THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE

JAKELIN TROY
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by

Jakelin Troy

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PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tom Dutton, Harold Koch, Darrell Tryon and Cliff Goddard have each provided comment on drafts of the linguistic analysis for this work.
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The Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University supported me during the research which formed part of my PhD project.

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

acut e accent an angle shaped line leaning left to right (facing) placed above a letter
affix anything added to a word to modify its meaning
breve a cup shaped diacritic placed above a letter
consonant speech sounds made with stoppage or friction of the breath
cursive script a flowing and connected script commonly called 'running writing'
diacritic a sign above a letter or character which indicates it has a special quality such as stress or a special phonetic value
diphthong the union of two vowel sounds into a single compound sound
First Fleet the first fleet of colonists sent by the English government to Australia in 1787, arrived in January 1788
flap a sound made by flapping the tip of the tongue—a soft 'r'
garner the structural organisation of a language encompassing the morphology and syntax of the language
lenis a sound made with little muscular effort and little breath force
macron a line placed above a letter
medial sounds made in the middle of the mouth
morphology the structure or forms of words
orthography spelling system
phonemic sounds which determine the meaning of speech
phonetic of or relating to vocal sounds
phonology systems of sound in a language
phonotactics the sound rules of a language
rhotic sounds made by vibrating or flapping the tip of the tongue—'r' sounds
suffix anything added to the end of a word to modify its meaning
syntax the rules which determine the way in which words are combined into sentences in a language
trill a sound made by vibrating the tip of the tongue—a rolled 'r'
unvoiced sounds which are made without 'without voice' or with no vibration of the vocal chords
voiced sounds which are made 'with voice' by vibrating the vocal chords
vowel the only speech sounds pronounced without stoppage or friction of the breath
MAP 1

AREA IN WHICH THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE WAS RECORDED:
FIRST FLEETERS 1788-1792, RIDLEY 1875, MATHews 1907

OUTLINE OVER

Wiseman's Ferry
Broken Bay
Port Jackson
Botany Bay
Port Hacking
Camden
Campbelltown
Ridley 1875
Appin
Sydney
Narrabatta
Liverpool
George's River
Parramatta
Windsor
Richmond
Hawkesbury
Pitt Town
Emu
Henley
Mary Ellen's Note
First Fleeters 1788-1792
Mathews 1907
THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

There is some evidence that the eighteenth century collectors were aware of differences between the vocabulary of the inland people and those of the coast because some provided a very short comparative list. For example, Collins (vol. 1, 1975[1798]:512-3) wrote that 'the following difference of dialect was observed between the natives at the Hawkesbury and at Sydney':-
Coast  Inland  English
Ca-ber-ra  Co-co  Head
De-war-ra  Ke-war-ra  Hair
Gnul-lo  Nar-ran  Forehead
Mi  Me  Eye
Go-ray  Ben-ne  Ear
Cad-lian  Gang-a  Neck
Ba-rong  Ben-de  Belly
Moo-nur-ro  Boom-boong  Navel
Boong  Bay-ley  Buttocks
Yen-na-dah  Dil-luck  Moon
Co-ing  Con-do-in  Sun
Go-ra  Go-ri-ba  Hail
Go-gen-ne-gine  Go-con-de  Laughing Jack-ass

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

Though the tribe of Buruberongal, to which these men belonged, live chiefly by hunting, the women are employed in fishing, and our party were told that they caught large mullet in the river. Neither of these men had lost their front tooth, and the names they gave to several parts of the body were such as the natives about Sydney had never been heard to make use of. Ga-dia (the penis), they called Cudda; 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 commerical and social life of the
colony bartering fish for bread, rice, vegetables and salt meat while socialising with the

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

(a) View of Sydney Cove. After 'A North View of Sydney Cove taken from the Flagstaff Opposite the Observatory' by William Westall (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 139).

(b) Sydney Cove map circa 1792.

(c) Location for map of Sydney Cove in Port Jackson.
SYDNEY COVE EARLY 1790's

(a)

(b)

(c)
The history of research into the Sydney Language

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

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

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

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

In 1892, John Fraser claimed that the 'sub-tribes occupying the land where Sydney now stands' and the people north from the Lake Macquarie area 'all formed parts of one great tribe, the Kuringgai' (also Kuringgai). He believed that the territory of the Kuringgai (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 Kuringgai all spoke a language that was 'essentially the same' as the language of Lake Macquarie which he called 'Awabakal, from Awaba, the native name for Lake Macquarie' (Fraser 1892:v, ix).

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

Reconstruction of linguistic boundaries is not an easy task in any case because it is well known that the names for forms of speech in Aboriginal Australia vary in interesting and perplexing ways (Walsh 1991:36). It is very difficult to assign individual languages to specific groups of people and strict geographical boundaries. Aboriginal people are typically multilingual and distinguish their own language varieties 'in the idiom of local geography' or 'within speech
etiquettes focused on kinship relations, ascribed ceremonial and other social status or the temporary ritual condition of individuals' (Sutton 1991:49). The problems are even more complex where only fragmented data of varying quality is available for analysis, as in the case of the Sydney district.

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

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

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

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

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

In this book I have collected together linguistic information which because of its homogeneity appears to be evidence for a language. In the absence of any name which could be clearly attributed to the speakers as their name for the language I use the conservative term the 'Sydney Language'. An attempt can be made to sketch the grammar of the language using the sample texts provided by eighteenth century sources because their data is remarkably homogenous. I was not able to determine whether or not the eighteenth century collectors of linguistic information were mixing dialects or even languages in compiling their wordlists. However, it appears that they collected their information from people who lived on the coast near the settlement of Sydney.
MAP 2

ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE BOUNDARIES
AFTER CAPELL 1970
Cross-cultural communication in early colonial Sydney

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

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

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

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

Kangaroo, was a name unknown to them for any animal, until we introduced it. When I showed Colbee the cows brought out in the Gorgon, he asked me if they were 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 melifluous, and sometimes sonorous. (Tench 1979:291-2)

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

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

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

But if they sometimes put us to difficulty, many of our words were to them unutterable. The letters s and v they never could pronounce: the latter became invariably w, and the former mocked all their efforts, which in the instance of Banelon 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 Beereal, 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 Gooroobooern, 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 Bereewolgal, meaning—men come from afar. (Tench 1979:292)

The first time Colbee saw a monkey, he called Wur-ra (a rat); but on examining its paws, he exclaimed, with astonishment and affright, Mül-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.
4. Published summaries of typical Aboriginal phonological systems.

Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>apical</th>
<th>retroflex</th>
<th>laminal</th>
<th>dental</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>dorsal</th>
<th>velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>b/p</td>
<td>d/t</td>
<td></td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>dy/dj/tj</td>
<td>g/k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td>ly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>rhotic</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td>ṭ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>front</th>
<th>mid</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \(k, r\) 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 \(r/r\) distinction was phonemic. Dara teeth' was written \(da-rah, dar-ra\) and darra 'thigh' was written \(dar-ra\) with 'both the \(r\) pronounced' (Anon 1790-91). Further evidence for phonemic \(rr\) are items such as 'short' darra biddle (Dawes b), tyársbi (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. ĕana (Dawes b), gnā-nā (Anon 1790-1) 'black'. Therefore, in the reference forms \(gn\) is replaced with \(ng\).

4. Dawes is not consistent in following his own orthographic table (discussed below). In some cases he provided conflicting forms for a given item. In those cases I have taken the spelling which is predictable in terms of standard English orthography. For example, he gave two spellings for the word meaning 'day' kamarā and kamará (Dawes b). The variation \(u\) and \(a\) suggests that Dawes in this case gave \(u\) the value 'low front vowel' rather than high back as he has claimed in his table. Therefore, I have represented the word as gamara.

6. Dawes' \(dt\) I have taken as evidence for \(dj\).

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

1. In the absence of any oral evidence, it is impossible to be sure whether or not the phonetic variants \(e\) and \(o\) used in the sources existed and what sound they represented exactly. Therefore, \(a\) has been substituted where the sources use \(e\) and \(u\) has been substituted where they use \(o\).

2. Dawes used orthographic 'a, aa, 'a, á, e, ú' 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 \(nā\). 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 haiř, 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'āmō-li (Sth), as if D'ā-mōligh' (Southwell 1788:699). William Dawes wrote 'Ni (as nigh)' (Dawes a). I have represented this in the data with 'ay'.

Eighteenth Century Orthographies

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

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

1. Dawes used a symbol similar to the International Phonetic Alphabet symbol ŋ. However, Dawes' version is cursive ƞ with cursive n superimposed over it. I have used ƞ 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 êe.
3. Dawes placed a continuous line over terminal -ng (as in 'sing' and 'king'), which is here reproduced with a macron over each letter—ñg.

William Dawes' orthographic table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>as in the english sic words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>all call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>at am an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>d</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ell empty</td>
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<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gay</td>
<td>g hard</td>
<td>good gum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ēe</td>
<td>ēe</td>
<td>in it ill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ái</td>
<td>aí</td>
<td>I ivy ire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>k</td>
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<td>l</td>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ƞ</td>
<td>eng</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>sinɡ kiŋɡ</td>
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<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>open over</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>oo</td>
<td>cool fool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>un-</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25
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 $y$. Dawes' use of $y$ 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 accute 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 Görlich 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 Görlich 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 Görlich 1982:25). It is reasonable to suggest that the sounds Dawes intended by his orthography were based on his own speech and its similarity to modern standard English allows confident guesses about the nature of those sounds.

Dawes only used diacritics to modify vowels. Two vowels, $a$ and $u$, are modified with overdots. The Oxford English Dictionary notes that the dot is 'a point placed over, under, or by a letter or figure to modify its value' and was in use as early as 1740. It is likely that Dawes intended overdot to indicate centrality because the examples he provided suggest that point of articulation. The first symbol marked with an overdot is $\acute{a}$ which he wrote sounded like 'aw as in all, call', suggesting a low central rounded vowel. The second symbol marked with overdot is $\grave{u}$ 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. $a$, but his examples of pronunciation of the vowel 'at, am, an' suggest a low front vowel. Therefore, the initial side dot may indicate fronting.

In Dawes' table, breve is used once to modify $\acute{e}$ which is the sound assigned to his symbol $t$ pronounced as 'i in in, it, ill' and suggesting a high front vowel. The Oxford English Dictionary notes as early as 1751 breve was used to indicate 'a short syllable'. Therefore, it is likely that Dawes used the breve to indicate that $ee$ represented a single short vowel.

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

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

In his table Dawes used an acute accent once in explaining the pronunciation of the diphthong $ai$. He used the letter $i$ to represent the diphthong $ai$ which he wrote sounded like 'ai' 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 $t$ 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, 'Bauo, bow, or bo. The termination of the future tense of verbs' (Dawes a).

**Phonotactics**

The sources provided some comment on phonotactics:-

1. 'Báirinmunin Because I had no barin. Note. If Barrin had not ended with an n it would have been bunin instead of munin' (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-rab (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 tuowgule, jubugalee and inbugalee (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—'Burudín from Būrudu a flea or louse and in a sign of the ablative case' (Dawes b).

(1) Mmyin tūŋa? Why does she cry? ṣabápo. For the breast. (answer) (Dawes b)
   minyin  dunga  ngaba-ngu
   why    cry    breast-DAT

(2) Benelongi 'Benelong's' (Dawes b)
   Banahung-gay
   Benelong-GEN

(3) burudín (Dawes b)
   burud-in
   flea-ABL

(4) kandulín 'because of the candle' (Dawes b)
   gandul-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)
   gamal-birung
   spear-ASSOC

(6) cab-ber-ra birrong 'belongs to the head' (Dawes c)
   gabarr-ri-birung
   head-ASSOC

(7) wad-de be-rong 'a wound from a stick' (Dawes c)
   wadi-birung
   stick-ASSOC

(8) Gorgon mwar. 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-merr-ray-gal, that part of the harbour being distinguished from others by the name of Cammer-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) Ngiia Nfi (as nigh). I see or look. (Dawes a)
   Ngiia (1) n'y (2). I (1) do see (2). (Dawes a)
   ngaya  nayi
   1s    see
Mr. Dawes nyént piaba? Mr. Dawes will you speak? (Dawes b)

Midja Dawa ngyini bay-a-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* T (*winya I*); *ngyini* 'you singular' (*ngiéenee you singular*); *minga* 'you plural' (*minga you*); *ngalar* 'we dual' (*ngalari we two*) and *ngalu* 'we dual' (*galu we two only*) which seem to have an inclusive and exclusive distinction although which is which is unclear; *ngyinari* 'we trial' (*ngyinari we three*) and *nyalu* 'we trial' (*nyéllu we three only*) which again seem to have an inclusive and exclusive distinction.

The following quote demonstrates Dawes' attempts to investigate pronouns. On saying to the two girls to try if they would correct me "Nyú Gonaálye, nia, Nañadyñen." Patye did correct me and said "Bál Nañadyñen." Patye did correct me and said "Bál Nañadyñen; Nañadyñye." Hence Nañadyñen is dual We, and Nañadyñye is Plural We. (Dawes b)

*guí Gonaálye, nia, Nañadyñye* (Dawes b)

*ngyini* Gunagulya *ngaya* nangad-nya
you Gungagulya 1S sleep-PAST-IPL

*nangad-nya* (Dawes b)

*nangad-nya-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* 'his or hers'; *ngyiniging* (*ngiéeneengy*) 'yours'; *daringal* (*dáringal*) 'his'; and *dani* (*dani*) '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).

- *-dy* (-*dia, -die*) past tense
- *-ba* (-*ba*) future tense
- *-s* present tense
- *-wa* (-*ou*) I
- *-ngun* (-*gun, -goon*) we
- *-mi* (-*mi, -mite*) you (singular)
- *-niya* (-*nê*) you (plural)
- *-nga* (-*ga, -gan*) he, she, it
- *-wawi* (-*wê*) they
- *-la* imperative

Dawes made some direct comment on verbs:-

**Diéen.** 2d person singular the termination of the imperfect tense of verbs.

(Dawes b)

Patálebá 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 Patálebá or He will eat, signifying that I was going on board to dinner. The syllable *le* 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:-

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naa</th>
<th>To see or look</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Present</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngia Ní (as nigh)</td>
<td>I see or look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>He</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Past</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naadióu</td>
<td>I did see or look or have seen etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naadiémi</td>
<td>Thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naadiára</td>
<td>He</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naadiáun</td>
<td>We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naadiount</td>
<td>Ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>They</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Future</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabaōu</td>
<td>I will see or look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabámť</td>
<td>Thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabában</td>
<td>He</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabángoon</td>
<td>We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabánťe</td>
<td>Ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabántouť</td>
<td>They</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 minyin 'why' (1). People could ask 'who' did something using the interrogative pronoun ngana 'who' (13).

(13) *gāna ngwiyi*. *Who (1) gave (2) it (to you).* (Dawes b)
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).
(15) Yenmáoonűć. Not go.

