Aboriginal Language Areas
In Victoria

A Report to the

Victorian Aboriginal Corporation For Languages

by

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Acknowledgments

1.0 Introduction

The Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages is the state body responsible for the retrieval, recording and restoration of Aboriginal languages in Victoria. It also assists local Aboriginal communities with language projects. The community boundaries for contemporary Victorian organisations do not follow the traditional language boundaries, therefore there is a need to identify traditional boundaries to recognise what community organisation is custodian for which language. This lack of fit was the primary reason for the development of this consultancy.

1.1 The Project

The project brief outlined four objectives of the Aboriginal Language Areas in Victoria project:

1. identify the language areas as they existed at the time of contact with Europeans;
2. identify, where possible, the dialects spoken within these language areas;
3. produce a brief, but informative, report on the findings;
4. produce a map of the language areas and dialects in Victoria at the time of contact.

1.2 Nineteenth century efforts to delineate Victorian Aboriginal languages

The first concerted attempt to record information on the Aborigines of Victoria was conducted by officers of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate which operated from 1839 until 1849. Under the leadership of the Chief Protector, George Augustus Robinson, Victoria (then known as Port Phillip) was divided into four districts assigned to four Assistant Protectors. As part of their duties, Assistant Protectors were to attach themselves as closely and as constantly as possible to the Aboriginal tribes in their districts; they were to learn the languages of these tribes and obtain accurate information on the number of Aborigines within their districts. The extensive manuscript materials generated by the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, particularly the journals and papers of GA Robinson, are a primary source of information on Victorian languages and dialects.

In the 1870s the collection and collation of as much material as possible about the Aborigines became recognised as an obligation of scientific interest. This obligation was motivated by a sense of urgency - fuelled by misguided beliefs that Victorian Aboriginal culture was disappearing and that Aboriginal people would soon be extinct. In terms of this ethnographic material and its relevance to reconstructing Victorian Aboriginal languages, the works of Smyth (1878), Dawson (1881), Curr (1886), Howitt (1904), and the extensive papers and essays of Mathews, are the most relevant.

1.3 Tindale's delineation of Victorian Aboriginal languages

Norman Tindale's (1940, 1974) reconstructions of Australian Aboriginal languages constitutes the best-known, but now dated, maps of Victorian tribes. Tindale's reconstructions were part of a wider effort to delineate Aboriginal spatial organisation at a national level.

In southern Australia, Tindale was reliant on manuscript material and other primary material as he was only able to obtain information from a handful of community people. Given Tindale's reliance on archival material, the value of his reconstructions depend upon how well he used the materials available at the time of his research. The Robinson papers, for example, were not available until after Tindale had completed his first reconstruction in 1940, but this material was not consulted in his second reconstruction published in 1974.

The research of Hercus (1969), Barwick (1984), Clark (1990), and Wesson (1994), challenges Tindale's reconstruction of Victorian Aboriginal languages and exposes its inadequacies, errors and short comings. For example, Tindale's reconstruction of Victorian Aboriginal languages suffers from this selectivity and has many errors and deficiencies:

- he assigns tribal status to clan groups (Djupagalk gundidj; Kurung jang balug);
- he assigns tribal status to sub-dialect regions (Mardidjali);
- and he fails to recognise the status of some language groups (Djargurd wurrung).

The reconstruction that follows is based on this new research, as well as manuscript information gleaned from Protectorate records, and other material that was not used by Tindale.

1.4 Definition of terms

According to Dixon (1980) 'language' can be used in two quite different ways. Firstly, in everyday conversation people identify themselves as speakers of a particular language (here represented as language(1)), and make judgements as to whether their way of speaking is 'the same language(1)', or a different language(1) from another's speech. The second sense is the technical usage of linguists who regard two languages(1) as dialects of a single language (here represented as language(2)) if they are mutually intelligible. Thus a chain of mutually intelligible languages(1) constitute a language(2); where there need not be intelligibility between dialects at the extremes of the chain, but each individual language(1) in the continuum must be mutually intelligible with its nearest neighbour.

For Australia as a whole this means that the 600 or so Aboriginal tribes with their own language(1) spoke between them 200 different languages(2).

Mathews (1898) was one of the first ethnographers concerned with language(2) groupings. He understood a language(2) in these terms: 'when several tribes are bound together by affinity of speech, have the same moiety

names, and similar initiation ceremonies, they form communities, and aggregations of these communities may be designated 'nations' (Mathews 1898:325)'.

