

THE ABORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF SYDNEY

A PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE
INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE OF SYDNEY BASED ON
THE NOTEBOOKS OF WILLIAM DAWES OF 1790-91,
INFORMED BY OTHER RECORDS OF THE SYDNEY
AND SURROUNDING LANGUAGES TO c.1905

**Jeremy Macdonald Steele,
BA Keele 1962**

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts (Research)

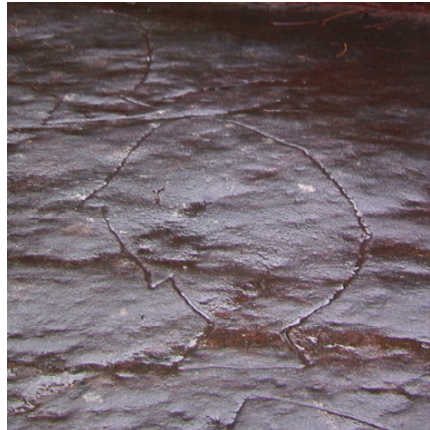
Thesis submitted: December 2005

Warawara Department of Indigenous Studies
Division of Society, Culture, Media and Philosophy
College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Macquarie University, Sydney

ngaya banga-ba-wu BOOK ngyni-wå-gulang (b:15:5)



Ngana-Ngana 'Collins'



Engravings, Bantry Bay



William Dawes

Menila: They go or walk
This last word is confirmed to signify as
above, by the word Maanila which I heard
Anganangan make use of signifying
They take or catch (fish)

a:5:9: Dawes' Notebook (a)

ABSTRACT

“Wara wara!”—‘go away’—the first indigenous words heard by Europeans at the time of the social upheaval that began in 1788, were part of the language spoken by the inhabitants around the shores of Port Jackson from time immemorial. Traces of this language, functionally lost in two generations, remain in words such as *dingo* and *woomera* that entered the English language, and in placenames such as *Cammeray* and *Parramatta*. Various First Fleeters, and others, compiled limited wordlists in the vicinity of the harbour and further afield, and in the early 1900s the surveyor R.H. Mathews documented the remnants of the Dharug language. Only as recently as 1972 were the language notebooks of William Dawes, who was noted by Watkin Tench as having advanced his studies ‘beyond the reach of competition’, uncovered in a London university library. The jottings made by Dawes, who was learning as he went along, are incomplete and parts defy analysis. Nevertheless much of his work has been confirmed, clarified or corrected by reference to records of the surrounding languages, which have similar grammatical forms and substantial cognate vocabulary, and his verbatim sentences and model verbs have permitted a limited attempt at reconstructing the grammar.

Certification

This is to certify that the following thesis is all my own work, except where acknowledgement has been made to the work or ideas of others. It has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Signed:

Jeremy Macdonald Steele

.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is dedicated to the memory of Lt William Dawes, of whom his principal informant, the teenage girl Patyegorang, said: “Mr Dawes búdyěřĩ káraga” — “Mr D. pronounces well”, literally ‘good mouth’. Dawes recorded and so saved a good part of the Aboriginal language of Sydney.

I acknowledge with gratitude the support of Keith Vincent Smith, who encouraged what began as an amateur interest, and who, from an enviable serendipitous talent, provided most of the ancillary vocabularies, which he disinterred in the course of his research into the Eora clans.

Terry Widders of the University’s Warawara Centre was instrumental in making me turn diverse language databases into an academic study.

James Kohen, supervisor, whose work in the field of Sydney indigenous studies has been inspirational, provided constant encouragement and advice. Colin Yallop, also supervisor and professional linguistic Australianist, gave me confidence to embark on this project, from which sprang a notion that if a draft passed his scrutiny it might be free of egregious error. All errors, however, are entirely my own.

Scholars in Australian languages to whom I am indebted include principally R.M.W. Dixon, whose writings I have liberally quoted, and also Barry Blake and Colin Yallop. Scholars whose work has been consulted and to whom I am indebted include Jakelin Troy (Sydney language), Diana Eades (Dharawal), and theses by Mandy Oppliger (Awabakal) and Jutta Besold (Gundungurra). The prior work of Arthur Capell has also been invaluable.

Earlier recorders of the languages of the region without whose work the present study would have been greatly diminished are L.E. Threlkeld (Awabakal, and perhaps Karree and Gadang), R.H. Mathews (Dharug, Darkinyung, Dharawal and many other languages), and Mary Everitt (with Mathews, Gundungurra). It is too late to express my gratitude to these pioneers.

I am grateful to various institutions that hold language or other material central to the present study. These include:

- the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, for permission to use the Dawes and ‘Anon’ data;
- the Mitchell Library, who advised that brief quotations from many of the wordlists was ‘fair dealing’ for the purposes of criticism and review, and kindly gave permission for the use of brief quotations from manuscript sources where it was the owner of the original; and I acknowledge the help of the staff of that library;
- the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, which gave permission for the use of the portrait of William Dawes;
- the National History Museum, London, for permission to use the portrait of Ngana Ngana ‘Collins’;
- the National Library of Australia, which holds the originals of the Mathews language notebooks.

I am also grateful to all the indigenous people I have met, who might consider this language as their patrimony, for permitting me to pursue this interest in it. I hope this study might prove of some interest and utility to them.

Finally, I owe a particular debt to Natasha Steele, my daughter, a professional publisher's editor, who has in a thousand small ways improved the manuscript, and whose clarity of thought has suggested many improvements.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
STYLES AND ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Personal background.....	2
1.2 Name for the language.....	5
1.3 Boundaries	8
1.3.1 Northward of Sydney	12
1.4 Neighbouring languages	20
1.4.1 Awabakal	21
1.4.2 Darkinyung.....	21
1.4.3 Dharug.....	22
1.4.4 Gundungurra.....	22
1.4.5 Shared territory.....	24
1.4.6 Dharawal	24
1.5 Language location suggestion.....	26
2 SOURCES AND LITERATURE.....	28
2.1 William Dawes (1762-1836).....	30
2.1.1 Achievements	30
2.1.2 Watkin Tench	35
2.1.3 Obstacles.....	36
2.1.4 Biyal-Biyal informants.....	41
2.2 Collectors of vocabulary, and grammatical descriptions	42
2.2.1 Greater Sydney region: Biyal-Biyal and Dharug	42
2.2.2 Awabakal	44
2.2.3 Other wordlists to the northward of Sydney	46
2.2.4 Karree	46
2.2.5 Darkinyung.....	47
2.2.6 Dharawal	47
2.2.7 Gundungurra.....	47
2.2.8 William Ridley	48
2.2.9 Indigenous population decline and reduced language record	49
2.3 Modern linguistics scholars: Australian languages	52
2.3.1 Arthur Capell	53
2.3.2 R.M.W. Dixon	54
2.3.3 Colin Yallop	54
2.3.4 Barry Blake	54
2.4 Modern linguistics scholars: Sydney and the neighbouring region	55
2.4.1 Meredith Osmond.....	55

2.4.2	David Wilkins	55
2.4.3	Jakelin Troy	56
2.4.4	Neighbouring languages	58
3	THE NOTEBOOKS	59
3.1	Provenance	59
3.1.1	Possible beginning	59
3.1.2	Inspecting the notebooks	61
3.2	Present reality	63
3.2.1	The notebooks described	63
3.3	Physical characteristics	67
3.3.1	Paper	67
3.3.2	Interpreting the unspecified aspects of the notebooks	67
3.3.3	Pencil sketch map	71
3.4	Setting up the notebooks	73
3.4.1	Verbs: Notebook (a)	73
3.4.2	Nouns: Notebook (b)	78
3.5	Language acquisition	82
3.5.1	Dawes' gradual learning and its significance	82
3.5.2	Purpose in establishing the sequence in compilation	82
3.6	Chronology	85
3.6.1	Beginning the notebooks	85
3.6.2	Determining the sequence of compilation of the notebooks	87
3.7	Reliability of the notebooks	92
4	MANUSCRIPTS AND DATABASES	95
4.1	Handwriting	95
4.2	The databases	98
4.3	Respelling and searching	101
4.4	Computer restrictions	103
4.5	Respelling decisions	105
4.6	Look-ups and layouts	106
4.7	Analysis	108
5	NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES	110
5.1	Comparative tables	110
5.1.1	Frequency	110
5.1.2	Not comprehensive	111
5.1.3	Variations	111
5.1.4	Archaic English style	112
5.2	The tables	113

5.2.1	Pronouns free and bound	113
5.2.2	Verb suffixes	120
5.2.3	Noun suffixes	124
5.3	Karree and Turuwul	128
5.3.1	Similarity/difference	128
5.3.2	Karree	129
5.3.3	Turuwul	130
6	PHONOLOGY	131
6.1	Dawes' three systems of transcription	133
6.1.1	System i: 'ee'—to some time after 25 November 1790	133
6.1.2	System ii: 'i'—to some time after 17 March 1791	133
6.1.3	System iii: 'phonetic'—from after 17 March 1791	134
6.2	Macrons, breves and diacritics	135
6.3	The phonology of Biyal-Biyal	136
6.3.1	Vowels	137
6.3.2	Diphthongs	138
6.3.3	Vowel length	140
6.4	Vowel harmony	142
6.4.1	Vowel harmony exceptions	143
6.5	Consonants	144
6.5.1	Key features	145
6.5.2	Consonant doubling	146
6.6	Phonotactics	149
6.6.1	Syllable length of words	149
6.6.2	Word beginnings	150
6.6.3	Word endings	152
6.6.4	Consonant pairs and clusters	153
6.7	Elusive pronunciations	160
7	PRONOUNS	162
7.1	Pronoun morphology	164
7.1.1	Free and bound	164
7.1.2	Nominative–accusative	165
7.1.3	Inclusive–exclusive	165
7.1.4	-ban, -band	166
7.1.5	Sequence for the bound pronouns	168
7.2	The Biyal-Biyal pronouns	169
7.2.1	First person singular	169
7.2.2	Second person singular	174
7.2.3	Third person singular	177
7.2.4	First person dual	179
7.2.5	First person plural	181

7.2.6	Second person dual	183
7.2.7	Third person dual	184
7.2.8	Third person plural	186
7.3	Interrogative pronouns	187
7.4	Demonstratives	188
8	VERBS	189
8.1	Structure of verbs	189
8.2	Tense and aspect	191
8.2.1	Tense	191
8.2.2	Aspect	194
8.3	Derivational suffixes	195
8.3.1	-ra series	198
8.3.2	-li, -lyi	203
8.3.3	-na, -ni	206
8.3.4	-buni: 'lacking' [30+]	207
8.3.5	Special derivational suffix	208
8.3.6	Unresolved derivational suffixes	208
8.3.7	Missing derivational suffixes	209
8.4	Stem-forming suffixes	211
8.4.1	Verbs taking different stem-forming suffixes	213
8.4.2	Basic stem-forming suffixes	215
8.4.3	Possible stem-forming suffixes	219
8.5	Suffix transference	222
8.6	Prefixes	224
8.7	Imperative	226
8.8	Some particular uncertainties	228
8.8.1	Unresolved elements: -d, -l, -n	228
8.8.2	Conjugations	231
8.8.3	Realis/irrealis	232
8.8.4	Unresolved expressions	232
9	NOUNS	234
9.1	Case inflections	234
9.2	Statistical summary of the Dawes' sentences	235
9.2.1	Counting the sentences and phrases	235
9.2.2	Presentation of the table	236
9.3	Assigning of case functions	237
9.3.1	Ergative: a, ya	247
9.3.2	Accusative: nga, na	250
9.3.3	Dative: indirect object: na, nya, nyi	252
9.3.4	Locative: wa	253

9.3.5	Ablative: ‘away from’; causative: ‘because of’	255
9.3.6	Genitive: ‘of’: ngai	257
9.3.7	Purposive: ‘for’; allative, ‘to’, ‘towards’: gu	258
9.3.8	Instrumental: ‘with’: ra.....	259
9.3.9	Aversive: ‘for fear of’	259
9.4	Derivational suffixes	261
9.4.1	Privative: ‘lacking’: buni	261
9.4.2	Proprietary: ‘having’: mada.....	262
9.5	Other suffixes	264
9.5.1	Appertaining to/deriving from: gulang, birang, bilang	264
9.5.2	Clan group: gal, galyan/g	267
9.5.3	Emphasiser: bu, gangai	268
9.5.4	Pluraliser: ra	269
9.5.5	Reduplication.....	270
9.6	Common endings.....	272
9.7	Case consistency in nouns and adjectives	274
10	OTHER WORD CLASSES	275
10.1	Adjectives	275
10.2	Demonstratives.....	278
10.2.1	Other possible demonstratives.....	279
10.3	Adverbs	285
10.4	Interjections	292
10.5	Conjunctions	294
10.6	Prepositions	295
10.7	Articles.....	297
11	RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT	298
11.1	Partial reconstruction.....	298
11.2	Has this thesis extended earlier work?	299
11.3	Aids for further study	301
11.4	What more could immediately be done	302
12	APPENDIX 1: Writers	303
13	APPENDIX 2: Informants	313
14	APPENDIX 3: Analysis of the Dawes/Anon data.....	324
15	APPENDIX 4: Databases	326
16	BIBLIOGRAPHY	327

STYLES AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following typographical styles and conventions have been used throughout.

Diacritics and individualised characters (as in the examples cited)

ä	‘a’-over-ring used to represent Dawes’ ‘a’-overdot (‘a’ with a central dot above, not achievable on the computer): for the sound as in ‘all’, ‘bought’: phonetic symbol [ɔ]
ü	‘u’-dieresis used to represent Dawes’ ‘u’ with a dot placed within the vertical strokes (not achievable on the computer): for the sound as in ‘but’: phonetic symbol [ʌ]
i (bold)	‘i’ in bold type, used to represent Dawes’ ‘i’ <i>with</i> dot, used by him only at points after he had introduced his final system of transcription
<u>a</u> (underline)	underlining, any vowel: used to represent an overline or macron (e.g. [ā] not readily achievable on the computer)
ng (bold)	represents ‘-ng’ as in ‘sing’, or [ŋ]; this latter character has not generally been used in the databases, or in the thesis, because it is not known how to render such a word as ‘wonga’, which might be written:

original	respelt	no hyphens	phonetic
<i>wonga</i>	wǎn-Ga	wanGa	<i>wanga</i>
	wǎ-nga	wanga	<i>wan̩a</i>
	wǎng-Ga	wangGa	<i>wan̩ga</i>

This ‘ng’-convention was originally adopted, and has been retained, because:

—the ‘no-hyphens’ form has the minimum spelling variation, enabling the greatest range of computer searching to be done on a list, as the computer will find ‘wunga’ whether it includes bold characters or not

—the special character [ŋ] is not recognised as part of a word, so that *wuŋga* is seen as three ‘words’: ‘*wu*’, ‘*ŋ*’ and ‘*a*’, making searches for words in this format unsuccessful

G in respellings, indicates that this letter is not part of the ‘ng’ digraph but is separately pronounced

Other conventions

Sans serif is used for forms of words that have been respelt, e.g. “we-row-ey”
wirawi

Archaic ‘thou’ and ‘thee’, ‘you’ and ‘ye’

To avoid ambiguity, the archaic English pronominals ‘thou’ and ‘thee’ are used throughout (as they were by Dawes) to distinguish second person singular forms from the plural, and dual. Consequently the sentences:

—I hit you	—you hit me
------------	-------------

are rendered in the following ways:

—I hit thee	—thou hit(test) me
—I hit ye-two	—you-two hit me
—I hit ye-all	—you-all hit me

‘You’ is used for subject and ‘ye’ for object roles.

Double quotation marks

Double quotation marks (“...”) are used when an original recorder’s record has been reproduced exactly. They are also used for quotations within quotations.

Personal names

Spelling of personal names: e.g. ‘Kolbi’ and ‘Kolby’ (Dawes), ‘Colbee’ (Tench), ‘Colebee’ (Thomas Watling, painter), Gulibi. Consistency in spelling personal names has not been imposed in this work; rather spellings have been used appropriate to the source or subject matter under discussion.

Standardising the records

Respelling indigenous language examples

Indigenous language examples have been respelt throughout, generally set alongside the originally recorded form. The purpose is to standardise the diverse ways in which words were recorded by different, or even the same, original recorders, in order to assist in the analysis. Such respellings are approximate. Some general principles followed in the respelling are:

T0.1 ORIGINAL RECORDINGS AND RESPALT FORMS

Original recording	Note	Respelt form	Comment
a	as initial letter	nga, ya, wa	transcribed in this order of preference
doubles		singles	“gibber” --> giba; “naa” --> na
e		i	
ee		i	
g		g	
g		dy	sometimes ‘g’ was used for ‘j’, as in English ‘gin’, in which case dy has been used (these occasions are rare)
gn		ny	when ‘gn’ has been judged to have been used in the Italian style (as in Italian <i>bagno</i>), ny has been used (these occasions are rare); generally ‘-gn’ has been taken to be an alternative to ‘-ng’
i		i	
i	at end of word	ai	-i pronounced ‘eye’, as in the Sydney beach ‘Bondi’
i	within a word	a, ai, ayi	-i- pronounced ‘eye’, as in the English word ‘bite’
i	as initial letter	yi; or deleted	transcribed in this order of preference
-ine		-ayin -âng	if the recorder’s intention was judged to be -ine as in English ‘mine’, then -ayin, or -âng, was used; in other instances, -ini has been used
j		dy	
k		g	
ñ		ny	
ng		ng	nasal ‘eng’, shown in the cited examples in bold type; if <i>not</i> bold, indicates either ‘eng’ or separate pronunciation of ‘n’ and ‘g’
ng		nG	indicates separate pronunciation of ‘n’ and ‘g’ if this seemed the intention of the original recorder
ngg		ngG	‘G’ indicates second ‘g’ is separately pronounced, as a ‘g’
o		u	

-ong		-ång	Dawes used å (a with dot over) to represent 'a' as in 'all'
oo		u	
-ow		-awu	
p		b	
t		d	
u	followed by double consonant	a	'bulla' --> bala
u	if 'oo' also used by recorder	a	i.e. if the recorder wrote 'moola' and 'bula', then these have been transcribed mula and bala
u	otherwise	u	'bula' --> bula
u	as initial letter	wu, yu, ngu	transcribed in this order of preference

Standardised English translations

Standardised English translations have been adopted to enable computer database searches to be conducted. For example:

Original records			Standardised translation
little	small		little
throwing stick	spear thrower	woomera	spear-thrower
many	large	very	big

There are many such instances.

Glossary

Phonetics and phonology

Examples of the relevant consonants are given where appropriate.

Term	Stop	Nasal	Meaning	Source
alveolar	d	n	With the tongue touching or near the alveolar ridge (the ridgelike inward projection of the gums between the hard palate and the upper front teeth)	(<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i> 1981)
apical			Pertaining to speech sounds formed with the tip of the tongue as articulator	(<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>)
bilabial	b	m	Pronounced with the two lips brought close together or touching	(<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>)
dental	dh	nh	With the tongue tip touching or near the upper front teeth	(<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>)
dorsum			Back of the tongue	(Dixon 1980:135)
laminal			Pronounced with the blade of the tongue as articulator (the blade being the upper surface and edges of the tongue from a short distance back from the tip)	(<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>)
lateral	l		e.g. English <i>l</i> —Involves ‘the mid-part of a cross-section of the tongue touching the roof of the mouth, so that air escapes along the sides of the tongue’	(Dixon 1980:142)
nasal	m, n, ng		With the voice issuing through the nose	(<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>)
non-peripheral			Articulation in the middle of the mouth	(Dixon 1980:139)
palatal	dy	ny	Of the roof of the mouth, consisting of bone (hard palate) in front of a fleshy structure (soft palate) at the back	(<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>)
peripheral			Articulation at the extreme back or front of the mouth	(Dixon 1980:139)
post-alveolar			Behind the alveolar ridge, further from the teeth	(see ‘alveolar’)
retroflex			pronounced with the tip of the tongue: (of vowels) raised or tilted upwards, as the vowel in <i>burn</i> in common American pronunciation; (of consonants) curled back to touch the roof of the mouth	(<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>)
rhotic	rr [trill]	r [cont.]	r sounds (almost every Australian language has two rhotic phonemes—a trill or roll /r/ and a continuant /ɹ/ [ɹ with underdot]).	(Dixon 1980:144)
stop	b/p; d/t; g/k		An articulation which interrupts the flow of air from the lungs; a consonant sound resulting from stop articulation	(<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>)

velar	g	ng	With the back of the tongue held close to or touching the soft palate	(<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>)
-------	---	----	---	-------------------------------------

Other special terms

affix	'any meaningful element (prefix, infix, or suffix) added to a stem or base' (<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i> 1981).
suffix	'an affix which follows the element to which it is attached' (<i>The Macquarie Dictionary</i>); 'suffix' is generally used rather than 'affix' in this text.
Pama-Nyungan	The Pama-Nyungan languages are the Australian mainland languages that occur throughout the continent except the north and north-west; they share many common features, and are sometimes called the 'non-prefixing languages'. 'Pama' and 'Nyungar' are words for 'man' in north Queensland and south-west Western Australia respectively; the combined term denotes the continent-wide spread of these languages.

Frequently used abbreviations

Abbreviation	Significance	Classification
A	subject (transitive sentence: 'Agent', 'Actor')	grammar
ABL	ablative case (from)	grammar
ABSTR	abstractifier	grammar
ACC	accusative case (object)	grammar
AFF	affirmative	grammar
ALL	allative case (towards)	grammar
Awa	Awabakal	language
BB	Biyal-Biyal (Sydney language)	language
BEN	beneficiary	grammar
CAUS	causative	grammar
COMIT	comitative ('in company with')	grammar
COMPL	completed action	grammar
CONST	constant action	grammar
CONT	continuous action	grammar
Dark	Darkinyung	language
DAT	dative case (indirect object)	grammar
DFX	derivational suffix	grammar
Dg	Dharug	language
DgR	Dharug (Ridley)	language
DMN	demonstrative	grammar
du	dual	grammar
DUR	duration	grammar
Dwl	Dharawal	language
ELA	elative case (from: see ablative)	grammar
EMPH	emphasis	grammar
ERG	ergative case (subject of a transitive sentence)	grammar
ex	exclusive	grammar
FUT	future tense (e.g. I <i>shall</i> run)	grammar

Gdg	Gadang	language
GEN	genitive case (possessive)	grammar
Gga	Gundungurra	language
HUMAG	human agency	grammar
IMP	imperative	grammar
INCHO	inchoative (beginning)	grammar
INSTR	instrumental case	grammar
INTJ	interjection	grammar
Kre	Karree	language
LOC	locative case (at, place)	grammar
MOD	modifying suffix	grammar
n.d.	no date	traditional
NECES	necessity	grammar
Ngwl	Nganawal	language
NMLSR	nominaliser (converts a verb to a noun)	grammar
NNth	near north	language
NOM	nominative case (subject)	grammar
NP	noun phrase (noun, adjective, etc.)	grammar
Nrgu	Ngarigu	language
O	object	grammar
Ø	zero (used for ‘no ending, no suffix’)	grammar
PAST	past tense (e.g. I <i>did</i> run)	grammar
PastH	past historic tense (e.g. I <i>ran</i>)	grammar
PFX	prefix	grammar
pl	plural	grammar
PLUR	plural	grammar
PRES	present tense	grammar
PRIV	privative (‘lacking’)	grammar
PROP	proprietary (‘having’)	grammar
PURP	purposive	grammar
RECIP	reciprocal (to each other)	grammar
RFLX	reflexive (to oneself)	grammar
S	subject (intransitive sentence)	grammar
SFX	stem-forming suffix	grammar
sg	singular	grammar
TRS	transitive (sentence with object: dog chases cat)	grammar
Twl	Turuwul (Ridley’s list)	language
VBS	verbaliser (converts a noun to a verb)	grammar

1	first person (I, we)
2	second person (thou, you)
3	third person (he, she, it; they-two, they-all)

1 INTRODUCTION

Cammeray, Kutti Beach, Yurong Street, Kurraba Point, Woolloomooloo: these are placenames in Sydney and around the harbour, a few among perhaps thousands in Australian street directories and maps that have an Aboriginal ring to them. There are more: Chullora, Yagoona, Wahroonga, Turramurra, Parramatta; and Bondi, Coogee, Kogarah, Kirrawee; and, further afield, Tuggerah Lakes. No clue as to the origin of these words can be obtained from mingling with the people of Sydney today in the streets, trains or buses. When I was growing up in Perth just after the second world war the only language I noticed was English. Now practically any might be heard in Sydney—except the one spoken here from time immemorial, the Sydney Aboriginal language, traces of which linger in the placenames mentioned.

English is an eclectic language, gathering and absorbing into itself words from other tongues whenever these have been useful, from Latin, French, Greek and other languages, as a check on etymological origins of words reveals from many a dictionary. The days of British imperial power left a legacy not only of railway stations and cricket, but local words were absorbed, like *khaki* from Hindi (*The Macquarie Dictionary* 1981), and *amok*, adapted from Malay (*The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* 1966 [1933]). Words entered English from Australian languages, too, and probably more from the Sydney language—*woomera*, *wallaby*, *corroboree* and *dingo* and numerous others—than any other, in spite of the fact that this was among the first Australian languages to cease being an effective means of communication.

1.1 Personal background

The present study is by a fifth-generation Australian of Anglo-Saxon background. When I came to Sydney in 1969, after living for a year in Italy and thirteen in England, I read early accounts of the upheaval that took place in Sydney beginning in 1788. These mentioned contact with the then inhabitants, recording indigenous words in the narrative and occasionally including wordlists. This kindled an interest in the Sydney language, which was fanned on learning of language notes made by the First Fleeter William Dawes. The existence of his notebooks, in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, had been uncovered in 1972 following publication of the results of a survey of manuscripts about Australia in the British Isles undertaken by Phyllis Mander-Jones (1972). In 1998 I saw the notebooks and obtained a microfilm copy, enabling their transcription into a computer database. The first database evolved into a comprehensive set of databases comprising all the language records encountered for the region under review, resulting in a still-developing and readily accessible tool articulated to study of the local languages in a variety of ways, inclusive of comments and word associations, that could prove useful to linguistic scholars and researchers.

Retirement in 1999 from a career in university administration permitted pursuit of this interest, and the present endeavour is the result. My aim has been to examine the Sydney language primarily through the notebooks of William Dawes and the 'Anon' notebook accompanying it, and to explain as much as can be deduced from them. This enquiry has been assisted by reference to other wordlists of the Sydney language, and records of the neighbouring languages. These languages are, anticlockwise from north to south, Awabakal, Darkinyung, Dharug, Gundungurra and Dharawal. The time

period for the language records is up to and including the work of R.H.

Mathews (1841-1918), the latest of whose language papers about this area was published in 1904 (Mathews 1904).

This study does not presume to be a professional undertaking in linguistics, but it does proceed with such awareness of the concerns of that discipline as may be gained from the literature, notably works of Dixon and others.

It is concerned with the language of the indigenous people of Port Jackson, occupiers of the land for millennia—suddenly dispossessed of it, without provocation or treaty, with near genocide visited on them, a circumstance to be repeated elsewhere (Elder 1998:29-48) (Reynolds 1999:117-33). Sydney's population today, largely oblivious of this injustice, has taken to itself, at times inappropriately or erroneously, parts of the former language such as placenames and other words, and whatever it has considered quaint or pleasurable, without for the most part knowing the name of the displaced people, neighbouring groups, cultural practices, or a single historical figure. Should such ignorance and indifference seem lamentable and important to redress, then the present work might be regarded as valuable to the extent that it succeeds in this direction.

This study builds on the work of many prior contributors, including the original invaders and later arrivals, some recording meticulously, others at times apparently casually, carelessly, even patronisingly. It aims at providing a link to the living language of the dispossessed former custodians of harbourside Sydney, in a way that can be readily accessed, and checked. Its purpose is to provide information to scholars and others interested, and

especially to offer to the descendants of the original owners what is at times an intimate insight into their linguistic heritage of two centuries ago. In revealing some of the subtlety and complexity of the language it might go some way towards increasing mutual understanding and respect between the indigenous descendants and subsequent immigrants.

In the course of this work I have sought out, and met, Dharug people, the inheritors of the language, notably the Darug Tribal Aboriginal Council and the Darug Custodians Aboriginal Corporation, as well as individual people, with the object of informing them of what I was attempting, and to seek their approval, or at least acceptance, that this endeavour might legitimately proceed. It is my hope that they will accept it, and that, with indigenous collaboration, the language might eventually enter the school system in some form.

1.2 Name for the language

In order to distinguish Sydney, the place, from the Sydney language, the Aboriginal language of Sydney is referred to as ‘Biyal-Biyal’ in this work.

Speakers of Biyal-Biyal have been called ‘Eora’, or ‘Iyura’. Neither term has been adopted here because:

- Dawes wrote “eeora” three times and “eora” once, and the term occurred once as “eo-ra” and again once as “e-o-rah” in the companion Anon notebook—each time to indicate ‘men or people’ (tribal men, not white men), rather than the name for their language;
- in the Sydney language, after respelling to linguistic conventions, no words start with a vowel, any original initial vowels being replaced by the semi-vowels y or w, or the often ‘unheard’ ng (thus “eeora” is here respelt yura);
- the variant forms of ‘Eora’ noted, together with respelling by some writers as ‘iyura’ and ‘iyora’, are a confusion considered better avoided.

The following is one of the ‘Eora’ examples (in which the superscripts are Dawes’ translation aids):

X1.1 ° *Yenmaou*¹ *mullnâoul*² *naabaou*³ *eeóra*⁴ °
 yan -ma -wu malnawul na -ba -wu **yura**
 go FUT 1sg morning see FUT 1sg **man**
 “° I will go¹ morning² I will see³ people⁴ °” (a:40:18-19)

There is another word for ‘man’, *mala*, for which the female equivalent is *dyin*. As there is no female equivalent for *yura*, and as many of the recorders provided female forms for the clan groups (Gadigal, male member of the Gadi clan; Gadi-galyan, female; Gamaragal, Gamara-galyan, etc.), the word might denote not a clan but a status, perhaps ‘initiated man’. It might also correspond to a human–male contrast in English, or *homo–vir* in Latin. To the

north, the similar word *guri* is also used for ‘man’ in Awabakal, Darkinyung, Gadang and Biripi; to the south, the less similar word *yuwin* is used, in Dharawal and Dyirringany. None of the wordlist compilers stated that the word was the name of a tribal group.

There are two frequent, but not exclusive, principles for naming languages in Australia: describing a language by one of its characteristic words, such word often being the form used for ‘no’, together with ‘having’ (e.g. Wira-dhuri: *wira* = ‘no’, *dhuri* = ‘having’, thus ‘no’-having); and duplication of the word for ‘no’ (e.g. Yota-Yota, Wemba-Wemba) (as discussed by Dixon 1980:42). On this basis, since *biyal* is the undoubted word for ‘no’ used in what is now Sydney, the choices for Sydney are ‘Biyal-mada’ or ‘Biyal-Biyal’, and:

—given that none of the original recorders of the Sydney language specifically identified *mada* as the ‘having’ suffix, attributing other but not necessarily conflicting significances to it (e.g. ‘place of water’), so leaving a trace of doubt as to its role (see §9.4.2);

—given that Wodi-Wodi, a language with a reduplicated name, was not only once spoken as close as south of Wollongong (Ridley 1878:263) but was also a language virtually indistinguishable from Dharawal adjacent to Sydney (Eades 1976:4); and

—given that there can be no linguistic error in simple reduplication; the choice to adopt the reduplicating language-naming principle was deemed to be consistent with other language names as well as regionally appropriate. Consequently *Biyal-Biyal*, abbreviated to ‘BB’, has been used here for the classical language of Port Jackson, although not for wordlists compiled later or drawn from outside the Sydney harbour heartland.

A related form of this name, ‘Biyal-ba’, might once have had some currency according to Keith Vincent Smith:

Archibald Meston, Protector of Aborigines for southern Queensland met some Aborigines at Narrabeen Lakes in 1872 and wrote later:

‘Five aboriginals who were camped there [Narrabeen Lakes] called the honeysuckle (the “wallum”) “gurrabeen,” but they were not speaking the old Beeahlba dialect of the Sydney blacks. They knew more Kamilaroi, and the Awaba (Ahwaba) of Port Macquarie.’ [Meston obviously meant Lake Macquarie] (Smith 2002).

In Awabakal, -ba is a genitive suffix often used to denote the name of a place, as in “Mulubin-ba” (now Newcastle), mulubin = ‘tree fern’ (Threlkeld 1892: 16, 18, 46, 51).

Smith also adopted Biyal-Biyal as the name for the Sydney language (Smith 2004:3).

1.3 Boundaries

The indigenous people were almost certainly aware of the limits of their territorial areas, and when they might have been crossing into the domain of a neighbouring clan or language group. Apart from natural features, marked trees were used to define locality.¹ When the Sydney men Coleby and Balloderry accompanied Governor Phillip and others on an expedition to Richmond in April 1791, they were soon outside their homeland:

At a very short distance from Rose Hill, we found that they were in a country unknown to them; so that the farther they went, the more dependent on us they became, being absolute strangers inland (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:225).

Our natives had evidently never seen this river [Hawkesbury–Nepean] before: they stared at it with surprise, and talked to each other. Their total ignorance of the country, and of the direction in which they had walked, appeared, when they were asked which way Rose Hill lay; for they pointed almost oppositely to it (Tench:226).

We observed that they were thoroughly sick of the journey, and wished heartily for its conclusion: the exclamation of “Where’s Rose Hill; where?” was incessantly repeated, with many inquiries about when we should return to it. *Saturday April 16th*, 1791. It was this morning resolved to abandon our pursuit, and to return home; at hearing of which, our natives expressed great joy (Tench:234).

They appeared to be nervous when they encountered other indigenous people:

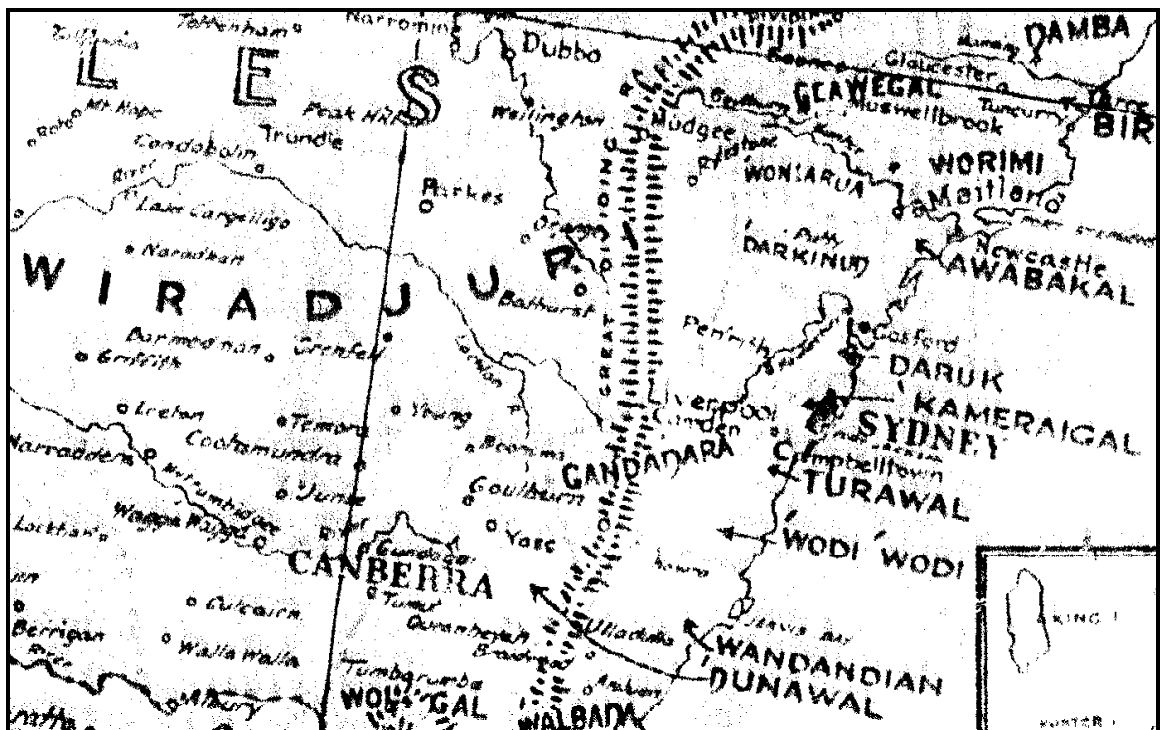
We asked Colbee the name of the people who live inland, and he called them Boò-roo-ber-on-gal; and said, they were bad; ... About an hour after sunset, ... we heard voices at a little distance in the wood. Our natives caught the sound instantaneously, and bidding us be silent, listened attentively to the quarter whence it had proceeded. In a few minutes we heard the voices plainly; and wishing exceedingly to open a communication with this tribe, we begged our natives to call to them, and bid them to come to us, to assure them of good treatment, and that they should have something given them to eat. Colbee no longer hesitated, but gave them the signal of invitation, in a loud hollow cry. After some whooping, and shouting, on both sides, a man, with a lighted stick in his hand, advanced near enough to converse with us (Tench:225-6).

The knowledge of territorial extent, perhaps universally possessed by the indigenous people of the day, is now correspondingly lost. To identify the territorial range of where the languages were spoken presupposes access to sufficient information on which to base a judgement. The reality is that information is scanty, and for some languages such as Darkinyung slight and

¹ Such a marked tree was pointed out in May 2003 at the Myall Creek massacre memorial, by a custodian of the site (Colin Isaacs, who described himself as a Dharawal man).

of doubtful reliability. Consequently for the present study to propose anything more than a general indication of locality overstretches the evidence.

Mapmakers have nevertheless made the attempt. In 1940 Tindale produced a map of the continent, from which the Sydney region below is extracted, showing the indigenous groups of interest (Awabakal, Darkinyung, Dharug, Gundungurra and Dharawal, sometimes differently spelt), among others, in the appropriate general areas, including Dharug, the faintly discernible speckled boundary for which is shown inland westwards of Penrith (Tindale 1940: between pp. 230 and 231).



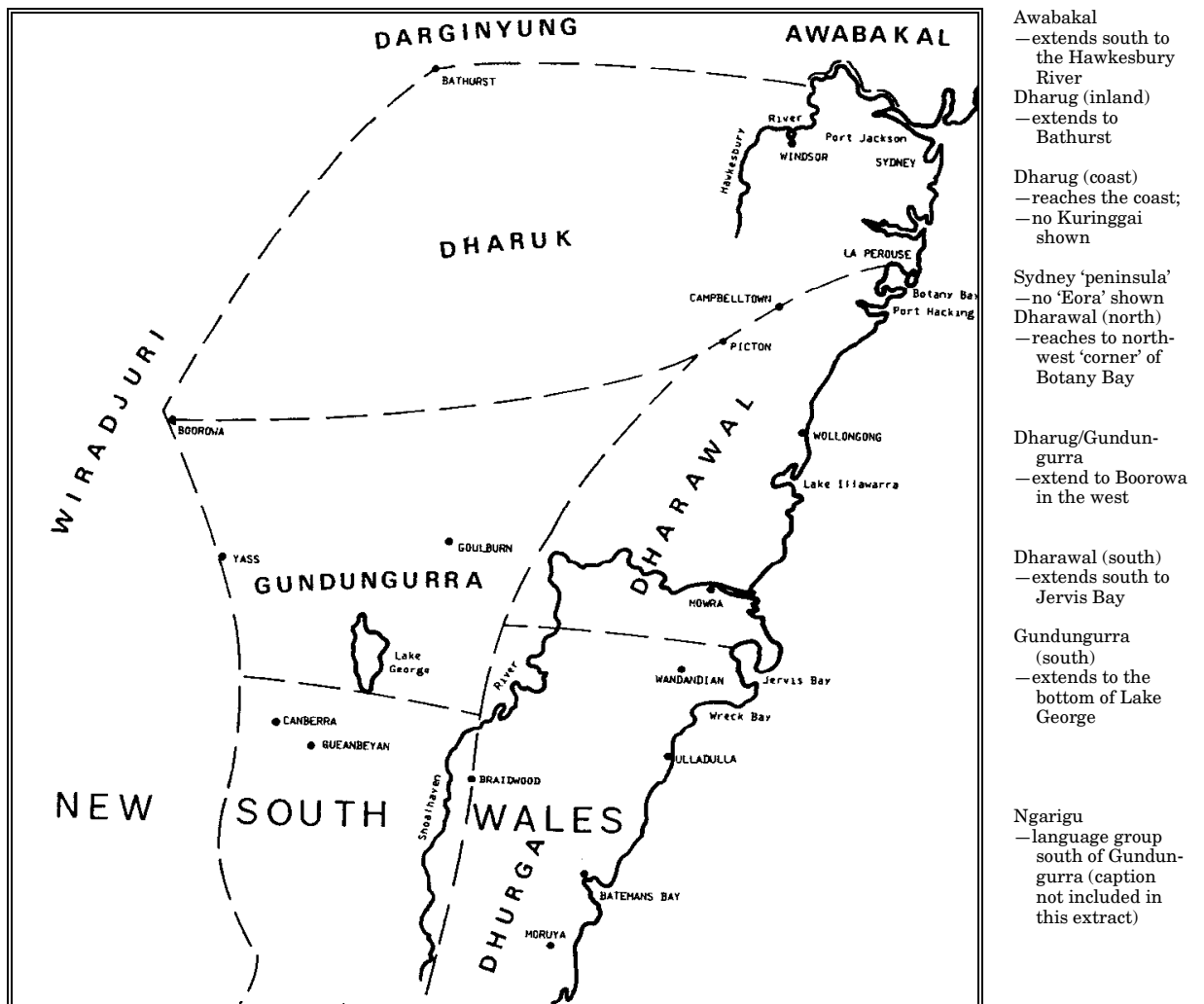
Extract from Tindale's map 'showing the distribution of the Aboriginal Tribes of Australia'

In 1996 a new map, by David Horton, appeared, from which the illustration below is an extract. The same five language groups occur in about the same locations, together with Kuringgai and Eora. The significance of the heavy line is clear on the complete map, as it separates the 'Southeast region' from the 'Riverine' to the west. The detail can be questioned: Gundungurra is shown as not including such essential territory as the Burragarang Valley now flooded by the Warragamba dam, the top of Lake Burragarang being just visible underneath the word 'Dharug' on the map (Horton 2000 [1996]).



Extract from Horton's map, 1996, showing the Sydney region

Eades (1976) provided the following conceptualised chart to illustrate her language study of Dharawal and Dhurga.



Extract from Eades' map (1976) showing 'Dharawal and Dhurga and surrounding languages'

With its smooth lines Eades' map did not aim at more than a general indication of location. Nevertheless it reveals some details of her thinking:

- Dharug did reach the sea not only at the 'peninsula' between Port Jackson and Botany Bay but as far as north as the Hawkesbury;
- there is no separate Kuringgai language, nor 'Eora';
- Dharawal extended up as far as the north-west corner of Botany Bay.

In the absence of any categorical statement by indigenous people of the day, what can be inferred about the languages of the Sydney region, and their territorial limits?

1.3.1 *Northward of Sydney*

The Sydney language, or Biyal-Biyal, was spoken within the range of general movement of officers of the First Fleet, being those who recorded it. This was between the harbour and Botany Bay, and between the coast to the east and at least to Parramatta westwards. Whether by Parramatta it was already altering is now impossible to know.

1.3.1.1 Language on the north shore of the harbour

Whether Biyal-Biyal was spoken on the north shore of the harbour has been debated. Early observations on this arose from the work of the missionary, L.E. Threlkeld, in his *An Australian Grammar*:

- Awabakal had a territorial range limited to the vicinity of the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie (Threlkeld 1892:199) (also Threlkeld 1834: title page);
- The language up and down the coast was essentially the same (Threlkeld 1892:126 (Fraser footnote)).

In 1970, Capell made the following comment:

- Karee, or Kuringgai,

is the language of the Pittwater people, and included the well-known Cammeraygal on the extreme south, along the northern shores of Port Jackson, and stretched as far north at least as Broken Bay. This is the basis for the statement above that the “Sydney” language did not cross Port Jackson (1970:24).

These observations will be considered in turn.

Threlkeld’s *An Australian Grammar* was published in 1834 (Threlkeld 1834), the ‘Grammar’ being of the language spoken at Lake Macquarie, the location of his mission. The language was given the name ‘Awabakal’ when this work was

republished in 1892 by John Fraser (Threlkeld 1892). Threlkeld's mission began in 1825 (Champion 1939:310); it was necessarily closed, on 31 December 1841, as Threlkeld wrote in the preface to the Gospel by St. Luke, ...

solely from the sad fact that the aborigines themselves had then become almost extinct, for I had actually outlived a very large majority of the blacks, more especially of those with whom I had been associated for seventeen years (1892:126).

Continuing, Threlkeld lamented:

Under such circumstances, the translation of the Gospel by St. Luke can only be now a work of curiosity,*—a record of the language of a tribe that once existed ...

From this it appears that Threlkeld saw the range of the language as being limited to the Lake Macquarie area. The asterisk in the quoted passage marks a footnote by the editor, Fraser, who disagreed:

Our author did not know that his Awabakal blacks were only a subtribe, and that their brethren, for some hundreds of miles along the coast to the north and south of Lake Macquarie, spoke a language which is essentially the same. Northwards from the Hunter River to the Macleay, this language is still spoken—ED (1892:126).

Fraser's claim that the language was 'essentially the same' for some hundreds of miles to the south implies that he saw no linguistic divide at the harbour—nor indeed anywhere in the region. His claim cannot be justified. The area he identified encompasses Biyal-Biyal; Awabakal, as becomes apparent in the table (§5.2) in Chapter 5 below, was different from Biyal-Biyal, and from the still-more-dissimilar Dharawal. Others might dispute the claim about the similarity of languages to the northward. Nevertheless, the comments by both Threlkeld and Fraser illustrate the point that language range was not readily determined, even when the languages were still being spoken.

Capell's comment appeared in a journal article in 1970. Then reader in oceanic linguistics in the University of Sydney, he wrote of his finding in the Mitchell Library of what is referred to here as the 'Karree' document, being:

a manuscript in the handwriting of the Rev. L. E. Threlkeld. In addition to copies of his published work, the Library also holds a file of his correspondence, and amongst these is a lengthy document entitled "Specimens of the Language of the Aborigines of New South Wales to the northward of Sydney". This manuscript occupies 11 pages of foolscap size, written in Threlkeld's handwriting, agreeing with the writing of the unpublished Gospel of St. Mark (1970:22-3).

This manuscript was unsigned, undated and without the locality to which it related being clearly identified. Nevertheless Capell drew the conclusion, based on his assessment of the handwriting, that it was written by Threlkeld.

Capell continued:

There is no evidence that [Threlkeld] ever worked as a missionary among the Carigal. The only logical conclusion is that the vocabulary and sentences in the language "to the northward of Sydney" were done before he entered on his missionary work, i.e., before 1824 (1970:23).

His conclusion that it was produced before 1824, before Threlkeld started his Lake Macquarie mission, is hard to defend. Threlkeld did not arrive in Sydney until August 1824, and did not move to Newcastle until May 1825, nor take up residence at his 'Bahtahbah' Mission until September 1826 (Champion:303, 318, 327) (Gunson 1967:529.1). It would, moreover, have been remarkable for Threlkeld to have produced so extensive a document in the four months he had been in Australia before the mission began in 1825, when he was virtually or entirely ignorant of the language.

Capell placed 'Karree' as the language used by people of the 'Pittwater tribe', because of its similarity to a list of words supplied to J.F. Mann by Long Dick, the son of the well-known identity Bungaree (c.1778-1830), who was known to be of that group, or of the nearby Broken Bay tribe. Capell added:

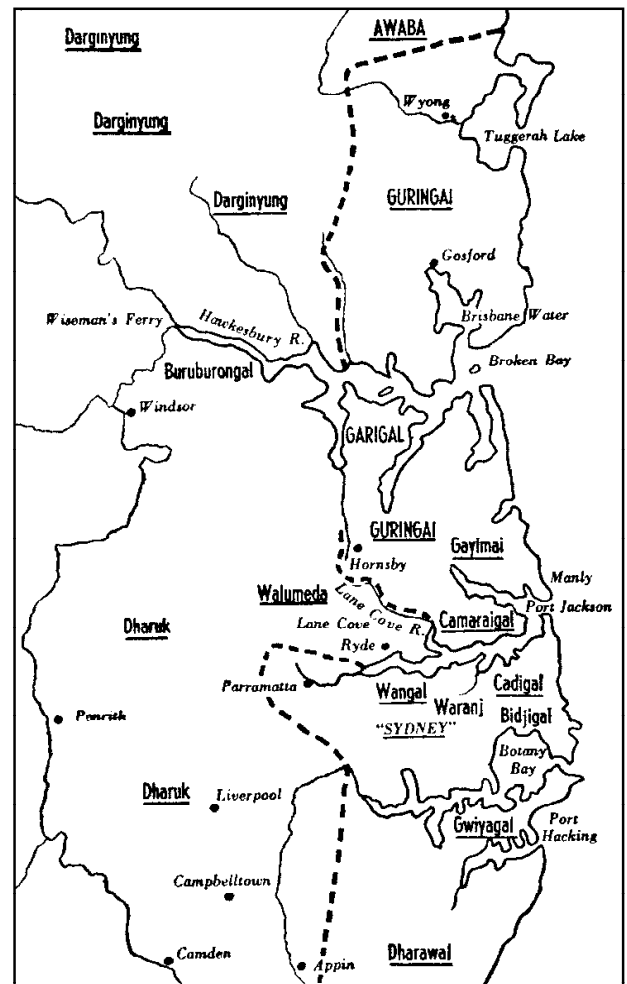
Beyond the word *Karee* Threlkeld's manuscript does not localize the speakers of the language. The evidence which suggests that this language could perhaps more conveniently be called Kuringgai (*Guringai*) rests on another manuscript, also preserved in the Mitchell Library. This is a much later work, done by J. F. Mann, and probably not earlier than 1870. I saw this originally in a copy made by Mr. F. D. McCarthy, and he at that time marked Mann's list, "mostly Awaba". However, when Threlkeld's manuscript came to light it seemed desirable to reconsider Mann's work.

This vocabulary was then found to agree with Threlkeld's "Karee". Mann explained in a heading that he had got it from "Long Dick", who was a son of Boongarie (bu'ngari?).

Boongarie ... almost took up residence in Sydney, and was described ... as "flamboyant, talented and shrewd... His death was announced in the *Sydney Gazette* of November 27, 1830, in the words, 'His Aboriginal Majesty, King Boongarie'." He was well known to Governor Macquarie, who wrote of "Boongarie and his tribe of the Pittwater tribes".

[If] Boongarie belonged to the Pittwater tribe, then this second language ... is the language of the Pittwater people, and included the well-known Cammeraygal on the extreme south, along the northern shores of Port Jackson, and stretched as far north at least as Broken Bay (Capell 1970:23-4).

In spite of Capell's assertion that the Karree 'language' came from Pittwater, it could equally have come from *north* of the Hawkesbury River—on the same argument used by Capell, of being like another language, because both it and Long Dick's list resemble Awabakal. And if the Karree list were indeed authored by Threlkeld, it is again more likely to have been taken down north of the Hawkesbury because that is where Threlkeld was.



