

THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE

— JAKELIN TROY —





THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE

by

Jakelin Troy

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the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies**

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For Pádraigh

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PREFACE

I wrote this book to revive interest in a long extinct Aboriginal language of the Sydney district and to make readily available the small amount of surviving information about the language. I refer to the language as simply 'the Sydney Language'. However, it has also been known as Dharug and Iyora. I hope the book will appeal to a wide audience and have included many illustrations to help the reader visualise the Sydney people, their technology, cultural life and physical environment.

Between 1788 and the early nineteenth century, the speakers of the Sydney Language were dispossessed of their country by colonists from England. They were the first Aboriginal people with whom the colonists had long term contact because the original British colony was established at Port Jackson, on 26 January, 1788.

As they lost control over their land and its resources, the Aboriginal population suffered the trauma of complete social upheaval. Unknown numbers of Sydney people died attempting to repel the invasion and from introduced diseases. The Sydney Language declined with the Aboriginal population of Sydney. Throughout the nineteenth century, surviving speakers gradually abandoned the language in favour of English and New South Wales Pidgin (Troy 1990) which were the main languages spoken in the colony. Sometime in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, the Sydney Language effectively died with its last speakers, leaving successive generations of Sydney people without access to their language.

The waratah on the cover is symbolic of my hope that this book will revive popular interest in the Sydney Language. Aboriginal people in the Sydney area used the waratah in burial ceremonies to help resurrect the spirit of the deceased (Collins 1975[1802], vol 2:48). It will become clear to the reader that the language still exists in a shadowy form as part of the vocabulary of Australian English. A number of words in modern Australian English were borrowed into early Australian English from the Sydney Language within the first few years of English settlement.

Much of our knowledge of the Sydney Language comes from careful notes about the language and its people written in journals, letters and notebooks in the late eighteenth century by officers of the first colonising fleets. With much expert help, I have been able to use surviving information to reconstruct some aspects of the grammar, something of the sound system and a wordlist of the Sydney Language. To aid my analysis I created a reference orthography for writing the language and all words written in that orthography appear in **bold** print, for example **budjari** 'good'. Words written in *italics* are direct quotations from the historical sources, for example *Iyora* 'people'.

I could not have written and produced this book without the help of many people and institutions. I would particularly like to thank those listed below for sharing their knowledge and resources during the research, writing and production phases of the book.

Nick Thieberger, Coordinator for the Australian Dictionaries Project within the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, is responsible for motivating and facilitating this publication.

Shirley Troy (ethnographer) gave me great assistance with research for the book, particularly in identifying artefacts, flora and fauna. The contemporary illustrations in the book are also solely to her credit.

The cover of the book was designed and set by Dennis French, graphic artist for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.

Tom Dutton, Harold Koch, Darrell Tryon and Cliff Goddard have each provided comment on drafts of the linguistic analysis for this work.

Peter D'arnay (horticulturalist) helped in the identification of flora.

The Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University supported me during the research which formed part of my PhD project.

The staff of the Australian National Library, Pictorial Collections were extremely helpful and patient with my pedantic searching of their collections and orders for material to illustrate the book. Thanks in particular to Sylvia Carr, Sylvia Redman and Corinne Collins.

GLOSSARY

acute accent	an angle shaped line leaning left to right (facing) placed above a letter
affix	anything added to a word to modify its meaning
breve	a cup shaped diacritic placed above a letter
consonant	speech sounds made with stoppage or friction of the breath
cursive script	a flowing and connected script commonly called 'running writing'
diacritic	a sign above a letter or character which indicates it has a special quality such as stress or a special phonetic value
diphthong	the union of two vowel sounds into a single compound sound
First Fleet	the first fleet of colonists sent by the English government to Australia in 1787, arrived in January 1788
flap	a sound made by flapping the tip of the tongue—a soft 'r'
grammar	the structural organisation of a language encompassing the morphology and syntax of the language
lenis	a sound made with little muscular effort and little breath force
macron	a line placed above a letter
medial	sounds made in the middle of the mouth
morphology	the structure or forms of words
orthography	spelling system
phonemic	sounds which determine the meaning of speech
phonetic	of or relating to vocal sounds
phonology	systems of sound in a language
phonotactics	the sound rules of a language
rhotic	sounds made by vibrating or flapping the tip of the tongue—'r' sounds
suffix	anything added to the end of a word to modify its meaning
syntax	the rules which determine the way in which words are combined into sentences in a language
trill	a sound made by vibrating the tip of the tongue—a rolled 'r'
unvoiced	sounds which are made without 'without voice' or with no vibration of the vocal chords
voiced	sounds which are made 'with voice' by vibrating the vocal chords
vowel	the only speech sounds pronounced without stoppage or friction of the breath

THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE

Introduction

Since the late eighteenth century, people with an interest in Aboriginal languages recorded that the Sydney Language was spoken by Aboriginal people who lived in a wide area radiating out from the southern shore of Broken Bay to the Hawkesbury River and down to Botany Bay (see map 1). However, there are no longer any people who use the language in full either in that area or anywhere else in Australia. Without any living speakers to turn to for advice, the only sources of information about the language are historical records. Most of the surviving records of the language were produced by literate people who arrived in the late eighteenth century with the early colonising fleets from England.

The sources of information about the Sydney Language provide us with many interesting descriptions of the lifestyle of the speakers and the effects of the British settlement on their lives. Their texts record some of the earliest conversations between Aboriginal people and the first non-Aboriginal people to settle in Australia. Therefore, the texts provide modern readers with some insight into the attempts by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people to understand each other and to explain their own viewpoints. Some commentators even illustrated their notes with pictures of the people, their cultural life and the environment in which they lived.

None of the early records provide any indication of the name the people gave their language nor of a word for 'language'. However, linguists in the late nineteenth century and again in the twentieth century have sometimes referred to the language as 'Iyora' (spelt variously) which in the earliest data was given to mean 'human'. The same name has also been used by linguists to refer to the coastal dialect of the language. 'Dharug' has been used by linguists since the early twentieth century to label either the whole Sydney Language or its inland dialect. No provenance has ever been given to the word nor is a meaning ever attributed to 'Dharug' beyond it being a name for the language. There is also no evidence for either name having been used by the language's speakers as the label for their language. Therefore, rather than arbitrarily deciding on one of the two names, neither of which are authenticated, I have chosen to refer to the language as simply 'the Sydney Language'.

The records indicate that there were at least two dialects of the Sydney Language. Most languages in the world are divided into two or more dialects. Dialects of a language sound different to each other and usually have differences in vocabulary. However, dialects are not separate languages because their speakers can communicate with each other while speaking their own dialect. For example, English is divided into many dialects such as those in America, Canada, Australia, England and Ireland.

The earliest and best records of the Sydney Language document the coastal dialect which was spoken in the immediate vicinity of the first British settlement at Sydney Cove, Port Jackson. Other evidence suggests some of the characteristics of at least one other dialect of the language spoken inland from Port Jackson. However, there is not enough data which is clearly attributable to one dialect or the other to facilitate a separate treatment of the two dialects in this book.

There is some evidence that the eighteenth century collectors were aware of differences between the vocabulary of the inland people and those of the coast because some provided a very short comparative list. For example, Collins (vol. 1, 1975[1798]:512-3) wrote that 'the following difference of dialect was observed between the natives at the Hawkesbury and at Sydney':-

Coast	Inland	English
Ca-ber-ra	Co-co	Head
De-war-ra	Ke-war-ra	Hair
Gnul-lo	Nar-ran	Forehead
Mi	Me	Eye
Go-ray	Ben-ne	Ear
Cad-lian	Gang-a	Neck
Ba-rong	Ben-de	Belly
Moo-nur-ro	Boom-boong	Navel
Boong	Bay-ley	Buttocks
Yen-na-dah	Dil-luck	Moon
Co-ing	Con-do-in	Sun
Go-ra	Go-ri-ba	Hail
Go-gen-ne-gine	Go-con-de	Laughing Jack-ass

The list was produced after Phillip led an exploring party to the Hawkesbury River, in April 1791, and discovered a group of people who it was believed spoke a different language to that of the Port Jackson people. The same people were also remarked on as culturally different and it was suggested that there was some variation amongst the cultures of Aboriginal peoples.

Though the tribe of Buruberongal, to which these men belonged, live chiefly by hunting, the women are employed in fishing, and our party were told that they caught large mullet in the river. Neither of these men had lost their front tooth, and the names they gave to several parts of the body were such as the natives about Sydney had never been heard to make use of. Ga-dia (the penis), they called *Cud-da*; Go-rey (the ear), they called *Ben-ne*; in the word mi (the eye), they pronounced the letter I as an E. And in many other instances their pronunciation varied, so that there is good reason to believe several different languages are spoken by the natives of this country, and this accounts for only one or two of those words given in Captain Cook's vocabulary having ever been heard amongst the natives who visited the settlement. (Phillip 1968:347)

Late nineteenth, early twentieth century commentators on the Sydney Language, Ridley and Mathews, recorded some words that are different to those used by the earlier sources. The differences might be further evidence for dialectal variation in the Sydney Language. However, it is also quite normal for languages to have multiple examples of one meaning being expressed by several different words. Aboriginal languages also have word taboos associated with death which are catalytic in introducing new vocabulary. When a person dies their name cannot be mentioned and a new word must be found for the item or concept their name expressed. The First Fleet officer David Collins wrote that 'they enjoined us on no account to mention the name of the deceased, a custom they rigidly attended to themselves whenever any one died' (Collins, vol. 1, 1975[1798]:502). The time gap between the production of the eighteenth century and the later data would have also created differences in the data. Mathews and Ridley also had experience of other Aboriginal languages and New South Wales Pidgin which are likely to have created variations between the earlier data and their new material.

The Aboriginal people of Sydney

Early colonial writers and artists recorded a wealth of information about the speakers of the Sydney Language which brings their world vividly to life. The wordlist below contains all the Sydney Language vocabulary collected in the course of researching this book. It is only a very limited selection from the language and reflects the interests of the people who recorded the information rather than the rich vocabulary of the speakers. However, the list contains a diversity of vocabulary which does provide a substantial glimpse at the culture and environment of the Sydney people. There are words describing the cultural and ceremonial life of the people, their social relationships, the food they ate, their body ornaments and dress, the weapons and tools they used and how they were made, ways in which the people indicated direction, location and time, some of their informal expressions of pleasure, disgust, fear or surprise and terms for the natural world in which they moved and lived.

Sydney people lived well on the products of the sea and shoreline. They were experts at catching fish and braved the water in canoes made from sheets of bark bunched and tied at the ends and sealed with gum. Fish were even cooked in the canoes on open fires. The Sydney Language word **man** means both 'fisherperson' and 'ghost', a link which may have been suggested by the ghostly figures of people fishing and cooking in their canoes by moonlight. It is known that the people practised night fishing from paintings done at the time.

Fishing, the artefacts of fishing and the names of fish which were caught figure prominently in the wordlist. A curious entry on the wordlist is the translation 'stone fishhook' given by William Dawes to the usual word for fishhook—**bara**. Hooks were usually made from shells polished with a special stone and without further evidence it would have been easy to dismiss this item as a mistake by the transcriber. However, in his publication on the recent archaeology of Sydney, Vincent Megaw noted with surprise that archaeologists found an artefact shaped like a fishhook but made from Hawkesbury sandstone (Megaw 1974). He suggested it might be a ritual object or a fishhook-shaped file but found no precedent for the artefact (Megaw 1974:23 and figure 18:8). The appearance of the word on this list suggests that it was a Sydney Aboriginal artefact known to the first English colonisers.

By 1791, a number of Aboriginal people had become reconciled to the colonists and their settlement. The friendship and trust that developed between an Aboriginal man called Bennelong and Governor Arthur Phillip played a key role in the reconciliation. Their story has been related at length in many histories of Australia and will not be retold here. Another important factor in the development of a permanent relationship between Aboriginal people and the colonists was the devastating plague which swept through the Aboriginal population in 1789. The symptoms of the disease were like smallpox but it only affected one colonist while destroying many of the local Aboriginal people. The entire Aboriginal population was left weakened physically and emotionally by the onslaught of the disease. Those who did not die or flee the area in an attempt to escape its ravages became permanent residents in and around the settlement increasingly dependent for their survival on help from the colonists.

The novel foodstuffs and artefacts brought to Australia by the colonists also attracted some Aboriginal people to Sydney. The wordlist provides evidence for some of the things the people found interesting. In the artefact section there are words for things such as a looking-glass, jacket and book and in the food section bread and tea. Governor Phillip gave Aboriginal people bread as an encouragement to stay in the colony even when it was in very short supply. The gifts of food became a strong inducement for Aboriginal people to remain in and around the settlement. One of the early texts recorded by William Dawes between 1790 and 1791 provides evidence for the popularity of the food given out to Aboriginal people by the colonists. Patye, his friend and language teacher, told him that she was happy to stay and learn English because he gave her food without her even bothering to ask.

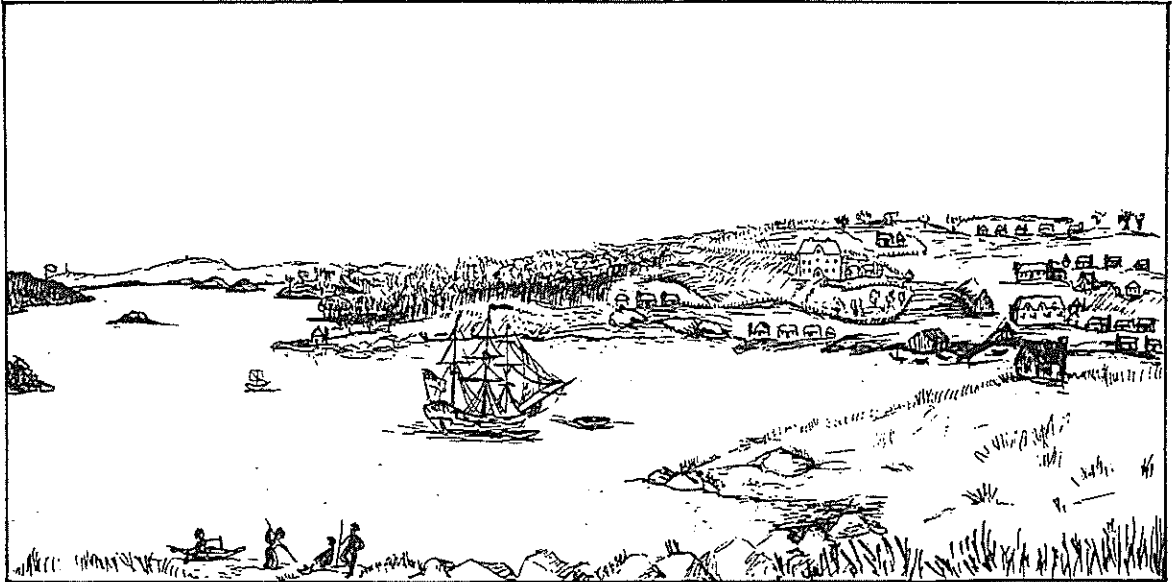
Aboriginal people in Sydney continued to carry on their pre-colonial lifestyle as far as possible within the settlement until the early 1800s. They were often seen staging corrobories and physical contests in the open spaces reserved as common ground for use by all the colonists in Sydney. However, they also began to participate in the commercial and social life of the colony bartering fish for bread, rice, vegetables and salt meat while socialising with the colonists (Phillip 1968:352; Collins 1975, vol. 1:137).

In the late 1790s, John Hunter observed that 'every gentleman's house was now become a resting or sleeping place for some of them every night ...Before I left Port Jackson, the natives were become very familiar and intimate with every person in the settlement'. He also observed that Aboriginal people increasingly relied on the colonists for easy food. 'Whenever they were pressed for hunger, they had immediate recourse to our quarters where they generally got their bellies filled. They were now become exceedingly fond of bread, which when we came here first they could not bear to put into their mouths; and if ever they did, it was out of civility to those who offered it; but now the little children had all learnt the words, *hungry*, *bread*; and would to shew that they were hungry, draw in their belly, so as to make it appear quite empty' (Hunter 1968:139-43).

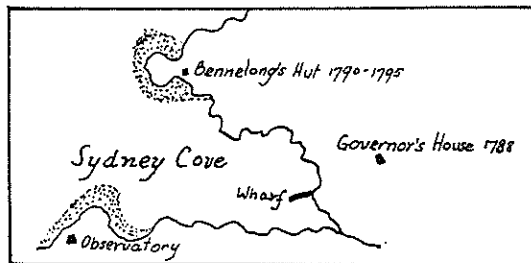
Sydney Cove early 1790s

- (a) View of Sydney Cove. After 'A North View of Sydney Cove taken from the Flagstaff Opposite the Observatory' by William Westall (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 139).
- (b) Sydney Cove map circa 1792.
- (c) Location for map of Sydney Cove in Port Jackson.

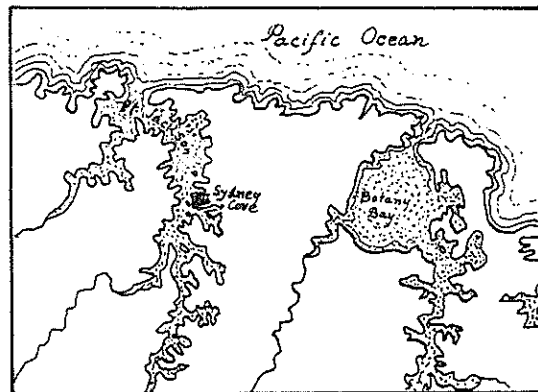
SYDNEY COVE EARLY 1790's



(a)



(b)



(c)

The history of research into the Sydney Language

The study of Australian languages was initiated in the late eighteenth century. In 1770, a scientific expedition headed by Captain James Cook collected a wordlist at the Endeavour River in northern Queensland. However, Australian language research really began with the attempts by officers of the First Fleet to acquire the Sydney Language during the period between their arrival in 1788 and departure in 1792 (or 1796 for those who stayed an extra term).

Captain Arthur Phillip, the first governor of the colony of New South Wales, was given official instructions to open communication with the Aboriginal population in the vicinity of the colony. He was to be conciliatory and thereby reconcile them to the establishment of a British colony on their land. Early communicative success was soon marred by aggression from the colonists towards the local Aboriginal people who subsequently withdrew from all but retaliatory contact. Unable to establish amiable relations with the local people, Phillip decided on the aggressive measure of capturing an Aboriginal man. He planned to teach the man English and to use him as an intermediary between the colony and the Aboriginal population.

In late December 1788, Arabanoo was captured. He was constantly guarded and manacled until April 1789 when he was deemed to be reconciled to his fate and was released to wander at will in the colony. While he was a prisoner Arabanoo was taught some English and provided the colonists with their first substantial experience of an Aboriginal language. Phillip's plan to create a bilingual interlocutor appeared to have some promise of success until Arabanoo died, in May 1789. He was one of the many Aboriginal victims of the mysterious smallpox-like epidemic that killed many Aboriginal people in the vicinity of the settlement. Fear of the sickness drove many Aboriginal people away from Port Jackson. A girl, Boorong (or Abaroo), and a boy, Nanbarry, who were orphaned in the epidemic became wards of the colony. Phillip hoped they might fulfil the role of cultural emissaries. However, the local Aboriginal population remained aloof.

Once again desperate to establish some communication with the local Aboriginal population, Phillip decided to capture two more men. In December 1789, his marines apprehended Bennelong and Colby. Although Colby escaped almost immediately, Bennelong was restrained until May 1790. During that time he became a well-established colonial identity. He was observed to be a brilliant language learner and a practised mimic. Bennelong in turn taught the colonists a little about the workings of at least one of his own languages and something of the culture of his people.

The language the colonists began to learn with Bennelong's help was commonly known at the time as 'the language of New South Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney'. Documentation of the language is scant and mostly confined to the late eighteenth century.

The most valuable sources of information about the Sydney Language are three manuscripts now held in the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and catalogued as 'manuscript 41645 parts a, b and c'. Manuscripts 'a' and 'b' were produced by Lieutenant William Dawes RN, a scientist with the First Fleet. They contain his conversations with a number of Aboriginal people who are familiar from the journals of other First Fleet writers. However, the person most often referred to by Dawes was a young woman, 'Patyegarang' or as he usually called her 'Patye'. Patye taught Dawes her language and he, in return, taught her to speak and read English. Their conversations reveal each exploring the culture of the other with some of the broader issues concerning Aboriginal people being revealed in Patye's comments. For example, Patye told Dawes that the Aboriginal people of the district were angry because the colonists had settled on their land and that they were afraid of the colonists' guns.

Manuscript 'c' seems to have been the work of several authors as it is written in at least three different hands including both 'rough' and 'fair' scripts. Before the ready availability of writing machines, it was common for literate people to have a 'rough' hand for rapid notetaking and composing and a 'fair' or careful hand for final copy. One of the hands in the manuscript is exactly the same as Governor Arthur Phillip's rough hand. His rough hand can be readily examined in many surviving manuscripts, held in libraries and archives, which contain his casual notes. Philip Gidley King, another officer of the First Fleet, provided evidence which

suggests that two other officers, David Collins and John Hunter, also contributed to the manuscript. King wrote that the wordlist which he included in his journal was copied from a vocabulary lent to him by Collins. The vocabulary had been 'assiduously composed' by Collins and Phillip and 'much enlarged by Captain Hunter' (King 1968:270). King also claimed to have 'rejected...all the doubtful words' in order to make the vocabulary dependable. The content of King's list is very similar to manuscript c and the style of orthography is identical. Therefore, it is very likely that the notebook Collins lent King to work from was manuscript c and that it was composed by Phillip, Collins and Hunter.

A little further information about the Sydney Language was recorded in the late nineteenth century, by which time there were very few speakers still using the language. In 1875, William Ridley published a wordlist from 'the language of Georges River, Cowpasture, and Appin' obtained from John Rowley who had been a resident at Cook's River, Botany Bay (see map 1). He wrote that 'this language was spoken from the mouth of George's River, Botany Bay, and for about fifty miles to the south-west...very few of the tribe speaking this language are left' (Ridley 1875:103). Many of the words are the same as those attested in the late eighteenth century records for the Sydney Language. Therefore, Ridley's vocabulary is likely to have been a record of either the same language or a dialect of that language and for that reason is included in the Sydney Language wordlist below.

Another chapter in Ridley's book was entitled 'Turuwul: the language spoken by the now extinct tribe of Port Jackson' (Ridley 1875:99-101). However, the wordlist appears to contain a mixture of vocabulary from the Sydney Language and another Aboriginal language. Comment by Arthur Capell, a twentieth century linguist, supports the same conclusion. He explained that the source of the information was an Aboriginal woman called Lizzie Malone who mixed up Dharawal which was her own language with Gweagal which was her husband's language (Capell 1970:25). Ridley's 'Turuwul' wordlist is therefore not reliable and the vocabulary has not been incorporated into the wordlist below.

In the early twentieth century, R H Mathews published a wordlist and wrote a brief description of a language he called 'Dharruk'. However, none of the early sources supply a word even resembling *Dharruk*. Mathews claimed that his grammar and vocabulary were compiled 'from the lips of old natives acquainted with the language' (Mathews 1903:155). He believed that the language was used in an area 'extending along the coast to the Hawkesbury River, and inland to what are now Windsor, Penrith, Campbelltown, and intervening towns' (Mathews 1903:155) (see map 1). Mathews' Dharruk wordlist contains many of the same vocabulary items listed by the eighteenth century writers and has, therefore, been included in the wordlist below.

In 1892, John Fraser claimed that the 'sub-tribes occupying the land where Sydney now stands' and the people north from the Lake Macquarie area 'all formed parts of one great tribe, the Kuringgai' (also 'Kurringgai'). He believed that the territory of the Kurringgai (divided into sub-tribes) extended north to the Macleay River, southwards to the Hawkesbury, included Sydney and some of the coast south of Sydney (Fraser 1892:ix). Fraser made an assessment of language texts and concluded that the Kurringgai all spoke a language that was 'essentially the same' as the language of Lake Macquarie which he called 'Awabakal, from Awaba, the native name for Lake Macquarie' (Fraser 1892:v, ix).

More recently, a number of writers have used historical sources to attempt reconstructions of the linguistic and social boundaries they believed were observed by Aboriginal people in the Sydney district. However, their attempts have been constrained by the absence of fluent speakers for any of the languages. Reconstructions are also made difficult by the social disruption and depopulation which the Aboriginal people in the Sydney district have suffered, since 1788.

Reconstruction of linguistic boundaries is not an easy task in any case because it is well known that 'the names for forms of speech in Aboriginal Australia vary in interesting and perplexing ways' (Walsh 1991:36). It is very difficult to assign individual languages to specific groups of people and strict geographical boundaries. Aboriginal people are typically multilingual and distinguish their own language varieties 'in the idiom of local geography' or 'within speech

etiquettes focused on kinship relations, ascribed ceremonial and other social status or the temporary ritual condition of individuals' (Sutton 1991:49). The problems are even more complex where only fragmented data of varying quality is available for analysis, as in the case of the Sydney district.

In 1969, Arthur Capell reassessed the evidence for languages of the south central coast of NSW and proposed a new arrangement of 'tribal' and linguistic boundaries (see map 2). He observed that it had become accepted that 'the Sydney Aborigines throughout the area belonged to one group' and from the west to the coast were believed to speak a language called Dharruk. Capell claimed that research he undertook in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, revealed that the tradition was wrong.

Dharruk nowhere reached the coast except in a dialectal form on the Sydney Peninsula...The language of Sydney, as embraced between the south shore of Port Jackson and the north shore of Botany Bay, and as far inland as Rosehill (Parramatta district) represents the only area in which a Dharruk dialect reached the sea. It was not spoken normally on the north shore of Port Jackson, except to the west of Lane Cove River...The Sydney Language was limited to the peninsula on which Sydney now stands; it is classifiable as a dialect (even a sub-dialect) of Dharruk. (Capell 1970:21-22).

Jim Kohen used the language data of eighteenth century writers in his attempts to analyse the social affiliations of Aboriginal people in the Sydney district, particularly western Sydney. He is also the only twentieth century writer to publish a wordlist and sketch grammar of Dharuk which he based entirely on historical records (Kohen n.d.). Kohen with Ron Lampert published an article about Aboriginal people of the Sydney region in which they agree with Capell that the Sydney Language was a dialect of Dharuk—'the Dharug language had two major dialects, that of the Eora or coastal people and that spoken by people occupying the inland area from Parramatta to the Blue Mountains' (Kohen and Lampert 1987:345).

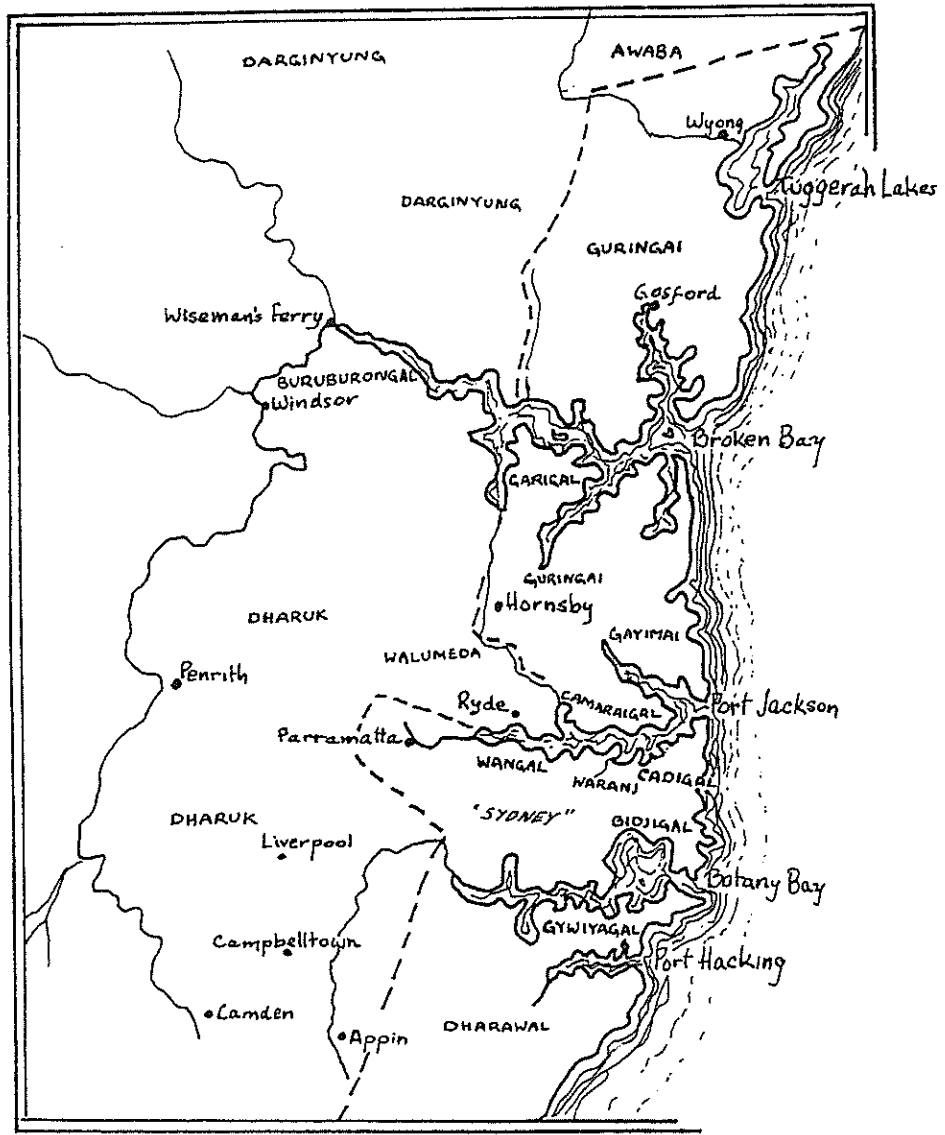
Anne Ross, contested the conclusions of Capell, Kohen and Lampert and claimed that the coastal people spoke a different language to the inland people who spoke Dharuk (Ross 1988:49-52). Her claims were made on the grounds that the linguistic evidence is poor because it was collected by amateurs. Furthermore, the evidence was collected at a time when Aboriginal people were undergoing massive depopulation and social upheaval from disease and the trauma of invasion by the English. To justify her conclusions, Ross used ethnographic evidence from eighteenth century sources and their records of comments by Aboriginal people about the differences between themselves and the inlanders.