Dixon (1980) believes that even when dealing with southwest Victoria where only scanty written records are available, there is never any difficulty in deciding what was a language(2). As an example he cites the contiguous languages(1) Djab wurrung (at Ararat, Hamilton and Stawell), Djadja wurrung (at Maryborough) and Watha wurrung (at Beaufort, Ballarat and Geelong). Examination of vocabularies and grammars reveals that the first two were dialects of a single language(2), while the third belonged to a separate language(2). Dixon's rationale for subgrouping languages is that in situations where there is more than 70 percent common vocabulary between two languages(1) they are probably dialects of a single language(2); between 60 and 70 percent, the two are distinct but closely related, belonging to the same sub-group; but when the commonality is less than 40 percent the two are not closely related genetically.

Within a tribe each local group or clan, as a rule, spoke a slightly different dialect from each other local group within their language(1). Furthermore, between the level of the clan and the language(1)name, it is sometimes possible to find that clans formed an intermediate regional grouping that spoke a clearly named dialect. Where language(1) dialects are known, it is generally the case that the language(1) name will be the same as one of the dialect names. For example, in western Victoria the Djab wurrung language(1) comprised three dialects: Knen knen wurrung, Pirt Pirt wurrung, and Djab wurrung.

1.5 Results of the Study

This reconstruction has found that 36 languages may have been spoken in the region now bounded by the state of Victoria. Of these 36 languages, six are predominantly South Australian or New South Wales languages.

In addition, 19 sub-dialects have been identified in seven languages.

1.6 Limitations of information

In terms of this reconstruction, the region that is the most problematic is the northeast region of Victoria. Clark (1993) is a preliminary analysis of the information sources for this area, however Wesson is considering this region in doctoral research and the reconstruction offered in this report may well change after Wesson completes her analysis of the ethnographic sources.

2.0 Inventory of Victorian Aboriginal Languages

2.1 About this inventory

This inventory is arranged alphabetically. Each entry will include a discussion of the language name and its meaning (where known), and consider dialects where known. Generally, the orthography followed is that favoured by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, any deviations from this orthography will be explained.

2.1.1 Barababaraba

Earliest reference to language name: 1843 (NSW 1843:44)
Meaning: derived from the distinctive word for 'no'.
Sub-dialects: none identified

Clark (1990) lists over 50 variants of the language name.

The Barababaraba language was practically identical with its neighbour Wembawemba (93 percent), and Hercus (1986) notes that when she was speaking with Wembawemba people in the 1960s, they often commented on the similarity between the two languages. Dixon's (Working Papers) analyses record the following values with other languages: Djadja wurrung (64 percent); Djab wurrung (72 percent); Wadiwadi (78 percent); Wergaia (90 percent); Madimadi (76 percent), Ladjiladji (70 percent); and Djargurd wurrung (30 percent).

2.1.2 Boon wurrung

Earliest reference to language name: 1836 (Stewart in Bonwick 1883; Langhorne in Gurner Papers; Wedge in Croll 1937)
Meaning: According to Mathews (1903) the language name is derived from the word for 'no'.
Sub-dialects: none identified

Clark (1990) lists over 60 variants of the language name.

I have followed Blake (1991) in representing Bun wurrung as Boon wurrung, using the double o rather than u so that we stop mispronouncing the name. The Boon wurrung language shared 93 percent common vocabulary with Woi wurrung and 80 percent with Daung wurrung (see Blake 1991 for more information).

2.1.3 Brabralung

Earliest reference to language name: 1878 (Howitt in Smyth, 1878)
Meaning: According to Howitt (1904), Brabralung is derived from 'bra', 'man', brabra may mean 'manly, '(g)alung' meaning 'of' or ' belonging to'.
Sub-dialects: none identified

One of five tribal groups, Brabralung, Braiakaulung, Brataulung, Krauatungalung, and Tatungalung, collectively known as 'Ganai' ('Kurnai' by nineteenth century and early twentieth century writers, especially Fison and Howitt, 1880). Hercus' (1986) analysis suggests that very little is known of the Ganai language.

2.1.4 Braiakaulung

Earliest reference to language name: 1880 (Howitt 1880)
Meaning: According to Howitt (1904), Braiakaulung is derived from 'bra' and 'yak' meaning 'west', and '(g)ulung' meaning 'of' or 'belonging to'; Tindale (1974) translates it 'men of the west'.
Sub-dialects: none identified

One of five dialects of Ganai, see entry for Brabralung.

