

# **THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE**

**by**

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**Produced with the assistance of the Australian Dictionaries Project and  
the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies**

**Canberra 1993**

*For Pádraigh*

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First published 1994.

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Typeset in Times Roman and a modified version of Phonetic Times.  
Printed by Panther Publishing and Printing, Canberra.

National Library of Australia Cataloguing-in-Publication data:-  
Troy, Jakelin.  
The Sydney Language.  
Bibliography.  
ISBN 0 646 110152.

[1.] Australian languages - New South Wales - Sydney - Glossaries, vocabularies, etc.  
[2.] Aborigines, Australian - New South Wales - Sydney - History.  
I. Troy, Shirley, 1928-; II. Title. 499.15

Cover illustration: 'Waratah' by John Hunter (1737-1821), watercolour 22.6 x 18.3 cm, no. 62 in his *Birds and flowers of New South Wales*, Rex Nan Kivell Collection NK 2039/62 (reproduced with permission from the National Library of Australia).

Frontispiece: 'Port Jackson, a native 1802' by William Westall (1781-1850), pencil drawing 31.8 x 26.4 cm (reproduced with permission from the National Library of Australia).

# GLOSSARY

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

# 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.

# 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':-

| <b>Coast</b>   | <b>Inland</b> | <b>English</b>    |
|----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 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).

## 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 Kāuriāggai' (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.

## 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)

Kanguroo, 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 kanguroos. (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 melodious, 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 letters in the French verb *hàir*, 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 *Wùr-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  |
| <b>stop</b>    | b/p    | d/t      |           | dh      | dy/dj/tj | g/k    |
| <b>nasal</b>   | m      | n        |           | nh      | ny       | ng     |
| <b>lateral</b> |        | l        |           |         | ly       |        |
| <b>rhotic</b>  |        | rr       | r         |         |          |        |
| <b>glide</b>   |        |          |           |         | y        | w      |

## Vowels

|             | front | mid | back |
|-------------|-------|-----|------|
| <b>high</b> | i     |     | u    |
| <b>low</b>  |       | 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** *t@arrsbi* (Dawes b), *ty@arrsbi* (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. *9@ana* (Dawes b), *gn\$a-n\$a* (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, ã a, ãã, e, ãu' 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 letteres in the French

verb hair, to hate' (Tench 1979:292-3). 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'\$am&o-l\$ (Sth), as if D'\$a-m&oligh' (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 ʒ. However, Dawes' version is cursive *g* with cursive *n* superimposed over it. I have used ʒ 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 &ee.
3. Dawes placed a continuous line over terminal *-ng* (as in 'sing' and 'king'), which is here reproduced with a macron over each letter—*\$n\$g*.

### **William Dawes' orthographic table**

| Letter | Name | Sound  | as in the english sic words    |
|--------|------|--------|--------------------------------|
| ãa     | aw   | aw     | all call                       |
| ã a    | a    | a      | at am an                       |
| b      | be   | b      |                                |
| d      | de   | d      |                                |
| e      | e    | e      | ell empty                      |
| f      |      |        |                                |
| g      | gay  | g hard | good gum                       |
| h      |      |        |                                |
| È      | &ee  | &ee    | in it ill                      |
| i      | aí   | aí     | <u>I</u> <u>ivy</u> <u>ire</u> |
| k      | ka   | k      |                                |
| l      | el   | l      |                                |
| m      | em   | m      |                                |
| n      | en   | n      |                                |
| ʒ      | eng  | ng     | si\$ng ki\$ng                  |
| o      | o    | o      | open over                      |
| p      | pe   | p      | p                              |
| r      | er   | r      |                                |
| s      | es   | s      |                                |
| t      | te   | t      |                                |

|    |    |                         |           |
|----|----|-------------------------|-----------|
| u  | oo | oo                      | cool fool |
| ãu | u  | <u>un-</u> <u>under</u> |           |
| 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 9. Dawes' use of 9 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  $\tilde{a}a$  which he wrote sounded like 'aw as in all, call', suggesting a low central rounded vowel. The second symbol marked with overdot is  $\tilde{a}u$  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.  $\tilde{a}a$ , 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  $\&ee$  which is the sound assigned to his symbol  $\grave{E}$  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 'È', 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 'aí in 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  $\grave{E}$  because Dawes wrote in a cursive script, often accented *i* and generally capitalised the initial letter of the

words in his vocabulary. Dawes used accute 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 accute 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. 'Bárinmun\$Èn Because I had no barin. Note. If Barrin had not ended with an *n* it would have been bun\$Èn instead of mun\$Èn' (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—'Burud\$Èn from Búrudu a flea or louse and \$Èn a sign of the ablative case' (Dawes b).

- (1) *MÈnyÈn túnga? Why does she cry? 9abá9o. For the breast. (answer)* (Dawes b)  
**minyín dunga ngaba-ngu**  
 why cry breast-DAT
- (2) *Benelongi 'Benelong's'* (Dawes b)  
**Banalung-gay**  
 Benelong-GEN
- (3) *burud\$Èn* (Dawes b)  
**burud-in**  
 flea-ABL
- (4) *kandāul\$in '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 mÈrāa9. 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 Ca-mer-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) *Ngia Ni (as nigh). I see or look.* (Dawes a)  
 Ngia (1) n'y (2). I (1) do see (2). (Dawes a)  
**ngaya** **nayi**  
 1S see

- (10) *Mr. Dawes ngy@ÈnÈ 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' (*ngal\$ari we two*) and **ngalu** 'we dual' (*9\$alu 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' (*9yéllu 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 "9@ÈnÈ Gonagúlye, 9ia, Na9ady@È9un." Patye did correct me and said "BÈal Na9adyÈ9un." Patye did correct me and said "BÈal Na9adyÈ9un; Na9ady@Ènye." Hence Na9adyÈ9un is dual We, and Na9ady@Ènye is Plural We. (Dawes b)

- (11) *9@ÈnÈ Gonagúlye, 9ia, Na9ady@Ènye* (Dawes b)  
**ngyini** **Gunagulya** **ngaya** **nanga-dyi-niya**  
 you Gungagulya 1S sleep-PAST-1PL

- (12) *na9adyÈ9un* (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** (*naanóong@È*) 'his or hers'; **ngyiningi** (*ngiéeneengy*) 'yours'; **daringal** (*dáringal*) 'his'; and **dani** (*danÈ*) '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).

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| <b>-dya</b> ( <i>-dia, -die</i> )                       | past tense     |
| <b>-ba</b> ( <i>-ba</i> )                               | future tense   |
| <b>-ø</b>   | present tense  |
| <b>-wa</b> ( <i>-ou</i> )                               | I              |
| <b>-ngun</b> ( <i>-9un, -ngoon</i> )                    | we             |
| <b>-mi</b> ( <i>-m&amp;È, -mi</i> )                     | you (singular) |
| <b>-niya</b> ( <i>-n&amp;Èe</i> )                       | you (plural)   |
| <b>-nga</b> ( <i>-9a</i> ), <b>-ban</b> ( <i>-ban</i> ) | he, she, it    |
| <b>-wawi</b> ( <i>-ou&amp;È</i> )                       | they           |
| <b>-la</b>  | imperative     |

Dawes made some direct comment on verbs:-  
 DiémÈ 2d person singular the termination of the imperfect tense of verbs. (Dawes b)

Patà&Èebá 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 Patà&Èebá or He will eat, signifying that I was going on board to dinner. The syllable l&Èe 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:-**

Bangad\$@Sarabaóu 1st singular...d\$ara...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 D\$ara. In which case it appears that they, put words sometimes between the root and the termination. They were not speaking of D\$ara, for since, I have heard them repeat d\$ara 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

Naadióu I did see or look or have seen etc.  
 Naadiémi Thou  
 Naadiá9a He  
 Naadia9un We  
 Ye  
 Naadiou&È They

Future

Naabaóu I will see or look  
 Naabám&È Thou  
 Naabában He  
 Naabángoön We  
 Naabán&Èe Ye  
 Naabáou&È 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) *ŋʂana ŋwÈyí. 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) *Yenmóon&u&È. Not go. (Dawes a)*  
**yan-muni**  
go-PRIV

# 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               | <b>bangading</b> bungading (M)  |
| arm                | <b>darang</b> tar-rang (C), gading (A), <b>gugu</b> kogo (Pa), <b>nurung</b> nurung (M), <b>mining</b> minni9 (R)             |
| armpit             | <b>gidi-gidi</b> g@Èttee g@Èttee (b) (W)  |
| back               | <b>buya</b> buya (b), buyu (M), <b>gurrabal</b> kurrabãul (b) (J), koro-boul (Pa), <b>gili</b> g\$ili (R)                     |
| beard              | <b>yarring</b> yar-re (c), yarre (A), yar-rin (c), yar-rin (C), yerring (A), yarring (M), y\$ah-r&an (Sth)                    |
| blood              | <b>banarang</b> b@unnerung (b), pan-ne-ra (c) (A), pan-ner-rong (c), ba-na-rang (A), <b>mala</b> mula mula (M), m\$ula (R)    |
| boil               | <b>burgaya</b> burgía (a) (W), <b>buga</b> b\$uk\$a (R)   |
| bone               | <b>dyara</b> diera (A), jara (M)  |
| bosom              | <b>marbal</b> mor-bal (Sth), maar-bul (Sth), mor-bou (Sth)  |
| breast             | <b>warra</b> war-ra (A)   |
| breasts or nipples | <b>nabang</b> 9ab@a9 (b) n\$a-bung (c), na-bung (C), nabanq (A), nipan (Cl) ngubbung (M), n\$abu9 (R)                         |
| buttocks           | <b>bung</b> bong (posteriors) (b), boong (T), bong (Sth), bong-boo-ro-no-tong (backside) (c)                                  |
| cheek              | <b>birra</b> bir-ra (A)   |
| chin               | <b>walu</b> wáulo (b), wal-lo (c), wal-lo (C), wallo (A), w\$a-loo (Sth)  |
| ear                | <b>guri</b> gurÈ (b), gorey (c), go-ray (c), go-ray (C), gorey (P), gorai (A), goo-reè (T), go-reé (Sth), kuri (M), kurra (R) |
| elbow              | <b>yuna</b> o-nur (C), oôna (A)   |
| erection           | <b>wadhuk</b> wathuk (M)  |

|                                  |   |
|----------------------------------|---|
| excrement                        | <b>guni</b> kuni (M), <b>gunin</b> gonin ( <b>guni</b> 'excrement' <b>-in</b> 'from') (T)   |
| eye                              | <b>may</b> mi (b) (c) (C) (P) (A), my (c), mai (c), mia (P), mi (Sth), mai (R), mibberai (M)  |
| eyebrow                          | <b>yaynarri</b> y@inorÈ (b), yin-ner-r&i (c), yin-ner-ry (C), <b>wanari</b> wan-aree (A), <b>ngarran</b> 9@arãun (b), nar-ran (Sth)                                   |
| eyelash                          | <b>marin</b> m@ar\$Èn (b), <b>yanada</b> e-n&a-d&a (Sth), yé-n&a-d&a (Sth)  |
| fat (human)                      | <b>bugay</b> bog-gay (c), bog-gay (C), pog-gay (C), <b>guray</b> kurai (M)  |
| fingernail                       | <b>garungan</b> kar@ungan (b), k&a-rung-\$an (Sth)  |
| fingers                          | <b>barila</b> barril (a) be-rille (c), ber-ril-le (C), berille (A), berril (R), beril (A), <b>marra</b> mã€urr!a (b)  |
| flank                            | <b>binig</b> binning (M)  |
| flesh or lean (human)            | <b>badyal</b> pa-di-el (C), <b>djarra djarra</b> jarra jarra (M)  |
| fly-blown                        | <b>dyulibirung</b> ( <b>dyulibang</b> 'maggot, <b>-birung</b> from) tullibilo9 (R)  |
| foot or the feet                 | <b>manuwi</b> mana@ouwÈ (b), man-noe (c), ma-no-e (C), me-noe-wa (A), menoe (A), <b>duna</b> dunna (M), tunna (R)   |
| fore-finger                      | <b>darragali</b> dar-ra-gal-lie (C)   |
| forehead                         | <b>ngulun</b> 9\$ulu (b), gnul-lon (C), nul-la (A), nùl-lo (T), ngurran (M), <b>gobina</b> kobb\$ina (R)  |
| grey-headed (also old)           | <b>warunggat</b> warunggat (M)  |
| gut                              | <b>garrama</b> carra-mah (A)  |
| hair (pubic)                     | <b>nguruguri</b> nguruguri (M)  |
| hair (reddish or thick matted)   | <b>garrin</b> karr\$Èn (b)  |
| hair (woman's)                   | <b>wuwa</b> w@oe (b)  |
| hair                             | <b>djiwarra</b> dteéwara (b), devar-ra (c), de-war-r\$a (c), de-war-ra (C), diwarra (A), deè-war-a (T), duwarra (Pa)  |
| hair of the head                 | <b>gidan</b> gittan (M)   |
| hair of the head matted with gum | <b>gunat</b> goonat (W), ko-nutt (Sth), ko-nut (Sth)  |
| hand                             | <b>damara</b> tamera (c), tam-mir-ra (C), tamira (A), da-ma-na (A), tomara (Pa), dhummar (M), warawi war-re-wee (c), <b>baril</b> ( <b>barril</b> 'finger') buril (R) |
| head (hind head)                 | <b>guru</b> k@uru (b)   |

|                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| head (top head)              | <b>gamura</b> kamur@a (b)  |
| head                         | <b>gabara</b> k@ubbera (b), kãubb@ura (b), kã@ubera (b), cabera (c), c&a-b&er-r&a (c), ca-ber-ra (C), caberra (A), cobera (Pa), kobbara (M)                            |
| heart                        | <b>butbut</b> boot boot (A)  |
| hiccough                     | <b>naganyi</b> nakã€nyÈ (b)  |
| hoarseness                   | <b>gurak</b> k\$urak (R)   |
| itch                         | <b>gaybal</b> gaib\$al (R)   |
| joint                        | <b>madudji</b> medogy (c)  |
| kidney                       | <b>bulbul</b> bulbul (b) (J)   |
| knee                         | <b>bunang</b> b\$unãu9 (b), <b>guruk</b> go-rook (C), gor-rook (A), kuruk (M)  |
| leg                          | <b>darra</b> dar-ra (C), tarra (A), tera (Pa), <b>bining</b> bin-ning (A), <b>mandawi</b> ( <b>manawi</b> 'foot'; <b>-nd-</b> suggests inland dialect) mandao-i (R)    |
| lips                         | <b>wiling</b> weeling (b), willin (c), wil-ling (c), wil-ling (C), willin (A), wee-lang (A), weling (Pa), willin (M), <b>dalin</b> d\$a-lin (Sth)                      |
| little finger                | <b>wilingali</b> wel-leng-al-lie (C)   |
| liver                        | <b>naga</b> naga (A)   |
| marrow                       | <b>bimina</b> pea-mine (c)   |
| matter in a sore             | <b>nuwa</b> now-wa (c)   |
| middle finger or ring finger | <b>barugali</b> ba-roo-gal-lie (C)   |
| milk                         | <b>murdin</b> mur-tin (djin 'woman') (A)   |
| mosquito bite                | <b>dura dyang</b> ( <b>dura</b> 'mosquito') tewra dieng (c), teura-dieny (A)   |
| mouth                        | <b>garaga</b> káraga (b), kar-ga (c), garriga (c), kar-g\$a (C), kalga (A), keraka (Pa), <b>walan</b> wh\$al&an (Sth), <b>mundu</b> mundu (M), <b>midya</b> midyea (R) |
| muscle                       | <b>gurun</b> go-roon (A)   |
| nails                        | <b>garungin</b> car-rung-im (C), corungun (A), <b>garungali</b> car-rung-gle (c)   |
| navel                        | <b>munuru</b> m\$unuru (b), nan-a-ro (A), mùn-ee-ro (T), moon-&or-&oh (Sth)  |

