

THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE

by

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For Pádraigh

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

GLOSSARY

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

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Aboriginal people of Sydney

Early colonial writers and artists recorded a wealth of information about the speakers of the Sydney Language which brings their world vividly to life. The wordlist below contains all the Sydney Language vocabulary collected in the course of researching this book. It is only a very limited selection from the language and reflects the interests of the people who recorded the information rather than the rich vocabulary of the speakers. However, the list contains a diversity of vocabulary which does provide a substantial glimpse at the culture and environment of the Sydney people. There are words describing the cultural and ceremonial life of the people, their social relationships, the food they ate, their body ornaments and dress, the weapons and tools they used and how they

were made, ways in which the people indicated direction, location and time, some of their informal expressions of pleasure, disgust, fear or surprise and terms for the natural world in which they moved and lived.

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

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

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

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

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

In the late 1790s, John Hunter observed that 'every gentleman's house was now become a resting or sleeping place for some of them every night ... Before I left Port Jackson, the natives were become very familiar and intimate with every person in the settlement'. He also observed that Aboriginal people increasingly relied on the colonists for easy food. 'Whenever they were pressed for hunger,

they had immediate recourse to our quarters where they generally got their bellies filled. They were now become exceedingly fond of bread, which when we came here first they could not bear to put into their mouths; and if ever they did, it was out of civility to those who offered it; but now the little children had all learnt the words, *hungry*, *bread*; and would to shew that they were hungry, draw in their belly, so as to make it appear quite empty' (Hunter 1968:139-43).

The history of research into the Sydney Language

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

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

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

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

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

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

that the Aboriginal people of the district were angry because the colonists had settled on their land and that they were afraid of the colonists' guns.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In this book I have collected together linguistic information which because of its homogeneity appears to be evidence for a language. In the absence of any name which could be clearly attributed to the speakers as their name for the language I use the conservative term the 'Sydney Language'. An attempt can be made to sketch the grammar of the language using the sample texts provided by eighteenth century sources because their data is remarkably homogenous. I was not

able to determine whether or not the eighteenth century collectors of linguistic information were mixing dialects or even languages in compiling their wordlists. However, it appears that they collected their information from people who lived on the coast near the settlement of Sydney.

Cross-cultural communication in early colonial Sydney

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The sound system of the Sydney Language was so different to any language the colonists had ever heard that it took some time for them to accept the sounds as meaningful. However, once the

colonists had acquired some facility with the language their opinions changed and they came to regard the language as having a very pleasing sound system.

We were at first inclined to stigmatize this language as harsh and barbarous in its sounds; their combinations of words, in the manner they utter them, frequently convey such an effect. But if not only their proper names of men and places, but many of their phrases, and a majority of their words, be simply and unconnectedly considered, they will be found to abound with vowels, and to produce sounds sometimes melodious, and sometimes sonorous. (Tench 1979:291-2)

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

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

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

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

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

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

How easily people, unused to speak the same language, mistake each other, every one knows.—We had lived almost three years at Port Jackson (for more than half of which period, natives had resided with us) before we knew that the word *Bée-al*, signified no, and not good, in which latter sense, we had always used it, without suspecting that we

were wrong; and even without being corrected by those with whom we talked daily. The cause of our error was this.—The epithet Wee-ree, signifying bad, we knew; and as the use of this word, and its opposite, afford the most simple form of denoting consent, or disapprobation, to uninstructed Indians, in order to find out their word for good, when Arabanoo was first brought among us, we used jokingly to say, that any thing, which he liked, was Weeree, in order to provoke him to tell us that it was good. When we said Weeree, he answered Beal, which we translated, and adopted for good; whereas he meant no more than simply

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The manner in which the Moo-bi was painted at the funeral.
ca 1790

gouache drawing 24.2 x 30 cm
Rex Nan Kivell Collection NK144/A, National Library of Australia
(with permission from the National Library of Australia)

DESCRIPTION OF THE SYDNEY LANGUAGE

The sound system

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

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

Consonants

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

Vowels

	front	mid	back
high	i		u
low		a	

Orthography

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

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

1. Sydney Language words in the manuscripts frequently have initial and medial unvoiced consonants *k*, *t* and *p*. However, it is well known that in Australian languages only final consonants are unvoiced. Therefore, I have changed all initial and medial unvoiced consonants in the data to their voiced forms *g*, *d* and *b*.
2. Where *rr* occurs I assume that a trill rather than a flap was intended. Contrary evidence such as an alternative spelling of *rd* for *rr* is taken into consideration. There is a minimal pair which suggests that the *r/rr* distinction was phonemic. **Dara** 'teeth' was written *da-rah*, *dar-ra* and **darra** 'thigh' was written *dar-rah* with 'both the r pronounced' (Anon 1790-91). Further evidence for phonemic *rr* are items such as 'short' **darrbi** *t@arrsbi* (Dawes b), *ty@arrsbi* (Dawes b) in which *s* following *rr* suggests a trilled rhotic.
3. In the anonymous eighteenth century manuscript *gn* occurs regularly and corresponds in one case with *ng* in Dawes' manuscripts (Dawes b), i.e. *9@ana* (Dawes b), *gn\$a-n\$a* (Anon 1790-1) 'black'. Therefore, in the reference forms *gn* is replaced with *ng*.
4. Dawes is not consistent in following his own orthographic table (discussed below). In some cases he provided conflicting forms for a given item. In those cases I have taken the spelling which is predictable in terms of standard English orthography. For example, he gave two spellings for the word meaning 'day' *kamarú* and *kamará* (Dawes b). The variation *u* and *a* suggests that Dawes in this case gave *u* the value 'low front vowel' rather than high back as he has claimed in his table. Therefore, I have represented the word as **gamara**.
6. Dawes' *dt* I have taken as evidence for *dj*.

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

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

verb hair, to hate' (Tench 1979:292-3). Daniel Southwell also provided evidence for the diphthong *ai* in his comment on the pronunciation of **damulay** 'namesake' which he gave as 'to change names in token of friendship...D'\$am&o-l\$ (Sth), as if D'\$a-m&oligh' (Southwell 1788:699). William Dawes wrote 'Ni (as nigh)' (Dawes a). I have represented this in the data with 'ay'.

