THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE

by

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GLOSSARY

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

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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 recordings 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 English
Ca-ber-ra Head
De-war-ra Hair
Gnul-lo Forehead
Mi Eye
Go-ray Ear
Cad-lian Neck
Ba-rong Belly
Moo-nur-ro Navel
Boong Buttocks
Yen-na-dah Moon
Co-ing Sun
Go-ra Hail
Go-gen-ne-gine Laughing Jack-ass

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

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

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

The Aboriginal people of Sydney

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

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

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

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

The novel foodstuffs and artefacts brought to Australia by the colonists also attracted some Aboriginal people to Sydney. The wordlist provides evidence for some of the things the people found interesting. In the artefact section there are words for things such as a looking-glass, jacket and book and in the food section bread and tea. Governor Phillip gave Aboriginal people bread as an encouragement to stay in the colony even when it was in very short supply. The gifts of food became a strong inducement for Aboriginal people 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 colonists (Phillip 1968:352; Collins 1975, vol. 1:137).

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

The history of research into the Sydney Language

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

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

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

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

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

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

Manuscript 'c' seems to have been the work of several authors as it is written in at least three different hands including both 'rough' and 'fair' scripts. Before the ready availability of writing machines, it was common for literate people to have a 'rough' hand for rapid notetaking and composing and a 'fair' or careful hand for final copy. One of the hands in the manuscript is exactly the same as Governor Arthur Phillip's rough hand. His rough hand can be readily examined in many surviving manuscripts, held in libraries and archives, which contain his casual notes. Philip Gidley King, another officer of the First Fleet, provided evidence which suggests that two other officers, David Collins and John Hunter, also contributed to the manuscript. King wrote that the wordlist which he included in his journal was copied from a vocabulary lent to him by Collins. The vocabulary had been 'assiduously composed' by Collins and Phillip and 'much enlarged by Captain Hunter' (King 1968:270). King also claimed to have 'rejected...all the doubtful words' in order to make the vocabulary dependable. The content of King's list is very similar to manuscript c and the style of orthography is identical. Therefore, it is very likely that the notebook Collins lent King to work from was manuscript c and that it was composed by Phillip, Collins and Hunter.

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

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

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

In 1892, John Fraser claimed that the 'sub-tribes occupying the land where Sydney now stands' and the people north from the Lake Macquarie area 'all formed parts of one great tribe, the Kàuriàggai' (also 'Kurringgai'). He believed that the territory of the Kurringgai (divided into sub-tribes) extended north to the Macleay River, southwards to the Hawkesbury, included Sydney and some of the coast south of Sydney (Fraser 1892:ix). Fraser made an assessment of language texts and concluded that the Kurringgai all spoke a language that was 'essentially the same' as the language of Lake Macquarie which he called 'Awabakal, from Awaba, the native name for Lake Macquarie' (Fraser 1892:v, ix).
More recently, a number of writers have used historical sources to attempt reconstructions of the linguistic and social boundaries they believed were observed by Aboriginal people in the Sydney district. However, their attempts have been constrained by the absence of fluent speakers for any of the languages. Reconstructions are also made difficult by the social disruption and depopulation which the Aboriginal people in the Sydney district have suffered, since 1788.

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

In 1969, Arthur Capell reassessed the evidence for languages of the south central coast of NSW and proposed a new arrangement of 'tribal' and linguistic boundaries (see map 2). He observed that it had become accepted that 'the Sydney Aborigines throughout the area belonged to one group' and from the west to the coast were believed to speak a language called Dharruk. Capell claimed that research he undertook in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, revealed that the tradition was wrong. Dharruk nowhere reached the coast except in a dialectal form on the Sydney Peninsula...The language of Sydney, as embraced between the south shore of Port Jackson and the north shore of Botany Bay, and as far inland as Rosehill (Parramatta district) represents the only area in which a Dharruk dialect reached the sea. It was not spoken normally on the north shore of Port Jackson, except to the west of Lane Cove River...The Sydney Language was limited to the peninsula on which Sydney now stands; it is classifiable as a dialect (even a sub-dialect) of Dharruk. (Capell 1970:21-22).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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 Banee-lon 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 alwasy 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 Beeal, 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 Kanguroo. (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 Goòroobeera, that is—a stick of fire.—Sometimes also, by a licence of language, they call those who carry guns by the same name. But the appellation by which they generally distinguished us was that of Bèreewolgal, meaning—men come from afar. (Tench 1979:292)

The first time Colbee saw a monkey, he called Wûr-ra (a rat); but on examining its paws, he exclaimed, with astonishment and affright, Mûl-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>apical</th>
<th>laminal</th>
<th>dorsal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alveolar</td>
<td>retroflex</td>
<td>dental</td>
<td>palatal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>b/p</td>
<td>d/t</td>
<td>dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>ly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhotic</td>
<td>rr</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td></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 \( k, t \) and \( p \). However, it is well known that in Australian languages only final consonants are unvoiced. Therefore, I have changed all initial and medial unvoiced consonants in the data to their voiced forms \( g, d \) and \( b \).

2. Where \( rr \) occurs I assume that a trill rather than a flap was intended. Contrary evidence such as an alternative spelling of \( rd \) for \( rr \) is taken into consideration. There is a minimal pair which suggests that the \( r/rr \) distinction was phonemic. Dara 'teeth' was written \( da-rah, dar-ra \) and darra 'thigh' was written \( dar-rah \) with 'both the r pronounced' (Anon 1790-91). Further evidence for phonemic \( rr \) are items such as 'short' \( darrbi \) t@arrsbi (Dawes b), \( ty@arrsbi \) (Dawes b) in which \( s \) following \( rr \) suggests a trilled rhotic.

3. In the anonymous eighteenth century manuscript \( gn \) occurs regularly and corresponds in one case with \( ng \) in Dawes' manuscripts (Dawes b), i.e. \( 9@ana \) (Dawes b), \( gnŚa-nŚa \) (Anon 1790-1) 'black'. Therefore, in the reference forms \( gn \) is replaced with \( ng \).

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

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

All the sources of information about the Sydney language use a five vowel system 'a, e, i, o, u'. It is unusual for Aboriginal languages to have phonemic \( o \) and \( e \). Eades determined that the neighbouring languages Dhurga and Dharrrawal 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 '\( a, aa, ā a, ā a, e, ā u \)' to represent variations of phonemic \( a \). However, his notes do not provide enough information to justify distinguishing the sounds, even the vowel length distinction suggested by \( aa \).

3. Dawes clearly distinguished phonemic \( u \) by representing it either by \( oo \) or \( u \). He used the symbol \( u \) elsewhere but only with an overdot which, according to his orthographic table, gave the symbol the value \( a \).

4. Some of the sources indicated that the language had long vowels, for example the verb \( na- \) 'to see' is transcribed by Dawes as \( naa \). However, in the absence of any oral evidence for the language it is difficult to know which vowels were long. Therefore, I have not used long vowels in the reference forms. Interested readers can make their own decisions about which vowels might have been lengthened from the source citations.

5. There is evidence in the data from several sources for a phonetic diphthong \( ai \). For example, Watkin Tench wrote:- 'not only their combinations, but some of their simple sounds, were difficult of pronunciation to mouths purely English: diphthongs often occur: one of the most common is that of a e, or perhaps, a i, pronounced not unlike those letteres in the French
verb haïr, to hate' (Tench 1979:292-3). Daniel Southwell also provided evidence for the diphthong ai in his comment on the pronunciation of damulay 'namesake' which he gave as 'to change names in token of friendship…D'$am&o-l$i (Sth), as if D'$a-m&oligh' (Southwell 1788:699). William Dawes wrote 'Ni (as nigh)' (Dawes a). I have represented this in the data with 'ay'.

Eighteenth Century Orthographies

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

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

1. Dawes used a symbol similar to the International Phonetic Alphabet symbol 9. However, Dawes' version is cursive g with cursive n superimposed over it. I have used 9 to represent his symbol.
2. Dawes placed a breve over the centre of ee. However, the closest representation of that form I could make was to reproduce it as &ee.
3. Dawes placed a continuous line over terminal -ng (as in 'sing' and 'king'), which is here reproduced with a macron over each letter—$n$g.

William Dawes' orthographic table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sound as in the English sic words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>åa</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>aw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ell empty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>gay</td>
<td>g hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>&amp;ee</td>
<td>&amp;ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Æ</td>
<td>&amp;ee</td>
<td>&amp;ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>í ñy íre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>el</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>em</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>eng</td>
<td>$n$g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>er</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>es</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is impossible to be sure of the exact sounds Dawes intended to represent with the orthography he devised. He clearly used the English spelling system modified with diacritics and one additional phonetic symbol which is similar to 9. Dawes' use of 9 is not surprising as n with a tail like g was used to represent a 'voiced velar nasal' as early as the mid-late seventeenth century (Pullum and Ladusaw 1986:104). Of the diacritics he used, the 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 Görłach 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 Görłach 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 Görłach 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 ãa which he wrote sounded like 'aw as in all, call', suggesting a low central rounded vowel. The second symbol marked with overdot is ãu 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. ãa, but his examples of pronunciation of the vowel 'at, am, an' suggest a low front vowel. Therefore, the initial side dot may indicate fronting.

In Dawes' table, breve is used once to modify &ee which is the sound assigned to his symbol È 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 'É, 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 È 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 _DLL; 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 _DLL, _DLL, _DLL and _DLL and may have intended it to indicate length, but without an explanation his intention is unclear.

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

Phonotactics
The sources provided some comment on phonotactics:-

1. 'Bárinmun$Èn  Because I had no barin. Note. If Barrin had not ended with an n it would have been bun$Èn instead of mun$Èn' (Dawes b). Analysis of the verbal morphology of the language provides further evidence for the transformation of _DLL to _DLL following _DLL.

2. 'Thigh…dar-rah (both the r pronounced)' (Anon 1790-91) which suggests a distinction between flapped r and trilled r.

3. 'Gong-ye-ra (the a as in father) in the House' (Anon 1790-91).

4. 'The letter y frequently follows d in the same syllable: thus the word which signifies a woman is Dyin; although the structure of our language requires us to spell it Dee-in' (Tench 1979:292-3).

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

In some cases there is evidence for lenition which is a weakening of a sound. For example, the word _DLL 'people' is usually written with an initial vowel _DLL as for example iyora (Dawes a, b). However in one case the word is written with initial _DLL—tora. The Sydney Language word _DLL may be a lenited form of _DLL. Similarly, the place now called Bennelong's Point was called _DLL in the Sydney Language, but spelt tubow:gule, jubughalee and inbughalee (Brodsky 1973:55). The evidence suggests that in some cases initial _DLL is actually _DLL, a lenited form of _DLL/ DLL.

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

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

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

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

(1)  MÈnyÈn tinga?  Why does she cry?  9abá9o.  For the breast.  (answer)  (Dawes b)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{minyin} & \quad \text{dunga} \quad \text{ngaba-ngu} \\
\text{why} & \quad \text{cry} \quad \text{breast-DAT}
\end{align*}
\]

(2)  Benelongi 'Benelong's' (Dawes b)

\[
\text{Banalung-gay}
\]

Benelong-GEN

(3)  burud$Èn  (Dawes b)

\[
\text{burud-in}
\]

flea-ABL

(4)  kandãul$in  'because of the candle' (Dawes b)

\[
\text{gandal-in}
\]

candle-ABL

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

(5)  ka-mi berang 'a wound from a spear' (Dawes c)

\[
\text{gamai-birung}
\]
spear-ASSOC

(6)  cab-ber-ra birrong 'belongs to the head' (Dawes c)

\[
\text{gabarra-birung}
\]
head-ASSOC

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

\[
\text{wadi-birung}
\]
stick-ASSOC

(8)  Gorgon mÈrãa9.  To the person belonging to the Gorgon (before spoken of)  (Dawes b)

\[
\text{Gorgon-mirung}
\]
Gorgon-ASSOC

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

We have mentioned their being divided into families. Each family has a particular place of residence, from which is derived its distinguishing name. This is formed by adding the monosyllable Gal to the name of the place: thus the southern shore of Botany Bay is called Gwea, and the people who inhabit it style themselves Gweagal. Those who live on the north shore of Port Jackson are called Cam-mer-ray-gal, that part of the harbour being distinguished from othes by the name of Ca-mer-ray.  (Collins, vol. 1, 1975:453)
Pronouns in the Sydney Language are both free and bound. However, there are only a few which are obvious. The first person singular free form is *ngaya* 'I' (9, 11) and the second person singular free form is *ngyini* 'you' (10, 11).

(9) **Ngía Ní (as nigh).** *I see or look.* (Dawes a)
   Ngía (1) n’y (2). I (1) do see (2). (Dawes a)
   *ngaya*  *nayi*
   1S see

(10) **Mr. Dawes ngy@ÈnÈ piaba? Mr. Dawes will you speak?** (Dawes b)

   *Midja* Dawa *ngyini* baya-ba
   Mister Dawes 2S speak-FUT

William Dawes included some free pronouns on his wordlist (Dawes b). They are (reference forms followed by quote from Dawes)—*winya* 'I' (*winya I*); *ngyini* 'you singular' (*ngiéenee you singular*); *minga* 'you plural' (*minga you*); *ngalari* 'we dual' (*ngalSari we two*) and *ngalu* 'we dual' (*ngalu 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 "9@ÈnÈ Gonagúlye, 9ia, Na9ady@È9un." Patye did correct me and said "BÈal Na9adyÈ9un." Patye did correct me and said "BÈal Na9adyÈ9un; Na9ady@Ènye." Hence Na9adyÈ9un is dual We, and Na9ady@Ènye is Plural We. (Dawes b)

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

(12) na9adyÈ9un (Dawes b)
   nanga-dya-ngun
   sleep-PAST-1DUAL

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

Dawes noted four possessive pronouns (Dawes b) *nanungi* (*naanóong@È*) 'his or hers'; *ngyiningi* (*ngiéeneengy*) 'yours'; *daringal* (*dàringal*) 'his'; and *dani* (*danÈ*) 'mine'.