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| neck                    | <b>gadyang</b> cad-le-ang (C), cad-le-ar (C), cad-lwar (A), col-liang (A), càl-ang (T), <b>gungga</b> kungga (M)                    |
| nose                    | <b>nuga</b> nogur (c), nogur (A), nuga (M), no-gro (C), nogra (R), n\$og&a-ra (Sth), no-g&ur-ro (c), no-gur-ro (C)                  |
| paunch                  | <b>gumama</b> kumema (M)  |
| penis                   | <b>gadja</b> ga-dia (c), ga-dia (P), ga-dyé (Sth), <b>windji</b> winji (M)  |
| ribs                    | <b>biba</b> bib-be (C) (A)  |
| rump                    | <b>gurba</b> kurpa (M)  |
| scar on the back        | <b>wirung</b> weroong (c), wir-roong (C)  |
| scars on the breast     | <b>gungarray</b> cong-ar-ray (C)  |
| shoulder                | <b>djarrung</b> dt@arrung (b), tarong (A)   |
| skin                    | <b>barrangal</b> barrangal (b) (J), bagi baggy (A)  |
| smallpox-like disease   | <b>galgala</b> gal-galla (c), gall gall (A), gulgul (R), <b>midyung</b> (also 'sore') mittayon (Cl)                                 |
| snout                   | <b>nagarang</b> n@agarã€u9 (b)  |
| sore (also 'torn')      | <b>midyung</b> me-di-ong (c), me-diong (C), med-yanq (A), <b>gigi</b> g\$igi (R)  |
| stomach ache            | <b>garramanyi</b> ( <b>garrama</b> 'gut') karam@anye (b)  |
| stomach or belly        | <b>barrang</b> ber@ang (b), ba-rong (c), bar-rong (c), bar-rong (C), barrong (A), bar-an`g (T), <b>bindhi</b> bindhi (M), bindi (R) |
| sweat (also 'to sweat') | <b>yuruga</b> yu-ru-ca (c), e-roo-ka (A), en-rie-g&o (Sth), eu-ré-go (Sth)  |
| swollen wrist           | <b>marri garadyara</b> ( <b>marri</b> 'very', <b>garadyi</b> 'doctor') murray-cara-diera (A)  |
| tears                   | <b>migal</b> me-gal (A)   |
| teeth                   | <b>dara</b> da-rah (c), dar-ra (c), da-ra (C), dara (A), ta-ra (A), d'tar-ra (Sth) terra (R), yira yira (M)                         |
| testicle                | <b>bura</b> b\$ora (b), booroow (A), <b>garawu</b> karau (M)  |
| thigh                   | <b>darra</b> (darra 'leg') dar-rah (c), tàr-a (K), dhurra (M)   |
| throat                  | <b>barangal</b> par-rangle (A)  |
| thumb                   | <b>wiyumanu</b> wy-o-man-no (C), <b>wiyangara</b> w\$ì-an-g&a-r&a (Sth)   |
| tongue                  | <b>dalang</b> tal-lang (c), tal-lang (C), talling (A), ta-lang (A)  |



|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| urine                 | <b>yilabil</b> ( <b>yilabi-</b> 'urinate') yillabil (M)                            |
| vein                  | <b>barangal</b> (barangal 'vein') ba-rongle (C), giyang k\$-ang (Sth)              |
| venereal disease      | <b>gubarung</b> goo-bah-rong (C), midjung (M)                                      |
| vulva                 | <b>gumirri</b> (also means 'hole') go-mer-ry (c), <b>mandura</b> mandura (M)       |
| wart                  | <b>dyanang</b> dtanã9 (b)  |
| woman's milk          | <b>murubin</b> moo-roo-bin (C)   |
| wound from a stick    | <b>wadibarang</b> ( <b>wadi</b> 'stick', <b>-birung</b> 'from') wad-de be-rong (c) |
| wound made by a spear | <b>gamaybirung</b> ( <b>gamay</b> 'spear', <b>-birung</b> 'from') ka-my-berong (c) |

## Human classification

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Aboriginal person  | <b>balagaman</b> black men (b)  |
| boy  | <b>wungarra</b> wongera (c), won-g&er-ra (c), wong-er-ra (C), wong-ara (A), oongra (Pa), woong-&a-r&a (Sth), wongerra (R), wu9ara (R), wungar (M) |
| child carried on the shoulders   | <b>wungarra djugama</b> ( <b>wungarra</b> 'boy') wong-ara jug-a-me (A), wungara juguma (M)  |
| child eight months old   | <b>buriguru</b> bore-goo-roo (C)  |
| child or baby  | <b>gurung</b> go-roong (C), kurung (M), g\$ur\$o9 (R), g\$uru9 (R)  |
| churl—one who refuses to give  | <b>damunalung</b> ( <b>damuna</b> 'exchange') t\$amunalã€9 (b)  |
| doctor or a person skilled in healing wounds, clever man, sorcerer—Aboriginal people called the surgeons of the colonists by this name                             | <b>garadyigan</b> karádigán (b), car-rah-de-gan (c), car-ra-dy-gan (P), car-rah-dy (c), cár-ad-ye (T), karr\$aj\$-i (R), <b>gurung</b> kurung (M) |
| female   | <b>wiring</b> wering (A), wiring (old woman) (M)  |
| fisherman  | <b>mani</b> (also 'ghost') mah-ni (C)   |
| fisherwoman  | <b>man</b> (also 'ghost') m\$ahn (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 | <b>man</b> ma-hn (C), mawn (A), mawn (T), <b>mani</b> manè (K), <b>buyi</b> (also 'dead') bò-ye (A)   |

|                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| girl                        | <b>waruwi</b> wer@owee (b), we-row-ey (C), wer\$owi (R), wir\$awi (woman) (R), <b>waruwi dyin (dyin</b> 'woman') werowey din (c), <b>guring</b> goor-ing (A), <b>durungaling</b> durungaling (M)   |
| infant at the breast        | <b>nabunggay widalyi (nabung</b> 'breast', <b>-gay</b> 'have', <b>wida</b> 'drink') nabung-ay wui-dal-liez (C)   |
| man                         | <b>mula</b> mulla (c), mu-l\$a (C), mulla (A) (Sth), mùl-la (T), maula (Pa), <b>mulabu</b> mulla-bo (all men) (c), <b>dhulay</b> dhulli (M), dhullai (M), dullai (Aboriginal man) (R)  |
| name                        | <b>giyara</b> k@Èara (b), chiara (c), chi-a-ra (C), <b>nandi</b> nanti (R)   |
| non-Aboriginal person       | <b>wadyiman</b> whiteman (b), <b>djaraba</b> dje-rab-ber (also 'musket' Aboriginal people frequently called the colonists by the name they gave the musket) (b), <b>djibagalung</b> j&ibag\$ulu9 (R), <b>barawalgal (barawal</b> 'very far') be-re-wal-gal (c) |
| old person in bad condition | <b>yarabundi</b> harabundi (M)   |
| old man                     | <b>gayanayung</b> guy-a-nay-yong (C), kaianyung (M)  |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| old woman                                 | <b>dyinuragang</b> dyËnorag@a9 (b)  |
| people or Aboriginal people               | <b>yura</b> eóra (b), e@ora (b), eo-ra (c), e-\$o-r\$ah (c), ee\$ora (b), eo-r\$a (C), eo-ra (A), yo-ra (A) |
| rascal                                    | <b>wawura</b> wa@ura (b)  |
| stranger (word has reference to sight, C) | <b>mayal</b> ( <b>may</b> 'eye') mi-yal (C), mai-\$al (R)   |
| spirit or a D.D. body                     | <b>gumada</b> goo-me-dah (c)  |
| union between the sexes                   | <b>nganaba</b> gna-ne-ba (c)  |
| woman                                     | <b>dyin</b> deeyin (b), din (c), din (C) (A), dee-in (T), gin (Pa), dyin (M), din (Cl)                      |
| women                                     | <b>dyinalyung</b> ge-nail-lon (c), dinallion (c), din aillon (A), din-al-le-ong (C), gin-al-le-ong (C)      |
| young man                                 | <b>guragalung</b> goragallong (c), go-rah-gal-long ('handsome man') (C), <b>guyung</b> guy-ong (c)          |
| young women                               | <b>guragalunggalyung</b> garagallong-alleong (c), go-rah-gal-long-al-le-ong (a handsome woman) (C)          |

## Kin terms

|                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| ally, friend in battle | <b>ngalaya</b> ng@all&ia (b)  |
| brother                | <b>babana</b> b\$ab&an&a (b), babunna (c), ba-bun-na (C), babunna (K), babuna (Pa), baa-b\$a-na (Sth), b\$ar-ba-na (Sth), bobkina (R), bobina (R), <b>gumal</b> coo-mal (Sth)   |
| brother-in-law         | <b>djambi</b> jambi (R)   |
| daughter               | <b>durunanang</b> do-roon-e-n\$ang (C)  |
| degree of relationship | <b>naragaying</b> narag@ai9 (b), <b>gumul</b> g@omãul (b)   |
| elder brother          | <b>guwalgang</b> ( <b>guwal</b> 'senior, big'), kowalga9 (b), cou-el-gon (c), gou-al-gar (c), ko-wál-gang (Sth), kowal-g\$ang (Sth)   |
| elder sister           | <b>guwalgalyung</b> ( <b>guwal</b> 'senior, big') kowalgaliã€a9 (b)   |
| father                 | <b>biyanga</b> 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-\$ana (Sth), bianya (M), b\$iana (R), beeangélly (b), be-yung-ulley (Sth) |
| friend or comrade      | <b>gamarada</b> kamar@a (b), kamar\$ata (b), gnar-ra-mat-ta (C), <b>mama</b> m\$ama (b), <b>midjigan</b> mittigan (R)   |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| friendship—a term of friendship  | <b>gumal</b> go-mul (C)  |
| grandfather  | <b>guman</b> go-man (C)  |
| husband  | <b>mulamang</b> ( <b>mula</b> 'man') m@ulla (b), mulla-mang (c), mullaming (M), mollimi9 (R)   |
| intermediary in battles between individuals  | <b>gabami</b> c\$a-bah-my (C)<br>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   | <b>wiyanga</b> 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), w\$ia9 (sister) (R)  |
| mourner at a funeral— friends of the deceased who are painted red and white  | <b>mubi</b> moobee (W), mooby (C)  |
| mourning widow while covered with ashes and refusing food  | <b>gulang</b> go-lahng (C)   |
| lover or sweetheart  | <b>mugung</b> m\$ak\$u9 (b), mau-gohn (C)  |
| marital partner  | <b>mugungalyi</b> ( <b>mugung</b> 'lover') maugon-ally, m\$akungalÈ (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  | <b>damulay</b> ( <b>damulay</b> 'to change names') damolai (R), dam\$ili (R), d\$a-m&o-li (Sth), d'\$am&o-l\$ (Sth), da-me-li (name used by men) (C), da-me-li-ghen (name used by women) (C), taamool@y (b), da-me-la-bil-lie (c)                              |
| namesake of a deceased male  | <b>burang</b> bo-rahng(C)  |
| namesake of a deceased female  | <b>buranggalyun</b> 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 | <b>gibara</b> ( <b>giba</b> 'stone') ke-bar-ra (C)   |
| relation—a type of relation  | <b>mudjin</b> mud-gin (C)  |
| relation—a type of relation  | <b>malin</b> m\$alin (C)   |
| relation—a type of relation  | <b>nurgina</b> nurkine (C)   |

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| sister          | <b>djurumin</b> dturã€umÈn (b), tee-rum-min (Sth), <b>djuguru</b> d'to&o-go&o-roo (Sth), <b>dugana</b> tugne (Pa), <b>mamuna</b> m\$a-mun-na (c), ma-mun-na (C) |
| sister-in-law   | <b>djambing</b> jambi9 (R)  |
| son             | <b>durung</b> d\$o-roong (c), do-roon (C), dooroow (A), dooroow (K)   |
| wife            | <b>dyin</b> dyÈn (b), deeyin (b), <b>dyinmang</b> din-man (c), din-mang (c), dyinmang (M), jinma9 (R), <b>danungaru</b> tanungru (Pa)                           |
| younger brother | <b>ngaramada</b> ( <b>ngarang</b> 'junior') 9ar@amata (b)   |
| younger sister  | <b>ngarangalyung</b> ( <b>ngarang</b> 'junior') 9ar@a9alÈã€a9 (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 | <b>mibra</b> mee-brá (C)   |
| bora ceremony  | <b>yalabi dayalung</b> yell\$ab\$i dai&alo9 (R)  |
| tooth evulsion ceremony—operation  | <b>yulang yirabadjang</b> era-bad-djang (c), yoo-lahny erah-ba-diang (C)<br>The operation of tooth evulsion in which boys have an upper left front incisor removed by a <b>garadyi</b> 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 <b>yulang</b> 'ground where the ceremony of tooth evulsion took place' and <b>yirabadjang</b> which contains the verb <b>yira-</b> '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   | <b>burumurung</b> boo-roo-moo-roong (C)<br>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  | <b>yulang</b> yoo-long (C), yoo-lahng (C)<br>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   | <b>gurungyi biyal</b> ( <b>biyal</b> 'no') goo-ro gni biel (c)   |
| ceremony to prevent people becoming thieves—the parent of a child would scorch its   | <b>buduway</b> ( <b>buduway</b> 'scorch') putuwi (b)   |

fingers so that it will not steal

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** p@yomee (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  | <b>bangala</b> beng-al-le (C)<br>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 <b>bangala</b> (Samuel Bennett quoted in Bertie 1924:248).   |
| basket—a vessel made from bark or wood for carrying things  | <b>gungun</b> kungun (M)   |
| basket—made from the knot of a tree   | <b>gulima</b> goolime (W)  |
| big ship—name given to the First Fleet ship <i>Sirius</i> by Aboriginal people  | <b>marrinuwi</b> ( <b>marri</b> 'big', <b>nuwi</b> 'canoe') murray-nowey (A)   |
| block which was thrown along the ground as a target at which children threw a <b>muring</b> or stick like a toy spear | <b>garagadyara</b> karagady@era (b)  |
| book  | <b>buk</b> buk (b)   |
| boomerang for fighting  | <b>bumarit</b> boo-mer-rit (c), <b>wumarang</b> wo-mur-r\$ang (C), womarang (W), <b>bumarang</b> bumarang (M), bumarañ (M), b\$umarin (R), galabaran cal-la-ba-ran (A), <b>yara</b> y-\$a-r\$ah (Sth)<br>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  | <b>badal</b> bottle (b)  |
| camp  | <b>ngurra</b> ngurra (M)   |
| candle  | <b>gandal</b> candle (b), kandãul (b)  |
| canoe, boat or other water vessel   | <b>nuwi</b> 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  | <b>damang</b> d@amãung (CC) (b), damang (c)  |
| corset—a pair of stays  | <b>wulgan</b> wolgan (c)   |
| club—a long stick from the middle thicker at one end  | <b>wudi</b> ( <b>wudi</b> '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   | <b>banday</b> bundi (M)  |
| club—a club with a knob   | <b>gabarra</b> kuburra (M)   |
| club  | <b>ngalangala</b> ( <b>ngalangala</b> 'mushroom') gnal-lung-ul-la (C), nullanulla (R), <b>ngalangala darrilbarra</b> ( <b>darrilbarra</b> '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  | <b>duwinul</b> doo-win-nul (C)   |
| club  | <b>ganadaling</b> can-na-tal-ling (C)  |
| club  | <b>ganigul</b> can-ni-cull (C)   |
| club  | <b>garrawang</b> car-ru-w\$ang (C)   |
| club  | <b>darrilbarra</b> tar-ril-ber-re (C)  |
| compass—literally 'to see the way' (T)  | <b>ngamuru</b> (na- 'see', <b>mur</b> 'path) gna-mo-roo (c), nããã-mòro (T)   |
| covered or dressed—as a dressed sore  | <b>bangi</b> bang@È (b)  |
| feather ornament for the head   | <b>darral</b> ter-ral (A)  |
| fence—name given to palisade fences by Aboriginal people  | <b>ngumul</b> 9\$unmãul (b)  |
| fish hook made from shell, wood or stone  | <b>bara</b> bur-ra (A), bur-r\$a (C), bu-ra (Sth), berá (stone fishhook) (b)   |
| fish harpoon<br>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. | <b>galara</b> cal-larr (C), ca-la-ra (A), go&o-lar-ra (Sth)  |
| fish harpoon—a small fish-gig   | <b>muding</b> mut@È9un (b), mut@È9 (b), moo-ting (C), moo-tang (A), mutti9 (R), m\$u-ding (Sth)                      |
| fish harpoon for children   | <b>guwariya</b> gua-ree-ah (Sth), guar-ro-ah (Sth)   |
| fishing line—lines were made from bark of trees such as the kurrajong   | <b>garradjun</b> car-re-jun (c), carrigan (c), car-rah-jun (C), carra-duin (A), kurrajo9 (R), cara-d'yung (Sth)      |
| grave   | <b>buma</b> bwo-mar (C), bomar (C)   |
| gun   | <b>gan</b> gun (b)   |
| gun or musket—literally 'fire giver' or a 'stick of fire'   | <b>djarraba</b> ger-rub-ber (c) (A), ger-re-bar (c), dje-ra-bar (c), je-rab-ber (c), goðroobeera (T), jererburra (R) |
| handkerchief  | <b>hangadya</b> hand kerchyéra (-ra 'with') (b)  |
| hair ornament made by sticking kangaroo teeth in the hair with gum  | <b>manaran</b> ma-na-ran (A)   |
| house or hut—any habitation   | <b>gunya</b> gonye (b), gon-ye (c), gong-ye (c), gong-yea (c),   |