Capell's map, 1970, illustrating 'Fresh Discoveries'

Capell named Karree the 'Kuringgai language', and asserted that:

the "Sydney" language did not cross Port Jackson. Moreover, the difference between the two [Kuringgai and Sydney languages] is at language level, not at dialect level; it would be necessary for natives of each area to learn each other's language, as apparently they did, or the existence of two languages would have been noticed at the first. The southern boundary of Kuringgai would therefore be the northern side of Port Jackson (1970:24).

Capell's claim that 'Cammeraygal' was included within the Karree language area may have been based on the reference, in the introduction to the Mann vocabulary, that 'it was obtained from Long Dick an influential native of the Cammeray tribe'. This reference is surprising given that Smith, in his master's degree thesis, places Long Dick in Brisbane Water, and cites a passage by Mann distinguishing the 'tribe' in this locality from the Cammeray 'tribe'. Specifically, Smith states that, in blanket-list returns² for the period 1832-42, Long Dick (whose indigenous name was *Boio*) was recorded as being 'a member of ... the Brisbane Water "tribe" at Broken Bay', that Mann met Boio and his mother at Brisbane Water in 1842, and that, as Mann made no further reference to Boio in three newspaper articles written over seventeen years, the vocabulary was probably obtained at that time (Smith 2004:19-20).

The passage Smith quotes, by Mann (writing in connection with Boio and commenting on the Brisbane Water people's range), states:

Their territory was bounded on the south side by the Hawkesbury River, which separated them from the Sydney or Cammeray tribe, with whom they were on terms of friendship (Smith 2004:20) (Mann 1886).

From this it would seem that Long Dick (Boio) was not a member of the Gamaragal, and that there is no argument for any Brisbane Water language, resembling Awabakal, reaching down to the north shore of the harbour. Long Dick, as has been mentioned, was the son of Bungaree.

Bungaree was a colourful Aboriginal identity. He was noted in Sydney as early as 1799 by Collins (1975 [1802]:161) but must have been there sometime earlier in order to have been noticed by Mathew Flinders and taken by

² In the blanket returns, an administrative record was made of the recipients, detailing name, clan or 'tribal' affiliation, and family members. The annual charitable distribution of free blankets to the indigenous people was instituted by Governor Macquarie in 1814, and terminated in New South Wales in 1844 (Horton 1994:134).

Flinders on a six-week voyage to the north coast in the sloop *Norfolk* that year. McCarthy wrote of Bungaree that:

he came with the remnants of his Broken Bay group to settle in Sydney (1983 [1966]:177.1).

It could have been Bungaree's activities that created a Brisbane Water language association with Cammeray. McCarthy continues:

In 1804 he [Bungaree] escorted back natives who had come to Sydney from Newcastle;

and:

In 1815 Governor Macquarie set up fifteen members of Bungaree's group on a farm at George's Head.

The Russian explorer, F.D. Bellingshausen, on a visit to Port Jackson in March and April 1820, recorded a visit by a 'family of natives' including Bungaree:

Boongaree said, 'These are my people'. Then, pointing at the whole northern shore, he said, 'This is my shore' (Barratt 1981:34).

Bungaree's Brisbane Water clan, in this apparent claim of the north shore as homeland, may have been filling a vacuum left by the disappearing original inhabitants of the Cammeray district, adding to it their language, or even supplanting the old. This might account for Threlkeld's observation in September 1838, quoted elsewhere by Smith:

of those tribes occupying the limits bounded by the North head of Port Jackson, on the south, and Hunter's River on the north, and extending inland about 60 miles, all of which speak the same dialect (Legislative Council Minutes of Evidence cited in Sadleir 1883:39) (Smith 1992:24).

In the absence of data, who spoke what dialect where is speculation. In 1970 when Capell wrote, language lists were available for harbourside Sydney provided by Collins, King and others (the Dawes notebooks would not be uncovered for another two years); but still at the present day there appears to be no language information for the North Shore other than placenames (Curl

Curl³, Dee Why, Narrabeen, Berowra, Kuringgai etc., with meaning explanations of uncertain reliability), and not a single sentence unambiguously recorded as being of any original 'Cammeraygal' language.

In any case the likelihood of the languages spoken at the water's edge to the north and south of the harbour originally being different is slight. There was free movement of canoes and people around the harbour. Bradley recorded, among many such examples of canoeing intercourse:

Sunday 30. [March 1788] Natives as yesterday, on our boat going towards them they paddled to the shore & ran into the woods & came out again as soon as our boat left them, we did not interrupt them again. they staid to the 2nd April & then went two coves higher up this party consisted of 17 Canoes with 30 people in them (1969:98).

Sunday 17th. [August 1788] The Governor & Capt Hunter went down the Harbor with two boats & the 1st Lieut. & Master up the Harbour with 2 boats to examine all the Coves & collect as near as possible the number of Canoes & natives then about the Harbour, these were met with, 67 Canoes, 94 Men, 34 Women & 9 Children (1969:119).

Cross-harbour movement by the north shore Gamaragal was recorded, for shared ceremonies at Farm Cove:

To the tribe of Cam-mer-ray also belonged the exclusive and extraordinary privilege of exacting a tooth from the natives of other tribes inhabiting the sea-coasts, or of all such as were within their authority (Collins 1975 [1798]:453).

... the people from Cam-mer-ray arrived, among whom were those who were to perform the operation, all of whom appeared to have been impatiently expected by the other natives. ... The place selected for this extraordinary exhibition was at the head of Farm Cove, where a space had been for some days prepared by clearing it of grass, stumps, etc.; it was of an oval figure, the dimensions of it 27 feet by 18, and was named Yoo-lahng (Collins:467).

Dawes made no reference to a language difference on the northern and southern shores of the harbour, yet he and Tench both drew attention to minor dialectal variations between the 'coasters' (the Sydney people on the coast), and the 'wood tribes' inland (see table T6.18).

³ Possibly gura gura, from gwara = 'high wind', Dawes (b:8:16), Anon (c:26:5); confirmed by Houston-Longfield interview (Houston 1905:6:28).

Threlkeld, who spent seventeen years associating with the indigenous people and acquired proficiency in the local language, first perceived little distinction between languages:

... tribes within one hundred miles do not at the first interview understand each other, yet I have observed that after a very short space of time they are able to converse freely, which could not be the case were the language, as many suppose it to be, radically distinct (1834:ix).

Later he was forced to acknowledge language variation:

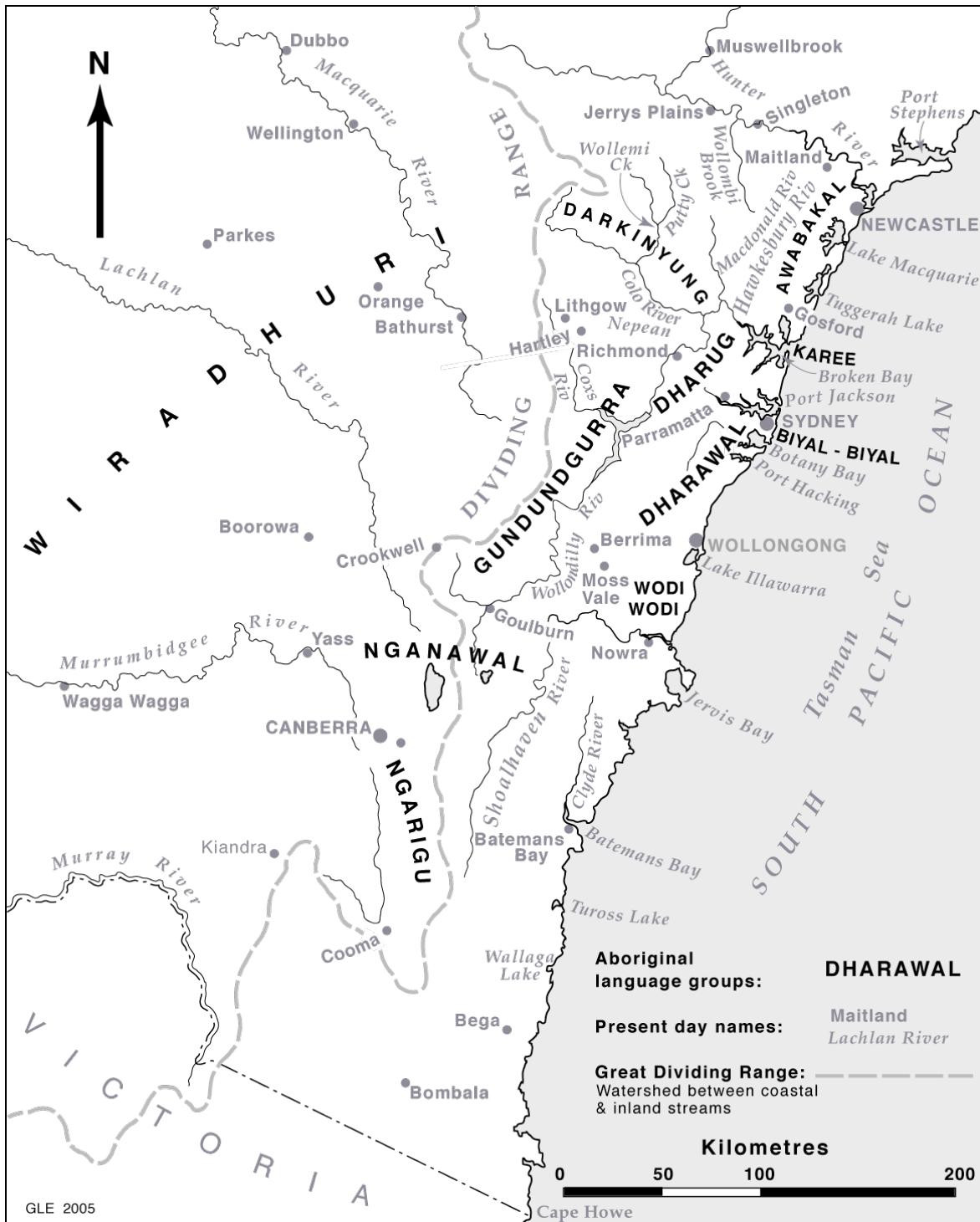
Some years ago, an Aborigine of this colony was in the old Sydney Gaol, awaiting his trial; I was requested to see him in order to ascertain his defence, but found his dialect so very different to that which I had studied, that we could not satisfactorily converse together (1850:72).

It would seem that, because of the degree of vocabulary and grammatical differences, it would have been unlikely for individuals from Lake Macquarie and Sydney who lacked knowledge of each other's language to have been able to converse successfully together.

Where the boundary between Biyal-Biyal and the language to the north lay, or where they merged into one another, it is not possible to determine. The well-inhabited harbour was unlikely to have constituted such a line of separation; the less populated hilly bushland between Port Jackson and Broken Bay is more probably where the languages might have diverged.

1.4 Neighbouring languages

The following map, providing a general indication of location of the language groups, is based on boundary information supplied by the sources from whom the language records have come.



Biyal-Biyal, spoken between the harbour and Botany Bay, and its neighbouring languages

1.4.1 *Awabakal*

L.E. Threlkeld, the primary source of information for Awabakal, did not define boundaries for the language of the people for whom he was missionary, nor did he provide a name for it. It was the language spoken at Lake Macquarie, and is substantially similar in vocabulary and grammatical structure to that recorded in the Karree word and sentence list.

1.4.2 *Darkinyung*

The present-day Putty Road to the north-west of Sydney runs for much of its length through the territory of the Darkinyung people. The only significant source of information for this language is Mathews, through two published papers and his field notebooks. Mathews, a far-ranging and enthusiastic observer of indigenous culture and language, was by profession a surveyor, and accordingly it may be assumed that his awareness of location was keen. He defined the area concerned in two of his papers. The first was in ‘The Burbung of the Darkinung Tribes’:

One of the principal dialects was the Darkinung, which was spoken by the tribes occupying the country on the southern side of the Hunter River, from Jerry’s Plains downwards towards Maitland, extending southerly to Wollombi Brook, Putty Creek, and including the Macdonald, Colo and Hawkesbury Rivers (1897:1).

He added the following comment affecting the Dharug boundaries:

Amongst the other dialects employed within the boundaries indicated may be mentioned the Wannungine, and Darrook; but it is probable that in former times there were others of less importance, which have entirely disappeared at the present day.

Mathews dealt with the Darkinyung language again and in much the same terms in a section within a larger paper on the Kamilaroi:

The Darkiñung speaking people adjoined the Kamilaroi on the south-east and occupied a considerable range of country in the counties of Hunter, Northumberland and Cook, extending from Wilberforce and Wisemans Ferry on the Hawkesbury River to Jerry’s Plains and Singleton on the Hunter, and including the basins of the Colo and Macdonald Rivers, Wollombi Brook and other streams (c.1903:271).

1.4.3 *Dharug*

The primary source of information on the Dharug people and language is again Mathews, in ‘The Dharook Language’, a section of a paper on ‘The Thurrawal Language’, and in field notebooks. He defined the area:

The Dharruk speaking people adjoined the Thurrawal on the north, extending along the coast to the Hawkesbury River, and inland to what are now Windsor, Penrith, Campbelltown, and intervening towns (1901:155).

According to this description, the Dharug people did not extend into the Blue Mountains, which rise abruptly to the west of the Nepean River.

1.4.4 *Gundungurra*

There are three Mathews papers for the Gundungurra language, all of which place the language geographically. The major paper, written in collaboration with Mary Everitt who made her own direct contact with the indigenous informants, provided the most precise description:

The aboriginal tribes whose customs form the subject of this treatise, formerly inhabited the south-eastern coastal district of New South Wales from the Hawkesbury River to Cape Howe, extending inland to the Blue Mountains, and thence southerly by a line passing approximately through the following places, viz., Hartley, Crookwell, Yass, and Kiandra (Mathews and Everitt 1900:262).

The next, by Mathews independently, reduced the southerly extent of the language to Goulburn:

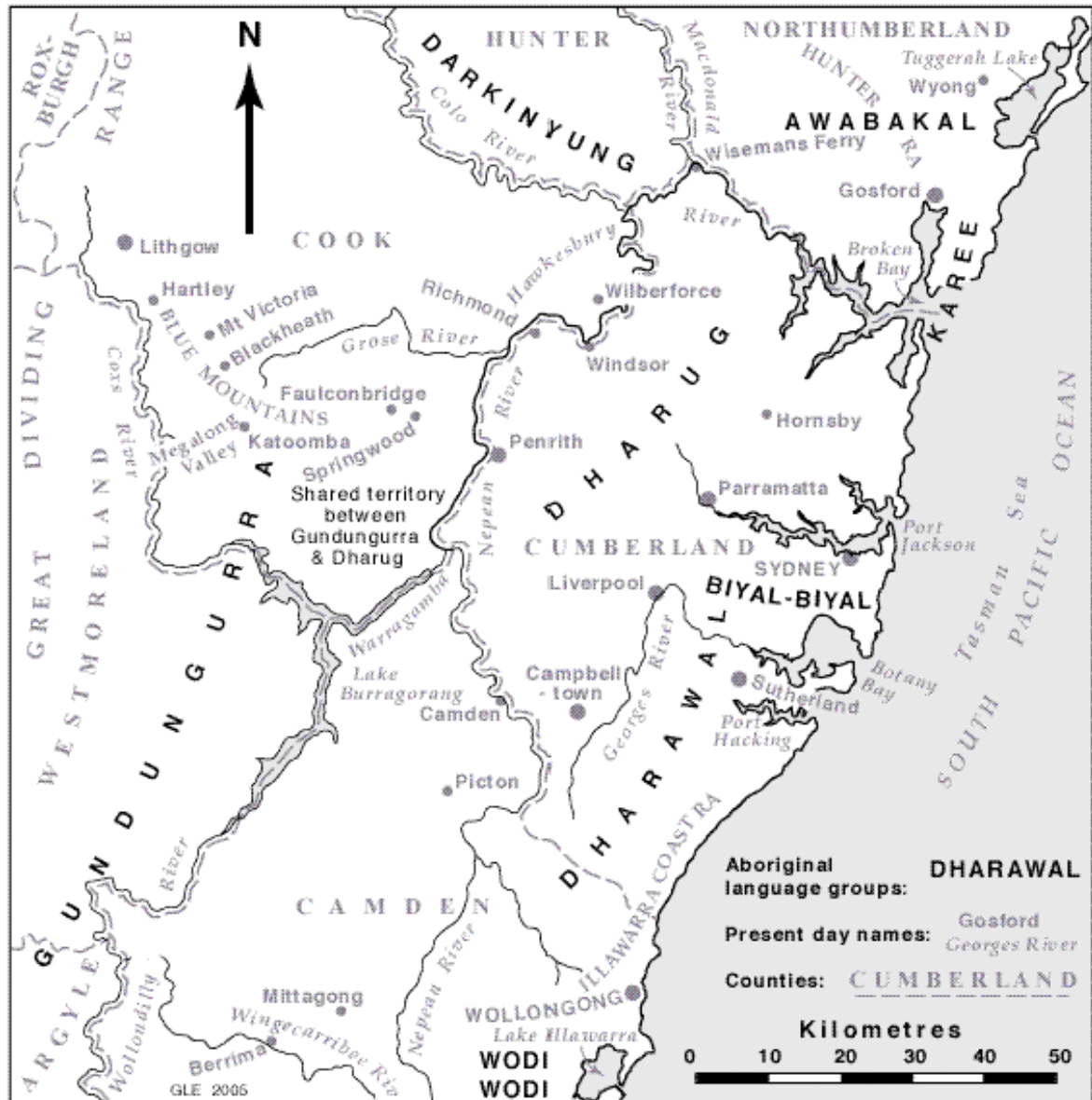
The Dhar'rook and Gun'dungur'ra tribes respectively occupied the country from the mouth of the Hawkesbury river to Mount Victoria, and thence southerly to Berrima and Goulburn, New South Wales. On the south and southeast they were joined by the Thurrawal, ... (1901:140).

The final paper, again by Mathews alone, is a Gundungurra section in his ‘The Thurrawal Language’ paper. About the location of the Gundungurra-speaking people he wrote:

The Gundungurra tribes occupied the country to the west of the Thurrawal and Dharruk, as far as Goulburn, where they adjoined the Ngunawal tribes (Mathews 1901:151).

Mathews’ statement that Gundungurra was west of Dharug confirms his description of Dharug above, whose westerly extent he put at Richmond and

Windsor, more or less at the foot of the Blue Mountains. However, it conflicts with the general maps by both Tindale and Horton, which show Wiradhuri and Dharug as adjacent. The separation of these two groups by Gundungurra is supported by the following studies.



Local language groups, and possible shared territory west of the Nepean River

1.4.5 *Shared territory*

Maureen Breckell in *Blue Mountains Dreaming* described a mountain area of shared interest to the Dharug and Gundungurra peoples:

The area covered stretches approximately from the modern Bell's Line of Road in the north to the Burraborang Valley in the south, from the Hawkesbury–Nepean river system in the east to the Cox's River in the west. To the north and east this was the territory of the Dharug who also occupied the Cumberland Plain. To the south and west the area belonged to the Gundungurra people who came along the Cox's River into the Megalong Valley. Just where the common Boundary lay between the two tribes in 1788 can only be guessed at and very imperfectly from early accounts (Breckell 1993:114).

In another paper in the same work Eugene Stockton noted an area within the region defined by Breckell, and of which Faulconbridge is in the approximate centre, where archaeologists have come across fewer occupation sites than in localities not far away, yet where there are high concentrations of rock engravings and other artwork. He commented:

I now favour the view of Greg Gaul and others that this may mark the boundary between the Dharug and Gundungurra people, a sort of no-man's land serving as an inter-tribal ceremonial ground ... (Stockton 1993:68).

From this it would seem that the Dharug people essentially occupied the flat lands of the Cumberland Plain, venturing as far as the central Blue Mountains for special purposes. The Gundungurra, in this part of their extensive range at least, were upper Blue Mountains people who might have moved down to the central 'shared' area likewise for special purposes, where they might have interacted with the Dharug. And in spite of Breckell's comment, people north of the area she delineated would probably have been Darkinyung rather than Dharug.

1.4.6 *Dharawal*

Once again, it was Mathews who provided the only significant written record of the Dharawal language, in two papers. In the first and larger of these he wrote:

The Thurrawal speaking people were formerly spread over the south-east coast of New South Wales from Port Hacking to Jervis Bay, and extended inland for a considerable distance (1901:127).

In the second and briefer paper, which Mathews appears to have had privately printed, he was even less specific about the area of usage of:

... the Thurrawal language, spoken by a number of aboriginal tribes on the south-east coast of New South Wales, between the Hawkesbury River and the Victorian boundary (1901:1).

Eades, in her study of the Dharawal and Dhurga languages, which included reviews of the language information supplied by John Ridley (1875) for ‘Turuwul’, Wodi Wodi, and ‘the language of the Aborigines of George’s River, Cowpasture and Appin’, stated:

Dharawal was spoken from the southern shores of Botany Bay to the Nowra–Jervis Bay area, and Dhurga from the Nowra–Jervis Bay area to Wallaga Lake (1976:5).

1.5 Language location suggestion

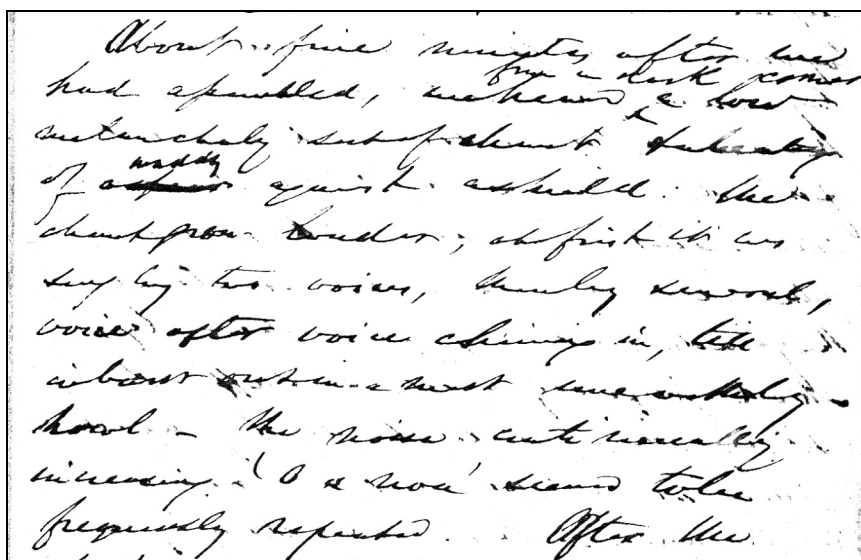
In the absence of linguistic studies it is possible for concepts of questionable validity to develop. A document by Geoff Moore that was on the Internet in 2001 but not in 2005 stated:

Eora and Tharawal / Dharawal are synonymous terms. That is, that the Eora were speakers of that language (Moore c.2001).

This appears to have been based on a diary record of the Reverend W.B.

Clarke, dated January 1840, of a corroboree he witnessed in the Illawarra. The key passage is, as transcribed by Moore:

About five minutes after we had assembled we heard from a dark corner a low melancholy sort of chant, and a beating of a waddy against a shield; the shout grew louder, at first it was sung by two voices, then by several [voice after voice] chiming in till it burst out in a most unearthly howl — the noise [continually] increasing. O-Roa seemed to be frequently repeated.



Clarke's Journal, p. 236

Moore remarked:

Chanting the word O'Roa was the equivalent of the 'Sydney blacks' singing a National Anthem. 'We are the Eora / O'Roa / Ayora'. This evidence also points to the fact that circa 1840, the Sydney Aborigines had not completely 'died out' and were still striving to live their Dreamtime based lifestyle 52 years after the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788.

It is a leap to assume 'O'Roa' was 'Eora'. The word looks more like 'O a noa', and might have been *yunuwa*: *yaniwa* = 'the mothers of the novices, and the principal old women of the tribe' (Mathews and Everitt 1900:279:26 [Gga]); or

nganawu = ‘other side of’ (M&E 1900:268:4 [Gga]); or something else. It is unlikely to have been the chanting of a Sydney anthem, which is suggestive of vigour and numbers. For by not many years later, 1857, according to Threlkeld then living in the eastern suburbs, ‘the tribe that formerly occupied the site of Sydney’ had been reduced to a single infirm member (1892:126).

*

The present study seeks to demonstrate that Biyal-Biyal was a separate language, allied to Dharug, and distinct from the neighbouring languages of Dharawal, Gundungurra, Darkinyung and Awabakal.

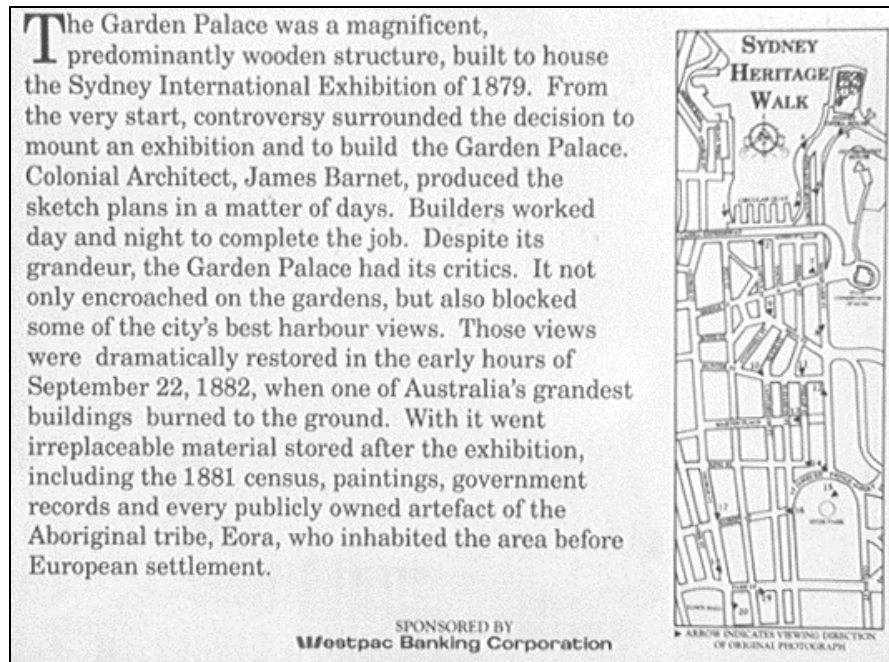
2 SOURCES AND LITERATURE

While Sydney was not the first part of Australia to have European contact during which indigenous words were recorded—this may have happened with William Dampier nearly a century earlier in the west (Dampier 1729: vol.I:469; vol.III:101)—it was the first place to have substantial and prolonged Aboriginal contact. The indigenous language was encountered in 1788, records were subsequently made, and artefacts collected. Drawings and paintings have survived, as have wordlists and, since 1972, the language work of William Dawes has become available. Yet in spite of early collecting ...

Most of us had made collections of their spears, throwing-sticks, etc. as opportunities occurred (Collins 1975 [1798]:487-8)

As very ample collections of all these articles are to be found in many museums in England, ... (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:283)

there is little from Sydney to be found in Australian museums. This is perhaps in part due to the loss of the Garden Palace formerly in the Royal Botanic Gardens near Macquarie Street, which had been built for the Sydney International Exhibition in 1879; it was destroyed by fire in 1882, and in the conflagration was lost, according to a sign near the site, illustrated below, ‘every publicly owned artefact of the Aboriginal tribe, Eora, who inhabited the area before European settlement’.



The last six lines refer to the loss of indigenous artefacts. The sign itself had disappeared by 2005.

There is correspondingly little information specifically on the Sydney Aboriginal language. Notes on the principal known wordlist compilers and commentators follow, introduced by a fuller description of Dawes, whose work is central to the present study.

2.1 William Dawes (1762-1836)

2.1.1 Achievements

Dawes was twenty-six years of age when he arrived in Sydney in January 1788 as a second-lieutenant of marines. He left Sydney under a cloud on 18 December 1791 on the *Gorgon*, with the marines. He was educated, practical, principled and industrious. These virtues were matched neither by the prudence or tact that might have enabled him to secure the career advancement he desired, nor by any flair for writing. He might also have been unlucky.



Lieutenant William Dawes. Artist unknown, c1830s

Reproduced with permission of the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, Hobart

Dawes was the subject of unsolicited tributes, one from Daniel Southwell, a mate on the *Sirius*, in a letter to his mother:

To give you his character in a few words, he is a most amiable man, and though young, truly religious, without any appearance of formal sanctity. He is kind to everyone; but I am speaking of his many affabilities to myself, which are such that more could not be looked for from a relation. He has a great share of general knowledge, studious, yet ever cheerful, and the goodness of his disposition renders him esteemed by all who know him (Southwell 1893 [1788]:711).

A second was in a letter of August 1794 from William Wilberforce to the Home Secretary, Henry Dundas:

I don't believe there is in the world a more solid, honest, indefatigable man, more full of resources and common sense (Wood 1924:9).

A third was provided by Zacchary Macauley five years after the conclusion of Dawes' New South Wales experience. Macauley and Dawes had governed Sierra Leone by turns, with Macauley staying in Dawes' house for a period and going on excursions with him. Macauley wrote in 1796:

Dawes is one of the excellent of the earth. With great sweetness of disposition and self-command he possesses the most unbending principles. For upwards of three years have we acted together, and in that time many difficult cases arose for our decision: yet I am not sure that, in the perplexities of consultation and the warmth of discussion, we either uttered an unkind word or cast an unkind look at one another (Holland 1900:135—quoted in Wood 1924, p.12).

Dawes was born in 1762 and baptised in Portsmouth on 17 March of that year (Gillen 1989:101). It is not known how he was educated, but it can be deduced that it was effective. He evidently had studied Latin and French, from his ready use of verb paradigms, of such terminology as 'imperative mood' and 'the ablative case', and his reference to:

To make or do (*faire* in French) (Dawes 1791:(b:3:29)).

Competence in French may also be inferred from a letter entirely in French sent to Dawes from Botany Bay on about 10 March 1788 by French astronomer Joseph Lepaute Dagelet, who was with La Perouse (Dagelet 1788).

Dawes' competence in the applied sciences was recognised prior to his departure as a member of the First Fleet, his interest and proficiency in astronomy being great enough for him to be acknowledged, and supplied with astronomical equipment, by the Astronomer Royal, as mentioned below (Wood 1924:2).

The Royal Marines Museum in Southsea, Hampshire, in supplying a 'summary of service of Lieutenant William Dawes', stated:

...there is no record of Lieutenant Dawes' service in either our collection, or at the Public Records Office, Ruskin Avenue, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, TW9 4DU, and this is the closest approximation to one that we have been able to compile, from the materials in our museum (Spiers 1981).

Dawes enlisted in the marines in 1779 at the age of seventeen, and on 2 September that year was appointed second lieutenant in the 32nd Company, Portsmouth Division (Royal Marines Museum n.d.), these events possibly being simultaneous. He was 'present at the Battle of the Chesapeake 5 September 1781, in HMS *Resolution*' (Nicolas 1845:117—cited in Royal Marines Museum Summary of service of Lt William Dawes) and was wounded (Currer-Jones 1930:1). He transferred to 11th Company in 1783, and 'served from 1783 to 1785 on *Merlin* in North American waters' (Gillen 1989:101.1).

He secured a position with the First Fleet for the establishment of the penal colony at Botany Bay, as an officer of the *Sirius* flagship rather than on shore as he desired, and a member of one of the four companies of marines (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:77) that were provided as a guard—against the natives and convicts, and for the establishment of a British naval base (Austin 1963:190). The fleet sailed from Portsmouth on 13 May 1787 and arrived in Botany Bay 18-20 January 1788 (Fraser 1983:51-2). Dawes' practical usefulness was soon to be called upon, and he was appointed 'officer of artillery and engineers' in April that year, charged to construct a 'redoubt' as a defence measure for the new settlement (Collins 1975 [1798]:20), and he was thereafter released from the *Sirius* to the Port Jackson detachment on 24 May 1788, in replacement of the medically unfit second lieutenant William Collins (Austin 1963:191).

His passion for astronomy was the subject of a recommendation from a Captain William Twiss (Gillen 1989:101.1), which led to his being provided, under a subsequent recommendation of the Astronomer Royal, the Rev. Dr

Nevil Maskelyne, with equipment for setting up an observatory, with instructions to watch for a comet expected to reappear in southern skies in 1789 (Mander-Jones 1983 [1966]:297.2). The observatory was under construction by July (Phillip 1788). These connections were to induce Dawes to name a hill 'Mt Twiss', in December 1789, when leading an expedition beyond the Nepean River; and to his setting up his observatory at what is now Dawes Point, but which at his request was originally given the European name 'Maskelyne Point' (Mander-Jones:297.2).

Dawes was versatile, and an achiever, as is evidenced by the following.

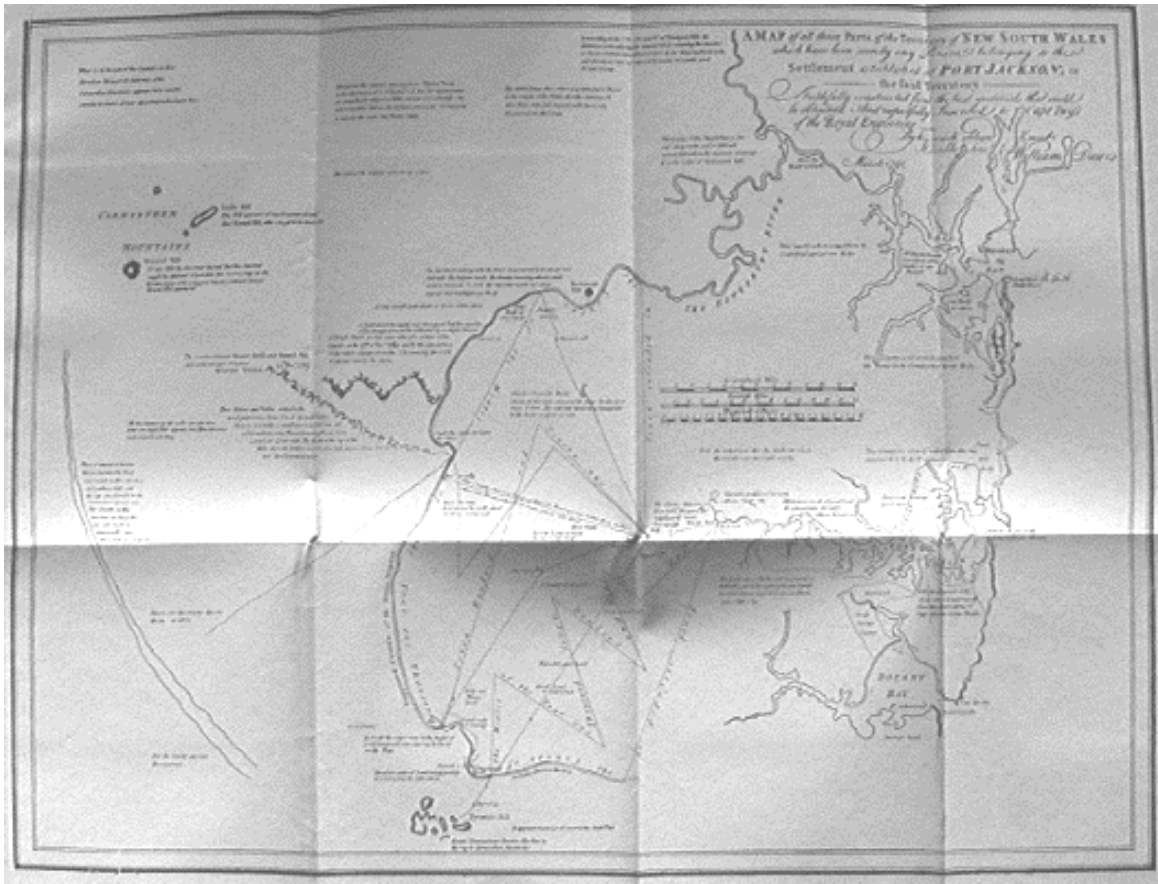
—As a town planner: Dawes himself affirmed, in a 'Memorial' written around thirty-five years after the events he referred to happened, that with:

the Surveyor General [Augustus Alt], being advanced in Years and not sufficiently acquainted with the practice of surveying and laying out Lands in a New Country; he [Dawes] was employed in laying out the Towns of Sydney and Paramata, in surveying the Government Farm in the vicinity of the former and in various other similar Services (Dawes 1926 [1826]:227).

In March 1788 Tench stated that:

the plan of the town was drawn, and the ground on which it is hereafter to stand surveyed, and marked out (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:57).

—As a cartographer: Dawes drew a map of the County of Cumberland region in March 1791, including the routes of his exploring expeditions: 9-16 December 1789 to Mt Twiss; 1-8 August 1790 to Pyramid Hill (with Tench); 24-28 August 1790 to Richmond Hill (with Tench). The map was published in Hunter's Journal, and reproduced in the *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* (Dawes 1926 [1791]).



Dawes' 'map of those parts of the territory of New South Wales which have been seen by any person belonging to the settlement established at Port Jackson', March 1791

A similar map, with some stylistic modifications and revised information, appeared in Tench's work, without acknowledgement to Dawes (Tench 1799 [1789, 1793]:120). The original authorship of the work was confirmed by G. Arnold Wood, University of Sydney professor of history 1891-1928, who stated:

The maps of Dawes and Tench—the latter founded on the former ... (Wood 1926:15)

and Campbell commented on:

the surprising accuracy displayed by Dawes in connection with the various 'compass-and-pace' surveys he effected during his brief stay in the colony, where the ground could, in any way, admit of pacing ... (Campbell 1926:34)

Campbell included a table of nine distances estimated by Dawes, which compared these with the then latest maps, and revealed exact or near-exact correlation for all, up to the longest distance of 25 miles.

—As an engineer: Dawes stated in the same 1826 Memorial that:

almost immediately on arrival at Port Jackson, he was appointed Engineer and Officer of Artillery to the Colony, and in that capacity superintended the erection of several Batteries and the Powder Magazine (1926 [1826]:227).

One of these works was Dawes Battery, traces of which are still visible by the south-east pylon of the Sydney Harbour Bridge.

—As an explorer: in his 1826 Memorial, Dawes referred to the first of his exploratory endeavours. In this instance he was in command:

in December 1789 [he was] ordered by Governor Philip to proceed with a Party towards the Carmarthen Mountains, with the view of attaining their summit if practicable, and of exploring the country in the way; ... and ... penetrated to the distance of about fifty four miles from the sea coast (Dawes 1926 [1826]:228).

In the other expeditions, between August 1790 and July 1791, Tench was a participant. They were two educated men with common interests, which included exploration. Tench recorded one of Dawes' useful talents:

Our method, on these expeditions, was to steer by compass, noting the different courses as we proceeded; and counting the number of paces, of which two thousand two hundred, on good ground, were allowed to be a mile. ... This arduous task was always allocated to Mr. Dawes, who, from habit and superior skill, performed it almost without a stop, or an interruption of conversation: to any other man, on such terms, it would have been impracticable (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]: footnote, p.224).

Thus Dawes took part in seven exploratory expeditions of two to eight days, apart from his reluctant membership of the first punitive expedition of three days that was to cause him much trouble.

2.1.2 Watkin Tench

Tench, who was about four years older than Dawes, appears also to have been aged seventeen when he joined the marines in 1776, as a second lieutenant.

The two were similar in many ways, but while Dawes was eventually to receive, in 1793, a solitary promotion to first lieutenant (Royal Marines Museum n.d.), Tench had achieved such promotion in just over two years, and was captain-lieutenant four years later. After a period on half pay Tench re-

entered the service in 1786 at that rank, for duty in New South Wales. On his return from Australia at the same time as Dawes in 1792, Tench was promoted to brevet major. In the course of his professional military life Tench was in the thick of action on numerous occasions, was imprisoned twice—by the Americans and French—learnt French, wrote books, and retired in 1821 a lieutenant-general (Fitzhardinge 1959:xvi-xvii; 354).

2.1.3 *Obstacles*

By contrast Dawes, perhaps because of his ‘unbending principles’, had a moderately successful life but one studded with difficulties in human relations, financial affairs and frustrated ambitions. A significant moment was when Governor Phillip, in December 1790, conceived a punitive expedition against the Aboriginal people for the fatal spearing of a detested gamekeeper, in which both Tench and Dawes were intended as principal players. Tench persuaded Phillip to convert the object of the mission from capturing two natives and bringing back the heads of ten others in bags, to capturing six with a view to executing two, or if capture were impossible, to shooting six. Tench then led two military expeditions, both to prove fruitless. By contrast Dawes, on being ordered to take part, first refused, then reluctantly agreed to do so only after consulting the minister of religion, the Rev. Richard Johnson. Subsequently he stated in writing to Phillip that he would not comply should he be so directed again. To disobey the order of a commanding officer is a military offence.

According to Copley and Wood, Phillip later wrote:

On this order appearing, Lieut. Dawes, whose tour of duty it was to go out with the party, refused that duty by letter to the senior officer of the detachment (Capt. Campbell), who, finding it impossible to persuade Lieut. Dawes to obey the order, brought the letter to the Governor, who likewise took great pains to point out the consequence of his (Lieut. Dawes) being put under an arrest (Copley 1963:309) (Wood 1924:5-6).

Tench, by combining obedience with diplomacy, emerged with official approval and his humanitarian principles intact. Dawes, by initial defiance then reluctant acquiescence, followed by notice of future non-obedience under similar circumstances, clashed with authority: grounds for a court martial under certain circumstances. Dawes' dilemma was due not only to his conscience but also to the fact that at the time this crisis unfolded around November and December 1790, he was making dated notebook entries of his daily contact with the indigenous people (Dawes 1791:5, 7, 9, 19, 21). He had befriended both adults and teenage children, and was studying their language. Tench, after his return to England, wrote:

Of the language of New South Wales I once hoped to have subjoined to this work such an exposition, as should have attracted public notice; and have excited public esteem. But the abrupt departure of Mr. Dawes, who, stimulated equally by curiosity and philanthropy, had hardly set foot on his native country, when he again quitted it, to encounter new perils, in the service of the Sierra Leona company, precludes me from executing this part of my original intention, in which he had promised to co-operate with me; and in which he had advanced his researches beyond the reach of competition (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:291).

On several occasions Dawes expressed a desire to remain in New South Wales. According to Mander-Jones, in October 1788 he 'applied for a further three years service in the colony' (Mander-Jones 1983 [1966]:297.2), while Cobley recorded the names of Dawes and Tench among others in a 'List of such Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Privates, as are desirous of remaining in this Country after the Time their Lordships intended to relieve the Detachment' compiled by Major Robert Ross on 1 March 1790 (Cobley 1963:156-7). However, Dawes could not agree to terms required of him by Phillip, which included acceptance of a more junior rank of ensigncy in the newly formed New South Wales Corps (Dawes 1926 [1826]:228), and so left on the *Gorgon* when the tour of duty of the marines ended (Mander-Jones:298.1).

In a letter to Maskelyne while still on the voyage to England Dawes expressed a desire to return (Mander-Jones 1983 [1966]:298.1), and he did the same in July 1792 on a visit to the Rev. John Newton upon his arrival in England (Wood 1924:7-8). Others made efforts on his behalf. In 1794 the anti-slavery campaigner William Wilberforce, in a letter to the Home Secretary Henry Dundas, pressed the suitability of the appointment of Dawes as a superintendent of schools in New South Wales, citing that:

he then came back to be married, meaning to return with his wife, and fix in New South Wales for the remainder of his life, employing himself in agriculture, etc. (from purely benevolent motives), in the civilization and instruction of the natives (Wood:8).

No offer good enough was received by Dawes, according to Wood (Wood:11). In May 1798, Hunter, by then governor, wrote to the new home secretary, the Third Duke of Portland:

I understand it was the intention of the Government to appoint an engineer, and that Lieutenant Dawes, then of the marines, was the gentleman proposed on the occasion. If Mr Dawes could be found I shall be happy to have his assistance as an engineer, conceiving him to be eminently qualified (Hunter 1892-1901 [1798]:391).

Nothing came of this either.

Dawes' professional life never seemed to recover from his dispute with the Governor, and any luck he might have once enjoyed in his private affairs seems to have deserted him. Perhaps the 'great pains' Phillip took concerning Dawes included influence with the British establishment, inducing Wood to regret Australia's loss:

But one of our most bitter accusations against the pagan British Government is that, in its selfish indifference, it threw aside the suggestion that Lieutenant Dawes should be made first superintendent of education in New South Wales (Wood 1924:12).

While Dawes' desire for a return to New South Wales was never to be fulfilled, he pursued a humanitarian course, as governor of Sierra Leone for periods up to 1803. He was in England until 1813, during which time he helped train

potential missionaries, then finally transferred to the West Indies always in pursuance of the anti-slave trade movement.

The wife of Dawes mentioned by Wilberforce was a Miss Rutter of Portsmouth, who died in about 1800. Dawes was to marry again, Grace Gilbert, after his arrival in Antigua in the West Indies (Mander-Jones 1983 [1966]:298.2). His financial circumstances duly became sufficiently strained for him to make the forlorn appeal in the 'Memorial' already mentioned, for payment for labours performed half a lifetime earlier in Sydney.

Bad luck dogged him even after his death in 1836:

... the Family papers, many consisting of Dawes' letters etc. ... had been destroyed after the death of one of his grandsons (Currer-Jones 1930:i).

... Since writing the above, I have heard from Antigua that many of Dawes' papers were destroyed by the terrible hurricane in 1871. The utmost was done to decipher the remains of these, but it was found impossible (Currer-Jones:iv).

When Dawes left the colony in 1791, with him departed many of those who knew him best and knew his work, and others such as Governor Phillip and David Collins were to follow. If memory of Dawes and his contribution to learning the indigenous language lingered, it did not last a generation. By 1814 the situation of the indigenous people in Sydney had deteriorated to the extent that a former missionary to the South Seas, William Shelley, put forward a proposal to the then governor, Lachlan Macquarie. In a letter to the London Missionary Society he referred to this proposal, while the forgotten Dawes with his knowledge of Biyal-Biyal, languished in Antigua:

It is very remarkable that tho' this Colony has been settled nearly thirty years no one has attempted the study of the language of the Natives (Shelley 1814).

Shelley's submission was to lead to the opening of the Aboriginal School or Native Institution at Parramatta in 1815.

Wood opened his paper on Dawes and Tench with the following words:

There is no man among the founders who ought to have given us so much information about himself and his views as Lieutenant Dawes, and there is no man among them who has given so little. He was the scholar of the expedition, man of letters and man of science, explorer, mapmaker, student of language, of anthropology, of astronomy, of botany, of surveying, and of engineering, teacher and philanthropist. The duty to posterity of such a man, in such singular circumstances, was that he should be always writing, and in fact he wrote nothing at all that can now be read (Wood 1924:1).

Neither Shelley nor Wood nor anyone else knew about Dawes' Biyal-Biyal legacy—until the notebooks were prised from obscurity by Mander-Jones in 1972.

While Tench's passage left no physical mark on Sydney, Dawes left a street plan, the remnants of a battery, and a point that bears his name. Nevertheless to the Sydney public at large at the beginning of the twenty-first century, 'Tench' and 'Dawes' are equally no more than a pair of meaningless five-letter words.

2.1.4 *Biyal-Biyal informants*

Dawes' informants, and their approximate ages, were the following:

T2.1 DAWES' INFORMANTS, NUMBER OF REFERENCES, APPROXIMATE AGE, AND FATE

Girls	Refs	Age	Fate
Badyigarang	59	16	unknown
Burung	7	16	smallpox survivor, lived 'in camp', with Mrs Johnson, wife of minister (Bradley 1969:162-3); fate unknown
Gunangulyi	8	10	murdered by woman, Nguruwin, as 'expiatory sacrifice', c.1791 (Collins 1975 [1798]:488-9)
Wariwiya	27	11	unknown
Wariwiyal the less	2	16	if Wariwiya Wugul mai ('one-eye'), then avenged-murdered Aug. 1798 (Collins 1975 [1802]:89)
Boys			
Dugiya	1	?	unknown
Nanbari	5	11	youngest of three Cadigal smallpox survivors; lived 'in camp' with surgeon White; d. 12 July 1821
Darabilang	1	17?	unknown
Yirinibi	1	18?	two 'Yirinibi's: one died after a fight, 16 Dec. 1796 (Collins 1975 [1802]:47); Yirinibi Guruwi d. 1840 (Smith 2004:81)
Men			
Baludiri	1	20	d. December 1791
Binilang	5	27	to England with Phillip; d. 3 Jan. 1813, <i>Sydney Gazette</i> 9 Jan. 1805
Gulibi	2	30	last mentioned <i>Sydney Gazette</i> 14 July 1805 (Smith 2004:69)
Kurubin	1	60	unknown
Nganangan	1	18	if this is Gnung-a gnung-a, Mur-re-mur-gan or 'Collins', then d. 1809 (Smith 2004:155)
Women			
Barangaru	5	40	Bennelong's first wife; d. c.1791-2

Further detail on the informants is given in Appendix 2.

2.2 Collectors of vocabulary, and grammatical descriptions

Additional information to enable the Dawes' Biyal-Biyal data to be amplified, corroborated or corrected, is available through the work of other wordlist compilers and exponents of languages and dialects of the region, through:

- original records for Biyal-Biyal or Dharug, consisting mainly of wordlists, with occasionally sentences;
- original records relating to the neighbouring languages, including grammatical descriptions;
- later writers about Sydney and adjoining languages;
- scholars writing on Australian languages.

The following summary will note these contributions on a region-by-region basis, looking first at the early period, up to the time of Mathews, and then the modern period beginning with the first professional scholar in linguistics, Capell.

2.2.1 Greater Sydney region: *Biyal-Biyal and Dharug*

At the time of Cook's visit to Botany Bay in 1770, three brief wordlists were made by Zacchary Hicks [9], William Monkhouse [31] and Isaac Smith [20].

The figures in brackets after the name of the compiler denote the number of words or records in a list.

Apart from Dawes, the principal recorders for the period 1788-1800—mainly in the form of wordlists—were:

T2.2 WORDLIST COMPILERS

Compiler	Qty	Role/rank
David Collins (1975 [1798]:507-13 and throughout the text)	[463]	judge-advocate
Henry Fulton (Fulton 1800-01)	[70]	Church of Ireland minister
Daniel Paine (Paine 1983)	[75]	boatbuilder
Philip Gidley King (King 1786-90: MS 397-410)	[371]	lieutenant
Daniel Southwell (Southwell c.1791)	[180]	mate on the Sirius
Watkin Tench (1979 [1789, 1793]: words throughout the text)	[87]	captain
Notebook (c) (Vocabulary of the language of N.S. Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney. (Native and English, but not alphabetical) c.1791)	[768]	

Others who recorded words in their writings were Lieutenant Ralph Clark [5], Captain John Hunter [17], and Governor Arthur Phillip [21]. Vocabulary was also captured in the captions to paintings and drawings, by Thomas Watling [63], the Port Jackson Painter [97] and by John Hunter [29].

Because the language at Port Jackson began to decline soon after the upheaval beginning in 1788, and because many of the later recordings in the vicinity were made at some distance from the harbour, such later records represent not so much classical Biyal-Biyal as possibly Dharug, or a combination of Dharug and one or more of the nearby languages. The later the list the harder it has been to classify it as belonging to a particular language group. It is not the purpose of the present study to attempt definitive labelling, and accordingly any attributions to language groups made here are intended as indicative only.