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

-dya (-*dia, -die*) past tense
-ba (-*ba*) future tense
-ø present tense
-wa (-*ou*) I
-ngun (-*9un, -ngoon*) we
-mí (-*mÉÈ, -mî*) you (singular)
-niya (-*n&Èe*) you (plural)
-nga (-*9a*), -ban (-*ban*) he, she, it
-wawi (-*ou&È*) they
-la imperative Dawes made some direct comment on verbs:-
   DiéemÈ 2d person singular the termination of the imperfect tense of verbs. (Dawes b)
Patâl&Èebá  He will eat. Benelong a little after the above, having observed that I ate nothing and being told by me that I was going on board the Supply repeated what I said to him, to his wife and added Patâl&Èebá or He will eat, signifying that I was going on board to dinner. The syllable l&Èe may probably signify there and then the english will be, "He will eat there" otherwise it is an irregularity in the conjugation. (Dawes a)

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

Bangad$@Sarábáóu  1st singular…dSara…seems to me to be peculiarly used when it is spoken as of rowing to a certain place to bring another back with you. (Dawes b)

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Naa</th>
<th>To see or look</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngia Ní (as nigh)</td>
<td>I see or look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou</td>
<td>He</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>Ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naadjóu</td>
<td>I did see or look or have seen etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naadiémi</td>
<td>Thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naadiá9a</td>
<td>He</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naadia9un</td>
<td>We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naadiou&amp;È</td>
<td>They</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabaóu</td>
<td>I will see or look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naábám&amp;È</td>
<td>Thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabában</td>
<td>He</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabángoon</td>
<td>We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabán&amp;Èe</td>
<td>Ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naabáou&amp;È</td>
<td>They</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imperative Mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naalá</td>
<td>See thou (or see! see! look!)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 \textit{minyin} 'why' (1). People could ask 'who' did something using the interrogative pronoun \textit{ngana} 'who' (13).

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{ngana ngwiyi}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item who give
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{biyal na-buni biyal}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item PRIV see-PRIV PRIV
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yan-muni}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item go-PRIV
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
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)
Body parts and products

- **anus**
  - bangading bungading (M)

- **arm**
  - darang tar-rang (C), gading (A), gugu kogo (Pa), nurung nurung (M), mining minni9 (R)

- **armpit**
  - gidi-gidi g@Êtee g@Êtee (b) (W)

- **back**
  - buya buya (b), buyu (M), gurrabal kurrabãul (b) (J), koro-boul (Pa), gili g$i$ili (R)

- **beard**
  - yarring yar-re (c), yarre (A), yar-rin (c), yar-rin (C), yerring (A), yarring (M), y$ah-r&an (Sth)

- **blood**
  - banarang b@unnerung (b), pan-ne-ra (c) (A), pan-ner-rong (c), ba-na-rang (A), mala mula mula (M), m$ula (R)

- **boil**
  - burgaya burgia (a) (W), buga b$uk$Sa (R)

- **bone**
  - dyara diera (A), jara (M)

- **bosom**
  - marbal mor-bal (Sth), maar-bul (Sth), mor-bou (Sth)

- **breast**
  - warra war-ra (A)

- **breasts or nipples**
  - nabang 9ab@a9 (b) n$a-bung (c), na-bung (C), nabanq (A), nipan (Cl) ngubbung (M), n$abu9 (R)

- **buttocks**
  - bung bong (posterials) (b), boong (T), bong (Sth), bong-boo-ro-no-tong (backside) (c)

- **cheek**
  - birra bir-ra (A)

- **chin**
  - walu wáulo (b), wal-lo (c), wal-lo (C), wallo (A), w$a-loo (Sth)

- **ear**
  - guri gurÈ (b), gorey (c), go-ray (c), go-ray (C), gorey (P), gorai (A), goo-reë (T), go-reë (Sth), kuri (M), kurra (R)

- **elbow**
  - yuna o-nur (C), oôna (A)

- **erection**
  - wadhuk wathuk (M)
excrement guni kuni (M), gunin gonin (guni 'excrement' -in 'from') (T)
eye may mi (b) (c) (C) (P) (A), my (c), mai (c), mia (P), mi (Sth), mai (R), mibberai (M)
eyebrow yaynarri y@inorÈ (b), yin-ner-r&i (c), yin-ner-ry (C), wanari wan-aree (A), ngarran 9@aràun (b), nar-ran (Sth)
eyelash marin m@ar$Èn (b), yanada e-n&a-d&a (Sth), yê-n&a-d&a (Sth)
fat (human) bugay bog-gay (c), bog-gay (C), pog-gay (C), guray kurai (M)
fingernail garungan kar@ungan (b), k&a-rung-$an (Sth)
fingers barila barril (a) be-rille (c), ber-ril-le (C), berille (A), berril (R), beril (A), marra mâéurr@a (b)
flank bining binning (M)
flesh or lean (human) badyal pa-di-el (C), djarra djarra jarra jarra (M)
fly-blown dyulibirung (dyulibang 'maggot, -birung from) tullibilo9 (R)
foot or the feet manuwi mana@ou wÈ (b), man-noe (c), ma-no-e (C), me-noe-wa (A), menoe (A), duna dunna (M), tunna (R)
fore-finger darragali dar-ra-gal-lie (C)
forehead ngulun 9@ulu (b), gnul-lon (C), nul-la (A), nùl-lo (T), ngurran (M), gobina kobb$ina (R)
grey-headed (also old) warunggat warunggat (M)
gut garrama carra-mah (A)
hair (pubic) nguruguri nguruguri (M)
hair (reddish or thick matted) garrin karr$Èn (b)
hair (woman's) wuwa w@oe (b)
hair djiwarra dteéwara (b), devar-ra (c), de-war-r$a (c), de-war-ra (C), diwarra (A), de-wa-r$a (T), duwarra (Pa)
hair of the head gidan gittan (M)
hair of the head matted with gum gunat goonat (W), ko-nutt (Sth), ko-nut (Sth)
hand damara tamera (c), tam-mir-ra (C), tamira (A), da-ma-na (A), tomara (Pa), dhummar (M), warawi war-re-wee (c), baril (barril 'finger') buril (R)
head (hind head) guru k@uru (b)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body Part</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head (top head)</td>
<td>gamura kamur@a (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>gabara k@ubbera (b), kàuubb@ura (b), kâ@ubbera (b), cabera (c), c&amp;a-b&amp;er-r&amp;a (c), ca-ber-ra (C), caberra (A), cobera (Pa), kobbara (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>butbut boot boot (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiccough</td>
<td>naganyi nakâ€unyÈ (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoarseness</td>
<td>gurak k$urak (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itch</td>
<td>gaybal gaib$al (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>joint</td>
<td>madudji medogy (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kidney</td>
<td>bulbul bulbul (b) (J)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knee</td>
<td>bunang b$unâu9 (b), guruk go-rook (C), gor-rook (A), kuruk (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leg</td>
<td>darra dar-ra (C), tarra (A), tera (Pa), bining bin-ning (A), mandawi (manawi 'foot'; -nd- suggests inland dialect) mandao-i (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lips</td>
<td>wiling weeling (b), willin (c), wil-ling (c), wil-ling (C), willin (A), wee-lang (A), weling (Pa), willin (M), dalin d$a-lin (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little finger</td>
<td>wilingali wel-leng-al-lie (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>naga naga (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marrow</td>
<td>bimina pea-mine (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matter in a sore</td>
<td>nuwa now-wa (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle finger or ring finger</td>
<td>barugali ba-roo-gal-lie (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milk</td>
<td>murdin mur-tin (djin 'woman') (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosquito bite</td>
<td>dura dyang (dura 'mosquito') tewra dieng (c), teura-dieny (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>garaga káraga (b), kar-ga (c), garriga (c), kar-g$a (C), kalga (A), keraka (Pa), walan wh$al&amp;an (Sth), mundu mundu (M), midya midyea (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muscle</td>
<td>gurun go-roon (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nails</td>
<td>garungin car-rung-im (C), corungun (A), garungali car-rung-gle (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navel</td>
<td>munuru m$unuru (b), nan-a-ro (A), mûn-ee-ro (T), moon-&amp;or-&amp;oh (Sth)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
neck  gadlyang cad-le-ang (C), cad-le-ar (C), cad-lwar (A), col-liang (A), cål-ang (T), gungga kungga (M)
nose  nuga nogur (c), nogur (A), nuga (M), no-gro (C), nogra (R), nSo-g&a-ra (Sth), no-g&ur-ro (c), no-gur-ro (C)
paunch  gumama kumema (M)
penis  gadja ga-dia (c), ga-dia (P), ga-dyé (Sth), windji winji (M)
ribs  biba bib-be (C) (A)
rump  gurba kurpa (M)
scar on the back  wirung weroong (c), wir-roong (C)
scars on the breast gungarray cong-ar-ray (C)
shoulder djarrung dt@arrung (b), tarong (A)
skin  barrangal barrangal (b) (J), bagi baggy (A)
smallpox-like disease galgala gal-galla (c), gall gall (A), gulgul (R), midyung (also 'sore') mittayon (Cl)
snot  nagarang n@agarâ€u9 (b)
sore (also 'torn') midyung me-di-ong (c), me-diong (C), med-yanq (A), gigi g$igi (R)
stomach ache  garramanyi (garrama 'gut') karam@anye (b)
stomach or belly  barrang ber@ang (b), ba-rong (c), bar-rong (c), bar-rong (C), barrong (A), bar-an g (T), bindhi bindhi (M), bindi (R)
sweat (also 'to sweat') yuruga yu-ru-ca (c), e-roo-ka (A), en-rie-g&o (Sth), eu-ré-go (Sth)
swollen wrist marri garadyara (marri 'very', garadyi 'doctor') murray-cara-diera (A)
tears  migal me-gal (A)
teeth  dara da-rah (c), dar-ra (c), da-ra (C), dara (A), ta-ra (A), d'tar-ra (Sth) terra (R), yira yira (M)
testicle bura b$ora (b), booroow (A), garawu karau (M)
thigh  darra (darra 'leg') dar-rah (c), tår-a (K), dhurra (M)
throat  barrangal par-rangle (A)
thumb  wiyumanu wy-o-man-no (C), wiyangara w$i-an-g&a-r&a (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 k$i-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 dtanâu9 (b)
woman's milk | murubin moo-roo-bin (C)
wound from a stick | wadibarung (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 womgera (c), won-g&er-ra (c), wong-er-ra (C), wongara (A), oongra (Pa), woong-&a-raa (Sth), womgerra (R), wu9ara (R), wungar (M)
**child carried on the shoulders** | wungarra djugama (wungarra 'boy') wom-ara jug-a-me (A), wungara juguma (M)
**child eight months old** | buriguru bore-goo-roo (C)
**child or baby** | gurung go-roong (C), kurung (M), g$ur$o9 (R), g$uru9 (R)
**churl—one who refuses to give** | damunalung (damuna 'exchange') t$amunalâ€a9 (b)
**doctor or a person skilled in healing wounds, clever man, sorcerer—Aboriginal people called the surgeons of the colonists by this name** | garadyigan karádigán (b), car-ra-de-gan (c), car-ra-dy-gan (P), car-ra-dy (c), cár-ad-yee (T), karr$aj$i (R), **gurung** kurung (M)
**female** | wiring wering (A), wiring (old woman) (M)
**fisherman** | mani (also 'ghost') mah-ni (C)
**fisherwoman** | man (also 'ghost') m$ahn (C)
**ghost, apparition or spirit of the deceased, also an apparition connected with the sky which comes to people making a strange noise and catches them by the throat** | man ma-hn (C), mawn (A), mawn (T), **mani** manè (K), buyi (also 'dead') bò-ye (A)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Description</th>
<th>Bunyarli Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girl</td>
<td>waruwi wer@owee (b), we-row-ey (C), wir$owi (R), wir$awi (woman) (R), waruwi dyin (dyin 'woman') werowey din (c), guring goor-ing (A), durungaling durungaling (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infant at the breast</td>
<td>nabunggay widalyi (nabung 'breast', -gay 'have', wida 'drink') nabung-ay wui-dal-liez (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>mula mulla (c), mu-l$a (C), mulla (A) (Sth), múl-la (T), maula (Pa), mulabu mulla-bo (all men) (c), dhulay dhulli (M), dullai (M), dullai (Aboriginal man) (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>giyara k@Èara (b), chiara (c), chi-a-ra (C), nandi nanti (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-Aboriginal person</td>
<td>wadyiman whiteman (b), djaraba dje-rab-ber (also 'musket' Aboriginal people frequently called the colonists by the name they gave the musket) (b), djibagalung j&amp;ibag$ulu9 (R), barawalgal (barawal 'very far') be-re-wal-gal (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old person in bad condition</td>
<td>yarabundi harabundi (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old man</td>
<td>gayanayung guy-a-nay-yong (C), kaianyung (M)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
old woman dyinuragang dyÉnorag@a9 (b)
people or Aboriginal people yura éora (b), e@ora (b), eo-ra (c), e-$o$r$ah (c), ee$ora (b), eo-$r$s$a (C), eo-ra (A), yo-ra (A)
rascal wawura wa@ura (b)
stranger (word has reference to sight, C) mayal (may 'eye') mi-yal (C), mai-$al (R)
spirit or a D.D. body gumada goo-me-dah (c)
union between the sexes nganaba gna-ne-ba (c)
woman dyin deeyin (b), din (c), din (C) (A), dee-in (T), gin (Pa), dyin (M), din (Cl)
women dyinalyung ge-nail-lon (c), dinallion (c), din aillon (A), din-al-le-ong (C), gin-al-le-ong (C)
young man guragalung goragallong (c), go-rah-gal-long ('handsome man') (C), guyung guy-ong (c)
young women guragalunggalyung garagallong-alleong (c), go-rah-gal-long-al-le-ong (a handsome woman) (C)

