

Pallanganmiddang: a language of the Upper Murray¹

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Editor's note

Sally White's daughter Charlotte worked as a doctor in Walwa (Vic.) on the Upper Murray for many years, and Sally was naturally a frequent visitor there. She became very attached to this part of the country and often lamented the absence of Aboriginal people from this beautiful area.

In this paper Barry Blake and Julie Reid analyse all the available information on the language.

Introduction

Pallanganmiddang is a language of northeastern Victoria. As with other Victorian languages it appears that there are no longer any people who still speak the language. Unfortunately the records of this language are meagre. As far as we know, there are only four sources:

A vocabulary of 46 words with the title *Pallanganmiddah* from Thomas Mitchell, *Tangambalanga*, in Smyth (1878, vol. 2: 67). Tangambalanga was south of Wodonga near the Kiewa River.² A century ago it was a government-run camp at which survivors of European incursions congregated from various districts.

A vocabulary of 109 words labelled No. 213: *Upper Murray* in Curr (1886, vol. 3: 562–3). These are attributed to Mitchell (no initial), but it is clear that this is the same T. W. Mitchell MLA who contributed to Smyth.

A vocabulary of 341 words in the papers of G. A. Robinson bearing the label *Pal-ler an mitter (Language of Mul ler min ner alias Joe)* (G. A. Robinson papers MLA A 7086, vol. 65, part 3, pp 53–60).

A vocabulary of 63 words labelled *Wangaratta (Victoria)* from W.L. Murdock, Wangaratta, Victoria, published in *The Science of Man*, 22 December 1900, pp 188–9. They are said to have been 'collected by a gentleman from an intelligent Black of the Wangaratta tribe some 25 years ago'. This list shares 70% (16 out of 23) of its

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- ¹ We thank R.M.W. (Bob) Dixon for supplying us with a set of sources, Heather Bowe for supplying a further source plus a summary of references to the Pallanganmiddang language and people, and Harold Koch for his comments on the draft. Words from the sources are transcribed in italics. Reconstructed phonetic forms are in bold.
 - ² Tangambalanga is recorded with the meaning 'crayfish' in the Barwidgee dialect of Dhudhuroa. 'Crayfish' refers to a freshwater crustacean.

words with the three sources listed above and shows very little resemblance to any other source, so we have accepted it as being representative of Pallanganmiddang.³

These sources between them provide a vocabulary of over 300 words, but there is no grammatical information except for a few phrases and what can be gleaned from entries in the word lists. The purpose of this paper is to present all the information from the four sources, to try to work out the likely pronunciation, and to put the language into some kind of comparative perspective.

Name

A number of language/tribe names in the area end in a form spelt *-matong*, *-middang*, *-mirttong*, *-mathang* and *-mittlung*, and R.H. Mathews (1909) records both *Jinningmiddha* and *Dyinningmiddhang* for a group who spoke Dhudhuroa. Presumably Mitchell's *Pallanganmiddah* and Robinson's *Pal-ler an mitter* end in this same *-midha* and there may have been a variant with a final *-ng*. Alternation between forms with a final *-ng* and forms without is a feature of Victorian languages. In a letter to R.M.W. Dixon (28 May 1974) T.W. Mitchell — a grandson of the T.W. Mitchell who contributed to Smyth and Curr — reports that the name 'is more correctly spelt Pallanganmiddang', and we use the spelling with the final *-ng* in this paper and in our other publications.

Location

Robinson states that 'Pal ler an mit ter belong to the Noer.rar called Little River where Mr Huon station' (30 September 1844) and 'Country of the Bul ler an mit ter extend from W Bank of Hume to Ovens River N to Punderambo and then up towards the mountains' (MLA 7086, vol. 65, part 3, p 13). The Little River was subsequently renamed the Kiewa River and Huon's property included the area of the present town of Wodonga (Fels 1997: 31). The Hume River is the Murray River. Curr (1886) places List No 213 to the east of Albury and Wodonga in the map contained in volume 4, and Smyth places *Pallungan Middah* close to Wodonga and east-southeast. Howitt includes a *Balaung Karar* on his map of the area west-southwest of Wodonga (1904:827). It is likely that *Balaung* equates with *Pallang* and it may be that Pallanganmiddang extended from east-southeast of Wodonga through Tangambalanga to an area west-southwest of Wodonga.

To the north across the Murray were the southern dialects of the far flung Wiradjuri language. Smyth shows the *Emu-Mudjug* dialect of Wiradjuri on the south side of the Murray immediately to the west of Pallanganmiddang. Further west near Echuca was the territory of the Yota-Yota. It is unclear whether the Yota-Yota were the immediate neighbours of the Pallanganmiddang since it difficult to determine how far the territory of speakers of northern dialects of the Central Victorian Language extended. This language is represented by Thagungwurrung on the map. To the east of the Pallanganmiddang territory lay Dhudhuroa. Clan or language labels for the area are shown on the map with the names from the sources in capitals.

³ To be more precise the Wangaratta list shares 9 out of 12 words with the Mitchell lists and 14 out of 23 with the Robinson list. Whereas most lists of Aboriginal words contain a high proportion of nouns, the Wangaratta list is unusual in having few nouns, hence the small number of words that can be compared.