Such later lists were made by Richard Binnie [39], Dr James Bowman [156], Benjamin Bowen Carter (informant: Mahroot the Elder) [37], Allan Cunningham [35], Peter Miller Cunningham [4], Philip Parker King [58], J.D. Lang [266], the Rev. Samuel Leigh [19], and Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell [102]. Vocabulary was recorded in the writings of the botanist-explorer George

Caley [80], the Rev. William Branwhite Clarke [9], and Mrs Elizabeth Macarthur [20]. The botanist Robert Brown [92] recorded vocabulary and plant names in a wordlist and in his notebooks in 1803, as did Charles Moore [111] in a plant catalogue published in France in 1855. The Rev. William Ridley [263] (1878) provided a wordlist, together with five phrases and a hunting song, for the Cowpastures or southern Dharug region, this list for convenience being labelled in the present study ‘Dharug-Ridley’ [DgR].

The surveyor, R.H. Mathews (1841-1918), who extensively recorded Aboriginal languages a century ago, provided the following information on Dharug:

— ‘The Dharruk Language’: three pages of grammatical notes appended to a larger article on the Dharawal language (1901:155-7);

— a 4-page wordlist included in the same paper (1901:157-60);

and field notebook data:

— Notebook 5 (c.1900:108-20);

— Notebook 7 (c.1900:31-3).

A reason for his relatively meagre coverage of this language is offered in §2.2.9 below. Brief as Mathews’ record was, it is valuable as a comparison to the record made by Dawes 110 years earlier, whose work, unlike that of say Collins, was entirely unknown to Mathews.

2.2.2 *Awabakal*

Lancelot Edward Threlkeld (1788-1859) was a Congregational minister, missionary for the London Missionary Society, and author (Gunson 1967:528.2). He arrived in Sydney in August 1824 (Champion 1939:303) and set about establishing a mission at Lake Macquarie in May 1825, which was

closed in 1841 (Threlkeld 1892:125-6). His works on what became known as the Awabakal language included:

- The orthography and orthoepy of a dialect of the Aborigines of New South Wales* (1825);
- Specimens of a dialect* [98] (1827);
- An Australian Grammar* (1834);
- An Australian spelling book* (1836);
- A key to the structure of the Aboriginal language* (1850);
- Language of the Australian Aborigines* (1858);
- An Awabakal-English Lexicon* [1017] (1892: A-M completed at the time of his death in 1859);
- An Australian language as spoken by the Awabakal, the people of Awaba or Lake Macquarie* [1454] (1892);
- The Gospel by St Luke Translated into the Language of the Awabakal* (1892).

He also translated St Mark's Gospel, the manuscript of which, sighted by Capell (1970:23), was found on the internet during 2006 (Threlkeld 2002 [1837]).

Threlkeld compiled these pioneering works under circumstances of physical and financial hardship; fractured relations with his employer, the London Missionary Society; and criticism from the Rev. Dr John Dunmore Lang in the press in Sydney (a summary of these difficulties is given in Wilkes 1845:250-3). The 1834 *Grammar* and 1850 *Key* display a depth of perception and breadth of analysis beyond other works on Australian languages until Arthur Capell over a century later. Capell was to say of Threlkeld:

his work was extremely good, especially for those times (Capell 1970:21).

Dixon conceded that Threlkeld ‘produced good grammars and gospel translations’ (1980:10), while observing of Capell: ‘only one scholar, Arthur Capell of the University of Sydney, was active in the field’ during ‘the dark ages of Australian Aboriginal policy [which] extended from about 1910 until the 1960s’ (1980:16).

2.2.3 *Other wordlists to the northward of Sydney*

Various wordlists for languages and dialects to the northward of Sydney subsequently appeared, by explorer René Primavère Lesson [67] (Lesson 1839:296-7), explorer and surveyor John F. Mann [303] (Mann c.1842), the American linguist Horatio Hale [41] (Hale 1846:479-81), the Rev. William Ridley in a comparative table of languages [57] (Ridley 1875:122-9), and J. Tuckerman [120] (Tuckerman 1887), presumably a local resident. The French explorer M. Eugene Delessert (Delessert 1848) recorded about thirty-five words, some Biyal-Biyal and others from areas to the northward of Sydney, in the course of a narrative account of a visit to New South Wales. W.J. Enright provided a 460-item wordlist for Kutthung (Gadang), a language further north than Awabakal, which has proved useful for comparative purposes (Enright 1900).

2.2.4 *Karree*

The Karree manuscript of unknown date, introduced in §1.3.1.1 and to be looked at again in §5.3, was possibly originated by Threlkeld, and is certainly related most strongly to Awabakal.

2.2.5 *Darkinyung*

The only account of the grammar of the Darkinyung language is by Mathews. It is a 6-page description of slight depth and questionable rigour entitled ‘The Darkiñung Language’, appended to a larger article on the Kamilaroi language together with 340-item wordlist (Mathews c.1903:271-275, grammar; 280-281, vocabulary). This is supported by Mathews’ field notebook data: Notebooks 7 (c.1900:1-7, 10-11, 75-81, 95-99) and ‘Criterion’ (c.1900:65).

2.2.6 *Dharawal*

For Dharawal there are two papers by Mathews:

- The Thurrawal Language: a 34-page text of which 28 were devoted to a grammatical description of Dharawal (1901:127-50);
- Thurrawal Grammar—Part I: a 6-page paper having no subsequent parts, which included a description of Mathews’ technique for obtaining information from informants (1901).

Further information is contained in field notebooks:

- Notebook 2 (Mathews c.1900:48-51, 55-58, 59);
- Notebook 3 (Mathews c.1900:43-6);
- Notebook 4 (Mathews c.1900:1-2, 14-5, 21-6);
- Notebook 5 (Mathews c.1900:28-32, 93-104, 121-31, 156-79, 184-5);
- Notebook 7 (Mathews c.1900:99-100);
- Notebook ‘Criterion’ (Mathews c.1900:ii; 19-25, 43-54, 58-61, 63, 65, 67, 72-7).

2.2.7 *Gundungurra*

The main sources for grammatical descriptions of the Gundungurra language are Mathews in collaboration with Everitt, and independently.

—Mathews, R. H. and M. M. Everitt: ‘The Organisation, Language and Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the South-East Coast of New South Wales’, a 19-page paper in which the two combined to produce the first and most significant early work on the Gundungurra language (Mathews and Everitt 1900:262-81).

Mathews independently produced three other papers:

- The Gundungurra Language: a 9-page grammatical description of the language (1901:140-8);
- The Gundungurra Language: a 6-page grammatical description and wordlist appended to a larger article on the Dharawal language (1901:151-5);
- The Ngunawal Language: a 4-page grammatical description of the closely related Ngunawal language, appended to a larger article on the Wiradhuri language, together with a 300-word vocabulary (1904: 294-9, grammar; 303-5, vocabulary).

His field notebook data included:

- Notebook 2 (c.1900:45-7);
- Notebook 5 (c.1900:107, 132-4, 154-5);
- Notebook 7 (c.1900:13-30, 34-36, 63-66 [Ngwl], 65, 67, 99 [Ngwl]);
- Notebook ‘Criterion’ (c.1900:54-58, 62-63, 69-72).

2.2.8 *William Ridley*

A generation before Mathews, Ridley collected wordlists for languages to the southward of Sydney, among which were two he labelled ‘Turuwul’ and ‘Language of George’s River, Cowpasture and Appin’. These lists, when compared with other local languages, most closely resemble ‘Dharawal’ and ‘Dharug’ respectively. To label Ridley’s lists so as to distinguish them from

those of Mathews, which for the purpose of inter-language comparison it is useful to do because there is not complete agreement between the two forms of Dharawal and the two of Dharug, they are here termed ‘Turuwul’ (retaining Ridley’s spelling) and, as noted above, ‘Dharug-Ridley’ respectively, abbreviated to Twl and DgR. The relationship of Ridley’s to other lists, and his claim that Turuwul was formerly spoken at Port Jackson, will be considered in §5.3 and especially §5.3.3.

Details of all relevant lists that might be considered Biyal-Biyal or Dharug are given in Appendix 1: Writers.

2.2.9 Indigenous population decline and reduced language record

Mathews probably gave as much care to the Dharug language as he applied to other languages he documented. Yet his description of it—lacking, for example, verb paradigms featuring person, number and tense—is less comprehensive and systematic than elsewhere. It may have been that he was able to record only what was available. In the case of Dharug, such information might not have been as easy to obtain; perhaps, by 1901, the language was in substantial decline and his informants were by then less linguistically capable than elsewhere. This may be explained by reflection on historical events.

The European upheaval beginning in January 1788 affected the indigenous population, with the impact greater the closer the Aboriginal people were to the hub of European activity. On the Australian mainland, the indigenous population occupying the area around the harbour to Botany Bay, where it all

began, would have been the first to be overwhelmed; the next would have been the adjacent inland clans of the Dharug.

Threlkeld wrote in 1857:

The extinction of the aborigines is still progressing throughout these colonies. The last man of the tribe which formerly occupied the site of Sydney may now be seen sitting by the way side, a paralytic, soliciting alms from passers by, and this he does from choice, rather than enter the Benevolent Asylum. Those who drive by in their carriages along the South Head Road often throw him a sixpence or so, and thus he is bountifully provided for in his native and beloved state of freedom (1892:126).

According to this testimony the Biyal-Biyal-speaking population had been virtually eliminated by 1857. Of the indigenous population at Lake Macquarie where Threlkeld had had his mission station, he wrote in the same passage:

Circumstances, which no human power could control, brought the mission to a final termination on December 31, 1841, when the mission ceased, not from any want of support from the Government, nor from any inclination on my own part to retire from the work, but solely from the sad fact that the aborigines themselves had then become almost extinct, for I had actually outlived a very large majority of the blacks, more especially of those with whom I had been associated for seventeen years.

If disintegration had been complete as far away as at Lake Macquarie, and by as early as 1841, it might be assumed that the near-Sydney Dharug population—visited by Mathews more than forty years *after* Threlkeld wrote—was less vibrant than when Dawes was writing, and the language threatened.

In fact a description by Troy confirms the probable state of collapse of the language in the vicinity of Sydney around this time, in 1835-1845:

During this period the “last” of the Aboriginal traditional occupants of Botany Bay, Mahroot [the younger] commented that the Aboriginal population and traditional lifestyle had been destroyed since the arrival of the British colonists ...

Considering the reduction in the Aboriginal population and the concentration of colonists in the Cumberland area it is possible that NSW pidgin had become an important medium for communication between the remaining Aboriginals in the area. Some of the Aborigines’ traditional languages were already extinct or had a very limited number of speakers (Troy 1990:86).

Eades, who for her Dharawal study was able to interview some people with residual linguistic knowledge, wrote about the position of that language one hundred and thirty years after the period discussed by Troy:

It is inevitable that Australian English, which is now used as the main language of the South Coast Aborigines, has influenced the Aboriginal languages for a few generations. ... the informants have frequently had great difficulty in recalling even a few words of Dharawal ... (Eades 1976:18).

She quoted Hercus writing about informants for Ngarigu in the Snowy

Mountains region:

... they had completely forgotten the grammatical system and used the Ngarigu vocabulary within the framework of English, often under the illusion that they were 'speaking in the language' (Eades 1976:17) (Hercus 1969:199).

Finally, Eades wrote:

It is quite obvious that the informants today pronounce all vowels as if the words were English (1976:22).

The loss of linguistic knowledge was a process that occurred over time and is still happening in parts of Australia where indigenous languages remain in use, as children favour English, perhaps perceiving it to be more likely to promote advancement in life than the language known to, though perhaps not always used by, their parents.

2.3 Modern linguistics scholars: Australian languages

Early twentieth-century enquiries enhancing knowledge of indigenous Australian culture and particularly, for the present study, language were made by such anthropologists as Daisy Bates (1859-1951), Ronald M. Berndt (1916-19) and his wife Catherine H. Berndt, and A.P. Elkin (1891-1979). Those whose work encompassed a more specific language contribution included the following.

A postgraduate student from the University of Chicago, Gerhardt Laves (1906–93) made a detailed investigation of six Australian languages while on a visit in the two years 1929-31. Four of these languages were in the Australian far north-west, one around Albany, and the other, Gumbaynggir, at Grafton. While his enquiries encompassed a number of other languages in New South Wales, they did not touch the Sydney region (Nash 1993 [1994]).

In an obituary of Norman B. Tindale (1900–93), Philip Jones portrayed him as a tireless scientific polymath who made personal contact, primarily in his capacity as an entomologist and anthropologist, with thousands of indigenous individuals. This led, amongst his other achievements, to a map of the ‘Aboriginal Tribes of Australia’ in 1940, revised in 1974. He produced the first significant vocabulary of Pitjantjatjarra, and around one hundred and fifty ‘parallel vocabularies’ (Jones 1995). The closest of these to Sydney was Gadang.

Jones described another contributor around this time, Theodore G.H. Strehlow (1908–78) (Jones 2002). Strehlow, the son of missionary Carl F.T. Strehlow, was born in Hermannsburg, central Australia. After graduating with distinction in classics from the University of Adelaide, he returned to central

Australia and surveyed dialects of Arrente, and published *Aranda Phonetics and Grammar* (Strehlow 1944?).

2.3.1 *Arthur Capell*

Capell ushered in the era of modern academic study of Australian languages. He was reader in oceanic linguistics in the department of anthropology in the University of Sydney, 1948-67. As mentioned in §2.2.2 above, R.M.W. Dixon wrote of him:

The dark ages of Australian Aboriginal policy extended from about 1910 until the 1960s. Significantly, there was virtually no linguistic work undertaken during this period. In fact only one scholar, Arthur Capell of the University of Sydney, was active in the field during this period. He undertook pioneer fieldwork in the far north among tribes who had by and large not yet been touched by white settlement ... (1980:16).

While Capell's wide-ranging studies comprehended the entire Australian region, at times he dwelt on those languages closest to home:

—*A New Approach to Australian Linguistics*, first published in 1956, includes frequent references to, and examples from, Awabakal and Dharawal, and occasional references to Gundungurra (1966 [1956]);

—‘Grammatical Classification in Australia’, one of a number of papers in *Australian Linguistic Studies*, contains references to languages in the Sydney region (1979:193-200, 221-223);

—‘Classification of Verbs in Australian Languages’ has more extensive references to languages in the Sydney region (1979:284-92), and in particular a brief section on the Sydney area (1979:287-90), written after Capell had seen the Dawes material. He wrote:

... the grammar reputedly written by Lieut. W. Dawes of the Sydney speech has come to light only since about 1970, and no analysis of it has been published yet (1979:287).

To this he added the footnote: ‘The present writer has the matter in hand’. If he did write something on Biyal-Biyal, it has not so far been found.

2.3.2 *R.M.W. Dixon*

The work of Dixon has been used extensively in the present study to set a framework and to underpin many of the general issues necessarily covered. He has written prolifically, but the two works primarily drawn on are the following:

—*The Languages of Australia* (1980);⁴

—*Australian Languages* (2002).

Other works occasionally referred to are listed in the bibliography.

2.3.3 *Colin Yallop*

Yallop's *Australian Aboriginal Languages* included, in particular, a table of case suffixes and section on affixes (1982).

2.3.4 *Barry Blake*

Blake's *Australian Aboriginal Grammar*, while much of it dealt with aspects of language not captured for Biyal-Biyal by Dawes or other recorders, offered insights in its more general sections (1987).

⁴ The copy used for this study was signed by the author and given to Arthur Capell; it then entered the library of the linguist the Rev. Dr Bill Jobling, who lent it to me. In 2002, after Jobling's death, his wife confirmed my possession of it, a book by then out-of-print, as a gift.

2.4 Modern linguistics scholars: Sydney and the neighbouring region

2.4.1 *Meredith Osmond*

Osmond's 'A Reconstruction of the Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax of the Sydney Language as recorded in the Notebooks of William Dawes' was a term paper for Linguistics 2012 (ANU), and is the most comprehensive analysis of the Sydney Aboriginal language (1989). This 30-page insightful professional linguistic university assignment was so detailed that the decision was made to set it aside, to enable the present work to proceed independently so as to arrive at its own conclusions, and only to compare it in retrospect. The consequence is that the few differences that become evident upon detailed comparison of the completed works show how at times the limited original data may be viewed in different ways. See further §11.2.

2.4.2 *David Wilkins*

Wilkins supplied the following three unpublished draft papers:⁵

—'Dharug, The Sydney Language': the document appears to be a collection of beginnings to sections and notes, which, had they been completed, might have constituted a scholarly description of Biyal-Biyal. Segments include 'The language and its speakers', 'linguistic type', 'stress', '-birang', 'buni', 'gal', 'Dharug as an "Affix-Transferring" language', '-ma "Causative"', 'conjugations', 'imperatives', 'extending vocabulary to cover new concepts' and 'vocabulary in semantic fields' (1992);

⁵ Wilkins attached to his manuscripts a note: 'As promised, my unpublished writings and notes regarding the Sydney language. I hope they are of some use. It will, at least give you the flavour of where I was heading. It is important to remember I did not publish any of this, and would not before contacting community representatives. I would of course be happy for anybody to see these as long as that is made clear. If you make use of anything I only ask fair acknowledgment. I wish you the best of luck. Enjoy!'

—‘A One in a Million Chance?: Dharug -birang and English belong’:

examines the similarity in form and apparent meaning of ‘-birang’ and ‘belong’ (1991);

—‘The European “Discovery” of a Multilingual Australia: The Linguistic and Ethnographic Successes of a Failed Expedition’: an examination of aspects of the contact that occurred between Europeans and the indigenous people during the April 1791 expedition to the Hawkesbury in the vicinity of Richmond (1991).

2.4.3 *Jakelin Troy*

Troy’s writing on aspects of history and language of the early Sydney colonial period includes the following:

—*Australian Aboriginal contact with the English language in New South Wales: 1788 to 1845*: a 156-page ‘study (dealing) with the linguistic results of Aboriginal contact with English’ (1990:11);

—‘The Sydney Language Notebooks and responses to Language Contact in Early Colonial NSW’: a 26-page paper consisting of a general examination of the Dawes notebooks, and language, with some specific examples and vocabulary (1992);

—‘Language Contact in Early Colonial New South Wales 1788 to 1791’: an 18-page section of a book, consisting of a general introduction to the circumstances at the early settlement, with some language examples and the same vocabulary as previously used in the 1992 paper (1993);

—*The Sydney Language*: a 116-page book consisting of an introduction to the indigenous people of Sydney, the history of research into the language, a description of the sounds, writing and grammar of the language, wordlists with respellings, and a section on weapons, utensils and ornaments (1993-94);

—‘The Sydney Language’: an 18-page section for ‘Sydney’, one of seventeen languages presented in the volume *Macquarie Aboriginal Words*; this section consisted of an introduction, followed by a ‘re-spelt’ wordlist from various original sources, organised into the thematic groups used throughout the book (1994);

—*Melaleuka: a history and description of New South Wales pidgin*: PhD thesis for the Australian National University. The section of this work that most relates to the present study examines the interaction between the European newcomers and the indigenous people of the Sydney region during the period 1788-92, and attempts on the part of the colonisers to develop a linguistic bridge between the two groups, as well as the initial resistance, during the first two years, to these attempts and reasons for it on the part of the Aboriginal people (1994).

In her 1993-94 book *The Sydney Language*, Troy describes the sound system of the language, presenting consonants and vowels in tabular form, and discusses orthography. The main part of the work is the wordlists, with her re-spelt forms for the different items. Troy’s interpretations provided the starting point for respellings in the present work and its associated databases. Of special interest is Troy’s stated principle that

a has been substituted where the sources use *e* and *u* has been substituted where they use *o* (Troy 1993-94:24).

Some blanket substitution strategy is required for such an undertaking, although the result is likely to produce anomalies in individual cases. After first adopting the Troy principle, the present work and databases later mainly elected to adopt *i* for *e* (but not always, say, for words including *-er-* and *-err-* where *a* might be used, on the assumption that an English sound as in

‘inferred’ might have been intended by the original recorder), and *a* for *o*, because of Dawes’ choice of a-overdot—written ‘ă’ in the databases—for the sound in ‘all’ and ‘call’, and hence for the *o* in ‘or’. In many cases the imperfect solution was—and remains, given constant revising of the databases—to adopt a respelling that seemed best for the word, and at times syllable, concerned.

In a ‘Grammatical notes’ section (Troy 1993-94:27-31), Troy identifies nominal suffixes, free and bound pronouns, tenses as indicated by Dawes, and the privative suffix -buni. This suffix was noted by Osmond as simply a negative (Osmond 1989:27-28).

Troy’s allocation of words into categories (Troy 1994:64) has been built upon in the databases, with some changes to categories and the introduction of a subcategory field.

2.4.4 *Neighbouring languages*

Modern works on the neighbouring languages include:

—Awabakal: Mandy Oppliger, ‘The Phonology and Morphology of Awabakal: A reconstitution from early written records’: a 127-page BA thesis, linguistic and grammatical (1984);

—Gundungurra: Jutta Besold, ‘A Sketch Grammar of Gundungurra (Gandangara): A “sleeping” language from south-eastern New South Wales’: a 78-page BA thesis, linguistic and grammatical (2003);

—Dharawal: Diana K. Eades, *The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales South Coast*: a 97-page linguistic and grammatical professional study of the Dharawal and Dhurga languages (1976).

3 THE NOTEBOOKS

3.1 Provenance

Central to this enquiry into Biyal-Biyal are the notebooks of William Dawes. The story of the notebooks is almost as unknowable as that of Dawes himself. His early life is a mystery, and so is much of how the notebooks were compiled and how they got to the ‘Archives and Manuscripts Collections’ section of the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) of the University of London, in Thornhaugh Street, at the north-west corner of Russell Square in Bloomsbury.

3.1.1 *Possible beginning*

To understand the probable notebook story it is necessary to indulge in some speculation. Dawes presumably had not formed the idea of studying the ‘Aboriginal’ language while on the passage out in the *Scarborough* transport. The idea might have occurred to him either around the time of the capture, for intercommunication purposes, of the first native, Arabanoo, on 30 December 1788, or, after the death from smallpox of Arabanoo on 18 May 1789 (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:139, 149), when the next two, Bennelong and Kolbi⁶, were taken on 25 November 1789. Kolbi escaped soon after, on 12 December 1789 (Hunter 1968 [1793]:114-6), but Bennelong remained in camp until he too got away on 3 May 1790 (Southwell 1893 [1788]:712). While Bennelong was in captivity, Governor Phillip and others acquired a substantial wordlist, and it is likely that Dawes, although he was not mentioned in this connection in contemporary accounts, took an interest.

⁶ Kolbi and Kolby (Dawes), Colbee (Tench), Colebee (Thomas Watling, painter), Gulibi, respelling: consistency in spelling personal names is not imposed here; rather spellings are used appropriate to the source or subject matter concerned. This comment applies to indigenous names generally in this work.

Not only did Phillip pursue the acquisition of vocabulary, so too did others, all of whom compiled wordlists. Apart from Dawes, these included Captain John Hunter, Tench, and Lieutenant Philip Gidley King during his short stay in Sydney, 4-17 April 1790 (King 1968 [1793]:266, 277) upon returning from his commission as superintendent and commandant at Norfolk Island, which began on 15 February 1788 (King:201); others were Daniel Southwell, mate, *Sirius*, and possibly David Blackburn, master of the *Supply*. The idea of arranging the words according to some system, whether by alphabetising them, sorting them into categories, or separating verbs from nouns, might have occurred to several of these figures, but it was Dawes alone who undertook a grammatical and phonological analysis, recording *sentences* as well as words of the language, following principles of description encountered in studying Latin and French.

Notebooks (a) and (b) were the result. Somehow, fortuitously, they came into the hands of William Marsden (1754-1836), first secretary to the Admiralty, who after his retirement in 1807:

pursued his interests in philology, oriental history, society, religion and numismatics. He also produced the first detailed account of the natural history, society, religion and language of Sumatra. ... Marsden was not merely interested in languages of south-east Asia, but had a consuming interest in comparative philology, and collected books in numerous obscure and unusual tongues, in 1827 publishing a catalogue of his collection of linguistic works 'with a view to the general comparison of languages' (School of Oriental and African Studies 2004).

Marsden, who had bequeathed his collection to the newly established King's College (incorporated August 1829), died on 6 October 1836.

Following the establishment of SOAS in 1916, those works written in Oriental and African languages were gradually transferred over to the SOAS library and were formally placed on permanent loan there in September 1920 (School of Oriental and African Studies 2004).

Included amongst the items transferred must have been the Dawes package, as listed in Marsden's *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana* (Marsden 1827:302). This group of works is known as the Marsden Collection—after the philologist, not the Sydney chaplain, the Rev. Samuel Marsden (1764-1838).

3.1.2 *Inspecting the notebooks*

Although little is known of the circumstances under which the notebooks were written, or of how they got from Dawes' quarters at Sydney Cove into the hands of William Marsden and so to their present location, the reality is that they are to be found in the basement area of the SOAS library, and that access can be gained to them by anyone with an academic 'letter of introduction'.

In 1998 for an hour or so I had the notebooks in my possession. How small and insignificant they seemed in relation to their importance for the language once spoken in Sydney. The library advised that a microfilm might be obtained, and, from such a microfilm, an enlarged A4-sized and clear photocopy of the notebooks resulted, much easier to read than the small originals.

Transcription of the notebooks and entry onto a database followed.

The need to inspect the originals again became apparent when certain questions could not be resolved from the photocopies, and this was achieved during a week in 2004. In a small number of cases, wording in the 'gutter' (the centre crease of the notebooks where the binding or staples hold the book together), or lettering at the outside edge of a page, had not been reproduced. Sometimes the handwriting was not legible, whether because of irregular formation of the intended characters, faintness of the ink on the nib, or from being written in light pencil, or overwritten. Marks on the page also needed

scrutiny to distinguish paper blemishes from diacritics or special characters introduced by Dawes to add clarity or guidance to pronunciation. The significance of some of these he explained in the key written on the inside front cover of Notebook (b), while others were never explained.

3.2 Present reality

3.2.1 *The notebooks described*

The notebooks, as viewed in 2004, were in a small expanding-envelope-style white cardboard slipcase folder, with white tape around, bearing a white label, top right, with the pencil inscription:

41645 MS 41645 (a) (b) (c) (d) DAWES NOTEBOOKS
--

Inside the folder were two small volumes.

3.2.1.1 Marsden Collection, first volume

The lesser of the two volumes was stiffly bound with maroon covers. Printed on the square-backed spine was: DAWES—LANGUAGE OF NEW SOUTH WALES, together with, separately in a box in bold capitals about 7 point in size, ‘School of Oriental Studies London’:



Spine of the maroon-bound volume containing Dawes' Notebooks (a) and (b)

This volume had a circular sticker on the front cover bottom left-hand corner bearing the handwritten in ink library number 41645 a–b, as the volume contained the two Notebooks (a) and (b) by William Dawes, bound together.

Inside, after blank endpapers and flyleaf, were the original notebooks themselves, 157 x 9.5 mm in size, each in navy blue thin cardboard covers, each consisting of 22 internal sheets or 44 pages counting both sides.

Notebook (a) is so called because its navy blue cover, not greatly stiffer than its pages, bore a centrally placed white paper patch with the pencil library annotation at the top: 'Marsden Collection' and the reference number '41645a'. Below followed the text of the patch, handwritten possibly by a cataloguer after receipt of the notebooks into a collection: 'Grammatical forms of the language of N.S. Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney, by — Dawes, in the year 1790.'



Anon Notebook (c), left, and the combined Dawes Notebooks (a) and (b), right.

A 50p coin gives an indication of the size.

On the inside front cover was a pencil-drawn and annotated set of lines, loops and an oval, with words as captions: apparently a map. The interior pages, of a slight blue pastel shade, appeared to have been folded down the middle. The still evident crease had probably been by made by Dawes to format the pages into two columns, the left-hand column to accommodate Biyal-Biyal language words, and to the right their translations aligned to the fold-mark—this arrangement occasionally being reversed.

The final two pages had been used upside down, by Dawes, and were less carefully written than the rest of the book. The last page, a:41 (“Naa To see”), which was wholly written upside down, might equally be considered as page 1 of the notebook if started from the other end. Similarly the second-last page a:40, with examples of the verb “Piyi To beat”, included several lines of upside-down writing at the foot of the page (of “Yen To go or to walk”); if started at the other end, this page would become page 2, a possibility to be considered again in §3.4.1.

Notebook (b), immediately following Notebook (a) in the SOAS smaller bound volume, was likewise navy-blue covered and bearing a paper patch, similarly headed, in pencil, ‘41645b’. Its pages, too, had been vertically creased to form two columns. All pages and the inside covers had been written upon, except for one double-spread, together with the immediately following page, that had been left blank. As will be explained shortly, Dawes evidently had a plan for the layout of each notebook. Had Dawes stayed longer in the colony, the blank sheets would almost certainly have been put to use, as had other occasional pages that had turned out not to be likely to receive data under his original scheme.

3.2.1.2 Marsden Collection, second volume

The larger of the two volumes in the SOAS slipcase, 180 x 125 mm in size, and unlike the other volume not re-bound, had a cover with an all-over design resembling waterworn stones. It lacked any printed inscription on its original and rounded spine. A patch of white paper, similar to those affixed to the covers of the Dawes Notebooks (a) and (b), bore the catalogue’s handwritten legend ‘Vocabulary of the language of N.S. Wales, in the neighbourhood of

Sydney. (Native and English, but not alphabetical'. This volume too had a circular sticker on the front bottom left-hand corner, showing the handwritten-in-ink library identification number 41645 (c).(d).

Anon Notebook (c), in addition to its 44 written pages, includes ten blank double-spreads, and two other blank pages. The inside front cover is also blank. It is different from the Dawes notebooks, being written in another hand, or hands. Two hundred years ago it was common for people to have a 'fair hand' and a 'rough hand'—a carefully produced copperplate style, and a more casually executed rough hand. The bulk of Notebook (c) is in the fair hand, with occasional rough-hand entries. Whether the rough hand was of another writer, or two modes of the same writer, and whether the fair hand, with its varying degrees and styles of elaboration, was by one or more persons, would require an expert to determine. Because of its uncertainty of authorship, this notebook has commonly been referred to as 'Anon'. It may have been an official wordlist initiated under the direction of Governor Phillip, and contributed to by others. One scholar has styled it 'The Governors' Vocabulary' (Smith 2004:5).

Item (d): Tasmanian vocabularies. Item 41645 (d) referred to slips of paper in a back-cover pocket of Notebook (c). This pocket was marked by a paper patch with the pencil annotations 'Marsden Collection', '41645d' and the description: 'Short vocabularies of the language of natives of Van Diemen's land, collected by the officers of the French frigates la Recherche & l'Espérance, in 1793.' This item (d), featuring 199 Tasmanian words, did not relate to the Sydney language.

3.3 Physical characteristics

3.3.1 *Paper*

The paper in the Dawes notebooks, as mentioned above, had a pale blue tinge; there were occasional wood-pulp flecks, as well as stains and dots of age. These incidental marks sometimes occurred in critical places, such as where diacritics might have been used, or omitted, and affected the reader's judgement about the intended interpretation of pronunciation. For example, Dawes distinguished between a lower-case 'i' written with or without a dot over it: 'no-dot' [ɪ] meant pronunciation as in 'bit', 'with-dot' [i] as in 'bite'; so, was a speck above a particular 'i' a blemish or an intended dot? The determination in such cases affected the phonetic respelling of the word in question.

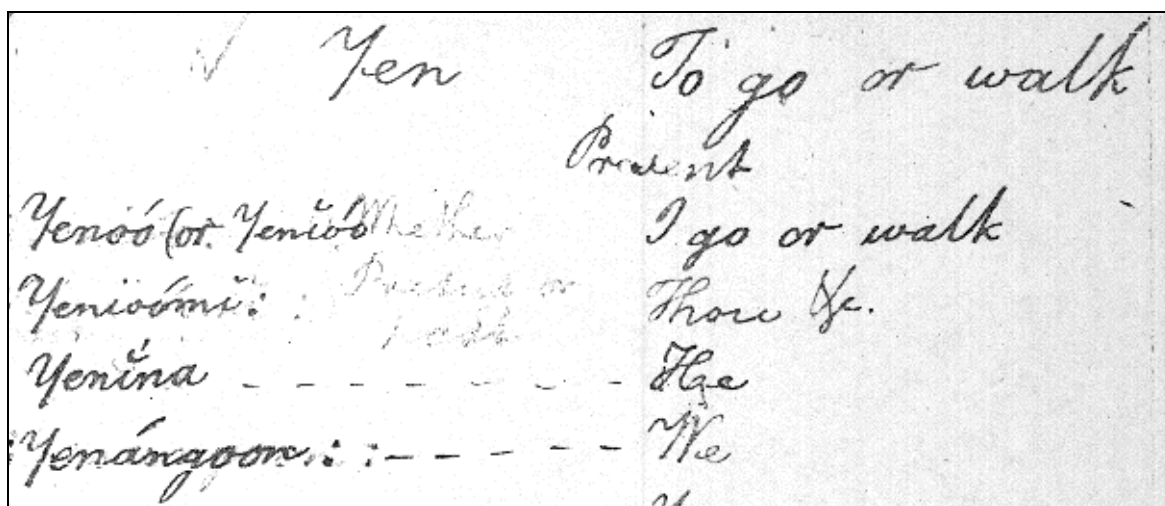
The paper in Notebook (c) had a yellowish or buff cast, but as diacritics rarely occurred in this notebook, and when used had been in the form of marks larger than incidental specks, the nature of the paper was not significant for interpretation purposes.

3.3.2 *Interpreting the unspecified aspects of the notebooks*

In the presentation of original manuscripts there are subtleties that are lost upon transcription of the work into type. These include changes in line spacing, size of writing, interpolations (reflecting new information acquired by the compiler), different densities and flows of ink (suggesting the passage of time between one part of an entry, or of a page, and another), and overwriting in ink (suggesting confirmation of a provisional pencil entry). In addition, the infinite freedom of handwriting enables a writer to introduce additional marks. In this case, Dawes included: diacritics associated with particular

letters or parts of words to give clues to intended pronunciation (to be examined in Chapter 6); linking dashes to connect a left-hand column entry to its right-hand column counterpart—a device with perhaps no significance intended; and someone, whether Dawes or another, placed ticks alongside particular entries, suggesting an agreement with the inclusion of a word or entry, or with the interpretation given to it by Dawes. As well, in Notebooks (a) and (b), which are mostly written in ink, there are pencil entries.

Dawes on rare occasions made an entry in pencil and then overwrote it more carefully in ink, as on page a:4 (i.e. Notebook (a), page 4).



a:4: Showing a tick, and a pencil entry, later overwritten in ink.

The colons, or 'authorities', at the ends of some of the entries are discussed below (see §3.4.1).

From the illustration, it looks as if Dawes might have first drafted in pencil:

(a:4:1)⁷ : Yenoó :) Whether
 (a:4:2) : Yenioómi :) Present or past

and later overwritten a correct entry:

(a:4:1) : Yenoó (or Yenioó) I go or walk
 (a:4:2) : Yenioómi : Thou &c

leaving the pencil entry still standing.

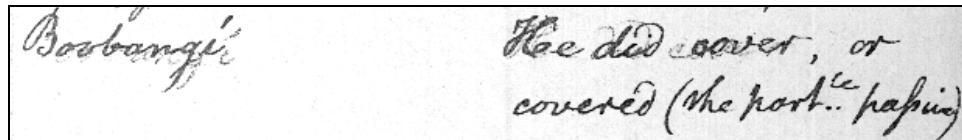
⁷ The reference '(a:4:1)' indicates Notebook (a), page 4, line 1.

A further example should serve to confirm that Dawes used the technique of inserting a draft entry, and confirming it later in pen. Following three additional pencil occurrences on page a:4 and one on the last line on page a:5, Dawes used pencil again for the last entry, five pages later, a:9:

(a:9:6) Boobangí He did cover

This had been overwritten:

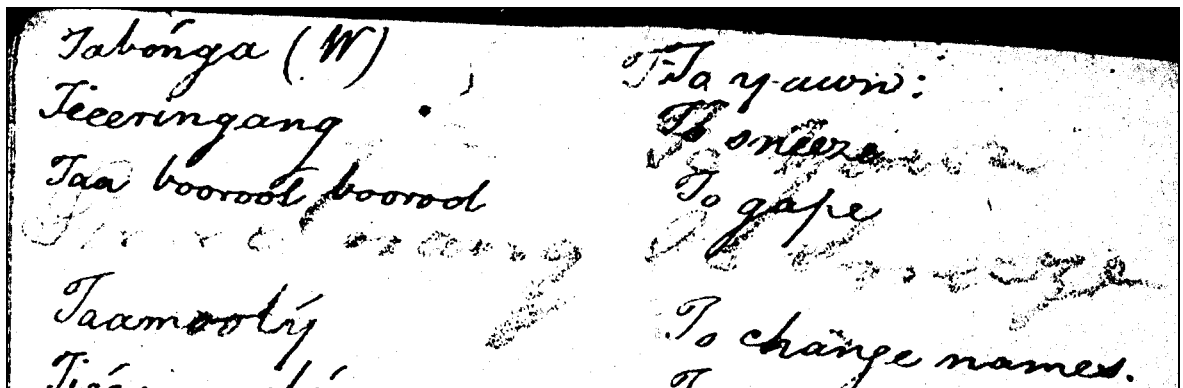
(a:9:6) Boobangí He did cover, or covered (the part.le passive)



a:9:6 Boobangí

The bulk of page 9 had been written in ink, the pencil having been introduced later, for the final entry on the page, 'Boobangí'. Consequently pencil was not used as a rough form for the whole book, then written over. A late pencil entry such as 'Boobangí' could denote either that Dawes was uncertain of the word when first entered in pencil, or that it was written away from his pen-and-ink equipment, perhaps 'in the field', for overwriting properly later.

More frequent examples of the use of pencil occur in Notebook (b).



b:19: top 'T' page, on which are entered Biyal-Biyal words beginning with 't'.

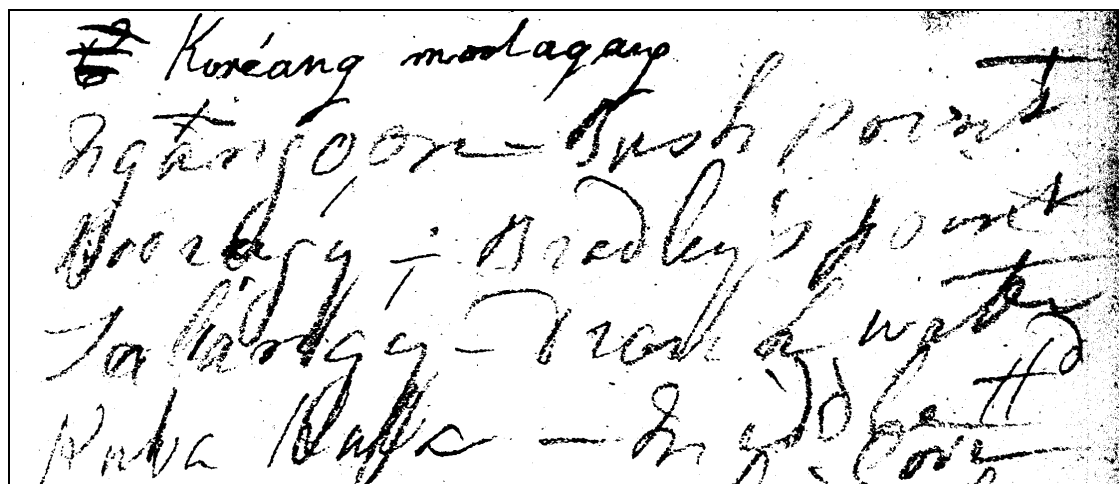
On page b:19, the original entries underlying lines 2 and 3 (the first word of which is faint in the notebook, nearly invisible in the photocopy) appear to be:

(underneath b:19:2) (Tabon?)ga a To yawn

(below b:19:3) Tirrinang To sneeze

The pencil entry has been written in a big hand; this may not have been Dawes, but perhaps '(W)', to whom Dawes later attributed the entry (possibly surgeon White or Worgan, midshipman Waterhouse, or passenger Lt Watts). The swirling capital T in "Tirrinang" is unlike the Ts used by Dawes; the tail of the g in the same word kicks oppositely to Dawes' usage; and the lower-case z in 'sneeze' also differs from Dawes' practice. It was Dawes who over-wrote the entries, in his smaller hand and on neat lines, filling the page. This might be an instance of an entry written in the field, and by someone other than Dawes.

The inside back cover, in pencil apart from the top line, was also probably by someone other than Dawes, written 'in the field' while on a boat enquiring about harbour placenames. The top portion follows, showing an untranslated Dawes top line:



b:42 After an entry in ink featuring Dawes' early system of transcription, follow pencil entries of harbour placenames in a hand unlike Dawes':

(b:42:2) Ngángoong Nga-ngun Bush point

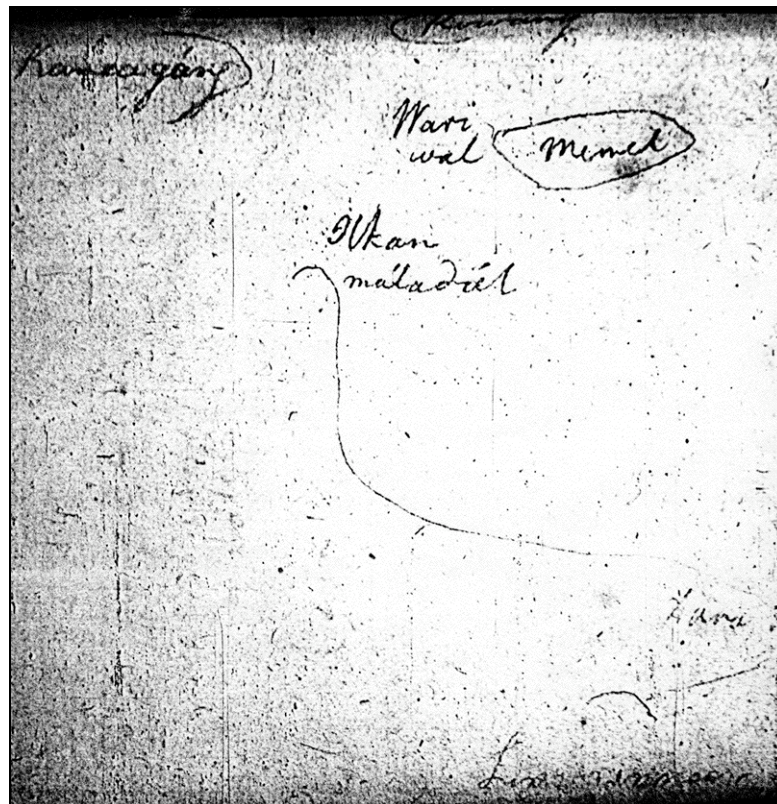
(b:42:3) Boorag'y Bura-gi Bradley's point

(b:42:4)	Taliang'y	Daliya-ngai	drank water [??]
(b:42:5)	Kuba Kuba	Gaba Gaba	Middle Hd

“Koréang” (Guriyang) may be a person as the word or name occurs in the ‘List of Native Men’ on pages c:40 and c:41; mulagang probably means ‘ill’ (mula-li = “Sick” (b:17:15)). This page seems to confirm that the notebooks were taken into the field, and that others might have had access to them.

3.3.3 Pencil sketch map

In addition, on the inside front cover of Notebook (a), is the pencil-drawn map mentioned above (see §3.2.1.1) of Port Jackson, showing “Dara”, now Dawes Point, and “Memel” or Goat Island. There are other sketches, possibly maps, under the writing on page b:2, and opposite page b:28.



The inside front cover map, Notebook (a). Unknown landmarks include “Wariwal”, “Ilkan máládúl”, “Kowang” (possibly the same as “Cow-wan”, the name given to “Ross Farm” (c:38:16)), and “Kaneagang”. The word at the bottom, written upside down, might be “Koowarinang”.

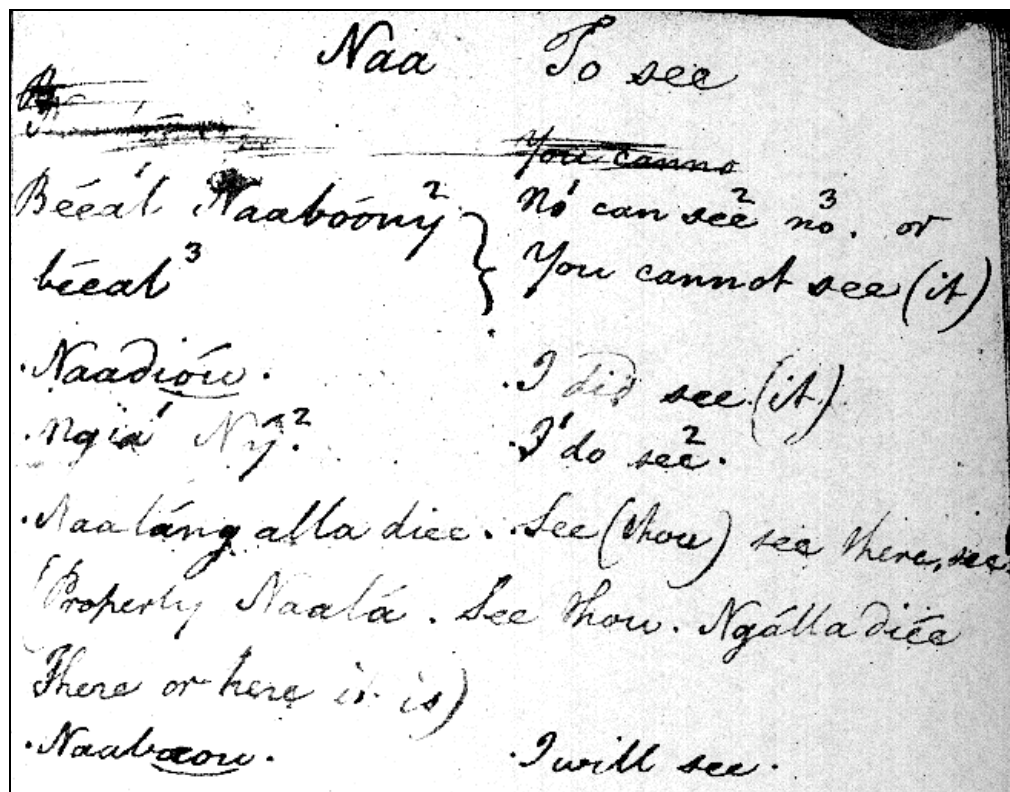
Notebook (c) also contains pencil entries (insertions on pages c:3 [1] and c:9 [2]) and isolated pencil annotations.

3.4 Setting up the notebooks

Dawes obtained two blank notebooks (if there were others, they have not come to light), and prepared himself for recording. Notebook (a) he would use for verbs and examples, and Notebook (b) for nouns and examples. There is no way of definitely knowing the sequence of steps he took in writing the notebooks. However, the following is an attempt to account plausibly for the evidence of upside-down pages in Notebook (a) and scattered initial letters in Notebook (b).

3.4.1 Verbs: Notebook (a)

In the verbs notebook, Notebook (a), to which there is no obvious front or back, Dawes made his first steps towards language analysis by jotting down words and usages, for “Naa To see” — not as carefully written as one would soon come to expect of him. On the next page he made further ‘casual’ entries for “Yen To go or to walk”.



He must soon have considered his initial approach inadequately systematic or indeed tidy, for the evidence suggests he abandoned this beginning and, by turning the notebook over, started afresh and more meticulously at the other end, at what is now regarded as page 1 of the verbs notebook, Notebook (a).

Beginning again, he laid out a table on the new first page (necessarily a right-hand page) for “Naa To see or look”, in the manner of his Latin and French studies.

Instead of the more or less random entries of his first attempt at the other end of the book, the table made provision for tenses and moods. He set out English entries in the *present* tense for “I see or look”, “Thou &c”, “He”, “We”, “Ye” and “They”, likewise for the *past* tense, for “I did see or have seen”, and again “Thou &c”, “He”, “We”, “Ye” and “They” for this tense, and so again for the *future*. He allowed for the “Imperative” mood at the foot of the page.

Naa	
To see or look	
I see or look	Ngia Ni (as nigh)
Thou &c.	
He	
We	
Ye	
They	
<i>Past</i>	
I did see or have seen	Naa diow.
Thou &c.	Naa diemi.
He	Naa dianga.
We	Naa diangun.
Ye	
They	
<i>Future</i>	
I shall or will see	Naa baow.
Thou	Naa bani.
He	
We	Naa bongoon.
Ye	
They	
<i>Imperative</i>	
See thou	Naa la.

a:1 Original “Naa—To see or look” page

Alongside these English entries he filled in such of the locally spoken words he knew already. Thus he placed “Ngia Ni (as nigh)” alongside “I see or look”, being the only entry he knew for this verb in the present, and went on to add then—or more likely later as he heard and understood them—the appropriate

local language words for the past and future tenses. His intention in all likelihood was ultimately to complete the table by the insertion of local equivalents alongside each of the English entries he had set out.

Once Dawes had prepared a model “Naa” page, it appears that a further refinement of his scheme occurred to him, of using a *double spread* in the notebook for each verb he was to treat. In this way the left-hand page could be for his tabular ‘paradigm’ presentation, to be complemented on the opposite page by actual examples of usage of the verb concerned. To put this late inspiration into effect, he had to turn over to the first double spread in the book and write out the model verb “Naa” yet one more time, now on the left-hand page, to allow for entering the examples of its use on the page opposite:

Naa To see or look	
Present	
Ngias Ni (as right)	I see or look
	Thou
	• He
	We
	Ye
	They
Past	
Naadiow.	I did see or look, or
Naadiemi.	Thou ye. (have seen?)
Naadianga	He
	We
Naadiana.	Ye
Naadiou.	They
Future	
Naabaou.	I will see or look
Naabami.	Thou ye.
Naababan.	He
Naabangoon.	We
Naabanie.	Ye
Naabou.	They
Imperative Mood	
Naata.	See thou (or see, see, look!)

a:2 Page a:1 rewritten as a left-hand page, with additions

Other inflexions of the same verb, the english of which is not yet certain, with some authorities for what is marked certain Ye. ?

Naabangoon Have you seen? As

Naabangoon Booroo? Have you seen Booroo?

Naadiemi i Thou hast seen, and the same word spoken in a different tone I think signifies Hast thou seen? If the different meanings, Naabangoon Naadiemi I cannot yet tell.

Naabanoos { Whether this be not the same word with Naabangoon? The occasion on which it was used implied that it signified "I have not seen him"

Naabangoon Booroo We will see, or shall we see Booroo?

These words were spoken to me by Yerinibi, Booroo's Brother, and he was evidently anxious in enquiring after Booroo. I have altered the english signification from the top of the page in consequence of discovering the 1st person plural of the future in the verbs Wida & Pata which see.

a:3 First page of 'Other inflexions'

The 'Other inflexions' page illustrates Dawes' awareness of his lack of knowledge at the time of original writing, and of his increased understanding not long after. He still had a long way to go in learning Biyal-Biyal. This page includes the statement about 'authorities' referred to below—perhaps his use of dots with entries.

