

The Dhudhuroa language of northeastern Victoria: a description based on historical sources

Barry J Blake and Julie Reid

1. Introduction

Dhudhuroa was a language of northeastern Victoria. The first experience Aboriginal people in this area had of Europeans was when some of them witnessed the Hume and Hovell expedition pass through in 1824 on their way from Lake George in New South Wales to Port Phillip. Their next experience was in 1830 when smallpox spread south ahead of white settlement in New South Wales. It must have killed a considerable number of people in Victoria. The first squatters crossed the Murray from New South Wales in 1835, the same year that Melbourne was founded. In 1838 a party of would-be settlers and their stock led by George Faithfull were attacked by Aborigines near Benalla and seven of them killed in what became known as the 'Faithfull Massacre'. A larger number of Aboriginal people were killed in retaliation. Squatters had taken up virtually all of northeastern Victoria by the mid 1840s. There are no reports of other large scale killings, but the area is mountainous and was remote from large towns, and the number of squatters was small. In 1852 gold was discovered at Beechworth and Omeo, and the following year in the Ovens valley and later at other places including Rutherford and on the Mitta-Mitta. The discovery of gold brought thousands of newcomers to the area.

By the 1860s only scores of Aboriginal people remained, perhaps fewer (see the quote from Howitt below). TW Mitchell describes Black Mag (pictured), who died in 1883, as 'the last of the Jaimathang'¹ (see below). This is not accurate, since there are still people today who trace their ancestry to the Dhudhuroa and other people of north-eastern Victoria, but designating individual Aboriginal people as 'the last of the tribe' has been common and reflects a certain perception.

We have material on the Dhudhuroa language collected by RH Mathews from Neddy Wheeler² (pictured in Wesson's *An historical atlas of the Aborigines of eastern Victoria and far-eastern New South Wales*³). This material consists of RH Mathews' notes and

¹ Mitchell 1981: 28.

² Waywurru and Dhudhuroa language and culture are presently being researched in the Way Wurru and Dhudhuroa Language Program at the Mungabareena Aboriginal Corporation.



Black Mag, Towong, Victoria 1883. (One of the last speakers of Dhudhuroa).
Photograph provided by Rotary, Corryong.

a paper he published from these notes. There is also some vocabulary entitled 'Barwidgee', collected by JFH Mitchell. One short version was published by J Mathew in *Eaglehawk and crow* 1899 and a slightly different manuscript version has come to light, together with some additional vocabulary. Mathews' published paper contains only a small proportion of the material in his notes. It does contain vocabulary not in the notes. We have a manuscript version of this vocabulary interpolated in an offprint of another paper (see 1.1 below). The present paper is an attempt to produce a consolidated account that includes Mathews' field notes, drafts and manuscript vocabulary, as well as his published grammatical sketch, along with Mitchell's brief Barwidgee word list. Within the text all words are transcribed into a broad phonetic form in accordance with current conventions and given in bold, but original spellings are given in italics wherever any doubt about the interpretation might arise.

According to Mathews (1909: 278):

The Dhudhuroa [sic] was spoken by the Dyingmidhang tribe⁴ on the Mitta Mitta and Kiewa rivers, and along the Murray valley from Albury to Jingellic. Minyambuta, a dialect of the Dhudhuroa, was the speech of the tribes occupying the Buffalo, King, Ovens, and Broken rivers, with the tributaries of all these streams. From Jingellic eastward was the country of the Walgalu tribe, whose speech resembled partly the Dhudhuroa and partly the Dyirringan, a tongue spoken from about Nimmitabel to Bega.⁵

Dhudhuroa appears to consist of the first syllable of the word for 'no' reduplicated. The word for 'no' is **dhubalga**. It is common in southeastern Australia to base language names on the word for 'no'. The name almost certainly contains a reduced form of **wurru**, which means 'mouth' or 'language' in a number of Victorian languages.⁶ The final syllable is probably **-wa**, which is found on quite a few other words. Thus we probably have **Dhu-dhu-(wu)rru-wa**.

Howitt mentions a *Theddora-mittung*.⁷ Theddora is sufficiently similar to Dhudhuroa for us to be able to equate them, assuming stress on the first syllable as in most Australian languages. The location Howitt ascribes to Theddora tends to confirm this. The form *-mittung* is used for a number of tribe or clan names in the area. Here is the relevant passage from Howitt:

The Ya-itma-thang,⁸ commonly called the Omeo tribe, was divided into two sections - (a) the Theddora-mittung, occupying the sources of the Mitta-Mitta River

3. Wesson 2000: 67.

4. Smyth's map shows this as *Ginning-motong*.

5. Mathews 1909: 278.

6. Massola (1962: 324) gives this etymology.

7. We adopt the convention of representing original notations in italics and phonetic transcriptions in bold.

8. Howitt (1904: 77), following Bulmer (see Wesson 2000: 77), suggests the name may come from *ya-yau* 'yes' and *thang* 'speech' or 'tongue', the latter also appearing in Muk-Thang 'excellent speech', a name for the Gippsland language. But it is likely that *Yaitmathang* contains the element *midhang* (also other spellings) found in many of the tribe or language names in the area. David Nash has pointed out to us that O'Grady and Hale recorded **midhany** 'tongue' in the Western Australian language Karlamayi (WA) (O'Grady 2001:293, 299). Nash also notes that *midhain* 'tongue' appears in Daisy Bates' papers (365/47/2 (XII 2 C,1); 365/47/59-84 (C,4); 365/8.308). This Western Australian form is likely to be cognate with *midhang*.

and its tributaries down to about the Gibbo Mountain, the Upper Kiewa River and the Ovens River to the Buffalo Mountain, thus being the neighbours of the Mogulum-bitch, the furthest out of the Kulin tribes. (b) The Kandangora-mittung, who lived on the Omeo plains, the Limestone River down to its junction with the Indi River, and the Tambo River to Tongiomungie. On the latter river they were in contact with the Kurnai. It is worth noting that the old road from Omeo to Bruthen follows the trail by which the Gippsland and Omeo blacks made hostile incursions into each other's countries.

The first mentioned, the now extinct Ya-itma-thang, occupied the mountain country in which rise the rivers Mitta-Mitta and Tambo, and some of the sources of the Ovens, and extended north at least as far as the Upper Yackandanda River, called by them Yakonda. I have been able to learn but little of the local organisation of the Theddora. Their country was discovered and occupied about the year 1838. In 1852 gold was discovered at Livingstone Creek, one of the confluents of the Mitta-Mitta, and a great rush of miners set into the Omeo diggings. In 1862 there only remained four or five of this once numerous tribe.

The eastern boundary of the Ya-itma-thang was about the Cobbora Mountains, and thence down the Indi River to Tom Groggin's Run, their neighbours on that side being the Wolgal and Ngarigo tribes.⁹

If we compare the locations, we see that Mathews' Dhudhuroa extends further to the north than Howitt's Theddora. Smyth (1878) contains a map showing *Thara-Mirtong* in the area around the Kiewa River.¹⁰ This would appear to be another version of Dhudhuroa plus a version of the -mittang/-middang suffix found on a number of tribe or clan names in the area.