Tindale devotes a paragraph of his encyclopaedic work *Aboriginal tribes of Australia* to the *Djilamatang* and mentions that they were exterminated by other Aboriginal groups 'in post-European times' (1974: 203f). He places them in the northeast corner of Victoria, 'west of Mount Kosciusko on the upper headwaters of the Murray River', but the words he quotes as belonging to this group are in fact Pallanganmiddang. The words are, as Tindale gives them, *waananga* 'no' and [*'djere*] 'man'. There is no language material that we can relate directly to *Djilamatang*, but from the location we might surmise that that group spoke *Dhudhuroa* or something similar

Relationship to neighbouring languages

The two lists supplied by Mitchell share 90% for the 25 items in which they overlap. The Robinson list shares about 70% with the Mitchell lists. The Wangaratta list shares 75% with the Mitchell lists and 61% with Robinson's list. When we compare these sources with sources for neighbouring languages, we find the percentage of shared vocabulary is very low:

Dhudhuroa	21%
Yota-Yota	25%
Smyth (vol.2:68) Emu Mudjug (dialect of Wiradjuri)	22%
Curr 190 <i>Albury</i> (dialect of Wiradjuri)	16%
Curr 190 <i>Howlong</i> (dialect of Wiradjuri)	14%
Curr 212 <i>Snowy River</i> (Gippsland)	11%
Curr 211 <i>Omeo</i> (Ngarigu)	7%
Southern Ngarigu (Hercus 1986)	2%

The only exception is a list in Mathew's *Eaglehawk and Crow* (1899) entitled 'Barwidgee, Upper Murray'. This source shares 70% (26.5 out of 38) with R.H. Mathews' *Dhudhuroa* material and clearly belongs with that language, but it shares 39% (19.5 out of 50) with Pallanganmiddang whereas Mathews' *Dhudhuroa* shares only 21% (16.5 out of 80). Barwidgee was a station just to the northeast of Myrtleford and this source may represent a dialect of *Dhudhuroa* whose territory bordered on that of Pallanganmiddang, or it may be that the Barwidgee list conflates two languages. It contains some words not native to northeast Victoria, such as *gibba* 'stone', *gunya* 'camp' and *broлга* 'native companion', which were spread in Pidgin and in English generally. This suggests it is not overly reliable.

It seems likely that Pallanganmiddang represents a language quite distinct from those of its neighbours. It does, however, contain many roots familiar from other Australian languages such as *nha-* 'to see' and *yan-* 'to go'.

Phonology

Consonants

The inventory of consonant phonemes was probably the same as in other languages of southeastern Australia. A maximum inventory is displayed in Table 1. There is fluctuation between *p* and *b*, *t* and *d*, and *k* and *g* in the sources, suggesting there was no distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants. We have transcribed the original consonant where there is no discrepancy in the sources. Where both voiced and voiceless consonants appear in the original notation, we have made an arbitrary choice. There was probably no phonemic distinction between dentals and palatals since a few

words are recorded with spellings such as *t* and *d*, which suggest a dental or alveolar, along with spellings such as *j* or *g* suggesting a palatal stop. These have been spelled with **tj** or **dj**:

foot / tj erra/	<i>teerrer</i> r, <i>gerra</i> c
man / dj erri/	<i>teerre</i> r, <i>gerree</i> m, <i>jere</i> c

However, we cannot be certain that there was no phonemic distinction between dentals and palatals, so where the spellings indicate a dental, we have retained this. The word for 'cold', for instance, was recorded by Robinson as *butherwuther* and by Mitchell (in Curr) as *bouwatha*. We have transcribed the former as **bathawatha** and the latter as **bawatha**.

It is hard to find definite evidence for retroflexes but *carrda* for 'crayfish' suggests **karda**. There was probably a distinction between a flapped or trilled rhotic (rr) and a glide-type rhotic, possibly retroflex (r), but no such distinction is ever made in older sources. We transcribe all intervocalic rhotics as rr. In the table below sound-types not directly attested are shown in brackets.

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Dental	Palatal	Velar
Stop	p/b	t/d	rt/rd	th/dh	tj/dj	k/g
Nasal	m	n	(rn)	(nh)	ny	ng
Lateral		l	(rl)	(lh)	(ly)	
Rhotic			rr			
Glide				y	w	

Consonants (initial and intervocalic)

	Initial	Medial
p/b	pada 'big'	kabiga 'baby'
t/d	taka 'hit'*	madega 'old man'
rt/rd	?	karda 'crayfish'
th/dh	thirriwa 'nails'	bathawatha 'cold'
tj/dj	djuyu 'snake'	budju 'kangaroo'
k/g	kima 'kangaroo rat'	bugu 'bowels'
m	merri 'ground'	marrimuna 'lazy'
n	narra 'wild dog'	mani 'camp'
rn	?	?
nh	nhagadi 'see'*	?
ny	nyuma 'rain'**	noganya 'give'
ng	ngaa 'nose'	?
l	-	ngalawiya 'wood duck'
rr	-	karri 'wind'
y	yarra 'beard'	payorro 'magpie'
w	warra 'water'	wawa 'brother'

* Alveolar initial in **taka** likely in view of Hercus' recording of **daguna** in Wergaia (Hercus 1986: 201); dental initial in **nhagadi** likely on the basis of various cognates.

** Only one token

There are very few word-final consonants to be found in the sources. The following is a complete list:

elder brother	<i>wugug</i>
cord	<i>worungun</i>
laugh	<i>karrin</i>
mother	<i>bab</i>
snake	<i>tueyon, ju-u</i>
finger, toe	<i>youllon, ulo</i>
track of a foot	<i>bunjun</i> (compare <i>punjoo</i> (R) [bandju] 'road')

The form *wugug* is suspicious since *wowwer* is also recorded and *wugug* is found in some sources for the Western Victorian Language. Note too that three of the words recorded with final *-n* also occur without *-n*. The form *bab* 'mother' invites comparison with *mam-ga* 'father' and suggests that these may have been a form *bab-ga* (for *-ga* see below). As noted above, the final *-ng* in Pallanganmiddang appears to be optional. It is likely that Pallanganmiddang did not allow final consonants.