He headed the blank right-hand page of the double spread for “Naa”: “Other inflexions of the same verb, the english of which is not yet certain” and later squeezed in: “with some authorities for what is marked certain &c”. On these ‘Other inflexions’ right-hand pages throughout the notebook he inserted phrases and usages for the verb being dealt with, although decreasingly so as the notebook progressed, perhaps because he found he was entering them in the other notebook, Notebook (b). Some of the initial entries for “Naa”, because he was still a beginner in learning the language, were soon crossed out and amended when he learnt more.

The ‘authorities’ Dawes mentions appear to be dots placed at each end of certain entries on these and later pages. Sometimes the dots occur singly, placed before and after a Biyal-Biyal entry (about 44 instances), sometimes as double dots, formed as a colon ‘:’, again before and after an entry (about 42 instances). There are examples on pages a:1 and a:2 illustrated above. Sometimes, though less often, the dots are attached to the English translation. While Dawes did not define the significance of these markings, they do seem to be his “authorities for what is marked certain”. *Double* dots, or ‘doubtful colons’, appear to have been used when he was less certain, while his use of *single* dots seems to be associated with examples whose validity today does not appear to call for questioning, and so might have been intended to indicate Dawes’ confidence in the accuracy of an item, i.e. “marked certain”, or at least that he entertained less doubt about it. No other device or explanation has been found for his ‘authorities’ statement. The question of the reliability of entries in the notebooks, raised here by Dawes, is taken up again at the end of this chapter (see §3.7).

This decision to introduce his new layout scheme must have been made some days after Dawes had acquired knowledge of words beyond “naa” and “yen”, for, using a pen, he appears to have put down all at once over several pages all he knew about verbs. The verbs were:

<i>Naa</i>	To see or look
<i>Yen</i>	To go or walk
<i>Bogee</i>	To bathe or swim
<i>Boobánga</i>	To cover
<i>Yeenee</i>	To fall
<i>Ngalawáu</i>	To sit
<i>Nanga</i>	To sleep
<i>Banga</i>	To paddle or row

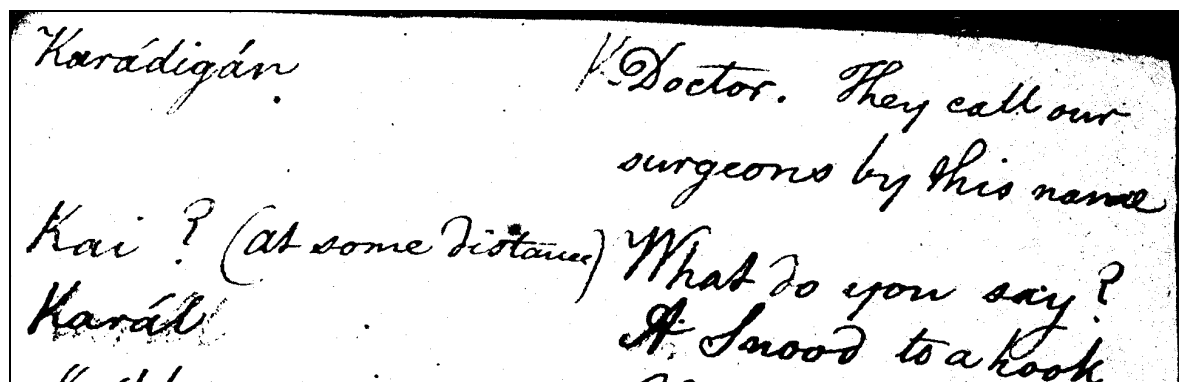
Later in the notebook, differences in the ink and presentation suggest that certain of the verbs might not have been put down at the outset but added when Dawes had identified them. The examples in Notebook (a) continue with:

<i>Wida</i>	To drink	
<i>Pata</i>	To eat	
<i>Taabánga</i>	To yawn	
<i>Kótbara</i>	To cut	
<i>Wellama</i>	To return or come back	
<i>Iri</i>	To throw	without pattern for tenses
<i>Búnga</i>	To make	
<i>Yárrsba</i>	To weary oneself	without pattern for future tense
<i>Wingara</i>	To think	
<i>Yánga</i>		without pattern for tenses
<i>Ngara</i>	To hear	without pattern for future tense
<i>Maan</i>	To take	
<i>Píyi</i>	To beat	without pattern for tenses

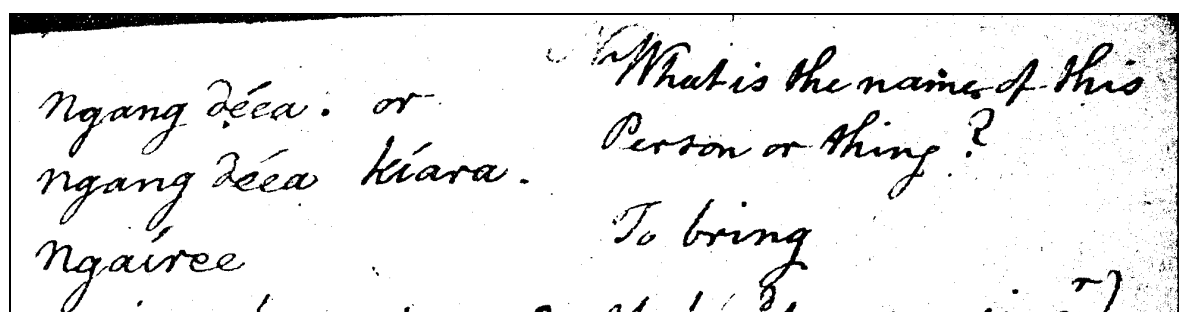
The ‘Píyi’ double spread concludes Notebook (a), apart from the upside-down entries, at the bottom (Yen) and occupying the page following (Naa), as described above.

3.4.2 Nouns: Notebook (b)

Having prepared one notebook for verbs, Dawes drew up a second notebook for nouns. He set up Notebook (b) using pencil, with a different letter of the alphabet to head each page. The 'K' and 'N' pages provide examples of this heading scheme.



b:11: Top of the 'K' page, on which are entered Biyal-Biyal words beginning with 'k'.



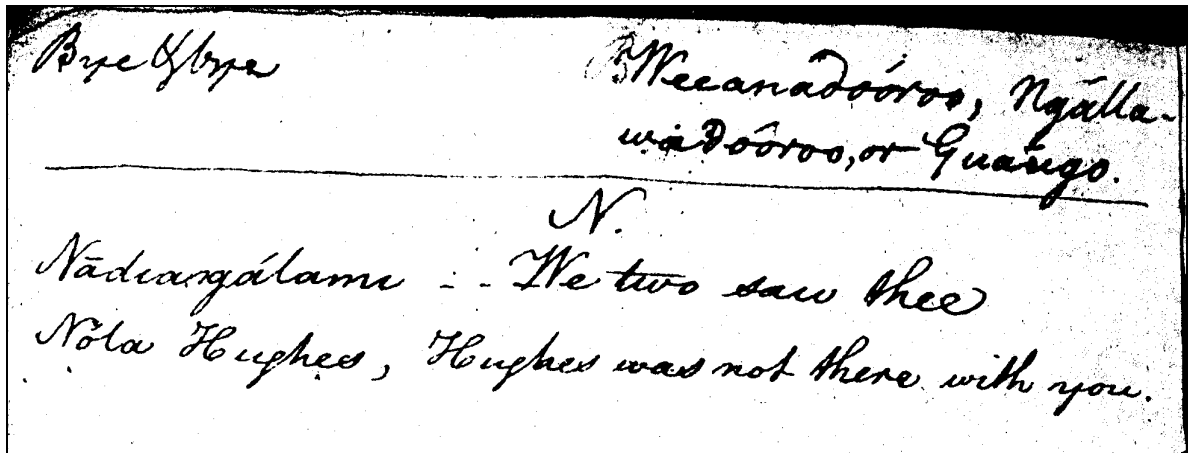
b:14: Top of the 'N' page, on which are entered Biyal-Biyal words beginning with 'n'.

The pencil 'N' at the top can just be made out.

Dawes marked out a page for each of the letters for which he expected he might find appropriate Biyal-Biyal words, alongside of which to place their English meanings. To letters expected to be less used ('J', 'Q', 'X' and 'Z'), he allocated half a page.

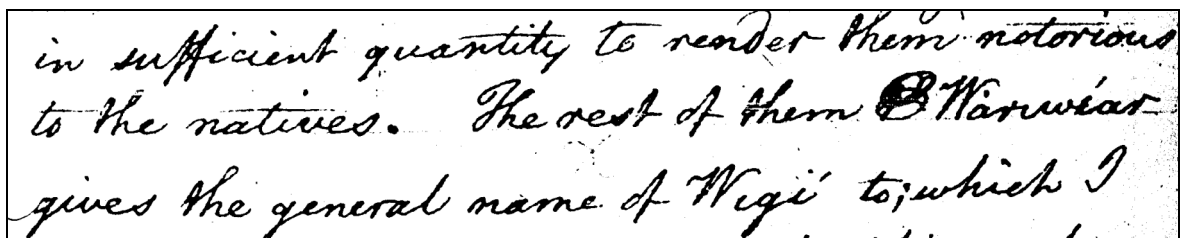
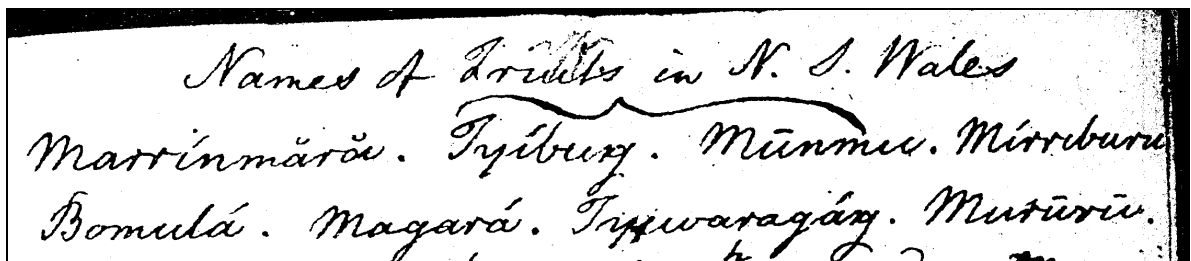
Having completed one 'A–Z' set, on the next page Dawes began a second alphabetical set. For, just as any foreign language dictionary requires sections for English – <language> and <language> – English, Dawes also made

provision for listing words alphabetically by their English initial letter. The 'B' page in this English-Biyal-Biyal sequence is illustrated.



b:25: the 'B' page, in the second alphabetical sequence, was intended to feature English words beginning with 'b'. The pencil 'B' at the top can be seen. Below, Dawes has initiated a Biyal-Biyal 'N' page, because the previous 'N' page had taken overflow from its preceding 'M' page.

Pages were headed with each potentially useful letter of the alphabet, with expected rarities again assigned half the space. Below are illustrated the top of the 'W' page, as well as its middle portion, where the letter 'X' can just be made out under the word 'rest'.



b:40: above, top of the 'W' page; below, the middle portion, where the 'X' can be discerned. No English words having been recorded for either 'w' or 'x', Dawes abandoned his original alphabetical-by-English-word plan, and used the page for general language purposes.

Dawes was soon to discover that his intended scheme did not work or was not helpful. The only entry he made for the English 'A' page was "Anger"; for 'B',

“Bye & bye”; and for ‘L’, “Lose (verb)”. For most of the pages he had provided for ‘English’ he made no ‘English’ entries at all, and re-allocated the pages to other uses. The table shows the final result.

T3.1 NOTEBOOK (b): NOUNS: BIYAL-BIYAL–ENGLISH ALPHA SEQUENCE, AND ACTUAL USAGE

Page	Letter	‘Letter’ usage	Re-allocated usage
IFC ⁸ b:1			pronunciation and transcription key
b:2	A	nil	“The four winds”; Barangaroo etc.
b:3	B	full page of ‘b’ words	
b:4	C	nil	‘b’ words continued
b:5	D	full page of ‘d’ words	
b:6	E	3 ‘e’ words	‘b’ words continued
b:7	F	nil	“Question from me to Patyegaráng ...”
b:8	G	3/4 page of ‘g’ words	
b:9	H	nil	relationships: Burung and others
b:10 top	I	nil	2 verb entries: ‘Dturali’ and ‘Íliri’
b:10 bottom	J	nil	
b:11	K	full page of ‘k’ words	
b:12	L	nil	‘k’ words continued
b:13	M	full page of ‘m’ words	
b:14	N	full page of ‘ng’ & ‘n’ words	
b:15	O	nil	1 ‘k’ expression; ‘ng’ & ‘n’ words continued
b:16	P	full page of ‘p’ words	
b:17 top	Q	nil	‘m’ words continued
b:17 bottom	R	nil	‘m’ words continued
b:18	S	nil	‘m’ words continued
b:19	T	full page of ‘t’ words	
b:20	U	nil	“Degrees of Relationship”; ‘t’ words continued
b:21	V	nil	“Nouns” [1]; ‘w’ words & expressions continued
b:22	W & X	full page of ‘w’ words	
b:23	Y & Z	full page of ‘y’ words	

⁸ IFC: Inside front cover.

T3.2 NOTEBOOK (b): NOUNS: ENGLISH–BIYAL-BIYAL ALPHA SEQUENCE, AND ACTUAL USAGE

Page	Letter	‘Letter’ usage	Actual Biyal-Biyal usage
b:24	A	1 English ‘a’ word	‘w’ words continued; also ‘t’ words
b:25	B	1 English ‘b’ word	‘n’ words continued [2]
b:26	C	nil	‘ng’ words continued; then mixed expressions
b:27	D	nil	‘ng’ words continued [5]
—	E	nil	unidentified map
b:28	F	nil	conversation (mostly with Badyigarang)
b:29	G	nil	conversation (mostly with Gunangulyi)
b:30	H	nil	“A Song of New South Wales”; ‘y’ expression [1]
b:31	I & J	nil	conversation and mixed expressions
b:32	K	nil	mixed expressions, and conversation (mostly with Badyigarang)
b:33	L	1 English ‘l’ word	conversation (mostly with Badyigarang) and mixed expressions
b:34	M	nil	conversation (mostly with Badyigarang)
b:35	N	nil	conversation (mostly with Badyigarang) and mixed expressions
	OPQR	nil	pages blank
b:36	S	1 English ‘s’ expression	“Names &c. of persons dead of the dysentery”
b:37	T	nil	mixed expressions [3 only]
b:38	U	nil	“Parts of the human Body”
b:39	V	nil	“Burubirângál, Coasters”; “Colours”
b:40	W & X	nil	“Names of Fruits in N.S. Wales”
b:41	Y & Z	nil	“Gwíagals”, “Gwíagaliá’ngs”
IBC ⁹			Harbour placenames

⁹ IBC: Inside back cover.

3.5 Language acquisition

3.5.1 *Dawes' gradual learning and its significance*

Notebook (a) was begun when Dawes had begun to perceive the rudiments of structure, knowing just a few words of vocabulary. He continued to compile the notebooks up to the end of his period of duty in the colony, by which time it appears that he may have been able to conduct a basic conversation. Perhaps his level of fluency was not great, if the opinion of Judge-Advocate David Collins may be relied upon, writing in January 1791 about halfway through Dawes' language learning:

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 well be mistaken; but no one had yet attained words enough to convey an idea in connected terms (Collins 1975 [1798]:122).

That was, however, eleven months before Dawes left forever on the *Gorgon*, on 18 December 1791, and he might subsequently have acquired much language skill.

From sentences included in the notebooks reflecting conversational exchanges with his informants, it is reasonable to suppose that while Dawes might have attained basic fluency by the time he left, such competence did not apply when he began the compilation of the notebooks. On several occasions in the early pages he is seen to be grappling with basic concepts.

3.5.2 *Purpose in establishing the sequence in compilation*

The aim in attempting to throw light on the sequence in which the notebooks were compiled is to develop criteria for judging the level of authority to attach to Dawes' assessments and interpretations at the different stages of the notebooks' compiling. Another aim is to interpret Dawes' diacritical marking.

The Dawes notebooks reflect gradual language learning and increasing knowledge, a process that may be illustrated by the following example. On page a:17, against the entry “Bangadarabában”, Dawes wrote: “3rd person singular or plural future tense” (of the verb ‘to row’), and went on to explain:

Speaking of Booroong. We think it relates to bringing Booroong to Dara. In which case it appears that they, put words sometimes between the root and the termination (a:17:10).

Other inflexions &c.

Bangabánye - - - { I think a future of
Bangadára or some other person.
Bangadára

Bangadabában 3rd Person sing. or plur.
future tense

Bangadārabānī (1 s.) Speaking of Booroong. We
Bangadārabānī (2 s.) think it relates to bringing
Bangadārabāngoon (1 p.) Booroong to Dara, In
Bangadārabānī (2 p.) which case it appears that
Bangadārabāban (3 s.) they, put words some-
Bangadārabānī (3 p.) times between the root
and the termination

They were not speaking of Dara, for since, I have heard them repeat Dara in the same word when I think they could not refer to that place. It seems to me to be peculiarly used when it is spoken as of rowing to a certain place to bring another back with you. But this is mere conjecture

a:17 Dawes identifies the derivational suffix dara, and its purposive function

Some time later in the light of new understanding, he added below this:

They were not speaking of Dara, for since, I have heard them repeat dara in the same word when I think they could not refer to that place. It seems to me to be peculiarly used when it is spoken as of rowing to a certain place to bring another back with you. But this is mere conjecture (a:17:11).

Dara was the placename for where he had established his observatory, now known as Dawes Point.

As the notebooks reflect a gradually increasing level of knowledge, so the degree of reliance placed on data contained in them should vary accordingly. Logically, given that Dawes was striving, without guidance, to understand a wholly unfamiliar language, some of his interpretations might have been, and indeed were, wrong, as shown below (§3.7). The same applies more strongly to interpretations given by other contemporary and later wordlist compilers, less accomplished and assiduous than Dawes.

In order to be in a position to make some assessment of the soundness of an interpretation of a word, expression or sentence provided by Dawes, it is useful to have an idea of at which stage of his language learning an entry was created. It is also helpful to see how much corroboration of meanings given by Dawes can be found in other wordlists.

3.6 Chronology

3.6.1 *Beginning the notebooks*

When did Dawes begin the notebooks? Here are some milestones:

30 Dec. 1788 Capture of the first native, Arabanoo, for language learning;

April 1789 Nanbarree and Booroong, smallpox orphans, taken into the settlement;

18 May 1789 Death of Arabanoo from smallpox;

25 Nov. 1789 Capture of the second and third natives, Bennelong and Kolbi;

12 Dec. 1789 Kolbi escapes: language learning proceeds with Bennelong:

One of these natives made his escape presently afterwards, but the other grew reconciled to his situation, and lives with the governor: he is a very intelligent man, and much information may, no doubt, be procured from him when he can be well understood. Mr Collins, the judge-advocate, is very assiduous in learning the language, in which he has made a great progress (King 1968 [1793]:269).

3 May 1790 Bennelong escapes.

3 June 1790 Arrival of Second Fleet (Fraser 1983:74).

17 June 1790 Natives seldom near settlement:

Setting fire to the corn I most feared, but which they never have attempted; and as these avoid those places we frequent, it is seldom that any of them are now seen near the settlement (Phillip 1790:216).

26 Jul. 1790 Natives still seldom near settlement:

The natives continue to shun us. I have not yet seen one, except a boy and girl we have in the colony, who begin to speak our language, and have no wish to leave us. It must be admitted there are now great obstacles to our establishing an intercourse with them; but were we uniform in our plans, and earnest in our wishes to accomplish it, 'tis very practicable (Captain William Hill letter quoted in Copley 1963:254-5).

12 Nov. 1790 Natives in settlement:

With the natives we are hand and glove. They throng the camp every day, and sometimes by their clamour and importunity for bread and meat (of which they now all eat greedily) are become very troublesome. God knows, we have little enough for ourselves! (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:192)

15 Nov. 1790 Earliest fully dated entry in Dawes' notebooks (a:9:3).

While Dawes might have begun to develop an interest in learning the local language on hearing the first cries of ‘Wara, wara!’ (Go away!) in early 1788, it is unlikely that he would have been able to do much about it for over a year and a half. He needed to make contact with the indigenous people, and to hear them talk, in order to collect his linguistic examples. That he did make sustained and repeated contact is evident throughout the notebooks. Dawes recorded his access to local informants as early as the first descriptive page (a:3) when he referred to Yirinibi, Booroong’s brother, a native other than a camp resident. The earliest dates cited by Dawes are in mid- to late-November 1790, and as Tench had said that the people had begun to visit the settlement frequently that month, it might conservatively be suggested that Dawes set up his notebooks and made his first entries sometime around 1 November 1790.

3.6.2 Determining the sequence of compilation of the notebooks

3.6.2.1 Dates cited

The most obvious indication of the sequencing of the Dawes notebooks is the date references incorporated in them by Dawes, of which there are several, as the following table shows:

T3.3 DATES CITED IN THE NOTEBOOKS

Original record	Source
Yenma kaoui... Said by Booroong on ¹⁰ 1790 to Kooróda	a:5:11
19th November 1790 Booroong and Nanbarri talking together ...	a:7:02
Nanbarri to Booroong 25 Nov. 1790 Bógiliebaou	a:7:4
This Baludérri said to me on the 15th Nov. 1790 ...	a:9:3
which Booroong and Nanbárree were playing with on the 19th Nov. 1790 ...	a:9:5
This was said by Benelong on the 23rd Nov. 1790 ...:	a:19:2
This was said by Benelong a little before dinner on 23rd Nov. 1790.	a:21:3
N.B. This was said to me by Kolby 21st Dec. 1790.	a:21:11
23rd August [1791]	b:2:5.1
This I got very particularly from Badyegarúŋ 19th Sept 1791 ...	b:21:11.2 ¹¹
* About the middle of September 1791 I was telling Patyegaráng that Wú'rrgan was a great thief ... ¹²	b:21:11.3
This was said to me by Patyegaráng after the departure of some strangers, before whom I could scarce prevail on her to read. 25th Sept. 1791	b:26:8.3
This, to me by ... Tarabílang when going towards B. Bay with him, Kolbi & Beriwa'ni, 13th Nov. 1791	b:26:15.2
The difference of speaking of we two and we three as above expressed was obtained 27 Nov. [1791] ...	b:34:8.2

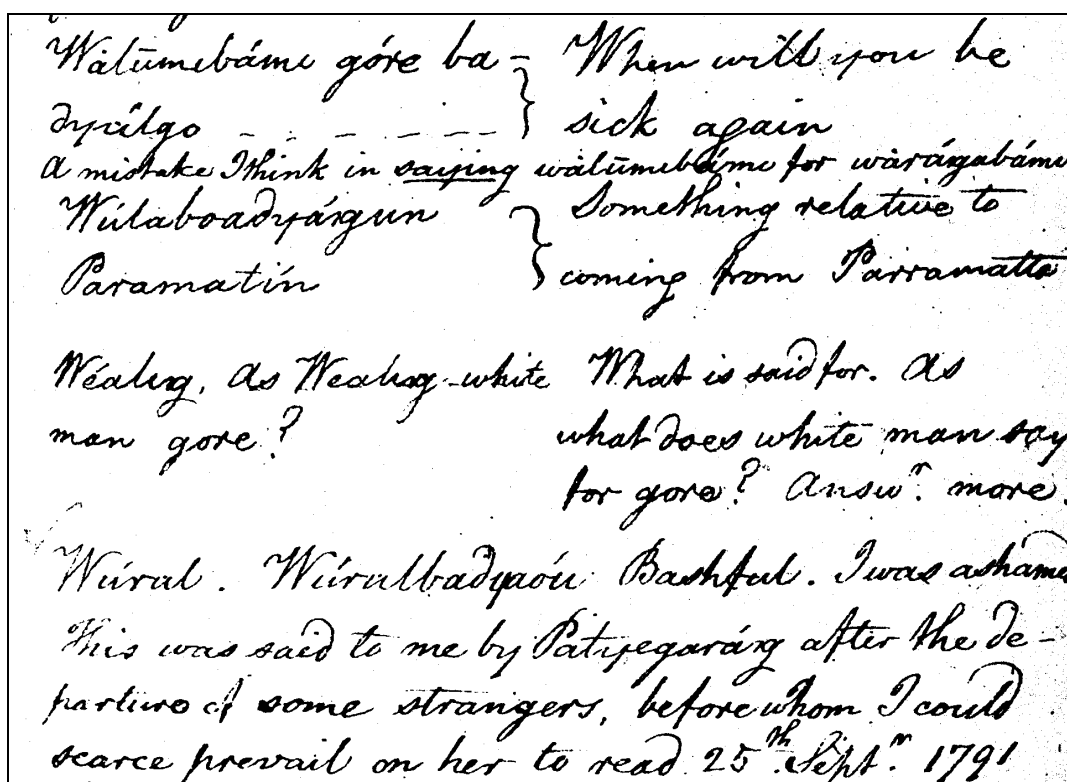
¹⁰ Date missing in notebook.

¹¹ The final element '.2' in the numbering system indicates that the 'line' entry consists of more than one element; in the present case "Putuwidyánga wiangáta putuwi" "My mother scorched my fingers (that I should not steal)" is numbered (b:21:11.1) and "This I got very particularly from Badyegarúŋ 19th Sept 1791. See 3rd page forward.*" is numbered (b:21:11.2).

¹² Dawes' asterisk in this entry relates to his asterisk in (b:21:11.2). The entry on the "3rd page forward" has been brought to the relevant place in the database and numbered accordingly, as (b:21:11.3).

3.6.2.2 Dating by inference

When an entry appears on a page including a date specified by Dawes, it may be assumed that entries (other than interpolations, as in line 3 in the example below) higher up the page than the date cited were made at the same time or earlier, and those lower down, at the same time or later. It is possible at times to determine that an entry has been squeezed in later, above or between words or lines, or added at the top of a page.



b:26 The date on the bottom line in this extract suggests everything above it was written on that date or before, except for the obviously interpolated third line, beginning "A mistake ...".

This example also shows the use of diacritics, whose significance is as follows. In the first word: a-dot (the sound of English 'or'); u-overline (probably English 'oo', with extended length); a-acute (á: the acute is a stress marker); i-no-dot (as in English 'it'). On the next line: u-dot (as in English 'but'). Line 5, Paramatín: i-dot (as in English 'white'). For more detail see §6.2 and §6.3.1.

For the most part the dating follows the same order as the page sequence; that is, dates for, say, November appear later in the book than dates for September. The clearest instance of non-sequential entry is the pronunciation key at page b:1, which incorporates styles that were not employed when the notebook was begun. Examination of the notebook itself revealed that this was entered not

on page 1 but on the inside front cover. Matter written on an inside front cover of anything is often an afterthought—otherwise why not write it on page 1?

Further evidence of non-sequential entry is apparent in table T3.3, where a:7:4 (quoting '25 Nov. 1790'), can be seen to have been written *after* the later page a:9:3 (quoting '15th Nov. 1790'). This confirms that Dawes added entries not wholly sequentially, instead sometimes placing them where appropriate in the layout scheme he had devised for the notebooks.

✓ Other inflexions &c.
 Patabángoong We shall or will eat
 Bye Bye Patabángoong Bye Bye We Dawes
 Dawes, Benelong } and Benelong shall eat
 This was said by Benelong a little before dinner on 23^d Nov^r 1790

Patáliebá He will eat
 Benelong ^{as a little after the} ~~at the same time as~~ above, having observed that I ate nothing & being told by me that I was going on board the Supply repeated what I said to him, to his wife and added Patáliebá or He will eat signifying that he was going on board to dinner. The syllable lie may probably signify there and then the english will be, "He will eat there" otherwise it is an irregularity in the conjugation.

Pataboóni - - - - - Not eat (as)
 Bial pataboóni. No, I have not eaten
 NB. This was said to me by Kolby 21st Dec^r 1790

a.21 The first of two dates occurs on line 6, and the second on the last line.

The page illustrates:

—later addition of an entry, and separation from the previous matter using a line;

—'certain' dots before and after an entry (penultimate line);

—a tick by an unknown hand (top line);

—"The syllable lie", probably a continuative in this instance, is discussed below (see §8.3.2).

Thus, on hearing new forms or usages of, say, the verb 'to eat', Dawes entered them on the 'Other inflexions &c' page for that verb, page a:21, at the next available space, commonly drawing a line across the page to separate the new entry from the last. Dates show the passage of time over about a month.

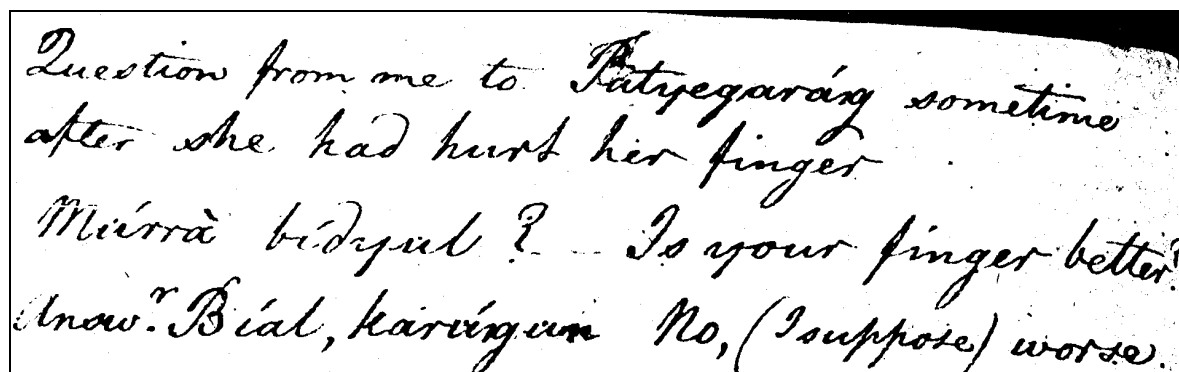
3.6.2.3 Other dating indicators

Other ways to identify sequencing include:

- Dawes' application of his own pronunciation key on the inside front cover of Notebook (b). (This key will be dealt with in §6.3.)
- Blackburn duplicates: the master of the *Supply*, David Blackburn, copied Dawes material in a letter dated 17 March 1791, from which it can be deduced that all Dawes' entries on a page occurring after a 'Blackburn' copied item were made after that date. There are over 130 exact or close 'Blackburn' matches (see §6.1.3).
- cross correspondence: Dawes occasionally entered the same basic information in more than one place. There are three 'breakfast' sentences: if they did not relate to the same event, it is possible they related to a period. The same applies to people, the following featuring in the notebooks, with the number of occasions shown: Ngalgiya [7], Dagiya [2], Biriwan [3], Punda and/or Pundul [8]. It is likely their appearances and mentions occurred over brief periods, unlike Badyigarang with many appearances and to a lesser extent Gunangulyi and Wariwiya. This process is akin a geologist's dating of rocks by fossil content, where fossils of organisms that flourished briefly were more useful for pinpointing a period in time than those that persisted over extended eras.

3.7 Reliability of the notebooks

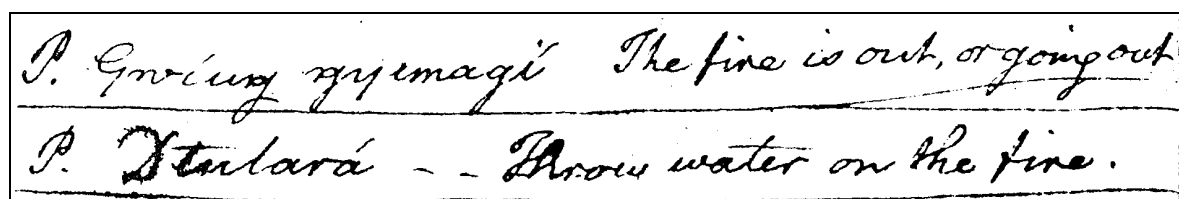
While Dawes is the primary authority for knowledge of Biyal-Biyal, not everything he wrote should be taken as correct. Some examples follow.



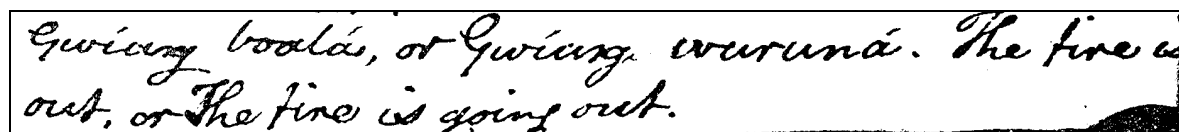
Question from me to Badyegarang sometime
after she had hurt her finger
Mürrä bidyal? Is your finger better?
Anaw. Bial, karirgan No, (I suppose) worse.

b:7:1

In the above exchange at b:7:1, Dawes' question mara bidyal, for which he has written "Is your finger better?", actually means 'hand hurt?' Badyigarang's reply biyal, garangan does not mean "No, (I suppose) worse" but rather 'no, [it is my] fingernail [that is hurting]'.



P. Gwiang ngymagi The fire is out, or going out.
P. Dhulara - - Throw water on the fire.



Gwiang boala, or Gwiang wuruna. The fire is out, or The fire is going out.

b:31:7-8 and b:31:13

Similarly, in these two extracts, the correct translations are:

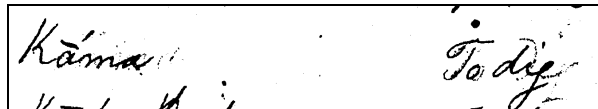
b:31:7: gwiang ngymagayi: 'fire pinched [i.e. put out]'—'fire (put) out';

b:31:8: dhulara: 'ash' (the same 'powdery white' word is used for 'frost', 'flour', and the suburb 'Chullora');

b:31:13: gwiang buwa-la: 'fire, blow it!'

b:31:13: gwiyang wara nha: ‘fire, away, that [?]’ Dawes’ translation might have been correct, yet the statement has the appearance, from his stress indicator on *wuruná*, of an imperative, matching the imperative of *boalá*, ‘blow it!’ (see §8.7).

Again, “Káma” in the next example may not be ‘to dig’:



b:11:11

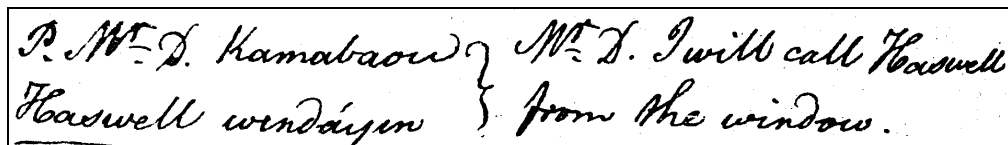
The following sources have gama as ‘To call’:

gama = “To call” (King in Hunter 1793:408.1:5);

gama-wu = “Shall I, or must I call” (c:14:2)

as does Dawes himself in b:32:9:

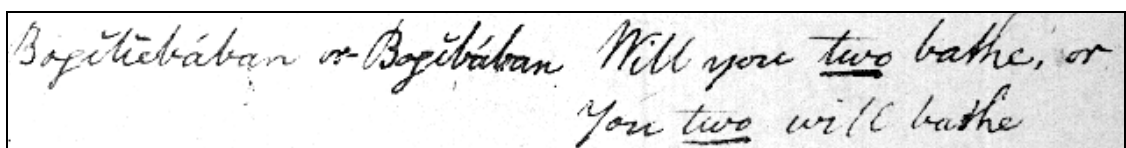
gama-ba-wu HASWELL WINDA-yin:
“I will call Haswell from the window.”



b:32:9

Nevertheless, Dawes’ use of the overline ‘macron’ in the first example suggests gaama, and hence a word possibly distinct from gama = ‘to call’.

There is doubt, too, over Dawes’ explanations of the suffix -ban, the status of which remains unresolved. He translated it variously as ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘you-two’ and ‘they’, two of the examples being illustrated:



a:7:7: bugi-(lyi)-ba-ban: bathe-CONT-FUT-... [?]

and:



a:15:1: nanga-dya-ban: sleep—PAST—... [?]

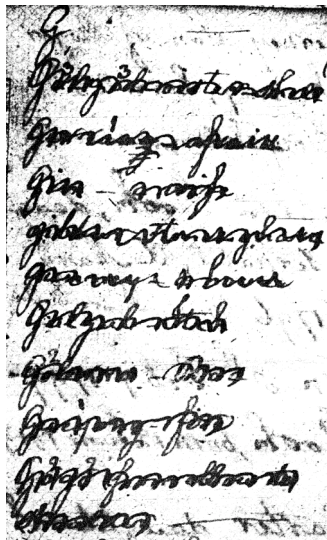
The suffix -ban is considered more fully in §7.1.4.

The question of the degree of reliance to be placed on Dawes' entries according to when they were made is dealt with again in Chapter 6 in discussing his systems of transcription (see §6.1–§6.3).

4 MANUSCRIPTS AND DATABASES

4.1 Handwriting

While Dawes' handwriting is generally clear, some other manuscripts are challenging, such as Fulton's register featured below, in which the indigenous words were crossed out (Fulton 1800-01: page G), left, and Clarke's Journal, which was illustrated in Chapter 1 (see §1.5).

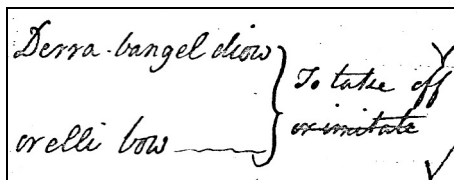


Fulton's 'G' page

Australian	no hyphens	English
gal-gal [?]	gal gal	oister shell
Gerráng [?]	dyirun	afraid
Gin	dyin	a wife
gibbur	giba	strong, hard [?]
gunnya	ganya	a house [?]
Galgul	gal gal	Itch
Golerra [?]	gulara	bad [anger]
gue`yong	gwiyang	fire [?]
Gogo	gugu	from elbow to shoulder

The same page transcribed

Reference to originals can reveal where errors have arisen in the course of publication from handwriting ambiguity, as in the case of King's Journal:



King's manuscript (King 1786-90:399.6)

399:6.1 dira-banga-l-dya-wu

399:6.2 or [dira-bang]a-li-ba-wu

Din, and Din aillon, Women.
Derra-bangel-dion crelli bow, To take
off, or imitate.
Dyennibbe, Laughter.

King in Hunter (King 1968 [1793]:271)

The last 'w' in the MS top line has been read as an 'n';
and the alternative 'or' has become part of a new non-existent word
'crelli'

Examples of handwriting misreadings are not uncommon. Having access to original records can be invaluable, and it is regretted that some landmark originals, such as the Collins list, have not been located for the present study.

Different recorders had different ideas about how best to transcribe the unfamiliar language they were hearing, and used combinations of English spelling principles, such as ‘oo’, or ‘e’ at the end of a word, to ‘lengthen’ a preceding vowel, and doubling of consonants to ‘shorten’ it. Sometimes they used ‘i’ to sound as in ‘eye’, and ‘g’ to sound as in ‘gin’ and ‘George’. A summary of spelling forms is given in table T0.1 in the Styles and Abbreviations preface. There were also diacritics and hyphens. Inevitably, in the initial transcribing and respelling of varied and mixed spelling conventions such as these, errors have been made, and will have been made for the same reason in the present work. By comparing the forms that occur with the help of computer databases it may have been possible to reduce the frequency of such errors here.

Mistakes can arise from communication misunderstandings:

Collins recorded:

mulu-mulång = “The Pleiades” (1975 [1798]:507.1:4)

and in Notebook (c) appears:

mulu-mulu = “A cluster of ditto [stars]” (c:26:10);

However, Dawes gives:

malung = “Dark.” (b:18:14)

malum-in = “On account of darkness” (b:18:15)

It cannot now be known, but it seems possible that when the European enquirer pointed at the star group Pleiades, the indigenous informant described his understanding of what was being indicated: simply, ‘dark (night)’, and perhaps, in reduplicated mulu-mulu, ‘very dark’ (see §9.5.5.1).

Another example is:

mira-gang yundi-ngai “some left I have — (Mathews 1901:149:31.1 [Dwl])
I have a little left”

bara-marung yundi-ngai “I have plenty left” (Mathews 1901:149:32.1 [Dwl])

miragang = ‘few’; baramarung = ‘plenty’ [Dwl]

yin-da = ‘walk, go, depart’ – PAST [Dwl];

ngai = ‘I (1sg)’ [Dwl]

In these sentences it appears that Mathews, during an attempt to learn how to express the concept ‘Is any left’, might have mixed up the English idioms associated with ‘to have left’. This expression can mean both ‘to have departed’ and ‘to have an amount remaining’. Mathews provided eleven examples of **yin-da**, past tense of ‘go’ (i.e. *walked, departed, left*); the morphologically similar, and thus possibly or even probably the same word, **yun-di**-(ngai), includes the widespread verb root *yan* ‘to go’ featured prominently by Dawes in Notebook (a). It seems Mathews used *yun*, when a different word to mean ‘deposit, remain, leave’, was required. Again, computer databases can help identify anomalies of this kind.

4.2 The databases

This study began with the noting of Biyal-Biyal words on a temporary bookmark while reading the account of the First Fleet captain of marines, Watkin Tench. Now over 30 000 records for Biyal-Biyal and neighbouring languages are on various databases. The original recorders had access to current speakers. I have access to a computer, and through it to these databases, the one advantage possessed over those recorders and over later scholars until recent times.

The four databases relevant to this study are:

T4.1 THE THREE ‘SOURCE’ DATABASES AND COMBINED ‘COASTAL’ DATABASE

Name	No of records	Content
North	c.10 000	Awabakal, Darkinyung, Karree and northern lists
AllSyd	c.8 000	Biyal-Biyal, Dharug and Sydney region
South	c.10 000	Dharawal, Gundungurra, Ngarigu and southern lists
Coastal	c.32 000	The above lists, including relevant lists collected by E.M. Curr (1887), and some duplication

There is duplication in these lists and databases as many recorders noted the same words—for instance, common terms such as ‘good’, and body parts—often spelling them slightly differently. The following is a brief description of the databases.

The information captured by the recorders noted in Chapter 2 was all entered onto one or other of the ‘source’ databases, in the following manner. The basic data is recorded exactly as originally written (excluding any inputting errors), in the following fields. A Dawes entry, “Karadigán”, and the AllSyd database, are used as an example.

T4.2 BASIC FIELDS

Field name	Entry
source	Dawes
notebook	b
page	11
line	1
Australian	Karadigán
English	Doctor. They call our surgeons by this name

The field name 'Australian' has been used in the databases to indicate 'indigenous language word'; a language name has not been used (e.g. Biyal-Biyal), because the database might be covering several languages.

The following supplementary fields enable the basic information to be further processed.

—First, the original word is standardised by respelling with and without the use of hyphens. If there are double letters, these are eliminated in the 'no hyphens' respelling.

—Next, a standardised translation is entered into the field 'English JS' (e.g. 'little' is always used in preference to 'small').

Respelling without hyphens, and standardised English translations, allows computer searches, including inter-language searches, to be undertaken either by an indigenous word or by its standardised translation; searches by the original records in either of these categories would be successful much less often. Thus, the above Dawes entry is codified by these and other 'second tier' fields:

T4.3 SECOND TIER FIELDS

Field name	Entry
respelt	garadi-gan
no hyphens	garadigan
English JS	doctor
category	human classification
sub-category	ceremonial
part of speech	noun
language	BB

A number of analytical fields cover such elements as:

T4.4 FUNCTION OF FIELDS WITHIN FIELD CLASSES BY PART OF SPEECH

Field class	Description of fields within the 'field class'
pronouns	person/number/case (e.g. 1sgGEN, 2duNOM) for both free and bound, and inclusive/exclusive forms
nouns	case, and derivational suffixes
verbs	tense/mood/stem-forming and derivational suffixes

Other fields assist the process of analysis:

T4.5 FIELDS ASSISTING ANALYSIS, AND RECORD DESCRIPTION

Field name	Description
comments	where original recording and translation errors are noted, and any other points of interest
meaning clue	where inter-language search results are noted, and words of similar form or meaning
word-for-word translation	where sentences, including all the stems and all the suffixes in each word, are analysed and noted
scientific name	for botanical terms
Natural History Museum #	for botanical items looked up on the internet at the NHM (Natural History Museum)
date	year the original record was made

Other fields assist with database management:

T4.6 MANAGEMENT FIELDS

Field name	Description
status	generally the original recorder's initials, or other identifier, appears in this field; where a record has been derived from an original sentence, 'JS' in this field indicates such a record to be a derived one
date created	field created for all databases (occasionally proves to be useful)
date modified	enables searches for records changed on a particular date

Other fields may be, and are, created for special purposes to assist in analysing particular data. The basic fields cited above broadly illustrate how language information is handled and made ready for investigation.

4.3 Respelling and searching

Once the data is entered onto the computer, the principal use made of it is through searches. These can be undertaken by any of the criteria built into the database. For example, a search might be made by English or Australian word (e.g. what is the word or words for ‘good’? what does budyiri mean?), by part of speech, or by category—and any combination of criteria. For example a search for:

- language: BB
- part of speech: noun
- category: kin terms
- no hyphens: b* (i.e. ‘b’ + any letter or group of letters, hence any word starting with ‘b’)

produces 33 versions of biyanga (father) and babana (brother). Changing the ‘no hyphens’ ‘find’ field to b*b* results in just 9 versions of babana.

When the databases are appropriately set up with these fields they make it possible to search, as mentioned, for information in all the languages concerned in this study simultaneously, and almost instantly. The following devices facilitate these searches:

- elimination of double letters in respelling: thus there is no need to know whether a word was, say, ‘ngara’ or ‘ngarra’;
- ‘wildcard’ searching characters mean that the ‘correct’ vowels do not need to be entered in respelt forms for searches to operate successfully. Thus, in the Biyal-Biyal data, a search using the ‘any *single* letter’ wildcard ‘@’, as in ‘b@dy@r@’, will yield all spellings of budyiri (good) regardless of which particular vowels might have been used in its respelling.

A second ‘any group of letters’ wildcard, ‘*’ (mentioned above) widens such a search. Thus ‘b*dy*r*’ yields not only the previously found examples but

buladyiri and Badyigarang as well; and if the search is extended to the combined Coastal database, over 30 additional results emerge for consideration.

4.4 Computer restrictions

The computer does not recognise phonetic symbols, as in the words ‘ŋaya’ (= ‘I’) or ‘badyagarāŋ’ (= ‘kangaroo’). This renders any searches for words incorporating such characters ineffective. It is for this reason that phonetic alphabet forms were, and are—as their development is ongoing—not used in the databases, and are generally avoided throughout the present work, it being dependent on the databases.

Many of the original recorders used textual marks or diacritics to reflect variations in sound, but generally did not explain their significance. These included acute and grave accents (e.g. é and è) and circumflexes (e.g. ê). As such standard diacritics are ignored by the computer, they may be used in respelling without adverse effects. Other marks used by the original recorders may sometimes be approximately indicated without any detrimental effect to the operation of the database; thus overdots may be indicated by standard character equivalents (e.g. å and ü), and *overlines* by *underlines* (e.g. a). Some diacritics, however, although achievable on the computer (e.g. ā overline or ‘macron’, ö ‘breve’), are special phonetic symbols and are not recognised by the database program and so, like the ‘ŋ’ above, have not been used in respellings. A three-letter underscoop tie that occurs 58 times in the notebooks (widely used by Dawes especially in Notebook (a), and employed by him at least until his Hawkesbury expedition in April 1791) can be approximated with a top tie bar (yenmaōu), but as it too is not recognised by the database program, and consequently impairs searching, it is not used. And as Dawes himself

abandoned it sometime after his Hawkesbury expedition, its non-representation in the database respelt forms is not a significant omission.

4.5 Respelling decisions

In undertaking the respelling of words it is necessary to make judgements about the intentions of the original recorders: for example whether a word ending in ‘-i’ was intended to sound as ‘eye’; or whether the pronunciation of ‘u’ was intended to sound as in ‘but’ or ‘put’; or whether ‘ng’ was to be sounded as in ‘singer’ or ‘finger’. Where ‘g’ was deemed in such circumstances to have been intended to be separately pronounced, it has been shown as such by the use of a capital, as in GuringGai (Guringai) for ‘Kuring-gai’, such a device once again being harmless in respect of database searching capability.

For the most part, as the precise pronunciations can no longer be known with certainty, the actual respelt forms (sometimes arbitrarily) chosen are adequate for the present purposes by enabling searches to be effectively carried out. This study aims at understanding Biyal-Biyal, not at making determinations about how it and neighbouring languages precisely sounded. This is an area considered better left to the relevant indigenous communities and linguistics professionals.

4.6 Look-ups and layouts

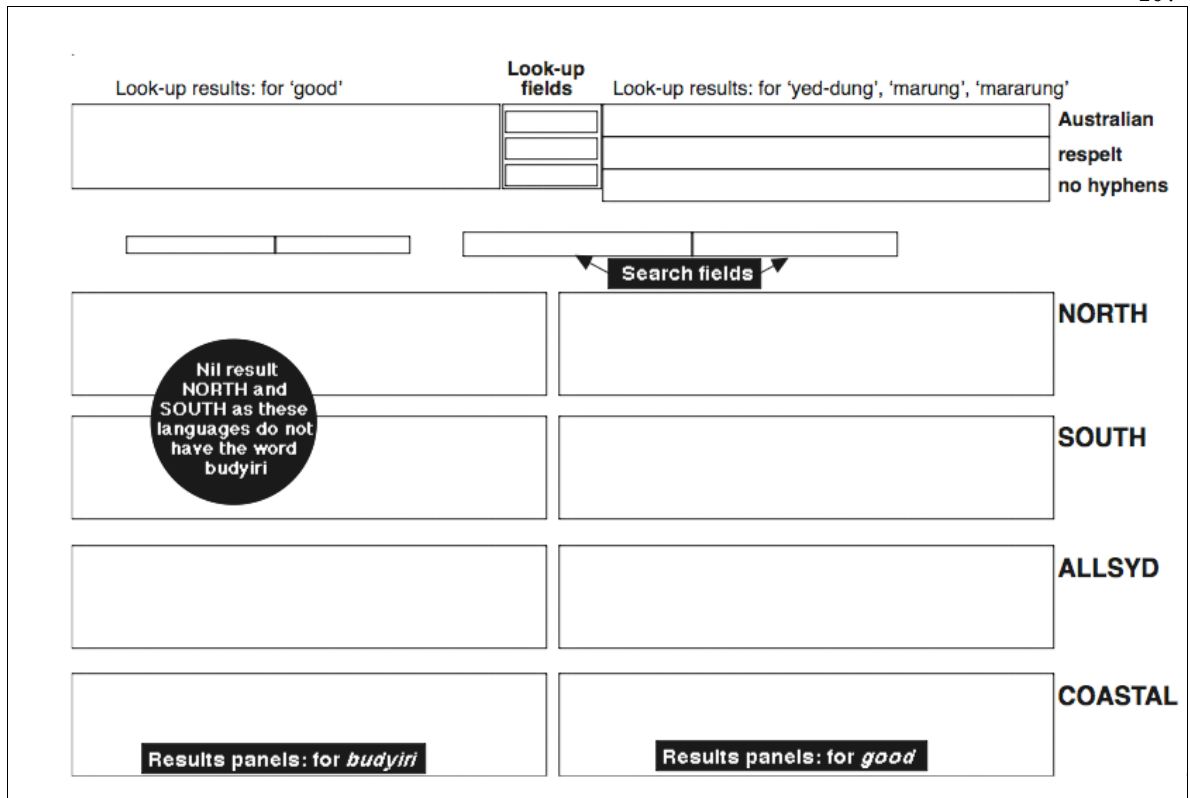
Relational databases enable ‘looking-up’ to take place in several databases; this means that searches can be made for words in several places simultaneously. Search results can be displayed in different ways, such as the following, for the word ‘good’:

The screenshot displays a complex web interface for searching across multiple linguistic databases. At the top, there are search filters and a list of results for 'budyiri' and 'good'. Below this, the interface is divided into several sections: 'NORTH No HYPHENS', 'SOUTH No HYPHENS', 'ALLSYD No HYPHENS', and 'COASTAL No HYPHENS'. Each section contains a table of search results with columns for word, source, pg, in, language, and status. The results are color-coded by source: blue for 'budyiri', orange for 'good', and yellow for 'good' in the 'ALLSYD' section. The interface also includes a 'word match' section and a 'source list' section. The bottom of the page shows a 'COASTAL No HYPHENS' section with a table of results for 'budyiri' and 'good'.

word	source	pg	in	language	status
budyiri	Good	32	9	Syd	Good
buggeri	Good	20	97	DgR	Good
bougeri	Good	41.2	4	BB	Good
bougeri	Good	42.1	14	BB	Good

The ‘Links’ layout, with a search undertaken for budyiri—‘good’.

