

# **THE BUWANDIK LANGUAGE OF THE MOUNT GAMBIER REGION**

Barry J Blake

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

Map 1: Buwandik and neighbouring languages

1. Introduction
2. Sources
3. Dialects and neighbouring languages
  - 3.1 Dialects
  - 3.2 Relationship to other languages
    - 3.2.1 Lexical comparison
    - 3.2.2 Grammatical comparison
    - 3.2.3 Sound correspondences
4. Phonology
  - 4.1 Consonants
  - 4.2 Vowels
  - 4.3 Phonotactics
    - 4.3.1 Consonant clusters
- 5 Grammar
  - 5.1 Number
  - 5.2 Gender
  - 5.3 Case
  - 5.4 Pronouns
    - 5.4.1 Personal pronouns
    - 5.4.2 Subject enclitics
    - 5.4.3 Object enclitics
    - 5.4.4 Possessor enclitics
    - 5.4.5 Demonstratives
  - 5.5 Locational words
  - 5.6 Verbs
    - 5.6.1 Tense and aspect
    - 5.6.2 Imperative mood
    - 5.6.3 Other verbal morphology

- 5.7 Word derivation
  - 5.7.1 Reduplication
  - 5.7.2 Compounding
  - 5.7.3 Derivational suffixes
- 5.8 Syntax
  - 5.8.1 Word order
  - 5.8.2 Questions
  - 5.8.3 Negation
- Appendix 1: song
- 6. English-Buwandik glossary
  - Appendix 1: Kin terms
  - Appendix 2: Moieties, sections and totems
  - Appendix 3: Place names
- 7. Buwandik-English glossary

## PREFACE

This book is a consolidated account of the Buwandik language of south-eastern South Australia and adjacent areas of western Victoria based on early sources. It is intended to serve as a convenient reference for Buwandik people and for all researchers. It is part of a series of consolidated accounts of Victorian languages that I and others have produced and are producing. Each account brings together early source material, mostly from the nineteenth century, and incorporates the work of Luise Hercus where it is available. This is the only work by a modern linguist based on recordings of speakers. Sadly it is no longer possible to find people who still remember substantial parts of Victorian languages.

Each account involves some interpretation of the source material. In particular it involves transcribing early notations into a consistent broad phonetic form and restating points of grammar in current terminology.

I would like to thank the following for their help:

R.M.W. 'Bob' Dixon for supplying an annotated list of sources and photocopies of them, and for useful comments on the penultimate draft.

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Julie Reid entered the data into computer files, collated them and produced a first draft of which the present work is a greatly expanded version.

Barry Blake

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

## Grammatical

APPLIC	applicative
ALL	allative
DU	dual
ERG	ergative
EX	exclusive (of the addressee)
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INC	inclusive (of the addressee)
INTERROG	interrogative
LOC	locative
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PL	plural
POSS	possessor
PRES	present
SG	singular
RECIP	reciprocal
1	first person ‘I’
2	second person ‘you’
3	third person ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’

## Languages and areas

B	Buwandik, Bunganditj
CV	The Central Victorian Language (Woiwurrung, Thagungwurrung)
Dhu	Dhudhuroa
Dja	Djadjawurrung
Gipps	The Gippsland Language
K	Kunkupanut (dialect of The Warrnambool Language)
Le	Letji-Letji
Ma	Mathi-Mathi

NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
WP	Wati-Wati (Piangil)
Pall	Pallanganmiddang
PW	Pikwurrung
Q	Queensland
SA	South Australia
WS	Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)
Tjap	Tjapwurrung
Thag(ung)	Thagungwurrung
WA	Western Australia
Warr	Warrnambool
Wa	Wathawurrung
We	Wergaya
Wem	Wemba-Wemba
Wim	The Wimmera Language
Woi	Woiwurrung
WP	Wati-Wati (Piangil)
WS	Wati-Wati (Swan Hill)
WV	The Western Victorian Language
WW	Wuluwurrung
Yab	Yabula-Yabula
YY	Yota-Yota

### Conventions

Where forms are cited from old sources they are given in italics. Modern broad phonetic transcriptions are given in bold. These forms will often be phonemically under-differentiated, not distinguishing a flapped rhotic from a glide for instance. Phonemic forms quoted from other languages are also given in bold. In a few instances where it might not be clear to the reader whether a form from a Victorian language is a broad phonetic one or a phonemic one from Hercus, the latter is given between slashes.

In the phonetic transcription digraphs in **h** are used for dentals: **th** or **dh**, **nh** and **lh**. Palatal stops are represented as **tj** or **dj**, but an unreleased palatal stop in syllable-final

position is represented by **yt**. The palatal nasal and lateral are represented by **ny** and **ly**, but in word-final position **yn** and **yl** are used. Retroflexes are represented by digraphs beginning with **r**: **rt** or **rd**, **rn** and **rl**. Capitals are used for laminals that can range over a dental or palatal realisation. Thus **TH** is used for a segment that could be **tj** or **th**; likewise **NH** covers **ny** and **nh**, and **LH** covers **ly** and **lh**.

Australian languages do not normally distinguish **p** and **b**, **t** and **d**, and **k** and **g**. I have used whichever letter was most prominent in the sources, but we have standardised with **p**, **t** and **k** in some of the comparative tables.

### Language names

The Aboriginal language names in Victoria usually cover a tongue spoken in a comparatively small area. It is usually the case that a number of tongues can be grouped together because of their similarity. These groupings have been given English names. The English names used in this work are as follows:

#### Western Victorian Language

This takes in the Mathi group of tongues (Mathi-Mathi, Letji-Letji, Wati-Wati), Wemba-Wemba, Beraba-Beraba, Djadjawurrung, the Wimmera Language and Tjapwurrung. The label **Wimmera Language** covers Wergaya as in Hercus 1986 plus closely related early sources.

#### Warrnambool Language

This covers a group of closely related dialects from the Warrnambool area. The name for this grouping adopted by the community is Keerraywoorroong. Large vocabularies are available for three dialects: Pikwurrung, Kunkupanut and Wuluwurrung.

#### The Central Victorian Language

This covers Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung and Thagungwurrung.

#### Kulin

Kulin was used as a classificatory term in Schmidt 1919. As used here it covers the Western Victorian Language, the Central Victorian Language and Wathawurrung.



## 1. INTRODUCTION

A single language appears to have been spoken in a triangle that stretched from somewhere north of Lacapède Bay on the coast of South Australia across to Bordertown on the Victorian border and south to the coast where the mouth of the Glenelg in far western Victoria formed the south-eastern corner (Taplin 1879: 59). Christina Smith writes (1880:ix):

The aborigines of the South-East were divided into five tribes, each occupying its own territory, and using different dialects of the same language. Their names were ‘Booandik’, ‘Pinejunga’, ‘Mootatunga’, ‘Wichintunga’, and ‘Taloinjunga’.<sup>1</sup>

The Booandik.....was the largest and occupied that tract of country extending from the mouth of the Glenelg River to Rivoli Bay North, for about thirty miles inland. The other tribes occupied the country between Lacapède Bay and Border Town, abutting the Booandik country.

A consideration of various references indicates clearly that the territory of the Buwandik, or Bunganditj, as it was known in Victoria, extended to the mouth of the Glenelg and further north it extended to Coleraine and Balmoral. Tindale’s map (1974) shows Buwandik territory extending into Victoria as far as the Southern Grampians, and he claims that their territory was contracting towards Casterton at the time of white settlement under pressure from the *Jaadwa* people (1974:210). Word lists from Lake Wallace (Edenhope) (Curr 1887:476-7) and ‘the Tatiarra country’ [around Bordertown] (Curr 1887: 456-9) belong to the Western Victorian language, though we cannot be certain that the informants were native to these locations. Further discussion of the territory is given in section 3.2.

The territory of the Buwandik was taken over by whites in the 1840’s, and very few of them survived the first few decades of contact. Stewart reported that there were 900 Buwandik when he first identified with them, but only 17 twenty-eight years later. This is quoted in Fison and Howitt in 1880, so the comparison is probably of the late 1840’s with

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<sup>1</sup> The published book actually has different forms from those found in Smith’s correspondence with Howitt. Christine Smith’s manuscript map clearly has *Taloinjunga* for *Polinjunga*, and this gross discrepancy has been corrected in the quotation. The manuscript also has *Pinechunga* for *Pinejunga*, *Moatatunga* for *Mootatunga*, and *Wichantunga* for *Wichintunga*. Howitt has *Painchunga* for *Pinejunga* and *Wiantunga* for *Wichantunga* (Howitt 1904:69).

the late 1870's (Fison and Howitt 1880:30). Some knowledge of the language probably survived well into the twentieth century, but Luise Hercus, who did extensive field work in western Victoria and adjacent parts of South Australia and New South Wales in the 1960's, could find only one person with any knowledge of the language, a woman who remembered two phrases from her father (Hercus 1986:233).

Practically all our data comes from old sources. There are twelve sources of vocabulary for the language and two direct sources of grammatical information on the dialect spoken by the Booandik or Buwandik (see discussion of the name below). One source for the grammar is a sketch of three pages by D.S. Stewart; the other is a slightly longer sketch by R.H. Mathews, which exists in two forms, manuscript and published. Some further grammatical information can be obtained from the 'Mount Gambier' sentences in William Thomas' 'dialogues in six dialects' (details below), and a few further scraps can be gleaned from the word lists, specially from the one by Stewart which accompanies his grammatical sketch.

The name is spelled variously. The earliest is *Buandic* found in Duncan Stewart's notebook of 1853-4 (Clark 1990:411), but he also uses *Booandik*, the spelling used by his mother, Christine Smith. Other variants are *Buandik* (Howitt), *Boandik* (Woods and others). Tindale records a pronunciation **Pu[andik** [I use bold for modern phonetic notation or my transcription, and italics for early amateur notations].<sup>2</sup> Dawson gives quite a different version of this name, namely *Bung'andaetch*, and John Mathew records that *Bugandity* or *Buganity* was the pronunciation used by speakers of the Warrnambool language (Clark 1990:411). Mathews considered Smith's *Booandik* erroneous and used *Bugandity*. It seems that variants with and without **ng** are legitimate, as are versions with final **tj** or final **k**. There is a correspondence between a final **-k** in the northern dialects related to Buwandik and a final **-tj** in the Warrnambool language, though the final **-k** is dropped altogether in Buwandik itself (see section 3 below). As for the variation between **Buganditj** with **ng** and **Buwandik** without, it is interesting to note that it also occurs in the forms recorded for 'vegetable food', namely **buwang** (recorded by Stewart, the son of Christina Smith) and **bungang**, recorded by Curr and Mathews. In fact it may be that this word is the root of the name. The form for vegetable food ends in a velar nasal and there is no sign of this in **Buganditj**, but it could be that there was a phonetic shift in the word **Buganditj** to an **n** before **d**, or that Curr and Mathews heard or assumed an **n** before **d**. Breaking up the name into **bu(ng)an** and **-ditj** or **-dik** receives some support in that there

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<sup>2</sup> Murray River notes (ms) 1930-32, p.47.

is a noun-forming suffix **-ditj** in the Warrnambool Language: compare **warrun** ‘skeleton’ and **warrunditj** ‘thin’ or **ming** ‘a wound’ and **mingtitj** ‘a wounded person’. It may be that the name meant ‘vegetable-food-eaters’. Whatever the meaning the name seems to be basically a name for the people rather than the language. Smith (1880:125) writes, ‘They call their speech *Drualat-ngolonung* (speech of the man), or *Booandik-ngolo* (speech of the Booandiks).’

Tindale (1974:210) claims the word for ‘man’ was [bu] at Mount Gambier. He does not attempt to relate this to the name Bunganditj, but in any case, this word is unconfirmed.

## 2. Sources

Campbell, T.D. 1934. Notes on the Aborigines of the south-east of South Australia. Part I. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 58: 22-32. Part II. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 63:27-35.

This is essentially a secondary source, but it is useful in that it contains references to numerous primary sources, mostly not on language, however.

Clark, I.D. 1990. *Aboriginal languages and clans: an historical atlas of western and central Victoria*. Monash Publications in Geography 37. Clayton: Monash University.

This is not a source of language data, but rather a source of clan names and locations. It provides a comprehensive guide to all sources including language sources. Buwandik is covered on pp 411-3.

Curr, E.M., 1886-7. *The Australian Race*. Melbourne: Government Printer.

Volumes I and II are dated 1886 and volumes III and IV are dated 1887.

Curr, E.M. 1887a. Woodford. List 207E. volume III:482-3.

Curr, E.M. 1887b. Dartmoor. List 207F. volume III:484-5.

Some of the spellings in Curr have been corrected from an annotated copy of volume 4 held in the ANU library (supplied by R.M.W.Dixon)

Dawson, J. 1881. *Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the Western District of Victoria, Australia*. Melbourne: George Robertson.

Eyre, E.J. 1845. *Manners and customs of the Aborigines and the state of their relations with Europeans*. London: T. & W. Boone

- Fison, L. and A.W.Howitt. 1880. *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*. Melbourne: George Robertson.  
[facsimile edition , 1991, Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press].
- Hercus, L. 1986. *Victorian languages: a late survey*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Howitt, A.W. 1904. *The native tribes of south-east Australia*. London: MacMillan  
[facsimile edition , 1996, Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press].
- Mathew, J. 1899. *Eagehawk and Crow*, London: Nutt and Melbourne: Melville and Slade.  
This contains word lists from a number of languages including *Booandik*, which is derived from Stewart in Smith (See entries below).
- Mathews, R.H. n.d. *Notes on Boongandity [also Bunganadity] from Tommy McCallum of Casterton. His mother spoke Wuluwurru language*. Field notebook 1:113-8, 120-25 (National Library). Wuluwurru(ng) is the westernmost dialect of the Warrnambool language.
- Mathews, R.H. 1903a. Language of the Bungandity Tribe, South Australia. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 37:59-74.  
This contains notes on grammar with a few illustrative sentences plus a vocabulary. There is another version of the vocabulary written in pencil on a copy of Mathews' paper published in 1902 'The Aboriginal languages of Victoria' *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 36: 71-106. This vocabulary deviates from the published version in one or two places, and it has to be used with caution since some other vocabulary has also been written on the paper. In the few instances where the manuscript version has been used it is marked 'm2' as opposed to 'm' for Mathews. The handwritten vocabulary is in Mathews papers in the National Library.
- Mathews, R.H. 1903b. Some notes on the native tribes of Victoria. *Journal and proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 37:243-53.  
This contains one paragraph (p. 250) on the *Nundatyalli Dialect* which Mathews claims is partly like Buwandik and partly like *Tyattyalli*, which is part of the Western Victorian Language. See section 3.2.1.
- Mathews, R.H. 1903c. Languages of the Kamilaroi and others. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 33:259-83.  
There are a few dual and plural pronouns under 'Some native tribes of South Australia' on p.283

\*Smith, Mrs James [= Christina Smith]. 1880. *The Booandik tribe of South Australian Aborigines: a sketch of their habits, customs, legends, and language*. Adelaide: Spiller, Government Printer.

\*Following the custom for married women at the time Christina Smith used the name, Mrs James Smith. The Public library of South Australia catalogues this book using the author's rightful given name, Christina Smith.

There are nearly 100 words scattered through the text. The book also contains language material supplied by her son, D.S. Stewart (See entry).

Smyth, R.B., 1878, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (2 volumes). Melbourne: Government Printer.

Stewart, D.S. 1880. *Language of the tribe and Vocabulary*. These make up an appendix to Christina Smith's book (See entry above), 125-39.

The grammar is very brief and does not contain any sentence examples, but the glossary is very good and contains a number of phrases. It is the source for the *Booandik* list in Mathew 1899. Duncan Smith was appointed the official interpreter of native language for the south-eastern district in 1853 and probably knew the language well.

Stewart, D.S. 1887. Mount Gambier. List 205. Curr III: 460-65.

Besides the standard Curr list Stewart supplied some grammatical information, mainly possessor pronoun forms.

Taplin, G. 1879. *The folklore, manners, customs, and languages of the South Australian Aborigines*. Adelaide: Spiller, Government Printer.

This contains a comparative vocabulary from 47 languages (pp.142-52) including five that belong with Buwandik. These are *Border Town* (37) from P.T.

Humphries, *Padthaway* (38) from R. Lawson, *Guichen Bay* (39) from A. Tolmer, *Penola* (40) from J. Singeleton, and *Tarpeena* (41) from C.E. Sheppard. There is also a list of 35 kin terms in various languages including *Border Town or Tatiara Tribe* (Henry [sic] Humphries and R. Lawson) and *Guichen Bay Tribe* (Tolmer) (p.159). There is also some information on *The Tatiara and South-Eastern Tribes* and *The Padthaway Tribe* on pp 57-9.

Thomas, William. 1862. *A lexicon of the Australian Aboriginal tongue in the six dialects of Ballarat, Bacchus Marsh, Melbourne, Gippsland, Mount Gambier, and Wonnin*. MS 6290 La Trobe Library, Melbourne.

The *Mt Gambier* list represents the Buwandik language.

Thomas, William. Papers, volume 21, p. 241, *Wonnon Tribe, Nedd West*, Mitchell Library.

This page contains comparative vocabulary in three columns, headed *King Tons* [?], *Billy Monkey* and [indecipherable] *White*. The first column is Buwandik and contains 23 entries, the second contains four entries and 19 dittoes, the third column is Wuluwurrung.

Tindale, Norman B. 1937. Native songs of the south east of South Australia.

*Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 61: 107-20.

Tindale, Norman B. 1940. Distribution of Australian Aboriginal tribes: a field survey.

*Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 64 (1): 140-231.

This lists 'tribes' and sources of information on each, but is superseded by Tindale 1974.

Tindale, Norman B. 1941. Native songs of the south east of South Australia, part 2.

*Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 65 (2): 233-43.

Tindale, Norman B. 1974. *Aboriginal tribes of Australia*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.

This lists 'tribes' and sources of information on each. It also includes a map showing locations. An earlier version of much of the information was contained in Tindale 1940.

### 3. Dialects and neighbouring languages

#### 3.1 Dialects

As noted in section 1 above, Smith records that 'the aborigines of the South-East were divided into five tribes, each occupying its own territory, and using different dialects of the same language. Their names were (using the manuscript spellings): *Booandik*, *Pinechunga*, *Moatatunga*, *Wichantunga*, and *Toloinjunga*.' The last four end in **tjang(g)a/thang(g)a**, possibly to be equated with **thanga** 'teeth' and signifying 'language' as in Muk-thang 'excellent speech', a name used for the language of the Kurnai in Gippsland (Howitt 1904:73). Not that **thang** is independently attested in Gippsland as a word for 'speech' or 'language'. The first part of *Mootatunga* may be **mu[r]ta** 'short', the first part of *Wichantunga* could be **witjang** 'narrow'.