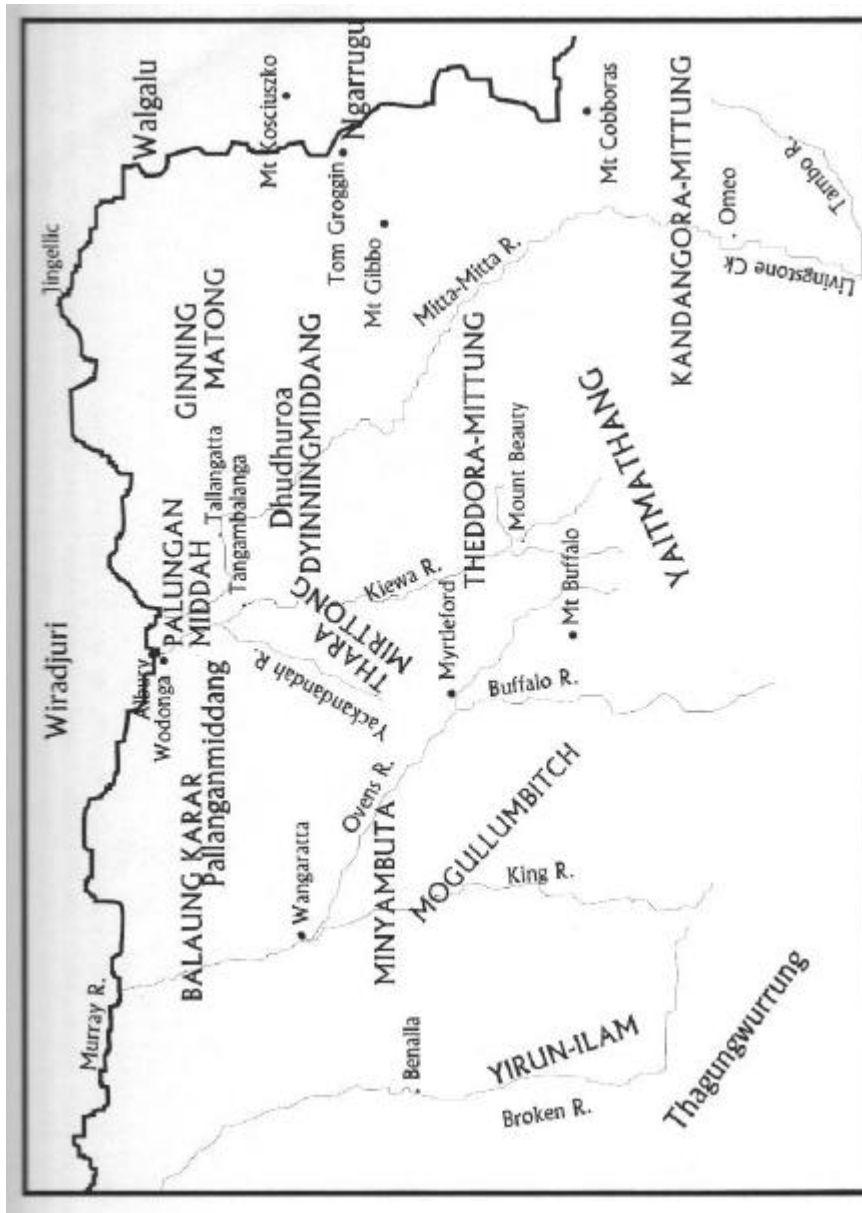
There are sources available for Pallanganmiddang. Smyth's map shows *Pallungan Middah* to the southeast of Wodonga, and one of the sources for this language comes from Thomas Mitchell, Tangambalanga. This is a town about twenty kilometres southeast of Wodonga. A century ago it was a government run camp at which survivors of European incursions congregated from various districts. Howitt includes a *Balaung Karar* on his map of the area south west of Wodonga.¹¹ It is likely that *Balaung* equates with Pallang, so it may be that Pallanganmiddang also extended to the southwest of Wodonga. It seems that this language was the western neighbour of Dhudhuroa.

There is vocabulary for *Barwidgee* collected by JFH Mitchell (see above). The location is given as 'Upper Murray' and Barwidgee is a property situated just to the northeast of Myrtleford. This vocabulary shares 62% (54.5/88) with Dhudhuroa and 30% (25/84) with Pallanganmiddang. Almost all of the words that are not Dhudhuroa are Pallanganmiddang or are words that were spread by Europeans such as *budjeri* 'good', *broлга* 'broлга', *gibba* 'stone', *gunya* 'camp' and *baal* 'no'. On the figures and allowing for the intrusion of non-local words one could assume Barwidgee was a dialect spoken by the Dyinningmiddang, probably a western dialect bordering the territory of the Pallanganmiddang. This fits the location (see map). There is, of course, the possibility that the informant mixed two distinct languages, not an impossibility given that some non-local words are included. The Barwidgee vocabulary has been

⁹. Howitt 1904: 77.

¹⁰. Smyth 1878: end of volume 2.

¹¹. Howitt 1904:827.



Northeastern Victoria showing language and 'tribal' names. Names from old sources are shown in capitals (including variants such as DYINNINGMIDDANG and GINNINGMATONG) and spellings adopted in the current work are shown in lower case.

incorporated in the Dhudhuroa word list at the end of this paper, each Barwidgee word being marked 'b'.

Tindale devotes a paragraph of his encyclopaedic work *Aboriginal tribes of Australia* to the *Djilamatang*¹² and mentions that they were exterminated by other Aboriginal groups 'in post-European times'.¹³ He places them in the north east 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'.

A more extensive collection of sources for the area and an interpretation of them are contained in Wesson's *Historical atlas*.

1.1 Sources

Practically all the available material is from RH Mathews and consists of notes, drafts of a sketch grammar and a very short published grammatical sketch. It is important to note that the published sketch contains only a fraction of the material in the notes and drafts.

Notes

Mathews' notebook contains grammatical information and some stories in English (p35-38).¹⁴ Page 40 is headed 'Neddy Wheeler, Dyingningmiddha or -buttha Tribe, native of Mitta Mitta River. Dhuthuro'-wa- Pronouns'. It contains the following note: 'Neddy Wheeler is a native of Mitta Mitta River, where his father also belonged - His tribe was Dyingning middhang [the -ng is underlined and followed by a question mark] Ned's mother belonged to the Walgalu tribe and Language, about Walaragang junction of J[?]ooma river or Tamberamba Creek up the Murray'.

Other pages are headed 'Dhudhuroa'.

Notebook 7 contains grammatical information and some vocabulary.

Page 40 is headed 'Neddy Wheeler of Jinningmiddha tribe, native of Mitta-Mitta - his father belonged to there - his mother belonged to Walgaloo tribe Walaragang. Dhoo'-dhoo-ro'-wa Language'.¹⁵

As mentioned above, we have a manuscript version of the published vocabulary written alongside *Kurnu* (= Kurnai) vocabulary in an offprint of Mathews' 1902 article 'Languages of some native tribes of Queensland, New South Wales and Victoria'.¹⁶ This annotated offprint is to be found in the collection of Mathews' papers in the National Library.¹⁷ The spelling differs in places from that in the published source and it clarifies some obscurities in the printed diacritics.

Drafts

Folder/document L: 'The Dhudhuroa Language' (5pp).

12. Other spellings include *Gilla matong* and *Gelematong*.

13. Tindale 1974: 203f.

14. Mathews (n.d.) notebook 6: 30-40.

15. Mathews (n.d.) notebook 7: 40-45.

16. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 36: 135-90.

17. MS 8006, Box 11. We are indebted to Stephen Morey for supplying us with a copy of this.

This is headed, 'The Dhudhuroa Language/ This language is spoken on the Mitta Mitta and J[?]ooma rivers and Upper Murray river into which they flow/ Minyambuta dialect of the D was spoken on the Ovens, King, ?? , Buffalo and Broken Rivers'.

Folder/document AJ 'The Dhudhuroa Language' (4pp).

Published paper

Mathews, RH 1909, 'The Dhudhuroa language of Victoria', *American Anthropologist* XI: 278–284.

There is also the vocabulary of Barwidgee discussed above.

Mitchell, JFH 1899, 'Barwidgee vocabulary', in J Mathew *Eaglehawk and Crow*: 208–272.

1.2 Neighbouring languages

Dhudhuroa speakers were probably bordered on the north by the Wiradjuri, who lived across the Murray. To the northeast lay the Walgalu, to the east the Ngarrugu. To the south in the Omeo area was Howitt's Kandangora-mittung, which was probably closely related. To the south again was the territory of the Gippsland tribes. To the west lay the territory of the Thagungwurrung, who spoke a dialect of the Central Victorian Language, which is a Kulin language closely related to the other Kulin languages of western Victoria. However, the sources for the area between Dhudhuroa territory and Thagungwurrung territory are not good and there may have been other dialects of Dhudhuroa or of the Central Victorian language spoken between the Ovens and the Broken Rivers. Pallanganmiddang was probably spoken to the northwest of Dhudhuroa territory.

Percentages of common vocabulary between Dhudhuroa and its neighbours are as follows:

language	percentage	source
Pallanganmiddang	10.7% (12.5/117)	Blake and Reid 1999
Ngarrugu	10% (10/100)	Mathews 1908
	3% (2/73)	Hercus <i>Southern Ngarigu</i> 1986
	19% (14/75)	Curr's <i>Omeo</i> list (also Southern Ngarrugu) (vol 3: 558–9).
Wiradjuri	16% (8/50)	Curr's <i>Albury</i> list (vol 3: 400–1)
	15% (4/27)	Smyth's <i>Emu Mudjug</i> list (1878: 68)
Thagungwurrung	13% (13/100)	Blake 1991
Yota-Yota	11% (11/100)	Bowe et al. (1997, 1999)
Gippsland	10% (10/100)	Mathews 1902
	13% (6.5/50)	Fesl 1985

These figures are all quite low and do not suggest a close relationship between Dhudhuroa and any neighbour. They partly reflect widespread roots such as **djina** 'foot', and partly a few words shared between Dhudhuroa and individual neighbours. These locally shared items are mostly fauna terms, a category that figures prominently in borrowing.

2. Phonology

We assume that the set of phonemes used in Dhudhuroa was similar to that found in other languages of southeastern Australia and Australia in general. The consonants given below shows all the 'sounds' distinguished by Mathews.