In this presentation, the computer, on the right-hand side, is looking up the word ‘good’ in the North, South, AllSyd and Coastal databases; and on the left it is looking up budyiri, one of the variant Biyal-Biyal spellings of ‘good’. The different sources, and spellings, are shown for the original records. On the left, from the upper blank panels, it can be determined that there are no usages of budyiri in languages to the north and south. This may be shown diagrammatically:



The diagram shows the location of the search fields and results panels.

The 'Look-up fields' at the top are an additional aid permitting 'peeks' into the related databases using the indigenous word as originally written, respelt with and without hyphens (right), or the English equivalent (left), in the case illustrated revealing results for Gundungurra (Gga), Awabakal (Awa) and other languages.

4.7 Analysis

The following presentation shows one of the ways in which words and sentences are analysed, with suffixes allocated to various fields. The sentence illustrated is Dawes b:32:6, uttered by Baydagarang (P):

X4.1 P. *Nabaou-ínia Windáyin Tamunadyemínga*

na -ba -wi -nya WINDa -yin damuna -dyi -mi -nga
 see FUT 1sg 2sgO ABL refuse PAST 2sg 1sgO
 “I will look at you through the window (because) you refused me (bread)” (b:32:6)

The screenshot displays the 'Page Analysis' interface for the sentence 'na-ba-wi-nya WINDá-yin damuna-dyi-mi-nga'. The interface is organized into several functional areas:

- Top Panel:** Contains word lists and grammatical categories such as 'Dun-ye', 'FORM', 'LIST', and 'damuna'.
- Central Analysis Area:**
 - VERB:** Includes markers for PRESENT, PAST, PERFECT, and other verb forms.
 - PRONOUN:** Lists person and number markers (e.g., 1st, 2nd, 3rd).
 - NOUN:** Lists case markers (e.g., Nominative, Accusative, Ergative).
 - FREE:** Contains additional markers and grammatical information.
- Bottom Panel:**
 - comment:** A text box providing a detailed explanation of the sentence structure.
 - meanings clue:** A section providing context and meaning for the sentence.

'Page Analysis' computer layout in the AllSyd database

Nominative and accusative singular bound pronouns -wi-nga and -mi-nya can be seen in the pronoun area to the right, past and future tense indicators -dyi and -ba towards the centre, and on the far left the ablative form -in of the English word 'window'. The arrangement of the page is clarified by the following diagram:

[TITLE OF DATABASE]																															
	WORD LOOK-UP AREA Search results English		Search by original, respelt, or no hyphens	WORD LOOK-UP AREA Search results: —original spelling —respelt —no hyphens																											
	by English																														
	INFORMATION AREA ABOUT THE PARTICULAR WORD/PHRASE CONCERNED																														
NOUN AREA Case suffixes Special suffixes: emphasisers pluralisers etc.	VERB AREA Derivational suffixes stem-forming suffixes		Tenses COMMENTS AREA MEANING CLUE AREA	<table border="1"> <tr> <td>1</td> <td rowspan="3">PRONOUNS AREA</td> <td>Nom</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2</td> <td>Acc</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3</td> <td>Gen</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3">Singular</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td rowspan="3">Bound Free</td> <td>Nom</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2</td> <td>Acc</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3</td> <td>Gen</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="3">Dual</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1</td> <td rowspan="3">Plural</td> <td>Nom</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2</td> <td>Acc</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3</td> <td>Gen</td> </tr> </table>	1	PRONOUNS AREA	Nom	2	Acc	3	Gen	Singular			1	Bound Free	Nom	2	Acc	3	Gen	Dual			1	Plural	Nom	2	Acc	3	Gen
1	PRONOUNS AREA	Nom																													
2		Acc																													
3		Gen																													
Singular																															
1	Bound Free	Nom																													
2		Acc																													
3		Gen																													
Dual																															
1	Plural	Nom																													
2		Acc																													
3		Gen																													

Arrangement of the 'Page Analysis' computer layout in the AllSyd database.

It is largely through these databases that this study of Biyal-Biyal has proceeded, with the Dawes data being checked against the records of the neighbouring languages, resulting at times in amplification and sometimes correction of it.

5 NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

The languages next to Biyal-Biyal were noted in Chapter 1 and are, anticlockwise from north to south, Awabakal, Darkinyung, Dharug, Dharawal and Gundungurra. Also considered here are the sub-languages or dialects ‘Karree’, recorded in an unpublished manuscript possibly by Threlkeld (c.1835), and Ridley’s records mainly of ‘Turuwul’ (Twl) and ‘The language of George’s River, Cowpasture and Appin’ (Dharug-Ridley: DgR) (Ridley 1875:99-108).

5.1 Comparative tables

In this study, these languages have been looked into for confirmation and elaboration of the harbourside Sydney data. Detailed examination of them is beyond the scope of this study, and in any case has been undertaken by others as noted in Chapter 2. However, three comparative tables for pronouns, and noun and verb suffixes, that follow, in which the columns for each language are arranged in this same north-south sequence, adequately reveal similarities and differences between and among these languages, and in particular show the strong link between Karree and Awabakal.

Karree and Turuwul will be briefly and separately considered after the tables.

5.1.1 *Frequency*

The comparative tables include frequency (‘fcy’) columns. The counts given in these columns, especially affecting larger numbers, are not intended to be precise. Further examination of some of the larger bodies of material commonly yields more examples of particular forms, and might result in the transferring of a suffix from one classification to another. Moreover, different

counting criteria yield different results. The counts are intended to be relative, and indicative: the higher the relative frequency of an item for any particular language shown, the stronger the likelihood of reliability of the record concerned.

5.1.2 Not comprehensive

As the purpose of the tables is to throw light on Biyal-Biyal forms, certain of the more difficult to identify and analyse forms occurring in, say, Gundungurra, with no detected equivalents in Biyal-Biyal, have not been included. However, prominent special suffixes of the neighbouring languages, while they might not occur in Biyal-Biyal, have been included.

Not every instance of a recorded form has been included. A single example for a particular pronoun or suffix, where it appears dissimilar to other examples, has generally been omitted on the assumption that it might have been a recording error, or at least that its inclusion would be unhelpful in these summary tables.

5.1.3 Variations

There are often minor variations in the original records; these have been ignored. Thus original 'ngalang', 'ngaling', 'ngulung', 'ngalung', 'ngulang' might be shown as 'ngalang: 5'. Similarly all double letters have been reduced to singles.

5.1.4 *Archaic English style*

The archaic pronouns ‘thou’, ‘thee’ and ‘thy’ are used as a convenience to distinguish second-person singular forms. These are forms consistently used by Dawes.

5.2 The tables

5.2.1 Pronouns free and bound

The Biyal-Biyal column cites generally the first occasion in the Dawes notebooks where the particular pronoun occurred.

fcy: frequency; fr: free; bd: bound; (@) = 'any letter'

		Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
I															
1sgNOM	fr	ngaduwa	36	ngadawa	1	ngaya	12	ngaya	a:1:1 18	ngaya	11	ngayagang(ga)	6	gula-ngGa gula-nga	9 2
	bd	bang	405	bang ba	34 39	wa ba	52 12	wu wi	a:1:7 81 b:13:10.2 8	(n)du wu	7 2	ngai nga ngi	196 58 27	ngGa nga nya	161 51 35
ME															
1sgACC	fr	imuwang	4			dyana	5	dana	a:40:1.1 3						
	bd	diya	107	dyiya	42			nga	a:1:9 15	ngu	8	(n)dhan dyin	44 16	(n)dya ya	12 23
MY															
1sgGEN	fr	imuwamba	6	amuwamba	3	dyanangGai	8	danai	b:5:3 1	dyanangai	6	ngayawuli	9	gulanguya	10
	bd											(n)dyin	22	dya	7
THOU															
2sgNOM	fr	nginduwa	18	ngindawa	1	nyindi ngindi	6 4	ngyini	a:7:6.2 16	nyindi ngindi	7 1	nyindigang	6	gulandyi	13
	bd	bi	196	bi	95	wi	7	mi	a:1:8 60	d(y)i ny	5 8	bi ng ny n	65 8 22 21	bi (n)dyi nyi	11 83 13

		Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
US- 1duACC	fr	TWO ngalin ban	1	(excl.)											
	bd											ngalin ngalang	19 6	ngalang	2
OUR- 1duGEN	fr	TWO		(excl.)								ngungalin-Guli	3	gulangalang(un)	4
	bd											ngalin ngalang	4 6	ngalang nyulangGun	1 1
WE- 1duNOM f <i>we women</i>	fr	TWO bali bawandawa	2	(excl.)		(fem.)									
US- 1duACC f <i>us women</i>	fr	TWO ngalin nuwun	1	(excl.)		(fem.)									
OUR- 1duGEN f <i>of us women</i>	fr	TWO ngalinba nuwun	1	(excl.)		(fem.)									
YOU- 2duNOM	fr	TWO bula	17	bula	1	bulabun	3	ngalai [?]	b:14:6 1	bulaya	1	bilgang(ga)	3	gulambu	8
	bd					ngun ban	1 1					bul/mbul/nbul wul	47 24	bu/mbu/nbu	31
YE- 2duACC	fr	TWO bulun	2												
	bd											wulung mbulung/ nbulung	7 6	wulung	2

	Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
YOUR- 2duGEN	fr	TWO bulanba	1								bilgang-Guli	6	gulambu(ng)	4
	bd										bulang wulang	6 2	nbula bulu	1 1
THEY- 3duNOM	fr	TWO bula bulwara	4		bulawala	2	ngyila [?] b:19:18 nila a:4:6	3 5			nawulali nyiliwulali	5 3	dhanadyula	6
	bd			wala	1	la [?] bula	a:4:6 b:26:1	5 1			mbula/nbula wula	38 36	nbula/mbula ngbula	25 7
THEM- 3duACC	fr	TWO bulun	5				bulanga	b:31:9	1		indiwulali	1	nidyula	4
	bd										wulung mbula(ya) la-dhung	16 16 1	y/wulangu	2
THEIR- 3duGEN	fr	TWO bulwara-guba	1								indiwulaliwuli	1	dhanadyulangu ni(n)dyulangu	3 3
	bd	bulunba	1								bulanu wulanu	6 2	bulangu wulangu	2 3
WE- 1plNOM	fr	ALL ngiyin	24	(incl.)	ngiyang	3	ngyila [?] b:19:18	1			nyulgang(ga)	4	gulanyan gulambanya(n)	4 4
	bd				nyang	11	nyi	b:28:8	3		nyang nyan nya	62 2 7	nyan nyin ng	29 5 3

		Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
US- 1plACC	fr	ALL ngiyaran	3	(incl.)				ngyinari	b:34:7 1						
	bd							nina	b:34:7 1			nyanung	11	nyanang	4
OUR- 1plGEN	fr	ALL ngiyaranba	2	(incl.)		nyinar(ay)i-ngGai	2					nyulgang-Guli	3	gulanyanang	4
	bd											nyinang	7	nyinang(u)	4
WE- 1plNOM ex	fr	ALL		(excl.)		ngiyangwai nyangwarai	1 1	ngyilu	b:27:6 1			nyunaling(ga)	3	gulambanyila gulan(d)yila	4 3
	bd											nyiling nyaling	41 2	nyila/ngila nyala/ngala	23 13
US- 1plACC ex		ALL		(excl.)								nyinin nyanin	8 5	nyinin	1
OUR- 1plGEN ex	fr	ALL		(excl.)								nyunalin(g)-Guli	5	gulanyanungun	2
	bd											nyinin	6	nyilang	1
YOU- 2plNOM	fr	ALL nura	21			nyurabiny	1					nyirgang(ga)	4	gulamban(h)u gulan(h)u	5 7
	bd											nhur ndhur	52 19	nhur/nhu ndhu/dhu n(y)u	23 13 14

		Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
YE- 2plACC	fr	ALL nurun	2									ngalgandhurang	2		
	bd											dhurung nhurung	7 7		
YOUR- 2plGEN	fr	ALL nurunba	3									nyirgan-Guli	3	gulan(d)hurung nyinarung	3 1
	bd											dhurung nhurang	2 2	nyurung	2
THEY- 3plNOM	fr	ALL bara	56			gurigal-gang	1					nawandal-wali	2	dhanu- dyimalang dyamaganda	9 3
	bd					wai	1	wi	a:2:12	16		wa ndha nha	46 14 6	(n)dyalang	40
THEM- 3plACC	fr	ALL barun	11												
	bd											(n)dhanang	18	ndhanang dyanang	1 1
THEIR- 3plGEN	fr	ALL baranba	3									indal-wuli	1	dhanu- dyimalingu dyamagandangu dyamagangdhar	3 1 1
	bd											dhanang	4	dyinang dyilang	2 2

5.2.2 Verb suffixes

fcy: frequency; fr: free; bd: bound; (@) = 'any letter'

	Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
TENSE														
PRESent	n	430	n	7	di	32	dyu ni/nu/na yu/ya	15 33 7	ya	1	yi (@)i ya	137 31 13	yi mayi ma	7 40 74
FUTure	nan gin	240 25	nin(g)	47	madi ma bayi ba	15 6 7 3	ma ba	34 153	ba	3	n(y)aya n(y)ayi lu	49 3 14	ni ngi/nyi	219 6
PAST	yan	78					dya dyi ya/yi	118 63 7	dya	4	ya (@)a	416 66	ri ra/ru muwi mu ya	128 35 64 18 12
PastH Past Historic	ya la	40 160	ya la (@)a	5 22 16	ya bayi a-yi	4 11 35	a-yi	40						
IMPerative	la wa ya yi	130 38 42 43	la wa ya/yi ra	22 3 6 1			la ma ya ra [-a]	10 6 1 2 16	ma ya na	1 1 6	yi ya ra da	3 4 15 3	yi bi, gi ya ra	15 12 27 1
SFX stem-forming suffixes														
do	ba	244	ba	9	ba	16	ba	17	ba	6	ba	38	ba bu	207 28
do	bi	45	bi	2	bi	30	bi	15	bi	24	bi	7	bi	41

	Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
declare	da	69	da	2							da	57	da	3
declare	di	99							di	2	di	63		
be	ga	185	ga	29	ga	3	ga	7	ga	18	ga	36	ga	46
											gayi	29		
be	gi	426	gi	8	gi	1	gi	1	gi	8	gaya	15	gi	2
be [?]	nga	2									gi	1	nga	3
											nga	2		
make, cause	ma	168	ma	2	ma	5	ma	26	ma	26	ma	351	ma	107
make, cause	mi	3	mi	1	mi	1	mi	26			mi	51	mu	34
move	wa	41	wa	5	wa	1	wa	6	wa/wu	2	wa	47	wa	19
move	wi	9					wi	4			wi	60	wi	20
affirm	ya	12						6						
affirm	yi	48												
HUMAG human agency	ngGa	106			ngGa	2	nga	11						
					nga	7								
					ny	3								
RFLX Reflexive (to oneself)	li	30					li	2	dili	1	li	17	li	30
							lyi	6			la	9	la	1
											lu	3	lu	10
											lya	13	l	1
RECIProcal (to each other)	la	90	la	1	la	2	la	4	la	1	la	12	la	3
													li	12
													lu	2
INCHOative (about to)	gulang	38									wa	23		
											wi	62		
											wu	11		

	Awabakal	fcy Karree	fcy Darkinyung	fcy Biyal-Biyal	fcy Dharug	fcy Dharawal	fcy Gundungurra	fcy
CONTInuous (...ing)	li 540	li 18	li 23	li 8 lyi 16	li 1	li 3 la 22	li 66 la 8	
CONSTantly	li-li 38					n(h)ala 4	nya [?] 2	
HABitual	ya 4 yi 13	ya 1 yi 1					dya 15	
RECURring (again)	yaga 80			gu 2	(ma)gu 3	la 3 gunalaya 2	la 4	
DO while				dwara 6			ngiri 9	
DO after							dya 8	
PURPose (for) [see also <i>NOUNS</i> : <i>PURPositive</i>]	gu 16 gulang 2	ga 1 gulang 1	gu 2	gu 4	gu 1 nara 9 dara 11	gu 5 ra [?] 3 ri 6	gu 2 ra [?] 10 ra-ma [?] 5 mara 6	
POTL Potential (could/might)	wuwil 52 wil 12 (@)uwil [n-, r- , y-] 13	wuwil 1 wil 2						
ALMost	yi-nga 20			gula 8				

	Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
PERmit	manbi banbi	80 62					ngma [?] na [?] n [?]	1 5 1						
NECESsity (must)	bala	2					duru	5			bambi [?]	50	ba	15
DUBITative (perhaps)	mirga wundu	6 6	maga	16	maraga	3			maraga	6	mara dyuwa	49 2	barambunda wundu (u)ndu (@)undu [b-, mb-, ng-]	3 10 2 3

5.2.3 Noun suffixes

fcy: frequency; fr: free; bd: bound; (@) = 'any letter'; m: masculine; f: feminine

	Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
OBject ACCusative	nung	27					nya/nyi n(g)a ma wa	4 13 2 4			nhung dya ga	4 13 2		
SUBject ERGative	du gu lu/ru	77 28 20	du gu	1 3	da ga/gu la ya	1 3 2 4	a ra [?] ya	6 3 2			dyu ga la	32 29 6	d(y)a ga la	4 30 3
INSTRumental (with/using)	du gu ru	7 9 4			da	3	a [-ra]	1			dya d(y)i ga	20 3 2	ga	7
PURPositive (for)	gu	31			gu	3	gu	9	gu	8	gu wu	24 3	gini ngu	5 1
DATive (indirect object)							n(y)a nyi	4 1						
ALLative (to, towards)	(@)agu gingu gu gin ring	28 15 12 2 15			gu	4	gu lu	4 1	gu	2	gu yu	4 5	ni	30

	Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
LOCative (place where at)	gaba ginba ba	23 16 26			gara guri ga wa ra	5 1 2 3 1	wa ra a	13 6 4			baru wari ya/yi ngGa [?]	2 1 2 8	(m)baru waru wariya nguru	5 22 5 15
ABLative ELAtive (place from)	din	13					in yin	5 3			din yin	16 6	dyi nguridy guridy ngura baridy	11 17 1 3 3
CAUSal (by, cause of)	din gai in/rin	56 22 13					yin in	3 12						
AVERsive (for fear of)														
GENitive (of, belonging to)	amba/wamba guba ba	44 37 21			ngai gai nga	18 3 3	ngai nai ngal	7 2 4	ngGai (ng)Gu	7 2	guli wuli g/wulal	42 34 8	ngu la-ngu(ra) ngu-wi/-ni/-la/-l	60 14 14
COMITative (in company with)	guwa ga-duwa duwa	127 21 5	guwa	2	guyung guyum	22 3			wi bi	5 3	gandi	9	nguru	33

	Awabakal	fcy Karree	fcy Darkinyung	fcy Biyal-Biyal	fcy Dharug	fcy Dharawal	fcy Gundungurra	fcy
PROPRIetive (having)				mada 29		dhara 6 yira 8 yiri 15 guyung 3	ngara 3 malima 3	
PRIVative (lacking)	guriyin 47	gurin 16	bundi 7	buni 30 muni 3	guran [?] 1	nguna 5 Ganha 1	muga 7 mugu 12	
APPERTaining nn	to gulang 57	gulang 2	gulan 1 bulan 1	gulang 3 balang 3 bilang 1				
vb	gulang 32			gulang 6 gula 7				
DERIVing nn	from birung 71		birang 16	birang 15				
vb	birung 5							
COMParative (like, similar to)	giluwa 8	giluwa 2					guba 3 baba 1	
ACTOR (role, initiator)	ba-yi 17		ba-yi 4	ba-yi 1 gan 4				
PATient (role, recipient) <i>[see also VERBS:Do while]</i>	dwara 44							

	Awabakal	fcy	Karree	fcy	Darkinyung	fcy	Biyal-Biyal	fcy	Dharug	fcy	Dharawal	fcy	Gundungurra	fcy
EMPHasis														
	bu	116	bu	4			bu	3			ba	1	(n)bil	11
	yi	46					gangai	2					(m)bal	19
negative							nu [?]	2					gini	3
PLURaliser														
	ra	22			biny	2	ra	5	dyaralang	2	(bu)l(u)wala	14	(d)yar(g)ang	15
					gala	2					balula	3	d(h)argang	6
					gurai	1					wulali/a	3	dyima/i	3
ORIGins														
(place/time)														
m	gal	36	gal	10	gal	7	gal	82	gal	1				
f	galin	10					galyang	34	galing	4				

5.3 Karree and Turuwul

Two lists are of special interest because of claims made regarding them. Capell affirmed that Karree was the language spoken on the north shore of Sydney harbour (see §1.3.1.1), and Ridley claimed that ‘Turuwul’ was:

The language spoken by the now extinct tribe of Port Jackson and Botany Bay. These words [i.e. the word list that followed] were obtained from Mrs. Lizzie Malone, a half-caste, and were learnt by her from her husband, John Malone, a half-caste, whose mother was of that tribe (1875:99).

An analysis of the words occurring in the lists was undertaken, comparing similarities and differences with words of surrounding languages found in other lists.

5.3.1 *Similarity / difference*

In the following comparisons, words in the target lists (Karree and ‘Turuwul’) were matched against words in the languages indicated in the tables (T5.1-2). Words were omitted from consideration where a word with a corresponding meaning was *not* found in a language being matched. When words of *similar* meaning were identified, the relationship was first categorised under one of five headings ranging from ‘identical’ to ‘no match’, with arbitrarily decided intermediate relationship positions of ‘close’, ‘loose’ and ‘faint’. Matches in the target language were then simplified to two broad classes, in which ‘identical’ and ‘close’ were classed as ‘same’, and the remainder ‘different’.

The following table illustrates ‘same’ and ‘different’ for the Karree words for ‘mosquito’ and ‘cheek’, against corresponding words in two other languages, Awabakal and Gundungurra. It also illustrates how judgements have to be made as to what might be permitted to constitute ‘same’: here yundaring and ngundirang.

English	Karree	Awabakal	similarity	Gundungurra	similarity
mosquito	dubing	dubing	same	mudyirun	different
cheek	yundaring	galu	different	ngundirang	‘same’ [= ‘chin’]

5.3.2 *Karree*

T5.1 FOR GIVEN MEANINGS, WORD FORM MATCHES WITH KARREE, FROM GADANG (NORTH) TO GUNDUNGURRA (SOUTH)

Language	Gdg	Awa	Kre	NrN	LD	Dark	Tk	BB	Dg	DgR	Twl	Dwl	Gga
Same	94	169	317	75	96	89	40	59	61	44	9	26	35
Different	152	90	0	53	44	158	67	186	152	119	60	239	236
Total	246	259	317	128	140	247	107	245	213	163	69	265	271
% same	38	65	100	59	69	36	37	24	29	27	13	10	13

Abbreviations

Gdg	Gadang	LD	Long Dick	BB	Biyal-Biyal	Twl	Turuwul
Awa	Awabakal	Dark	Darkinyung	Dg	Dharug	Dwl	Dharawal
Kre	Karree	Tk	Tuckerman	DgR	Georges R.	Gga	Gundungurra
NrN	Near north						

DgR: elsewhere called ‘Dharug-Ridley’, the vocabulary relating to the Georges River area.

From this it can be seen that, of the *languages*, the Karree (Kre) list most closely matches Awabakal (65% the same), with comparable correspondence to the *wordlists* of Long Dick consisting of 300-items (69%), and to those loosely classed as ‘near north’ (59%), comprising:

- James Larmer: Hunter’s River, Brisbane Water and Newcastle;
- Robert Brown: Broken Bay;
- Horatio Hale: Lake Macquarie;
- Eugène Delessert;
- Phillip Parker King: list supplied by Mr Hunter of Lake Macquarie; and
- James Bowman: ‘Bulgara’ list from around Singleton.

The closeness of the matching diminishes further to the north, Gadang (38%), and westerly, Darkinyung (36%). The 124-item Tuckerman list, which closely matches the Darkinyung result, may tend to confirm that Tuckerman was

actually recording that language. The further to the south the languages are considered, the less the words match the Karree forms.

5.3.3 *Turuwul*

T5.2 FOR GIVEN MEANINGS, WORD FORM MATCHES WITH ‘TURUWUL’, FROM GADANG (NORTH) TO GUNDUNGURRA (SOUTH)

Language	Gdg	Awa	Kre	NrN	LD	Dark	Tk	BB	Dg	DgR	Twl	Dwl	Gga
Same	8	10	4	1	6	3	5	19	15	20	72	38	19
Different	48	50	39	36	28	45	30	42	34	31	0	22	42
Total	56	60	43	37	34	48	35	61	49	51	72	60	61
% same	14	20	9	3	18	6	35	31	31	39	100	63	31

From this it can be seen that by far the closest match to ‘Turuwul’ is Dharawal, and that the match to Biyal-Biyal is no closer than to several other lists.

The above analysis confirms the greatest similarity of Karree to Awabakal, and of ‘Turuwul’ to Dharawal. While no conclusion can be drawn from it that Karree was not spoken on the north shore, it can be inferred that Ridley was not correct in stating that ‘Turuwul’ was ‘the language of the extinct tribe of Port Jackson and Botany Bay’ but rather that it was most like the language spoken south of Botany Bay, Dharawal.

6 PHONOLOGY

When Biyal-Biyal was the principal language of Sydney, some of the European newcomers, including Daniel Southwell, commented upon it:

The natives, too, formed a p't in the 'scape, for some of them had posted themselves on the overhanging cliffs here and there, as tho' to dispute our passage up, brandish'd their lances with a variety of anticks more like monkees than warriors. Indeed, their chatt'ring, tho' something more sonorous, put one in mind of those gents (Southwell 1893 [1788]:680).

... Their language is most uncouth to the ear (Southwell:681).

Southwell, one of the first to make mention of the linguistic aptitude of the Aboriginal people, remarked on their gutturals:

A good while was spent in telling them [the natives] the names of a variety of things, many of which, it is no less true than remarkable, they pronounced with as much ease and propriety as ourselves, and were mightily well pleased to see us so completely foiled, as we often were, in attempting to master some of their "throttlers" or gutturals (Southwell:701).

The writer of the log of the visiting American whaling vessel, the *Ann and Hope*, agreed with Southwell's view of the sound of the language, commenting as well upon the predominance of the letter 'r':

Their language is extremely harsh & guttural, the letter r appears to abound in their words; which they roll out with great volubility (Carter [Botany Bay, Sunday 21 October 1789]: 80).

Half a century later, René Primavère Lesson, part of a French exploring expedition, found the languages he encountered hard to grasp, and attributed this difficulty to what he, too, noticed: the gutturals:

L'idiome des Australiens de la Nouvelle-Galles du sud, fort difficile à saisir par les sons gutturaux dont il abonde, varie suivant les tribus (Lesson 1839:296).¹³

Watkin Tench commented on phonological characteristics of Biyal-Biyal:

... 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 [1789, 1793]:292-3).

¹³ The speech of the Australians of New South Wales, very hard to grasp because of its abundant gutturals, varies from tribe to tribe.

Initially negative views as expressed above would be tempered upon closer acquaintance. By December 1791 Tench had begun to see merit in the sound of the language:

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 mellifluous, and sometimes sonorous (Tench:291-2).

The tone of voice of the women, which is pleasingly soft and feminine, forms a striking contrast to the rough guttural pronunciation of the men (Tench:49).

And Mrs Elizabeth Macarthur in March of that year had written much the same, and had also made mention of Dawes:

I told you in my last I thought their dialect pleasing. ... Mr Dawes, who has studied the language or jargon a good deal, ... (Macarthur 1892 [1789-95]:505)

In assessing the Dawes notebooks it is necessary to recognise that, as was discussed in Chapter 3 (see §3.5), they represent a process of learning, and that not all parts are to be regarded as equally authoritative. When the indigenous people began frequenting the settlement Dawes started to make progress in his language learning. Almost at once in Notebook (a) he mentions not only the two children who had been residing in the settlement since April 1789 (Tench:148), “Booroong” (a:3:8) and “Nanbarri” (a:7:0.2), but also “Yiríníbí” (a:3:9), “Anganángan” (a:5:92), and “Kooróda” (a:5:11.3); and, on 15 November 1790, the earliest dated entry, “Balúderri” (a:9:3).¹⁴ Soon, too, Dawes alters his earliest system of transcription.

¹⁴ In this discussion and generally throughout, a circumflex (akin to an inverted breve) represents the small overscoop or ‘breve’ used by Dawes to indicate a ‘short’ vowel. As mentioned in §4.4, the breve can be reproduced on the computer, with difficulty (e.g. ‘Yiríníbí’); however, unlike the circumflex, breves and other unusual diacritics and symbols are not recognised for sorting purposes by the database program, so to use them would diminish the computer’s analytical power.

6.1 Dawes' three systems of transcription

Dawes employed three systems of transcription, with some overlapping between them (about 2 per cent of the data). They reflected his developing grasp of the language and how to record it. He also based his analysis on his presumed prior studies of the grammar of Latin and French.

6.1.1 *System i: 'ee' – to some time after 25 November 1790*

This first system, representing about 13 per cent of the Dawes data, was characterised by the use of *ee* to represent phonetic [i] and *oo* for phonetic [u], as in:

19th November 1790 Booroong and Nanbarri talking together and she observing his hair to be wet: Bg. Bógeediémee bógee? Have you bathed or been bathing? (a:7:1)

This Dawes had corrected to “Bógidiémi bógi”.

In another dated, but untranslated, entry later on the same page he has:

Nanbarri to Booroong 25 Nov. 1790: “Bógí liebaou”. (a:7:4)
Answer. Wauná wauná Bógíbóonî (a:7:5.1)

This means:

‘I shall bathe. Answer: Don’t want; don’t want bathe-lacking’.

The importance of this entry is the date, as well as the final word, including the privative derivational suffix which he has spelt “booni”, not “boonee”, nor yet “buni”. This is an indication of transition to his second system.

6.1.2 *System ii: 'i' – to some time after 17 March 1791*

The second system of transcription, representing about 31 per cent of the Dawes data, featured the use of *-i* in place of *-ee*, and some use of *u* for phonetic [u]. It also featured *-au* (as in English *or*, *all*) for a sound Dawes was later to replace with a-dot, represented here as ‘â’. He used small overscoop

breves and flat overline macrons particularly in this system—although he did to some extent throughout—to indicate short and long vowels.

6.1.3 *System iii: ‘phonetic’—from after 17 March 1791*

The partial dating of Dawes’ third, and most sophisticated, system of transcription (see §6.3) representing about 54 per cent of his data, is possible because of a 135-item wordlist appended by David Blackburn to a letter dated 17 March 1791 (Blackburn 1791). This wordlist contained 119 entries that were identical to entries in the Dawes notebooks—the indigenous words as well as the precise phraseology of the translations, and 14 that were very close, differing for the most part by a single letter. There were two non-Dawes entries. The Blackburn list may be assumed to have been copied from Dawes, and diverges primarily only where Dawes has made corrections and later additions to his definitions.

6.2 Macrons, breves and diacritics

Dawes made use of various diacritics without explaining their use. These are set out below, together with a suggestion as to their likely purpose.

T6.1 USE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF DIACRITICS (DAWES DATA)

Diacritic	As in	Meaning	Source	Possible significance	Frequency
Acute accent	<i>Ngarámata</i>	younger brother	b:20:10.1	shows stress on second syllable	hundreds
Grave accent	<i>Mü'rrà</i>	hand	b:7:1.2	unknown	6
Underscoop*	<i>bangabaōū</i>	I will paddle	b:3:4	close-knit articulation	dozens
Macron	<i>ȳini</i>	to fall	a:10:0.2	extended length of vowel (presumed)	172
Breve	<i>ȳinīboónī</i>	“not fall down”	a:11:1	short vowel (as in ‘bit’)	92

* Top tiebar used here instead of underscoop, which is not achievable by computer with this font.

ī x x

The usage of the breve and macron with the different vowels is as follows:¹⁵

	ă	ĕ	ĩ	ō	ŭ
breve	9	6	73	1	3

	ā	ē	ī	ō	ū
macron	76	10	40	11	35

Note: Where a particular diacritic occurs more than once in a single line or ‘record’, it is counted as a single occurrence.

None of these diacritics was confined to any one of Dawes’ systems of transcription, although the breve, especially [ĩ], was rarely used in system iii, being replaced directly by ‘i-no-dot’.

¹⁵ For the breve and macron achieved in these tables the substitutes ‘circumflex’ and ‘underscore’ are generally used in this thesis.

6.3 The phonology of Biyal-Biyal

On the inside front cover of Notebook (b) Dawes recorded the sounds of Biyal-Biyal.

Letter	Name	Sound	as in the english words
*ā	aw	aw	all call
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			
i	ēē	ēē	in it ill
*ī	ai	ai	I iwy ire
k	ka	k	
l	el	l	
m	em	m	
n	en	n	
ng	eng	ng	sing king
o	o	o	open over
p	pe	p	
r	er	r	
s	es	s	
t	te	t	
u	oo	oo	cool fool
*ū		u	un- under
z			

Orthographic table: Dawes Notebook (b), page 1

He noted the five vowels, 'a', 'e', 'i', 'o' and 'u', and the consonants 'b', 'd', 'g', 'k', 'l', 'm', 'n', 'ŋ', 'p', 'r', 's', 't', and made provision for 'f', 'h', and 'z' but found no examples to illustrate them.

The discussion that follows draws on the general work of Dixon (1980), (2002), and of Troy (1993-94) for Biyal-Biyal.

6.3.1 Vowels

Dawes distinguished the vowels as follows:

vowel	sound as in	marking
a	at, am, an	
ã *	all, call	dot over
e	empty	
ɪ	in, it, ill	no dot
i	I, ivy, ire	dot over
o	open, over	
ü *	under	dot over
u	cool, fool	

* ã and ü are used as substitutes for the unachievable a+overdot and u+overdot.

Dawes also recognised, as noted above, contrasting long and short vowels, identifying over 200 examples of long vowels by repetition (e.g. ‘aa’), or by the use of macrons.

Modern linguists, such as Dixon, say:

Most Australian languages have just three vowel phonemes (1980:129),

and that:

With only three contrasting vowels, Australian languages can afford to allow each a wider range of phonetic realisation (1980:130).

It is this wider range of phonetic realisation that enables the Dawes analysis, including ‘e’ and ‘o’, to be comprehended within a modern linguistic framework.

T6.2 THE AUSTRALIAN VOWELS, AND THEIR POSSIBLE PHONEMIC RANGE (based on Dixon 1980:130)

a		i		u	
As in	Phonetic value	As in	Phonetic value	As in	Phonetic value
bat	Q	beet	i	boot	u
half	a	bit	ɪ	put	ʊ
putt, but	ʌ	bait (first element in this diphthong)	e		
bet	ɛ				
bought	ɔ				

It could be said that Biyal-Biyal had six vowel phonemes, three long and three short.

Dawes did not devise his final system of transcription until he was well advanced with his notebook record (estimated at sometime after 17 March 1791), nor did he apply its underlying principles until then. In his orthographic table he made allowance for the following sounds, the frequency of occurrence of which, once he began applying his system, is as follows:

T6.3 SPECIAL SYMBOLS USED BY DAWES, WITH FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE

Symbol	ǣ	ǣ̇	ɪ [i-no-dot]	ɪ̇ [i-dot]	ʊ̇	ŋ
Phonetic value	æ	ɔ	ɪ	aɪ	a	ŋ
Frequency	2 [?] *	109	310	101†	108	291

* With so small a mark (a+forward dot), the two instances might be paper blemishes.

† Counting 'i-dot' instances only after Dawes had begun implementing his third system of transcription.

6.3.2 *Diphthongs*

As a general statement it may be asserted that each syllable contains only one vowel. Tench, however, as was shown above, noted the many diphthongs. The possibilities for diphthongs are shown in the top row of the following table. The next row shows possible spellings of these, while the final rows show the number of occurrences for those spellings in the record for the Sydney region.

T6.4 POTENTIAL DIPHTHONGS, AND THEIR RESPELT FORMS, INCLUDING i-DOT

Diphthong	a+i		a+u		i+a		i+u		u+a		u+i	
Respelt	ai	a-yi	au	a-wu	ia	i-ya	iu	i-yu	ua	u-wa	ui	u-wi
Frequency:												
AllSyd lists	401	300		220		408		8		176		168
Dawes/Anon	80	128		124		149		—		42		35
Dawes only	30	83		88		106		—		14		11

Note: Each of the values in this table is included in the figure above (i.e. in the ‘ai’ column, Dawes/Anon comprises 30 Dawes, 50 Anon; and AllSyd comprises 321 items apart from the 30 Dawes and 50 Anon).

From this it can be seen that only in the case of ‘ai’ has it been considered appropriate, in the database respelling of the words (i.e., say, of such words as were originally spelt by Dawes with i-dot, as “Mi” = ‘eye’, mai (b:39:4.2)), to allow for a ‘diphthong’ of two vowels blending together. On diphthongs, Dixon commented:

In Australian languages vowels invariably have a ‘pure’ articulation, without any diphthongal slurring from one tongue position to another (1980:130).

He went on to explain on the following page about clear pronunciation of the vowels in Australian languages:

A word like /bina/ should be pronounced ... with a clear pure ‘ee’ quality to the [i] and as careful an articulation of [a] as if it occurred in a stressed syllable (1980:131)

rather than as it might be pronounced in Australian-English [bóinə], where ‘ə’ is the unstressed vowel, as the first ‘e’ in, say, ‘beneath’.

Dixon later wrote:

Australian languages do show phonetic diphthongs and vowel sequences. However, the solution adopted by almost all Australianists is that these should be analysed as combinations of vowel(s) and semi-vowel(s), so that:

- (a) Every syllable involves just one vowel;
- (b) There are no sequences of vowels (2002:552).

He then gave an example of a diphthong:

... the word for ‘spear’ in H1, Dyirbal, [bangai]. It could be analysed as ending with a semi-vowel, /bangay/, or in a vowel, /bangai/.

In the present work, the ai database respelling of this vowel+semi-vowel ‘diphthong’ has been adopted in the 401 (AllSyd), (30 (Dawes)), instances

indicated in the table, rather than the use of either the phonetic alphabet, or the form *ay*, for the reason that the spelling *ai* is the least likely to confuse or lead to mispronunciation should the thesis ultimately be of interest to more than an academic community.

6.3.3 *Vowel length*

The first word recorded by Dawes, on page 1 of Notebook (a), is “Naa To see or look”. Dawes recognised that vowels could be long or short, and he noted as well the long ‘a’ in “maan” (= ‘to take’), “Taabanga” (= ‘to yawn’), “Waaragál” (= ‘mackerel’), and others [69 altogether]. These all occur in the first syllable of the word concerned—except for “Pograbaala” (= ‘broken to pieces’) (b:16:10). He recorded several ‘-ii’, most of which, after comparison with other entries for the same words, were resolved as *-a-yi*, leaving only “Ngalawaudiingoon”, but even that word is better rendered, in the light of his many other examples, as:

ngalawa-dyi-ngun
sit-PAST-we-two

and so without a long vowel. He gave no instances of a long ‘u’.

As was noted above in table T6.1, Dawes was throughout alert to vowel length, marking long vowels in 172 instances by the use of macrons.

Modern linguists class the three vowels as ‘high’ (*i*, *u*) and ‘low’ (*a*), these descriptions relating to the place of articulation in the mouth. Dixon notes that:

... high vowels *i* and *u* involve articulatory gestures similar to those for *y* and *w* (2002:550).

This y+i and w+u linking enables an initial consonant (semi-vowel) to be postulated where original recorders omitted it. Dixon states at the same place that the low vowel (a):

... has no association with any of the parameters for classifying consonants ..., with the result that supplying a missing consonant for words recorded as beginning with 'a' is less simple.

6.4 Vowel harmony

In Biyal-Biyal, the practice was adopted of sound matching on some occasions.

Yallop commented:

A few Australian languages exhibit limited application of a principle known to linguists as ‘vowel harmony’. By this principle, vowels in successive syllables must agree in certain features—for example, a word cannot contain both front and back vowels, or both rounded and unrounded vowels (1982:68).

One situation in which this phenomenon was fairly consistently recorded was in connection with the use of the past tense marker *-dya/-dyi*. The form *-dya* was used with a following suffix including *-a* or *-u*, and *-dyi* with a following suffix including *-i*. The table shows examples of recurring forms, with the frequency of the relevant forms occurring in the corpus indicated.

T6.5 VOWEL HARMONY EXAMPLES, IN BOLD TYPE: DAWES/ANON

-dya with *-Ca*

[C = any consonant]

Original example	Respelt	Original translation	Source	Fcy of bold items
<i>Naadioú</i>	na- dya-wu	I did see or look, or have seen etc.	a:2:7	50
	...- dya-ban(d)			5
<i>Piyadyángun</i> ¹⁶	baya- dya-ngun	We two were talking	b:33:12	4
<i>-dyi</i> with <i>-Ci</i>				
<i>Naadiemi</i>	na- dyi-mi	Thou [ditto] [didst see or have seen]	a:1:8	34
<i>Münyemünga-dyemínga</i>	manya-ma-nga- -dyi-mi-nga	You made me start	b:18:9	9
<i>Panyadiswe</i>	banya- dyi-wi	[they] Did paddle	c:4:4	1

As the frequency column reveals, there were many examples of the application of vowel harmony, including first-, second- and third-person, and singular, dual and plural numbers. Vowel harmony also applied when the syllable-to-be-rhymed-with was not at the end of the word (for example, (b:18:9) above).

6.4.1 Vowel harmony exceptions

As the next table shows, the vowel harmony phenomenon did not appear to apply in 8 examples for the bound pronoun *-wi* (= ‘they’), although there was one example when it did (see (c:4:4) above). Nor did harmonisation occur consistently with the bound pronoun *-ngun* (= ‘we-two’), although, in the case of the *yudi-dyi-ngun* example below, it might have done so through *-dyi* rhyming with the previous rather than the succeeding syllable.

T6.6 VOWEL HARMONY EXAMPLES OF APPARENT EXCEPTIONS, IN BOLD TYPE: DAWES/ANON

Original example	Respelt	Original translation	Source	Fcy of bold pair
<i>Naadiouî</i>	na- dya-wi	They [did see or have seen]	a:2:12	8
<i>Widadi-û-i</i>	wayida- dyu-wi	They [drink]	a:18:6	3
<i>nangadyîngun</i>	nanga- dyi-ngun	[sleep did we-two]	b:29:7.2	4
<i>Yúdidyîngun</i>	yudi- dyi-ngun	We two are going to see [someone] home	b:30:9	1

If harmony could apply to sound matching for a syllable *before* or *after* the past-tense marker—as seems probable, then the only exception would be *nanga-dyi-ngun*.

¹⁶ Bold ‘*i*’ and ‘*ng*’, here and throughout, indicate that, in the example cited, Dawes used i-dot and the ligature ‘*η*’ respectively (see §4.4).

6.5 Consonants

Modern linguists have analysed Australian languages and have found widespread similarities among them, including their sounds and consonantal range. It would accordingly seem likely that Biyal-Biyal would fit into this general picture. It would also appear that Biyal-Biyal, while not employing the full ‘canonical phoneme system’ featured in the schematic outline in Dixon (2002:549), might have had the following range. The table is based on Dixon’s, omitting some of its detail:

T6.7 CONSONANTS: POSTULATED RANGE FOR BIYAL-BIYAL

peripheral		non-peripheral			
bilabial	dorso-velar	lamino-		apico-	
		palatal	dental	alveolar	post-alveolar (retroflex)
				rr	r
		ly [ʎ]		l	
m	ng [ŋ]	ny [ɲ]	nh [ɳ] [ʔ]	n	
b/p	g/k	dy [ɟ]	dh [ɖ]	d/t	
w		y			

The table of consonants in Troy (1993-94:23) contains the same items.

The meanings of the headings used above, together with some other basic terms, are given in the glossary in the ‘Styles and Abbreviations’ preface.

6.5.1 Key features

First, it may be noted from the table of consonants, T6.7, that:

Feature	Comment
there are no sibilants: s, z, sh	Dawes recorded ‘s’ in several words: “Yarrsba”, “parsbugi”, “Mikoarsbi”, “Tarrsbi”, and similar, all of which precede ‘b’, and also “Tsiati”. The first of these should perhaps be rendered <i>yaraba</i> or <i>dyaraba</i> and the rest similarly, and <i>dyadi</i> for the last.
there are no fricatives: f, v	
there is no aspirate: h	The bark shield spelt “helemong” by Fulton between 1801 and 1805, and by others (Bowman, Threlkeld, Mitchell, Ridley, Mathews) as beginning with an ‘h’, was first recorded without an initial consonant by Collins, Tench and Southwell. The word was possibly <i>yilimang</i> .
the stops: b/p, d/t, g/k	There is no contrasting significance between the members of the three voiced and voiceless pairs of stops. That is, it did not matter whether one said <i>badu</i> or <i>patu</i> (= ‘water’). In the case of the present study of Biyal-Biyal, these pairs are represented by the voiced member of each, b, d and g.
rhotics	<p>The log of the <i>Ann and Hope</i> whaler quoted above noted the ‘r’ sound to be a prominent feature of the language. In the Anon notebook the following entry appears (c:16:1):</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">“Dar-rah (both the r^s pronounced): The thigh”.</p> <p>This perhaps confirms the occurrence of a trilled ‘r’ in addition to a continuant ‘r’.</p> <p>It is possible that there was a retroflex ‘r’; if it were present, no recorder seems to have conceived of a way to represent it and so leave a trace of it in the record.</p>
dh	Dawes recorded 16 ‘dh’ examples.
nh	There are no ‘nh’ examples recorded for Biyal-Biyal, but 290 occur in the South database (including 257 for Dharawal).

6.5.2 Consonant doubling

More than a quarter of the entries recorded for the Sydney region display doubled consonants. The same profusion applies for the neighbouring languages. It could be assumed that recording with single or double consonants was without significance, reflecting the vagaries of English spelling; or that doubling was functionally used for another purpose, as indicated by Fraser, who wrote in an editor's comment to Threlkeld's

Australian Grammar of Awabakal:

As a matter of convenience, it has been usual to indicate the short sound of ... vowels, wherever they occur in Australian words, by doubling the consonant which follows them; thus also, in English, we have 'manner', and, in French, 'bonne', 'mienne'. This plan seems unobjectionable, and has been followed here (Threlkeld 1892:4).

About half the entries in the South database display double consonants, on which Eades comments:

I have disregarded Mathews' distinction between single and double consonants. I find no evidence for significant consonant length (Eades 1976:9).

Yet recorder after recorder for the languages in the region has spelt indigenous words with double consonants, often splitting them with hyphens, suggesting the separate enunciation that occurs in many languages—including such diverse examples as Italian and Arabic. This double-consonant recording abundance, combined with the specific reference 'both r^s pronounced' (c:16:1, cited in the table above), amounts to a hard-to-dismiss implication that contrastive lengthening of consonants may have been a feature in Biyal-Biyal at least.

The following double consonant usage was recorded by Dawes:

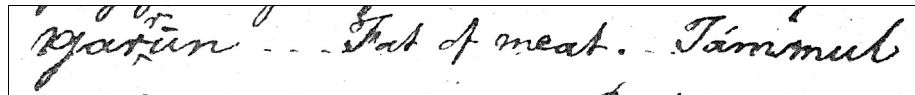
T6.8 DOUBLE CONSONANTS

Medial consonant	'b'	'd'	'g'	'l'	'm'	'n'	'r'	't'
Frequency of such word	434	277	127	252	203	208	441	127
Frequency of doubles	2	0	2	33	2	5	48	2

The table shows that out of 434 words featuring ‘b’ in word-medial position, only 2 were doubles. Examples of the ‘double’ occurrences follow.

T6.9 LOW-FREQUENCY DOUBLE CONSONANTS—DAWES DATA

‘Double’	Example	Respelt	Original translation/Meaning	Source	Fcy
-bb-	“Kúbbera”	gabara	“The head”	b:11:4	2
-gg-	“Parrbuggy”	bara-ba-gayi	“I have lost it”	b:16:2.1	2
-mm-	“Gnámmul”	ngamul	“A stone sinker to a line”	b:8:5	2
	“Támmul”	damul	[“Fat of meat.” ??]	b:27:2.2	
-nn-	“Kannó”	ganu	“A full stomach” [2 examples]	b:12:9	5
	“Pǘnnül”	banal	“The sunshine”	b:16:19	
	“Múnnu”	manu	‘fleas’	b:18:12	
	“Búnnerung”	banarang	“Blood”	b:3:14	
-tt-	“Gíttee gíttee”	gidi gidi	‘tickle’	b:8:3	2
	“Mattí”	mada-yi	“Soft. Easy for a child to eat”	b:17:21	



b:27:2 Dawes provided no translation of ‘Támmul’, which might be another expression for “Fat of meat”.

Dawes also specifically inserted an additional ‘r’ into “**ngarrun**”, evidence suggesting significant consonant length.

T6.10 HIGHER FREQUENCY DOUBLE CONSONANTS—DAWES DATA

‘Double’	Selected examples	Respelt	Meaning	Comment	Source	Fcy
-ll-						31
	“Wéllama”	wala-ma	‘return’	‘bend, crooked, twist, curve’	a:25:0.1	12
	“Ngállá diée’	nga-la diyí	‘see this!’	see IMP	a:2:24	4
	“° Múlla °”	mala	“° A man, or husband °”		b:13:3	3
	“píallabooni”	baya-la	“not talk”	‘converse’	b:22:25.2	1
	“Ngállia”	ngaliya	‘we-two’		b:14:11	4
	“Dargállee”	dyaragali	“To scratch”		b:5:7	1
	“Ngállawádóoroo”	ngalawaduru	(= ?)		b:25:1.2	1
-rr-						40
	“Ngarrun”	ngarun	“Fat of meat.”	trill?	b:27:2.1	1
	“[Didyí] mǘrri”	mari	“It is very painful”	short vowel	b:5:23	12

Notes:

1. Use of double letters to indicate the ‘short’ vowels is possible; only one double-letter example occurs following a ‘vowel + macron’ after Dawes introduced his final transcription system: this was “**Mattí**”, above.
2. With over 400 recorded single ‘r’ examples, the 40 doubles suggest (apart from indication of a short vowel, or spelling variation) different enunciation, either

separate articulation or a trill/continuant contrast, or both. (See also ‘rhotics’ above, §6.5.1).