We have data on Buwandik plus five vocabularies in Taplin. One of these is from Police Trooper Humphries of Bordertown (older spelling Border Town), who obtained his material from *Yilgoonin* of the Tatiara Tribe. He notes that the name of the tribe is *Jackegilbrab*, that they inhabit the whole of the Tatiara country, and that they call their

language *Nalunghee* [**ngalu** is ‘language’, possibly *Nalunghee* is **ngalungi** ‘our language’, but this is not confirmed; see section 5.4.3]. Another is from R. Lawson of Padthaway, who gathered his information from *Emma*. He notes that the tribe is called *Coolucooluck* [**kulak-kulak**, conceivably ‘sandy’ from **kulak**, a root found in the Warrnambool language], that they inhabit the country between Salt Creek, Gall’s Station and Padthaway, and that they call their language *Yaran*<sup>3</sup>. The other three vocabularies in Taplin are from Guichen Bay (Tolmer), Penola (Singleton) and Tarpeena (Sheppard). It is not possible to align these sources with the names in Smith. However, we can say that if we plot isoglosses for lexical and phonetic differences between our sources, they tend to cluster and to separate Buwandik from the vocabularies in Taplin, which I will take to represent the northern dialects. However, Tarpeena, the southernmost of the dialects in Taplin, seems to align with Buwandik, but this source is incomplete. It is not the case that all isoglosses separating the sources run in parallel, so the sources are displayed separately in the tables below. The key to the abbreviations used is as follows:

Humphries	Bordertown	f	Stewart	Mount Gambier	s
Tolmer	Guichen Bay	g	Mathews	Bungandity	m
Lawson	Padthaway	th	Curr	Woodford	w
Singleton	Penola	p	Curr	Dartmoor	d
Sheppard	Tarpeena	t	Thomas	Mount Gambier	wt

Table 1 illustrates some of the few differences in lexicon. The northern dialects collectively share 84% of vocabulary with Buwandik.

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<sup>3</sup> Thomas records **yirran** ‘vegetable food’; compare **bungan** ‘vegetable food’.

TABLE 1: LEXICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DIALECTS

	f	g	th	p	t	s	m	d	w	wt
blood: kurru(k)		x	x	x						
kamarr						x	x	x	x	x
few: warrkabu		x	x	x						
warrwang					x	x	x	x	x	
hand: marna	x	x	x	x		x		x		
marra							x		x	x
moon: ngarrak	x		x	x						
burtbu(l)i		x			x			x	x	
tun.ngum						x	x	x		
mother: babi	x	x	x	x						
ngati						x	x	x	x	x
mouth: kanak	x	x	x							
lu						x	x	x	x	
star: karrandak	x		x	x						
bundjil		x			x	x				x
thaman-thaman								x	x	x

### Sound correspondences

The dialects are also distinguished by reflections of sound changes.

#### -k, -0, -tj

The northern dialects have final -k where the southern ones have either zero or a final palatal, either released and transcribed here as **-tj**, or unreleased and transcribed as **-yt**. As illustrated in Table 11, Buwandik in general lacks final palatals and velars, and those examples that do occur are exceptional in some way, perhaps borrowings from the Warrnambool language.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The word for ‘girl’ is **parratj-parratj** in the Warrnambool Language; compare also Pitta-Pitta **parratja**. The root **bula** ‘two’ is widespread and the forms **bulatj** and **bulatja** are found in both the Warrnambool language and in the Kulin languages. The word for ‘water’ is **parritj** in the Warrnambool language and **parri** in the Thura-Yura languages of South Australia.



TABLE 2: FINAL -TJ AND -K

	f	g	th	p	t	s	m	d	w	wt
girl:parrak-parrak	x	x								
parratj-parratj						x	x			x
parri-parri				x						
two: bulak	x	x	x							
bulayt				x		x				
buwatj					x		x	x	x	x
water: parrik	x	x	x							
parri				x	x	x	x	x	x	x

### Deletion of intervocalic l

Intervocalic l appears in the northern dialects and in Stewart, but not in the other southern sources, namely Mathews, Curr and Thomas. Straightforward examples are displayed in Table 3, but note also **bulong-ga** (wt) and **buwinba** (m) ‘blow with breath’ (also Warr. **buwimba**); **pala** (s, wt) ‘heat’ and Warrnambool **pawa** ‘to cook’; **biyitung** (m) ‘lightning’ and Warrnambool **pilitung**; **wilangga** (m) and **wiyanggil** (wt) ‘echidna’ (also Warr. **wilanggal**)

Since I have adopted the common practice of writing predictable glides between adjacent vowels, it looks as l weakens to a glide, but note **maa** from **mala**.

TABLE 3: LOSS OF INTERVOCALIC l

	f	g	th	p	t	s	m	d	w	wt
canoe: walu			x	x		x				
wawu									x	
egg: kula						x				
kuwa							x	x	x	x
fat: marntbuli						x				
marnbuwi							x	x	x	x
fly, house: yulal						x				
yuwal							x			x
moon: pulpuli		x								
burtbuwi					x			x	x	x
parrot: kalingal						x				
kayingal										x
sleep: wilitj						x				
wiyitj							x			x
stomach: buli						x				
buwi							x	x	x	x
tongue: thala/thali	x	x	x	x		x				
thawi								x		
thagi									x	
thayi							x			
two: bulak	x	x	x							
bulayt				x		x				
buwatj					x		x	x	x	x
wife: mala	x	x		x		x				
maa							x			x

### Weakening of b

There are a few examples of intervocalic **b** in the northern sources weakening to **w** in the southern sources.

TABLE 4: WEAKENING OF INTERVOCALIC b

	f	g	th	p	t	s	m	d	w	wt
emu: kabirr						x				x
kawirr						x	x	x	x	
nose: kabu	x	x	x	x					x	x
kawu						x	x	x		
rain: kabayn		x	x	x	x				x	
kawayn						x	x	x		x
son: kubung	x	x								x
kuwung						x				

The forms for ‘emu’ do not quite follow the pattern. In Warrnambool the form **kapirrng** is found and in the Kulin tongues both **kawirr** and **karrwingi**, the latter in Letji-Letji and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill). The form **kap** ‘nose’ is found in the Lower Murray languages and **kabung** in the Warrnambool language. **Kabayn** is recorded for ‘rain’ in Wuluwurrung, the westernmost dialect of the Warrnambool language.

### Weakening of k

There seem to be instances of intervocalic k weakening. Stewart (quoted in Curr III: 460) refers to an alternation between *wookine* and *wooine* ‘elbow’ and *wuka* and *wena* ‘strike’. Thomas records **lagalawa** for ‘poison’. This appears to be a reduplicated form with weakening in the duplicate. There is a little bit of evidence to suggest weakening of intervocalic **k** was parallel with the weakening of **b** in that it occurred in the south. The forms for ‘die/dead’ in Table 5 suggests this. The forms for ‘few’ or ‘three’ are interesting in that **k** appears to have become exposed as a result of metathesis: **\*warrkang** > **w’rrakang** > **w’rrawang**. The word for ‘river’ is **pawurr** (s, wt) and the form in the Warrnambool language is **pukarr(a)**, and Thomas records **marruwa** ‘take care of’ but **marruka** in the Warrnambool language. These appear to represent further examples.

TABLE 5: WEAKENING OF INTERVOCALIC k

	f	g	th	p	t	s	m	d	w	wt
die/dead: nuka		x	x							
nuwa					x	x	x			x
few:warrkabu		x	x	x						
w'rrawang					x	x	x	x	x	
see: n[h]aka	x									
n[h]a(a)						x				x
ngawia								x	x	

### 3.2 RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER LANGUAGES

#### 3.2.1 LEXICAL COMPARISON

The Buwandik dialects share lexical and grammatical features with the Warrnambool language to the east. Table 6 gives percentages of common vocabulary for the northern dialects taken together, Buwandik, the three dialects of the Warrnambool Language for which we have large vocabularies (Wuluwurrung, Pikwurrung and Kun Ku Panut), and Tjapwurrung, a south-western dialect of the Western Victorian language (The location of these languages is shown on Map 1). The figures involving the northern dialects are based on 50 words, all that is available; the others are based on 100 words from Table 7.

TABLE 6: LEXICAL COMPARISONS

	<i>North.</i>	<i>Bu.</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Koorn</i>	<i>Pik</i>	<i>Tjap</i>
Northern	-	84	56	44	38	36
Buwandik		-	51	37	36	32
Wuluwurrung			-	69	69	36
Koorn				-	86	32
Pikwurrung					-	29
Tjapwurrung						-

As might be expected from casual observation, Wuluwurrung, the westernmost dialect of the Warrnambool Language is closer to Buwandik and related dialects than the other Warrnambool dialects are. There has probably been some borrowing between the two, and between these two and the Kulin languages, since the higher figures (over 50%)

reflect words shared with Kulin. It should also be noted that the main source for Wuluwurrung is the *Wonnin* vocabulary of Thomas who probably obtained the Buwandik and Wuluwurrung vocabulary from the same person. He says that he obtained vocabularies from Ballarat, Bacchus Marsh, Melbourne, Gippsland, Mount Gambier and Wonnin from three sources. One would guess he obtained the first three, which are geographically and linguistically close, from one informant, Gippsland from another, and Mount Gambier and Wonnin from a third.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that the Buwandik speaker recorded by Mathews, namely Tommy MacCallum, had a Wuluwurrung mother, and probably knew Wuluwurrung.

Wuluwurrung apart, Buwandik and the Warrnambool language share about 37% of vocabulary and this suggests some kind of relative genetic proximity. The shared vocabulary includes the following forms that reflect roots found over most of the mainland:

**lunga** ‘to cry’ **thina(ng)** ‘foot’, **wuka** ‘to give’, **yan-** ‘to go’, **parrayn** ‘knee’, **nhaka** ‘to see’, **nyingga** ‘to sit’, **mana** ‘take/bring’, **thalayn** ‘tongue’, **pulayt** ‘two’ and **nganh-** ‘what’.

Another shared word **thatha** ‘to drink’ looks as if it is a reduplicated form of the widespread root **tha-** ‘to eat’.

The shared vocabulary also includes the following, which are widespread in the south-eastern area of the mainland:

**wi(yn)** ‘fire’, **kal** ‘dog’

The following are shared with some or all the Kulin tongues:

**karnda** ‘to call’, **wirring** ‘ear’, **kapirr(ng)** ‘emu’, **mirr(ng)** ‘eye’, **ngarla/ngarret** ‘hair’, **kurra(yn)** ‘kangaroo’, **wurru(ng)** ‘lips, mouth’, **ngarrm-ngarrm** ‘old man’, **wirra** ‘to run’, **wirrang** ‘tail’ and **karrip** ‘thigh’.

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<sup>5</sup> The figures in Table 6 were obtained from the list in Table 7. The list was compiled with a view to selecting words less likely to be borrowed, but it was augmented to include all the words in the short Taplin lists. The list is alphabetic and therefore semantically random. It is salutary to note that there were enormous discrepancies between the figures for the first 50 words counted and the second. For instance, the comparisons involving Buwandik yielded the following figures: Wuluwurrung 21/50 and 30/50, Kunkupanut 13.5/50 and 23/50 and Pikwurrung 11.5/50 and 24/50.

The following appear to be shared with at least one non-contiguous languages, though the set may contain one or two accidental matches.

<b>kuya(ng)</b>	‘eel’	Dyirbal etc.	<b>kuya</b> ‘fish’
<b>la(ka)</b>	‘to speak’	Warlpiri (NT)	<b>laa.l.pa</b> ‘loud cry’
<b>mala</b>	‘wife’	Dhudhuroa	<b>mala</b> ‘woman’
<b>marra</b>	‘stone’	Ngamini (Q)	<b>marda</b>
<b>mirrit, mirring</b>	‘ground’	Pallanganmidhang	<b>mirri</b>
<b>parrayt</b>	girl	Pitta-Pitta (Q)	<b>parratja</b> ‘woman’
<b>parriyt, parritj</b>	‘water’	Wirangu, Parnkalla (SA)	<b>pari</b> ‘creek’
<b>thalayn</b>	‘elbow’	Gippsland	<b>tjalung</b>
<b>thanga</b>	‘teeth’	Gabi-Gabi (Q)	<b>tangka</b>
		Kala Lagaw Ya	<b>thaanga</b>
<b>wamba</b>	‘get’, ‘fetch’	Gabi-Gabi (Q)	<b>wamba</b> ‘to carry’
<b>wanga</b>	‘to hear’	Gippsland	<b>wanga</b>
<b>wiya</b>	‘laugh’	Pitta-Pitta (Q)	<b>wiya</b>
<b>yanta</b>	‘throw’	Nyangumarta	<b>yarnta</b> ‘to spear’

All these shared items of vocabulary mean that about 25% of the vocabulary common to Buwandik and the Warrnambool language does not reflect a shared innovation.

The following have no known cognates. They may be innovations in a proto-language underlying Buwandik and the Warrnambool language, or innovations that have spread from one to the other, and, of course, they could be shared relics which are exclusive to these languages.

<b>wu, wurrk, wurt</b>	‘arm’
<b>wilang-gil</b>	‘echidna’
<b>lu, litj</b>	‘heart’
<b>kurramuk</b>	‘possum’
<b>bini(tj)</b>	‘hard’
<b>ngamat</b>	‘sea’
<b>kurrang, kurrgang</b>	‘snake’
<b>wul</b>	‘shadow’
<b>thiyirr</b>	‘short spear’

turrayn	‘rainbow’
yiyr	‘rib’

Buwandik shares over 30% of vocabulary with Tjapwurrung, representing the south-western dialects of the Western Victorian language. There is hardly any grammatical data from this area, but there is ample data from dialects in the Wimmera from Hercus (1986) and various old sources. A comparison of grammatical forms does not suggest any particularly close genetic proximity.

In his article *Some notes on the native tribes of Victoria* Mathews (1903b:250) includes a paragraph on the *Nundatjalli* dialect, the relevant parts of which read as follows:

The country in which this tongue is used is situated north of the Bungandity-speaking people, and extends northerly towards Horsham. The grammatical constitution resembles partly the Bungandity and partly the Tyattjalli.

*Druah*, a man. *Druahaga bopop dakin*, a man a child beat. *Druahagaty gattimgattimuk*, a man’s boomerang.

The verb *dak-* is Kulin and so is *bopop*, though it appears in Mathews’ Bungandity word list. *Gattimgattim* is found in both Bungandity and in the Western Victorian Language (part of Kulin). *Druah*, however, is peculiar to Buwandik. Of the inflections *-in* in *dakin* as well as *-gaty* and *-uk* in *druahagaty gattimgattimuk* are Western Victoria. The ergative *druahaga* is peculiar to Mathews’ Buwandik manuscript. The name *Nunda-nunda-tyalli* also appears at the top of p. 121 of Mathew’s Buwandik manuscript notes, though *Bungandity* appears twice as well. This page seems to be regular Buwandik supplying first person dual and plural forms for **laa-** ‘to speak’, the singular forms of which were given on p. 118. For other references to **Nundatjali** see Clark (1990: 255).

This snippet of information is tantalising in suggesting a dialect intermediate between the Buwandik dialects and dialects of the Western Victorian language, but there is no confirmation from any other source. As mentioned in section 1, there are a number of references to Buwandik or Bunganditj inhabiting the area to the west of the Grampians (Clark 1990:412). Mathews places Nundatjali in this area. In his working notes Dixon states that Nundatjali on balance belongs with Kulin, and this leads Clark to consider that the area around Cavendish, Balmoral and Coleraine was part of Yartwatjali territory,

Yartwatjali being a part of Kulin (Clark 1990:236). One point in favour of Clark's position is that the word list from Balmoral in Smyth (1872:83) is clearly western Kulin, but it is pure western Kulin, not a mixture of Kulin and Buwandik.<sup>6</sup> If we count percentages of vocabulary between the list in Curr for Buwandik on the one hand (205) and the westernmost sources for the Western Victorian languages on the other, we obtain the following figures: 32% with *Tatiara* (204, III:458f), 36% with *Lake Wallace* (207b, III:476f) and 30% with *The Glenelg, above Woodford* (207d, III:480f). These figures are consistent with the 29% given above for Tjapwurrung in that the Curr lists contain a number of fauna names and these tend to have an areal dispersion. There is no sign of any significant deviation from the Western Victorian norm in any of these lists, so Mathews' paragraph remains isolated.

As indicated in section 3.1 Buwandik dialects appear to have extended north as far as Bordertown. Tindale's map shows Meintang between Lacapade Bay and Naracoorte, and Potaruwutj further north near Bordertown (These names are reproduced on the map). Tindale gives alternatives for Meintang including *Pinejunga* and *Mootatunga*, listed by Smith as dialects related to Buwandik.<sup>7</sup> For Potaruwutj he gives a variety of alternative names including *Taloinjunga*, *Coolucoluck* and *Yaran*, all connected with northern dialects related to Buwandik.<sup>8</sup>

There is little data for the area further north. R.H. Mathews recorded a small amount of data in Bundyalli, a dialect of the Western Victorian Language, and notes that it was spoken towards Mannum, Bordertown and Kingston (notebook 1:164). This indicates that the Western Victorian Language extended westwards right to or near to the coast.

There is some confirmation that Kulin dialects extended well into South Australia. Eyre (1845:395-7) includes a list called 'The Boraipar, or East of Moorunde' in a comparative table (Moorunde is on the Murray south of Blanchetown). This list includes *latto* 'no', which suggests it is Letji-Letji, a dialect of the Western Victorian language that takes its name from the word for 'no' ( *Lye-tee-Lye-tee*, *Laitu-Laitu*, *Ledji-Ledji*, etc. in other sources (Clark 1990:402)). A consideration of the vocabulary confirms that it is Letji-Letji or a dialect very similar to it. Eyre refers to 'the *Bora*  $\propto$  'r or language of the *Ark*  $\blacktriangle$  *tk*  $\vee$  tribe, who inhabit the scrub to the east of the Murray' (1845:331). The name *Ark*  $\blacktriangle$  *tk*  $\vee$  can be equated with **Ngarkat** (*Ngerget*) on Tindale's map (Tindale 1974). Eyre

<sup>6</sup> Further evidence for the Bunganditj being on the Koonong Wootong (near Coleraine) can be found in Arkley (2000:44) with original sources in footnote 9 to chapter 4, p.472.