Consonant clusters

There appear to be homorganic nasal-stop clusters.

mb	bamba 'a fly'
nd	purranda 'bad'
rnd	?
ndh	berrontha 'crow'
ndj	pandju 'road'
ngg	pungga 'stone'

There are also some heterorganic clusters. At least some of these are across morpheme boundaries as with *-mg-* in *mam-ga* 'father'.

nb	winbinbi 'sun'
ngb	narrangba 'You're a bad boy.'
md	wimda 'spear'
mg	mamga 'father'
lg	belgamba 'shield'
nrr	mobenrru 'bushman'
nm	tonmana 'gammon', 'tell a lie'

Vowels

Pallanganmiddang may have had only three vowels (i, u and a) as is the case in many Australian languages, but all five vowel letters are used in the sources and where the only token or all the tokens record *e* or *o* we have transcribed these letters. Variant spellings such as *koro* and *kurru* for 'blood' suggest that there may not have been a distinction between *u* and *o*.

There may have been a distinction between long and short vowels. Robinson's *karmborro* 'group' suggests a phonetically long vowel in the first syllable, but *-ar-* may just have been a way of indicating the vowel of *calm* as opposed to that of *cam*.

It seems that in Pallanganmiddang a monosyllabic word with no final consonant regularly contained a long vowel, as is the case in Australian languages generally:

mii	eye
ngaa	nose

Sound correspondences

In his notes, R.M.W. Dixon notes that there seems to be some evidence of systematic correspondences between Pallanganmiddang and neighbouring languages. We have put together the following list of examples.

English	Pallanganmiddang	Others
ear	marramba	marlamboa (Dhudhuroa)
tongue	dharra	dhalayn (widespread)
water	warra	wala (Yota-Yota) <i>wallung</i> rain (Ngarigu)
eaglehawk	warrimu	wanumarru (Dhudhuroa)
excrement	gurra	guna (widespread)
foot	djirra	djina (widespread)
head	buwa	buka (Yota-Yota)
dog	bowa, bawa	baka (Yota-Yota) ⁴

Grammar

There is no grammatical information available on Pallanganmiddang. Some of the entries in the vocabulary lists are short sentences and others, particularly in the Wangaratta list, seem to be so, but it is difficult to extract much grammatical information from these entries and others that appear to contain inflections.

Pronouns

The pronouns are not well documented. The following are recorded for 'you':

innar (R), *ninna* (M) [given as 'I'], *neibee* (M)

(see vocabulary for key to R, M, etc.). Assuming that *ninna* is to be identified with *innar*, we can posit a form **ngina**, since an initial velar nasal often goes unheard. **Ngina** is recorded for Yota-Yota and several other Victorian languages including Ledji-Ledji.

Robinson records *itebe* for 'I'. This could represent something like **ngaytbi** and it may be that Mitchell's *neibee* is in fact a first person form. *Neibee* seems to match the last two syllables in the following:

hungry	bang(g)owonabi	<i>bungowonabee</i> (M) (compare Ba <i>bungunowo</i>)
thirsty	waurranmandjianabi	<i>wowrunmunjeeunarbe</i> (W)
drink	kanimanabi	<i>kuneemanabee</i> (M)

4. Further information on sound changes in Victorian languages is to be found in Blake and Reid 1998a.

It is fairly clear that we can segment the first example into **banggowo** and **nabi** in light of the form recorded in Barwidgee. The second example can probably be segmented into **waurranmandjia nabi**, and the last example into **kani-ma nabi**. These examples may mean 'I'm hungry', 'I'm thirsty' and 'I drink', forms likely to be given in an elicitation session. If this is so, then it may be that there is a form **ngabi** for 'I', which can be equated with Robinson's form. Some other forms may include **-nabi**. See, for instance, the entries in the vocabulary for 'quarrel' and 'walk'.

Murdock's Wangaratta list contains *nyeende-nanga-durrah* for 'me' and *nyeende* for 'my'. This suggests a form **nyindi**, but an initial velar nasal is normal for first person forms. It is also possible that **nyindi** is misglossed and is in fact a second person form, though the second person singular normally has a first syllable **ngin-** in southeastern Australia. A sound change from a velar nasal (ng) to a palatal (ny) before the high, front vowel (i) is plausible, but so is notation of a velar nasal as *ny*.

Robinson records *wurwunder* [**wawanda**] for 'hungry' and Murdock records **wow-andowan**. Since **wan** is 'I' in the Central Victorian Language and some dialects of the Western Victorian Language, one could speculate that Murdock has recorded 'I'm hungry'. In the languages where it occurs, **wan** is part of a series **wan** 'I', **warr** 'you', etc., where each form consists of a common base **wa-** to which pronominal suffixes are attached. It would not be surprising to find two series of pronouns, free forms like **ngabi** and **ngina** and bound forms like **wan**.

Suffixes

A probable suffix **-ntha** can be seen in the following:

answer	minyi-wayantha	<i>minyeeewyuntha</i> (W) [compare waya-gu 'speak]
burn	bobintha	<i>bobintha</i> (W)
eat	tagalitantha	<i>tugarleetunthah</i> (W) [compare tagathi, etc.]
lame (in leg)	tang(g)rrintha	<i>tungrintha</i> (W)
sulky	puthanda	<i>poothander</i> (R)

A second person subject bound pronoun **-ntha** occurs in Dhudhuroa.