2.1.5 Brataualung

Earliest reference to language name: 1880 (Howitt 1880)
Meaning: not known
Sub-dialects: none identified

One of five dialects of Ganai, see entry for Brabralung.

2.1.6 Dadidadi

Earliest reference to language name: 1846 (Robinson journal and report)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'.
Sub-dialects: none identified

Clark (1990) lists 40 variants of the language name. According to Cameron (1885), the Dadidadi were also known as the 'Nimp-mam-wern', meaning 'light lip'.

Hercus (1978) has suggested that Dadidadi was identical to the Narinari language spoken at Hay in New South Wales. Dadidadi and Jidajida shared 80 per cent common vocabulary (see Clark 1990).

2.1.7 Daung wurrung

Earliest reference to language name: 1837 (Langhorne)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'.
Sub-dialects: none identified

The language shared 83 percent common vocabulary with Woi wurrung; 80 percent with Boon wurrung; 44 percent with Watha wurrung; 40 percent with Djadja wurrung; 11 percent with Yortayorta; and 11 percent with the Kurnai dialects (see Blake 1991). Clark (1990) lists over 100 variants of the language name.

2.1.8 Dhauwurd wurrung

Earliest reference to language name: 1841 (Robinson journal and papers
Meaning: unknown
Sub-dialects: Bi:g wurrung; Dhauwurd wurrung; Gai wurrung; Gurngubanud; Wullu wurrung

This language and details of its dialects, is better known than any other Victorian language, largely due to the extensive vocabulary collected by James Dawson (1881) and the grammatical sketch of RH Mathews (1904). Robinson, Dawson, Mathews, and Mathew are the only sources which discuss dialect groupings in any detail, and these are the most valuable sources of information for this language. On the basis of these four primary sources it is possible to isolate five dialects of this language.

1. **Wullu wurrung**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1841 (Robinson journal and papers)
Meaning: unknown
For a list of 23 variants of this name see Clark 1990.

2. **Dhauwurd wurrung**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1904 (Mathews 1904)
Meaning: unknown
Clark 1990 lists 17 variants.

3. **Gai wurrung**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1881 (Dawson 1881)
Meaning: 'Oh, dear! lip' (Dawson 1881)
Three variants listed in Clark (1990).

4. **Gurngubanud**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1881 (Dawson 1881)
Meaning: a descriptive name meaning 'small lip' or 'short pronunciation'
Nine variants of name listed in Clark (1990).

5. **Bi:g wurrung**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1881 (Dawson 1881)
   Meaning: 'kelp lip', taken from the broad-leafed seaweed found in abundance
   along the Port Fairy seashore.
   Clark (1990) lists 12 variants.

Three language names are offered in the literature: Dhauwurd wurrung, Gurngubanud, and Gundidjmara. Dhauwurd wurrung is the favoured language name; its usage was confirmed by John Mathew during a visit to Lake Condah Mission in 1907, when he was told by Peter Ewart, Ernest Mobourne, and James Courtwine, that Dhauwurd wurrung was the language

in that region and that Girai wurrung was the next eastern language. The status of the name 'Gundidjmara' is discussed in Clark (1990).

Dhauwurd wurrung formed a dialect continuum with its eastern neighbours Girai wurrung and Djargurd wurrung.

2.1.9 Duduroa (Jaithmathang; Djilamatong)

Earliest reference to language name: 1840 (Robinson journal)
Meaning: not known
Sub-dialects: None identified

Earliest references to Dhudhuroa are found in Robinson's papers. Dhudhuroa is regarded by Howitt (1904) to be a Jaithmathang clan, but considered by Mathews, Tindale, and Barwick to be a separate tribe. Clark (1993) lists five Dhudhuroa clans.

Jaithmathang is considered by Bannister (1976) to be one of the most enigmatic language groups in Victoria. The name is sourced from Robinson's papers, and he fails to record any constituent clans. Bannister considers Jaithmathang may be a Ganai name for the speech of the highlanders, but continues to use it as it is now commonly accepted as the designated name of this language name. Robinson's papers tend to suggest that Jaithmathang is a clan, rather than a language name. Barwick has assigned clan status to Jaithmathang and included it within Dhudhoroa.