<sup>7</sup> All these dialect names are given in section i and section 3.1

<sup>8</sup> Tindale actually gives *Polinjunga*, but I have corrected this to *Taloinjunga* in light of Smith's manuscript map.



missed the initial **ng** as he did in other names such as *Aiawong* for **Ngayawang**, and the **-ko** is an augment used in Ngayawang to avoid a final consonant; compare Ngayawang *tollun-ko* ‘egg’ with Yu-Yu *thullan*, and *purroil-ko* ‘kangaroo’ with Yu-Yu *poorool*.<sup>9</sup>

Stretching from the mouth of the Murray to Robinvale there are five languages which form a group in the sense that they bear some forms in common, but none of the five shows any close resemblance to a language outside the five. Following Dixon’s unpublished classification I will refer to these as the Lower Murray group. East (quoted in Campbell (1943: 24)) claims the ‘T(h)unga or Coorong blacks’, of which the *Boandiks* were a ‘section’, reached to Lake Alexandrina, which would have made them contiguous with the Ngarrindjerri (whose language is Yarlalde), who held an area around the mouth of the Murray. group. Tindale shows Tanganekald on the coast immediately south of the Murray mouth, but there is no language data bearing this name.<sup>10</sup>

The few similar forms that can be found in Yarlalde and Ngayawang are displayed in Table 7. The Yarlalde forms are from Taplin (1879) and the Ngayawang from Moorhouse (1846), and both are given in the original notation.

TABLE 7: BUWANDIK AND THE LOWER MURRAY

English	Yarlalde	Ngayawang	Buwandik
bad	<i>wirangi</i>	<i>payu</i>	<b>w’rrang</b>
blood	<i>kruk, kruwi</i>	<i>kantur</i>	<b>kamarr, kurruk N</b>
cockatoo, black	<i>wullaki</i>		<b>wila</b>
dog	<i>kele, wanbi</i>	<i>kedlu, kellu</i>	<b>kal</b>
foot	<i>turne</i>	<i>tudgni</i>	<b>thina</b>
hand	<i>mari</i>	<i>mannuruko</i>	<b>marna, marra</b>
nose	<i>kopi</i>	<i>roonko</i>	<b>kabu N, kawu</b>
see	<i>nak-</i>	<i>noan</i>	<b>n[h]aka N, ngawiya</b>
stone	<i>marte</i>	<i>parlko</i>	<b>marra N, marri</b>
tongue	<i>tallange</i>	<i>ngantudli</i>	<b>thala, thawa</b>
two	<i>pullatye</i>	<i>tangkul</i>	<b>pulak, pulayt, puwayt</b>
who	<i>ngange</i>	<i>merke</i>	<b>nganu</b>
wombat	<i>moroiye</i>	<i>kaldpurro</i>	<b>murri</b>
yamstick	<i>kanake</i>		<b>kana</b>

<sup>9</sup> Among the alternative names for Ngarkat Tindale gives *Jackegilbrab*, a name reported by Humphries (see section 3.1 above) as being associated with northern dialects related to Buwandik.

<sup>10</sup> Tindale (1937, 1941) gives the words of a number of songs he recorded in the south east of South Australia. These include songs attributed to the Tanganekald, Meintang and Buwandik. The words of the Tanganekald and Meintang songs do not match vocabulary from Buwandik nor from the Lower Murray, but song words are often obscure, including the words of the Buwandik songs in this batch.

These similarities amount to approximately 10% for Yaralde and only about 3% for Ngayawang. None of the shared forms are exclusive to the Lower Murray and Buwandik. On the contrary the similar forms are very widely distributed as with the forms for ‘blood’, ‘foot’, ‘hand’, ‘see’, ‘tongue’, ‘two’ and ‘who’. The forms for ‘dog’, ‘nose’ and ‘yamstick’ are widely distributed in the south eastern mainland.

Table 8 displays comparative vocabulary in Buwandik, Wuluwurrung, Warrnambool and Kulin with notes on scattered related forms. Forms in the Warrnambool column are marked P for Pikwurrung and K for Kunkupanut. Unmarked forms are common to both dialects. Forms in the Kulin column are marked T for Tjapwurrung, W for Wimmera, and WV for Western Victoria, which takes in Tjapwurrung, Wimmera and other closely related dialects. Wa is Wathawurrung, Woi is Woiwurrung, CV is central Victoria and Kul is Kulin. In the notes Co is Colac, Dhu Dhudhuroa, Gipps Gippsland, Pall Pallanganmiddang, Yab Yabula-Yabula and YY Yota-Yota. Kulin forms for which we have a Hercus notation are shown between slashes. The location of all Victorian languages is shown on map 2 [NOT INCLUDED AT THIS STAGE].

### 3.2.2 GRAMMATICAL COMPARISON

As noted above, since the Buwandik dialects share over 35% of vocabulary with the Warrnambool dialects, the question of genetic relationship arises. The two languages are relatively similar to one another compared to the Kulin language, though it remains to be seen whether this is due to shared relic features, borrowing or shared innovations. Tables 9 and 10 display grammatical forms. Of the forms in Table 9 the clear matches are **-ngat** (genitive), **-ma** (applicative), **ngan/nganha** ‘what’ and **n[h]apa(n)** ‘how many’. There may be matches in the ergative/instrumental case markers, the dative/locative case markers

TABLE 8: COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

<i>English</i>	<i>Buwandik</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>other</i>
afraid	yinun		kuninpa	/banb <sup>an</sup> / WV	
alive/living	yuli	yuloyn	pundiya	/murrun/ WV	
angry	guli	wirring	warrakiya lik, watan li	guli W	
arm	wu	wurk	wurk	/thatjuk/ WV	
baby	kongparrim, kowapaning	pupup	pupup	/pupup/ WV	
back	panu	wirrip	ngawun K, wirrk P	wirrip ‘stem’ T	panuth YY, panu Dhu, wirrip ‘back’ Wa
bad	w’rrang	ngamrang	ngamikalin K, ngamindja P	yatjang W	
between	b’rrawu(lu)	pakarr	pakarr		pakarra ‘middle’ Wa
big	wurrung	martong	miyarrung K, linkil P	/kurrung/ W	
bite	ngatha	punda	punda	punda Kulin	punda Gipps
black	wulu, monal	miyn	miyn	/wurkirrim/ W	
blood	kamarr, kurruk N	kirrik, kamarr	kirrik, kurri K	/kurk/ Kulin	kurk Gipps, likely distant cogs inc. Kunwiynku. kurk ‘body fluid’; kuma(R) widespread
bone	biyi, baa	pakayn	pakayn		
boomerang	gati2	gati2	leti2	/katem-katem/ W, litum-litum T	
bottom	mum	parriyn	parriyn P	mum Kulin	
boy	murrangal , kabanga		warran2, katnit		
breast	pap	ngapang	ngapang	/kurrm/ W	forms sim. to ngapang north coast NSW, ngapurlu Warl
bring/take	wamba, mana	mana- (watha)	wamba	mana WV	mana YY

<b>English</b>	<b>Buwandik</b>	<b>Wulu</b>	<b>Warrnambool</b>	<b>Kulin</b>	<b>other</b>
bro, elder	warrgali, w'rragi	wartayi	wartayi	waw- WV	wartang Wa
bro, young	nyirri, duwati	nyirri, duwati	kuku	gud- WV	tati Yarlalde
broлга	wandi, mada	kurruk	kurrun, kurruk	kurrun/kutjun WV	kuRu(R)k WV, Colac, CV
call	karnda	karnda	karnda	/karnda/ WV	karna Wa
camp	ngula	wurn	wurn	/lar/ WV	
canoe	wala	thurrang	thurrang	/yungwip/ WV	yungguilp Ngay.
carry	kinipa		walata	/werga/ W	
cheek	wurra, kana	thakrrang	wang, thathak	/murrak/ WV	wang, Wa, CV; taRak?? W
cherry	tharrang	palayt	palayt		
cloud	murnu, munmarrit N	murnpung	murnanag	/merng/ WV	
c'too black	wila		wilan	wirra(y)n WV	
c'too white	karra'al, maa		ngayuk		
cold	mun-mun, mut-mut, mutuna	mut-mut	palapitj	munmut T, mut- T	mut- Dja, Wa, CV; munmut Wa
come	kaka, wata	wata	wata, kaka K	/warda/ WV	
corroboree/ dance	wirriwa/na	karrwip	karrwiya	/wariba/ W	
crooked	wirrinya	wart-wart	wart-wart		
cry	lunga	wirrpa	lunga K, wirrpa	/numila/ WV	lung widespread inv. WV
cut	datuwa, galnga	kalkirta	parritja K, kalkirta	/galba/ WV	
day/sun	karru	thirrang	thirrang K, nganang P		
dead/die	nuka N, nuwa, nura	kalpirna	kalpirna	/wik-/ WV	
dog	kaal	kaal	kaal	/kal/ WV	Wa kal
dingo	kanatjam	parnang	parnang	/wirreng-/ Kulin	
dream	yalu	yaki	yaki	/yakuwa/ W	
drink	thathiya	thatha	thatha	/kuba/ WV	

<b>English</b>	<b>Buwandik</b>	<b>Wulu</b>	<b>Warrnambool</b>	<b>Kulin</b>	<b>other</b>
duck, black	barna		thurrurrang, mu(y)i	/ngere/ W	
eagle	ngirri	ngiyanggarr a		/werpil/ W	
ear	w'rra	w'ring	w'ring	/wirimbul/ W, w(i)rrng Kulin	w(i)rrng Col., Gipps
eat	dhirr, thayi	thaka	thaka	/tjak-/ WV	thak- Yab.
eel	kuya		kuyang		Djirbal etc. kuya 'fish'
egg	kula, kuwa	kuli	mirrk	/mirrk/ WV	
elbow	thalayn, wukayn	thalayn	thalayn		tjalung Gi
emu	kapiirr, kawirr	kapiirng, parraynmal	kapiirng, parraynmal K	/kawirr/ WV	kawirr, Wa, parray(n)mal CV, Co, WP
eye	mirr, m'rra N	mirrng	mirrng	/mir(ng)/ Kulin	mirr(ng) Pall, Gipps
fat	marnt(buli), marnbuwi	pipul	pipul	/pepul/ WV	mambul We, Wa, Woi
father	maam	pipayi	pipayi	mam- Kulin	mam- Dhu, Pall
feather	wirtirr	tjarrat	kurrot K, yunonng P	witjin/wirtin WV	
fire	warnap, warnam, wi	wiyn	wiyn	wanyap W, wi- T	wiyn Wa, CV, Wir
fish	kakpa N, kakwa N, derdu	kuwiyang, kulal	yarra		
fly, blow	dhurratu	wurrol	wurrol		
fly, house	yuwal, yulal	minik	minik	/pithik/ WV	
foot	thina	thinang	thinang	/tjina/ Kulin	thina/tjina widespread
forehead	kini	kining	mithin	kini W	kini MM
girl	parrak2 N, parratj2	parratj2	parratj2	parrayt T	parratja PP
give	wuwa	yunggama, wuka	wuka K, yunggama P	/wuka/ WV	
go	yan	yan	yan	/yangga/ WV	

<b>English</b>	<b>Buwandik</b>	<b>Wulu</b>	<b>Warrnambool</b>	<b>Kulin</b>	<b>other</b>
good	martung	ngutjung (martong 'good')	ngutjung	/telkuk/ WV	
grass	buthu	puthung	karriwan K, mul- mul K, puthong	/puwatj/ Kulin	
ground	mirrit, m'raad	mirring	mirring	/tja/ WV	murra Co, mirri Pall
hair	ngarla	ngarlang	ngarrat	ngarra WV	ngarra Wa
hand	marna, marra	marrang	marrang	marna/many Kulin	mara widespread
hard	bini	binitj	binitj		
head	bup	kulang	pim	/purrp/ WV	kawang CV
hear	wanga	wanga	wanga	/nyerna/ WV	wanga Co, Gi
heart	lu(wung)	litj	litj	/wutjup/ W	
hill	bupik		kang K, pim P	/purrp/ W	
hit	wina	parta	parta	/taka/ WV	
hot/heat	wuwat, pala	kaloy	kaloy		
husband	nganapu	nganap	nganapun	/nganiti/ WV	nganapun Wa
jump	yungguya	papkupa	kupa K, papkupa P	/pap-pap-kuma/ W	
kangaroo	kurra/i	kurrayn	kurrayn	/kurra/ WV	kurra Co
kanga rat	marrmbul		parruk	/tjaleka/ W, parruk Kulin	
knee	parrayn	parrayn	parrayn P	parring/patjing Kul	
kookaburra	kuwada(ng)	tharrkuk	kunith	kurng-kurng WV	
laugh	wiya	wiya(ka)	wiyaka	weka WV	wiya Pitta-Pitta
lightning	minanmun, payatang		martung K, wilim P	wilim W	
lip	wurru	wurrung	wurrung	/wurru/ Kul	
long			wurrumbit	/tjuwerung/ W	
louse	murna, nunu	parrum	parrum	/munya/ Vic	
magpie	duwal	kurri/karri	kirri	kurruk WV	
man	d'ruwal	kuloy	marr	wutju W, kuli WV	kuliyn CV

<b>English</b>	<b>Buwandik</b>	<b>Wulu</b>	<b>Warrnambool</b>	<b>Kulin</b>	<b>other</b>
man, old	ngarm2, kartparri		ngarm2 K, ngalang2 P, putbi2 P	/nyarrampin/ WV	ngarrawil WV, Wa, purtayn Gi
man, young	wawakal, papatha	nguwiyt marr	warran-warran P, nguwiyt marr K, nguwiyn marr	/kulkurn/ WV	
moon	ngarrak N, tun.ngum/n	parrmbuk	kundarruk K, yaya??** P	/mitjin/ WV	
		thindjit	thindjit K		
mosquito	kitju, kipa	kaytuk, murrukarr	kirrk-kirrk K, marrwankil P	kirrk-kirrk W, T	kirrithu Dhu
mother	pap N, ngat-	ngirrang	ngirrang	/pap-/ Kul	pap- Co, Dhu, Pall
mouth	kanak N, lu	ngulang	ngulang	/tjarp/ WV	kanha YY
nail	li	pirryn?	pirryn?	/lirri/ WV	li Co
neck	kurn	kurn	kaat	/kurn/ Kul, /nyani/ WV	Co kurn
nose	kabu N, kawu	kapung	kapung	/karr/ WV	kang, Co, Wa, CV kawu YY, Yab, Gi ?
night	mul	purroyn	purroyn, kurruwalok	/puruyn/ Kul	mulu Gabi
one	wandhu	kayapa	kayapa	/kayap/ WV	
pelican	parrangal	kart pirrap	kart pirrap	parrangal/patjingal WV	parrangal/patjangal Wa
porcupine	wilangga, wiyanggil	wilanggil	wilanggalak K, wilanggil P		
possum, b-t	kurramu	kurramuk	kurramuk	/wili/ WV	
quick	banban.giya, wunggunangu	wunggu	wunggu P, marrat marrarram K	/werrki/ W	
rain	kabayn N, kawayn	kabayn	mayang	/mitjak/ WV	kapan Djabugay
rainbow	turrayn	turren	tharn parrut K, turren P		

<b>English</b>	<b>Buwandik</b>	<b>Wulu</b>	<b>Warrnambool</b>	<b>Kulin</b>	<b>other</b>
rib	yyirr, yirrang	yyirr(ang)	yyirr K	larn WV	
river, creek	pawuR	pukaR(a)	purrang	parr WV /parenggi/V???	
run	wirra	wirraka	kakurra K, wirraka P	/wirra(ka)/ WV	
sand	malang	kulak	kulak	/kurrak/ WV	
sea	ngamat	ngamat	ngamat K, mirrtitj P	/ngamatj/ W	
see	nhaka N, na-, ngawiya	naka	naka	/nyaka/ WV	ngaka/nyaka Yab, Dhu, Pall
shadow	wul		ngakuwi K, wul P	/ngak/ WV	
shield		malkarr	malkarr	/malkarr/ WV	
short	muta		mulopit	murt T	murt Dja, Wa, Co
sing	nurripa, niwiya?, lirrpiga	lirrpiga	lirrpiga		Wem nyarr pa
sister, elder	tjati	kakayi	kakayi	/tjatj-/ WV	
sister, y'r	nyirriyarr, nyuwiya	kukuwiya(rr )	kukuwiya(rr)	/kut-/ WV	
sit	nyi(wi)-	nyiniga	nyingga K, kupa	nyeN- WV	
sleep	luma, wilitj, witj	wiliyt	yuwa K	/kumba/ WV	
small	nardi N, nimpardi N, murruki(yt)		kurnang K, kuniyayi P	/tulu/ WV	
smoke	buloyN	thung	thung	/puriyn/ W	purt WV, thunga YY, Yab, thumpapa Dhu, thu Pall, thun Gi
snake	kurrwang, kurrang	kurrang	kurrang	/kurn-wil/ W	
speak	la-	pirrpa, tirroma	laka	/wurrega/ WV	WS lata
spear, short	thirr	thiyirr	thiyirr	/tjarrk/ WV	
spirit	wurra etc.		murrup	murrup Kul	



<b>English</b>	<b>Buwandik</b>	<b>Wulu</b>	<b>Warrnambool</b>	<b>Kulin</b>	<b>other</b>
star	karrandhak N, bundjil, thaman2	kaka thirrng, bundjil	kaka thirrng K, minkil P	/turt/ WV, wutjup/ WV	
stomach	buli, buwi	puloyn	thukang	pili Kul	YY puli, Gi pulen
stone	marra N, marri	marrayi	marrayi	/kutjap/ W	WP matji
sun	karrru	thirrng	thirrng K, nganang P	/nyawi/ WV	
swan	kunuwarra		kunuwarra	kunuwarr(a) WV	
swim	yunani	yuna	yawi K, yanda P	/wirraka/ W, yawa T	
tail	wirra	wirrang	wirrang	/pirrk/ W	witha- MM, wirt- WS
take	mana	mana	mana K, wamba P	mana WV	mana (widespread)
thigh	karrip	karrip	karrip	/karip/ WV	karrip Wa, karri Co
thirsty	kurnon	kurtna	kurtna K	ku(r)n?? Kul	
throw	yungga, yanda	yanda	yanda	/yungka/ WV	yungka Wa, yunga YY
today	kirtu 'by 'n by'	ting(g)alin	kalu 'by 'n by'		
tomahawk		partpartkurt	partpartkurt, muyitjirr	/patjik/ WV	
tomorrow	diyaba, kalepa	tu(n)gata	malangipa K, tunggati P		
tongue	thala, thawa	thalayn	thalayn	/tjaling/ Kulin	
tooth	thanga	thangang	thangang	/liya/ Kulin	
track(s)	warri	warrayn/ warroyn	thaan	/paring/ WV	
two	pulak, pulayt, puwayt	pulayt	pulayt	/puletj/ WV	pula widespread
urine	thalubang		kirrng	/kir(i)/ WV	kirr(i) Co
walk	yan-, yawi-	yana	yana K, purrra P		yan- widespread

<i>English</i>	<i>Buwandik</i>	<i>Wulu</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>	<i>Kulin</i>	<i>other</i>
wash	kuma	wiytkuna	purraniya K, ngumi P		
water	parrik N, parri	parriyt, kuwandam	parriyt	/katjin/ WV	
what	nan	nganha	nganha	/nyanya/ WV	nganying Th???
where	na(wang)	windha	wundha K	/wintha, wintja/ Kul	
whiskers	ngala ngarni	ngarrayn	ngarrayn	/ngani/ WV	ngarriyn Wa, Woi, nganyin Thag
who	nganu		ngarra	/winyarr/ WV	ngan- widespread
wife	mala, ma'a	malang	malang	/matjim/ WV	
wind	nirritja	narritjak	ngurnduk	/wila/ WV	
woman	barlarr2, kanyul	nerrang gurrk	thanambul	/layurrk/ WV	
wombat	murri	murrayn	miyam	mutja WV	
wood	warnap, warnam		wiyn	/kalk/ W	
woomera	kumbayn	ngarrung	ngarrung K, kapong kulang P		
yamstick	kana(k)		kanak		
yesterday	wurdu		nganggat		

and the past tense. Incomplete data and phonetic underdifferentiation make it hard to judge relationship, but in all only about six forms match out of 19. Of the six **ngan/nganha** reflects a widespread form (Dixon 1980:372ff). The form **ma** is also widespread, often as a causative. In a large number of languages, not just Australian languages, the same form is often used for causative and applicative, so the appearance of **-ma-** in applicative function is not unexpected, and does not represent a development that could have taken place in more than one language or been diffused. The only good candidate for a shared innovation is **-ngat** (genitive).