Consonants

	labial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar
stop	b	dh	d	rd?	dj	g
nasal	m	nh	n	rn?	ny	ng
lateral			l			
rhotic			rr			
glide					y	w

Some Australian languages do not distinguish dentals and palatals phonemically, but Dhudhuroa appears to, at least with stops, as evidenced by the following contrasts in initial and intervocalic position, and between a nasal and a vowel:

knee	dhiminba	<i>dhimminba</i>
foot	djinu	<i>dyinnu</i>
eat	dhana	<i>dhunna</i>
apron	djabeng	<i>dyabeng</i>
snake	djudjuwa	<i>dyudyua, dyu-dyu-a</i>
no	dhubalga	<i>dubulga, dhubulga</i>
smell	badhi	<i>badhe</i>
arm	gadjinba	<i>kuttyinba</i>
bandicoot	buladha	<i>bulladha</i>
yamstick	djudja	<i>jooja, juja, tyu-tya</i>
mosquito	girridhu	<i>kirridhu</i>
neck, throat	bilidjuwa	<i>billi'dyua</i>
lean (thin)	dhamindhanu	<i>dhummindhunnu</i>
eye	wundjaba	<i>wundjaba</i>
fall down	wendhurri	<i>wen'dhure</i>
tree, she oak	wundju	<i>wundyu</i>

With other languages there are often multiple sources and therefore multiple tokens for many words. This often shows fluctuation between dental and palatal notation and suggests no phonemic distinction. In the case of Dhudhuroa there is only Mathews and the Barwidgee list. All we can say is that in the dozen or so instances

where there are multiple tokens, there is no fluctuation. However, Mathews gives *gundha* for ‘fresh water’, which looks suspiciously like a variant of *gundya* ‘good’.

With nasals the position is not quite so clear, although Mathews, alone among the early recordists, was able to pick dental nasals from alveolar nasals, at least some of the time. There are contrasts intervocalically before **a** and **u**:

heat	meninha	<i>meninha</i>
dance	nganyarri	<i>ngunyare</i>
louse	munhuwa	<i>munhuwa</i>
black cockatoo	niyanyu	<i>neanyo b</i>

In initial position **ny** occurs before **a** (**nyanda** ‘many’) and before **i** (**nyinyanga** ‘today’). There is only one example of initial **nh** in Mathews and that is in **nheh** ‘I don’t know’ (See section 3.7), but on comparative grounds one would expect that *nagai* ‘look’, ‘see’ should have an initial **nh**, and we have taken the liberty of transcribing the root as **nhaga-**. There may have been dental laterals, but there is no evidence for them.

Presumably there were two rhotics, but Mathews does not distinguish them. We transcribe all rhotics as **rr**. We expect that there were retroflex consonants, but there is no clear evidence for them.

We would expect that there would not have been any distinction between voiced and voiceless stops and this is confirmed by fluctuation between *t* and *d*, and *k* and *g* in Mathews and Mitchell. Mathews did not use *p* but Mitchell did. Since *b*, *d*, and *g* predominate in Mathews, we have regularised *p* to **b**, *t* to **d** and *k* to **g**, except in syllable-final position where voiceless notations predominate, a feature also found in the notation of other Australian languages.

Vowels

Mathews uses all five vowel letters in his notation, but many Australian languages have only three vowel phonemes (**i**, **a** and **u**). In some instances we have interpreted Mathews’ *e* as **i** and his *o* as **u**.

Phonotactics

A feature of Dhudhuroa is that almost all words ended in a vowel. The only words with a final consonant are the following:

apron	djabeng
brother, elder	marrogayn
by and by	mayangan
evening	djebayn
full	gundja-yebang
quick	werrayn
strong	dha-ang
	madong [Wir <i>metong</i> , Warr martong ‘big’, Bung martong ‘good’]
tired	ngamanang
wrong	ngabun
man, old	djirribang [Wir djirribang , Pall. djirri ‘man’]

It is likely that Dhudhuroa allowed only vowel-final words and that the words listed above could be explained away if we had more data. This interpretation is strengthened when one considers that there are a number of words with a final syllable **-ba** following a consonant. It looks as if Dhudhuroa may have employed the strategy of adding **-ba** to produce vowel-final words. This strategy is attested elsewhere in Australia. The following list shows correspondences between Dhudhuroa forms with **-ba** and forms in neighbouring languages, mostly Ngarrugu, without **-ba**.

badjerri-djirritba	'wagtail'	djirri-djirri (Central Victoria)
birrangganba	'brolga'	berrangga (Pall), burralgang (Wir)
bulit-bulitba	'lyre bird'	bulit-bulit (Ngarrugu)
bulutjba	'ironbark'	bulutj 'native cherry' (Kulin; though glosses do not match, possibly through misidentification)
dhalaynba	'tongue'	dhalayn (Ngarrugu; widespread root)
gadjinba	'arm'	gadjinda (Djirrigayn (south coast NSW))
galang-galangba	'locust'	galang-galang (Ngarrugu)
garrgatba	'cold'	karrit (Omeo), karratha (Ngarrugu)
gawandikba	'old woman'	gawanditj (Ngarrugu), gawandil (Omeo)
gurrenba	'elbow'	gurren (Thagungwurrung)
mayangamba	'fly'	mayangan (Omeo)
naginba	'penis'	nagin (Yota-Yota)
wayatba	'rock wallaby'	wayat (Ngarrugu)
yarraynba	'beard'	yarrayn (Ngarrugu; widespread root)

Stress

In the vast majority of Australian languages stress falls on the first syllable, but we cannot assume that this is always the case. Hercus reports stress on various syllables in Mathi-Mathi.¹⁸ Mathews marks stress on some words, mainly on a non-initial syllable, and mainly on the vowel **a**. There is not enough information for us to be able to say much about stress, and we must bear in mind that Mathews may have been hearing the relative sonority of the open vowel **a** over the close vowels as evidence of non-initial stress.

3. Morpho-syntax

3.1 Nouns

Case

Two case suffixes can be found in Mathews' material:

ergative-instrumental	-ngu
genitive	-la

¹⁸. Hercus 1986: 115f.

The form of the ergative-instrumental is interesting. In many Pama-Nyungan languages one of the forms representing the ergative is **-nggu**. Since Mathews writes *ngu*, the question arises of whether this is another example of **-nggu** or whether it is **-ngu**, which could, of course, be a reflex of **-nggu**. Because Mathews writes sequences such as *ngga* in some words, we assume *ng* represents a velar nasal (**ng**) and *ngg* a velar nasal followed by a velar stop (**ngg**). Mathews occasionally puts an apostrophe or a dash between the *ng* and the following vowel. This notation certainly represents a velar nasal. Fortunately one such notation is used for the ergative, which confirms that the form is **-ngu**.

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| (1) | <i>Burrau-e-kang-o</i> | <i>dyudyua</i> | <i>dugge.</i> |
| | Barrawiga-ngu | djudjuwa | dagi. |
| | few-ERG | snake | kill.PAST |
- ‘Some people killed a snake’.

There also appears to be a locative **-nga**. Mathews does not explicitly mention this, but a number of adverbs of place end in **-nga**: **barrinbanga** ‘in front’, **birrinbanga** ‘in front’ (**birri(wa)** ‘breast’) and **banhu-nga** ‘at the back’ (**banhu** ‘back’). We have notations *barrin-bung’a* and *birrinbung’a* to confirm that the suffix is **-nga** and not **-ngga**. Since the widespread ergative **-nggu** is often paralleled by a locative **-ngga**, it looks as if Dhudhuroa has reflexes of both those forms, but without the **g**.

The ergative-instrumental marked the agent of a transitive verb as in (1) and (2) and the instrument as in (2). The object of the verb seems to have been unmarked, at least with nouns, as was the subject of an intransitive verb. In (2) **yerriyadha-** probably means ‘to hit with a missile’. There was probably more than one possible word order. The order of words in Mathews’ published grammar is agent-patient-instrument-verb.¹⁹

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|
| (2) | Djaba-ngu | yerriadha-ni | wan.gewa-ngu | wagarra |
| | man-ERG | hit-PAST | boomerang-ERG | crow |
- ‘The man hit a crow with a boomerang’.

The genitive marks the possessor:

djaba-la wan.gewa	(<i>jabala wungewa</i>)	man’s boomerang
mala-la djudja		woman’s yamstick

Mathews records a paradigm of genitive pronouns. Some of these end in **-la**. They are given in section 3.2.

¹⁹. In the published version the word for ‘boomerang’ is given as *wungewangu* with a macron over the *u* indicating that the first vowel is [u], but in numerous other tokens it is *u* indicating [a].

Adjectives showed concord for case.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| (3) | Djaba-ngu
man-ERG | murranduwa-ngu
big-ERG | djawa
possum | dagi (<i>dugge</i>)
kill.PAST |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|---|
- 'A big man killed a possum'.

Number

The dual was marked by **-lbu** and the plural by **-lmiya** or **-mangu**.

yawarra (<i>you-a-raw, yauara, yauraw</i>)	kangaroo
yawarralbu (<i>youaralbo, yauaraulbo</i>)	two kangaroos
yawarramangu (<i>you-a-ro-mang'o, yauaramunga</i>)	several kangaroos

In one manuscript version we find the free forms *balatherebo* 'two' and *nyanda* 'mob' as well as the number suffixes.

djawa (<i>jou-waw, jaua</i>)	possum
djawalbu (<i>jou-woulbo</i>)	two possums
wan.gewa	boomerang
wan.gewalbu (<i>wungewolbo</i>)	two boomerangs
wagarra murranduwa	big crow
wagarralbu murranduwalbu	two big crows
wagarralmiya murrandaga ^a	several big crows

a. The significance of the final syllable **-ga** is not clear, nor the unexpected final **-a** in the root.