Eighteenth Century Orthographies

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

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

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

William Dawes' orthographic table

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

u	oo	oo	cool fool
ãu	u	<u>un-</u> <u>under</u>	
z			

It is impossible to be sure of the exact sounds Dawes intended to represent with the orthography he devised. He clearly used the English spelling system modified with diacritics and one additional phonetic symbol which is similar to 9. Dawes' use of 9 is not surprising as *n* with a tail like *g* was used to represent a 'voiced velar nasal' as early as the mid-late seventeenth century (Pullum and Ladusaw 1986:104). Of the diacritics he used, the acute accent was in use in England as early as the sixteenth century while breve and over, under or side dots were in use by the mid eighteenth century. However, macron was a nineteenth century symbol (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

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

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

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

There is evidence that Dawes made a switch in his orthographic representation of high front vowel 'i'. In his table he indicates the sound is represented by \grave{E} , however, he often crossed out 'ee' and replaced it with 'i' which would suggest that he also used a normal 'i' to represent the vowel.

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

In his table Dawes used an acute accent once in explaining the pronunciation of the diphthong *ai*. He used the letter *i* to represent the diphthong *ai* which he wrote sounded like 'aí in I, ivy, ire'. The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes that accent marks indicate 'the nature and position of a spoken accent in a word' and that as early as 1596 acute was used in English 'to show that -ed is pronounced'. It is likely that the diphthong Dawes intended was the common English form *ai*. Within Dawes' manuscripts it is also difficult to distinguish the two symbols *i* and \grave{E} because Dawes wrote in a cursive script, often accented *i* and generally capitalised the initial letter of the

words in his vocabulary. Dawes used accute accents over all the vowels and the semi-vowel *y*, but only ever accented one syllable of a word. His usage suggests that he used accute to indicate stress.

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

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

Phonotactics

The sources provided some comment on phonotactics:-

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

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

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

Grammatical notes

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

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

The Sydney Language is 'agglutinative' meaning that root words in the language take 'affixes' or have things added to them which modify the words and the sentences in which they are used. In the case of the Sydney Language the affixes are always 'suffixes' that is things added at the end of a root word. Words can take several suffixes depending on what the person speaking wants to say.

For example, the suffixes can tell you who did what to whom and when. Many of the suffixes on both verbs and nominals are difficult to analyse with the limited data available.

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

- (1) *MÈnyÈn túnga? Why does she cry? 9abá9o. For the breast. (answer)* (Dawes b)
minyín dunga ngaba-ngu
 why cry breast-DAT
- (2) *Benelongi 'Benelong's'* (Dawes b)
Banalung-gay
 Benelong-GEN
- (3) *burud\$Èn* (Dawes b)
burud-in
 flea-ABL
- (4) *kandāul\$in 'because of the candle'* (Dawes b)
gandal-in
 candle-ABL

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

- (5) *ka-mi berang 'a wound from a spear'* (Dawes c)
gamai-birung
 spear-ASSOC
- (6) *cab-ber-ra birrong 'belongs to the head'* (Dawes c)
gabarra-birung
 head-ASSOC
- (7) *wad-de be-rong 'a wound from a stick'* (Dawes c)
wadi-birung
 stick-ASSOC
- (8) *Gorgon mÈrāa9. To the person belonging to the Gorgon (before spoken of)* (Dawes b)
Gorgon-mirung
 Gorgon-ASSOC

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

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

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

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

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

William Dawes included some free pronouns on his wordlist (Dawes b). They are (reference forms followed by quote from Dawes)—**winya** 'I' (*winya I*); **ngyini** 'you singular' (*ngiéenee you singular*); **minga** 'you plural' (*minga you*); **ngalari** 'we dual' (*ngal\$ari we two*) and **ngalu** 'we dual' (*9\$alu we two only*) which seem to have an inclusive and exclusive distinction although which is which is unclear; **ngyinari** 'we trial' (*ngyinari we three*) and **nyalu** 'we trial' (*9yéllu we three only*) which again seem to have an inclusive and exclusive distinction.

The following quote demonstrates Dawes' attempts to investigate pronouns.

On saying to the two girls to try if they would correct me "9@ÈnÈ Gonagúlye, 9ia, Na9ady@È9un." Patye did correct me and said "BÈal Na9adyÈ9un." Patye did correct me and said "BÈal Na9adyÈ9un; Na9ady@Ènye." Hence Na9adyÈ9un is dual We, and Na9ady@Ènye is Plural We. (Dawes b)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Naa To see or look

Present

Ngia Ní (as nigh) I see or look
 Thou
 He
 We
 Ye
 They

Past

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

Future

Naabaóu I will see or look
 Naabám&È Thou
 Naabában He
 Naabángoon We
 Naabán&Èe Ye
 Naabáou&È They

Imperative Mood

Naalá See thou (or see! see! look!)

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

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

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

- (14) *Bééal (1) Naaboony (2) béal (3). No (1) can see (2) no (3) or you cannot see (it). (Dawes a)*
biyal na-buni biyal
PRIV see-PRIV PRIV

- (15) *Yenmóon&u&È. Not go. (Dawes a)*
yan-muni
go-PRIV

WORDLIST

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

Key to abbreviations on the wordlist

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

(K) Phillip Gidley King (1968:266-276)
 (M) R.H. Mathews (1903)
 (O) Anon 'An Officer' (1789)
 (P) Arthur Phillip (1982 and 1968)
 (Pa) Daniel Paine (1983:41-42)
 (R) William Ridley using as a source John Rowley (1875:103-8).
 (S) James Edward Smith (1804-5)
 (Sth) Daniel Southwell (1788)
 (T) Watkin Tench (1979:230-31, 291-93 and elsewhere in text)
 (W) Thomas Watling in Smith and Wheeler (1988)
 (Wh) John Hunter in White (1790)