The two languages do share an unusual system of forming non-singular pronouns. They both add a bound form for person and non-singular number to the singular pronouns. However, this is a structural feature and could have been borrowed. The Warrnambool language adds its regular subject clitics. In fact it is not certain that the combinations of stem and bound form are not just collocations of free pronoun and clitic, taken by early recordists as words. In Buwandik there are some person/number forms used to form non-singular pronouns that are distinct from the subject enclitics. It may be that this is an older system than the Warrnambool one. It should be noted that the Colac language, which shares only 20% of vocabulary with Buwandik and 23% with the Warrnambool language, also forms non-singular pronouns by adding bound forms to the singular stems: **ngathu-(w)it** 'I', **ngathu-la** 'we two', etc. (Blake and Reid 1998b). It looks as if this principle of forming non-singular pronouns was an innovation that diffused among the languages to the south and south-west of the Kulin bloc.

The pronouns are displayed in Table 10. For each language there are three columns. The first one marked 'subject' shows the free forms in the singular and the augments used to mark dual and plural. the second column shows the subject clitics, and the third column marks the oblique clitics. With the pronouns, there are three singular stems to compare, ten subject clitics, three oblique clitics and the marker that distinguishes exclusive from inclusive. One can also compare eight augments added to the singular pronouns to form non-singular pronouns plus the exclusive marker involved in this series. On my count there are ten matches out of 26. However, most of the matches involve widespread roots and cannot reflect local innovations. The pronouns **ngathu(k)** 'I' and **nhung** 'he/she' are widespread, as is **ngurru/ngutuk** 'you', though this last form is normally plural. What appears to have happened is that the plural has come to be used in the singular. This is not an unnatural development, after all it happened in English, and it is an innovation that

could have arisen independently in more than one language or have been diffused. In fact it is also found in the Lower Murray languages, which are certainly not closely related to Buwandik. It is significant that the second person singular clitic is **-ngin**, a widespread form for second person singular. The oblique forms reflect **\*nga** ‘first person’, **\*ngu** ‘second person plural’ and **\*NHu** ‘he/she’ and possibly the widespread accusative **\*NHa**. The first person dual inclusive subject clitic appears to reflect widespread **\*ngali**. There are practically no shared forms that are exclusive to Buwandik and the Warrnambool language. The evidence for considering the two languages a subgroup is weak.

TABLE 9: GRAMMATICAL FORMS

	<i>Buwandik</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>
<i>number</i>		
<i>dual</i>	-bul, -wul (S)*	-(y)arra
<i>plural</i>	-ngarra (S), abayn (M)*	-apan
<i>case</i>		
<i>ergative</i>	-a, -la, -ga	-a
<i>genitive</i>	-at (S), -ngat (M)	-ngat
<i>dat/loc</i>	-u, -i, -a	-u, -i
<i>ablative</i>	-an	
<i>verb</i>		
<i>present</i>	-n(h?)	-0
<i>past</i>	-an	-n(h?)
<i>perfective</i>	-nha	-n(h?)a (Wuluwurrung)
<i>future-like</i>	-ngu, -wiya	-uk, -n(h?)
<i>imperative</i>	-a, ingga, -i, -gu	-ki
<i>applicative</i>	-ma-	-ma-
<i>deictic</i>		
<i>this</i>	n[h]u-	thin
<i>that</i>	dha-	n[h]u-
<i>yon</i>	gana-, gwalu-	?
<i>interrog</i>		
<i>who</i>	nganu	ngarra, winya (r)
<i>what</i>	ngan	nganha/nganya
<i>where</i>	n[h]a, nga	windha, wundha
<i>when</i>	n[h]awerr	windhagadha
<i>how many</i>	n[h]apa	ngamiya, n[h]apan
<i>yes/no</i>	=miyu	=wan, =ngal
<i>negative</i>		
<i>no/not</i>	wi-	ngi-ngi (Kurn)
		pa(rr)ngat

\*S = Stewart; (M) = R.H.Mathews

TABLE 10: BUWANDIK AND WARRNAMBOOL PRONOUNS

Buwandik				Warrnambool		
sing	subject	subject	oblique	subject	subject	oblique
1	<b>ngathu</b>	<b>-(ng)a</b>	<b>-ngayn</b>	<b>ngathuk</b>	<b>-u</b>	<b>-ngan</b>
2	<b>ngurru</b>	<b>-(ng)in</b>	<b>-ngun</b>	<b>ngutuk</b>	<b>-ngin</b>	<b>-ngu</b>
3	<b>nhung</b>		<b>-nhung</b>	<b>nhung</b>		<b>-nyung</b>
dual						
1inc	<b>-(w)al</b>	<b>-(ng)al</b>		<b>-ngal</b>	<b>-ngal</b>	
1ex	<b>-(w)ilal</b>	<b>-(ng)a</b>		<b>-ngalin</b>	<b>-ngalang,</b> <b>-ngalin</b>	
2	<b>-pul</b>	<b>-ngut</b>		<b>-wal</b>	<b>-wal, -wul,</b> <b>-warr</b>	
3	<b>-gal</b>			<b>-kal</b>	<b>-pul, -kal, -dja</b>	
plur						
1inc	<b>-(w)i</b>	<b>-(ng)i</b>		<b>-ngan</b>	<b>-wan, -ngan</b>	
1ex	<b>-(w)ili</b>	<b>-angi</b>		<b>-nganin</b>	<b>-wanung,</b> <b>-nganin</b>	
2	<b>-purr, -pala</b>			<b>-warr</b>	<b>-warr, -ato</b>	
3	<b>-ba, -baga, -bala</b>			<b>-kanda</b>	<b>-ut, -da, -dja</b>	

### 3.2.3 SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

The Buwandik dialects often lack word-final palatal and velar stops and nasals found in certain other languages including the Warrnambool language. Let us consider the word-final nasals first. There are quite a few examples where a word-final palatal or velar nasal in Warrnambool is lacking in the Buwandik dialects. These correspondences are displayed in Table 11. First of all notice that there is complementary distribution between the velar nasal, which follows **a**, **u** or **rr**, and the palatal nasal, which follows forms that in Buwandik have a final **-i**, at least as an alternant. The second point to note is that among the Kulin languages the final nasal is found in the Central Victorian language but not in the Western Victorian language. Furthermore, there are plenty of words in Buwandik that have a final palatal or velar nasal, many of which have correspondents in Warrnambool and other languages. What seems to be involved is that a nasal has been used as an augment in Warrnambool and in the Central Victorian language, but not in the Buwandik dialects. This means that where a word-final palatal or velar nasal is part of the root, it is retained, but not where it is an augment. One word that does not fit that scenario is **thala/thali** ‘tongue’. The widespread form is **thalanya/tjalanya**.

TABLE 11: FINAL PALATAL AND VELAR NASALS

<i>English</i>	<i>West. Vic.</i>	<i>Buwandik</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>	<i>Central Vic.</i>	<i>Other</i>
bottom		barri	barriyn		
kangaroo	kurra	kurra, kurri	kurrayn		
doe		marri	marriyn		
stomach	bili	buli, buwi	buluyn (WW)	biling	buli YY
stringybark		mirri, m'rra	marrayn		
tongue	tjaling	thala, thali	thalayn	tjalang	thalayn widespread
track		warri	warrayn (WW)		
crow	wa	wa	wang	wang	
eel		kuya	kuyang		
emu		kabarr	kapiirng		
excrement	kuna	kuna	kunang	kuna(ng)	kuna widespread
eye	mirr	mirr	mirrng	mirrng	
foot	tjina	thina	thinang	tjinang	tjina widespread
green		guma	gumang	gumang	
hair	ngarra	ngarla	ngarlang		
hand	manya	marra	marrang	marnang	marra widespread
lightwood		mutha	muthang	muyang	
lip, mouth	wurru	wurru	wurrung	wurrun(ng)	
nose	karr	kabu, kawu	kabung	karrng	kawu YY
penis		wirra	wirrang		
tooth		thanga	thangang		
wife		mala	malang		mala 'woman' Dhu

The situation with word-final palatal and velar stops is not so clear. There are over a dozen instances of the Buwandik dialects lacking a word-final palatal or velar stop found in the Warrnambool language. We would hesitate to suggest that these stops are augments, since that would raise the question of what principle decided which augment was to be added. However, the two Warrnambool pronouns **ngathuk** 'I' and **ngurruk** 'you' certainly contain an extra **-k** not found in numerous cognates. For most of the other words in Table 12 cognates are scarce, though **parri(k)** looks as if it is cognate with Wirangu and Parnkalla **pari** 'creek'. As with the nasals we have complementary distribution with the palatal following **i** and the velar following **a**, **u** or **rr**, the only exception being **piyik** 'chalk', 'clay'. What has probably happened is that at some stage the Buwandik dialects

lost final palatal and velar stops, whatever their origin. There are just over a dozen final palatal and velar stops in Buwandik, but most of these can be explained away. Buwandik **bulayt** ‘two’, for instance, is **pulatja** in Warrnambool and some dialects of the Western Victorian language, and **parrayt-parrayt** ‘girl’ is **parratja** ‘woman’ in Pitta-Pitta. Some of the other examples fall into categories frequently borrowed: **wirroyt** ‘banksia’, **wuloyt** ‘boxwood tree’, **wiyt-wiyt** ‘swallow’ [bird], **narrankak** ‘club’, **m’rruk** ‘ironbark’ and **lirrk** ‘red ochre’. **Ngarrak** ‘moon’ falls into a category frequently renewed. **Bupik** ‘hill’ is harder to account for. It is based on **bup** ‘head’, which also occurs in Western Victoria as **burrp**. It is conceivably a borrowing of **burrp-ik** ‘my head’.

TABLE 12: FINAL PALATAL AND VELAR STOPS

<i>English</i>	<i>Buwandik</i>	<i>Warrnambool</i>	<i>Central Vic.</i>	<i>Other</i>
hard, strong	<b>bini</b>	<b>binitj</b>		<b>binyidi</b> Gooniyandi (WA)
lake	<b>pupi</b>	<b>pupitj</b>		
navel	<b>piyi</b>	<b>piyitj</b>		
sleep	<b>wili, wilitj</b>	<b>wilitj</b> (WW)		
water	<b>parri(k)</b>	<b>parritj</b>		<b>parri</b> ‘creek’ Wirangu, Parnkalla
arm	<b>wu</b>	<b>wurrk</b>		
chalk, clay	<b>piyi</b>	<b>piyik</b> (WW)	<b>piyik</b>	
I	<b>ngathu</b>	<b>ngathuk</b>		<b>ngathu</b> Pitta-Pitta (Q) etc.
mosquito, ant	<b>kitju</b>	<b>kitjuk</b>		
possum	<b>kurramu</b>	<b>kurramuk</b>		
wind	<b>nirritja</b>	<b>narritjak</b> (WW)		
(yam)stick	<b>kana</b>	<b>kanak*</b>		
you	<b>ngurru</b>	<b>ngurruk</b>		<b>ngurr(u)</b> Ngayawang, etc.
wattlebird	<b>yanggu</b>	<b>yangguk</b>	<b>yangguk</b>	
fem. suffix	<b>-gurr</b>	<b>-gurrrk</b>	<b>-gurrrk</b>	

\*Numerous cognates including Thagungwurrung **kanayn**, Wir **kanaay**, Warlpiri **kana**, Baagandji **karnka**.

Blake and Reid (1998) report a sound correspondence involving intervocalic consonants. The palatal stop in most dialects of the Western Victorian language corresponds to a retroflex stop in Letji-Letji and Wati-Wati (Swan Hill) and to an undetermined rhotic in the central Victorian language, Wathawurrung, Colac and Warrnambool. There are a few examples of the rhotic in Buwandik. There is also a correspondence between a palatal nasal in the Wimmera language and an apical nasal in other Kulin dialects. There are some examples of an apical nasal, probably retroflex, in Buwandik. Both these correspondences are illustrated in Table 13.

TABLE 13: INTERVOCALIC CONSONANTS

	<i>Wimmera</i>	<i>Swan Hill</i>	<i>Buwandik</i>
arm	<b>thatjak</b>	<b>tharta</b>	<b>tharra</b> ‘left hand’
cockatoo, white	<b>katjakarr</b>	<b>kartaka</b>	<b>karra</b> ’al
feather	<b>witjan</b>	<b>wirta</b>	<b>wirta</b>
knee	<b>patjing</b>	<b>parti</b>	<b>parrayn</b>
pelican	<b>patjangan</b>	<b>partangan</b>	<b>parrangan</b>
tail	<b>wit[h]angi</b> Mathi-Mathi	<b>wirt-mum</b>	<b>wirra</b>
wombat	<b>mutja</b>		<b>murra</b>
dog	<b>payn</b> Gippsland		<b>parna</b>
fire(wood)	<b>wanyap</b>		<b>warnap</b>
hand	<b>manya</b>		<b>marna</b>

The number of examples is small, and it is not certain whether the sound change spread through the Buwandik area or whether we are dealing with a handful of borrowings. The word **wirta** ‘feather’ has the retroflex found in Letji-Letji, which was probably contiguous with northern dialects of Buwandik, and it may be a borrowing. However, it is interesting to note that intervocalic laminal stops and nasals are not too frequent in Buwandik.



## 4. Phonology

### 4.1 Consonantss

The inventory of consonants was probably much the same as in most other Australian languages and is displayed in Table 14. There was probably no opposition between voiced and voiceless stops, a point noted by Mathews (1903:64), but I have transcribed voiceless symbols and voiced symbols on the basis of whatever I found exclusively or predominantly in the sources. Syllable-final stops are usually voiceless as one would expect from the evidence of other languages including various Victorian languages, but intervocalic stops are frequently voiceless too, despite being in a position where voicing is to be expected.

In some Australian languages there is an opposition between two series of laminal consonants, namely dental and palatal; in other languages there is only one series of laminals with dental and palatal allophones. The situation in Buwandik seems to be as follows.

In word-initial position dentals occurred, but not palatals. There are a few examples of palatals, but they are all from William Thomas. The word for ‘short reed spear’ is **thirr** in other sources, but **djirr** and **thirr** in Thomas. Thomas records **djarripa** ‘to catch’, **djambilan** ‘sick’, **djudju** ‘stump’ and both **djuwindja** and **t[h]uwindja** ‘tired’, which are not found in other sources, plus **djuman** ‘flesh/meat/mutton’ where Stewart has **t[h]uman**, **djumba** ‘to roast’ where Stewart has **t[h]umba**, and **djurratu** ‘blowfly’ where Mathews and Stewart have **thurratu** (See glossary for original notations).

In intervocalic position, however, there is ample evidence of an opposition between **th** and **tj** before **a**:

drink	<b>thatha</b> ( <i>tat- a s, tata a, dad-day-a wt</i> )
bite	<b>ngatha</b> ( <i>nguttha m, ngaht-ta wt</i> )
blackwood	<b>mutha</b> ( <i>mooth-a s, moo-tha wt</i> ‘lightwood’)
crayfish	<b>manatja</b> ( <i>monagur d, mun-ait-ye wt, murangir w</i> )
wind	<b>nirritja</b> ( <i>nerecha a, nir-i-cha s, noredja d, neraiga w</i> )
native dog	<b>kanatjam</b> ( <i>kanaityum wt, ganatyum m, kar na chum a, s</i> )

Before **i** and **u** the evidence is skimpy. Before **i** there is **thathi-** in inflected forms of the verb for ‘to drink’ (*thathea d, thathia w, tatthiny m*) and **ngadhiyn** ‘smell’ (only one token *ngadhiny*) opposed to **natjima** ‘to awake’, **mutjirr** ‘tomahawk’ and **witjiniya** ‘white woman’, this last probably being a borrowing from Pidgin *white gin* plus the feminine suffix. Before **u** there are a number of examples of **th** including **buthu** ‘grass’ (7 tokens), but only two of **tj**: **nitju-** ‘steal’ and **kitju** ‘mosquito’ (also given as ‘ant’)

In word-final position one would not expect an opposition in laminals and one finds evidence only for palatals: **wurroyt** ‘banksia’, **tolayt** (*tolite* c) ‘species of small kangaroo’, and **bulayt/buwayt** ‘two’ (also **buwatj**, **bulak**). Syllable-final palatals are indicated by **yt**, **yn** or **yl**. This avoids having a final **y** that the unwary might read as an extra syllable, and it provides marking for the palatal on-glide, so it is phonetically appropriate. The palatal stop is also marked by **tj** where the sources indicate a released ‘ch’-like stop.