|  |  |
|--|--|
| constructed by people                                      | go-niee (c), go-nie (C), gon-yi (A), gunee (Pa), gunji (M), gunya (R), <b>ngalawi</b> ( <b>ngalawa</b> 'sit') 9alawi (b)   |
| jacket   | <b>garrangal</b> car-rang-el (c), <b>djagat</b> jacket (b)   |
| knot—a knot in a line                                      | <b>ngara</b> gna-ra (A)  |
| armband—a line wrapped around the arm made of animal fur   | <b>nurunyal</b> noo-roon-niel (c)  |
| line—a line made from hair                                 | <b>nalgarra</b> nalgarrar (c)  |
| line   | <b>murrira</b> moor-reere (c)  |
| net  | <b>narrami</b> nar-ra-mee (A), rawurawu rao-rao (R)  |
| net-bag  | <b>djuguma</b> juguma (M)  |
| nose ornament of bone or wood put through the nasal septum | <b>ngangung</b> gna-oong (A), nang-oon (A)   |
| ornaments in general                                       | <b>bangada</b> ben-gad-da (c), ben-gàd-ee (T), <b>bangali</b> bengalle (A), bang-ally (H)  |
| paddle or oar  | <b>narawang</b> na-ro-wang (A), narrawan (R), banga ( <b>bang-</b> 'to paddle') bongha (Pa)  |
| petticoat  | <b>madyi</b> matty (c)   |
| point of a spear   | <b>wudang</b> w@uda9 (b)   |
| possum rug   | <b>budbili</b> budbilli (R)  |
| prong of the <b>galara</b> 'fish harpoon'                  | <b>damuna</b> dam-moo-ne (C)   |
| prong of the <b>muding</b> 'spear'                         | <b>garraba</b> car-ra-ba (C)   |
| pubic covering or apron worn by girls                      | <b>barrin</b> 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  | <b>nanangyila</b> ( <b>na-</b> 'see', <b>nana-</b> 'see better') gnan-gnan-yeele (c)   |
| reed ornaments—strung around the waist or neck             | <b>guwirang</b> gweè-rang (A)  |
| shield   | <b>dawarang</b> 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   | <b>yarragung</b> ar-r\$a-gong (c), ar-r\$a-gong (C), ar-rah-gong (C) a-ra-goon (A), ar-a-goön (T)   |
| shield used to repel spears—small and made of bark   | <b>yilimung</b> 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), hilamong (M), h\$ilaman (R)                                       |
| shield to repel the wuda 'club'  | <b>milandhunth</b> millanthunth (M)   |
| ship—literally 'island', name given to ships by Aboriginal people  | <b>buruwang</b> bru-ang (c), boo-r\$o-wong (c), boo-roo-w\$ang (C), boo-roo-an (A), bruvong (Pa), <b>marri nuwi</b> ( <b>marri</b> 'big' <b>nuwi</b> 'canoe') muree nouee (Pa), murri nao-i (R) |
| sinker for a fishing line made from a small stone  | <b>ngamul</b> gnámmul (b) (W), gnam-mul (C), nam-mel (A)  |
| small ship—name given to the First Fleet ship <i>Supply</i> by Aboriginal people   | <b>narang nuwi</b> ( <b>narang</b> 'small', <b>nuwi</b> 'canoe') narrong nowey (A)  |
| snood to a hook—'snood' a or tie   | <b>garal</b> kar@al (b)   |
| spear with two barbs, also generic word for spear  | <b>gamay</b> ka-mai (c), ka-mi (c), kamaí (A), da-my (c), camye (A), kummai (M), k\$armai (R), gar-m\$it (Sth)  |
| spear<br>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. | <b>gunang</b> goo-nang (c), goong-un (C), goang-un (A), goon-gan (A)  |
| spear armed with pieces of shell   | <b>walangalyung</b> ( <b>walan</b> 'water') wal-lang-al-le-ong (C)  |
| spear armed with stones  | <b>ganadyul</b> can-na-diul (C)   |
| spear for throwing, with a barb fixed on with gum  | <b>yilamay</b> ilah-my (c)  |
| spear made from a reed   | <b>wari</b> wari (M)  |
| spear with one barb  | <b>nuru gamay</b> ( <b>nuru</b> 'hole', <b>gamay</b> 'spear') noo-ro c\$amy (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   | <b>bilarra</b> bill-lar-ra (c), bil-larr (C)  |
| spear, short with two barbs  | <b>duwal</b> doo-ul (c), doo-ull (C), doo-ul (P), du\$al (R), c\$a-my (C)   |
| spear without a barb   | <b>garubini</b> ghe-rub-bine (C)  |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| spear throwing stick   | <b>wumara</b> wómera (b), wo-ma-ra (c), wo-mer-ra (C), womera (Pa), womra (M), womar (A), womr\$á (R)<br>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   | <b>wigun</b> wig-goon (c) (C), wiggoon (W)<br>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 | <b>muring</b> mur\$í9 (b)   |
| stone hatchet or tomahawk  | <b>mugu</b> mo-go (C), mogo (A) (M)<br>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   | <b>wabat</b> we-bat (C)   |
| stone tool used in the ceremony of tooth evulsion to remove the tooth            | <b>gibara</b> ( <b>giba</b> 'stone') ke-bar-ra (C)  |
| sword  | <b>yarra</b> yer-ra (A), y-\$a-r\$ah (Sth)  |
| sword's back   | <b>barang</b> ber-€á9 (b), beráng (b)   |
| sword's edge—literally the back of a sword                                       | <b>garabul</b> karab@ul (b)   |
| telescope—'a glass to look through'  | <b>nangyila</b> ( <b>na-</b> 'see') gnan-gnyelle (c)  |
| torch made of reeds  | <b>budu</b> boo-do (C)  |
| weapon of defence used to fend off blows   | <b>djawarra</b> d'tar-warra (Sth)   |
| window glass   | <b>dalangyila</b> ( <b>dalang</b> 'tongue') tallangeele (c)   |
| window   | <b>winda</b> winda (b)  |
| yamstick   | <b>guni</b> kunni (M)   |

## Food, cooking and fire

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| biscuit | <b>bidjigat</b> bisket (b), garana cah-rah-ne (c) |
| blubber | <b>garuma</b> ga-ru-ma (c)                        |

|                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| bread                                | <b>baradu</b> breado (b), bread (b)   |
| breakfast                            | <b>baragabat</b> breakfast (b)  |
| burn (also 'to copulate')            | <b>ganadinga</b> cannadinga (A)   |
| fat of meat                          | <b>ngarrun</b> 9arr\$un (b)   |
| fillets                              | <b>malat</b> mal-lat, nugalogan nuk-lo-g!an (c)   |
| firestick, giver of fire             | <b>djarraba</b> ger-rub-ber (c), ger-re-bar (c), ger-rub-ber (A)  |
| fire                                 | <b>guwiyang</b> gwÈã-Ũ9a (b), guyon (c), gwee-yong (c), gwe-yong (C), gwee-ang (A), gweè-un (T), quean (Pa), gee-ung (Sth), kwiang (M), g\$oyo9 (R) |
| food                                 | <b>ngununy</b> ngunnuñ (M), <b>badalya</b> (bada- 'eat') p&a-t\$a-lia (source is not sure of this) (Sth)  |
| heat                                 | <b>ganalung</b> k@analãa9 (b), card&alung (Sth), <b>yuruga</b> yoo-roo-ga (C), yuroka (M), en-rie-g&o (Sth), eu-ré-go (Sth)                         |
| honey                                | <b>nguwaga</b> 9\$o&aga (b), <b>gadyang</b> kudyung (M)   |
| juice                                | <b>guray</b> (guray 'fat')gorey (A)   |
| light, spark or candlelight          | <b>gili</b> gilly (c), gil-le (c), killi (M)  |
| milk                                 | <b>murubin</b> moo-roo-bin (c)  |
| potato                               | <b>badadu</b> potato (b)  |
| smoke                                | <b>gadjal</b> cadjiel (c), c&a-jel (c), cad-jeè (C), cud-yal (A), kudjel (R)  |
| sugar                                | <b>djuga</b> tougar (a)   |
| sulphur                              | <b>djalba</b> sulphur (b)   |
| tea                                  | <b>dji</b> tea (a) (b)  |
| wine—from the loyal toast 'the King' | <b>daging</b> the king (P)  |

## Water

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| deep water | <b>guru</b> g\$uru (b)   |
| dew        | <b>barabung</b> béra-boong (b), <b>minyimulung</b> min-niee-mo-long (c), men-nie-no-long (C), <b>gilabiny</b> gillabiñ (M) |
| fog        | <b>gurbuny</b> kurpuñ (M)  |
| frost      | <b>dagara</b> (dagara 'cold') t\$ak\$ar\$a (R), dalara (M)   |

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| hail                  | <b>guruwilang</b> kuruwillang (M)  |
| pouring rain          | <b>walan yilaba</b> ( <b>walan</b> 'rain', <b>yilaba-</b> 'pour') wallan ill-la-be (c)   |
| rain (also to rain)   | <b>walan</b> wāal@an (b), w\$al-lan (C), w\$al-lan (R), <b>bana</b> p@ana (b), pan-nah (c), pan-n\$a (c), pan-n\$a (C), pan-na (A), <b>murugu</b> muruku (M) |
| sea                   | <b>garrigarrang</b> gar-rig-er-rang (c), karegron (Pa), <b>barrawal</b> barrawal (R)   |
| shoal water           | <b>dyiral</b> tyÈrál (b)   |
| soak or washing water | <b>garramilyi badu</b> ( <b>garra-</b> 'wash', <b>badu</b> 'water') car-re-mille bado (c)  |
| water                 | <b>badu</b> b\$ado (b) (c), ba-do (C), bàdo, bàdo (T), baa-do (H), bar-do (Sth), bado (M), b\$ardo (R), <b>nayung</b> naiju9 (R)                             |

## Elements

|                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| air                        | <b>bayadja</b> bay-jah (c)  |
| bad country                | <b>wiri nura</b> ( <b>wiri</b> 'bad', <b>nura</b> 'country') we-ree norar (c)   |
| calm—a calm in the water   | <b>ngarunga</b> ar-rung-a (C)   |
| cave                       | <b>ganing</b> can-ning (C), can-ning (A)  |
| cloud                      | <b>buruwa</b> boo-row-e (C), bourra (A), <b>garaguru</b> ca-ra-go-ro (C)  |
| darkness                   | <b>minak</b> minnek (M)   |
| day light                  | <b>darrabarra</b> tar-re-ber-re (c)   |
| dust                       | <b>dyurir</b> d\$ur\$ir (R)   |
| earth, clay or the ground  | <b>bamal</b> p\$e-mul (c), per-mul (C), pe-mul (C), pe-mall (A), bumal (Pa), bimmal (R), bé-mul (Sth), pé-mul (Sth)                                     |
| ebb tide                   | <b>garagula</b> ca-ra-goo-la (A)  |
| falling star               | <b>duruga</b> twiuga (c), tu-ru-g\$a (C)  |
| falling stars in a cluster | <b>mulumulu</b> molu-molu (c)   |
| fine weather               | <b>bidiluray</b> beatl-oray (b), <b>bura garimi</b> boora careemey (c)  |
| flood tide                 | <b>baragula</b> ba-ra-goo-la (A)  |
| full moon                  | <b>marri yanada</b> ( <b>marri</b> 'great', <b>yanada</b> 'moon') murray yan-na-dah (c), murray-yannadah (A), <b>diluk yanadah</b> dilluck yannadah (c) |

|                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| ground (the ground)          | <b>duba</b> dubbar (M)   |
| high wind                    | <b>guwara</b> gu\$ar-ra (c), gw\$a-ra (C), gwarra (A)  |
| hill                         | <b>bulga</b> bulga (M), bulga (R)  |
| hole                         | <b>gumirri</b> go-m&er-ry (c), go-mi-ra (A)  |
| ice                          | <b>danagal</b> tan-na-gal (c), tan-ne-gal  |
| island                       | <b>buruwang</b> bru-ang (c), boo-roo-w\$ang (C), boo-roo-an (A)  |
| lightning                    | <b>mungi</b> mong-he (c), mong-h\$ì (c), mang-a (A), m\$ang\$a m\$ang\$a (R), <b>djarraral</b> jerraral (M), <b>wada</b> wad-t&a (Sth) |
| Magellanic cloud—the greater | <b>galgalyung</b> ( <b>guwal</b> 'big') cal-gal-le-on (c), cal-gal-le-on (C)   |
| Magellanic cloud—the lesser  | <b>ngarangalyong</b> ( <b>narang</b> 'small') gnar-rang-al-le-on (C)   |
| Magellanic clouds            | <b>buduwanung</b> bu-do-e-nong (c), boo-do-en-ong (C)  |
| Milky Way                    | <b>warrawal</b> w\$ar-re-wull (C)  |
| moon                         | <b>yanada</b> yan-n&a-dah (c), yen-na-dah (C), yèn-ee-da (T), yanata (Pa), y&an&a-d&a (Sth), <b>djilak</b> jillak (M), julluk (R)      |
| moon—when set                | <b>yanada bura</b> ( <b>yanada</b> 'moon') yan-nadah poo-ra (c)  |
| moon—when new                | <b>yanada barragi</b> ( <b>yanada</b> 'moon') yan-na-dah par-ra-gi (c), yannadah paragi (A)  |
| mud                          | <b>miluny</b> miluñ (M)  |
| Orion's Belt                 | <b>dhungagil</b> dhungagil (M)   |
| place or country             | <b>nura</b> no-rar (c), orah (c)   |
| Pleiades                     | <b>mulumulung</b> mo-loo-mo-long (C), <b>dhinburri</b> dhinburri (M)   |
| sand or beach                | <b>marrang</b> mur-rong (c), murong (A), m\$a-r&ang (Sth), marang (M)  |
| sand, dust or dry earth      | <b>murul</b> murã-ül (b)   |
| sea                          | <b>garrigarrang</b> car-rig-er-rang (C), ca-ra-ga-rang (A)   |
| shadow                       | <b>bawuan</b> paouwã-ë (b), bow-wan (C), <b>gugubuwari</b> goo-goo-bo-a-ri (c), <b>buwari buwa</b> bow-wory bow-wah (c)                |
| sky                          | <b>burra</b> bour-ra (C), <b>garrayura</b> cur-ra-yura (A)   |
| stars                        | <b>birrung</b> bir-rong (c), bir-rong (C), birrang (A), borong (Pa), <b>gimbawali</b> kimperwali (M), kimberwalli (R)                  |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| stone or rock                          | <b>giba</b> ke-ba (c), ke-b\$ā (C), kibba (A), re-bah (Sth), kee-bah (Sth), kiber (M), keebu (A)  |
| sun                                    | <b>guwing</b> go-ing (c), co-ing (C), quen (Pa), co-in (Sth), kuñ (M), kyun (R)   |
| sunset—literally 'the sun setting red' | <b>dyarra murrama guwing</b> (gowing 'sun') diarra-murrahmah coing (c)  |
| sunshine                               | <b>bunul</b> pã€unnãul (b), bunnal (M)  |
| thunder                                | <b>murungal</b> mu-rungle (c), moo-rung-ul (c), morun-gle (A), murungal (M), m\$urongal (R), mara-ong-al (Sth), ma-roong-al (Sth)   |
| valley                                 | <b>yarang</b> e-r\$ang (C)  |
| white clay (also 'white')              | <b>dabuwa</b> ta-boā (c)  |
| wind—east                              | <b>buruwi</b> ( <b>buruwang</b> 'island') boo-roo-wee (c), boo-roo-wee (C), <b>gunyama</b> ( <b>gunyamara</b> 'stink') goniee-mah (c), gonie-mah (K), gonie-mah (north east wind) (C)   |
| wind—north west                        | <b>dulugal</b> doo-loo-gal (c) (C), du-lu-gal (c)   |
| wind—north                             | <b>buruwan</b> boor-roo-way (c) (K), <b>buwan</b> bow-wan (c), bow-w\$an (C), <b>yuruga gura</b> ( <b>yuruga</b> 'sun', <b>gura</b> 'wind') y\$ur\$oka g\$or\$ā (R)   |
| wind—south west                        | <b>gunyama</b> ( <b>gunyamara</b> 'stink') go-niey-mah (c), <b>yarabalang</b> yare-b\$ā-lahng (C)   |
| wind—south                             | <b>badjayalang</b> bad-gay-allang (c), bal-gay-al-lang (C), <b>bayinmarri</b> ( <b>bayin</b> 'to cool', <b>marri</b> 'very') bin-marree (c), bain-marree (c), bainmarree (K), <b>gunyama</b> gonĒemã@a (b), <b>dugara gura</b> ( <b>dagara</b> 'cold', <b>gura</b> 'wind') tugra g\$or\$ā (R) |
| wind—west                              | <b>bayinmarri</b> ( <b>bayin</b> 'to cool', <b>marri</b> 'very') bain-mar-rey (c), bain-mar-ray (C), <b>buwan</b> bow-wan (c), bow-wan (K)  |
| wind                                   | <b>gura</b> g\$ura (R)  |