(Dawes a)

(biyal na-buni biyal)

PRIV scc-PRIV PRIV

(yan-muni)

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

Key to abbreviations on the wordlist

(a) and (b) William Dawes (Dawes 1790-92 a and b)
(c) Anon [Arthur Phillip, John Hunter, David Collins and Phillip Gidley King] (1790-1)
(A) a list in King's journal for which he gave as the source Collins, Phillip and Hunter (King 1968:270-274)
(C) David Collins (1975:506-513 and elsewhere in text)
(CL) Ralph Clark (1981:109)
(F) Newton Fowell (1988)
(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)
### Body parts and products

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Synonyms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anus</td>
<td>bangading bangading (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>darang tar-rang (C), gading (A), gugu kogo (Pa), nurung nurung (M), mining minnin (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armpit</td>
<td>gidi-gidi gütte gütte (b) (W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>buya buya (b), buyu (M), gurrabal kurrabul (b) (T), koro-boul (Pa), gili gili (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beard</td>
<td>yar-ring yar-re (c), yarre (A), yar-rin (c), yar-rin (C), yarring (A), yarring (M), yāh-rān (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>banarang bünnerung (b), pan-ne-ra (c) (A), pan-ner-rong (c), ba-na-rang (A), mala mula mula (M), múla (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boil</td>
<td>burgaya burgía (a) (W), buga būkā (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>dyara diera (A), jara (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bosom</td>
<td>marbal mor-bal (Sth), maar-bul (Sth), mor-bou (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast</td>
<td>warra war-ra (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breasts or nipples</td>
<td>nabang nabā (b) nā-bung (c), na-bung (C), nabanq (A), nipa (CI) ngubbing (M), nābuŋ (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buttocks</td>
<td>bung bong (posterioris) (b), boong (T), bong (Sth), bong-bo-ro-no-tong (backside) (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheek</td>
<td>birra bir-ra (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chin</td>
<td>walu wáulo (b), wal-lo (c), wal-lo (C), wallo (A), wā-loo (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>guri gurt (b), gorey (c), go-ray (c), go-ray (C), gorey (P), gorai (A), goo-reé (T), go-reé (Sth), kuri (M), kurra (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>yuna o-nur (C), oōna (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erection</td>
<td>wadhuk wathuk (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excrement</td>
<td>guni kuni (M), gunin gunin (guni 'excrement' -in 'from') (T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>may mi (b) (c) (C) (P) (A), my (c), mai (c), mia (P), mi (Sth), mai (R), mibberai (M)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
eyebrow yaynarri yiŋort (b), yin-ner-ri’ (c), yin-ner-ry (C), wanari wan-aree (A), ngarran yarun (b), nar-ran (Sth)
eyelash marin márín (b), yanada e-nā-dā (Sth), yē-nā-dā (Sth)
fat (human) bugay bog-gay (c), bog-gay (C), pog-gay (C), guray kurai (M)
fingernail garungan karungani (b), kā-run-gān (Sth)
fingers barila barril (a) be-ri-le (c), ber-ri-le (C), berille (A), berril (R), beril (A), marra murra (b)
flank bining bining (M)
flesh or lean (human) badyal pa-di-el (C), djarra djarra jarra jarra (M)
fly-blown dyulibirung (dyulibang ‘maggot, -birung from) tullibiloŋ (R)
foot or the feet manuwi manaŋuwi (b), man-noe (c), ma-no-e (C), me-noe-wa (A), menoe (A), duna dunna (M), tunna (R)
fore-finger darragali dar-ra-gal-le (C)
forehead ngulun nulu (b), gnul-lon (C), nul-la (A), nūl-lo (T), ngurrnan (M), góbina kobbinna (R)
grey-headed (also old) warunggat warunggat (M)
gut garrama carr-mah (A)
hair (pubic) nguruguri nguruguri (M)
hair (reddish or thick matted) garrin karrin (b)
hair (woman’s) wuwa woe (b)
hair djiwarra dteéwarra (b), devar-ra (c), de-war-rā (C), de-war-ra (C), diwarra (A), deē-war-a (T), duwarra (Pa)
hair of the head gidan gitan (M)
hair of the head matted with gum gunat goonat (W), ko-nutt (Sth), ko-nut (Sth)
hand damara tamera (c), tam-mir-ra (C), tamira (A), da-ma-na (A), tomara (Pa), dhummar (M), warawi war-re-wee (c), baril (barril ‘finger’) buril (R)
head (hind head) guru kúru (b)
head (top head) gamura kamurà (b)
head gabara kúbbera (b), kúbbrá (b), kúbera (b), cabera (c), cá-bér-rā (c), ca-ber-ra (C), caberra (A), cobera (Pa), kobbara (M)
heart butbut boot boot (A)
hiccough naganyi naktúnt (b)
hoarseness gurak kūrak (R)
itch gaybal gaibāl (R)
joint madudji medogy (c)
kidney bulbul bulbul (b) (J)
knee bunang būnum (b), guruk go-rook (C), gor-rook (A), kuruk (M)
leg darra dar-ra (C), tarra (A), tara (Pa), bining bin-ning (A), manawari manawari 'foot'; -nd- suggests inland dialect mandao-i (R)
lips wilting weeling (b), willin (c), wil-ling (c), willing (C), willin (A), wee-lang (A), weling (Pa), willin (M), dalin dā-lin (Sth)
little finger wilingali wel-leng-al-lie (C)
liver naga naga (A)
marrow bimina pea-mine (c)
matter in a sore nuwa now-wa (c)
middle finger or ring finger barugali ba-roo-gal-lie (C)
milk murdin mur-tin (djin 'woman') (A)
mosquito bite dura dyang dura 'mosquito') tewra dieng (c), teura-dieny (A)
mouth garaga kāraga (b), kar-ga (c), garriga (c), kar-ga (C), kalga (A), keraka (Pa), walun whālan (Sth), mundu mundu (M), midyia midyea (R)
muscle gurun go-roon (A)
nails garungin car-rung-im (C), corungun (A), garungali car-rung-gle (c)
navel munuru mūnuru (b), nan-a-ro (A), mūn-ee-ro (T), moon-ōr-ōh (Sth)
neck gadiyang cad-le-ang (C), cad-le-ar (C), cad-lwar (A), col-liang (A), cāl-ang (T), gunga kangga (M)
nose nuga nogur (c), nogur (A), nuga (M), no-gro (C), nogra (R), nō-gā-ra (Sth), no-gūr-ro (c), no-gur-ro (C)
paunch gumama kumema (M)
penis gadi ga-dia (c), ga-dia (P), ga-dyè (Sth), windji winji (M)
ribs biba bib-be (C) (A)
rump gurba kurpa (M)
scar on the back wirung weroong (c), wir-roong (C)
scars on the breast
gungarray cong-ar-ray (C)

shoulder
djarrung dtárrung (b), tarong (A)

skin
barrangal barrangal (b) (J), bagi baggy (A)

n smallpox-like disease
galgala gal-galla (c), gall gall (A), gulgel (R), midyung (also 'sore') mittyayon (Cl)

snot
nagarang nágarüŋ (b)

sore (also 'torn')
midyung me-di-ong (c), me-diong (C), med-yanq (A), gigi gigi (R)

stomach ache
garramanyi (garrama 'gut') karamánye (b)

stomach or belly
barrang beráng (b), ba-rong (c), bar-rong (c), bar-pong (C), barrong (A), bar-ang (T), bindhi bindhi (M), bindi (R)

sweat (also 'to sweat')
yuruga yu-ru-ca (c), e-roo-ka (A), en-rie-gó (Sth), eu-ré-go (Sth)

swollen wrist
marri garadyara (marri 'very', garadyi 'doctor') murray-cara-diera (A)

tears
migal me-gal (A)

teeth
da da-rah (c), dar-ra (c), da-ra (C), dara (A), tâ-ra (A), d'tar-ra (Sth) terra (R), yira yira (M)

testicle
bura bóra (b), boorooow (A), garawu karau (M)

thigh
darra (darra 'leg') dar-rah (c), tâ-râ (K), dhurra (M)

throat
barangal par-rangle (A)

thumb
wiyumanu wy-o-man-no (C), wiyangara wi-an-gâ-râ (Sth)

tongue
dalang tal-lang (c), tal-lang (C), talling (A), ta-lang (A)

urine
yilabil (yilabi- 'urinate') yillabil (M)

vein
barangal (barangal 'vein') ba-rongle (C), giyang kî-ang (Sth)

venereal disease
gubarung goo-bah-rong (C), midjung (M)

vulva
gumirri (also means 'hole') go-mer-ry (c), mandura mandura (M)

wart
dyanang dtanun (b)

woman's milk
murubin moo-roo-bin (C)

wound from a stick
wadibarang (wadi 'stick', -birung 'from') wad-de be-rong (c)

wound made by a spear
gamaybirung (gamay 'spear', -birung 'from') ka-my-berong (c)
Human classification

Aboriginal person  
balagaman black men (b)

boy  
wungarra wongera (c), won-gër-ra (c), wong-er-ra (C),  
wong-ara (A), oongra (Pa), woong-á-rà (Sth), wongerra (R),  
wuŋara (R), wungar (M)

child carried on the shoulders  
wungarra djugama (wungarra 'boy') wong-ara jug-a-me (A),  
wungara juguma (M)

child eight months old  
buriguṛu bore-goo-roo (C)

child or baby  
gurung go-roong (C), kurung (M), gūrōŋ (R), gūrūŋ (R)

churl—someone who refuses to give  
damunalung (damuna 'exchange') tūmunalāŋ (b)

doctor or a person skilled in  
healing wounds, clever man,  
sorcerer—Aboriginal people  
called the surgeons of the  
colonists by this name  
garadyigan karādígan (b), car-rāhe-de-gan (c), car-ra-dy-gan  
(P), car-rā-di (c), cār-ad-yee (T), karrāji (R), gurung  
kurung (M)

date  

twenty  
a  
woman  

female  
wiring wering (A), wiring (old woman) (M)

fisherman  
mani (also 'ghost') mah-ni (C)

fisherwoman  
man (also 'ghost') māhn (C)

ghost, apparition or spirit  
of the deceased, also an  
apparition connected with  
the sky which comes to  
people making a strange  
noise and catches them by  
the throat  
waruwi weroweey (b), we-row-ey (C), werōwi (R), wirāwi  
(woman) (R), waruwi dyin (dyin 'woman') werowey din (c),  
guring goor-ing (A), durungaling durungaling (M)

girl  

infant at the breast  
nabunggay widalyi (nabung 'breast', -gay 'have', wida  
'drink') na-bung-ay wui-dal-liez (C)

man  
mula mulla (c), mu-lā (C), mulla (A) (Sth), múl-la (T), maula  
(Pa), mulaibu mulla-bo (all men) (c), dhulay duhlui (M),  
dhillai (M), dullai (Aboriginal man) (R)

name  
giyārā kārā (b), chiara (c), chi-a-ra (C), nandi nanti (R)

non-Aboriginal person  
wadyiman whiteman (b), djaraiba dje-rab-ber (also 'musket'  
Aboriginal people frequently called the colonists by the name  
they gave the musket) (b), djibagalung jibagilun (R),  
baramangal (barawal 'very far') be-re-wal-gal (c)

old person in bad condition  
yarabundi harabundi (M)

old man  
gayanayung guy-a-nay-yong (C), kaianyung (M)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>dyinuragang dyuoragán (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people or Aboriginal people</td>
<td>yura eór (b), eór (b), eo-ra (c), e-ó-rá (c), eeór (b), eo-ra (C), eo-ra (A), yo-ra (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rascal</td>
<td>wawura waíra (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stranger (word has reference to sight, C)</td>
<td>mayal (may 'eye') mi-yá (C), mai-ál (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spirit or a D.D. body</td>
<td>gumada goo-me-dah (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>union between the sexes</td>
<td>nganaba gna-ne-ba (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>dyin deeyin (b), din (c), din (C) (A), dee-in (T), gin (Pa), dyin (M), din (CI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>dyinalyung ge-nail-lon (c), dinallion (c), din aillon (A), din-al-le-ong (C), gin-al-le-ong (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young man</td>
<td>guragalung goragallong (c), go-rah-gal-long ('handsome man') (C), guyung guy-ong (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young women</td>
<td>guragalunggalyung garagallong-alleong (c), go-rah-gal-long-al-le-ong (a handsome woman) (C)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kin terms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ally, friend in battle</td>
<td>ngalaya ngállia (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother</td>
<td>babana bábaná (b), babunna (c), ba-bun-na (C), babunna (K), babuna (Pa), ba-ba-na (Sth), bár-ba-na (Sth), bobbina (R), bobina (R), guman coo-mal (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brother-in-law</td>
<td>djambi jambi (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>durunang do-roon-e-náng (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>degree of relationship</td>
<td>naragaying naragáñ (b), gumul gómúl (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder brother</td>
<td>guwalgang (guwal 'senior, big'), kowal gang (b), cou-el-gon (c), gou-al-gar (c), ko-wál-gang (Sth), kowal-gáng (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elder sister</td>
<td>guwalgalung (guwal 'senior, big') kowalgали (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>biyanga beeánga (b), biána (b), be-an (c), beanna (c), be-an-na (the word is shortened to be-an and be-a, and when in pain it is used as the exclamation be-a-ri) (C), been-ën-a (T), be-anga (A), beanga (K), bé-anga (Sth), beć-an-ga (Sth), be-āna (Sth), bianyá (M), bian (R), beangélly (b), be-yung-ulley (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friend or comrade</td>
<td>gamarada kamar (b), kamarā (b), gnar-ra-mat-ta (C), mamam māmā (b), midjigan mitúgan (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendship—a term of friendship</td>
<td>gumal go-mul (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandfather</td>
<td>guman go-man (C)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
husband intermadiary in battles between individuals
mulamang (mula 'man') mūlla (b), mulla-mang (c), mullaming (M), mollimiŋ (R)
gabami cā-bah-my (C)

A person who stands to one side and half the distance between two opposing parties armed. The person is armed with a spear which is shaken a lot and a throwing-stick but no shield. The person mediates between the parties.