Body parts and products

anus	bangading bungading (M)
arm	darang tar-rang (C), gading (A), gugu kogo (Pa), nurung nurung (M), mining minni9 (R)
armpit	gidi-gidi g@Èttee g@Èttee (b) (W)
back	buya buya (b), buyu (M), gurrabal kurrabãul (b) (J), koro-boul (Pa), gili g\$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 burgía (a) (W), buga b\$uk\$a (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 (posteriors) (b), boong (T), bong (Sth), bong-boo-ro-no-tong (backside) (c)
cheek	birra bir-ra (A)
chin	walu wáulo (b), wal-lo (c), wal-lo (C), wallo (A), w\$a-loo (Sth)
ear	guri gurÈ (b), gorey (c), go-ray (c), go-ray (C), gorey (P), gorai (A), goo-reè (T), go-reé (Sth), kuri (M), kurra (R)
elbow	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@arãun (b), nar-ran (Sth)
eyelash	marin m@ar\$Èn (b), yanada e-n&a-d&a (Sth), yé-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 mã€urr!a (b)
flank	binig 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@ouwÈ (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), deè-war-a (T), duwarra (Pa)
hair of the head	gidan gittan (M)
hair of the head matted with gum	gunat goonat (W), ko-nutt (Sth), ko-nut (Sth)
hand	damara tamera (c), tam-mir-ra (C), tamira (A), da-ma-na (A), tomara (Pa), dhummar (M), warawi war-re-wee (c), baril (barril 'finger') buril (R)
head (hind head)	guru k@uru (b)

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

neck	gadyang cad-le-ang (C), cad-le-ar (C), cad-lwar (A), col-liang (A), càl-ang (T), gungga kungga (M)
nose	nuga nogur (c), nogur (A), nuga (M), no-gro (C), nogra (R), n\$og&a-ra (Sth), no-g&ur-ro (c), no-gur-ro (C)
paunch	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)
snout	nagarang n@agarã€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), tàr-a (K), dhurra (M)
throat	barangal par-rangle (A)
thumb	wiyumanu wy-o-man-no (C), wiyangara w\$ì-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\$-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 dtanã9 (b)
woman's milk	murubin moo-roo-bin (C)
wound from a stick	wadibarang (wadi 'stick', -birung 'from') wad-de be-rong (c)
wound made by a spear	gamaybirung (gamay 'spear', -birung 'from') ka-my-berong (c)

Human classification

Aboriginal person	balagaman black men (b)
boy	wungarra wongera (c), won-g&er-ra (c), wong-er-ra (C), wong-ara (A), oongra (Pa), woong-&a-r&a (Sth), wongerra (R), wu9ara (R), wungar (M)
child carried on the shoulders	wungarra djugama (wungarra 'boy') wong-ara jug-a-me (A), wungara juguma (M)
child eight months old	buriguru bore-goo-roo (C)
child or baby	gurung go-roong (C), kurung (M), g\$ur\$o9 (R), g\$uru9 (R)
churl—one who refuses to give	damunalung (damuna 'exchange') t\$amunalã€9 (b)
doctor or a person skilled in healing wounds, clever man, sorcerer—Aboriginal people called the surgeons of the colonists by this name	garadyigan karádigán (b), car-rah-de-gan (c), car-ra-dy-gan (P), car-rah-dy (c), cár-ad-ye (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)

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

old woman	dyinuragang dyËnorag@a9 (b)
people or Aboriginal people	yura eóra (b), e@ora (b), eo-ra (c), e-\$o-r\$ah (c), ee\$ora (b), eo-r\$a (C), eo-ra (A), yo-ra (A)
rascal	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\$a-na (Sth), b\$ar-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), gou-al-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 <i>be-an</i> and <i>be-a</i> , and when in pain it is used as the exclamation <i>be-a-ri</i>) (C), been-èn-a (T), be-anga (A), beanga (K), bé-anga (Sth), beé-an-ga (Sth), be-\$ana (Sth), bianya (M), b\$iana (R), beeangélly (b), be-yung-ulley (Sth)
friend or comrade	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 m\$ak\$u9 (b), mau-gohn (C)
marital partner	mugungalyi (mugung 'lover') maugon-ally, m\$akungalÈ (b), mau-gohn-nal-ly (a temporary wife) (C)
namesake or a person with whom the name has been exchanged as a token of friendship	damulay (damulay 'to change names') damolai (R), dam\$ili (R), d\$a-m&o-li (Sth), d'\$am&o-l\$ (Sth), da-me-li (name used by men) (C), da-me-li-ghen (name used by women) (C), taamool@y (b), da-me-la-bil-lie (c)
namesake of a deceased male	burang bo-rahng(C)
namesake of a deceased female	buranggalyun bo-rahng-al-le-on (C)
name given to boys who had recently undergone the ceremony of tooth evulsion to make them into men; the name was also given to the stone instrument used to remove the tooth	gibara (giba 'stone') ke-bar-ra (C)
relation—a type of relation	mudjin mud-gin (C)
relation—a type of relation	malin m\$alin (C)
relation—a type of relation	nurgina nurkine (C)

sister	djurumin dturã€umÈn (b), tee-rum-min (Sth), djuguru d'to&o-go&o-roo (Sth), dugana tugne (Pa), mamuna m\$a-mun-na (c), ma-mun-na (C)
sister-in-law	djambing jambi9 (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 pregnancy induced by one woman pressing on the body of a pregnant woman in a way that causes miscarriage	mibra mee-brá (C)
bora ceremony	yalabi dayalung yell\$ab\$i dai&alo9 (R)
tooth evulsion ceremony—operation	yulang yirabadjang era-bad-djang (c), yoo-lahny erah-ba-diang (C) The operation of tooth evulsion in which boys have an upper left front incisor removed by a garadyi during a lengthy ritual. The purpose of the ritual was to make boys into men. This term was the one used for the whole ceremony. It is composed of yulang 'ground where the ceremony of tooth evulsion took place' and yirabadjang which contains the verb yira- 'throw' and refers to the entitlement of the newly made men to throw the spear and hunt kangaroo.
tooth evulsion ceremony—part of the ceremony	burumurung boo-roo-moo-roong (C) The part of the ceremony where the initiates are led over lines of men writhing in mock agony on the ground and past two groups of men who make grotesque faces at the boys.
tooth evulsion ceremony—ceremonial ground	yulang yoo-long (C), yoo-lahng (C) The ceremonial ground where the tooth evulsion ceremony was carried out. The place selected for the ceremony was at the head of Farm Cove, where a oval shaped space twenty seven by eighteen feet was prepared some days ahead by clearing it of grass, stumps etc.
tooth evulsion ceremony—to have the left tooth out	gurungyi biyal (biyal 'no') goo-ro gni biel (c)
ceremony to prevent people becoming thieves—the parent of a child would scorch its	buduway (buduway 'scorch') putuwi (b)

fingers so that it will not steal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

music—a tune **bayumi** p@yomee (b)