## Mammals

|   |   |
|---|---|
| bat   | <b>wirambi</b> weeramby (C), weeream-my (c)   |
| rock wallaby<br><i>macropodidae petrogale</i>       | <b>wulaba</b> wolab\$ā (R), wollabi (M), wal-li-bah (black brush kangaroo) (C), wo-la-ba (young kangaroo) (A) |
| brown marsupial mouse<br><i>antechinus stuartii</i> | <b>mirrin</b> mirrin (W)  |
| cattle—horned cattle                                | <b>gambaguluk</b> kumbakuluk (R)  |
| dog <i>canis familiaris dingo</i>                   | <b>dingu</b> tein-go (C), din-go (C), tingo (A) (F), tung-o (c),  |

|   |   |
|---|---|
|   | jung-o (C), jungo (Pa), j\$ungh\$o (R), <b>mirri mirri</b> (M), <b>wuragal</b> wor-re-gal (C), waregal (large dog) (A), <b>djunguwaragal</b> tun-go-wo-re-gal (c)   |
| eastern grey kangaroo<br><i>macropus giganteus</i>        | <b>badagarang</b> patyegarang (b), pa-ta-go-rong (c), pat-a-go-r\$ang (C), pattagorong (P), pa-ta-ga-rang (A), pa-ta-garang (HSB), pat-a-ga-ram (T), patagorang (P) |
| eastern grey kangaroo skin                                | <b>bugay</b> bog-gei (c)  |
| eastern native cat  | <b>bulungga</b> bulungga (M), <b>dinaguwa</b> din-e-gow-a (W)   |
| echidna <i>tachyglossus aculeatus</i>                     | <b>barrugin</b> burroo-gin (W)  |
| feather tail or pygmy glider<br><i>acrobates pygmaeus</i> | <b>wubin</b> wob-bin (c) wob-bin (C)  |
| female animals in general                                 | <b>wiring</b> we-ren (c), weer-ring (c), we ring (C), we-ring (A)   |
| flying fox  | <b>ngununy</b> ngunuñ (M)   |
| flying phalanger  | <b>bungu</b> bong-o (c), bangu (M), <b>guruwaguruwa</b> goo-roe-goo-roe (W)   |
| fox rat—large fox rat                                     | <b>wiriyamin</b> wee-ree-a-min (C), <b>wiriyambi</b> wee-ree-am-by (C)  |
| Gaimard's rat-kangaroo<br><i>bettongia gaimardi</i>       | <b>ganyimung</b> gan-i-mong (c), ga-ni-mong (C), kanaming (M), k\$arnimi9 (R)   |
| horse   | <b>wanyuwa</b> ( <b>wuna-</b> 'throw away') wen-you-a (c), <b>yaraman</b> ( <b>yara-</b> 'throw', <b>man-</b> 'take') yaraman (from <i>yarra</i> 'throw fast') (R)  |
| kangaroo  | <b>gawulgung</b> kao-w\$alg\$o9 (R), goa-long ('old man kangaroo') (K), gula k\$ul\$a (R)   |
| kangaroo  | <b>buru</b> buru (M)  |
| koala <i>phascolarctos cinereus</i>                       | <b>gulamany</b> kulamañ (M)   |
| long nosed bandicoot<br><i>perameles rasuta</i>           | <b>burraga</b> burraga (M)  |
| male animals in general                                   | <b>guwul</b> cow-ul (c), cow-ul (C), cowull (A)   |
| mouse or rat  | <b>bugul</b> bógul (J) (b), bogul (c), bo-gul (C), <b>wura</b> wur-ra (A), wùr-ra (T), wu-ra (common rat) (c)   |
| pig   | <b>darramuwa</b> tarram\$u&e (R)  |
| possum—generic name                                       | <b>wali</b> wali (M), wai-\$ali (R)   |



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

## Reptiles

|   |   |
|---|---|
| bandy bandy<br><i>vermicella annulata</i>             | <b>wirragadara</b> wirra-ga-dera (W)  |
| bearded dragon or Jew lizard<br><i>pogora barbata</i> | <b>ngarang</b> ( <b>ngarang</b> 'small') nar-rang (c), ngarrang (W), <b>bidjiwung</b> bidjiwong (water lizard) (M), bid de wang (W) |
| brown snake<br><i>pseudonaja textilis textilis</i>    | <b>marragawan</b> murragauan (M)  |
| death adder<br><i>acanthophis antarcticus</i>         | <b>daning</b> ta-ning (W)   |
| diamond python<br><i>morelia spilota</i>              | <b>malya</b> mal-lea (W)  |
| frog  | <b>gungung</b> kung-gung (M)  |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| goanna  | <b>wirriga</b> wirriga (M), djindawala jindaol\$a (R) |
| leaf-tailed gecko<br><i>phyllurus platurus</i>            | <b>bayagin</b> pae-ginn (W)                           |
| lizard  | <b>bunmarra</b> bun-mer-re (c), daragal de-ra-gal (c) |
| red-bellied black snake<br><i>pseudechis porphyriacus</i> | <b>djirrabidi</b> jirrability (M), cherribit (R)      |
| reptiles in general                                       | <b>gan</b> cahn (C), can (A)                          |
| snake   | <b>bulada</b> b\$o-l&a-da (Sth)                       |
| sleepy lizard, a large spotted lizard                     | <b>mugadun</b> m\$a-g&a-dun (Sth), muggadunga (M)     |
| small lizard  | <b>bunburra</b> bunburra (M)                          |

## Birds

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Australian magpie<br><i>gymnorhina tibicin</i>                                      | <b>djarrawunang</b> jarra-won-nang (W), te-ra-wan-a (A), <b>wibung</b> wibbung (M), <b>marriyang</b> mar-ry-ang (A), mariang (M)  |
| Australian owl night-jar<br><i>aegotheles cristatus</i>                             | <b>bubuk</b> po-buck (c) (HSB)<br>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<br><i>corvus coronides</i>   | <b>wugan</b> wo-gan (c), wau-gan (C), wa-gan (A), worgin (Sth), wergin (Sth), wagon (M), w\$argon (R)   |
| bill  | <b>munu</b> moono (A)   |
| bird (generic name)   | <b>binyang</b> 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 | <b>dilbung</b> dil-bung (c)   |
| bird—the name of a large bird   | <b>gunyadu</b> goniado (c)  |
| bird's nest   | <b>ngurra</b> ngurra (M)  |
| beautiful firetail <i>emblema bella</i>   | <b>wibung</b> wee-bong (W)  |
| black duck <i>anas superciliosa</i>   | <b>yurungay</b> yurungai (M), y\$ur\$anyi (R)   |
| black shouldered kite<br><i>elanus axillaris</i>                                    | <b>gugurruk</b> go-gar-ruck (friar bird) (c), geo-go-rack (W)   |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| black swan <i>cygnus atratus</i>  | <b>mulgu</b> mul-go (C), mulgo (W)  |
| blue-faced honeyeater<br><i>entomyzon eyanotis</i>  | <b>gugurruk</b> 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>  | <b>bubuk</b> b\$okb\$ok (b), po-book (C), pow-book (A), boobook (W)   |
| brolga <i>grus rubicundus</i>   | <b>dyuralya</b> dur@alia (W) (b), duralia (A), duralia (moojil) (mudjil 'red') (HSB), durali (M)  |
| bronzewing pigeon—both the common bronzewing<br><i>phaps chalcoptera</i> and the brush bronzewing<br><i>phaps elegans</i> | <b>guwadagang</b> g\$od9ang (b), goad-gan (c), goad-g\$ang (C), gode-gang (HSB), kutging (M), g\$otga9 (R)  |
| carrion hawk or whistling kite<br><i>halliastur sphenurus</i>   | <b>djamuldjamul</b> jam-mul jammul (c), jam-mul jam-mul (C), jamel jamel (A), d'yumal-d'yumal (Sth), d'ymal, d'yumal (Sth), <b>gudhaway</b> kutthawai (M) |
| crested pigeon<br><i>ocyphaps lophotes</i>  | <b>mirral</b> mirr\$al (R)  |
| crested shrike-tit<br><i>falcunculus frontatus</i>  | <b>wanyuwin</b> war-nuin (HSB)  |
| duck—a wild duck  | <b>yurungi</b> yoo-rong-i (C)   |
| eastern curlew<br><i>numenius madagascariensis</i>  | <b>ngurwinarriwing</b> ur-win-nerry-wing (c), ur-win-ner-ri-wing (C), <b>warabun</b> warebun (M)  |
| egg   | <b>gaban</b> c\$a-bahn (c), ca-bahn (C), ca-ban (A), kubbin (M), karbin (R)   |
| emu<br><i>dromaius novaehollandiae</i>  | <b>murawung</b> mu-ra-ong (c), ma-ra-ong (C), murrion (R), maracry (A), <b>birabayin</b> birabain (R), biriabain (R)                                      |
| feather   | <b>ngunyul</b> gno-niul (c), gwo-meil (A)   |
| fishing gull  | <b>girra-girra</b> girra-girra (A)  |
| glossy black cockatoo<br><i>calyptorhynchus lathami</i>   | <b>garada</b> ga-rate (c), car-r\$ate (C), ga-ratt (HSB), <b>garal</b> ca-rall (A)  |
| ground parrot<br><i>pzoporus wallicus</i>   | <b>wangawang</b> wang-a-wang (HSB)  |
| gull—large, either the Pacific gull<br><i>larus pacificus</i> or the silver gull<br><i>larus novaehollandiae</i> .        | <b>djugadya</b> troo-gad-ya (A)   |
| hawk  | <b>bunda</b> b\$und\$a (R)  |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| king parrot <i>alisterus scapularis</i>   | <b>guma (marri)</b> go-mah (murry) ( <b>marri</b> 'big') (HSB)                              |
| kookaburra or laughing jackass<br><i>dacelo novaguineae</i>   | <b>guganagina</b> goo-ginne-gan (HSB), go-gan-ne-gine (C),<br>kukundi (M), kogunda (R)      |
| magpie goose<br><i>anseranas semipalmata</i>  | <b>nuwalgang</b> now-al-gang (W)  |
| masked lapwing<br><i>vanellus miles</i>   | <b>bunyarinarin</b> boon-ya-rin-a, rin (HSB)  |
| mopoke or tawny frogmouth<br><i>podargus strigoides</i>   | <b>binit</b> binnit (M)   |
| musk lorikeet, rosella or<br>greenleek parrot<br><i>glossopsitta concinna</i> —   | <b>guma</b> kuma (M), <b>bundaluk</b> b\$undel\$uk (rosella) (R)                            |
| noisy friarbird or<br>knob-fronted bee-eater<br><i>philemon corniculatus</i>  | <b>wirgan</b> wir-gan (C) (A), wirgane (HSB)  |
| parrakeet   | <b>djirrang</b> jirrang (M)   |
| parrot or parrakeet   | <b>guriyayil</b> gorail (HSB), go-rail (HSB), go-ree-ail (c), go-ree-ail<br>(C), go-ril (A) |
| Name given to all the following birds (HSB):- crimson rosella <i>platycercus 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>trichoglossos haematodus</i> . |   |
| pee-wee, magpie lark or<br>mudlark <i>granilla cyanoleuca</i>   | <b>birrarik</b> birrerik (M)  |
| pelican<br><i>pelecanus conspicillatus</i>  | <b>garranga bumarri</b> car-r\$anga bo mur-ray (C)  |
| pigeon (green)  | <b>bawama</b> bao-m\$a (R)  |
| plover <i>vanellus tricolor</i>   | <b>burrandjarung</b> burranjarung (M)   |
| quail   | <b>biyanbing</b> bee-an-bing (A), <b>muwambi</b> moubi (M)                                  |
| rainbow lorikeet or Blue<br>Mountains parrot<br><i>trichoglossus haematodus</i>   | <b>warin</b> warin (M)  |
| red bill  | <b>buming</b> b\$oming (b) (W), boming (A)  |
| red-browed finch<br><i>neochima temporalis</i>  | <b>gulungaga</b> goo-lung-aga (W)   |
| rufous night heron<br><i>nycticorax calendonicus</i>  | <b>gulina</b> collinah (HSB)  |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| sacred kingfisher<br><i>todiramphus sanctus</i>     | <b>dyaramak</b> dere-a-mak (HSB), <b>djirramba</b> jirramba (M)                          |
| shag or cormorant                                   | <b>guwali</b> go-wally (A)   |
| singing bushlark<br><i>miraфра javanica</i>         | <b>murradjulbi</b> murradjulbi (M)   |
| sittella<br><i>daphoenositta chrysoptera</i>        | <b>marrigang</b> mur-ri-gang (W)   |
| sooty owl <i>tyto tenebricosa</i>                   | <b>budhawa</b> budhawa (M)   |
| sulphur crested cockatoo<br><i>cacatua galerita</i> | <b>garraway</b> gar-ra-way (c), gare-a-way (C), ga-ra-way (A), kirrawe (M), garab\$ι (R) |
| superb fairy-wren<br><i>malurus cyaneus</i>         | <b>muruduwin</b> mooro-duin (HSB)  |
| variegated fairy wren<br><i>malurus lamberti</i>    | <b>muruduwin</b> mooro-duin (HSB)  |
| wedge-tailed eagle<br><i>aquila avdax</i>           | <b>burumurring</b> burumurring (M)   |
| wing  | <b>wilbing</b> wil-bing (c), wil-bing (A)  |
| wonga pigeon<br><i>leucosarcia melanoleuca</i>      | <b>wungawunga</b> wonga-wonga (R)  |

## Marine and other aquatic life

|   |   |
|---|---|
| black bream <i>mylio australis</i>                  | <b>garuma</b> kar@ooma (b), caroom-a (c), kururma (R)   |
| blue pointer or mako shark<br><i>isuropsis mako</i> | <b>gawun</b> caun (Pa), kon (blue shark) (R)  |
| bream   | <b>yarramarra</b> yerrermurra (R)   |
| crab  | <b>yara</b> he-ra (c)   |
| eel <i>anguilla reinhardtii</i>                     | <b>burra</b> burra (M), burra (R)   |
| fish—generic name                                   | <b>magura</b> mag&ora (b), maugro (c) (Pa), ma-gra (A) (H), mogra (R), mogra (R), mau-gro (Sth), maugra (Sth), mau-grah (Sth) |
| fish—a fish   | <b>baragalun</b> beragallon (c)   |
| fish—a fish   | <b>guraydarrawina</b> go-ray-ter-ra-wine (c)  |
| fish—a fish   | <b>murawal</b> moo-raw-ul (c), moo-row-ul (c)   |
| fish—a large fish                                   | <b>waldagal</b> waltegal (A)  |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| fish—a large fish  | <b>banilung</b> bennillong (C)   |
| fish—an unknown fish   | <b>burunaganaga</b> booroo-naga-naga (c)   |
| flathead   | <b>badiwa</b> paddewah (A)   |
| flathead—small flathead  | <b>marrinagul</b> murray nangul (c), murray naugul (c), mul-lin-a-gul (c)  |
| flathead—large flathead  | <b>guwarri</b> cow-er-re (c), kaoari (R)   |
| flying gurnard<br><i>dactylopera orientalis</i>                  | <b>mubarri</b> mau-ber-ry (C)  |
| grey nurse shark<br><i>carcharias arenarius</i>                  | <b>guruwin</b> co-ro-win (c)   |
| ground shark   | <b>guwibidu</b> kwibito (R)  |
| gudgeon  | <b>duru</b> duru (M)   |
| kingfish   | <b>wulugul</b> wollogul (R)  |
| leather-jacket   | <b>baludarri</b> bal-loo-der-ry (C)  |
| mackerel<br><i>scomber australasicus</i>                         | <b>waragal</b> waarag\$al (b), weeragal (c)  |
| mud oyster <i>ostrea angasi</i>                                  | <b>daynya</b> dainia (c), dany\$a (R), dany\$a (R)   |
| mud skipper  | <b>badubirung</b> ( <b>badu</b> 'water', <b>-birung</b> 'from') bado-berong (c)                                      |
| mullet   | <b>wurridjal</b> worrij\$al (R)  |
| mussel<br><i>mytilus edulis planulatus</i>                       | <b>dalgal</b> talkál (b), dal-gal (c), <b>djugung</b> juggung (M)  |
| perch  | <b>wugara</b> wuggara (M)  |
| porpoise <i>delphinis delphis</i>                                | <b>baruwaluwu</b> bar-ru-wall-u-u (c)  |
| Port Jackson shark<br><i>heterodontus portusjacksoni</i>         | <b>walumil</b> wallo-mill (c)  |
| ray  | <b>yuluwigang</b> ullowygang (c)   |
| sea mullet (large)<br><i>mugil cephalus</i>                      | <b>waradyal</b> wa-ra-diel (c)   |
| shovel nosed ray without a sting<br><i>apterichthys rostrata</i> | <b>ginara</b> gin-nare (c)   |
| snapper <i>chrysophrys auratus</i>                               | <b>wulumay</b> wal-lu-mai (c), wo-lo-my (HSB), woolamie (light-horseman fish) (A), w&o\$a-la-m\$ì (Sth), wallami (R) |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| sprat   | <b>gumbara</b> kumbara (M)   |
| squill<br>The bulb of the sea onion cut into slices and dried used in medicine as an expectorant, for example, syrup of squills.  | <b>yuril</b> yu-rill (c)   |
| sting ray   | <b>daringyan</b> te-ring-yan (c)   |
| Sydney cockle<br><i>anadara trapezia</i><br>This shell was used to arm spears, to make a scraping end on the the <b>wumara</b> 'spear throwing stick' and to make knives. | <b>gadyan</b> kaadian (b), quoidun (Pa), warabi wa-ra-bee (A)                          |
| Sydney rock oyster<br><i>crassostrea commercialis</i>   | <b>badangi</b> bot@u9È (b), beta9ígo (b), petang-hy (c), patanga (A), bittongi (R)     |
| Sydney rock oyster shell  | <b>badangigu</b> ( <b>badangi</b> 'Sydney rock oyster', <b>-gu</b> 'of') betãu9€go (b) |
| toad fish—colonists noted that this fish was known to Aboriginal people to be poisonous   | <b>gaguna</b> ca-gone (c)  |
| turtle  | <b>gudugulung</b> kutukulung (M)   |
| whale   | <b>gawura</b> caura (Pa)   |
| yellowtail kingfish or prince fish <i>seriola grandis</i>   | <b>barung</b> b\$a-rong (c)  |
| zebra fish<br><i>brachydanio rerio</i>  | <b>marumara</b> ma-ro-me-ra (c)  |