mother
wiyanga wiana (b), weecana- (b), wiana (Pa), wyang (c), wy-ən-na (C), wy-ŋ (C), wy-ang-a (c), wy-ŋa (A), wy-ən-ga (Sth), wy-ŋa (Sth), waianya (M), waiana (R), wiāŋ (sister) (R)
muber moobee (W), mooby (C)

mourners at a funeral— friends of the deceased who are painted red and white
mughing mákũŋ (b), mau-gohn (C)
mugungalyi (mugung 'lover') maugon-ally, mákungalt (b), mau-gohn-nal-ly (a temporary wife) (C)

namesake or a person with whom the name has been exchanged as a token of friendship
damulay (damulay 'to change names') damolai (R), damil (R), dā-ŋ-do-li (Stē), dā-ŋ-do-li (Stē), da-me-li (name used by men) (C), da-me-li-ghe (name used by women) (C), taamooly (b), da-me-la-bil-lie (c)

namesake of a deceased male
burang bo-rahn (C)

namesake of a deceased female
buranggalyun bo-rahn-al-le-on (C)

name given to boys who had recently undergone the ceremony of tooth evulsion to make them into men; the name was also given to the stone instrument used to remove the tooth
gibara (giba 'stone') ke-bar-ra (C)

relation—a type of relation
mudjin mud-gin (C)
relation—a type of relation
malin målin (C)
relation—a type of relation
nurgina nurkine (C)
sister
djurumin durumun (b), tee-rum-min (Sth), djurului
d'to-gōd-roo (Sth), dugana tughe (Pa), mamuna mā-mun-na (c), ma-mun-na (C)
sister-in-law
djambing jambin (R)
son
durung dō-roon (c), do-roon (C), dooroo (A), dooroo (K)
wife dyin dyn (b), deeyin (b), dyinmang din-man (c), din-mang (c), dyinmang (M), jinmjaf (R), danungaru tanungru (Pa)

younger brother ngaramada (ngarang 'junior') ɲarámata (b)

younger sister ngarangalyung (ngarang 'junior') ɲaráŋalán (b)

Language, mythology and ceremony

abortion—termination of pregnancy induced by one woman pressing on the body of a pregnant woman in a way that causes miscarriage mibra mee-brá (C)

bora ceremony yalabi dayalung yellābī daiłonj (R)

tooth evulsion ceremony—operation yulang yirabadjang era-bad-djang (c), yoo-lahny erah-ba-diang (C)
The operation of tooth evulsion in which boys have an upper left front incisor removed by a garadyi during a lengthy ritual. The purpose of the ritual was to make boys into men. This term was the one used for the whole ceremony. It is composed of yulang 'ground where the ceremony of tooth evulsion took place' and yirabadjang which contains the verb yira- 'throw' and refers to the entitlement of the newly made men to throw the spear and hunt kangaroo.

burumurung boo-roo-moo-roong (C)
The part of the ceremony where the initiates are led over lines of men writhing in mock agony on the ground and past two groups of men who make grotesque faces at the boys. yulang yoo-long (C), yoo-lahng (C)
The ceremonial ground where the tooth evulsion ceremony was carried out. The place selected for the ceremony was at the head of Farm Cove, where a oval shaped space twenty seven by eighteen feet was prepared some days ahead by clearing it of grass, stumps etc.

gurungyi biyal (biyal 'no') goo-ro gni biel (c)

ceremony to prevent people becoming thieves—the parent of a child would scorch its fingers so that it will not steal buduway (buduway 'scorch') putuwi (b)

body decoration—putting clay on the face for decoration magalyinyara megalliniara (c)

curative operation performed by women to cure illness in other women biyani be-an-ny (C)

One woman would sit on the ground with one of the lines worn by the men passed round her head once with the knot fixed in the centre of her forehead, the remainder of the line was taken by the sick woman who sat at a small distance from her, and with the end of it fretted her lips until they bled very copiously, it was believed the blood came from the head of the healthy
woman and flowed down the line to the sick woman who spat the blood into a small vessel beside her which was half filled with water into which she occasionally dipped the end of the line.

dream nangamay (nanga- 'sleep', may 'eye') nángami (a), nanga-ah mi (c)

laughter djanaba tenneba (c), jen-ni-be (C), dyennibbe (A)

laugh violently baday 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 pýome (b)

instrumental music made by singers dancing or beating on two clubs yabun yabbun (C), ye-ban (C), yibbun (C), yab-bun (C)

dance—name of a dance ngaramang gnar-ra-mang (c)

body decoration—piercing of the nasal septum for the purposes of body decoration nanung gnah-noong (C)

Between the ages of eight and sixteen male and female Aboriginal people underwent an operation in which the nasal septum was bored to receive a bone or reed ornament. The colonists observed a number of people whose articulation was impaired by the process.

Human artefacts

barb of a spear yalga yélga (b), yal-ga (c)

basket bangala beng-al-le (C)
A vessel for carrying water made of bark, drawn together at the ends and fastened with thongs. The Aboriginal people of Botany Bay thought Captain James Cook's cocked hat looked like a bangala (Samuel Bennett quoted in Bertie 1924:248).

basket—a vessel made from bark or wood for carrying things gungun kungun (M)

basket—made from the knot of a tree gulima goolime (W)

big ship—name given to the First Fleet ship Sirius by Aboriginal people marrinuwi (marri 'big', nuwi 'canoe') murray-nowey (A)
block which was thrown along the ground as a target at which children threw a muring or stick like a toy spear

book buk buk (b)
boomerang for fighting bumarit boo-mer-rit (c), wumarang wo-mur-räng (C), womarang (W), bumarang (M), bumarañ (M), bûmarin (R), galabaral cal-la-ba-ran (A), yara y-á-rãh (Sth)

Sword or scimitar shaped, large piece of heavy wood used as a weapon for hand-to-hand fighting or thrown. Capable of inflicting a mortal wound.
bottle badal bottle (b)
camp ngurra ngurra (M)
candle gandal candle (b), kandûl (b)
canoe, boat or other water vessel nuwi noe (c), nowey (c), now-ey (C), nowey (A), nowee (T), nai-i (R), noê (Sth), nou (Sth), nonee (Pa)
cap or covering for the head damang dámûng (CC) (b), damang (c)
corset—a pair of stays wulgan wolgan (c)
club—a long stick from the middle thicker at one end wudi (wudi 'wood, stick') woo-da (A), wooda (W), wande (Pa), wad-di (Sth), wad-diy (Sth), waddy (M), woddi (R)
club—a plain club banday bundi (M)
club—a club with a knob gabarra kuburra (M)
club ngalangala (ngalangala 'mushroom') gnal-lung-ul-la (C), nullanulla (R), ngalangala darrilbarra (darrilbarra club') gnallangullah tarreeburre (c)

Club with a round head with a sharp point in the centre and painted with red and white stripes from the centre, named after the mushroom which it looks like.

club duwinul doo-win-nul (C)
club ganadaling can-na-tal-ling (C)
club ganigul can-ni-cull (C)
club garrawang car-ru-wâng (C)
club darrilbarra tar-ri-l-ber-re (C)
compass—literally 'to see the way' (T) ngamuru (na- 'see', muru 'path') gna-mo-roo (c), náá-moro (T)
covered or dressed—as a dressed sore bangi bangr (b)
feather ornament for the head darral ter-ral (A)
fence—name given to palisade
fences by Aboriginal people

gumul tjünmul (b)

fish hook made from shell,
wood or stone

bara bur-ra (A), bur-rā (C), bu-ra (Sth), berá (stone fishhook) (b)

fish harpoon

galara cal-larr (C), ca-la-ra (A), goō-lar-ra (Sth)
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.

fish harpoon—a small fish-gig

muding mutúŋun (b), mutún (b), moo-ting (C), moo-tang (A), muttín (R), mü-ding (Sth)

fish harpoon for children

guwarinya gua-ree-ah (Sth), guar-ro-ah (Sth)

fishing line—lines were made from bark of trees such as the kurrajong

garradjun car-re-jun (c), carrigan (c), car-ra-jun (C), carra-duin (A), kurrajan (R), cara-d'yung (Sth)

grave

buma bwo-mar (C), bomar (C)

gun

gun or musket—literally 'fire giver' or a 'stick of fire'
djarraba ger-rub-ber (c) (A), ger-ree-bar (c), dje-ra-bar (c), je-rab-ber (c), gooroobeera (T), jererburra (R)

handkerchief

hangadyya hand kerchýéra (-ra 'with') (b)

hair ornament made by sticking kangaroo teeth in the hair with gum

manaran ma-na-ran (A)

house or hut—any habitation constructed by people

gunya gonye (b), gon-ye (c), gong-ye (c), gong-yea (c), go-nie (c), go-nie (C), gon-yi (A), gune (Pa), gunji (M), gunya (R), ngalawi (ngalawa 'sit') nálawi (b)

jacket

garrangal car-rang-el (c), djagat jacket (b)

knot—a knot in a line

ngara gna-ra (A)

armband—a line wrapped around the arm made of animal fur

nrunya noo-roon-niel (c)

line—a line made from hair

nalgarra nalgarrar (c)

line

murrira moor-reere (c)

net

narrami nar-ra-mee (A), rawurawu rao-rao (R)

net-bag

djuguma juguma (M)

nose ornament of bone or wood put through the nasal septum

ngangung gna-oong (A), nang-oon (A)

ornaments in general

bangada ben-gad-da (c), ben-gàd-ee (T), bangali bengalle (A), bang-ally (H)
paddle or oar **narawang** na-ro-wang (A), narrawan (R), bangå (banga- ‘to paddle’) bongha (Pa)

petticoat **madyi** matty (c)

point of a spear **wudang** wúdâŋ (b)

possum rug **budbili** budbilli (R)

prong of the **galara** ‘fish harpoon’ **damuna** dam-moo-ne (C)

prong of the **muding** ‘spear’ **garraba** car-ra-ba (C)

pubic covering or apron worn by girls **barrin** bárrin (b), barìn (c), ba-rin (A), bar-rin (C)

Before they were married, girls wore round the waist a small line made of the twisted hair of the possum, from the centre of which depend a few small uneven lines from two to five inches long, made of the same materials.

reading glass **nanangyila** (na- ‘see’, nana- ‘see better’) gnan-gnan-yeele (c)

reed ornaments—strung around the waist or neck **guwirang** gwee-rang (A)

shield **dawarang** taw on rang (W), tar-war-rang (C)

Shield made from hardwood, about three feet long, narrow with three sides, in one of which is the handle hollowed by fire, the other sides are carved with curved and waved lines. It is made use of in dancing by striking a beat on it with a club like the **wuda**.

shield for war—made of solid wood and hardened by fire **yarragung** ar-rä-gong (c), ar-rä-gong (C), ar-rah-gong (C) a-ra-goön (A), ar-a-goön (T)

shield used to repel spears—small and made of bark **yilimung** e-le-moong (c), ee-ly-mong (c), e-lee-mong (C), e-li-mang (A), il-ee-mon (T), elemong (Pa), il-le-mong (Sth), hilamong (M), hilaman (R)

shield to repel the wuda ‘club’ **milandhunth** millanthunth (M)

ship—literally ‘island’, name given to ships by Aboriginal people **buruwang** bru-ang (c), boo-rö-wong (c), boo-roo-wäng (C), boo-roo-an (A), bruvong (Pa), **marri nuwi** (marri ‘big’ nuwi ‘canoe’) muree nouee (Pa), murri nño-i (R)

sinker for a fishing line made from a small stone **ngamul** gnámmul (b) (W), gnam-mul (C), nam-mel (A)

small ship—name given to the First Fleet ship Supply by Aboriginal people **narang nuwi** (narang ‘small’, nuwi ‘canoe’) narrong nowey (A)

snood to a hook—‘snood’ a or tie **garal** kanál (b)

spear with two barbs, also generic word for spear **gamay** ka-mai (c), ka-mi (c), kamai (A), da-my (c), canye (A), kummaí (M), kârmäi (R), gar-mi (Sth)

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

spear armed with pieces
of shell  
walangalyung (walan 'water')
wal-lang-al-le-ong (C)

spear armed with stones  
ganadyul can-na-diul (C)

spear for throwing, with a
barb fixed on with gum  
yilamay ilah-my (c)

spear made from a reed  
wari wari (M)

spear with one barb  
nuru gamay (nuru 'hole', gamay 'spear') noo-ro cămy (C),
nooroo-gal că-my (holes made in a shield by a spear) (c),
noo-roo-gal că-my (C)

spear with one wooden barb  
bilarra bill-lar-ra (c), bil-larr (C)

spear, short with two barbs  
duwal doo-ul (c), doo-ul (C), doo-ul (P), duul (R), că-my (C)

spear without a barb  
garubini ghe-ru-bin (C)

spear throwing stick  
wumara wómera (b), wo-má-ra (c), wo-mer-ra (C), womera
(Pa), womra (M), womar (A), womrā (R)
Implement for throwing spears, about three feet long made from a split wattle
and with a hook at one end made from a gadian 'Sydney cockle' and secured
with gum, to receive which there is a hole at the head of the spear.

spear throwing stick  
wigun wig-goon (c) (C), wiggoon (W)
Implement for throwing spears made from heavy wood, with a hook to hold
the spear but not made from a shell. One end is rounded for use as a digging
stick to dig for fern roots and yams.

stick which children throw at
a block another drags along
the ground as a target  
muring muriŋ (b)

stone hatchet or tomahawk  
mugu mo-go (C), mogo (A) (M)
Hatchet made from stone found in the shallows at the upper part of the
Hawkesbury River. It has a handle fixed round the head of it with gum, and
a very fine edge capable of dividing the bark of trees used for making canoes
or shelters and cutting the body of the tree to obtain timber for shields.

stone hatchet handle  
wabat we-bat (C)

stone tool used in the
ceremony of tooth evulsion
to remove the tooth  
gibara (giba 'stone') ke-bar-ra (C)

sword  
yarra yer-ra (A), yā-rā (Sth)

sword's back  
barang berāŋ (b), berāng (b)

sword's edge—literally the
back of a sword  
garabul karabul (b)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dhurutu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>telescope—a glass to look through</td>
<td><strong>Nangyila</strong> (na- 'see') gnan-gnyelle (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torch made of reeds</td>
<td><strong>Budu</strong> boo-do (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weapon of defence used to fend off blows</td>
<td><strong>Djawarra</strong> d'tar-warra (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>window glass</td>
<td><strong>Dalangyila</strong> (dalang 'tongue') tallangeele (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>window</td>
<td><strong>Winda</strong> winda (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yam stick</td>
<td><strong>Guni</strong> kunni (M)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Food, cooking and fire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dhurutu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biscuit</td>
<td><strong>Bidjigat</strong> bisket (b), garana cah-rah-ne (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blubber</td>
<td><strong>Garuma</strong> ga-ru-ma (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bread</td>
<td><strong>Baradu</strong> breado (b), bread (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breakfast</td>
<td><strong>Baragaba</strong> breakfast (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burn (also 'to copulate')</td>
<td><strong>Ganadinga</strong> cannadinga (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fat of meat</td>
<td><strong>Ngarrun</strong> njarrun (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fillets</td>
<td><strong>Malat</strong> mal-lat, nugalogan nuk-lo-gân (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firestick, giver of fire</td>
<td><strong>Djarra</strong> ber-rub-ber (c), ger-re-bar (c), ger-rub-ber (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td><strong>Guwiyang</strong> gwuña (b), guyon (c), gwee-yong (c), gwe-yong (C), gwee-ang (A), gwee-un (T), quean (Pa), gee-ung (Sth), kwian (M), goyôn (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td><strong>Ngununy</strong> ngunuñi (M), <strong>Badalya</strong> (bada- 'eat') pâ-tâ-lia (source is not sure of this) (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heat</td>
<td><strong>Ganalung</strong> kánalán (b), cardálung (Sth), <strong>Yuruga</strong> yoo-roo-ga (C), yuroka (M), en-rie-gô (Sth), eu-re-go (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honey</td>
<td><strong>Ngwaga</strong> pô-ga (b), <strong>Gadyang</strong> kudying (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juice</td>
<td><strong>Guray</strong> (guray 'fat')gorey (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>light, spark or candlelight</td>
<td><strong>Gili</strong> gilly (c), gil-le (c), killi (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milk</td>
<td><strong>Murubin</strong> moo-roo-bin (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potato</td>
<td><strong>Badadu</strong> potato (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smoke</td>
<td><strong>Gadjal</strong> cadjiel (c), cä-jel (c), cad-jeè (C), cud-yal (A), kudjel (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar</td>
<td><strong>Djuga</strong> tougar (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulphur</td>
<td><strong>Djalba</strong> sulphur (b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47
tea  
dji tea (a) (b)

wine—from the loyal toast 'the King'  
daging the king (P)