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

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

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

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

Human artefacts

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

basket	bangala beng-al-le (C) A vessel for carrying water made of bark, drawn together at the ends and fastened with thongs. The Aboriginal people of Botany Bay thought Captain James Cook's cocked hat looked like a bangala (Samuel Bennett quoted in Bertie 1924:248).
basket—a vessel made from bark or wood for carrying things	gungun kungun (M)
basket—made from the knot of a tree	gulima goolime (W)
big ship—name given to the First Fleet ship <i>Sirius</i> by Aboriginal people	marrinuwi (marri 'big', nuwi 'canoe') murray-nowey (A)
block which was thrown along the ground as a target at which children threw a muring or stick like a toy spear	garagadyara karagady@era (b)
book	buk buk (b)
boomerang for fighting	bumarit boo-mer-rit (c), wumarang wo-mur-r\$ang (C), womarang (W), bumarang bumarang (M), bumarañ (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), noé (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)
club—a long stick from the middle thicker at one end	wudi (wudi 'wood, stick') woo-dah (C), woo-da (A), wooda (W), waude (Pa), wad-di (Sth), wad-dty (Sth), waddy (M), woddi (R)
club—a plain club	banday bundi (M)
club—a club with a knob	gabarra kuburra (M)
club	ngalangala (ngalangala 'mushroom') gnal-lung-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', mur 'path) gna-mo-roo (c), nããã-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.	galara cal-larr (C), ca-la-ra (A), go&o-lar-ra (Sth)
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), kurrajo9 (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), goðroobeera (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	nalgarra nalgarrar (c)
line	murrira moor-reere (c)
net	narrami nar-ra-mee (A), rawurawu rao-rao (R)
net-bag	djuguma juguma (M)
nose ornament of bone or wood put through the nasal septum	ngangung gna-oong (A), nang-oon (A)
ornaments in general	bangada ben-gad-da (c), ben-gàd-ee (T), bangali bengalle (A), bang-ally (H)
paddle or oar	narawang na-ro-wang (A), narrawan (R), banga (bang- 'to paddle') bongha (Pa)
petticoat	madyi matty (c)
point of a spear	wudang w@uda9 (b)
possum rug	budbili budbilli (R)
prong of the galara 'fish harpoon'	damuna dam-moo-ne (C)
prong of the muding 'spear'	garraba car-ra-ba (C)
pubic covering or apron worn by girls	barrin bárrin (b), barìn (c), ba-rin (A), bar-rin (C)
	Before they were married, girls wore round the waist a small line made of the twisted hair of the possum, from the centre of which depend a few small uneven lines from two to five inches long, made of the same materials.
reading glass	nanangyila (na- 'see', nana- 'see better') gnan-gnan-yeele (c)
reed ornaments—strung around the waist or neck	guwirang gweè-rang (A)
shield	dawarang taw ou rang (W), tar-war-rang (C)
	Shield made from hardwood, about three feet long, narrow with three sides, in one of which is the handle hollowed by fire, the other sides are carved with curved and

waved lines. It is made use of in dancing by striking a beat on it with a club like the **wuda**.

shield for war—made of solid wood and hardened by fire	yarragung ar-r\$a-gong (c), ar-r\$a-gong (C), ar-rah-gong (C) a-ra-goön (A), ar-a-goön (T)
shield used to repel spears—small and made of bark	yilimung e-le-moong (c), ee-ly-mong (c), e-lee-mong (C), e-li-mang (A), il-ee-mon (T), elemong (Pa), il-le-mong (Sth), hilamong (M), 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 <i>Supply</i> 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), kamaí (A), da-my (c), camye (A), kummai (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.	gunang goo-nang (c), goong-un (C), goang-un (A), goon-gan (A)
spear armed with pieces of shell	walangalyung (walan 'water') wal-lang-al-le-ong (C)
spear armed with stones	ganadyul can-na-diul (C)
spear for throwing, with a barb fixed on with gum	yilamay ilah-my (c)
spear made from a reed	wari wari (M)
spear with one barb	nuru gamay (nuru 'hole', gamay 'spear') noo-ro 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	bilarra 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\$á (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 mur\$í9 (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-é9 (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 9arr\$un (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 gwÈã-Ũ9a (b), guyon (c), gwee-yong (c), gwe-yong (C), gwee-ang (A), gweè-un (T), quean (Pa), gee-ung (Sth), kwiang (M), g\$oyo9 (R)
food	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 béra-boong (b), minyimulung min-niece-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 wāal@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-er-rang (c), karegron (Pa), barrawal barrawal (R)
shoal water	dyiral tyÈrál (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), bàdo, bàdo (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\$ir (R)
earth, clay or the ground	bamal p\$e-mul (c), per-mul (C), pe-mul (C), pe-mall (A), bumal (Pa), bimmal (R), bé-mul (Sth), pé-mul (Sth)
ebb tide	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)

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

stone or rock	giba ke-ba (c), ke-b\$ā (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 pã€unnãul (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-boā (c)
wind—east	buruwi (buruwang 'island') boo-roo-wee (c), boo-roo-wee (C), gunyama (gunyamara 'stink') goniee-mah (c), gonie-mah (K), gonie-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\$ā (R)
wind—south west	gunyama (gunyamara 'stink') go-niey-mah (c), yarabalang yare-b\$ā-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 gonĒemã@a (b), dugara gura (dagara 'cold', gura 'wind') tugra g\$or\$ā (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 weeramby (C), weeream-my (c)
rock wallaby <i>macropodidae petrogale</i>	wulaba wolab\$ā (R), wollabi (M), wal-li-bah (black brush kangaroo) (C), wo-la-ba (young kangaroo) (A)
brown marsupial mouse <i>antechinus stuartii</i>	mirrin mirrin (W)
cattle—horned cattle	gambaguluk kumbakuluk (R)
dog <i>canis familiaris dingo</i>	dingu tein-go (C), din-go (C), tingo (A) (F), tung-o (c),