Most recently, Michael Walsh compiled a language map of south-eastern Australia which contains a graphic summary of received knowledge about the languages of the Sydney area (see map 3) (Walsh 1981).

In this book I have collected together linguistic information which because of its homogeneity appears to be evidence for a language. In the absence of any name which could be clearly attributed to the speakers as their name for the language I use the conservative term the 'Sydney Language'. An attempt can be made to sketch the grammar of the language using the sample texts provided by eighteenth century sources because their data is remarkably homogenous. I was not able to determine whether or not the eighteenth century collectors of linguistic information were mixing dialects or even languages in compiling their wordlists. However, it appears that they collected their information from people who lived on the coast near the settlement of Sydney.

MAP 2

ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE BOUNDARIES
AFTER CAPELL 1970



Cross-cultural communication in early colonial Sydney

There is some surviving comment about the difficulties the colonists encountered in learning to speak the Sydney Language. The earliest communications between colonists and Aboriginal people relied exclusively on interpretations of gesture and tone of voice. A senior officer of the First Fleet, Watkin Tench, described his own first encounter:-

...we were met by a dozen Indians...Eager to come to a conference, and yet afraid of giving offence, we advanced with caution towards them, nor would they, at first, approach nearer to us than the distance of some paces. Both parties were armed; yet an attack seemed as unlikely on their part, as we knew it to be on our own...After nearly an hour's conversation by signs and gestures, they repeated several times the word *whurra*, which signifies, begone, and walked away from us to the head of the bay. (Tench 1979:36)

In their communication with Aboriginal people at Port Jackson, officials attempted to use the Guugu Yimidhir wordlist collected by Cook's expedition, in 1770, at Endeavour River, northern Queensland. Their attempts were singularly unsuccessful and many misunderstandings resulted. For example, the local Aboriginal people initially thought that the colonists' word for all animals except dogs was the Guugu Yimidhir word *ganguru* (now 'kangaroo'). Conversely, the colonists thought the area in which they settled had little fauna because the people called all animals, except dogs, *ganguru*.

...we have never discovered that...they know any other beasts but the kangaroo and dog. Whatever animal is shewn them, a dog excepted, they call kangaroo: a strong presumption that the wild animals of the country are very few...Soon after our arrival at Port Jackson, I was walking out near a place where I observed a party of Indians, busily employed in looking at some sheep in an inclosure, and repeatedly crying out, Kangaroo, kangaroo! As this seemed to afford them pleasure, I was willing to increase it by pointing out the horses and cows, which were at no great distance. (Tench 1979:51)

Kangaroo, was a name unknown to them for any animal, until we introduced it. When I showed Colbee the cows brought out in the Gorgon, he asked me if they were kangaroos. (Tench 1979:269)

The colonists' progress in acquiring the Sydney Language was slow. By February 1791, Collins lamented that they were still unable to hold complex conversations.

It was also unfortunately found, that our knowledge of their language consisted at this time of only a few terms for such things as, being visible could not be mistaken; but no one had yet attained words enough to convey an idea in connected terms. (Collins vol. 1, 1975:122)

By 1792, the foundation for New South Wales Pidgin was developing and because it was a favoured means of cross-cultural communication it further hindered the colonists' attempts to acquire the Sydney Language (Troy 1990). Evidence for the development of a contact language is found in Collins' observation:-

Several of their young people continued to reside among us, and the different houses in the town were frequently visited by their relations. Very little information that could be depended upon respecting their manners and customs was obtained through this intercourse; and it was observed, that they conversed with us in a mutilated and incorrect language formed entirely on our imperfect knowledge and improper application of their words. (Collins vol. 1, 1975:174)

The sound system of the Sydney Language was so different to any language the colonists had ever heard that it took some time for them to accept the sounds as meaningful. However, once the colonists had acquired some facility with the language their opinions changed and they came to regard the language as having a very pleasing sound system.

We were at first inclined to stigmatize this language as harsh and barbarous in its sounds; their combinations of words, in the manner they utter them, frequently convey such an effect. But if not only their proper names of men and places, but many of their phrases, and a majority of their words, be simply and unconnectedly

considered, they will be found to abound with vowels, and to produce sounds sometimes melifluous, and sometimes sonorous. (Tench 1979:291-2)

Not only their combinations, but some of their simple sounds, were difficult of pronunciation to mouths purely English: diphthongs often occur: one of the most common is that of a e, or perhaps, a i, pronounced not unlike those letteres in the French verb *hair*, to hate. The letter y frequently follows d in the same syllable: thus the word which signifies a woman is *Dyin*; although the structure of our language requires us to spell it *Dee-in*. (Tench 1979:292-3)

Their language is extremely grateful to the ear, being in many instances expressive and sonorous. It certainly has no analogy with any other known language (at least so far as my knowledge of any other language extends), one or two instances excepted...The dialect spoken by the natives at Sydney not only differs entirely from that left us by Captain Cook of the people with whom he had intercourse to the northward (about Endeavour river) but also from that spoken by those natives who lived at Port Stephens, and to the southward of Botany Bay (about Adventure Bay), as well as on the banks of the Hawkesbury. We often heard, that people from the northward had been met with, who could not be exactly understood by our friends; but this is not so wonderful as that people living at the distance of only fifty or sixty miles should call the sun and moon by different names; such, however, was the fact. In an excursion to the banks of the Hawkesbury, accompanied by two Sydney natives, we first discovered this difference; but our companions conversed with the river natives without any apparent difficulty, each understanding or comprehending the other...We have often remarked a sensible difference on hearing the same word sounded by two people; and, in fact, they have been observed sometimes to differ from themselves, substituting often the letter *b* for *p*, and *g* for *c*, and *vice versa*. In their alphabet they have neither *s* nor *v*; and some of their letters would require a new character to ascertain them precisely. (Collins vol. 1, 1975:506)

Just as the colonists had difficulties speaking the Sydney Language so Aboriginal people found English difficult.

But if they sometimes put us to difficulty, many of our words were to them unutterable. The letters *s* and *v* they never could pronounce: the latter became invariably *w*, and the former mocked all their efforts, which in the instance of *Baneelon* has been noticed; and a more unfortunate defect in learning our language could not easily be pointed out. (Tench 1979:293)

The *S* is a letter which they cannot pronounce, having no sound in their language similar to it. When bidden to pronounce *sun*, they always say *tun*; *salt*, *talt*; and so of all words wherein it occurs. (Tench 1979:189)

As cross-cultural contact increased, the colonists developed a more extensive, sophisticated and complex understanding of the Sydney Language. Their methods of eliciting linguistic information from Aboriginal people also became more sophisticated and initial misunderstandings were rectified.

How easily people, unused to speak the same language, mistake each other, every one knows.—We had lived almost three years at Port Jackson (for more than half of which period, natives had resided with us) before we knew that the word *Bée-al*, signified no, and not good, in which latter sense, we had always used it, without suspecting that we were wrong; and even without being corrected by those with whom we talked daily. The cause of our error was this.—The epithet *Wee-ree*, signifying bad, we knew; and as the use of this word, and its opposite, afford the most simple form of denoting consent, or disapprobation, to uninstructed Indians, in order to find out their word for good, when *Arabanoo* was first brought among us, we used jokingly to say, that any thing, which he liked, was *Weeree*, in order to provoke him to tell us that it was good. When we said *Weeree*, he answered *Beal*, which we translated, and adopted for good; whereas he meant no more than simply

to deny our inference, and say, no—it is not bad.—After this, it cannot be thought extraordinary, that the little vocabulary, inserted in Mr. Cooke's account of this part of the world, should appear defective; even were we not to take in the great probability of the dialects at Endeavour river, and Van Dieman's land, differing from that spoken at Port Jackson. And it remains to be proved, that the animal, called here Pat-a-ga-ram, is not there called Kangaroo. (Tench 1979:231)

In spite of their small successes in learning the Sydney Language, the colonists, however, remained aware of the limitations of their linguistic investigations.

In giving an account of an unwritten language many difficulties occur. For things cognizable by the external senses, names may be easily procured; but not so for those which depend on action, or address themselves only to the mind: for instance, a spear was an object both visible and tangible, and a name for it was easily obtained; but the use of it went through a number of variations and inflexions, which it was extremely difficult to ascertain; indeed I never could, with any degree of certainty, fix the infinitive mood of any one of their verbs. ...What follows is offered only as a specimen, not as a perfect vocabulary of their language. (Collins vol. 1, 1975:506) (Collins vol. 1, 1975:506)

While the colonists were interrogating Aboriginal people about their culture and environment, Aboriginal people were investigating the world of the colonists. The colonists borrowed many words from the Sydney Language to describe the natural world of the Sydney region and the cultural and material artefacts of the Aboriginal people. However, although Aboriginal people borrowed a few words from English, they preferred to coin new words in their own language to describe the colonists and their artefacts.

Their translation of our words into their language is always apposite, comprehensive, and drawn from images familiar to them: a gun, for instance, they call Godroobeera, that is—a stick of fire.—Sometimes also, by a licence of language, they call those who carry guns by the same name. But the appellation by which they generally distinguished us was that of Bèreewolgal, meaning—men come from afar. (Tench 1979:292)

The first time Colbee saw a monkey, he called *Wir-ra* (a rat); but on examining its paws, he exclaimed, with astonishment and affright, *Mùl-la* (a man). (Tench 1979:270)

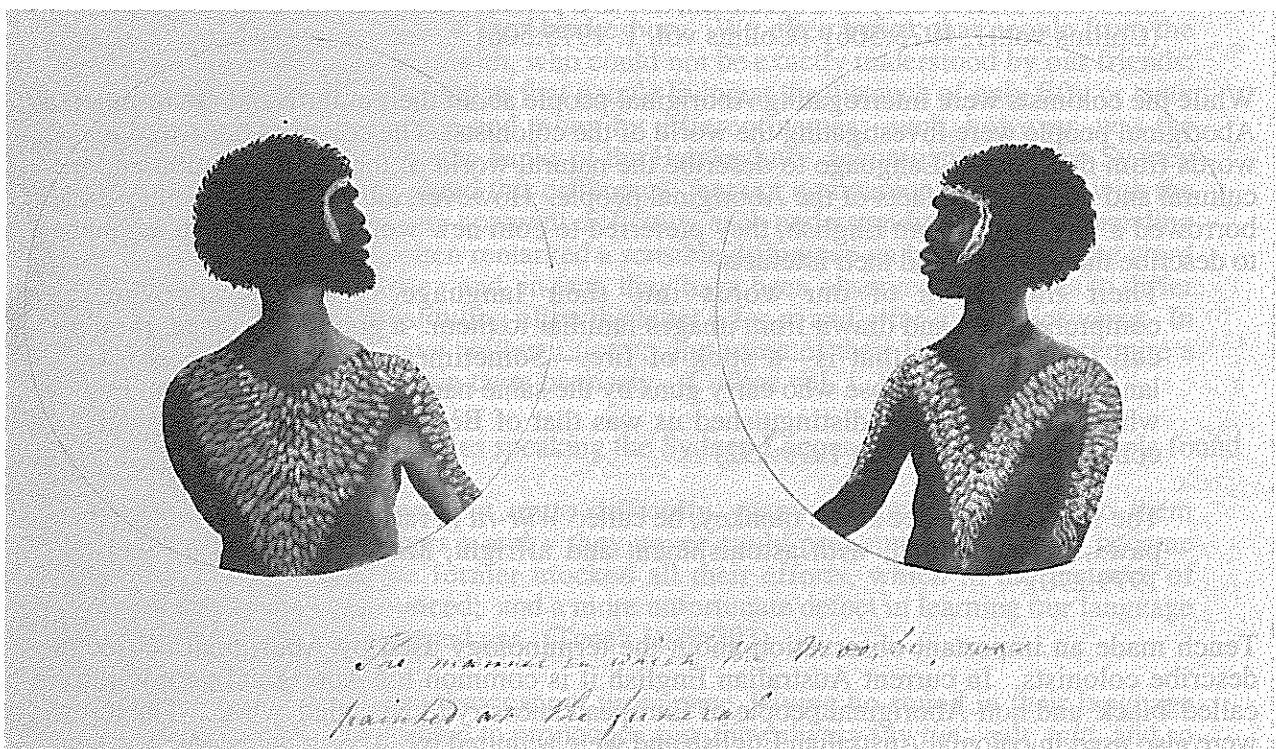
Tench made an important observation about the terminology used by Aboriginal people to describe colonists. In current Australian English it is common for Aboriginal people to be called 'black' and non-Aboriginal people of European ancestry to be called 'white'. The terms were also used in colonial Australian English and were acquired by Aboriginal people but with a different interpretation.

It may be remarked, that they translate the epithet white, when they speak of us, not by the name which they assign to this white earth [white ochre]; but by that with which they distinguish the palms of their hands. (Tench 1979:278)

It is evident that the colonists made considerable progress in learning the Sydney Language in the early years of settlement. However, the developing contact language, New South Wales Pidgin, gradually became the lingua franca used between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in the settlement. By 1796, the contact language was even used by officers, such as David Collins, who had been studying the Sydney Language diligently.

By slow degrees we began mutually to be pleased with, and to understand each other. Language, indeed, is out of the question; for at the time of writing this (September 1796) nothing but a barbarous mixture of English with the Port Jackson dialect is spoken by either party; and it must be added, that even in this the natives have the advantage, comprehending with much greater aptness than we can pretend to, every thing they hear us say. From a pretty close observation, however, assisted by the use of the barbarous dialect just mentioned, the following particulars respecting the natives of New South Wales have been collected. (Collins vol. 1, 1975:451)

The Sydney Language is rarely mentioned by any writers other than officers of the First Fleet. It is very likely that given a choice between using the more easily acquired New South Wales Pidgin or the complex Sydney Language colonists chose the easy option. No researcher turned their attention to the Sydney Language again until the late nineteenth century when the language is likely to have been functionally dead.



The manner in which the Moo-bi was painted at the funeral.
ca 1790
gouache drawing 24.2 x 30 cm
Rex Nan Kivell Collection NK144/A, National Library of Australia
(with permission from the National Library of Australia)

DESCRIPTION OF THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE

The sound system

When analysing a language it is normal to discuss its phonology or sound system. Phonological analysis requires at least some access to the spoken language and this is not available for the Sydney Language. In the case of the Sydney Language I can only discuss orthography or the ways in which people have written down the language and propose a hypothetical sound system. The tables below suggest the sound system of the Sydney language and are based on:-

1. William Dawes' orthographic table (Dawes b).
2. Comments by eighteenth and nineteenth century recorders of the language.
3. Eades phonological analysis of Dharawal and Dhurga (1976).
4. Published summaries of typical Aboriginal phonological systems.

Consonants

	labial	apical		laminal		dorsal
		alveolar	retroflex	dental	palatal	velar
stop	b/p	d/t		dh	dy/dj/tj	g/k
nasal	m	n		nh	ny	ng
lateral		l			ly	
rhotic		rr	r			
glide					y	w

Vowels

	front	mid	back
high	i		u
low		a	

Orthography

In this book I use the hypothetical phonetic inventory, tabled above, as a practical reference orthography for the Sydney Language. I have done so in an attempt to overcome orthographic variation in the sources and provide standardised reference forms for the data. Grammatical analysis of the language would be very difficult without a means for standardising the data. The reference forms are phonetic rather than phonemic spellings because, as noted above, phonemic analysis is tenuous in the absence of any modern descriptions of the language, taped material or speakers who use the language in full. The forms are also a suggested guide to pronunciation.

In producing the reference forms I have made several regular changes to the orthographies used by the authors of the eighteenth century manuscripts:-

1. Sydney Language words in the manuscripts frequently have initial and medial unvoiced consonants *k*, *t* and *p*. However, it is well known that in Australian languages only final consonants are unvoiced. Therefore, I have changed all initial and medial unvoiced consonants in the data to their voiced forms *g*, *d* and *b*.
2. Where *rr* occurs I assume that a trill rather than a flap was intended. Contrary evidence such as an alternative spelling of *rd* for *rr* is taken into consideration. There is a minimal pair which suggests that the *r/rr* distinction was phonemic. **Dara** 'teeth' was written *da-rah*, *dar-ra* and **darra** 'thigh' was written *dar-rah* with 'both the *r* pronounced' (Anon 1790-91). Further evidence for phonemic *rr* are items such as 'short' **darrbi** *tárrsbi* (Dawes b), *tyárrsbi* (Dawes b) in which *s* following *rr* suggests a trilled rhotic.
3. In the anonymous eighteenth century manuscript *gn* occurs regularly and corresponds in one case with *ng* in Dawes' manuscripts (Dawes b), i.e. *ḡána* (Dawes b), *ḡnā-nā* (Anon 1790-1) 'black'. Therefore, in the reference forms *gn* is replaced with *ng*.
4. Dawes is not consistent in following his own orthographic table (discussed below). In some cases he provided conflicting forms for a given item. In those cases I have taken the spelling which is predictable in terms of standard English orthography. For example, he gave two spellings for the word meaning 'day' *kamarú* and *kamará* (Dawes b). The variation *u* and *a* suggests that Dawes in this case gave *u* the value 'low front vowel' rather than high back as he has claimed in his table. Therefore, I have represented the word as **gamara**.
6. Dawes' *dt* I have taken as evidence for *dj*.

All the sources of information about the Sydney language use a five vowel system 'a, e, i, o, u'. It is unusual for Aboriginal languages to have phonemic *o* and *e*. Eades determined that the neighbouring languages Dhurga and Dharrawal contained only the usual Australian three vowels 'a, i, u' (Eades 1976:24). Therefore, it is likely that the Sydney Language also had three phonemic vowels. Several points must be made about the evidence for vowels:-

1. In the absence of any oral evidence, it is impossible to be sure whether or not the phonetic variants *e* and *o* used in the sources existed and what sound they represented exactly. Therefore, *a* has been substituted where the sources use *e* and *u* has been substituted where they use *o*.
2. Dawes used orthographic 'a, aa, 'a, á, e, ù' to represent variations of phonemic *a*. However, his notes do not provide enough information to justify distinguishing the sounds, even the vowel length distinction suggested by *aa*.
3. Dawes clearly distinguished phonemic *u* by representing it either by *oo* or *u*. He used the symbol *u* elsewhere but only with an overdot which, according to his orthographic table, gave the symbol the value *a*.
4. Some of the sources indicated that the language had long vowels, for example the verb **na-** 'to see' is transcribed by Dawes as *naa*. However, in the absence of any oral evidence for the language it is difficult to know which vowels were long. Therefore, I have not used long vowels in the reference forms. Interested readers can make their own decisions about which vowels might have been lengthened from the source citations.
5. There is evidence in the data from several sources for a phonetic diphthong *ai*. For example, Watkin Tench wrote:- 'not only their combinations, but some of their simple sounds, were difficult of pronunciation to mouths purely English: diphthongs often occur: one of the most common is that of a e, or perhaps, a i, pronounced not unlike those letters in the French verb *haïr*, to hate' (Tench 1799:292-3). Daniel Southwell also provided evidence for the diphthong *ai* in his comment on the pronunciation of **damulay** 'namesake' which he gave as 'to change names in token of

friendship...D'āmō-lī (Sth), as if D'ā-mōligh' (Southwell 1788:699). William Dawes wrote 'Ni (as nigh)' (Dawes a). I have represented this in the data with 'ay'.

Eighteenth Century Orthographies

The orthographic conventions used in the anonymous eighteenth century manuscript (Anon 1790-91) are inconsistent with those used by Dawes. The anonymous sources did not provide a guide to their orthographies. I have assumed that they based their transcriptions of the Sydney Language on the orthographic conventions in use amongst people literate in English in the late eighteenth century. The authors used only one diacritic in the manuscript and that was a macron. They use the macron with no explanation of its intended meaning.

William Dawes devised an orthographic table that he followed for his own transcriptions of the Sydney Language (Dawes b). I have reproduced that table below. The font I used (a modified version of Phonetic Times) was not able to accommodate three idiosyncracies of Dawes' system:-

1. Dawes used a symbol similar to the International Phonetic Alphabet symbol η . However, Dawes' version is cursive *g* with cursive *n* superimposed over it. I have used η to represent his symbol.
2. Dawes placed a breve over the centre of *ee*. However, the closest representation of that form I could make was to reproduce it as *ěe*.
3. Dawes placed a continuous line over terminal *-ng* (as in 'sing' and 'king'), which is here reproduced with a macron over each letter—*nīg*.

William Dawes' orthographic table

Letter	Name	Sound	as in the english sic words
á	aw	aw	all call
à	a	a	at am an
b	be	b	
d	de	d	
e	e	e	ell empty
f			
g	gay	g hard	good gum
h			
ı	ěe	ěe	in it ill
i	ái	ái	I ivy ire
k	ka	k	
l	el	l	
m	em	m	
n	en	n	
η	eng	ng	sīng kīng
o	o	o	open over
p	pe	p	p
r	er	r	
s	es	s	
t	te	t	
u	oo	oo	cool fool
ù		u	un- under
z			

It is impossible to be sure of the exact sounds Dawes intended to represent with the orthography he devised. He clearly used the English spelling system modified with diacritics and one additional phonetic symbol which is similar to η . Dawes' use of η is not surprising as n with a tail like g was used to represent a 'voiced velar nasal' as early as the mid-late seventeenth century (Pullum and Ladusaw 1986:104). Of the diacritics he used, the acute accent was in use in England as early as the sixteenth century while breve and over, under or side dots were in use by the mid eighteenth century. However, macron was a nineteenth century symbol (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

In interpreting his orthography, it is useful to know that Dawes was from Portsmouth and probably spoke a dialect of south-eastern English. The dialects of his home were most akin to what is known as 'standard English' or 'received pronunciation' the educated variety of London (Russ in Bailey and Görlach 1982:39). Dawes' middle class, well-educated background also suggests that his English was very close to standard English. Furthermore, the standard English of eighteenth century England is very close to modern standard English (Russ in Bailey and Görlach 1982:24-28). Some well-documented changes have taken place and they can be taken into consideration in assessing Dawes' orthography. Dawes, for example, may have had a post-vocalic r as part of his repertoire as it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that 'nonrhotic pronunciations began to appear in prestige varieties' (Russ in Bailey and Görlach 1982:25). It is reasonable to suggest that the sounds Dawes intended by his orthography were based on his own speech and its similarity to modern standard English allows confident guesses about the nature of those sounds.

Dawes only used diacritics to modify vowels. Two vowels, a and u , are modified with overdots. The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that the dot is 'a point placed over, under, or by a letter or figure to modify its value' and was in use as early as 1740. It is likely that Dawes intended overdot to indicate centrality because the examples he provided suggest that point of articulation. The first symbol marked with an overdot is \acute{a} which he wrote sounded like 'aw as in all, call', suggesting a low central rounded vowel. The second symbol marked with overdot is \ddot{u} which he wrote sounded like 'u as in un-, under', suggesting a low central unrounded vowel. It is not clear what Dawes intended in his use of an initial side dot, i.e. $\cdot a$, but his examples of pronunciation of the vowel 'at, am, an' suggest a low front vowel. Therefore, the initial side dot may indicate fronting.

In Dawes' table, breve is used once to modify \acute{e} which is the sound assigned to his symbol ι pronounced as 'i in in, it, ill' and suggesting a high front vowel. The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes as early as 1751 breve was used to indicate 'a short syllable'. Therefore, it is likely that Dawes used the breve to indicate that ee represented a single short vowel.

There is evidence that Dawes made a switch in his orthographic representation of high front vowel 'i'. In his table he indicates the sound is represented by 't', however, he often crossed out 'ee' and replaced it with 'i' which would suggest that he also used a normal 'i' to represent the vowel.

Dawes also used breve over u but without explanation (Dawes b). In the anonymous manuscript (Anon 1790-91) the authors used breve to modify a and e . The intention of the authors might have been to indicate a short vowel as it seems to have done in the Dawes manuscripts.

In his table Dawes used an acute accent once in explaining the pronunciation of the diphthong ai . He used the letter i to represent the diphthong ai which he wrote sounded like ' $\acute{a}i$ in \acute{I} , ivy, ire'. The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that accent marks indicate 'the nature and position of a spoken accent in a word' and that as early as 1596 acute was used in English 'to show that -ed is pronounced'. It is likely that the diphthong Dawes intended was the common English form ai . Within Dawes' manuscripts it is also difficult to distinguish the two symbols i and ι because Dawes wrote in a cursive script, often accented i and generally capitalised the initial letter of the words in his vocabulary. Dawes used acute accents over all the vowels and the semi-vowel y , but only ever accented one syllable of a word. His usage suggests that he used acute to indicate stress.

Dawes used a macron throughout his manuscripts although he gave no example of its use in his orthographic table. He used macron over *o*, *a*, *i* and *u* and may have intended it to indicate length, but without an explanation his intention is unclear.

Dawes also used a slur beneath strings of vowel symbols probably to indicate they were pronounced together. I have used underlining to reproduce his notation. For example, 'Baou, bow, or bo :The termination of the future tense of verbs' (Dawes a).

Phonotactics

The sources provided some comment on phonotactics:-

1. 'Bárinmunīn Because I had no barin. Note. If Barrin had not ended with an *n* it would have been bunīn instead of munīn' (Dawes b). Analysis of the verbal morphology of the language provides further evidence for the transformation of *b* to *m* following *n*.
2. 'Thigh...dar-rah (both the *r* pronounced)' (Anon 1790-91) which suggests a distinction between flapped *r* and trilled *r*.
3. 'Gong-ye-ra (the *a* as in father) in the House' (Anon 1790-91).
4. 'The letter *y* frequently follows *d* in the same syllable: thus the word which signifies a woman is Dyin; although the structure of our language requires us to spell it Dee-in' (Tench 1979:292-3).

Items in the manuscripts occasionally have initial vowels. Australian languages do not usually have initial vowels. However, some Australian languages have lost the initial consonant or even a syllable on particular words (Dixon and Blake 1991:14-15). Therefore, it may be that some Sydney words were affected by the 'initial dropping' phenomena.

In some cases there is evidence for lenition which is a weakening of a sound. For example, the word **yura** 'people' is usually written with an initial vowel *i* as for example *iyora* (Dawes a, b). However in one case the word is written with initial *t*—*tora*. The Sydney Language word **yura** may be a lenited form of **djura**. Similarly, the place now called Bennelong's Point was called **djubuguli** in the Sydney Language, but spelt *tubow:gule*, *jubughalee* and *inbughalee* (Brodsky 1973:55). The evidence suggests that in some cases initial *i* is actually *y*, a lenited form of *j/dy/dj*.

Grammatical notes

The purpose of this section is just to provide some comment on the grammar of the Sydney Language. A comprehensive account of the grammar is beyond the scope or intention of this book.

The Sydney Language is similar to other south-eastern Pama-Nyungan languages. Linguists have classified the languages of the mid-north to the far south coast of New South Wales into the Yuin-Kuric group (Yallop 1982:51).

The Sydney Language is 'agglutinative' meaning that root words in the language take 'affixes' or have things added to them which modify the words and the sentences in which they are used. In the case of the Sydney Language the affixes are always 'suffixes' that is things added at the end of a root word. Words can take several suffixes depending on what the person speaking wants to say. For example, the suffixes can tell you who did what to whom and when. Many of the suffixes on both verbs and nominals are difficult to analyse with the limited data available.

The data contain clear evidence for some nominal case suffixes—dative **-gu** (1), genitive **-gay** (2) and ablative **-in** (3, 4). William Dawes commented on the ablative case—'Burudīn from Búrudu a flea or louse and īn a sign of the ablative case' (Dawes b).

- (1) *Mnytn túnga? Why does she cry? ṅabáṅo. For the breast. (answer)* (Dawes b)
minyīn dūnga ṅaba-ṅu
 why cry breast-DAT
- (2) *Benelongi 'Benelong's'* (Dawes b)
Banlung-gay
 Benelong-GEN
- (3) *burudīn* (Dawes b)
burud-in
 flea-ABL
- (4) *kandūlīn 'because of the candle'* (Dawes b)
gandal-in
 candle-ABL

The data contain evidence for an associative suffix **-birung** (5, 6, 7) and its allophonic variant **-mirung** (8). The eighteenth century sources considered **-birung** to be a free form and translated it as 'belong, belonging to' (Dawes b; Anon 1790-92). 'Belonging to' in English of the time had an associative function. For example, Arthur Phillip (1968:48-49) wrote 'the men belonging to the boats' meaning 'the men from the boats'.