Djilamatong, an obscure group, is assigned tribal status by Tindale (1974) and placed on the upper headwaters of the Murray River. Its status is problematical, and no clan information has been uncovered. The case for Djilamatang is very weak indeed, and in this reconstruction I have treated it as a Dhudhuroa clan. This language area requires considerable analysis, and Wesson's research into the spatial organisation of the northeast region of Victoria is eagerly awaited.

2.1.10 Djab wurrung

Earliest reference to language name: 1881 (Dawson 1881)
Meaning: 'soft' or 'broad lip' in contrast to other dialects of harder pronunciation (Dawson 1881)
Sub-dialects: Djab wurrung, Knenknen wurrung, Pirtpirt wurrung

In most sources of Djab wurrung vocabulary the general word for 'Aborigines' is kuli/guli, so this language may be placed in the language(2) continuum generally called 'Kulin' (see Clark 1990).

Three dialects of Djab wurrung have been identified in the source material. Aboriginal Protectorate records and Dawson's (1881) ethnography are the basic sources of information for these dialects.

1. **Djab wurrung:**

Earliest reference to dialect name: 1881 (Dawson 1881)
Meaning: meaning 'soft' or 'broad lip', in contrast to other dialects of harder
   pronunciation (Dawson 1881).
Twenty seven variants are listed in Clark (1990).

2. **Pirt pirt wurrung:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1881 (Dawson 1881)
Meaning: 'jump lip' (Dawson 1881)
Dawson (1881) noted that the Pirt Pirt wurrung dialect differed very slightly
   from Djab wurrung. Clark (1990) lists three variants of this dialect name.

3. **Knen knen wurrung:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1840 (Parker 1840 in Clark 1990:107)
    Meaning: either 'active' or 'quick lip', or 'no-lip' from 'kne kne' their word
for no
   (Parker 1840).
   Thirty seven variants listed in Clark (1990).

On the basis that Dawson identified Djab wurrung as one of four primary
languages spoken in western Victoria, we can regard the Djab wurrung dialect
name as the probable language name. The Djab wurrung language shared
80 percent common vocabulary with Djadja wurrung, 70 percent with Wergaia
and Wembawemba, 48 percent with Dhauwurd wurrung and 42 percent with
Buandig.

2.1.11 Djadja wurrung

Earliest reference to language name: 1839 (Parker to Robinson 1839 see
Clark 1990)
Meaning: We cannot be conclusive about the meaning of the stem 'djadja',
however information from ES Parker and his son, JS Parker, suggests the
language name is derived from the word for 'yes'. An alternative language
name, Le wurrung, is derived from the word for 'no' (see Clark 1990).
Sub-dialects: none identified.

Clark (1990) lists over 100 variants from 65 distinct sources.
Dixon's (working Papers) analysis of this language revealed that it shared 80
percent common vocabulary with Djab wurrung; 64 percent with
Barababaraba; 46 percent with Dhauwurd wurrung and 48 percent with Watha
wurrung.

2.1.12 Djargurd wurrung

Earliest reference to language name: 1839 (see Clark 1990)
Meaning: not known
Sub-dialects: none identified

Forty variants are listed in Clark (1990). Dawson (1881) provided the
language name 'Warn talliin', meaning 'rough language', however this is more
likely to be the name conferred on the Djargurd wurrung by the Watha

wurrung, as it is a pejorative and derogatory label. Incorrectly considered by Tindale (1974) to be a Girai wurrung clan.

Dixon's analysis suggests this language differed considerably from Watha wurrung. It shared 80-90 percent common vocabulary with Girai wurrung and Dhauwurd wurrung, and these three languages formed a language(2) continuum distinguished by a common word for people 'maar' or 'mara'.

2.1.13 Gadubanud

Earliest reference to language name: 1881 (Dawson 1881)
Meaning: 'King parrot language' (Dawson 1881)
Sub-dialects: none identified

Ethnohistoric and linguistic information on the people of the Cape Otway Ranges is very thin.   A connection with the Gulidjan to their north is suggested in the literature.

2.1.14 Girai wurrung

Earliest reference to language name: 1881 (Dawson 1881)
Meaning: 'blood lip' (Dawson 1881)
Sub-dialects: Girai wurrung; Wirngilgnad dhalinanong

Very little is known about this language and its two dialects. The only vocabulary known to exist is a 'Mortlake vocabulary' provided by a Miss Hood from Merrang containing 185 words and published in Mathew (1899). Hood's vocabulary has 87 percent common vocabulary with the standard Dhauwurd wurrung - Djargurd wurrung lexicon, and on this basis can be regarded as part of this language continuum

The language is known to have two dialects:

1. **Girai wurrung:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1881 (Dawson 1881)
Meaning: meaning 'blood lip' (see Clark 1990). Eighteen variants listed in
   Clark (1990). Dawson notes that a nick name for this dialect was 'Ngutuk',
   based on the pronoun 'you'.

