˈgalar, mɪ] *a dirty fellow and a liar.*
- galbana [ˈgalpʌnʌ] *to hit, to chop.*
- galbaninjan-baninjan [ˈgalpʌ, ninjʌn ˈbaninjʌn] *I will hit (you).*
 This is the interpretation of the call of the Willie wagtail.
- gambalai [ˈgamba, lai] *come back!*
 Imperative.
- garaŋ [ˈgaraŋ] (*your*) nose.
- garawaŋ [ˈgara, waŋ] *apple-berry, Billardiera scandens.* A creeper with edible fruit.
- gargridj [ˈkar, krɪtj] *sugar.*
 Originally this word meant 'sweet' in general.
- gigo [ˈgigo] (*you*) go. Second person singular present.
- graingrum [ˈgraɪn, gruːm] *large grub found in wattles.* Edible.
- gulg, gulgug [ˈgʊlk], [ˈgʊlkʊk] (*his*) grandfather. This word may belong to Yayawurŋ, as it was used of an old man of that tribe.
- guŋme! [ˈguŋmɛ!] *snake.*
- gurba [ˈgʊrɒ] *meat.*
- Guremil [ˈgʊrɛ, mɪl] *name of the main southern foothill of Mt Riddell near Healesville.*
- lalal [ˈlɑ:lal] *grandfather, great-uncle.* King Berak was generally addressed by this name.
- lerub [ˈlɛrʊp] *boyfriend.*
- lian [ˈliən], lianeŋ [ˈliənɛŋ] *teeth, (your) teeth.*
- malgar [ˈmalkar] *waddy-shield.*
- mamem [ˈmɑ:məm] *father.*
- mariwan [ˈmarɪ, waːn] *spearthrower.*¹
- milarg [ˈmɪlark] *a large edible white grub.* Found in big gum trees.
- miŋug [ˈmiŋʊk] (*his*) eye.
- mug-mug [ˈmʊk ˈmʊk] *Boobook owl, Ninox boobook.* The call of this owl was considered to be a bad omen.
- mum [ˈmu:m] *bottom, rump.* The jocular Healesville expression *mum ba bottom and...* has been given to the authorities in jest with the translation 'let us get together and have fun', hence the Melbourne Moomba Festival.
- ŋabuŋi [ˈŋapʊ, ŋɪ] *grandfather.*
- ŋaie [ˈŋaɪe] *yes.* When pronounced with the second syllable starting

¹This particular form of spear thrower is illustrated by Howitt (1904:277) and called by him *murriwun*.

on a high pitch but with a falling intonation, this word was used sarcastically in the sense of 'oh yes' to show that the speaker was dissatisfied with an answer he had just received.

ɲamadʒidʒ [ˈɲamaˌdʒItʃ] *white man*.
Sometimes shortened to ɲam.

ɲandinug [ˈɲandɪˌnʊk] *a nasty, bad person*.

ɲangruŋ [ˈɲangrʊŋ] *lover*.

ɲaŋgeŋala [ˈɲaŋgeˌŋala] *to sit, rest*.

ɲaɾeɖ [ˈɲaɾeɖ] *frog*.

ɲaud-ɲaud [ˈɲaut ˈɲaut] *fiend, killer, man from an unknown tribe*.

ɲuruŋ [ˈɲurʊŋ] *bread*.

wadj [ˈwaˌtʃ] *child*. In the compound warendj-badj this word appears as badj.

waled [ˈwɔlət] *silver-grey possum*.

wangin [ˈwɑŋɪn] *boomerang*.

warendj [ˈwɔɾendʒ] *wombat*.

warendj-badj [ˈwɔɾendʒ ˈbatʃ] *young wombat*.

wimbel [ˈwɪmbəl] *ears*.

wireŋgel [ˈwɪreŋˌgəl] *wild dog, dingo*.

wuleli [ˈwʊleˌlɪ] *yam tuber*.
Species uncertain.

yag [ˈjɑːk] *perspiration, body smell*.

yagai [ˈjakai] *Exclamation of surprise and sorrow*. Very wide-spread.

yago [ˈjako] *a yawn*. This word was considered by the speakers to be onomatopoeic.

Yaledjinangga [ˈjaledʒɪˌnɑŋgɑ] *native name of the son of the main female speaker*.

yalgi [ˈjalki] *tea*. European introduction.

yeraŋin [ˈjeraˌŋɪn] *dog (tame)*.

yiramin [ˈjɪrɑˌmɪn] *horse*. Word introduced from Sydney area, see Wembawemba — yarəmən.

yulendj [ˈjuˌlendʒ] *sense, intelligence*.

Yodayoda vocabulary

- badja ['batjʌ] *possum*.
- badjelan ['batjɛlan] *money*.
- baga ['bakʌ] *dog*.
- bagobanj ['bakɔbanj] *milk thistle, Silybum marianum*. Introduced weed which was eaten.
- bagora-buga ['bakɔ·ra 'bu·kʌ] *hard-headed (said of children)*.
- bandjewag ['bandjɛwɔk] *boots*.
- baramadain ['barʌmʌdain] *policeman*. This is a widespread word, and was probably introduced from Wiradjuri.
- bedjadjba ['betjatjɔʌ] *paper*. From English.
- belmain ['belmain] *I don't know*.
- bidja ['bitjʌ] *fire*.
- bigerundja ['bigɛrʉndja] *emu*.
- biredj ['biretj] *quick! hurry!* Exclamation.
- birid ['birit] *European-type bread*. English.
- buga ['bu·kʌ] *head*.
- bura ['burʌ] *boss*. Cognate forms are widespread outside Victoria and the word is probably Common Australian. cf. Capell (1956:93).
- burondja ['burɔndja] *go away!*
- dandel ['dʌndɛl] *poison*. This word could be borrowed from the 'Kulin' language.
- daŋan ['dʌŋan] *bread, damper*.
- dauaden ['dʌuʌθɛn] *trousers*.
- dome ['dɔ:me] *poor thing*. Used in the expression of sympathy: dome ŋine *you poor thing* and dome ŋine yarga *you poor child*.
- doŋa ['dɔ·ŋʌ] *smoke*. Also *tobacco*.
- dagenjua ['dakenjua] *snake, probably brown snake*.
- danela ['danɛlʌ] *bream*.
- dangoben ['dangɔpen] *frog*.
- daŋabna ['dʌŋapnʌ] *swan*.
- delaia ['delaiʌ] *near here*.
- denjiwoga ['denjiwɔ:kʌ] *there, quite close*.
- dewin ['dɛ:wɪn] *this one here*. This was the final word in a kind of counting out, practised by legendary fire demons, who picked out children one by one, singing wonɪŋenda gurwɪŋenda, ŋaŋabrawin, dewin *you there, and you there, and that one, and this one here* (at 'this one here' the demons pushed a child into the big fire they had got ready). This story was very widely remembered among people of Yodayoda ancestry.
- dolma ['dɔlmʌ] *black duck*.
- dudela ['dʉtɛlʌ] *a running nose*.
- dundema ['dʉndɛmʌ] *'a bottle of grog'*.
- dunjag ['dʉnjʌk] *fishing*. The form given is the future.
- durel ['dʉrɛl] *snake*. Species unknown.
- djalma ['djalma], ['djalʌma] *sugar*.
- djidega ['djitɛgʌ] *meat*.
- djingaga ['djɪŋja:kʌ] *a long way away*.
- gabra ['gabrʌ] *sense, intelligence*.
- gadegana ['gʌθɛgʌnʌ] *don't*. A prohibitive adverb used in expressions like: gadegana yuŋaia *don't knock (him) down*. The Kulin languages, with the exception of Madimadi, do not appear to have such a special prohibitive, but its use is well known from Yaralde — dauel, e.g. dauel buld *don't touch*.
- gana ['ganʌ] *mother*.
- ganidjmen ['ganɪdjmɛn] *policeman*. English 'chain-man'.

gorgara [ˈgɔːrkaɾa] *rain*.

gowo [ˈgoːwɔ] *nose*. The speakers were not quite sure of this word, but it has been included because it is corroborated by the Yodayoda information given by Mathews and Smyth. gowo is obviously connected with the corresponding word in lower Murray languages; e.g. Yaralde — gobe [ˈkoːbe] *nose*.

gudubna [ˈgʉ,θʉpna] (probably) a *place name*. Used in the exclamation gudubna molwa *graves of Gudubna*. This was said for instance to someone who was foolishly looking for something that he already had, and it was roughly equivalent to 'fool, it's here'.

gumwun [ˈgʉmwʉn] *urine*.

gunigawa [ˈgʉnɪgawa] *dirty (i.e. covered in excrement)*. Used in the insulting phrase gunigawa mudja.

gurdji [ˈgʉrtʃɪ] *friend*.

gurwiŋenda [ˈgʉrwɪŋenda] *you there*.

lodjba [ˈlɔːtʃpɪ] *speak, say*.
mine delaia lodjba (probably)
what are you saying?;
ŋa lodjbadj *me (Bill Jackson)*
speaking.

-ma [ˈma] *emphatic particle*.
e.g. in *nadjel-ma look*,
mine-ma what?

maia [ˈmaiʏa] *curing of sickness*. The speakers had witnessed this particular cure being carried out: for a maia small branches and leaves were put onto the ashes of a big fire which had almost completely burnt out, and the patient was put on a raised kind of bed nearby where the smoke would envelop him.

maloga [ˈma,ɭɔːgɪ] *sand*.

Name of the old Mission Station established in 1874 just south of the present Cummeroogunga. The word maloga was also used as an alternative word for sugar.

mandowe [ˈman,ɔwe] *foot*.

This word perplexed the writer who had expected to hear a word resembling djina, as words of this type are almost universal for 'foot' in Australia. Mathews gives tyunna for 'foot' in Yodayoda. But the speakers were quite sure that their word was mandowe. The writer later heard a very similar word mandawi for 'foot' while working on Guyani (at Copley, S.A.); here also earlier writers had given tidna which is current in neighbouring languages. The independent Yodayoda and Guyani evidence would tend to show that there was an alternative but also probably widespread word mandowe for 'foot'.¹

manega [ˈmanəgɪ] *fish*.

Particularly blackfish.

melag [ˈmɛɪɪk] *aunt*.

mine [ˈmine] *what?* Unlike the 'Kulin' forms, this is a Common Australian word. cf. Capell (1956:93).

mine-ma [ˈminema] *what indeed?*

This word was used in the sense of 'thing' (like English 'what's its name?').

molwa [ˈmɔːɭwa] *graves, burial ground*.

mudja [ˈmʉtʃɪ] *bottom*.

muna [ˈmunɪ] *louse*.

nadjel-ma [ˈnatjelma] *look!*

Imperative of verb, followed by emphatic particle.

¹In parts of N.S.W. this word was also perhaps spread through English; see Baker (1945:313), 'mondooi'.

njadjba [ˈnjatjɾʌ] *knife*.
 njinin [ˈnjɪnɪn] *he hit*.
 ŋa [ˈŋa] *I*. Attested as the
 subject of an intransitive verb
 ŋa lodjbadj.
 ŋaŋabrawin [ˈŋaŋaɪbrʌwɪn] *that one*
(quite close).
 ŋine [ˈŋɪne] *you*. Subject of
 intransitive verb.
 ŋowe [ˈŋoːwe] *yes, all right*.
 wala [ˈwalʌ] *water*.
 wanaɪ [ˈwanaɪ] *whereabouts?*
 wanaɪ gana *where's (your) mother?*
 warga [ˈwarkʌ] *where?*
 winjar [ˈwɪnjɑr] *woman*.
 woledja [ˈwoːledʒʌ] *fat*.
 womeriga [ˈwɔmerɪgʌ] *when*.
 wonɪŋenda [ˈwɔnɪŋendʌ] *you here*.
 wowa [ˈwoːwʌ] *uncle*.
 wulubna [ˈwuɪlʊpna] *sheep*.
 English 'wool'.

Yabulayabula [ˈyabʊɪʌ, yabʊɪʌ]
name of a small tribe that
adjoined the Yodayoda proper
immediately to the north of
Barmah. The word means 'no' in
*their language.*¹
 yagorumdjag [ˈyaɪkoːrʊmdʒak] *come*
here!
 yalga [ˈyalkʌ] *tea*.
 yananai [ˈyanʌnai], [ˈyænʌnai] *go!*
 In the phrase warga ŋine yana
where are you going?, yana is the
 present of this verb, yanda *he is*
going third person present.
 yaramen [ˈyarʌmən], [ˈyærʌmən]
horse.
 yarga [ˈyarkʌ] *child*. Especially
 'little girl'.
 yiyar [ˈyiːyar] *man*.
 yoda [ˈyoːta] *no*.
 yuŋɪn [ˈyuŋɪn] *he knocked down*.
 See also gadegana yuŋaia *don't*
knock (him) down.

¹Yabulayabula was regarded in most respects as almost identical to Yodayoda, but certain differences were noted by Mathews. See also Capell (1956:18). Nevertheless the Yabulayabula were generally thought of as the closest relatives, or even a subdivision of the Yodayoda. R.M.W. Dixon (personal communication) has valuable additional information on this topic, contradicting the findings of Mathews.

Gippsland vocabulary

- bab [ˈbaːp] *light, flame.*
- bag [ˈbaːk] *breast, milk.*
- bandjewan [ˈbandjəwɔn] *boots.*
Obviously a recent and widespread word.
- banj [ˈbaːnj] *tame dog.*
- baŋa [ˈbaŋʌ] *rain.*
- baragenin [ˈbarakenɪn] *stringy-bark tree.* Bratauoluŋ.
- bau [ˈbauːɪ] *common wallaby, Wallabia bicolor.*
- bemba-dauer [ˈbembʌ ˈdauɜː] *blow the fire!* Bratauoluŋ.
- bembaŋ [ˈbembʌŋ] *short-nosed bandicoot.*
- beŋdin [ˈbɜːŋdɪn] *asleep.*
- bindjulaŋ [ˈbɪndjuːlʌŋ] *cat (tiger cat).* The term was later transferred to the imported domestic cat.
- bra [ˈbrʌː] *man, person.* General term.
- bradreg [ˈbradrək] *stranger.*
- bra galagran [ˈbrʌː ˈgalʌŋɪran] *boy, young man (uninitiated).*
- bramon [ˈbrʌmɔn] *brother (i.e. blood brother).*
- bran [ˈbrʌn] *pelican.*
- braŋ [ˈbrʌŋ] *bone.*
- bred [ˈbrɛt] *hand.*
- brewin [ˈbrɛːwɪn] *name of a malevolent legendary figure.* This word became a contemptuous term meaning 'white man'.
- brug [ˈbrʌk] *head.*
- budalag [ˈbuːdʌːlʌk] *tree goanna, Varanus varius.*
- budjeri [ˈbuːtjɛɪ] *good.*
- bulaman [ˈbuːlʌːmʌn] *two.*
bulaman bramon *two brothers.* Bratauoluŋ.
- bulendjedi [ˈbuːlɛndjɛɪ] *stomach.*
- bundi [ˈbuːndɪ] *waddy with knob on.*
This word is widespread and may be a recent introduction into Ganai.
- burai [ˈbuːrʌɪ] *ironbark tree.*
- buyon [ˈbuːyɔn] *egg.*
- daŋan [ˈdaŋʌn] *bread.*
- Daŋanda [ˈdaŋʌndʌ] *name of a prominent point on the shore of Lake Tyers near the mission.*
- dauer [ˈdauɜː] *fire, firewood.*
- durun [ˈduːrʌn] *snake (brown).*
- dadjan [ˈdatjʌn] *flash, a flash person.*
- dagai [ˈdakaɪ] *garfish.*
- dala [ˈdala] *little.*
dala lidj *small child.*
- deɟigen [ˈdɜːtjɪkən] *dead.*
- denben [ˈdenben] *bad, silly, stupid.*
- djambag [ˈdʒʌmbʌk] *sheep.*
- djauawonga [ˈdʒʌuːwɔŋgʌ] *bird — currawong.*
- djerindjel [ˈdʒɛrɪndʒɛl] *trousers, clothes.*
- djero [ˈdʒɛrɔ] *here.*
djero yunga *here is a policeman.*
- djinbaŋ [ˈdʒɪnbʌŋ] *breath.*
- djine [ˈdʒɪnɛ] *foot.*
- djunga [ˈdʒʌŋgʌ] *policeman.*
Sometimes also yunga.
- gabiŋ [ˈgʌbɪŋ] *grandmother (paternal).*
- gad [ˈgʌːt] *mouth.*
- gadj [ˈgʌːtj] *skipjack, a species of fish.*
- galeg [ˈgalɛk] *stick.*
- ganai [ˈganai] *man, man of the Ganai tribe.* This word almost