- (5) *ka-mi berang 'a wound from a spear'* (Dawes c)
gamai-birung
 spear-ASSOC
- (6) *cab-ber-ra birrong 'belongs to the head'* (Dawes c)
gabarra-birung
 head-ASSOC
- (7) *wad-de be-rong 'a wound from a stick'* (Dawes c)
wadi-birung
 stick-ASSOC
- (8) *Gorgon mtrāṅ. To the person belonging to the Gorgon (before spoken of)* (Dawes b)
Gorgon-mirung
 Gorgon-ASSOC

A number of words in the data are suffixed with **-gal** which was probably a nominaliser. David Collins observed that names for social groupings of people were usually suffixed with **-gal**.

We have mentioned their being divided into families. Each family has a particular place of residence, from which is derived its distinguishing name. This is formed by adding the monosyllable Gal to the name of the place: thus the southern shore of Botany Bay is called Gwea, and the people who inhabit it style themselves Gweagal. Those who live on the north shore of Port Jackson are called Cam-mer-ray-gal, that part of the harbour being distinguished from othes by the name of Cam-er-ray. (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:453)

Pronouns in the Sydney Language are both free and bound. However, there are only a few which are obvious. The first person singular free form is **ngaya** 'I' (9, 11) and the second person singular free form is **ngyini** 'you' (10, 11).

- (9) *Ngía Ní (as nigh). I see or look.* (Dawes a)
 Ngia (1) n'y (2). I (1) do see (2). (Dawes a)
ngaya naye
 1S see

- (10) *Mr. Dawes ngyínt piaba? Mr. Dawes will you speak? (Dawes b)*
Midja **Dawa** **ngyini** **baya-ba**
 Mister Dawes 2S speak-FUT

William Dawes included some free pronouns on his wordlist (Dawes b). They are (reference forms followed by quote from Dawes)—**winya** 'I' (*winya I*); **ngyini** 'you singular' (*ngiéenee you singular*); **minga** 'you plural' (*minga you*); **ngalari** 'we dual' (*ngalāri we two*) and **ngalu** 'we dual' (*ngālu we two only*) which seem to have an inclusive and exclusive distinction although which is which is unclear; **ngyinari** 'we trial' (*ngyinari we three*) and **nyalu** 'we trial' (*nyéllu we three only*) which again seem to have an inclusive and exclusive distinction.

The following quote demonstrates Dawes' attempts to investigate pronouns.

On saying to the two girls to try if they would correct me "ńńt Gonagúlye, ńia, Naṅadytṅun." Patye did correct me and said "Btal Naṅadytṅun." Patye did correct me and said "Btal Naṅadytṅun; Naṅadyńye." Hence Naṅadytṅun is dual We, and Naṅadyńye is Plural We. (Dawes b)

- (11) *ńńt Gonagúlye, ńia, Naṅadyńye (Dawes b)*
ngyini **Gunagulya** **ngaya** **nanga-dyi-niya**
 you Gungagulya 1S sleep-PAST-1PL
- (12) *naṅadytṅun (Dawes b)*
nanga-dya-ngun
 sleep-PAST-1DUAL

The bound pronouns **-niya** (11) and **-ngun** (12) may be inclusive and exclusive rather than dual and plural.

Dawes noted four possessive pronouns (Dawes b) **nanungi** (*naanóongí*) 'his or hers'; **ngyiningi** (*ngiéeneengy*) 'yours'; **daringal** (*dáringal*) 'his'; and **dani** (*dant*) 'mine'.

One of William Dawes' notebooks (Dawes a) is given over almost exclusively to verb paradigms. The paradigms contain enough comparative information to determine tense marking and some of the pronominal suffixing on verbs (see the verb paradigm below for examples).

-dya (<i>-dia, -die</i>)	past tense
-ba (<i>-ba</i>)	future tense
-ø	present tense
-wa (<i>-ou</i>)	I
-ngun (<i>-ṅun, -ngoon</i>)	we
-mi (<i>-mí, -mi</i>)	you (singular)
-niya (<i>-níé</i>)	you (plural)
-nga (<i>-ṅa</i>), -ban (<i>-ban</i>)	he, she, it
-wawi (<i>-quí</i>)	they
-la	imperative

Dawes made some direct comment on verbs:-

Diéemí 2d person singular the termination of the imperfect tense of verbs.
 (Dawes b)

Patáltebá He will eat. Benelong a little after the above, having observed that I ate nothing and being told by me that I was going on board the Supply repeated what I said to him, to his wife and added Patáltebá or He will eat, signifying that I was going on board to dinner. The syllable *lé* may probably signify there and then the english will be, "He will eat there" otherwise it is an irregularity in the conjugation.
 (Dawes a)

Two of his comments suggest a possible 'commissive' suffix **-dara**:-

Bangadārabáóu 1st singular...dāra...seems to me to be peculiarly used when it is spoken as of rowing *to a certain place to bring another back with you*. (Dawes b)

Speaking of Booroong. We think it relates to bringing Booroong to Dāra. In which case it appears that they, put words sometimes between the root and the termination. They were not speaking of Dāra, for since, I have heard them repeat dāra in the same word when I think they could not refer to that place. It seems to me to be peculiarly use when it is spoken as of rowing to a certain place to bring another back with you. But this is mere conjecture. (Dawes a)

Reproduced below is a typical verb paradigm from one of Dawes' notebooks (Dawes a) based on the verb **na-** 'see'. Note that he includes on his paradigm both a singular and plural form of the second person 'thou' and 'ye' respectively.

Naa	To see or look
Present	
Ngia Ní (as nigh)	I see or look
	Thou
	He
	We
	Ye
	They
Past	
Naadi <u>ó</u>	I did see or look or have seen etc.
Naadiémi	Thou
Naadiáŋa	He
Naadianun	We
	Ye
Naadiouř	They
Future	
Naaba <u>ó</u>	I will see or look
Naabámř	Thou
Naabában	He
Naabángoön	We
Naabánře	Ye
Naab <u>á</u> ouř	They
Imperative Mood	
Naalá	See thou (or see! see! look!)

To ask a question in the Sydney Language people could simply use a questioning tone of voice. They could also use an 'interrogative' or question word such as **minyín** 'why' (1). People could ask 'who' did something using the interrogative pronoun **ngana** 'who' (13).

- (13) *ŋāna ŋwtyí. Who (1) gave (2) it (to you).* (Dawes b)
ngana ngwiyi
 who give

People could say 'no' to something or make a negative statement by using the word **biyal** either at the beginning or end of a statement (14). They could also use the 'privative' suffix **-buni** (14) or its allophonic variant **-muni** (15).

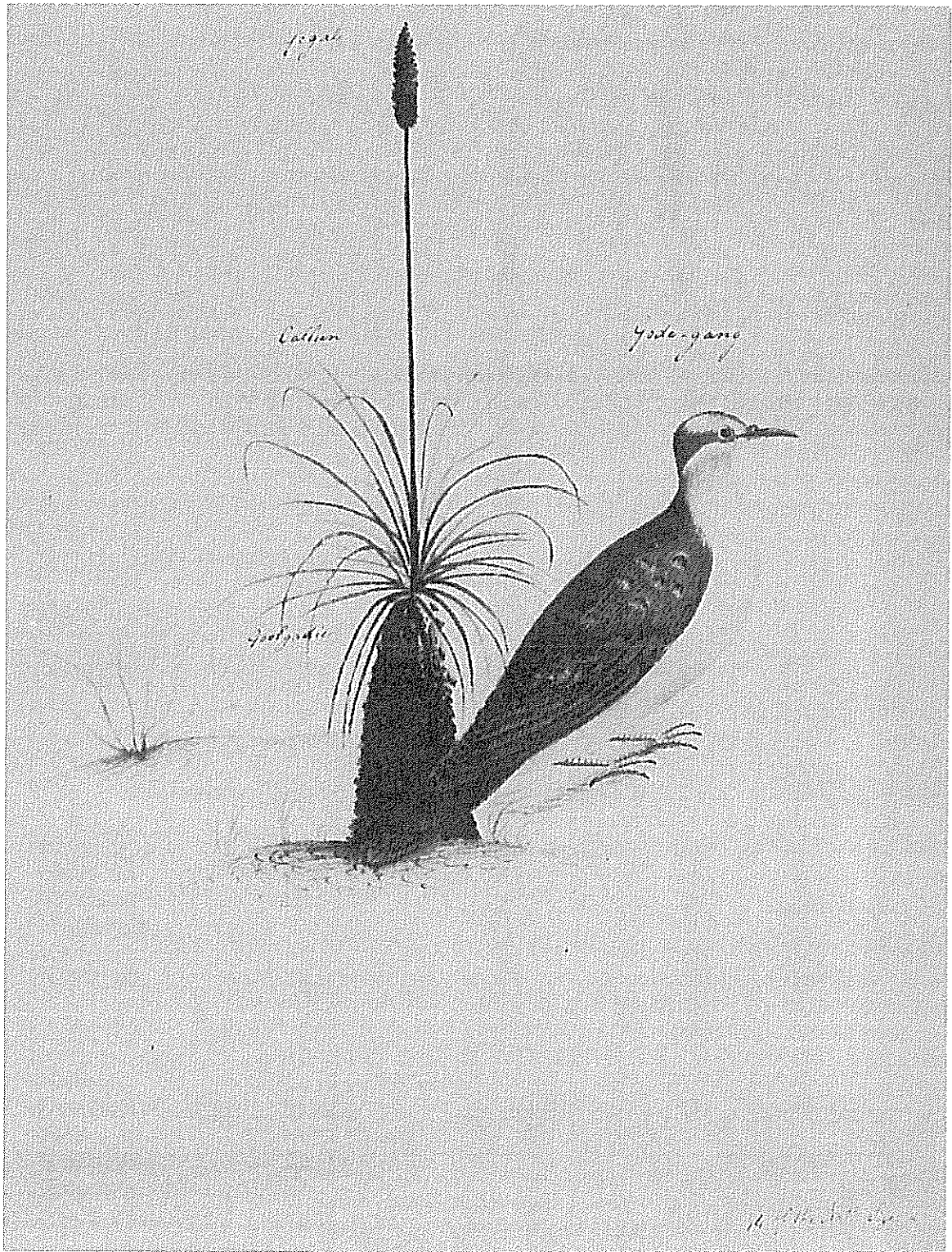
(14) *Bééal* (1) *Naaboony* (2) *béal* (3). *No* (1) *can see* (2) *no* (3) *or you cannot see* (it).

(Dawes a)

biyal na-buni biyal
PRIV see-PRIV PRIV

(15) *Yenmóonũč*. *Not go*. (Dawes a)

yan-muni
go-PRIV



John Hunter, 1737-1821
Common bronzewing *Phaps chalcoptera* and Forest grass tree *xanthorrhoea media*
between 1788 and 1790
watercolour 22.6 x 18.3 cm
Rex Nan Kivell Collection NK2039/17, National Library of Australia
(with permission from the National Library of Australia)

WORDLIST

Introduction

The following wordlist is by no means a complete list of all the words in the Sydney Language. It only contains the vocabulary which I was able to recover from the published and unpublished notes of known eighteenth and nineteenth century writers who recorded information about the Sydney Language. Future researchers may find new sources of information.

In spite of the limitations of the wordlist it is a window onto the world of the Aboriginal people of Sydney. The forms of the words and their translations also provide some insight into the problems experienced by non-Aboriginal people in their earliest attempts to acquire an Aboriginal language. Readers can observe differences of world view in the confusion over many items, particularly those connected with relationships to the natural environment.

English speaking people had difficulty in their efforts to find words for direction and time in the Sydney Language because notions of time and space in Aboriginal languages are very different to those expressed in English. For example, colonists attempted to find names for the different kinds of winds by referring to the direction of the compass points. They were foiled in their efforts because Aboriginal languages do not have an equivalent concept to the compass points. When asked to put a name on a wind coming from a particular direction Sydney Language speakers responded with words which expressed the qualities of the winds such as 'stinking' or a place in the path of the wind such as 'an island'. Many other examples of obvious non-equivalence between English and the Sydney Language can be found on the wordlist. Each of the linguistic contrasts highlights a cultural difference. The wordlist also contains a few items borrowed into the Sydney Language from English and a larger number coined using the productive processes of the Sydney Language to describe the colonists and their artefacts.

Bolded items are reference forms written using a modern orthography (discussed above). The reference forms are only suggested pronunciations and are not intended to be accurate. The unbolded Sydney Language items on the wordlist are direct citation forms from the original sources. A reference to the source for each citation is given in abbreviated form (refer to the key below) in brackets beside the word.

Where they are clearly identifiable, I have listed verbs and nominals in their stem forms leaving the grammatical comments above to suggest possible suffixing. However, suffixes are not always clearly identifiable and many words are listed with their suffixes still attached. Many of the verbs are verbalised nominals. Where possible, I have suggested translations for compounds or suffixes in brackets beside the bolded reference form for the word.

Key to abbreviations on the wordlist

- (a) and (b) William Dawes (Dawes 1790-92 a and b)
- (c) Anon [Arthur Phillip, John Hunter, David Collins and Phillip Gidley King] (1790-1)
- (A) a list in King's journal for which he gave as the source Collins, Phillip and Hunter (King 1968:270-274)
- (C) David Collins (1975:506-513 and elsewhere in text)
- (Cl) Ralph Clark (1981:109)
- (F) Newton Fowell (1988)
- (H) John Hunter (1968:1-117, 137-145)
- (HSB) John Hunter (1989, *The Hunter sketchbook*)
- (J) Richard Johnson (words attributed to Johnson by William Dawes on his wordlist Dawes b)
- (K) Phillip Gidley King (1968:266-276)
- (M) R.H. Mathews (1903)
- (O) Anon 'An Officer' (1789)
- (P) Arthur Phillip (1982 and 1968)

(Pa) Daniel Paine (1983:41-42)
 (R) William Ridley using as a source John Rowley (1875:103-8).
 (S) James Edward Smith (1804-5)
 (Sth) Daniel Southwell (1788)
 (T) Watkin Tench (1979:230-31, 291-93 and elsewhere in text)
 (W) Thomas Watling in Smith and Wheeler (1988)
 (Wh) John Hunter in White (1790)

Body parts and products

anus	bangading bungading (M)
arm	darang tar-rang (C), gading (A), gugu kogo (Pa), nurung nurung (M), mining minniŋ (R)
armpit	gidi-gidi gíttee gíttee (b) (W)
back	buya buya (b), buyu (M), gurrabal kurrabül (b) (J), koro-boul (Pa), gili gīli (R)
beard	yarring yar-re (c), yarre (A), yar-rin (c), yar-rin (C), yerring (A), yarring (M), yāh-rān (Sth)
blood	banarang búnnerung (b), pan-ne-ra (c) (A), pan-ner-rong (c), ba-na-rang (A), mala mula mula (M), mūla (R)
boil	burgaya burgía (a) (W), buga bükā (R)
bone	dyara diera (A), jara (M)
bosom	marbal mor-bal (Sth), maar-bul (Sth), mor-bou (Sth)
breast	warra war-ra (A)
breasts or nipples	nabang ṅabāŋ (b) nā-bung (c), na-bung (C), nabanq (A), nipan (Cl) ngubbung (M), nābuŋ (R)
buttocks	bung bong (posteriors) (b), boong (T), bong (Sth), bong-boo-ro-no-tong (backside) (c)
cheek	birra bir-ra (A)
chin	walu wáulo (b), wal-lo (c), wal-lo (C), wallo (A), wā-loo (Sth)
ear	guri gurī (b), gorey (c), go-ray (c), go-ray (C), gorey (P), gorai (A), goo-reè (T), go-reé (Sth), kuri (M), kurra (R)
elbow	yuna o-nur (C), oōna (A)
erection	wadhuk wathuk (M)
excrement	guni kuni (M), gunin gonin (guni 'excrement' -in 'from') (T)
eye	may mi (b) (c) (C) (P) (A), my (c), mai (c), mia (P), mi (Sth), mai (R), mibberai (M)

eyebrow	yaynarri yínort (b), yin-ner-rĩ (c), yin-ner-ry (C), wanari wan-aree (A), ngarran n̄árũn (b), nar-ran (Sth)
eyelash	marin márĩn (b), yanada e-nă-dă (Sth), yé-nă-dă (Sth)
fat (human)	bugay bog-gay (c), bog-gay (C), pog-gay (C), guray kurai (M)
fingernail	garungan karúngan (b), kă-rung-ān (Sth)
fingers	barila barril (a) be-rille (c), ber-ril-le (C), berille (A), berril (R), beril (A), marra m̄ĩrà (b)
flank	bining binning (M)
flesh or lean (human)	badyal pa-di-el (C), djarra djarra jarra jarra (M)
fly-blown	dyulibirung (dyulibang 'maggot, -birung from) tullibilon (R)
foot or the feet	manuwi manaúuwĩ (b), man-noe (c), ma-no-e (C), me-noe-wa (A), menoe (A), duna dunna (M), tunna (R)
fore-finger	darragali dar-ra-gal-lie (C)
forehead	ngulun n̄ũlu (b), gnul-lon (C), nul-la (A), n̄ũ-lo (T), ngurran (M), gobina kobbĩna (R)
grey-headed (also old)	warungat warungat (M)
gut	garrama carra-mah (A)
hair (pubic)	nguruguri nguruguri (M)
hair (reddish or thick matted)	garrin karrĩn (b)
hair (woman's)	wuwa wóe (b)
hair	djiwarra dteéwara (b), devar-ra (c), de-war-rā (c), de-war-ra (C), diwarra (A), deè-war-a (T), duwarra (Pa)
hair of the head	gidan gittan (M)
hair of the head matted with gum	gunat goonat (W), ko-nutt (Sth), ko-nut (Sth)
hand	damara tamera (c), tam-mir-ra (C), tamira (A), da-ma-na (A), tomara (Pa), dhummar (M), warawi war-re-wee (c), baril (barril 'finger') buril (R)
head (hind head)	guru kúru (b)
head (top head)	gamura kamurá (b)
head	gabara kúbbera (b), kubbúra (b), kúbera (b), cabera (c), că-běr-ră (c), ca-ber-ra (C), caberra (A), cobera (Pa), kobbara (M)
heart	butbut boot boot (A)
hiccough	naganyi nakũnyĩ (b)

hoarseness	gurak kūrak (R)
itch	gaybal gaibāl (R)
joint	madudji medogy (c)
kidney	bulbul bulbul (b) (J)
knee	bunang būnūŋ (b), guruk go-rook (C), gor-rook (A), kuruk (M)
leg	darra dar-ra (C), tarra (A), tera (Pa), bining bin-ning (A), mandawi (manawi 'foot'; -nd- suggests inland dialect) mandao-i (R)
lips	wiling weeling (b), willin (c), wil-ling (c), wil-ling (C), willin (A), wee-lang (A), weling (Pa), willin (M), dalin dā-lin (Sth)
little finger	wilingali wel-leng-al-lie (C)
liver	naga naga (A)
marrow	bimina pea-mine (c)
matter in a sore	nuwa now-wa (c)
middle finger or ring finger	barugali ba-roo-gal-lie (C)
milk	murdin mur-tin (djīn 'woman') (A)
mosquito bite	dura dyang (dura 'mosquito') tewra dieng (c), teura-dieny (A)
mouth	garaga káraga (b), kar-ga (c), garriga (c), kar-gā (C), kalga (A), keraka (Pa), walan whālān (Sth), mundu mundu (M), midya midyea (R)
muscle	gurun go-roon (A)
nails	garungin car-rung-im (C), corungun (A), garungali car-rung-gle (c)
navel	munuru mūnuru (b), nan-a-ro (A), mūn-ee-ro (T), moon-ōr-ōh (Sth)
neck	gadlyang cad-le-ang (C), cad-le-ar (C), cad-lwar (A), col-liang (A), cāl-ang (T), gungga kungga (M)
nose	nuga nogur (c), nogur (A), nuga (M), no-gro (C), nogra (R), nō-gǎ-ra (Sth), no-gūr-ro (c), no-gur-ro (C)
paunch	gumama kumema (M)
penis	gadja ga-dia (c), ga-dia (P), ga-dyé (Sth), windji winji (M)
ribs	biba bib-be (C) (A)
rump	gurba kurpa (M)
scar on the back	wirung weroong (c), wir-roong (C)

scars on the breast	gungarray cong-ar-ray (C)
shoulder	djarrung dtárrung (b), tarong (A)
skin	barrangal barrangal (b) (J), bagi baggy (A)
smallpox-like disease	galgala gal-galla (c), gall gall (A), gulgul (R), midyung (also 'sore') mittayon (CI)
snot	nagarang nágarũŋ (b)
sore (also 'torn')	midyung me-di-ong (c), me-diong (C), med-yanq (A), gigi gīgi (R)
stomach ache	garramanyi (garrama 'gut') karamánye (b)
stomach or belly	barrang beráng (b), ba-rong (c), bar-rong (c), bar-rong (C), barrong (A), bar-an`g (T), bindhi bindhi (M), bindi (R)
sweat (also 'to sweat')	yuruga yu-ru-ca (c), e-roo-ka (A), en-rie-gõ (Sth), eu-ré-go (Sth)
swollen wrist	marri garadyara (marri 'very', garadyi 'doctor') murray-cara-diera (A)
tears	migal me-gal (A)
teeth	dara da-rah (c), dar-ra (c), da-ra (C), dara (A), ta-ra (A), d'tar-ra (Sth) terra (R), yira yira (M)
testicle	bura bōra (b), booroow (A), garawu karau (M)
thigh	darra (darra 'leg') dar-rah (c), tàr-a (K), dhurra (M)
throat	barangal par-rangle (A)
thumb	wiyumanu wy-o-man-no (C), wiyangara wī-an-gǎ-rǎ (Sth)
tongue	dalang tal-lang (c), tal-lang (C), talling (A), ta-lang (A)
urine	yilabil (yilabi- 'urinate') yillabil (M)
vein	barangal (barangal 'vein') ba-rongle (C), giyang kī-ang (Sth)
venereal disease	gubarung goo-bah-rong (C), midjung (M)
vulva	gumirri (also means 'hole') go-mer-ry (c), mandura mandura (M)
wart	dyanang dtanũŋ (b)
woman's milk	murubin moo-roo-bin (C)
wound from a stick	wadibarang (wadi 'stick', -birung 'from') wad-de be-rong (c)
wound made by a spear	gamaybirung (gamay 'spear', -birung 'from') ka-my-berong (c)

Human classification

Aboriginal person	balagaman black men (b)
boy	wungarra wongera (c), won-gēr-ra (c), wong-er-ra (C), wong-ara (A), oongra (Pa), woong-ǎ-rǎ (Sth), wongerra (R), wuṅara (R), wungar (M)
child carried on the shoulders	wungarra djugama (wungarra 'boy') wong-ara jug-a-me (A), wungara juguma (M)
child eight months old	buriguru bore-goo-roo (C)
child or baby	gurung go-roong (C), kurung (M), gūrōṅ (R), gūruṅ (R)
churl—one who refuses to give	damunalung (damuna 'exchange') tāmunalǎṅ (b)
doctor or a person skilled in healing wounds, clever man, sorcerer—Aboriginal people called the surgeons of the colonists by this name	garadyigan karádigán (b), car-rah-de-gan (c), car-ra-dy-gan (P), car-rah-dy (c), cár-ad-yee (T), karrāji (R), gurung kurung (M)
female	wiring wering (A), wiring (old woman) (M)
fisherman	mani (also 'ghost') mah-ni (C)
fisherwoman	man (also 'ghost') māhn (C)
ghost, apparition or spirit of the deceased, also an apparition connected with the sky which comes to people making a strange noise and catches them by the throat	man ma-hn (C), mawn (A), mawn (T), mani manè (K), buyi (also 'dead') bō-ye (A)
girl	waruwi werówee (b), we-row-ey (C), werōwi (R), wirāwi (woman) (R), waruwi dyin (dyin 'woman') werowey din (c), guring goor-ing (A), durungaling durungaling (M)
infant at the breast	nabunggay widalyi (nabung 'breast', -gay 'have', wida 'drink') na-bung-ay wui-dal-liez (C)
man	mula mulla (c), mu-lā (C), mulla (A) (Sth), mùl-la (T), maula (Pa), mulabu mulla-bo (all men) (c), dhulay dhulli (M), dhullai (M), dullai (Aboriginal man) (R)
name	giyara kíara (b), chiara (c), chi-a-ra (C), nandi nanti (R)
non-Aboriginal person	wadyiman whiteman (b), djaraba dje-rab-ber (also 'musket' Aboriginal people frequently called the colonists by the name they gave the musket) (b), djibagalung jibagūluṅ (R), barawalgal (barawal 'very far') be-re-wal-gal (c)
old person in bad condition	yarabundi harabundi (M)
old man	gayanayung guy-a-nay-yong (C), kaianyung (M)

old woman	dyinuragang dyunoragáŋ (b)
people or Aboriginal people	yura eóra (b), eóra (b), eo-ra (c), e-ō-rāh (c), eeōra (b), eo-rā (C), eo-ra (A), yo-ra (A)
rascal	wawura waúra (b)
stranger (word has reference to sight, C)	mayal (may 'eye') mi-yal (C), mai-āl (R)
spirit or a D.D. body	gumada goo-me-dah (c)
union between the sexes	nganaba gna-ne-ba (c)
woman	dyin deeyin (b), din (c), din (C) (A), dee-in (T), gin (Pa), dyin (M), din (Cl)
women	dyinalyung ge-nail-lon (c), dinallion (c), din aillon (A), din-al-le-ong (C), gin-al-le-ong (C)
young man	guragalung goragallong (c), go-rah-gal-long ('handsome man') (C), guyung guy-ong (c)
young women	guragalunggalyung garagallong-alleong (c), go-rah-gal-long-al-le-ong (a handsome woman) (C)

Kin terms

ally, friend in battle	ngalaya ngállĩa (b)
brother	babana bābāñă (b), babunna (c), ba-bun-na (C), babunna (K), babuna (Pa), baa-bā-na (Sth), bār-ba-na (Sth), bobbina (R), bobina (R), gumal coo-mal (Sth)
brother-in-law	djambi jambi (R)
daughter	durunanang do-roon-e-nāng (C)
degree of relationship	naragaying naragáŋ (b), gumul gómúl (b)
elder brother	guwalgang (guwal 'senior, big'), kowalgan (b), cou-el-gon (c), gou-al-gar (c), ko-wál-gang (Sth), kowal-gāng (Sth)
elder sister	guwalgalyung (guwal 'senior, big') kowalgaliāŋ (b)
father	biyanga beeánga (b), biána (b), be-an (c), beanna (c), be-an-na (the word is shortened to <i>be-an</i> and <i>be-a</i> , and when in pain it is used as the exclamation <i>be-a-ri</i>) (C), been-èn-a (T), be-anga (A), beanga (K), bé-anga (Sth), beé-an-ga (Sth), be-āna (Sth), bianya (M), biána (R), beeangélly (b), be-yung-ulley (Sth)
friend or comrade	gamarada kamará (b), kamarāta (b), gnar-ra-mat-ta (C), mama māma (b), midjigan mittigan (R)
friendship—a term of friendship	gumal go-mul (C)
grandfather	guman go-man (C)

husband	mulamang (mula 'man') mulla (b), mulla-mang (c), mullaming (M), mollimij (R)
intermediary in battles between individuals	gabami cā-bah-my (C) A person who stands to one side and half the distance between two opposing parties armed. The person is armed with a spear which is shaken a lot and a throwing-stick but no shield. The person mediates between the parties.
mother	wiyanga wiana (b), weeana- (b), wiana (Pa), wyang (c), wy-an-na (C), wy-ang (C), wy-ang-a (c), wy-anga (A), wy-an-ga (Sth), wy-ang-a (Sth), waianya (M), waiana (R), wiaŋ (sister) (R)
mourner at a funeral— friends of the deceased who are painted red and white	mubi moobee (W), mooby (C)
mourning widow while covered with ashes and refusing food	gulang go-lahng (C)
lover or sweetheart	mugung mākūŋ (b), mau-gohn (C)
marital partner	mugungalyi (mugung 'lover') maugon-ally, mākungalt (b), mau-gohn-nal-ly (a temporary wife) (C)
namesake or a person with whom the name has been exchanged as a token of friendship	damulay (damulay 'to change names') damolai (R), damili (R), dā-mō-li (Sth), d'āmō-lī (Sth), da-me-li (name used by men) (C), da-me-li-ghen (name used by women) (C), taamoolý (b), da-me-la-bil-lie (c)
namesake of a deceased male	burang bo-rahng(C)
namesake of a deceased female	buranggalyun bo-rahng-al-le-on (C)
name given to boys who had recently undergone the ceremony of tooth evulsion to make them into men; the name was also given to the stone instrument used to remove the tooth	gibara (giba 'stone') ke-bar-ra (C)
relation—a type of relation	mudjin mud-gin (C)
relation—a type of relation	malin mālin (C)
relation—a type of relation	nurgina nurkine (C)
sister	djurumin dturūmin (b), tee-rum-min (Sth), djuguru d'toŋ-goŋ-roo (Sth), dugana tugne (Pa), mamuna mā-mun-na (c), ma-mun-na (C)
sister-in-law	djambing jambij (R)
son	durung dō-roong (c), do-roon (C), dooroow (A), dooroow (K)

wife	dyin dym (b), deeyin (b), dyinmang din-man (c), din-mang (c), dyinmang (M), jinmaj (R), danungaru tanungru (Pa)
younger brother	ngaramada (ngarang 'junior') ṅarámata (b)
younger sister	ngarangalyung (ngarang 'junior') ṅaráṅaltáṅ (b)

Language, mythology and ceremony

abortion—termination of pregnancy induced by one woman pressing on the body of a pregnant woman in a way that causes miscarriage	mibra mee-brá (C)
bora ceremony	yalabi dayalung yellābī daiāloṅ (R)
tooth evulsion ceremony—operation	yulang yirabadjang era-bad-djang (c), yoo-lahny erah-ba-diang (C) The operation of tooth evulsion in which boys have an upper left front incisor removed by a garadyi during a lengthy ritual. The purpose of the ritual was to make boys into men. This term was the one used for the whole ceremony. It is composed of yulang 'ground where the ceremony of tooth evulsion took place' and yirabadjang which contains the verb yira- 'throw' and refers to the entitlement of the newly made men to throw the spear and hunt kangaroo.
tooth evulsion ceremony—part of the ceremony	burumurung boo-roo-moo-roong (C) The part of the ceremony where the initiates are led over lines of men writhing in mock agony on the ground and past two groups of men who make grotesque faces at the boys.
tooth evulsion ceremony—ceremonial ground	yulang yoo-long (C), yoo-lahng (C) The ceremonial ground where the tooth evulsion ceremony was carried out. The place selected for the ceremony was at the head of Farm Cove, where a oval shaped space twenty seven by eighteen feet was prepared some days ahead by clearing it of grass, stumps etc.
tooth evulsion ceremony—to have the left tooth out	gurungyi biyal (biyal 'no') goo-ro gni biel (c)
ceremony to prevent people becoming thieves—the parent of a child would scorch its fingers so that it will not steal	buduway (buduway 'scorch') putuwi (b)
body decoration—putting clay on the face for decoration	magalyinyara megalliniara (c)
curative operation performed by women to cure illness in other women	biyani be-an-ny (C) One woman would sit on the ground with one of the lines worn by the men passed round her head once with the knot fixed in the centre of her forehead, the remainder of the line was taken by the sick woman who sat at a small distance from her, and with the end of it fretted her lips until they bled very copiously, it was believed the blood came from the head of the healthy

woman and flowed down the line to the sick woman who spat the blood into a small vessel beside her which was half filled with water into which she occasionally dipped the end of the line.

dream	nangamay (nanga- 'sleep', may 'eye') nángami (a), nanga-ah mi (c)
laughter	djanaba tenneba (c), jen-ni-be (C), dyennibbe (A)
laugh violently	badaya patteya ('violent laughter') (c)
woman with the two joints of the little finger of the left hand cut off	malgun mal-gun (c) Female children had the first two joints of the little finger of the left hand removed. The operation was performed by tying a cord around the second joint allowing the upper part of the finger to die and fall off. The colonists at first thought the operation was part of a marriage ceremony. However, when they saw that the operation was performed on children they were convinced they were mistaken. They were later told that the joints of the little finger were supposed to be in the way when women wound their fishing lines over the hand
music—a tune	bayumi pýomee (b)
instrumental music made by singers dancing or beating on two clubs	yabun yabbun (C), ye-ban (C), yibbun (C), yab-bun (C)
dance—name of a dance	ngaramang gnar-ra-mang (c)
body decoration—piercing of the nasal septum for the purposes of body decoration	nanung gnah-noong (C) Between the ages of eight and sixteen male and female Aboriginal people underwent an operation in which the nasal septum was bored to receive a bone or reed ornament. The colonists observed a number of people whose articulation was impaired by the process.