In summary, a single–double consonant contrast in Biyal-Biyal is possible and perhaps likely, but only in the case of ‘r’ does the evidence seem compelling. No attempt has been made in the present respelling to determine to which precise words such separate enunciation of recorded consonant doubles might properly be applied.

6.6 Phonotactics

As the way words are constructed is widely similar in Australian languages, it can be expected that Biyal-Biyal will show few or any unusual characteristics.

6.6.1 Syllable length of words

There are a small number of single syllable words in Biyal-Biyal. The shortest of these, all of which end in a vowel, are:

T6.11 SHORT SINGLE-SYLLABLE WORDS

Word	Meaning	Example	Original translation	Source
mi	what	mi giyara	What's the name?	b:13:11
na	to see	ngaya na	I see or look	a:1:1
wa	where	wa Gulibi yagunu	Where (is) Colebee today?	(Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:293:23.1)

Some others are the following. All begin with a single consonant and most end in a nasal:

T6.12 LONGER SINGLE-SYLLABLE WORDS

Word	Translation	Source
bung	buttocks	b:3:25
dun	tail (of animal, bird)	c:33:8
dyin	woman or wife	b:5:4
gan	snake	(King in Hunter 1793:408.1:26)
mai	eye	b:39:4.2
man	to take	a:37:02
man	spirit	(Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:280:20)
mang	ant	(Brown 1803:264.72:2)
ngan	who, what	b:15:2
yan	to go	a:4:01

Most of the words recorded in the Dawes/Anon data consist of two or more syllables. Words, particularly verbs, may be elaborated into polysyllabic forms by the addition of stem-forming and derivational suffixes, tense markers and bound pronouns, as example *Münyemü**ng**adyem**í**nga* [X8.60], and also the following word recorded by Dawes, illustrate:

X6.1 *Tyarrsbabaouinia*
 dyara -ba -ba -wi -nya
 distress SFX-do FUT 1sg 2sgO
 “I will throw it (water) over you” (b:20:16)

6.6.2 Word beginnings

Each word begins with a consonant. Although Dawes and others often recorded words as beginning with a vowel, in every instance these appear to be capable of legitimate adjustment to conform to the wider pattern recognised by linguistic scholars. Below are reproduced 4 of about 16 such examples recorded by Dawes. Others included “eora”, or yura [6 examples], meaning ‘the indigenous people’, and “inyam”, or nyam [4], meaning ‘here’.

Australian	Respelt	English	Interpretation	Source
<i>Naaláng alla diee</i>	na-la na-la diyi	See (thou) see there, see!	see IMP this	a:2:23.1
<i>Angan-angan</i>	Nanga-nangan (or Ngana-Ngana)	This Angan-angan said ...		a:38:2
<i>Eereéra</i>	yiri-ra	To throw, or Throw thou		b:6:1
<i>Ilíri</i>	yili-ri	To send away		b:10:2

Some statistical information follows. This is based on 1718 ‘non-blank’ (there are many blanks, for incomplete verb paradigms, etc.) entries or ‘records’ in the Dawes/Anon database. There is necessarily some repetition of roots, tense markers and bound pronouns, mainly related to the paradigms. As the Dawes/Anon corpus constitutes an incomplete coverage of the Biyal-Biyal language, and as these repetitions further distort the sample that the corpus represents, the statistical information should be taken as indicative rather than definitive.

The analysis is based on respelt rather than original data, reflecting respelling judgements made. This affects, for example, values assigned to characters originally written ‘o’, ‘e’, ‘uy’, ‘gna’ and the like.

6.6.2.1 Initial consonants

The following table shows the frequency of initial consonants and the associated following vowel, and is based on a table in Eades (1976:36):

T6.13 CONSONANTS, WORD-INITIAL, AND ASSOCIATED FOLLOWING VOWEL: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE—DAWES/ANON

	b	d	dh	dy	g	m	n	nh	ng	ny	l	r	w	y
a	252	109	4	26	174	132	110		135	1			159	116
i	96	56	2	35	18	71	6		1	5			64	46
u	150	34	11	3	134	47	13		14				31	32

The table shows, for example, that there are 252 examples of words beginning ba-, 96 beginning bi-, and 150 beginning bu-.

6.6.2.2 Initial lamino-dentals dh, nh

Dawes among others detected a contrast in the stops d and dh, this being reflected in the table. Yet even he did not consistently spell, say, “tdara”, the place where he lived (now Dawes Point), to reflect the lamino-dental form. In addition to the 17 word-initial dh examples noted in the table above, a further 26 examples occur in the other AllSyd wordlists (see §2.2.1).

The early recorders were also conscious of some contrasting in initial n: “naa” (= ‘to see’) was recorded as “nga” by Collins (1975 [1798]:511.1:21) and others; nabang (= ‘breast’) as “gnabang” (Lang n.d.; c.1840:4:117); and narang (= ‘little’) as “gnar(r)ang” by Collins and Lang, and as “ngar(r)ang” by Southwell (c.1791:148.1:18) and the painter, Watling (Smith and Wheeler 1988:153).

Some of these variations might have been attempts to reproduce an unknown-

in-English, and unexpected, initial *nh*. In the absence of any Biyal-Biyal examples originally written beginning ‘*nh-*’, the only arguments for postulating the *nh-* consonantal form are the presence in Biyal-Biyal of the cognate consonant *dh*, and the fact that initial *nh-* is common in Dharawal [144 examples]. By contrast there are only six instances of initial *nh-* for Gundungurra, and none recorded in either Dharug or the surrounding languages to the north.

6.6.2.3 Initial apicals

Table T6.13 also confirms there are no word-initial instances of *l* and *r*.

6.6.3 Word endings

The following companion table summarises recordings (sometimes of the same word) of words ending in consonants and the associated preceding vowel. For comparison, an extra column has been added to show words ending in a vowel.

T6.14 CONSONANTS, WORD-FINAL, AND ASSOCIATED PRECEDING VOWEL: FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE; AND VOWEL TERMINATION—DAWES/ANON

	b	d	dh	g	m	n	nh	ng	ny	l	r	w	y	Vowel
a		11		2	9	112		175	2	122				615
i		2			3	76		20		13				541
u		1		4		53		28		28				232

This table shows, for example, that there are 11 examples of words ending *-ad*, and 232 ending in *-u*.

Of words in the Dawes/Anon corpus ending in a consonant, there are over 200 ending in each of *-n* or *-ng*, and about 170 ending in *-l*. For the low-occurring final consonants— *-m*, and especially *-g* and *-ny*—the numbers are so low as to

call into question the accuracy of the records. About 650 words end in a consonant; more than twice that number end in a vowel.

6.6.4 Consonant pairs and clusters

6.6.4.1 Word initial

Some consonants appear to be acceptable as pairs at the beginning of words, while the only triple-consonants are not strictly clusters as, in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), they would count only as two (e.g. *ngw* = [ŋw]). These consonant pairs (excluding *ng* and *ny*, which are the single-IPA characters *ŋ* and *ɲ*) comprise:

T6.15 WORD-INITIAL CONSONANT PAIRS—DAWES/ANON

Pair	Example	Fcy	Source
gw-	<i>gwiyang</i> (= ‘fire’) [7]; <i>gwagu</i> (= ‘by and by’) [7]; <i>gwara</i> (= ‘high wind’) [2]; and 2 others;	18	
br-	a number of ‘br’-initial words were recorded in the Dawes/Anon corpus, but all are susceptible of transcription with a separating vowel, as: —“Branyé” (= “Yesterday”) b:3:2 —“Bar-ra-ne”: recorded in Anon with the same meaning c:15:14.1 —“Bru-ang” (= “an Island”) c:18:16.1 and “Buruwanyan” (= ‘ship (island)-from’) b:4:16		
ngw-	occurs with the verb <i>ngwiya</i> (= ‘to give’)	c.25	
ngy-	occurs with various pronouns, notably <i>ngyini</i> (= ‘thou’), and in words such as <i>ngyima</i> (= ‘to “pinch” a candle’, ‘put out’ a fire).	c.30	

The pairings ‘gw-’ and ‘br-’, as recorded by Dawes, might in all probability be contractions of ‘guw-’ and of ‘bar-’, or mis-hearings, as was indicated by Sharpe (Sharpe 2006). In fact of ten *gwara* occurrences, while seven commence ‘gw-’ including the sole instance by Dawes, one is “goowarra” (Monkhouse 1979 [1770]:34.1:18) and two “Guar-ra” (c:26:5) and “guar-ro-ah” (Southwell c.1791:147.2:27.2).

6.6.4.2 Suffix initial

T6.16 SUFFIX-INITIAL CONSONANT PAIRS—DAWES/ANON

-dw	-dwara: This is a derivational suffix (spelt by Dawes “-dwâ’ra”) attached to nouns or verbs indicating ‘while’, as:	6
	bugi-dwara (= ‘while bathing’);	b:12:5
	mulali-dwar-in (= ‘sick-while-because’)	b:17:18
	There are 37 examples of the same suffix in Awabakal, where it has the sense of recipient of some action or state. There it is spelt by Threlkeld “-toara”, and could be transcribed duwara, avoiding the adjacent consonants.	37

6.6.4.3 Mid-word

Consonants also come together when the end of one syllable adjoins the beginning of the next within a root or stem:

T6.17 MID-WORD CONSONANT PAIRS—DAWES/ANON

Pair	Example	Meaning	Fcy
-db-	gudba-ra	to cut	18
-lw-	balwara	to stare or look at	3
-lb-	gulbanga	to hold up, to lift	23
-ln-	mulnawul	morning	5

6.6.4.4 Non-permissible consonant pairs

In Biyal-Biyal, -nb is a non-permissible consonant pair, as was made plain by Dawes at the end of the following exchange:

X6.2 D. *Wâriwear, mínyin ngwiadyanye* Bull petticoat
 Wariwiya, minyin ngwiya -dya -nyi BULL PETTYCOAT?
 why give PAST 2sgO
 “Wâriwear, why did Bull give you the petticoat” (b:31:5)

X6.3 Answer: *Bárinmunin*
 barin -muni -(i)n
 loin cover PRIV ABL-CAUS
 “Because I had no Barin” (b:31:6.1)

X6.4 *Barin bunin munin*
 barin ... buni-n ... muni-n
 “Note: If Barin had not ended with an n it would have been bunin instead of munin”
 (b:31:6.2)

The non-permissibility of ‘b’, and also of ‘d’, after a nasal, is a dialectal feature of Biyal-Biyal. While all the surrounding languages permit, and have many examples of, -nb, -mb and -nd (none of -md)—referred to by linguists as ‘prenasalisation’ (e.g. by Oates 1988:134)—there are none in Biyal-Biyal except in the personal names ‘Nanbarri’, ‘Buwinba’ (-nb) (one of Bennelong’s names), and ‘Bunda’ (-nd); and in two suspect records in the ‘Anon’ notebook. Where the combination might normally have been expected, as when the b-initial privative suffix buni or future tense marker ba might otherwise have followed a syllable ending in -n, these were replaced by muni (see X6.3 above) and ma (see X1.1, and X6.5 below) respectively.

X6.5 *Yenmángo*on wooroo
 yan -ma -ngun wuru
 go FUT 1du away
 “Will you go” (a:5:17)

Notes:

1. After ‘n’ (in yan), the normal future tense marker ba is replaced by ma.
2. Dawes’ translation for this early record is wrong. It should be: ‘We (-two) shall go (away)’.

Following an expedition to the Hawkesbury beginning on 11 April 1791, in which Dawes took part with Governor Phillip in company with the Aborigines Colebee and Baluderry (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:223-4), Dawes compiled a comparative table contrasting the pronunciation of six pairs of words, four of which are of immediate interest for the non-permissibility of -nd in Biyal-Biyal:

T6.18 COMPARISON OF INLAND AND COASTAL DIALECTAL FORMS: -nd/-n AND -i/-ai

Burubirangál	Respelt	Coasters	Respelt	English	b:39:0.3
<i>Ngyíndi</i>	ngyindi	<i>Ngyíni</i>	ngyini	[thou]	b:39:1
<i>B<u>u</u>ndüng</i>	bundang	<i>B<u>u</u>nüng</i>	bunang	Knee	b:39:2
<i>M<u>u</u>nduru</i>	munduru	<i>M<u>u</u>nuru</i>	munuru	Navel	b:39:3
<i>Mi</i>	mi	<i>Mi</i>	mai	Eye	b:39:4
<i>Ngyir</i>	ngyir				b:39:5
<i>Mandaoúwi</i>	mandawi	<i>Manaoúwi</i>	manawi	Foot	b:39:6

In lines 1, 2, 3 and 6 the pairs were chosen to contrast the plain consonant -n as used in Biyal-Biyal on the coast, and the permitted nasal combination -nd used by the Burubirangal inland clan near Richmond.

Lines 4 and 5 may have been intended to provide contrasting sounds of the vowel ‘i’, pronounced -i inland (Dharug¹⁷) and -ai in Biyal-Biyal, in which case the missing word in line 5 might have been ngayir(i) (= ‘bring’).

6.6.4.5 Summary of mid-word consonant pairs

The following table summarises the possibilities and the actuality of mid-word consonant pairing as recorded in the Dawes/Anon data. Not considered are: -dy, -ng, and -ny as these are not regarded as consonant pairs but as single consonants represented by IPA characters [ɟ], [ŋ] and [ɲ]. The pair -ly [ɬ] included as a consonant in table T6.7 could equally have been omitted here except for the fact that about a quarter of the examples noted are based on the feminine indicator suffix -gal-yan(g), the masculine equivalent being -gal, suggesting an -l-y separation in these instances.

¹⁷ Dharug is the language group of which Burubirangal is a clan.

T6.19 MID-WORD CONSONANT PAIRS, COMBINING THE CONSONANT IN THE LEFT COLUMN WITH THAT IN THE TOP ROW – DAWES/ANON

	b	d	dh	dy	g	l	m	n	nh	ng	r	w	y
b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0 ^a	—	—
d	18 ^b	—	—	—	3 ^c	—	—	—	—	—	—	6 ^d	n.a. ¹⁸
dh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
dy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
g	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 ^e	—
l	23 ^f	—	—	—	39 ^g	—	2 ^h	5 ⁱ	—	—	—	3 ^j	44 ^k
m	2 ^l	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
n	12 ^m	18 ⁿ	—	—	n.a.	—	61 ^o	—	—	—	—	4 ^p	n.a.
nh	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
ng	—	1 ^q	—	—	7 ^r	—	2 ^s	2 ^t	—	—	—	0 ^u	3 ^v
r	7 ^w	—	—	—	0 ^x	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
w	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
y	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Notes to the mid-word consonants table

a	-br-	nil mid-word; but for word-initial see §6.6.4.1;
b	-db-	11 are gudba-ra (= ‘to cut’)-related;
c	-dg-	gudgang (= ‘pigeon’) [2]; didgala (= ?);
d	-dw-	all examples are -dwara (= ‘while’)-related—discussed at §6.6.4.2;
e	-gw-	dara-gwiyang (= ?); for word-initial see §6.6.4.1;
f	-lb-	mixed examples;
g	-lg-	mixed, including Ngalguya (person’s name) [7];
h	-lm-	Balmana (person’s name); gana-mara-l-mi (= ?);
i	-ln-	mulnawul (= ‘morning’) [4]; Bandal-na (person’s name + suffix -na);
j	-lw-	bal-wara (= ‘to stare’); Bimulwayi (person’s name); biyal-wi-nya (‘no’-1sg-2sgO);
k	-ly-	lyi, a verbal suffix [25]; -galyang, female indicator [13]; Gunangulyi (person’s name) [3];
l	-mb-	wiriyambi (= ‘bat’ (fauna))—possibly non-BB as -mb is a non-permissible BB combination; Dyimba (inland person’s name);
m	-nb-	non-permissible BB combination, includes: person’s names Nanbari [7], and Buwinba, perhaps not bound by the non-permissibility rule; yanbangi from a song, possibly of non-local origin; and the dubious:

¹⁸ ‘n.a.’ in the table indicates that the ‘slot’ concerned is not a consonant pair but properly an indigenous single consonant, as revealed by phonetic alphabet symbols: ‘dy’ = j, ‘ng’ = ŋ, ‘ny’ = ɲ.

		yanbad (= ‘tired’, for dyara-ba-d (?)) (c:17:12); and bara-n-ba-ni-dya-wu (“Eating (the act of)”) (c:31:9), possible error for bara-d-bi-ni-dya-wu (“I have eaten it all”) (c:19:6);
n	-nd-	non-permissible BB combination, includes: inland forms [2]; person’s names [11]; dubious: —similar to -nb- above [2]; —suffix -band (one marked with ‘doubtful colons’: see §7.1.4) [2];
o	-nm-	yan-ma (‘go’ FUT) [28]; man-ma (‘take’ FUT) [3];
p	-nw-	man-wari (= “To find (literally to take abroad)”) [2]; yan-wari (= ‘to go away’) [2];
q	-ngd-	bariyangGalangda, a song-word, possibly non-BB, and possibly two words: bariyangGalang da (da equivalent to ‘this is’: cf “unni ta tibbin” ani da dibin = “this is a bird” [Awa] (Threlkeld 1892:10));
r	-ngG-	up to 300+ or zero examples, depending on whether the ‘g’ was separately pronounced. Probable examples include clan names suffixed -gal: Buru-birang-Gal and Wang-Gal; possible are darang-Gara (= ‘cabbage tree’), marang-Gal (= ‘thunder’), garang- Gal (= ‘hard’, ‘fingernail’); also bariyangGalangda, as for note ‘q’;
s	-ngm-	yini-ng-ma-dyi-mi (= “Thou didst let fall”); barang-ma-nga-dya-nga (= “My belly aches”);
t	-ngn-	Ganmangnal (person’s name); dangnuwa (= ‘a worm, or grub’);
u	-ngw-	nil mid-word; but for word-initial see §6.6.4.1;
v	-ngy-	gungyi (= ‘hut’)-related [2]; diringyan (= ‘stingray’); for word-initial see §6.6.4.1;
w	-rb-	all 7 examples might be based on: —either <i>inclusion</i> of an unnecessary ‘r’ under English spelling influences (i.e. where ‘a’ as in ‘bath’ might be spelt ‘ar’ as in ‘bar’), e.g.: nurbi (“to bark” (c:18:5)) (or nabi ?) —or <i>omission</i> of a vowel following ‘r’, in the case of a truncated root bar(a) covering concepts of ‘losing’, ‘dropping’, ‘rising’, or ‘day’; e.g. barbagayi (“I have lost it” (b:16:2.1)) (or barabagayi ?) In either circumstance there would be no ‘-rb’—in the first case because no ‘r’, and in the second because of the insertion of the ‘missing’ vowel.
x	-rg-	this consonant pair may also not have occurred, as all examples of it are capable of being discounted, either by dropping the ‘r’ that possibly arose under English spelling influences, or by introducing a vowel after the ‘r’. Examples include: — “Burgía” (= ‘boil’ (b:3:6)): probably bugiya, cf “buka” (= ‘boil’) (Ridley 1875:105:26); — “Warrgan” [3] (e.g. b:24:7.2): probably from “Wirrugane” (= “Oak- Casurinae”) (Bowman c.1824-46:13:10) or, less likely, wagan (= ‘crow’), since Dawes seems unlikely to have recorded a non-existent trilled ‘r’ three times. Remaining examples relate to a root, respelt as dyara, occurring with stem- forming suffixes -ga as well as -ba and -bi. This was mentioned in connection

with sibilants (see §6.5.1). There is a negative connotation of ‘weary’, ‘ache’, ‘scratch’, ‘short-tempered’ (i.e. ‘distress’) in its various forms.

6.7 Elusive pronunciations

As in Australia today one may hear different pronunciations of ‘dance’, ‘advance’ and ‘France’, or of ‘schedule’, or variable placement of the stress on ‘Canberra’, perhaps Biyal-Biyal speakers pronounced some words differently from other Biyal-Biyal speakers. How some basic words sounded has been impossible to rule on, including badyari/budyari/budyiri (= ‘good’), wayida/wida (= ‘drink’) and bayi/biyi (= ‘to speak’, and ‘to beat’).

The following is a selection from 30 ‘beat/speak’ examples. Dawes’ vowel ‘I, ivy, ire’ (i-dot) is shown as a bold **i**. A similar variety of spellings could be provided for the other two words, whether taken from the Dawes/Anon data or from the general Sydney wordlists in the AllSyd database.

T6. 20 SELECTED EXAMPLES OF ALTERNATIVE PRONUNCIATIONS OF BIYI = ‘SPEAK/BEAT’ — DAWES/ANON

Original example	Original translation	Source	bt: beat sp: speak
<i>Pi’yi</i>	“To beat”	a:39:0.1	bt: ai
<i>Nángara biidiémi</i>	“She is asleep. Rather You beat her while she was asleep”	b:14:8	bt: i
° <i>Ptyibaouwínga</i> °	“° They will beat me °”	b:40:43	bt: i
<i>Py-ya-bow</i>	“[To] Fight or beat”	c:30:18	bt: ?
<i>Piabami Kolbinyi?</i>	“Will you tell Kolbi”	b:16:22	sp: ai
<i>Piabuniwinya</i>	“I did not speak to you”	b:34:1.1	sp: ai
<i>Wârü’nga píaba²</i> <i>warü’nga¹ domine³ buk⁴</i>	“When ¹ will ² domine ³ (that is, Mr Johnson) read ² in the book ⁴ ?” [superscripts by Dawes]	b:21:5.1	sp: ai
<i>Píyi</i>	“To speak”	b:16:6.1	sp: i

The final column shows the pronunciation that a close reading of Dawes’ notebooks appears to indicate. From this it can be seen that there is inconsistency, it not being possible to ascribe the pronunciation bayi to one and biyi to the other of the two verbs ‘beat’ and ‘speak’.

It is conceivable that the variation in pronunciation might reflect coastal–inland dialectal differences, as indicated in lines 4 and perhaps 5 in the table T6.18 above, and so account also for recordings wiyana/wayana (= ‘mother’).

However, if such a vowel shift did apply, it was not consistent, as no *i* to *ai* change was noted in lines 1 and 6 of that table, T6.18.

The Biyal-Biyal *biyi/bayi* = ‘speak’/‘beat’ conundrum is further complicated by the fact that similar words appear to have been used for ‘beat’ and ‘kill’ in some languages:

	beat	kill
Awabakal	didi ban	ban
Gadang	banyi	bunyi
Darkinyung	buny	buni
Karree	bun	ban

Troy confirms the connection:

kilim is also an item in Kriol, and means ‘to hit or kill’ (Troy 1990:45—quoting Sandefur:67).

The Biyal-Biyal form for ‘dead’ (= ‘kill?’), which was recorded by five sources, including Anon (c:26:6.3), as *buyi*, was perhaps related to *biyi*, ‘beat’.

7 PRONOUNS

When Dawes embarked on an investigation into the Aboriginal language of Sydney, he began it, on the first page of Notebook (a), with the words “Ngía Ni (as nigh) I see or look”. His first word was the first person pronoun *ngaya*, I. He did not know it then, but was soon to discover ‘free’ and ‘bound’ pronouns. Blake states:

About two-thirds of Australian languages have bound pronouns for the core grammatical relations ... (1987:17).

The pronouns encountered by Dawes are summarised, together with comparable forms for the neighbouring languages, in Chapter 5, §5.2.1, called here the ‘pronouns table’. Osmond (1989:13-21), and Troy (1993-94:28-29), both looked at pronouns; there is little in the following analysis that conflicts with the more detailed findings provided by Osmond.

The table in §5.2.1 mentioned above shows free and bound forms for subject, object and possessive pronouns. It also provides frequency of occurrence data, and cites generally the first occasion in the Dawes notebooks where the particular pronoun occurred. ‘Blank entries’ in the table indicate either that no form was recorded, or that the particular form did not exist. Blake noted that:

... zero is the normal way of representing third person singular actants (1987:3).

From the ‘frequency’ information it can be seen that only a few of the forms can be relied upon with confidence, these being 1sg (*ngaya*, -wu, *nga*) and 2sg (*ngyini*, -mi, -nya) and 1du (-ngun). The strength of the record probably reflects the fact that the recorder is more likely to be in a position to make observations where he himself is engaged as a first or second person participant than on other occasions. Where nearby forms resemble a Biyal-

Biyal equivalent, the BB form may be taken as being likely to be correct, or nearly so.

7.1 Pronoun morphology

7.1.1 *Free and bound*

Free pronouns are those pronouns that stand as independent words. All pronouns in English are of this kind. *Bound* pronouns are an alternative set of pronominal suffixes, generally attached to verbs and placed finally, after derivational, aspect and tense marking suffixes. In Biyal-Biyal they convey information about person (e.g. I, you, he), number (singular, dual and plural), and function (subject, object). Blake stated:

The term bound pronoun is a convenient cover term for what must ultimately be analysed as a system of inflection or as a system of clitic pronouns (1987:17).

and:

Most of the bound pronouns in Australian languages occupy a fixed position with respect to the verb ..., ... following the verb in suffixing languages ... These forms can be interpreted as an inflection ... (1987:17-18).

Dawes drew up his verb paradigms showing a stem, followed by a generally recognisable tense marker, followed by a generally recognised person-number indicator (bound pronoun), as:

X7.1 *Patabángoön*
bada -ba -ngun
eat FUT 1du
“We shall or will eat” (a:21:1)

Tense markers and pronominal suffixes may occasionally be attached other than to verbs, a process referred to by Capell as ‘affix-transferring’:

the principle of transferring certain grammatical markers from the verb to the head word of the utterance (1971:664).

In the following example the pronominal suffixes are attached to the negative, biyal:

X7.2 *Bial mínga piabúni*
biyal -mi -nga baya -buni
no 2sg 1sgO speak PRIV
“You did not speak to me” (b:34:2)

This was not an isolated example:

X7.3 *Mutíngun Ngíriba*
 muding **-[ng]un** ngayiri -ba
 fish-gig **1du** bring FUT
 “We will carry a fish gig with us” (b:17:1)

Note: A muding was a 3- or 4-pronged fishing spear.

This example confirms that these were not mis-hearings but a distinctive aspect of the language.

7.1.2 *Nominative–accusative*

Pronouns in Australian languages generally operate on a nominative–accusative pattern (with distinctive forms or suffixes for the roles concerned) for subject–object functions in transitive sentences, as stated in technical terms by Dixon:

... whereas nouns generally have a single case (absolutive) marking both S and O functions and a different case (ergative) for A function, first and second person pronouns in Australian languages normally have the same form (nominative) for S and A functions with a distinctive form (accusative) for O function (1980:327).

This question, for free-form object pronouns, is somewhat theoretical in the case of Biyal-Biyal— there being only a single uncertain sentence in the Dawes data illustrating the first person accusative free pronoun in object function, 1sgO (see X7.12), and one other illustrating the free pronoun 2sgO (possibly dative) (X7.14).

7.1.3 *Inclusive–exclusive*

A widespread feature of Australian pronominal systems is exclusivity. Dixon states:

Probably a little more than half the languages in Australia have a distinction between ‘inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’ forms of first person non-singular pronouns and

The distribution of an inclusive/exclusive contrast in pronoun systems appears not to follow any geographical pattern (1980:247).

Dawes provided four isolated examples of exclusivity:

<i>Ngíyú</i>	ngayu	1sg	“I alone”	b:15:17
<i>Ngýínú</i>	ngyinu	2sg	“Thou alone”	b:15:14
<i>Ngalu</i>	ngalu	1du ex	“We two only”	b:27:5
<i>Ngýéllu</i>	ngyilu	1pl ex	“We three only”	b:27:6

The final pair of 1du and 1pl ‘we’ forms might represent the ‘exclusive’ contrast (i.e. excluding the addressee), and are shown as such in the pronouns table.

The first pair, also ending in -u, have no parallels in the other languages. If they were not mis-recordings they might represent a form associated with the emphatic clitic *bu*. This emphatic was recorded in the single Biyal-Biyal example *gama-ra-bu* (= “The same day as”) (b:12:12), and in tens of examples in Awabakal, such as *minaring-bu* (= “what very thing?”) and *bara-bu* (= “they themselves”) (Threlkeld 1892:223:39 and 202:22 respectively). Another explanation is that all four of Dawes’ examples are recording errors for more common equivalents of *ngaya*, *ngyini*, *ngali* and *ngyila*.

A further possibility is that Dawes’ translations of the form ‘I alone’ for the *ngayu* group above should be given more credence owing to an observation from Rob Amery that such a distinction might occur in other Australian indigenous languages, a ‘one’ and ‘only one’, and ‘our’ and ‘ours alone’, contrast being found in the Kurna language of Adelaide (Amery 2006:3).

7.1.4 *-ban, -band*

A perplexing aspect of the pronoun analysis is the occurrence 17 times of the apparent pronominal suffixes *-ban* and *-band*, with various translations: 3sg

[9], 2du [3], 3du [3], 3sg or 3pl [1] and one indeterminate. Four selected examples follow:

	Example	Respelt	English	Source
3sg	<i>Nangadiában</i>	nanga-dya- ban	“She did sleep”	a:15:1
2du	<i>Bógibában</i>	bugi-ba- ban	“Will you two bathe, or You two will bathe”	a:7:7.3
3du	: <i>Patadiában</i> :	bada-dya- ban	“They [did eat]”	a:20:12
3du	<i>Kolbia Beriwanía</i> <i>piyidyáband</i> <i>Pünangánga</i>	Gulubi-ya Bariwan- ya bayi-dya- band Bananga-nga	“Kolby and Beriواني (they two) beat Punangan”	b:31:3

Most of the examples are doubtful for the following reasons:

- Dawes marked four with colons denoting uncertainty;
- in Australian languages, and in Biyal-Biyal, there is generally ‘zero marking’ for 3sg pronouns (that is, the third person singular function is not indicated by a pronoun); and the 3du and 3pl explanations are only slightly less suspect given Dawes’ abundant contrary translations;
- the consonant combination -nd (in -band) is non-permissible in Biyal-Biyal;
- because, at the time of assigning values to most of these forms, Dawes knew confidently only ‘I’, ‘thou’ and ‘we’—and was still unaware of the dual–plural contrast, he had to select among the remaining possibilities ‘he’, ‘you’ and ‘they’ for any new pronominal forms encountered: these were the very choices he made for ‘ban(d)’;
- the two ‘fullest’ examples, including the fourth above, allow of no translation other than ‘they-two’;
- only the two fullest examples were recorded from the 54 per cent of Dawes data occurring after the introduction of his third system of transcription (see §6.1.3) and hence later in Dawes’ learning, casting doubt on the quality of the earlier entries (see §3.7).

Evidence from neighbouring languages is inconclusive. For Darkinyung there are 5 -ban examples, all 2du ‘you-two’ (‘du’ shown as ‘dl’), as:

bunda-li-di bula-ban = “You (dl) are eating” (Mathews c.1900:Nbk 7 97:7).

Note: Inland, Darkinyung, bunda (= ‘to eat’), displaying prenasalisation (§6.6.4.4) and a minor vowel change, equates to coastal bada [BB], seen in the third example above.

And in Awabakal, ban/bun is the 3sgO pronoun, ‘him’.

Osmond opted for -ban as the Biyal-Biyal 2du pronoun (1989:13-14). However, -ban might be an emphatic (cf -bu, as suggested in §7.1.3), or a demonstrative serving as a 3sg pronoun. It might also be a dialectal variant. Here it must remain for the present unresolved. The same applies to a form -bang:

Kotbarabáng gudba-ra-ba-ng “He will cut” (a:24:3).

7.1.5 *Sequence for the bound pronouns*

There may be more than one bound pronoun suffixed to a verbal stem. Where this arises, the first pronoun is in subject-, and the second in object-, function. The most common forms are -wi-nya ‘I-thee’, and -mi-nga ‘thou-me’. This is consistent with Dixon’s observation:

Pronominal clitics must occur in a fixed order; they differ from free-form pronouns which (like other words) can generally occur at any position in a sentence. In some languages clitic order is determined by syntactic function—subject clitic precedes object form etc.

... in many ... Australian languages, ordering depends on person—first person will precede second person, and second will precede third person, quite irrespective of syntactic function (1980:362-3).

In examples illustrated later (see §7.2.1.4, featuring free-form dana ‘me’, and §7.2.4.5 bound -ngala ‘us-two’), this sequence is not followed: all have -mi (thou) in second position. The examples are too few to draw conclusions as to whether these are legitimate functional patterns, or utterance or recording errors.

The Biyal-Biyal forms in the pronoun table are now considered individually.

7.2 The Biyal-Biyal pronouns

In the headings below, the number of examples occurring in the Dawes data for the pronoun concerned is generally given in square brackets.

7.2.1 *First person singular*

7.2.1.1 *ngaya*: free, ‘I’ (1sg) [18]

Blake has written:

The first person pronoun root *nga-* is found in practically every Australian language and the second person forms and third person non-singular forms ... are very widespread among the suffixing languages, albeit often in transparent disguise (1987:5).

It is no surprise, then, to find *ngaya* in Biyal-Biyal:

X7.4 *Ngia*¹ *yenma*² (*wooroo*³)
ngaya yan -ma wuru
 1sg go FUT away
 “I¹ go² (away³)” (a:5:15)

Note: The superscript numeral indicators are Dawes’ own keying system. There are about fifty further examples of *ngaya* in the other BB wordlists.

7.2.1.2 *ngayu*: free, “I alone” (1sg) [1]

See §7.1.3.

7.2.1.3 *wu* [81] (and *wi*, *dyu*, *yu*, *nu*, *mu*): bound, ‘I’ (1sg)

-wu: the most common form of the 1sg bound pronoun is attached to a past or future tense marker, as the last suffix in the word:

X7.5 ° *Naadioú* °
 na -dya -wu
 see PAST 1sg
 “I did see or I have seen etc.” (a:1:7)

Dawes’ stress marks have been retained in the respelling of these examples.

-wi: when the 1sg suffix is followed by another bound pronoun in object

function [ten similar examples], it takes the form wi [8 examples]:

X7.6 *Taamóonadiouínia*
 daa-muna -dya **-wi** -nya
 refuse PAST 1sg 2sgO
 “I refused you (something)” (b:19:9)

-dyu: present tense form, when attached directly to the verbal stem without interceding tense marker [5 examples]. As four of the examples occurred in Dawes’ later learning stage (transcription system iii), and in view of the repetition, it seems probable this was a genuine present tense form rather than an erroneous contraction of the past-tense marker (dy-) and 1sg form (-u).

X7.7 *Pataджиú*
 bada **-dyú**
 Eat 1sg
 “I eat” (a:20:1)

(yan)-nu and (yan)-yu: three pairs of examples, spelt “Yenoó” and “Yenioó”, are possibly all records of the same incident, the first two occurring in the ‘to go’ paradigm and in its “Other inflections &c.” examples opposite, the other on Dawes’ ‘Y’ page. All were created early, in Dawes’ first transcription system stages, together with one “Yenoú”, translated “Thou goest, or art going, or Goest thou?” —probably in error (for ‘I go’).

X7.8 *Yenoó*
 yan **-nú**
 go 1sg
 “I go or I am going. They say this when going away” (b:23:6.1)

The following two -nu examples might be a negative alternative to -wu—but two examples only do not allow this to be assumed.

X7.9 *Naabanóo*
 na -ba **-nú**
 see FUT 1sg
 “The occasion on which it was used implied that it signified ‘I have not seen him’ ”
 (a:3:7)

X7.10 *Bíal yiníbanoó*
 biyal yini -ba **-nu**
 no. fall FUT **1sg**
 “No. I shall not fall down” (a:11:2)

-ba-nú might also be a rendering of the privative suffix buni (see §8.3.4), but Dawes’ stress indications suggest this is unlikely. The probability is that they are the same as X7.8, with the negative biyal recorded in X7.10 but not in X7.9.

-mu: Collins (1975 [1798]:510.1:26), King (MS1786-90 402:24) and Southwell (c.1791:149.1:25), but not Dawes, recorded dya-mu, apparently as part of an exchange:

<i>diam o waw?</i>	dya-mu wa	“Where are you?”	(Collins:510.1:25)
<i>diam o diam o</i>	dya-mu dya-mu	“Here I am.”	(Collins:510.1:26)

Possible clues to the meaning of these expressions are Dawes’ records of “inyam” for ‘here’ [four occasions—not supported by other wordlists] and “wå” for ‘where’, together with the above pronominal forms. This is insufficient to conclude that -mu was another 1sg form.

7.2.1.4 dana: free, ‘me’ (1sgO) [3]

Dawes recorded “Dana” as “To me (or) for me”, and provided an example where the bound form might have been expected:

X7.11 *Námínmabadánami*
 na-mi-nma -ba **-dana** -mi
 show FUT **1sgO** 2sg
 “You will shew me” (b:15:9)

The ‘free’ pronoun has not only been used as a verbal suffix but also not in the normal subject–object pronominal suffix sequence. As will be seen under ngala (§7.2.4.5), this reversed order is not unique. A normal free pronoun instance of dana follows, marked with Dawes’ ‘confident dots’:

X7.12 ° *Píyibaouwi dana* °
 bayi -ba -wi **dana**
 beat FUT 3pl **1sgO**
 “They will beat ~~be~~ me” (a:40:1)

Here the free pronoun *dana* is detached. It might have been used in this example, instead of its bound equivalent *-nga*, for emphasis.

7.2.1.5 *dana-wa*: free, ‘me’ (1sgDAT) [1]

There is just one instance of this apparently dative construction:

X7.13 *Danawâgolâ’ng*
dana **-wa** -gulang
1sgO **DAT?** appertaining to
 “For me (See *ngyiniwâgolâ’ng*)” (b:5:21)

Dawes provided additional information in the parallel example he referred to:

X7.14 *Ngía bûngabaoú buk ngyiniwâgolâ’ng*
 ngaya banga -ba -wu BOOK **ngyini-wa** -gulang
 1sg make FUT 1sg BOOK **2sgO? DAT?** appertaining to
 “I will make a book for you” (b:15:5)

A final parallel example of the possibly dative suffix *-wa* with a pronoun occurs in the reply of the following exchange:

X7.15 D. *Ngía mü’ri yuróra.*
 ngaya mari yura-ra
 1sg very angry
 “I am very angry” (b:29:2)

X7.16 Gon. & Pat.: *Ngalariwâ?*
 ngalari **-wa**
 1du **DAT?**
 “With us?” (b:29:3)

As will be seen in §9.3.4, *-wa* is the most common locative suffix.

7.2.1.6 *-nga*: bound, ‘me’ (1sgO) [15]

More common as ‘me’ was *-nga*, with 15 examples, including the following:

X7.17 *Wânadyimínga?*

wana	-dyi	-mi	-nga
want-not	PAST	2sg	1sgO

“You will not have me? Or You don’t want my company? Of course” (b:24:11)

As a contrast to the 1sgO expression using free-form *dana* cited above (X7.12), Dawes also provided *-nga* in standard bound presentation, the single dots indicating his confidence in it:

X7.18 ° *Píyibaouwinga* °

bayi	-ba	-wi	-nga
beat	FUT	3pl	1sgO

“ ° They will beat me ° ” (b:40:43)

7.2.1.7 *danai*: free, ‘my’, ‘mine’ (1sgGEN) [1]

Dawes has only the one example:

X7.19 *Daní. Deeyin daní*

danai.	dyin	danai
1sgGEN	wife	1sgGEN

“Mine. My wife” (b:5:3)

Collins and Southwell recorded the same form, *danai*, while over a century later Mathews recorded *dyana-ngGai* for the Dharug language (1901:156:32.1). As will be seen later (see §9.3.6), *-ngai* is the usual possessive suffix.

7.2.2 *Second person singular*

7.2.2.1 *ngyini*: free, ‘thou’ (2sg) [16]

Dawes’ examples for *ngyini*, thou, include:

X7.20 + *Ngieénee dtoóradiemi*
ngyini dhura -dyi -mi
 2sg pinch PAST 2sg
 “Thou pinchedst” (b:5:5.3)

The ‘+’ in the original entry above is an ‘asterisk’ marker used by Dawes to link the entry to one above, which he had crossed out. It is perhaps surprising that there are not more instances of such revision, as Dawes was acquiring knowledge all the time. The reason for the correction was that Dawes had first used the free pronoun *ngaya* instead of *ngyini*—indicating how basic his knowledge was at that time.

7.2.2.2 *ngyinu*: free, “thou alone” (2sg) [1]

See §7.1.3.

7.2.2.3 *mi*: bound, ‘thou’ (2sg) [60]

Examples are given in “*Namínmabadánami*” (X7.11) and “*Ngieénee dtoóradiemi*” (X7.20) above.

7.2.2.4 *ngyini-wa*: free, ‘thee’ (2sgDAT) [2]

See *dana-wa* above (§7.2.1.5).

7.2.2.5 *-nya*: bound, ‘thee’ (2sgO) [12]

Another more common form was the 2sg bound pronoun, *-nya*, ‘thee’, as in:

X7.21 P.: *Nabaou-ínia Windáyin Tamunadyemínga*

na -ba -wi **-nya** WINDay -in da-muna -dyi -mi -nga
 see FUT 1sg **2sgO** WINDOW ABL refuse PAST 2sg 1sgO
 “I will look at you through the window (because) you refused me (bread)” (b:32:6)

Notes:

1. ‘P.’: indicates the informant was Badyigarang.
2. For a computer screen presentation of this sentence see X4.1, at §4.7.

This straightforward sentence, all of whose grammatical elements admit of ready translation, illustrates:

- Dawes’ relationship with his young informants;
- variation of the 1sg bound pronoun -wu to -wi when followed by -nya, as remarked upon above (see §7.2.1.3);
- lack of indigenous words for European artefacts (window), although the local people might devise words as needed:

Of our compass they had taken early notice, and had talked much to each other about it: they comprehended its use; and called it “Naa-Mòro,” literally, “To see the way”; — a more significant or expressive term cannot be found (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:226-7).

- lack of articles (‘the’, ‘a’), and of true conjunctions (‘and’, ‘but’, ‘because’ — as opposed to clitics and suffixes that may be taken as conjunction substitutes) (see §§10.5, 7);
- use of case suffixes in place of prepositions (see §10.6);
- use of the ablative case, ‘from’, to convey the idea ‘through’ (see also §9.3.5).

7.2.2.6 *ngyini-ngai*: free, ‘thy’, ‘thine’ (2sgGEN) [2]

There are only two examples of this possessive pronoun, the longer of which is:

X7.22 *Ngan wü’ra würá wídályi brányi ngyiningí teara*

ngan wara wara wayida -lyi bara-nyi **ngyini** **-ngai** TEA -ra
 who just now drink CONT? ‘yesterday’ **2sg** **GEN** PLUR
 “[Who was that drinking tea with you?] The same more particularly” (b:15:3)

Notes:

1. bara-nyi is normally translated as ‘yesterday’, but with wára wará, meaning ‘just now’, the past time is more recent.

2. The stressing (**wara wara**) is significant, being recorded three times by Dawes, to represent time just past, in X7.22, X8.32, and in:

Mr Dawes¹ *píala*² *wü'ra*
*würa*³ C. Campbell

Mr DAWES baya-la wára wará
CAPTAIN CAMPBELL

Mr Dawes¹ spoke² just now³
to C. Campbell (b:21:7)

This contrasts with wará wará (= 'Go away!')—see §8.1.

3. The role of -ra on TEA, for which a pluraliser function has been suggested, remains unresolved (see §9.5.4).

7.2.3 *Third person singular*

Dixon adds to the ‘zero marking’ point already made (see §7.1.4) about third person pronouns:

Many Australian languages do not have anything that could strictly be called ‘third person pronouns’, on a par with first and second person forms. Like many languages from other parts of the world there is instead a system of demonstrative pronouns, which often involve obligatory specification of whether the person referred to is near to or distant from the speaker, sometimes whether he is visible or not, and so on (1980:276-7).

7.2.3.1 wugul: free, ‘one’ [1]

X7.23 *Wógul*
wugul
“He (third person sing.r)” (b:22:2.1)

This shows wugul, the numeral ‘one’, as a 3sg pronoun. It is the only such example.

7.2.3.2 diyi: free, ‘this (fellow)’ [1]

Pronominal usage of the demonstrative diyi, referred to by Dixon, is clear in the following:

X7.24 P. *Ngwiadyaoúwi magôra eorara dyi*
ngwiya -dya -wi magura yura -ra **diyi**
give PAST 3pl fish man PLUR **3sg**
“The eoras gave fish to him” (b:34:11)

Here yura has the -ra pluraliser suffix. diyi occurs more clearly as a demonstrative in 12 other Dawes sentences, including mi diyi: “What’s this?” (b:13:5), and:

X7.25 ° *Naaláng alla diee* °
na -la nga -la **diyi**
see IMP! see IMP! **this**
“See (thou) see there, see!” (a:2:23.1)

7.2.3.3 nanu-ngai: free, ‘his’, ‘hers’, ‘its’ (3sgGEN) [1]

Dawes provided simply “Naanóongí His or hers” without any sentence example. However, Mathews confirmed it four times in Dharug, including:

X7.26 *Nânung-gai mirree*
 nanu **-ngGai** miri
 3sg **GEN** dog
 “His dog” (Mathews c.1900:Nbk 5 120:4)

Note: The Biyal-Biyal word for ‘dog’ is *dyingu* or *warigal*, while in Gundungurra (and Dharug) it is *miri*, and in Dharawal *mirigang*.

7.2.3.4 daringal: free, ‘his’, ‘hers’, ‘its’ (3sgGEN) [2]

Doubt attaches to the form *daringal* because:

—several neighbouring languages have 3sg forms beginning *n-*, and especially *nan-*; only Gundungurra, other than Biyal-Biyal, has a *d-*initial 3sg form;
 —‘Daringa’ was a woman (Kolby’s wife), and an expression recorded by Dawes “*Wa dyin daringal?*”, translated ‘Where’s his wife?’ (the only *sentence* incorporating this word), might in reality have meant ‘Where [is his] wife Daringa’, inadvertently taken to mean ‘Where wife his’; and if this were subsequently copied from list to list, it might account for the multiple ‘authorities’ for the word, including Anon (c:6:5) and (c:6:12), Collins (1975 [1798]:510.1:20), and Blackburn (1791:1:39).

On the other hand, viewed as *dari-nga*, the word might be considered as incorporating the common genitive suffix *-nga(i)*.

7.2.4 First person dual

7.2.4.1 ngaliya: free, ‘we-two’ (1du) [4]

Two of the four examples for *ngaliya* are uncertain, one being marked by Dawes with ‘doubtful colons’, and the other translated as ‘An ally or friend in battle’.

X7.27 *Bogîlîebángo*¹ *mullnaoúl*² *ngállîa*³ *ngîénî*⁴
 bugi -lyi -ba -ngun malnawul **ngaliya** ngiyini
 bathe CONT? FUT 1du morning **1du** 2sg
 “Shall we bathe¹ tomorrow² with me³ you⁴” (a:7:6.2)

7.2.4.2 ngalu (1du excl.) [1] and ngylu (1pl excl.) [1], free

See §7.1.3.

7.2.4.3 -ngun: bound, ‘we-two’ (1du) [32]

The above example (X7.27) illustrates not only two of the free pronouns but also *-ngun*, one of the most common pronominal suffixes in the Dawes data. If Biyal-Biyal had an inclusive–exclusive contrast, it confirms *ngaliya* (we-two), in conjunction with *ngyini* (thou, the addressee), as the *inclusive* form; and these free pronouns would also confirm *-ngun* as the bound inclusive equivalent.

7.2.4.4 ngarai [1], ngalari [2]: free, ‘us-two’ (1duO)

In the following, written on 23 August 1791, *ngarai* is presumed to be ‘us-two’, but could have been ‘us-all’:

X7.28 *Benelâng gúlârâ ngîrî* Mr D
 Binilang gulara **ngarai**, Mr D
 angry **1duO**
 “Bennelong angry (with) us, Mr Dawes” (b:2:5.3)

7.2.5 First person plural

7.2.5.1 *ngyila*: free, ‘we-all’ [?] (1pl) [1]

X7.33 *Ngyéla tienmíle ngyéla*
ngyila dyanmi -li **ngyila**
 1pl [?] laugh CONT? 1pl [?]
 “Come to play, come” (b:19:18)

Notes:

1. Meaning possibility: ‘we-all are laughing’.
2. For ‘laugh–play’ see X8.3, and for *nyila* see §10.2.1.2.

The reasons for considering *ngyila* as 1pl ‘we-all’ are:

- the similar form *ngyilu* stated by Dawes to mean “We three only” (§7.1.3);
- in Gundungurra, *-nyila* = “we-all-excl.” (Mathews 1901:154:16.1), with 30 other examples; on the other hand, *nyila* in Dharawal, is a demonstrative, ‘this’, ‘that’ (Mathews 1901:140:10.3);
- similarity in form to the 1pl bound pronoun: *-nyi*, in relation to which Dixon states:

In many languages bound pronouns are transparent reductions of current or former free forms (1980:369).

7.2.5.2 *-nyi*: bound, ‘we-all’ (1pl) [3]

The following exchange finally clarified for Dawes the status of *-nyi* as a first person plural, not a dual, form:

“On saying to the two girls to try if they would correct me” (b:29:7.1):

X7.34 *Ngyíni, Gonangúlye, ngia, nangadyíngun* (b:29:7.2)
 ngyini, Gunangulyi, ngaya, nanga -dyi -ngun
 2sg 1sg sleep PAST 1du

“Patye did correct me and said” (b:29:8):

X7.35 *Bial nangadyíngun; Nangadyínye* (b:29:9.1)
 biyal nanga -dyi -ngun, nanga -dyi -nyi
 not sleep PAST 1du, sleep PAST 1pl

“Hence *Nangadyíngun* is dual We, & *Nangadyínye* is Plural We” (b:29:9.2).

This revelation meant that Dawes' earlier statements such as:

X7.36 *Yenmánîe*
 yan -ma -nyî
 go FUT 1pl
 "Ye [will go or walk]" (a:4:17)

and four similar others, were wrong, and the correct translation should have been 'Walk shall we-all', and equivalent expressions (see again, §3.7). In these earlier examples Dawes spelt this suffix "-nie". As he had defined "Ni": "(as Nigh)" (a:1:1), the correct respelling of his "-nie" has been taken to be -nyi.

7.2.5.3 ngyinari: free, 'us-all' (1plO) [1]

The single example of 1plO ngyinari was provided by Dawes to contrast with 1duO ngalari (see X7.29):

X7.37 #2 *Piyidyenína¹ w.mana² ngyinari³ Pündü'lna, Pündünga*
 bayi -dyi -nina WHITEMAN -a ngyinari Bandal -na, Bunda -nga
 beat PAST 1plO ERG 1plO ACC ACC
 "A white man beat us three, we three³, Pündül, Poonda (& myself, understood)"
 (b:34:7)

7.2.5.4 -nina: bound, 'us-all' (1plO) [1]

The bound form -nina 'us-all' in X7.37 contrasts with -ngala 'us-two' (see §7.2.4.5).