- certainly represents a widespread mainly eastern Australian word meaning '(initiated) man'.
e.g. Diyari — gaṇa,
Yaralde — koṇe, etc.
- ganj [ˈgaɪnj] *bluenose bream*,
Acanthopagrus butcheri.
- gauṇ [ˈgauwṇ] *echidna, porcupine*.
- gendjelo [ˈgendjələ] *policeman*.
From English 'chains'.
- gidai [ˈgɪtai] *swan*. The Gippsland word gitai is closely cognate with a widespread word for 'swan'.
e.g. Arabana — gudi *swan*.
- gigan [ˈgɪkɪn] *go*.
wulon gigan *where are you going?*
- gilṇ [ˈgɪlṇ] *billy can*.
- giran [ˈgɪrɪn] *bottom, rump*.
Bratauoluṇ.
- grenjan [ˈgrenjan] *fish — mullet*.
- gri [ˈgriː] *money*. Originally 'canoe'.
wunman ṇinde gri yangai *have you got any money, mate?*
- guṇ [ˈguːṇ] *nose*.
- gurgai [ˈkʊrkai] *hey!* Form of address. gurgai wendolo ganai *hey, how are you blackfellow?*
- lag [ˈlɑːk] *food*.
- len [ˈleːn] *beautiful, good*.
len mragen *a pretty face*.
- lid [ˈlɪt] *bread*. This was the Bratauoluṇ word which corresponded to the Brabraluṇ — daṇan.
- lidj [ˈlɪtj] *child*.
- lun [ˈluːn] *white man*. From the name of a legendary creature, (Howitt 1904:444).
- maian [ˈmaiʔan] *aunt*.
- mai-mai [ˈmai ɹmai] *camp*.
- malum [ˈmalʊm] *boyfriend*.
- meḍ [ˈmɜːt] *(sea) water*.
- mirigan [ˈmɪrɪgɪn] *(wild) dog, dingo*.
- mradj [ˈmraːtj] *ghost*.
- mragen [ˈmrakən] *face*.
- mri [ˈmriː] *eye*.
- mridjon [ˈmɪdʒən] *bird*. This is a general term.
- mundjab [ˈmʊndʒɪp] *he's gone*.
Past participle.
- mungṇ [ˈmuːŋṇ] *father*. Also used in the sense of missionary.
- muren [ˈmʊrən] *tea*.
- nag [ˈnɑːk] *you people (plural)*.
nag dadjan *you are flash people*.
- naṇera [ˈnaṇɛrɪ] *saltwater mussel, Mytilus species*.
- narud [ˈnarʊt] *wombat*.
- ninj [ˈniːnj] *louse*.
- njandag [ˈnjandak] *bark of tree*.
Bratauoluṇ.
- njurug [ˈnjurʊk] *blood*.
Bratauoluṇ.
- ṇadjban [ˈṇatjɒn] *no, nothing*.
- ṇadjen [ˈṇatjən] *grandfather (maternal)*.
- ṇaḍ [ˈṇɑːt] *fish — leatherjacket*.
- ṇale [ˈṇale] *meat*.
- ṇandag [ˈṇandak] *teeth*.
- ṇarag [ˈṇarak] *back*.
Also Bratauoluṇ.
- ṇaraṇda [ˈṇaraṇdɪ] *to bury*.
- ṇarba [ˈṇarɒ] *to poison*.
- ṇinde [ˈṇɪnde] *you*. Second person singular.
- ṇu [ˈṇuː] *belt*. Bratauoluṇ.
- ramen [ˈramən] *burnt*. Past participle. Bratauoluṇ.
- raṇ [ˈraṇ] *ear*.
- ruged [ˈrukət] *woman*.
- wadan [ˈwɑːn] *silvergrey possum*.
- walaṇ [ˈwɒlṇ] *stone*.
- wangin [ˈwɑːŋɪn] *boomerang*.

webwen [ˈwebwən] *grandfather*
(*paternal*).

wendolo [ˈwendɔɫɔ] *how?*
wendolo ganai *how are you,*
blackfellow?

wereg [ˈwerək] *urine.*

wil [ˈwiːl] *bark.*

wilga-dalga [ˈwɪlkʌdalkʌ] *butt*
of a tree.
Bratauoluŋ.

wulon [ˈwʊlɔn] *where to?*
Second person singular.

wunman [ˈwʊnman] *where? how?*
General interrogative particle
wunman ŋinde yanggai *how are*
you going mate?

wurin [ˈwʊrɪn] *sun.*

yagan [ˈyakan] *mother.*

yalaman [ˈyalʌman] *several*
(i.e. more than two).

yalaman bramon *a group of (more*
than two). Bratauoluŋ.

yaŋ [ˈyaːŋ] *water.*

yangai [ˈyangai] *hey friend!*
Used as form of address.

yarug [ˈyarʊk] *angry, 'wild'.*

yereman [ˈyerəman] *horse.*
A recent and widespread word.

yindubagara [ˈyɪndʊbarkarʌ] *dew.*
Bratauoluŋ.

yunga [ˈyʊŋgʌ], djunga [ˈdʒʊŋgʌ]
policeman. This alternative word
for policeman appears to have been
borrowed from the South Coast of
N.S.W. where it originally meant
'octopus' and was transferred to
'policeman', because he grabbed
people.

Southern N̄arigu vocabulary

- badjun [ˈbadʒʊŋ] *net bag*.
- bala-bala [ˈbaləba,laː] *to talk*.
This word probably was cognate with the 'pidgin' word *pyalla*, *pai-alla to talk*, used at Pt Jackson (Ransom 1966:109-110).
- balan [ˈba,la:n] *woman*.
- balug [ˈbalək] *tree 'white-gum'*.
Probably *Eucalyptus viminalis*.
Leaves from this tree were used to light a smoky fire and a sick person was placed close by "and the fever from the sick person went into the heat of the fire". The blossoming branches were also used in cures along with magic stones. Blossoming branches were also used to beat the river-water into spray as a preliminary to the rain-making ceremony.
- bana [ˈba,naː] *rain*.
- banburan [ˈbanbəran] *a large lizard*.
- bandria [ˈbandrɪ,jaː] *waterhole*.
- bandja [ˈban,djaː] *blanket*.
- bandjiwan [ˈbandʒɪ,wa:n], bandjiwug [ˈbandʒɪwʊk] *boots, shoes, boot-prints*.
- bangadan [ˈbaŋga,da:n] *wombat*.
Alternative to *migundan*.
- bararin [ˈbararɪŋ] *deaf*.
- bib-bib [ˈbɪp bɪp], [ˈbɪpɪp] *jumping or hopping about*.
Children's word for a kangaroo.
- bidja [ˈbɪ,djaː] *clothes*.
- Biḍawal [ˈbɪḍə,waːl] *name of a tribe closely allied with the Southern N̄arigu, but living nearer to the sea, between Eden and Orbost*. It was probably a mixed tribe (Howitt 1904:79).
- biman [ˈbɪ,ma:n] *bare, empty ground*.
- bimbila [ˈbɪmbə,laː] *ugly*. This was a children's word and not the standard expression which was *ŋaljan*.
- bindjulun [ˈbɪndʒəlʊŋ] *native tiger-cat*. Also used for the introduced cat.
- bingidj [ˈbɪŋɪtʃ] *bold, cheeky*.
- bingil [ˈbɪŋəl] *neck*.
- birug [ˈbɪ,rʊk] *dead*.
- birug-banj [ˈbɪ,rʊk ˈbaːnʃ] *spirit (of a dead person), ghost*.
- bragbag [ˈbrakbak] *sticky*.
- bri [ˈbrɪː] *fat*.
- bridj-bridj [ˈbrɪtʃ brɪtʃ] *dirty*.
- brinj [ˈbrɪnʃ] *ashes*.
- buban [ˈβuːbaŋ] *father*.
- bubil [ˈβuːbɪl] *sore, sick*.
- bubul [ˈβuːβʊl] *water*.
- bubulug [ˈβuːβʊlʊk] *fat, a fat person*.
- bud [ˈbʊt] *rabbit*.
- budalag [bʊˈdaːlək] *tree-goanna*.
- bud-bud [ˈbʊt bət] *water-rat*.
- budira [bʊˈde,raː] *clever man, doctor*.
- budjan [ˈbʊ,dʒa:n] *bird*. General term.
- budun-budun [ˈbʊdʊn ˈbʊdʊn] *disobedient, fidgety*.
Of children in particular.
- bugila [ˈbʊgə,laː] *mouse or rat*.
- bugmin [ˈbʊgmɪn] *pregnant*.
- buguga [ˈbʊgə,gaː] *tree, black sallee, Eucalyptus stellulata*.
- bulburai [ˈbʊlbʊraɪ] *thunderstorm, downpour*.
- bunga [ˈbʊŋ,gaː] *tea, tea-leaves*.

- burbiyaliga [¹bUrbI₁ya·lə₁ka·] *come here!*
 buriga [¹bUrə₁ga·] *moon.*
 burubal [¹bUrə₁ba·l] *boy, son.*
 burudan [¹bUrə₁da:n] *potatoes.*
 buyuwa [¹bUyU₁wa·] *to be smelly.*
 dala [¹ðalaŋ] *coals.*
 damaradj [¹ðaməratj] *nice, beautiful.*
 d₁ura damaradj *something really nice.*
 danda [ðan₁da·] *trousers.*
 daŋan [¹ða₁ŋa:n] *bread.*
 duguŋ [¹ðuguŋ] *brother (younger).*
 dura [¹ðu₁ra·] *very emphatic adverb.*
 Not attested with certainty.
 dalaŋ [¹dalaŋ] *bad.*
 dambanj [¹dam₁ba·n₁j] *hat.*
 dambli [¹da·mbli] *to eat.*
 dambulŋ [¹dambəlŋ] *kangaroo rat.*
 Species uncertain.
 dandial [¹dandI₁ya·l] *koala.*
 Dangiai [¹taŋgai] *name of a sub-
 tribe of the Bidjawal. The Dangiai
 were displaced by white settlement
 and most went to Delegate. The
 tribal name survived as a surname
 and a Mrs Tangeye was the last
 'clever' woman at Delegate. She
 died about 1915.*
 darag-ŋambi [¹darək₁ ŋa·mbI] *to hit,
 to wound.*
 dilginj [¹dIlgInj] *to hit.*
 dinabili [dI¹na·bIli] *dirty, covered
 in earth.*
 dinadj [¹dInatj] *earth, ground.*
 dubul [¹dUβul] *to splash.*
 dug [¹dUk] *to throw, to pelt some-
 one with something.*
 dugun [¹dUgən] *sugar.*
 dulidj [¹dUIItj] *throat.*
 dulugal [¹dUIU₁ga·l] *wild man, killer.*
 dumbug [¹dUmbUk] *smoke, smoke-
 signal.*
 dununag [¹dUnə₁na·k] *to see, to
 look at.*
 dununalug [¹dUnə₁na·lək] *to stare
 at something.*
 dununalugin *you are staring at
 me.*
 duru-duradj [¹dUrədUraⁱtj] *to
 vomit.*
 dwad-dwad [¹dwət dwət] *bark of a
 tree.*
 djad-bulug [¹djæt₁ bu₁lək] *a liar.*
 djamalaŋ [djæ¹ma·laŋ] *platypus.*
 djambug [¹djambUk] *sheep.*
 From English.
 djandjuŋ [¹djændjuŋ] *ears.*
 djarimiŋ [djæ¹rI·miŋ] *happy, flash.*
 djaruŋ-djaruŋ [¹djarUŋ₁ djarUŋ] *currawong.*
 djaua [¹djau₁wa·] *sun.*
 djidjaŋ [¹djidjaŋ] *older brother.*
 djidjigan [¹djidji₁ga:n] *carpet
 snake.*
 djigun [¹dji·gən] *fire.*
 djimaŋgal [dji¹maŋ₁ga·l] *grey
 thrush.*
 djimuŋ [¹dji₁muŋ] *kangaroo-rat,
 Bettongia species.*
 djinaŋ [¹dji₁naŋ] *foot.*
 djiralgal [dje¹ra·l₁ga·l] *small
 lizard. Species uncertain.*
 djira-wadj [¹djerə₁watj] *a bearded
 man.*
 djiriban [¹djerI₁ba·n] *old man.*
 djiri-djiridj [¹djerI₁djerItj] *yesterday.*
 djiriridj [¹djerərItj] *dirty.*
 djua [¹dju₁wa·] *white-barked gum
 tree. Probably the candle bark,
 Eucalyptus rubida.*

- djug [¹dʒʊk] *to spear, to stab.*
- djuganj [¹dʒʊ,ɡaːnj], [¹dʒuː,ɡaːnj] *snake. Probably the brown snake.*
- djunuwidj [¹dʒʊnəwɪtj] *tawny frog-mouth owl.*
- djunga [¹dʒʊŋ,ɡaː] *policeman.*
This word was borrowed from the Durga language of the south coast of N.S.W. The original meaning was 'octopus'.
- djungul [¹dʒʊŋɡʊl] *to roll one's eyes, to look around.*
- djuŋur [¹dʒuːŋʊr] *urine.*
- djuraŋ [¹dʒʊraŋ] *running water, stream.*
- djurug [¹dʒʊrək] *to dive.*
- djuruwidj [¹dʒʊrəwɪtj] *a wading bird with very long legs.*
Probably a species of sandpiper.
Also a *very skinny person.*
- gaban [¹ɡa,baːn] *egg.*
- gabira [¹ɡabə,raː] *wattle tree.*
Species uncertain.
- gabug [¹ɡabək] *to sleep.*
- gadagan [¹ɡaðə,ɡaːn] *head.*
- gadjaran [¹ɡadjə,raːn] *stubborn, refusing to move.*
- gadji [¹ɡadjɪ] *head louse.* This is probably a 'Common Australian' word; cognate forms are widespread though absent from the recorded Kulin languages.
- gagari [¹ɡagarɪ] *to kill someone by means of the magic stones.*
gurugulaŋ *to 'sing' someone.*
- galan [¹ɡa,laːn] *younger sister.*
- galbga [¹ɡalp,ɡaːl] *wood, sticks (medium sized and small).*
- galgun [¹ɡalkən] *eel.*
- gambawali [¹ɡambə,waːlɪ] *to cry.*
- gamjag [¹ɡamjək] *reeds, near rivers, with edible roots.*
Probably this refers to *Typha angustifolia.*
- gandjawan [¹ɡandjə,waːn] *policeman.*
- ganina [ɡaːnɪ,naː] *magic, multi-coloured beetles.* The medicine men kept these beetles in their bags and fed them on kidney fat. Among younger people ignorant of these customs the term ganina has now become synonymous with 'sorcery' and 'sorcerer' in general. The same term and the same customs were recorded from Durga people on the coast.
- ganj [¹ɡaːnj] *uncle.*
- ganjgruŋ [¹ɡənjgrʊŋ] *kangaroo.* This word was given as the standard word by widely separated speakers. It is probably an innovation based on English 'kangaroo'.¹
- garibal [¹ɡarə,baːl] *thin, skinny.*
- garug [¹ɡarək] *to keep quiet.*
- garuŋ [¹ɡarʊŋ] *saliva.* Also *dirt from the nose.*
garuŋ gʊgai *dirt (on your nose), hey!, you've got a dirty nose.*
- garuwanga [¹ɡarəwəŋ,ɡaː] *to dream.*
This word might be borrowed from Durga.
- gauaŋ [¹ɡauwəŋ] *echidna.* The variant gauadj [¹ɡauwatj] was heard once.
- graŋ [¹ɡraŋ] *large edible grubs.*
- gub-gug [¹ɡʊp ɡʊk] *owl.* Species uncertain, perhaps the mopoke.
- guda [¹ɡʊ,ðaː] *Chinaman.* There were many Chinese people in the Delegate area late last century, probably attracted by gold mining.