Human artefacts

barb of a spear	yalga yélga (b), yal-ga (c)
basket	bangala beng-al-le (C) A vessel for carrying water made of bark, drawn together at the ends and fastened with thongs. The Aboriginal people of Botany Bay thought Captain James Cook's cocked hat looked like a bangala (Samuel Bennett quoted in Bertie 1924:248).
basket—a vessel made from bark or wood for carrying things	gungun kungun (M)
basket—made from the knot of a tree	gulima goolime (W)
big ship—name given to the First Fleet ship <i>Sirius</i> by Aboriginal people	marrinuwi (marri 'big', nuwi 'canoe') murray-nowey (A)

block which was thrown along the ground as a target at which children threw a muring or stick like a toy spear	garagadyara karagadyéra (b)
book	buk buk (b)
boomerang for fighting	bumarit boo-mer-rit (c), wumarang wo-mur-rāng (C), womarang (W), bumarang bumarang (M), bumarañ (M), būmarin (R), galabaran cal-la-ba-ran (A), yara y-ā-rāh (Sth)
Sword or scimitar shaped, large piece of heavy wood used as a weapon for hand-to-hand fighting or thrown. Capable of inflicting a mortal wound.	
bottle	badal bottle (b)
camp	ngurra ngurra (M)
candle	gandal candle (b), kandul (b)
canoe, boat or other water vessel	nuwi noe (c), nowey (c), now-ey (C), nowey (A), nowee (T), nao-i (R), noé (Sth), nou (Sth), nonee (Pa)
cap or covering for the head	damang dāmung (CC) (b), damang (c)
corset—a pair of stays	wulgan wolgan (c)
club—a long stick from the middle thicker at one end	wudi (wudi 'wood, stick') woo-dah (C), woo-da (A), wooda (W), waude (Pa), wad-di (Sth), wad-dty (Sth), waddy (M), woddi (R)
club—a plain club	banday bundi (M)
club—a club with a knob	gabarra kuburra (M)
club	ngalangala (ngalangala 'mushroom') gnal-lung-ui-la (C), nullanulla (R), ngalangala darrilbarra (darrilbarra 'club') gnallangullá tarreeburre (c)
Club with a round head with a sharp point in the centre and painted with red and white stripes from the centre, named after the mushroom which it looks like.	
club	duwinul doo-win-nul (C)
club	ganadaling can-na-tal-ling (C)
club	ganigul can-ni-cull (C)
club	garrawang car-ru-wāng (C)
club	darrilbarra tar-ril-ber-re (C)
compass—literally 'to see the way' (T)	ngamuru (na- 'see', mur 'path) gna-mo-roo (c), nââ-mòro (T)
covered or dressed—as a dressed sore	bangi bangí (b)
feather ornament for the head	darral ter-ral (A)

fence—name given to palisade fences by Aboriginal people	ngumul ŋūnmūl (b)
fish hook made from shell, wood or stone	bara bur-ra (A), bur-rā (C), bu-ra (Sth), berá (stone fishhook) (b)
fish harpoon The large fish-gig which was made of wattle with a joint fastened by gum, it was from 15 to 20 feet long and armed with four barbed prongs, the barb being a piece of bone secured by gum, each prong had a different name.	galara cal-larr (C), ca-la-ra (A), goō-lar-ra (Sth)
fish harpoon—a small fish-gig	muding mutŋjun (b), mutŋj (b), moo-ting (C), moo-tang (A), muttiŋ (R), mū-ding (Sth)
fish harpoon for children	guwariya gua-ree-ah (Sth), guar-ro-ah (Sth)
fishing line—lines were made from bark of trees such as the kurrajong	garradjun car-re-jun (c), carrigan (c), car-rah-jun (C), carra-duin (A), kurrajonj (R), cara-d'yung (Sth)
grave	buma bwo-mar (C), bomar (C)
gun	gan gun (b)
gun or musket—literally 'fire giver' or a 'stick of fire'	djarraba ger-rub-ber (c) (A), ger-re-bar (c), dje-ra-bar (c), je-rab-ber (c), goōroobeera (T), jererburra (R)
handkerchief	hangadya hand kerchyéra (-ra 'with') (b)
hair ornament made by sticking kangaroo teeth in the hair with gum	manaran ma-na-ran (A)
house or hut—any habitation constructed by people	gunya gonye (b), gon-ye (c), gong-ye (c), gong-yea (c), go-niee (c), go-nie (C), gon-yi (A), gunee (Pa), gunji (M), gunya (R), ngalawi (ngalawa 'sit') ŋalawi (b)
jacket	garrangal car-rang-el (c), djagat jacket (b)
knot—a knot in a line	ngara gna-ra (A)
armband—a line wrapped around the arm made of animal fur	nurunyal noo-roon-niel (c)
line—a line made from hair	nalgarra nalgarrar (c)
line	murrira moor-reere (c)
net	narrami nar-ra-mee (A), rawurawu rao-rao (R)
net-bag	djuguma juguma (M)
nose ornament of bone or wood put through the nasal septum	ngangung gna-oong (A), nang-oon (A)
ornaments in general	bangada ben-gad-da (c), ben-gād-ee (T), bangali bengalle (A), bang-ally (H)

paddle or oar	narawang na-ro-wang (A), narrawan (R), banga (banga- 'to paddle') bongha (Pa)
petticoat	madyi matty (c)
point of a spear	wudang wúdaŋ (b)
possum rug	budbili budbilli (R)
prong of the galara 'fish harpoon'	damuna dam-moo-ne (C)
prong of the muding 'spear'	garraba car-ra-ba (C)
pubic covering or apron worn by girls	barrin bárrin (b), barìn (c), ba-rin (A), bar-rin (C)
	Before they were married, girls wore round the waist a small line made of the twisted hair of the possum, from the centre of which depend a few small uneven lines from two to five inches long, made of the same materials.
reading glass	nanangyila (na- 'see', nana- 'see better') gnan-gnan-yeele (c)
reed ornaments—strung around the waist or neck	guwirang gweè-rang (A)
shield	dawarang taw ou rang (W), tar-war-rang (C)
	Shield made from hardwood, about three feet long, narrow with three sides, in one of which is the handle hollowed by fire, the other sides are carved with curved and waved lines. It is made use of in dancing by striking a beat on it with a club like the wuda .
shield for war—made of solid wood and hardened by fire	yarragung ar-rā-gong (c), ar-rā-gong (C), ar-rah-gong (C) a-ra-goön (A), ar-a-goön (T)
shield used to repel spears—small and made of bark	yilimung e-le-moong (c), ee-ly-mong (c), e-lee-mong (C), e-li-mang (A), il-ee-mon (T), elemong (Pa), il-le-mong (Sth), hīlamong (M), hīlaman (R)
shield to repel the wuda 'club'	milandhunth millanthunth (M)
ship—literally 'island', name given to ships by Aboriginal people	buruwang bru-ang (c), boo-rō-wong (c), boo-roo-wāng (C), boo-roo-an (A), bruvong (Pa), marri nuwi (marri 'big' nuwi 'canoe') muree nouee (Pa), murri nao-i (R)
sinker for a fishing line made from a small stone	ngamul gnámmul (b) (W), gnam-mul (C), nam-mel (A)
small ship—name given to the First Fleet ship <i>Supply</i> by Aboriginal people	narang nuwi (narang 'small', nuwi 'canoe') narrong nowey (A)
snood to a hook—'snood' a or tie	garal karál (b)
spear with two barbs, also generic word for spear	gamay ka-mai (c), ka-mi (c), kamaí (A), da-my (c), camye (A), kummai (M), kārmai (R), gar-mīt (Sth)
spear	gunang goo-nang (c), goong-un (C), goang-un (A), goon-gan (A)

A spear for close fighting, about eight feet long, with four barbs cut out of solid wood on each side. It is not thrown but used to strike with hand-to-hand when near the adversary. The thrust, or stroke is made at the side, as the spear is raised up with a shield in the left hand. A wound from this spear is usually mortal.

spear armed with pieces of shell	walangalyung (walan 'water') wal-lang-al-le-ong (C)
spear armed with stones	ganadyul can-na-diul (C)
spear for throwing, with a barb fixed on with gum	yilamay ilah-my (c)
spear made from a reed	wari wari (M)
spear with one barb	nuru gamay (nuru 'hole', gamay 'spear') noo-ro cāmy (C), nooroo-gal ca-my (holes made in a shield by a spear) (c), no-roo-gal ca-my (C)
spear with one wooden barb	bilarra bill-lar-ra (c), bil-larr (C)
spear, short with two barbs	duwal doo-ul (c), doo-ull (C), doo-ul (P), duāl (R), cā-my (C)
spear without a barb	garubini ghe-rub-bine (C)
spear throwing stick	wumara wómera (b), wo-ma-ra (c), wo-mer-ra (C), womera (Pa), womra (M), womar (A), womrā (R) Implement for throwing spears, about three feet long made from a split wattle and with a hook at one end made from a gadian 'Sydney cockle' and secured with gum, to receive which there is a hole at the head of the spear.
spear throwing stick	wigun wig-goön (c) (C), wiggoon (W) Implement for throwing spears made from heavy wood, with a hook to hold the spear but not made from a shell. One end is rounded for use as a digging stick to dig for fern roots and yams.
stick which children throw at a block another drags along the ground as a target	muring muriṅ (b)
stone hatchet or tomahawk	mugu mo-go (C), mogo (A) (M) Hatchet made from stone found in the shallows at the upper part of the Hawkesbury River. It has a handle fixed round the head of it with gum, and a very fine edge capable of dividing the bark of trees used for making canoes or shelters and cutting the body of the tree to obtain timber for shields.
stone hatchet handle	wabat we-bat (C)
stone tool used in the ceremony of tooth evulsion to remove the tooth	gibara (giba 'stone') ke-bar-ra (C)
sword	yarra yer-ra (A), y-ā-rāh (Sth)
sword's back	barang beráṅ (b), beráng (b)
sword's edge—literally the back of a sword	garabul karabúl (b)

telescope—'a glass to look through'	nangyila (na- 'see') gnan-gnyelle (c)
torch made of reeds	budu boo-do (C)
weapon of defence used to fend off blows	djawarra d'tar-warra (Sth)
window glass	dalangyila (dalang 'tongue') tallangeele (c)
window	winda winda (b)
yamstick	guni kunni (M)

Food, cooking and fire

biscuit	bidjigat bisket (b), garana cah-rah-ne (c)
blubber	garuma ga-ru-ma (c)
bread	baradu breado (b), bread (b)
breakfast	baragabat breakfast (b)
burn (also 'to copulate')	ganadinga cannadinga (A)
fat of meat	ngarrun ṅarrūn (b)
fillets	malat mal-lat, nugalogan nuk-lo-gàn (c)
firestick, giver of fire	djarraba ger-rub-ber (c), ger-re-bar (c), ger-rub-ber (A)
fire	guwiyang gwtũŋa (b), guyon (c), gwee-yong (c), gwe-yong (C), gwee-ang (A), gweè-un (T), quean (Pa), gee-ung (Sth), kwiang (M), gōyoy (R)
food	ngununy ngunnuñ (M), badalya (bada- 'eat') pã-tã-lia (source is not sure of this) (Sth)
heat	ganalung kánalāŋ (b), cardālung (Sth), yuruga yoo-roo-ga (C), yuroka (M), en-rie-gõ (Sth), eu-ré-go (Sth)
honey	nguwaga ṅōãga (b), gadyang kudyung (M)
juice	guray (guray 'fat')gorey (A)
light, spark or candlelight	gili gilly (c), gil-le (c), killi (M)
milk	murubin moo-roo-bin (c)
potato	badadu potato (b)
smoke	gadjal cadjiel (c), cã-jel (c), cad-jeè (C), cud-yal (A), kudjel (R)
sugar	djuga tougar (a)
sulphur	djalba sulphur (b)

tea	dji tea (a) (b)
wine—from the loyal toast 'the King'	daging the king (P)

Water

deep water	guru gūru (b)
dew	barabung béрабоong (b), minyimulung min-niee-mo-long (c), men-nie-no-long (C), gilabiny gillabiñ (M)
fog	gurbuny kurpuñ (M)
frost	dagara (dagara 'cold') tākārā (R), dalara (M)
hail	guruwilang kuruwillang (M)
pouring rain	walan yilaba (walan 'rain', yilaba- 'pour') wallan ill-la-be (c)
rain (also to rain)	walan wālán (b), wāl-lan (C), wāl-lan (R), bana pána (b), pan-nah (c), pan-nā (c), pan-nā (C), pan-na (A), murugu muruku (M)
sea	garrigarrang gar-rig-er-rang (c), karegron (Pa), barrawal barrawal (R)
shoal water	dyiral tyrál (b)
soak or washing water	garramīyi badu (garra- 'wash', badu 'water') car-re-mille bado (c)
water	badu bādo (b) (c), ba-do (C), bādo, bādo (T), baa-do (H), bar-do (Sth), bado (M), bārdo (R), nayung najuṅ (R)

Elements

air	bayadja bay-jah (c)
bad country	wiri nura (wiri 'bad', nura 'country') we-ree norar (c)
calm—a calm in the water	ngarunga ar-rung-a (C)
cave	ganing can-ning (C), can-ning (A)
cloud	buruwa boo-row-e (C), bourra (A), garaguru ca-ra-go-ro (C)
darkness	minak minnek (M)
day light	darrabarra tar-re-ber-re (c)
dust	dyurir dūrīr (R)
earth, clay or the ground	bamal pē-mul (c), per-mul (C), pe-mul (C), pe-mall (A), bumal (Pa), bimmal (R), bé-mul (Sth), pé-mul (Sth)
ebb tide	garagula ca-ra-goo-la (A)

falling star	duruga twiuga (c), tu-ru-gā (C)
falling stars in a cluster	mulumulu molu-molu (c)
fine weather	bidiluray beatl-oray (b), bura garimi boora careemey (c)
flood tide	baragula ba-ra-goo-la (A)
full moon	marri yanada (marri 'great', yanada 'moon') murray yan-na-dah (c), murray-yannadah (A), diluk yanadah dilluck yannadah (c)
ground (the ground)	duba dubbar (M)
high wind	guwara guār-ra (c), gwā-ra (C), gwarra (A)
hill	bulga bulga (M), bulga (R)
hole	gumirri go-mēr-ry (c), go-mi-ra (A)
ice	danagal tan-na-gal (c), tan-ne-gal
island	buruwang bru-ang (c), boo-roo-wāng (C), boo-roo-an (A)
lightning	mungi mong-he (c), mong-hī (c), mang-a (A), māngā māngā (R), djarraral jerraral (M), wada wad-tā (Sth)
Magellanic cloud—the greater	galgalyung (guwal 'big') cal-gal-le-on (c), cal-gal-le-on (C)
Magellanic cloud—the lesser	ngarangalyong (narang 'small') gnar-rang-al-le-on (C)
Magellanic clouds	buduwanung bu-do-e-nong (c), boo-do-en-ong (C)
Milky Way	warrawal wār-re-wull (C)
moon	yanada yan-nā-dah (c), yen-na-dah (C), yèn-ee-da (T), yanata (Pa), yānā-dā (Sth), djilak jillak (M), julluk (R)
moon—when set	yanada bura (yanada 'moon') yan-nadah poo-ra (c)
moon—when new	yanada barragi (yanada 'moon') yan-na-dah par-ra-gi (c), yannadah paragi (A)
mud	miluny miluñ (M)
Orion's Belt	dhungagil dhungagil (M)
place or country	nura no-rar (c), orah (c)
Pleiades	mulumulung mo-loo-mo-long (C), dhinburri dhinburri (M)
sand or beach	marrang mur-rong (c), murong (A), mā-rāng (Sth), marang (M)
sand, dust or dry earth	murul murūl (b)
sea	garrigarrang car-rig-er-rang (C), ca-ra-ga-rang (A)

shadow	bawuwan paouwǎ (b), bow-wan (C), gugubuwari goo-goo-bo-a-ri (c), buwari buwa bow-wory bow-wah (c)
sky	burra bour-ra (C), garrayura cur-ra-yura (A)
stars	birrung bir-rong (c), bir-rong (C), birrang (A), borong (Pa), gimbawali kimperwali (M), kimberwalli (R)
stone or rock	giba ke-ba (c), ke-bā (C), kibba (A), re-bah (Sth), kee-bah (Sth), kiber (M), keebu (A)
sun	guwing go-ing (c), co-ing (C), quen (Pa), co-in (Sth), kuñi (M), kyun (R)
sunset—literally 'the sun setting red'	dyarra murrama guwing (gowing 'sun') diarra-murrahmah coing (c)
sunshine	bunul pūnnil (b), bunnal (M)
thunder	murungal mu-rungle (c), moo-rung-ul (c), morun-gle (A), murungal (M), mūrungal (R), mara-ong-al (Sth), ma-roong-al (Sth)
valley	yarang e-rāng (C)
white clay (also 'white')	dabuwa ta-boa (c)
wind—east	buruwi (buruwang 'island') boo-roo-wee (c), boo-roo-wee (C), gunyama (gunyamara 'stink') goniee-mah (c), gonie-mah (K), go-nie-mah (north east wind) (C)
wind—north west	dulugal doo-loo-gal (c) (C), du-lu-gal (c)
wind—north	buruwan boor-roo-way (c) (K), buwan bow-wan (c), bow-wān (C), yuruga gura (yuruga 'sun', gura 'wind') yūrōka gōrā (R)
wind—south west	gunyama (gunyamara 'stink') go-niey-mah (c), yarabalang yare-bā-lahng (C)
wind—south	badjayalang bad-gay-allang (c), bal-gay-al-lang (C), bayinmarri (bayin 'to cool', marri 'very') bin-marree (c), bain-marree (c), bainmarree (K), gunyama goniemǎ (b), dugara gura (dagara 'cold', gura 'wind') tugra gōrā (R)
wind—west	bayinmarri (bayin 'to cool', marri 'very') bain-mar-rey (c), bain-mar-ray (C), buwan bow-wan (c), bow-wan (K)
wind	gura gūra (R)

Mammals

bat	wirambi weeramby (C), wecream-my (c)
rock wallaby <i>macropodidae petrogale</i>	wulaba wolabā (R), wollabi (M), wal-li-bah (black brush kangaroo) (C), wo-la-ba (young kangaroo) (A)
brown marsupial mouse <i>antechinus stuartii</i>	mirrin mirrin (W)

cattle—horned cattle	gambaguluk kumbakuluk (R)
dog <i>canis familiaris dingo</i>	dingu tein-go (C), din-go (C), tingo (A) (F), tung-o (c), jung-o (C), jungo (Pa), jūnghō (R), mirri mirri (M), wuragal wor-re-gal (C), waregal (large dog) (A), djunguwaragal tungo-wo-re-gal (c)
eastern grey kangaroo <i>macropus giganteus</i>	badagarang patyegarang (b), pa-ta-go-rong (c), pat-a-go-rāng (C), pattagorong (P), pa-ta-ga-rang (A), pa-ta-garang (HSB), pat-a-ga-ram (T), patagorang (P)
eastern grey kangaroo skin	bugay bog-gei (c)
eastern native cat	bulungga bulungga (M), dinaguwa din-e-gow-a (W)
echidna <i>tachyglossus aculeatus</i>	barrugin burroo-gin (W)
feather tail or pygmy glider <i>acrobates pygmaeus</i>	wubin wob-bin (c) wob-bin (C)
female animals in general	wiring we-ren (c), weer-ring (c), we ring (C), we-ring (A)
flying fox	ngununy ngunūñ (M)
flying phalanger	bungu bong-o (c), bangu (M), guruwaguruwa goo-roe-goo-roe (W)
fox rat—large fox rat	wiriyamin wee-ree-a-min (C), wiriyambi wee-ree-am-by (C)
Gaimard's rat-kangaroo <i>bettongia gaimardi</i>	ganyimung gan-i-mong (c), ga-ni-mong (C), kanaming (M), kārnimij (R)
horse	wanyuwa (wuna- 'throw away') wen-you-a (c), yaraman (yara- 'throw', man- 'take') yaraman (from <i>yarra</i> 'throw fast') (R)
kangaroo	gawulgung kao-wālgōŋ (R), goa-long ('old man kangaroo') (K), gula kulā (R)
kangaroo	buru buru (M)
koala <i>phascolarctos cinereus</i>	gulamany kulamañ (M)
long nosed bandicoot <i>perameles rasuta</i>	burraga burraga (M)
male animals in general	guwul cow-ul (c), cow-ul (C), cowull (A)
mouse or rat	bugul bógul (J) (b), bogul (c), bo-gul (C), wura wur-ra (A), wūr-ra (T), wu-ra (common rat) (c)
pig	darramuwa tarramūě (R)
possum—generic name	wali wali (M), wai-āli (R)

possum (brown or red type)	guragura ro-go-ra (c), goragoro go-ra-go-ro (C)
possum (grey) <i>trichosurus vulpecula</i>	burumin boo-roo-min (C)
potoroo <i>potorous tridactylus</i>	buduru poto roo (Wh)
ringtail possum	bugari bukari (M), būkari (R)
seal	dawaran dar-war-an (c), wanyawa wan-yea-waar (c)
sugar glider <i>petaurus breviceps</i>	djubi dab-bie (W), chubbi (M)
swamp wallaby <i>wallabia bicolor</i>	banggaray bag-ga-ray (c), bag-gar-ray (C), baggaray (P), ban-ga-ray (A), bag-ga-ree (W), guraya gōrēa (R)
tail of a bird or animal	dyun doon (c), toon (A), dun (M)
tiger cat <i>dasyurus maculatus</i>	mariyagang mer-ri-e-gang (W), muraging (M), me-rea-gine (spotted rat) (C)
wallaroo <i>macropus robustus robustus</i>	wularu wolarū (R), wolara (M), bidhang bitthang (M)
white footed tree rat <i>conilurus albipes</i>	djanarruk genar-ruk (W)
wombat This might be an inland word as it was recorded by Mathew Flinders as having been transmitted to the colonists by the inland people.	wumbat womat (F), wombat (F), womback (F), wombat (R)
yellow-bellied glider <i>petaurus australis</i>	yabunaru hepoona roo (Wh)

Reptiles

bandy bandy <i>vermicella annulata</i>	wirragadara wirra-ga-dera (W)
bearded dragon or Jew lizard <i>pogora barbata</i>	ngarang (ngarang 'small') nar-rang (c), ngarrang (W), bidjiwung bidjiwong (water lizard) (M), bid de wang (W)
brown snake <i>pseudonaja textilis textilis</i>	marragawan murragauan (M)
death adder <i>acanthophis antarcticus</i>	daning ta-ning (W)
diamond python <i>morelia spilota</i>	malya mal-lea (W)
frog	gunggung kung-gung (M)
goanna	wirriga wirriga (M), djindawala jindaolā (R)
leaf-tailed gecko <i>phyllurus platurus</i>	bayagin pae-ginn (W)

lizard	bunmarra bun-mer-re (c), daragal de-ra-gal (c)
red-bellied black snake <i>pseudechis porphyriacus</i>	djirrabidi jirrabity (M), cherribit (R)
reptiles in general	gan cahn (C), can (A)
snake	bulada bō-lǎ-da (Sth)
sleepy lizard, a large spotted lizard	mugadun mā-gǎ-dun (Sth), muggadunga (M)
small lizard	bunburra bunburra (M)