-gu

A suffix **-gu** appears on verbs:

<i>yae yennego</i> (R)	yayi yani-gu	'come'
<i>yugg eunnego</i> (W)	yaki yani-gu	'come'
<i>yae e yandego</i> (R)	yayi yan-di-gu	'fetch it'
<i>tutargoo</i> (W)	tuta-gu	'catch'
<i>tugergo</i> (R)	taka-gu	'kill'
<i>minedergo</i> (R)	maynde-gu?	'take it'

This could be the plural imperative marker **-gu** found in the Central Victorian Language. Another possibility is that **-gu** is the near ubiquitous dative-purposive **-gu** marking a purposive/infinitive form of the verb. The imperative possibility seems more likely.

-thi

Numerous verb forms contain a suffix **-ti** or **-thi**.

<i>wunydthee</i> (W)	wanyi-thi	'climb tree'
<i>wonyerde</i> (R)		
<i>paderde</i> (R)	pada-ti	'dance' (padidi-dali (W))
<i>nunthibermidthee</i> (W)	nanyibami-thi	'dream'
<i>pogerde</i> (R)	poga-ti	'drink'
<i>tooyoomulardthee wurrah</i> (W)	tuyumula-thi warra	'drink water'
<i>kurbahivunydthee</i> (W)	kurbayivanyi-thi	'dive' (the <i>v</i> may be an error)
<i>tugathee</i> (M)	taka-thi	'eat'
<i>popadi</i> (R)	popa-ti	'jump'
<i>yahgadthee</i> (W)	yaga-thi	'swim'
<i>yarekudde</i> (R)		
<i>yowardee</i> (W)	yawa-ti	'talk'
<i>nagadee</i>	n[h]aka-ti	'see'
<i>kibidthee</i> (W)	kibi-thi	'sing'
<i>karerde</i> (R)	karra-ti	'sit' (karra-da-bi (M))
<i>tandardthee</i> (W)	tanda-thi	'stand'
<i>tare nede</i> (R)		
<i>bairlthibee</i> (W)	b...-thi-bi	'steal'
<i>kanyenarrargardthee</i> (W)	kanyanarraga-thi	'think'
<i>duddumagathee</i> (M)	dadumaga-thi	'thirsty'
<i>unegardthee</i> (W)	yun.gathi	'throw'

-dali

<i>koodjeedarley</i> (W)	kudji-dali	'cry' (kudjina (R))
<i>buddididarley</i> (M)	padadi-dali	'dance'
<i>paywoodalle</i> (W)	pewu-dali	'ready to fight'
<i>targoora wurrima-darley</i>	tagurra wurrima-dali	'wash'

-bi

<i>towardardbee</i> (W)	towadad-bi	'fight'
<i>wurraragurabee</i> (W)	wurraragurra-bi	'lose the way'
<i>yanabee</i> (M)	yana-bi?	'walk' (possibly ya(n)-ngabi 'I walk': see 3.1)

-na

There appears to be a suffix **-na**. Clear tokens and likely tokens can be found on words certain to be verbs and on words certain to be nouns and on some words where the part-of-speech status of the Pallanganmiddang word is unclear. There may have been two suffixes, homophonous at least to the ears of the early recordists.

<i>tuckuner</i> (R)	taka-na	'beat' (compare taka-ku 'kill')
<i>tornmuner</i> (R)	ton-na-na	'gammon'
<i>torn munner</i> (R)		'[tell a] lie'
<i>parronener</i> (R)	barro-na	'dead' (compare parrarra (M) parridjarra (W))
<i>kujin ner</i> (R)	kudji-na	'cry' (compare kudjidali)
<i>yarener</i> (R)	yarra-na	'beard' (compare yarra (M))

Other possible examples can be found under the entries for 'belly', 'cry', 'dive', 'fly, Bogong', 'frightened', 'lazy' and 'sick'.

-ga

A suffix **-ga** appears on some human nouns:

yuwarriga	daughter	compare	yuwarru	'young man'
djerriga	'old woman'	compare	djerri	'man', 'woman'
mamga	'father'	compare	mama	'father'

It may also be present in **gabiga** 'baby', **marraga** 'children', **madega** 'old man', **tayiga** 'elder sister' and possibly in *karnger* 'uncle'.

-di causative

A comparison of the following suggests a causative suffix.

yae e yannego (R)	yayi yani-gu	'come'
yae e yandego (R)	yayi yan-di-gu	'fetch it'

Vocabulary

The following list contains all sources. Those from Robinson are marked (R), those from Murdock's Wangaratta list are marked (W), those from Thomas Mitchell's list in Smyth are marked (T) and those from Mitchell in Curr are marked (M). Some forms in the Barwidgee list that appear to match Pallanganmiddang forms have been included and marked as (B). A broad phonetic form has been given wherever possible, but in some instances we have declined to attempt a phonetic reconstruction. Abbreviations used in cross-references to other languages are Ba Barwidgee (dialect of Dhudhuroa), Bung Bunganditj, CV Central Victorian Language, Dhu Dhudhuroa, Gipps Gippsland language, WV Western Victorian Language, Warr Warrnambool language, YY Yota-Yota. A survey of Victorian languages, which shows the relationship between these languages, appears in Blake and Reid (1998b).