¹Mathews (1908:338), and Curr (1886:426). Both these authors give buru kangaroo for this general area. Curr (1886:424, 432) also has bandara.

- gudaŋ [ˈgUdaŋ] *aunt*.
- gugai [ˈgUgai] *hey!* Exclamation to arrest attention.
- guginjala [ˈgUgɛnja·,la·] *kookaburra*.
- guin [ˈguyIn] *shame*. This word was also used as an exclamation to arrest attention — *hey!*
- guindja [ˈguyIn,dja·] *shy*.
- guin muga [ˈguyIn mU,ga·] *you've got no shame*.
Used as an exclamation.
- gulburi [ˈgUlbUrI] *black-tailed waterhen*.
- guli-gulaba [ˈgUli gU,la·,ba·] *yes, all right*.
- gulug [ˈgUlək] *to drink, to swallow*.
- Gunai [ˈgU,na·l] *native name of the great-aunt of the main speakers*.
- gunamudanĵ [ˈgU,na·mU,da·nĵ] *clever man, poisoner*.
- gundigan [ˈgUndə,ga:n] *leaves of trees*.
- gundul [ˈgUndUl] *eyes*.
- gundul-bidjali *someone is watching you*.
- gundji [ˈgUndĵI] *home, camp*. A widespread word, perhaps borrowed from elsewhere.
- guniriŋ [gUˈnerIn] *useless, silly, stupid thing*.
I'll dilĵinj waŋan guniriŋ *I'm going to hit this silly-looking thing*.
- gunuma [ˈgUnə,ma·] *snow*.
- gunuŋ [ˈgUnUŋ] *excrement*.
- gunĵug [ˈgUnĵUk] *swan*.
- guŋ [ˈgUŋ] *nose*.
- Gungura [ˈgUŋgə,ra·] *name of a mountain between Delegate and Orbost, 'Goongerah'*.
- gurigan [ˈgUrə,ga:n] *poison*.
- gurubulaŋ [ˈgUrəbUlaŋ] *mail-bird*.
A mythical bird which brings bad news. It is usually heard on the death of a relative.
- gurubuŋ [ˈgUrəbUŋ] *pebble, stone*.
Also money. The use of the word for stone to indicate money is not uncommon in Australian languages e.g. Arabana — *gadna stone, money*.
- gurug [ˈgUrək] *unsweetened tea*.
- gurugulaŋ [ˈgUrəgUlaŋ] *magic stones*. Clever men carried them in a little bag along with kidney fat. The same term *gurugulaŋ* was also used for the disease-carrying stones which the witchdoctor extracted from his patient.
- gwandidĵ [ˈgwa·ndItĵ] *old woman*.
- gwangaŋ [ˈgwaŋgaŋ] *honey*.
- landĵagan [ˈlandĵə,ga:n] *cousin*.
- liga-ligal [ˈliɡalI,ga·l] *bird — Willie wagtail*.
- maĵan-maĵan [ˈmaĵan ˈmaĵan] *dirty*.
- mai-mai [ˈmai ˈmai] *camp, house*.
This term might have been borrowed from Gippsland.
- malanaŋ [ˈmalə,ŋa:n] *girl, daughter*.
- malub [ˈmalUp] *flash of lightning*.
- manaŋ [ˈmanaŋ] *creek*.
- mandĵa [ˈman,dĵa·] *fish, black fish*. General term.
- manĵug [ˈmanĵUk] *short-nosed bandicoot*.
- maŋgai [ˈmaŋgai] *to steal, to take*.
- mara [ˈma,ra·] *spider*.
- marigal [ˈmarI,ga·l] *sallee wattle*.
Species uncertain, probably *Acacia longifolia*.
- marinj [ˈmarInĵ] *man*.
- migundan [ˈmiɡən,da:n] *wombat*.
Alternative to *bangadan*.

- mingun [ˈmɪŋʊŋ] *milk, breast.*
- miribi [meˈrɪˌbɪ] *thunder.*
- mirigan [ˈmɪrɪˌgɑːn] *tame dog or dingo.*
- mragin [ˈmɪrəɡən] *face.*
- muga [ˈmʊˌgɑː] *no, not.* Negative adverb and particle.
- mugan [ˈmʊˌgɑːn] *ghost.*
- Mugan [ˈmʊˌgɑːn] *name of a valley in the Delegate district.*
- mumugandi [ˈmʊˌmʊˌgɑːndə] *grub of the Bogong moth.*
- mumun [ˈmʊˌmʊŋ] *little.*
- munda [ˈmʊndə] *mouth.*
- munduin [ˈmʊndʊɪn] *ant.*
- murili [mʊˈreɪlɪ] *a bad woman.*
- murudalinj [ˈmʊrʊˌdɑːlɪnɪ] *a bad man, a larrakin.*
- nalug [ˈnələk] *grass.*
- nilangan [ˈnɪlənˌgɑːn] *blue crane.*
- ninj [ˈnɪnɪ] *body louse.*
- nurinj [ˈnʊrɪnɪ] *brave, bold, cheeky.*
- njalanj [ˈnjɑːlɑːnɪ] *to dribble.*
- njalan [ˈnjalan] *up, upwards.*
- njaman [ˈnjɑːmən] *an edible root, a kind of yam.*
- njanban [ˈnjɑːnbɑːn] *hungry.*
- njandug [ˈnjændʊk] *teeth.*
- njarala [ˈnjæˈrɑːlɑː] *to listen, to hear.*
- njarala-muga [njæˈrɑːlɑː ˈmʊgɑː] *a person who won't listen, obstinate, deaf.*
- njari-njaran [ˈnjærɪnˌjærɑːn] *small sticks and bark for kindling.*
- njinjan [ˈnjɪnˌjɑːn] *uncle, elderly relative.*
- njulun [ˈnjʊlʊŋ] *down, downwards.*
- nabun [ˈnɑːbʊŋ] *grandfather (maternal).*
- nadjalanj [ˈnɑːdʒələˌnɪ] *to move around, to fidget.*
- nadjan [ˈnɑːdʒɑːn] *mother.*
- nadjun [ˈnɑːdʒʊŋ] *water.* Also used for 'strong drink'.
- naɖu [ˈnɑːdʊ] *a small flat dish made of bark.*
- nagun [ˈnɑːɡʊn] *maternal grandmother, and her sisters.*
- nalag [ˈnɑːlɑːk] *to sit, to stay.*
- nali [ˈnɑːlɪ] *meat.*
- naljan [ˈnɑːljɑːn] *ugly.*
- namal [ˈnɑːməˌl] *waddy shield.*
- naman [ˈnɑːməˌn] *(elder) sister.*
- nambaranj [ˈnɑːmbərəˌnɪ] *tomahawk.*
- naŋ [ˈnɑːŋ] *to bite.*
- narib [ˈnɑːrɪp] *evil magic.*
- naribi [ˈnɑːrɪpɪ] *to kill by magic, to 'get' somebody.*
- gulma [ˈɡʊlˌməˌ] *hot, very warm.*
- gulug-gulug [ˈɡʊlʊˌɡʊlʊk] *smelly, rotten.*
- guraga [ˈɡʊrəˌgɑː] *koala bear.*
- guyun [ˈɡʊɪˌʊŋ] *big.*
- wada [ˈwɑːdɑː] *firewood, fire.*
- wadjan [ˈwɑːdʒɑːn] *possum.*
- wadjbaga [ˈwɑːdʒbɑːgɑː] *white boy.*
- wadjbala [ˈwɑːdʒbɑːlɑː] *'white fellow', white man.*
- wadjimin [ˈwɑːdʒɪmɪn] *white woman.*
- waligada [ˈwɑːlɪgɑːdɑː] *(legendary) little hairy people who lived in the high mountains.*
- wanj [ˈwɑːɪnɪ], [ˈwæːɪnɪ] *child.*
- wanan [ˈwɑːnɑːn] *silly, stupid, an idiot.*

waraganj [ˈwɔrəˌgɑːnj] *snow gum, white sally.*
 wirgara [ˈwɛrˌgɑːrɑː] *whereabouts?*
 wur [ˈwuːr] *good job!* Exclamation of satisfaction. When someone who thoroughly deserved it, got hit, people would shout wur and that 'would make him real mad!'.
 wurundibug [ˈwʊrəndɪbʊk] *Chinaman.* (See *gudə*).
 yabiyaliga [ˈyabɪˌyɑːləˌgɑː] *look out!*

yalaganj [ˈyæˌlɑːɡanj] *good, beautiful.*
 yangai [ˈyɑŋɡai] *teenage boy, very young man.*
 yarabi [ˈyærəbɪ] *to go.*
 yaram [ˈyæram] *big.*
 yaraman [yæˈrɑːˌmɑːn] *horse.*
 yaruga [ˈyærəˌgɑː] *reeds.*
 yarun [ˈyærʊŋ] *hair.*
 yurugadj [ˈyʊrəɡətj] *something dead, a carcass.*

CHAPTER 8

ENGLISH — ABORIGINAL VOCABULARY

The following abbreviations have been used:

<i>Gu</i>	Guṇḍidj	<i>Na</i>	Narinari
<i>Dj</i>	Djadjala dialect of Werḡaia	<i>Woi</i>	Woiwuru
<i>WW</i>	Wembawemba	<i>Yo</i>	Yodayoda
<i>Ma</i>	Maḍimadi	<i>Gi</i>	Gippsland, the Ganai language
<i>Wa</i>	Wadiwadi	<i>SN</i>	Southern Nariḡu
<i>Da</i>	Daḍiḍadi		

Scientific names of plants and animals are given when necessary in the Aboriginal — English vocabulary. They are not repeated here.

across

WW -wadan (postposition)

afraid

Dj bamben

WW bamben

after a while

Ma dadi

afterwards, later

WW gadaṅ

alive: to be alive

WW murenda

allow: to allow

WW ganera

along

WW -dawa (postposition)

already

WW ḡadana

altogether, completely

Ma giagaminu

and

Dj ba

WW ba

Woi ba

Ma ba (fixed locutions only),
ḡa (general linking particle)

anger, temper

Ma gulinai (*mine*)

angry

Dj gulien

WW ḡuṅḡur-wil

Gi yarug

angry: to be angry

WW ḡuṅḡura

Ma gulinada

angry: to get angry

Ma gulewada

ankle (his)

Dj meḡḡug

WW meḡḡug

ant:

bull

Dj legil

WW liḡ-wil

green

Dj buḡunḡ

WW buḡunḡ

large black

WW badaṅ

meat

Dj mara

WW mara

*ant:**small black stinging*

WW djileb-djileb

very small black

Dj bulabul

sugar

Dj darau

Ma dirawi

species uncertain

SY munduin

argue: to argue, to abuse one another

WW djalildjera

arm, wing (his)

Dj dadjug

WW dadagug

Ma dadagu

Na dadjag

arm (top of arm, near shoulder) (his)

Dj dadjingu

armpit

Dj gadjab

WW gadab

Ma gadawa

arrive: to arrive, come

Dj guḍa

WW biṅa

Ma biṅmada

arrived, risen (of sun etc.)

WW biṅən

ashamed

Dj gululug

*ashes:**hot*

Ma brindi

SY brinj

*a small fragment of hot ashes**which starts a fire*

Ma dibu

*hot, in a small heap still**smouldering*

Ma buni

dust (cold)

WW milag

Ma milagi

Wa milagi

ask: to ask

Dj wurma

WW galaia

Ma galaiada

at last

Ma baluru

aunt (father's sister)

Dj ṅalug

Yo malag

Gi maian

SY gudaṅ

baby

Dj bubug

WW bobenj

back

Dj warem

WW warəm

Ma dudi

Gi ṅarag

bad, also ugly (except in ṅarigu)

Dj yadjaṅ

WW yadaminjug

Ma bugi

SY dalan

bad, bitter tasting (water)

Dj guradj

Ma giredi

bad: to be bad

Dj yadjangaia

WW yadanga, yadaia

Ma bugila

bad person

Dj yadjaṅ-wil

*bag:**general term*

Dj ṅunji

WW ṅunji

Ma ṅunṅi

net-bag

Dj warag

SY badjun

water-bag

Dj djul

bald: to be bald

WW bira

bald-head

WW biradail

Dj bili-burb, bili-burbug

ball, ball-game

WW daṅ

Ma yugum

bandicoot (short-nosed)

Woi bun
Gi bemban
SY manjug

bang: to bang

WW bilba
Dj bilba

bank:

(the steep sides of the bank
of a river)

WW njirin
bank of a river
WW njirin-wil

barb:

of a wooden spear

WW dilag
Ma dilanu

of a flint spear

Dj bedj

bare, clear (of ground)

WW bri-dja
Ma biradi
SY biman

bark: to bark (of dogs)

Dj lerblerbmala
WW wermila
Ma gauirada

bark (of tree)

Dj midjug, dugur
Ma midu
Gi njandag (Bratauolun), wil
SY dwad-dwad

dry bark of tree (particularly
stringy-bark)

Gi delan

bat

WW nanudj-nanudj

be: to be

WW yuma

beard

Dj nani
WW nani
Ma dedgu naranin (yours)

bearded fellow

WW naninjug
SY djirawadj

behind (adverb and preposition)

WW warmandag behind me
Ma namba

belly

WW bili
Dj bili
Ma bilinu (his)
Gi bulendjedi

pot-belly

WW djungi-bili

belt

Gi nu (Bratauolun)

bend: to bend

WW milba-milba
Ma gadadja

berry:

apple-berry, *Billardiera scandens*

Woi garawan

saltbush-berry

WW gurgudj

wild grape, *Nitraria schoberi*

WW dilanj

Dj dilanj

Ma dilangi

between

WW -njed (postposition)

big:

large, tall

Dj gurun

WW gurumbidug

Ma dani, widul, garawi

Wa garawi

SY yaram, nuyun

to be big, large, swollen

WW djunga

billy can

WW djimban

Woi danag

Gi gilan

bird:

general term

WW widan-wil feather-creature

Gi mridjon

SY budjan

broilga

Dj gudjun

WW gudun

Ma guduni

brown tree-creeper

Ma bin-bin, duni

bustard, plains turkey

Dj narau

butcher bird (grey)

Dj ganđulan

bird:

- cockatoo: *corella*
 Dj gadjegar
 WW gadegar
 Ma girendi
- cockatoo, *galah*
 Dj wilug-wilug
 WW wilög-wilög
 Ma wilegil
- cockatoo: *Major Mitchell*
 Dj galalag
- cockatoo: *white sulphur-crested*
 Dj djinab
 WW djinəb
 Ma dinawi
- coot (*black*)
 Dj dedj
 WW dedj
- cormorant: *large, black*
 Dj meḍ-meṛəŋ or meḍ-meṛel
 WW meḍ-meṛil
- cormorant: *large pied, black and white shag*
 WW wangəṛəl
- cormorant: *large white-chested*
 Dj deri-djaŋ meḍ-meṛel
- cormorant: *little black*
 WW walawalag
- cormorant: *little pied*
 WW burb
 Dj garindjan
- crane: *white, egret*
 WW wanj
 Ma baluru
- crane: *white-faced blue, heron*
 WW gadiŋ-baŋ
 SY nilangan
- crane: *white-necked*
 Dj bangar
- crane: *nankeen*
 Dj big-burberug
 WW nadaŋ-wil
- crow
 Dj wa
 WW wa
 Ma wani
 Da dulang
- cuckoo-shrike (*black faced*)
 Woi djilbi-djilbi
- cuckoo-fantailed *storm-bird*
 Dj yuṛin-yuṛin-njani
- currawong
 Dj guṛaŋ
 Gi djauawonga
 SY djaruŋ-djaruŋ

bird:

- dove (*probably the 'peaceful dove'*)
 Dj gugu
- duck: *general term*
 Dj ŋeṛi ba beṇeṛ
- duck: *black*
 Gu moe
 Dj ŋeṛe
 WW ŋeṛe
 Ma dulumi
 Yo dolma
- duck: *blue-winged-shoveller*
 Dj wudjug
 WW wudjəḍ
- duck: *freckled*
 Dj ŋal-ŋal
- duck: *hardhead*
 WW djarəḍ
- duck: *mountain*
 Dj bidjengal
 Ma ŋagundal
- duck: *musk*
 Dj djul-wil or ŋanje-wil
 WW ŋanə-wil
- duck: *pink-eared or zebra*
 Dj djuel-djuel or diwel-diwel
 WW djiwaleḍ
 Ma wuya-wuya
- duck: *teal*
 Dj beṇeṛ
 WW beṇeṛ
 Ma beṇeṛ
- duck: *wood*
 Dj walaŋ
 WW ŋanəḡ
- duck: *species uncertain*
 Ma ŋari
- eagle (*whistling*)
 WW bandəlaŋ
- eagle-hawk
 Dj weṛbil
 WW baŋgəl
 Ma wulegil
 Moi bundjil
- emu
 Dj gauir
 WW djuruŋ-wil
 Ma garini, yumbaḷi, yuṇḍal
 Wa gurwinj
 Da reniŋ
 Yo bigerundja
- goose (*pied*)
 Dj ŋag
 WW ŋagəḡ

bird:

- grebe (*hoary-headed*)
 Dj gurewa
 'greenie' (*white-plumed honeyeater*)
 Dj buigen gira or buiena gira
 hawk: *brown*
 Dj galg-galg
 WW gerə-gerə
 Ma ger-ger
 hawk: *duck hawk*
 Dj warereŋ
 hawk: *small hawk*
 Ma biwi
 hawk: *sparrow-hawk*
 WW yanaraŋ
 ibis: *straw-necked*
 Dj ŋargurel
 WW ŋargərel
 ibis: *white*
 WW gagad
 'jay' *white-winged chough*
 Dj munjugal
 WW djambəl
 kookaburra
 Dj gurŋ-gurŋ
 WW gurŋ-gurŋ
 Ma guŋ-guŋ
 SY guginjala
 landrail
 WW lerəb
 lyre-bird
 Woi bulen-bulen
 magpie, *blackbacked*
 Dj gurug
 WW gurulug
 Ma gurugi
 mail-bird (*mythical*)
 SY gurubulaŋ
 mallee-hen, *lowan*
 Dj lauau
 Ma lawani
 martin, *dusky wood-swallow*
 Dj lalabgin or wila-geḍ
 mudlark
 Dj djirm-djirm
 WW djirm-djirm
 Woi did-did
 night hawk
 Ma wawal
 noisy friar-bird, *leatherhead*
 Dj yangag
 noisy miner
 WW biŋḍedj

bird:

- owl: *probably barn-owl*
 Ma guyural
 Dj gaḍug
 owl: *mopoke or boobook*
 WW wug-wug
 Woi mug-mug
 SY gub-gub
 owl: *powerful*
 Dj wirimal
 owl: *tawny frogmouth*
 Dj djine-djinedj
 WW djune-djunedj
 Ma dina-dinad
 Woi djinid-djinid
 SY djunuwidj
 owl: *nightjar*
 Dj djeradedj-gurg
 WW yeradedj-gurg
 Ma bed-bed
 parrot: *blue mountain, rainbow lorikeet*
 Dj galinud
 parrot: *blue bonnet or bull-oak*
 Dj bini-ŋari
 parrot: *budgerigar*
 WW widjərigon
 parrot: *cockatoo-parrot, cockatiel*
 Dj wurib
 WW wurib
 parrot: *grass*
 Dj djidjed
 parrot: *mallee or ringneck*
 Dj lum
 WW lum
 parrot: *parakeet (green) i.e. little lorikeet*
 Dj yugwib
 parrot: *rockpebbler, regent*
 Dj muru-geḍ
 parrot: *rosella (eastern)*
 Dj gurgali
 WW gurg-mali
 pelican
 Dj badjiŋal
 Ma badanjal
 Gi bran
 pipit, *ground-lark*
 Dj yalub-yalub
 plover: *plain*
 WW manjərab-gurg
 Dj manjərab-gurg
 plover: *spurwing*
 WW berəḍ-berəḍ
 Dj beredj-beredj

bird:

- red-capped robin
 WW djali-gurgug
- restless flycatcher
 Ma yileliburi, yilelburu
- sandpiper: dotterel
 Dj berm-berm
- sandpiper: common
 Dj bidj-bidj
 SY djuruwidj (probably)
- skylark
 Dj balag
- spoonbill: black-billed
 Dj ŋangerel
 WW ŋangerel
- spoonbill: yellow-billed
 WW dub-dub
- stone-curlew
 Dj wil
 WW wil
- swan
 Dj gunuwar
 WW gunəwar
 Ma gunwara
 Gu gunəwor
 Yo daŋabna
 Gi gidai
 SY gunjug
- swift species
 Dj warəŋ
- thrush (grey shrike-thrush,
 'whistling dick')
 Dj djiwan
 woi buleŋ-mum
 SY djimangal
- tiny bird: species unknown
 Dj djubi-djubi
- tiny bird: of outer foliage
 (thornbill or weebill)
 Dj munimug
- water-hen: black-tailed
 Dj garurai
 WW djirən-djirən-mula or garorai
 SY gulburi
- water-hen: white-tailed, dusky
- moor-hen
 Dj langi
- water-hen: swamp hen
 WW dilib
- wattle-bird
 Dj dagingar
- wattle-bird: red wattle-bird
 Dj wirinj-guŋdug

bird:

- welcome swallow
 Dj widj-widj-mambel
- Willie wagtail
 Dj djire-djiredj
 WW djiri-djiridj
 Ma diri-diri
 Woi djiri-djiri
 SY liga-ligal
- woodpecker: brown tree-creeper
 Dj binj-binj
 Ma duni
- woodpecker: orange-winged Sitella
 Dj gurbin-guluŋ
- bite: to bite
 Dj bunda
 WW bunda
 Ma bundada
 SY ŋaŋ
- biting: to go on biting (of insects)
 Ma bundilada
- black
 Dj wuŋgirim
 WW wuŋgadan, wuŋgadail
 Ma wurgirim
- black: to be black
 Ma wurgirimada
- blanket
 SY bandja
- blind
 Dj muŋ-miŋug
- blood
 Dj gurg
 WW gurg
 Ma gurgu, gurgamur
 Gi njurug
- blow:
 to blow (a fire)
 Dj burŋga
 WW burŋga
 Ma buyiŋga
 Gi bema-(dauŋ)
 to blow (of flies)
 WW baŋəga
 to blow up (of a storm)
 WW wuibuwala
- blue
 WW wuŋəwuŋədail
- blunt
 Dj muŋ

- body*
 WW beŋ
- boil, abscess*
 Dj budjun
 WW budjun
 Ma buduni
- bold, cheeky*
 SY biŋgidj
- bone*
 Dj galgug (*his*)
 WW merdərug (*his*)
 Ma galgu (*his*)
 Gi braŋ
- bone, pointing bone*
 Ma galgu balgadia
- bony*
 Ma galgu-wil
- boomerang*
 Dj gadim-gadim
 WW wan
 Ma wani
 Woi wangin
 Gi wangin
- boots, shoes*
 WW bandjəwəŋ
 Yo bandjəwag
 Gi bandjəwan
 SY bandjiwan, bandjiwug
- born*
 Dj yurben
 WW yurbən
- boss*
 WW mada
 Yo bura
- bottle, of grog*
 Yo dundema
- bottom, rump*
 Dj mum
 WW mum
 Ma mumu
 Woi mum
 Yo mudja
 Gi giran (Bratauolun)
- bottom upwards*
 WW djeri-mumug
- boy: male child*
 WW wudu baingug
 Ma wudaiba baingui
- boy: male child (cont.)*
 SY burubal
- boy: white boy*
 SY wadjbaga
- boyfriend*
 Woi lerub
 Gi malum
- brains*
 Ma mig-buwu
- branch, of tree*
 Dj murenj
- brave, bold*
 SY nurinj
- bread*
 Gu bembai
 Dj banjim
 WW banəm
 Ma banemi
 Na banim
 Woi ŋurunj
 Yo birid *European-type bread*
 danan
 Gi danan, lid (Bratauolun)
 SY danan
 Da darugi
- break:*
to break
 Dj burga
 WW burgena
to break up
 Ma dulba-dulba, dulburada
- breast*
 Dj gurm
 WW gurm
 Gi bag
 SY miŋgunj
- breath*
 WW burgen
 Gi djinban
- breathe: to breathe*
 WW ganja
- bring: to bring, to take*
 Dj manega
 Ma mangada
 SY mangai
- brother:*
elder
 Dj wawi

*brother:**elder (cont)*WW wawin (*yours*)Ma wawin (*yours*)

Gi bramon

SY djidjan

*late elder*WW wa-gurinin (*yours*)*younger*Dj gudin (*yours*)WW gudninin (*yours*)Ma beradin (*yours*)

SY dugun

younger, my late younger brother

WW gudnin-gurineg

brother-in-law

Woi djambi

brown

Dj bun-bun-ware-wil

bucket-mouthed

WW bagəð-wuru (from English 'bucket')

buggy

Dj gad

WW wirbar

bunyip

Dj banib

WW dangəl

bunyip (long-necked)

Dj banib-ba-gunuwar

burn: to burn

Dj walba

WW njana

Ma walwa

Gi ramen (past participle) *burnt**bury: to bury*

Dj njiba

WW njiba

Ma nibada

Gi naranda

butterfly

WW balam-balam

Woi balam-balam

by and by

Ma daḍi

cadge: to cadge

WW naṇa

calf

WW yangəman

*call:**to call someone repeatedly and loudly*

Ma gaṇḍuda-gaṇḍuda

to shout, to call out

WW gaṇḍəla

Ma gaṇḍulada

to call as witness

WW madembola

camp

Dj laṛ

WW laṛ

Da raug

Gi mai-mai

SY mai-mai (probably borrowed)

canoe

Dj yuṇwib

Ma yuṇwib

WW yuṇwidj

Gi gri

*carry:**to carry something*

WW werəga, werga

to carry something heavy a long way

WW werguwa

*cat:**native*

WW beridj

Ma birigi

native, tiger cat

Gi bindjulaṇ

SY bindjulun

introduced

Dj budjegad

Ma bulged

Gi bindjulaṇ

SY bindjulun

*catch:**to catch, to grab*

Dj gerga

WW garga

Ma gagada

to catch fish

WW werbana

Yo dunjag

cattle, bullock

WW djadəl

Ma buldag

celebrate: to celebrate, to have a feast

Dj djagua

WW djaguwa, djaguwala

centipede

Dj djine-warug or djinje-warug

WW djilug

Ma wira-wira

ceremony, corroboree

Ma daraiamu

champion:

climber

WW berəbom-biəl

dodger (of spears)

WW ŋalombed

runner

WW beŋ-wil

change: to change completely

Ma dulba-dulba, dulburada

chase: to chase

to run after

Dj gaba

WW bareŋa

away (e.g. flies)

Dj wirima

WW wureŋa

to disturb, to chase up (particularly birds)

WW lebuəla

Ma lebada

cheek (his)

Dj muragug

WW muregug

chest

Dj djaŋ

WW djaŋ

Ma dangu (his)

child

Dj baiŋgug

WW baiŋgug

Ma baiŋgu

Wa baiŋgu

Da rinme

Woi wadj

Yo yarga

Gi lidj

Sy wanj

Chinaman

Sy guda, wurundibug

chop: to chop

Dj dauwa

WW galbuda

Ma madada

claw (e.g. of a crayfish)

Dj lirinjug

WW lerinjug

claypan

WW bri-dja

Ma biradi dani

clean: to clean up (wool)

WW wuruwila

clever

WW delgug murenjug

climb: to climb

Dj wiŋwa

WW berəba, berəbila

Ma waiwada

clothes

WW wenj-wenj

Gi djerindjel

Sy bidja

cloud:

dark

Dj meŋeŋ or meŋeŋ

WW maŋeŋ or maŋeŋ

Ma mengi

light

WW maŋ

thundercloud

Dj daŋbil

Ma wabuŋur mengi

coals, hot

Dj wiŋinj

WW wiŋinj

Ma wiŋgi

Sy dalan

cold

WW bumbilan

Ma mindi

to be cold

WW bumba

Ma mindarada

to feel cold

WW bumbila

Ma bainmada mindi

come:

to come

Gu woda

*come:**to come (cont.)*

Dj waḍa

WW biṅa, waṛa

Ma waḍa, waḍada

Woi gambalai (imperative)

Yo yagorumdjag (imperative)

along

Dj waḍunga

here, to approach

WW njuga-yaṅga, njuga-waṛa

SY burbiyaliga

near, to come close

WW waledja

very close

WW waledjuwa, waledjuwana

out

Dj birṅga, birṅua

WW biṅa

Ma biṅmada

right here

WW njuaməna

in (e.g. into a camp)

WW buḍega

come on!

Ma gawai

complain: to complain about someone continually

WW guḍemila

conceited: to be conceited

Dj djilgua

WW djilgaia

*cook: to cook:**European style*

WW gugidja, gugidjəla

on coals

WW giridja, giridjila

Ma budamada

in ashes

WW bawa

Dj bawa

Ma walwada

cooked (in ashes), ready (of food)

Dj bagən

Ma walwadin

copy: to copy someone, to ridicule someone

WW ḡaṛija

cough: to cough

Dj ganjanga

WW ganjenga

cousin

Dj meṛb

WW guri

Ma minagin (*yours*)

Na mim

SY landjagan

*cover:**to cover up*

WW winma

covered

WW -waṛən

crawl: to crawl

Dj gauənda

WW gauənda

Ma guandada

*crayfish:**small*

Dj wurenag, wurenag

WW ḡadan

very small, yabbie

Dj yabidj

Ma yabid

'lobster', large Murray cray

Dj lib-lib-wil

WW lib-lib-wil

Ma dib-dib

very large cray

Ma dibil

*creature, edible (general term)*WW yauwir (though this term tends sometimes to be specialised as *fish*)

Ma didi

creek

SY manan

creek-bed

WW njiriṅdəla

creeper, mistletoe

Dj guṅ-guṅ

crikey!