Plural can also be indicated by the word **nyanda**.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|----------------------|--|
| (4) | Nhani=ngadha
saw = I | nyanda
mob | djawa (<i>nhaninguddha nyanda joua</i>)
possum |
|-----|--------------------------------|----------------------|--|
- 'I saw several possums'.

Gender

Mathews reports a masculine and feminine gender in Dhudhuroa, as he does for most languages. It is clear that he is referring to natural gender, in particular, to ways of indicating the sex of animals. He gives the following:

yawarra-djama	male kangaroo
yawarra-djangaana (<i>jungana, dyunggana</i>)	female kangaroo

The form **djama** (*jumma*) is recorded by Mathews as a word for 'cock bird' opposed to **djangaana** (*jungana*) the word for 'hen bird'. In his published grammar Mathews states that, 'Among birds, the cock is denoted by the 'postfix' **bendjana** and the hen bird by **mimindjana**'. Confusingly, he has *bandyanno* 'doe kangaroo' and *mim-mindyana* 'buck kangaroo' as a note in his draft grammar.

3.2 Pronouns

There are pronouns for three persons and three numbers with an inclusive versus exclusive distinction in the first person dual and plural. The inclusive is unmarked and the exclusive marked by **-ndha**. A common nominative form is used with the subject of transitive verbs as well as with intransitive ones.²⁰ Genitive forms are also recorded.

Enclitic pronouns representing the subject are attached to the verb and to certain other words, mostly interrogatives, appearing in the first position in a sentence. Mathews also records what appears to be an enclitic for third person singular direct object, namely **-nye**. Where subject clitics are used, the free pronoun appears to be optional. There are also examples where a free pronoun is used rather than an enclitic.

In both the forms given for nominative and for genitive, there is an apparent confusion between first person plural forms and **nyanda**, a noun meaning 'group' or 'mob', which is shown as a third person plural form. This seems to be part of a larger confusion between initial **ng** and **ny**, which shows up in the first person dual forms, but not in the first person singular forms.

Subject forms

		free	clitic
sing.	1.	ngadha (<i>ngadha, nguttha, nguddha</i>)	= ngadha
	2.	nginda (<i>nginda</i>)	= nda
	3.	magudha ('that one') (<i>magudha, mala-goodha</i>) ^a	
dual	1 inc.	ngala (<i>ngala, ngulla, nyala, nyulla</i>)	=ngal(a)
	1 ex.	ngalandha (<i>ngalandha, ngullandha</i>) ngalindha (<i>ngalindha, also ngunda</i>)	= ngandha (<i>nganda</i>)
	2	bula (<i>bull</i>)	= uba (<i>ooba</i>)
	3	bungga ^b	= ula (<i>oola</i>)
plur.	1 inc.	ngana (<i>nganna, ngana</i>), nganda(ngin(y)a) (also <i>nyandang, nyandanginya, nyandangoo, nyandangobula</i>)	= mana (<i>munna</i>)
	1 ex.	nganindha (<i>nganindha</i>) nganandha (also <i>nyandanganda</i>)	= mangandha (<i>munganda</i>)
	2.	nguda	
	3.	nyanda (<i>nyanda</i>)	

a. There is one token of **wingga** (*wingga*).

b. Other forms in the notes are *nuggoba, malaboonganga* and *mala dhaboongga*.

²⁰ Mathews records an apparent ergative in the first person plural, namely *nyandangoo*, but **nyanda** is the word for 'mob'.

(5) *Ngadha dugginguddhan-ye.*

Ngadha	dagi=ngadha=nye. (Also Dagi-ngadha-nye without the free pronoun)
I	hit.PAST=1SG.SUBJ=3SG.OBJ
'I hit him'.	

(6) *Nyinda duggindanye.*

Nyinda	dagi=nda=nye. (also Dagi-nda-nye without the free pronoun)
you	hit.past=2SG.SUBJ=3SG.OBJ
'You hit him'.	

(7)

Nyanda-ngu	munya	dagi
mob-ERG	that	hit.PAST

'They hit that one' (given as 'We hit him')

This is given as 'We hit him', but **nyanda** occurs several times as 'they'. It is certainly the word for 'mob', 'group' and it is significant that it takes the ergative, which is expected on nouns but not on pronouns.

(8)

Djawa	nhanya-mana
possum	see.past-1PL.INC.SUBJ

'A possum we saw'.

(9) *Nguttha takananguddhanye.*

Ngadha	daga-na-ngadha-nye.
I	hit-PRES-1SG.SUBJ-3SG.OBJ

'I am hitting him'.

Genitive forms

Mathews gives lists showing persons and numbers as possessor of **wan.gewa** 'boomerang'. He gives examples where the possessor is postposed as in **wan.gewa=ngayi-la** 'my boomerang' and where the possessor is preposed or separated by a demonstrative as in **Ngina munya wan.gewa** 'That boomerang is yours'. There do not appear to be special enclitic forms for possessor, as one might expect from what is found in other languages of south-eastern Australia, except for **=dhala** 'his/her/its', which appears only in postposed position and contrasts with the free demonstrative **magagudhala**. It should be noted that the non-singular forms given for the genitive are mostly the same as the nominative forms. The form **bungganga** looks as if it might be a genuine genitive form, and **nyandala** is certainly genuine, but it is not a pronoun, but rather a noun meaning 'group' with the regular genitive inflection for nouns.

sing.	1.	ngayila (<i>ngaila, ngila</i>)
	2.	ngina (<i>nginna</i>)
	3.	magudhala (<i>magudhala, muggoodhala, mugudhala</i>) magagudhala (<i>muggaguddhala, magagoodhala</i>) mugudhala (<i>moogodhala</i>) = dhala (<i>dhala</i>)
dual	1inc.	ngala
	1ex.	ngalandha , (<i>ngalandha, ngullandha</i>), ngalindha (<i>ngalindha</i>)
	2	bula (<i>bullā</i>), bela (<i>bella</i>), magooala (<i>boonganga</i>)
	3	bungga , (<i>boongga, bungga</i>) Bungganga (<i>boonganga, ngagoala boongganga, buladharabula, muggagwala... , magoodhalaboongga</i>) ^a
plur.	1inc.	ngana (<i>ngunna, ngana, nganna</i>), (also <i>nyandanginna, nyandalangananindha</i>)
	1ex.	nganandha (<i>nganandha</i>) nganindha (<i>nganindha, nganindhoo</i>) (also <i>nyandalangandha</i>) ngandala (<i>ngandala</i>)
	2	nguda (<i>ngooda, nguda</i>)
	3	nyandala (<i>nyandala</i>) (nyanda = 'many') (also <i>muggagula ngandala, muggoodhala</i>)

a. There is also an apparent sentence untranslated: *muggagwala dyimbi bungga*.

3.3 Demonstratives

this, here	djimbi (<i>jimbi, jimbee, dyimbi</i>) Djimbi bula ngadha 'Here I am'
that, there	mayigadha (<i>maigadha, maigudha, magudha</i>) malagadha (<i>malagudha, malu(ga)</i>) maga(gu)(dha)la <i>mugagula, magudhala, magagudhala</i> munya (<i>munya, moonya</i>)
that (further away)	mamayitgurra (<i>mamaitgura</i>)
that (still further)	madhanbanga (<i>madhanbunga</i>)
that (away yonder)	gayitgurru-u-u (<i>kait-'guru'u-u, kaitguru-o-o'!</i>)

3.4 Numerals

one	garruwa(nga) (<i>garrawa, karrawa, kurrawunga, kurdawung-a, kurroowunga</i>)
two	buladherrabo (<i>buladherabu/o, boolatherebo</i>)
three, a few	burrawi(gu) (<i>burauigo, burauego, burraue, boorouega</i>)
four ^a	buladhan-buladhan (<i>buladhan-buladhan</i>)
five	buladhan-buladhan-garruwa (<i>buladhan-buladhan-kurrowa</i>)
many	nyanda

a. No gloss is given, but its place in the list and the fact that it is a reduplicated form based on the widespread root for 'two', namely **bul**, suggests that it means 'four'.

3.5 Locational words

barrinbanga	<i>burrin-bung'a</i>	in front
birrinbanga	<i>birrinbung-a</i>	in front
banhu-nga	<i>bunnhonga</i>	behind (banhu 'back')
galagwiyangga	<i>gullagwianangga</i>	around
dumurramanga	<i>tumuramanga</i>	between
gigagu	<i>kikago</i>	inside
gayigudha	<i>kaikudha</i>	outside
wanbayinagadha	<i>wunbainagadha</i>	up (a river)
djikanagadha	<i>dyikanagadha</i>	down (a river)
djimbiyangga	<i>dyimbiyangga</i>	this side (of a stream, etc.) (djimbi 'here')
yirrigama	<i>yirigama</i>	other side (of river, etc.)
ganagadha	<i>gunnagadha</i>	up (on top)

Also **mayuwiga barringganga** (*mioowe-ga burringganga-a*) 'in rear of'

3.6 Interrogatives

who **ngan.ga** (*ngan-ga, nganga*)

Ngan.ga djimbi 'Who is this?'