2. **Wirngilgnad dhalinanong:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1881 (Dawson 1881)
    Meaning: 'bear language', a reference to the concentration of koalas in
this
   forested region (Dawson 1881).

2.1.15 Gulidjan

Earliest reference to language name: 1839 (see Clark 1990)
Meaning: unknown
Sub-dialects: none identified

Data on this language are very scanty, but sufficient to confirm that it constituted a separate language with a small number of speakers occupying the country around Lake Colac. Dixon's (Working Papers) analysis suggests Gulidjan is a 'buffer', or 'mixed language', or 'creole', having something in common with each of its neighbours, yet is quite a distinct language. He suggests that at the time of European contact, the language may have been in the process of being assimilated to its neighbours and losing its original characteristics.

Over 50 variants are listed in Clark (1990). The earliest sources favoured Gulidjan or a cognate; whereas Dawson (1881) favoured 'Kolakgnat' meaning 'belonging to sand'.

2.1.16 Jardwadjali

Earliest reference to language name: 1843 (Parker 1843 in NSW 1843)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'; -djali is a regional equivalent of -wurrung.
Sub-dialects: Jagwadjali; Jardwadjali; Mardidjali; Nundadjali

Four dialects have been identified (for more information see Clark 1990):

1. **Nundadjali:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1845 (Parker 1845 see Clark 1990:255).
Meaning: presumably meaning 'good speech' (Tindale 1974), a southern dialect spoken along the upper Glenelg River. Five variants are listed in Clark (1990). Dixon's analysis is that it is an 'in-between' dialect belonging with the 'Western Kulin' continuum and not with Buandig as delineated by Tindale (1940, 1974). Howitt's (1880, 1904) 'Mukjarawaint' and Curr's (1887) 'Brapkut' appear to be variants of Nundadjali.

2. **Jardwadjali:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1843 (Parker 1843 see Clark 1990:236)
Meaning: meaning 'no-tongue' derived from their distinctive word for 'no'; spoken about Horsham. Clark (1990) lists 12 variants.

3. **Jagwadjali:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1901-1904 (Mathews Notebooks)
Meaning: unknown, dialect spoken in the northeast about Lake Buloke.

4. **Mardidjali:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1940 (Tindale 1940)
    Meaning: a western dialect meaning 'abrupt' or 'hard to understand speech', and
   this name would appear to be conferred by western neighbours. What Mardidjali
   clans preferred to call their own dialect is not known.

Dixon's analysis of Jardwadjali vocabulary suggests that it shared 90 percent common vocabulary with Djab wurrung, enabling him to state that there 'is no difference linguistically' within the area covered by Jardwadjali and Djab wurrung.

2.1.17 Jarijari

Earliest reference to language name: 1859 (Beveridge in Victoria 1859)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'
Sub-dialects: none identified

Clark (1990) lists over 20 variants.

According to Dixon (Working Papers), there are no surviving vocabularies that are definitely attributable to this language. This language was apparently very similar to Wadiwadi (see Clark 1990).

2.1.18 Jodajoda

Earliest reference to language name: 1902 (Mathews 1902; Howitt Papers)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'
Sub-dialects: none identified.

According to Dixon's (Working Papers) analysis of the available data, the group of contiguous clans that were called 'Bangerang', called their language 'Jodajoda'. Tindale set up two separate tribes and has misled many subsequent researchers.

Dixon (Working Papers) found Jodajoda to be a fairly isolated language having similarities only with its northeastern neighbour, Jabulajabula. It is totally different from the 'Kulin' languages to its south; all aspects of its grammar being radically different. Clark (1990) lists 20 variant spellings of the language name.

2.1.19 Krauatungalung

Earliest reference to language name: 1880 (Howitt 1880)
Meaning: According to Howitt (1904), Krauatungalung is derived from 'Krauat' meaning 'east', and 'galung' meaning 'of' or 'belonging to'.
Sub-dialects: none identified.

One of five Ganai dialects, see entry for Brabralung.