WW ḡai

cross: to cross over

Ma dumuilada

crowd, a mob of people

Dj guli

WW guli

*cry:**to cry out (for help)*

WW gargera

*cry:**to cry softly together, to grizzle*Dj *ɲidjera**to cry softly, to grizzle (only used of children)*Dj *ɲidja*Ma *ɲida**to cry, weep*Dj *numila*WW *numila*Ma *numila*SY *gambawali**cunning*WW *wadaminjug**cure: to cure*Dj *delguna*WW *delguna**curse:**to curse*Ma *maramada**curse*Ma *maramin**cut: to cut*Dj *galba, biɾenga*WW *galba*Ma *galbaiada**daily, day by day*WW *njauig-njauig**damn!*Dj *wab, as in wab wudjebug damn his guts**dance: to dance*WW *wariba*Ma *wariba**darkness, night*Dj *buɾunj*WW *buɾinj**daughter:*Dj *mangeb*WW *mingain (yours)*SY *malanan**younger*Woi *djinaban (probably from Yayawurun)**daytime, in the daytime*WW *njauigal**dead body, carcass*SY *yurugadj**dead*Dj *wigen*WW *wadəndjən*Ma *wigadin*Gi *deɟigen*SY *birug**deaf*Dj *muɟ-wiɾimbul*SY *njarala muga, bararin**deceive: to deceive*WW *yubila**dew*Dj *gudjal*WW *gudəl*Gi *yindubargara (Bratauolun)**die:**to die*Dj *wiga*WW *wiga*Ma *wigada**to die down, to wither*Ma *budugada**different, other*WW *njanjug-min or**njanjug-njanjug-min**dig:**to dig*WW *banğa*Ma *bagada**to dig the ground lightly*Ma *banada**dish:**a very large flat dish made of bark*WW *yunwidj**small, a flat dish made of bark*WW *birmbinj*Ma *bandini*SY *naɟu**dislike:**to dislike*WW *gulinja**to dislike intensely*Ma *guleduwada**disgusting!*WW *djemulagadj!**dirty:*SY *bridj-bridj, maɟan-maɟan, djiridj*

*dirty:**covered in soil*

SY dinabili

covered in ashes

WW milag-milag warən

dive: to dive

Dj ɲaga

WW budəgila

Ma budugada

SY djurug

do: to do, to make

WW muɲa

Ma guɲa, guɲada, warada

Wa wara

doctor, clever man

Dj baɲal

WW baɲəl

Ma miwuru

SY budira

dodge: to dodge (a spear)

Dj biɲɲuna

*dog:**dingo*

Dj wilger

WW wilgar, wireɲən

Ma wirəɲən

Wa wirengel

Woi wirengel

Gi mirigan

SY mirigan

tame

Gu gal

Dj gal

WW wireɲən, gali, yanab-wil

Ma gali, wirəɲən

Na gali

Wa wirengel

Woi yerəɲin

Yo baga

Gi banj

SY mirigan

mysterious dog-like creature

Dj ledj-ledj

a useless cur

WW geɲ-wil, baləɲ-wil

don't (prohibitive adverb)

Ma madawa, ɲaɲa-ɲaɲa

Yo gadegana

down: down here (adverb)

Ma gauai

SY njulun

down: to get down, lift down

Ma mudada

dream: to dream

WW yaguwa

Ma yuyugada

SY garuwanga

Dreamtime

WW yemuragi

Ma dalegada (locative)

dress

WW gaɲ

dribble: to dribble

SY njalanj

*drink:**to drink*

Dj guba, gubila

WW guba, gubila or gubula

Ma guba, gubada

Woi daɲag

SY gulug

intoxicating (noun)

Dj guradj gadjin

Ma gubilaba

SY ɲadjuɲ

*intoxicating, beer in particular**(noun)*

Dj njiri

drinking (general term, recently coined)

Dj guberi

WW gubəri

drop: to drop something

WW djalbana

*drown:**to drown*

WW ɲaɲɲaga, ɲaɲəɲaga

Ma ɲegada

drowned

WW ɲaɲəɲən, ɲaɲəɲən, ɲaɲən

drum (wooden)

WW bilb

drunkard

WW gubulan

dry

WW beɲaiadan

to dry

WW beɲaia

dust-storm

WW bara-wil

dust and ashes mixed (i.e. the remains of an oven)

Ma bulbi

dumb

Dj muḍ-djalɪŋ

ears

Dj wiɾimbul

WW wiɾimbula

Ma wimbula

Wa wiɾimbel

Na wuḍu

Woi wimbəl

Yo gowə

Gi raŋ

SY djandjuŋ

earache

Dj gadjilaŋ wiɾimbul

eat:

to eat

WW djaga

Dj djaga

Ma daga

Wa djagela

to go on eating (greedily),

to eat up

Dj djagila

WW djagila

Ma dagila, dagina

egg

Dj miɾg

WW miɾgug (its)

Ma migi

Wa mirgi

Woi buyuŋ

Gi buyoŋ

SY gaban

elbow

WW munjuŋ

end

Dj djiḍug

end: to end, to stop

WW djeḍa

enemy (mine)

Dj yauireg

WW yauwireg

entrails

Dj gune

WW guni

Wa galigan

exclamation of surprise and encouragement

Ma bai

excrement

Dj gune

WW guni

Yo gunigawa covered with excrement

Gi gwanəŋ

SY gunuŋ

executioner

WW wurədjil-manug

extinguish: to extinguish

WW budaia

exude: to exude (of sap)

Dj wudjaia

eye:

Dj miɾ, miŋug (his)

WW miɾ, miŋug (his)

Ma miŋu (his)

Wa miɾəŋel

Woi miŋug (his)

Gi mri

pupil of the eye (yours)

Ma wiŋgumiŋin

bung eye

Dj wirimiɾ

WW djungə miŋug

eyebrows

WW yiɾəŋ-yiɾəŋ

face

Dj miɾ-ba-ganjuŋ (his)

WW miɾ-ba-ganjuŋ (his)

Ma dedgu (his)

Gi mragen

SY mragin

fall: to fall

Dj buiga

WW buiga

Ma buiga

fast runner

WW buŋ-wil

fat:

general term

Dj bebul

WW guradjug (his)

Ma buibulu (his)

Yo woledja

SY bri

fat:

- kidney-fat*
 Dj bebul
 WW mambulin (*yours*)
 Ma baibulu (*his*)
to be fat
 Ma baibulada
fat person
 Dj djurungi-bili
 WW guradj-wil
 SY bubulug

father:

- Dj mam
 WW mam
 Ma mami
 Woi mamem
 Gi mungan
 SY buban
late father (mine)
 WW mam-gurineg

fear: to fear

- Dj bamba
 WW bambaia
 Ma bambada

feather:

- wing feather*
 Dj widjan
 WW widən
 Ma widinu (*his*)
soft feather, down
 WW wawur

feel: to feel

- to taste, to try*
 WW badema
 Ma banmada
to touch
 Ma badaima
*to grope for something, to feel
 around (for fish under water)*
 Ma nira-nira

female

- Dj babi (*mother*)
 Ma muruni

fever, to have a fever

- WW wira gurgug *his blood runs*
 Ma walwada manđu *his flesh is hot*

fiend

- Gu }
 Dj } ηaud-ηaud
 Woi }

fight: to fight

- Dj dagdjera
 WW dagdjera
 Ma dagderada

fin, of fish

- Dj girinjug
 WW gerinjug

find: to find:

- to discover*
 WW djema
after searching for a while
 WW djemula

finger:

- first*
 WW yaləb-yaləb
second
 WW maranin (*yours*)
little
 WW dunəb

fingernail

- Dj liri-manja
 WW leri-manja

finish: to finish

- WW danguwa

fire:

- (*also firewood*)
 Gu yudi and winj
 Dj wanjab
 WW wanab
 Ma wanabi
 Wa wingel
 Na baba, wanab
 Yo bidja
 Gi dauer
 SY wada, djigun
bushfire
 WW djirəm
a magic fire
 WW wurədjil
 Ma wuredu

fire-sticks:

- drill type*
 Woi djiəl-waɾg
flare
 WW djendəl

first, beforehand

- Ma bagada

*fish:**general collective term*

WW yauwir

Ma mirmbul

SY mandja

blackfish

Dj wirab

Yo manega

SY mandja

blue trout

Dj muṅal

bream, freshwater

Dj baibaṅ or djarbən

WW baibaṅ or djarbən

Ma duri

Yo danela

bream, bluenose

Gi ganj

catfish

WW birə-wil

Dj wanjagai

eel

Dj bunjaḍ

SY galgun

congoli or tupong

Gu dubon

garfish

Gi dagai

leatherjacket

Gi ṅaḍ

mullet

Gi grenjan

Murray cod: general term

Dj bandjil

WW bandjəl

Ma banduṅ

Murray cod: very large

WW guṛumerug

Ma bandil*silver perch*

WW burəgonəg

Dj duṛbguḍ

skipjack

Gi gadj

yellow-belly

Dj wirengal

WW wirengal

Ma wiringil

five

Ma buleda buleda giaga

flame

WW djalinjug

*flash:**to be flash, to show off, to be**happy*

WW djilga

Ma djilga

flash, happy, a flash person

WW djilgaiaṅ beṅ

Gi dadjan

SY djarimiṅ

flesh

WW yauwir

Ma maṅḍu

*float**to float:*

Dj djiba

WW djiba

Ma dibada*to float past*

Dj djibua

flog: to flog

WW djilbadjilbana

flood

WW guṛumbid gadən

Ma bilgiri

flow: to flow

WW wira

Ma gadiwada

flowers on trees, blossom

Dj bumbel

WW bumbəl

fly: a fly

WW bidig

Dj bab-bidjig

Ma bidigi

fly: to fly

Dj baiga

WW baiga

fog

WW gwa

Ma guṅi

foliage

Ma leni

follow: to follow

Dj mudəṅa

WW wawa

Ma gawaṅa

food

Dj banjim ba yauir
 Gu damon
 Gi lag

foot

Dj djine
 WW djinə
 Ma dinani
 Na dinan
 Da dani, din
 Woi djinan
 Yo mandowe
 Gi djinə
 SY djinan

forehead

Dj gini
 Ma gini

forget: to forget

WW walma

four

Dj buledj ba buledj
 Ma buleda buleda

fox

Gu wainban

friend, mate

Dj gurwidj
 WW yugal
 Yo gurdji

friend! mate! (form of address)

WW gwe
 Gi yangai

frightened:

to be frightened

Dj bamba
 WW bamba
 Ma bambada

to be frightened continually

WW bambəla

frog:

general term for smaller species

Dj niṅag
 WW niṅag
 Ma dinabi
 Woi ṅaṛeḍ
 Yo daṅgoben

bullfrog

Dj dug
 WW dug

small tree frog

Dj dag-dag-bial

frog's eggs

Woi galan-galan

frost

Dj gudjal
 WW gudəl
 Ma deṅa

full

to be full, to be satisfied

WW ṅuba
 Ma wauwunmada

full, satisfied

WW ṅuben

gather: to gather up, to collect

WW galiba

get:

to get, to fetch (water in a waterbag)

Dj djulba

to get up

Dj waiwa
 WW baiga
 Ma werbada

ghost, spirit

Gu }
 Dj } murub
 WW }
 Ma buṅani
 Gi mradj
 SY birug-banj, mugan

glider, the lesser or sugar glider

Ma dirawal
 Woi dadjer

giant

Dj Benabial and Njungarud
 (names of particular giants)

girl (little), female child

WW lerg baingu
 Ma baingugmuruni
 Yo yarga
 SY malanan

give:

to give

Dj wuga
 WW wuga
 Ma wugada

to give away

Dj wuṅa

to give somebody away, to 'pimp'

WW berməraia

go:

to go

Dj yanga
 WW yanga
 Ma yinga
 Woi gigo
 Gi gigan
 SY yarabi

to go away

Dj warəwa
 WW warəwa
 Ma wariwada
 Woi gigo (imperative)
 Yo burondja
 Gi gigan (past: mundjab *he's gone, he's off*)

go on!

WW guin

to go out (of fires)

Ma biŋa

goanna:

black tree-goanna

Dj ŋanur
 WW djulin
 Ma ŋanuri
 Gi budalag
 SY budalag

brown sand-goanna

Dj wadje
 WW wada
 Ma wadaŋi

God

Dj mameŋurag (*our Father*)
 WW girgundidj (*of on high*)
 Ma mamura (*our Father*)

good:

beautiful

Dj delgug
 WW delgug
 Ma delgi
 Gi budjeri, len
 SY yalaganj, damaradj

in good condition

Ma delgaiadaŋ

good job! (exclamation of satisfaction)

SY wur

gossip: to gossip about a person

WW djuŋila
 Dj djudjuwura

grab: to grab

Dj gerga

grab: to grab (cont)

WW garga
 Ma ganagada

grandchild:

(*maternal grandfather speaking*)

WW ŋabundeg (*mine*)
 (*grandmother speaking*)
 WW gugandag (*mine*)

grandfather:

maternal

Dj ŋaba
 WW ŋaba
 Gu barainj (*cf. words for great-grandfather*)
 Woi ŋabuŋi
 Gi ŋadjen
 SY ŋabuŋ
 Ma ŋabunin

paternal

Dj mim, gugun
 WW mim
 Woi lalal
 gulgug (*his*) (probably borrowed from Yayawuruŋ)
 Gi webwen

grandmother:

maternal

WW guga
 Ma ŋabuŋai (*mine*)
 SY ŋagun

paternal

Dj mim
 WW guga (*mima*)
 Ma guginji
 Gi gabiŋ

great-grandfather

WW barem-barem
 Ma barim-barim

great-grandmother

WW barem-gurg

grass:

general term

WW bodj, boedj
 Dj buadj
 Ma wuringi
 SY nalug

basket grass

Dj widji

porcupine grass

Dj walurg-walurg

grass-seed (edible)

WW burən

Ma budi-budi

graves, burial ground

WW yemin-yemin

Ma luni

Yo molwa

greedy

Dj ninji-waṛin

WW maḍaṇ

greedy person

Dj guruṇ djulug

WW maḍaṇ-wil

grey

WW buləḍail

Ma bura-bura

grey-haired

Dj lardji-burbug

WW buləḍail ṇarenjug

grind: to grind (seed)

Ma buigilada, baribada

grizzle: to grizzle

Dj ṇidja

Ma ṇida

groan: to groan

WW guḍa

ground:

place

WW dja

Dj dja

Ma ḍaṇi

Da ruwe

SY dinadj

disturbed soil

WW djeridjerawug

grow: to grow (of plants)

Dj gaṛiṇa

Ma geṇada

grub:

in trees

Dj gar

WW gabun

Ma gar, dagum

Woi milarg

from red gum tree

Dj bial-gar

Ma bial-gar

grub:

large, edible (in wattles)

Woi graingrum

SY graṇ

from box-trees, edible

Dj ṇabul-ṇabul

of bogong moth

SY mumugandi

edible white ground grub

Dj meg

gun

Dj madjgad

hail: to hail

WW baḍaṇgila

hailstone

WW baḍag

hailstorm

Gu wuḷol

hair:

Dj ṇare

WW ṇare

Ma ṇaranin (yours)

SY yarun

of the head

Dj ṇare-burb

WW ṇare-burb

Ma burbu-ṇaranin

of the body

Dj munji

WW munji

hairry

Dj ṇarenjug

hand

Dj manja

WW manje

Ma maṇaṇai (mine)

Na mara

Gi bred

left hand (yours)

WW waṛaṇin

Ma waṛaṇin

right hand

WW yulben

hangman

Dj gen-gen-guṇ

hang:

to hang down

WW yuləga

hang: to hang up to dry
Ma wilanada

hard:
WW darminjug
Yo bagora
to be hard
WW darma
Ma denmada

hard-headed
WW dar̄mi-muren̄
Yo bagora-buga

hat
WW mumbelm
SY dambanj

hate: to hate
WW yawwira

have: to have
WW gadima

head:
Dj burb
WW muren̄
Ma burbu (*his*)
Na baḷa
Woi daḍub
Yo buga
Gi brug
SY gadagan
back of the head
Dj burbi-njani

hear: to hear
Dj njerna
WW njerna
Ma dema, demada
SY njarala

heart
Dj wudjub
Ma mund

heaven
Dj direlug
WW girg

heavy:
to be heavy
WW guṛnga
to be permanently heavy
WW guṛngila

heel (his)
Dj ganagug
Ma ganagu

here:
here, very close
Dj gimba
WW giṅa (rare), giṅga
Ma gima, gigi
Gu dimba
Yo delaia, denjiwoga
Gi djero
quite close now
Ma nima
this way, quite close
Dj njua
Ma gagai
Yo woninenda (*you here*)
and there
WW gilamer-malamer
around here, now, that one
from around here
WW njuna
Ma nuna

hey!
WW gai
Ma gai
Gi gurgai
SY guin, gugai

hide:
to hide
Ma ganimada
to hide something
Dj njuḍa
WW djaba
to hide something, to deceive
Dj yubila
to hide oneself
WW wirba

hill
Dj burb
Ma burbi

hip
Dj mula
WW mula
Ma danuyin (*yours*)

hit:
to hit, to beat
Dj }
WW } daga
Ma }
Na manma
Woi djilbi (*imperative*)
Yo njinin (*past*)
SY dilgi

*hit:**to hit, to knock into*

Dj djilbagana

WW djilba

Woi galbana (cf. 'to cut' in other languages)

to hit, to jog

Dj djilba

to hit, with a weapon, to wound

Dj dauwa

WW dauwa, dauwila

Ma balgada

SY darag-ŋambi

to hit continually (e.g. beating time with time-sticks)

Ma dagilada

hither

Dj njua

WW giawedj, njuga

Ma gagai

hold: to hold, to hold in readiness

Dj djarima

hole

Ma miŋi

hole in ground, cave

WW miŋi

Ma miŋu daga

home, nest

WW moe (more usual term lar see 'camp')

honey

SY gwanggal

*hop:**to hop*

WW birba

SY bib-bib

to go hopping along

WW birbula

horse

Dj gam-gam

WW yarəməŋ

Ma yeramin

Gu ɲeɽ

Woi yiramin

Yo yaraman

Gi yareman

SY yaramin

hot:

WW djalaŋ

SY ɲulma

*hot:**to be hot*

WW djalaŋa

to be very hot

WW djalaŋ-djalaŋa

house

WW gundji

SY gundji

how?