Ngan bulbul 'Who are those two?'

Nganbandu 'Who is that?'

Nganbangu munya (*Nganbungoo/a munya?*) 'Who did that?'

Nganbangu djimbi? (*Nganboongo jimbi?*) 'Who from this?'

Ngandangu munya? (*Ngandungoo moonya?*) 'Who did that?'

Ngandangu (*ngandungu, ngandungoo*) 'Who is it from?'

whose? **nganbu-la, ngan.ga, ngan.ga-la**

The form **ngan.ga-la** is expected, but **ngan.ga** appears though it would seem to be the nominative. The form **nganbula** is hard to interpret in light of the fact that **bul** also appears in **Djimbi bula ngadha** 'Here I am'.

Ngan.ga djimbi? (*Nganga jimbi?*) 'Whose is this?'

Ngan.ga wan.gewa-lbu? (*Nganga wungewolbo?*) 'Whose are these boomerangs?'

Ngan.ga-la djimbi? (*Ngan-ga-la jimbi*) 'Who is this for?'

where? **dhawuna, wala(m)/walu(m)**

It is interesting to note there are two completely different roots for 'where' in Mathews' notes. The form **dhawuna** is the only one that appears in Mathews' field notes, and three of the pronouns that occur with the other root, **wala(m)/walu(m)**, are consonant-final. Final consonants are not normal in Dhudhuroa. On these grounds the **wala(m)** forms must be regarded with suspicion. Presumably they are genuine, but not for the dialect that Mathews is describing.

Dhawuna=nda	(<i>dhaunenda, dhauninda, dhounanda</i>)	'Where are you (sing.)?'
Dhawunangayala	(<i>dhounangyalla, dhaunaya/u/ella, dhaunanyulla</i>)	'Where are we (du inc)?' Also given as 'Where are you two?'
Dhawunamina	(<i>dhaumina, dhaunamina, dhounaminna</i>)	'Where are we all?' (pl inc)
walangurru?	<i>wallunguru/a</i>	'Where is it?'
walume?	<i>wallume</i>	'Where are you?'
walambulau	<i>wallumblau</i>	'Where are we two?'
walamngal	<i>wallumngal, wallumngul</i>	'Where are you all?' [sic]
walambulan	<i>wallumbulan</i>	'Where are you two?'
walubula	<i>wallubula</i>	'Where are you two?'
walangurra nhurrel	<i>wallungurra nhurell</i>	'Where are you (plural)?'

where from? **yunandhu**

Yunandhu bayini? (*Yoonundhoo/yunindha bieene?*) 'Where did you come from?'

where to? **wawinini**

Wawini(ni)=nda bayini (*Wawunninda bieene/baiini?*) 'Where are you going?'

how? **yungami**

Yungami=nda dagi?	(<i>Yoonguminda dugge</i>)	'How did you hit it?'
Yungami=nda ngandi?	(<i>Yoonguminda ngunde</i>)	'How did you catch it?'
Yungamini=nda?	(<i>Yungamininda?</i>)	'How was it done?'

what? **minyuwa**

Minyuwa djimbi? What's this?

what for? **minyeini** (*minyeni, minyena, minyeinni, minye-innee*)

how many? **minyamalayn** (*minyamalañ*)

when? **ngadu ganga**

Ngadu ganga=nda	(<i>Ngadoo ganganda</i>)	'When did you see it?'
Ngadu ganga=ndu bayini	(<i>Ngadoo gungundoo bieenee</i>)	'When did you come?'
Ngadu ganga=nda?	(<i>Ngudda ganganda?</i>)	'When was it done?'

If the final **-nda** in the last example is in fact the clitic for second person, then the translation of this example would have to be something like 'When did you do it?' Note there is no verb in this example, nor in the first. The verbal meaning is presumably supplied by the context.

3.7 Negatives

The root **ngala** occurs in the following sentences:

Ngala dagayi		'Do not hit!'
Ngalarra=ngadha.	(<i>Ngalaranguddha</i>).	'No, I haven't got it'

A form **nheh** is given for 'I don't know', but it is probably not a negative. In many Australian languages an interrogative/indefinite form is used to convey this meaning rather like the use of English 'whatever'.

3.8 Verbs

Tense

Mathews gives verb inflections for past, present and future. The forms appear to be as follows, but there are some irregularities.

past		-i, (-ni?)
present		-na
future		-mu
dagi=ngadha		'I was beating'
daga-na=ngadha		'I am beating'
daga-mu=ngadha	(<i>tuggumuggadha</i>)	'I shall beat'
nyinyi=ngadha		'I was sitting'
nyina=ngadha		'I am sitting'
nyin-mu=ngadha	(<i>nyinmugaddha</i>)	'I shall sit'
djeginyi=ngadha	(<i>tyekinyingadha</i>)	'I was standing'
djeginya=ngadha	(<i>tyekinyangaddhe</i>)	'I am standing'
djegin-mu=ngadha	(<i>tyekkinmuggadha</i>)	'I shall stand'
nhani=ngadha		'I saw'
bayini=ngadha		'I walked'
yerriyadhani=ngadha		'I threw'

Here is the complete set of paradigms to be found in Mathews. They are all in the past tense. Since the person markers also appear on interrogatives, they are presumably enclitics, but Mathews treats them as inflection, and indeed there are some irregularities.

	nhani- 'to see'	bayi- 'to walk'	daga' 'to beat'	yerriyadha- 'to throw'
sing				
1	nhani=ngadha	bayini=ngadha	dagi=ngadha	yerriyadhani=ngadha
2	nhanyi=nda	bayile (one token)	dagi=nda	yerriadhani=nda
3	nhanyama	bayini	dagi (<i>dugge</i>)	yerriyadhani
dual				
1 inc	nhanyi=ngala nhani=ngala	bayini=ngala	dagi-ngala daginyella (<i>duggin-yella</i>)	yerriyadhani=ngala
1 ex		bayini=ngandha	dagi-ngandha daginyinda (<i>dugginyinda</i>)	yerriyadhani=ngandha
2		bayiluba		yerriyadhanuba
3		bayinula		yerriyadhanula
plur				
1 inc	nhanya=mana	bayin(i)=mana		yerriyadhani=mana
1 ex		bayini(ma)ngandha	dagi-ngandha	yerriyadhani=mangandha
2				yerriyadhan
3				yerriyadhan

Imperative

Dagayi munyu	'Hit that one!'
Ngala dagayi	'Do not hit!'
Kanyi (<i>kunye</i>)	'Hold on!'

A number of the verb forms in Mathews' glossary end in **-ayi** and may be imperatives. They include: **nginggayi** 'sit', **thurrgrwayi** 'talk', **thangayi** 'tell', **ngandagayi** 'take', **nanggayi** 'weep', **yagayi** 'laugh' and **nhagayi** 'look'. A few end in **-gu**, which may be a non-singular imperative as in the Central Victorian language. These are **matjgu** 'bring', **yandigu** 'fetch', **dhumagu** 'kiss' and **karramagu** 'steal'. The last of these resembles *karrama*, a word from the Sydney language that was spread in Pidgin.²¹

The verb for 'fight' is **dagayirriba** (*tukkairibba*), which invites comparison with **daga** 'hit' and suggests a reciprocal form.

²¹ H. Koch pers. comm.

Other recurrent word-final sequences are:

-baya	-gili	-layi	-le	-rri
gatjbayi 'cook'	karrigile 'climb'	binilayi 'run'	badale 'pretend'	ngumarre 'drink'
ngatjbayi 'sing'	bedagile 'jump'	bagulayi 'arise'	mulagale 'dive'	wendhurre 'fall down'
wangumbayi 'pitch'		winggilayi 'whistle'		nganyarre 'dance'
gubayi 'roast'				
marratjbi [<i>mur-ratchbe</i>] 'chastise'				

4. Vocabulary

The remainder of the data from the sources is given below in alphabetical order, though a few glosses have been modernised: *laughing jackass* → *kookaburra*, *native companion* → *broлга* and *belly* → *stomach* and *spear lever* → *woomera*. Words from Mathews are unmarked, except that forms found exclusively in the manuscript are marked ms. Words from the Barwidgee list are marked with b. Where the published version and the manuscript version differ, the published spelling is given first and the manuscript second. The manuscript version often differs only in having an extra 'h'. This is shown in round brackets. Additional vocabulary, which exists only in manuscript form, is labelled bms.