Water

deep water  
guru guru (b)

dew  
barabung béraboon (b), minyimumung min-niec-mo-long (c), men-nie-no-long (C), gilabiny gilabiñ (M)

fog  
gurbuny karpuñ (M)

frost  
dagara (dagara 'cold') tükärä (R), dalara (M)

hail  
guruwilang kuruwilang (M)

pouring rain  
walan yilaba (walan 'rain', yilaba- 'pour') wallan ill-la-be (c)

rain (also to rain)  
walan wálán (b), wál-lan (C), wál-lan (R), bana páña (b), pan-nah (c), pan-nā (c), pan-nâ (C), pan-na (A), murugu muruku (M)

sea  
garrigarrang gar-rig-er-rang (c), karegron (Pa), barraval barraval (R)

shoal water  
dyiral tyrál (b)

soak or washing water  
garramuliy badu (garra- 'wash', badu 'water') car-re-mille bado (c)

water  
badu bādo (b) (c), ba-do (C), bādo, bādo (T), baa-do (H), bar-do (Sth), bado (M), bārdō (R), nayung naijung (R)

Elements

air  
bayadja bay-jah (c)

bad country  
wiri nura (wiri 'bad', nura 'country') we-ree norar (c)

calm—a calm in the water  
garunga ar-rung-a (C)

cafe  
ganin can-ning (C), can-ning (A)

cloud  
buruwa boo-row-e (C), bourra (A), garaguru ca-ra-go-ro (C)

darkness  
minak minnek (M)

day light  
darrabarra tar-re-ber-re (c)

dust  
dyurir diëññ (R)

earth, clay or the ground  
bamal pê-mul (c), per-mul (C), pe-mul (C), pe-mall (A), buman (Pa), bimmal (R), bé-mul (Sth), pê-mul (Sth)

ebb tide  
garagula ca-ra-goo-la (A)
falling star
falling stars in a cluster
fine weather
flood tide
full moon
ground (the ground)
high wind
hill
hole
ice
island
lightning
Magellanic cloud—the greater
Magellanic cloud—the lesser
Magellanic clouds
Milky Way
moon
moon—when set
moon—when new
mud
Orion's Belt
place or country
Pleiades
sand or beach
sand, dust or dry earth
sea

duruga twiuga (c), tu-ru-gā (C)
mulumulu molu-molu (c)
bidiluray beati-oray (b), bura garimi boora careemey (c)
baragula ba-ra-goo-la (A)
marri yanada (marri 'great', yanada 'moon') murray yan-na-dah (c), murray-yannadah (A), diluk yanadah dilluck yannadah (c)
duba dubbar (M)
guwarra guār-ra (c), gwā- ra (C), gwarra (A)
bulga bulga (M), bulga (R)
gunirri go-mēr-ry (c), go-mi-ra (A)
danagal tan-na-gal (c), tan-ne-gal
buruwang bru-ang (c), boo-roo-wāng (C), boo-roo-an (A)
mungi mong-he (c), mong-hē (c), mang-a (A), māngā māngā (R), djarralal jerreral (M), wada wad-tā (Sth)
galgalyung (guval 'big') cal-gal-le-on (c), cal-gal-le-on (C)
ngarangalyong (narang 'small') gnar-rang-al-le-on (C)
buduwanung bu-do-e-nong (c), boo-do-en-ong (C)
warrawal wār-re-wull (C)
yanada yan-nā-dah (c), yen-na-dah (C), yēn-ee-da (T), yanata (Pa), yānā-dā (Sth), djilak jillak (M), julluk (R)
yanada bura (yanada 'moon') yan-nadah poo-ra (c)
yanada barragi (yanada 'moon') yan-na-dah par-ra-gi (c), yannahad paragi (A)

miluny miluñ (M)
dhungagil dhungagil (M)
nura no-rar (c), orah (c)
mulumulung mo-loo-mo-long (C), dhinburri dhinburri (M)
marrang mur-rong (c), murong (A), mā-rāng (Sth), marang (M)
murul murul (b)
garrigarrang car-rig-er-rang (C), ca-ra-ga-rang (A)
shadow

bawuwan paouwā (b), bow-wan (C), gugubuwari
goo-goo-bo-a-ri (c), buwari buwa bow-wory bow-wah (c)

sky

burra bour-ra (C), garrayura cur-ra-yura (A)

stars

birrung bir-ong (c), bir-ong (C), birrang (A), borong (Pa),
gimbawali kimperwali (M), kimberwalli (R)

stone or rock

giba ke-ba (c), ke-bā (C), kibba (A), re-bah (Sth), kee-bah
(Sth), kiber (M), keebu (A)

sun

guwing go-ing (c), co-ing (C), quen (Pa), co-in (Sth), kun
(M), kyun (R)

sunset—literally 'the sun setting red'

dyarra murrama guwing (gowing 'sun') diarra-murrahmah
coing (c)

sunshine

bunul pümül (b), bunnal (M)

thunder

murungal mu-rungle (c), moo-rung-ul (c), morun-gle (A),
murungal (M), mürongal (R), mara-ong-al (Sth), ma-roong-al
(Sth)

valley

yarang e-rāng (C)

white clay (also 'white')

dabuwa ta-boa (c)

wind—east

buruwi (buruwang 'island') boo-roo-wee (c), boo-roo-wee
(C), guyamara (guyamara 'stink') goniee-mah (c), gonie-mah
(K), go-nie-mah (north east wind) (C)

wind—north west

dulugal doo-loo-gal (c) (C), du-lu-gal (c)

wind—north

buruwan boo-roo-way (c) (K), buwan bow-wan (c), bow-
wān (C), yuruga gura (yuruga 'sun', gura 'wind') yūrōka
gōrā (R)

wind—south west

guyamara (guyamara 'stink') go-niey-mah (c), yarabalang
yare-bā-lahng (C)

wind—south

badjyalang bad-gay-allang (c), bal-gay-al-lang (C),
bayinmarri (bayin 'to cool', marri 'very') bin-marree (c), bain-
marree (c), bainmarree (K), guniyama gontemā (b), dugara
gura (dagara 'cold', gura 'wind') tugra gōrā (R)

wind—west

bayinmarri (bayin 'to cool', marri 'very') bain-mar-ray (c),
bain-mar-ray (C), buwan bow-wan (c), bow-wan (K)

wind

gura gūra (R)

Mammals

bat

wirambi weeramby (C), weeream-my (c)

rock wallaby

macropodidae petrogale

brown marsupial mouse

anteclinus stuartii

mirrin mirrin (W)
cattle—horned cattle gambaguluk kumbakuluk (R)
dog canis familiaris dingo dingu tein-go (C), din-go (C), tingo (A) (F), tung-o (c), jung-o (C), jungo (Pa), jünghō (R), mirri mirri (M), wuragal wor-re-gal (C), waregal (large dog) (A), djunguwaragal tungo-w-o-re-gal (c)
eastern grey kangaroo macroopus giganteus badagarang patyegerang (b), pa-ta-go-rong (c), pat-a-go-rang (C), pattagorong (P), pa-ta-ga-rang (A), pa-ta-garang (HSB), pat-a-ga-ram (T), patagorang (P)
eastern grey kangaroo skin bugay bog-gei (c)
eastern native cat bulungga bulungga (M), dinaguwa din-e-gow-a (W)
echidna tachyglossus aculeatus barrugin burroo-gin (W)
feather tail or pygmy glider acrobates pygmaeus wubin wob-bin (c) wob-bin (C)
female animals in general wiring we-ren (c), weer-ring (c), we ring (C), we-ring (A)
flying fox ngununy ngunuñ (M)
flying phalanger bungu bong-o (c), bangu (M), guruwaguruwa goo-roo-goo-roe (W)
fox rat—large fox rat wiriyamin wee-ree-a-min (C), wiriymbi wee-ree-am-by (C)
Gaimard's rat-kangaroo bettongia gaimardi ganyimung gan-i-mong (c), ga-ni-mong (C), kanaming (M), kānīmīn (R)
horse wanyuwa (wuna- 'throw away') wen-you-a (c), yaraman (yara- 'throw', man- 'take') yaraman (from yarra 'throw fast') (R)
kangaroo gawulungk kao-wālgōŋ (R), goa-long ('old man kangaroo') (K), gula kūlā (R)
kangaroo buru buru (M)
koala phascolarctos cinereus gulamany kulamañi (M)
long nosed bandicoot perameles nasuta burraga burraga (M)
male animals in general guwul cow-ul (c), cow-ul (C), cowull (A)
mouse or rat bugul bōgul (J) (b), bogul (c), bo-gul (C), wura wur-ra (A), wür-ra (T), wu-ra (common rat) (c)
pig darramuwa tarramā̀ (R)
possum—generic name wali wali (M), wai-āli (R)
possum (brown or red type) guragura ro-go-ra (c), goragoro go-ra-go-ro (C)
possum (grey) burumin boo-roo-min (C)
trichosurus vulpecula buduru poto roo (Wh)
potoroo potorous tridactylus bugari bukari (M), būkari (R)
ringtail possum dawaran dar-war-an (c), wanyawa wan-yea-waar (c)

seal djubi dab-bie (W), chubbi (M)
sugar glider petaurus breviceps

swamp wallaby banggaray bag-ga-ray (c), bag-gar-ray (C), baggaray (P),
wallabia bicolor ban-ga-ray (A), bag-ga-ree (W), guraya görēa (R)
tail of a bird or animal dyun doon (c), toon (A), dun (M)
tiger cat dasyurus maculatus marriyangang mer-ri-e-gang (W), muraging (M), me-rea-gine
(water rat) (C)

wallaroo wularu wolarū (R), wolara (M), bidhang bitthang (M)
macropus robustus robustus

white footed tree rat djanarruk genar-ruk (W)
conilurus albipes

wombat wombat womat (F), wombat (F), womback (F), wombat (R)

This might be an inland word as it was recorded by Mathew Flinders as
having been transmitted to the colonists by the inland people.

yellow-bellied glider yabunaru hepoona roo (Wh)
petaurus australis

Reptiles

bandy bandy wirragadara wirra-ga-dera (W)
vermicella annulata

bearded dragon or Jew lizard ngarang (ngarang 'small') nar-rang (c), ngarrang (W),
pogora barbata bidjiwung bidjiwong (water lizard) (M), bid de wang (W)
marragawan murragawan (M)
brown snake malya mal-lea (W)
pseudonaja textilis textilis
daning ta-ning (W)
death adder acanthophis antarcticus

diamond python malya mal-lea (W)
morelia spilota

gunggung kung-gung (M)
frog wirriga wirriga (M), djindawala jindaolā (R)
goanna bayagin pae-ginn (W)
leaf-tailed gecko

phyllurus platurus

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lizard
red-bellied black snake *pseudechis porphyriacus*
reptiles in general
snake
sleepy lizard, a large spotted lizard
small lizard

**Birds**

Australian magpie *gymnorhina tibicin*  
*djarrawunang* jarra-won-nang (W), te-ra-wan-a (A), *wibung* wibung (M), *marrinyang* mar-ry-ang (A), *marinyang* (M)  
Australian owlet night-jar *aegotheles cristatus*  
*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 *corvus coronides*  
*wugan* wo-gan (c), wau-gan (C), wa-gan (A), worgin (Sth), wergin (Sth), wagun (M), wärgon (R)  
bill
*munu* mooono (A)  
bird (generic name)  
*binyang* beeniáng (b), bin-yang (c), bin-yang (A), binyan (K), bunjun (M)  
bird—a small bird, with a shrill note, often heard in low wet grounds and in copses  
*bird—the name of a large bird*  
*gunyadu* goniado (c)  
bird’s nest  
*ngurra* ngurra (M)  
beautiful firetail *emblema bella*  
*wibung* wee-bong (W)  
black duck *anas superciliosa*  
*yurungay* yurungai (M), yūranyi (R)  
black shouldered kite *elanus axillaris*  
*gurruruk* go-gar-ruck (friar bird) (c), geo-go-rack (W)  
black swan *cygnus atratus*  
*mulgu* mul-go (C), mulgo (W)  
blue-faced honeyeater  
*entoxyzon eyanotis*  
This is probably a mistake by Hunter. Other sources gave the same name to the black shouldered kite.  
boobook owl *ninox boobook*  
*bubuk* bōkbōk (b), po-book (C), pow-book (A), boobook (W)
brolga *grus rubicundus*  
*dyuralya* durālia (W) (b), duralia (A), duralia (moojil) (mudjil ‘red’) (HSB), durali (M)

bronzewing pigeon—both the common bronzing *phas* chalcoperta and the brush bronzing *pha* elegans  
*guwadagang* göṅgang (b), goad-gan (c), goad-gang (C), gode-gang (HSB), kutging (M), göṅgan (R)

carrion hawk or whistling kite *haliastur sphenurus*  
*DJamulJamul* jam-mul jammul (c), jam-mul jam-mul (C), jumel jamel (A), d’yumal-d’yumal (Sth), d’yamal, d’yumal (Sth), *gudhaway kutthawai* (M)

crested pigeon *o*cyphos *lophotes*  
*mirral* mirrāl (R)

crested shrike-tit *falcunculus frontatus*  
*wanyuwin* war-nuin (HSB)

duck—a wild duck  
*yurungi* yoo-rong-i (C)

eastern curlew *numeni* madagascar*iensis*  
*ngurwinarriwing* ur-win-nerry-wing (c), ur-win-ner-ri-wing (C), *warabun* warebun (M)

egg  
*gaban* ca-bahn (c), ca-bahn (C), ca-ban (A), kubbin (M), karbin (R)

emu *dromai* novaeholl*andiae*  
*murawung* mu-ra-ong (c), ma-ra-ong (C), murion (R), maracry (A), *birabayin* birabain (R), biriabain (R)

feather  
*ngunyal* gno-niul (c), gwo-meil (A)

fishing gull  
*gi*rra-girra *girra-girra* (A)

glossy black cockatoo *calyptorhynchus lathami*  
*garada* ga-rate (c), car-rāte (C), ga-ratt (HSB), *garal* ca-rall (A)

ground parrot *pzopus wallicus*  
*wangawang* wang-a-wang (HSB)

gull—large, either the Pacific gull *larus pacificus* or the silver gull *larus novaehollandiae*  
*djugadya* troo-gad-ya (A)

hawk  
*bunda* bündā (R)

king parrot *alisterus scapularis*  
*guma* (marri) go-mah (murry) (marri ‘big’) (HSB)

kookaburra or laughing jackass *dace* novaguineae  
*guganagina* goo-ginne-gan (HSB), go-gan-ne-gine (C), kukundī (M), kogunda (R)

magpie goose *anes* semipalmata  
*nuwalgang* now-al-gang (W)

masked lapwing *vanellus miles*  
*bunya* boon-ya-rin-a, rin (HSB)

mopoke or tawny frogmouth *podargus* strigoides  
*binit* binnit (M)
musk lorikeet, rosella or greenleek parrot
*glossopsitta concinna—*

noisy friarbird or
knob-fronted bee-eater
*philemon corniculatus*

parrakeet

parrot or parrakeet

Name given to all the following birds (HSB):- crimson rosella *platycercus elegans*; swift parrot *lathamus discolor*, rainbow lorikeet *trichoglossus haematodus*; turquoise parrot *neophema pulchella*; musk lorikeet *glossopsitta concinna*; eastern rosella *platycercus eximius*; little lorikeet *trichoglossus haematodus*.