Dj njanja

WW njanja

Gi wendolo, wunman

how much? how many?

WW njaba

Ma ɲabu

hum: to hum a song

Ma ɲuŋgilada

hungry: to be hungry

Dj wiga

WW wiga

Ma wigada

SY njanban

hunt: to hunt

WW baɽaia

Ma gagilada

hurry: to hurry

WW werga, werguerguwa, wirəga

Ma lirga

husband

Dj ɲanidj

WW midug (*hers*)

(cf. Woi ɲangruŋ and WW

ɲanidjug which means *lover*)*I*

WW yandaŋ, ɲjed (in song)

Ma yidi

Yo ɲa (intransitive only)

ice

WW deniŋ

Ma dena

idiot

WW yalaŋ-yalaŋ

Gi denben

SY waŋan

if not

WW wembalidj, beɽəburuŋ (in songs)

ill: to be ill, bad

Dj yadjaŋgaia

indeed:

(emphatic particle)

Dj -min

WW -min, -gad(a)

Yo -ma

Ma -ma

(emphatic adverb)

WW nja

*inside, middle*Ma wudubar, wuduwar*itch: to itch, to irritate*Ma diwurada, gigiwalada*jaw*

Dj mureŋ (compare WW 'head')

jealous: to be jealous

WW gurumbaia

Ma walwa bilinu*jog: to jog (of a buggy)*

Dj djilba-djilba

jump: to jump

Dj bab-bab-guma

WW biridjana

Ma berbada

*kangaroo:**black-faced mallee*

Dj gudji

WW gauwanjed

grey, male

Dj mindjun

grey, general term

Dj gure

WW gure

Ma gulu

Gu garən

SY bib-bib (children's word)

ganjgrun

Da biguru

joey

WW birmidj

red

WW bara

Dj bara

Ma bugumanama

Da barag

kangaroo skin (grey)

Dj midjug-mindjun

kangaroo rat

Dj djalega

WW bare

kangaroo rat (cont)

SY djimuŋ

dambuluŋ (different species?)

*kick:**to kick*WW gaḍaMa gauada, gauilada*to kick up (dust)*

Dj njibua, njibunga

*kill:**to kill*

Dj buya

WW baranguna, baranguwa

to hit repeatedly, to kill

Dj daguna

killer, wild man from an unknown tribe

Dj gulum-gulum

Ma gulum-gulum

SY dulugal

kiss: to kiss

WW murbila

knee:

Dj badjin

WW badiŋMa badengin (yours)*back of the knee (his)*Dj wuḍinjug*kneel: to kneel down*WW milba-milba badiŋgug*knife, European type*

Dj galben-galben

WW didandi

Yo njadjba

*knock:**to knock*

WW djilbenda

*knocking together (of branches)*WW gadal*know:**to know (a person)*

WW njuma

not to know a person (to be a stranger to them)

Dj medja

to know (a fact)

WW njernda

Ma dema

know:

I don't know
 WW windja-gad
 Yo belmain

koala bear

SY dandial, nuraga

lagoon

WW muna

language, 'tongue'

WW djaliŋ
 Dj djaliŋ
 Ma dalinu

later: later on

Dj malubmia
 WW gadaŋ
 Ma gaŋu

laugh:

to laugh

Dj }
 WW } wega
 Ma }

to laugh loudly (like a kookaburra)

Dj wegua
 WW weguwa

leaf:

Dj gira
 WW gira
 Ma gurugu, bunggi
 SY gundigan
 edible as of 'cabbage'
 Ma gemu

learn: to learn

Ma yagila

leave:

to leave off, to stop, to quit

Dj winaga
 WW winaga
 Ma winagada

to leave, to abandon

WW winaguwa

leech:

large water-leech

WW bilidj
 Dj bilidj

small sand-leech

WW man

leg: the whole leg

Dj gaŋin (yours)
 gaŋug (his)

leg:

the whole leg (cont)

WW gaŋ, gaŋug (his)
 Ma giabu (his)

Da gabim

calf of the leg

WW djulug

below knee

Dj baŋinjug (his)

lengthways

WW djuruŋ-gudəwinj

liar

SY djad-bulug

lick:

to lick

WW buyəgila

to lick (a wound)

WW midedja

lie: to lie down

Dj gumbila

WW gumba

lie: to lie, to tell lies

Dj mabila

WW maba, mabila, ɲaŋəmaŋala

Ma neŋumada

light (noun)

Ma waiŋuru

Gu yeb

Gi bab

lightning

Dj wilem-ba-meŋŋer

WW wainlar

Ma duluiwa

SY malub

like

WW ɲula-

Ma ɲuli

lip:

Dj }
 WW } wuru
 Woi }

thick lip

WW djunggi-wuru

listen: to listen

Dj njernila

WW njernila

Ma demila

SY njarala

little, small

Dj dulu
 WW dulu, wideyug
 Ma bandiŋi
 Gi dala
 SY mumun

little people (legendary little hairy people, apparently still seen in recent times)

Dj ŋadje
 WW ŋada
 Ma magulid, dam-dam (even smaller)
 SY waligada

liver (his)

Dj budjug
 Ma budu

lizard:

blue-tongue
 Dj walab
common grass-skink
 WW daramaŋdər

frill-necked

Dj gen
 WW gen
 Ma wiragudi

gecko

Dj bib-ŋadja
 Ma bibab

species uncertain, perhaps the shingle-back

Dj yugun

species uncertain, probably

White's skink

Dj dundel

large, species uncertain

SY banburan

small, species uncertain

SY djiralgal

species uncertain, considered poisonous

Dj ŋurgen-ŋurgen-djine

lobster

Dj lib-lib-wil
 WW lib-lib-wil

long

Dj djuwerun
 WW djuṛun
 Ma dulang

long ago:

Dj malamia
 WW gilaidja

long ago: (cont)

Ma dalegada
very distant
 Dj malugmanga
 Ma wegada

*look:**to look*

Dj njaga
 WW njaga
 Ma ŋagila
 Gu ŋaga
 Yo ŋadjel-ma (imperative)

to look after, to take care of

Ma baiangada

to look out, to be careful

WW njagamuna
 SY yabiyaliga

to look around and see, to survey

WW walbugana

to look round (enquiringly)

WW bagadja

SY djungul

to look round at one another

WW bagadjera

lose: to lose

WW berəba, berəbana

lost

WW berəbodən

lot: a lot, plenty

Dj gedjauwil
 WW baru, lambrug
 Ma gugu
 Gi yalaman

loudly

Ma gegada

*louse:**body-louse*

Gi ninj

SY ninj

head-louse

Dj munja

WW munja

Ma duni, or duni-duni, munuŋi

SY gadji

*love:**to love*

WW galina

to love one another

WW galindjera

lover

WW nanjidjug
Woi nangrun

lungs (his)

Dj lar̄ingug
WW lar̄ingug
Ma lengu

lust

Dj djiel
WW djiel
lustful person (man)
Ma dielai

maggot

Dj bidjig

magic:

particularly evil magic
Ma luguwal
SY narib
magic beetles
SY ganina

make: to make, do

Dj warga
WW muṅa
Ma wara

male

Dj mamug
WW mamug
Ma wudaiba

man:

person, general term

Dj beṅ
WW beṅ
Ma wuṅi
Gi bra

adult male

Dj wudju
Ma wudun̄i
Gu mar
Yo yiyar
Gi ganai
SY marinj
Da nana
Na wudun̄

a bad man, a larrikin

SY murudalinj

old man

Dj njarambin
WW njarembən, wulmən
Ma narambin
SY djiriban

man:

old man (a bent little old man)
Dj njarambin ṅadje

white

WW wadjbala
Ma waiwulan
Na duguli
Gu ṅamadjidj
Woi ṅamadjidj
Gi brewin, lun
SY wadjbala

young man, youth (up to 15 years)

Dj gulgun̄
WW gulḡḡṅ
Gi bra galagran
SY yangai

young man, youth (15-18 years)

WW wurba
a man who can eat bitter quandongs
Ma miṅgun wudun̄i

mane (his)

Ma buludu

manna:

from scale insect
WW lerəb
sweet sap exuded by gum trees
Dj lil
WW lil

marrow (of bone)

WW biṛmbug
Dj biṛmbug

matter

Dj budjun
WW budjun
Ma buduni
Woi buden

meat

Dj yauir
WW bengug
Ma didi
Na yudi
Gu maḡal, ḡamon
Woi bengi, gurba
Yo djidega
Gi ṅale
SY ṅali

melt: to melt

Ma budamada

methylated spirits

Dj gum

middle, in the middle

Ma wudubar, wuduwar

milk

Dj gurmbug

WW gurmbug

Gi bag

SY mirngun

milk-thistle

WW bagobanj (from Yodayoda)

Woi daleb

Yo bagobanj

mind, thought (envisaged as a fine vapour)

WW muyən

Ma muyun (*his*)

mine (possessive adjective)

WW yandeug

Ma yinadu

mirage

WW maɾaŋ-maɾaŋ

Ma yululu

miss: to miss

WW yadaŋa

missionary, father

Gi mungan

mob:

large mob

WW marug

of women

Dj laiurg-mul, leurg-mul

WW lerg-mul

money

Dj lirinjug, dudi-mir

WW darail

Yo badjelan

Gi gri

SY gurubun

moon

Dj midjiin

Ma midien

SY buriga

mosquito

WW lie-wil, liri

mother

Dj babin (*yours*)

WW guingurin (*yours*)

Ma babin (*yours*)

Da ŋug

mother (cont)

Woi babeb

Yo gana

Gi yagan

SY ŋadjan

mother-in-law

Dj njalinj-gurg (*yours*)

WW njaləndjin (*yours*)

mouse, species uncertain

Dj didji-garub

WW baroidj

SY bugila

moustache, whiskers

Dj munji-wuru (*his*)

WW munji-wuru (*his*)

Ma buludin-buludin (*yours*)

mouth

Dj djarb

WW djarb

Ma debu

Gi gad

SY munda

lips

Dj wuru (*his*)

WW wuru (*his*)

Ma wuŋin (*yours*)

enormous

WW ben-wuru

mouth or junction of rivers

Dj wurenjug

move:

to move

WW duga

Ma dugada

SY ŋadjalanj

to move, change places

Ma didada

to move around, to fidget

Ma duga-dugada

SY budun-budun

mud

Dj big

WW durg

Ma bigi

mussel:

salt-water

Gi naŋera

fresh-water

Dj bidjin

WW bidən

Ma wanmaŋ, mari-mari

naked

WW ladjug

name (yours)

Dj njarinjin

WW njarinjin

Ma nenin

navel

Dj warau

*near here:**near*

WW njua

Ma niwi-niwi

this way

WW njuga

neck:

Dj njani

WW njani

Ma nani

SY bingil

back of neck

Dj nali

nephew

Dj bengeb

nest, of a bird

WW lanug

Ma lanu

net

Dj djil

WW djel

Ma deli

new

WW diḍanauiug

niece (yours)

WW naninjain

night

Dj burunj

WW burinj

Ma buinggi, buindi

no, nothing

Dj wergaia

WW wemba

Ma madi

Wa wadi

Da daḍi, yida

Yo yoda

Gi ḥadjban

SY muga

Na nari

no more, no longer

Ma madim

not; usually the same as 'no' except in Dj and Ma

Dj werga

Ma mada, madawa and nana-nana

north

Ma waḍ-waḍ

*nose:*Dj gar, ganjug (*his*)WW ganjug (*his*)

Ma dindi

Na dindin

Woi garan (*yours*)

Yo gowo

Gi guṅ

SY guṅ

Da gab

dirt from nose

Dj budjuni-ga

WW njelinjug

Yo dudela

SY garan

*now:**soon*

WW gila

Ma gindi

right now

WW giwa, njari

Ma gima, gigi

observe: to observe

Dj njanera, njara

obstinate, determined

WW wagadaṅ

SY gadjaran, njarala-muga

to be obstinate

WW wagadaṅa

oh, it that so!

Dj yagai

WW yagai

Woi yagai

old:

Dj njarambin

Ma narambin

very old

Ma bulgi-bulgi

to be old

WW wulma

omen, bad omen

Dj njag-njag-wirḅ

WW njanjimen

one

Dj gaiab
 WW gebin
 Ma giaga

one or other

Ma giabu(η)

open: to open

Dj bagunga

ours:

(possessive, dual inclusive)

WW ηaliug

(possessive plural)

WW yanjureug

oven

Dj baṛi
 WW baṛi

overtake: to overtake

Ma gewada

pack (of dogs)

Dj gal-wil-gal

paddle (of canoe)

Dj waregug (its)

WW wag

Ma waragi

paint:

to paint

WW yuga

Ma bingada

paint-mark

Ma nirebi

palm of the hand

Dj djaη-manja

paper

Yo bedjadjba

paralyse: to paralyse

Ma dundada

parts (private, female)

Dj bud

WW bud

people:

a group of people

Dj guli

WW guli

belonging to these people

WW njugadj guligadj

perhaps, may be

Dj mamba

WW mamba

person:

Dj beη

Ma wuηi

Gi bra

dirty and deceitful person

Woi galarmi

nasty person

Dj guma

Woi ηandinug

perspiration, odour

Dj minjug

Woi yag

phascogale 'squirrel'

Dj duaη

Ma duaηi

pick: to pick up

Dj mudja

WW mudja

Ma muda

pig

Dj big-big

pigface

Dj buyub

pigeon (species uncertain)

Dj gulu-gulu or gul-gul

pinch: to pinch

WW djilerba

pity

to pity someone

WW guda

Ma wigu-wigada maηdai I am
 sorry

to inspire pity

WW ηunjama

pity!