Birds

Australian magpie <i>gymnorhina tibicin</i>	djarrawunang jarra-won-nang (W), te-ra-wan-a (A), wibung wibbung (M), marriyang mar-ry-ang (A), mariang (M)
Australian owl night-jar <i>aegotheles cristatus</i>	bubuk po-buck (c) (HSB) Calaby (1989:72) observed that this was probably a mistake by John Hunter who might have confused the nightjar with another nocturnal bird the boobook owl. The call of the night-jar does not resemble 'po-buck'
Australian raven <i>corvus coronides</i>	wugan wo-gan (c), wau-gan (C), wa-gan (A), worgin (Sth), wergin (Sth), wagun (M), wārgon (R)
bill	munu moono (A)
bird (generic name)	binyang beeniáng (b), bin-yang (c), bin-yang (A), binyan (K), bunjun (M)
bird—a small bird, with a shrill note, often heard in low wet grounds and in copses	dilbung dil-bung (c)
bird—the name of a large bird	gunyadu goniado (c)
bird's nest	ngurra ngurra (M)
beautiful firetail <i>emblema bella</i>	wibung wee-bong (W)
black duck <i>anas superciliosa</i>	yurungay yurungai (M), yūrānyi (R)
black shouldered kite <i>elanus axillaris</i>	gugurruk go-gar-ruck (friar bird) (c), geo-go-rack (W)
black swan <i>cygnus atratus</i>	mulgu mul-go (C), mulgo (W)
blue-faced honeyeater <i>entomyzon eyanotis</i>	gugurruk co-gurrock (HSB) This is probably a mistake by Hunter. Other sources gave the same name to the black shouldered kite.
boobook owl <i>ninox boobook</i>	bubuk bōkbōk (b), po-book (C), pow-book (A), boobook (W)

broilga <i>grus rubicundus</i>	dyuralya durália (W) (b), duralia (A), duralia (moojil) (mudjil 'red') (HSB), durali (M)
bronzewing pigeon—both the common bronzewing <i>phaps chalcoptera</i> and the brush bronzewing <i>phaps elegans</i>	guwadagang gōdṅang (b), goad-gan (c), goad-gāng (C), gode-gang (HSB), kutging (M), gōtgan (R)
carrion hawk or whistling kite <i>halliastur sphenurus</i>	djamuldjamul jam-mul jammul (c), jam-mul jam-mul (C), jamel jamel (A), d'yumal-d'yumal (Sth), d'yimal, d'yumal (Sth), gudhaway kutthawai (M)
crested pigeon <i>ocyphaps lophotes</i>	mirral mirrāl (R)
crested shrike-tit <i>falcunculus frontatus</i>	wanyuwin war-nuin (HSB)
duck—a wild duck	yurungi yoo-rong-i (C)
eastern curlew <i>numenius madagascariensis</i>	ngurwinarriwing ur-win-nerry-wing (c), ur-win-ner-ri-wing (C), warabun warebun (M)
egg	gaban cā-bahn (c), ca-bahn (C), ca-ban (A), kubbin (M), karbin (R)
emu <i>dromaius novaehollandiae</i>	murawung mu-ra-ong (c), ma-ra-ong (C), murrion (R), maracry (A), birabayin birabain (R), biriabain (R)
feather	ngunyul gno-niul (c), gwo-meil (A)
fishing gull	girra-girra girra-girra (A)
glossy black cockatoo <i>calyptorhynchus lathami</i>	garada ga-rate (c), car-rāte (C), ga-ratt (HSB), garal ca-rall (A)
ground parrot <i>pzoporus wallicus</i>	wangawang wang-a-wang (HSB)
gull—large, either the Pacific gull <i>larus pacificus</i> or the silver gull <i>larus novaehollandiae</i> .	djugadya troo-gad-ya (A)
hawk	bunda bündā (R)
king parrot <i>alisterus scapularis</i>	guma (marri) go-mah (murry) (marri 'big') (HSB)
kookaburra or laughing jackass <i>dacelo novaguineae</i>	guganagina goo-ginne-gan (HSB), go-gan-ne-gine (C), kukundi (M), kogunda (R)
magpie goose <i>anseranas semipalmata</i>	nuwalgang now-al-gang (W)
masked lapwing <i>vanellus miles</i>	bunyarinarin boon-ya-rin-a, rin (HSB)
mopoke or tawny frogmouth <i>podargus strigoides</i>	binit binnit (M)

musk lorikeet, rosella or greenleek parrot <i>glossopsitta concinna</i> —	guma kuma (M), bundaluk bündelük (rosella) (R)
noisy friarbird or knob-fronted bee-eater <i>philemon corniculatus</i>	wirgan wir-gan (C) (A), wirgane (HSB)
parrakeet	djirrang jirrang (M)
parrot or parrakeet	guriyayil gorail (HSB), go-rail (HSB), go-ree-ail (c), go-ree-ail (C), go-ril (A)
Name given to all the following birds (HSB):- crimson rosella <i>platycerus elegans</i> ; swift parrot <i>lathamus discolor</i> ; rainbow lorikeet <i>trichoglossus haematodus</i> ; turquoise parrot <i>neophema pulchella</i> ; musk lorikeet <i>glossopsitta concinna</i> ; eastern rosella <i>platycercus eximus</i> ; little lorikeet <i>trichoglossus haematodus</i> .	
pee-wee, magpie lark or mudlark <i>granilla cyanoleuca</i>	birrarik birrerik (M)
pelican <i>pelecanus conspicillatus</i>	garranga bumarri car-rānga bo mur-ray (C)
pigeon (green)	bawama bao-mā (R)
plover <i>vanellus tricolor</i>	burrandjarung burranjarung (M)
quail	biyanbing bee-an-bing (A), muwambi moumbi (M)
rainbow lorikeet or Blue Mountains parrot <i>trichoglossus haematodus</i>	warin warin (M)
red bill	buming bóming (b) (W), boming (A)
red-browed finch <i>neochima temporalis</i>	gulungaga goo-lung-aga (W)
rufous night heron <i>nycticorax calendonicus</i>	gulina collinah (HSB)
sacred kingfisher <i>todiramphus sanctus</i>	dyaramak dere-a-mak (HSB), djirramba jirramba (M)
shag or cormorant	guwali go-wally (A)
singing bushlark <i>mirafra javanica</i>	murradjulbi murrajulbi (M)
sittella <i>daphoenositta chrysoptera</i>	marrigang mur-ri-gang (W)
sooty owl <i>tyto tenebricosa</i>	budhawa budhawa (M)
sulphur crested cockatoo <i>cacatua galerita</i>	garraway gar-ra-way (c), gare-a-way (C), ga-ra-way (A), kirrawe (M), garabī (R)
superb fairy-wren <i>malurus cyaneus</i>	muruduwin mooro-duin (HSB)

variegated fairy wren <i>malurus lamberti</i>	muruduwin mooro-duin (HSB)
wedge-tailed eagle <i>aquila avdax</i>	burumurring burumurring (M)
wing	wilbing wil-bing (c), wil-bing (A)
wonga pigeon <i>leucosarcia melanoleuca</i>	wungawunga wonga-wonga (R)

Marine and other aquatic life

black bream <i>mylio australis</i>	garuma karóoma (b), caroom-a (c), kururma (R)
blue pointer or mako shark <i>isuropsis mako</i>	gawun caun (Pa), kon (blue shark) (R)
bream	yarramarra yerremurra (R)
crab	yara he-ra (c)
eel <i>anguilla reinhardtii</i>	burra burra (M), burra (R)
fish—generic name	magura magóra (b), maugro (c) (Pa), ma-gra (A) (H), mogra (R), mogra (R), mau-gro (Sth), maugra (Sth), mau-grah (Sth)
fish—a fish	baragalun beragallon (c)
fish—a fish	guraydarrawina go-ray-ter-ra-wine (c)
fish—a fish	murawal moo-raw-ul (c), moo-row-ul (c)
fish—a large fish	waldagal waltegal (A)
fish—a large fish	banilung bennillong (C)
fish—an unknown fish	burunaganaga booroo-naga-naga (c)
flathead	badiwa paddewah (A)
flathead—small flathead	marrinagul murray nangul (c), murray naugul (c), mul-lin-a-gul (c)
flathead—large flathead	guwarri cow-er-re (c), kaoari (R)
flying gurnard <i>dactylopera orientalis</i>	mubarri mau-ber-ry (C)
grey nurse shark <i>carcharias arenarius</i>	guruwin co-ro-win (c)
ground shark	guwibidu kwibito (R)
gudgeon	duru duru (M)
kingfish	wulugul wollogul (R)

leather-jacket	baludarri bal-loo-der-ry (C)
mackerel <i>scomber australasicus</i>	waragal waaragāl (b), weeragal (c)
mud oyster <i>ostrea angasi</i>	daynya dainia (c), danyā (R), danyā (R)
mud skipper	badubirung (badu 'water', -birung 'from') bado-berong (c)
mullet	wurridjal worrijāl (R)
mussel <i>mytilus edulis planulatus</i>	dalgal talkál (b), dal-gal (c), djugung juggung (M)
perch	wugara wuggara (M)
porpoise <i>delphinis delphis</i>	baruwaluwu bar-ru-wall-u-u (c)
Port Jackson shark <i>heterodontus portusjacksoni</i>	walumil wallo-mill (c)
ray	yuluwigang ullowygang (c)
sea mullet (large) <i>mugil cephalus</i>	waradyal wa-ra-diel (c)
shovel nosed ray without a sting <i>ptychotrema rostrata</i>	ginara gin-nare (c)
snapper <i>chrysophrys auratus</i>	wulumay wal-lu-mai (c), wo-lo-my (HSB), woolamie (light-horseman fish) (A), wōā-la-mī (Sth), wallami (R)
sprat	gumbara kumbara (M)
squill The bulb of the sea onion cut into slices and dried used in medicine as an expectorant, for example, syrup of squills.	yuril yu-rill (c)
sting ray	daringyan te-ring-yan (c)
Sydney cockle <i>anadara trapezia</i> This shell was used to arm spears, to make a scraping end on the the wumara 'spear throwing stick' and to make knives.	gadyan kaadian (b), quoidun (Pa), warabi wa-ra-bee (A)
Sydney rock oyster <i>crassostrea commercialis</i>	badangi botúnj (b), betanjígo (b), petang-hy (c), patanga (A), bittongi (R)
Sydney rock oyster shell	badangigu (badangi 'Sydney rock oyster', -gu 'of') betúnjigo (b)
toad fish—colonists noted that this fish was known to Aboriginal people to be poisonous	gaguna ca-gone (c)
turtle	gudugulung kutukulung (M)
whale	gawura caura (Pa)

yellowtail kingfish or
prince fish *seriola grandis*

barung bā-rong (c)

zebra fish
brachydanio rerio

marumara ma-ro-me-ra (c)

Insects and spiders

ant	mung mong (A)
beetle found in the grass tree	garrun car-run (c)
beetle	gunyagunya (gunya 'hut') gonia-gonia (c), go-nia-go-nia (C)
black ant	babunang po-boo-nāng (C), pa-boo-nang (A)
black bull-dog ant	wugadjin wuggajin (M)
blowfly	marang marang (M)
body louse	malagadang mūlagátin (b)
butterfly	burudyara bur-ru die-ra (c), bur-roo-die-ra (C)
caterpillar	gunalung go-na-long (C)
centipede	ganaray can-nar-ray (C), garagun ca-ra-goon (A), djingaring jingring (M)
fly—a large fly that bites	muruna moor-rone (A)
fly	miyanung mi-a-nong (C), my-ang-a (A)
grasshopper	gilbanung gil-be-nong (C)
green-head ant	gunama kunama (M)
grub	burradhun burradhun (M)
jumper ant	djuldjul juljul (M)
locust—large locust	bula bulla (M)
locust—small locust	djirrabirrin jirrabirrin (M)
louse or flea	muna múnnu (b), moona (A), burudu bóoroodoo (b), búrudu(b), bóodooroo (b), bur-ra-doo (A), boo-roō-dāh (Sth), bundyu (M)
maggot in meat	dyulibang dtulbilan (b)
mosquito	dura tewra (c), teura (A), doo-ra (A), dyura (M), dubin (R)
nit of louse	djagara jagara (M)
red bull-dog ant	gudmut kut-mut (M)
scorpion	djuni dtóney (b), dundi (M), duradjuni tewra tooney (c)

spider **marrayagong** mar-rae-gong (c), mar-rae-gong (C)
 worm found in the grass tree **danganuwa** tang-noa (c)

Plants

banksia *banksia ericifolia* **wadanggari** wa-tang-gre (c)
 bark **bugi** boghie (Pa)
 bark used to make fishing lines **djuraduralang** dturāduralánj (b)
 berry **wigay** wigi' (b), daman taman (A)
 Botany Bay tea, Australian tea or false sarsaparilla **waraburra** wa-ra-bur-ra (c)
hardenbergia violacea—sweet tea plant the colonists made tea from the leaves of this plant
 bracken fern root (eaten by Aboriginal people) **gurgi** gur-gy (A)
pteridium esculentum
 broadleaf ironbark **dirrabari** dirrabari (M)
eucalyptus siderophloia
 brown gum or New Holland mahogany (large brown mahogany tree) **burumamaray** boo-roo-ma-murray (c)
icosandria monogynia
 brush or forest—thick wood about a watercourse, sylvia **duga** tūgā (c), tūga (R)
 cabbage tree *livistona australis* **daranggara** ta-rang-ge-ra (c)
 Palm tree found in fresh water swamps within six or seven miles of the coast which produces mountain cabbage, it was eaten by both Aboriginal people and the colonists.
 lilly pillly *aemena smithii* **midjuburi** mizooboore (P)
 Captain Cook called the fruit a cherry and Joseph Banks said 'a fruit of the Jambosa kind in colour and shape much resembling cherries' (Bertie 1924:253).
 native cherry or cherry ballart **guwigan** kwigan (M)
exocarpos curpressiformis
 Christmas bell **gadigalbudyari** (**gadigal** 'Gadi people', **budyari** 'good')
blandfordia nobilis gad-de-gal-ba-die-ree (c)
 corkwood **gulgagaru** kulgargru (M)
duboisia myoporoides
 creek or brush cherry **daguba** takūba (b), ta-gu-bah (c), tar-go-bar (c)
syzygium paniculatum—tart cherry tree, acajou-like cherry; *acajou* 'mahogany' French word

cumbungi, bullrushes <i>typha muellari</i>	baraba baraba (M), wulugulin wollogol̄in (R)
dead tree	guwibul kwibul (M)
dwarf apple (apple tree) <i>angophora hispida</i>	banda bunda (M)
eucalyptus, gum-tree	yarra yarra (M)
flag or iris of this country <i>patersonia glabrata</i>	bugulbi po-cui-bee (A)
fruit	duruwan doo-roo-wan (c)
fruit	mumarri mumarra momarri mo-mur-re (c)
fruit of the potato plant or potato apple—probably the kangaroo apple <i>solanum aviculare</i>	bumurra (gamarral) bomulá (b), mo-mur-re (c), be-mur-ra cam-mur-ra (c), bo-murra cammeral (c)
grass	bamuru (mur 'path') báamoro (b), durawuyi doo-roy (A), durawoi (R)
grass tree seed head	yagali yegali (HSB)
grass tree stem—used to make spears	galun callun (HSB)
grass tree <i>xanthorrhoea</i> — provided resin used in the manufacture of many artefacts	gulgadya goolgadie (HSB)
great dendrobium <i>dendrobium speciosum</i>	wargaldarra wer-gal-derra (S)
hole in a tree	gumir kumir (M)
hollow tree	birragu birreko (M)
jeebung <i>persoonia toru</i>	mambara mambara (M)
leaning tree	bulbi bulbi (M)
leaves of trees	djirang jirang (M)
ligneous pear	marridugara merry-dugar-e (c)
low tree bearing a fruit like the banksia—this may be a melaleuca such as <i>melaleuca thymifolia</i> or a prostrate banksia of the sand-hill type	wiriyagan weereagan (c)
mushroom	ngalangala gnal-lung-ul-la (C)
narrowleaf ironbark <i>eucalyptus crebra</i>	mugagaru muggargru (M)

paperbark—the inner bark of a paperbark tea tree <i>melaleuca leucadendron</i> , used by Aboriginal people to make many artefacts	gurrundurrung kurrung-durrung (M), kurunderuŋ (R), budjur budjor (M)
pine, fir tree <i>casuarina glauca</i>	guman goo-mun (c), goomun (A)
Port Jackson fig <i>ficus rubiginosa</i>	damun tam-mun (c)
rock lily <i>dendrobium speciosum</i> The colonists described the rock lily as a plant that looks like the aloe, bears a flower like the lilly and an unwholesome green fruit not unlike a small codling apple.	buruwan ba-ro-wan (c), booroowan (c), ganu can-no (HSB)
scrub, dry jungle	djaramada jerematta (R)
shadow of a tree	bulu bulu (M)
splinter	dhuraga dhuraga (M)
stringybark <i>eucalyptus obliqua</i>	buran buran (M)
tea-tree	bunya bunya (M)
tree—a type of tree	yarung yerúŋ (b)
tree—generic name	daramu te-ra-mo (c)
vegetable—any edible vegetable	ganugan can-no-can (A)
waratah <i>telopea speciosissima</i> Called by the colonists the 'sceptre flower'. The nectar of the flower was relished by Aboriginal people.	warada wárata (b), war-ret-tah (c), wa-ra-ta (HSB), warratta (W)
wattle	wadanguli (M)
white gum tree	darani darane (c)
wood itself as opposed to brush or forest—stick or tree, lignum	wadi wádt (b), wadt (b), wad-day (c), wad-de (c), wad-dy (A)
yam	midiny midíñ (M)

'Names of fruits in N.S. Wales' (William Dawes)

The ones with (h) after the name 'are the names of flowers bearing honey in sufficient quantity to render them notorious to the natives. The rest of them Wáruwéar gives the general name of Wígí to which I have great reason to believe signifies a berry as I know most of the bushes, all of which bear berries which the natives eat. I think it also probable that some of the above may be called by two or more different names.' (Dawes b)

bumula bomulá (b)
burudun burudun (h) (b)

buruwung buruwán (b)
djibung tytbuŋ (b)
dyiwaragang tytwaragán (b)
gamarung kamarán (h) (b)
gunamiya konaméa (h) (b)
magara magará (b)
mariyawin múriawín (b)
marrimara marrímárã (b)
mirriburu múrtburu (b)
mirrigalyang mirrigalyán (h) (b)
murimari mormēri (b)
munmu mūnmu (b)
mururu murūrū (b)
ngurumaradi ŋurumarádi (h) (b)
wayigalyang wiytgalyán (h) (b)
wadangal wátanál (h) (b)
warada wárata (h) (b)

Physical adjectives

alive	mudung moo-tong (c), muthung (M)
bald	gangat gánat (like a burnt head) (b), ngurranbulba ngurranbulba (forehead bare) (M)
black	ngana ŋána (b), gnā-nā (c), gnā-na (C), nand (A)
blind	munyming muŋming (M)
blunt—for example, a blunt edge on a knife	munhagut munhagud (M)
both	ngalya gnal-le-a (C)
broken to pieces—as a ship or boat on rocks	bugrabanya pograbaníě (b)
broken to pieces, for example, chinaware	bugrabala pograbāāla (b)
buried	buwabili bour-bil-liey (C), bourbillie (A)
burnt	ganay kání (b), biyarabuni (biya- 'bite', -buni 'not') pierabúní (b)
caught by the elbow, for example, by a latch	ngalamay ŋalamí (b)
clean (also yellow)	yarragul yarrakál
cold	dagura ta-go-ra (c), tag-ěr-ra (c), ta-go-ra (c), ta-go-rā (C), ta-ga-ra (A), tahgra (Pa), tuggara (M), teg-goo-ra (Sth), tug-gūrah (Sth)
cold—severely cold	dagura madjanga (dagura 'cold', medjung 'a sore') ta-go-ra mediang-ha (c), ta-yo-ra me-diang-a (C)
cool—pleasantly cold	murayung muréuŋ (b)

crooked	bayala pyélla (b)
cross-eyed	guragayin kūrāgain (R)
dark	malung máluŋ (b)
dead	gugun gogun (c), buyi (buyi- 'die') bo-i (c)
dead	bali (see 'thirsty')
decayed or rotten	gudjibi godie-by (A), go-jy go-jay-by (C)
deaf	gumbarubalung kumbarobalong (M)
dirty or gritty	bamulguwiya (bamul 'earth', guwiya- 'give') pemul-gwia (c), pe-mul-gine (C)
dry—not wet	burara búrara (b)
empty	barrabbarri pūrūtbení (b), parraberry (c), par-rat-ber-ri (C), parra-berry (A), par-rat-ben-ni (C)
enough	didyiriguru didyirigúru (b), did-yer-re-goor (c), did-yerre-goor (c)
fat	guray kurai (M)
fetch	yana- (yan- 'walk or go') yena (b), yanara yenara ('go and fetch') (b), ngayirinara ŋirɪnara (b), ngai-ri (Sth)
first or to be first	marana merani' (b), meranadyémɪ ('you drank (drank tea once) before') (b)
five	marridyulu marry-diolo (K), bulabula wugul (bulabula 'four', wugul 'one') bullabulla wāgul (R)
four	marridyulu marry-diolo (c), galunalung cal-una-long (K), bulawiri bulawiri (bulawiri 'two') blaeri-blaeri (R), bulabula (bula 'two') būlla būlla (R), wugul warri wagulwurri (apparently a derivation from 'one-three') (M)
full belly	ganu kannó (b), canno (A), barrang buruk (barrang 'stomach', buruk 'full') barong-boruch (A)
full	buruk bo-ruk (c), bu-rouk (c), bo-ruk (C), brück (Sth), buruck (M), mudang mūtūŋ (b), eri eri (c) (A), galigali kālɪ kālɪ (b)
gone or expended	maridyulu murray-loo-lo (c), mur-ray-loo-lo (c), mur-ray-too-lo (C)
great	marri (see 'very')
green	bulga bool-ga-ga (c), boo-gā-ga (C), boolga (A), gumun gomūn (b)
hard or difficult to break	garungul karūŋul (b)
hollow—as a hollow tree	birragu birreko (M)

hot	gadalung cardälung (Sth)
hungry	yuru yu-roo (c), yurupata (bada- 'eat') (b), yu-roo (C), eu-rō (Sth), yu-roo-gur-ra (C), yu-ru-gurra (A)
itchy	guwidbanga (guwi 'hot', banga- 'make') koutbaŋa (b)
junior	narang (see 'little')
large	marri (see 'very')
lame	mudunura moo-ton-ore (C), madang metang (Pa), gadyaba kadiába (b)
lean	djarrajarra jarra jarra (M)
left	durumi doo-room-i (C)
little	ngarang ŋarāŋ (b), nar-rang (c), gnar-rang (C), narrong (A), narang (Pa), ngā-rang (Sth), ngurrang (M)
long or tall	gurara kurāra (b), coorarte (c), goo-rār-rā (c), coo-rar-re (C), kurare (M)
many (a large number)	yirran irran (M)
many	marri (see 'very')
more and more	gurragurra gōre gōré (b)
more	gurra gore (b), go-ray (c), goray (c), curra (Sth), wurri wōrree (c)
nearsighted	gujimay (guji 'bad', may 'eye') kūjī mai (R)
old	ganunigang genunikang (Pa), warungat warunggat (grey haired) (M)
once	wugulgu wogúlgo (b)
one	wugul wogul (b), wo-gul (c), wo-gul (C), wo-cul (C), wogul (K), ya-ole (K), wogle (Pa), wāgūl (R), wagulwai (M), madung meddung (M)
one-eyed	murbura moor-boo-ra (Sth)
painful	daydyay didyi'(b)
parched	bali ba-lie (c), ballie (c), valley (c), baletti (M)
pregnant	binya bin-niee (C), bin-ny (A), bin-yee-ghine (c), bindhiwurra bindhiwurra (M)
pretty	garungarung ca-rung-ă-rung (Sth)
quick	baru baro (M)
red	mudjil múdyil (b), moo-jel (c), moo-jel (C), morjal (A), morjal (K), djarri jarri (M)

same—the same	daraguwayang téraguíyũŋ (b)
second	walanga wellána (b)
senior—older or bigger	guwal kowal
short or low	darrbi tárrsbi (b), tyárrsbi (b), dumuru túmürü (b), too-merre (c), too-mur-ro (c), too-mur-ro (C)
sick	badjal ba-gel (c), ba-jel (c), ba-diel (C), mulali mulālī (c), moo-laā-ly (Sth), mulāldwártm ('because I was sick') (b)
slow	wurral wurral (M)
small	narang (see 'small')
soft—easy for a child to eat, for example, soft bread or boiled carrot	muday múttí (b)
stammering	gurugabundi kūrūkabundi (R)
stink or bad smell	gunyamarra goniee murray (c), gu-na-murra (A), guji kuja (M), kūjī (also 'bad') (R)
straight	dugarang tūgarũŋ (b)
strong	bulbuwul bulbwul (M)
thirsty	ɖjuli dtulī (something relative to thirst, maybe 'to quench' a similar word is given as to 'quench a fire with water', see 'kill a fire' dura) (b), durral (M)
three	buruwi boorooi (c), brew-ie (c), brew-y (C), boorooi (K), brewè (K), buriwai (M), bulawiri wugul (bulawiri 'two', wugul 'one') blaoeri-wagul (R)
tired	yanbat yan-bad (c), yaraba yare-bā (C), wunal wunal (M)
toothless	darabundi tarabundi (R)
torn (also sore)	madyung me-di-ong (c), me-diong (C), med-yanq (A)
twice	bulagu (bula 'two', -gu 'from') bulāgo (b)
two	bula bóola (b), bula (b) (Pa), bulla (c) (K) (M), bool-la (c), boo-la (C), bul-ler (P), būler (R), buler (M), bulawiri blówree (b), blao-eri (R), yoo-blowre (c), yubulawiri yoo-blow-re (C), yablowxe (K)
very, great, large, many	marri múrri (b), murry (b), múrri (b), mur-ray (c), murray (A), mur-ray (C), muree (Pa), murry (Sth), murry-di-ool-oo (Sth), murry di-ōo-loo (Sth)
wet	marray marray (c), mar-rey (C)
white painted	dabuwamili- (dabuwa 'white, white clay' daburi- 'to paint') ta-boá-mil-li-jow (c), taboa-millie (A)

white	dyirra tyerrá (b), tyerabárrbo (b), dabuwa ta-bo-a (C), taboa (A), burragudi burrakutti (M)
worn out—as old clothes etc.	wiribay (wiri 'bad') wĩrtbi' (b)
yellow (also clean)	yarragul yarrakál
young	mudi mūd-dī (R)
younger	narang (see 'little')

Non-physical adjectives

afraid, frightened	baragat bárakut (b), bar-gat (c) (C), djirrun jerrun (M), jerron (R)
anger	wurabata waurapetá (b), wurugurung waurogooroong (b)
angry, cross, displeased or illnatured	gulara ghoólara (b), goo-lāra (c), goo-lar-a (C), kular (M), kūlara (b), yuróra (b), ouro (Pa)
another	wuguluray wo-gul-ōray (c)
any	mun mon (c)
bad pronunciation	wunyang wǎneay (b)
bad, wrong, malignant or pernicious	wiri we-re (c), wee-re (c), waree, wee-re (C), wèrè (A), weeree (T), waree (Pa), wee-rĩě (Sth), wēri (R), garadji kuraji (M), guji kūjĩ (also 'stinking') (R)
bashful, ashamed	wural wúrullbadyáou ('I was ashamed') (b), dagurayagu tag-go-ra-yago ('shier') (c)
better	burudi booróody (b), bidyal bídyul (b), mudun mu-ton (Sth)
bored	marama marama (b)
brave	madung mat-long (c), muttoŋ (R)
coward, also 'run away'	djirrun (djirrun 'fear') jee-run (C)
female animals	wiring we-ren (c), weer-ring (c)
glad, or not angry	gurigurang kurtgárang (b), mudja mujar (M)
good (as to eat)	dadyibalung taatibaláng (b)
good, well, right, proper, pretty, handsome, comely	budyari búdyeri (b), bood-yěr-rě (c), bood-jer-re (C), bood-yer-re (C), bidgeree (A), bùd-yee-ree (T), búdyěřĩ (b), bougeree (Pa), boó-gě-reé (Sth), būdjeri (R), ngubadi ngubaty (M)
great	marri mur-ray (c)
greedy	djirra jirra (M), dulingyung tullinyun (R)
married	mangi maangĩ (taken to wife) (b), malarra mullarra (joined to a man) (c), mul-la-rā (mala 'man') (C)

passionate	yurura yu-ro-ra (C)
pity or sympathy	mudjaru mudjērū (R)
sleepy	nanga (nanga- 'sleep') nungga (M)
sorry	ngandu ngandu (M)
stupid	bininggaray binnij-garai (R)
surprised or startled	mannyi mungala (man- 'take' mungala 'thunder') man-nie mong-alla (C), mannyi mali man-nie mal-lee (C)
truth (also 'yes')	yuwing ew-ing (C)
worse	wulumu wauloomy (b), garangan karūjūn (b)