The reconstructed phonetic forms shown in the middle column involve different degrees of confidence. The most problematic forms are marked with a question mark. Abbreviations in the cross references are as follows: Bung Bunganditj, CV Central Victorian Language, Gipps Gippsland, MM Mathi-Mathi, Ng Ngarrugu, Pall Pallanganmidhang, Thag Thagungwurrung, Tjap Tjapwurrung, Wa Wathawurrung, Warr Warrnambool Language, Wir Wiradjuri, WV Western Victorian Language, WW Wemba-Wemba, Yab Yabula-Yabula, YY Yota-Yota. A survey of Victorian languages, which shows the relationship between these languages, appears in Blake and Reid.²²

Stress is indicated by an accent (apostrophe) following the stressed syllable as in Mathews' published vocabulary.

English	Dhudhuroa	Sources	Notes
afraid	warragana	wurragana	
alive	murrbuwa	murboa	WV, CV murrun
angry	wa(rr)ganana	warkamana, warkanana ms	
ant, black	gayirrguwa	gairgoa bms	
apron	djabeng	dyabeng	
arise	bagulayi	bakkulai	

²² Blake & Reid 1998: 4-5.

arm	gadjinba	kuttyinba, kuttyinba ms, kuddyinba ms, karjenba b, carjenbah b	
around (there)	galagwiyangga	gullag-wiangga, gullag- wiangga	
baby	bandjina	bundyina	
back	[ng]ambuganya banhu	umbugunyah b bunno, bunnhonga 'behind'	see 'child' YY banu(th) , Bung. banu
bad	geberri	keberri, baal budgery 'not good' b	Pidgin from Dharuk (Sydney)
bag, net	bigunba	bigoo'nbah bms	
bandicoot	buladha durra	bulladha doorah bms	Pall durra
bark	garrayu	karrayu b	see 'rain'
bat	manmalawuna	munmalauna	
beard	yarraynba	yerranba, yarangba(h) b	yarrayn wide- spread in eastern mainland
beat	marratjbi	murraytybe ms	cf. marra 'hand'
beg	dhungayi	thungai	see 'tell'
behind	banhunga	bunnhonga	see 'back'
between	dumurramanga	tumuramang-a	Yab. dumarr
big, large	murrandu	murandu, murrandu ms, murandoa, murando b	
bite, sting	bulingani	bullingunni, bullingana ms	
black	dhayugilu	dhai-u-gillu	
blind	migi wandjagu	miki wundyagu, mikki wundyagu megeewanjega b, megee- wanjegea b	
blow (with breath)	(y)imbayi	imbai	
blowfly	bambuwa gindulu	bumboa, bumboa ms gindoolo bms	
bone	biyamanhu	biamunnhu	
boomerang	wan.gewa	wun-gay-wa, wun'-ge-wa, wongewa b	widespread root
bottom	tulumu	tooloomoo bms	
bowels	gununawu	goonoonau b, goonoonow b	guna widespread
boy	yuwarru	uaro b	= Pall 'child'
boy, small	magudju	magudya	see 'youth'
bracken	wurumagen	wooroomuggen bms	
bread	dana	dunna b, dunnah bms	Pall danadji
break	gigini	giginni	

bream, black breasts	wanambiyu birriwa	wunnumbeu birriwa, birriwah 'chest' b	Pall, Wir birri , CV birrm
bring brolga	matjgu birrangganba	matchgu, matygu birang'ganba, brolga b	Tjap, Wa mutjaka Pall berrangga , Wir burralgang , but <i>brolga</i> direct from English
brother, elder brother, younger	marrogayn ngulubamini	murro'gañ ngulubaminni	
build bullroarer bullroarer, small	mang(g)i madjigani yirragaminanga	mungi bms muddyigany yiragaminanga	
burn		wangari'ngemaini' nge bms	
bury	murrawa	moorawa bms	
bushes	barramayu	barama'yu bms	
buy	n[g]anda	nundah bms	see 'catch', 'take'
by and by	mayangan bawiyarra	maiarngan bahwearrah bms	
camp	ngudjuwa	ngu-tyu-a, ngutyua ms, gunya b	gunya non-local
canoe	mawudha	mautha doothoo(h) b	Pall., YY matha
carry	worrongarra	worrongah'ra b, bms	
catch	ngande, nangda	ngunde, nungdah bms	
centipede	garrerrinba	kur-rerinba, kurrerinba ms	
chastise	marratjbi	murratchbe	see 'beat'
child	bandjina	bundyina	see 'baby'
chin	lendawa	lendawa(h) b	see 'mouth'
chop	danda	danda bms	
clean	naga	nukkah bms	
climb	garrigala?	ku'rrigille', carregala bms	
cloud [rain- cloud?]	garrayu	karareyu b	see 'rain'
club, fighting	gudjerru	gudyera, goojuroo b, good- joroo b	
club, hunting	dananganinba	dunning-unninba	
club, small	gidjudjurrumbulu	gi'dyu-dyurum'bulu	
cockatoo, white	gidawunu	kittau'nu, gadauna b, gad- owno b	Omeo gidano
cockatoo, black	niyanyu	neanyo(h) b	
cod	yambuwa	yu'mboa	see 'fish'
cold (adj)	garrgudang, garr- gutba	kurkutang, kurkutba 'cold- ness', karagutba b, kurkut- nangadda ms	Omeo karrit , Ng karratha
cold morning	yabra djila	yabra jeelah bms	

come	bayini yang(g)abayila	baeenee, baini yangabaila b, yangaba'illa bms	see 'go' see 'walk'
cook	gatjbayi	gutchbai, gudy-bai ms	
coot	bado	bahdo bms	
copulation	munbi	mu'nbi	
cow		millowngow bms	Eng. 'milking cow'
crane	garriyalwa	kurrial'wan, kurrialwa ms	
crane, white necked	marrguwa	murgoa	
crayfish	dhang(g)ambal- ang(g)a	tongambalanga b	Omeo thang(g)ambu- luwa
creek	djerring(g)emo	jeringemor b, bms	
cross	niyumbamina	newm'bahminah bms	
crow	wagarra berrutha	wagara, wagara(h) b berrutha	wa- widespread Pall berrutha
cry	nanggayi	nunggai 'weep'	
curlew	gurrinyalawa	guranyillawa, gooring- nal'lewah bms	
damper	birritba	birreetbah bms	
dance	nganyarri	ngunyare	
darkness	dhogotjba	dho-gotch'-ba, dhogotyba ms, tiyogolo b	see 'night'
dead	mirrigini	mirriginni	
deaf	migi marrambaga	miki murlumbagu, mikki murrumbuga ms, megee murrumbugga(h) b	Wir <i>megotha</i>
die	nginyanga	nginyanga	
dirty	tunggulu	toongoo'loh bms	
dive	maladjale	mulagale, mullejel'le bms	
diver	wong(g)a-wong(g)a	wonga wonga bms	
diver, white breasted	burruwa	booroowah bms	
dog	wingga	wingga, weengga, wehnga b, wehngah bms	
down (a river)	djiganangadha	dyikanangadha	see 'morning'
drag, to	nurra	noora bms	
drink	ngumarri	ngumare	
duck, black	dumu, dulumu	tumu, dooloomoo b	Pall duma , YY dulma , Kulin dulum
duck, teal	bayawu	bai-a'-wu	
duck, wood	nanatba	nanatba	
	ngarru	ngaru b, gnaroo b	Wir <i>ngaru</i>
eaglehawk	wanumarru	wannamaro, wunnamuru, wannomurra b	

ear	marrambuwa	murlamboa, murrambo ms, murrumbo b	YY marrmu , Yab. marram , Pall. mar- ramba , Ba mar- ramba(ga)
eat	dhana	dhunna	Gipps dhana , dha- widespread
egg	dhung(g)a	dhunga	
elbow	gurranba	kurunba	Thag gurran
emu	marriyawa	murri-a'-wa, murre-a-wa, murriawa b	see 'head', Pall marriya , Gipps mayawarra
evening	djebayn	dyebañ	
excrement	gunu	gunu [guna widespread]	
eye	wandjaba	wundyaba ms, wunjubba b	
face	warruwa	wahroa b	
fall down	wendhurri	wen'dhure	
far, away			see section 3.3
fat	galanhu, galimbu	kullanhu, kullimbu, kull- inhu ms	Bidawal <i>kullunga</i>
	padarra	pata'rah bms	Pall padarra
	gurri	goori bms	
father	mema, mama	mema	Kulin, Pall. mama see under gender in grammar
female, doe, hen			
fence	dagatba	targat'bah bms	
fern, treefern	djandjamba	janjum'bah bms	
fight	dakarriba bayiba	tukkairibba ms bieba(h) b, bms	
find	nagaunda	nuggaunda bms	
fire	ngiyambanba	ngeambunba, neeambunba b	
fire, make a	bomogo	bohrmo'go bms	
fish	yambo	yumbo b	see 'cod'
five	buladhan- buladhan-garruwa	buladhan-buladhan-kur- rowa	
fleas	minawa	meenowah bms	
fly	mayangamba	mai(y)angamba b, myan- gamba bms	Ngarrugu <i>miangan</i>
fog	ngurr-ngurrgu	ngur-ngurgu	
food	bamaynba darrgi bada	bummainba turrigi b, turghi bms patta b	
foot	djinu	dyinnu, jinno(h) b	djina widespread
forehead	nguluwa	ngulua	Ng ngulangi
frog	wurra-kuk-kuk	woora'kukkuk bms	
front, in	birrinbanga barrinbanga	birrinbung-a burrin-bung'a	see 'breast'