English	Phonetic	Sources and notes
active	babana	barbunnah (W)
ankle	towa, tawa	towwer (R)
answer	miny- wayantha	minyeeyuntha (W) [see 'speak']
arm, small of	pedandji	pedunje (R)
aunt	pandja(a)ng(g)o	punjarngo (R) [see 'wife']
baby	kabiga	kubeega (M)
back (body)	kitha	keether (R)
bad	purranda	poorander (R)
	mad[h]jng(g)a	muddinga (M) [YY & Yabula mathi]
bandicoot	torra	torar (R)
bark	waarri	waaree (M)
beard	yarra(na)	yarener (R), yerra (M) [yarra- is widespread in NSW and Victoria]
beat	taga-	tuckuner (R) [see 'kill']
belly	muluna, murrung(g)a	moolloona (T), murunga-yeah (W)
	murna(ng)	[see 'bellyful' and 'full']
bellyful	pada murna	padder mourner ['big stomach'; see 'belly', 'big' and 'full']
big	pada	pudder (R), budda (M)
bird	marrega	murregah (T)
blood	kurru	koro (R), koroo (T), kurru (M)
		[similar forms are widespread;

blunt	munthang(g)a	kurrk is common in western Victoria]
bone	kayila	moonthunga (W)
	kitha	kieela (T), keela (M)
boomerang	wan.ga	kether (R) [see 'back']
		wonge (R) [Dhu wan.gewa ; similar forms in other Vic. langs and elsewhere]
bowels	bugu	boogu (M)
brains	ma(rre)ndanye	marendunge, marndunye (R)
bread	tanandje	tun nunje (R) [see 'food']
breasts	birri	berree (M) [Wir birri , Woi birring]
brother	wawa	wowwer (R) [WV wawi , Yabula wawa]
	waang(g)a	waanga (T)
brother, elder		wugug (M) [Similar forms in some sources for the WV inc. Moulmein (Curr 208a) <i>wakok</i> , Natti-yallook (Curr 208h) <i>wawook</i> , etc.] This is probably not a genuine Pall word.
		[see 'native companion']
broлга		bobintha (W)
burn	bobintha	woggarger (R)
bush	wagaga	mobenroo (R)
bushman	mobenrru	tooro (R)
buttock	turru	udarra (M)
by and by	yudarra	karingaroo [see 'shout']
call	karring(g)arru	manne (R), mae (M), munnee (W)
camp	mani	[Yota-Yota mani]
		bando (R)
camping place	bando	muther (R), mautha (M) [Dhu mautha , Yota-Yota matha]
canoe	matha, mautha	Yungoodthoo-carrar (W)
carry	yang(g)uthu-karra	tutargoo (W)
catch	tuta-	yeahberrimungee (w) [see 'breast']
chest	ya-birri-mang(g)i	pone gam beer (R)
chief	pon.gambia	uaroo, narro (R) [Ba yuwarru 'boy'; see yuwarru 'young man']
child	yuwarru	murraga (M)
children	marraga	keeder (R) [but see 'bone' and 'back']
chin	kida	wonyerde (R), wunyidthee (W)
climb tree	wanyithi	uwuther (R)
cloud	yuwatha	keer (R), keaa 'white c' (M)
cockatoo	kiya	butherwuther (R),
cold	bathawatha	bouwatha (M), bowultha (W) [see 'winter']
	bawatha	yae e yannego (R), yugg eunnego (W)
come	yayiyani-	yackeeaneegee (M)
come on	yakiyani-	karingadde (R), koveboomurree (W)
cook	karring(g)adi	worongun (R) [see 'doctor']
cord	warring(g)an	koerdo (R)
corroboree		carrda (M)
crayfish	karda	arr (R)
creek	ngarr	parroder (R), berontha (T), berrutha (M)
crow	berrontha	kojin ner (R), koodjeedarley (W)
cry	kudji-	paderde (R), buddidarley (W)
dance	pada-	kiewarra (M)
dark	kayiwarra	yuariga (T) [see yuwarru 'child', 'young man']
daughter	yuwarriga	dandigunda (M), koonda (T) [see 'sun']
day	(dandi)kunda	parronener (R), burrura (M)
dead	barrarra, barrona	burrijarra (W)
die	barridjarra	noginner (R)
dive	nogina?, nodjina?	kurbahivunyidthee (W)
		yanego (W) [= 'go']
divorce		warrogumber (R) [see 'cord']
doctor	warrogambia	bor (R), boa (M) [Yota-Yota baka]
dog	bawa	