## Insects and spiders

|                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| ant                            | <b>mung</b> mong (A)   |
| beatle found in the grass tree | <b>garrun</b> car-run (c)  |
| beetle                         | <b>gunyagunya</b> ( <b>gunya</b> 'hut') gonia-gonia (c), go-nia-go-nia (C) |
| black ant                      | <b>babunang</b> po-boo-n\$ang (C), pa-boo-nang (A)                         |
| black bull-dog ant             | <b>wugadjin</b> wuggajin (M)   |
| blowfly                        | <b>marang</b> marang (M)   |
| body louse                     | <b>malagadang</b> mã€ulag@atãu9 (b)  |
| butterfly                      | <b>burudyara</b> bur-ru die-ra (c), bur-roo-die-ra (C)                     |
| caterpillar                    | <b>gunalung</b> go-na-long (C)   |

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| centipede                    | <b>ganaray</b> can-nar-ray (C), garagun ca-ra-goon (A), <b>djingaring</b> jingring (M)  |
| fly—a large fly that bites   | <b>muruna</b> moor-rone (A)   |
| fly                          | <b>miyanung</b> mi-a-nong (C), my-ang-a (A)   |
| grasshopper                  | <b>gilbanung</b> gil-be-nong (C)  |
| green-head ant               | <b>gunama</b> kunama (M)  |
| grub                         | <b>burradhun</b> burradhun (M)  |
| jumper ant                   | <b>djuldjul</b> juljul (M)  |
| locust—large locust          | <b>bula</b> bulla (M)   |
| locust—small locust          | <b>djirrabirrin</b> jirrabirrin (M)   |
| louse or flea                | <b>muna</b> múnnu (b), moona (A), <b>burudu</b> bóoroodoo (b), búrudu(b), bóodooroo (b), bur-ra-doo (A), boo-ro&o-d\$ah (Sth), bundyu (M) |
| maggot in meat               | <b>dyulibang</b> dtulÉbila9 (b)   |
| mosquito                     | <b>dura</b> tewra (c), teura (A), doo-ra (A), dyura (M), dubi9 (R)  |
| nit of louse                 | <b>djagara</b> jagara (M)   |
| red bull-dog ant             | <b>gudmut</b> kut-mut (M)   |
| scorpion                     | <b>djuni</b> dto@oney (b), dundi (M), duradjuni tewra tooney (c)  |
| spider                       | <b>marrayagong</b> mar-rae-gong (c), mar-rae-gong (C)   |
| worm found in the grass tree | <b>danganuwa</b> tang-noa (c)   |

## Plants

|  |   |
|--|---|
| banksia <i>banksia ericifolia</i>  | <b>wadanggari</b> wa-tang-gre (c)         |
| bark   | <b>bugi</b> boghie (Pa)                   |
| bark used to make fishing lines  | <b>djuraduralang</b> dtur\$aduralã@a9 (b) |
| berry  | <b>wigay</b> wÈg€ (b), daman taman (A)    |
| Botany Bay tea, Australian tea or false sarsaparilla<br><i>hardenbergia violacea</i> —sweet tea plant the colonists made tea from the leaves of this plant | <b>waraburra</b> wa-ra-bur-ra (c)         |
| bracken fern root (eaten by Aboriginal people)   | <b>gurgi</b> 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** t\$ug\$a (c), t\$uga (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 pilly *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** tak\$uba (b), ta-gu-bah (c), tar-go-bar (c)  
*syzygium paniculatum*—tart cherry tree, acajou-like cherry; *acajou* 'mahogany'  
French word

cumbungi, bullrushes **baraba** baraba (M), wulugulin wollogol\$in (R)  
*typha muellari*

dead tree **guwibul** kwibul (M)

dwarf apple (apple tree) **banda** bunda (M)  
*angophora hispida*

eucalyptus, gum-tree **yarra** yarra (M)

flag or iris of this country **bugulbi** po-cul-bee (A)  
*patersonia glabrata*

fruit **duruwan** doo-roo-wan (c)

fruit **mumarri mumarra** momarri mo-mur-re (c)

fruit of the potato plant or potato apple—probably the **bumurra** (gamarral) bomulá (b), mo-mur-re (c), be-mur-ra cam-mur-ra (c), bo-murra cammeral (c)

|  |  |
|--|--|
| kangaroo apple<br><i>solanum aviculare</i>   |  |
| grass  | <b>bamuru</b> ( <b>mur</b> 'path') báamoro (b), <b>durawuyi</b> doo-roy (A), durawoi (R) |
| grass tree seed head   | <b>yagali</b> yegali (HSB)   |
| grass tree stem—used to make spears  | <b>galun</b> callun (HSB)  |
| grass tree <i>xanthorrhoea</i> —provided resin used in the manufacture of many artefacts   | <b>gulgadya</b> goolgadie (HSB)  |
| great dendrobium<br><i>dendrobium speciosum</i>  | <b>wargaldarra</b> wer-gal-derra (S)   |
| hole in a tree   | <b>gumir</b> kumir (M)   |
| hollow tree  | <b>birragu</b> birreko (M)   |
| jeebung <i>persoonia toru</i>  | <b>mambara</b> mambara (M)   |
| leaning tree   | <b>bulbi</b> bulbi (M)   |
| leaves of trees  | <b>djirang</b> jirang (M)  |
| ligneous pear  | <b>marridugara</b> 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 | <b>wiriyagan</b> weereagan (c)   |
| mushroom   | <b>ngalangala</b> gnal-lung-ul-la (C)  |
| narrowleaf ironbark<br><i>eucalyptus crebra</i>  | <b>mugagaru</b> muggargru (M)  |
| paperbark—the inner bark of a paperbark tea tree <i>melaleuca leucadendron</i> , used by Aboriginal people to make many artefacts                  | <b>gurrundurrung</b> kurrung-durrung (M), kurunderu9 (R), <b>budjur</b> budjor (M)       |
| pine, fir tree <i>casuarina glauca</i>   | <b>guman</b> goo-mun (c), goomun (A)   |
| Port Jackson fig<br><i>ficus rubiginosa</i>  | <b>damun</b> tam-mun (c)   |
| rock lily<br><i>dendrobium speciosum</i>   | <b>buruwan</b> ba-ro-wan (c), booroowan (c), ganu can-no (HSB)                           |

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.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| scrub, dry jungle   | <b>djaramada</b> jerematta (R)  |
| shadow of a tree  | <b>bulu</b> bulu (M)  |
| splinter  | <b>dhuraga</b> dhuraga (M)  |
| stringybark <i>eucalyptus obliqua</i>                           | <b>buran</b> buran (M)  |
| tea-tree  | <b>bunya</b> bunya (M)  |
| tree—a type of tree   | <b>yarung</b> yerúng (b)  |
| tree—generic name   | <b>daramu</b> te-ra-mo (c)  |
| vegetable—any edible vegetable                                  | <b>ganugan</b> can-no-can (A)   |
| waratah <i>telopea speciosissima</i>                            | <b>warada</b> wāarata (b), war-ret-tah (c), wa-ra-ta (HSB), warratta (W)<br>Called by the colonists the 'sceptre flower'. The nectar of the flower was relished by Aboriginal people. |
| wattle  | <b>wadanguli</b> (M)  |
| white gum tree  | <b>darani</b> darane (c)  |
| wood itself as opposed to brush or forest—stick or tree, lignum | <b>wadi</b> wāadÈ (b), wadÈ (b), wad-day (c), wad-de (c), wad-dy (A)  |
| yam   | <b>midiny</b> midiñ (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 WāarÈw@ear gives the general name of WÈg@i 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** bomul@a (b)  
**burudun** burudun (h) (b)  
**buruwung** buruw@ãa9 (b)  
**djibung** ty@Èbu9 (b)  
**dymaragang** tyÈwarag@a9 (b)  
**gamarung** kamarãa9 (h) (b)  
**gunamiya** konam^ea (h) (b)  
**magara** magar@a (b)  
**mariyawin** māurÈaw@Èn (b)  
**marrinmara** marrínm&ar&a (b)  
**mirriburu** m@ÈrrÈburu (b)

**mirrigalyang** mÈrrÈgaly@a9 (h) (b)  
**murimari** morÈmSerÈ (b)  
**munmu** m\$unmu (b)  
**mururu** mur\$ur\$u (b)  
**ngurumaradi** 9urumar@adÈ (h) (b)  
**wayigalyang** wiyÈgaly@a9 (h) (b)  
**wadangal** wāata9@al (h) (b)  
**warada** wāarata (h) (b)

## Physical adjectives

|  |  |
|--|--|
| alive  | <b>mudung</b> moo-tong (c), muthung (M)  |
| bald   | <b>gangat</b> g@a9at (like a burnt head) (b), <b>ngurranbulba</b> ngurranbulba (forehead bare) (M)   |
| black  | <b>ngana</b> 9@ana (b), gn\$a-n\$a (c), gn\$a-na (C), nand (A)   |
| blind  | <b>munyming</b> muñming (M)  |
| blunt—for example, a blunt edge on a knife   | <b>munhagut</b> munhagud (M)   |
| both   | <b>ngalya</b> gnal-le-a (C)  |
| broken to pieces—as a ship or boat on rocks  | <b>bugrabanya</b> pograban&i@e (b)   |
| broken to pieces, for example, chinaware     | <b>bugrabala</b> pograb\$a\$a (b)  |
| buried                                       | <b>buwabili</b> bour-bil-liey (C), bourbillie (A)  |
| burnt  | <b>ganay</b> kãan@i (b), <b>biyarabuni</b> (biya- 'bite', -buni 'not') pierabãun@È (b)   |
| caught by the elbow, for example, by a latch | <b>ngalamay</b> 9alam@i (b)  |
| clean (also yellow)                          | <b>yarragul</b> yarrakãal  |
| cold   | <b>dagura</b> ta-go-ra (c), tag-&er-ra (c), ta-go-ra (c), ta-go-r\$a (C), ta-ga-ra (A), tahgra (Pa), tuggara (M), teg-goo-ra (Sth), tug-g&urah (Sth) |
| cold—severely cold                           | <b>dagura madjanga</b> (dagura 'cold', medjung 'a sore') ta-go-ra mediang-ha (c), ta-yo-ra me-diang-a (C)  |
| cool—pleasantly cold                         | <b>murayung</b> mur@eãu9 (b)   |
| crooked                                      | <b>bayala</b> py@ella (b)  |
| cross-eyed                                   | <b>guragayin</b> k\$ur\$again (R)  |

|                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| dark                       | <b>malung</b> m@alu9 (b)  |
| dead                       | <b>gugun</b> gogun (c), buyi ( <b>buyi-</b> 'die') bo-i (c)   |
| dead                       | <b>bali</b> (see 'thirsty')   |
| decayed or rotten          | <b>gudjibi</b> godie-by (A), go-jy go-jay-by (C)  |
| deaf                       | <b>gumbarubalung</b> kumbarobalong (M)  |
| dirty or gritty            | <b>bamulguwiya</b> ( <b>bamul</b> 'earth', <b>guwiya-</b> 'give') pemul-gwia (c), pemul-gine (C)  |
| dry—not wet                | <b>burara</b> b@urara (b)   |
| empty                      | <b>barrabarri</b> pãurãutben@È (b), parraberry (c), par-rat-ber-ri (C), parra-berry (A), par-rat-ben-ni (C)   |
| enough                     | <b>didyiriguru</b> dÈdyÈrÈgúru (b), did-yer-re-goor (c), did-yerre-goor (c)   |
| fat                        | <b>guray</b> kurai (M)  |
| fetch                      | <b>yana-</b> ( <b>yan-</b> 'walk or go') yena (b), <b>yanara</b> yanara ('go and fetch') (b), <b>ngayirinara</b> 9irÈnara (b), ngai-ri (Sth)  |
| first or to be first       | <b>marana</b> meran@ (b), meranady@emÈ ('you drank (drank tea once) before') (b)  |
| five                       | <b>marridyulu</b> marry-diolo (K), <b>bulabula wugul</b> ( <b>bulabula</b> 'four', <b>wugul</b> 'one') bullabulla w\$agul (R)   |
| four                       | <b>marridyulu</b> marry-diolo (c), <b>galunalung</b> cal-una-long (K), <b>bulawiri bulawiri</b> ( <b>bulawiri</b> 'two') blaoeri-blaeri (R), <b>bulabula</b> ( <b>bulabula</b> 'two') b\$ulla b\$ulla (R), <b>wugul warri</b> wugulwurri (apparently a derivation from 'one-three') (M) |
| full belly                 | <b>ganu</b> kann@o (b), canno (A), <b>barrang buruk</b> ( <b>barrang</b> 'stomach', <b>buruk</b> 'full') barong-boruch (A)  |
| full                       | <b>buruk</b> bo-ruk (c), bu-rouk (c), bo-ruk (C), br&uck (Sth), buruck (M), <b>mudang</b> m\$utãu9 (b), <b>eri</b> eri (c) (A), <b>galigali</b> k\$alÈ k\$alÈ (b)   |
| gone or expended           | <b>maridyulu</b> murray-loo-lo (c), mur-ray-loo-lo (c), mur-ray-too-lo (C)  |
| great                      | <b>marri</b> (see 'very')   |
| green                      | <b>bulga</b> bool-ga-ga (c), boo-g\$a-ga (C), boolga (A), <b>gumun</b> gomã@un (b)  |
| hard or difficult to break | <b>garungul</b> karã@ã9ãul (b)  |
| hollow—as a hollow tree    | <b>birragu</b> birreko (M)  |

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| hot                   | <b>gadalung</b> card&alung (Sth)  |
| hungry                | <b>yuru</b> yu-roo (c), yurupata ( <b>bada-</b> 'eat') (b), yu-roo (C), eu-r\$o (Sth), yu-roo-gur-ra (C), yu-ru-gurra (A)                             |
| itchy                 | <b>guwidbanga</b> ( <b>guwi</b> 'hot', <b>banga-</b> 'make') koÈtba9a (b)   |
| junior                | <b>narang</b> (see 'little')  |
| large                 | <b>marri</b> (see 'very')   |
| lame                  | <b>mudunura</b> moo-ton-ore (C), <b>madang</b> metang (Pa), <b>gadyaba</b> kadi@aba (b)   |
| lean                  | <b>djarrajarra</b> jarra jarra (M)  |
| left                  | <b>durumi</b> doo-room-i (C)  |
| little                | <b>ngarang</b> 9ará9 (b), nar-rang (c), gnar-rang (C), narrong (A), narang (Pa), ng&a-rang (Sth), ngurrang (M)  |
| long or tall          | <b>gurara</b> kur\$ara (b), coorarre (c), goo-r\$ar-r&a (c), coo-rar-re (C), kurare (M)   |
| many (a large number) | <b>yirran</b> irran (M)   |
| many                  | <b>marri</b> (see 'very')   |
| more and more         | <b>gurragurra</b> g\$ore g\$or@e (b)  |
| more                  | <b>gurra</b> gore (b), go-ray (c), goray (c), curra (Sth), <b>wurri</b> wórree (c)  |
| nearsighted           | <b>gujimay</b> ( <b>guji</b> 'bad', <b>may</b> 'eye') k\$uj\$ï mai (R)  |
| old                   | <b>ganunigang</b> genunikang (Pa), <b>warungat</b> warungat (grey haired) (M)   |
| once                  | <b>wugulgu</b> wog@ulgo (b)   |
| one                   | <b>wugul</b> wogul (b), wo-gul (c), wo-gul (C), wo-cul (C), wogul (K), ya-ole (K), wogle (Pa), w\$ag\$ul (R), wagulwai (M), <b>madung</b> meddung (M) |
| one-eyed              | <b>murbura</b> moor-boo-ra (Sth)  |
| painful               | <b>daydyay</b> didy€ (b)  |
| parched               | <b>bali</b> ba-lie (c), ballie (c), valley (c), baletti (M)   |
| pregnant              | <b>binya</b> bin-niee (C), bin-ny (A), bin-yee-ghine (c), <b>bindhiwurra</b> bindhiwurra (M)  |
| pretty                | <b>garungarung</b> ca-rung-&a-rung (Sth)  |
| quick                 | <b>baru</b> baro (M)  |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| red  | <b>mudjil</b> m@udyÈl (b), moo-jel (c), moo-jel (C), morjal (A), morjal (K), <b>djarri jarri</b> (M)  |
| same—the same  | <b>daragwayang</b> t@eragu-Ëyãu9 (b)  |
| second   | <b>walanga</b> well@a9a (b)   |
| senior—older or bigger   | <b>guwal</b> kowal  |
| short or low   | <b>darrbi</b> t@arrsbi (b), ty@arrsbi (b), <b>dumuru</b> t@um&ur&u (b), too-merre (c), too-mur-ro (c), too-mur-ro (C)   |
| sick   | <b>badjal</b> ba-gel (c), ba-jel (c), ba-diel (C), <b>mulali</b> mul\$€alÈ (c), moo-la\$a-ly (Sth), mul\$alÈdwã€arÈn ('because I was sick') (b)   |
| slow   | <b>wurral</b> wurral (M)  |
| small  | <b>narang</b> (see 'small')   |
| soft—easy for a child to eat, for example, soft bread or boiled carrot | <b>muday</b> mã€utt@i (b)   |
| stammering   | <b>gurugabundi</b> k\$ur\$ukabundi (R)  |
| stink or bad smell   | <b>gunyamarra</b> goniee murreh (c), gu-na-murra (A), <b>guji</b> kuja (M), k\$uj\$ì (also 'bad') (R)   |
| straight   | <b>dugarang</b> t\$ugarãu9 (b)  |
| strong   | <b>bulbuwul</b> bulbwul (M)   |
| thirsty  | <b>djuli</b> dtul\$ì (something relative to thirst, maybe 'to quench' a similar word is given as to 'quench a fire with water', see 'kill a fire' <b>dura</b> ) (b), durral (M)   |
| three  | <b>buruwi</b> boorooi (c), brew-ie (c), brew-y (C), boorooi (K), brewè (K), buriwai (M), <b>bulawiri wugul</b> ( <b>bulawiri</b> 'two', <b>wugul</b> 'one') blaeri-wagul (R)  |
| tired  | <b>yanbat</b> yan-bad (c), <b>yaraba</b> yare-b\$a (C), <b>wunal</b> wunal (M)  |
| toothless  | <b>darabundi</b> tarabundi (R)  |
| torn (also sore)   | <b>madyung</b> me-di-ong (c), me-diong (C), med-yanq (A)  |
| twice  | <b>bulagu</b> ( <b>bula</b> 'two', <b>-gu</b> 'from') bul\$ago (b)  |
| two  | <b>bula</b> bóola (b), bula (b) (Pa), bulla (c) (K) (M), bool-la (c), boo-la (C), bul-ler (P), b\$uler (R), buler (M), <b>bulawiri</b> blówree (b), blaeri (R), yoo-blowre (c), <b>yubulawiri</b> yoo-blow-re (C), yablowxe (K) |