In sum there is probably no opposition between **tj** and **th** in initial position. There probably is such an opposition intervocalically, though the evidence is strong only before **a**. There is no opposition in word-final position (This should probably be syllable-final position, but the evidence is lacking).

With the nasals it is more difficult to establish oppositions since early observers, not surprisingly, heard dental **n** as alveolar. Mathews, however, has a few examples of **nh**.

In word-initial position *ny* indicating a palatal nasal occurs in only a few words and is always in alternation with *n*, which presumably is **nh**. Note the intriguing alternation between **nyu**- and what is probably **nh**i- in the words for ‘younger sister’, and also in the forms for ‘sit’, though there is also **ny**i-.

sit	<b>ny</b> i-	<i>nyiwiny</i> m, <i>nyayn-nyull</i> wt
	<b>nyu</b> -	<i>newia</i> d, <i>gnumit</i> th
	<b>nh</b> in-?	<i>neinnein</i> g, <i>neen</i> p, <i>ninya-ka</i> wt
younger brother	<b>nyirri</b>	<i>nyeri</i> m
	<b>nhirri</b> ?	<i>nere</i> s, d, <i>nirring-ngun</i> wt
younger sister	<b>nhirri-yarr</b> ?	<i>nere-er</i> s, <i>nereer</i> a, <i>nirry-ye-reing</i> ,
		<i>nirriur</i> , <i>ne-re-ung</i> s
	<b>nyuwi-yarr</b>	<i>nueyur</i> d, <i>nyuiyur</i> m

For the words spelled with initial *n* in the early sources we can posit initial **nh** in the various forms built on **nha** ‘to see’ on the grounds that a laminal is found in this root in numerous Pama-Nyungan languages, and we can suggest a dental **nh** in **nhikom** ‘ant’ on the basis of a token *gneeko* in Tjapwurrung. The third person singular pronoun is probably **nhung**. We expect a laminal on comparative grounds and Mathews writes *nhung* for the clitic form, e.g. *guna*[=]*nhung* ‘his/her faeces’.

In intervocalic position **ny** occurs before **i** in words such as **manyiyn** ‘blind’ (*munyiny* m), and before **a** in words like **woninyarri** ‘man’s sister’s child’ (*woninyarre* g), but there are no examples of **nyu** except perhaps **kanyul** ‘woman’ (*kineule* a). Tokens are not numerous, and there is not much possibility of evidence of a contrasting dental, but

Mathews gives *kabinha kurru* ‘evening’, which seems to be **kabin-nha karru** [lit. descend-PERF sun].

In syllable-final position a palatal nasal occurs, usually evident from the palatal on-glide which yields an apparent diphthong with **a** and **u**: **wunayn-wunayn** ‘orphan’ (*wunine-wunine* s), **taynbun** ‘mocking’ (*tine-born* s) and **guynbi** ‘branch’ (*goin-bei* wt). Following **i** a palatal is evident from a specific indication as with **mangiyn** ‘dusk’ (*munginy* m) or from lengthening of the vowel as in **luwiyn** (*loh-ween* wt) ‘growl’ or **wiyn** (*ween* wt), where in the latter case the posited palatal is confirmed from other languages including Hercus’ recording of **wiyn** in the Warrnambool language (Hercus 1986:233). We would not expect dentals in syllable-final position.

On the evidence it is not possible to establish whether **nh** and **ny** in initial and intervocalic position are in parallel distribution or complementary distribution with marginal exceptions, but we would not expect more contrasts with nasals than with stops, so in filling in the cells in Table 15 I have assumed that nasals parallel stops in their distribution with a contrast only between vowels.

There is some evidence for palatal laterals with **nalya** (*nal-yah* wt) ‘open eyes’ and **yakayl** ‘salt creek’ (*yakile* c), but we can hardly expect that a dental lateral would have been distinguished.

There were probably two rhotics, a flap or trill and a glide, but the sources do not distinguish them, so all **r**-sounds are written as **rr** except where the rhotic appears to be the second consonant in a cluster as in **druwal** ‘man’. However, both **rr** and **r** are included in Table 9 on the assumption that both occurred. The distinction between **rr** and **r** is observed in transcription only where forms are quoted from Hercus or some other contemporary source.

TABLE 14: CONSONANTS

		<i>Laminal</i>		<i>Apical</i>		
	labial	dental	palatal	alveolar	retroflex	velar
stops	p/b	th/dh	tj/dj/yt	t/d	rt/rd	k
nasals	m	nh	ny/yn	n	rn	ng
laterals		lh	ly/yl	l	rl	
rhotics				rr	r	
glides			y			w

## 4.2 Vowels

The five vowel letters are used in the sources, but since we know that many Australian languages have only three vowel phonemes, we suspect that *i* and *e* may represent the same vowel, similarly *u* and *o*. However, to be on the safe side I have transcribed segments that are consistently represented by *e* as **e** rather than converting them to **i**, similarly I have transcribed consistent *o* vowels as **o** rather than converting them to **u**. Where there is fluctuation between *i* and *e* I have regularised with **i**, similarly fluctuation between *u* and *o* has been standardised as **u**.

Letter *u* is a perennial problem. In closed syllables it is hard to know whether it represents the vowel of **put** or the vowel of **putt**, and this is responsible for a some uncertainty in transcription.

Double vowel letters are sometimes used in the sources, e.g. *kooramoo* ‘possum’ and *trooal* ‘blackfellow’ in Curr. In general we take the double letter to represent a particular vowel quality without necessarily taking the pair to represent a phonemically long vowel. Doubtless *aa* represents the vowel of English *baa*, but it is not certain that vowel length was phonemic. Monosyllabic words, at least those consisting of an open syllable, probably required a phonetically long vowel as in many other Australian languages. Stewart gives *yanang-a* ‘I go’ and *yaana* ‘I went’ (Table 18). The present form appears to be **yan-anga**. From Mathews’ verb paradigms (Table 20) the past tense appears to be **-an**, so *yaana* may be **ya-an-a** where the vowel length is significant.

## 4.3 Phonotactics

In general words have two or more syllables. It is not always possible to ascertain the internal structure of words, but it looks as if roots are typically disyllabic and that longer words contain at least one other formative.

All consonants probably occurred between vowels. One would expect from what we know of better recorded languages that there would have been no opposition between alveolar and retroflex consonants in initial position, but it is impossible to verify this. In fact it is difficult to separate apical and dental initials. As mentioned above, there is never any direct evidence of a distinction between a flapped or trilled *r* and a glide, but no *r*-sound of any kind appeared in word-initial position, with the exception of *ranglu* ‘greedy’ recorded by Mathews. Words could end in a vowel or in any consonant save **y** or **w**, which are not phonetically consonants anyway, but vocoids, i.e. sounds made with no obstruction to the breath stream but occupying the margins of syllables rather than nuclei. Examples of single consonants in various positions are given in Table 15.

TABLE 10: SINGLE CONSONANTS

	<i>initial</i>	<i>intervocalic</i>	<i>final</i>
p/b	<b>buwi</b>	<b>kabu</b>	<b>warnap</b>
	stomach	nose	fire(wood)
th/dh	<b>thala</b>	<b>ngatha</b>	
	tongue	bite	
tj/yt	?	<b>kanatja</b>	<b>bulayt</b>
		dog	two
t/d	?	<b>batong</b>	<b>wuwat</b>
		soft	hot
rt/rd	-	<b>wurdu</b>	<b>barrumart</b>
		behind	young woman
k/g	<b>karru</b>	<b>kakayi</b>	<b>tharrak</b>
	sun	come	dew
m	<b>mul</b>	<b>thuman</b>	<b>maam</b>
	dark	flesh	father
nh	<b>n[h]a-</b>	<b>kabinha</b>	-
	see	gone down	
ny	?	<b>manyiyn</b>	<b>buloyyn</b>
		blind	smoke
n	?	<b>kuna</b>	<b>mun-mun</b>
		faeces	cold
rn	-	<b>warnap</b>	<b>murn</b>
		fire(wood)	cloud
ng	<b>ngurla</b>	<b>wanga</b>	<b>tharrang</b>
	camp	hear	cherry
l	<b>lu</b>	<b>walu</b>	<b>kaal</b>
	mouth	canoe	dog
lh	?	?	-
ly/yl		?	<b>yakayl</b>
			salt creek
rl	-	<b>ngurla</b>	<b>wirlpa</b> (syll. final)
		camp	broken
rr	-	<b>wurrong</b>	<b>thirr</b>
		big	reed spear
y	<b>yan</b>	<b>waya</b>	
	go	ask	
w	<b>wamba</b>	<b>lawa</b>	
	bring	quarrel	

#### 4.3.1 Consonant clusters

As might be expected intervocalic, homorganic nasal-stop clusters are fairly common:

<b>mb</b>	<b>wamba</b>	bring
<b>nd</b>	<b>wandi</b>	broлга
<b>rnd</b>	<b>marndal</b>	thunder
<b>ndj</b>	<b>wirrandja</b>	pull
<b>ngg</b>	<b>barringgat</b>	mushroom

A variety of heterorganic clusters occur. If one includes clusters straddling morpheme boundaries, it is likely one would find all combinations of word-final and word-initial consonants. In light of the small corpus and the uncertainty about word formation in many instances, no inventory of heterorganic clusters has been undertaken.

Within the morpheme there is one type of cluster or apparent cluster worthy of special mention and that is the type with a rhotic as the second member, as in Stewart's *krip* 'thigh'. This word is also recorded by Mathews as *gurreep* and it appears in Kulin languages as **karrip**. These apparent clusters in the onset of syllables may arise from stress falling on the second syllable. In the vast majority of Australian languages stress falls on the first syllable, but this is not always the case. Hercus, for instance, reports a stress system in Mathi-Mathi that involves the primary stress occupying different positions in different words (Hercus 1986: 115f). If stress was non-initial in Buwandik, there is little evidence of it other than in words with a rhotic as the second consonant. It is not unknown for an r-sound and a neighbouring vowel to metathesise (transpose), as can be seen in English *third* where the **r** (silent in Australian English) has moved from a position before the vowel, Old English **thrida** (compare *three*), to a position after it.

Here is a selection of words exhibiting apparent clusters with a rhotic as the second member. Note that there is some fluctuation between having a vowel before the rhotic or not:

bad	<i>w-rahng, wraang w, wrang s, woorang g, th</i>
banksia	<i>wroit s, woor-oit wt</i> Warr. <b>wirrayt</b>
ear	<i>waar d, wari z, waara p, wah m, wrung s, a, wrang-eo wt, wra w, f</i> Wergaya / <b>wirimbul</b> / Colac <b>wirri</b>
eye	<i>mir d, m, s, mrah f, mrangun th, maa wt</i> <sup>11</sup> Wergaya / <b>mir</b> /, Woiwurrung <b>mirrng</b>
ground	<i>meerit f, mirriit b, mirreet m, mraad s, mrade a, m'rade a1, marrat wt</i>

<sup>11</sup> See entry in glossary for 'people. white'

	Wemba-Wemba / <b>miri</b> / ‘hole in the ground’, Warr. <b>mirring</b>
lip, mouth	<i>wuru m</i> , <i>wrong-ein wt</i> , <i>wro s</i> Wergaya / <b>wurru</b> /
run	<i>wirra-oonah</i> ‘be off’ <i>wt</i> , <i>waa-ih m</i> , <i>wraan s</i> , <i>woorahna wt</i> Wemba-Wemba / <b>wirra</b> /, Warr <b>wirraka</b>

A notation such as *wrang-eo* must be something like **w’rrangiyu** (probably ‘in the ear’); *mrangan* is almost certainly **m’rrangayn** ‘my eye’ and *mrah* must be **m’rraa** ‘ground’, possibly with an inflection. The low vowel in these examples is unexpected since in each case the original vowel preceding the **r** is **i**. Since an r-sound cannot appear as the second member of an initial cluster with **w** or **m** in English, it is unlikely that English speakers would put it there if it was not really there. That does not mean that we can take **wr** and **mr** to be consonant clusters, but it does mean that there was no vowel between the two or at best a schwa. The absence of a vowel does not necessarily imply a consonant cluster, but something like what we get in a rapid pronunciation of a word like *suppose* where no discernible vowel might occur between **s** and **p**, yet the sequence is different from the cluster in a word like *spoke*.

A few words are spelled consistently with a cluster. These include the word for ‘man’ (*druaal*, *druul m*, *troo-e-al d*, etc.) and for ‘leg’ or ‘root’ (*prum s*, *pruin-mein wt*, *brum wt*).

There are also a number of words with several tokens which consistently show a vowel before an intervocalic rhotic:

boy	<i>moorunga p</i> , <i>moorungal g</i> , <i>murungal m</i> , <i>morongal d</i>
big	<i>woo-rong s</i> , <i>worong d</i> , <i>w</i> , <i>wurung m</i> , <i>woorrong g</i>
hand	<i>murra w</i> , <i>z</i> , <i>m</i>
track	<i>warri m</i> , <i>wurree</i> , <i>war-e s</i>

Where we can determine the missing vowel on the basis of alternations or cognates, we find it is usually a high vowel, but, as we can see, not all high vowels in the first syllable followed by a rhotic are subject to deletion. This raises the question of whether the type of rhotic determines the loss of the preceding vowel. As can be seen from the forms quoted from Hercus, both flap/trills and glides are involved. It remains unclear what determines the loss of the vowel from the first syllable of words where a rhotic is the second consonant.

There are no consonant clusters in the coda of a syllable.

## 5 Grammar

As noted earlier in section 1, the main sources of grammatical information are the grammatical sketches by Stewart and Mathews. We also have Mathews' notes. These are fuller than the published sketch, but there are alarming discrepancies between the manuscript notes and the published version. Where it is necessary to distinguish the two sources I have designated the manuscript (Mms) and the published version (Mp). Some grammatical information can be gleaned from the Mount Gambier sentences of William Thomas and some word lists contain a few phrases or include suffixes or enclitics.

Nouns were marked for number and case and could also bear an enclitic indicating the number and person of a possessor. As in other Australian languages the translational equivalents of many English adjectives were marked like nouns and were probably not grammatically distinct from nouns. Verbs were marked for tense, aspect and imperative mood. There were two sets of enclitic pronouns, a subject set and an oblique set. The subject set could be attached to the verb or to the first phrase in the clause. The oblique set represented not only the object of a verb but also the possessor of a noun.

### 5.1 Number

Stewart gives the following suffixes for dual and for plural.

<b>barrayt</b> ( <i>barite</i> )	a girl
<b>barrayt-bul</b> ( <i>barite-bol</i> )	two girls
<b>barrayt-barrayt</b>	girls
<b>murrangal</b> ( <i>moorongal</i> )	a boy
<b>murrangal-wul</b> ( <i>moorong-al-wol</i> )	two boys
<b>murrangal-ngarra</b> ( <i>moorongal-ngara</i> )	boys
<b>ngat-bul</b>	two mothers
<b>ngat-ngarra</b>	mothers
<b>mala-bro</b>	many wives
<b>yawa-mayndja(rr)-ayn</b>	my many aunts

Stewart adds: 'Ngara is the most generally used plural affix. For the sake of euphony, it gives place to *bro* and *mine-ger* in some instances; thus *mala-bro* (many wives) and *yowermineger-ine* (my many aunts).' It is unclear to what extent reduplication was used to mark plural. Besides the example given above Mathews (m2) includes **bubitj-bubitj** 'a



range of hills’ and *bulla bulla wity* ‘a lot of women’. **Bula-bula** (or **barlarr-barlarr**) is the Buwandik for ‘woman’, but **witj** is not independently attested.

Stewart also gives the following combinations of number marking and possessor enclitic (See also section 5.4.3)

<b>mala-ngal-un</b> ( <i>mala-ngal-on</i> )	‘your wives’
<b>mala-bul-ayn</b> ( <i>mala-boline</i> )	‘my two wives’
<b>mala-ngarra-ngayn</b> ( <i>mala-ngar-angine</i> )	‘my wives’

Mathews gives the following forms. Some of the distinctions appear to be purely lexical, but there is one example of **warrwang** followed by an oblique enclitic marking possessor. See section 5.4.3)

<b>druwal buwatj</b> ( <i>druwal-boi-aity</i> Mms)	‘two men’
<b>druwal warrwang</b> ( <i>druwalwawung</i> Mp)	‘three men’
<b>druwal kalayt</b> ( <i>druwal-kal-a-ait</i> Mms)	‘several men’
<b>winggap</b> ( <i>winggap</i> Mms)	‘two friends’ [cf. Stewart <i>wingo</i> ‘friend’]
<b>winggapurrap</b> ( <i>winggapurap</i> Mms)	‘several friends’

Mathews gives the following in his published version. They are the same as he recorded in Pikwurrung (Warnambool) and must be regarded with suspicion.

<b>druwal</b> ( <i>druwal</i> Mp)	‘man’
<b>druwalarra</b> ( <i>druwalara</i> Mp)	‘couple of men’
<b>druwalabayn</b> ( <i>druwalaba</i> <sup>TM</sup> Mp)	‘several men’

Further examples of number marking are given in sections 5.3 and 5.4.3.

## 5.2 Gender

There was little that could count as grammatical gender. Mathews notes that the sex of an animal can be represented by **mamang** male and **ngartang** female:

<b>gurramu mamang</b> ( <i>guramu mamung</i> )	‘male possum’
<b>gurramu ngartang</b> ( <i>guramu ngurtung</i> )	‘female possum’

As noted in appendix 2 to the English-Buwandik glossary, the moieties among the Buwandik are *kumite* (**kumayt**) and *krokee* (**kruki**) and females are referred to as either *kumitegor* or *krokeegor* according to which moiety they belong to. *Gor* is presumably **gurr** ‘female’ cognate with Wathawurrung **gurrk**, which may in turn be the widespread root we find in Kulin languages for ‘blood’. The loss of the final **-k** would be another example of the word-final loss of velars illustrated in Table 12.

Stewart's vocabulary contains *koon-atgo* 'a male baby' and *koon-am* 'a female baby'.

A comparison of **nyirri** ‘younger brother’ and **nyirri(y)arr** ‘younger sister’ reveals a feminine suffix **-(y)arr**, which can be identified with **-iyarr** in the Warrnambool language.