	jung-o (C), jungo (Pa), j\$ungh\$o (R), mirri mirri (M), wuragal wor-re-gal (C), waregal (large dog) (A), djunguwaragal tun-go-wo-re-gal (c)
eastern grey kangaroo <i>macropus giganteus</i>	badagarang patyegarang (b), pa-ta-go-rong (c), pat-a-go-r\$ang (C), pattagorong (P), pa-ta-ga-rang (A), pa-ta-garang (HSB), pat-a-ga-ram (T), patagorang (P)
eastern grey kangaroo skin	bugay bog-gei (c)
eastern native cat	bulungga bulungga (M), dinaguwa din-e-gow-a (W)
echidna <i>tachyglossus aculeatus</i>	barrugin burroo-gin (W)
feather tail or pygmy glider <i>acrobates pygmaeus</i>	wubin wob-bin (c) wob-bin (C)
female animals in general	wiring we-ren (c), weer-ring (c), we ring (C), we-ring (A)
flying fox	ngununy ngunuñ (M)
flying phalanger	bungu bong-o (c), bangu (M), guruwaguruwa goo-roe-goo-roe (W)
fox rat—large fox rat	wiriyamin wee-ree-a-min (C), wiriyambi wee-ree-am-by (C)
Gaimard's rat-kangaroo <i>bettongia gaimardi</i>	ganyimung gan-i-mong (c), ga-ni-mong (C), kanaming (M), k\$arnimi9 (R)
horse	wanyuwa (wuna- 'throw away') wen-you-a (c), yaraman (yara- 'throw', man- 'take') yaraman (from <i>yarra</i> 'throw fast') (R)
kangaroo	gawulgung kao-w\$alg\$o9 (R), goa-long ('old man kangaroo') (K), gula k\$ul\$a (R)
kangaroo	buru buru (M)
koala <i>phascolarctos cinereus</i>	gulamany kulamañ (M)
long nosed bandicoot <i>perameles rasuta</i>	burraga burraga (M)
male animals in general	guwul cow-ul (c), cow-ul (C), cowull (A)
mouse or rat	bugul bógul (J) (b), bogul (c), bo-gul (C), wura wur-ra (A), wùr-ra (T), wu-ra (common rat) (c)
pig	darramuwa tarram\$u&e (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) <i>trichosurus vulpecula</i>	burumin boo-roo-min (C)
potoroo <i>potorous tridactylus</i>	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 <i>petaurus breviceps</i>	djubi dab-bie (W), chubbi (M)
swamp wallaby <i>wallabia bicolor</i>	banggaray bag-ga-ray (c), bag-gar-ray (C), baggaray (P), ban-ga-ray (A), bag-ga-ree (W), guraya g\$or\$ea (R)
tail of a bird or animal	dyun doon (c), toon (A), dun (M)
tiger cat <i>dasyurus maculatus</i>	marriyagang mer-ri-e-gang (W), muraging (M), me-rea-gine (spotted rat) (C)
wallaroo <i>macropus robustus robustus</i>	wularu wolar\$u (R), wolara (M), bidhang bitthang (M)
white footed tree rat <i>conilurus albipes</i>	djanarruk genar-ruk (W)
wombat This might be an inland word as it was recorded by Mathew Flinders as having been transmitted to the colonists by the inland people.	wumbat womat (F), wombat (F), womback (F), wombat (R)
yellow-bellied glider <i>petaurus australis</i>	yabunaru hepoona roo (Wh)

Reptiles

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

goanna	wirriga wirriga (M), djindawala jindaol\$a (R)
leaf-tailed gecko <i>phyllurus platurus</i>	bayagin pae-ginn (W)
lizard	bunmarra bun-mer-re (c), daragal de-ra-gal (c)
red-bellied black snake <i>pseudechis porphyriacus</i>	djirrabidi jirrability (M), cherribit (R)
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)

Birds

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

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

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

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

Marine and other aquatic life

black bream <i>mylio australis</i>	garuma kar@ooma (b), caroom-a (c), kururma (R)
blue pointer or mako shark <i>isuroopsis mako</i>	gawun caun (Pa), kon (blue shark) (R)
bream	yarramarra yerrermurra (R)
crab	yara he-ra (c)
eel <i>anguilla reinhardtii</i>	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 booroo-naga-naga (c)
flathead	badiwa paddewah (A)
flathead—small flathead	marrinagul murray nangul (c), murray naugul (c), mul-lin-a-gul (c)
flathead—large flathead	guwarri cow-er-re (c), kaoari (R)
flying gurnard <i>dactylopera orientalis</i>	mubarri mau-ber-ry (C)
grey nurse shark <i>carcharias arenarius</i>	guruwin co-ro-win (c)
ground shark	guwibidu kwibito (R)
gudgeon	duru duru (M)
kingfish	wulugul wollogul (R)
leather-jacket	baludarri bal-loo-der-ry (C)
mackerel <i>scomber australasicus</i>	waragal waarag\$al (b), weeragal (c)
mud oyster <i>ostrea angasi</i>	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 <i>mytilus edulis planulatus</i>	dalgal talkál (b), dal-gal (c), djugung juggung (M)
perch	wugara wuggara (M)
porpoise <i>delphinis delphis</i>	baruwaluwu bar-ru-wall-u-u (c)
Port Jackson shark <i>heterodontus portusjacksoni</i>	walumil wallo-mill (c)
ray	yuluwigang ullowygang (c)
sea mullet (large) <i>mugil cephalus</i>	waradyal wa-ra-diel (c)
shovel nosed ray without a sting <i>apterichthys rostrata</i>	ginara gin-nare (c)
snapper <i>chrysophrys auratus</i>	wulumay wal-lu-mai (c), wo-lo-my (HSB), woolamie (light-horseman fish) (A), w&o\$a-la-m\$ì (Sth), wallami (R)

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

Insects and spiders

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

centipede	ganaray can-nar-ray (C), garagun ca-ra-goon (A), djingaring jingring (M)
fly—a large fly that bites	muruna moor-rone (A)
fly	miyanung mi-a-nong (C), my-ang-a (A)
grasshopper	gilbanung gil-be-nong (C)
green-head ant	gunama kunama (M)
grub	burradhun burradhun (M)
jumper ant	djuldjul juljul (M)
locust—large locust	bula bulla (M)
locust—small locust	djirrabirrin jirrabirrin (M)
louse or flea	muna múnnu (b), moona (A), burudu bóoroodoo (b), búrudu(b), bóodooroo (b), bur-ra-doo (A), boo-ro&o-d\$ah (Sth), bundyu (M)
maggot in meat	dyulibang dtulÉbila9 (b)
mosquito	dura tewra (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 <i>banksia ericifolia</i>	wadanggari wa-tang-gre (c)
bark	bugi boghie (Pa)
bark used to make fishing lines	djuraduralang dtur\$aduralã@a9 (b)
berry	wigay wÈg€ (b), daman taman (A)
Botany Bay tea, Australian tea or false sarsaparilla <i>hardenbergia violacea</i> —sweet tea plant the colonists made tea from the leaves of this plant	waraburra wa-ra-bur-ra (c)
bracken fern root (eaten by Aboriginal people)	gurgi gur-gy (A)

pteridium esculentum

broadleaf ironbark **dirrabari** dirrabari (M)
eucalyptus siderophloia

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

brush or forest—thick wood about a watercourse, sylvia **duga** t\$ug\$a (c), t\$uga (R)