pee-wee, magpie lark or
mudlark *granilla cyanoleuca*

pelican
*pelecanus conspicillatus*

pigeon (green)

plover *vanellus tricolor*

quail

rainbow lorikeet or Blue Mountains parrot
*trichoglossus haematodus*

red bill

red-browed finch
*neochima temporalis*

rufous night heron
*nycticorax calendonicus*

sacred kingfisher
*todiramphus sanctus*

shag or cormorant

singing bushlark
*mirafra javanica*

sittella
*daphoenositta chrysopetera*

sooty owl
*tyto tenebricosa*

sulphur crested cockatoo
*cacatua galerita*

superb fairy-wren
*malurus cyaneus*

**guma** kuma (M), **bundaluk** bundelük (rosella) (R)

**wirgan** wir-gan (C) (A), wirgane (HSB)

**djirrang** jirrang (M)

**guriyayil** gorail (HSB), go-rail (HSB), go-rey-ail (C), go-rey-ail (C), go-ri (A)

**birrarik** birrerik (M)

**garranga bumarr** car-ranga bo mur-ray (C)

**bawama** bao-má (R)

**burrandjarung** burranjarung (M)

**biyanbing** bee-an-bing (A), **muwambi moumbi** (M)

**warin** warin (M)

**buming** bóming (b) (W), boming (A)

**gulungaga** goo-lung-ag (W)

**gulina** collinah (HSB)

**dyaramak** dere-a-mak (HSB), **djirromba** jirramba (M)

**guwali** go-wally (A)

**murradjulbi** murajulbi (M)

**marrigang** mur-ri-gang (W)

**budhawa** budhawa (M)

**garraway** gar-ra-way (c), gare-a-way (C), ga-ra-way (A), kirrawe (M), garabi (R)

**murudwin** mooro-duin (HSB)
variegated fairy wren  
*malaus lamberti*

wedge-tailed eagle  
*aquila aedax*

wing

wonga pigeon  
*leucosarcia melanoleuca*

**Marine and other aquatic life**

black bream  *mylio australis*  
*garuma* karóoma (b), caroom-a (c), kuruma (R)

blue pointer or mako shark  
*isurus mako*  
*gawun* caun (Pa), kon (blue shark) (R)

bream  
*yarramarra* yeremurra (R)

crab  
*yara* he-ra (c)

cell *anguilla reinhardtii*  
*burra* burra (M), burra (R)

fish—generic name

fish—a fish  
*baragalun* beragallon (c)

fish—a fish

fish—a fish

fish—a fish

fish—a large fish  
*waldagal* waltegal (A)

fish—a large fish  
*banilung* bennillong (C)

fish—an unknown fish  
*burunaganaga* booroo-naga-naga (c)

flathead  
*badiwa* paddeyah (A)

flathead—small flathead  
*marrinagul* murray nangul (c), murray naugul (c), mul-lin-a-gul (c)

flathead—large flathead  
*guwarri* cow-er-re (c), kaoari (R)

flying gurnard  
*dactyloptena orientalis*  
*mubarrri* mau-ber-ry (C)

grey nurse shark  
*carharias arenarius*  
*guuruwin* co-ro-win (c)

ground shark  
*guwibidu* kwibito (R)

gudgeon  
*duru* duru (M)

kingfish  
*wulugul* wollogul (R)
leather-jacket  

mackerel  
scomber australasicus

mud oyster  

mud skipper

mullet

mussel  

mytilus edulis planulatus

perch

porpoise  
delphinis delphis

Port Jackson shark  
heterodontus portusjacksoni

ray

sea mullet (large)  

mugil cephalus

shovel nosed ray without a sting  

aptychotrema rostrata

snapper  

chrysophyrs auratus

sprat

squill  

yuril yu-rill (c)  

The bulb of the sea onion cut into slices and dried used in medicine as an expectorant, for example, syrup of squills.

sting ray

Sydney cockle  
anadara trapezia

This shell was used to arm spears, to make a scraping end on the the wurama 'spear throwing stick' and to make knives.

Sydney rock oyster  
crassostrea commercialis

Sydney rock oyster shell

toad fish—colonists noted that this fish was known to Aboriginal people to be poisonous

turtle

whale

baludarrri bal-loo-der-ry (C)

waragal waaragāl (b), weeragal (c)

daynya dainia (c), danyā (R), danyā (R)

badubirung (badu 'water', -birung 'from') bado-berong (c)

wurridjal worrijāl (R)

dalgal talkál (b), dal-gal (c), djungung juggling (M)

wugara wuggara (M)

baruwaluwu bar-ru-wall-u-u (c)

walumil wallo-mill (c)

yuluwigang ullahygang (c)

waradyal wa-ra-diel (c)

ginara gin-nare (c)

wulumay wal-lu-mai (c), wo-lo-my (HSB), woolamie (light-horseman fish) (A), wōā-la-mī (Sth), wallami (R)

gumbara kumbara (M)

yuril yu-rill (c)

gadyan kaadian (b), quoidun (Pa), warabi wa-ra-bee (A)
yellowtail kingfish or prince fish *seriola grandis*
zebra fish *brachydanio rerio*

**Insects and spiders**

ant
beatle found in the grass tree
beetle
black ant
black bull-dog ant
blowfly
body louse
butterfly
caterpillar
centipede
fly—a large fly that bites
fly
grasshopper
green-head ant
grub
jumper ant
locust—large locust
locust—small locust
louse or flea
maggot in meat
mosquito
nit of louse
red bull-dog ant
scorpion

**barung** bā-rong (c)
**marumara** ma-ro-me-ra (c)

**mung** mong (A)
**garrun** car-run (c)
**gunyangunya** (gunya 'hut') gonia-gonia (c), go-nia-go-nia (C)
**babunang** po boo-nāng (C), pa boo-nāng (A)
**wugadjin** wuggajin (M)
**marang** marang (M)
**malagadang** mulagatung (b)
**burudyara** bur-ru die-ra (c), bur-roo-die-ra (C)
**gunalung** go-na-long (C)
**ganaray** can-nar-ray (C), garagun ca-ra-goon (A), **djingaring** jingring (M)
**muruna** moor-ron (A)
**miyanung** mi-a-nong (C), my-ang-a (A)
**gilbanung** gil-be-nong (C)
**gunama** kunama (M)
**burradhun** burradhun (M)
**djuldjul** juljul (M)
**bula** bulla (M)
**djirrirrin** jirrirrin (M)
**muna** múnu (b), moona (A), **burudu** bóoroodoo (b), būrudu (b), bóodooro (b), bur-ra-doo (A), boo-roō-dāh (Sth), bundyu (M)
**dyulibang** dtulibilaŋ (b)
**dura** tehra (c), teura (A), doo-ra (A), dyura (M), dubin (R)
**djagara** jagara (M)
**gudmut** kut-mut (M)
**djuni** dtooney (b), dundi (M), duradjuni tewra tooney (c)
spider
worm found in the grass tree

Plants

banksia banksia ericifolia
bark
bark used to make fishing lines
djuraruralang dhuraduralan (b)
berry
Botany Bay tea, Australian tea
or false sarsaparilla
hardenbergia violacea—sweet
tea plant the colonists made
tea from the leaves of this plant
bracken fern root (eaten by
Aboriginal people)
pteridium esculentum
broadleaf ironbark
eucalyptus siderophloia
dirrabari dirrabari (M)
brown gum or New Holland
mahogany (large brown
mahogany tree)
ichosandria monogynia
duga tūgā (c), tūga (R)

brush or forest—thick wood
about a watercourse, sylvan

Cabbage tree  livistona australis
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
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
exocarpos curressiformis
guwigan kwigan (M)

Christmas bell  blandfordia nobilis

gadigalbudyari (gadigal 'Gadi people', budyari 'good')
gad-de-gal-ba-die-ree (c)

corkwood
duboisia myoporoides

gulgagaru kulargaru (M)

creek or brush cherry
syzgium paniculatum—tart
cherry tree, acajou-like
cherry; acajou 'mahogany'
French word

daguba takūba (b), ta-gu-bah (c), tar-go-bar (c)
cumbungi, bullrushes *typha muellari*

dead tree

dwarf apple (apple tree) *angophora hispida*

eucalyptus, gum-tree

flag or iris of this country *patersonia glabrata*

fruit

fruit

fruit of the potato plant or potato apple—probably the kangaroo apple *solanum aviculare*

grape

grass tree seed head

grass stem—used to make spears

grass tree xanthorrhoea—provided resin used in the manufacture of many artefacts

great dendrobium *dendrobium speciosum*

hole in a tree

hollow tree

jeebung *persoonia toru*

leaning tree

leaves of trees

ligneous pear

low tree bearing a fruit like the banksia—this may be a melaleuca such as *melaleuca thymafolia* or a prostrate banksia of the sand-hill type

mushroom

narrowleaf ironbark *eucalyptus crebra*

baraba baraba (M), wulugulin wollofelin (R)

guwibul kwibul (M)

banda bunda (M)

yarra yarra (M)

bugulbi po-cul-bee (A)

duruwan doo-roo-wan (c)

mumarrri mumarra momari mo-mur-re (c)

bumurra (gamarral) bomulá (b), mo-mur-re (c), be-mur-ra cam-mur-ra (c), bo-murra cammeral (c)

bamuru (muru 'path') báamoro (b), durawuyi doo-roy (A), durawoi (R)

yagali yegali (HSB)

galun callun (HSB)

gulgadya goolgadie (HSB)

wargaldarra wer-gal-derra (S)

gumir kumir (M)

birragu birreko (M)

mambara mambara (M)

bulbi bulbi (M)

djirang jirang (M)

marridugara merry-dugar-e (c)

wiriyagan weereagan (c)

ngalangala gnal-lung-ul-la (C)

mugagaru muggargru (M)
paperbark—the inner bark of a paperbark tea tree _melaleuca leucadendron_, used by Aboriginal people to make many artefacts

pine, fir tree _casuarina glauca_ _guman_ goo-mun (c), goomun (A)

Port Jackson fig _ficus rubiginosa_ _damun_ tam-mun (c)

rock lily _dendrobium speciosum_ _buruwan_ 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 _djaramada_ jerematta (R)

shadow of a tree _bulu_ bulu (M)

splinter _dhuraga_ dhuraga (M)

stringybark _eucalyptus obliqua_ _buran_ buran (M)

tea-tree _bunya_ bunya (M)

tree—a type of tree _yarung_ yerúng (b)

tree—generic name _daramu_ te-ra-mo (c)

vegetable—any edible vegetable _ganugan_ can-no-can (A)

waratah _telopea speciosissima_ _warada_ wárata (b), war-ret-tah (c), wa-ra-ta (HSB), warratta (W)

Called by the colonists the 'sceptre flower'. The nectar of the flower was relished by Aboriginal people.

wattle _wadanguli_ (M)

white gum tree _darani_ darane (c)

wood itself as opposed to brush or forest—stick or tree, lignum _wadi_ wádt (b), wadt (b), wad-day (c), wad-de (c), wad-dy (A)

yam _midiny_ 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 Wàrrwàr gives the general name of Wigi to which I have great reason to believe signifies a berry as I know most of the bushes, all of which bear berries which the natives eat. I think it also probable that some of the above may be called by two or more different names.' (Dawes b)

_bumula_ bomulá (b)