Motion verbs

arise	buraga boraga (M)
bathe	bugi (see 'swim')
bite	biya- bíá (b), dul toll (C)
bring	ngayari- ngáree (b), yalinga- yalingeñ (M)
climb	galuwa cal-loo-a (A), kalua (M)
conceal	dudba dutba (M)
cook	gunama kunnama (M), kunnimā (R)
cool-to cool	bayin- bīn- (b)
cool oneself	bayinmilyi (bayin- 'cool', -milyi- 'to oneself') bīnmilyi (b)
cover	bubanga- boobánga (a)
cover oneself	bubilyi- bubilyidyaou ('I covered') (b)
creep	maruwi ma-ro-wey (c), mā-row-e (C), marroway (A)
cutting off	wugan minaring wogan-minnering (c) (A)
dance, a method of dancing	garabara car-rib-ber-re (c), cǎ-rāb-bǎ-rǎ (Sth), korobra (R)
dance	dangura tang o-ra (A), dungara (M)
dig	gama- kǎma (b)
dip—for example, to dip for water with a small vessel	gaba- kùba (b)
dive	bugi (see 'swim'), mulbari mulbari (M), nala bugi (bugi- swim, bathe) nallabōgi (R)
do	yanga- yánga (a)

do incorrectly	wiribanga (wiri 'bad', banga- 'make or do') wīrbúŋa (b)
drop or allow to fall	yiningma (yini- 'fall', -ma 'imperative') yintŋma (b), murama- murámadyémı ('thou didst let fall') (b), yarityami yery diemy (c)
drown	gura goora (A)
embrace, hug	dyalgala tyelkála (b)
empty	buradbani purütbení ('to empty') (b)
escort or 'to see home'	yudi- yudi (b)
fall	yini- yīni (a), yīni (b), yene (Pa), yari- yery (c), yer-dioma (A), murama muráma (b), bululbali bululbali (M)
find	manwari (mani- 'take', wari 'away') mán (b), mánwári (literally 'take abroad') (b)
fish—to fish	magari (magura 'a fish') maugerry (A), mogra (R)
fly as a bird or spear (also run)	wumara wómara (b), womera (c), womerraa (A)
fly	wilbing wil-bing (also the wing of a bird) (A), miyanga miangah (c)
follow	walanga (see 'second')
get up	babuga barbuka (A)
go	yanma (yan- 'walk or go') yenma ('make to go') (b), yen-ma (c), ngalbunga- albonga- (c)
go outside	wuruna wuruná (b)
grasp—to take hold	mawa maur (A)
increase	walunadarang wauloonadarang ('more it you please') (b)
hunt	wulbanga wolbunga (R)
jump	wumarabara (wumara- 'fly') womerra-berra (A)
kiss	bunya- boon-ya (A), bonge (M), bunyalyi (bunya- 'kiss') boon-alliey (kiss each other) (c), bunalle (kiss each other) (Pa), boon-abbiey (kiss each other) (A)
knot, tie	ngarra gnárra (W) (b), daniya tanié (b)
leak or run out	mididwinyi meeditwinyí (b)
leap	yilga ilga (A)
lie	ngalawa- (see 'sit')
limp	gadya- kadiá (b)

live	ngalawa- (see 'sit')
make or do	banga- būnga (a), banga (b), būŋa (b), baŋa (b), warra- warra (b), wūrre (b), bangawarra bungawurra (M), bini- binnie bow ('I will make') (c), binnie ba ('he will make') (c), yanga- yānga (a), yama- ya-mah (c)
mistake	dara- taria-dyaou ('I made a mistake in speaking') (b), taramadyaóu ('take by mistake') (b)
open a clasp knife	bayibanga (bayi- 'beat', banga- 'make') pyt ba ŋa (b)
open a door	bamaradbanga (banga- 'make') búmúrút ba ŋa (b), párat ba ŋa ('open the door (literally, open make)') (b)
paddle or row	banga- bánga (a), baŋg-a (b), bong-a (c), bang-a (C), bāng-à (Sth), ba-ung-a (Sth), guwinya go-in-nia (c)
paint	dabura- (dabuwa 'white, white clay') tā-bǒ-ré (Sth)
pick teeth	darraburraburiya dar-ra-burra-boorià (A)
pick up	manyu manioo (c), manioo (A)
play	dyanmila tienmule (b)
pour	badubara bado-burra (A), burra-bado (A)
pour out	djarba djer-ba (c), yilaba (yilaba- 'urinate') il-lab-ba (c)
prick	duralang door-a-lang (A)
push anything along	yadbi yetbɿ (b)
put a shell on a wumara	gadyanma (gadyan 'shell', -ma 'do') kaadianmadióu ('I throwing stick' kaadianed it. I put the shell on the wómera.) (b)
put down	wiyana- weán (b), weána (b), weeana (c)
put on a garment or ornament	milyi- barumlytydyú ('I am putting on my barrin', barrin a woman's garment, pubic covering) (b), buru mileɿ (b), boor emil (A)
remain	ngalawa- (see 'sit')
remain awake	warigulyi wártgulyt ba óu (I will remain awake) (b)
return or come back	walama wéllama (a), madwára (b)
rise	burbuga bur-boga (A)
run as an animal (also fly)	wumara- wómara (b), womera (c), womerraa (A), wumerra (M), wū (R)
run away (also coward, fear)	djirrun tyérun (b)
seek	waranara wáranára (b)

scarify the chest—to make to make incised lines on a person's chest for the purpose of ritual and decoration	garanga car-ran-ga (c), congarei (c), cong-ar-ray (c), car-ran-ga bow-iniey (c)
scrape	minay min-ney (A)
scratch	dyargali dargallee (W) (b), tyargálye (b), dir-gally (A), tyeroga (b), jirraŋga (M), tyerogadyaouwúna ('I scratched you') (Dawes b)
sharpen—as the points of a fishgig on a stone	yara yāra (b), yurulbara yurūlbara (b), manya manéea (b)
shave (to singe the beard off)	bunyadi bun-ya-dil (A)
shelter	bawaga paouwagadyimúŋa (b)
show	naminma nāmínma
shut a clasp knife	muluma muluma (b)
shut the door	wirribara wírribará (b)
sit near (to sit near anyone)	yuridyuwa ury-diow (A)
sit	ngalawa- ngalawáu (a) (b), ngallawá- (b), gnał-loa (A), allowau (c), allowa (c), al-lo-wah (C), al-loey (C), allowa (Pa), al-lo-wan (C), allocy (A)
slip	mayagawarrbay (mayagawarrma- 'wink') mikoarsbí (b)
squeeze—as water out of a sponge	dayma tǐma (b)
stand	narri- narri (A), warrawi warre-wee (A), war-re-wee (c)
start (as when frightened)	manya múnje (b)
sunk	gura goo-rā (C)
swim	bugi- bógi (a), bógee (a), bogía (b), bō-gie (Sth), boge (Pa), bo-ga (c), bo-gay (C) (A), wadabi wad-by (c), wadd-be (c), wadby (A), wad-be (C), waringa waringa (M)
take hold of my hand and help me up	burbangana poorbuŋāna (b)
take off (as a coat)	bunilbanga (-buni 'no, not', banga- 'make') bunūlbuŋa (b)
throw	yira- ūrī (a), ye-ry (c), yery (A), eereéra ('you throw') (b), e-ra (C), erah (C), yara (throw fast) (R), yanā (R), tyerrsba (b), garaya- curna (A), cu-ru-a (c), kerraiba- (M), kurraibi (M)
tickle	gidigidi gittee gíttee (b), gitte-gittim (A)
tie	danyaya tanié (b)
turn upside down	walibanga (wali- 'turn', banga- 'make, do') wálbuŋa (b)

turn when walking	walubudyun (walu- 'turn') waloo-bu-diown (A)
turn	wali- wált (b), walu- waloo (A)
undress	dyararabanga (banga- 'make, do') tyérérabūŋa (b)
walk or go	yana- yen (a) (b) (c) (A) (Pa) (Sth), yenn (C), yan (R), yenu (A), yenna (A), yanna (M), yená (a), yeni (a)
warm—to warm	gura gore (b)
warm one's hand by the fire and then squeeze gently the fingers of another person	buduwa (buduway 'scorch') putuwá (b)
wash or soak	garramilyi carre-mille (A), ganga- kanabānye (she (or he) will wash you) (b)
watch	yanung ya-noong (c)

State verbs

be	barung be-rong (c)
bored—to become tired of something	marama marama (b)
die	buyi bòe (A), bo-y (A), bò-ee (T), boyee (Pa), boi (M), boi (R)
fear	dyirrun tyérun (b), tar-rione (c), gerund (Pa)
have	miwana mǐwána
itchy	guwidiyi kóityi (b), koitbanadyíŋa ('it itches') (b)
live	mudang moo-tang (A)
pretend	wangit wangit (M)
rain—to rain	wulan wálán (b)
ring—to ring as a bell	dilbanyi tɪlbanye (b)
separate	madingara matinjara (b)
shine	gili (gili 'spark') killi (M)
smolder (the fire is out, or going out)	ngimagay nyimagǐ (b), bula boolá (b), wuruna wuruná (b)
stopped working (literally 'dead')—for example, the watch stopped	baluwi bāluf (b)
weary, tire or ache	dyarrba tyarsba (b), yárrsba (a), yare (c)

Vocalizing and thought verbs

abhor	marri wari (marri 'very', wiri 'bad') muree waree (Pa)
ask anything	nganaga annegar (A)
bark	nurba nur-be (c), muruwaba moroube (Pa)
call	gama- kamabaou ('I will call') (b) (b), kama (b), ca-mar (c), ca-mā (c), kā-mā (c), cā-ma (A)
change names	damuli taamoolý (b)
court, make love to	duwana tóana (b)
cry or weep	dunga- túnga (b), tong-e (female) (c), tong-i (male) (c), tongay (c), tonga (A), toongha (P), toong-a (Sth), dunga (M), yunga (R), ton-ga-bil-lie (C)
deceive, scam	gunga káŋa (b)
forget	munuru- mǎnuru (b), mǎnúri (b), maanorodiouúnia (to understand, 'I don't understand you') (b), meéama ('I don't understand you') (a)
howl (as a dog)	nuyiga noy-ga (C)
imitate or to take off	darrbangaldyun guralibuwa derr-bangel-dion crelli bow (A)
laugh (violently)	badiya patteya (c)
laugh	bilya pil-lia (A), djandiga jandiga (M), wina winna (R)
lend	mari- murí (b), marimirung (mari- lend, -mirung 'from') marunruŋ (b)
lie	wanya wǎnya (b), waúniǎ (b), wan-ye-wan-yi (C), wan-nye-wanyu (c), wan-yē-wan-yē (c)
listen, hear, think	ngara- ngára (a), ŋára (b), narra (c), narra (A)
love	ngubadi ngubaty (M)
make believe, do something in jest	wunyawuri wányawári (b)
make a mistake in speaking	daraya- taria- (b)
not understand	miyama meéama (b), manuru maanoro (b)
pronounce	garaga (garag 'mouth') kárǎgá (b), káraga (b), bayalagarriga byalla-garriga (baya- 'speak', garaga 'mouth') (c)
read	baya- (baya- 'speak') pía (b)
refuse	damuna- taamóona (b), tāmuna (b)
request	gulya gullea (M)
ring (as a bell)	dilbanyi- tilbanye- (b)

say	yuri yur-re (c)
say	baya- (see 'speak')
scold	wami wāmi (b), wau-mē (C)
sexual desire	gudhaling kuthaling (M)
shout	gumba kumba (R)
sigh	ngayana gnia-na (C) (A)
sing	baraya- bería (b), bor-ra-ya (A), be-ria (Sth), bǎ-ree-ou̯ (Sth), burria (M), beriā (R), yaban ye-ban (c), yibbun (c), ya-ban (A), yabbun ('singers dancing or beating on two clubs') (A)
snarling with anger	gulara bayala (gulara 'anger', baya- 'speak') goo-lar-ra py-ye-la (C)
speak an unknown language	mubaya māpiadyímt ('you speak an unknown language') (b)
speak	baya- píyi (b), pía (b), pia (b), pi-ar-ar (c), byalla (c), byalla (A), piale (Pa), pí-ǎ-la (Sth), paialla (M), paialla (R), pí-ata (Sth), pi-āt-tǎ (Sth), garriga garriga (c)
talk	djiyadi tsiáti (b), tuáti (b), bayidiyadi pýeetiátee (b), baya- (see 'speak')
tease—to speak falsely in jest or to make believe (b)	buna- búna (b), búnama (b), búnamadyaóu ('I made believe') (b)
tell	guwanyi goanyi (M), baya- (see 'speak')
think	wingara (ngara 'hear, think') wíngarū (a), wingara (a)
trust (see 'lend')	mari-
whistle	wurgawina worga-weena (c), wor-ga-wee-na (C), worgye (A), woinga (M)

Bodily function verbs

awake	burbanga porbūŋa (b)
blow the nose	naba nēpe (b)
blow with your breath	buwa- bo-a-mere (c), bumbi (M)
breathe	ngayana gniána (b), gna-na (c), gnā-nā (C), gna-na-lemma ('she breathes') (c), buwama- bwo-me (C), bo-me (A)
chew	djang- Chiang (c), Chiang (A), Chang utah (c), Chang-ulah (A)
clap hands	bumarabanyali pomera-bannielly (c), bulmiya bul-mie (A)
cool one's self	bayinmilyi pīnmīlyi

copulate	ganadinga can-na-ding-ga (c), galu callo (c), galin callyne (c), yanga yang-a (c), ngudadha nguttatha (M)
cough	garri- gárree (b) (W), gar-ree (A), garragin (garaga 'mouth', -in 'from') karraṅun (b), garrinarribili car-re-nar-re-bil-le (C), car-re-nar-e-bille (A)
deficate	gunin (guni 'faeces', -in 'from') guning (Pa), cō-ning (Sth), gunagali go-nag-al-le (c)
drink or suck	wida- wīda (a), vuida (c), weda (c), wedau (c), wui-da (C), wee-de (A), wedha (Pa), wi-dah (Sth), wittama (literally to drink from the breast) (M)
eat	bada- patá (a) (b), patta (c), parran (c), pat-ta (C), pat-tā (C), paran (A), patta (Pa), pā-tā (Sth)
gape (see 'yawn')	daburulburul taa boorool boorool (b)
grow	djurali dturālt (b)
itch	gudyi kóutyi (b)
look	na- (see 'see'), ngalga gnalga (c)
masterbation	ganmiludhi ganmillutthi (M)
observe (see 'see')	na-
see	na- naa (a) (b), gna (c), gnā (C), ni (a), nea (M), na-a (Sth), nal-lar (c)
seek	baduwa pe-to-e (c) (C), pittuma (M), na- (see 'see'), waranara wāranára (b)
shiver	dagurayagu tag-go-ra-yago (c), tag-go-rah-yago (A)
shut the eyes	mimuguru myi-mogro (A)
sick or to vomit	mula moo-la (C), moola (A)
sleep	nangara- nanga (a), nan-ga-re (c), nan-go-bar (c), nang-a (C), nangorar (P), nan-ga-ra (A), nan-gā-rā (Sth), nangree (Pa), nungare (M), nangri (R)
smell	gana can-ne (c), gunda kunda (M)
sneeze	dyiringang tieeringang (b), dere-rign-ang (C), dère-nignan (A), te-re-nang (A)
snore	guruda- go-ro-da (C), go-roo-da (A) go-ro-da lema (c), goroda lima (he snores) (c)
spit	dyuranga tyuraṅā (b), tyuragā (b), doo-ra-gy-a (A), djugi juki (M)
stare	bulwurra pūlwūrra <u>baou</u> ('to stare or look at naught') (b), bolwara (A), nadawunma na-de-wun-ma (c), mudbi mutbi
swallow	gurruguwidbi kōrōkōtbi (b)

swallow with difficulty	miwuluni- mtwulunɔdyaou (I swallowed with difficulty) (b)
sweat or to be hot	yuruga en-rie-gō (Sth), eu-ré-go (Sth)
urinate (to make water)	yilaba- il-lab-be (c), elabi (Pa), elabi-la-bo (A), e-lā-vě (Sth)
vomit	muli muli (M)
wink	migawarrma- mekoarsmadyēmiŋa ('you winked at me') (b), guragina goo-ra-gine (shut one eye) (c)
wipe the hands	damara (damara 'hands') támara (b)
yawn	dabanga- taabanga (a), taabánga (b), tabánga (W) (b), ta-lang-a (A), dyiringalima tiéringaléema (b)

Impact and violence verbs

beat gently	gurinyi kurínyɪ (b)
beat hard	marribayi (marri 'very', bayi- 'beat') muree-pie (Pa)
beat, strike, fight, kill, hit	bayi- píyɪ (a) (b), pie (c) (Pa), py-e (c), py-yee (C), py-yay (C), py-ya (c) (C), pya (A), pi-é (Sth), paibao (R)
break	garang- karúnɔtbāla ('they will break it, be broken') (b), karúnɔl ('hard, difficult to break') (b), karúnɔn ('worse') (b)
break or cut	gudba- cot-ban (A) (K), cot-bain (c), cot-balie (c), kótbara (a), cut-bar-rar, cot-bannie (c), cot-bàniè (A), cot-barry (A), gidjigbani kidjikbane (M)
burn	gana- cannadinga (c), cannadinan (c), kunnet (R), kunut (R), kánamadiaou ('I set it on fire') (b)
crack between the nails as a flea	ginyi gun̄ (b), ginyī (b), gundyaou ('I cracked') (b)
cut	galabidya kálabidya (b), kārabɪdɪ (b)
extinguish	nyimang nyímɔŋ (b), nyumagi ('going out') (b), nyúnadyumŋa ('you stand between me and the fire') (b)
fight	dyurala dūrella (R)
hurt	badja bad-dje (c)
kill or quench a fire (see 'strike')	djura , djulara dtulará (to throw water on the fire) (b)
kill (see 'strike')	djura
pinch (see 'strike')	djura
knock out—as an eye or a tooth)	bulbaga- bool-bag-a- (c), bool-bag-ga (C)
scorch	buduway putuwi (b)

set on fire	gunama kánama (b)
smash (break to pieces)	bugra- bogra- (b)
spear	darrat turret (R)
strike (as a fish with a fishgig)	djura dtoóra (b), d'oo-ra (Sth), dtura (b), dtula (b), dudbara dutbara (M)
tear as paper or ring as a bell	dilbanga t̄lbána (b)
wound	bayawurra baiwurra (M)

Holding and transfer verbs

bring	ngayiri gnā-ré (Sth), gnā-re (Sth), gna-rei (Sth), ngai-ri (Sth), ngaíree (b), n̄irt (carry) (b)
carry (se bring)	ngayiri
carry away	wari (see 'lose')
collect (see 'take')	mana-
fetch (see 'take')	mana-
gather (see 'take')	mana-
get (see 'take')	mana-
give	ngawiya- n̄wtyí (b), wea (c), wia (c), wya (c), nwyá (C), wy-a (A), wea- (A), wia- (A), wean (Pa), nguya- (M), duga t̄ogā (R)
give away for nothing	dulumi- tulumidyána (he gave it me for nothing) (b)
give one the hand	banyadjaminga pan-nie-jeminga (A)
have	miwuna (wuna- 'throw away') m̄wána
hide	duwabili tuabilli (R)
hold up	gulbanga- (banga- 'make') ḡulbamut̄guna (b), ḡulbaḡabaou ('I will hold it up') (b)
lose	barrbagay parrbaggy (b), parrb̄uggy (b), parrbuggy (b), par̄sb̄ugí (b), barbuggi (c), bar-bug-gi (C), wari (wara 'away!') w̄ari (b), w̄art (b)
obstruct	nguluna- n̄olonadyēmiḡa ('you did stop my way') (b)
send away	yiliri- ɪɪɪ (b)
send	yuma- yúma (b)
snatch	yaramadyawiniya era-mad-ye-winnia (A)
stand between	ngyina nyúna (b)

steal	garama car-ra-mah (c), car-rah-mā (C), ka-ra-ma (A), karāmā (R)
take	mana- maan (a), maaná (a), máana (b), m̄an (b) (c) (Sth), mahn (C), maān (Sth), maun (Pa), man (M), mahan (R), maanmä (b)
throw away	wana- wāna (b), wanne (A), yara- yara- (R)

Locationals and directionals

above, upwards, upstairs	burawa puráwā (b), boor-a-wa (c), boo-row-a (C)
at	wawa wóu (b)
away	wari (see 'lose'), gawundi kaundi (R)
abroad	wari (see 'lose')
back	muray morí'(b)
below or under	gadi ca-dy (c), cad-i (C), dadu dad-du (c)
close by	winima winnimā (R)
distant	ngarrawan ḡárawan (b), ar-ro-un (c), ar-ro-wan (c), ar-row-an (A)
down	yinyun unyun (b)
far away	warawara wārāwārā (R)
far distant—also the name given to England and the colonists from England	barawal berwál (b), berewal (c),
here	dyi dieé (b), die (A), diam (C), dyidyam die-diam (c), in-yam (c), unyám (b), bidja bija (R)
here, there, in this or in that	nula no-le (c)
left hand	duriyumi dooriomi (c)
near to	baruwa brúa (b)
no where	biyal (biyal 'negative') bíál (b)
on	wu wá (b)
other side—the other side of the hill	ngaranga eranga (A)
out	bula boolá (b)
outside	wiyana weána (b)
outdoors (see 'lose')	wari

path or road	murū mo-ro (A), mo-ru (c), moo-roo (Sth), muru (M), mūrū (R)
place	ngurang gno-rāng (C)
relative to place where	nunanglanung noon-ung-la-noong (c)
right hand	warrangi warrangi (c), war-rāng-i (C)
there he, she or it is	dingaladi ding-al-la-dee (c)
there	yiniya eeneeá (b), inyun (b) ngil gníl (c), di de (C)
this side—on this side of the water	wurrungwuri worrong-woóree (b)
this way	yiribana yeeree bená (b)
to	dali tali (b)
where	wawu wau (C), wa (A), waré (A)
up	gul gūl (b)

Temporals

bye and bye, presently	guwagu guāugo (b), guágo (b), gua-go (Sth), karbo (R), kabu (M), yirabuwabu yeerabóabo (b), waringa war-ring-a (c)
day after tomorrow	barrabuwari parte-bu-war-rie(c)
day	gamarruwa kamarú (b), kamaruá (b), kamará (b), camurra (A), cam-murree (c), darrabarra tarrabūrra (b), gamarru darrabarra cam-mar-roo tar-re-ber-re (C), bré-ang (Sth)
evening	waragal waragal (M)
future event—'it is going to...'	ngabay ŋabi (b)
just now, some little time back or last night	wara wara wúra wúra (b), wor-re worrar (c)
long ago	gurugal gu-ru-gal (c)
long time	darimi tarímt (b)
morning—before sunrise	barabiyanga parabtáŋa (b)
morning	mulinawul mul-lin-a-ool (c), mul-lin-ow-ool (c), marouvow oul (morn or the sun rising out of the sea) (Pa), burbigal burpigal (M), winbin winbin (R)
night	nguwing gnoo-wing (c), gnoo-ing (c), gnoo-wing (C), gnooling (A), ouen (Pa), no-en (Sth), minak minni (R), minnek (M)
now	yilabara ile-bar-ra (c), nung noong (c), nuna noone (A)
presently	guwugu gwágun (b), gwágo (b), gua-go (c)

same day	gamarabu kamarabú (b)
soon (some little time hence)	ngayarayagal ŋirigal (b)
sun rise	guwing bayabuba (guwing 'sun') by-bo-bar (c), coing by-bo-bar (c), co-ing bi-bo-bā (C), coing-bibo-la (A)
sun set	guwing burragula (gowing 'sun') bour-re-gu-lar (c), co-ing bur-re-goo-lah (C), coing-burra-go-lah (K)
then	wala wella (b), welláŋa (b)
today	yagu yágu (b), ya-go (c), yagóona (b), ya-gu-nah (c), ya-goo-na (C), yagoona (A)
tomorrow	barrabugu par-re-bugo (c), pa-rae-bu-gah (c), par-ri-beu-go (c), par-ry-boo-go (C), parry-buga (A), burrapur (M), burani
tomorrow morning	mulinawul mullná-o-u-l (b), mul-lin-ow-ool (C), mullin-ow-u-le (A)
winter	warrin war-rin (c)
yesterday	baranyi brānti (b), brānyé (b), bar-ra-ne (c), bo-rah-ne (c), bo-rā-ne (C), boorana (A), brānigal (b), bar-ra-nè (source says this means tomorrow which is probably a mistake) (A)

Interjections

affectionate term used by girls	gamungali ca-mong-al-lay (C), gamarada (gamarada 'friend') cam-mar-rade (C)
angry exclamation	dyamuna (damunagal 'a churl') ty-ya-moo-ne (c)
begone!, an exclamation of defiance	wuruwuru (wuru 'away') wo-roo-wo-roo (C), war-re-war-re (C), woroo-woroo! (A), woroo, woroo (K), wara, wara (H), whurra (T), woó-roo-woo-roo-ou (Sth), woo-roù-où (Sth)
come here!	gawi (gama- 'call', -wi 'them') kaowt (b), co-e (C), cow-e (C), cwoi (C), cow-ana (C), cow-ee (A), co-wee (H), kouee (Pa), coo-sé (Sth), cō-eé (Sth), cō-é (Sth), gawi bidja kwai bidja (R)
cry uttered by assistants in the ears of the boys undergoing the ceremony of tooth evulsion	yiwaiwa gagagaga e-wah e-wah, ga-ga ga-ga (C)
curse—a curse	warabada dadja (wara 'rascal', bada- 'eat') war-rah-pattah de-je (c)
eater of human excrement! —favourite term of reproach used by Aboriginal people	guninbada (guni 'faeces', bada- 'eat') go-nin-pat-ta (T)
don't ye!	wawunanga waunáŋa (b)
don't tell me	yaguna yagúna (b)

the effect of the hot burning sand upon the eye	marri ganandyanga may (marri 'very', ganandya 'copulated', -nga 'it', may 'eye') murray-cannandinga-mi (c)
get away!	yan muru yan (yana- 'go', muru 'path') yen-more-yen (c), yaluwaninmin yel-low-wan-in-min (c)
go away!	yanwuri (yana- 'go', wari 'away') yenwǎrt (b), wuru wooroo (b), woo-rar (c), wo-roo wo-roo (c), wara (source repeats the item twice and three times) warraw! warraw! warraw! (O), wara wara wayi warra, warra wai (Richard Johnson in Mackaness 1954), worra worra wea (F), dada tete (b), tetebaouí (b), ngalbangadyawa albongadiow (c)
go away!, let me alone!, psha!, have done!, don't you!, no no!	gugugu gugugu gugugu go-gǒ-gǒ (said three times) (Sth)
go now!	didyay tutyi (b)
go, go, go (make haste)!	dadadadadadadada tetetetetetete (b)
here I am! or here I come!	djamu d'iamǒ (Sth), d'a-mou (Sth)
he doesn't like it	mungi mong-y (c)
I am parched!	badugubaliwida (badu 'water', bali 'dry', wida- 'drink') 'bado-go-bally-vuida (A)
I am hungry or empty	yuruwin (yuru 'hungry', -in 'from') yuruín ('I am hungry, from hunger') (b)
I don't know!	nanma nan-mar (c), madjiyai mediey (A), manyaru man-ye-ro (A) (c), dungaribanyi dung-a-re-ban-ye (c)
I go, I am going—said when leaving	yanu yenóo (b), yeníoo (b), yen-ou (Sth), yen-mou (Sth)
I have struck	durraduway d'urra-d'oway (Sth), d'urra-d'onay (Sth)
indeed! or it is true!	yuwin yúin (b)
let us go!	nala yan nalla yan (R)
look out!	guwark kwārk (R)
make haste!	barrawu barrao (R)
mind your work! (literally 'do not fatigue yourself')	yarrabuni (yarra- 'tire', -buni 'no, not') yarrsbóonie (b)
no	biyal béal (a), bíāl (b), bē-al (c), beall (C), bei-yal (Sth), bey-ál (Sth), bi-āl (Sth), bee-āl (Sth), -buni búni (b), bēal (R), beal (M)
no ears!—said to a person who was not answering a call	guribuni gurtbúnt (guri ears, -buni 'none') (b)
oh, you hurt me!	didyay didyay dídyi dídyi (b)
perhaps	marraga murraga (M)

please (pray)	gay gī (b)
run away	wugarndi whū kārndi (R)
silence! or hush!	ngumun o-moon (this in a whisper) (c)
sit down!	nalawala na-lau-ra (Sth), nă-lă-wā (Sth), nallowalli (R)
so, thus, in this manner	iyari eyērie (Sth), e-a-rè (Sth)
stop!—a term of execration used by Aboriginal people when they wish anything not to be done that displeases them	wari wari weree weree (P)
stop a little stop	mayalya miléea (b), mileeánga (b), miliéewáranga (b)
stop here!	walawa wallawa (R)
stop stop!	ngadu ŋatú (b)
stop!	wiyánada wīanáda (b), guguggu go go go (b), guwawugu guāugo (also 'presently') (b)
thanks (also 'enough')	didjarigura didgerry-goor (A)
to scold A term of reproach with which the Aboriginal people are highly offended. It is sometimes used by the women and the men always punish them for using it.	wumidjanga wah-ma-d'jang-ah (c), wau-mē-d'jang-ah (c)
warcry used when charging into battle	djiriyay jee-ree-i (c)
yes	murama mo-rem-me (C), yi e-é (Sth), yuwin yuín (R), yuin (M)
you must say!	dungaduru (dunga- 'cry', -duru 'continues') tonga-doro (A)

Names of Aboriginal people and social groups

Aboriginal girl's name	burung booroong (c)
Boorreea's tribe	ganaligalyung cannalgalleon (c)
boy from Botany Bay	garangarani carrangarrany (c)
Colebe's child	banyibulung pen-niece-bool-long (c)
female stranger's name	garawiya carreweer (c)
little boy's name	badya badya bedia bedia (c)
little girl's name	gunangulyi gonan-goolie (c)
male stranger's name	buruwuna booroowunne (c)
someone's name	gurubi co-ro-by (c)

someone's name	murubara mo-roo-berra (c)
Aboriginal woman (Patye)	ganmangnal kanmājnál (b), dagaran tāgarán, duba badjagarang túba patyegaránj
people who inhabited War-mul	ganamagal cannemegal (c)
people who inhabited the island of the flats	badjagal bediagal (c)
person said by Burung to be unfriendly to the colonists	burudal boorodel (c), mawuguran maugoran (c)
person who carried the compass on an expedition	bunyuwal bon-yoo-el (c)
tribe Weran belongs to in the district of Wanne	daramaragal tarra-merragal (c)
tribe's name	gurunguragal goorung-ur-re-gal (c)
tribe's name	bira biragalyung birra birraga-leon (c)
very handsome girl's name	baringan báring-an (c)
Wo-ran's tribe	daramuragal darra-murra-gal (c)
woman's name	nguruwin gnoo-roo-in (c)
woman's name	buruwia boorreea (c)

Names of places

another head	dubarayi tuberai (c)
bad country	wiri nura wee-ree norar (c)
Botany Bay	gamay ka-may (c)
Bradley Point	daliyungay tal-le-ong-i (c)
Breakfast Point	buridyuwuwugulya booridiou-o-gule (c)
Captain Parker etc dined at this place	bangarang paņaránj (b)
Cockatoo Island, sixth island coming up the harbour	warayama wa-rea-mah (c)
Collins' Cove	gayumay kayoo-may (c)
country near bare island	wudiba wudiba wádba wádba (b)
cove next to Farm Cove	walamul walla-mool (c)
Dinner Point	marayama mar-ray-mah (c)
East bank of Farm Cove	yara yarara yéra yérãra (c)

east point of cove next to Farm Cove	darawun derawun (c)
England (in England)	angalanda englánda (b)
Farm Cove	wuganmagulya woggan-ma-gule (c)
fifth island coming up the harbour	mamila me-mil (c)
first island coming up the harbour	buwamiliya bo-a-millie (c)
Garden Island, third island coming up the harbour	bayingawuwa ba-ing-hoe (c)
inner South Head	barawuri barraory (c)
island	buruwan boor-roo-wan (c)
island of the flats	guruwanali corrowanelly (c)
little sandy bay	wayagiwala weaggy-wallar (c)
Long Cove	gumura go-mo-ra (c)
Manly Bay	gayamay kay-ye-my (c)
Middle Head	gabagaba caba-caba (c)
next cove from cove next to Farm Cove	gariyagin carr'liaginn (c)
North Head, <i>-jam</i> was added while on the spot, and is supposed to mean 'this is'	garangal car-rang-gel (c)
Parramatta or Rose Hill	baramada para-matta (c)
Parramatta or Rose Hill district	wana wann (c)
place or country	nura no-rar (c)
point called the docks	barayinma pa-rein-ma (c)
rock in the channel	burabira bor-ra-bir-ra (c)
Rock Island fourth island coming up the harbour	malawanya mal-le-wan-ye (c)
rocky island	buruwang gaba bru-ang ke-ba (c)
Rose Bay	banarung pannerong (c)
Ross Farm	guwan cow-wan (c)
second island coming up the harbour	balangalawul be-lang-le-wool (c)

seventh island coming up the harbour	gurarayagun cor-ra-re-agon (c)
small cove within the harbour	maliyawul melia wool (c)
South Head	daralaba tar-ral-be (c)
Spectacle Island eighth island coming up the harbour	gungul gong-ul (c)
Sydney Cove	waran war-ran (c)
Sydney Cove east point	dubuwagulya tu-bow-gule (c)
Sydney Cove west point	daruwiya tarowia (c)
west point of camp cove	madala metallar (c)
where the fisherman's hut was	darangaraguya tarrangera guy (c)
where the hospital stood	dalawuladak talla-wo-la-dak (c)
Hawkesbury River	dyirabun dee-rab-bun (C)

ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

SYDNEY ARTEFACTS

Four combat shields

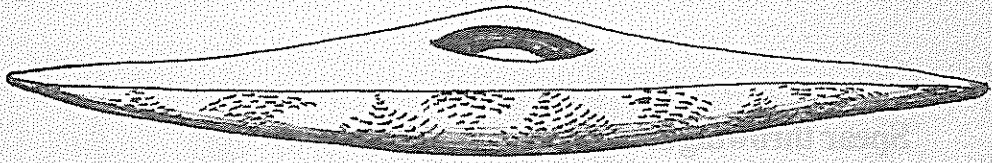
- (a) and (b) hardwood parrying shields called **dawarang**, decorated with incised lines
- (c) bark body shield called **yilimung**, decorated with dots and lines painted in ochre
- (d) face and (e) underside of wooden body shield called **yarragung**, the underside shows the handle and decoration of daubed dots painted in red ochre

(Smith and Wheeler 1988, plates 32, 42, 43, 53, 55, 67; National Library of Australia NL429 M/32))

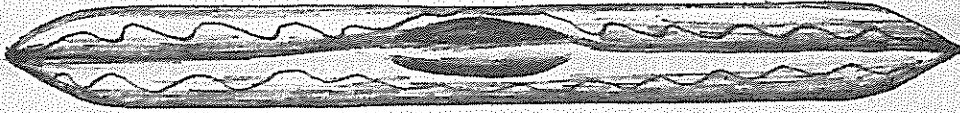
SHIELDS

Aboriginal 'shields are of two sorts: that called *Il-ee-mon* [**yilimung**], is nothing but a piece of bark, with a handle fixed in the inside of it: the other, dug out of solid wood, is called *Ar-a-goòn* [**yarragung**], and is made as follows, with great labour. On the bark of a tree, they mark the size of the shield; then dig the last outline as deep as possible in the wood, with hatchets; and lastly, flake it off as thick as they can, by driving in wedges' (Tench 1979[1789, 1793]:284).