dog, wild	narra	narrer (R)
dream		yarerutu (R)
drink	nanthibamithi	nunthibermidthee (W) [see 'mob']
	pogadi	pogerde (R)
	kanima-	kuneemanabee (M)
	tuyumaladhi warra	tooyoomulardthee wurrah (W)
dry		koenge (R)
duck	duma	tomar (R), tooma 'black duck' (M) [Ba dulumu , Dhu dummy , Yota-Yota dolma]
duck, wood	ngalawiya	mullawur (M), allerweer (R)
eagle (hawk)	warrimu	warrimoo (T), warm (R) [Ba wanumarra , Yota-Yota waanmirr]
ear	marramba	marumbar (R), murramba (M), mirimbah (T) [Yota marmu , Dhu marlamboa , Ba marramba(ga)]
earth	merri	merre (T) [see 'soil' and 'ground']
eat	tagadhi	tumerde (R), tugathee (M), tugarleetunthah (W) [thaka - common in Vic; also occurs elsewhere in eastern Australia]
egg	buwa, boya	booa (M), poyyer (R) [see 'head', Gippsland buyang] narrangah (T)
elbow	karrarra	currarer (R) [Dhu kurranpa]
emu	marra, marriya	murreer (R), murra (M) [Dhu marriawa , Gippsland mayawarra]
excrement	gurra	gurra (M)
eye	mii	me (R), mee (T), me (M) [cf. widespread mili]
fast	kananbi	kunnunbe (W)
fat	padarra	puddarer (R), puttarra (M) [see 'big']
father	mama, mamga	mumger (R), mama (M), mangah (T) [mama is widespread in Vic. and found elsewhere]
fetch it	yayi yandi-	yae e yandego (R)
fight	towadad-bi	towardardbee (W)
finger	yulo(n)	youllon (T) [see 'toe']
fingers		murrer (R) [see 'hand']
fire	karra	kurraw (T), kurra (M), kurrar, curreer (R)
fish	karrewa	currewer, kurrewer (R), kurewa (M), kurriwah (W)
fishing net	djarra	tyerrer (R)
fly	pamba	pemba (M), bamber (R) [Dhu bamboa 'blowfly']
fly, blowfly	guwadha	quorther (R)
fly, boogong	korrora	koroner (R) [= bogong moth?]
foal		elagge (R)
food	tana	tunna (M)
foot	tjirra	teyrah (T), teerrer (R), gerra (M) [widespread tjina]
forgiveness		wonyunga narungee naroo (W) [see 'no']
frightened	gamena	gammener (R)
frost	[ng]ada?	udder (R)
full	mumang-djitaming(g)a	moormungjeetermingah (W) [see 'belly']
fungi	manggamanggi	munggermunggi (R)
gammon	tonmana	tonmuner (R) [see 'lie']
give	noganya, nogu-marri-mimbarra	nogunyer (R), noorgoo-murri-mimburrah, murdah (W)
go		nogurerannergwe (R)
go first		e ner bad er made (R)
go last		i bear ro (R)
good	kayangi (-dji?)	uromebar, momibar (R), kieyangee (M) [see 'sweet', Dhu kandja]
grass	kambarru	kamburru (M)

greedy ground	ilang(g)a merri	elungar (R) merre (R), merre (T), merie (M) [see 'earth', 'soil' Bung mirriit, Warr mirring]
group	gamborro	kamborro (R)
hair	korrowa	korowwer (R), kurrowa (M), booaw (T) [see 'head']
hand	marra	murrah (T), murra (M) [widespread form]
hand, left	kanggomogo	kanggomogo (R)
hand, right	yarrariya	yarrereer (R)
head	buwa	poor (R), booaw (T), bua (M) [see 'egg', Yota-Yota buka]
health	wanang(g)a	wunnunger (R) [see 'no']
heart	panderra	parnderer (R)
heat		oueba (M)
hill	padarra?	puddare (R)
hip	kerrerro	kererro (R)
hit		[see 'beat', 'kill']
hot		koneder (R)
hungry	wawanda bang(g)owo	wurwunder (R) wowandowan (W), bungowonabee (M), bungunowo (B) [see section 3.1]
hunt	darrimadadi	dareemerdarde (R)
husband		pinederothu (R)
hut	warri	warre (R)
know		[see entry for 'where']
ice	woloda	wolloder (R)
island	duwaya	dwyer (R)
jump	popadi	poparde (R)
kangaroo	budju	pujjo (R), boodgoo (T), buju (M)
kangaroo rat	kima	keemer (R)
kangaroo, big	marrawirra	murerwirer (R) ⁵
kill	taga-	tugergo (R)
kip (=?)	dumeguna	toomegooner (R)
knee	yuwa	uer (R) [cf. 'lagoon']
koala ('monkey')	norroga	norogar (R)
kookaburra		[see 'laughing jackass']
lagoon	yuwa	ewer (R) [see 'knee']
lame (in leg)	tang(g)rrintha	tungrintha (W)
laugh	karrin	karrin (R)
laughing jackass	(ng)anbabuwa	none bubbore (R), unbabua (M)
lazy	marrimuna	marimooner (R) [see 'tired']
leg, calf	korramba	korumber (R), karrewa (B) [karrip 'thigh' in WV, CV]
lie [tell a lie]	tonmama	torn munner (R) [see 'gammon']
light	pali	parlee (M)
lightning	narra	narrar (R), narawahnyo (B) [Dhu narrawaanyo]
little	payumuna (ng)ambaganya	pyumuner (R) umburgunya (M)
little way		mamgineder (R)
liver	pula, puwala	poor-lar (R)
long way	woda	wodder (R)
lose the way	wurrarragurrabi	wurraragurabee (W)
magpie	payorro	payorro (R)
make noise		parerwow dubernunge (R)
man	djerri	teerre, teerew (R), jere (M), gerree (T) yiera (M) [see 'woman', Yota-Yota yiyrri]
man, black, good looking	parreng(g)urra	parrengoorrer (R)
man, black, wild	norrandja?	norrinjjer, norunjjer (R)

5. **Marra** is found in scattered languages including Gabi (southeast Queensland).