WW gudab

place: see also 'ground'

a distant place

WW malamən-dja

a very distant place

WW maio-dja

plant: sow thistle

Ma winmuru

platypus

SY djamalaη

play: to play

WW njedenja

pluck: to pluck

Ma gibada

poison:

Dj guli-wil

WW dandəl

Woi

Ma } dandel

Yo }

SY gurigan

to poison

WW dandəla

Gi narba

poisoner

WW djurmbaŋ

SY gunamudanj

poker (for fires)

WW djiŋ-djiŋ

policeman

Dj gen-gen-manja, belidjmen

WW beligmən, darə-garug

Ma baramadan, belidjmen

Gu ganidjeruŋ

Woi djilendja

Yo baramadan, ganidjmen

Gi gendjelo, yunga or djunga

SY djunga, gandjawan

poor:

poor, pitiful person

WW gudən

poor thing! (exclamation of sympathy)

WW ŋunjami

Yo dome

porcupine (echidna)

Dj yula-wil

WW libgwil

Gi gauaŋ

SY gauaŋ, gauadj

possum:

common silver-grey

Dj wile

WW wilə

Ma wilenji

Da wogwoi

Gu gurəmuŋ

Woi waleŋ

Yo badja

Gi wadan

SY wadjan

buck-possum

Dj gale-wile

possum:

ringtail

WW bana

possum-fur

Dj ŋarenjug-wile

possum-rug

WW madjem

potatoes

SY burudan

pouch of marsupial

WW djauər

pour: to pour out, to spill

WW gareŋa

power (of medicine man)

Ma mundaru

pregnant

Dj maŋmaŋilan

WW wudjəbug

SY bugmin

pretend: to pretend, deceive

Dj ŋulwila

WW djəbila, ŋaŋila

prickles:

prickle, spike

Ma dalgila

of echidna

WW beŋ-berŋ

particularly those of burrs

Dj mureug

prickly

Ma dalgila-bil

prod: to prod (with spear)

WW barga (see 'to sting')

Ma bragu-braga

pshaw! (exclamation of disgust)

Woi bauwe

pull: to pull

to pull or drag something

WW girba

Dj djalga

Ma buwada

to pull out: to catch (a fish)

WW werbana

Ma buŋada

to pull out feathers

WW buŋa

to pull straight, to stretch,

to lift

WW yirəga

punch: to punch somebody, to thrust a spear

Dj dagunga
WW djalga

put:

to put down:

WW djalbuda
Ma yubada

to lower something

WW wuda

on the ground

WW yuguwa

to put on (clothes)

WW danga

quick:

quick, hurry

WW wergi, wergi-wergi,
werguwerguwi

Ma lirgi

Yo biredj

to be quick, to act quickly

Ma lirga, lirgila

quickly

Ma lirgila

quiet!

WW gunai

to be quiet

WW gunaia

Ma nanga

SY garug

rabbit

Dj djuweruŋ-wiŋimbul

WW darə-mum, djeriga-wiŋimbul

SY bud

rain

Dj midjag

WW midəg

Ma midagi

Gu mayan

Yo gorgara

Gi baŋa

SY bana

Na midag

to rain, to pour with rain

WW djuŋba

Ma duba

rainbow

WW bambandilan

Ma dargu-wil, gumaŋi

raw

Dj guma

WW guma

really! my word!

WW ɲada, ɲadaigunj

red

WW djelimadail, nirudail

Ma daɭa, daɭabil

reed:

common

Dj djarg

WW djarg

SY yaruga

lesser reed-mace 'Cumbungi'

Dj gamban

Ma gamban

SY gamjag

root of reed-mace, edible

Dj buɖidj

WW buɖidj

reed-bed

Dj wangal

WW wangəl

resin:

of Murray pine

Dj bidjirim

WW bridjirim

Ma bidambi

woi bidjerim

of gum trees

Dj lil

WW lil

return: to return, to come home

Dj widjiwa

WW widewa

Ma widiwada

ribs (his)

WW laŋinjug

Ma laŋingu

rise: to rise:

in flight

Dj

WW } baiga

Ma }

of floodwaters

Ma waiwilada, waiwulada

of constellations

Dj biŋga

WW biŋa

Ma werbada

river

Dj barengi gadjin
 WW gabəl
 Ma dindi
 Da rind

roll:

to roll (verb transitive)
 WW bulba
 to roll one's eyes
 SN djungul

root, of a tree

WW burəmbəŋ
 Ma bambanga

rotten, smelly (particularly of meat)

Dj buənən
 WW boŋən
 SN ŋulu-ŋulug, buyuwa

row: to have a row

WW ŋuŋgura

rub: to rub (with grease)

WW yugana
 Ma yuga-yugada

run:

to run
 WW wira, wirəga
 Ma wuwada
 to run round, to play
 Ma wariwulada
 to run along the edge of a river
 WW biələngila

rush:

basket-rush
 Dj buŋuḍ
 WW buŋuḍ
 Ma buŋeḍ
Juncus species
 Dj geŋ

same: the same, identical

Ma nemu

sand

Dj gurag
 WW gurəg
 Ma guragi
 Yo maloga

sandhill

Dj gura-gurag

sap, juice

WW wudja
 Ma midinu

satisfied: to feel satisfied

WW ŋubaia

sawfly larvae

Dj gugal

say:

to say, to tell

Dj gia
 WW gia
 Ma giada
 Wa lada

to explain

Ma giwada

scales, of fish

WW lilug

scold: to scold, to abuse

Dj djalia
 WW guḍəma

scorpion

WW widegama

scratch:

to scratch so as to hurt

WW warəma

to relieve itch

WW gurəma

Ma baŋada

sea, ocean

Dj ŋamadj

search:

to search

Dj yerga

WW yarga

Ma yaga

to search for over a long distance

WW yarguwa

to go round searching for something

Ma yagila

secret

WW guŋaiab-gad

see: to see

Dj njaga

WW njaga

Ma nagada

Gu ŋaga

SN dununag

seed (of plants)

Dj djeri

WW djeri

Ma dinu

send:

to send

Ma buimada

to send away, banish

Ma duimada

sense, brains

Woi yulendj

Yo gabra

Ma mig-buwu

*separate: to separate, to leave
one another*

Dj winagdjera

WW winagdjera

set: to set:

a fire

Dj bernga wanjab

sticks as pegs for fishing net

Dj djarima galgug

sew: to sew

WW dindila

shade:

shady place

Ma bugu

shadow

Dj ngag

WW ngag

Ma ngagi

shake: to shake:

with cold

WW bumbundila

Ma yigigada

to shake something

WW djindjinana

shame:

I feel ashamed

WW dulaia mureṅandag

you've got no shame

SY guin muga

shame on you!

WW nja manmulagadj

sharp:

sharp, pointed

Dj lia-wil

WW lidaiadan, liə-wil

to be sharp (e.g. of a spear)

WW lidaia

*to sharpen: an edge (e.g. an
axe-blade)*

Dj djalga

Ma dindada

*sharpen: to sharpen to a point,
(e.g. a spear-point)*

Dj lidguna

WW lidguna

shave: to shave

WW djindjindəla

shear: to shear

WW gudaiaəla

sheep

Dj bulg-djine

WW djambəg

Ma dumban

Gu dameri

Yo wulubna

Gi djambag

SY djambug

shell, of mussel

Dj lirinjug

WW lerinjug

shield, waddy-shield

Dj malgar

WW malgar

Woi malgar

SY ṅamal

shin

Ma binbanai

shine: to shine:

intensely, to gleam

WW bilobiluwa

to glitter

WW bilobiloda

as a star

Dj yiba

going along (as a comet)

Dj yibunga

in many colours

WW bambandila

shining, glittering

WW bilodan

Ma lendanan

shirt

Ma dadagu

shoot: to shoot

Dj daga madjad

shoulder (his)

Dj wedug

shout: to shout

Dj gernda

shout: to shout (cont)

WW gaṇḍa
Ma gaṇḍada

shovel

WW banbar

show:

to show
WW buinga
to show off
Dj djilga
WW djilga

shrimp

Ma ganagal

shrub:

general term
Ma buigu
banksia
Dj biur-galg
bursaria
Dj djebga
Christmas bush
Woi djirinedad
grey mulga
Dj burbga
hop-bush
Dj wadjabga
lignum
Dj nuraṅ
WW gaṛen
Ma burugul
sassafras
Woi djingun
tea-tree
Dj bunudj
turpentine bush
Dj dirag
wild currant
Dj haguḍ

shut: to shut

WW djarəba
Ma nubada

shy:

to be shy
WW gulinulaia
a shy person
WW gulinulaṅ
SY guindja

sick: to be sick

Dj gadjila
WW djilega
Ma dilegada

sick:

sick, ill continually
Dj gadjilaṅ
WW djilegaṅ
SY hubil
sickness
Ma wibu-wibu

side, of a person

Dj wirbug

sigh: to sigh

WW burga

silly

Dj yadjanɡaia burbug *he's got a bad head*
Gi denben
SY waṅan, gunirin

sinew:

general term
Dj djined
WW djineḍ
Ma wirandu
kangaroo sinew (from leg)
WW gaṛənjug

sing:

to sing
WW njarəba
Ma waṅila, waingilada
to sing someone, to kill by means of chants and magic stones
SY gagari
to sing and dance, to take part in a ceremonial dance
Ma wuigada

sister:

elder
Dj djadjin (*yours*)
WW djadjin (*yours*)
Ma dadai (*mine*)
SY naman
elder, deceased
WW djadj-gurinin (*yours*)
younger
Dj gudug
WW gudenjug
SY galan
Ma beradin (*yours*)

sit: to sit

Dj nenja
WW njenga
Ma nengada
Na njemba

sit: to sit
 Da dingada
 Woi ngangenala
 SY nalag
to sit round
 WW njengina

skin:
skin (his)
 Dj midjug
 WW midjug
 Ma midu
to skin
 Ma midada

sky:
 Dj direl
 Ma dirili
 Na diril
sky, blue sky
 WW djaran, wuɾuɾ (not certain)

sleep:
sleep (from the eyes)
 WW budjun
to sleep
 Dj gumba
 WW gumba
 Ma gumba, gumbada
 Gi beɳɳin asleep
 SY gabug

slip: to slip
 WW yurma

small:
 Dj dulu
 WW dulu
 Ma bandiɳi
 Gi dala
 SY mumuɳ
to be small
 WW dulaia
small, fat person
 Dj dluɳ-wil

smell: to smell
 (verb intransitive)
 Dj buanga
 WW bongga
 SY buyuwa
 (verb transitive)
 Dj ɳaɾuba
 WW ɳaɾuba
 Ma nemada

smell: body smell, smell of perspiration
 Dj wuredjug, minjug
 WW wurədjug
 Woi yag

smoke:
smoke-signal
 Dj buɾiɳj
 WW buɳ
 Ma buyudi
 Da dun
 Yo doɳa
 SY dumbug
smoke
 Ma bu(r)indi

to smoke (verb intransitive)
 WW buɳəla
to smoke tobacco
 WW mugidja, mugidjəla
smoke-cure
 Yo maia

smoothe: to smoothe, to make level (ground for a camp)
 WW djuiba

snake:
general term for 'snake', also black snake
 Gu guyuɳ
 Dj guɳwil
 guɳmil (Wergaia, Eastern dialect)
 WW guɳwil
 Ma gaɳi
 Woi guɳmel

brown
 Dj djalaɳ
 Yo dural
 Gi duruɳ
 SY djuganj
carpet
 Dj bingal
 WW bingəl
 SY djidjigan

death-adder
 Dj liriɳ
maned
 Dj miɳɳai

sneak: to sneak:
 Dj berma
 WW berma
 Ma berma, bermada

sneak:

to go round sneaking (like a wild 'killer')

WW bermila

Ma bermila

to sneak steadily

Ma berma-berma

sneeze: to sneeze

WW ŋanəŋa

sniff: to sniff, to scent:

(of humans)

WW wurəɟa

(of dogs)

WW ŋaŋaŋaŋanda

snore: to snore

WW bureŋa

snow

SY gunuma

soft:

Dj bulg

Ma' bulgi

to be soft

WW bulga, bulgaia

Ma bulgaiada

soft (of voice) i.e. 'small'

Ma bandiŋi

sole (of foot)

Dj djaŋ-djine

son

Dj wadjib

WW wadi

SY burubal

Ma wadaiu

song:

WW woi

Ma warju

ceremonial song, hymn

Ma ŋundu

to compose a song

WW birga

soon, directly

WW gila

Ma gima

sore (noun)

Dj wirb

WW gudul

sorry! (exclamation of sympathy)

WW gai gudab

south, south-wind

Ma ma|id-ma|id

sow-thistle

Ma winmuru

spark (from a fire)

WW bulinj

Ma bulun-bulun

speak:

to speak

Dj wurega

WW wurega

Ma yaŋgada, yaŋa

Yo lndjba

SY bala-bala

to go on speaking

Dj wureguda

to speak together, to gabble

Dj wuregwura

spear:

to spear

Dj barga

WW bunga

Ma bungada, bungila,

balgada (also *to hit with any weapon*)

SY djug

to spear (particularly to prod turtles lying at the bottom of a stream)

WW barga

Ma bragu-braga

fish in shallow water

WW djaŋəmbila

Ma daimilada

to get a fish by spearing it in shallow water

Ma daima-daima

stabbing spear

Dj guyun

WW guyən

Ma guyuni

wooden spear used for fishing

WW mul

throwing spear: general term

WW djaŋəm

throwing spear: reed-spear

WW djarg

throwing spear: large jagged

Dj wura-wil

spear-shield

Dj geŋəm, giŋəm

WW gaŋəm

spearthrower: woomera

Dj garig
 WW garəg
 Ma garigi
 Woi mariwan

spider:

Dj wirimbulinj
 WW wirimbəlinj
 Ma wirinmalu
 SY mara
red-backed
 Ma wirinmalu dalabil dudu

spike

Dj lib
 WW lib
spiky
 Dj yula-wil

spirit, soul, that which leaves the body at death

Dj burg
 Ma buwigin (*yours*)

spit: to spit

Dj djuṅḍa
 WW djuṅḍa
 Ma dumada
 SY garuṅ *saliva*

splash: to splash

WW djilberla
 SY dubul

splinter

WW liḍbug

split: to split

WW lidaia

spouse

Ma madumu

stand:

to stand, to halt, to stand up

Dj djariga
 WW djeriga
 Ma degada

to stand up, be ready

Ma demada
to stand around
 Ma daṅa

star:

Dj dud
 WW dud
 Ma duḍi

star:

shooting
 WW baiga duḍ
seven sisters
 Ma bunedbuned
names of certain constellations
 Ma galangalan, dargu-wil

stare: to stare at

Dj njagila
 SY dununalug

stay: to stay on

Dj wiriba
 WW njerṅga *to sit*
 Ma ṅengada *to sit*
 SY ṅalag *to sit*

steadily, slowly

Ma badiṅi

steal: to steal

Dj ganindjela
 WW ganindja, ganindjila
 Ma gananda
 SY mangai

steam, vapour (from cooking)

Ma muyunu

step: to step on, to squash

WW guṛedja
 Ma buduṅada

stick:

Dj galg
 WW biəl
 Ma galgi
 Wa ledwel
 Gi galeg
used as canoe paddle

Ma waragi
time-sticks
 WW malgabula
 Ma bergulu

throwing stick

Ma wubabu

walking stick

WW gaṛə-djag

stick:

to stick, to adhere
 Ma dibargimada
to glue, to stick together
 Ma dibargima-dibargima
sticky
 SY bragbag

*sting:**sting (of insect)*

Dj gulinjug

to sting

Dj barga

braga (Wergaia, Eastern
dialect)*stir: to stir, to poke (a fire)*Ma nirada*stomach:*

Dj wudjub

WW wudjub

Ma bilinu (*his*)

Gi bulendjedi

*lower stomach*WW ludagug (*lit. his waterhole*)*stone:*

Dj gudjab

WW la(r)

Ma gudabi

Gi walaŋ

SY gurubun

Da dangaNa gudab*grinding stone (for tomahawks)*

WW marab-marab

magic stone

SY gurugulaŋ

*stop:**to stop*

WW djeda, djedama

stop it! be quiet!