|                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| very, great, large, many     | <b>marri</b> m@ãurri (b), murry (b), m@urry (b), mur-ray (c), murray (A), mur-ray (C), muree (Pa), murry (Sth), murry-di-ool-oo (Sth), murry di-&oo-loo (Sth) |
| wet                          | <b>marray</b> marray (c), mar-rey (C)   |
| white painted                | <b>dabuwamili-</b> ( <b>dabuwa</b> 'white, white clay' <b>daburi-</b> 'to paint') ta-boá-mil-li-jow (c), taboa-millie (A)                                     |
| white                        | <b>dyirra</b> tyerrá (b), tyerabárrbo (b), <b>dabuwa</b> ta-bo-a (C), taboa (A), burragudi burrakutti (M)   |
| worn out—as old clothes etc. | <b>wiribay</b> ( <b>wiri</b> 'bad') w\$ÈrÈb€ (b)  |
| yellow (also clean)          | <b>yarragul</b> yarrakāal   |
| young                        | <b>mudi</b> m\$ud-d\$ì (R)  |
| younger                      | <b>narang</b> (see 'little')  |

## Non-physical adjectives

|  |  |
|--|--|
| afraid, frightened                     | <b>baragat</b> b@arakāut (b), bar-gat (c) (C), <b>djirrun</b> jerrun (M), jerron (R)   |
| anger                                  | <b>wurabata</b> waurapetá (b), <b>wurugurung</b> waurogooroong (b)   |
| angry, cross, displeased or illnatured | <b>gulara</b> ghoólara (b), goo-l\$ara (c), goo-lar-a (C), kular (M), k\$ulara (b), yuróra (b), ouro (Pa)  |
| another                                | <b>wuguluray</b> wo-gul-\$oray (c)   |
| any                                    | <b>mun</b> mon (c)   |
| bad pronunciation                      | <b>wunyang</b> wã€anea9 (b)  |
| bad, wrong, malignant or pernicious    | <b>wiri</b> we-re (c), wee-re (c), waree, wee-re (C), wèrè (A), weeree (T), waree (Pa), wee-r&i&e (Sth), w\$er\$ì (R), <b>garadji</b> kuraji (M), <b>guji</b> k\$uj\$ì (also 'stinking') (R) |
| bashful, ashamed                       | <b>wural</b> w@urãullbadyãao@u ('I was ashamed') (b), <b>dagurayagu</b> tag-go-ra-yago ('shier') (c)   |
| better                                 | <b>burudi</b> booróody (b), <b>bidyal</b> b€Èdyãul (b), <b>mudun</b> mu-ton (Sth)  |
| bored                                  | <b>marama</b> marama (b)   |
| brave                                  | <b>madung</b> mat-long (c), mutto9 (R)   |
| coward, also 'run away'                | <b>djirrun</b> ( <b>djirrun</b> 'fear') jee-run (C)  |
| female animals                         | <b>wiring</b> we-ren (c), weer-ring (c)  |
| glad, or not angry                     | <b>gurigurang</b> kurÈgãar@a9 (b), <b>mudja</b> mujar (M)  |



|   |  |
|---|--|
| good (as to eat)                                    | <b>dadyibalung</b> taatibalã@ang (b)   |
| good, well, right, proper, pretty, handsome, comely | <b>budyari</b> b@udyerÈ (b), bood-y&er-r&e (c), bood-ger-re (C), bood-yer-re (C), bidgeree (A), bød-yee-ree (T), b@udy&er&i (b), bougeree (Pa), boó-g&e-reé (Sth), b\$udjeri (R), <b>ngubadi</b> ngubaty (M) |
| great   | <b>marri</b> mur-ray (c)   |
| greedy  | <b>djirra</b> jirra (M), dulingyung tulliyu9 (R)   |
| married   | <b>mangi</b> maang@È (taken to wife) (b), <b>malarra</b> mullarra (joined to a man) (c), mul-la-r\$a ( <b>mala</b> 'man') (C)  |
| passionate  | <b>yurura</b> yu-ro-ra (C)   |
| pity or sympathy                                    | <b>mudjaru</b> mudj\$er\$u (R)   |
| sleepy  | <b>nanga</b> ( <b>nanga-</b> 'sleep') nungga (M)   |
| sorry   | <b>ngandu</b> ngandu (M)   |
| stupid  | <b>bininggaray</b> binni9-garai (R)  |
| surprised or startled                               | <b>mannyi mungala</b> ( <b>man-</b> 'take' <b>mungala</b> 'thunder') man-nie mong-alla (C), <b>mannyi mali</b> man-nie mal-lee (C)   |
| truth (also 'yes')                                  | <b>yuwing</b> ew-ing (C)   |
| worse   | <b>wulumi</b> wauloomy (b), <b>garangan</b> karãũ9ãun (b)  |

## Motion verbs

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| arise        | <b>buraga</b> boraga (M)   |
| bathe        | <b>bugi</b> (see 'swim')   |
| bite         | <b>biya-</b> b@Èa (b), <b>dul</b> toll (C)   |
| bring        | <b>ngayari-</b> nga@Èree (b), <b>yalinga-</b> yalingeñ (M)                             |
| climb        | <b>galuwa</b> cal-loo-a (A), kalua (M)   |
| conceal      | <b>dudba</b> dutba (M)   |
| cook         | <b>gunama</b> kunnama (M), kunnim\$a (R)   |
| cool-to cool | <b>bayin-</b> b\$in- (b)   |
| cool oneself | <b>bayinmilyi</b> ( <b>bayin-</b> 'cool', <b>-milyi-</b> 'to oneself') b\$inm@ÈlyÈ (b) |
| cover        | <b>bubanga-</b> boobánga (a)   |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| cover oneself   | <b>bubilyi-</b> bub@ÈlyÈdyaou ('I covered') (b)  |
| creep   | <b>maruwi</b> ma-ro-wey (c), m\$a-row-e (C), marroway (A)  |
| cutting off   | <b>wugan minaring</b> wogan-minnering (c) (A)  |
| dance, a method of dancing  | <b>garabara</b> car-rib-ber-re (c), c&a-r\$ab-b&a-r&a (Sth), korobra (R)   |
| dance   | <b>dangura</b> tang o-ra (A), dungara (M)  |
| dig   | <b>gama-</b> k\$@ama (b)   |
| dip—for example, to dip for water with a small vessel                                 | <b>gaba-</b> kãuba (b)   |
| dive  | <b>bugi</b> (see 'swim'), <b>mulbari</b> mulbari (M), <b>nala bugi</b> ( <b>bugi-</b> swim, bathe) nallab\$ogi (R)   |
| do <b>yanga-</b> yánga (a)  |  |
| do incorrectly  | <b>wiribanga</b> ( <b>wiri</b> 'bad', <b>banga-</b> 'make or do') w\$ÈrÈb@ãu9a (b)   |
| drop or allow to fall   | <b>yiningma</b> ( <b>yini-</b> 'fall', <b>-ma</b> 'imperative') yÈnÈ9ma (b), <b>murama-</b> murãamady@emÈ ('thou didst let fall') (b), <b>yaridyami</b> yery diemy (c) |
| drown   | <b>gura</b> goora (A)  |
| embrace, hug  | <b>dyalgala</b> tyelkála (b)   |
| empty   | <b>buradbani</b> purãutben@È ('to empty') (b)  |
| escort or 'to see home'   | <b>yudi-</b> yudi (b)  |
| fall  | <b>yini-</b> y\$ini (a), y\$ÈnÈ (b), yene (Pa), <b>yari-</b> yery (c), yer-dioma (A), <b>murama</b> murãama (b), <b>bululbali</b> bululbali (M)                        |
| find  | <b>manwari</b> ( <b>mani-</b> 'take', <b>wari</b> 'away') m\$an (b), m\$anwãarÈ (literally 'take abroad') (b)  |
| fish—to fish  | <b>magari</b> ( <b>magura</b> 'a fish') maugerry (A), mogra (R)  |
| fly as a bird or spear (also run)   | <b>wumara</b> wómara (b), womera (c), womerraa (A)   |
| fly <b>wilbing</b> wil-bing (also the wing of a bird) (A), <b>miyanga</b> miangah (c) |  |
| follow  | <b>walanga</b> (see 'second')  |
| get up  | <b>babuga</b> barbuka (A)  |
| go  | <b>yanma</b> ( <b>yan-</b> 'walk or go') yenma ('make to go') (b), yen-ma (c), <b>ngalbunga-</b> albonga- (c)  |
| go outside  | <b>wuruna</b> wuruná (b)   |

|                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| grasp—to take hold              | <b>mawa</b> maur (A)   |
| increase                        | <b>walunadarang</b> wauloonadarang ('more it you please') (b)  |
| hunt                            | <b>wulbanga</b> wolbunga (R)   |
| jump                            | <b>wumarabara</b> ( <b>wumara-</b> 'fly') womerra-berra (A)  |
| kiss                            | <b>bunya-</b> boon-ya (A), bongé (M), <b>bunyalyi</b> ( <b>bunya-</b> 'kiss') boon-alliey (kiss each other) (c), bunalle (kiss each other) (Pa), boon-abbiey (kiss each other) (A) |
| knot, tie                       | <b>ngarra</b> gn@arra (W) (b), <b>daniya</b> tani@e (b)  |
| leak or run out                 | <b>mididwinyi</b> meeditwiny@È (b)   |
| leap                            | <b>ylga</b> ilga (A)   |
| lie <b>ngalawa-</b> (see 'sit') |  |
| limp                            | <b>gadya-</b> kadiá (b)  |

|                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| live                           | <b>ngalawa-</b> (see 'sit')   |
| make or do                     | <b>banga-</b> b\$unga (a), banga (b), b@ãu9a (b), ba9a (b), <b>warra-</b> warra (b), wãurre (b), <b>bangawarra</b> bungkawurra (M), <b>bini-</b> binnie bow ('I will make') (c), binnie ba ('he will make') (c), <b>yanga-</b> yánga (a), <b>yama-</b> ya-mah (c) |
| mistake                        | <b>dara-</b> taria-dyaou ('I made a mistake in speaking') (b), <b>taramadya@ou</b> ('take by mistake') (b)  |
| open a clasp knife             | <b>bayibanga</b> ( <b>bayi-</b> 'beat', <b>banga-</b> 'make') pÈyÈbá9a (b)  |
| open a door                    | <b>bamaradbanga</b> ( <b>banga-</b> 'make') b@ãumãurãutbãu9a (b), p@aratb@unga ('open the door (literally, open make)') (b)   |
| paddle or row                  | <b>banga-</b> bánga (a), ba@ng-a (b), bong-a (c), bang-a (C), b\$ang-à (Sth), ba-ung-a (Sth), guwinya go-in-nia (c)   |
| paint                          | <b>dabura-</b> ( <b>dabuwa</b> 'white, white clay') t\$a-b&o-ré (Sth)   |
| pick teeth                     | <b>darraburraburiya</b> dar-ra-burra-boorià (A)   |
| pick up                        | <b>manyu</b> manioo (c), manioo (A)   |
| play                           | <b>dyanmila</b> tienmÈle (b)  |
| pour                           | <b>badubara</b> bado-burra (A), burra-bado (A)  |
| pour out                       | <b>djarba</b> djer-ba (c), yilaba ( <b>yilaba-</b> 'urinate') il-lab-ba (c)   |
| prick                          | <b>duralang</b> door-a-lang (A)   |
| push anything along            | <b>yadbi</b> yetb@È (b)   |
| put a shell on a <b>wumara</b> | <b>gadyanma</b> ( <b>gadyan</b> 'shell', <b>-ma</b> 'do') kaadianmadi@ou ('I 'throwing stick' kaadianed it. I put the shell on the wómera.') (b)  |
| put down                       | <b>wiyana-</b> weán (b), weána (b), weeana (c)  |
| put on a garment or ornament   | <b>milyi-</b> barÈnmÈlyÈdyú ('I am putting on my barrin', <b>barrin</b> a woman's garment, pubic covering) (b), buru mileÈ (b), boor emil (A)   |
| remain                         | <b>ngalawa-</b> (see 'sit')   |
| remain awake                   | <b>warigulyi</b> wãarÈgulyÈba@ou (I will remain awake) (b)  |
| return or come back            | <b>walama</b> wéllama (a), madwãara (b)   |
| rise                           | <b>burbuga</b> bur-boga (A)   |
| run as an animal (also fly)    | <b>wumara-</b> wómara (b), womera (c), womerraa (A), wumerra (M), w\$u (R)  |
| run away (also coward, fear)   | <b>djirrun</b> tyérun (b)   |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| seek  | <b>waranara</b> wāaranára (b)   |
| scarify the chest—to make to make incised lines on a person's chest for the purpose of ritual and decoration  | <b>garanga</b> car-ran-ga (c), congarei (c), cong-ar-ray (c), car-ran-ga bow-iniey (c)  |
| scrape  | <b>minay</b> min-ney (A)  |
| scratch   | <b>dyargali</b> dargallee (W) (b), tyargálye (b), dir-gally (A), tyeroga (b), jirringa (M), tyerogadyaouw@ÈnÈa ('I scratched you') (Dawes b)  |
| sharpen—as the points of a fishgig on a stone   | <b>yara</b> y\$ara (b), <b>yurulbara</b> yur\$ulbara (b), <b>manya</b> manéea (b)   |
| shave (to singe the beard off)  | <b>bunyadil</b> bun-ya-dil (A)  |
| shelter   | <b>bawaga</b> paouwagadyÈm@È9a (b)  |
| show  | <b>naminma</b> n\$am@Ènma   |
| shut a clasp knife  | <b>muluma</b> muluma (b)  |
| shut the door   | <b>wirribara</b> w@ÈrrÈbar@a (b)  |
| sit near (to sit near anyone)   | <b>yuridyuwa</b> ury-diow (A)   |
| sit <b>ngalawa-</b> ngalawáu (a) (b), ngallawāa- (b), gnal-loa (A), allowau (c), allowa (c), al-lo-wah (C), al-loey (C), alloua (Pa), al-lo-wan (C), alloey (A) |   |
| slip  | <b>mayagawarrbay</b> ( <b>mayagawarrma-</b> 'wink') mikoarsbí (b)   |
| squeeze—as water out of a sponge  | <b>dayma</b> t@\$ima (b)  |
| stand   | <b>narri-</b> narri (A), <b>warrawi</b> warre-wee (A), war-re-wee (c)   |
| start (as when frightened)  | <b>manya</b> m@ãunye (b)  |
| sunk  | <b>gura</b> goo-r\$a (C)  |
| swim  | <b>bugi-</b> bógi (a), bógee (a), bog@Èa (b), b\$o-gie (Sth), boge (Pa), bo-ga (c), bo-gay (C) (A), <b>wadabi</b> wad-by (c), wadd-be (c), wadby (A), wad-be (C), <b>waringa</b> waringa (M)                      |
| take hold of my hand and help me up   | <b>burbangana</b> poorbu9\$ana (b)  |
| take off (as a coat)  | <b>bunilbanga</b> (-buni 'no, not', <b>banga-</b> 'make') bunÈlbâu9a (b)  |
| throw   | <b>yira-</b> \$Èr\$È (a), ye-ry (c), yery (A), eereéra ('you throw') (b), e-ra (C), erah (C), yara (throw fast) (R), yan\$a (R), tyerrsba (b), <b>garaya-</b> 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') wãalÈbãu9a (b)

|   |  |
|---|--|
| turn when walking   | <b>walubudyun</b> ( <b>walu-</b> 'turn') waloo-bu-diown (A)  |
| turn  | <b>wali-</b> wãalÈ (b), <b>walu-</b> waloo (A)   |
| undress   | <b>dyararabanga</b> ( <b>banga-</b> 'make, do') tyér&erabãu9a (b)  |
| walk or go  | <b>yana-</b> yen (a) (b) (c) (A) (Pa) (Sth), yenn (C), yan (R), yenu (A), yenna (A), yanna (M), yená (a), yeni (a) |
| warm—to warm  | <b>gura</b> gore (b)   |
| warm one's hand by the fire and then squeeze gently the fingers of another person | <b>buduwa</b> ( <b>buduway</b> 'scorch') putuwá (b)  |
| wash or soak  | <b>garramilyi</b> carre-mille (A), <b>ganga-</b> ka9ab\$anye (she (or he) will wash you) (b)                       |
| watch   | <b>yanung</b> ya-noong (c)   |