man, blackfellow,	dirty	morrang(g)urru	morrangoorro
man, gentleman			marerder (R) [see next entry]
man, old	madega		muddegar (R), muddega (M)
man, poor			pooerrergando (R)
man, white	warrantha		paaeainbir (R), waruntha (M)
man, young	morroga		morogar (R)
	yuwarra		ewaru (M) [see 'child', 'daughter' & 'son']
me			itebe (R), nyeende-nanga-durrah (W)
			[see 'my'; see pronouns]
mob	nandi djerri		nane de jeerre (R) [see 'man']
moon	yuwarra		yowerrer (R), yow-warra (T), huerra (M)
			[Yota-Yota yurri]
mopoke	bingamayi		bingami (T)
mosquito	ped[h]a		peder (R) [Yota-Yota betha]
	molula,		mollula (M)
mother	bidja		piger, piejer (R), bigah (T)
	bab		bab (M) [cf. Dhu baba ; baba widespread in Victoria]
mountain	buburra		pobboorer (R), bubbura (B) [purrp widespread in Victoria]
mouth	d(h)erra		deirah (T), diara (M)
my	nyinde		nyeende (W) [see 'me']
murde[r]	yagu		yaggo (R)
nails	t[h]irriwa		terrewer (R) [Central Vic. thirrip]
native companion	berranga		berranga (M) [Dhu birrangganba]
neck	worro		wor-ro (R)
never	wunang(g)a		woonunga (W) [see 'no']
night	tuma, tana		tooma (T), tunna (M)
no	wa(a)nang(g)a		wonnunger (R), waananga (M)
nose	nga		nar (R), nga (M)
occiput	kindi		kinde (R)
one	godi		korede, korde (R), guddee (M)
pain			yeah (W)
parrot, green	tondo		torndo (R)
pelican	kawadi		karwodde (R), karwadde (M)
penis	nawa		nowwer (R)
plain	marreng(g)o		marengo (R)
plenty	nurru		noorro (R)
	yung(g)urru		yuungurru (M)
poet			kybade mole (R)
possum	barra		purrer (R), burrar (M)
pot, small	paleli		parlelle (R)
push	nong(g)urrang(g)urra		novgoorungoorra (W)
quarrel	kuminabi		koom-minarbee (W)
quiet			pyer merde (R)
rain	nhurruma		noromer, nororner (R), neuma (M), noorooma (B)
ready to fight	pewudali		paywoodalle (R)
reed	modoeng(g)a		moddoenger (R)
reed necklace	tauma		towmer (R)
river	kirru		kiroo (R), kiewra (T) [see 'sea']
road	bandju		punjoo (R) [see 'track']
run	ponade		ponarde
			norerbob in niner (R)
run away	yudannu		udunno (R)
runaway	gunarrubununa		gunarrooboonoona (W)
sea			kiewra (T) [see 'river']
see	nhaga-		nagadee (M), nahga (B) [na- or nha is found over most of Aust.; nhaka- common in eastern Australia]
sew			eburgo (W)
shake hands			minedowenye muther (R)

sharp	budjang(g)a	budjunga (W)
shield	birr(e)ganbo	perreganbo (R), belgamba (M), birregambo (B)
short		omebarrme (R) [see 'talk', possibly confused with 'shout']
shoulder	kandjiya	kun gier (R)
shout	karring(g)arru	karringaroo (W) [see 'call']
sick	balana, bulana	bullanner (R)
sick (as to head)	yiambi buwa	yeumbeboah (W [see 'head'])
sing	kado	kardo (R)
	kibi-thi	kibidthee (W)
sister, elder	tayiga	tiga (M), tiger 'sister' (R), tiega 'sister' (T)
sit down	karra-	karerde (R), curradabee (M)
skin	wada	warder (R), wadda (M) [YY <i>wada</i> , Ngarigu (Curr 197) <i>watnana</i>]
sky	tetha	taytheo, tayther (R) [Yorta <i>tatala</i>]
		youivilla (T)
sleep	ngurrangurra	norungore, norangorer (R), murrongurra (M), wunyahnarbee (W), onyanarbee 'sleepy' (W), warrungoora 'asleep' (W) [Dhu <i>ngurra-ngurraya</i>]
slow	kandi	kundi (W)
smoke	tju	too (R), theu (M), dyun (B), toombaba (B) [Dhu <i>dhumbaba</i> , YY <i>thonga</i> , Gippsland <i>thun</i> ; the root <i>thu-</i> is common in Queensland and coastal NSW]
snake	djuyu(n)	tueyon (T), ju-u (M) [Dhu <i>djudjua</i> 'snake' 'black snake']
snake, black	kiyang(g)o	kairngo (R) [Dhu <i>gianggu</i> 'brown snake']
snake, brown	parraba	pyrerbar (R)
snow	binarru	pinnarro (R)
soil	merri	merre (T) [see 'earth', 'ground', Bung <i>mirrit</i> , Warr <i>mirring</i>]
son	yuwarru	yuairo (T) [See also 'man, young', 'child', 'daughter']
sore eye		poue yener (R)
speak	waya-	wiargoo (W) [see 'answer']
spear	wimda	wimdar (R)
spear, jagged	gamu(a)	karmoor (R)
spear, reed	mathang(g)u	curre gun beer (R), muthungu (M)
spear, war	wonda	wonda (M) [see 'tree']
squirrel		parrone beer (R) [see 'possum']
stand up	tanade, tandathi	tare nede (R), tandardthee (W)
star	djimba	jiemba (T), teimba (M), jameber (R) [Dhu <i>djimboa</i>]
steal		parerobiner (R), bairlthibee (W)
stick	tawa	tauwa (T) [see 'wood']
stomach	murrang(g)a	murunger (R), ianaru (M) [see 'belly']
stone	pungga	poongah (T), bunga (M) [YY <i>punga</i>]
stone charm		poengger (R) [= 'stone?']
stump	wadamanggi	wadermunggi (R)
sulky	puthanda	poothander (R)
summer	tirra	teerrer (R)
sun	winbinbi	winbeenbe (R)
	kunda	koonda (T), kunda (M) [see 'day']
sunrise	kunbu	kuneboo (R)
sunset	momang(g)a	momunger (R)
swan	mayiwa	mywer (R), miewa (M) [Dhu <i>maliwa</i> , YY <i>malya</i>]
sweet		kieyangee (M) [see 'good']
swim	yakathi	yare kudde (R), yahgadthee (W)
take it	maynda-	minedergo (R)
talk	ngombarri, yawati	omebarro (R), yowardee (W)