WW malamen

*straight:**drawn out*

WW yiregal

not crooked

WW yulben

stranger:

Gi bradreg

wild blackfellow

Dj gulum-gulum

Ma gulum-gulum

SY dulugal

strangle: to strangle

Dj gerga gunđuŋ

stream, running water

Dj bareŋgi-gadjin

*strip:**to strip (a bark canoe)*

WW djirba

*strip: stripping a canoe*WW djirberi (possibly a
borrowed form)*stuck, to get stuck in the mud*

Ma dulurimada

*stump:**of tree*

Dj dulu

WW dulu

rotten stump

Dj bagenen dulu

submerge: to submerge completely

Ma naburimada

suck: to suck

Dj babila

Ma bawada

sugar

Gu yuraŋ

Woi gargridj

Yo djalma

SY dugun

summer, heat

Ma gadayi

*summon:**to summon (to court)*

WW bulema

cross-summons

WW marangug

sun

Dj njai

WW njai

Ma nauŋi

Gi wurin

SY djaua

Da naŋNa nawin*swallow: to swallow*

Dj nurga

WW nurga

Ma nurgada

swamp

WW baial

Ma berer

swampy ground

Ma laningu

swear: to swear

WW djalila

Dj wurega yadjan

sweat: to sweat

Dj wudjaia minjug

sweet

WW wudja-wudja

sweetheart (girl)

Gu malaŋ

swell: to swell up (of a sore,
or a damper)

WW buŋbuŋwila

Dj weŋwa

Ma wauwunada

swim: to swim

Dj wiraga

WW wiraga

Ma wiragada

swing: to swing (as birds from
branches)

Dj buiena

tail

Dj birgug

WW birgug

Ma widaŋu

take:

to take away

WW diŋda

Ma maŋgada, ganagada

SY maŋgai

to take off (clothes)

Ma bugada

talk: to talk about somebody

Dj djurgila

WW djura

tall person

Dj djuweŋuŋ-galg

tangle: to tangle

Ma wilgila-wilgilada

tea

Dj biringe

Ma diri

Woi yalgi

Yo yalga

Gi muŋen

SY buŋga

tea, unsweetened

SY gurug

tear (lit. water of the eyes)

WW gaden miŋug

tear: to tear

WW djiŋa

tear: to tear up

WW djirunga

teeth

Dj lia

WW lia

Ma lianin (yours)

Woi lianin (yours)

Gi ŋandag

SY njandug

toothache

Dj gadjilaŋ lia

tell: to tell

Dj gia

WW gia

Ma giwada, giaiwada

temples

Dj dub-dub

Ma nani

tent

WW dumigal

testicle

WW bun

that, that one:

quite close (demonstrative
pronoun)

WW njunja

Ma nuni

Yo ŋaŋabrawin

some distance away in time or
space (demonstrative pronoun)

WW mala

more distant (demonstrative
pronoun)

WW manja

Dj manja

Ma man*̄*i

then:

right then

WW gigwa

Ma n*̄*ugi

straight away

WW niŋa (var. njina)

there:

some distance away

Dj manjug

WW maio

Ma gaiu, n*̄*ugi

Yo gurwiŋenda you there

*there:**a very long way away*

Dj malug

WW malaŋa

Yo djinjaga

further away still

Dj maiug

WW maiomer

thereabouts, thither

WW maiowedj

thicket, thick scrub

Dj ganjaba galg

thieving, to go round thieving

WW ganindjila

thigh (his)

Dj gařibug

WW gařabuđug

thin, small, skinny

WW merdindug

SY garibal

thing

Yo mine-ma

think: to think

WW njumila

Ma demila

thirsty: to be thirsty

Dj beřgunja

WW bařnga

*this:**close proximity (demonstrative pronoun)*

Dj ginja

WW ginja

Ma gini, gili, giwi

Gu din

Yo dewin

near here (demonstrative pronoun)

Dj njinja

WW njinja, ninja

Ma nini, niwi*this one now (demonstrative pronoun)*

WW njula

Ma nuli, nuwi*this way*

WW yiŋa

Ma yinaga

this way (from some distance away)

WW moye, obl. moigu

three

WW gebin ba galəbul

Ma buleda ba giaga

throat

Dj guŋ

WW guŋ

SY dulidj

throb: to throb

Dj wiriba

*throw:**to throw*

Dj yunga

WW larba

Ma yunga, yungada

SY dug

to throw aimlessly, to toss

WW bađiŋa

to throw away, down (on ground)

Dj yungudja

Yo yuŋin (past)

thumb

Dj bab-manja

WW bab-manja

thunder

Dj meřŋdar

WW maŋdar

Ma maŋdara

Gu maŋdara

SY miribi

to thunder

Ma maŋdaga

thunder cloud

Dj daŋbil

thunderstorm

Dj wilem-ba-meřŋdar

Ma maŋdara-duluwiba

SY buiburai

thus

Ma yiŋada

tickle: to tickle

Ma gigiwilada

tired: to be tired

WW mamba

tie: to tie

Dj gena

WW gena, geniŋa

today

WW giloidj

toe:

Dj wadjib-djine
big toe
 Dj bab-djine
 WW bab-djine
toenail
 Dj liri-djine
 WW leri-djine

tomahawk: stone

Dj badjig
 WW dir
 Ma badigi
 SY n̄ambaranj
stone, for fighting
 WW binwurai

tomorrow

WW berbug
 Ma waiquru

tongue

Dj djalin̄
 WW djalin̄
 Ma dalini

tonight

WW garəlgug

totem, ancestral being (his)

WW barembug
 Ma barembu

touch: to touch

WW dan̄da

too, as well

WW bilenj

towards, in the direction of (post-position)

WW gudəwinj

track, path (his)

Dj baɾingug
 WW baɾingug
 Ma limbu

tree:

general term and 'red gum'
 Dj bial
 WW biəl
 Ma biali
 Na bayil

forest of red gum trees

Ma bial-bial

timber (general term)

Dj galg
 WW djaler

tree:

a dead tree
 Dj guyawug
a hollow tree
 WW ben
 Ma benj
black sallee
 SY buguga
box-tree i.e. black box
 Dj buludj
 WW bulədj
 Ma gegada
candlebark (probably)
 Gi djua
 SY djua
ironbark

Gi burai
mallee: species uncertain

Ma garini
mallee: black mallee

Dj danju
mallee: broad-leaved

Dj bunadug
mallee: fine-leaved

Dj bunamala
Melaleuca species

Dj djub
Murray pine

Dj maruŋ
 WW maruŋ
 Ma marini

pine forest

Dj maruŋ-maruŋ
native cherry

Dj winiq
native willow

Dj web
needlewood

Dj djin
oak: bull-oak

Dj nari
 WW nari
 Ma nari

oak: she-oak

Dj gulud
oak: probably 'belar'

Dj nanj
quandong: quandong tree

Ma gudi-gudi
quandong: sweet quandong fruit

Dj bidjigal
 Ma bidigan

quandong: bitter quandong
 Ma mingun

tree:

- sallee wattle
 SY marigal
 small, with inedible fruit which splits open
 Ma nalān
 stringybark
 Gu maranj
 Gi baragenin (Brataulun)
 sugar wood
 Ma maŋdi
 water-tree
 Dj wiar-gadjin
 wattle: wattle tree
 SY gabira
 wattle: golden wattle
 Dj wadj
 wattle: umbrella wattle
 Dj geđia
 white gum:
 Dj beb
 SY balug
 white gum: juvenile form
 Dj gila-gila-beb
 white gum: white sallee
 SY waraganj
 wilga
 Ma buri
- tree stump
 Dj dulu
- tree trunk
 Dj werbug
 WW werbug
 Gi wilga-dalga (Brataulun)
- tripe
 Dj djulug
- trousers
 WW djauəđja
 Ma dirawuru
 Yo dauaden
 SY danda
- try: to try, to taste
 WW badema
 Ma banmada
- tuberous plant 'wild potato'
 Dj ganinji-maŋdar
- turn: to turn round
 WW wilga
 Ma wilga

turtle:

- common long-necked or stinking turtle
 Dj durmi-mum, buiber
 WW durmi-mum
 Ma duimi-mum
 large long-necked
 WW warəŋel
 Ma wuranu
 small long-necked, probably immature specimens
 Dj djib
 Ma dibi-dibi
 short-necked
 Dj bilwilarnjed
 (bil-wil-lar-njed)
 WW njim
 Ma nimi
- twist: to twist
 Dj wiribura
 WW milbila
 Ma mułimada
- two
 Dj buledj
 WW buledja, (more rarely) galəbul
 Gi bulaman
- ugly (usually synonymous with 'bad' but there are separate words for 'ugly' in Nariqu)
 SY ŋaljan, bimbila
 ugly person with screwed-up face
 Woi djiremelan
- unable: to be unable
 WW gadjina
- uncle:
 mother's brother
 Dj djarmbeg (mine)
 WW djarəmbeg
 Ma genginin (yours)
 Yo wowa
 SY ganj
 more distant relative of the same generation as one's father
 Dj djaueli
 SY njinjan
- underneath: (preposition)
 WW gunagal, or gunjigal
 Ma gunda
 underneath here
 WW njuga-gunji
- undo: to undo (a net)
 WW birguwa

unwilling: to be unwilling

WW ɲua

up, above

WW girg

Ma gagada

SY njalan

urine:

Dj gire

WW gir

Yo gumwun

Gi wereg

SY djunur

of dog

Dj girenji-gal

to urinate

Dj girma

WW giridjila

us:

(dual)

Ma ɲalin

(plural)

Ma yanur

useless: to be useless

WW yadaia

vanish: to vanish

Ma yauimada

very

WW yiri

Ma dama, damu

SY dura

vomit: to vomit

Dj garma

WW garma

Ma gemada

SY duru-duradj

waddy, a large club:

general term

Dj gani

WW ɲani

Ma ganimi

*a kind of hunting waddy or stick
with knob*

Woi bundi

Gi bundi

a kind of waddy

Dj dulagi-gani

a four-sided waddy

Dj ɲadwil-gani

Ma ganagi

waddy, a large club:

*pointed and hooked, used for
fighting*

Dj liengel

WW liə-wil

Ma lia-wil

thick-headed with long handle

Dj munjub

Ma munabi

spear-pointed waddy

Dj birbinj

WW birbenj

Ma berbin

throwing toy, 'leaping kangaroo'

Dj widj-widj

WW wid-wid

Ma wud-wud

wade: to wade in water

WW waɾəndja

wait: to wait for

WW njembara

wake: to wake someone up, to call

WW wureɲa

walk: to walk

Dj ɲanga

WW ɲanga

Ma ɲingada

Yo yanda

to walk past

WW ɲanguwa

Dj ɲangua

wallaby:

common black

Dj gama

WW gama

Gi bau

red-necked

Dj gara

warm: to warm oneself

WW bidjega

wash: to wash

WW djarwa

Ma ɲungada

to wash thoroughly

WW djarwila

watch: to watch

Dj njaguda

WW njagila

water:

Dj gadjin
 WW gadən
 Ma gadini
 Da ɲu:g
 Gu baridj
 Woi baŋa
 Yo wala
 Gi yaŋ
 SY bubul, ɲadjuŋ
 Na gayini

river-water, running water

Dj baŋeŋgi gadjin
 SY djuraŋ

sea water

Gi meɖ

waterhole

Dj yalam
 WW ludag
 SY bandria

water-rat

Dj gurumbed
 WW gurumbud
 Ma gulbi, murembin
 SY bud-bud

waterweed

Dj baŋɖa
 WW ɲarəli
 Ma gadina wuridu

wave: to wave, to signal to someone

Ma wengilada

weak: to be weak

WW bulgaia

weather

Ma galanji

weave: to weave

Ma yurunaɖa

well!

WW barai

well: to be well

WW delgaia
 Ma delgaia, also delgaiada

west

Ma waburu

wet:

WW gulaiadaŋ or guledaŋ

wet: to be wet

WW gulaia
 Ma bandalaida

what?

Dj njanja
 WW njanja
 Ma mini, naŋi
 Wa naŋe
 Yo mine

what? which?

Dj winjagurin (*yours*)
 WW winjadug (*his*)
 Ma winaŋu (*his*)

when

WW njadjəruwa
 Yo womeriga
 Ma nanu

whenabouts?

WW njadjəruwalug

where?

Dj windja
 WW windja
 Ma winda
 Gu wunda
 Yo warga
 Gi wunman, wulon *where to*

whereabouts (is)?

Dj windjalug
 WW windjalug
 Ma windalu
 Yo wanal
 SY wirgara

whistle: to whistle

WW wiɖa
 Ma wiŋgada

white:

Dj deri-
 WW bilermadail, bilermadaŋ,
 darədail, darədaŋ
 Ma wilerma

white: to be white

Ma wilermada

who?

Dj winjar
 WW winjar
 Ma winaŋu

why?

what for?

WW njagidja

Ma naga

for what reason?

WW njanjudən-gad

wide, big

WW garinjug

wife (his)

Dj madjimug

WW madimug

Ma madimu

wild, furious

WW ɲungur-wil

Gi yarug

Ma guleda-wil

to be wild

WW ɲungura

Ma gululada

wind:

WW merinj

Dj wila

Ma wilan̄i

Na wilan̄

whirlwind

Dj wuyun̄-wuyungel

wilan̄-wilan̄ (Eastern Wudjubalug
dialect of Weṛgaia)

WW ɲarag

Ma wiridab

wing (his)

WW dadagug

Ma dadagu

wink: to wink

WW milba miɲug

wipe: to wipe, to wipe off

WW njina

wish:

to wish, desire, want

WW wantima

Ma dirawa

I wish I had!

WW yugweg

without: to be without, to lack

WW yadaga

woman:

Dj laiurg, leurg, -gurg

WW lerg, -gurg

Ma laiur

woman: (cont)

Da beṛəb

Yo winjar

Gi ruged

SY balan

Na layurg

loose woman

Dj djiel-gurg

Considered as more vulgar
are: gien̄, gien̄-gurg

WW gien̄

Ma dilbi-guma

SY murili

old woman

Dj ɲunjim-gurg

WW ɲunjim-gurg

SY gwandidj

white woman

Dj wadjim-gurg

SY wadjimin

young woman, girl

Dj lan̄an̄-gurg

WW gaṛə-gurg

wombat:

Woi waṛendj

Gi narud

SY migundan, bangadan

young

Woi waṛendj-badj

wood: see fire

*small sticks used soon after
lighting a fire*

Dj galg

Wa ledwel

SY galbgal

*very small sticks and bark used
for kindling*

SY njari-njaran

wool

WW wuruwilu

work: to work

WW weṛgidja, weṛgidjəla

worms (those found in river banks)

Ma dangali

worn: to be worn out, tired

WW mambaia

worried, upset

WW njanabodən

worry: to worry

WW njaṇa

wrist

Dj merg-manja

*write: to write down, to draw
or paint*

Ma bingada

*writhe: to writhe (like a fish
out of water)*

Ma girba

*yam:**edible root, species uncertain*

Woi wuleli

SY njaman

dark-leaved

Dj djarug

'radish-like'

Dj munja

yawn (noun)

Woi yago

to yawn

WW djarba

*yell: to yell at somebody to
frighten him*

Dj djaimba

WW djarmba

Ma gembada

yes

Dj na

WW nonwe, nonwe

Ma niuwi

Wa nauwe

Na nana

yes (cont.)

Da yau

Woi naie

Yo nowe

SY guli-gulaba

yesterday

WW djelig-djelig

Ma gila nauigi

SY djiri-djiridj

you:

(personal pronoun singular)

WW nin

Ma nindi

Wa ninde

Yo nine

Gi ninde

(personal pronoun trial)

WW ninguli

(personal pronoun plural)

WW nudein

Gi nag

young one (of animal)

WW wadibug

yours:

(possessive singular)

WW nindeug

Ma ninedu

(dual possessive)

WW waleug (?)

(plural possessive)

WW nudeug

Ma nunedu

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ABBREVIATIONS USED:

<i>Gan</i>	Ganai	<i>Na</i>	Narinari	<i>Wer</i>	Werḡaia
<i>Gu</i>	Guḡidj	<i>Sy</i>	Southern Nariḡu	<i>Woi</i>	Woiwuru
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