Kin terms
ally, friend in battle ngalaya ng@all&ia (b)
brother babana b$ab&an&a (b), babunna (c), ba-bun-na (C), babunna (K), babuna (Pa), baa-b$s$a-na (Sth), b$sar-ba-na (Sth), bobbina (R), bobina (R), gumal coo-mal (Sth)
brother-in-law djambi jambi (R)
daughter durunanang do-roon-e-n$ang (C)
degree of relationship naragaying narag@ai9 (b), gumul g@omãul (b)
elder brother guwalgang (guwal 'senior, big'), kowalga9 (b), cou-el-gon (c), goual-gar (c), ko-wál-gang (Sth), kowal-g$ang (Sth)
elder sister guwalgalyung (guwal 'senior, big') kowalgaliã€a9 (b)
father 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-èn-a (T), be-anga (A), beanga (K), bé-anga (Sth), bé-ang-qa (Sth), be-$ana (Sth), bianya (M), b$iana (R), beeangélly (b), be-yung-ulley (Sth)
friend or comrade gamarada kamar@a (b), kamar$ata (b), gnar-ra-mat-ta (C), mama m$ama (b), midjigan mittigan (R)
friendship—a term of friendship

gumal go-mul (C)

grandfather

guman go-man (C)

husband

mulamang (mula 'man') m@ulla (b), mulla-mang (c), mullaming (M), mollimi9 (R)

intermediary in battles between individuals

gabami c$a-bah-my (C)

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

mother

wiyanga wiana (b), weeana- (b), wiana (Pa), wyang (c), wy-an-na (C), wy-ang (C), wy-ang-a (c), wy-anga (A), wy-an-ga (Sth), wy-ang-a (Sth), waianya (M), waiana (R), w$ia9 (sister) (R)

mourner at a funeral—friends of the deceased who are painted red and white

mubi moobee (W), mooby (C)

mourning widow while covered with ashes and refusing food

gulang go-lahng (C)

lover or sweetheart

mugung mâak$u9 (b), mau-gohn (C)

marital partner

mugungalÈyì (mugung 'lover') mau-gohn-ally, mâakungalÈ (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), dam$ili (R), d$â-me-li-ghen (name used by men) (C), da-me-li-ghen (name used by women) (C), da$a-m&o-li (Sth), d'$am&o-li (Sth), da-me-li (name used by women) (C), da-me-la-bil-lie (c)

namesake of a deceased male

burang bo-rahang(C)

namesake of a deceased female

buranggalyun bo-rahang-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 m$salin (C)

relation—a type of relation

nurgina nurkine (C)
sister djurumin dturã€umÈn (b), tee-rum-min (Sth), dugana tugne (Pa), mamuna mSa-mun-na (c), ma-mun-na (C)
sister-in-law djambing jambì9 (R)
son durung d$o-roong (c), do-roon (C), dooroow (A), dooroow (K)
wife dyin dyÈn (b), deeyin (b), dyinmang din-man (c), din-mang (c), dyinmang (M), jinma9 (R), danungaru tanungru (Pa)
younger brother ngaramada (ngarang 'junior') 9ar@amata (b)
younger sister ngarangalyung (ngarang 'junior') 9ar@a9alÈã€a9 (b)

Language, mythology and ceremony

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

bora ceremony yalabi dayalung yell$ab$i dai&alo9 (R)
tooth evulsion ceremony yulang yirabadjang era-bad-djang (c), yoo-lahny erah-ba-diang (C)
---operation
The operation of tooth evulsion in which boys have an upper left front incisor removed by a garadyi during a lengthy ritual. The purpose of the ritual was to make boys into men. This term was the one used for the whole ceremony. It is composed of yulang 'ground where the ceremony of tooth evulsion took place' and yirabadjang which contains the verb yira- 'throw' and refers to the entitlement of the newly made men to throw the spear and hunt kangaroo.

tooth evulsion ceremony burumurung boo-roo-moo-roong (C)
---part of the ceremony
The part of the ceremony where the initiates are led over lines of men writhing in mock agony on the ground and past two groups of men who make grotesque faces at the boys.

tooth evulsion ceremony yulang yoo-long (C), yoo-lahng (C)
---ceremonial ground
The ceremonial ground where the tooth evulsion ceremony was carried out. The place selected for the ceremony was at the head of Farm Cove, where a oval shaped space twenty seven by eighteen feet was prepared some days ahead by clearing it of grass, stumps etc.

tooth evulsion ceremony---to have the left tooth out gurungyi biyal (biyal 'no') goo-ro gni biel (c)
ceremony to prevent people becoming thieves—the parent of a child would scorch its buduway (buduway 'scorch') putuwi (b)
fingers so that it will not steal

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

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

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

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

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

laugh violently  badaya patteya ('violent laughter') (c)

woman with the two joints of the little finger of the left hand cut off  malgun mal-gun (c)

Female children had the first two joints of the little finger of the left hand removed. The operation was performed by tying a cord around the second joint allowing the upper part of the finger to die and fall off. The colonists at first thought the operation was part of a marriage ceremony. However, when they saw that the operation was performed on children they were convinced they were mistaken. They were later told that the joints of the little finger were supposed to be in the way when women wound their fishing lines over the hand

music—a tune  bayumi p@yomee (b)

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

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

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

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

**Human artefacts**

barb of a spear  yalga yélga (b), yal-ga (c)
basket — *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-r$ang (C), womarang (W), *bumarang* bumarang (M), b$umarin (R), galabaran cal-la-ba-ran (A), *yara* y-$a-r$ah (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), kandãul (b)

canoe, boat or other water vessel
— *nuwi* noe (c), nowey (c), now-ey (C), nowey (A), nowee (T), nao-i (R), noè (Sth), nou (Sth), nonee (Pa)

cap or covering for the head — *damang* d@amãung (CC) (b), damang (c)

corset—a pair of stays — *wulgan* wolgan (c)

cardboard — *wudi* (wudi ‘wood, stick’) woo-dah (C), woo-da (A), wooda (W), waude (Pa), wad-di (Sth), wad-dty (Sth), waddy (M), woddi (R)

carboard—a long show from the middle thicker at one end

carboard—a plain club — *banday* bundi (M)

carboard—a club with a knob — *gabarra* kuburra (M)

carboard
— *ngalangala* (ngalangala 'mushroom') gnal-lung-ul-la (C), nullanulla (R), *ngalangala darrilbarra* (darrilbarra 'club') gnallangullá tarreeburre (c)
Club with a round head with a sharp point in the centre and painted with red and white stripes from the centre, named after the mushroom which it looks like.

- **club** duwinul doo-win-nul (C)
- **club** ganadaling can-na-tal-ling (C)
- **club** ganigul can-ni-cull (C)
- **club** garrawang car-ru-w$ang (C)
- **club** darrilbarra tar-ril-ber-re (C)

**compass**—literally 'to see the way' (T)

- ngamuru (na-'see', muru 'path) gna-mo-roo (c), nāāa-mòro (T)

**covered or dressed—as a dressed sore** bangi bang@È (b)

**feather ornament for the head** darral ter-ral (A)

**fence**—name given to palisade fences by Aboriginal people ngumul 9$unmãul (b)

**fish hook made from shell, wood or stone** bara bur-ra (A), bur-r$a (C), bu-ra (Sth), berá (stone fishhook) (b)

**fish harpoon**

The large fish-gig which was made of wattle with a joint fastened by gum, it was from 15 to 20 feet long and armed with four barbed prongs, the barb being a piece of bone secured by gum, each prong had a different name.

- **fish harpoon**—a small fish-gig muding mut@È9un (b), mut@È9 (b), moo-ting (C), moo-tang (A), mutti9 (R), m$u-ding (Sth)
- **fish harpoon for children** guwariya gua-ree-ah (Sth), guar-ro-ah (Sth)
- **fishing line**—lines were made from bark of trees such as the kurrajong garradjun car-re-jun (c), carrigan (c), car-rah-jun (C), carra-duin (A), kurrado9 (R), cara-d'yung (Sth)

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

**gun** gan gun (b)

**gun or musket**—literally 'fire giver' or a 'stick of fire'

- djarraba ger-rub-ber (c) (A), ger-re-bar (c), dje-ra-bar (c), je-rab-ber (c), goòroobeera (T), jererburra (R)

**handkerchief** hangadya hand kerchyéra (-ra 'with') (b)

**hair ornament made by sticking kangaroo teeth in the hair with gum** manaran ma-na-ran (A)

**house or hut**—any habitation gunya gonye (b), gon-ye (c), gong-ye (c), gong-yea (c),
constructed by people
go-niee (c), go-nie (C), gon-yi (A), gunee (Pa), gunji (M), gunya (R), ngalawi (ngalawa 'sit') 9alawi (b)

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

knot—a knot in a line
ngara gna-ra (A)

armband—a line wrapped around the arm made of animal fur
nurunyal noo-roon-niel (c)

line—a line made from hair
nalarra nalgarra (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-gadh-ee (T), bangali bengalle (A), bang-ally (H)

paddle or oar
narawang na-ro-wang (A), narrawan (R), banga (banga- 'to paddle') bongha (Pa)

petticoat
madyi matti (c)

point of a spear
wudang w@uda9 (b)

possum rug
budbili budbili (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), barin (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
guwrang gweè-rang (A)

shield
dawarang taw ou rang (W), tar-war-rang (C)
Shield made from hardwood, about three feet long, narrow with three sides, in one of which is the handle hollowed by fire, the other sides are carved with curved and
waved lines. It is made use of in dancing by striking a beat on it with a club like
the wuda.

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

**shield used to repel spears**—small and made of bark: 
yilimung e-le-moong (c), ee-ly-mong (c), e-lee-mong (C), e-li-mang (A), il-ce-mon (T), elemong (Pa), il-le-mong (Sth), hilamong (M), h$ilaman (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-r$o-wong (c), boo-roo-w$ang (C), boo-roo-an (A), bruvong (Pa), marri nuwi (marri 'big' nuwi 'canoe') muree nouee (Pa), murri nao-i (R)

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

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

**snood to a hook**—'snood' a or tie: 
garal kar@al (b)

**spear with two barbs, also generic word for spear:** 
gamay ka-mai (c), ka-mi (c), kamai (A), da-my (c), camye (A), kuummai (M), k$armai (R), gar-m$it (Sth)

**spear**
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:** 
warri wari (M)

**spear with one barb**

nuru gamay (nuru 'hole', gamay 'spear') noo-ro c$amy (C), nooroo-gal ca-my (holes made in a shield by a spear) (c), no-roo-gal ca-my (C)

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

**spear, short with two barbs:**
duwal doo-ul (c), doo-ull (C), doo-ul (P), du$al (R), c$a-my (C)

**spear without a barb**
garubini ghe-rub-bine (C)
spear throwing stick  
**wumara** wómera (b), wo-ma-ra (c), wo-mer-ra (C), womera (Pa), womra (M), womar (A), womr$a (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** muri9 (b)

stone hatchet or tomahawk  
**mugu** mo-go (C), mogo (A) (M)

Hatchet made from stone found in the shallows at the upper part of the Hawkesbury River. It has a handle fixed round the head of it with gum, and a very fine edge capable of dividing the bark of trees used for making canoes or shelters and cutting the body of the tree to obtain timber for shields.

stone hatchet handle  
**wabat** we-bat (C)

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

sword  
**yarra** yer-ra (A), y-$a$r$ah (Sth)

sword's back  
**barang** ber€a9 (b), beráng (b)

sword's edge—literally the back of a sword  
**garabul** karab@ul (b)

telescope—'a glass to look through'  
**nangyila** (na- 'see') gnan-gnyelle (c)

torch made of reeds  
**budu** boo-do (C)

weapon of defence used to fend off blows  
**djawarra** d'tar-warra (Sth)

window glass  
**dalangyila** (dalang 'tongue') tallangeele (c)

window  
**winda** winda (b)

yamstick  
**guni** kunni (M)