### 5.3 Case

There are discrepancies between the forms given by Stewart and those given by Mathews in his manuscript. In his published version Mathews departs from his manuscript version of the ergative case and substitutes forms given by Stewart, and his published genitive looks like a blend of Stewart's version and his own manuscript version.

TABLE 16: CASE MARKERS

	‘man’	‘mother’
nominative	<b>druwal</b> (S)	<b>ngat</b> (S)
ergative	<b>druwala</b> ( <i>druwal-er</i> S, <i>drualla</i> Mp), <b>druwaaga</b> ( <i>druaaga</i> Mms)	<b>ngatla</b> (S)
genitive	<b>druwalat</b> (S), <b>druwangat</b> (Mms), <b>druwalangat</b> (Mp)	<b>ngatat</b> (S)
locative	<b>druwalu</b> ( <i>drualo</i> S)	<b>ngatu</b> ( <i>ngato</i> S)
ablative	<b>druwalan</b> ( <i>drualon</i> S)	<b>ngatan</b> ( <i>ngat-anung</i> S)

The information contained in these paradigms is not complete. The case marker **-u**, designated locative in the table above, is glossed by Stewart as ‘to’ and ‘with’. He gives an example **warnap-u** ‘go for firewood’, but there are other examples of locative function. From various examples one can isolate a case marker **-i**, which has a locative and an aversive function, and there is a form **-a** with an allative (‘to’) function. Unfortunately different markers are found with different stems, so it is not always clear whether we have different case markers for a particular case or markers of different cases. The confusing array of local forms is illustrated below at the end of this section.

Stewart gives *druala* ‘is a man’ distinct from *drua-er* ‘by a man’. Both appear to be ergative forms. He also gives *ngata* ‘is a mother’ as well as *ngat* ‘mother’. The context in which Stewart recorded these ‘is a so-and-so’ forms is not apparent. Normally the nominative would be used as the predicate in sentences like, ‘He is a man.’

Stewart gives *ngat-anung* for the ablative of **ngat**. This is presumably **ngat-on-ung** or **ngat-an-ung** ‘from his/her mother’. It is not certain whether the ablative was **-an**, **-un** or **-on**. It is doubtful whether there was an **o** phonemically distinct from **u**, and an **a** before a nasal was often heard as **o**, so I am inclined to think the ablative was **-an**,

Stewart gives the following examples combining number and case:

<b>ngat</b>	mother
<b>ngat-bul</b>	two mothers
<b>ngat-bul-a</b>	by two mothers
<b>ngat-bul-at</b>	belonging to two mothers
<b>ngat-bul-u</b>	to or with two mothers ( <i>ngat-bolo</i> )
<b>ngat-bul-an</b>	from two mothers ( <i>ngat-bolon</i> )
<b>ngat-ngarra</b>	mothers
<b>ngat-ngarra-la</b>	by mothers
<b>ngat-ngarra-at</b>	belonging to mothers
<b>ngat-ngarra-u</b>	to or with mothers ( <i>ngat-ngarra-o</i> )
<b>ngat-ngarra-an</b>	from mothers ( <i>ngat-ngarra-on</i> )

Besides **ngat-ngarra-la**, which is irregular, Stewart gives **ngat-ngarra-a** ‘are mothers’.

ergative

The first two examples illustrate the distinctive ergative that appears in Mathews’ manuscript (1) and the form that he substituted in his published account, a form that is the same as Stewart’s (2). Mathews notes that demonstratives are omitted from his examples (1903: 61).

(1) *Winan druwaaga gal* (Mms)

<b>Win-an</b>	<b>druwaaga</b>	<b>kal.</b>
beat-PAST.3SG	man.ERG	dog
A man beat a dog.		

- (2) *Drualla gal winan.* (Mp)  
**Druwal-a kal win-an.**  
 man-ERG dog hit-PAST.3SG  
 A man hit a dog.

- (3) *Ngutthan galir guramu.* (Mms)  
*Gala guramu ngutthan.* (Mp)  
**Kal-a gurramu ngath-an.**  
 dog-ERG possum bite-PAST.3SG  
 A dog bit a possum.

The ergative covered the instrumental function as well as marking the agent of a transitive verb,

- (4) a. *Drualla gal winan gettup-gettupa.* (Mp)  
**Druwal-a kal win-an getap-getap-a.**  
 man-ERG dog hit-PAST.3SG boomerang-ERG  
 A man beat a dog with a boomerang.
- b. *Druaaga gattimgattima ban gal.* (Mms)  
**Druaaga gatimgatim-a ban kal.**  
 man.ERG boomerang-ERG hit.PAST.3SG dog  
 A man hit a dog with a boomerang.

The above example is followed in the manuscript by *druaaga gatimgatimarra gal* with the translation, ‘A man hit a dog with the boomerang.’. Note the suffix **-arra**, which may be a plural marker, and the lack of a verb.

- (5) *Druaaga ban gal wirinya.* (Mms)  
**Druaaga ban kal wirriny-a.**  
 man.ERG hit.past.3SG dog waddy-ERG  
 A man hit a dog with a waddy.

(6) *Bulla-bull ♠ murungal winan wirinya.* (Mp)

<b>Bula-bula-a*</b>	<b>murrangal</b>	<b>win-an</b>	<b>wirriny-a.</b>
woman-ERG	boy	hit-past.3SG	waddy-ERG

A woman hit a boy with a waddy.

\*Determining the value of *u* in *bulla-bulla* is problematic. The word looks like **bula-bula**, but if the vowel were **a**, then *u* would be a likely notation. One source writes the word *purlapurla*, which suggests **barla-barla**, and another has *palapalarick* which could be a word-final rhotic appearing before a vowel-initial suffix or clitic. The correct transcription could be **barlarr-barlarr**.

Mathews remarks that sometimes the 'causative' (=ergative) suffix is omitted and only the instrumental employed.

It seems that Buwandik, like the Warrnambool language and several other languages of south-eastern Australia, treated the gift in a 'giving construction' like an instrument and put it in the ergative, or ergative-instrumental. The construction is rather like what we have in English with 'provide with' or 'present with'.

(7) *Woonangy-gooahm-mohur-tohur.* (WT)

<b>Wun-angi</b>	<b>gurramu-wa.</b>	<b>du-wa.</b>
give.PAST-1PL.EX	possum-ERG	rug-ERG

We gave him a possum rug.

Humphries vocabulary includes *Wokia toka* 'Give me a thing' and *Wokia kala* 'Give me a dog'. They probably mean 'Give him or her a thing' and 'Give him or her a dog.' *Toka* is not recorded elsewhere, but *kala* is the ergative of **kal** 'dog'.

#### genitive

A genitive suffix is used to mark a possessor and the possessed is marked by an enclitic representing the person and number of the possessor. The enclitic marking the possessor can also mark the direct object of a verb and is glossed OBLique. Note the discrepancy in the form for 'man's' between the manuscript (8) and published version (9).

- (8) *Druaagat gettugettum-ung.* (Mms)  
**Druwaagat gatimgatim-ung.**  
 man.GEN boomerang-3SG.OBL  
 a man's boomerang

- (9) *Drualangat gettup-gettupmung* (Mp)  
**Druwala-ngat getap-getap-mung.**  
 man-GEN boomerang-3SG.OBL  
 a man's boomerang

local cases

Besides **-an**, which marks 'from' there are three case markers with local functions. The form **-u** includes location and destination ('to') in its range; **-i** marks location and what is to be avoided, and there are a few examples of **-a** marking destination and one where it marks the complement of 'thirsty', namely **parra** 'for water' (nominative **parri**). It is difficult to assign these markers to cases, since, for the most part, they occur with different stems, so one cannot decide if they are different markers for a particular case or markers of different cases. The only stem that occurs with more than one marker is **ngurla** 'camp'. We have **ngurli** 'at home' and **ngurla** 'to camp'. Stewart glosses **-u** (-o) as 'to' or 'with'. I will gloss both **-u** and **-i** locative. Because of the confusing overlap in function between these local forms, all distinctive tokens are reproduced below.

- (10) *Wurnapo nga yan.* (S)  
**Warnap-u nga yan**  
 firewood-LOC I go  
 'I am going for firewood.'

- (11) *Ngurli ngad-om.* (WT)  
**Ngurli ngat-ayn.**  
 camp.LOC mother-1SG.OBL  
 'My mother is at home.'

- (12) *Nanning-in-nyin-un.* (WT)

**Nan-i=ngin      yinun?**

what-LOC=2SG      fear.PRES.3SG

‘What are you afraid of?’

- (13) a. *Eer-run-moolee.* (WT)

**Yi[n]an      mul-i**

fear.PRES.3SG      dark-LOC

‘He’s afraid of the dark.’

- b. *Eer-nun-wir-ree.* (WT)

**Yinan      wirr-i**

fear.PRES.3SG      devil-LOC

‘He’s afraid of the devil.’

other examples

-u

*boop-e-o* (S)

*boop-o-ngong* (S)

*boh-pool-nung* (WT)

*wirrangoonoong* (WT)

*kahbinny-barryoo* (WT)

*nyooya-ngurro* (WT)

*ngang-oo* (WTS)

*gooram-moo-oo* (WTS)

*winnapoo* (WT)

**boopi-yu**

**bup-u-ngun**

**bup-ul-nhung**

**wirrang-u-nhung**

**kabini parri-yu**

[lit. ‘go down in water’ **parri** ‘water’]

**nyuya ngarr-u**

[**nyuya** ‘sit’ **ngarr** ‘horse’]

**ngangu**

**gurramu-wu**

**warnap-u**

‘on the hill’ [**bupik** is ‘hill’]

‘on your head’ [**bup** ‘head’]

‘[hit] on his head’

‘[pull] by his tail’

‘wade’

‘ride a horse’

‘in the hole’ [**ng’rrang** ‘hole’]

‘[go] for possum’

‘[throw] onto the fire’

-a

*pare-er* (S)

*dyayla* (WT)

*wirry-oo-a* (WT)

*ngoolla* (WTs)

**parra**

**jail-a**

**wirriyu-wa**

**ngurla**

‘[thirsty for] water’

‘[go] to jail’

‘in the scrub’

‘[return] to camp’

-i

*pan-or-e* (S)

*gooraho-ee* (WT)

**panurr-i**

**kurrawu-wi**

‘[buried] in the grave’

‘[hunt] for kangaroo’

Thomas gives **yungga wanapu guta** (*Yoong-ga-winnapoo-goota*) for ‘Throw them on the fire’. The form **-guta** (*kutta*) is recorded by Dawson for ‘to’ in the Warrnambool language.

## 5.4 Pronouns

### 5.4.1 Personal pronouns

In Buwandik there were free pronouns and bound pronouns. The free pronouns took case marking just like nouns, including ergative case marking when subject of a transitive verb. The free pronouns used for the subject of an intransitive predicate and the bound pronouns used for all subjects. are displayed in Table 17.

The non-singular free pronouns are built on the singular forms plus formatives for person and number. These formatives are distinct from the bound pronoun forms used to represent the subject (See section 5.4.2 below).

TABLE 17: PRONOUNS

	<b>free</b>	<b>bound</b>	
<i>1 sing</i>	<b>ngathu</b>	<b>-(ng)a</b>	( <i>ngattho</i> Mms, <i>ngatho</i> S)
<i>2 sing</i>	<b>ngurru</b>	<b>-(ng)in</b>	( <i>nguro</i> Mms, <i>ngoor-o</i> S)
<i>3 sing</i>	<b>nhuwang</b>	-	( <i>nuwang</i> Mms)
	<b>nhung*</b>		( <i>nung</i> S)
<i>1 dual inc</i>	<b>ngathuwal</b>	<b>-(ng)al</b>	( <i>ngatthohal</i> Mp, <i>ngatho-al</i> S)
<i>1 dual ex</i>	<b>ngathuwilal</b>	<b>-(ng)a</b>	( <i>natthowillal</i> Mp)
<i>2 dual</i>	<b>ngurrpul</b>	<b>-ngut</b>	( <i>ngutpul</i> Mms, p, <i>ngoot-pool</i> S)
<i>3 dual</i>	<b>nhunggal</b>		( <i>nunggul</i> Mms, p, <i>nung-kol</i> S)
<i>1 plural inc</i>	<b>ngathuwi</b>	<b>-(ng)i</b>	( <i>ngatthoh</i> ʔ Mp, <i>ngatho-e</i> Mms, <i>ngatho-e</i> S)
<i>1 plural ex</i>	<b>ngathuwili</b>	<b>-angi</b>	( <i>ngathowilli</i> Mms, <i>ngatthowill</i> ʔ Mp)
<i>2 plural</i>	<b>ngurrpurr</b>		( <i>ngutpuer</i> Mms)
	<b>ngurrpaga</b>		( <i>ngootbugga</i> Mms)
	<b>ngurrpala</b>		( <i>ngoot-paler</i> S)
<i>3 plural</i>	<b>nhungba</b>		( <i>nungba</i> Mms)
	<b>nhungbaga</b>		( <i>nungbugga</i> Mms)
	<b>nhungpala</b>		( <i>nung-paler</i> S)

Typically *u* in a closed syllable denotes **a**, but in light of Mathews' *nuwang*, and *oo* spellings in the third person possessor forms (see section 5.4.3 below) I have transcribed *u* as **u** in the singular, dual and plural. These third person forms probably reflect a widespread **nu** or **nhu** root.

In his manuscript Mathews shows *wir* following the first and second person pronouns. In his published version he states *wir* marks 'the causative' (ergative). Since he writes *galir*



and *gala* as alternatives for the ergative of **gal** ‘dog’ (See (3) above), I take it the suffix is **-a**.

1sing	<b>ngathuwa</b> ( <i>ngattho-wir</i> )
2sing	<b>ngurruwa</b> ( <i>nguro-wir</i> )

The following form seems to consist of the first person root **ngathu** followed by the ergative case **-a**, followed in turn by the inclusive marker **-(i)l-** and the first person dual subject marker **-al**. Certainly there is no ergative marker at the end of the form. If this interpretation is correct it suggests the person/number markers are enclitics and that there are only singular free-form pronouns. On the other hand these person/number markers are distinct from the markers found on the verb as can be seen in Table 17.

1dual inc.	<b>ngathuwatal</b> ( <i>ngattowulul</i> ) [ <b>ngathu-wa-l-al</b> ]
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The following are the translational equivalents of the English possessive adjectives. The forms in **-at** are doubtless genitive forms of the pronouns.

sing.	1	<b>ngathuwat</b> ( <i>ngatho-at</i> S, <i>ngatthowat</i> Mp)
		<b>ngathungat</b> ( <i>ngutthangat</i> Mms)
		<b>ngana</b> ( <i>ngan-a</i> S), <b>ngananayn</b> ( <i>ngan-a-nine</i> S)
	2	<b>ngurruwat</b> ( <i>ngooro-at</i> S)
		<b>ngurrungat</b> ( <i>ngutunngat</i> Mms, <i>ngatthowin</i> Mp)
		<b>ngana-on</b> ( <i>n-gan-a-on</i> S)
	3	<b>nhungerrengat</b> ( <i>noo-nger-e-ngat</i> S)
		<b>nhuwang-at</b> ( <i>nuangat</i> Mp)
		<b>ngangatbi</b> [or <b>ngungatbi?</b> ] ( <i>ngungutbi</i> Mms, also <i>muhandthi</i> Mms),
dual	1 inc*	<b>ngana-alu</b> ( <i>ngan-a-alo</i> S)
	2	<b>ngana-ong</b> ( <i>ngana-ong</i> S)
	3	<b>nanggul-at</b> ( <i>nunkolat</i> S)
plural	1 inc*	<b>ngana-anu</b> ( <i>ngan-a-anu</i> S)
	2	<b>ngurpala-orrong</b> ( <i>ngoot-paler-orong</i> S)
	3	<b>nangpala-at</b> ( <i>nung-paler-at</i> S)

\*Stewart does not specify ‘inclusive’, but he shows these forms alongside inclusive nominative forms.

- (14) *Galara ngatthowat.* (Mp)  
**Kal-arra**        **ngathuwat.**  
 dog-DUAL\*      me.GEN  
 'My two dogs.'

\*Note Mathews use of **-arra** for dual, a Warrnambool feature. See section 5.1.

#### 5.4.2 Subject enclitics

The subject is regularly represented by a bound form either on the verb or on an interrogative. We can presume that the situation was similar to that found in many other Australian languages where the forms in question are enclitics that can attach to the verb or to the first phrase in the clause.

- (15) *Na ngin yaan.* (S)  
 Nha=ngin        yaan  
 where=2SG      go  
 'Where are you going?'

- (16) a. **Na.a=ngin** (*Na-ungin* Mp) 'Where art thou?'  
 b. **Na.a=ngut** (*Na-ungut* Mp) 'Where are you two?'

- (17) **Yan-go-ngin**        **dyayl-a.** (WT)  
 Yan-gu=ngin        djayl-a.  
 go-?=2SG        jail-ALL  
 'You must go to jail.'

Other bound forms for subject are to be found in the verb paradigms in section 5.6. The form **=ngut** (16b) seems to be the form Mathews recorded for third plural (Table 15).

#### 5.4.3 Object enclitics

Mathews notes that there are no free form pronouns for object, rather pronominal suffixes are used on the verb. In fact it seems that there is an 'oblique' set of pronominal enclitics that covers both the object of a verb or the possessor modifier of a noun. Examples of object function are treated in this section and examples of possessor function in the next, but all examples are glossed OBLique.

Mathews gives the following, which illustrate the singular forms found after a consonant. In this environment the initial consonant of the suffix, which can be seen in other examples, is dropped. The discrepancies between the manuscript and the published version is discussed under reflexive in 5.6.3

- 1sg    =(ng)ayn  
**laanandh(w)an-ayn** (*lanandhwanu*<sup>TM</sup> Mms, *l♠nandhana*<sup>TM</sup> Mp)  
 He speaks to me (Mms). Someone speaks to me (Mp)
- 2sg    =(ng)un  
**laanandh(w)an-un** (*lanandhwan*)<sup>n</sup> Mms, *l♠nandhanun* Mp)  
 He talked to thee (Mms). Someone speaks to thee (Mp)
- 3sg    =(nh)ung  
**laanandhwan** (*lanandthwan* Mms, **laanandhawang** (*l♠nandhawung* Mp)  
 He talked to him (Mms). Someone speaks to him (Mp).

- (18) *Ngat-u-ngon.* (S)  
**Ngatthu=ngun.**  
 bite.FUT=2SG.OBL  
 ‘It will bite you.’