7.2.6 *Second person dual*

7.2.6.1 ngalai: free, ‘you-two’ (2du) [1 doubtful]

This record is doubtful. There are no other *second* person dual (or plural)

Biyal-Biyal examples.

X7.37 *Ngalai yená*
 ngalai yan -(n)a
 2du [?] go ?
 : Will you go with me? : (b:14:6)

ngalai, indicated as doubtful by Dawes’ colons, has some morphological similarity to *first* person dual forms (see pronouns table, and §7.2.4 above), while no 2du forms for the neighbouring languages in the pronouns table show any resemblance to it. If ngalai were a variant of 1duO ngarai (§7.2.4.4), and yan-ná an imperative (cf “yen-na”, yana, “Go away” (King in Hunter 1793:411.2:9.2)), ‘go with us!’ might have been the import of the expression in X7.37.

Dawes has captured a comitative ‘in company with’ sense in ngalai, which appears to recur in X7.40 with yela (ng)yila. A third example having the same consonantal sequence and possible comitative sense is:

Nóla Hughes nula HUGHES “Hughes was not there **with** you.” (b:25:4)

but the evidence is too slight and the recordings (*Ngalai*, *yela*, *Nóla*) too uncertain to allow some equivalence of these words and/or comitative function to be more than noted as a possibility.

7.2.6.2 Second person plural

No second person plural forms were recorded.

7.2.7 Third person dual

7.2.7.1 bula: free, ‘they-two’ (3du) [1]

Dixon has observed:

Australian languages generally do have dual and plural third person pronouns, following the pattern of first and second persons. The following forms occur widely in non-prefixing languages:

3 du *bula* 3 pl *DHaNa* (1980:356).

The following example is consistent with *bula* in this observation:

X7.38 *Ngan*¹ *búla*² *ngalawí*³ *inyám*⁴ *brani*⁵
 ngan **bula** ngalawa -yi inyam bara-ni
 who **3du** stay PastH here yesterday
 “What¹ other² here⁴ at your house³ yesterday⁵” (b:26:1)

7.2.7.2 -la: bound, ‘they-two’ (3du) [6 doubtful]

The form *-la* remains unresolved, although Dawes and Badyigarang both made assertions that might be associated with it. First, Dawes:

X7.39 : *Yenî’la* :
 yan -ni -la
 go ? 3du
 “They go or walk” (a:5:9)

-la might be a contraction of *bula*, and thus might be the bound form of the third person dual pronoun (3du). Of six Dawes examples of this, three are *ma-ni-la* and two *ya-ni-la*, representing an original entry and repeats. Dawes wrote:

This last word [“*Yenî’la*”] is confirmed to signify as above, by the word *Maanîla*, which I heard Anganangan make use of in signifying They take or catch (fish) (a:5:9.2).

Consequently five of the six references reduce to the one fish-catching incident.

The sixth is the following, which provoked a comment by Badyigarang:

X7.40 P.: Mr Faddy *yéla* Mr Clark *yenyában* Norfolk Island
 Mr FADDY **-la** Mr CLARK yan -ya -ban NORFOLK ISLAND
3du go PAST ?
 “Mr Faddy with Mr Clark went to Norfolk Island” (b:35:1)

P. Mr. Faddy yéla Mr. Clark } Mr. Faddy with Mr. Clark
 yenyábari Norfolk Island } went to Norfolk Island.
 P. Major Ross, Mr. Clark, } Mr. R. Mr. Clark (and) Mr.
 Mr. Faddy yenyáoúwi N.I. } Faddy went to N. I.
 N.B. In this latter, P. positively denied the propriety of using
 nyéla instead of yéla, which I supposed might be proper for 3.

What is the meaning of “yéla”? (b:35:1-2)

What is Dawes’ yéla? His translation suggests comitative ‘in company with’; but for this, proprietive -mada might have been expected (see §9.4.2). Upon respelling yéla as (ng)yila, the possibility arises of its being a demonstrative acting as third person free pronoun (there are 15 examples of Dharawal demonstrative nyila = 3sg), but this must be rejected because of Badyigarang’s comment following (included in the above illustration). Instead, here it has been taken to be -la—possibly a contraction of bula—suffixed to ‘Faddy’ (Faddy-[yi]la), functioning as a 3du bound pronoun.

Dawes contrasted the above sentence with the next, having three people, and a different pronoun structure:

X7.41 P.: Major Ross, Mr Clark, Mr Faddy yenyáoúwi N.I.
 R, C & F yan -ya -wi NORFOLK ISLAND
 go PAST 3pl

and added the remark just noted:

NB. In this latter, P. positively denied the propriety of using **ngyéla** instead of yéla, which I supposed might be proper for 3 (b:35:2.1)

It is not clear whether Badyigarang was objecting to ngyila in the first sentence (in place of -[yi]la), or in the second (in place of -wi), but it does seem that (ng)yila, a demonstrative perhaps often heard by Dawes, was not appropriate

either as a third person pronoun, at least in these instances—or alternatively as a third person *plural free* pronoun in the second sentence.¹⁹

7.2.8 Third person plural

-wi: bound, ‘they-all’ (3pl) [16]

The 3pl subject pronoun -wi has been illustrated above in:

- Dawes: a:40:1 X7.12 ° *Ptyibaouwi dana* °
 Dawes: b:34:11 X7.24 P.: *Ngwiadyaoúwi magôra eorara dyi*
 Dawes: b:35:2.1 X7.41 P.: Major Ross, Mr Clark, Mr Faddy *yenyaoúwi*
 Norfolk Island

There are 16 Biyal-Biyal examples in total, all but two from Dawes.

¹⁹ After the thesis was submitted and prior to completion of the examination process, the following Kamilaroi items were discovered:

“yela”: yila = “soon”: Greenway (in Ridley) (Ridley 1878:243:13.1) (KML)
 “yila”: yila = then (at once) (yila or ila denotes any near time, past or future.): (Ridley 1875:35:27) [KML]
 “yeladtho.”: yila-dhu = “immediately”: Greenway (in Ridley) (Ridley 1878:243:13.2) (KML)
 “yelaambo”: yila-mbu = “Before long, or not long ago”: Greenway (in Ridley) (Ridley 1878:243:14) (KML)

These suggest the likelihood that yila might mean ‘near time’, either past or future, and that Badyigarang was saying that the marines had *recently* gone to Norfolk Island. This is consistent with her objection to placing ng before the word, which would have altered it erroneously.

7.3 Interrogative pronouns

Dixon writes:

It is normal in Australian languages to encounter a set of forms that can have indefinite or interrogative force. There is generally one form that can be glossed as ‘who’ or ‘someone’, in different instances of use, and another that means ‘what’ or ‘something’ (1980:277).

Examples he quoted for ‘who’, ‘what’ and ‘where, somewhere’ (1980:372-3) find parallels in Biyal-Biyal, in the interrogative pronoun *ngan* ‘who’, and in the adverbs *mi* ‘what’ and *minyín* ‘why’, and *wa* ‘where’.

An example was given above in:

Ngan¹ búla² ngalawí³ inyám⁴ brani⁵ [X7.38]

Note: In linguistic analyses ‘who’ here, as the subject of an intransitive sentence, might often be shown as *ngan-Ø*, i.e. with ‘zero (i.e. without suffix) realisation’, sometimes described as being in ‘absolutive’ case.

Another example is:

X7.42 *Ngan mulla bowü’ri*
ngan mala bawari
who man shadow
 “Who was with him” (b:14:23)

Notes:

1. Dawes provides “Paouwå” (bawa) as ‘shadow’ (b:16:15), while Anon gives “Bow-wory” (bawari) for the same word.
2. Dawes’ translation is apparently idiomatic.

The next two examples are similar:

X7.43 *Ngana¹ ngwiyí²*
ngan -a ngwiya -yi
who A give PastH
 “Who¹ gave² it (to you)” (b:26:2)

Here, ‘who’ is the subject of a transitive sentence with implied (or not recorded) object, with suffix *-a*, sometimes described as being in ‘ergative’ case.

X7.44 *Nganáma ngwiyí*
 ngana -ma ngwiya -yi
 who CAUS? give PastH
 “To whom didst thou give it” (b:27:4)

Yallop’s description of an ‘interrogative verb’ might apply here:

These verbs are derived from pronouns or adverbs such as ‘what?’ and ‘where?’, but have the form and function of verbs (1982:129).

Yallop went on to give English-equivalent examples: ‘you whatted’, ‘they whered’. The same phenomenon of verbalised interrogative was noted for Awabakal:

Ngan-bulliko [ngan-ba-li-gu], for to be who-ing interrogatively, that is asking who the person is when he is already known, with the intention of denying a knowledge of the person (Threlkeld 1850:35).

This might account for an apparent causative verbaliser -ma suffixed to ngana in the above example.

Finally:

X7.45 D. *Nganawáʔ*
 ngana -wa
 who DAT/LOC
 “To whom?” (b:29:5);

the normally locative suffix -wa, seen as a possible dative in §7.2.1.5 above, recurs in that role here.

7.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives, referred to several times above, are examined in §10.2 ‘Other word classes’.

8 VERBS

8.1 Structure of verbs

The first words of Biyal-Biyal to be heard by members of the First Fleet in January 1788 were recorded by Captain John Hunter and others:

At eight A.M. of the 20th, we anchored with the whole of the convoy in Botany-bay, in eight fathoms water.

As the ships were sailing in, a number of the natives assembled on the south shore, and, by their motions, seemed to threaten; they pointed their spears, and often repeated the words, wara, wara (Hunter 1968 [1793]:28).

There was little doubt as to what they meant:

As we came near them they spoke us in a loud dissonant manner, principally uttering these words—*warra, warra, war*, which we judged to be to tell us to go away (quoted in Cobley 1962:66—letter of Rev. Richard and Mary Johnson to Mr Henry Fricker, of 10 February 1788).

What the newcomers were hearing is perhaps to be understood as the verbal root *-wa*, ‘to move’, followed by the derivational suffix *-ra*, signifying ‘away’, with the vowel *a* signifying the imperative.

wara is a verb in one of its simplest forms. But Biyal-Biyal, in common with Aboriginal languages generally, has verbs that convey information that may be carried in a complete sentence in English. Blake summarised this:

Verbs ... inflect for tense, aspect, mood and voice. The tense system may distinguish past–present–future, past–nonpast or future–nonfuture. Sometimes there is a distinction between recent and remote past. Perfective and imperfective aspects are frequently marked, as is purposive (expressing intention and sometimes obligation) ... All languages distinguish the imperative mood from the indicative (Blake 1987:7—omitting some technical detail).

He continued:

All Australian languages employ suffixes to derive words of one part of speech from another (Blake:8)

and cited examples of nouns to adjectives, nominals to verbs, verbs to agent nouns, and suffixes to alter transitivity of verbs. All of this was probably present in Biyal-Biyal, but the data is not clear or complete enough for analysis to reveal it all. Difficulties include imperfect hearing and recording of

the original utterances, and approximate and at times erroneous translations of them, as well as the non-provision of translations.

The following two examples display this complexity:

X8.1: P to D: **Ngia ngirinarabaouwínia berara**
 ngaya ngayiri -nara -ba -wi -nya bira -ra
 1sg bring PURP FUT 1sg 2sgO shell PLUR
 “I will go and fetch you some fish hooks (or the shells)” (b:29:14)

X8.2: **Ngýínadyimínga**
 ngyin -(n)a -dyi -mi -nga
 2sg PURP? PAST 2sg 1sgO
 “You stand between me and the fire” (b:15:10)

Verbs adhere to a general structure:

Root	stem-forming suffix	derivational suffix(es)	tense inflection	bound pronoun: subject	bound pronoun: object
------	------------------------	----------------------------	------------------	------------------------------	-----------------------------

The few instances recorded of multiple derivational suffixes in Biyal-Biyal all feature -buni ‘lacking’ (see §8.3.4) in final position—disregarding its ablative inflection:

X8.3: P. **Tyenmilyi bunín**
 dyan -mi -lyi -buni -(i)n
 laugh SFX-CAUS CONT PRIV ABL
 “I am come from play” (b:28:6)

Note: There is a semantic link between ‘play’ and ‘laugh’: dana = “Laugh” (c:28:2); dini-bi = “Laughter” (c:7:8); dyin-mi-li = “To play” (b:19:17); dhayawangGa = “To laugh” (Lang n.d.; c.1840:3:63).

The bound pronouns normally come last in the suffix chain (see §7.1.5).

This analysis will begin with what might be taken as definitely understood about verbs, and will attempt to identify components to match what scholars such as Blake and—as will be seen, Dixon—have come to know about verbs in Aboriginal languages generally.

8.2 Tense and aspect

8.2.1 *Tense*

Dawes provided models or paradigms with three tenses for the verbs listed in §3.4.1 above but did not obtain data sufficient to conjugate any fully, although full forms were completed for the future of ‘see’, ‘go’, ‘eat’ and ‘row’. The paradigms include reliable information on markers for future and one form of the past tense.

Tense markers generally follow any derivational suffixes, and precede any bound pronouns. The examples above display two of the most common forms: -ba future and -dyi past. Both have variations.

8.2.1.1 Future

As discussed in §6.6.4.4 above, -ba becomes -ma after ‘n’, ‘nb’ appearing to be a non-permissible combination in Biyal-Biyal, so that the future tense of, for example, yan (= ‘to go’) is yan-ma—to which bound pronouns are suffixed.

8.2.1.2 Past

-dyi is more often -dya, the two forms appearing to vary in accordance with vowel harmony (see §6.4).

Dawes’ examples indicate that there was another form of past tense, which might be regarded as a simple past or ‘past historic’, of which there are over 40 examples. It takes the form -yi. No examples feature bound pronouns, and most are third person, as:

X8.4: *Boobangí*
 bu-banga -yi
 cover **PastH**

“He did cover, or covered (the participle passive)” (a:9:6)

There are other person examples, indicated with a free pronoun:

X8.5: *Ngía tungí*
 ngayá dunga -yi
 1sg cry **PastH**
 [I cried] (b:2:6.2)

or with no pronoun at all, the person being understood in the discourse context:

X8.6: *Meraní*
 mirana -yi
 go first **PastH**
 “You (drank tea once) before” (b:18:5.2)

Meranadyéms, meraní - You (drank tea once) before
 This was said to me by Pateye when I was drinking
 tea the 2nd time to please them

mirana-dyi-mi and mirana-yi: ‘go before did thou’ – Dawes contrasts two forms of past tense

8.2.1.3 Present

It could be argued that there was no present tense in Biyal-Biyal and that the tenses represented past and non-past. Indeed, Dixon has stated:

There are languages in which past and present, or future and present, fall together (1980:380).

He further stated:

There may be just two tense specifications, future and non-future, as in O1, Dharuk²⁰ (2002:210).

There are, nevertheless, over 20 examples of present tense usage in the Dawes data, although for four of these Dawes has marked the example with ‘doubtful colons’. The most frequent forms are associated with u: -dyu, which displays a conjoined tense marker and 1sg pronoun (see also §7.2.1.3); -yu; and -(n)u (as in *yanu* (a:5:5)). The first two forms are illustrated:

X8.7: *yenioó*
 yan **-yú**
 go **PRES-1sg**
 “I go or I am going. They say this when going away” (b:23:6.2)

X8.8: *Wãndyu-ínia*
 wana **-dyu** -wi -nya
 want not **PRES** 1sg 2sgO
 “I don’t desire your company” (b:24:12)

It appears that the tense marker may be followed by a separate pronoun when a person other than 1sg is intended:

X8.9: *Patadjíúmi*
 bada **-dyu** **-mi**
 eat **PRES** **2sg**
 “Thou etc. [eat]” (a:20:2)

Note: This is one of 4 examples of -dyu followed by additional pronouns.

Two other possible forms of the present feature -ni and -na.

X8.10: *Maanî’la*
 man **-(n)i** -la
 take **PRES?** 3du
 “They take.” (a:38:1)

While -ni in this case might be a variant of -(n)u cited above, this example should be considered in the light of the *yanila* discussion in §7.2.7.2.

As with -ni, there are 6 Dawes -na present tense examples, again all associated with *yan* (= ‘go’) and *man* (= ‘take’). The following is typical of these:

X8.11: *Yenaóu*
 yan **-na** -wu
 go **PRES?** 1sg
 “Note: May I go” (b:29:11)

It is possible that -na, rather than being a present tense marker, could have another significance. No Biyal-Biyal structures have been identified for a

²⁰ O1: a language reference number used by Dixon.

permissive, or *irrealis* (i.e. possible, not definite, ‘might’: see §8.8.3) function; Dawes’ translation, including “May I”—of what is taken here to mean ‘I go’—offers a hint in such a direction, as does X7.37.

8.2.2 *Aspect*

In the quotation cited above (§8.1), Blake mentioned ‘perfective and imperfective aspects’ of verbs. ‘Aspect’ is a term encountered in descriptions of Aboriginal languages, as, for example, in Yallop:

The *tense* of a verb is its time reference ... But tense is frequently combined with *aspect*, which refers not so much to the location of an action in the past, present or future, but rather to the speaker’s perspective of the duration, momentariness or completeness of an action (Yallop 1982:107).

‘Duration’, ‘continuity’, and perhaps ‘completeness’ will be covered in dealing with the derivational suffixes that follow (see §8.3.1.3, §8.3.2.1 and §8.8.1).

8.3 Derivational suffixes

Derivational suffixes, occurring between the root and the tense inflection, are a rich part of indigenous languages where the subtleties of expression are found—nuances that in English are covered by additional words or phrases.

Dixon points out that:

Derivational suffixes of [a] ‘non-syntactic type’ can indicate ‘continuous’, ‘inceptive’ (start to do), ‘volition’ (done by choice), ‘habitual’, or that something is done during (or after) ‘coming’ or ‘going’, and so on (1980:379).

He adds:

Although similar meanings are encountered in widely separated languages it is generally true that each language has its own set of non-syntactic verbal suffixes, different from those of its neighbours.

It would seem probable that only a small number of derivational suffixes current in Biyal-Biyal were captured by the various recorders. They include -dara, -nara, -gari, -li, -lyi, -ra and numerous others, but what did they denote? In most cases all that can be done is to suggest possibilities, at times assisted by Threlkeld’s ‘Key’ (1850:20-27). The section of Fraser’s 1892 edition of Threlkeld’s work relating to this Key opens as follows:

At the time when my “Australian Grammar” was published in Sydney, in the year 1834, circumstances did not allow me a sufficient opportunity to test the accuracy of the supposition that every sound forms a root, and, consequently, that every character which represents those sounds becomes, likewise, a visible root, so that every letter of the Alphabet of the language is in reality a root, conveying an abstract idea of certain prominent powers which are essential to it (Threlkeld 1892:90).

This passage was footnoted by Fraser:

I hope that, in reprinting “The Key,” I shall not be held as supporting this theory.—ED.

who, presumably holding the concept to be preposterous, went on to omit its core twelve pages. Capell was to write:

Threlkeld’s explanations are not always easy to follow: his analysis seems to be too thorough, in fact, and to be reduced to meanings of individual phonemes in a way that even Fraser rejected — and rightly so (Capell 1979:285).

Nevertheless the Key contains insights that could be applicable to neighbouring languages, as well as several suffixes common to them. The

summary below of the pages omitted by Fraser includes terminology by Capell and myself (JS).

T8.1 THRELKELD'S KEY: summarised

Initiation	Actuality	Powerfulness, purpose	Essential powers	Capell (1979:285-6)	JS
bi	ba	bu	verbal being, privativeness; <i>if</i>	ba: action as such	operative
di	da	du	substantiality		declarative
gi	ga	gu	being, state, purpose	ga: being as such; intransitive marker	being
li ^a	la ^a	—	verbal action, (continuation of the verbal action ^a)		continuative; reflexive, reciprocal
mi	ma	—	causation	ma: transitivity, including causativity	causative
in present participle: 'ing'	an present tense	un future tense	presentiality		
ngi	nga	—	personality	pronominal base rather than verbal marker	human agency [?]
			ng-: pronominal root -ng: objective		
ri	ra	—	negation, instrumentality (rr)		negative; instrumental
rri	rra				
wi	wa	wu	motion		motion
yí	ya	—	manner		affirmative

^a Threlkeld did not identify -li as the continuative marker in his Key, but rather gave:
 “—li, Initiation of Action. The sign of the Infinitive Mood” (1850:20); and
 “—lai, Verbal action, actuality, and initiation, combined, denote the continuation of the verbal action” (1850:21).

In this last, with “lai” respelt as -la-yi, he appeared to focus on -yi, not -li, as the continuative marker.

Yet Threlkeld, throughout his text, in addition to providing examples of -li and -la as reflexive and reciprocal indicators (these being obscured by his system of spelling):

—referred repeatedly and specifically in his translations to ‘continuation’ where the letter ‘l’ occurred in suffix position;

—gave effective ‘continuation’ examples such as: “wiyellín [wiyi-li-n], ‘now in the action of talking, speaking’” (1892:3);

—and also noted: “-lán [-la-n], the sign of continuation at the present time” (1892:92).

From this it may be inferred that he did recognise -li as a continuative marker.

The following derivational suffixes will be considered:

Suffix	Possible significance
dara, nara	purposive
wara, wari	away
ra, ri	duration, continuity, while
dwara	do while
li, lyi	continuation; reflexive; reciprocal
na, ni	purposive
buni, muni	lacking
barabuwari	day after tomorrow
gara, gari	[unresolved]
nma	[unresolved]

8.3.1 *-ra series*

In accordance with previous practice, frequency of occurrence is shown in square brackets.

8.3.1.1 *-dara* [17], *-nara* [9]: ‘purpose’

Dawes recorded six singular and plural forms for the future of ‘to row’, and a contrasting set including the suffix *-dara*. The following are samples of each:

X8.12: *Bangabámî*
 banga -ba -mi
 paddle FUT 2sg
 “Thou [will paddle]” (a:16:14)

X8.13: *Bangadarabámî*
 banga **-dara** -ba -mi
 paddle **PURP?** FUT 2sg
 “2d s” [2nd person sing.] (a:17:5)

Of this he wrote:

Speaking of Booroong. We think it relates to bringing Booroong to Dara. In which case it appears that they, put words sometimes between the root and the termination (a:17:10).

‘Dara’ was the location where Dawes was then established, now Dawes Point.

Dawes later added:

They were not speaking of Dara, for since, I have heard them repeat dara in the same word when I think they could not refer to that place. It seems to me to be peculiarly used when it is spoken as of rowing to a certain place to bring another back with you. But this is mere conjecture (a:17:11).

Dawes’ comment suggests *-dara* might have indicated *purpose*. Other interpretations are possible, including, say, ‘go and come back’.

A supporting example that might suggest purpose is:

X8.14: *Yúmadarabámi*
 yu-ma **-dara** -ba -mi
 send **PURP?** FUT 2sg
 “Thou will send to (the person spoken of)” (b:31:11)

Three *-nara* examples, also possibly indicating purpose, are:

ngaya ngayiri-**nara**-ba-wi-nya bira-ra [see X8.1 above],

gudba-ra-**nara**-ba-mi-nga [see X8.50 below],

and:

X8.15 *Mi mi ga. Mim bowanára mi ga*
 mi mi ga. mim bawa **-nara** -mi ga
 what 2sg INTJ what stare **PURP?** 2sg INTJ
 “What are you looking for, what” (b:17:11)

Notes:

1. The analysis of this example is uncertain.
2. Dawes’ translation suggests the two interpretations of mi: ‘what’ and ‘2sg’.
3. For ga (gayi?) as an interjection, see X10.27, X10.30.
4. The following suggest ‘stare’ or ‘search’:

ba-l-wara-ba-wu (= “To stare or look steadfastly” (b:16:12)),

wula-ra (= “The Look-Out” (Southwell c.1791:148.1:6)),

wul-banga (= “hunt” (Ridley 1875:107:9 [DgR]),

all of which have three out of the four components: ba, -l, -wa, -ra (with slight spelling variations).

8.3.1.2 -wari [6], -wara [4]: ‘away’

-wari is frequently encountered, not always as a suffix. Consistent with the

Key, one meaning seems to imply motion: ‘away’:

X8.16: *Manwâ’ri*
 man **-wari**
 take **away**
 “To find (literally to take abroad)” (b:17:7)

X8.17: *Ngíri wâribaou*
 ngayiri **-wari** -ba -wu
 carry **away** FUT 1sg
 “I will carry it away with me” (b:14:15)

Less straightforward but still possibly ‘away’ are:

X8.18: *Mekoarsmadyemínga*
 mi-gu **-wara** -ma -dyi -mi -nga
 look **away** MOD PAST 2sg 1sgO
 “You winked at me” (b:18:13)

Notes:

1. The causative modifying suffix -ma (= ‘make’) is, here, not directly attached to the stem, nor is it a verbaliser changing a noun to a verb (see §8.4.2.1).
2. This and the next example are two of thirteen instances where Dawes has used the letter ‘s’; in the present work these have been assumed to be mis-hearings.

and:

X8.19: *Mikoarsbí*
 mayi-gu **-wara** -ba -yi
 look **away** MOD PastH
 “His foot slipped” (b:18:6)

Notes:

1. The ‘operative’ (see Key above) modifying suffix -ba (= ‘do’) is not attached to the stem.
2. The translation may be wrong, while giving a clue as to the possible recording circumstances: he looked away, and in so doing lost his footing.
3. If Dawes’ dotting of the first ‘i’ were inadvertent, in the light of X8.18, the respelling would be mi-gu. There were other examples, such as X7.22, where the ‘i’s in *ngyini* were dotted, while other examples have *ngyini* without dots.

8.3.1.3 -ra [13]

As noted at the start of this verbs chapter, -ra (as part of *wara*) may indicate ‘away’, and actively, indeed imperatively, so (see §8.7). The following example signifying ‘cause to move (fly) away’ may be apposite here; for an imperative use, the stress would switch to the final syllable:

X8.20: *Wómara*
 wu -ma **-ra**
 move CAUS **away**
 “To run as an animal. To fly as a spear or bird. Also the throwing stick” (b:22:7)

There are other verbal concepts that could be associated with -ra, and -ri.

-ra: duration, continuity, while

X8.21: *Nángara búidiémi*
 nanga -ra bayi -dyi -mi
 sleep DUR beat PAST 2sg
 “She is asleep. Rather You beat her while she was asleep” (b:14:8)

X8.22: *Yurulbaradyú*
 yara -l -ba -ra -dyú
 sharp TRS? SFX: do DUR PRES-1sg
 “I am sharpening the tyi bong (by rubbing it on a stone)” (b:23:20)

-ra in the above two examples may be viewed as signifying ‘while’, or ‘duration’. It can also occur in words such as the following, apparently nouns or adjectives (blood, angry, long), that might be—or have been—verbs in continuative mode, modified into nouns:

X8.23: *Búnnerung*
 bana -ra -ng
 flowing liquid DUR ABSTR
 “Blood” (b:3:14)

bana is used by Dawes to mean ‘rain’, and it recurs in ‘blood’. The connection could be ‘flowing liquid’. Dixon comments:

.. a word which means ‘water’ in one language can mean ‘blood’ in another and ‘blossom, nectar (of a flower)’ in another (2002:109).

If this is correct, a more accurate translation might be ‘actively bleeding’.

8.3.1.4 -ri: ‘away’ [4]

‘Away but without urgency’ could be the underlying sense of -ri, as in:

X8.24: *Ilíri*
 yili -ri
 send away
 “To send away” (b:10:2)

Note: yila-ba means “To pour out” (c:17:16); yili-ri might be related, with the sense of ‘pour/send’ and ‘away’.

X8.25: *Yenwǎ'ri*
 yan -wa -ri
 go SFX-MOTION away
 “Go away” (b:23:14)

8.3.1.5 -dwara: do while [6]

The following is one of six Dawes examples of -dwara, meaning ‘do while’:

X8.26: P. *Manmángun tyibung wellamadwǎ'ra*
 man -ma -ngun dyibung wala -ma -dwara
 take FUT 1du geebung return SFX-CAUS while
 “We will gather tyibungs as we come back” (b:33:18)

-dwara, with its ‘sub-suffix’ -ra, also comprises the notion of duration.

-dwara can precede a nominal inflection, as in:

X8.27: P. *Beríadwǎrin*
 bara -ya -dwar -in
 sing PAST while ABL-CAUS
 “Because you sung.” (b:28:9)

Note: The context apparently was that Dawes was singing about the limping of one of his informants, who was angered by it.

8.3.2 -li, -lyi

A common derivational suffix is -li/-lyi. It was elusive to Dawes and remains so now. ‘Continuation’ is suggested as its first explanation.

8.3.2.1 -li [35], -lyi [17]: continuation

Dawes provided contrasting examples with and without -lyi.

X8.28: *Wauná wauná Bogîbóonî*
 wana wana bugi -buni
 not want not want bathe PRIV
 [not want; bathe-lacking] (a:7:5.1)

X8.29: *Bogiliebóoni* (a:7:5.2)

bugi -lyi -buni
 bathe CONT PRIV

“Note the syllable *lie* does not appear to be of any determinate significance” (a:7:7.1)

In a second sequence he suggested that -lyi might mean ‘there’:

X8.30: Bye & bye *Patabángoön Dawes, Benelong*
 BYE & BYE bada -ba -ngun Dawes, Binilang
 eat FUT 1du

“Bye & bye we Dawes and Benelong shall eat.” (a:21:2)

“This was said by Bénelong a little before dinner on 23rd Nov. 1790.” (a:21:3)

“Benelong a little after the above, having observed that I ate nothing & being told by me that I was going on board the Supply repeated what I said to him, to his wife and added *Patàliebá*” (a:21:5)

X8.31: *Patàliebá*

bada -lyi -ba
 eat CONT FUT

“He will eat” (a:21:6)

“The syllable *lie* may probably signify ‘there’, and then the English will be: ‘He will eat there’, otherwise it is an irregularity in the conjugation.” (a:21:7-8)

The absence and presence of the suffix -li/-lyi might best be regarded as reflecting the difference between the English expressions: ‘I eat’ and ‘I am eating’, and is so regarded here, and indicated by the term ‘CONT’ (continuing) above.

This is indirectly supported by Threlkeld, and endorsed on referring to other neighbouring languages, as follows. While Threlkeld in his Key specified ‘initiation of action’ as the significance of *-li*, the notes to the Key above identify Threlkeld’s record of it as indicating ‘continuation’, for which use he provided some 200 appropriate examples. One Awabakal example of these may confirm this conclusion:

4. *Continuative*; as when the state continues, or the action is, was, or will be, continued without interruption; as, *búnkillilín bag°*, ‘I am now continuing in the action of making blows’, such as thrashing or beating. This is called the ‘continuative’ modification of the verb (Threlkeld 1892:23).

The analysis:

<i>búnkillilín bag°</i>					
bun	-Gi	-li	-li	-n	bang
beat	SFX: be	CONT	CONST	PRES	1sg

Note: Reduplicated continuative indicates constancy (CONST).

As the same suffix is used for continuation in the languages surrounding Biyal-Biyal—Dharawal (*-li* [7 examples]; *-la/-lya/-lu* [8]), Gundungurra [50], Darkinyung [45]—it would seem Biyal-Biyal *-li* [8], *-lyi* [16], might reasonably be taken to have that meaning too.

Two other Biyal-Biyal examples tend to confirm this:

X8.32: *Ngan wídá-lyi teara wü’ra wüirá*
 ngan wayida **-lyi** TEA -ra wára wará
 who drink **CONT** PLUR just now
 “Who was that drinking tea with you?” (b:15:2)

This is clearly continuative.

X8.33: *Münyemalyidyaoú*
 manyi -ma **-lyi** -dya -wu
 start SFX-CAUS **CONT** PAST 1sg
 “I started” [i.e. I jumped, as in fright] (b:18:8)

This is less clear, yet still possibly continuative; *-lyi* might even be reflexive.

8.3.2.2 -li [2], -lyi [6]: reflexive/reciprocal

The suffix -lyi was effectively identified by Dawes as a *reflexive* marker in the first pair of examples below:

X8.34: *Pinmilyibaou panáwã*
 bayin -mi -lyi -ba -wu bana -wa
 cool VBS **RFLX** FUT 1sg rain LOC
 “I will cool myself in the rain” (b:16:17.2)

X8.35: *Barinmilyidyú*
 barin -mi -lyi -dyú
 loin cover VBS **RFLX** PRES-1sg
 “I am putting on my barrin”(b:6:5)

There are about 6 such Dawes -lyi examples, and 2 for -li, including: *barin-mí-li* “To put on (as a garment)” (b:4:13.1)—similar to X8.35.

Dixon notes that:

In some languages a single suffix is used for both reflexive and reciprocal (1980:433).

The similar -la [4] may have been the *reciprocal* form recorded for Biyal-Biyal:

X8.36: *Ngalu píyala*
 ngalu baya -la
 1du speak **RECIP**
 “We two are talking to each other” (b:35:6)

and possibly:

X8.37: *Tyelkála*
 dya -l -ga -la
 hug [?] TRS? SFX: be **RECIP**
 “To embrace. To hug” (b:19:25)

8.3.3 -na, -ni

The syllables -na/-ni were often recorded. -na, in particular, was met above in association with yan in the present tense of ‘go’ (see §8.2.1.3, where permissiveness, even irrealis, were considered as slim possibilities for it); earlier -na had been considered as a marker of the imperative (§7.2.6.1), a possibility to be taken up again (see §8.7); -na may have also featured as part of a purposive -nara (see §8.3.1.1), and -na will also be considered as demonstrative (§10.2.1.1).

-na may have also been a derivational suffix, as the following examples suggest—[three from about ten possible]—where deliberateness could be linked to the concept of purpose. The first two display the combination ba-na or bi-ni, differing perhaps because of vowel harmonising (see §6.4) with the preceding stem.

X8.38: *Pograbanié*
 bugara -ba **-na** -yi
 break SFX: do **PURP?** PastH
 “Broken to pieces, as a ship or boat on rocks” (b:16:9)

X8.39: *Nowey, binnie bow*
 nawi -bi **-ni** -ba -wu
 canoe SFX: do **PURP?** FUT 1sg
 “I will make a canoe” (c:13:3)

In the final example below, -na appears as a stem-forming suffix:

X8.40: *Ngolonadyemínga*
 ngulu **-na** -dyi -mi -nga
 forehead **PURP?** PAST 2sg 1sgO
 “You did not stop my way” (b:15:11)

Note: Instead of -na, the causative verbaliser -ma might have been expected after the noun ‘forehead’, to mean ‘confront face-to-face’.

8.3.4 -buni: 'lacking' [30+]

Two main indicators of negativity in Biyal-Biyal are biyal 'no, not' and the privative suffix -buni 'lacking' (-muni following -n: see §6.6.4.4). There are over 30 examples in the Dawes/Anon data. For Biyal-Biyal, contrary to Dixon's finding, most are attached to *verbs* while only 3 (or 4) are attached to nouns:

Almost all Australian languages have a derivational suffix 'without, less' that can be added to a nominal stem and is followed by a case inflection (Dixon 2002:84).

An example of the kind noted by Dixon, added to a nominal stem, with a case inflection, and exemplifying the change to -muni, was seen above (§6.6.4.4):

Bárinmunin "Because I had no Barin." (b:31:6.1) [X6.3]

Another, possibly a noun, is:

X8.41: *Yarrsbóonie*
 dyara **-buni**
 distress **PRIV**
 "Mind your work. Literally, you do not fatigue yourself" (b:23:4)

Note: For more on dyara, see §8.4.1.1.

An example of the more common form, of -buni added to a verbal root, is the following:

X8.42: *Piabu^uniwinya*
 baya **-buni** -wi -nya
 speak **PRIV** 1sg 2sgO
 "I did not speak to you" (b:34:1.1)

It would seem that the use of -buni/-muni as a verbal suffix may be a way of expressing negativity, instead of, or in addition to, the use of the free-form biyal.

8.3.5 *Special derivational suffix*

The following example shows that derivational suffixes are not confined to standard forms:

X8.43: *Tyerabárrbowaryaou*

dyira	-bara-bu-wari	-ya	-wu
white	day after tomorrow	PRES	1sg

“: I shall not become white :” (b:19:6.1)

“This was said by Patyegaráng after I had told her, if she would wash herself often, she would become white at the same time throwing down the towel as in despair.”
(b:19:16.2)

Dawes acknowledged his translation, of what appears to be ‘I become white the day after tomorrow’, as uncertain, with ‘doubtful colons’. This example may show humour, or irony, in his informant.

8.3.6 *Unresolved derivational suffixes*

8.3.6.1 -gari [1], -gara [1?]

There are two -gari/-gara examples, possibly not related, and both are of unknown significance.

X8.44: *Tamunadyegarimínga*

damuna	-dyi	-gari	-mi	-nga
refuse	PAST	?	2sg	1sgO

“Because you refused me. This, when I gave her a blow on the head out of window”
(b:32:7)

With a single example only, this suffix cannot be resolved. The example displays an unexpected order, -gari following the tense marker rather than preceding it as would be normal.

X8.45: *Matigarabángun nángaba*

madiga	-ra	-ba	-ngun	nanga	-ba
comrade	DUR	FUT	1du	sleep	FUT

“: We shall sleep separate :” (b:17:4)

In this second possible example, featuring Dawes’ ‘doubtful colons’, the analysis does not display the suffix -gara but rather the root madiga, ‘comrade’

(Ridley 1878:258:29) + -ra (seen in §8.3.1.3); this suggests another translation: ‘we shall sleep companionably’ (rather than ‘separate’).

8.3.6.2 -nma [4]

-nma occurs in a placename, bara-yi-nma (“The point called the docks”, possibly Fivedock (c:38:17)), an untranslated song line, dawi-ndi-nma (b:30:4), as well as in two similar examples, the first of which was seen earlier:

and: *Ngmínmabadánami* “You will shew me” (b:15:9) [X7.11]

X8.46: *Ngmínma*
 na -mi **-nma**
 see SFX-CAUS ? [?]
 “Let me see, or shew it to me” (b:14:19)

Without additional examples it is not possible to analyse the mechanism, but from Dawes’ translations the effect is to convert the verb ‘see’ to ‘show’.

8.3.7 *Missing derivational suffixes*

The following suffix classifications, examples for which are commonly encountered in Aboriginal languages, do not appear, or are not obvious, in the Dawes/Anon data:

Classification	Possible suffix
—habitual (always)	
—recurring (again)	
—inceptive or inchoative (begin to)	
—permissive	
—necessity	duru
—aversive (for fear of)	

The sole possibility is -duru, from the following non-Dawes example:

X8.47: *Tongay-doro*
dunga -yi **-duru**
cry IMP? **NECES?**
“You must cry” (c:31:8)

8.4 Stem-forming suffixes

‘Stem-forming suffixes’ have been referred to several times to this point.

Threlkeld, introducing some of the basic terminology, wrote:

The Affixes used in the Language of the Aborigines of this colony show the nature of the Verb, whether causative, declarative, active; either personal, instrumental, self-active, or locomotive; and whether negative, affirmative, privative, apparent, or actual.

It is only by a strict attention to the roots of the affixes, that they can be properly applied to express the modification of the principal, whether that principal so governed by the affix be a verb, a proper name of a person or place, or a common substantive (Threlkeld 1850:17).

Capell, using the third person in referring to himself, narrowed the range of verbal modifying suffixes, and eliminated Threlkeld’s -nga (see table T8.1) as one of them:

Capell stated (1966 [1956]:70) that there are four indicators which serve to show types of verbal action, viz. ba, ga, ma and ŋa. The first three are right and will be explored here; the fourth seems to be ruled out by closer study: it does do so, but only with certain interrogatives. It is itself the stem of ŋan- *who* and is used in only a few situations which Threlkeld illustrates. In other words, ŋa- is a pronominal base rather than a verbal marker (Capell 1979:285).

Oates (1988:129) used the term ‘stem-forming suffix’ when describing the northern New South Wales border language Muruwari:

Stems consisting of root plus suffix. There are four stem-forming suffixes:

-ma/ -mi	‘verbaliser’
-ta/-ti/ -tha/-thi	‘factive’
-(m)pa/ -(m)pi	‘causative’
-ka/ -ki	‘causative (or possibly purposive)’

and it is the term adopted for the present study, abbreviated to ‘SFX’.

Stem-forming suffixes, as modifiers of the basic meaning of the stem, have been identified in examples already quoted; they occur frequently in the data for Gundungurra, Dharawal, and Awabakal.

In the remainder of this section, to show that verbs may take different stem-forming suffixes, three verbs (dyara, gudba and mira) will be looked at. This will be followed by a review of such suffixes, first those as noted by Oates but with descriptors partly drawing on terminology by Threlkeld:

-ma	causative, verbaliser: 'make'
-da	declarative
-ba	operative: 'do'
-ga	being, state.

Other possible stem-forming suffixes will then be considered:

-nga	human agency (Threlkeld's 'personality')
-wa	motion
-ra	duration
-ya	affirmative.

8.4.1 Verbs taking different stem-forming suffixes

8.4.1.1 dyara

From about ten records, *dyara* appears generally to have the sense of personal physical distress: ache, weary, scratch, abrupt:

X8.48: ° *Yarrsbadiou* °
 dyara **-ba** -dya -wu
 distress SFX: **do** PAST 1sg
 “I did weary or have wearied myself” (a:29:7)

X8.49: *Tyarsgadyaouwinia*
 dyara **-ga** -dya -wi -nya
 distress SFX: **be** PAST 1sg 2sgO
 “I scratched you” (b:32:15)

Notes:

1. ‘-s-’: There might have been differences in how the basic word was originally heard, and consequently spelt (including an ‘s’ in these two, and most, of the examples); it is assumed the root was *dyara*.
2. SFX -ba was described as ‘factive’ (Oates), ‘verbal being’ (Threlkeld) and ‘action as such’ (Capell 1979:285); it is about ‘doing’, in this case ‘to tire’.
3. SFX -ga was described as ‘causative (or possibly purposive)’ (Oates), ‘being, state, purpose’ (Threlkeld), ‘being as such’ (Capell); in the case of X8.49, ‘scratch’, Oates’ analysis seems most apt, including a hint of a purposive *gu* (see §9.3.7 and X9.22).
4. SFX -ya AFF (affirmative) appears to be present in a further example:
Tari’adyaou dyara-ya-dya-wu I made a mistake in speaking. (b:29:15)
5. For other references to *dyara*, see: §6.5.1 (sibilants); T6.10 (-ll- other), X6.1, T6.19 (notes m and x); and examples X8.41 and X8.76.

8.4.1.2 gudba

Another verb in the Dawes/Anon collection to take different SFXs is *gudba*:

X8.50: *Kótbaranárami’nga*
 gudba **-ra** -nara -ba -mi -nga
 cut SFX: **INSTR?** PURP FUT 2sg 1sgO
 NO TRANSLATION [cut will thou me (i.e. will you cut my hair)] (a:24:1)

X8.51: *Cot-bannie*
 gudba **-na** -yi
 cut **SFX-?** PastH
 “Cut” (c:29:9.2)

Notes:

1. -ra: Threlkeld’s Key offers ‘instrumentality’ for -ra, which is plausible, as the example was concerned with cutting hair, necessarily with an instrument, scissors.
2. -na: ‘Purpose’ has been suggested as a significance of n-initial suffixes hitherto (see §8.3.3).

8.4.1.3 mira

The following verb further shows that different stem-forming suffixes modified the basic meaning of the root:

X8.52: *Meranadyémi. Merani’*
 mira **-na** -dyi -mi
 first **SFX-PURP?** PAST 2sg

“You (drank tea once) before.

This was said to me by Patye when I was drinking tea the 2nd time to please them.”
 (b:18:5.1)

Note: Another mira-na example is given at X8.59.

X8.53: *Ngia merawi, Warwiar wellünga*

ngaya	mira	-wa	-yi,	Wariwiya	wala	-nga
1sg	first	SFX-MOTION	PastH		follow	SFX-HUMAG

“I (went away) first, and Warwiar followed.” (b:34:5)

8.4.2 *Basic stem-forming suffixes*

Stem-forming suffixes have generally been presented below in -Ca/-Ci pairs, where C is any consonant (e.g. -ba/-bi). In the records concerned, sometimes one form was used, sometimes another, with the suffix ending in a the more common. Was the difference between the two forms significant?

Oates' comment for Muruwari suggests that such a difference might have been related to tense:

The three short vowels are central to the tense system. Each one inherently signals one of the three tenses:

- i present or contemporary time
- a past time
- u future time

These three vowels dominate the entire verbal system. They never occur without a consonant which carries aspectual meaning. The full range of aspects occurs only with present and past tense. Future tense occurs only in the form -ku (Oates 1988:154).

However, given that the tense marking systems are different for Biyal-Biyal and the neighbouring languages, and that SFX and tense marker were often found together (as in X8.54, X8.55, and many others), tense does not seem a likely explanation for Biyal-Biyal.

Threlkeld, in his Key, in writing about vowels (and for Awabakal), suggested that the -Ci form had inchoative significance, in contrast to the 'actuality' of -Ca:

- ...a, Actuality, an aorist, indefinite (Threlkeld 1850:20).
- ...i, Initiation, an aorist, indefinite (1850:20).

Note: '...' signifies 'any consonant'.

He provided examples, such as:

- Wa. Actuality of motion, has changed place, moved, &c. (1850:28).
- Wi. Initiation of motion, simply to move, to have motion (1850:29).

There are no Dawes or AllSyd examples that are clearly inchoative in significance against which to test Threlkeld's observation.

A further possible explanation is vowel harmony, which appears the most likely (see §6.4). While Dawes probably made occasional errors in recording the sounds of words, and while the present analysis is equally open to question in some of its details, the following table nevertheless suggests vowel harmony to be the underlying principle:

T8.2 OCCURRENCE OF HARMONISING: STEM AND STEM-FORMING SUFFIX, AND STEM-FORMING SUFFIX WITH THE CONTINUATIVE DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX -li/-lyi

Stem: final vowel	SFX vowel	harmony	no harmony
a	a	46	
a	i		9
i	i	8	
i	a		4
SFX: final vowel	l(y)i		
i	i	27	
a	i		4

Notes:

1. Out of 51 examples where the final syllable of a stem features a, the stem-forming suffix also ends in a 46 times, compared to 9 times not harmonising; and harmonising occurs 8 times, compared to 4 non-harmonising, with the corresponding stem featuring i.
2. Similarly, out of 31 examples featuring one of the most common derivational suffix sequences: SFX + the continuative -li (or -lyi), (i.e. -bi-li, -mi-li, -gi-li; or -bi-lyi, -mi-lyi, -gi-lyi), the SFX harmonises with -l(y)i by ending in i 27 times, with only 4 of the records not harmonising.

8.4.2.1 -ma, -mi: causative [26 each]

Two examples of -mi as a causative verbaliser were given under §8.3.2.2 'reflexive' above, based on the *nouns* bayin 'cool' and barin 'loin cover'. A further example illustrates -ma as a verbaliser, converting a noun to a verb stem:

X8.54: *Kaadianmadióu*
 gadyan **-ma** -dya -wu
 woomera **VBS** PAST 1sg
 “I ‘kaadianed’ it (that is, I put the shell on the wómera)” (b:11:10)

While there is evidence of the attachment of the suffix *-ma* to *verbs* in the neighbouring languages, there are no convincing examples of such attachment in the Biyal-Biyal data.

8.4.2.2 -da, -di: declarative

No examples of the use of the *-da/-di* suffixes were recorded—other than as occurring as part of *-dara* (i.e. if it were in fact two suffixes *-da -ra*; see §8.3.1.1).

8.4.2.3 -ba [17], -bi [15]: operative

The operative SFX *-ba/-bi* is attached to an adjective and a noun in the following examples, and in these instances it acts as a verbaliser.

X8.55: *Wúrūlbadyaoú*
 wural **-ba** -dya -wu
 slow **SFX: do** PAST 1sg
 “I was ashamed.” (b:26:8.2)

Notes:

1. Dawes’ translation appears erroneous. The statement was made by Badyigarang, who had been asked to read aloud. Dawes mistook her claim to being a slow reader for being ashamed. The statement might be considered ‘operative’: ‘I did slow(ly)’.
2. This is deduced from Mathews’ records: “wural” (= “Slow”) (1901:160:4 [Dg]); “warral” (= “Slow”) (Mathews c.1903:281.2:16 [Dark]).

X8.56: *Nowey, binnie ba*
 nawi **-bi** -ni -ba
 canoe **SFX: do** PURP? FUT
 “He will make a canoe” (c:13:14)

Note: See also the similar X8.39.

8.4.2.4 -ga [7], -gi [1]: ‘being’

There is no ‘operative’ sense in the following examples, rather a statement of ‘what is’: there is a shadow; someone is awake. The SFX -ga: ‘be’ accordingly seems appropriate:

X8.57: *Paouwagadyimínga*

bawa	-ga	-dyi	-mi	-nga
shade	SFX: be	PAST	2sg	1sgO

“You shade me (from the sun)” (b:16:18)

X8.58: *Wàrigiilyibaóu*

wari	-gayi	-lyi	-ba	-wu
awake?	SFX: be	CONT	FUT	1sg

“I will remain awake” (b:26:14)

Verbs ‘blow’ tend to begin with *bu-* across the languages of the world, as a universal instance of sound symbolism. Australia is no exception, with most languages having a form commencing with *bu-* (2002:122).

The distinction between ‘blowing’ as ‘breathing’—*bumi*, ‘breathe’ (King 1786-90:MS 399:11) and natural blowing (such as a wind) or active personal blowing, which are necessarily concerned with motion—*buwa*—is revealed in the following examples:

X8.63: *Bo-mi-diow*
 bu **-mi** *-dya* *-wu*
 blow **SFX-CAUS** PAST 1sg
 “Breath” (Anon c:28:8)

X8.64: *Gwüüŋg boalá*
 gwiyang *bu* **-wa** *-la*
 fire blow **SFX-MOTION** IMP
 “The fire is out” (b:31:13.1)

Notes:

1. The analysis reveals that Dawes’ translation is incorrect. His informant was not telling him the fire was out, but asking him to blow it.
2. Active blowing, as opposed to breathing, implies motion, hence *-wa*, not *-mi*.

8.4.3.3 *-ra*: duration [11]

Examples of *-ra* as a possible ‘duration’ SFX were given above: X8.21-3 and X8.45.

8.4.3.4 *-ya*: affirmative [6]

The *-ya* suffix is here tentatively designated ‘affirmative’:

X8.65: ° *Manéea* °
 mani **-ya**
 sharpen? **SFX-AFF?**
 “° To sharpen Or sharpen thou °” (b:13:4)

Notes:

1. Dawes marked his translation with ‘confident dots’.
2. There are no close vocabulary matches for *mani*, ‘sharpen’.
3. *-ya* is possibly imperative (see §8.7).

X8.66: Gon.: *Mama kaowi **ng**ália bogía*
 mama ga -wi ngaliya bugi -ya
 sister? come SFX-MOTION 1du bathe **SFX-AFF?**
 “My friend, come let us (two) go and bathe” (b:28:12)

Note: mamana (= ‘sister’) (c:33:6).