_burudun_ burudun (h) (b)
Physical adjectives

alive  

mudung moo-tong (c), muthung (M)

bald  

gangat gápat (like a burnt head) (b), ngurrabulba ngurrabulba (forehead bare) (M)

black  

ngana ṇána (b), gnā-nā (c), gnā-na (C), nand (A)

blind  

munyiming mufiming (M)

blunt—for example, a blunt edge on a knife

munhagut munhagud (M)

both  

ngalya gnal-le-a (C)

broken to pieces—as a ship or boat on rocks  

bugrabanya pograbanič (b)

broken to pieces, for example, chinaware  

bugrabala pograbāala (b)

buried  

buwabili bour-bil-ley (C), bourbillie (A)

burnt  

ganay kánī (b), biyarabuni (biya- 'bite', -buni 'not') pierabuní (b)

caught by the elbow, for example, by a latch  

ngalamay ṇalamí (b)

clean (also yellow)  

yarragul yarrakāl

cold  

dagura ta-go-ra (c), tag-ěr-ra (c), ta-go-ra (c), ta-go-rā (C), ta-ga-ra (A), tahgra (Pa), tuggra (M), tegg-ra-ra (Sth), tug-gūrah (Sth)

cold—severely cold  

dagura madjanga (dagura 'cold', medjung 'a sore') ta-go-ra mediang-ha (c), ta-yo-ra me-diang-a (C)

cool—pleasantly cold  

murayung mureůŋ (b)
crooked bayala pyella (b)
cross-eyed guragayin kūrāgan (R)
dark malung máluŋ (b)
dead gugun gogun (c), buyi (buyi- 'die') bo-i (c)
dead bali (see 'thirsty')
decayed or rotten gudjibi godie-by (A), go-ji go-jay-by (C)
deaf gumbarubalung kumbarobalong (M)
dirty or gritty bamulguwiya (bamul 'earth', guwiya- 'give') pemul-gwia (c), pe-mul-gine (C)
dry—not wet burara būrara (b)
empty barrabarry ḫurūthent (b), parraberry (c), par-rat-ber-ri (C), parraberry (A), par-rat-ben-ni (C)

enough didyiriguru didyirigürü (b), did-yeer-re-goor (c), did-yerre-goor (c)

fat guray kurai (M)

fetch yana- (yan- 'walk or go') yena (b), yanara yenara ('go and fetch') (b), ngayirinara ŋirunara (b), ngai-ri (Sth)

first or to be first marana merani’ (b), meranadyémt ('you drank (drank tea once) before') (b)

five marridyulu marry-diolo (K), bulabula wugul (bulabula 'four', wugul 'one') bullabulla wāgul (R)

four marridyulu marry-diolo (c), galunalung cal-una-long (K), bulawiri bulawiri (bulawiri 'two') blaoeri-blaoeri (R), bulabula (bula 'two') būlla būlla (R), wugul warri wagulwurri (apparently a derivation from 'one-three') (M)

full belly gau kannō (b), canno (A), barrang buruk (barrang 'stomach', buruk 'full') barong-boruch (A)

full buruk bo-ruk (c), bu-rouk (c), bo-ruk (C), brück (Sth), buruck (M), mudang mútuñ (b), eri eri (c) (A), galigali kält kält (b)

gone or expended marridyulu murray-loo-lo (c), mur-ray-loo-lo (c), mur-ray-too-lo (C)

great marri (see 'very')

green bulga bool-ga-ga (c), boo-gā-ga (C), boolga (A), gumun gomūn (b)

hard or difficult to break garungul kanīŋul (b)

hollow—as a hollow tree birragu birreko (M)
hot  gadalung cardalung (Sth)
hungry  yuru yu-roo (c), yurupata (bada- 'eat') (b), yu-roo (C), eu-rō (Sth), yu-roo-gur-ra (C), yu-ru-gurra (A)
itchy  guwidbanga (guwi 'hot', bangas- 'make') koutban (b)
junior  narang (see 'little')
large  marri (see 'very')
lame  mudunura moo-ton-ore (C), madang metang (Pa), gadyaba kadūba (b)
lean  djarradjari jarra jarra (M)
left  durumi doo-room-i (C)
little  ngarang ngarān (b), nar-rang (c), gnar-rang (C), narrong (A), narang (Pa), ngā-rang (Sth), ngurrang (M)
long or tall  gurara kurara (b), coorarre (c), goo-rā-rā (c), coo-rar-re (C), kurare (M)
many (a large number)  yirran irran (M)
many  marri (see 'very')
more and more  gurragurra gōre gūrē (b)
more  gurra gore (b), go-ray (c), goray (c), curra (Sth), wurri worrē (c)
nearsighted  gujimay (guji 'bad', may 'eye') kūjī mai (R)
old  ganunigang genunikang (Pa), warungat warunggat (grey haired) (M)
once  wugulgu wogulgo (b)
one  wugul wogul (b), wo-gul (c), wo-gul (C), wo-cul (C), wogul (K), ya-ole (K), wogle (Pa), wāgul (R), wagulwai (M), madung meddung (M)
one-eyed  murbura moor-boo-ra (Sth)
painful  daydyay didyi (b)
parched  bali ba-lie (c), ballie (c), valley (c), baletti (M)
pregnant  binya bin-nie (C), bin-ny (A), bin-yee-ghine (c), bindhiwurra bindhiwurra (M)
pretty  garungarung ca-rung-ā-rung (Sth)
quick  baru baro (M)
red  mudjiil mudyul (b), moo-jel (c), moo-jel (C), morjal (A), morjal (K), djarri jarri (M)
same—the same  daraguwayang téraguíýun (b)
second  walanga welláña (b)
senior—older or bigger  guwal kowal
short or low  darrbi társbi (b), tyársbi (b), dumuru tůmůrů (b), too-merre (c), too-mur-ro (c), too-mur-ro (C)
sick  badjal ba-gel (c), ba-jel (c), ba-diel (C), mulali muláít (c), moo-laá-ly (Sth), muláidwárun (‘because I was sick’) (b)
slow  wurral wurral (M)
small  narang (see ‘small’)
soft—easy for a child to eat, for example, soft bread or boiled carrot  muday mútti (b)
stenmering  gurugabundu kúrůkabundu (R)
stink or bad smell  gunyamarrá goniee murrah (c), gu-na-murra (A), guji kuja (M), kúji (also ‘bad’) (R)
straight  dugarang túgarů (b)
strong  bulbuwul bulbwul (M)
thirsty  djulú dtulú (something relative to thirst, maybe ‘to quench’ a similar word is given as to ‘quench a fire with water’, see ‘kill a fire’ dura) (b), durral (M)
three  buruwi boorooi (c), brew-ie (c), brew-y (C), boorooi (K), brewè (K), buriwai (M), bulawiri wugul (bulawiri ‘two’, wugul ‘one’) blaöeri-wagul (R)
tired  yanbat yan-bad (c), yaraba yare-bā (C), wunal wunal (M)
toothless  darabundu tarabundu (R)
torn (also sore)  madyung me-di-ong (c), me-diong (C), med-yanq (A)
twice  bulagu (bula ‘two’, -gu ‘from’) bulágo (b)
two  bulá bóola (b), buła (b) (Pa), bulla (c) (K) (M), bool-la (c), boo-la (C), bul-ler (P), bülér (R), buler (M), bulawiri blówree (b), blao-eri (K), yoo-blowre (c), yubulawiri yoo-blow-re (C), yablowxe (K)
very, great, large, many  marri múrrí (b), murry (b), múrty (b), mur-ray (c), murray (A), mur-ray (C), muree (Pa), murry (Sth), murry-di-ool-oo (Sth), murry di-oö-loo (Sth)
wet  marray marray (c), mar-rey (C)
white painted  dabuwamili- (dabuwa ‘white, white clay’ daburi- ‘to paint’) ta-boå-nil-li-jow (c), taboa-millie (A)
white dyirra tyerrá (b), tyerabárrbo (b), dabuwa ta-bo-a (C), taboa (A), burragudi burrakutti (M)
worn out—as old clothes etc. wiribay (wiri 'bad') wúrtbi (b)
yellow (also clean) yarragul yarakal
young mudi múd-di (R)
younger narang (see 'little')

Non-physical adjectives

afraid, frightened baragat bátrakút (b), bar-gat (c) (C), djirrun jerrun (M), jerron (R)
anger wurabata waurapetá (b), wurugurung waurogooroong (b)
angry, cross, displeased or ill-natured gulara ghoólara (b), goo-lára (c), goo-lar-a (C), kular (M), kúlar (b), yuróra (b), ouro (Pa)
another wugularay wo-gul-óray (c)
any mun mon (c)
bad pronunciation wunyang wánean (b)
bad, wrong, malignant or pernicious wiri we-re (c), wee-re (c), waree, wee-re (C), wèrè (A), wee-ree (T), waree (Pa), wee-ré (Sth), wèrì (R), garadjí kurají (M), guji küjí (also 'stinking') (R)
bashful, ashamed wural wúrníllhadyáú (I was ashamed') (b), dagurayagu tag-go-ra-yago ('shier') (c)
better burudi booróody (b), bidyal búdýul (b), mudun mu-ton (Sth)
bored marama marama (b)
brave madung mat-long (c), muttoñ (R)
coward, also 'run away' djirrun (djirrun 'fear') jee-run (C)
female animals wiring we-ren (c), weer-ring (c)
glad, or not angry gurigurung kurtgáran (b), mudja mujar (M)
good (as to eat) dadyibalung taatibaláng (b)
good, well, right, proper, pretty, handsome, comely budyari búdýeri (b), bood-yër-re (c), bood-jer-re (C), bood-yer-re (C), bidgereee (A), bùd-ye-ree (T), búdyééri (b), bougeree (Pa), boó-gé-reé (Sth), bùdjeri (R), ngubadi ngubaty (M)
great marri mu-ray (c)
greedy djirra jirra (M), dulingyung tulinyuyñ (R)
marr/ed mungi maangi (taken to wife) (b), malarra mullara (joined to a man) (c), mul-la-rra (mala 'man') (C)
passionate yurura yu-ro-ra (C)
pity or sympathy mudjaru mudjēnēi (R)
sleepy nanga (nanga- 'sleep') nungga (M)
sorry ngandu ngandu (M)
stupid bininggaray binnin-garai (R)
surprised or startled mannyi mungala (man- 'take' mungala 'thunder') man-niè mong-alla (C), manni man-niè mal-lee (C)
truth (also 'yes') yuwing ew-ing (C)
worse wulumu wauloomy (b), garangan karuŋun (b)

Motion verbs

arise buraga boraga (M)
bathe bugi (see 'swim')
bite biya- bā (b), dul toll (C)
bring ngayari- ngaare (b), yalinga- yalingen (M)
climb galuwa cal-loo-a (A), kalua (M)
conceal dudba dutba (M)
cook gunama kunnama (M), kunnimā (R)
cool-to cool bayin- būn- (b)
cool oneself bayinmilyi (bayin- 'cool', -milyi- 'to oneself') būnmiyli (b)
cover bubanga- boobanga (a)
cover oneself bubilyi- bubilydyiaou ('I covered') (b)
creep maruwi ma-ro-wei (c), mā-row-e (C), marroway (A)
cutting off wugan minaring wogan-minnering (c) (A)
dance, a method of dancing garabara car-rib-ber-re (c), cā-tāb-bā-rā (Sth), korobra (R)
dance dangura tang o-ra (A), dungara (M)
dig gama- kārna (b)
dip— for example, to dip for water with a small vessel gaba- kūba (b)
dive bugi (see 'swim'), mulbari mulbari (M), nula bugi (bugi-swim, bathe) nallabōgi (R)
do yanga- yānga (a)
do incorrectly  \textit{wiribanga} (\textit{wiri} 'bad', \textit{banga-} 'make or do') \textit{wiribúpa} (b)
drop or allow to fall \textit{yiningma} (\textit{yini-} 'fall', \textit{-ma} 'imperative') \textit{yuniqma} (b), \textit{murama-murámadyém} ('thou didst let fall') (b), \textit{yaridyma} yery dye (c)
drown \textit{gura} goora (A)
embrace, hug \textit{dyalgala} tyelkála (b)
empty \textit{buradban}i purútbent ('to empty') (b)
escort or 'to see home' \textit{yudi-} yudi (b)
fall \textit{yini-} yini (a), yint (b), yene (Pa), \textit{yari-} yery (c), yer-dioma (A), \textit{murama} muráma (b), \textit{bululba} bululbali (M)
find \textit{manwari} (\textit{mani-} 'take', \textit{wari} 'away') mán (b), mánwárt (literally 'take abroad') (b)
fish—to fish \textit{magari} (\textit{magura} 'a fish') maugerry (A), mogra (R)
fly as a bird or spear (also run) \textit{wumara} wómara (b), womera (c), womerraa (A)
fly \textit{wilbing} wil-bing (also the wing of a bird) (A), \textit{miyanga} miangah (c)
follow \textit{walanga} (see 'second')
get up \textit{babuga} barbuka (A)
go \textit{yanma} (\textit{yan-} 'walk or go') yenma ('make to go') (b), yen-ma (c), \textit{ngalbunga-} albonga- (c)
go outside \textit{wuruna} wuruná (b)
grasp—to take hold \textit{mawa} maur (A)
encrease \textit{walunadarang} wauloonadarang ('more it you please') (b)
hunt \textit{wulbanga} wolbunga (R)
jump \textit{wumarabara} (\textit{wumara-} 'fly') womerraa-berra (A)
kiss \textit{bunya-} boon-ya (A), bonge (M), \textit{bunalyi} (\textit{bunya-} 'kiss') boon-alliey (kiss each other) (c), bunalle (kiss each other) (Pa), boon-abbiey (kiss each other) (A)
knot, tie \textit{ngarra} gnárra (W) (b), \textit{daniya} tanié (b)
leak or run out \textit{mididwinyi} meeditwinyi (b)
leap \textit{yilga} ilga (A)
in \textit{ngalawa-} (see 'sit')
limp \textit{gadya-} kadiá (b)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Malay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>live</td>
<td>ngalawa- (see 'sit')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make or do</td>
<td>bangar-bung (a), banga (b), buña (b), banga (b), warra- warra (b), würre (b), bangawarra bungawurra (M), bini- binnie bow ('I will make') (c), binnie ba ('he will make') (c), yanga-yang (a), yama- ya-mah (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mistake</td>
<td>dara- taria-dyaou ('I made a mistake in speaking') (b), taramadyaou ('take by mistake') (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open a clasp knife</td>
<td>bayibanga (bayi- 'beat', banga- 'make') ptytrbá (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open a door</td>
<td>bamaradbanga (banga- 'make') bümübulbú (b), pärabúng (open the door (literally, open make)) (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paddle or row</td>
<td>banga- banga (a), baig-a (b), bong-a (c), bang-a (C), bāng-ā (Stb), ba-ung-a (Stb), guwinya go-in-nia (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paint</td>
<td>dabura- (dabuwa 'white, white clay') tā-bō-re (Stb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pick teeth</td>
<td>darraburraburiya dar-ra-burra-boori (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pick up</td>
<td>manyu manioo (c), manioo (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play</td>
<td>dyannila tienmule (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour</td>
<td>badubara bado-burra (A), burra-bado (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour out</td>
<td>djarba djer-ba (c), yilaba (yilaba- 'urinate') il-lab-ba (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prick</td>
<td>duralang door-a-lang (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>push anything along</td>
<td>yadbi yetb (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put a shell on a wumara</td>
<td>gadyanna (gadyan 'shell', -ma 'do') kaadianmadijou ('I throwing stick' kaadianed it. I put the shell on the wómera.) (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put down</td>
<td>wiyana- weán (b), weána (b), weeana (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put on a garment or ornament</td>
<td>miily- barumulydyú ('I am putting on my barrin', barrin a woman's garment, pubic covering) (b), buru mile (b), boor emil (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remain</td>
<td>ngalawa- (see 'sit')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remain awake</td>
<td>warigulyi wargulythaou ('I will remain awake') (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>return or come back</td>
<td>walama wéllama (a), madwára (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rise</td>
<td>burbuga bur-boga (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run as an animal (also fly)</td>
<td>wumara- wómera (b), womera (c), womeraa (A), wumerra (M), wii (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run away (also coward, fear)</td>
<td>djirrun tyér (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seek</td>
<td>waranara wáranára (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Yawuru Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>scarify the chest—to make incised lines on a person's chest for the purpose of ritual and decoration</td>
<td>garanga car-ran-ga (c), congarei (c), cong-ar-ray (c), car-ran-ga bow-iniey (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scrape</td>
<td>minay min-ney (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scratch</td>
<td>dyargali dargalle (W) (b), tyargalye (b), dir-gally (A), tyeroga (b), jirranga (M), tyerogadyouwūna ('I scratched you') (Dawes b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharpen—as the points of a fishgig on a stone</td>
<td>yara yāra (b), yurulbara yurūlbara (b), manya manéea (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shave (to singe the beard off)</td>
<td>bunyadil bun-ya-dil (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shelter</td>
<td>bawaga paouwagadyumña (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>show</td>
<td>naminma nāmmina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shut a clasp knife</td>
<td>muluma muluma (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shut the door</td>
<td>wirribara wirribaná (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit near (to sit near anyone)</td>
<td>yuridyuwa ury-diow (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>ngalawa- ngalawá (a) (b), ngallawá- (b), gnal-loa (A), allowau (c), allowa (c), al-lo-wah (C), al-locy (C), alloua (Pa), al-lo-wan (C), allocy (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slip</td>
<td>mayagawarrbay (mayagawarrma- 'wink') mikoarbsí (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>squeeze—as water out of a sponge</td>
<td>dayma ūmna (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>narri- narri (A), warrawi warre-wee (A), war-re-wee (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>start (as when frightened)</td>
<td>manya mūnye (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunk</td>
<td>gura goo-rā (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim</td>
<td>bugi- bógi (a), bógee (a), bogtá (b), bō-gie (Sth), boge (Pa), bo-ga (c), bo-gay (C) (A), wadabi wad-by (c), wadd-be (c), wadby (A), wad-be (C), waringa waringa (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take hold of my hand and help me up</td>
<td>burbangana poorbuŋā (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take off (as a coat)</td>
<td>bunilbanga (-buni 'no, not', bang- 'make') bunilbūŋa (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throw</td>
<td>yira- ūrī (a), ye-ry (c), yery (A), eereéra ('you throw') (b), e-ra (C), erah (C), yara (throw fast) (R), yanā (R), tyerrsa (b), garaya- curna (A), cu-ru-a (c), kerraiba- (M), kurraibi (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tickle</td>
<td>gidigidi gittee gittee (b), gitte-gittim (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tie</td>
<td>danyaya tanié (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turn upside down</td>
<td>walibanga (wali- 'turn', bang- 'make, do') wáltibuŋa (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action Description</td>
<td>Wolof Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn when walking</td>
<td>walubudyun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn</td>
<td>wali-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undress</td>
<td>dyararabanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walk or go</td>
<td>yana-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm—to warm</td>
<td>gura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warm one’s hand by the fire and then squeeze gently the fingers of another person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wash or soak</td>
<td>garramilyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch</td>
<td>yanung</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### State verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action Description</th>
<th>Wolof Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be</td>
<td>barung</td>
<td>be-rong (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bored—to become tired of something</td>
<td>marama</td>
<td>marama (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Die</td>
<td>buyi</td>
<td>bòe (A), bo-y (A), bô-ee (T), boyee (Pa), boî (M), boï (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear</td>
<td>dyirrun</td>
<td>tyérün (b), tar-rionte (c), gerund (Pa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have</td>
<td>miwana</td>
<td>móráná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itchy</td>
<td>guwidyi</td>
<td>kóityi (b), koitaMPadyúna ('it itches') (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live</td>
<td>mudang</td>
<td>moo-tang (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretend</td>
<td>wangit</td>
<td>wangit (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain—to rain</td>
<td>wulan</td>
<td>wálán (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ring—to ring as a bell</td>
<td>diilbanyi</td>
<td>tiIlbanye (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate</td>
<td>madingara</td>
<td>matiñara (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shine</td>
<td>gili</td>
<td>gili ('spark') killi (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smolder (the fire is out, or going out)</td>
<td>ngimagay</td>
<td>ngimagér (b), bula boolá (b), wuruna wuruná (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stopped working (literally 'dead')—for example, the watch stopped</td>
<td>baluwi</td>
<td>bäluf (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weary, tire or ache</td>
<td>dyarrba</td>
<td>tyarsba (b), yárrsba (a), yare (c)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vocalizing and thought verbs