## State verbs

|   |   |
|---|---|
| be <b>barung</b> be-rong (c)                                      |   |
| bored—to become tired of something                                | <b>marama</b> marama (b)  |
| die   | <b>buyi</b> bòe (A), bo-y (A), bò-ee (T), boyee (Pa), boi (M), boi (R)        |
| fear  | <b>dyirrun</b> ty@erun (b), tar-rione (c), gerund (Pa)                        |
| have  | <b>miwana</b> m@Èw@ãana   |
| itchy   | <b>guwidiy</b> k@oityÈ (b), koitba9ady@È9a ('it itches') (b)                  |
| live  | <b>mudang</b> moo-tang (A)  |
| pretend   | <b>wangit</b> wangit (M)  |
| rain—to rain  | <b>wulan</b> wãal@an (b)  |
| ring—to ring as a bell  | <b>dilbanyi</b> tÈlbanye (b)  |
| separate  | <b>madingara</b> mati9ara (b)   |
| shine   | <b>gili</b> ( <b>gili</b> 'spark') killi (M)                                  |
| smolder (the fire is out, or going out)                           | <b>ngimagay</b> 9yÈmag@i (b), <b>bula</b> boolá (b), <b>wuruna</b> wuruná (b) |
| stopped working (literally 'dead')—for example, the watch stopped | <b>baluwi</b> b\$alu@È (b)  |

weary, tire or ache **dyarrba** tyarsba (b), yárrsba (a), yare (c)

## Vocalizing and thought verbs

|                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| abhor                              | <b>marri wari</b> ( <b>marri</b> 'very', <b>wiri</b> 'bad') muree waree (Pa)   |
| ask anything                       | <b>nganaga</b> annegar (A)   |
| bark                               | <b>nurba</b> nur-be (c), <b>muruwaba</b> moroube (Pa)  |
| call                               | <b>gama-</b> kamabaou ('I will call') (b) (b), kama (b), ca-mar (c), ca-m\$a (c), k\$a-m\$a (c), c`a-ma (A)  |
| change names                       | <b>damuli</b> taamool@y (b)  |
| court, make love to                | <b>duwana</b> t`ana (b)  |
| cry or weep                        | <b>dunga-</b> t`unga (b), tong-e (female) (c), tong-i (male) (c), tongay (c), tonga (A), toongha (P), toong-a (Sth), dunga (M), yunga (R), tonga-bil-lie (C) |
| deceive, scam                      | <b>gunga</b> k`aa9a (b)  |
| forget                             | <b>munuru-</b> m@\$anuru (b), m\$an@uri (b), maanorodiou@`Enia (to understand, 'I don't understand you') (b), me`ama ('I don't understand you') (a)          |
| howl (as a dog)                    | <b>nuyiga</b> noy-ga (C)   |
| imitate or to take off             | <b>darrbangaldyun guralibuwa</b> derr-bangel-dion crelli bow (A)   |
| laugh (violently)                  | <b>badiya</b> patteya (c)  |
| laugh                              | <b>bilya</b> pil-lia (A), <b>djandiga</b> jandiga (M), <b>wina</b> winna (R)   |
| lend                               | <b>mari-</b> murí (b), <b>marimirung</b> ( <b>mari-</b> lend, <b>-mirung</b> 'from') mar`Em`Eru9 (b)   |
| lie                                | <b>wanya</b> w@`aunya (b), waún&ia (b), wan-ye-wan-yi (C), wan-nye-wanyu (c), wan-y\$e-wan-y\$e (c)  |
| listen, hear, think                | <b>ngara-</b> ngára (a), 9@ara (b), narra (c), narra (A)   |
| love                               | <b>ngubadi</b> ngubaty (M)   |
| make believe, do something in jest | <b>wunyawuri</b> w`anyaw`ari (b)   |
| make a mistake in speaking         | <b>daraya-</b> taria- (b)  |
| not understand                     | <b>miyama</b> me`ama (b), manuru maanoro (b)   |



|   |  |
|---|--|
| pronounce   | <b>garaga</b> ( <b>garag</b> 'mouth') kár&agãa (b), káraga (b), <b>bayalagarriga</b> byalla-garriga ( <b>baya-</b> 'speak', <b>garaga</b> 'mouth') (c)   |
| read  | <b>baya-</b> ( <b>baya-</b> 'speak') pía (b)   |
| refuse  | <b>damuna-</b> taamóona (b), t\$amuna (b)  |
| request   | <b>gulya</b> gullea (M)  |
| ring (as a bell)                                      | <b>dilbanyi-</b> tilbanye- (b)   |
| say   | <b>yuri</b> yur-re (c)   |
| say   | <b>baya-</b> (see 'speak')   |
| scold   | <b>wami</b> w\$ãami (b), wau-m\$e (C)  |
| sexual desire   | <b>gudhaling</b> kuthaling (M)   |
| shout   | <b>gumba</b> kumba (R)   |
| sigh  | <b>ngayana</b> gnia-na (C) (A)   |
| sing  | <b>baraya-</b> bería (b), bor-ra-ya (A), be-ria (Sth), b&a-ree-o&u (Sth), burria (M), beri\$a (R), <b>yaban</b> ye-ban (c), yibbun (c), ya-ban (A), yabbun ('singers dancing or beating on two clubs') (A) |
| snarling with anger                                   | <b>gulara bayala</b> ( <b>gulara</b> 'anger', <b>baya-</b> 'speak') goo-lar-ra py-ye-la (C)  |
| speak an unknown language                             | <b>mubaya</b> m@\$ãapiady@ÈmÈ ('you speak an unknown language') (b)  |
| speak   | <b>baya-</b> píyi (b), pía (b), pia (b), pi-ar-ar (c), byalla (c), byalla (A), piale (Pa), p&i-&a-la (Sth), paialla (M), paialla (R), p\$ì-ata (Sth), pi-\$at-t&a (Sth), <b>garriga</b> garriga (c)        |
| talk  | <b>djiyadi</b> tsiáti (b), tÈ@atÈ (b), <b>bayidiyadi</b> p@yeeti@atee (b), <b>baya-</b> (see 'speak')  |
| tease—to speak falsely in jest or to make believe (b) | <b>buna-</b> búna (b), búnama (b), b@unamadya@ou ('I made believe') (b)  |
| tell  | <b>guwanyi</b> goanyi (M), <b>baya-</b> (see 'speak')  |
| think   | <b>wingara</b> ( <b>ngara</b> 'hear, think') wíngar&u (a), wingara (a)   |
| trust (see 'lend')                                    | <b>mari-</b>   |
| whistle   | <b>wurgawina</b> worga-weena (c), wor-ga-wee-na (C), worgye (A), woinga (M)  |

## Bodily function verbs

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| awake                 | <b>burbanga</b> porb@ũ9a (b)  |
| blow the nose         | <b>naba</b> n\$epe (b)  |
| blow with your breath | <b>buwa-</b> bo-a-mere (c), bumbi (M)   |
| breathe               | <b>ngayana</b> gniána (b), gna-na (c), gn\$a-n\$a (C), gna-na-lema ('she breathes') (c), <b>buwama-</b> bwo-me (C), bo-me (A)   |
| chew                  | <b>djang-</b> Chiang (c), Chiang (A), Chang utah (c), Chang-ulah (A)  |
| clap hands            | <b>bumarabanyali</b> pomera-bannielly (c), <b>bulmiya</b> bul-mie (A)   |
| cool one's self       | <b>bayinmilyi</b> p\$inm@ÈlyÈ   |
| copulate              | <b>ganadinga</b> can-na-ding-ga (c), <b>galu</b> callo (c), <b>galin</b> callyne (c), <b>yanga</b> yang-a (c), <b>ngudadha</b> nguttatha (M)  |
| cough                 | <b>garri-</b> gárree (b) (W), gar-ree (A), <b>garragin</b> ( <b>garaga</b> 'mouth', <b>-in</b> 'from') karra@ÈgÈn (b), <b>garrinarribili</b> car-re-nar-re-bil-le (C), car-re-nar-e-bille (A) |
| defecate              | <b>gunin</b> ( <b>guni</b> 'faeces', <b>-in</b> 'from') guning (Pa), c\$o-ning (Sth), <b>gunagali</b> go-nag-al-le (c)  |
| drink or suck         | <b>wida-</b> w@&ida (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                   | <b>bada-</b> patá (a) (b), patta (c), parran (c), pat-ta (C), pat-t\$a (C), paran (A), patta (Pa), p\$a-t&a (Sth)   |
| gape (see 'yawn')     | <b>daburulburul</b> taa boorool boorool (b)   |
| grow                  | <b>djurali</b> dtur\$alÈ (b)  |
| itch                  | <b>gudyi</b> kóÈtyÈ (b)   |
| look                  | <b>na-</b> (see 'see'), <b>ngalga</b> gnalga (c)  |
| masterbation          | <b>ganmiludhi</b> ganmillutthi (M)  |
| observe (see 'see')   | <b>na-</b>  |
| see                   | <b>na-</b> naa (a) (b), gna (c), gn\$a (C), ni (a), nea (M), na-a (Sth), nal-lar (c)  |
| seek                  | <b>baduwa</b> pe-to-e (c) (C), pittuma (M), <b>na-</b> (see 'see'), <b>waranara</b> wáaran@ara (b)  |
| shiver                | <b>dagurayagu</b> tag-go-ra-yago (c), tag-go-rah-yago (A)   |
| shut the eyes         | <b>mimuguru</b> myi-mogro (A)   |
| sick or to vomit      | <b>mula</b> moo-la (C), moola (A)   |

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| sleep                   | <b>nangara-</b> nanga (a), nan-ga-re (c), nan-go-bar (c), nang-a (C), nangorar (P), nan-ga-ra (A), nan-g&a-r&a (Sth), nangree (Pa), nungare (M), nangri (R) |
| smell                   | <b>gana</b> can-ne (c), <b>gunda</b> kunda (M)  |
| sneeze                  | <b>dyiringang</b> tieeringang (b), dere-rign-ang (C), dère-nignan (A), te-re-nang (A)   |
| snore                   | <b>guruda-</b> go-ro-da (C), go-roo-da (A) go-ro-da lema (c), goroda lima (he snores) (c)   |
| spit                    | <b>dyuranga</b> tyura9\$a (b), tyurag\$€a (b), doo-ra-gy-a (A), <b>djugi</b> juki (M)   |
| stare                   | <b>bulwurra</b> pãulwã€urra <b>baou</b> ('to stare or look at naught') (b), bolwara (A), <b>nadawunma</b> na-de-wun-ma (c), <b>mudbi</b> mutbi              |
| swallow                 | <b>gurruguwidbi</b> k\$@orr&okoÈtbÈ (b)   |
| swallow with difficulty | <b>miwuluni-</b> mÈwulunÈdya <u>ou</u> (I swallowed with difficulty) (b)  |
| sweat or to be hot      | <b>yuruga</b> en-rie-g&o (Sth), eu-ré-go (Sth)  |
| urinate (to make water) | <b>yilaba-</b> il-lab-be (c), elabi (Pa), elabi-la-bo (A), e-l\$a-v&e (Sth)   |
| vomit                   | <b>muli</b> muli (M)  |
| wink                    | <b>migawarrma-</b> mekoarsmady\$em€9a ('you winked at me') (b), <b>guragina</b> goo-ra-gine (shut one eye) (c)  |
| wipe the hands          | <b>damara</b> ( <b>damara</b> 'hands') t@amara (b)  |
| yawn                    | <b>dabanga-</b> taabanga (a), taabánga (b), tabánga (W) (b), ta-lang-a (A), <b>dyiringalima</b> tiéringaléema (b)   |

## Impact and violence verbs

|                                |  |
|--------------------------------|--|
| beat gently                    | <b>gurinyi</b> kur@ÈnyÈ (b)  |
| beat hard                      | <b>marribayi</b> ( <b>marri</b> 'very', <b>bayi-</b> 'beat') muree-pie (Pa)  |
| beat, strike, fight, kill, hit | <b>bayi-</b> pýyÈ (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                          | <b>garang-</b> karãu9ãutb\$ala ('they will break it, be broken') (b), karã@ãu9ãul ('hard, difficult to break') (b), kar@ãu9ãun ('worse') (b)                         |
| break or cut                   | <b>gudba-</b> cot-ban (A) (K), cot-bain (c), cot-balie (c), kótbara (a), cut-bar-rar, cot-bannie (c), cot-bàniè (A), cot-barry (A), <b>gidjigbani</b> kidjikbane (M) |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| burn                                    | <b>gana-</b> cannadinga (c), cannadinan (c), kunnet (R), kunut (R), kãanamadiao@u ('I set it on fire') (b)        |
| crack between the nails<br>as a flea    | <b>ginyi</b> gÈn\$È (b), giny\$È (b), gÈnÈdyaou ('I cracked') (b)   |
| cut                                     | <b>galabidya</b> kálabidya (b), k\$arabÈdyÈ (b)   |
| extinguish                              | <b>nyimang</b> ny@Èmãu9 (b), 9yÈmag-€ ('going out') (b), 9y@ÈnadyÈm@È9a ('you stand between me and the fire') (b) |
| fight                                   | <b>dyurala</b> d\$urella (R)  |
| hurt                                    | <b>badja</b> bad-dje (c)  |
| kill or quench a fire<br>(see 'strike') | <b>djura, djulara</b> dtulará (to throw water on the fire) (b)  |
| kill (see 'strike')                     | <b>djura</b>  |
| pinch (see 'strike')                    | <b>djura</b>  |
| knock out—as an eye or<br>a tooth)      | <b>bulbaga-</b> bool-bag-a- (c), bool-bag-ga (C)  |
| scorch                                  | <b>buduway</b> putuwi (b)   |
| set on fire                             | <b>gunama</b> kãanama (b)   |
| smash (break to pieces)                 | <b>bugra-</b> bogra- (b)  |
| spear                                   | <b>darrat</b> turret (R)  |
| strike (as a fish with a fishgig)       | <b>djura</b> dtoóra (b), d'oo-ra (Sth), dtura (b), dtula (b), <b>dudbara</b> dutbara (M)                          |
| tear as paper or ring as a bell         | <b>dilbanga</b> t\$Èlb@a9a (b)  |
| wound                                   | <b>bayawurra</b> baiwurra (M)   |

## Holding and transfer verbs

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| bring                | <b>ngayiri</b> gn\$a-ré (Sth), gn\$a-re (Sth), gna-rei (Sth), ngai-ri (Sth), nga@iree (b), 9@irÈ (carry) (b) |
| carry (se bring)     | <b>ngayiri</b>   |
| carry away           | <b>wari</b> (see 'lose')   |
| collect (see 'take') | <b>mana-</b>   |
| fetch (see 'take')   | <b>mana-</b>   |
| gather (see 'take')  | <b>mana-</b>   |

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| get (see 'take')      | <b>mana-</b>  |
| give                  | <b>ngawiya-</b> 9wÈy@i (b), wea (c), wia (c), wya (c), nwyā (C), wy-a (A), wea- (A), wia- (A), wean (Pa), nguya- (M), <b>duga</b> t\$og\$a (R)                        |
| give away for nothing | <b>dulumi-</b> tulumÈdya9a (he gave it me for nothing) (b)  |
| give one the hand     | <b>banyadjaminga</b> pan-nie-jeminga (A)  |
| have                  | <b>miwuna</b> ( <b>wuna-</b> 'throw away') m\$Èwãana  |
| hide                  | <b>duwabili</b> tuabilli (R)  |
| hold up               | <b>gulbanga-</b> ( <b>banga-</b> 'make') g\$ulbamut@È9una (b), g\$ulba9abaou ('I will hold it up') (b)  |
| lose                  | <b>barrbagay</b> parrbaggy (b), parrbãuggy (b), parrbuggy (b), par!sbãug@i (b), barbuggi (c), bar-bug-gi (C), <b>wari</b> ( <b>wara</b> 'away!') wãari (b), wãarÈ (b) |
| obstruct              | <b>nguluna-</b> 9olonady\$em€9a ('you did stop my way') (b)   |
| send away             | <b>yiliri-</b> ÈlÈrÈ (b)  |
| send                  | <b>yuma-</b> y@uma (b)  |
| snatch                | <b>yaramadyawiniya</b> era-mad-ye-winnia (A)  |
| stand between         | <b>ngyina</b> 9y@Èna (b)  |
| steal                 | <b>garama</b> car-ra-mah (c), car-rah-m\$a (C), ka-ra-ma (A), kar\$am\$a (R)  |
| take                  | <b>mana-</b> maan (a), maaná (a), máana (b), m\$an (b) (c) (Sth), mahn (C), ma\$aan (Sth), maun (Pa), man (M), mahan (R), maanm&a (b)                                 |
| throw away            | <b>wana-</b> wãana (b), wanne (A), <b>yara-</b> yara- (R)   |