2.1.20 Ladjiladji

Earliest reference to language name: 1848 (Hobler Diary 31/4/1848)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'
Sub-dialects: none identified

Clark (1990) lists over 40 variants.

According to Dixon's analysis, this language shared 85 percent common vocabulary with Madimadi; 83 percent with Wergaia; 70 percent with Wembawemba/ Barababaraba; and 63 percent with Djadja wurrung.

2.1.21 Maap (Bidawal)

Earliest reference to language name: 1876 (Howitt 1876 re Maap); 1846 (Lingard 1846 re Bidawal)
Meaning: maap is derived from the word for 'people'; bidawal means 'scrub dwellers'
Sub-dialects: none identified.

Wesson (1994) has undertaken the most extensive analysis of the information concerning this language group, and reveals that the earliest information on constituent clans fails to record the language name. Generally, the people of this region are known as 'Bidawal' a likely derogatory description conferred on these people by their neighbours. Tindale (1974) and Wesson (1994:43) reveal that 'Maap' is an alternative name, sourced from Jemmy Lawson, a Maap speaker.

The Ganai dialects to the west referred to the language of the scrub dwellers as 'kwai thang' meaning 'rough speech. The scrub people, on the otherhand, referred to their language as 'mukthang', meaning 'good speech'.

2.1.22 Ngarigu

Earliest reference to language name: possibly Howitt (1880)
Meaning: not known
Sub-dialects: 'southern Ngarigu'

Language spoken on the Southern Monaro from Bombala to Nimmitabel and along the upper Snowy Valley in the Delegate area, and around Goongerah in Victoria (Hercus 1986). Hercus (1986) has listed sources of vocabularies and her analysis suggests that Ngarigu was closely related to Ngunawal, spoken to the north in the Tumut, Canberra and Yass districts.

Hercus (1986) suggests there was a southern form of Ngarigu, which she has labelled 'Southern Ngarigu', spoken on the Snowy River around Delegate, and to the south towards Orbost.

2.1.23 Ngurai-illam wurrung

Earliest reference to language name: 1840 (Robinson Journal)

Meaning: uncertain, -illam is likely to mean 'bark', 'hut', or 'camp' (see Clark 1991)
Sub-dialects: none identified

Clark (1990) lists over 40 variants of this name. Three clans spoke this language, which formed a dialect continuum with Daung wurrung, Woi wurrung and Boon wurrung. Blake (1991) is unsure if Ngurai-illam wurrung constituted a separate wurrung, and suggests that the dialect name may be an alternative to Daung wurrung. Further research on this language area is needed to resolve this uncertainty. For more information see Barwick (1984), Clark (1990) and Blake (1991).

2.1.24 Tatungalung

Earliest reference to language name: 1878 (Howitt in Smyth, 1878)
Meaning: According to Howitt (1904), Tatungalung is derived from 'Tat' meaning the sea, also the south, and 'galung' meaning 'of', or 'belonging to'.
Sub-dialects: none identified

One of five Ganai dialects, see entry for Brabralung.

2.1.25 Wadiwadi

Earliest reference to language name: 1846 (Robinson Journal see Clark 1990)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'.
Sub-dialects: possibly 'Piangil' and 'non-Piangil'

Clark (1990) lists over 40 variants of the language name. Dixon (Working Papers) has suggested that this language was divided into two dialects, which he has arbitrarily named 'Piangil' and 'non-Piangil'.

2.1.26 Watha wurrung

Earliest reference to language name: 1836 (Langhorne 1836 in Clark 1990)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'
Sub-dialects: none identified

Clark (1990) lists over 130 variants of this language name.

Linguistically Watha wurrung was closest to its northern (Djadja wurrung) and eastern (Woi wurrung, Boon wurrung, Daung wurrung) neighbours. Grammatically it was considerably different from its western neighbours, sharing 50 percent common vocabulary with Gulidjan; 28 percent with Dhauwurd wurrung; and 48 percent with Djab wurrung. Dixon concluded that although Watha wurrung appeared to be genetically related to Daung wurrung, Boon wurrung, Woi wurrung, Djab wurrung, Djadja wurrung, and

other 'Kulin' dialects, it may have diverged enough to be regarded as a separate language(2).