abh<e,har
ask anything
nganaga annegar (A)
bark
nurba nur-be (c), musuwaba moroube (Pa)
call
gama- kamabaou (I will call') (b), kama (b), ca-mar (c),
cas-ma (c), ka-ma (c), ca-ma (A)
change names
damuli taamooly (b)
court, make love to
duwana tóana (b)
cry or weep
dunga-tuniga (b), tong-e (female) (c), tong-i (male) (c),
tagay (c), tonga (A), toongha (P), toong-a (Sth), dunga (M), yunga (R),
ton-ga-bil-ly (C)
deceive, scam
gunga kána (b)
forget
munuru- mánuru (b), mánúri (b), maanorodiuñúia (to
understand, 'I don't understand you') (b), meéama ('I don't
understand you') (a)
howl (as a dog)
nuyiga noy-ga (C)
imitate or to take off
darrbangalyuñ guralibuwa derr-bangel-dion crelli bow (A)
laugh (violently)
badiya patteya (c)
laugh
bilya pil-lia (A), djandiga jandiga (M), wina winna (R)
lend
marí- murí (b), marimirung (marí-lend, -mirung 'from')
marúrúñ (b)
lie
wanya wúnya (b), waumea (b), wan-ye-wan-yi (C),
wan-ye-wan-ya (C), wan-yë-wan-yë (C)
listen, hear, think
ngara- ngára (a), nára (b), nàra (c), naara (A)
love
ngubadi ngubaty (M)
make believe, do something in
jest
wunique wánya (b)
make a mistake in speaking
daraya- taria- (b)
not understand
miyama meéama (b), manuru maanoro (b)
pronounce
garaga (garag 'mouth') káraga (b), káraga (b), bayalagarriga
byalla-garriga (bayá- 'speak', garaga 'mouth') (c)
read
baya- (baya- 'speak') pía (b)
refuse
damuna- taamóona (b), támuna (b)
request
gulya gulca (M)
ing (as a bell)
dilbanj- tilbanye- (b)
say yuri yur-re (c)
say bay-a- (see 'speak')
scold wami wāmi (b), wau-mē (C)
sexual desire gudhaling kuthaling (M)
shout gumba kumba (R)
sigh ngayana gnia-na (C) (A)
sing baraya- berfa (b), bor-ra-ya (A), be-ria (Sth), bā-ree-oň (Sth), burria (M), beria (R), yaban ye-ban (c), yibbun (c), ya-ban (A), yabbun ('singers dancing or beating on two clubs') (A)
snarling with anger gulara bayala (gulara 'anger', bay-a- 'speak') goo-lar-ra py-ye-la (C)
speak an unknown language mubaya māpiadyant (‘you speak an unknown language’) (b)
speak bay-a- píy (b), pī (b), pia (b), pi-ar-ar (c), byalla (c), byalla (A), pile (Pa), př-a-la (Sth), paialla (M), paialla (R), pi-ata (Sth), pi-āt-ū (Sth), garriga garriga (c)
talk djiyadi tsiáti (b), tān (b), bayidiyadi pyeetiátee (b), bay-a- (see 'speak')
tease—to speak falsely in jest or to make believe (b) buna- būna (b), būnāma (b), būnamadyāon ‘I made believe’ (b)
tell guwanyi goanyi (M), bay-a- (see 'speak')
think wingara (ngara ‘hear, think’) wingārū (a), wingara (a)
trust (see 'lend') mari-
whistle wurgawina worga-weena (c), wor-ga-weena (C), worgye (A), woinga (M)

Bodily function verbs

awake burbanga porbūna (b)
blow the nose naba nēpe (b)
blow with your breath buwa- bo-a-mere (c), bumbi (M)
breathe ngayana gniāna (b), gna-na (c), gnā-nā (C), gna-na-lema (‘she breathes’) (c), buwama- bwo-me (C), bo-me (A)
chew djiang- chiang (c), chiañ (A), chang utah (c), chang-ullah (A)
clap hands bumarañali pomera-bannielly (c), bulmiya bul-mie (A)
cool one’s self bayinumilyi pinnulyi
copulate  ganadinga can-na-ding-ga (c), galu callo (c), galin callyne (c), yanga yang-a (c), ngudadha nguttatha (M)
cough  garri- gárée (b) (W), gar-ree (A), garragin (garaga 'mouth', -in 'from') karraflgii (b), garrinarribili car-re-nar-re-bil-le (C), car-re-nar-e-bille (A)
deficate  gunin (guni 'faeces', -in 'from') guning (Pa), cō-ning (Sth), gunagali go-nag-al-le (c)
drink or suck  wida- wīda (a), wīda (c), weda (c), wedau (c), wui-da (C), wee-de (A), wedha (Pa), wi-dah (Sth), Wittama (literally to drink from the breast) (M)
eat  bada- patá (a) (b), patta (c), parran (c), pat-ta (C), pat-tā (C), parān (a), patta (Pa), pā-tā (Sth)
gape (see 'yawn')  daburulburul taa boorool booroo (b)
grow  djurali dutālt (b)
itch  gudyi kōtyi (b)
look  na- (see 'see'), ngalga gnalga (c)
masturbation  ganmiludhi ganmillutthi (M)
observe (see 'see')  na-
see  na- naa (a) (b), gna (c), gnā (C), ni (a), nca (M), na-a (Sth), nal-lar (c)
seek  baduwa pe-to-e (c) (C), pittuma (M), na- (see 'see'), waranara wāranāra (b)
shiver  dagurayagu tag-go-ra-yago (c), tag-go-rah-yago (A)
shut the eyes  mimuguru myi-mogro (A)
sick or to vomit  mula moo-la (C), moola (A)
sleep  nangara- nanga (a), nan-ga-re (c), nan-go-bar (c), nang-a (C), nangorar (P), nan-ga-ra (A), nan-gā-rā (Sth), nangree (Pa), nungare (M), nangri (R)
smell  gana can-ne (c), gunda kunda (M)
sneeze  dyiringang tieeringang (b), dere-rign-ang (C), dère-nignan (A), te-re-nang (A)
snore  guruda- go-ro-da (C), go-roo-da (A) go-ro-da lema (c), goroda lima (he snores) (c)
spit  dyuranga tyurañā (b), tyuragā (b), doo-ra-gy-a (A), djugi juki (M)
stare  bulwurra pulwūra baou ('to stare or look at naught') (b), bolwarra (A), nadawunma na-de-wun-ma (c), mudbi mutbi
swallow  gurruguwidbi kōrrōkotbt (b)
swallow with difficulty  **miwuluni**  **miwulunudyao** (I swallowed with difficulty) (b)
sweat or to be hot  **yuruga**  en-rie-gō (Sth), eu-rē-go (Sth)
urinate (to make water)  **yilabə**  il-lab-be (c), elabi (Pa), elabi-la-bo (A), e-lā-vē (Sth)
vomit  **muli**  muli (M)
wink  **migawarma**  mekoarmsmdyēmiŋa ('you winked at me') (b), **guragina**  goo-ra-gine (shut one eye) (c)
wipe the hands  **damara**  (damara 'hands') támara (b)
yawn  **dabanga**  taabanga (a), taabāŋa (b), tabāng (W) (b), ta-lang-ə (A), **dyiringalima**  tiēringalēema (b)

**Impact and violence verbs**

beat gently  **gurinyi**  kurūnyi (b)
beat hard  **marribayi**  (marri 'very', bayi- 'beat') muree-pie (Pa)
beat, strike, fight, kill, hit

**baya-**  pỳt (a) (b), pie (c) (Pa), py-e (c), py-ye (C), py-yay (C), py-ya (c) (C), pỳa (A), pí-é (Sth), paibao (R)
break  **garang-**  karūŋųthbāla ('they will break it, be broken') (b), karūnul ('hard, difficult to break') (b), karūŋũn ('worse') (b)
break or cut  **gudba-**  cot-ban (A) (K), cot-bain (c), cot-balie (c), kōtbara (a), cut-bar-rar, cot-bannie (c), cot-bāńiē (A), cot-barry (A), **gidjigbani**  kidjikbane (M)
burn  **gana-**  kannadinga (c), cannadinan (c), kunnet (R), kunut (R), kānamadiŋou ('I set it on fire') (b)

**crack between the nails as a flea**  **giniyi**  gini (b), gini (b), gindo (I cracked') (b)

**cut**  **galabidya**  kālabidya (b), kārabidyt (b)
**extinguish**  **nyimang**  nyūmūŋ (b), nyumagi ('going out') (b), nyūndamyūŋa ('you stand between me and the fire') (b)

**fight**  **dyurala**  dúrella (R)
**hurt**  **badja**  bad-dje (c)
**kill or quench a fire** (see 'strike')  **djura, djulara**  dtulara (to throw water on the fire) (b)

**kill** (see 'strike')  **djura**
**pinch** (see 'strike')  **djura**
**knock out—as an eye or a tooth**  **bulbaga-**  bool-bag-a- (c), bool-bag-ga (C)
**scorch**  **buduway**  putuwi (b)
set on fire  gunama kánama (b)
smash (break to pieces)  bugra- bogra- (b)
spear  darrat turre (R)
strike (as a fish with a fishgig)  djura dtoóra (b), d'oo-ra (Sth), dtura (b), dtula (b), dudbara dutbara (M)
tear as paper or ring as a bell  dilbanga tūbāŋa (b)
wound  bayawurra baiwurra (M)