## Locationals and directionals

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| above, upwards, upstairs | <b>burawa</b> pur@awãa (b), boor-a-wa (c), boo-row-a (C) |
| at                       | <b>wawa</b> w@ou (b)                                     |
| away                     | <b>wari</b> (see 'lose'), <b>gawundi</b> kaundi (R)      |
| abroad                   | <b>wari</b> (see 'lose')                                 |
| back                     | <b>muray</b> mor€ (b)                                    |
| below or under           | <b>gadi</b> ca-dy (c), cad-i (C), <b>dadu</b> dad-du (c) |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| close by  | <b>winima</b> winnim\$ā (R)  |
| distant   | <b>ngarrawan</b> 9@arawan (b), ar-ro-un (c), ar-ro-wan (c), ar-row-an (A)  |
| down  | <b>yinyun</b> Ēnyun (b)  |
| far away  | <b>warawara</b> w\$ar\$aw\$ar\$a (R)   |
| far distant—also the name given to England and the colonists from England | <b>barawal</b> berw@āal (b), berewal (c),  |
| here  | <b>dyi</b> dieé (b), die (A), diam (C), <b>dyidyam</b> die-diam (c), in-yam (c), Ēny@am (b), <b>bidja</b> bija (R) |
| here, there, in this or in that   | <b>nula</b> no-le (c)  |
| left hand   | <b>duriyumi</b> dooriomi (c)   |
| near to   | <b>baruwa</b> br@ua (b)  |
| no where  | <b>biyal</b> ( <b>biyal</b> 'negative') b&&i@al (b)  |
| on <b>wu</b> wāa (b)  |  |
| other side—the other side of the hill                                     | <b>ngaranga</b> eranga (A)   |
| out   | <b>bula</b> bool@a (b)   |
| outside   | <b>wiyana</b> we@ana (b)   |
| outdoors (see 'lose')   | <b>wari</b>  |
| path or road  | <b>murū</b> mo-ro (A), mo-ru (c), moo-roo (Sth), muru (M), m\$ur\$u (R)  |
| place   | <b>ngurang</b> gno-r\$ang (C)  |
| relative to place where   | <b>nunanglanung</b> noon-ung-la-noong (c)  |
| right hand  | <b>warrangi</b> warrangi (c), war-r\$ang-i (C)   |
| there he, she or it is  | <b>dingaladi</b> ding-al-la-dee (c)  |
| there   | <b>yiniya</b> eenee@a (b), inyun (b) <b>ngil</b> gnil (c), <b>di</b> de (C)  |
| this side—on this side of the water                                       | <b>wurrungwuri</b> worrong-woóree (b)  |
| this way  | <b>yiribana</b> yeeree bená (b)  |
| to  | <b>dali</b> tali (b)   |
| where   | <b>wawu</b> wau (C), wa (A), waré (A)  |

upgul g\$ul (b)

## Temporals

|   |   |
|---|---|
| bye and bye, presently                        | <b>guwagu</b> gu\$augo (b), guãago (b), gua-go (Sth), karbo (R), kabu (M), <b>yirabuwabu</b> yeerabóabo (b), <b>waringa</b> war-ring-a (c)  |
| day after tomorrow                            | <b>barrabuwari</b> parre-bu-war-rie(c)  |
| day   | <b>gamarruwa</b> kamarú (b), kamaruá (b), kamará (b), camurra (A), cam-murree (c), darrabarra tarrabãurra (b), <b>gamarru darrabarra</b> cam-mar-roo tar-re-ber-re (C), bré-ang (Sth) |
| evening                                       | <b>waragal</b> waragal (M)  |
| future event—'it is going to...'              | <b>ngabay</b> 9abi (b)  |
| just now, some little time back or last night | <b>wara wara</b> wã@ura wã@ura (b), wor-re worrar (c)   |
| long ago                                      | <b>gurugal</b> gu-ru-gal (c)  |
| long time                                     | <b>darimi</b> tar@ÈmÈ (b)   |
| morning—before sunrise                        | <b>barabiyanga</b> parabÈ@a9a (b)   |
| morning                                       | <b>mulinawul</b> mul-lin-a-ool (c), mul-lin-ow-ool (c), marouvow oul (morn or the sun rising out of the sea) (Pa), <b>burbigal</b> burpigal (M), <b>winbin</b> winbin (R)             |
| night   | <b>nguwing</b> gnoo-wing (c), gnoo-ing (c), gnoo-wing (C), gnoowing (A), ouen (Pa), no-en (Sth), <b>minak</b> minni (R), minnek (M)   |
| now   | <b>yilabara</b> ile-bar-ra (c), nung noong (c), nuna noone (A)  |
| presently                                     | <b>guwugu</b> gwã@agun (b), gwãago (b), gua-go (c)  |
| same day                                      | <b>gamarabu</b> kamarab@u (b)   |
| soon (some little time hence)                 | <b>ngayarayagal</b> 9írigal (b)   |
| sun rise                                      | <b>guwing bayabuba</b> ( <b>guwing</b> 'sun') by-bo-bar (c), coing by-bo-bar (c), co-ing bi-bo-b\$a (C), coing-bibo-la (A)  |
| sun set                                       | <b>guwing</b> burragula (gowing 'sun') bour-re-gu-lar (c), co-ing bur-re-goo-lah (C), coing-burra-go-lah (K)  |
| then  | <b>wala</b> wella (b), well@a9a (b)   |
| today   | <b>yagu</b> yãagu (b), ya-go (c), yagóona (b), ya-gu-nah (c), ya-goo-na (C), yagoona (A)  |

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| tomorrow         | <b>barrabugu</b> par-re-bugo (c), pa-rae-bu-gah (c), par-ri-beu-go (c), par-ry-boo-go (C), parry-buga (A), burrapur (M), <b>burani</b>   |
| tomorrow morning | <b>mulinawul</b> mulln@ <u>a-o-u-l</u> (b), mul-lin-ow-ool (C), mullin-ow-ule (A)  |
| winter           | <b>warrin</b> war-rin (c)  |
| yesterday        | <b>baranyi</b> br\$anÈ (b), br\$any€ (b), bar-ra-ne (c), bo-rah-ne (c), bo-r\$a-ne (C), boorana (A), br\$anigal (b), bar-ra-nè (source says this means tomorrow which is probably a mistake) (A) |

## Interjections

|   |   |
|---|---|
| affectionate term used by girls   | <b>gamungali</b> ca-mong-al-lay (C), <b>gamarada</b> ( <b>gamarada</b> 'friend') cam-mar-rade (C)   |
| angry exclamation   | <b>dyamuna</b> ( <b>damunagal</b> 'a churl') ty-ya-moo-ne (c)   |
| begone!, an exclamation of defiance   | <b>wuruwuru</b> ( <b>wuru</b> '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-òù (Sth)  |
| come here!  | <b>gawi</b> ( <b>gama-</b> 'call', <b>-wi</b> 'them') kaowÈ (b), co-e (C), cow-e (C), cwoi (C), cow-ana (C), cow-ee (A), co-wee (H), kouee (Pa), coo-sé (Sth), c\$o-eé (Sth), c\$o-é (Sth), <b>gawi bidja</b> kwai bidja (R)  |
| cry uttered by assistants in the ears of the boys undergoing the ceremony of tooth evulsion | <b>yiwayiwa gagagaga</b> e-wah e-wah, ga-ga ga-ga (C)   |
| curse—a curse   | <b>warabada dadja</b> ( <b>wara</b> 'rascal', <b>bada-</b> 'eat') war-rah-pattah de-je (c)  |
| eater of human excrement! —favourite term of reproach used by Aboriginal people             | <b>guninbada</b> ( <b>guni</b> 'faeces', <b>bada-</b> 'eat') go-nin-pat-ta (T)  |
| don't ye!   | <b>wawunanga</b> waunánga (b)   |
| don't tell me   | <b>yaguna</b> yag@una (b)   |
| the effect of the hot burning sand upon the eye   | <b>marri ganandyanga may</b> ( <b>marri</b> 'very', <b>ganandya</b> 'copulated', <b>-nga</b> 'it', <b>may</b> 'eye') murray-cannandinga-mi (c)  |
| get away!   | <b>yan muru yan</b> ( <b>yana-</b> 'go', <b>mur</b> 'path') yen-more-yen (c), <b>yaluwaninmin</b> yel-low-wan-in-min (c)  |
| go away!  | <b>yanwuri</b> ( <b>yana-</b> 'go', <b>wari</b> 'away') yenwã€arÈ (b), <b>wuru</b> wooroo (b), woo-rar (c), wo-roo wo-roo (c), <b>wara</b> (source repeats the item twice and three times) warraw! warraw! warraw! (O), <b>wara wara wayi</b> warra, warra wai (Richard Johnson in Mackaness 1954), worra worra wea (F), <b>dada</b> tete (b), teteba <u>o@u</u> (b), <b>ngalbangadyawa</b> albongadiow (c) |



|   |  |
|---|--|
| go away!, let me alone!, psha!,<br>have done!, don't you!, no no! | <b>gugugu gugugu gugugu</b> go-g&o-g&o (said three times) (Sth)  |
| go now!   | <b>didyay</b> tÈtyi (b)  |
| go, go, go (make haste)!  | <b>dadadadadadadada</b> tetetetetetete (b)   |
| here I am! or here I come!  | <b>djamu</b> d'iam&o (Sth), d'a-mou (Sth)  |
| he doesn't like it  | <b>mungi</b> mong-y (c)  |
| I am parched!   | <b>badugubaliwida</b> ( <b>badu</b> 'water', <b>bali</b> 'dry', <b>wida-</b> 'drink') 'bado-go-bally-vuida (A)   |
| I am hungry or empty  | <b>yuruwin</b> ( <b>yuru</b> 'hungry', <b>-in</b> 'from') yuru\$Èn ('I am hungry, from hunger') (b)  |
| I don't know!   | <b>nanma</b> nan-mar (c), <b>madjiyai</b> mediey (A), <b>manyaru</b> man-ye-ro (A) (c), <b>dungaribanyi</b> dung-a-re-ban-ye (c)                           |
| I go, I am going—said when<br>leaving                             | <b>yanu</b> yenóo (b), yeníoo (b), yen-ou (Sth), yen-mou (Sth)   |
| I have struck   | <b>durraduway</b> d'urra-d'oway (Sth), d'urra-d'onay (Sth)   |
| indeed! or it is true!  | <b>yuwin</b> y@uÈn (b)   |
| let us go!  | <b>nala yan</b> nalla yan (R)  |
| look out!   | <b>guwark</b> kw\$ark (R)  |
| make haste!   | <b>barrawu</b> barrao (R)  |
| mind your work! (literally 'do<br>not fatigue yourself')          | <b>yarrabuni</b> ( <b>yarra-</b> 'tire', <b>-buni</b> 'no, not') yarrsbóonie (b)   |
| no  | <b>biyal</b> béal (a), bÈ\$al (b), b\$e-al (c), beall (C), bei-yal (Sth), bey-ál (Sth), bi-&al (Sth), bee-\$al (Sth), -buni búni (b), b\$eal (R), beal (M) |
| no ears!—said to a person<br>who was not answering a call         | <b>guribuni</b> gurÈb@unÈ ( <b>guri</b> ears, <b>-buni</b> 'none') (b)   |
| oh, you hurt me!  | <b>didyay didyay</b> d@Èdyi d@Èdyi (b)   |
| perhaps   | <b>marraga</b> murraga (M)   |
| please (pray)   | <b>gay</b> g\$ì (b)  |
| run away  | <b>wugarndi</b> wh\$u k\$arndi (R)   |
| silence! or hush!   | <b>ngumun</b> o-moon (this in a whisper) (c)   |
| sit down!   | <b>nalawala</b> na-lau-ra (Sth), n&a-l&a-wã (Sth), nallawalli (R)  |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| so, thus, in this manner  | <b>iyari</b> ey\$erie (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  | <b>wari wari</b> weree weree (P)   |
| stop a little stop  | <b>mayalya</b> miléea (b), mileeánga (b), miliéewáraga (b)   |
| stop here!  | <b>walawa</b> wallawa (R)  |
| stop stop!  | <b>ngadu</b> 9at@u (b)   |
| stop!   | <b>wiyanada</b> w\$Éan@ada (b), <b>guguggu</b> go go go (b), <b>guwawugu</b> gu\$augo (also 'presently') (b) |
| thanks (also 'enough')  | <b>didjarigura</b> didgerry-goor (A)   |
| to scold<br>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. | <b>wumidjanga</b> wah-ma-d'jang-ah (c), wau-m\$e-d'jang-ah (c)   |
| warcry used when charging into battle   | <b>djiriyay</b> jee-ree-i (c)  |
| yes   | <b>murama</b> mo-rem-me (C), <b>yi</b> e-é (Sth), <b>yuwin</b> yuín (R), yuin (M)                            |
| you must say!   | <b>dungaduru</b> ( <b>dunga</b> - 'cry', <b>-duru</b> 'continues') tonga-doro (A)                            |

## Names of Aboriginal people and social groups

|                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| Aboriginal girl's name   | <b>burung</b> booroong (c)   |
| Boorreea's tribe         | <b>ganaligalyung</b> cannalgalleon (c)   |
| boy from Botany Bay      | <b>garangarani</b> carrangarrany (c)   |
| Colebe's child           | <b>banyibulung</b> pen-niee-bool-long (c)  |
| female stranger's name   | <b>garawiya</b> carreweer (c)  |
| little boy's name        | <b>badya badya</b> bedia bedia (c)   |
| little girl's name       | <b>gunangulyi</b> gonan-goolie (c)   |
| male stranger's name     | <b>buruwuna</b> booroowunne (c)  |
| someone's name           | <b>gurubi</b> co-ro-by (c)   |
| someone's name           | <b>murubara</b> mo-roo-berra (c)   |
| Aboriginal woman (Patye) | <b>ganmangnal</b> kanm\$a9n@al (b), <b>dagaran</b> t\$agar@an, <b>duba badjagarang</b> t@uba patyegar@a9 |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| people who inhabited War-mul                                   | <b>ganamagal</b> cannemegal (c)                             |
| people who inhabited the island of the flats                   | <b>badjagal</b> bediagal (c)                                |
| person said by <b>Burung</b> to be unfriendly to the colonists | <b>burudal</b> booroodel (c), <b>mawuguran</b> maugoran (c) |
| person who carried the compass on an expedition                | <b>bunyuwal</b> bon-yoo-el (c)                              |
| tribe Weran belongs to in the district of Wanne                | <b>daramaragal</b> tarra-merragal (c)                       |
| tribe's name   | <b>gurunguragal</b> goorung-ur-re-gal (c)                   |
| tribe's name   | <b>bira biragalyung</b> birra birraga-leon (c)              |
| very handsome girl's name                                      | <b>baringan</b> bárring-an (c)                              |
| Wo-ran's tribe   | <b>daramuragal</b> darra-murra-gal (c)                      |
| woman's name   | <b>nguruwin</b> gnoo-roo-in (c)                             |
| woman's name   | <b>buruwia</b> boorreea (c)                                 |

## **Names of places**

|   |  |
|---|--|
| another head  | <b>dubarayi</b> tuberai (c)                  |
| bad country   | <b>wiri nura</b> wee-ree norar (c)           |
| Botany Bay  | <b>gamay</b> ka-may (c)                      |
| Bradley Point                                       | <b>daliyungay</b> tal-le-ong-i (c)           |
| Breakfast Point                                     | <b>buridyuwuwugulya</b> booridiou-o-gule (c) |
| Captain Parker etc dined at this place              | <b>bangarang</b> pa9ar@a9 (b)                |
| Cockatoo Island, sixth island coming up the harbour | <b>warayama</b> wa-rea-mah (c)               |
| Collins' Cove                                       | <b>gayumay</b> kayoo-may (c)                 |
| country near bare island                            | <b>wudiba wudiba</b> wãadba wãadba (b)       |
| cove next to Farm Cove                              | <b>walamul</b> walla-mool (c)                |
| Dinner Point  | <b>marayama</b> mar-ray-mah (c)              |
| East bank of Farm Cove                              | <b>yara yarara</b> y@era y@er&ara (c)        |

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

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

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**ILLUSTRATIONS**

**OF**

**SYDNEY ARTEFACTS**