tall		moieniner (R)
teeth	(ng)angarru	unguru (M)
ten	poarra	poarer (R)
testicle	puyungarra??	poengarer (R) [see 'egg']
that	noga	nogar (R)
thigh	manda, munda?	moneder (R), munda (M)
things		weargo (R) [see 'speak']
think	kanyenarragathi,	kanyenarrargardthee (W)
thirsty	dadumagathi	duddumagathee (M)
	waurranmandjianabi	wowrunmunjeeunarbe (W)
this		you (R)
this morning		kyum boden ney (R)
three	pularrudu	pullaroodo (R)
	puligodi	poliguddee (M) [= 2+1]
throw	yun.gathi	unegardthee (W)
throwing stick	biyuga	beuga (M)
thunder	mandarra	munderer (R), mundara (M) [widespread inc. WV mardarra]
tired	marrimuna	murrimooner (R), murrinemarbee (W) [see 'lazy']
today	yanduga	yarenduger (R), yanduga (M) [see 'tonight']
toe	yulo(n)	youllon (T), ulo (R) [see 'finger']
tomahawk	n(g)andi	arde (R), nundee (M) [Ngarigu (Curr 211) ngamba YY ngana]
tomorrow	yuluth.lu	uluthlu (M)
tongue	tharra	turrer (R), tierah (T), turra (M) [widespread root thalayn]
tonight	yanduga	yarnduger (R) [see 'today']
too little		kub-bergar (R)
toothache	tawa	towwer (R)
track of a foot	bandjan	bunjun (M)
tree	wonda	umigar (R), wondah (T)
tree, box	dharringgu	tarengo (R) [Dhu dharringgu 'grey box']
tree, gum	piarrerra	peeareerer (R)
tree, manna	tandigala	tandigaller (R)
tree, she-oak	diyu-o	tehoo-o (R)
tree, stringy bark	dhadha	tarder (R) [Dhu dhadha]
tree, wattle		morroenggar (R)
two	pulithap, pulido	pullido (R), polithup (M) [pul- is widespread]
uncle	kang(g)a	karnger (R)
veins	wayinu	winu (R)
vener[e]al		ejener (R)
viscera	pugo?	poorgo (R)
walk	yan-	noaerrar (R), yannabee (M)
		yungigarlee (W) [yangabaila 'come' (B)]
wash	tagurra warrimadali	targoora wurrimadarley (W) [see 'water']
water	warra	worrer, warren (R), warra (M) [YY wala , Ngarrigu wallung 'rain']
water hole	bago, matha	bargo, marther (R)
wet	tiauwerra	tehowwerrer (R) [see 'water']
where	wand[h]a	wondac (R), wonda (M) [Interrogative/indefi nite root wanh is widespread in eastern Australia]
	wand[h]aya	wondaya (M) [given for the item 'I don't know' in Curr's questionnaire. Probably genuine and cognate with preceding]
whistle		uambinethah (W)
wife	pandjarrerrego	punjarerergo (R) [see 'aunt']
wild cat	nurruma	nooroomer (R)
wind	karri	carre (R), kurre (T), karrie (M)
windpipe	pang(g)ang(g)e	pungarnge (R)
winter	bawatha	pow wuther (R) [see 'cold']

woman, black	djerri	tcharere, charere (R), jaire (M), giree (T) [see 'man']
woman, old	djerriga	jerregar (R), gerriga (M)
woman, young	nawadaga	nowwadergar (R)
wombat	nawarra	nowwerer (R)
wood	tawa	towwer (R), tau-wa (T), tawa (M) [see 'stick']
woomera	banega	baneger (R)
wrist	tonyarragi?	toneyarerge (R)
yes		yow (R), yeo (M) [similar forms widespread in eastern Australia], barngee (W)
yesterday	pamanggi	parmungge (R), pamungee (M)
yonder		unner (R)
you	(ng)ina	innar (R), neibee (M) [ninna (M) given as 'T']

Sentence examples

<i>e lager torn borro</i> (R)		'don't you tell a fibs'
<i>yae e yannego</i> (R)	yayi yani-gu	'come'
<i>yugg-eunnego</i> (W)	yaki yani-gu	'come'
<i>yackeeaneegee</i> (M)	yaki yanigi/dji?	'come on'
<i>yae e yandego</i> (R)	yayi yan-di-gu	'fetch it'
<i>i ner bad er made</i> (R)	ngina bada made	'go first'
<i>i bear ro</i> (R)		'go last'
<i>narnge gageer now</i> (R)		'here they come'
<i>won nimgerareener</i> (R)		'don't understand'
<i>kugin man ner oor ro</i> (R)		'I'll break your neck'
<i>minedowenyi muther</i> (R)		'shake hands'
<i>wondow erni nuthe</i> (R)		'what's your name'
<i>wonda jere</i> (M)	wand[h]a djerri	'where are the blacks'
<i>wuarne bithere</i> (R)		'where you come from'
<i>narrungber</i> (R)		'you're a bad boy'
<i>me bourah togoorahmurri</i> (W)		'I did hunt emus'
<i>tare eni mo</i> (R)		'black man make rain'

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