**Food, cooking and fire**

biscuit  
**bidjigat** bisket (b), garana cah-rah-ne (c)

blubber  
**garuma** ga-ru-ma (c)
bread baradu breado (b), bread (b)
breakfast baragabat breakfast (b)
burn (also 'to copulate') ganadinga cannadinga (A)
fat of meat ngarrun 9arrsun (b)
fillets malat mal-lat, nugalogan nuk-lo-g!an (c)
firestick, giver of fire djarraba ger-rub-ber (c), ger-re-bar (c), ger-rub-ber (A)
fire guwiyang gwÊ€u9a (b), guyon (c), gwee-yong (c), gwe-yong (C),
gwee-ang (A), gwee-un (T), quean (Pa), gee-ung (Sth), kwiang
(M), g$oyo9 (R)
food ngununy ngunnuñ (M), badalya (bada- 'eat') p&a-t$a- lia (source
is not sure of this) (Sth)
heat ganalung k@analãa9 (b), card&alung (Sth), yuruga yoo-roo-ga
(C), yuroka (M), en-rie-g&o (Sth), eu-ré-go (Sth)
honey nguwaga 9$o&aga (b), gadyang kudyung (M)
juice guray (guray 'fat')gorey (A)
light, spark or candlelight gili gilly (c), gil-le (c), killi (M)
milk murubin moo-roo-bin (c)
potato badadu potato (b)
smoke gadjal cadjiel (c), c&a-jel (c), cad-jeè (C), cud-yal (A), kudjel (R)
sugar djuga tougar (a)
sulphur djalba sulphur (b)
tea dji tea (a) (b)
wine—from the loyal toast 'the King'
daging the king (P)

Water

deep water guru g$uru (b)
dew barabung béraboong (b), minyimulung min-nice-mo-long (c),
men-nie-no-long (C), gilabiny gillabiñ (M)
fog gurbuny kurpuñ (M)
frost dagara (dagara 'cold') t$ak$ar$a (R), dalara (M)
hail  guruwilang kuruwillang (M)
pouring rain  walan yilaba (walan 'rain', yilaba- 'pour') wallan ill-la-be (c)
rain (also to rain)  walan wâal@an (b), w$al-lan (C), w$al-lan (R), bana p@ana (b), pan-nah (c), pan-n$a (c), pan-n$a (C), pan-na (A), murugu muruku (M)
sea  garrigarrang gar-rig-rang (c), karegron (Pa), barrawal barrawal (R)
shoal water  dyiral tyÊrâl (b)
soak or washing water  garramilyi badu (garra- 'wash', badu 'water') car-re-mille bado (c)
water  badu b$ado (b) (c), ba-do (C), bâdo, bâdo (T), baa-do (H), bar-do (Sth), bado (M), b$ardo (R), nayung naiju9 (R)

Elements

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

sunset—literally 'the sun setting red' | **dyarra murrama guwing** (gowing 'sun') diarra-murrahmah coing (c)

sunshine | **bunul** pāčunnāul (b), bunnal (M)

thunder | **murungal** mu-rungle (c), moo-rung-ul (c), morun-gle (A), murungal (M), m$urongal (R), mara-ong-al (Sth), ma-roong-al (Sth)

valley | **yarang** e-r$ang (C)

white clay (also 'white') | **dabuwa** ta-boa (c)

wind—east | **buruwi** (buruwang 'island') boo-roo-wee (c), boo-roo-wee (C), **gunyama** (gunyamara 'stink') goniee-mah (c), gonie-mah (K), go-nie-mah (north east wind) (C)

wind—north west | **dulugal** doo-loo-gal (c) (C), du-lu-gal (c)

wind—north | **buruwan** boor-roo-way (c) (K), **buwan** bow-wan (c), bow-w$an (C), **yuruga gura** (yuruga 'sun', gura 'wind') y$ur$oka g$or$s (R)

wind—south west | **gunyama** (gunyamara 'stink') go-niey-mah (c), **yarabalang** yare-b$Sa-lahng (C)

wind—south | **badjayalang** bad-gay-allang (c), bal-gay-al-lang (C), **bayinmarri** (bayin 'to cool', marri 'very') bin-marree (c), bain-marree (c), bainmarree (K), **gunyama** gon¾emä@a (b), **dugara gura** (dagara 'cold', gura 'wind') tugra g$or$s (R)

wind—west | **bayinmarri** (bayin 'to cool', marri 'very') bain-mar-rey (c), bain-mar-ray (C), **buwan** bow-wan (c), bow-wan (K)

wind | **gura** g$ura (R)

**Mammals**

bat | **wirambi** weeraemby (C), weeream-my (c)

rock wallaby | **wulaba** wolab$Sa (R), wollabi (M), wal-li-bah (black brush kangaroo) (C), wo-la-ba (young kangaroo) (A)

brown marsupial mouse | **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),
eastern grey kangaroo *macropus giganteus*  
jung-o (C), jungs (Pa), j$ungh$o (R), mirri mirri (M), wuragal warn-re-gal (C), waregal (large dog) (A), djunguwaragal tun-go-wo-re-gal (c)
eastern grey kangaroo skin *badagarang* patyegarang (b), pa-ta-go-rong (c), pat-a-go-r$ang (C), pattagorong (P), pa-ta-ga-rang (A), pa-ta-garan (HSB), pat-a-ga-ram (T), patagorang (P)
eastern native cat *bulungga* bulungga (M), dinaguwa din-e-gow-a (W)
echidna *tachyglossus aculeatus* *barrugin* burroo-gin (W)
feather tail or pygmy glider *acrobates pygmaeus* *wubin* wob-bin (c) wob-bin (C)
female animals in general *wiring* we-ren (c), weer-ring (c), we ring (C), we-ring (A)
flying fox *ngununy* ngunuñ (M)
flying phalanger *bunu* bong-o (c), bangu (M), guruguruwa goo-roo-goo-roo (W)
fox rat—large fox rat *wiriyanu* wee-ree-a-min (C), *wiriyanu* wee-ree-am-by (C)
Gaimard's rat-kangaroo *bettongia gaimardi* *ganyimung* gan-i-mong (c), ga-ni-mong (C), kanaming (M), k$arnimi9 (R)
horse *wanyuwa* (wuna- 'throw away') wen-you-a (c), *yaraman* (yara- 'throw', man- 'take') yaraman (from yarra 'throw fast') (R)
kangaroo *gawulgung* kao-w$algso9 (R), goa-long ('old man kangaroo') (K), gula k$ul$a (R)
kangaroo *buru* buru (M)
koala *phascolarctos cinereus* *gulamany* kulamañ (M)
long nosed bandicoot *perameles rasuta* *burraga* burraga (M)
male animals in general *guwul* cow-ul (c), cow-ul (C), cowull (A)
mouse or rat *bugul* bógul (J) (b), bogul (c), bo-gul (C), wura wur-ra (A), wűr-ra (T), wu-ra (common rat) (c)
pig *darramuwa* tarram$u&c (R)
possum—generic name *wali* wali (M), wai-$ali$ (R)
possum (brown or red type)  
guragura ro-go-ra (c), goragoro go-ra-go-ro (C)

possum (grey)  
trichosurus vulpecula  
burumin boo-roo-min (C)

potaroo potorous tridactylus  
buduru poto roo (Wh)

ringtail possum  
bugari bukari (M), b$ukari (R)

seal  
dawaran dar-war-an (c), wanyawa wan-yea-waar (c)

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

swamp wallaby  
wallabia bicolor  
banggaray bag-ga-ray (c), bag-gar-ray (C), baggaray (P), ban-ga-ray (A), bag-ga-ree (W), guraya g$or$ea (R)

tail of a bird or animal  
dyun doon (c), toon (A), dun (M)

tiger cat dasyurus maculatus  
marriyagang mer-ri-e-gang (W), muraging (M), me-rea-gine (spotted rat) (C)

wallaroo  
macropus robustus robustus  
wularu wolar$u (R), wolara (M), bidhang bitthang (M)

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

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

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

Reptiles

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

bearded dragon or Jew lizard  
pogora barbata  
ngarang (ngarang 'small') nar-rang (c), ngarrang (W), bidjiwung bidjiwong (water lizard) (M), bid de wang (W)

brown snake  
pseudonaja textilis textilis  
marragawan murragauan (M)

death adder  
acanthophis antarcticus  
daning ta-ning (W)

diamond python  
morelia spilota  
malya mal-lea (W)

frog  
gunggung kung-gung (M)
goanna   wirriga wirriga (M), djindawala jindaol$a (R)

leaf-tailed gecko  bayagin pae-ginn (W)
\textit{phyllurus platurus}

lizard   bunmarra bun-mer-re (c), daragal de-ra-gal (c)

red-bellied black snake  djirrabidi jirrabitity (M), cherribit (R)
\textit{pseudechis porphyriacus}

reptiles in general   gan cahn (C), can (A)

snake   bulada b$o-l&a-da (Sth)

sleepy lizard, a large spotted lizard   mugadun m$a-g&a-dun (Sth), muggadunga (M)

small lizard   bunburra bunburra (M)

\section*{Birds}

\textbf{Australian magpie}   djarrawunang jarra-won-nang (W), te-ra-wan-a (A), \textbf{wibung} wibbung (M), \textbf{marriyang} mar-ry-ang (A), mariang (M)
\textit{gymnorhina tibicin}

\textbf{Australian owlet night-jar}   bubuk po-buck (c) (HSB)
\textit{aegotheles cristatus}

Calaby (1989:72) observed that this was probably a mistake by John Hunter who might have confused the night-jar with another nocturnal bird the boobook owl. The call of the night-jar does not resemble 'po-buck'

\textbf{Australian raven}   \textbf{wugan} wo-gan (c), wau-gan (C), wa-gan (A), worgin (Sth), wergin (Sth), wagun (M), w$argon (R)
\textit{corvus coronides}

\textbf{bill}   munu mooono (A)

\textbf{bird (generic name)}   binyang beeniang (b), bin-yang (c), bin-yang (A), binyan (K), bunjun (M)

\textbf{bird—a small bird, with a shrill note, often heard in low wet grounds and in copses}   dilbung dil-bung (c)

\textbf{bird—the name of a large bird}   gunyadu goniado (c)

\textbf{bird's nest}   ngurra ngurra (M)

\textbf{beautiful firetail} \textit{emblema bella} \textbf{wibung} wee-bong (W)

\textbf{black duck} \textit{anas superciliosa}   yurungay yurungai (M), y$ur$anyi (R)

\textbf{black shouldered kite} \textit{elanus axillaris}   \textbf{gugurruk} go-gar-ruck (friar bird) (c), geo-go-rack (W)
black swan *cygnus atratus*  
**mulgu** mul-go (C), mulgo (W)

blue-faced honeyeater *entomyzon cyanotis*  
**gugurruk** co-gurrock (HSB)

boobook owl *ninox boobook*  
**bubuk** b$$okb$$ok (b), po-book (C), pow-book (A), boobook (W)

brolga *grus rubicundus*  
**dyuralya** dur@alia (W) (b), duralia (A), duralia (moojil) (mudjil 'red') (HSB), durali (M)

bronzewing pigeon—both the common bronzewing *phaps chalcoptera* and the brush bronzewing *phaps elegans*  
**guwadagang** g$od9ang (b), goad-gan (c), goad-g$ang (C), gode-gang (HSB), kutging (M), g$otga9 (R)

carrion hawk or whistling kite *halliastur sphenurus*  
**djamuldjamul** jam-mul jammul (c), jam-mul jam-mul (C), jamel jamel (A), d'umal-d'umal (Sth), d'ymal, d'yumal (Sth), **gudhaway** kutthawai (M)

crested pigeon *ocyphaps lophotes*  
**mirral** mir$r$al (R)

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

duck—a wild duck *clyptorhynchus lathami*  
**girra-girra** girra-girra (A)

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

emu *dromaius novaehollandiae*  
**murawung** mu-ra-ong (c), ma-ra-ong (C), murrion (R), maracry (A), **birabayin** birabain (R), biriabain (R)

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

fishing gull *pelagicus pacificus*  
**djugadya** troo-gad-ya (A)

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

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

gull—large, either the Pacific gull *larus pacificus* or the silver gull *larus novaehollandiae.*

hawk  
**bunda** b$und$a (R)
king parrot *alisterus scapularis*  
*guma* (marri) go-mah (murry) (marri 'big') (HSB)

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

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

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

mopoke or tawny frogmouth *podargus strigoides*  
binit binnit (M)

musk lorikeet, rosella or greenleek parrot *glossopsitta concinna*—  
guma kuma (M), bundaluk b$undel$uk (rosella) (R)

noisy friarbird or knob-fronted bee-eater *philomen corniculatus*  
wirgan wir-gan (C) (A), wirgane (HSB)

parrakeet  
djirrang jirrang (M)

parrot or parrakeet *guriyayil* gorail (HSB), go-rail (HSB), go-ree-ail (c), go-ree-ail (C), go-ril (A)  
Name given to all the following birds (HSB):- crimson rosella *platycerus*  
lathamus discolor; swift parrot *trichoglossus* haematodus; turquoise parrot *neophema pulchella*;  
musk lorikeet *glossopsitta concinna*; eastern rosella *platycercus eximus*; little lorikeet *trichoglossos haematodus*.

pee-wee, magpie lark or mudlark *granilla cyanoleuca*  
birrarik birrerik (M)

pelican *pelecanus conspicillatus*  
garranga bumarri car-r$anga bo mur-ray (C)

pigeon (green)  
bawama bao-m$a (R)

plover *vanellus tricolor*  
burrandjarung burranjarung (M)