Holding and transfer verbs

bring  ngayiri gnā-re (Sth), gnā-re (Sth), gna-rei (Sth), ngai-ri (Sth), ngai-re (b), njirt (carry) (b)
carry (se bring)  ngayiri
carry away  wari (see 'lose')
collect (see 'take')  mana-
fetch (see 'take')  mana-
gather (see 'take')  mana-
get (see 'take')  mana-
give  ngawiya- ŋwiyĩ (b), wea (c), wia (c), wya (c), nwya (C), wy-a (A), wea- (A), wia- (A), wean (Pa), nguya- (M), duga tōgā (R)
give away for nothing  dulumi- tulumudyaŋa (he gave it me for nothing) (b)
give one the hand  banyadjaminga pan-nie-jeminga (A)
have  miwuna (wuna- 'throw away') mīwāna
hide  duwabili tuabilli (R)
hold up  gilbanga- (banga- 'make') gūlbamutŋuna (b), gūlbaŋabaou ('I will hold it up') (b)
lose  barrbagay parrbagy (b), parrbuggy (b), parrbuggy (b), paršbugi (b), barbuggi (c), bar-bug-gi (C), wari (wara 'away!') wāri (b), wāri (b)

obstruct  nguluna- ŋolonadyēmiŋa ('you did stop my way') (b)

send away  yiliri- tūrt (b)
send  yuma- yúma (b)

snatch  yaramadyawiniya era-mad-ye-winnia (A)

stand between  ngyina ŋyina (b)
steal  

**garama** car-ra-mah (c), car-rah-mā (C), ka-ra-ma (A), karāmā (R)

take  

**mana-** maan (a), maanā (a), máana (b), mān (b) (c) (Sth), manh (C), maān (Sth), maun (Pa), man (M), mahan (R), maanmā (b)

throw away  

**wana-** wānā (b), wanne (A), yara- yara- (R)

**Locationals and directionals**

above, upwards, upstairs  

**burawa** purāwā (b), boor-a-wa (c), boo-row-a (C)

at  

**wawa** wōu (b)

away  

**wari** (see 'lose'), **gawundi** kaundi (R)

abroad  

**wari** (see 'lose')

back  

**muray** moři (b)

below or under  

**gadi** ca-dy (c), cad-i (C), **dadu** dad-du (c)

close by  

**winima** winnimā (R)

distant  

**ngarrawan** gārawan (b), ar-ro-un (c), ar-ro-wan (c), ar-row-an (A)

down  

**yinyun** uyun (b)

far away  

**warawara** wārāwārā (R)

far distant—also the name given to England and the colonists from England  

**barawal** berwāl (b), berewal (c),

dyī  

**diec** (b), die (A), diam (C), **dyidym** die-diam (c), in-yam (c), unyām (b), **bidja** bija (R)

here  

**nula** no-le (c)

here, there, in this or in that  

**duriyumi** dooriomi (c)

left hand  

**baruwa** brāa (b)

near to  

**biyal** (biyal 'negative') bīāl (b)

no where  

wu wā (b)

on  

**ngaranga** eranga (A)

other side—the other side of the hill  

**bula** boolā (b)

outside  

wiyana weāna (b)

outdoors (see 'lose')  

wari
path or road

place

relative to place where

right hand

there he, she or it is

there

this side—on this side of the water

this way

to

where

up

**Temporals**

bye and bye, presently

day after tomorrow

day

evening

future event—'it is going to...'

just now, some little time back or last night

long ago

long time

morning—before sunrise

morning

night

now

presently

muru mo-ro (A), mo-ru (c), moo-roo (Sth), muru (M), műrü (R)

ngurang gno-räng (C)

nunanglanung noon-ung-la-noong (c)

warrangi warrangi (c), war-râng-i (C)

dingaladi ding-al-la-dec (c)

yiniya eeneed (b), inyun (b) ngil gnîl (c), di de (C)

wurrungwuri worrong-woóree (b)

yiribana yeereee bená (b)

dali tali (b)

wawu wau (C), wa (A), waré (A)

gul gül (b)

guwagu guâango (b), guágo (b), gua-go (Sth), karbo (R),
kabu (M), yirabuwabu yeerabóabo (b), waringa war-ring-a (c)

barrabuwarî parre-bu-war-nie(c)

gamarruwa kamarâ (b), kamaruá (b), kamarâ (b), camurra (A),
cam-murree (c), darrabarra tarrabûrra (b), gamarru darrabarra
cam-mar-ruo tar-re-ber-re (C), bré-ang (Sth)

waragal waragal (M)

ngabay nabi (b)

wara wara wûra wûra (b), wor-re worrar (c)

gurugal gu-ru-gal (c)

darimi tarîmi (b)

barabiyanga parabûnga (b)

mulinawul mul-lin-a-oool (c), mul-lin-ow-oool (c), marouvow
oul (morn or the sun rising out of the sea) (Pa), burbigal
burpigal (M), winbin winbin (R)

nguwing gnoo-wing (c), gnoo-ing (c), gnoo-wing (C),
gnoowwing (A), ouen (Pa), no-en (Sth), minak minni (R),
minnek (M)

yilabara ile-bar-ra (c), nung noong (c), nuna noone (A)

guwugu gwâgun (b), gwágo (b), gua-go (c)
same day gamarabu kamarabú (b)
soon (some little time hence) ngayarayagal nńīgal (b)
sun rise guwing bayabuba (guwing 'sun') by-bo-bar (c), coing by-bo-bar (c), coing bi-bo-ba (C), coing-bibo-la (A)
sun set guwing burragula (gowing 'sun') bour-re-gu-lar (c), coing bur-re-goo-lah (C), coing-burra-go-lah (K)
then wala wella (b), welláŋa (b)
today yagu yágu (b), ya-go (c), yagóona (b), ya-gu-nah (c), ya-goo-na (C), yagoona (A)
tomorrow barrabugu par-re-bugo (c), pa-rauc-buga (c), par-re-bug-c (c), par-ry-moom-go (C), parry-buga (A), burrapur (M), burani

tomorrow morning mulinawul mullná-o-ular (b), mul-lin-ow-ool (C), mullin-ow-ulc (A)
winter warrin war-rín (c)
yesterday baranyi brānt (b), brānye (b), bar-ra-ne (c), bo-rah-ne (c), bo-rā-ne (C), boorana (A), brānigal (b), bar-ra-nē (source says this means tomorrow which is probably a mistake) (A)

Interjections

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

get away!

go away!

yan wuri yan (yan- 'go', wuri 'away') yenwär (b), wuru wooroo (b), woo-rar (c), wo-roo wo-roo (c), wara (source repeats the item twice and three times) warraw! warraw! warraw! (O), wara wara wayi warra, warra wai (Richard Johnson in Mackaness 1954), warra worra wea (F), dada tete (b), tetebaoú (b), ngalbangadyawa albangadiow (c)
gugugu gugugu gugugu go-gō-gō (said three times) (Sth)

go now!

go, go, go (make haste)!

here I am! or here I come!

he doesn't like it

I am parched!

I am hungry or empty

I don't know!

I go, I am going—said when leaving

I have struck

indeed! or it is true!

let us go!

look out!

make haste!

mind your work! (literally 'do not fatigue yourself')

no

no ears!—said to a person who was not answering a call

oh, you hurt me!

perhaps
please (pray) \hspace{1cm} \textbf{gay} gî (b)

run away \hspace{1cm} \textbf{wugarndi} whî bûndi (R)

silence! or hush! \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ngumun} o-moon (this in a whisper) (c)

sit down! \hspace{1cm} \textbf{nalawala} na-lau-ra (Sth), nã-lâ-wã (Sth), nallawallî (R)

so, thus, in this manner \hspace{1cm} \textbf{yiyari} eyêrî (Sth), e-a-rê (Sth)

stop!—a term of execution used by Aboriginal people when they wish anything not to be done that displeases them

stop a little stop \hspace{1cm} \textbf{mayalya} miléea (b), mileeângâ (b), milîeewâranga (b)

stop here! \hspace{1cm} \textbf{walawa} wallawa (R)

stop stop! \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ngadu} ñâtí (b)

stop! \hspace{1cm} \textbf{wiyanada} wânâda (b), \textbf{guguguu} go go go (b), \textbf{guwawugu} guâugo (also 'presently') (b)

thanks (also 'enough') \hspace{1cm} \textbf{didjarigura} didgerry-goor (A)

to scold \hspace{1cm} \textbf{wumidjanga} wah-ma-d'jâng-ah (c), wau-më-d'jâng-ah (c)

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.

warcry used when charging into battle \hspace{1cm} \textbf{djiriyay} jee-ree-i (c)

yes \hspace{1cm} \textbf{murama} mo-rem-me (C), yi e-ë (Sth), \textbf{yuwin} yuîn (R), yuîn (M)

you must say! \hspace{1cm} \textbf{dungaduru} (dunga- 'cry', -\textbf{duru} 'continues') tonga-doro (A)

\textbf{Names of Aboriginal people and social groups}

Aboriginal girl's name \hspace{1cm} \textbf{burung} booroong (c)

Boorrrea's tribe \hspace{1cm} \textbf{ganaligalyung} cannalgalleon (c)

boy from Botany Bay \hspace{1cm} \textbf{garangarani} carrangarray (c)

Colebe's child \hspace{1cm} \textbf{banyibulung} pen-niee-bool-long (c)

female stranger's name \hspace{1cm} \textbf{garawiya} carreweer (c)

little boy's name \hspace{1cm} \textbf{badya} badya bedia bedia (c)

little girl's name \hspace{1cm} \textbf{gunangulyi} gonan-goolie (c)

male stranger's name \hspace{1cm} \textbf{buruwuna} booroowunne (c)

someone's name \hspace{1cm} \textbf{gurubi} co-ro-by (c)
someone’s name

Aboriginal woman (Patie)

people who inhabited War-mul

people who inhabited the island of the flats

person said by Burung to be unfriendly to the colonists

person who carried the compass on an expedition

tribe Weran belongs to in the district of Wanne

tribe’s name

tribe’s name

very handsome girl’s name

Wo-ran’s tribe

woman’s name

woman’s name

Names of places

another head

bad country

Botany Bay

Bradley Point

Breakfast Point

Captain Parker etc dined at this place

Cockatoo Island, sixth island coming up the harbour

Collins’ Cove

country near bare island

cove next to Farm Cove

Dinner Point

East bank of Farm Cove

murubara mo-roo-berra (c)
ganmangnal kanmāgnāl (b), dagaran tāgarān, duba badjagarang tūba patyegaran

ganamagal canemegal (c)
badjagal bediagal (c)
burudal booroodel (c), mawuguran maugoran (c)
bunyuwal bon-yoo-el (c)
daramaragal tārra-merragal (c)
gurunguragal goorung-ur-re-gal (c)
bira biragalyung birra birrage-leon (c)
baringan bārring-an (c)
daramuragal darra-mura-gal (c)
guruwin gnoo-roo-in (c)
buruwia boorreea (c)
dubariy tubcca (c)
wiiri nura wee-ree norar (c)
gamay ka-may (c)
daliyungay tal-le-ong-i (c)
buridjuwuwugulya booridiou-o-gule (c)
bangarang paparanj (b)
warayama wa-rea-mah (c)
gayumay kayoo-may (c)
wudiba wudiba wādba wādaba (b)
walum wal-las (c)
marayama mar-ray-mah (c)
yara yara yēra yērärā (c)
east point of cove next to Farm Cove
darawun derawun (c)

England (in England)
angalanda englánda (b)

Farm Cove
wuganmagulya woggan-ma-gule (c)

fifth island coming up the harbour
mamila me-mil (c)

first island coming up the harbour
buwamiliya bo-a-millie (c)

Garden Island, third island coming up the harbour
bayingawuwa ba-ing-hoe (c)

inner South Head
barawuri barraory (c)

island
buruwan boor-roo-wan (c)

island of the flats
guruwanali corrowanelly (c)

little sandy bay
wayagiwala weaggy-wallar (c)

Long Cove
gumura go-mo-ra (c)

Manly Bay
gayamay kay-ye-my (c)

Middle Head
gabagaba caba-caba (c)

gariyagin carrliaginn (c)

garangal car-rang-gel (c)

North Head, -jam was added while on the spot, and is supposed to mean 'this is'

Parramatta or Rose Hill
aramada para-matta (c)

Parramatta or Rose Hill district
wana wann (c)

place or country
ura no-rar (c)

point called the docks
barayinna pa-rein-ma (c)

rock in the channel
burabira bor-bir-ra (c)

Rock Island fourth island coming up the harbour
malawanya mal-le-wan-ye (c)

rocky island
buruwan gaba bru-ang ke-ba (c)

Rose Bay
banarung pannerong (c)

Ross Farm
guwan cow-wan (c)

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

OF

SYDNEY ARTEFACTS
Four combat shields

(a) and (b) hardwood parrying shields called dawarang, decorated with incised lines

(c) bark body shield called yilimung, decorated with dots and lines painted in ochre

(d) face and (e) underside of wooden body shield called yarragung, the underside shows the handle and decoration of daubed dots painted in red ochre


SHIELDS

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

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

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

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

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

(f) throwing stick and spear in carrying position

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

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

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

(a) 

(b) 

(c) 

(d) 

(e) 

(f) 

(g)
Three spears for fighting and hunting

(1) spear called walangalyung, barbed with shell and animal teeth (1a)

(2) spear called gamay, with two animal teeth barbs (2a)

(3) Spear called gunang, made from hardwood with four barbs carved into the spear (3a)

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

SPEARS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(e) Club called a wumarang, twenty six inches long (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plates 43 and 52).
Port Jackson Painter, fl. 1788-1792
Five half-length portraits of Aborigines.
gouache drawings; 38.5 x 55 cm
Rex Nan Kivell Collection NK144/C, National Library of Australia
(with permission from the National Library of Australia)
Fighting clubs

(a) fighting boomerang bumarit, wumarang, yara, called in the eighteenth century literature 'scimitar' or 'sword' (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plates 19 and 61)

(b) Bungaree's club (McBryde 1989, plate 41)

(c) a club (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 55)

(d) a club called wudi (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 52)
FIGHTING CLUBS
Throwing and clubbing weapons

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

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

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

(a) stone and wood club like a stone hatchet called *mugu* (Bonnemains, Forsyth and Smith 1988, plate 16036, p. 89)

(b) wooden club (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 67)

(c) wooden club (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 44)

(d) wooden club (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 67)

(e) wooden club or 'sword' (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 55; National Library Pictorial Collection NL:429 M/32)

(f) bladed club (Barratt 1981, plate 6)

(g) non-returning boomerang (Barratt 1981, plate 5)

(h) bladed club (Barratt 1981, plate 6)

(i) wooden club or 'sword' (Smith and Wheeler 1988, plate 67)
THROWING and CLUBBING WEAPONS

(a) 

(b) 

(c) 

(d) 

(e) 

(f) 

(g) 

(h) 

(i)
Containers

(a) Womens' string net bag called *djuguma*. The detail explains the knotless netting technique used to form the bag using string spun from the shredded inner bark of a shrub.

(b) Container called *gulima* formed by hollowing out the knot of a tree malformation.

(c), (d) and (e) are baskets called *bangali* made from a single piece of bark. They were used on fishing trips to contain the catch or to carry water when sealed and waterproofed with resin made from yellow gum.

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

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

(a) [Image of a woven basket with a handle]

(b) [Image of a simple bag]

(c) [Image of a bag made from a rolled piece of material]

(d) [Image of a bag with a hanging strap]

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

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

Ornaments in general were called bangada or bangali.

(a) Hair net called narrami, worn across the hair above the brow and tied at the back of the head under the hair.

(b) reed necklace called guwirang

(c) kangaroo teeth necklace or chaplet (head band)

(d) Portrait of a woman called 'Dirragoa', after a portrait by William Westall. Dirragoa is wearing on her head a chaplet of kangaroo teeth, on her neck a reed necklace (guwirang), around her waist a band and skirt called barrin and on her arms armbands called nurunyal. The upper joints of the little finger on her left hand have been removed which was customary for women in the Sydney district and was called malgun.

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

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)
Fishing hooks and lines, canoes and paddles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Fishing harpoons

(a) and (b) are two styles of four pronged harpoons called galara.

(c) Three pronged harpoon called muding. The prong of the muding is called garraba.

(d) Detail of bind join of prongs to harpoon shaft.

(e) Detail of four pronged head of galara. The prong of the galara is called damuna.

FISH HARPOONS

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

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