Stewart gives the following example in his vocabulary which seems to contain a subject enclitic followed by an object enclitic,

- (19) *Krit-an-in-ine.* (S)  
**G’rritan=in=ayn.**  
 scratch=2SG=1SG.OBL  
 ‘You are scratching me.’

The following example is not entirely transparent in that a **-t-** between the subject and object markers remains unaccounted for. It may function to separate the two markers. It is also found in *kin-e be-a ton* (S) **kinibi-a-t-un** ‘I will carry you’.

- (20) *We ne-ang-aton noo-e ung-in.* (S).  
**Wini-ang-a-t=un                      nu-wiya=ngin.**  
 beat-FUT-1SG-T=2SG.OBL    die-FUT=2SG  
 ‘I will hit you that you will die.’

(21) *We-a-an-nin-ine.* (S)

**Wiya-an=in=ayn.**

laugh-PAST=2SG=1SG.OBL

‘You laughed at me.’

Given as ‘Don’t laugh at me.’

With the verb for ‘give’ it appears that the oblique enclitic is used for the recipient.

(22) *Woang ine* or *Wo-at ngine* (S)

**Wuwa-ngayn**

or

**Wuwat-ngayn (S)**

give.IMP-1SG.OBJ

give.IMP-1SG.OBJ

‘Give me.’

‘Give me.’

In (23) and (24) the enclitic is attached to the verb. In (25) it is attached to the object.

Note in passing that there is no sign of the expected ergative on the gift in (24), though it does appear in the Warrnambool version of this sentence (*dee-a*), but there could be a suffix **-a** lurking in **bayiga**.

(23) *Wa-ang-ein-Ngie-oora.* (WT)

**Wa-ngayn**

**ngiyurr-a.**

give.IMP=1SG.OBL

forked.stick-ERG

‘Give me the forked stick.’

(24) *Woo-uth-ang-ein-dee.* (WT)

**Wuwatha=ngayn**

**di.**

give.IMP=1SG.OBL

tea

‘Give me tea.’

(25) *Bai-ga-ang-wuth-a.* (WT)

**Bayiga=ayn**

**wutha.**

tobacco(.ERG?)=1SG.OBL

give.IMP

‘Give me tobacco.’

#### 5.4.4 Possessor enclitics

The oblique enclitics were also used to mark the person and number of the possessor. The singular forms were given in the previous section, but are repeated here with a full set of original notations to justify the transcription.

my	<b>-(ng)ayn</b> (-ine S, -ngine S, -ine Mms, -aing C)
thy	<b>-(ng)un</b> (-on S, -ngon S, -oon S, -un Mms)
his, her	<b>-(nh)ung</b> (-ung S, -oong S, -ung, -nhung Mms, -noong WT)

The initial consonant in these forms was dropped following a consonant as in the following forms from Stewart,

	<b>mam</b> ‘father’	<b>mala</b> ‘wife’
my	<b>mamayn</b> ( <i>marmine</i> )	<b>malangayn</b> ( <i>malangine</i> )
thy	<b>mamun</b> ( <i>marmoon</i> )	<b>malangun</b> ( <i>malangon</i> )
his/her	<b>mamung</b> ( <i>marmoon sic</i> )	<b>malanung</b> ( <i>malanoong</i> )

Stewart also gives **mala-bul-ayn** (*malaboline*) ‘my two wives’ and **mala-ngarra-ayn** (*malangaraine*) ‘my wives [plural]’

In his manuscript Mathews records a series of forms with an initial **m** in the singular. The singular forms also appear in his published version.

<b>getapgetap-mayn</b> ( <i>gettup-gettupmain</i> )	‘my boomerang’
<b>getapgetap-mun</b> ( <i>gettup-gettup-mun</i> )	‘thy boomerang’
<b>getapgetap-mung</b> ( <i>gettup-gettupm)ng</i> )	‘his/her boomerang’
<b>getapgetap-ngaang</b> ( <i>getapgetap-ngaang</i> )	‘ours (dual) boomerang’
<b>getapgetap-ngawungu</b> ( <i>getapgetap-ngaungu/mungu</i> )	‘ours (dual inc.) boomerang’

He also records,

<b>gatimayn</b> ( <i>gattimine</i> )	‘my boomerang’
<b>gatimun</b> ( <i>gattimun</i> )	‘your boomerang’
<b>gatimung</b> ( <i>gattimung</i> )	‘his/her boomerang’

In the manuscript Mathews includes forms identifiable as Warnambool forms:

**gatingatim-ngan** ‘my boomerang’, **gatingatim-ngu** ‘thy boomerang’ and **gatingatim-**

**nyung** ‘his/her boomerang’ and **mutjirr-ngan** ‘my tomahawk’, **mutjirr-ngu** ‘your tomahawk’ and **mutjitung** ‘his tomahawk’.

In his published version Mathews includes the following,

<b>galarramayn</b> ( <i>galaramain</i> )	‘my two dogs’
<b>galawawungayn</b> ( <i>galawawungain</i> )	‘my three dogs’
<b>galabanyayn</b> ( <i>galaba<sup>TM</sup>ain</i> )	‘my several dogs’

**wawung** is recorded elsewhere as an apparent free form for ‘three’ or ‘a few’, but note its position here between the root and the enclitic. The plural marker **-bany-** is found in Warnambool sources, but not in Stewart.

(26) *kannaung bullabullany?at.* (Mms)

*bulle-bullangat kannawung.* (Mp)

**bula-bula-ngat kana-wung**

woman-GEN yamstick-3OBL

‘a woman’s yamstick’

(27) *Winan kugunhung dru<sup>♠</sup>ga.* (Mms)

**Win-an kubu-nhung\* druwaaga.**

beat.PAST.3SG son-3SG.OBL man.ERG

‘A man beat his son.’

\*[Corrected to kubu ‘son’ on the basis of other sources]

(28) *Krit-a pan-u ngine.* (S)

**G’rrita panu=ngayn**

scratch.IMP back=1SG.OBL

‘Scratch my back.’

Thomas elicits a number of sentences of the pattern, ‘Have you any brothers/sisters/etc?’ and the reply is of the form **Nhirri=ngun miyu?** (*Nirring-ngun-mee-oh?*), literally, brother-your query (See section 5.8.2 for interrogatives).

Stewart gives the following non-singular forms with **mam** 'father'.

dual 1 inc **mamalu** (*marmabo*) The 'b' looks like a misprint.  
 2 **mamong** (*marmong*)  
 3 **nhungpalarrat mamung** (*nungpalerat marmong*)

plur 1 inc **mamanu** (*marmano*) (*mamannung*) Mms  
 2 **mamorrong** (*marmorong*)

**mam-bul-alu** (*marmabolalo*) 'fathers of us two'  
**mam-bul-alang** (*marmbolalong*) 'fathers of you two'  
**nangpalat mam-bul-ang** (*nung calat marmbolang*) 'fathers of those two'

There is one example of an oblique enclitic where the sense is not possessive:  
*wee-a-dyein waddun* (WT) 'I'm very sleepy'. **Wiyitj** is a noun 'sleep' (also 'sleepy').

#### 5.4.5 Demonstratives

**nhu** (*nu* Mms,p, B, *noo* S, WT, *ngumiu* B) this, here  
**nang** (*nang* F)  
**marrakiya** (*murrakia* T)  
**nhu nhu gin** (*noo noo gin* S, *nuanhung* M) this side  
**barra** (*barra* WTS, *barraquion* G) there  
**taa** (*taa* S, *day* S, *day* WT)  
**dhayu** (*dhaiu* M) that person  
**nuwanu** (*nuana* Mms,p, *nuanu* B) that, there [see **nu**, **wanu**]  
**yamarna** (*ya murn-a* S) that side  
**gwaluburru** (*gwalluburu* Mms) that (yonder) [**burru** = 'far']  
**ganawa** (*gunnaua* Mp) yonder  
**ganu** (*gannu*) that (up there)  
**wanu** (*wannu*) that (down there)

Another demonstrative root appears in the following series:

**ngana-ayn** *ngunnahain*(Mp) this is mine  
**ngana-ngun** *ngunnahun* (Mp) this is thine  
**ngana-ung** *ngunnahung* (Mp) this is his/hers

William Thomas records *ee-an*, *oe-an* ‘her/she’ and *mai-oo-mai-oo* ‘him/he’. These may be demonstrative forms.

### 5.5 Locational words

The possessor suffixes are also found with locational nouns which translate various English local prepositions.

<b>wurdungayn</b> ( <i>wurdunga</i> <sup>TM</sup> Mms)	behind me
<b>wurdungun</b> ( <i>wurdung</i> ) <i>n</i> Mms)	behind thee
<b>wurdunhung</b> ( <i>wurdugung</i> Mms)	behind him/her
<b>wurdu-dhayu</b>	behind them
<b>kawiang</b>	in front
<b>kawiangayn</b>	in front of me

It seems that motion away can be indicated by **wanu** (*wannu* M) ‘down there’ and a pronominal point of departure can be represented by an oblique pronoun. The pronominal forms in (b) and (c) are not independently attested.

- (29)
- |    |  |                     |
|----|--|---------------------|
| a. | <b>yan.gu wana=ngayn</b> ( <i>yan-go wannungain</i> Mms)     | go away from me     |
| b. | <b>yangawa wana=ngungu</b> ( <i>yangawa wannangungu</i> Mms) | go away from us two |
| c. | <b>yango wana=ngaa</b> ( <i>yango wannung</i> ♠ Mms)         | go away from him    |



## 5.6 Verbs

The following tense and aspect markers can be identified, but the identification remains tentative in light of inconsistencies and problems of segmentation:

present tense	- <b>n</b> (some evidence for a palatal; see Table 19)
past tense	- <b>an</b> (on the basis of <b>bu-</b> in Table 20)
remote past	- <b>p</b> (see Table 18)
perfective	- <b>nha</b> (see (30))
future	- <b>wiya</b> , - <b>ngu</b> (see Table 21)

### 5.6.1 Tense and aspect

Stewart records the following first person forms in four tenses. The root is the widespread root **yan-** ‘to go’, but this is not obvious from these paradigms. The dual forms are inclusive (‘you and I’); the plural forms in **-angi** are exclusive on the basis of Mathews’ paradigms and the forms in **-ni** inclusive.

TABLE 18: VERB TENSES

	<i>present</i>	<i>past</i>	<i>remote past</i>	<i>future</i>
I	<b>yananga</b>	<b>yaana</b>	<b>yapa</b>	<b>yawiyanga</b>
	<i>yanang-a</i>	<i>yaana</i>	<i>yapa</i>	<i>yowyeunga</i>
we 2	<b>yanangal</b>	<b>yaanalu</b>	<b>yapalu</b>	<b>yawiyalu</b>
	<i>yanangal</i>	<i>yaanalo</i>	<i>yapalo</i>	<i>yowyeallo</i>
we	<b>yanangi</b>	<b>yaani</b>	<b>yapi</b>	<b>yawiyangi</b>
	<i>yanange</i>	<i>yaane</i>	<i>yape</i>	<i>yowyeungi</i>

Stewart also gives forms of **dirr-** ‘eat’: present **dirni** (*dirn-e*), past **dini** (*tin-e*), remote past **dipi** (*tip-e*) and future *dirwin-ge*, which is perhaps **dirrwi[ya]ngi**, assuming the segmentation is incorrect.. The remote past forms are odd in that the final consonant of the root is lost.

The following forms from Mathews, with a different root for ‘eat’, namely **thayi-**, confirm the past tense; suggest the present tense may have been marked by a laminal nasal, and give a different formation for the future.

<b>thayi-ny-angi</b> ( <i>thainyunge</i> Mms)	‘we eat’
<b>thayi-an-angi</b> ( <i>thaianung</i> ʒ Mms)	‘we ate’
<b>thayi-ng-angi</b> ( <i>thaingung</i> ʒ Mms)	‘we will eat’

The last example should perhaps be **thayi-ng-ungi**. See Table 21.

Mathews also records some past, present and future tense forms in a number of person/number combinations. Table 19 shows the forms he gives for ‘present tense’, but the reader should compare the forms with those given in Table 20 for ‘past tense’. The form *lʌnha*, for instance, looks as if it is **la-an-(ng)a** with **-an** ‘past tense as in **buwana** and with the velar nasal, found in Stewart’s present tense, lost after a consonant.

TABLE 19: PRESENT TENSE

present		<b>la-</b> ‘to speak’
singular	1	<b>laana</b> ( <i>lʌnha</i> Mms, p)
	2	<b>laanin</b> ( <i>lanin</i> Mms, <i>lʌnin</i> Mp)
	3	<b>laan, layn</b> ( <i>la</i> <sup>TM</sup> Mms, <i>lʌn</i> Mp), <b>lanhung</b> ( <i>lanung</i> Mms)
dual	1 inc	<b>laangal</b> ( <i>lahngul</i> Mms, <i>lʌngul</i> Mp, <i>lahrngul</i> )
	1 ex	<b>laanga(nga)</b> ( <i>lahngunga</i> Mms, <i>lʌnga</i> Mp)
		<b>laangala</b> ( <i>lahrngulla</i> Mp)
plural	1 inc	<b>laani</b> ( <i>lahne</i> Mms, <i>lʌn</i> ʒ Mp, <i>lahrn</i> ʒ)
	1 ex	<b>laanangi</b> ( <i>lahnungi</i> Mms, <i>lʌnung</i> ʒ Mp, <i>lahrnunne</i> Mp)

Thomas gives the following which look as if they are inclusive forms in terms of context, but which are exclusive according to Mathews’ paradigms.

<i>yannung-yee</i> (WT)	<b>yanangi</b>	‘Let us return [to camp]’
<i>loomung-ay</i> (WT)	<b>lumangi</b>	‘It’s time to sleep’

The forms Mathews gives for the past tense are shown in Table 20. From the paradigm for **bu-** one could deduce that the past tense is indicated by **-an**. With **la-**, the expected past tense would be **laan** and a few of Mathews’ forms such as *lʌ-ne* (ms) and *lahrn* ʒ (p) point in this direction. However, it is not clear what vowel some of the other notations represent. Mathews’ ʒ seems to indicate [i:] or [e:], and notations such as

*lʒanin* suggest **iya** or **eya**. The initial consonant of the bound pronoun is lost after the **n** of the inflection.

TABLE 20: PAST TENSE

		<b>la-</b> 'to speak'	<b>bu-</b> 'to spear'
singular	1	<i>lehnha</i> (Mms), <i>lʒanha</i> (Mp)*	<b>buwana</b> ( <i>buanah</i> Mms)
	2	<i>lehnin</i> (Mms), <i>lʒanin</i> (Mp)	<b>buwanin</b> ( <i>buanin</i> Mms)
	3	<i>lʒin</i> (Mms), <i>lʒan</i> (Mp)	<b>buwan</b> ( <i>buan</i> Mms)
dual			
	1 inc	<i>leanul</i> (Mms)	<b>bu[wa]nal</b> ( <i>bunul</i> Mms)
	ex	<i>leana</i> (Mms)	<b>buwana(a)</b> ( <i>buan</i> ♠ Mms)
	2		<i>buan</i> ⇐ <i>p</i> (Mms)
plural	3		<i>buan oak</i> (Mms)
	1 inc	<i>leané, leane, l</i> ♠ <i>-ne</i> (Mms)	<i>buan</i> ʒ (Mms)
	ex	<i>leanange, leanungi</i> (Mms)	<i>buani</i> (Mms)
	2		<b>buwanu</b> ( <i>buanu</i> Mms)
	3		<i>buanngur</i> (Mms)

\*Other examples of past tense: *nahna* (WT) 'I see' [sic], *gwennan-neh* (WT) 'I told [you]'

Mathews' 'future' forms are shown in Table 21. The future of **la-** appears to be formed with **-nga** and the future of **bu-** with **-wi**, though consideration of other sources suggests **-wiya**. There are several possibilities to account for the fact that there are two future markers. They could be markers of different conjugations, or they could be markers of different 'tenses'. Early recordists like Mathews regularly reported present, past and future tenses, but they may have been influenced by pedagogical tradition, which taught that there were these three tenses. Experience shows that a future tense is not widespread. It may be that one or other or both of the 'future' markers indicated 'intentional' or 'hortative' or some other category similar to future. However, in the absence of further information, I will gloss all future-like forms as FUT.

I have taken the future in the **la-** paradigm to be represented by **-ngu**, on the basis of the third person singular and the *w* in the future forms. However, Thomas gives *yang-ang-y* for 'Let us proceed [on our journey]', which looks as if it is a future **ya-nga-ngi** and Mathews' *thaingung ʒ* 'we will eat' (quoted above) would normally be interpreted as **thayingangi** in the absence of evidence to the contrary.

TABLE 21: FUTURE

		<b>la-</b> 'to speak'	<b>bu-</b> 'to spear'
sing.	1	<b>langunga</b> ( <i>lang-ung-a</i> Mms)	<b>buwiya</b> ( <i>bui-a</i> Mms)
	2	<b>langungin</b> ( <i>langungin</i> Mms)	<b>buwin</b> ( <i>bui-n</i> Mms)
	3	<b>langu</b> ( <i>la-ngu</i> Mms)	<b>buwi</b> ( <i>bui</i> Mms)
dual	1 inc	<b>langungal</b> ( <i>langungal</i> Mms)	
	1 ex	<b>langunga</b> ( <i>langunga</i> Mms)	
plural	1 inc	<b>lang(u)wi</b> ( <i>lang wi gullaity</i> Mms)	
	1 ex	<b>lang(u)wangi</b> ( <i>langwangi</i> Mms)	

some other examples of 'future tense':

<i>noo-e ung-in</i> (S)	<b>nu-wiya-ngin</b>	'You will die.'
<i>nah-wee-yah</i> (WT)	<b>nha-wiya</b>	'I'm going to see [my mother]'
<i>na-wea</i> (S)	<b>nha-wiya</b>	'Let me see'
<i>nah-wee-yah</i> (WT)	<b>nha-wiya</b>	'I'm going to see [my mother]'
<i>na-we</i> (S)	<b>nha-wi</b>	'Let him see'
<i>kra-we-al</i> (S)	<b>k'rra-wiyal</b>	'We two will share together.'
<i>kala-wow-we-al</i> (S)	<b>kalawa-wiyal</b>	'Let us converse.'
<i>wirra-oona-wee-ang-ull</i> (WT)	<b>wirra-una-wiya-ngal</b>	'Let's go.'
<i>dryoo-wee-ang-ee</i> (WT)	<b>d[i]rrayu-wiya-ngi</b>	'Let's eat'

If the tense-aspect marker in these words is **-wiya**, then only the second person singular form is as expected. We would expect the velar nasal to be retained in the first person forms.