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

rainbow lorikeet or Blue Mountains parrot *trichoglossus haematodus*  
warin warin (M)

red bill  
buming bóming (b) (W), boming (A)

red-browed finch *neochima temporalis*  
gulungaga goo-lung-aga (W)

rufous night heron *nycticorax calendonicus*  
gulina collinah (HSB)
sacred kingfisher
todiramphus sanctus  dyaramak dere-a-mak (HSB), djirramba jirramba (M)

shag or cormorant  guwali go-wally (A)

singing bushlark  murradjulbi murrajulbi (M)

sittella
daphoenositta chrysoptera  marrigang mur-ri-gang (W)

sooty owl
tyto tenebricosa  budhawa budhawa (M)

sulphur crested cockatoo
cacatua galerita  garraway gar-ra-way (c), gare-a-way (C), ga-ra-way (A), kirrawe (M), garab$i (R)

superb fairy-wren
malurus cyaneus  muruduwin mooro-duin (HSB)

variegated fairy wren
malurus lamberti  muruduwin mooro-duin (HSB)

wedge-tailed eagle
aquila avdax  burumurring burumurring (M)

wing  wilbing wil-bing (c), wil-bing (A)

wonga pigeon
leucosarcia melanoleuca  wungawunga wonga-wonga (R)

Marine and other aquatic life

black bream mylio australis  garuma kar@ooma (b), caroom-a (c), kururma (R)

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

bream  yarramarra yerrermurra (R)

crab  yara he-ra (c)

eel anguilla reinhardtii  burra burra (M), burra (R)

fish—generic name  magura mag&ora (b), maugro (c) (Pa), ma-gra (A) (H), mogra (R), mogra (R), mau-gro (Sth), maugra (Sth), mau-grah (Sth)

fish—a fish  baragalun beragallon (c)

fish—a fish  guraydarrawina go-ray-ter-ra-wine (c)

fish—a fish  murawal moo-raw-ul (c), moo-row-ul (c)

fish—a large fish  waldagal waltegal (A)
fish—a large fish  
**banilung** bennillong (C)

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

flathead  
**badiwa** paddewah (A)

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

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

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

grey nurse shark  
*carcharias arenarius*  
**guruwin** co-ro-win (c)

ground shark  
**guwibidu** kwibito (R)

gudgeon  
**duru** duru (M)

kingfish  
**wulugul** wollo-gul (R)

leather-jacket  
**baludarri** bal-loo-der-ry (C)

mackerel  
*scomber australasicus*  
**waragal** waarag$al (b), weeragal (c)

mud oyster  
*ostrea angasi*  
**daynya** dainia (c), dany$a (R), dany$a (R)

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

mullet  
**wurridjal** worrij$al (R)

mussel  
*mytilus edulis planulatus*  
**dalgal** talkál (b), dal-gal (c), **djungung** juggung (M)

perch  
**wugara** wuggara (M)

porpoise  
*delphinis delphis*  
**baruwaluwu** bar-ru-wall-u-u (c)

Port Jackson shark  
*heterodontus portusjacksoni*  
**walumil** wallo-mill (c)

ray  
**yuluwigang** ullowygang (c)

sea mullet (large)  
*mugil cephalus*  
**waradyal** wa-ra-diel (c)

shovel nosed ray without a sting  
*aptychotrema rostrata*  
**ginara** gin-nare (c)

snapper  
*chrysophyrs auratus*  
**wulumay** wal-lu-mai (c), wo-lo-my (HSB), woolamie (light-horseman fish) (A), w$o$la-m$i (Sth), wallami (R)
sprat \quad \textbf{gumbara} \textit{kumbara} (M)

squill \quad \textbf{yuril} \textit{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 \quad \textbf{daringyan} \textit{te-ring-yan} (c)

Sydney cockle \quad \textbf{gadyan} \textit{kaadian} (b), quoidun (Pa), warabi \textit{wa-ra-bee} (A)

\textit{anadara trapezia}

This shell was used to arm spears, to make a scraping end on the the \textbf{wumara} 'spear throwing stick' and to make knives.

Sydney rock oyster \quad \textbf{badangi} \textit{bot@u9Ê} (b), beta9igo (b), petang-hy (c), patanga (A), bittongi (R)

Sydney rock oyster shell \quad \textbf{badangigu} \textit{badangi} 'Sydney rock oyster', \textit{-gu 'of'} betâu9êigo (b)

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

\textbf{gaguna} \textit{ca-gone} (c)

turtle \quad \textbf{gudugulung} \textit{kutukulung} (M)

whale \quad \textbf{gawura} \textit{caura} (Pa)

yellowtail kingfish or prince fish \textit{seriola grandis}

\textbf{barung} \textit{b$a-rong} (c)

zebra fish \quad \textbf{marumara} \textit{ma-ro-me-ra} (c)

\textbf{Insects and spiders}

ant \quad \textbf{mung} mong (A)

beetle found in the grass tree \quad \textbf{garrun} \textit{car-run} (c)

beetle \quad \textbf{gunyagunya} \textit{gunya 'hut'} gonia-gonia (c), go-nia-go-nia (C)

black ant \quad \textbf{babunang} \textit{po-boo-n$ang} (C), pa-boo-nang (A)

black bull-dog ant \quad \textbf{wugadjin} wuggajin (M)

blowfly \quad \textbf{marang} marang (M)

body louse \quad \textbf{malagadang} mā€ulag@atu9 (b)

butterfly \quad \textbf{burudyara} bur-ru die-ra (c), bur-roo-die-ra (C)

caterpillar \quad \textbf{gunalung} go-na-long (C)
centipede — ganaray can-nar-ray (C), garagun ca-ra-goon (A), djingaring jingring (M)

fly—a large fly that bites — muruna moor-rone (A)

fly miyanung mi-a-nong (C), my-ang-a (A)

grasshopper — gilbanung gil-be-nong (C)

green-head ant — gunama kunama (M)

grub — burradhun burradhun (M)

jumper ant — djuldjul juljul (M)

locust—large locust — bula bulla (M)

locust—small locust — djirribirrin jirribirrin (M)

louse or flea — muna múmnu (b), moona (A), burudu bóorooodoo (b), búrudu(b), bóodooroo (b), bur-ra-doo (A), boo-ro&o-d$ah (Sth), bundyu (M)

maggot in meat — dyulibang dtulÈbila9 (b)

mosquito — dura teura (c), teura (A), doo-ra (A), dyura (M), dubi9 (R)

nit of louse — djagara jagara (M)

red bull-dog ant — gudmut kut-mut (M)

scorpion — djuni dto@oney (b), dundi (M), duradjuni tewra tooney (c)

spider — marrayagong mar-rae-gong (c), mar-rae-gong (C)

worm found in the grass tree — danganuwa tang-noa (c)

**Plants**

banksia banksia ericifolia — wadanggari wa-tang-gre (c)

bark — bugi boghi (Pa)

bark used to make fishing lines — djuraduralang dtur$aduralâ@a9 (b)

berry — wigay wÈg€i (b), daman taman (A)

Botany Bay tea, Australian tea or false sarsaparilla — waraburra wa-ra-bur-ra (c)

hardenbergia violacea—sweet tea plant the colonists made tea from the leaves of this plant

bracken fern root (eaten by Aboriginal people) — gurgi gur-gy (A)
pteridium esculentum

broadleaf ironbark
dirrabari dirrabari (M)

eucalyptus siderophloia

brown gum or New Holland mahogany (large brown mahogany tree)
burumamaray boo-roo-ma-murray (c)

icosandria monogynia

brush or forest—thick wood about a watercourse, sylva
duga t$uga (c), t$uga (R)

cabbage tree livistona australis
daranggara ta-rang-ge-ra (c)
Palm tree found in fresh water swamps within six or seven miles of the coast which produces mountain cabbage, it was eaten by both Aboriginal people and the colonists.

lilly pilly aemena smithii
midjuburi mizooboore (P)
Captain Cook called the fruit a cherry and Joseph Banks said 'a fruit of the Jambosa kind in colour and shape much resembling cherries' (Bertie 1924:253).

native cherry or cherry ballart
guwigan kwigan (M)
exocarpos curpressiformis
gadigalbudyari (gadigal 'Gadi people', budyari 'good')
gad-de-gal-ba-die-ree (c)
corkwood
gulgagaru kulgargru (M)
duboisia myoporoides
daguba tak$uba (b), ta-gu-bah (c), tar-go-bar (c)
creek or brush cherry
cumbungi, bullrushes
typha muellari
baraba baraba (M), wulugulin wollogolin$in (R)
dead tree
guwibul kwibul (M)
dwarf apple (apple tree)
banda bunda (M)
angophora hispida
eucalyptus, gum-tree
yarra yarra (M)
flag or iris of this country
patersonia glabrata
bugulbi po-cul-bee (A)
fruit
duruwan doo-roo-wan (c)
fruit
mumarrri mumarra momarri mo-mur-re (c)
fruit of the potato plant or potato apple—probably the
bumurra (gamarral) bomulá (b), mo-mur-re (c), be-mur-ra cam-mur-ra (c), bo-murra cammeral (c)
kangaroo apple  
*solanum aviculare*

good    

**bamuru** muru ‘path’  báamoro (b),  **durawui** doo-roy (A), durawoi (R)

**grass**

**yagali** yegali (HSB)

**grass tree seed head**

**galun** callun (HSB)

**grass tree** *xanthorrhoea*—

provided resin used in the manufacture of many artefacts

**gulgadya** goolgadie (HSB)

**great dendrobium**

*dendrobium speciosum*

**wargaldarra** wer-gal-derra (S)

**hole in a tree**

**gumir** kimir (M)

**hollow tree**

**birrangu** birreko (M)

**jeebung persoonia toru**

**mambara** mambara (M)

**leaning tree**

**bulbi** bulbi (M)

**leaves of trees**

**djirang** jirang (M)

**ligneous pear**

**marridugara** merry-dugar-e (c)

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

**wiriyagan** weereagan (c)

**mushroom**

**ngalangala** gnal-lung-ul-la (C)

**narrowleaf ironbark**

*eucalyptus crebra*

**mugagaru** muggargru (M)

**paperbark**—the inner bark of a paperbark tea tree melaleuca leucadendron, used by Aboriginal people to make many artefacts

**gurrundurrung** kurrung-durrung (M), kurunderu9 (R), budjir budjor (M)

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Aboriginal Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>scrub, dry jungle</td>
<td>djaramada jerematta (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shadow of a tree</td>
<td>bulu bulu (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>splinter</td>
<td>dhuraga dhuraga (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stringybark eucalyptus obliqua</td>
<td>buran buran (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tea-tree</td>
<td>bunya bunya (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree—a type of tree</td>
<td>yerúng (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree—generic name</td>
<td>daramu te-ra-mo (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vegetable—any edible</td>
<td>ganugan can-no-can (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waratah telopea speciosissima</td>
<td>warada wãarata (b), war-ret-tah (c), wa-ra-ta (HSB), warratta (W)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Aboriginal Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wattle</td>
<td>wadanguli (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white gum tree</td>
<td>darani darane (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood itself as opposed to</td>
<td>wadi wãadÊ (b), wadÊ (b), wad-day (c), wad-de (c), wad-dy (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brush or forest—stick or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree, lignum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yam</td>
<td>midiny midiñ (M)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Aboriginal Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bumula</td>
<td>bomul@a (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burudun</td>
<td>burudun (h) (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buruwung</td>
<td>buruw@aa9 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>djibung</td>
<td>ty@Èbu9 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyiwaragang</td>
<td>tyÊwarag@a9 (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamarung</td>
<td>kamarãä9 (h)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunamiya</td>
<td>konam^ea (h) (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magara</td>
<td>magar@a (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mariyawin</td>
<td>mãurÊw@Èn (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marrinmara</td>
<td>marrínm&amp;ar&amp;a (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirriburu</td>
<td>m@ÈrÈbu (b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Physical adjectives

alive mudung moo-tong (c), muthung (M)
bald gangat g@a9at (like a burnt head) (b), ngurranbulba ngurranbulba (forehead bare) (M)
black ngana 9@ana (b), gn$a-n@a (c), gn$a-na (C), nand (A)
blind munyming muñming (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 pograban&i@e (b)
broken to pieces, for example, chinaware bugrabala pograba$ala (b)
buried buwabili bour-bil-liey (C), bourbillie (A)
burnt ganay kãan@i (b), biyarahbuni (biya- 'bite', -buni 'not') pierabãun@È (b)
caught by the elbow, for example, by a latch ngalamay 9alam@i (b)
clean (also yellow) yarragul yarrakāal
cold dagura ta-go-ra (c), tag-&er-ra (c), ta-go-ra (c), ta-go-rša (C), ta-ga-ra (A), tahgra (Pa), tuggara (M), teg-goo-ra (Sth), tug-g&urah (Sth)
cold—severely cold dagura madjanga (dagura 'cold', medjung 'a sore') ta-go-ra mediang-ha (c), ta-yo-ra me-diang-a (C)
cool—pleasantly cold murayung mur@eãu9 (b)
crooked bayala py@ella (b)
cross-eyed guragayin k$ur$again (R)
dark  
  