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

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

native cherry or cherry ballart **guwigan** kwigan (M)
exocarpos curpressiformis

Christmas bell **gadigalbudyari** (**gadigal** 'Gadi people', **budyari** 'good')
blandfordia nobilis gad-de-gal-ba-die-ree (c)

corkwood **gulgagaru** kulgargru (M)
duboisia myoporoides

creek or brush cherry **daguba** tak\$uba (b), ta-gu-bah (c), tar-go-bar (c)
syzygium paniculatum—tart

cherry tree, acajou-like cherry; *acajou* 'mahogany'
French word

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

dead tree **guwibul** kwibul (M)

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

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

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

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

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

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

kangaroo apple <i>solanum aviculare</i>	
grass	bamuru (mur 'path') báamoro (b), durawuyi doo-roy (A), durawoi (R)
grass tree seed head	yagali yegali (HSB)
grass tree stem—used to make spears	galun callun (HSB)
grass tree <i>xanthorrhoea</i> —provided resin used in the manufacture of many artefacts	gulgadya goolgadie (HSB)
great dendrobium <i>dendrobium speciosum</i>	wargaldarra wer-gal-derra (S)
hole in a tree	gumir kumir (M)
hollow tree	birragu birreko (M)
jeebung <i>persoonia toru</i>	mambara mambara (M)
leaning tree	bulbi bulbi (M)
leaves of trees	djirang jirang (M)
ligneous pear	marridugara merry-dugar-e (c)
low tree bearing a fruit like the banksia—this may be a melaleuca such as <i>melaleuca thymifolia</i> or a prostrate banksia of the sand-hill type	wiriyagan weereagan (c)
mushroom	ngalangala gnal-lung-ul-la (C)
narrowleaf ironbark <i>eucalyptus crebra</i>	mugagaru muggargru (M)
paperbark—the inner bark of a paperbark tea tree <i>melaleuca leucadendron</i> , used by Aboriginal people to make many artefacts	gurrundurrung kurrung-durrung (M), kurunderu ⁹ (R), budjur budjor (M)
pine, fir tree <i>casuarina glauca</i>	guman goo-mun (c), goomun (A)
Port Jackson fig <i>ficus rubiginosa</i>	damun tam-mun (c)
rock lily <i>dendrobium speciosum</i>	buruwan ba-ro-wan (c), booroowan (c), ganu can-no (HSB)

The colonists described the rock lily as a plant that looks like the aloe, bears a flower like the lilly and an unwholesome green fruit not unlike a small codling apple.

scrub, dry jungle	djaramada jerematta (R)
shadow of a tree	bulu bulu (M)
splinter	dhuraga dhuraga (M)
stringybark <i>eucalyptus obliqua</i>	buran buran (M)
tea-tree	bunya bunya (M)
tree—a type of tree	yarung yerúng (b)
tree—generic name	daramu te-ra-mo (c)
vegetable—any edible vegetable	ganugan can-no-can (A)
waratah <i>telopea speciosissima</i>	warada wāarata (b), war-ret-tah (c), wa-ra-ta (HSB), warratta (W) Called by the colonists the 'sceptre flower'. The nectar of the flower was relished by Aboriginal people.
wattle	wadanguli (M)
white gum tree	darani darane (c)
wood itself as opposed to brush or forest—stick or tree, lignum	wadi wāadÈ (b), wadÈ (b), wad-day (c), wad-de (c), wad-dy (A)
yam	midiny midiñ (M)

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

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

bumula bomul@a (b)
burudun burudun (h) (b)
buruwung buruw@ãa9 (b)
djibung ty@Èbu9 (b)
dyiwaragang tyÈwarag@a9 (b)
gamarung kamarãa9 (h) (b)
gunamiya konam^ea (h) (b)
magara magar@a (b)
mariyawin māurÈaw@Èn (b)
marrinmara marrínm&ar&a (b)
mirriburu m@ÈrrÈburu (b)

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

Physical adjectives

alive	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 pograb\$a\$a (b)
buried	buwabili bour-bil-liey (C), bourbillie (A)
burnt	ganay kãan@i (b), biyarabuni (biya- 'bite', -buni 'not') pierabãun@È (b)
caught by the elbow, for example, by a latch	ngalamay 9alam@i (b)
clean (also yellow)	yarragul yarrakãal
cold	dagura ta-go-ra (c), tag-&er-ra (c), ta-go-ra (c), ta-go-r\$a (C), ta-ga-ra (A), tahgra (Pa), tuggara (M), teg-goo-ra (Sth), tug-g&urah (Sth)
cold—severely cold	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)
deaf	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	yana- (yan- 'walk or go') yena (b), yanara yenara ('go and fetch') (b), ngayirinara 9irÈnara (b), ngai-ri (Sth)
first or to be first	marana meran@ (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') blaoeri-blaeri (R), bulabula (bula 'two') b\$ulla b\$ulla (R), wugul warri wugulwurri (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), bu-rouk (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	maridyulu murray-loo-lo (c), mur-ray-loo-lo (c), mur-ray-too-lo (C)
great	marri (see 'very')
green	bulga bool-ga-ga (c), boo-g\$a-ga (C), boolga (A), gumun gomã@un (b)
hard or difficult to break	garungul karã@ã9ãul (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	guwidbanga (guwi 'hot', banga- '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 9ará9 (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-r&a (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\$ï mai (R)
old	ganunigang genunikang (Pa), warungat warungat (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€ (b)
parched	bali ba-lie (c), ballie (c), valley (c), baletti (M)
pregnant	binya bin-niee (C), bin-ny (A), bin-yee-ghine (c), bindhiwurra bindhiwurra (M)
pretty	garungarung ca-rung-&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	daragwayang t@eragu-Ëyãu9 (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 murray (c), gu-na-murra (A), guji kuja (M), k\$uj\$ì (also 'bad') (R)
straight	dugarang t\$ugarãu9 (b)
strong	bulbuwul bulbwul (M)
thirsty	djuli dtul\$ì (something relative to thirst, maybe 'to quench' a similar word is given as to 'quench a fire with water', see 'kill a fire' dura) (b), durral (M)
three	buruwi boorooi (c), brew-ie (c), brew-y (C), boorooi (K), brewè (K), buriwai (M), bulawiri wugul (bulawiri 'two', wugul 'one') blaeri-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') bul\$ago (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), blaeri (R), yoo-blowre (c), yubulawiri yoo-blow-re (C), yablowxe (K)