	barrin.ganga	burrin-gunga, barrin.ganga b	
frost	girraya	girraia	
full	gundja-yebang	gundya-yebbung	see 'good'
gang-gang [parrot]	guriyanba	gurian'bah bms	
gap	gayiwa	giewa bms	see 'river'
girl	wigi	weki b	
girl, small	djamaganba	jummaganba	
give	ngibiyu, wuga	ngibbi-u, ngibbui ms, uguh b, uhga bms	<i>ugah</i> may represent yuga
glad	gangwa	gangwa	
go	bayini	bieenee, baiini	also 'come'
	yagamila	yagamilla b, bms	
goanna, ground	wurrurra-djawa	wu'rura-dyaua	
goanna, tree	gurrudha	gurudha, gooroodi b, goorooda(h) b	
good	gundja	gundya, gundya ms budjeri b	see 'water, fresh', <i>budjeri</i> is Pidgin
grass	murru	murru, moorah b	Gipps muthu
grebe	dilimba	deelimbah bms	
greedy	ngalarra	ngullara	see 'not got'
ground	gurratba	guratba	
gun	marrgatba	margutbah bms	probably 'musket'
hail	bedima	bettima	
hair		murriawah b	see 'head'
hand	marra	murra, murra(h) b	widespread
hard	badoyo	budo'io bms	handwriting difficult to decipher
head	marriwa, marriyawa	murrewa, murrera ms, murriawa(h) b	
hear	ngarrinbayi	ngurrinbai	
heat	meninha	meninha, maininah 'warm morning' bms	
heavy	bubulelo	boobolelo b, booboo'beloh b, boobobeloh bms	
heel	munin-djinu	munin-dyinnu	see 'foot'
here	djimbi	dyimbi	see 3.3
hide	(y)inbayi	inbai 'conceal'	
hill	minggawu-ganidha,	minggau-gunnedha, bubura b, bubburah bms	Pall boburra , WV, YY purrp
	dalga	talga 'mountain' bms	
hit, kill	dag-	tukkai	see 'kill'; WV, Pall. dag-
honey	ngarruwa	ngurrua, narroo'ah 'bees' 'nest' & 'honey' bms	

hop bush		tadoiok [?] bms	
horse	yarraman	yaraman bms	NSW word used in Pidgin
hold on	ganyi, gandji	kunye, kunje	
hungry	banganawawu	bungunowo b, banga- nawau b	Pall bangowo
hunt	gorrige	corrigenyella bms	
hurry	wangarrela	wungurella bms	
husband	ningulali	ningullale	
injure by sor- cery	yayarro	yaiaro	
inside	gigago	kikago	
inside	didago	didago	
jump	bedagili	bettagille	
kangaroo	yawarra	yauara, you-a-raw, boodjoo b	Pall budju
kangaroo, female	yawarra djanggana	yauara junggana	
kangaroo, old man	balewa yawarra	pahlelhwahyowerow bms	
kill	gangini	gunginne	
kiss	dhumagu	dhumagu	Pall. dumaguna
knee	dhiminba	dhimminba	
kingfisher	nurrigu	noorigo bms	
koala	bawiyaga	bou-ee-a-gaw, bauiaga	
kookaburra	gugarrangga	kugarungga	
lagoon	baluma	balloomah bms	
laugh	yagayi	yagai	see 'vomit'
lean (thin)	dhamindhanu	dhummindhunnu	
leaves of trees	barramiyu	burramiyu	
leg, calf	marrandho	murrandho	Robinson records murranda 'leg' in Ngarrugu
leg, thigh	garriwa	kurriwa, kurrewa 'whole leg' ms, kurriwa 'thigh' ms, karrewa b, carrewa b	Kulin, Bung, Warr karrip
light	durrung(g)ulu	torongolo b	
light (not heavy)	bawumbadji	baumbaji b, bowmbahjee b, bowmbajee bms	
lightning	narawaanyu	narawahnyo b	Pall narra
lizard, sleepy	mago-mago	muggo-muggo bms	
locust	galanggalangba	gulanggalangba ^a	Ng galang-galang
log	durruga	tooroogah bms	
long	ginyarro	keenyarob	see 'tall'
long ago	nangadhanambu	nungadhanambu	
look			see 'see'
lose	nadelandewa	nadelandewah bms	

louse	munhuwa	munnhuwa	munya/munhu widespread
low or short	gregadu	gregadoo bms	
lyre-bird	gabalo	kubbalo	
	bulit-bulitba	bullit-bullitba, polly- billeetba bms	CV bulnbuln
magpie, com- mon	gurrin-gingga	gu'rin-gingga	
	gurringyangba	gooringyangbah bms	YY gorrngayn
magpie, black male animal/ bird	durriyangba	dooriang'bah bms	see under gender in grammar
man	djaba	dya-ba, jaba, jirri b	djirri = Pall
man, married	nginggulale	nginggullale ms	
man, old	djirribang	jerribong b	Wir, Omeo djirrib- ang , Pall. djirri 'man'
man, initiated	djiboba	dyibboba	
man-making ceremony	wanguwa-wang- guwa	wonggoa, wanggoawang- goawa	see 'youth, initi- ated'
marry	[ng]anda	undangyalla b	ngand- 'catch', 'take'
meat	baminba	barminbah bms	
moon	wurrayu, barrarru	wurraiu, bararoo b	
morning	djigana	dyikana	see 'down the river'
mosquito	girridhu	kirridhu	
moth, Bogong	bangenba	bungenbah bms	
mother	baba	baba	common Vic
mother-in-law	nganang-ganaga	ngunnung-gunnag, ngun- nungunnaga ms	
moustache	munda yarraynba	moondayarangbah b	see 'beard'
mouth	lendhewa, niwa	lendhewa	see 'chin'
	niwa	niwa b, neewah b	
navel	bidit-biditba	biddit-bidditba	
neck, throat	bilidjuwa, bilidjewa	billi'dyua, billejewah b	
night	dhogotjba	dho-gotch-ba, dho-gotyba ms	see 'dark'
nits or lice	dangganu	dungganu	
	gadjabinba	cadjabinbah bms	
no	dhubalga	dubulga, dhubulga, oneugaba b, oneuggabah b baal b	Pall wananga , <i>baal</i> is Pidgin
not got [?]	ngalarra	ngalaranguddha 'I have not got it'	see 'greedy'
not know		nheh 'I don't know'	

nose	dhindiwa	dhindiwa, dendewa b, deendeewah b	Madhi tinti
nymphae	nanga-nanginba	nunga-nunginba	
old	burruru	booroo'roo bms	
other side of river	yirrigama	yirigama, yougama	
outside	gayigadha	kai-kudha	
parrot	bawarro	bawaro bms	
path	garriga	karrika b	
pathway	murdaynba	murdhañba	
peewee	dildilwa	dildilwa	
pelican	gulayiguli, gulak- gali	gulaiguli, goolakgable b, goolukgahle b	Gamilaraay guliy- ali
penis	naginba	nugginba	YY nagin
perch (fish)	marruwanba	mur'roanba	
pigeon	waba	wabba bms	
pitch	wangumbayi	wangumbai	
platypus	madjiyanga	madgeangah bms	
pleiades	gundaganba	gundaganba	
plover	pinderranderri	pinderan'derry bms	
porcupine [echidna]	dhemunba, dhemu	dhemunba, demo b	
possum	djawa	jaua, joua, jou-wa, dyau'-u 'gray possum', burra b	Pall = barra
possum, black	gawunga, gawungwa	kaunga, gowngwa bms	
possum, ring- tail	bagarewa	bugahrewah bms	
possum cloak	djindaba	jindabah bms	
pretend	badale	butta'le	
pretty	yurrambo	urum'bo bms	initial <i>u</i> may be yu
pregnant	ngandanya	ngundanya	
quail	burrugulu	booroogooloo bms	
quick	werrayn wongadi	werañ, wungurela b wonga'di bms	
rain	garrayu nuruma	kurraiu noorooma b, nooroomah bms	see 'cloud'
rainbow	gulbiyawa	kulbe'awa, kulbeawa ms	
rat, kangaroo	barra	burra	WV, Bung. Warr. CV parruk
rear of me, in	gima mayuwiya barrin- ganga	gimmah bms mioowee-a burringang-a, maiuwia burringang-a	
red	ngaya	ngaiar	
ride	ming(g)a	meenga bms	
ridge	durrurrambululu	tooroorumbulo bms	