  **malung** m@alu9 (b)

dead  
  
  **gugun** gogun (c), **buyi** (buyi- 'die') bo-i (c)

dead  
  
  **bali** (see 'thirsty')

decayed or rotten  
  
  **gudjibi** godie-by (A), go-jy go-jay-by (C)

defaf  
  
  **gumbarubalung** kumbarobalong (M)

dirty or gritty  
  
  **bamulguwiya** (bamul 'earth', guwiya- 'give') pemul-gwia (c), pemul-gine (C)

dry—not wet  
  
  **burara** b@urara (b)

empty  
  
  **barrabarri** pãurãutben@È (b), parraberry (c), par-rat-ber-ri (C), parra-berry (A), par-rat-ben-ni (C)

enough  
  
  **didyiriguru** dÈdyÈrÈgúru (b), did-yer-re-goor (c), did-yerre-goor (c)

fat  
  
  **guray kurai** (M)

fetch  
  
  **yanar** (yan- 'walk or go') yena (b), **yanara** yenara ('go and fetch') (b), **ngayirinara** 9irÈnara (b), ngai-ri (Sth)

first or to be first  
  
  **marana** meranÈ (b), meranady@emÈ ('you drank (drank tea once) before') (b)

five  
  
  **marridyulu** marry-diolo (K), **bulabula wugul** (bulabula 'four', wugul 'one') bullabulla w$agul (R)

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

full belly  
  
  **ganu** kann@o (b), canno (A), **barrang buruk** (barrang 'stomach', buruk 'full') barong-boruch (A)

full  
  
  **buruk** bo-ruk (c), bo-ruk (c), bo-ruk (C), br&uck (Sth), buruck (M), **mudang** m$utãu9 (b), **eri** eri (c) (A), **galigali** k$alÈ k$alÈ (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-g$a-ga (C), boolga (A), **gumun** gomã€un (b)

hard or difficult to break  
  
  **garungul** karã€ã€u9ãul (b)

hollow—as a hollow tree  
  
  **birragu** birreko (M)
hot **gadalung** card&alung (Sth)

hungry **yuru** yu-roo (c), yurupata (bada- 'eat') (b), yu-roo (C), eu-r$o (Sth), yu-roo-gur-ra (C), yu-ru-gurra (A)

itchy **guwidbang**a (guwi 'hot', **bang**a- 'make') koÈtba9a (b)

junior **narang** (see 'little')

large **marri** (see 'very')

lame **mudunura** moo-ton-ore (C), **madang** metang (Pa), **gadyaba** kadi@aba (b)

lean **djarradjarra** jarra jarra (M)

left **durumi** doo-room-i (C)

little **ngarang** 9ara9 (b), nar-rang (c), gnar-rang (C), narrong (A), narang (Pa), ng&a-rang (Sth), ngurrang (M)

long or tall **gurara** kur$ara (b), coorarre (c), goo-r$ar-ра (c), coo-rar-re (C), kurare (M)

many (a large number) **yirran** irran (M)

many **marri** (see 'very')

more and more **gurragurra** g$ore g$or@e (b)

more **gurra** gore (b), go-ray (c), goray (c), curra (Sth), **wurri** wórree (c)

nearsighted **gujimay** (guji 'bad', may 'eye') k$uj$i mai (R)

old **ganunigang** genunikang (Pa), **warungat** warunngat (grey haired) (M)

once **wugulgu** wog@ulgo (b)

one **wugul** wogul (b), wo-gul (c), wo-gul (C), wo-cul (C), wogul (K), ya-ole (K), wogle (Pa), w$ag$ul (R), wagulwai (M), **madung** meddung (M)

one-eyed **murbura** moor-boo-ra (Sth)

painful **daydyay** didy€i (b)

parched **bali** ba-lie (c), ballie (c), valley (c), baletti (M)

pregnant **binya** bin-niee (C), bin-ny (A), bin-ye-ghine (c), **bindhiwurra** bindhiwurra (M)

pretty **garungarun**g ca-rung-&a-rung (Sth)

quick **baru** baro (M)
red  
mudjil m@udyÈl (b), moo-jel (c), moo-jel (C), morjal (A), morjal (K), djarri jarri (M)

same—the same  
daraguwayang t@eragu€iyãu9 (b)

second  
walanga well@a9a (b)

senior—older or bigger  
guwal kowal

short or low  
darrbi t@arrsbi (b), ty@arrsbi (b), dumuru t@um&ur&u (b), too-merre (c), too-mur-ro (c), too-mur-ro (C)

sick  
badjal ba-gel (c), ba-jel (c), ba-diel (C), mulali mul$€alÈ (c), moo-la$a-ly (Sth), mul$alÈdwã€arÈn ('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 mã€utt@i (b)

stammering  
gurugabundi k$ur$ukabundi (R)

stink or bad smell  
gunyamarra goniee murrah (c), gu-na-murra (A), guji kuja (M), k$uj$i (also 'bad') (R)

straight  
dugarang t$ugarãu9 (b)

strong  
bulbuwul bulbwul (M)

thirsty  
djuli dtulSi (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)
	hree  
buruwi boorooi (c), brew-ie (c), brew-y (C), boorooi (K), brewè (K), buriwai (M), bulawiri wugul (bulawiri 'two', wugul 'one') blaeroi-wagul (R)

tired  
yanbat yan-bad (c), yaraba yare-b$a (C), wunal wunal (M)

toothless  
darabundi tarabundi (R)

torn (also sore)  
madyung me-di-ong (c), me-diong (C), med-yanq (A)

twice  
bulagu (bula 'two', -gu 'from') bulSago (b)

two  
bula bóola (b), bula (b) (Pa), bulla (c) (K) (M), bool-la (c), boo-la (C), bul-ler (P), b$uler (R), buler (M), bulawiri blówree (b), blaeroi (R), yoo-blowre (c), yubulawiri yoo-blow-re (C), yablowxe (K)
**Non-physical adjectives**

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

good, well, right, proper, pretty, handsome, comely  
budyari b@udyerÊ (b), bood-y&er-r&e (c), bood-ger-re (C), bood-ger-re (C), bidgeree (A), bûd-yee-ree (T), b@udy&er&i (b), bougereee (P), boó-g&e-reé (Sth), b$udjeri (R), ngubadi ngubaty (M)

great  
marri mur-ray (c)

greedy  
djirra jirra (M), dulingyung tulli9yu9 (R)

married  
manji maang@Ê (taken to wife) (b), malarra mullarra (joined to a man) (c), mul-la-r$a (mala 'man') (C)

passionate  
yurura yu-ro-ra (C)
pity or sympathy  
mudjaru mudj$er$u (R)
sleepy  
nanga (nanga- 'sleep') nungga (M)
sorry  
gandu ngandu (M)
stupid  
bininggaray binni9-garai (R)
surprised or startled  
mannyi mungala (man- 'take' mungala 'thunder') man-nie mongalla (C), mannyi mali man-nie mal-lee (C)

truth (also 'yes')  
yuwing ew-ing (C)
worse  
wulumi wauloomy (b), garangan karâ€u9âun (b)

Motion verbs

arise  
buraga boraga (M)

bathe  
bugi (see 'swim')

bite  
biya- b@Èa (b), dul toll (C)

bring  
ngayari- nga@Êree (b), yalinga- yalingen (M)

climb  
galuwa cal-loo-a (A), kalua (M)

conceal  
dudba dutba (M)

cook  
gunama kunnama (M), kunnim$a (R)

cool-to cool  
bayin- b$in- (b)

cool oneself  
bayinmilyi (bayin- 'cool', -milyi- 'to oneself') b$inm@ÊlyÊ (b)

cover  
bubanga- boobânga (a)
cover oneself  bubilyi- bub@ÈlyÈdyayou ('I covered') (b)
creep  maruwi ma-ro-woy (c), m$ã-row-e (C), marroway (A)
cutting off  wugan minaring wogan-minnering (c) (A)
dance, a method of dancing  garabara car-rib-ber-re (c), c&a-r@sab-b&a-r&a (Sth), korobra (R)
dance  dangura tang o-ra (A), dungara (M)
dig  gama- k$b@ama (b)
dip—for example, to dip for water with a small vessel  gaba- kâuba (b)
dive  bugi (see 'swim'), mulbari mulbari (M), nala bugi (bugi- swim, bathe) nallab$ogi (R)
do yanga- yânga (a)
do incorrectly  wiribanga (wiri 'bad', bangga-'make or do') w$ÈrÈubâ@ãu9a (b)
drop or allow to fall  yiningma (yini- 'fall', -ma 'imperative') yÈnÈ9ma (b), murama- murãamady@emÈ ('thou didst let fall') (b), yaridyami yery diemy (c)
drown  gura goora (A)
embrace, hug  dyalgala tyelkâla (b)
empty  buradbani purãutben@È ('to empty') (b)
estort or 'to see home'  yudi- yudi (b)
fall  yini- y$ini (a), y$ÈnÈ (b), yene (Pa), yari- yery (c), yer-dioma (A), murama murãama (b), bululbali bululbali (M)
find  manwari (mani- 'take', warî 'away') m$an (b), m$anwãarÈ (literally 'take abroad') (b)
fish—to fish  magari (magura 'a fish') maugerry (A), mogra (R)
fly as a bird or spear (also run)  wumara wómara (b), womera (c), womerraa (A)
fly wilbing wil-bing (also the wing of a bird) (A), miyangâ miangah (c)
follow  walanga (see 'second')
get up  babuga barbuka (A)
go  yanma (yan- 'walk or go') yenma ('make to go') (b), yen-ma (c), ngalbunga- albonga- (c)
go outside  wuruna wuruná (b)
grasp—to take hold  mawa  maur (A)
increase  walunadarang  wauloonadarang ('more it you please') (b)
hunt  wulbanga  wolbunga (R)
jump  wumarabara (wumara- 'fly') womerra-berra (A)
kiss  bunya- boon-ya (A), bonge (M), bunyalyi (bunya- 'kiss') boon-alliey (kiss each other) (c), bunalle (kiss each other) (Pa), boon-abbiey (kiss each other) (A)
knot, tie  ngarra gn@arra (W) (b), daniya tani@e (b)
leak or run out  mididwinyi meeditwiny@Ê (b)
leap  yilga  ilga (A)
lie ngalawa- (see 'sit')
limp  gadya- kadiá (b)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Yolŋu (with meanings and notes)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>live</td>
<td>ngalawa- (see 'sit')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make or do</td>
<td>banga- bŠunga (a), banga (b), ba@ũa9a (b), ba9a (b), warra- warra (b), wàurre (b), bangawarra bungawurra (M), bini- binnie bow ('I will make') (c), binnie ba ('he will make') (c), yanga- yánga (a), yama- ya-mah (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mistake</td>
<td>dara- taria-dyaou ('I made a mistake in speaking') (b), taramadya@ou ('take by mistake') (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open a clasp knife</td>
<td>bayibanga (bayi- 'beat', banga- 'make') pÈyÈbá9a (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open a door</td>
<td>bamaradbanga (banga- 'make') b@ãumāurāutbāu₉a (b), p@aratb@unga ('open the door (literally, open make)') (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paddle or row</td>
<td>bang- bâng-a (a), ba@ng-a (b), bong-a (c), bang-a (C), bŠang-â (Sth), ba-ung-a (Sth), guwinya go-in-nia (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paint</td>
<td>dabura- (dabuwa 'white, white clay') t$a-b&amp;o-ré (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pick teeth</td>
<td>darraburraburiya dar-ra-burra-boorià (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pick up</td>
<td>manyu manioo (c), manioo (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play</td>
<td>dyanmila tienmÈle (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour</td>
<td>badubara bado-burra (A), burra-bado (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour out</td>
<td>djarba djer-ba (c), yilaba (yilaba-'urinate') il-lab-ba (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prick</td>
<td>duralang door-a-lang (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>push anything along</td>
<td>yadbi yetb@È (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put a shell on a wumara</td>
<td>gadyanma (gadyan 'shell', -ma 'do') kaadianmadi@ou ('I 'throwing stick' kaadianed it. I put the shell on the wómera.') (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put down</td>
<td>wiyan- weán (b), weána (b), weeana (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put on a garment or ornament</td>
<td>milyi- barÈnmÈlyÈdyú ('I am putting on my barrin', barrin a woman's garment, pubic covering) (b), buru miLE (b), boor emil (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remain</td>
<td>ngalawa- (see 'sit')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remain awake</td>
<td>warigulyi wāarÈgulyÈba@ou (I will remain awake) (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>return or come back</td>
<td>walama wèllama (a), madwāara (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rise</td>
<td>burbuga bur-boga (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run as an animal (also fly)</td>
<td>wumara- wómara (b), womera (c), womerraa (A), wumerra (M), w$u (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run away (also coward, fear)</td>
<td>djirrun tyérun (b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
seek

waranara wãaranára (b)

scarify the chest—to make
to make incised lines on a
person's chest for the purpose
of ritual and decoration

garanga car-ran-ga (c), congarei (c), cong-ar-ray (c),
car-ran-ga bow-iniey (c)

scrape

minay min-ney (A)

scratch

dyargali dargallee (W) (b), tyargálye (b), dir-gally (A), tyeroga (b),
jirranga (M), tyerogadyaouw@ÈnÈa ('I scratched you') (Dawes b)

sharpen—as the points of a
fishgig on a stone

yara y$ara (b), yurulbara yur$ulbara (b), manya manéaa (b)

shave (to singe the beard off)
bunyadil bun-ya-dil (A)

shelter

bawaga paouwagadyÈm@È9a (b)

show

naminma n$am@Ènma

shut a clasp knife

muluma muluma (b)

shut the door

wirribara w@ÈrrÈbar@a (b)

sit near (to sit near anyone)
yuridyuwa ury-diow (A)

sit ngalawa- ngalawáu (a) (b), ngallawãa- (b), gnal-loa (A), allowau (c), allowa (c), al-lo-wah (C),
al-lo-ey (C), allowa (Pa), al-lo-wan (C), allocy (A)

slip

mayagawarrbay (mayagawarrma- 'wink') mikoarsbí (b)

squeeze—as water out of a
sponge
dayma t@$ima (b)

stand

narri- narri (A), warrawi warre-wee (A), war-re-wee (c)

start (as when frightened)

manya m@ãunye (b)

sunk

gura goo-r$a (C)

swim

bugi- bógi (a), bógee (a), bog@Èa (b), b$o-gie (Sth), boge (Pa),
bo-ga (c), bo-gay (C) (A), wadabi wad-by (c), wadd-be (c), wadby
(A), wad-be (C), waringa waringa (M)

take hold of my hand and
help me up

burbangana poorbu9$ana (b)

take off (as a coat)
bunilbanga (-buni 'no, not', bangà- 'make') bunÈlbau9a (b)

throw

yira- SÈrÈÈ (a), ye-ry (c), yery (A), eereéra ('you throw') (b),
e-ra (C), erah (C), yara (throw fast) (R), yan$a (R), tyerrsba (b),
garaya- curna (A), cu-ru-a (c), kerraiba- (M), kurraibi (M)
tickle  gidigidi gittee gittee (b), gitte-gittim (A)
tie danyaya tanié (b)
turn upside down  walibanga (wali- 'turn', bang- 'make, do') wāalÈbāu9a (b)
turn when walking  