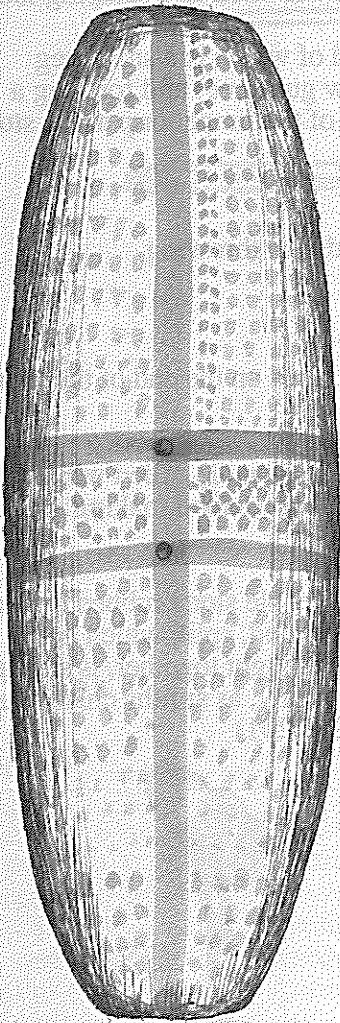
FOUR COMBAT SHIELDS



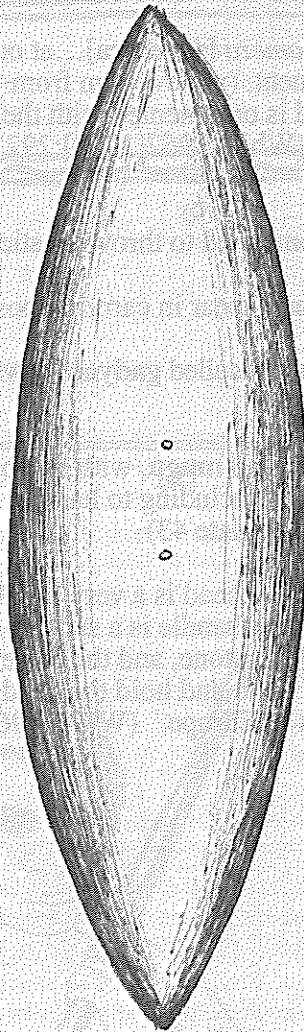
(a)



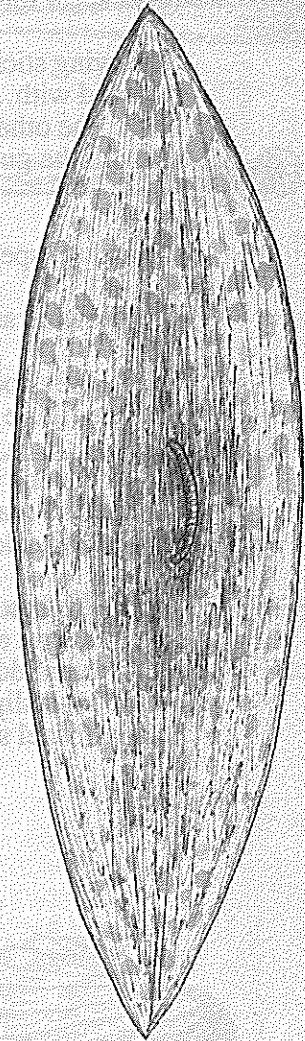
(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Spear throwing sticks and stone axe

(a) and (b) a spear thrower called **wigun**, the rounded end of which was used as a digging stick

(c) a spear thrower called **wumara**, the shell end was used as a scraping tool

'Throwing stick *woomera* [**wumara**]...at one end of which is a small peg fastened with...cement, (yellow gum from yellow gum tree) and forming a hook: the other end is ornamented with the shell of the limpet or patella, stuck on with the gum.' (White 1962[1790]:292)

(d) and (e) spear connected to throwing stick ready for throwing

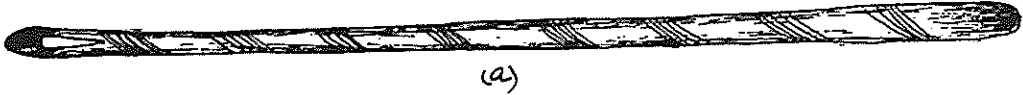
(f) throwing stick and spear in carrying position

(g) Sydney cockle shell called **gadyan** or **warabi**, used on the end of the **wumara** (see figure c).

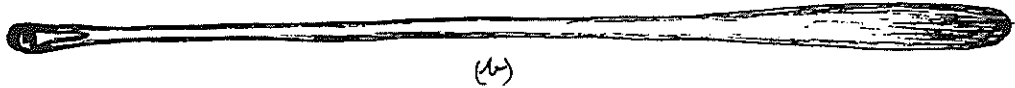
(h) The stone axe, called **mugu**, with a two foot long handle called **wibat**. The axe had many uses including to harvest timber for weapon making. (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 43)

'Stone axe/hatchet...the head is a very hard black pebble stone rubbed down at one end to an edge; the handle is a stick of elastic wood, split, which being bent round the middle of the stone, and the extremities brought together, is strongly bound with slips of bark, and hold the head very firmly, as smiths chisels are held by hazel sticks in Europe.' (White 1962[1790]:201)

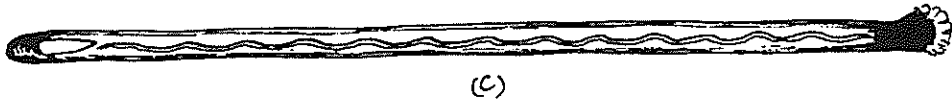
SPEAR THROWING STICKS



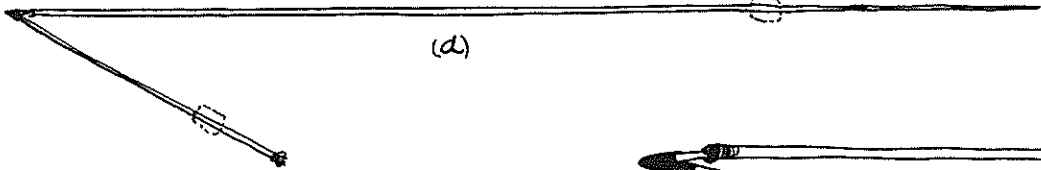
(a)



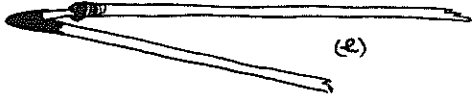
(b)



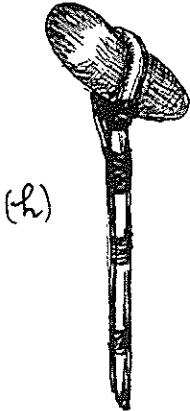
(c)



(d)



(e)



(h)



(f)



(g)

Three spears for fighting and hunting

- (1) spear called **walangalyung**, barbed with shell and animal teeth (1a)
- (2) spear called **gamay**, with two animal teeth barbs (2a)
- (3) Spear called **gunang**, made from hardwood with four barbs carved into the spear (3a)

(National Library of Australia Pictorial Collection NL:429 M/32; Barratt 1981, plate 8, p. 91)

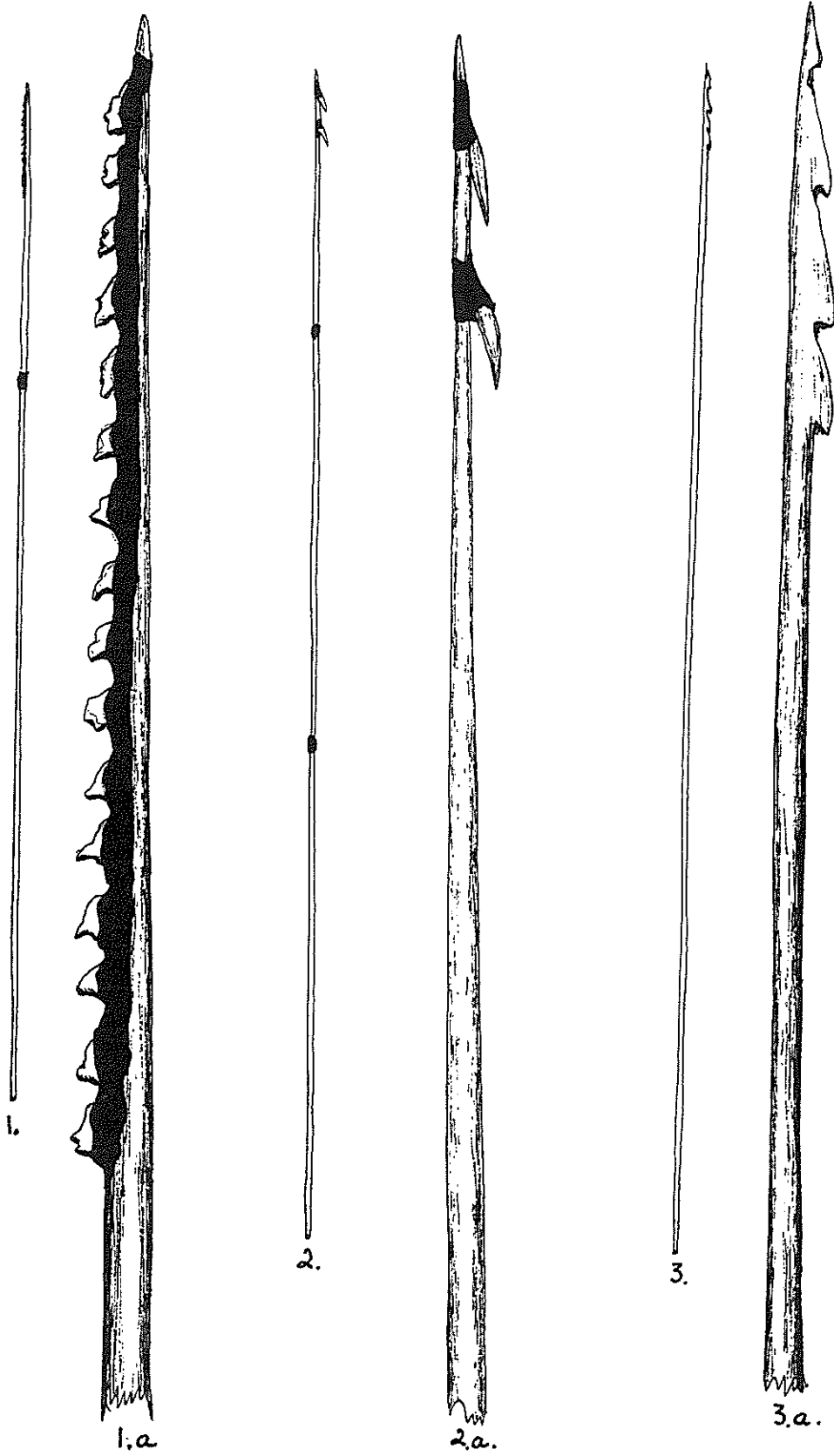
SPEARS

'War spears were usually ten to eighteen feet long' (Smith and Wheeler 1988:43). The point of a spear is called **wudang**.

'The fish-gigs and spears are commonly (but not universally) made of the long spiral shoot, which arises from the top of the yellow gum-tree [the grass tree *xanthorrhoea*], and bears the flower: the former have several prongs, barbed with the bone of kangaroo; the latter are sometimes barbed with the same substance; or with the prickle of the sting-ray; or with stone; or with hardened gum; and sometimes simply pointed. Dexterity in throwing, and parrying the spear, is considered as the highest acquirement: the children of both sexes practice from the time that they are able to throw a rush; their first essay.—It forms their constant recreation. They afterwards heave at each other with pointed twigs. He who acts on the defensive, holds a piece of new soft bark in the left hand, to represent a shield, in which he receives the darts of the assailant, the points sticking in it. Now commences his turn: he extracts the twigs, and darts them back at the first thrower, who catches them similarly.—In warding off the spear, they never present their front, but always turn their side; their head, at the same time, just clear of the shield, to watch the flight of the weapon; and the body covered. If a spear drop from them, when thus engaged, they do not stoop to pick it up; but hook it between the toes, and so lift it until it meet the hand: thus the eye is never diverted from its object, the foe.' (Tench 1979[1789, 1793]:283-4)

'The war spear formed of a light reed like substance produced by the yellow gum tree...The long pointed head is of hardwood, of a reddish colour, and is fastened into the shaft in the firmest manner by a cement of the yellow gum only.' (White 1962[1790]:200)

THREE FIGHTING/HUNTING SPEARS
SHOWING BARB DETAILS



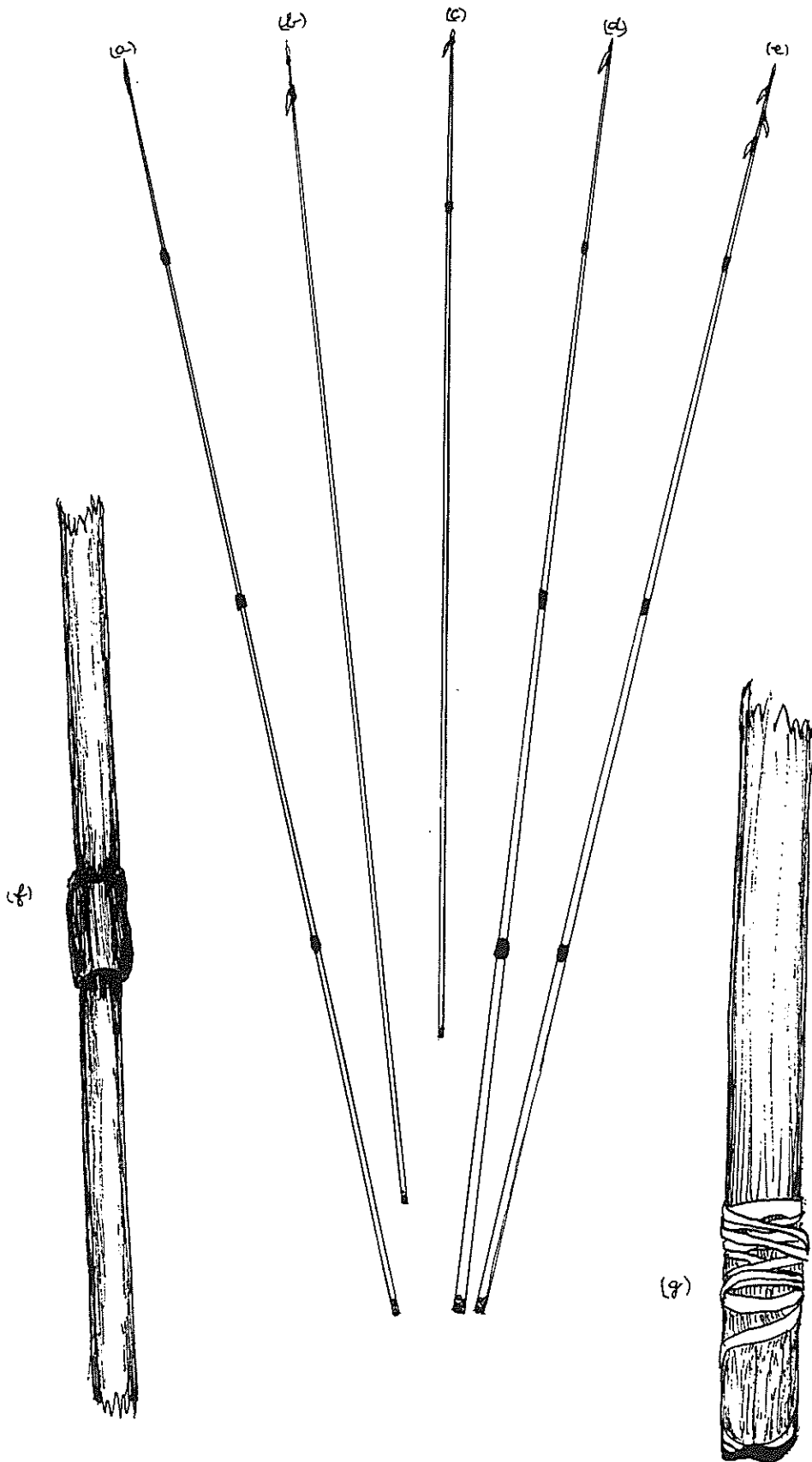
Combat and hunting spears

- (a) long, unbarbed war spear called **garabini**
- (b) tipped and lower barbed spear called **yilamay**
- (c) short, one barbed spear called **duwal**
- (d) long, one barbed spear called **nurugal gamay**
- (e) long, three pronged spear called **gungan**
- (f) spear shaft join detail
- (g) spear shaft base seal and bind to prevent splitting of shaft from the end

(Smith and Wheeler 1988, plates 42, 49; National Library of Australia Pictorial Collection NL:429 M/32; Barratt 1981, plate 7)

COMBAT/HUNTING SPEARS

WITH DETAILS OF SHAFT JOINS AND SHAFT END BIND AND SEAL



Fighting clubs

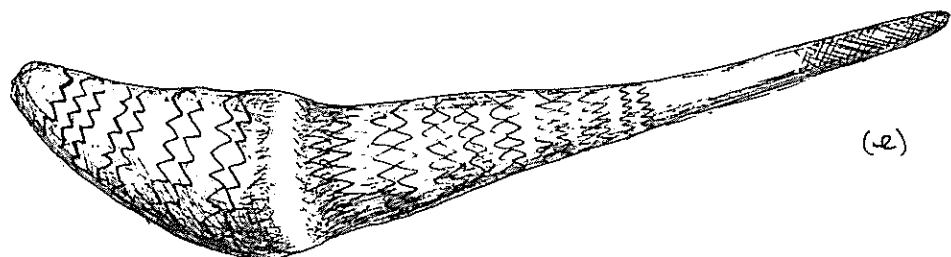
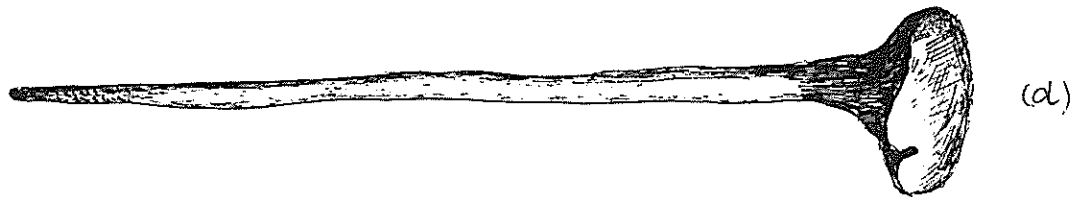
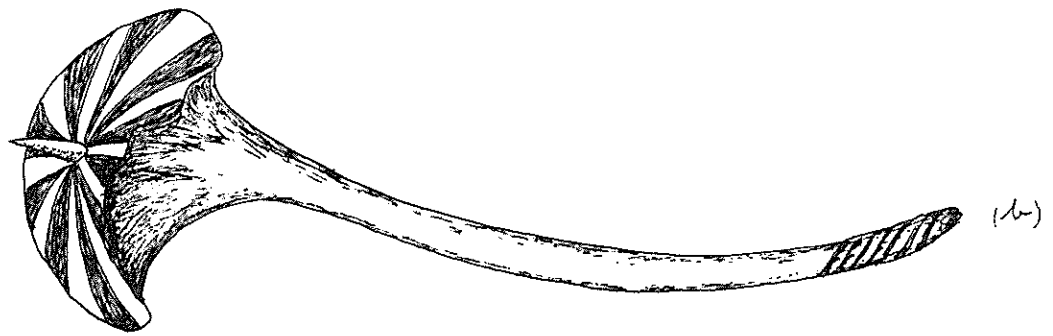
(a) and (b) are clubs called made from the root of tree and because of their mushroom shaped heads are called **ngalangala** which also means 'mushroom'

(c) and (d) knob headed clubs, also made from tree roots, called **banday** or **gabarra**

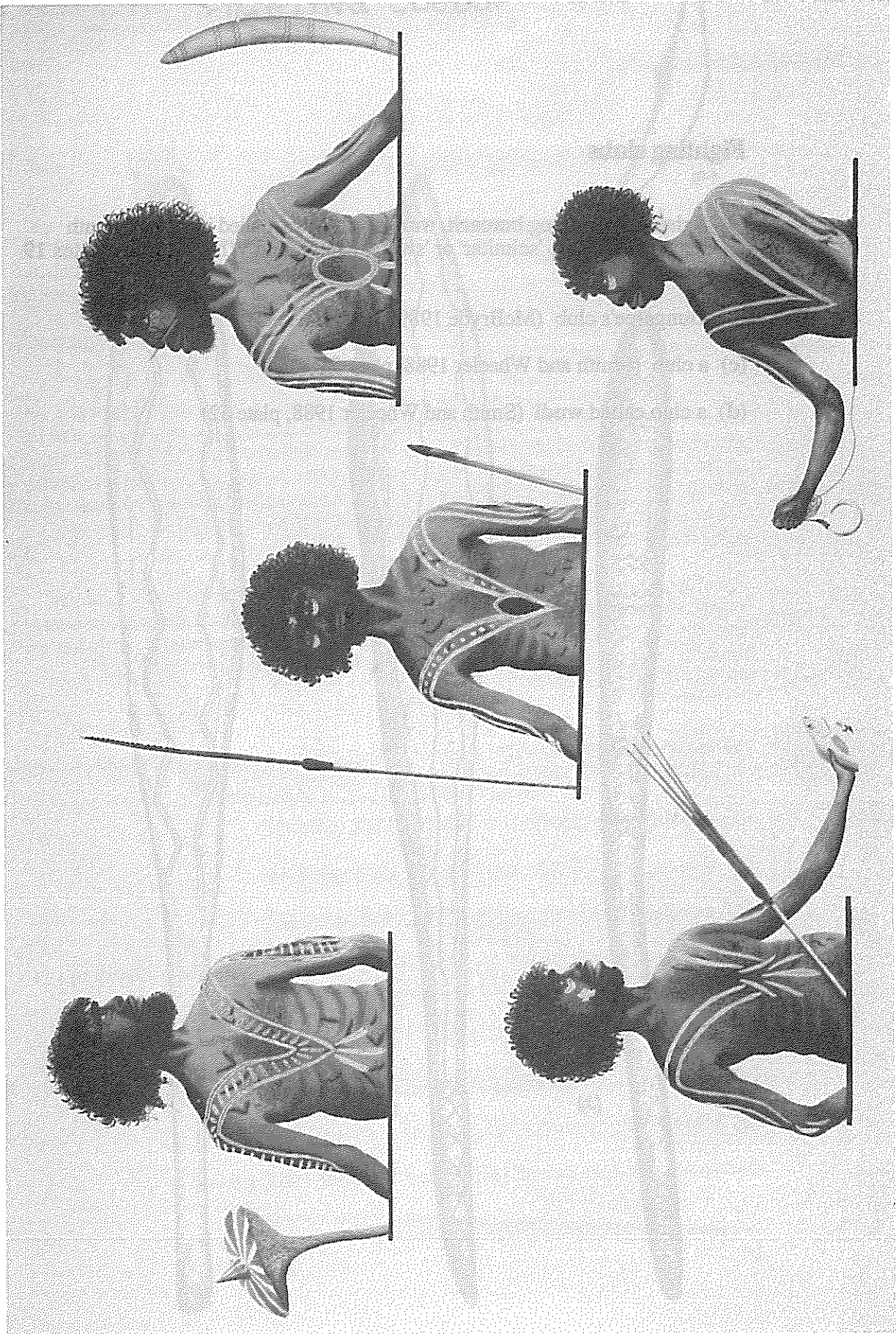
'A stick of the natural growth, with the bark on; the root of which is cut round into a large knob; the end is made rough with notches, that it may be held more firmly in the hand.' (White 1962[1790]:201)

(e) Club called a **wumarang**, twenty six inches long (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plates 43 and 52).