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

Non-physical adjectives

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

good (as to eat)	dadyibalung taatibalã@ang (b)
good, well, right, proper, pretty, handsome, comely	budyari b@udyerÈ (b), bood-y&er-r&e (c), bood-jer-re (C), bood-yer-re (C), bidgeree (A), bùd-yee-ree (T), b@udy&er&i (b), bougeree (Pa), boó-g&e-reé (Sth), b\$udjeri (R), ngubadi ngubaty (M)
great	marri mur-ray (c)
greedy	djirra jirra (M), dulingyung tulliyu9 (R)
married	mangi maang@È (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	ngandu ngandu (M)
stupid	bininggaray binni9-garai (R)
surprised or startled	mannyi mungala (man- 'take' mungala 'thunder') man-nie mong-alla (C), mannyi mali man-nie mal-lee (C)
truth (also 'yes')	yuwing ew-ing (C)
worse	wulumi wauloomy (b), garangan karãũ9ãun (b)

Motion verbs

arise	buraga boraga (M)
bathe	bugi (see 'swim')
bite	biya- b@Èa (b), dul toll (C)
bring	ngayari- nga@Èree (b), yalinga- yalingeñ (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@ÈlyÈ (b)
cover	bubanga- boobánga (a)

cover oneself	bubilyi- bub@ÈlyÈdyaou ('I covered') (b)
creep	maruwi ma-ro-wey (c), m\$a-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\$ab-b&a-r&a (Sth), korobra (R)
dance	dangura tang o-ra (A), dungara (M)
dig	gama- k\$@ama (b)
dip—for example, to dip for water with a small vessel	gaba- kãuba (b)
dive	bugi (see 'swim'), mulbari mulbari (M), nala bugi (bugi- swim, bathe) nallab\$ogi (R)
do yanga- yánga (a)	
do incorrectly	wiribanga (wiri 'bad', banga- 'make or do') w\$ÈrÈb@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 tyelkála (b)
empty	buradbani purãutben@È ('to empty') (b)
escort 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', wari '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), miyanga miangah (c)	
follow	walanga (see 'second')
get up	babuga barbuka (A)
go	yanma (yan- 'walk or go') yenma ('make to go') (b), yen-ma (c), ngalbunga- albonga- (c)
go outside	wuruna wuruná (b)

grasp—to take hold	mawa maur (A)
increase	walunadarang wauloonadarang ('more it you please') (b)
hunt	wulbanga wolbunga (R)
jump	wumarabara (wumara- 'fly') womerra-berra (A)
kiss	bunya- boon-ya (A), bongé (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@È (b)
leap	yilga ilga (A)
lie ngalawa- (see 'sit')	
limp	gadya- kadiá (b)

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

seek	waranara wāaranára (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), jirringa (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 manéea (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), ngallawāa- (b), gnal-loa (A), allowau (c), allowa (c), al-lo-wah (C), al-loey (C), alloua (Pa), al-lo-wan (C), alloey (A)	
slip	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', banga- 'make') bunÈlbâu9a (b)
throw	yira- \$Èr\$È (a), ye-ry (c), yery (A), eereéra ('you throw') (b), e-ra (C), erah (C), yara (throw fast) (R), yan\$a (R), tyerrsba (b), garaya- curna (A), cu-ru-a (c), kerraiba- (M), kurraibi (M)

tickle

gidigidi gittee gíttee (b), gitte-gittim (A)

tie **danyaya** tanié (b)

turn upside down

walibanga (**wali-** 'turn', **banga-** 'make, do') wãalÈbãu9a (b)

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

State verbs

be barung be-rong (c)	
bored—to become tired of something	marama marama (b)
die	buyi bòe (A), bo-y (A), bò-ee (T), boyee (Pa), boi (M), boi (R)
fear	dyirrun 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 9yÈmag@i (b), bula boolá (b), wuruna wuruná (b)
stopped working (literally 'dead')—for example, the watch stopped	baluwi b\$alu@È (b)

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

Vocalizing and thought verbs

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

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

Bodily function verbs

awake	burbanga porb@ũ9a (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-lemma ('she breathes') (c), buwama- bwo-me (C), bo-me (A)
chew	djang- Chiang (c), Chiang (A), Chang utah (c), Chang-ulah (A)
clap hands	bumarabanyali pomera-bannielly (c), bulmiya bul-mie (A)
cool one's self	bayinmilyi 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)
defecate	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	bada- 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 kóÈtyÈ (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 wáaran@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 tyura9\$a (b), tyurag\$€a (b), doo-ra-gy-a (A), djugi juki (M)
stare	bulwurra pãulwã€urra baou ('to stare or look at naught') (b), bolwara (A), nadawunma na-de-wun-ma (c), mudbi mutbi
swallow	gurruguwidbi k\$@orr&okoÈtbÈ (b)
swallow with difficulty	miwuluni- mÈwulunÈdya <u>ou</u> (I swallowed with difficulty) (b)
sweat or to be hot	yuruga en-rie-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	migawarrma- mekoarsmady\$em€9a ('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), taabánga (b), tabánga (W) (b), ta-lang-a (A), dyiringalima tiéringaléema (b)