2.1.27 Way wurru (Waveru)

Earliest reference to language name: 1840 (Robinson Journal)
Meaning: unknown
Sub-dialects: Kwart Kwart; Mogullumbidj

Primary references to this group are only found in the papers of GA Robinson, which were not consulted by Tindale. Clark (1993) lists nine variants including Waveroo, Way.you.rong, and Way.you.roo. Way wurru may include dialects Kwart Kwart and Mogullumbidj (or Minjambuta).

1. Kwartkwart:
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1843 (Robinson Journal)
 Meaning: presumably derived from the distinctive word for 'no'

According to the earliest sources (Robinson papers), nine Kwartkwart clans adjoined the Bangarang people on their east (see Clark 1993). Robinson, in his 1843 journal, noted that the Kwartkwart language was different to that spoken on the upper Goulburn River, and in his 1844 journal he stated that Kwartkwart were a part of the Way wurru 'nation'.

Mogullumbidj (Minjambuta):
Earliest reference to dialect name: 1840 (Robinson Journal)
Meaning: not known.

A variant of the name 'Mogullumbidj' is first recorded in the journals and papers of Robinson, where he identifies the Mogullumbidj as comprising six clans. Howitt was not sure which language the Mogullumbidj belonged to, but he considered they formed the eastern most dialect of the Kulin speaking tribes. Mogullumbidj was assigned to the Way wurru by Barwick (1984).

The name Minjambuta is derived from the writings of RH Mathews, and Tindale considers Howitt's Mogullumbitch to be a variant name. Information on Minjambuta clan organisation has not been uncovered. Tindale (1974) notes that very little is known of Minjambuta, although he suggests it was similar to Dudoroa. Another language area being researched by Wesson.

2.1.28 Wembawemba

Earliest reference to language name: 1854 (Parker 1854)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'
Sub-dialects: none identified

Clark (1990) lists over 20 variant spellings.

Dixon's analysis has shown that Wembawemba shared 93 percent common vocabulary with Barababaraba; 90 percent with Wergaia; 78 percent with Wadiwadi; 76 percent with Madimadi; 72 percent with Djab wurrung; 70 percent with Ladjiladji; 64 percent with Djadja wurrung, and 30 percent with Dhauwurd wurrung.

2.1.29 Wergaia

Earliest reference to language name: 1902 (Mathews 1902)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'.
Sub-dialects: Bewadjali; Buibadjali; Djadjala; Wudjubalug

Tindale's reconstruction of this language area is very inadequate. He divides the area into three tribes: Wotjobalek, Warke Warke, and Jupagalk. Jupagalk is in fact a reference to the Jupagalk gundidj, a Wergaia clan belonging to Jupagalk, a camping place on the Avoca River. Warke Warke is problematical. There are no definite vocabularies attributable to the region Tindale delineates as belonging to this 'tribe'. The earliest reference to this name is Beveridge's (in Victoria 1859) 'Waiky Waiky'. Mathews recorded Werka Werka tjali; Warka tjali; and Weika tjali. Warke Warke (or Mathews Werga werga djali or Wergadjali) appears to be a reference to Wergaia or Werkaia. Both Dixon (pers. comm.) and Hercus (pers. comm.) agree that Warke Warke is probably the same as Werkaia, and Dixon considers that this may explain the absence of any distinct vocabularies.

Four dialects have been identified in this language area:

1. **Wudjubaluk/Wotjobaluk:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1885 (Howitt 1885)
Meaning: wudju meaning 'man', baluk meaning 'people'
An eastern dialect of Wergaia, spoken between Boorung and Morton Plain
   (see Clark 1990). Clark (1990) lists 25 variants.

2. **Djadjala:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1902 (Mathews 1902)
Meaning: not known
Dialect spoken at lakes Werringren and Albacutya (see Clark 1990); Clark
   (1990) lists 12 variants.

3. **Buibadjali:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1902 (Mathews 1902)
Meaning: from buiba meaning 'no'.
Dialect spoken at Hopetoun (see Clark 1990); three variants are listed in Clark
   (1990).

4. **Bewadjali:**
   Earliest reference to dialect name: 1866 (see Clark 1990:336)
Meaning: from bewa meaning 'no'
   Dialect spoken at Lake Hindmarsh (see Clark 1990); three variants are
listed in

Clark (1990).

Dixon's analysis of this language has shown that it shared 90 percent common vocabulary with Wembawemba and Barababaraba; 70 percent with Jardwadjali and Djab wurrung; 83 percent with Ladjiladji; 82 percent with Madimadi; and 78 percent with Wadiwadi.