FIGHTING CLUBS



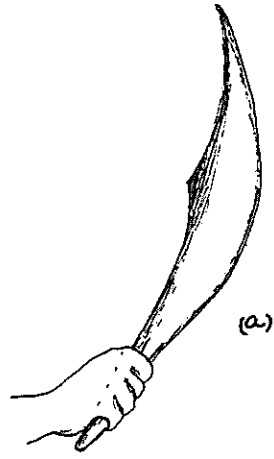
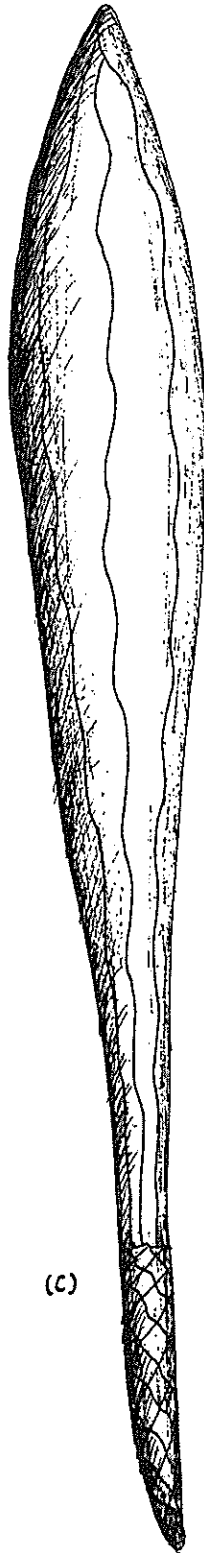
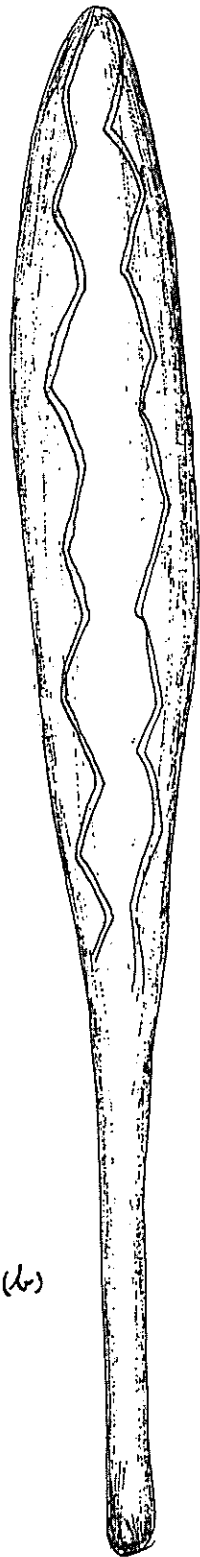
Port Jackson Painter, fl. 1788-1792
Five half-length portraits of Aborigines.
gouache drawings; 38.5 x 55 cm
Rex Nan Kivell Collection NK144/C, National Library of Australia
(with permission from the National Library of Australia)



Fighting clubs

- (a) fighting boomerang **bumarit**, **wumarang**, **yara**, called in the eighteenth century literature 'scimitar' or 'sword' (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plates 19 and 61)
- (b) Bungaree's club (McBryde 1989, plate 41)
- (c) a club (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 55)
- (d) a club called **wudi** (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 52)

FIGHTING CLUBS



Throwing and clubbing weapons

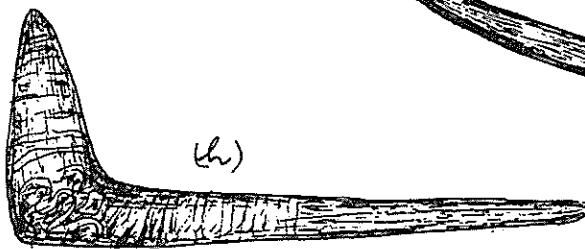
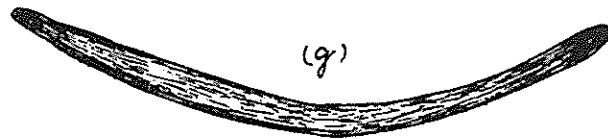
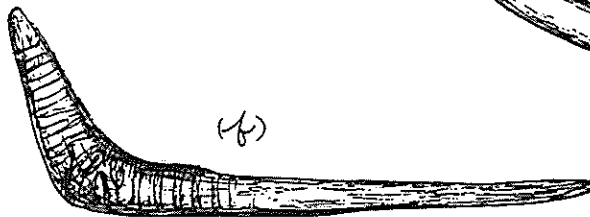
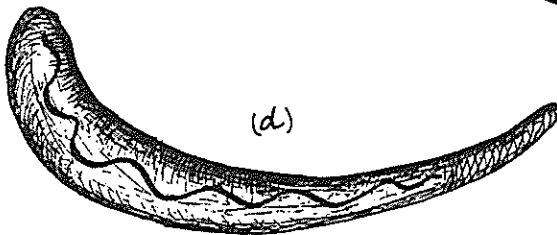
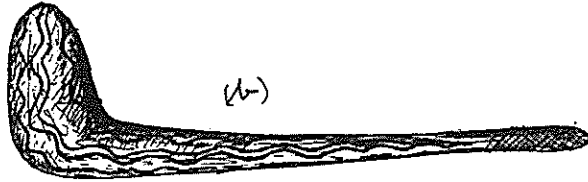
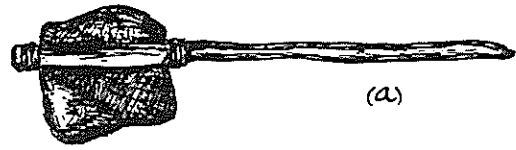
All the swords and clubs illustrated are 95cms or more in length. Illustrations (b) to (h) are of various forms of non-returning boomerangs. The eighteenth century sources refer to the artefacts as 'scimitars' or 'swords'. Contemporary sources refer to them as 'wooden clubs', 'bladed clubs', 'swords' and non-returning boomerangs'. Sydney language words for boomerang were **bumarit**, **wumarang**, **bumarang** and **yara**.

Glynn Barratt, who translated the journals of Russian visitors to Sydney between 1814 and 1822, observed that the clubs depicted in figures (f) and (h) could be 'considered unique as a Port Jackson bladed club of the variety depicted in the ancient rock-carvings' of the Sydney district. He also noted that during that time the majority of clubs used by Aboriginal people in the Port Jackson area ranged from 75 to 105 cm in length and were made of ironwood' (Barratt 1981:88).

An eighteenth century source wrote that 'the sword is a large heavy piece of wood, shaped like a sabre, and capable of inflicting a mortal wound: in using it they do not strike with the convex side, but with the concave one; and strive to hook in their antagonists, so as to have them under their blows' (Tench 1979[1789, 1793]:284)

- (a) stone and wood club like a stone hatchet called **mugu** (Bonnemains, Forsyth and Smith 1988, plate 16036, p. 89)
- (b) wooden club (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 67)
- (c) wooden club (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 44)
- (d) wooden club (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 67)
- (e) wooden club or 'sword' (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 55; National Library Pictorial Collection NL:429 M/32)
- (f) bladed club (Barratt 1981, plate 6)
- (g) non-returning boomerang (Barratt 1981, plate 5)
- (h) bladed club (Barratt 1981, plate 6)
- (i) wooden club or 'sword' (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 67)

THROWING and CLUBBING WEAPONS



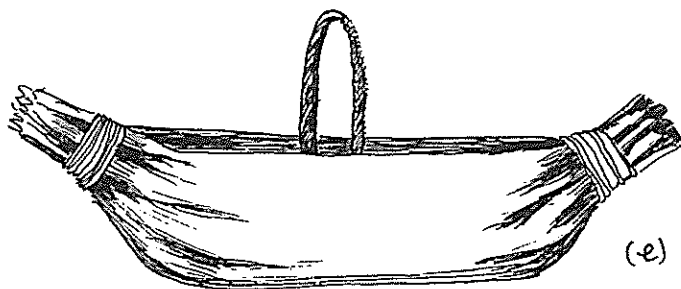
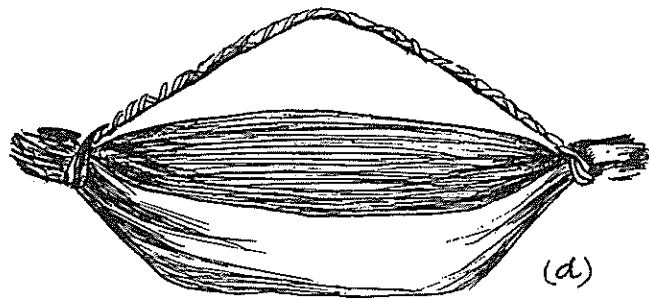
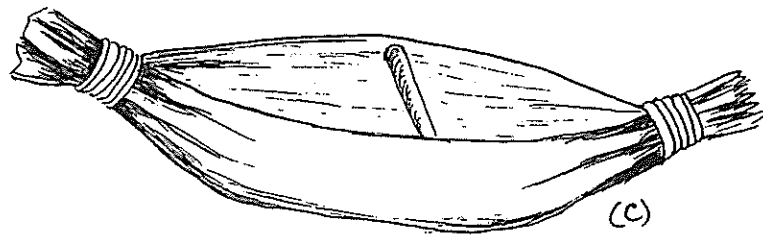
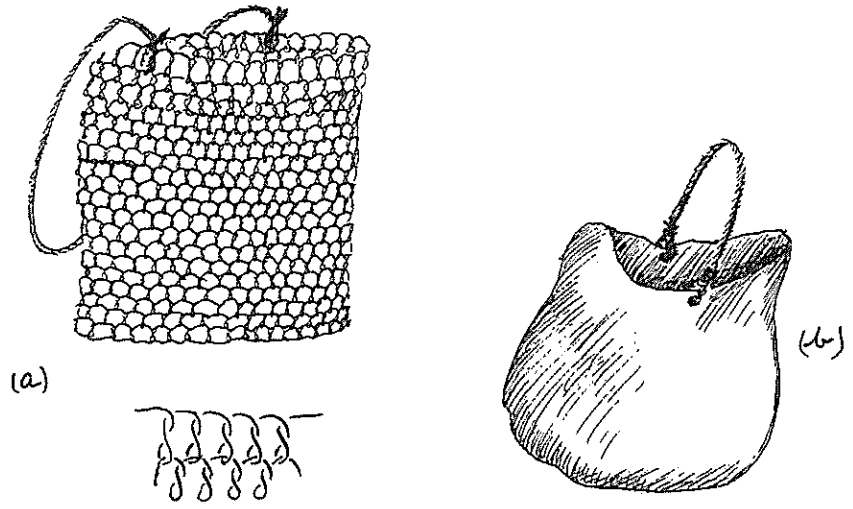
Containers

- (a) Womens' string net bag called **djuguma**. The detail explains the knotless netting technique used to form the bag using string spun from the shredded inner bark of a shrub.
- (b) Container called **gulima** formed by hollowing out the knot of a tree malformation.
- (c), (d) and (e) are baskets called **bangali** made from a single piece of bark. They were used on fishing trips to contain the catch or to carry water when sealed and waterproofed with resin made from yellow gum.

A description of the manufacture of the basket in figure (d): 'This separated whole from the tree is gathered up at each end in folds, and bound in that form by withes [a tough, flexible shoot used for tying up a bundle], which also make the handle. The basket is patched in several places with yellow gum [resin from the grass tree *xanthorrhoea*], from which it appears to have been sometimes used for carrying water.' (White 1962[1790]:201)

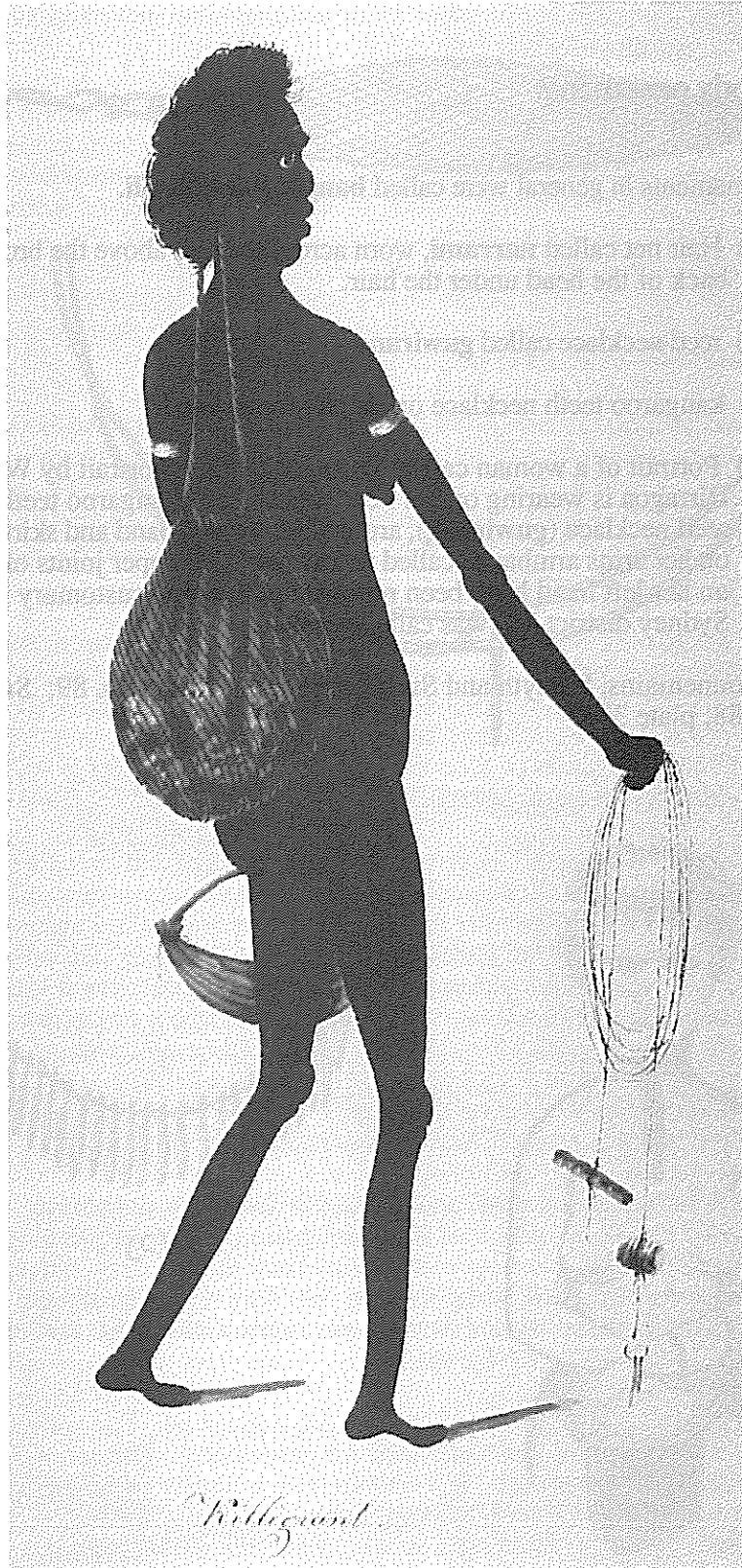
(Smith and Wheeler 1988, plates 32, 34, 35, 43, 44, 45, 54; White 1962[1790], plate 37; Bonnemains, Forsyth and Smith 1988, plate 16036, p. 89)

CONTAINERS



Killigrant, an Aboriginal woman from Sydney, carrying a bark fishing line with shell fish hook and a bark basket. She has a net bag full of various food such as shell fish and root vegetables which she has collected. The bag hangs down her back suspended from her forehead. Killigrant also wears armbands made either from bark string or hair string.

'Killigrant' ca 1819
Richard Brown (1776-1824)
watercolour 28.6 x 21.6 cm
Petherick Collection, The National Library of Australia
(reproduced with permission of the National Library of Australia)



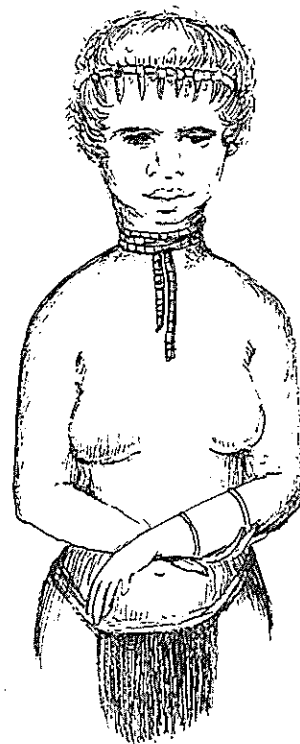
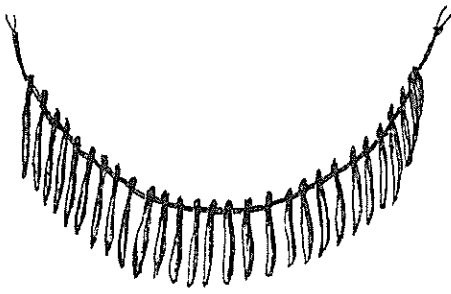
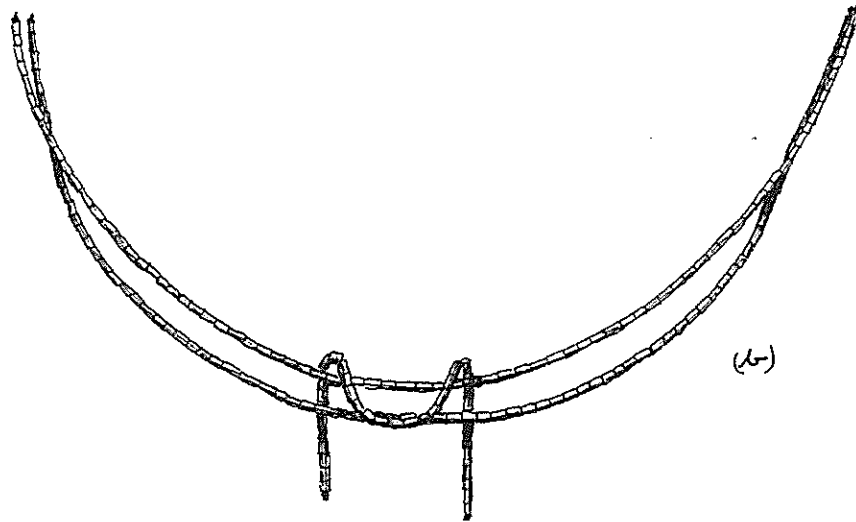
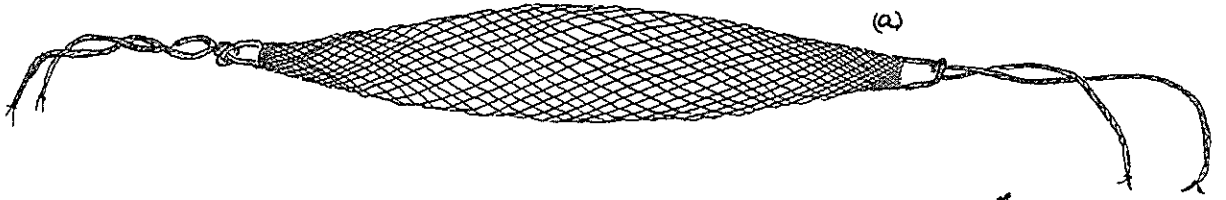
Body ornaments

Ornaments in general were called **bangada** or **bangali**.

- (a) Hair net called **narrami**, worn across the hair above the brow and tied at the back of the head under the hair.
- (b) reed necklace called **guwirang**
- (c) kangaroo teeth necklace or chaplet (head band)
- (d) Portrait of a woman called 'Dirragoa', after a portrait by William Westall. Dirragoa is wearing on her head a chaplet of kangaroo teeth, on her neck a reed necklace (**guwirang**), around her waist a band and skirt called **barrin** and on her arms armbands called **nurunyal**. The upper joints of the little finger on her left hand have been removed which was customary for women in the Sydney district and was called **malgun**.

(Bonnemains, Forsyth and Smith 1988, plate 16036, p. 89; Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 3)

BODY ORNAMENTS



Fishing hooks and lines, canoes and paddles

'The canoes, fish-gigs, swords, shields, spears, throwing sticks, clubs and hatchets are made by the men: to the women are committed the fishing lines, hooks and nets' (Tench 1979:283).

Fishhooks are called **bara** and were generally made from shell or wood. The first two illustrations are of the stone fish hook and the next are of wood and shell. An eighteenth century commentator observed that fishhooks were often made of 'mother of pearl, formed by an internal volute of some spiral shell, assisted by grinding it a little on one side only' (White 1962[1790]:200). The most commonly used shell was the large turbon shell *turbo torquata* which was filed into a crescentric shape with a small stone. Wooden fish hooks were 'formed of a hard black wood-like substance, neatly executed, and finished with a small knob to assist in fastening it to the line'.

A stone fishhook made from ferruginous Hawkesbury sandstone was found during an archaeological excavation of a rock shelter at Newport. Vincent Megaw, the archaeologist who found the object, suggested it may have been a hook shaped file or a ritual object (Megaw 1974:23, figure 18). William Dawes noted a stone fish hook as one of the items on his wordlists, but gave it the same name as any fish hook

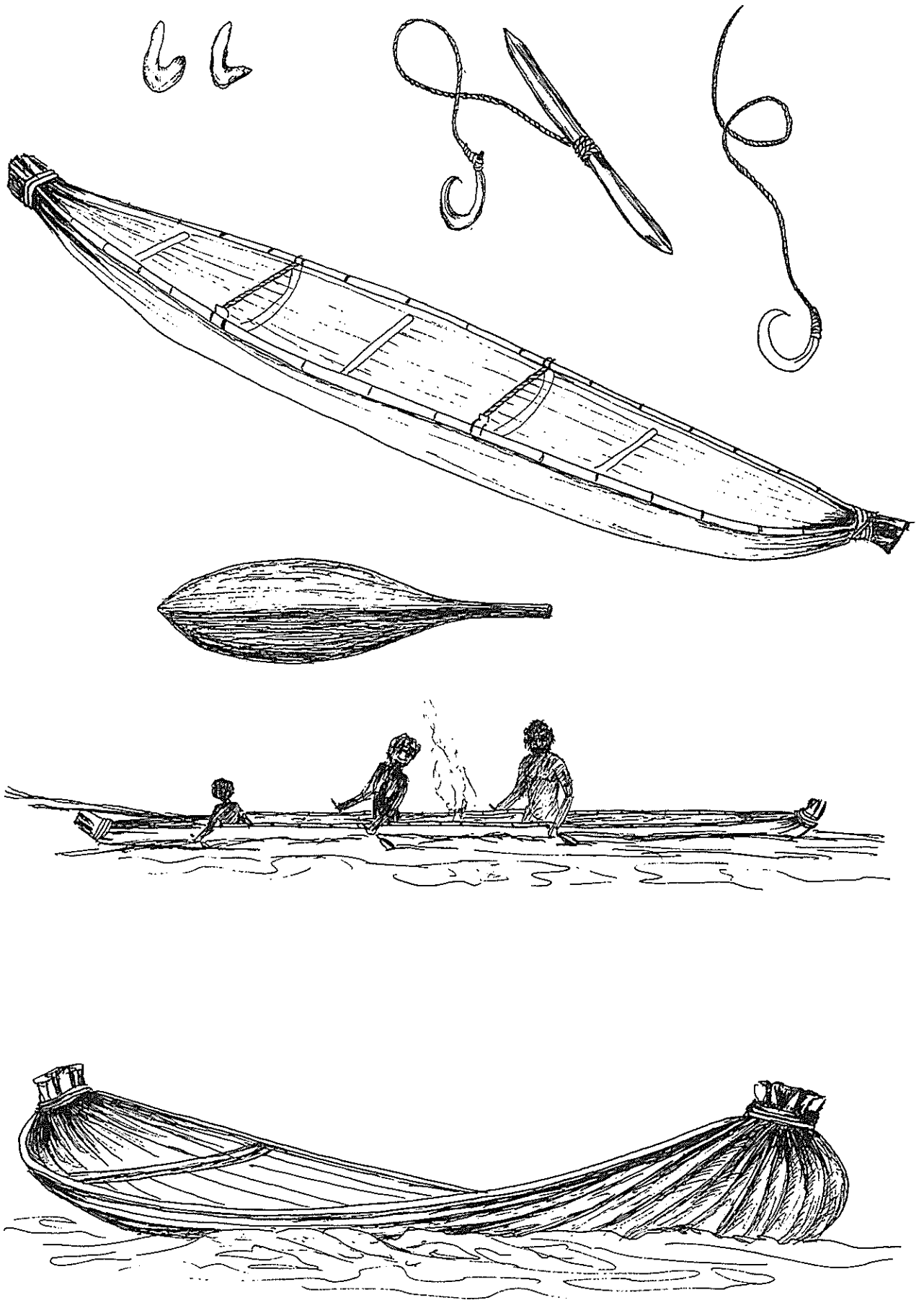
'The hook itself was not baited but a burley of chewed up fish or shellfish was spat into the water to attract fish to the hook' (Smith and Wheeler 1988:43). 'The fish hooks are chopped with a stone out of a particular shell, and afterwards rubbed until they become smooth. They are very much curved, and not barbed—in all these manufactures the sole of the foot is used by both men and women as a work board.' (Tench 1979[1789, 1793]:284)

Fishing lines consisted 'of two strands evenly laid and twisted hard; made with a grassy substance dark in colour, and nearly as fine as raw silk' (White 1962[1790]:200). The knot in the fishing line was called **ngara** and the snood to the fishhook was called **garal**. The sinker for a fishing line was made from a small stone and called **ngamal**. 'After making fishing line it was rendered water tight by soaking it in the sap of the blackwood tree—*Eucalyptus gummifera*' (Smith and Wheeler 1988:43). 'The fishing lines are made of the bark of a shrub: the women roll shreds of this on the inside of the thigh so as to twist it together, carefully inserting the ends of every fresh piece into the last made:—they are not as strong as lines of equal size, formed of hemp' (Tench 1979:284).

The canoe was called **nuwi** and the paddle **banga** or **narawang**. Canoes were generally eleven or more feet long and made out of a single strip of bark bunched, tied and sewn up with stringy bark at each end. Stretchers were placed across the bark, some three or four feet wide (Smith and Wheeler 1988:62). 'In these canoes they always carry a small fire laid upon sea-weed or sand' (Collins 1975[1798]:461).

The first canoe illustrated is bark and has a gunwail. The paddles for the canoe were made of wood and were used for propulsion. The second canoe is shallow and also made from bark. It is shown with a family paddling and cooking their catch in the fire on board, a fishgig is in the prow of the canoe (illustration after Thomas Watling). Illustrated on the lower part of the page is a shallow bark canoe without a gunwail. (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plates 43, 45, 50; Chapman 1981:202; Hackforth Jones 1977, illustration 26)

FISHING HOOKS and LINES, CANOES and PADDLES



Fishing harpoons

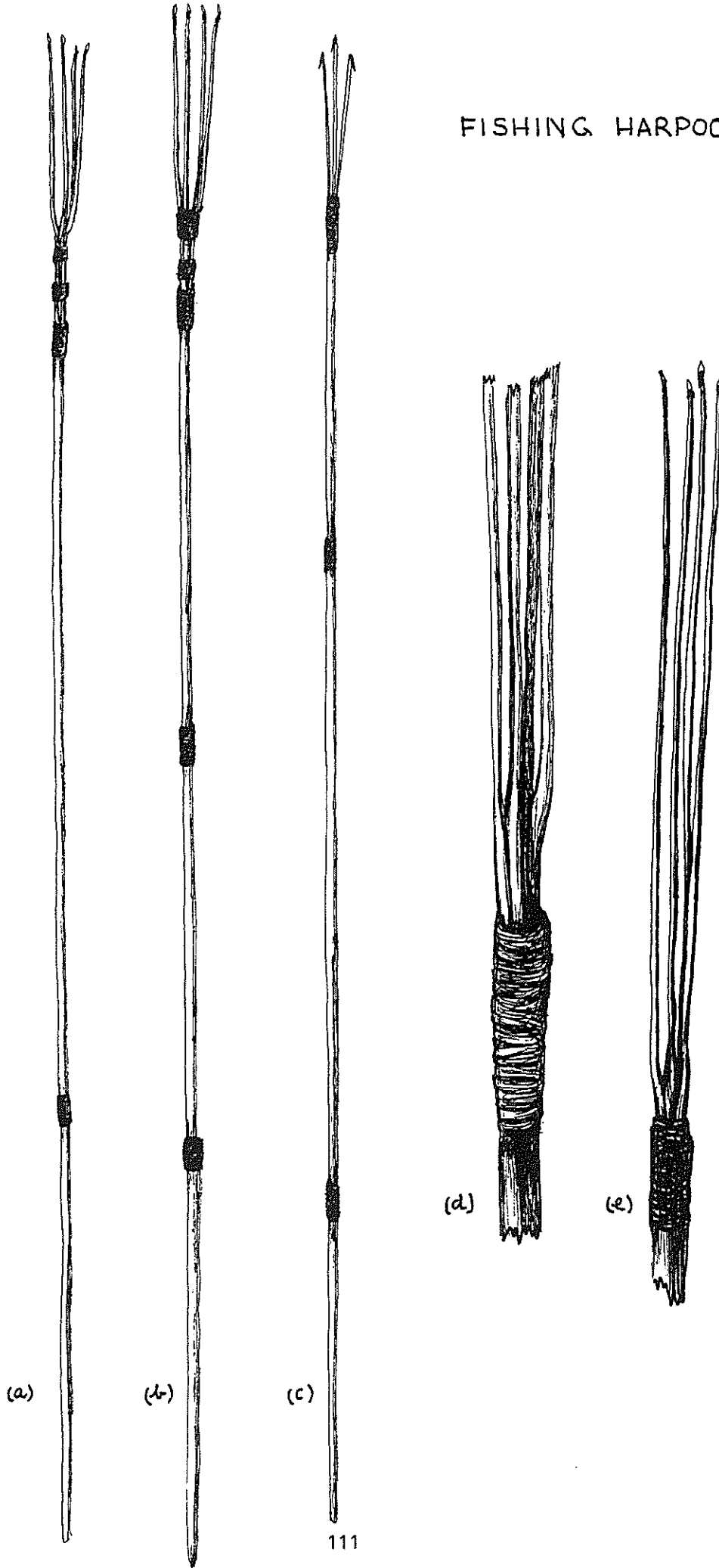
- (a) and (b) are two styles of four pronged harpoons called **galara**
- (c) Three pronged harpoon called **muding**. The prong of the **muding** is called **garraba**.
- (d) Detail of bind join of prongs to harpoon shaft.
- (e) Detail of four pronged head of **galara**. The prong of the **galara** is called **damuna**.

FISH HARPOONS

Fishing harpoons were up to 277cm long, with prongs to 73 cm long, the points were provided with sharp serrated pieces of bone.

'The fish gigs and spears are commonly but not universally made of the long spiral shoot which arises from the top of the yellow gum-tree [grass tree *xanthorrhoea*]' (Tench 1979[1789, 1793]:284). 'The shaft consists of two pieces, a large and a small one, joined by the gum [gum from the grass tree]: and the head is composed of four sticks inserted into the shaft with gum, and tied together above with slips of bark, which are afterwards tightened by little wedges driven within the bandage: each of these sticks is terminated by the tooth of a fish, very sharp, stuck on by a lump of the gum cement: the shaft of this instrument is punctured in many places with very small holes, to the pith in the centre.' (White 1962[1790]:201)

FISHING HARPOONS



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