**walubudyun** *(walu- 'turn') walloo-bu-diown (A)*

turn  

**wali-** wāalÊ (b), **walu-** walloo (A)

undress  

**dyararabanga** *(bangaka- 'make, do') tyér&erabāuí9a (b)*

walk or go  

**yana-** yen (a) (b) (c) (Pa) (A) (Sth), yenn (C), yan (R), yenu (A), yenna (A), yanna (M), yená (a), yeni (a)

warm—to warm  

**gura** gore (b)

warm one's hand by the fire  

**buduwa** *(buduway 'scorch') putuwá (b)*

and then squeeze gently the fingers of another person  

**garramilyi** carre-mille (A), **ganga-** ka9ab$anye (she (or he) will wash you) (b)

wash or soak  

**watch**

**yanung** ya-noong (c)

### State verbs

be **barung** be-rong (c)

bored—to become tired of something  

**marama** marama (b)

die  

**buyi** bòe (A), bo-y (A), bò-ee (T), boyee (Pa), boi (M), boï (R)

fear  

**dyirrun** ty@erun (b), tar-rione (c), gerund (Pa)

have  

**miwana** m@Èw@ãana

itchy  

**guwidyi** k@oityÈ (b), koitba9ady@È9a ('it itches') (b)

live  

**mudang** moo-tang (A)

pretend  

**wangit** wangit (M)

rain—to rain  

**wulan** wãal@an (b)

ring—to ring as a bell  

**dilbanyi** tÈlbanye (b)

separate  

**madingara** mati9ara (b)

shine  

**gili** *(gili 'spark') killi (M)*

smolder (the fire is out, or going out)  

**ngimagay** 9yÊmag@i (b), **bula** boolá (b), **wuruna** wuruná (b)

stopped working (literally 'dead')—for example, the watch stopped  

**baluwi** b$salu@È (b)
Vocalizing and thought verbs

abhør
ask anything
bark
call
change names
court, make love to
cry or weep
deceive, scam
forget
howl (as a dog)
imitate or to take off
laugh (violently)
laugh
lend
lie
listen, hear, think
love
make believe, do something in jest
make a mistake in speaking
not understand

weary, tire or ache
dyrrba tyarsba (b), yārrsba (a), yare (c)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Nguni Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronounce</td>
<td>garaga (garag 'mouth') kår&amp;agãa (b), káraga (b), bayalagarriga byalla-garriga (baya- 'speak', garaga 'mouth') (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>read</td>
<td>baya- (baya- 'speak') pía (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refuse</td>
<td>damuna- taamóona (b), t$amuna (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>request</td>
<td>gulya gullea (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ring (as a bell)</td>
<td>dilbanyi- tilbanye- (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>yuri yur-re (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>baya- (see 'speak')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scold</td>
<td>wami w$jàami (b), wau-mSe (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sexual desire</td>
<td>gudhaling kuthaling (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shout</td>
<td>gumba kumba (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sigh</td>
<td>ngayana gnia-na (C) (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>baraya- beria (b), bor-ra-ya (A), be-ria (Sth), b$a-ree-o&amp;u (Sth), burria (M), beri$a (R), yaban ye-ban (c), yibbun (c), ya-ban (A), yabbun ('singers dancing or beating on two clubs') (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snarling with anger</td>
<td>gulara bayala (gulara 'anger', baya- 'speak') goo-lar-ra py-ye-la (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak an unknown language</td>
<td>mubaya m@$àpiady@ÈmÈ ('you speak an unknown language') (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speak</td>
<td>baya- piyi (b), pía (b), pi-a-ar (c), byalla (c), byalla (A), piale (Pa), p$i-&amp;a-la (Sth), paialla (M), piailla (R), p$ì-ata (Sth), pi-Sat-t&amp;a (Sth), garriga garriga (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk</td>
<td>djiyadi tsiáti (b), tÈ@atÈ (b), bayidyiyadi p@yeeti@atee (b), baya- (see 'speak')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tease—to speak falsely in jest or to make believe (b)</td>
<td>buna- bûna (b), bûnama (b), b@unamadya@ou ('I made believe' (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tell</td>
<td>guwanyi goanyi (M), baya- (see 'speak')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>think</td>
<td>wingara (ngara 'hear, think') wingar&amp;u (a), wingara (a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trust (see 'lend')</td>
<td>mari-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whistle</td>
<td>wurgawina worga-weena (c), wor-ga-wee-na (C), worgye (A), woinga (M)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Bodily function verbs**
awake

burbanga porb@ău9a (b)

blow the nose

naba n$epe (b)

blow with your breath

buwa- bo-a-mere (c), bumbi (M)

breathe

ngayana gniána (b), gna-na (c), gn$a-n$a (C), gna-na-lema ('she breathes') (c), buwama- bwo-me (C), bo-me (A)

call

djiang- chiang (c), chiang (A), chang utah (c), chang-ullah (A)

clap hands

bumarabanyali pomera-bannieelly (c), bulmiya bul-mie (A)

cool one's self

bayinmilyi p$inm@ÈlyÈ

copulate

ganadinga can-na-ding-ga (c), galu callo (c), galin callyne (c), yanga yang-a (c), ngudadha nguttatha (M)

cough

garri- gárree (b) (W), gar-ree (A), garragin (garaga 'mouth', -in 'from') karra@ÈgÈn (b), garrinarribili car-re-nar-re-bil-le (C), car-re-nar-e-bille (A)

deficate

gunin (guni 'faeces', -in 'from') guning (Pa), c$o-ning (Sth), gunagali go-nag-al-le (c)

drink or suck

wida- w@&ida (a), vuida (c), weda (c), wedau (c), wui-da (C), wee-de (A), wedha (Pa), wi-dah (Sth), wittama (literally to drink from the breast) (M)

eat

cadbada- patá (a) (b), patta (c), parran (c), pat-ta (C), pat-t$a (C), paran (A), patta (Pa), p$a-t&a (Sth)

gape (see 'yawn')

daburulburul taa boorool boorool (b)

grow

djurali dtur$alÈ (b)

itch

gudyi kôÈtyÈ (b)

look

na- (see 'see'), ngalga gnalga (c)

masterbation

ganmiludhi ganmillutthi (M)

observe (see 'see')

na-

see

na- naa (a) (b), gna (c), gn$a (C), ni (a), nea (M), na-a (Sth), nal-lar (c)

seek

baduwa pe-to-e (c) (C), pittuma (M), na- (see 'see'), waranara wâaran@ara (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-g&a-r&a (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 tyura9Sa (b), tyurag$€a (b), doo-ra-gy-a (A), djugi juki (M)

stare  
bulwurra pāulwāCURRA baou ('to stare or look at naught') (b), bolwara (A), nadawunma na-de-wun-ma (c), mudbi mutbi

swallow  
gurruguwidbi k$@orr&okoÊtbÈ (b)

swallow with difficulty  
miwuluni- mÊwulunÊdyayou (I swallowed with difficulty) (b)

sweat or to be hot  
yuruga en-ric-g&o (Sth), eu-ré-go (Sth)

urinate (to make water)  
yilaba- il-lab-be (c), elabi (Pa), elabi-la-bo (A), e-l$a-v&e (Sth)

vomit  
muli muli (M)

wink  
migawarra- mekoar$mdy@em€i9a ('you winked at me') (b), guragina goo-ra-gine (shut one eye) (c)

wipe the hands  
damara (damara 'hands') t@amara (b)

yawn  
dabanga- taabanga (a), taabânga (b), tabânga (W) (b), ta-lang-a (A), dyiringalima tieeringaléema (b)

Impact and violence verbs

beat gently  
gurinyi kur@ÊnyÈ (b)

beat hard  
marribayi (marri 'very', bayi- 'beat') muree-pie (Pa)

beat, strike, fight, kill, hit  
bayi- pîyÈ (a) (b), pie (c) (Pa), py-e (c), py-ye (C), py-yee (C), py-yay (C), py-ya (c) (C), pya (A), pi-é (Sth), paibao (R)

break  
garang- karāu9âub$ala ('they will break it, be broken') (b), kar@âu9âul ('hard, difficult to break') (b), kar@âu9âun ('worse') (b)

break or cut  
gudba- cot-ban (A) (K), cot-bain (c), cot-balie (c), kótbara (a), cut-bar-rar, cot-bannie (c), cot-bâniè (A), cot-barry (A), gidjigbani kidjiğbâne (M)
burn    gana- cannadinga (c), cannadinan (c), kunnet (R), kunut (R), kānanamadiau (I set it on fire) (b)
crack between the nails as a flea ginya gÈnÈ (b), ginya (b), gÈnÈdyaou (I cracked) (b)
cut galabidiya kālabidya (b), k$arabÈdyÈ (b)
extinguish nyimang ny@Èmãu9 (b), 9yÈmagèi ('going out') (b), 9y@ÈnadyÈm@È9a ('you stand between me and the fire') (b)
fight dyurala d$urella (R)
hurt badja bad-dje (c)
kill or quench a fire djura, djulara dtulará (to throw water on the fire) (b)
kill (see 'strike') djura
pinch (see 'strike') djura
knock out—as an eye or a tooth bulbaga- bool-bag-a- (c), bool-bag-ga (C)
scorch buduway putuwi (b)
set on fire gunama kānanama (b)
smash (break to pieces) bugra- bogra- (b)
spear darrat turret (R)
strike (as a fish with a fishgig) djura dtoóra (b), d'oo-ra (Sth), dtura (b), dtula (b), dudbara dutbara (M)
tear as paper or ring as a bell dilbanga t$Èlb@a9a (b)
wound bayawurra baiwurra (M)

**Holding and transfer verbs**

bring ngayiri gnsa-ré (Sth), gnsa-re (Sth), gna-rei (Sth), ngai-ri (Sth), nga@iree (b), 9@irÈ (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- 9wÊy@i (b), wea (c), wia (c), wya (c), nwya (C), wy-a (A), wea- (A), wia- (A), wean (Pa), nguya- (M), duga tSog$a (R)

give away for nothing
dulumi- tulumÊdyâ9a (he gave it me for nothing) (b)
give one the hand
banyadjaminga pan-nie-jeminga (A)

have
miwuna (wuna- 'throw away') mSÊwãana

hide
duwabili tuabilli (R)

hold up
gulbanga- (banga- 'make') g$ulbamut@È9una (b), g$ulba9abaou ('I will hold it up') (b)

lose
barrbagay parrbaggy (b), parrbâuggy (b), parbuggy (b), parlsbâug@i (b), barbuggi (c), bar-bug-gi (C), wari (wara 'away!') wãari (b), wâarÈ (b)

obstruct
nguluna- 9olonady$emÈi9a (you did stop my way') (b)

send away
yiliri- ÈliÈrÈ (b)

send
yuma- y@uma (b)

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

stand between
ngyina 9y@Êna (b)

steal
garama car-ra-mah (c), car-rah-mSa (C), ka-ra-ma (A), kar$amSa (R)

take
mana- maan (a), maanal (a), máana (b), m$an (b) (c) (Sth), mahn (C), ma$an (Sth), maun (Pa), man (M), mahan (R), maanm&å (b)

throw away
wana- wâana (b), wanne (A), yara- yara- (R)

Locationals and directionals

above, upwards, upstairs
burawa pur@awâa (b), boor-a-wa (c), boo-row-a (C)

at
wawa w@ou (b)

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

abroad
wari (see 'lose')

back
muray morÈi (b)

below or under
gadi ca-dy (c), cad-i (C), dadu dad-du (c)
close by  

**winima** winnim$a (R)

distant  

**ngarrawan** 9@arawan (b), ar-ro-un (c), ar-ro-wan (c), ar-row-an (A)

down  

**yinyun** Ênyun (b)

far away  

**warawara** w$ar$aw$ar$s$a (R)

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

**barawal** berw@āal (b), berewal (c),

here  

**dyi** dieé (b), die (A), diam (C), **dyidyam** die-diam (c), in-yam (c), Êny@am (b), **bidja** bija (R)

here, there, in this or in that  

**nula** no-le (c)

left hand  

**duriyumi** dooriomi (c)

near to  

**baruwa** br@ua (b)

no where  

**biyal** (biyal 'negative') b&i@al (b)

**wu wāa** (b)

other side—the other side of the hill  

**ngaranga** eranga (A)

out  

**bula** bool@a (b)

outside  

**wiyana** we@ana (b)

outdoors (see 'lose')  