2.1.30 Woi wurrung

Earliest reference to language name: 1836 (Langhorne 1836 see Clark 1990)
Meaning: presumably derived from distinctive word for 'no'
Sub-dialects: none identified

Over 50 variants are listed in Clark (1990). Blake (1991) provides the most extensive discussion of this language.

Woi wurrung formed a dialect continuum with Boon wurrung, with which it shared 93 percent common vocabulary, and with Daung wurrung (83 percent common vocabulary); it shared the following vocabulary with other neighbouring languages: Djadja wurrung (45 percent), Djab wurrung (46 percent) and Wembawemba (37 percent).

2.2 Marginal Language Groups in Victoria

The following five languages are predominantly South Australian or New South Wales Aboriginal languages, and are included in this report because small portions of their countries fall within Victoria.

2.2.1 Bindjali

Earliest reference to language name: 1900-1904 (Mathews Notebook see Clark 1990)
Meaning: unknown
Sub-dialects: Weregadjali

According to Dixon (Working Papers) this is an obscure language. Two vocabularies considered by Tindale (1974) to belong to this language, Dixon has assigned to other languages: Lawson in Taplin (1879) which Dixon considers is Buandig; and Haynes (in Curr 1887) which Dixon assigns to Wergaia.

This language would appear to have three alternative names: Bodaruwutj (Potaruwutj); Weregadjali; and Bindjali. Bodaruwudj means 'wandering or travelling people' and is likely to be a pejorative descriptive name conferred on the Bindjali people by western neighbours because they were constantly shifting camp in the mallee country. Weregadjali, meaning 'no-lip', is, presumably, a dialect of Bindjali. Weregadjali is confirmed by Crouch (n.d.), Haynes (in Curr 1887), and Mathews (1904). Dixon comments that on the

basis of these fragments, this language belongs to the western Kulin language(2) continuum.

2.2.2 Buandig

Earliest reference to language name: 1853-54 (Stewart see Clark 1990)
Meaning: not known
Sub-dialects: none identified

The earliest reference to this language name is in DS Stewart's 1853-54 notebook where he records 'Buandic'. In 1907, Dhauwurd wurrung speakers at Lake Condah Mission told John Mathew that they pronounced this language name as 'Buganditch' or 'Booganitch'.

2.2.3 Jabulajabula

Earliest reference to language name: 1898 (Baeyertz 1898)
Meaning: derived from distinctive word for 'no'
Sub-dialects: none identified

Clark (1990) lists 15 variant spellings.

According to Dixon (Working Papers), this language differed from all of its neighbours excepting Jodajoda. Despite the fact that Curr and Mathews regarded Jodajoda and Jabulajabula as dialects of the same language, Dixon has found that they only shared 44 percent common vocabulary, and possessed different case inflections and verbs. Given the available data, he considers it unlikely that we will ever be able to decide between
a) a close genetic relationship between Jabulajabula and Jodajoda, or
b) a long period of contiguity, which built up vocabulary to an equilibrium figure leading to similar pronouns, but not verb and noun morphology.

2.2.4 Ngargad

Earliest reference to language name: 1845 (Eyre 1845)
Meaning: not known
Sub-dialects: none identified

Dixon's position is that it is not possible to allocate any vocabularies to Ngargad, as the vocabularies that are purported to belong to Ngargad are, according to Dixon, either Wergaia or Buandig. Ngalundji may be an alternative language name.

2.2.5 Thawa

Earliest reference to language name: presumably Howitt (1885)
Meaning: not known
Sub-dialects: none identified

Wesson's (1994) reconstruction of Maap (Bidawal) locates the predominantly New South Wales Thawa language as being spoken in the far southeast corner of Victoria, from Mallacoota Inlet to Cape Howe.

2.2.6 Yuyu (Ngindadj)

Earliest reference to language name: 1879 (Shaw in Taplin 1879)
Meaning: not known, but presumably based on its distinctive word for 'no'
Sub-dialects: none identified

The language spoken at Ned's Corner, generally assigned to the Ngindadj tribe. Dixon is unsure if this tribal name has any validity, and is certain that the language spoken in this area was called Yuyu or Juju, on the basis of information supplied by Shaw (in Taplin 1879:28-29) who noted that his informant was a member of the Rankbirit tribe and that they called their language 'You-You'. Carter (1898 in Mathews Papers) confirms that the tribe at Ned's Corner was 'Yac yoc'. Ngindadj may be a variant tribal name.

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