roast	gubayi	gubai	
right (correct)	nebanda	nebbunda	
river	gayirra	kierah bms	
rum	garrakba	carrak'ba bms	
run	binila	binnilai, pinnela b, pinne'la bms	
sand	mayatba	maiaba, maiatba ms	
sandhill	mudjurru?, mat-jarru?	nudyuru, mudyuru ms	
scorpion	dabingorro	dubingoro bms	
scratch	bingago	bing-ago	
scrotum		see 'testicles'	
scrub	wulgurra	woolgoora bms	
search for	nhagana	naga-nangadha	see 'see'
see	nhaga	nagai 'look', nahga b	nha- widespread, n[h]aka- wide-spread in Vic.
sell		biingemi bms	
semen	buliwa	bulliwa	
send	yandigu	yandigo	also in Pall; poss. from yan- , wide-spread root for 'go'
several or many	bayilayingayo nyanda	bailainga'yoh bms nyanda	
shadow	marrayago	murriago, murraiago	
sharpen	yurrugandji	urooganje bms	
shield	birrganbu	birkiambu 'shield for spear', birregambo b, birregam'boh bms	Pall birrganbo , Ng birrbambi
	gurralik marrka	guralic murga 'shield for club', murga b, murgah 'hielamon' bms	widespread word
shine	ngerrambana	ngerumbunna	
shoot	yarriyade	yarrea'deh bms	see 'throw'
short	gablo	koblo b, coblo b	see 'low'
shoulders	bunanba	boornanbah b	
sick	yidjanabi	id-ya-na'bi	
sing	ngatjbayi gatba	ngatchbai, ngutjbai gudba(h) b, gudbah bms	
sister, elder	mandaguni	mandaguni	
sister, younger	burrin.ga	burrin-ga, burrin-ga ms	
sit	nginggayi	nginggai	WW nyengka , MM ngengatha
skin	waano	wahno b, [also 'hide'] bms	

sleep	nyiminye	nyiminye	
sleepy	ngurra-ngurraya	ngurunguraia	Pall ngurrangurra
slow	bagirrimale	bagi'rrimale	
small	banyungadji	banyungadyi, bunyungahai b	
smell	badhi	badhe	
smoke	dhumbaba	thumbaba, toombaba b	YY dhonga , Pall dju , Gipps dhun , Ng dhunbuk
snake	djudjuwa	dyudyua, dyu-dyu-a 'black snake', murray jooyu b	Pall djuyu , <i>murray</i> = Pidgin for 'big'?
snake, brown	giyanggu	ge-ang-gu	Pall kiyang(g)o black snake
snake, carpet	ganggaya	kunggaia	
sorcerer	warrawi	wurra'we, wurrawe ms	
spear, reed	yaga	yaarga(h)	Omeo <i>yarka</i>
spear, wood	manduga	manduga	
	djerramba-ayi	jerrambahai b	Omeo <i>jerrambity</i>
spear, to	warraba	warrabah bms	
spit	burranggale	burunggale	
squirrel, flying [glider]	yirranawuga	yirranhoga, yiranhoga ms, earanawgah bms	
stand	djegin-	tyekin- tyekandyai, tyedyoi ms	see 3.6
star	djimbuwa	dyim-boa, jeembo b	Pall, southern Wirr djimba
steal	garramagu burra?, barra?	kurramago bura bms	
stinking	mirrgu?	mirgu	
sting			see 'bite'
stomach, belly	bandharra	bandhara	Yab. bo(n)dha
stone	durruba	duruba, gibba b	giba is a Dharuk word (Sydney)
strike	dag-	tukkai	see 'hit'
strong	dha-ang madong	dha-ung matong b	Wir <i>metong</i>
suck	ngumbumayi	ngumbumai	
sun	nhawayu	nau-i-u, noweyu b	WV nyawi/nhawi
swallow [bird]	barringba	baringbah bms	
swan	maliwa	mulliwa, mullewa(h) b	Pall mayiwa
swift [bird]	birrigunba	bireegoonbah bms	
swim	banggayi, balgayi	bunggai, bungi bms, bahlgi bms	
tail of animal	djawa	dya-wa	see 'possum'
take	nganda	ngundagai, nunda b, bms	
talk	dhurr(g)uwayi	thurgwai	
tall or long	ginyarro	ginyaro	see 'long'

teeth	niyu	niyu, niyu b, neeyu b	
tell	dhungayi	thungai, thungai ms	see 'beg'
testicles, scrotum	bumbuwa	bumbua	
there			see section 3.3
thin	gabadji	cabarjee bms	
thirsty	djagenawa	jargenauer b, jargenower b	
this side of river	djimbi-yangga	dyimbiangga	
throw	yerriyadha	yerriadhe, yerriadha-, yer-radhee, yerreadhe ms	see 'shoot'
thunder	murri-murriwa	muri-muriwa, murimuriwa ms	
	mandarra	mundera b	Pall mandarra , root widespread
tie	guna?, gana?	guna bms	
tired	ngamanang	ngarmunnung, ngarmunnang-adha ms	
today	nyinyanga	nyinyang-a	
toe		jinno b	see 'foot'
tomahawk	mudiwa	mutiwa, moodewa b	Warr. mutjirr
tomorrow	ngangarra	ngangara	
tongue	dhalaynba	dhallañba, dullingba b	widespread root
top (on top)	gananggana	cunnunggu'nah bms	
track	garriga	carreekha bms	
tree		berwa	see 'cherry'
tree, any bloom	borringba	borringba	
tree, apple	murrinya	murrinya	
	murringgaya	moori'ngyah bms	
tree, blue gum	baneba	buneba	
tree, cherry	berrwa?	berwa	see 'tree'
	mamong	mahmong bms	
tree, currant bush		yerroanba, yerramba	
tree, dead		diuanwe'wah bms	
tree, grass	djandjamba	dyan-dyum-ba	
tree, gray box	dharringgu	tharringgoo, tharringgoa	
tree, green	bagogo	bahgogo bms	
tree, hollow	tulumba	toolombah bms	
tree, (red) gum	gumbarro	gumburro, goomnarah bms	
tree, honey-suckle [banksia]	marrka	murka	see 'shield'
tree, iron bark	bulutjba	bullutchba	see 'white gum'
tree, kurrajong	bibanba	bibbanba	
tree, lightwood	yurrang(g)amba	uranga'mbah bms	

tree, mountain-ash	dhumbudhana	dhumbuddhana	
	dhumbudhutba	toomboothootbah bms	
tree, peppermint	warritba, wurritba	wuritba, wooret'bah bms	
tree, pine	yedonba	yeddonba	
tree, stringy bark	dhadha	dhuddha, tattah bms	Pall thatha
tree, she oak	wundju	wundyu	
tree, ti-tree	ganung-marriyawa	cannungmurriawah bms	
tree, urabbi	buniba	boonne'bah bms	
tree, wattle	wawarru	wawaru, wahwarroh bms	
tree, wattle blossom	badalwa	baddalwa	
tree, white box	dayarringo	tiering'oh bms	
tree, white gum	buluba	bulluba, boolloobah bms	see 'ironbark'
tree, yellow box	bayinuwa	bainaa, bainoa, binoh bms	
turkey, wild	nanggarawa	nungarawa(h) b	
turpentine bush	barrangwangba	barangwangbah bms	
turtle	nangwiya	nangwea bms	
up on top	ganagadha	gunnagadha	
urine	djiwa	dya-wa	
vomit	yagayi	yakai	see 'laugh'
vulva	ngarranguwa	ngurrung-go	
walk	bayilai	bailai, biela b	see 'come'
wallaby	narrawago	narrawago bms	
wallaby, rock	wayatba	waiatba	Ng wayat
water, fresh	gandha	gundha	see 'good'
water rat	barratgedu	baradgedoo bms	
weak	malambadji	mulumbadji b	
whistle	winggilayi	winggillai	
white	darrangarra	durrunggurra	
wife	buladjerru	bularjeru b, bulargeroo b	Ng bulan 'woman'
willy-wagtail	badjerri-djirritba	badyeri-dyirritba, baddy-eri dyirritba ms	CV djerri-djerri
woman	mala	mulla	Yab. marrayi
	djarri	jari b	
woman, old	gawandikba	kauwantigba b, cowwantigbah	Ng gawanditj , Omeo gawandil
woman-making ceremony	nayuwula	niohuler	
wombat	dugura	doogoorah bms	
wood	duga	toorga b	Pall tawa

woomera	bayuga	biuga, womarrua, wom-marua ms	'woomera' is Dharuk (Sydney)
wrong	ngabun	ngabun	
yams, to dog	wung(g)urra bulagambe	woongoora bulargambe bms	
yamstick	djudja	jooja, juja, tyu-tya, tyutya ms	
yes	namayi	namai,	
	wurri	woorri b	Wir. <i>woori</i> 'no'
young	gangwano	gangwahno bms	
youth (12-15)	magudjuwa	magadyua, magoodyoo-a	see 'boy, small'
youth, initiated	wangguwa	wangoa, wanggo ms, wahngo 'young man' bms	see 'man-making ceremony'

- a. Harold Koch points out that *galang-galang* 'tree hopper' is recorded by the early explorer Bennett from the Yass area (Bennett 1834: 237).

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