Mathews' presents some remote past forms, but his presentation of the range of tenses follows Stewart's point for point, and an inspection of the manuscript reveals that the forms are written in a heavier hand than the rest of the manuscript and that they are more or less superimposed over the forms for 'we ate just now', etc., which were given above following Table 18.

	Stewart	Mathews
we ate long ago	<i>tip-e</i>	<i>tip-ŕ</i>
we ate recently	<i>tin-e</i>	<i>tin-ŕ</i>
we are eating	<i>dirm-e</i>	<i>tirn-ŕ</i>
we will eat	<i>dirwin-ge</i>	<i>tirwingŕ</i>

Mathews use of *ʒ* for Stewart's *e* may indicate that he heard his consultant pronounce these forms.

perfective

There are a couple of examples that suggest **-nha** may have indicated completed action.

- (30) a. **kapinha karru** The sun has set.  
           (*kap-an-a karo* S, *kabinha kurru* M) [lit.gone.down sun]  
       b. **Manan[h]a nganabun kakak=ayn** My sister is married.  
           (*Mannunah-ngannaboong-kaka-lein* WT) [lit. my sister has got a husband]  
       c. **Nuwu-n[h]a-mam-ayn** (WT) My father is dead.  
           *Noona-mahnung* (WT) Thomas also gives *noo-oon-nah* 'corpse'

#### 5.6.2 Imperative mood

The formation of the imperative is not transparent from the examples available. There may be conjugational differences.

	<b>-ngga</b>	<b>-a</b>	<b>-i</b>	<b>-gu</b>
spear	<b>bu-ngga</b> <i>bungga dir</i> (Mms)			
sit	<b>i-ngga</b> <i>ing-ga</i> (S)			
speak	<b>la-ngga</b> <i>langga</i> (Mms) <i>langgaingok</i> (Mms) <i>langgangul</i> (Mms)			
go away		<b>yan-ka-wa, yan.ku-wa</b> <i>yan-ka-wa</i> (S), <i>yangoa</i> (WT)		
eat		<b>dirra</b> <i>dir-a</i> (S)		
scratch		<b>g'rrita</b> <i>krit-a</i> (S)		
give		<b>watha, wuwatha</b> <i>wuth-a</i> (WT), <i>woo-uth-a</i> (WT)		
sleep		<b>wility-a-wa</b> <i>wilich-a-wa</i> (S)		
get		<b>mani</b> <i>mannay</i> (WT)		
go		<b>yani</b> <i>yanny</i> (WT)		<b>yan.gu</b> <i>yan.go</i> (WT)

### 5.6.3 Other verbal morphology

#### Reflexive and reciprocal

Mathews gives the following to illustrate the reflexive/reciprocal:

**laa-nandh-ayn** (*l* **ʌ***nandha*<sup>TM</sup>, *lahnadhun* Mp)

I am talking to myself.

**laa-nandhawa-n-al** (*l* **ʌ***nandhawanul* Mp)

We (dual) are talking to each other.

**laa-nandhawa-n-i** (*l* **ʌ***nandhawan* *ʔ*, *l* **ʌ***nandhawani* Mp)

We (plural) are talking to each other.

A comparison of these forms might suggest that **-nandha** marks reflexive-reciprocal and **-wan-** marks non-singular. However, **-nandha** also appears in the forms given to illustrate enclitic oblique pronouns where a reflexive/reciprocal meaning was not indicated, and in Mathews' manuscript version **-wa-** does too, and occurs in the singular. A comparison of the forms given in section 5.4.3 to illustrate oblique pronouns and the forms given here to illustrate reflexive/reciprocal reveals that here we have subject enclitics as one might expect, except, mysteriously, in the first person where the oblique enclitic **-ayn** occurs.

Mathews also gives the following in his notes (but not in his published account),

<i>laa-inna</i>	I am talking to myself
<i>bunkinna</i>	I speared myself
<i>bungweana</i>	We (dual) speared each other
<i>bungwenni</i>	We (plural) speared each other

Here the non-singular forms contain something like **-wa-**. However, it is not clear what the velars (**k** and **ng**) are doing, and it is not clear how the past tense is represented (compare the forms in Table 20).

Some entries in word lists seem to reflect an association of **-wa-** and reciprocal meaning, with an alternant **-ba-** after a consonant.

converse	<b>kalawa-wiyal</b>	<i>kala-wow-we-al</i> ‘let us converse’ s
kiss	<b>tuwinbiyawa</b>	<i>tooinbee-a-waw</i> wt
quarrel	<b>muwiwa-n</b>	<i>mrooi-wan</i> s, <i>moo-ee-wahn</i> wt [ <b>muwi</b> ‘scold’]
quarrel	<b>la-wa-n</b>	<i>la-wan</i> s [ <b>la-</b> ‘speak’]
exchanging	<b>wutamba-n</b>	<i>wo-taim-ban</i> s, <i>wo-dam-bunnull</i> wt [ <b>wu-</b> ‘give’]
fight, war	<b>wi(ya)nba-n</b>	<i>way-un-bun</i> wt, <i>ween-ban</i> wt, <i>wean-ban</i> s [ <b>wina</b> ‘hit’]

applicative

Buwandik appears to have had an applicative **-ma-**. It indicates that a participant other than the patient/theme is being treated as an object..

- (31) *Watthamai*<sup>TM</sup>. (Mms)

**Watha-ma-ayn.**

come-APPLIC-1SG.OBL

‘Come to me.’

- (32) *Murn ga-maa-ngine.* (S)

**Marn.ga-ma = ngayn**

wait-APPLIC = 1SG.OBL

‘Wait for me.’

In the next example, from Stewart's vocabulary, **mana-** is ‘take’ or ‘bring’. The suffix **-ma** indicates that the beneficiary is being represented by the oblique enclitic,

- (33) **Mana-ma=ngayn.** (S)

take-APPLIC=1SG.OBL

‘Bring [it] for me.’

- (34) *Mirpah-mang-ein-wurree.* (WT)

**Mirrpa-ma=ngayn**

**warri**

show-APPLIC=1SG.OBL

road

‘Show me the road.’

## 5.7 Word derivation

### 5.7.1 Reduplication

There are some examples of reduplicated roots. In most instances the root does not occur on its own, e.g. **nganin-nganin** ‘bat’. There are also a few examples of reduplicated plurals. See section 5.1.

### 5.7.2 Compounding

There are a few examples of compound nouns.

<b>guma mirr</b>	green eye(s)	‘white person’
<b>murndal m’rraat</b>	thunder ground	‘earthquake’
<b>muga bup</b>	rug head	‘headcloth’
<b>ngurla wurru</b>	hair mouth	‘moustache’

### 5.7.3 Derivational suffixes

Data on derivational suffixes is meagre. The applicative **-ma** was included in the section on verb morphology. Most of the following examples require confirmation and may result from the borrowing of words from neighbouring languages.

**-arna** adverb forming

<b>wandhu</b>	one	<b>wandhu-arna</b> ( <i>wan do ur-ner S</i> )	once
<b>pulayt</b>	two	<b>pulaytana</b> ( <i>boo-lite ur-ner S</i> )	twice
<b>kalayi</b>	plenty/many	<b>kalayiyana</b>	many times

**-gil** ‘having’

**Wiyang-gil** ‘echidna’ would appear to be \***wiyang** ‘spike’ plus **-gil** in light of Warrnambool **wilang** ‘spike’, etc. **wilanggil** ‘echidna’. The same suffix probably occurs in **gulanggil** ‘mad’ ; compare **guli** ‘angry’.

**-(m)bil** ‘having’

<b>mala</b> ‘wife’	<b>malambil</b> ‘married’
--------------------	---------------------------

Note Mathews gives **mambil** (*marmbil*) ‘husband’, which could reflect loss of intervocalic **l**.



**-barri**

Thomas gives **martang baytbarri** (*mardong-bait-bar-ree*) for ‘He is a good fighting man.’ It looks as if **-barri** derives an agent noun from the English word *fight*.

**-giya**

**Kan-** is a root meaning ‘high’. It occurs in **kan.giya** ‘to arise/climb/mount’. The suffix **-giya** also occurs in **banban.giya** ‘(be) quick’.

**-ma**

A comparison of **guliya** and **gulima**, both given as ‘hide’, suggests a suffix **-ma**. In a number of Australian languages **-ma** is a causative and it may be a causative here. A comparison of **kan.giya** ‘to arise’ and **kan.ma** ‘to lift’ suggests a causative **-ma**. A comparison of **wirrat** ‘string’ and **wirratama** ‘to tie’ confirms this. Note that there is clear evidence for an applicative **-ma**, and in many languages the causative and applicative have the same form.

**-un** away

<b>minda</b> ‘to fly’	<b>mind-un-a</b> ‘flew away’
<b>wirra</b> ‘to run’	<b>wirra-un-a</b> ‘to go away’

**-mun, -mum** noun forming

A comparison of **kali** ‘to tell lies’ and **kalimun** ‘liar’ suggests a noun-forming suffix **-mun**. A comparison of **yunun** ‘to fear’ and **yinmum** ‘coward’ suggests a noun-forming suffix **-mum**, or perhaps the second formative is **mum** ‘bottom’. In the Warrnambool language **kuninba** is ‘to fear’ and **kuninmum** ‘coward’.

The following are offered without comment:

<i>m’raad</i> (S)	country
<i>mrada-al</i> (S)	a fellow countryman
<i>m’raa-aline</i> (S)	my countryman
<i>langgow-in</i> (S)	speechless (cf. <b>la-</b> , <b>lan-ka</b> (S) ‘speak’)
<i>murtong-a</i> (S)	good, well, right (S) (cf. <b>martang</b> ‘good’)
<i>weirwoopalep</i> (G)	woman
<i>weirwoowal</i> (G)	man

## 5.8 Syntax

### 5.8.1 Word order

The few sentence examples we have display various orders of their constituents. It is likely that word order was grammatically free. It is pretty certain that focused phrases appeared at the beginning of the clause, certainly interrogative and negative phrases occurred in clause-initial position.

There are only a few examples of noun phrases with adjectives and noun-adjective and adjective-noun order are attested. See (35) and (49).

(35) *Nahna wirroong gooray.* (WT)

<b>Nha-an-a</b>	<b>wirrung</b>	<b>kurri.</b>
see-PAST-1SG	big	kangaroo
I saw an old-man kangaroo.		

### 5.8.2 Questions

Content questions are marked with an interrogative word in clause-initial position. It is not certain what the initial nasal in these forms is, nor whether all interrogatives have the same initial. The sources show *ng* in some instances and *n* in others. On comparative grounds one would expect **ng** or a laminal nasal.

**nganu** (*nanu*, *ngan-oo* S, *ahnnoo* G) who?

(36) *Nan-u wing ar-a-ngon?* (S)

**Nganu wing-arra-ngun?**  
 who relation-PL-2.SG.OBL  
 'Who are your relations?'

- (37) a. **nganu=in** (*ng ʌnuin* Mms) 'Who are you?'  
 b. **nganu-ngat** (*ngan-noo-at* S, *ng ʌnungat* S) whose?  
 c. **nganuwa nhu** (*ng ʌnnawa nu* Mms) Whose is this?  
 d. **ngangawala** (*gnanganwalla* TH), **nanang** (*narnung* T, *nanung* F) who?

**ngan** (*nan*, *ngan* S, *nunh* Mms, p ) what?

(38) *Ngan-nure-ngon?* (S)

**Ngan nurri-ngun**

what name-2SG.OBL

'What is your name?'

Thomas gives *Nannuray-ngnyin* for this meaning. This is presumably **Ngan nurri=ngin**.

(39) a. *Nanninguru?* (WT) **Ngan=in garra?** What are you saying?

b. *Nan-in koo-le ban?* (S) **Ngan=in guliban?** 'What are you angry about?'

**n[h]anagawu** (*nunnagau* Mp), **n[h]anagayn** (*nunnaga* <sup>TM</sup>M), **n[h]ukaynwa** (*nukine-waa* S) what for? See also (12).

**nha** (*na* S, M, WT, *nah* WT), **nga** (W) where?

(40) *Nah-mrah-tun.* (WT)

**Nha m'rraat=un.**

where country=2SG.OBL

'Where's your country?'

(41) a. **Nha.a=ngin?** (*na-ungin* Mp) 'Where art thou?'

b. **Nha.a=ngut?** (*na-ungut* Mp) 'Where are you two?'

c. **Nha pipe=un?** (*Na-pei-pun* WT) 'Where's your pipe?'

d. **Nha ngam=un?** (*Nangamun* WT) 'Where's your uncle?'

e. **Nga druwal?** (*Nga trooal* W) 'Where are the blacks?'

(42) *Na-in yan.* (S)

**Nha=ngin yan?**

where = 2SG go

'Where are you going?'

For this meaning Thomas gives *Nawung-yin-parra-yan?* **Nawa=ngin barra yan?**

(where=you there go).

(43) *Nangulang* *n*? (WT)

**Nha ngurla=ngun?**  
 where camp=2.SG.OBL  
 ‘Where is your camp?’

(44) *Nah-mahng-ngoon*. (WT)

**Nha maa=ngun**  
 where wife=2.SG.OBL  
 ‘Where’s your wife?’

**nhaparr** (*nuppur* M, *nap-er* S, *nah-pur* WTs) how many?

(45) *Nahpur-oo-lang-urn*? (WT)

**Nhaaparr [ng]urla-ngun.**  
 how.many camp-2.SG.OBL  
 ‘How many in your tribe? [lit. ‘How many your camp?]

Thomas gives **Nhapurr-in man-garritj** (*Nah-poorin-man-garreety*) for ‘How much will you take for it?’ **Man-** is the root for ‘take’, but it is not clear what *garreety* means.

**nhawerr** (*naw-et* S) when?

(46) *Na-wer-in wata*? (S)  
**Nawerr=in wata**  
 when=2SG come  
 ‘When will you return?’

yes-no questions

Yes/no questions are formed with a particle **miyu**, which follows the focus of the question.

(47) *Yooly-meeo-mahm-moon*? (WT)

**Yuli miyu maam=un?**  
 live query father=2SG.OBL  
 ‘Is your father alive?’

Thomas also gives **Yuli miyu ngat=un** (*Yooly-meeo-ngah-toon*) ‘Is your mother alive.’

(48) *Goowur-run-mee-ah.* (WT)

**Guwarr=un                      miyu?**

daughter=2SG.OBL              query

‘Have you any daughters?’

Thomas also gives **Gagag=un miyu?** (*Gaga-goon-mee-oh?*) ‘Have you any sisters?’ and **Nhirri=ngun miyu?** (*Nirring-ngun-mee-oh?*) ‘Have you any [younger] brothers?’

(49) *Noo-mee-oo-na-wahree-mardoong-mee-o?* (WT)

**Nhu    miyu        na              warri              martung        miyu?**

this    query        ?              road              good              query

‘Is this the right road?’

The following, as translated by Thomas, is not a yes-no question. Perhaps it should be, ‘Your sister is old?’, but *paght* is not recorded elsewhere.

(50) *Paght-mee-oh-gagagoon?* (WT)

**Pa?t        miyu        gagag-un?**

old [?]    query        elder.sister=2SG.OBL

‘How old is your sister?’

In the following **miyu** seems to indicate uncertainty, but perhaps an alternative translation could be, ‘I will speak, yes?’

(51) *Langungamiu.* (Mms)

**La-ngu-nga = miyu.**

speak-FUT-1SG=query

‘I will perhaps speak.’

In the next example **miyu** marks alternatives,

(52) *Kro-al-meeo-goomah-mah-mee-o?*

**Druwal=miyu        guma-maa=miyu?**

black.man=query    white.man=query

‘Are they white or black [people]?’

In this last example, note the use of **miyu** in the reply where it echoes **miyu** in the question and where it is not enclitic, although it may be that **miyu** and **barra** are pronounced as one word.

- (53) *Wahnoong-mee-o-barra?*                      *Mee-oo-barra-wandoo.*  
**Wanung=miyu barra.**                      **Miyu barra wandhu.**  
 more=query                      there                      query there one  
 Are there more?                      There's one.

### 5.8.3 Negation

There is a negative root **wi**, as in (54).

- (54) *Wee-burt-burt-gurt.* (WT)  
**wi bart-bart-gart.**  
 no tomahawk  
 '[I've] no tomahawk.'

There are also two examples of negative sentences where negation is expressed with **winana** as the first word in the sentence. It is not certain what part of speech **winana** is. It may be a negative verb and it is probably hosting the first person enclitic.

- (55) *Win-an-a wung-an.* (S)  
**Winana wangan.**  
 not hear  
 'I did not hear it.'

Stewart also gives *win-an-a nane* 'I did not see it', 'I did not know of it'.

There is also a form **wiba**, glossed as 'empty' and 'vacant'. It also occurs in the following,

- (56) *Weepa peip-ping.* (wt)  
**Wiba pipe-ayn.**  
 no [?]                      pipe-1SG.POSS  
 My pipe has gone out.

Stewart gives **wip mala** (*weep-malla*) ‘wifeless’. Thomas gives *weet-nyannin-a* for ‘no’ and *witnyanganan-yan* ‘[to] object’. These seem to contain the **wi** root as the first formative, but the rest of the make up of these words is obscure.

Stewart gives *baa-ra-n* for ‘do not’ and this is confirmed by Thomas who gives *Parra-bo-in-yo*, probably **Barra ponyu** for ‘Don’t fall.’

Finally, the following forms are recorded for ‘no’: *ngi-ing s*, *ngin a*, *ngany m*, *nga-an b*. They may be attempts at rendering **ngayn**

#### APPENDIX 1: SONG

Stewart includes the words of two songs at the end of his vocabulary. The first is a list of flying creatures rather than a text in the normal sense, and the words that can be identified have been included in the glossary. The second is as follows:

<i>Waton aa</i>	<i>young naa</i>
<b>wata-nha</b>	<b>yung-nha</b>
come-PERF	throw-PERF

<i>Konterbul</i>	<i>walona</i>
<b>kantabul</b>	<b>wata[?]-nha</b>
whale	come-PERF

<i>Young-naa</i>	<i>konterbul</i>
<b>yung-nha</b>	<b>kantabul</b>
throw-PERF	whale

‘The whale is come,  
And thrown up on land.’