Impact and violence verbs

beat gently	gurinyi kur@ÈnyÈ (b)
beat hard	marribayi (marri 'very', bayi- 'beat') muree-pie (Pa)
beat, strike, fight, kill, hit	bayi- pýyÈ (a) (b), pie (c) (Pa), py-e (c), py-yee (C), py-yay (C), py-ya (c) (C), pya (A), pi-é (Sth), paibao (R)
break	garang- karãu9ãutb\$ala ('they will break it, be broken') (b), karã@ãu9ãul ('hard, difficult to break') (b), kar@ãu9ãun ('worse') (b)
break or cut	gudba- cot-ban (A) (K), cot-bain (c), cot-balie (c), kótbara (a), cut-bar-rar, cot-bannie (c), cot-bàniè (A), cot-barry (A), gidjigbani kidjikbane (M)

burn	gana- cannadinga (c), cannadinan (c), kunnet (R), kunut (R), kãanamadiao@u ('I set it on fire') (b)
crack between the nails as a flea	ginyi gÈn\$È (b), giny\$È (b), gÈnÈdyaou ('I cracked') (b)
cut	galabidya kálabidya (b), k\$arabÈdyÈ (b)
extinguish	nyimang ny@Èmãu9 (b), 9yÈmag-€ ('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 (see 'strike')	djura, djulara dtulará (to throw water on the fire) (b)
kill (see 'strike')	djura
pinch (see 'strike')	djura
knock out—as an eye or a tooth)	bulbaga- bool-bag-a- (c), bool-bag-ga (C)
scorch	buduway putuwi (b)
set on fire	gunama kãanama (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 gn\$a-ré (Sth), gn\$a-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- 9wÈy@i (b), wea (c), wia (c), wya (c), nwyā (C), wy-a (A), wea- (A), wia- (A), wean (Pa), nguya- (M), duga t\$og\$a (R)
give away for nothing	dulumi- tulumÈdya9a (he gave it me for nothing) (b)
give one the hand	banyadjaminga pan-nie-jeminga (A)
have	miwuna (wuna- 'throw away') m\$Èwãana
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), parrbãuggy (b), parrbuggy (b), par!sbãug@i (b), barbuggi (c), bar-bug-gi (C), wari (wara 'away!') wãari (b), wãarÈ (b)
obstruct	nguluna- 9olonady\$em€9a ('you did stop my way') (b)
send away	yiliri- ÈlÈrÈ (b)
send	yuma- y@uma (b)
snatch	yaramadyawiniya era-mad-ye-winnia (A)
stand between	ngyina 9y@Èna (b)
steal	garama car-ra-mah (c), car-rah-m\$a (C), ka-ra-ma (A), kar\$am\$a (R)
take	mana- maan (a), maaná (a), máana (b), m\$an (b) (c) (Sth), mahn (C), ma\$aan (Sth), maun (Pa), man (M), mahan (R), maanm&a (b)
throw away	wana- wãana (b), wanne (A), yara- yara- (R)

Locationals and directionals

above, upwards, upstairs	burawa pur@awãa (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 mor€ (b)
below or under	gadi ca-dy (c), cad-i (C), dadu dad-du (c)

close by	winima winnim\$ā (R)
distant	ngarrawan ŋarawan (b), ar-ro-un (c), ar-ro-wan (c), ar-row-an (A)
down	yinyun Ēnyun (b)
far away	warawara w\$ar\$aw\$ar\$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), Ēny@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)
on	wu wãa (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	murū 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)

upgul g\$ul (b)

Temporals

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

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

Interjections

affectionate term used by girls	gamungali ca-mong-al-lay (C), gamarada (gamarada 'friend') cam-mar-rade (C)
angry exclamation	dyamuna (damunagal 'a churl') ty-ya-moo-ne (c)
begone!, an exclamation of defiance	wuruwuru (wuru 'away') wo-roo-wo-roo (C), war-re-war-re (C), woroo-woroo! (A), woroo, woroo (K), wara, wara (H), whurra (T), woó-roo-woo-roo-ou (Sth), woo-roù-où (Sth)
come here!	gawi (gama- 'call', -wi 'them') kaowÈ (b), co-e (C), cow-e (C), cwoi (C), cow-ana (C), cow-ee (A), co-wee (H), kouee (Pa), coo-sé (Sth), c\$o-eé (Sth), c\$o-é (Sth), gawi bidja kwai bidja (R)
cry uttered by assistants in the ears of the boys undergoing the ceremony of tooth evulsion	yiwayiwa 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', wari 'away') yenwã€arÈ (b), wuru wooroo (b), woo-rar (c), wo-roo wo-roo (c), wara (source repeats the item twice and three times) warraw! warraw! warraw! (O), wara wara wayi warra, warra wai (Richard Johnson in Mackaness 1954), worra worra wea (F), dada tete (b), teteba <u>o@u</u> (b), ngalbangadyawa albongadiow (c)

go away!, let me alone!, psha!, have done!, don't you!, no no!	gugugu gugugu gugugu go-g&o-g&o (said three times) (Sth)
go now!	didyay tÈtyi (b)
go, go, go (make haste)!	dadadadadadadada 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), yeníoo (b), yen-ou (Sth), yen-mou (Sth)
I have struck	durraduway d'urra-d'oway (Sth), d'urra-d'onay (Sth)
indeed! or it is true!	yuwin 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), b\$e-al (c), beall (C), bei-yal (Sth), bey-ál (Sth), bi-&al (Sth), bee-\$al (Sth), -buni búni (b), b\$eal (R), beal (M)
no ears!—said to a person 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\$ì (b)
run away	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-wã (Sth), nallawalli (R)

so, thus, in this manner	iyari ey\$erie (Sth), e-a-rè (Sth)
stop!—a term of execration used by Aboriginal people when they wish anything not to be done that displeases them	wari wari weree weree (P)
stop a little stop	mayalya miléea (b), mileeánga (b), miliéewárange (b)
stop here!	walawa wallawa (R)
stop stop!	ngadu 9at@u (b)
stop!	wiyanada w\$Éan@ada (b), guguggu go go go (b), guwawugu gu\$augo (also 'presently') (b)
thanks (also 'enough')	didjarigura didgerry-goor (A)
to scold A term of reproach with which the Aboriginal people are highly offended. It is sometimes used by the women and the men always punish them for using it.	wumidjanga wah-ma-d'jang-ah (c), wau-m\$e-d'jang-ah (c)
warcry used when charging into battle	djiriyay jee-ree-i (c)
yes	murama mo-rem-me (C), yi e-é (Sth), yuwin yuín (R), yuin (M)
you must say!	dungaduru (dunga - 'cry', -duru 'continues') tonga-doro (A)

Names of Aboriginal people and social groups

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

people who inhabited War-mul	ganamagal cannemegal (c)
people who inhabited the island of the flats	badjagal bediagal (c)
person said by Burung to be unfriendly to the colonists	burudal 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 wãadba wãadba (b)
cove next to Farm Cove	walamul walla-mool (c)
Dinner Point	marayama mar-ray-mah (c)
East bank of Farm Cove	yara yarara y@era y@er&ara (c)

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

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

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