**wari**

path or road  

**muru** mo-ro (A), mo-ru (c), moo-roo (Sth), muru (M), m$ur$u (R)

place  

**ngurang** gno-r$ang (C)

relative to place where  

**nunanglanung** noon-ung-la-noong (c)

right hand  

**warrangi** warrangi (c), war-r$ang-i (C)

there he, she or it is  

**dingaladi** ding-al-la-dee (c)

there  

**yiniya** eenee@a (b), inyun (b) **ngil** gnil (c), **di** de (C)

this side—on this side of the water  

**wurrungwuri** worrong-woóree (b)

this way  

**yiribana** yeeree bená (b)

to  

**dali** tali (b)

where  

**wawu** wau (C), wa (A), waré (A)
### Temporals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>goodbye presently</td>
<td>guwagu gu$augo (b), guăago (b), gua-go (Sth), karbo (R), kabu (M), yirabuwabu yeerabóabo (b), waringa war-ring-a (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day after tomorrow</td>
<td>barrabuwari parre-bu-war-rie(c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>gamarruwa kamarú (b), kamaruá (b) kamará (b), camurra (A), cam-murree (c), darrabarra tarrabãurra (b), gamarru darrabarra cam-mar-roo tar-re-ber-re (C), bré-ang (Sth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evening</td>
<td>waragal waragal (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>future event—'it is going to…'</td>
<td>ngabay 9abi (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just now, some little time back</td>
<td>dara wara wâ@ura wâ@ura (b), wor-re worrar (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or last night</td>
<td>gurugal gu-ru-gal (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long ago</td>
<td>darimi tar@ÈmÈ (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long time</td>
<td>barabiyanga parabÈ@a9a (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning—before sunrise</td>
<td>mulinawul mul-lin-a-ool (c), mul-lin-ow-ool (c), marouvow oul (morn or the sun rising out of the sea) (Pa), burbigal burpigal (M), winbin winbin (R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning</td>
<td>nguwing gnoo-wing (c), gnoo-ing (c), gnoo-wing (C), gnoowing (A), ouen (Pa), no-en (Sth), minak minni (R), minnek (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>yilabara ile-bar-ra (c), nung noong (c), nuna noone (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>guwugu gwâ€agun (b), gwâago (b), gua-go (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presently</td>
<td>gamarabu kamarab@u (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same day</td>
<td>ngayarayagal 9irigal (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soon (some little time hence)</td>
<td>guwing bayabuba (guwing 'sun') by-bo-bar (c), coing by-bo-bar (c), co-ing bi-bo-b$a (C), coing-bibo-la (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun rise</td>
<td>guwing burragula (gowing 'sun') bour-re-gu-lar (c), co-ing bur-re-goo-lah (C), coing-burra-go-lah (K)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at then</td>
<td>wala wella (b), well@a9a (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>yagu yâagu (b), ya-go (c), yagóona (b), ya-gu-nah (c), ya-goo-na (C), yagoona (A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tomorrow  barrabugu par-re-bugo (c), pa-rae-bu-gah (c), par-ri-beu-go (c), par-ry-boo-go (C), parry-buga (A), burrapur (M), burani

tomorrow morning  mulinawul mullin@a-o-u-l (b), mul-lin-ow-ool (C), mullin-ow-ule (A)

winter  war-rin (c)

yesterday  branyi br$anÈ (b), br$any€e (b), bar-ra-ne (c), bo-ra-ne (c), bo-r$a-ne (C), boorana (A), brsanigal (b), bar-ra-nè (source says this means tomorrow which is probably a mistake) (A)

Interjections

affectionate term used by girls  gamungali ca-mong-al-lay (C), gamarada (gamarada 'friend') cam-mar-rade (C)

angry exclamation  dyamuna (damunagal 'a churl') ty-ya-moo-ne (c)

begone!, an exclamation of defiance  wuruwuru (wuru 'away') wo-roo-wo-roo (C), war-re-war-re (C), woroo-woroo! (A), woroo, woroo (K), wara, wara (H), whurra (T), woò-roo-woo-roo-ou (Sth), wo-roù-où (Sth)

come here!  gawi (gama- 'call', -wi 'them') kaowÊ (b), co-e (C), cow-e (C), cwoi (C), cow-ana (C), cow-ee (A), co-see (H), kouee (Pa), coo-sé (Sth), c$o-eé (Sth), c$o-é (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  guninbada (guni 'faeces', bada- 'eat') go-nin-pat-ta (T)

don't ye!  wawunanga waunánga (b)

don't tell me  yaguna yag@una (b)

the effect of the hot burning sand upon the eye  marri ganandyanga may (marri 'very', ganandya 'copulated', -nga 'it', may 'eye') murray-cannandinga-mi (c)

get away!  yan muru yan (yana- 'go', muru 'path') yen-more-yen (c), yaluwaninmin yel-low-wan-in-min (c)

go away!  yanwuri (yana- 'go', warri 'away') yenwã€arÊ (b), wuru wooroo (b), woorar (c), wo-roo wo-roo (c), wara (source repeats the item twice and three times) warraw! warraw! warraw! (O), wara wara wayi warra, warra wai (Richard Johnson in Mackaness 1954), worra worra wea (F), dada tete (b), tetebau@u (b), ngalbangadyawa albongadiow (c)
go away!, let me alone!, psha!, 
gugugu gugugu gugugu go-g&o-g&o (said three times) (Sth)
have done!, don't you!, no no!
go now!  
diday tÊtyi (b)
go, go, go (make haste)!
dadadadadadada tetetetetetete (b)
here I am! or here I come!  
djamu d'iam&o (Sth), d'a-mou (Sth)
he doesn't like it  
mungi mong-y (c)
I am parched!  
badugubaliwida (badu 'water', bali 'dry', wida- 'drink') 'bado-go-bally-vuida (A)
I am hungry or empty  
yuruwin (yuru 'hungry', -in 'from') yuru$Èn ('I am hungry, from hunger') (b)
I don't know!  
nanma nan-mar (c), madjiyai mediey (A), manyaru man-ye-ro (A) (c), dungaribanyi dung-a-re-ban-ye (c)
I go, I am going—said when leaving  
yanu yenóo (b), yenióo (b), yen-ou (Sth), yen-mou (Sth)
I have struck  
durraduway d'urra-d'oway (Sth), d'urra-d'onay (Sth)
indeed! or it is true!  
yuwin y@uÈn (b)
let us go!  
nala yan nalla yan (R)
look out!  
guwark kw$ark (R)
make haste!  
barrawu barrao (R)
mind your work! (literally 'do not fatigue yourself')  
yarrabuni (yarra- 'tire', -buni 'no, not') yarrsbóonie (b)
no  
biyal béal (a), bÈ$al (b), bSe-al (c), beall (C), bei-yal (Sth), 
bey-âl (Sth), bi-&al (Sth), bee-$al (Sth), -buni bûni (b), bSeal (R), 
beal (M)
no ears!—said to a person who was not answering a call  
guribuni gurÈb@unÈ (guri ears, -buni 'none') (b)
oh, you hurt me!  
didyay didyay d@Èdyi d@Èdyi (b)
perhaps  
marraga murraga (M)
please (pray)  
gay g$i (b)
runtime  
wugarndi wh$u k$arndi (R)
silence! or hush!  
ngumun o-moon (this in a whisper) (c)
sit down!  
nalawala na-lau-ra (Sth), n&a-l&a-wâ (Sth), nallawalli (R)
so, thus, in this manner \textit{yiyari ey$erie} (Sth), \textit{e-a-rè} (Sth)

stop!—a term of execration used by Aboriginal people when they wish anything not to be done that displeases them \textit{wari wari weree weree} (P)

stop a little \textit{stop} \textit{a little stop} \textit{mayalya miléea} (b), \textit{mileeânga} (b), \textit{miliéewáranga} (b)

stop here! \textit{walawa} wallawa (R)

stop stop! \textit{ngadu} $\text{9at@u}$ (b)

stop! \textit{wiyanada} \textit{w$\text{Ê}$$\text{E}$$\text{an}$}@\text{ada} (b), \textit{gugugu} go go go (b), \textit{guwawugu} gu$\text{saugo}$ (also 'presently') (b)

thanks (also 'enough') \textit{didjarigura} didgerry-goor (A)

to scold \textit{wumidjanga} wah-ma-d'jang-ah (c), wau-m$\text{Se}$-d'jang-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 \textit{djiriyay} jee-ree-i (c)

yes \textit{murama} mo-rem-me (C), \textit{yi e-é} (Sth), \textit{yuwin} yuïn (R), yuin (M)

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

\vspace{1cm}

\textbf{Names of Aboriginal people and social groups}

Aboriginal girl's name \textit{burung} booroong (c)

Boorreea's tribe \textit{ganaligalyung} cannalgalleon (c)

boy from Botany Bay \textit{garangarani} carrangarrany (c)

Colebe's child \textit{banyibulung} pen-niee-bool-long (c)

female stranger's name \textit{garawiya} carreweer (c)

little boy's name \textit{badya} badya bedia bedia (c)

little girl's name \textit{gunangulyi} gonan-goolie (c)

male stranger's name \textit{buruwuna} booroowunne (c)

someone's name \textit{gurubi} co-ro-by (c)

someone's name \textit{murubara} mo-roo-berra (c)

Aboriginal woman (Patye) \textit{ganmangnal} kanm$\text{Sa9n}$@al (b), \textit{dagaran} t$\text{Sa}$gar@an, \textit{duba} badjagarang $\text{t@uba patyegar}@a9$
people who inhabited War-mul  **ganamagal** kannemegal  (c)

people who inhabited the island of the flats  **badjagal** bediagal (c)

person said by Burung to be unfriendly to the colonists  **burudal** booroodel (c), **mawuguran** maugoran (c)

person who carried the compass on an expedition  **bunyuwal** bon-yoo-el (c)

tribe Weran belongs to in the district of Wanne  **daramaragal** tarra-merragal (c)

tribe's name  **gurunguragal** goorung-ur-re-gal (c)

tribe's name  **bira biragalyung** birra birraga-leon (c)

very handsome girl's name  **baringan** bárring-an (c)

Wo-ran's tribe  **daramuragal** darra-murra-gal (c)

woman's name  **nguruwin** gnoo-roo-in (c)

woman's name  **buruwia** boorreea (c)

**Names of places**

another head  **dubarayi** tuberai (c)

bad country  **wiri nura** wee-ree norar (c)

Botany Bay  **gamay** ka-may (c)

Bradley Point  **daliyungay** tal-le-ong-i (c)

Breakfast Point  **buridyuwuwugulya** booridiou-o-gule (c)

Captain Parker etc dined at this place  **bangarang** pa9ar@a9 (b)

Cockatoo Island, sixth island coming up the harbour  **warayama** wa-rea-mah (c)

Collins' Cove  **gayumay** kayoo-may (c)

country near bare island  **wudiba wudiba** wâadba wâadba (b)

cove next to Farm Cove  **walamul** walla-mool (c)

Dinner Point  **marayama** mar-ray-mah (c)

East bank of Farm Cove  **yarayarara** y@era y@er&ara (c)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place Description</th>
<th>Pronunciation and Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East point of cove next to Farm Cove</td>
<td>darawun derawun (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England (in England)</td>
<td>angalanda engl@anda (b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Cove</td>
<td>wuganmagulya woggan-ma-gule (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth island coming up the harbour</td>
<td>mamila me-mil (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First island coming up the harbour</td>
<td>buwamiliya bo-a-millie (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden Island, third island coming up the harbour</td>
<td>bayingawuwa ba-ing-hoe (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner South Head</td>
<td>barawuri barraory (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island</td>
<td>buruwan boor-roo-wan (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island of the flats</td>
<td>guruwanali corrowanelly (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little sandy bay</td>
<td>wayagiwala weaggy-wallar (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Cove</td>
<td>gumura go-mo-ra (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manly Bay</td>
<td>gayamay kay-ye-my (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Head</td>
<td>gabagaba caba-caba (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Next cove from cove next to Farm Cove</td>
<td>gariyagin carr!iaginn (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Head, -jam was added while on the spot, and is supposed to mean 'this is'</td>
<td>garangal car-rang-gel (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parramatta or Rose Hill</td>
<td>baramada para-matta (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parramatta or Rose Hill district</td>
<td>wana wann (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place or country</td>
<td>nura no-rar (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point called the docks</td>
<td>barayinma pa-rein-ma (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock in the channel</td>
<td>burabira bor-ra-bir-ra (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rock Island fourth island coming up the harbour</td>
<td>malawanya mal-le-wan-ye (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocky Island</td>
<td>buruwang gaba bru-ang ke-ba (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Bay</td>
<td>banarung pannerong (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ross Farm</td>
<td><strong>guwan</strong> cow-wan (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second island coming up the harbour</td>
<td><strong>balangalawul</strong> be-lang-le-wool (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventh island coming up the harbour</td>
<td><strong>gurarayagun</strong> cor-ra-re-agon (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small cove within the harbour</td>
<td><strong>maliyawul</strong> melia wool (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Head</td>
<td><strong>daralaba</strong> tar-ral-be (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spectacle Island eighth island coming up the harbour</td>
<td><strong>gungul</strong> gong-ul (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney Cove</td>
<td><strong>waran</strong> war-ran (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney Cove east point</td>
<td><strong>dubuwagulya</strong> tu-bow-gule (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sydney Cove west point</td>
<td><strong>daruwiya</strong> tarowia (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west point of camp cove</td>
<td><strong>madala</strong> metallar (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where the fisherman's hut was</td>
<td><strong>darangaraguya</strong> tarrangera guy (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where the hospital stood</td>
<td><strong>dalawuladak</strong> talla-wo-la-dak (c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawkesbury River</td>
<td><strong>dyirabun</strong> dec-rab-bun (C)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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