8.5 Suffix transference

Capell remarked on a feature of certain Aboriginal languages, which he came to refer to as ‘affix-transferring’. This phenomenon was mentioned above (see §7.1.1) in connection with the transferring of pronouns away from their base verb:

Dharawal (Thurrawal) and the languages south of it, right round into Victoria, either belonged to or at least were strongly influenced by the languages formerly called “Western Desert”, now better called by the structural designation “Affix-transferring”. Dharruk did not share this character, but Awaba did. So did Guringai ... (Capell 1970:21).

This and the following comment were made before the Dawes notebooks had come to the notice of scholars:

Awaba and Kuringgai are closely akin both in vocabulary and in structure. Both transfer the person endings of the verb to certain neighbouring head words, and the verb itself retains only the suffix of tense. This is not the case in the Sydney languages, and the actual endings differ considerably also (Capell 1970:26).

In using the term ‘Kuringgai’ (Guringai), Capell was referring to the manuscript referred to as ‘Karree’ in the present work (see §1.3.1.1 and §5.3.2).

Examples of ‘affix transference’ given earlier were X7.2 and X7.3. Two further examples follow:

X8.67: *Gwã'gun patába*
 gwagu **-(ngu)n** bada -ba
 presently **1du** eat FUT
 “We will eat presently” (b:26:9.2)

Note: The 1du pronoun -ngu (see §7.2.4.3) has been transferred, collapsed and mostly absorbed into the headword gwagu ‘by and by/presently’.

X8.68: *Bunilbü'nga*
buni -l -banga
PRIV TRS? do
 “To take off, as a coat or any other garment” (b:4:10.1)

The privative suffix *-buni*, whether considered as a transferred suffix here or as a prefix, further demonstrates the flexibility of positioning in Biyal-Biyal (for *-buni*, see §8.3.4, §9.4.1).

8.6 Prefixes

Certain verbs in Biyal-Biyal have *prefixes* that amplify their meaning, as stem-forming suffixes also do. These prefixes are generally monosyllabic, and in this respect appear to differ from what Dixon describes as ‘coverbs’:

A number of labels have been used, in the Australianist literature, for what I call coverb and simple verb. Coverbs have been referred to as preverbs, prestems, main verb (stems), complex verb stems, lexical verbs, (verbal) particles, participles and verbal nouns. Simple verbs have been referred to as finite verbs, inflecting verbs and auxiliaries (2002:187).

The following have been extracted from the data, and simplified by omitting suffixes and by respelling. While particular examples might be open to question (e.g. da-ngara, war-gawi), the fact that prefixes were used to affect meaning seems beyond dispute.

T8.3 BIYAL-BIYAL PREFIXES

Prefix	Stem	Meaning	Possible prefix significance	Example source	Fcy
bu- ^a	banga	cover	cover	a:8:0.2	6
bur-	banga	raise up	up	b:29:13	1
da- ^b	banga	yawn	mouth	a:22:0.1	4
da-	ngara	not know	negative	c:18:2	1
dil-	banya	ring	shrill sound	b:20:13	3
gul-	banga	hold up		b:8:14.1	2
ma- ^c	baya	speak unknown language	negative	b:18:10	1
ma- ^c	ngara	not understand; forget	negative	b:13:10.2	5
mi- ^c	wana	not want	negative	b:17:9	1
mi- ^c	wuluna	swallowed with difficulty	negative	b:18:4	1
wal(i)- ^d	banga	turn upside down	twist	b:24:6	2
war-	gawi	whistle	move	c:11:10	3
wi- ^e	ngara	think		a:31:7	6
wiri- ^f	banga	do badly	bad	b:24:18.1	2

Some ‘other’ word classes (i.e. besides pronouns, verbs and nouns) also appear to take such prefixes:

bu-	dyiri	“Good”		c:32:9	4
bula-	dyiri	“Two are enough.”	two	b:4:17.1	1
di-	dyiri-guru	“enough”	this	b:4:17.3	4

Notes:

^a bu-: ‘cover’—there are 7 examples (including bu-bi-lyi-dya-wu [X9.26]).

^b da-/dha-: fundamental root relating to ‘mouth/eat’; Dixon cites *dha-l* ‘eat, consume’ as one of 68 ‘verb roots that occur across a fair selection of languages’ (Dixon 2002:117, 121 (item 39)).

^c ma- (also mi-): the most consistently recurring prefix, indicating negativity.

^d wala-: apparent theme of ‘bend, crooked, twist, curve’—cf. walaba, ‘wallaby’.

^e wi-: based on wi-ngara; cf Wiradhuri language winhangara = ‘hear, think’ (Grant and Rudder 2000:19 (R77)).

^f wiri-: ‘bad’.

8.7 Imperative

Of over fifty examples of the imperative in the Dawes/Anon data, almost all end in *a*; and, where stress is indicated, it falls on the final syllable. Dixon states:

Since ... an imperative term occurs in the great majority of Australian TAM [tense–aspect–mood] systems (in just a few languages it falls together with the future, etc.) it is not surprising that a recurrent imperative form can be recognised. We find *-ga* (sometimes reduced to *-g*) in some languages ...; the suffix *-a* ... may also be related (2002:213).

Examples of imperative *-la* were given above:

na-la ... [X7.25]
buwa-la [X8.64]

The following examples show the imperative *a*, which generally takes the stress, as indicated by Dawes using an acute accent [*á*]:

X8.69: *Maanmá wooroo*
man **-ma** wuru
take **IMP** away
“Go and fetch it” (b:13:15)

Note: *-ma* might be a causative imperative, yielding ‘fetch’.

X8.70: *Maaná*
man **-a**
take **IMP**
“Take” (a:37:19)

X8.71: ° *Ngalawáu* °
ngalawa
sit-**IMP**
“Sit thou” (a:12:19)

X8.72: *Ngwiánga*
ngwiya -nga
give-**IMP** 1sgO
“Give me” (b:15:15.1)

In X8.73, the stress is not shown to fall on the imperative suffix:

X8.73: *Eereéra*
 yiri **-ra**
 throw **IMP**
 “To throw, or Throw thou” (b:6:1)

X8.74: *Coe*
 gawi
 come-IMP
 “Come here” (c:28:16.1)

Notes:

1. gawi is the only imperative in these examples not ending in -a.
2. gawi is the bush call, ‘cooe’.

As can be seen from the above examples, the imperative form commonly is the same as the root, although there are at times suffixes: -la, -ma and -ra being illustrated. This variation in form suggests the possibility of conjugations, mentioned in §8.8.1.2 and discussed in §8.8.2. However, unambiguous examples of imperatives are too few in the Dawes data to attempt to draw useful conclusions in this regard.

8.8 Some particular uncertainties

8.8.1 Unresolved elements: -d, -l, -n

There are three common elements whose role it is difficult to determine. They are -d, -l, and -n. They are found not only in verbs but also in noun phrases.

8.8.1.1 -d: completion?

X8.75: *Gáŋgat*
 ganga -d
 burn COMPL
 “Bald (like Punda’s head) which has been burnt” (b:8:11)

X8.76: *Yan-bad*
 yan -ba -d
 distress SFX: do COMPL
 “Tired” (c:17:12)

Note: yan-ba-d: might more correctly be rendered dyara-ba-d (see §8.4.1.1).

X8.77: *Mínyin b́araküt Tugéar, mínyin?*
 minyin bara -ga -d Dugiya, minyin?
 why [?] SFX: be COMPL why
 “Why are you afraid Tugéar, why?” (b:32:10)

Notes: bara

1. There are many possible meanings of the stem bara including ‘pour’, ‘empty’ or ‘eaten’, ‘open’, ‘rise’ — and ‘afraid’. (Conceivably, bara-ga-d might be ‘rise’ (cf. bur-, example 2, T8.3), with Dugiya getting up to leave, when afraid.)
2. It is also possible that the multipurpose verbs banga and bara are related, being composed of operative -ba plus a suffix. Thus: ba-nga, linked to the human agency suffix -nga (§8.4.3.1) (= ‘to do or to make’, as in X7.14, X8.80; = ‘to row’ as in §3.5.2; and having various meanings in such compound verbs as listed in table T8.3); and ba-ra, linked to -ra instrumental, as in X8.50.
3. It is also a common stem in Harbour placenames, most often associated with headlands and points.
4. *barakut* may not have been ‘fear’ but a symptom of it: ‘getting up’ and going, as suggested by the following:
 bura-ga yan-na “Get up & walk (with me)” (Mathews c.1900:112:12 [Dg]);
 bura-ga “Arise” (Mathews 1901:160.2:5 [Dg]).

While analysis of the final examples below is tentative, or too uncertain for a suggestion to be hazarded, the ‘completion’ role of -d still seems plausible:

X8.78: *Páratbúnga*
 bara -d -bu -nga
 [?] **COMPL** SFX: do ? SFX-HUMAG ?
 “Open the door (literally, open make)” (b:16:8)

X8.79: *Karü ‘ngütbalaba*
 gara -nga -d -ba -la -ba
 hard SFX-HUMAG **COMPL** [?] [?] [?]
 “It (or they) will break or be broken” (b:11:20)

8.8.1.2 -l: transitivity marker?

In a discussion of conjugations, Dixon states:

Comparison of modern languages in the non-prefixing region [i.e. the bulk of mainland Australia excluding the north west] suggests reconstructing seven conjugations (1980:402)

which he identifies in ‘classes’: *y*, *ŋ*, *m*, *n*, *l*, *rr* and *Ø*. He also had stated earlier:

There is often a correlation between conjugation class and transitivity value. ... But this is only a statistical connection; there are plenty of exceptions (1980:279).

Earlier Capell had written about ‘a morpheme -l, widely used in Australia but very difficult to define in detail’ (Capell 1966 [1956]:35). He attempted to explain it:

-l- is added to link a root with an auxiliary; in central New South Wales it is added to the auxiliary to link the tense and other suffixes to the latter (1966 [1956]:67).

By 1979 he saw it differently:

... all roots [in Dharawal] involving ma- are nominalised (by means of -l) and it will appear that this -l is a EA [early Australian] nominaliser ... (Capell 1979:281)

and referred to ‘the nominalising or gerundial -l’ and ‘gerund-forming -l’ on pp. 286 and 290 of the same work.

The suffix *-l* occurs in Biyal-Biyal, the following, seen earlier, being transitive examples:

Yurulbaradyú yara-l-ba-ra-dyú “I am sharpening the tyi bong” [X8.22]

Tyelkála dya-l-ga-la “To embrace. To hug.” (b:19:25) [X8.37]

Notes:

1. As there are no other BB examples similar to this last, *dyalga* might equally be the root.
2. Fifteen words from neighbouring languages that are morphologically similar to *d(y)alga* are semantically different, and are all nouns relating to sky, sea, flora and fauna.

as well as:

X8.80: *Mínyin bunilbūngadyími* jacket
 minyin buni -l -banga -dyi -mi JACKET
 why PRIV **TRS** do PAST 2sg
 “Why do you take off your jacket?” (b:4:11)

However, if the following *intransitive* example means ‘to laugh’ or ‘to play’:

X8.81: *Dan-níl-be*
 dani -l -bi
 laugh ? SFX-do
 [NO TRANSLATION] (c:7:4.1)

Note: For other ‘laugh’ examples, see *dyin-mi-l(y)i* in X7.33 and X8.3.

transitivity marking is only a tentative explanation, or one possibility, of *-l*.

This suffix was also seen to mark continuation (§8.3.2.1), and reflexives (§8.3.2.2). A final example appears to consist of two separate words: ‘pus, (it) did’ and ‘covered’:

X8.82: *Nowalbangí boobangí*
 nawa -l -banga -yi bu -banga -yi
 pus ? do PastH cover do PastH
 “Relative to dressing wounds” (b:14:9)

Note: *nawa* (= “Matter in a sore”) (c:11:13).

Transitivity, reflexivity and continuity remain all conceivable explanations of the *-l* suffix.

8.8.1.3 -n: unknown

Dawes provided evidence of a verbal suffix -n, but inadequately so for determination of its significance:

X8.83: <i>Weanmaoú</i>			
(ng)wiya	-n	-ma	-wu
give	?	FUT	1sg
“I will put” (b:24:5)			

Notes:

1. wiya is properly ngwiya, ‘give’.
2. When suffixed by -n or -na, ‘give’, in this and two other instances recorded by Dawes, appears to acquire the meaning ‘put’.
3. There is no realistic structural link between this future-tense example (which features -n-ma) and na-mi-nma discussed above (see §8.3.6.2).

8.8.2 Conjugations

If there were what might be termed conjugations in Biyal-Biyal, they were either not a major feature or the recording of them was not thorough.

According to Dixon, most Australian languages have up to seven conjugations (see §8.8.1.2). He adds:

Many languages have just two conjugations. And there are a number—some in the centre and some in the south-east—with a single conjugation; here each tense and other inflection has a constant form, which occurs with all types of verbal roots and stems (1980:280).

The south-east might include Biyal-Biyal. He later wrote that in some languages ‘the conjugations are distinguished in only one or two suffixes’ (2002:232).

In Biyal-Biyal, most verbs follow a standard pattern for past tense marker, occasional vowel harmony modification, and imperative marking as discussed above. Notably different are the two verbs *yan* ‘go’ and *man* (more properly *maan*) ‘take’. This pair could be classed as a second conjugation:

T8.4 BIYAL-BIYAL CONJUGATIONS

Mood/Tense	Conjugation 1	Conjugation 2
		Monosyllabic -n
		2 members (man, yan)
Imperative	Ø, -a, -la, -ga, -ma, -ra, -ya	-ma, -a
Present	-dyu	-yu, -(n)u
Future	-ba	-ma
Past	-dya, -dyi	-(n)ya, -(n)yi
Past historic	-yi	-(nga)yi

Where a derivational suffix separates the stem from the tense marker, *yan* and *man* take normal tense markers, as in:

X8.84: *Manwåridyaoú*
man- wari- **dya-** wu
take away **PAST** 1sg
“I found or did find” (b:17:8)

8.8.3 *Realis/irrealis*

While Australian languages might generally have a means to express what has not happened but which *might* happen, once again the data is too scanty to have revealed it for Biyal-Biyal. This has been termed ‘irrealis’—and conversely ‘realis’ for what is definite. Dixon states:

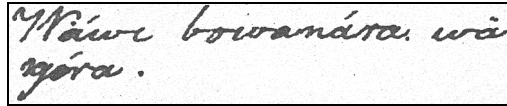
In languages which do not have a distinct apprehensional inflection, the general irrealis inflection may include this among its range of functions (1980:381).

Realis was mentioned earlier in connection with example X8.11.

8.8.4 *Unresolved expressions*

About a dozen records in the notebooks have defied interpretation or analysis, for reasons including inadequate data and doubtful vocabulary, as well as non-provision of translations (at times perhaps owing to Dawes’ modesty). It is possible that these instances contain structures present in other languages that have not so far been identified in Biyal-Biyal.

One untranslated mystery disappeared when it was realised that the final two words were in fact one, and when other vocabulary connections were made:



Dawes b:33:21

X8.85: *Wā'wi bowanára wā ngóra*
 wawi bawa-nara wangara
 woman's pubic hair stare at boy
 [The boy looks at the woman's genital area] (b:33:21)

Notes:

1. wuwi = "The hair of the dyin" (b:24:10).
2. mim bawa-nara-mi-ga = "What are you looking for" (b:17:11); see also X8.15.
3. wungara = "A male child" (King in Hunter 1793:411.1:1).

Little wonder Mr Dawes might have been reluctant to translate it.

9 NOUNS

9.1 Case inflections

In English, and in many other languages, words like ‘to’, ‘for’, ‘of’, ‘in’, ‘at’, ‘on’, ‘by’, ‘with’, ‘from’ and many others carry the subtleties of meaning. In Biyal-Biyal, as in Aboriginal languages generally, such meaning is carried by the suffixes, and the case inflections of the nouns and adjectives. Dixon states:

Australian languages commonly have about five or six distinct case inflections. However, in order to compare systems in different languages it is useful to recognise a dozen different functions of NPs (1980:293).

‘NPs’, or ‘noun phrases’, or ‘nominals’, are the cover terms used by Dixon for nouns and adjectives. According to Dixon (1980:294-300), one can expect to find, say, six different nominal suffixes for twelve different functions here summarised:

T9.1 TWELVE BASIC FUNCTIONS OF NOUNS, DERIVED FROM DIXON

Core		Peripheral	
		Local	Syntactic Peripheral
Absolutive:	S: Subject O: Object	Locative: ‘in, at, on’	Dative: ‘to’ (indirect object)
Ergative:	A: Subject	Allative: ‘to, towards’	Purposive: ‘for’
		Ablative: ‘from’	Causal: ‘from’ (because of)
			Instrumental: ‘with’
			Aversive: ‘for fear of’
			Genitive: ^a ‘of’ (possessor)

^a Later Dixon placed genitive with comitative and privative, as case forms fulfilling ‘phrasal functions’ (2002:152).

What follows is an attempt to identify these functions in the Dawes data, and the corresponding suffixes.

9.2 Statistical summary of the Dawes' sentences

Case inflections are displayed in sentences, and it is Dawes' recording and analysing of *sentences*, as noted in §3.1.1, that distinguishes his contribution from those of wordlist compilers. A comprehensive set of the sentences and phrases occurring in the Dawes/Anon data is presented in T9.3.

9.2.1 Counting the sentences and phrases

In arriving at a count of the number of 'sentences' in the Dawes/Anon data, much depends on definitions, and how entries are analysed. The following principles were applied in this statistical summary:

1. A single-word verb form is considered a 1-word 'verb', unless it contains an object pronoun (as in the case of the 1-word 'sentence' "*Paouwagadyimínga*" [X8.57]).
2. A 1-word 'verb' together with an English word is counted as a sentence (i.e. 'da-muna-dya-wu' is a 1-word verb, but 'BREAD da-muna-dya-wu' is a 1-word sentence).
3. Reduplicated words are not counted (i.e. 'biyal naa-buni biyal' counts as 2 words, not 3).
4. English words and names are *not* counted (i.e. "P.: Major Ross, Mr Clark, Mr Faddy *yenyaouíwi* Norfolk Island" counts as 1 word, not 9).
5. English words *are* counted if they are followed by a BB inflection as the inflection is counted as a word (i.e. "*Piyidyangála whitemána ngalari Pundünga*" counts as 4 words).
6. Indigenous names are counted as words.
7. A multi-word example is a 'sentence' if it includes a verb; otherwise it is a 'phrase'.

The following table summarises the composition of the Dawes/Anon data in this context:

T9.2 SENTENCE/PHRASE LENGTH (NO OF WORDS) DAWES/ANON (EXCL. SONG LINES AND DUPLICATES)

Dawes	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total sentences	Sentences with inflections on nouns
Sentence	37	97	38	17	8	1	1	199	43
Phrase	5	37	8	1	—	—	—	51	11

Anon	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total sentences	Sentences with inflections on nouns
Sentence	10	29	5	—	—	—	—	44	2
Phrase	1	41	6	1	—	—	—	48	5

9.2.2 *Presentation of the table*

The column headings in table T9.3 draw on the terminology used in T9.1.

While ‘accusative’ is not included in T9.1, it is provided for in T9.3 for reasons given in §9.3.2; there is no column for ‘aversive’ as there is no occurrence of this case inflection in the Dawes/Anon data; and the headings ‘APPR’ and ‘PL’ relate to §9.5.1 and §9.5.4 respectively.

Dawes’ numerical superscripts used to link meanings to the indigenous words, and occasional notes, and cross-outs, have been retained in order to minimise interference with the data.

In the second-last column (S/Ph), Dawes’ 43 sentences noted in T9.2 are numbered, followed by the 11 phrases, beginning at 101. The final column (Example X no) gives the place in the thesis where the example is featured. Thirteen examples that are not separately discussed are marked ‘—’; 5 are used as examples twice.

9.3 Assigning of case functions

In order to analyse the various functions of nouns, it is necessary to have sentences with a verb and a noun, and sometimes at least two nouns. Table T9.2 reveals that sentences featuring three or more words are fewer than 80. The data on which the study of Biyal-Biyal is based is scantier still, for of the 199 Dawes sentences with a verb, only 43 have inflections on nouns ('nominal inflections'), and of 51 phrases, 11 have nominal inflections. Sentences and phrases in the Anon notebook, and in other Biyal-Biyal data, provide little additional information on the functioning of nouns.

The Dawes sentences and phrases, and the role of nouns, together so important in the understanding of Biyal-Biyal, are presented in full in table T9.3 below. The assignment of case functions to some of the suffixes is tentative, and occasionally some suffixes have been placed in two columns to indicate the function possibilities. The cases will be discussed in turn in the order in which they occur in the table.

T9.3: DAWES' SENTENCES AND PHRASES WITH NOMINAL INFLECTIONS

[ERGative, ACCusative, DATive, LOCative, ABLative, CAUSative, GENitive, ALLative/PURpositive, INSTRumental, APPeRTaining to, PLural;Nbk ref.: notebook reference; s/ph: sentence/phrase number]

Australian	Respelt	English	ERG	ACC	DAT	LOC	ABL	CAUS	GEN	ALL/ PUR	IN ST R	APP RT	PL	Nbk ref.	S/ Ph	Exa mple X no
<i>Breado túnga</i>	BREAD-u dunGa	She cries for bread								u				b:4:5	1	9.23
<i>Buruwányan nadyaou</i>	buruwan-yan na-dya-wu	I saw from the ship					yan							b:4:16	2	9.17
<i>Kānt¹ gwü'nga²</i>	gana-yi gwiyang-a	It is burnt ¹ in the fire ²	a ?			a								b:11:19	3	9.14
<i>Kálabidyángā betü'ngi bogidwā'ra</i>	galabayi-dya-nga bidang-i bugi-dwara	It was cut (bruised) hurt etc. by an oyster shell in bathing ²¹	a ? i ?						ngai ?		a? i?			b:12:5	4	—
<i>Ngana würrī dianá</i>	ngan-a wari-dya na	Who did it?	a											b:14:20	5	10.5

²¹ The initial suffix-allocation of sentence number #4 was queried by one of the thesis examiners. The sentence does present challenges of analysis.

Ergative. Only a few Australian languages mark voice distinctions (Blake 1987:7), and these do not include Biyal-Biyal. Consequently Dawes' translation using the passive voice ("It was cut ...") is an approximation. A more accurate translation might have been: 'An oyster shell did cut me while bathing', which would make 'oyster' the subject, possibly marked with an ergative suffix, '-i'. However, as the table offers no support for '-i' nominal suffixes, an alternative, '-a', has been suggested, assuming a possible Dawes mis-hearing in spite of his clear indication of bidangi.

Genitive. The table offers '-ngai' as genitive suffix, should the uttered word in reality have been bidang-ngai, again assuming a mis-hearing; this possibility has been indicated, but does not constitute a comfortable fit grammatically.

Instrumental. Because ergative and instrumental commonly share the same form of suffix (Dixon 2002:135), because Dawes' translation suggests instrumentality ('... by an oyster shell'), and because sentence #11 provides an instrumental example featuring '-...a', the possibility of instrumentality has also been tentatively indicated.

Nevertheless, not only are none of these solutions fully convincing, further doubt arises on considering the word bidangi. There are ten Sydney language recordings of 'oyster' from all sources:

bidang [3 examples]

bidanga [1 example]

bidangi [5 examples—including sentence #4]

together with another example by Dawes, featuring a clearly marked suffix, as part of a sentence:

bidangai-gu

Collectively these suggest that the stem might be bidangi after all, that sentence #4 might display no nominal suffix, as none were required upon its retranslation as suggested above, there being doubt neither as to what was doing the cutting ('the oyster' shell) nor to whom ('me', the object bound pronoun -nga), and consequently that the sentence might properly be deleted from the table.

Australian	Respelt	English	ERG	ACC	DAT	LOC	ABL	CAUS	GEN	ALL/ PUR	IN STR	APP RT	PL	Nbk ref.	S/ Ph	Exa mple X no
<i>Ngan widá-lyi teara wü'ra wü'rá</i>	ngan wayida-lyi TEA-ra wára wará	Who was that drinking tea with you?											ra ?	b:15:2	6	8.32
<i>Ngan wü'ra wü'rá widályi brányi ngyini-ngí teara</i>	ngan wára wará wayida-lyi bara-nyi ngyini-ngai TEA-ra	The same more particularly							ngai				ra ?	b:15:3	7	7.22
<i>Ngía būngabaoú buk ngyiniwâ-golâ 'ng</i>	ngaya banga-ba-wu BOOK ngyini-wa-gulang	I will make a book for you			wa							gul ang		b:15:5	8	7.14
<i>Pinmilyibaou panáwâ</i>	bayin-mi-lyi-ba-wu bana-wa	I will cool myself in the rain. NB It then rained quite fast.				wa								b:16:17.2	9	8.34
<i>Piabami Kolbinyi?</i>	baya-ba-mi Gulubi-nyi?	Will you tell Kolbi		nyi	nyi									b:16:22	10	9.10
<i>P. Bubyidyaou handkerchyéra</i>	bu-bi-lyi-dya-wu HANDKERCHyi-ra	I covered (myself) with a handkerchief									ra			b:17:16	11	9.26
<i>Wâdi³ wâ² ngalawâdyú¹</i>	wadi-wa ngalawa-dyú	I sit ¹ on ² a (block of) wood ³				wa								b:21:4	12	9.12
<i>Capt. Ball wellamába Paramatín ngírigal</i>	CAPTAIN BALL wala-ma-ba Baramada-yin ngayirai-gal	Capt. Ball will return from Parramatta bye & bye (some little time hence)					yin							b:21:8	13	9.16
<i>Putuwidyánga wiangáta putuwí</i>	budawayi-dya-nga wayanga-da budu-wa-yi	My mother scorched my fingers (that I should not steal).	da?	nga										b:21:11.1	14	8.62
<i>Ngana¹ ngwiyi²</i>	ngan-a ngwiya-yi	Who ¹ gave ² it (to you)	a											b:26:2	15	7.43

Australian	Respelt	English	ERG	ACC	DAT	LOC	ABL	CAUS	GEN	ALL/ PUR	IN STR	APP RT	PL	Nbk ref.	S/ Ph	Exa mple X no
<i>Wâlumibámi góre badyü 'lgo</i>	walu-mi-ba-mi guri badyal-gu	When will you be sick again								gu				b:26:5.1	16	9.25
<i>Wúlaboadyá- ngun Paramatín</i>	wula-buwa-dya- ngun Baramada-yin	Something relative to coming from Parramatta					yin							b: 26:6	17	—
<i>P. Kolbía wámi Taríngá-nga</i>	Gulubi-ya wama-yi Daringa-nga	Kolby scolded Tarínga.	ya	nga										b:26: 12.1	18	9.2
<i>Nganáma ngwiýí</i>	ngana-ma ngwiya- yi	To whom didst thou give it	ma ?		ma ?				ma ?					b:27:4	19	7.44
<i>P. Tyenmilyi bunín</i>	dyin-mi-lyi-bun-in	I am come from play					in							b:28:6	20	8.3
<i>Pat. Go go yagu tityi baou yagu Mrs. Johnsonma gonyégo...</i>	gu gu yagu didyai-ba-wu yagu Mrs JOHNSON-ma gunyi-gu	Stop stop. I am just going to Mrs J's house	ma ?						ma ?	gu				b:28: 13.1	21	9.21
<i>[Pat.] ...kanga- golá 'ng jacket pettycoat</i>	ganga-gu-lang JACKET PETTYCOAT	...to get my JACKET and PETTYCOAT washed.										gul ang		b:28: 13.2	22	—
<i>P to D: Ngia ngirinaraou -wínia berára</i>	ngaya ngayiri-nara- ba-wi-nya bira-ra	I will go and fetch you some fish hooks (or the shells)											ra	b:29:14	23	8.1
<i>Yúdidyíngun yudi Burungà</i>	yudi-dyi-ngun yudi Burung-a	We two are going to see Booroong part of the way home		(ngà)										b:30:6	24	—
<i>P. Gúlara Beriwá 'nia ká ngarin</i>	gula-ra Biriwan-nya gangar-in	He was angry with him for seaming Beriwani		nya	nya			in						b:31:2	25	9.18

Australian	Respelt	English	ERG	ACC	DAT	LOC	ABL	CAUS	GEN	ALL/ PUR	IN STR	APP RT	PL	Nbk ref.	S/ Ph	Exa mple X no
<i>Kolbía</i> <i>Beriwánia</i> <i>piyidyáband</i> <i>Pünangánga</i>	Gulubi-ya Biriwan- ya bayi-dya-band Bananga-nga	Kolby and Beriwaní (they two) beat Punangan	ya	nga										b:31:3	26	9.4
Gonang. Mr D. <i>Manyaoú dyi</i> <i>koityin</i> ,	Gunanguli: man-ya-wu diyi Gawidy-in; ...	Mr D., I found this (holding up a knife) at Koityi, ...					in							b:31:4.1	27	9.6
... <i>ngwíadyaou</i> <i>Kolbíní</i>	... ngwiya-dya-wu Gulubi-nyi	... (and) gave it to Kolby		nyi	nyi									b:31:4.2	28	9.6
<i>Nabá¹ bulá- ngun² Ngál- gear³ bulanga⁴ Tugéarna⁵</i>	na-ba bula-ngun Ngalgiya bula-nga Dugiya-na	We two ² will go and see or look for ¹ Ngalgear ³ and Tugear ⁵ them two ⁴	ya ?	nga, na										b:31:9	29	9.5
<i>Ngía</i> <i>dturabaou</i> <i>Wáriweárna</i>	ngaya dhura-ba-wu Wariwiya-na	I will kill (lice) for Wariwear		na ?	na									b:31:12	30	9.8
<i>Kóinyérana</i> <i>yanga Bigúna</i>	Gawinyira-na yanga Bayigun-a	Bigun s Kóinyera [yanga = 'copulate']	a	na										b:32:3	31	—
P. <i>Nabaou- ínia Windáyin</i> <i>Tamunadye- mínga</i>	na-ba-wi-nya WINDa-yin damuna-dyi-mi-nga	I will look at you through the window (because) you refused me (bread)					yin							b:32:6	32	4.1
P. Mr D. <i>Kamabaou</i> Haswell <i>windáyin</i>	gama-ba-wu HASWELL WINDa- yin	Mr D., I will call Haswell from the window					yin							b:32:9	33	9.15
<i>Nabaouwi</i> <i>ngalári</i> <i>widadwá'ra</i> <i>eorára naba</i>	... na-ba-wi ngalari wayida-dwara yura-ra na-ba	This last in preference	ra ?										ra	b:32: 14.2	34	9.52

Australian	Respelt	English	ERG	ACC	DAT	LOC	ABL	CAUS	GEN	ALL/ PUR	IN STR	APP RT	PL	Nbk ref.	S/ Ph	Exa mple X no
<i>Ngana meranába?</i>	ngan-a mirana-ba?	Which shall be first (to drink sulphur water)?	a											b:33:11	35	—
<i>Piyadyángun merana-golá 'ng</i>	baya-dya-ngun mira-na-gu-lang	We two were talking about who should be first										gul ang		b:33:12	36	9.35
<i>Yéri piadyaou Yirinibinya</i>	yiri baya-dya-wu Yirinayibi-nya	I spoke thus to Yeriniby		nya	nya									b:33:20	37	9.7
<i>P- Piyidyángála¹ whitemána² ngalari³ Pündü 'nga⁴</i>	bayi-dya-ngála WHITEMAN-a ngala-ri Bunda-nga	A white man ² + beat us two ¹ + we two ³ Pundul (with me or we two)	a	nga										b:34:6.1	38	—
<i>#2 Piyidye-nína¹ w.mana² ngyinari³ Pündü 'lna, Pündünga</i>	bayi-dyi-nina WHITEMAN-a ngyinari Bandal-na, Bunda-nga	A white man beat us three, we three ³ , Pundúl, Poonda (& myself, understood)	a	na, nga										b:34:7	39	—
<i>#1 Piyidyángála¹ whitemána² ngalari³ Pündü 'nga⁴</i>	bayi-dya-ngala WHITEMAN-a ngalari Bunda-nga	A white man ² beat us two ¹ we two ³ Poonda ⁴ (& myself, understood)	a	nga										b:34:8	40	7.29
<i>P. Ngwiyaouí Ngalgeárna tyüngóra</i>	ngwiya-wu Ngalgiya-na dyangu-ra	May I give Ngalgeár some pork		na ?	na								ra ?	b:34:9	41	9.9
<i>P. Ngwiyi tali tyüngóra breada eóra</i>	ngwiya-yi dali dyangu-ra BREAD-a yura	He gave pork (and) bread to the eoras											ra, a ?	b:34:10	42	10. 31

Australian	Respelt	English	ERG	ACC	DAT	LOC	ABL	CAUS	GEN	ALL/ PUR	IN STR	APP RT	PL	Nbk ref.	S/ Ph	Exa mple X no
P. <i>Ngwia-dyaoúwi magôra eorara dyi</i>	ngwiya-dya-wi magura yura-ra diyi	The eoras gave fish to him	ra ?										ra	b:34:11	43	7.24
<i>tdara bîrüng</i> potatoe	Dhara-birang POTATOE	Did these potatoes grow at tdára										bira ng		b:2:7	101	9.39
<i>Guågo¹ yurúgawa²</i>	gwagu yuruga-wa	Bye & bye ¹ when the warm weather comes ²				wa								b:2:8.3	102	—
<i>Bial¹ betüngígo²</i>	biyal bidangai-gu	I have no ¹ rock oysters ²								gu				b:4:3	103	—
<i>Daní. Deeyin daní</i>	dan-ai. dyin dan-ai	Mine. My wife							nai					b:5:3	104	7.19
<i>Gwá'ra buráwá</i>	gwara bura-wa	The wind is fallen				wa								b:8:16	105	—
<i>Kolbía Taringá-nga</i>	Gulubi-ya Daringa-nga	Note: Kolbía agent. Taringa-nga patient	ya	nga										b:26:12.2	106	—
<i>Goredyú tágarin</i>	guri-dyú dagar-in	I more it (that is, I take more of it) from cold (that is, to take off the cold).						in						b: 28:1.1	107	9.19
<i>Ansr. Bárinmunin</i>	barin-muni-n	Because I had no Barin.						in						b:31:6.1	108	6.3
<i>D. Inyam gonyera</i>	inyam gunyi-ra	Here at home				ra								b:33:15	109	9.13
<i>P. Bíal gwiýúngo</i>	biyal gwiyang-u	The fire is not yet lighted								u				b:33:16	110	—
<i>Gonyéra wogúla</i>	gunyi-ra wagul-a	In one house (all three)				ra, a								b:35:4	111	10.1

T9.4: DAWES' SENTENCES AND PHRASES WHERE NOMINAL INFLECTIONS MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED [marked 'Ø']

[ERGative, ACCusative, DATive, LOCative, ABLative, CAUSative, GENitive, ALLative/PURposive, INSTRumental, APPeRTaining to, PLural; Nbk ref.: notebook reference; s/ph: sentence/phrase number]

Australian	Respelt	English	ERG	ACC	DAT	LOC	ABL	CAUS	GEN	ALL/ PUR	IN STR	APP RT	PL	Nbk ref.	S/ Ph	Exa mple X no
<i>badyül tdara</i>	badyal dhára-Ø	NO TRANSLATION [hurt at Dara]				Ø								b:2:6.1	201	
<i>Murubün Benelå'ng</i>	murubun Banalång-Ø	NO TRANSLATION [siblings of Bennelong]							Ø					b:9:6	202	
<i>Mingáni¹ bottle²</i>	mi ngá-ni BOTTLE- Ø	What is in the ¹ bottle ²				Ø								b:13:22	203	
<i>Wårü'nga piaba² warü'nga¹ domine³ buk</i>	wará-nga baya-ba wará-nga DOMINE BOOK-Ø	When ¹ will ² domine ³ (that is, Mr Johnson) read ² in the book?				Ø?	Ø?							b:21:5.1	204	10.1 6
<i>Mr Dawes¹ píala² wü'ra würá³ C. Campbell</i>	Mr DAWES báya-la wára wará CAPTAIN CAMPBELL-Ø	Mr Dawes ¹ spoke ² just now ³ to C. Campbell			Ø									b:21:7	205	
<i>D. Wåriwear, mínyin ngwiadyanye Bull petticoat</i>	Wåriwiya, mí-nyin ngwiya-dya-nyi BULL-Ø PETTYCOAT?	Wåriwear, why did Bull give you the petticoat	Ø											b:31:5	206	6.02
<i>Wå'wi bowanára wå ngóra [ngéra?]</i>	wå'wi bawa-ná-ra wångára-Ø	NO TRANSLATION [see X8.85]	Ø											b:33:21	207	8.85
<i>P. Mr Faddy yéla Mr Clark yenyában Norfolk Island</i>	Mr FADDY yíla Mr CLARK yin-yá-ban NORFOLK ISLAND-Ø	Mr Faddy with Mr Clark went to Norfolk Island								Ø				b:35:1	208	7.40

Australian	Respelt	English	ERG	ACC	DAT	LOC	ABL	CAUS	GEN	ALL/ PUR	IN ST R	APP RT	PL	Nbk ref.	S/ Ph	Exa mple X no
<i>P. Major Ross, Mr Clark, Mr Faddy yenyaoúwi N.I.</i>	R, C & F yin-ya-wi NORFOLK ISLAND-Ø	Major Ross, Mr Clark (and) Mr Faddy went to Norfolk Island.								Ø				b:35:2.1	209	7.41

Comments on tables T9.3 and T9.4

Table T9.3 raises some phonological questions. Consider the analysis:

- ergative expressed as -ya, and possibly -ra or -da, after a vowel, and as -a after a consonant;
- locative expressed as -wa, and possibly -ra, after a vowel, and as -a after a consonant;
- dative: vowel harmony applies to the forms -nyi and -n(y)a (see §6.4);
- purposive is expressed as -gu following a vowel or a stop consonant (see §6.5.1), and as -u after a continuant consonant (l, m, n, ng, r).

This analysis suggested by Amery (2006:4) would not permit -ma as ergative.

In fact the two -ma examples, #19 and #21, were placed in the ergative column because of their -a suffix. Grammatical logic, as well as phonology, appeared to oppose it. Yet should ngana-ma ngwiya-yi (#19) more properly be translated ‘who gave (it)’, or as ‘someone gave (it)’, then ergative remains a possibility. No such justification offers itself for JOHNSON-ma (#21): grammatically it appears genitive, but the -ma form seems anomalous; perhaps it was a mishearing on Dawes’ part for, say, JOHNSON-ngai (or similar). (For further discussion see §9.3.6.) Osmond was in no less a quandary:

I would expect Mrs Johnson to carry a genitive marker, and possibly also a purposive marker to show agreement with house. For the present I must leave genitive [whether -ma or -ngai] as unknown (Osmond 1989:12).

Of the nine sentences in table T9.4, three were not translated and are not fully reliable, while mingani BOTTLE (#203) is a fragment that has defied analysis. Most of the remainder have been considered elsewhere as shown in the final column. All feature uninflected English names or places. Perhaps there was a reluctance to inflect the foreign terms; perhaps it marked the beginnings of the emergence of a pidgin form of the language (Troy 1994).

9.3.1 Ergative: *a, ya ...*

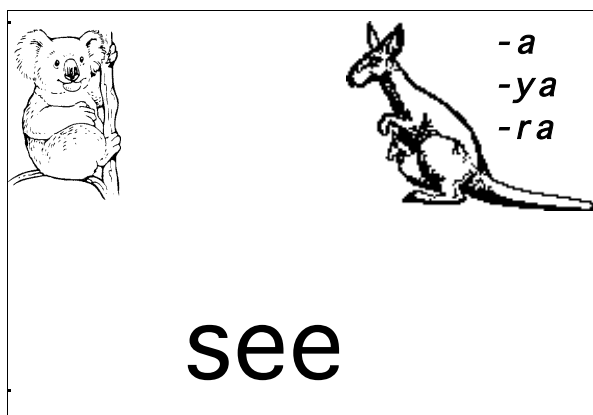
For those familiar with the case nomenclature of Latin, the term ‘ergative’ is a surprise. Ergative is not quite the same as ‘nominative’, which described a suffix marking the *subject* of a sentence. In Latin, a separate suffix was used for marking the *object* of a transitive sentence, known as ‘accusative’. In Aboriginal languages there is a more sparing use of suffixes for these subject and object functions. Dixon states:

A language is said to show ergative characteristics if intransitive subject is treated in the same manner as transitive object (Dixon 1979:60-1).

Yallop:

Most suffixing languages have a special suffix to mark the subject of a *transitive* verb. This ‘ergative’ suffix is not used with the subject of an intransitive verb, nor of course with the object of a transitive verb (Yallop 1982:90).

This concept may be most simply illustrated pictorially:



Who sees whom—and how is this marked in a sentence?

‘The kangaroo sees the koala’, a transitive sentence. In BB, to show that the kangaroo does the seeing, the word is marked by an ergative suffix: -a, -ya, or perhaps -ra (although there are no ‘kangaroo’ examples in the record).

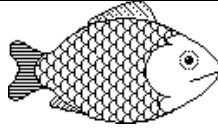


Who does the listening?

‘The kangaroo listens.’ In this *intransitive* sentence, no marker is needed (termed ‘zero marking’).

In Australian languages generally, for transitive situations such as that illustrated with the koala, the only suffix applied is ergative: it is attached to the subject, the entity that is doing the seeing. In nominative–accusative

languages such as Latin, a second, different, suffix is applied to the object, the entity seen.



swim

Who is swimming? No need to mark it: it can only be the fish.

In *intransitive* sentences where there is no object, no suffix is applied, as there can be no doubt as to who is taking the action. By contrast, in nominative–accusative languages, the nominative suffix would still be used. The concept is expressed formally by Dixon:

Intransitive subject (S) and transitive object (O) are in absolutive case, which in most languages has zero realisation; transitive subject (A) is in ergative case, which is often *-ngu* after a vowel and *-du* after a consonant (1980:286).

Dixon also states that there is:

... striking similarity, across the continent, between word classes (or parts of speech), between inflectional and derivational affixes, and in the way these grammatical elements are put together to form sentences (1980:266).

From this it might be expected that Biyal-Biyal would fit into the general pattern. Table T9.3 shows ergative suffixes *-a*, *-ya*, and possibly *-ra*. Examples from the table are given of each, with the sentence number shown in square brackets:

X9.1 *Piyidyangála*¹ *whitemána*² *ngalari*³ *Pundü'nga*⁴ [#40] [X7.29]
 bayi -dya -ngala WHITEMAN -a ngalari Bunda -nga
 beat PAST 1du **ERG** 1du ACC
 “A white man² beat us two¹ we two³ Poonda⁴ (& myself, understood)” (b:34:8)

X9.2 P. *Kolbía wâmi Taringá-nga* [#18]
 Gulubi **-ya** wama -yi Daringa -nga
 Coleby **ERG** scold PastH ACC
 “Kolby scolded Taringá.” (b:26:12.1)
 “Note: *Kolbía* agent. *Taringá-nga* patient” (b:26:12.2)

Note: Dawes did not use the term ‘ergative’, but he recognised its role as ‘agent’.

X9.3 P. *Ngwiadyaoúwi magôra eorara dyi* [#43] [X7.24]
 ngwiya -dya -wi magura yura **-ra** diyi
 give PAST 3pl fish people **ERG? PLUR?** DMN
 “The eoras gave fish to him” (b:34:11)

Notes:

1. The suffix -ra is attached to the subject/agent; it terminates in ‘a’, as do the ergative suffixes in the two previous examples.
2. There is no marking on the object (fish)—in ‘absolutive case’ with ‘zero realisation’; consequently -ra would appear to be a valid version of the ergative suffix.

Yallop states:

On the whole, Aboriginal case suffixes are invariant for all nouns and adjectives (1982:79).

and yet the table T9.3 displays more than one form for several of the suffixes. This could indicate that some are wrongly assigned to particular functions, or that the suffix was recorded with minor variations to the spelling, or that there really were suffix variations in Biyal-Biyal. This raises the question as to whether -ra is genuinely ergative or is instead—or perhaps additionally—a plural marker, as indicated by other examples (see §9.5.4).

The question also arises: was Biyal-Biyal an ergative language?

9.3.2 Accusative: *nga*, *na* ...

A major feature of Australian languages has been presented in the preceding section: in transitive sentences featuring nouns, the subject is marked with a suffix said to be in ergative case, leaving the object in such a sentence unmarked; *and* the subject of an *intransitive* sentence is also left *unmarked*. The position for transitive sentences with respect to pronouns was dealt with in §7.1.2 above. In other words, there is no provision for *accusative* marking on nouns. And yet in many of the Dawes sentences in table T9.3 there are frequent entries in the accusative column, revealing accusative suffixes for nouns. Was Biyal-Biyal different from the Australian norm? or did Dawes make incorrect records to match his probable expectations of an accusative? Perhaps neither, as Dixon indicates, commenting first on pronouns:

The pan-Australian form of the accusative suffix, marking O function, is *-nha* ... This typically occurs on pronouns.

He continues for nouns:

In some (but by no means all) languages it is also used on certain nouns from the upper part of the hierarchy—typically proper nouns, sometimes kin terms, occasionally extended to nouns with human reference, and so on (Dixon 2002:155).

The ‘hierarchy’ referred to had been set out two pages earlier and comprised:

non-singular pronouns
singular pronouns
demonstratives and interrogatives/indefinites
proper nouns
kin terms
common nouns (2002:153).

Dixon also states:

A group of languages from the central east coast mark accusative on proper nouns/kin terms/human nouns/animate nouns (details vary slightly) by *-ŋa* / *V-*, *-a* / *C-* (2002:156).

The formulae signify that ‘*-ŋa*’ follows a vowel (V), and ‘*-a*’ a consonant (C).

Consistent with Dixon's remarks, the following examples from the table show accusative suffixes, predominantly of the forms *-nga* and *-na*, all—apart from one instance, *bulanga* [X9.5]—attached to the 'upper part of the hierarchy', proper nouns:

X9.4 *Kolbía Beriwania piyidyáband Pünangánga* [#26]
 Gulubi -ya Biriwan -ya bayi -dya -band Bananga **-nga**
 ERG ERG beat PAST ? **ACC**
 "Kolby and Beriwani (they two) beat Punangan" (b:31:3)

X9.5 *Nábá¹ bulángun² Ngalgear³ bulanga⁴ Tugéarna⁵* [#29]
 na -ba bula -ngun Ngalgia bula **-nga** Dugiya **-na**
 see FUT two 1du two **ACC** **ACC**
 "We two² will go and see or look for¹ Ngalgear³ and Tugear⁵ them two⁴" (b:31:9)

-nyi/-nya in the next two examples, perhaps accusative, might also be considered to be dative:

X9.6 Gonang. Mr D. *Manyaou dyi koityin*, [#27]
 Gunang: man -ya -wu diyi gawidy -in;
 Gunanguli take PAST 1sg DMN yonder ABL

 ngwíadyaou Kolbínyi [#28]
 ngwiya -dya -wu Gulubi **-nyi**
 give PAST 1sg **ACC/DAT**
 "Mr D. I found this (holding up a knife) at Koityi, (and) gave it to Kolby" (b:31:4)

Notes:

1. Dawes' translation might have been more correct as: 'I *took* (brought) this *from yonder* ...'
2. *Koityi* is not a placename but 'yonder'; cf *gawinda* = 'yonder': Darkinyung (Mathews c.1903:274:32).

X9.7 *Yéri piadyaou Yirinibínya* [#37]
 yiri baya -dya -wu Yirinayibi **-nya**
 thus speak PAST 1sg **ACC/DAT**
 "I spoke thus to Yerinibi" (b:33:20)

See also example *Gulara Beriwa'nia ká'ngarin* [X9.18] below, where *-nya* appears more incontrovertibly dative.

9.3.3 Dative: indirect object: *na, nya, nyi* ...

Markers for words in apparent indirect object function, -na, and -nyi/-nya are the same as those that were identified as being in object function (accusative) above. Perhaps no distinction was made in Biyal-Biyal, with discourse context enabling comprehension to occur without confusion.

X9.8 *Ngía dturabaou Wáriweárna* [#30]
 ngaya dhura -ba -wu Wariwiya -na
 1sg pierce FUT 1sg DAT
 “I will kill (lice) for Wariwear” (b:31:12)

X9.9 P. *Ngwiyaoü' Ngalgeárna tyüngóra* [#41]
 ngwiya -wu Ngalgiya -na dyangu -ra
 give 1sg DAT meat food PLUR?
 “May I give Ngalgeár some pork” (b:34:9)

In the above two examples the direct object is understood (lice), or expressed (pork), with the indirect object marked with the suffix -na.

In the next example:

X9.10 *Piabami Kolbínyi?* [#10]
 baya -ba -mi Gulubi -nyi
 speak FUT 2sg DAT?
 “Will you tell Kolbi” (b:16:22)

the suffix -nyi might appropriately be identified as in indirect object (dative) function for the reason that, in Australian languages, a direct object generally has no suffix. However, it might be another instance of a proper noun taking an accusative suffix, as in X9.4-7 and perhaps X9.18.

9.3.4 Locative: *wa* ...

The most commonly recorded form for the locative ‘at’, ‘on’ is *-wa*, as in the next two examples:

X9.11 *Pinmilyibaou panáwâ* [#9] [X8.34]
 bayin -mi -lyi -ba -wu bana **-wa**
 cool VBS RFLX FUT 1sg rain **LOC**
 “I will cool myself in the rain.” (b:16:17.2)

X9.12 *Wâdi³ wâ² ngalawâdyú¹* [#12]
 wadi **-wa** ngalawa -dyú
 wood **LOC** sit PRES-1sg
 “I sit¹ on² a (block of) wood³” (b:21:4)

Dawes’ translation in the next example suggests that *-ra* might be another form of the locative:

X9.13 D. *Inyam gonyera* [#109]
 inyam gunyi **-ra**
 here house **LOC**
 “Here at home” (b:33:15)

Note: As most potentially locative *-ra* examples feature *gunyi-ra*, and as *-ra* also has other roles, locative *-ra* remains uncertain.

Eight other single-word examples not included in table T9.3 display locative suffixes:

T9.5 ADDITIONAL EXAMPLES OF LOCATIVE SUFFIXES

Australian	Respelt	English	LOC	Source
Domine <i>wau</i>	DOMINE- <i>wa</i>	“At Domine’s house	<i>wa</i>	b:5:14
<i>Puráwâ</i>	<i>bura-wa</i>	“Above, up stairs etc.”	<i>wa</i>	b:16:23
<i>Ngalaríwâ’?</i>	<i>ngalari-wa</i>	“With us?”	<i>wa</i>	b:29:3
<i>Belangaliwoóla</i>	<i>Bila-ngali-wul-a</i>	“At Belangaliwool”	<i>a</i>	b:3:27
<i>Englánd-a</i>	ENGLAND- <i>a</i>	“In England”	<i>a</i>	b:32:13
<i>Maugoniera</i>	<i>ma-gunyi-ra</i>	“At his house”	<i>ra</i>	c:3:9.1
<i>Gong-ye-ra</i>	<i>gungyi-ra</i>	“In the house”	<i>ra</i>	c:17:20
<i>Mullarra</i>	<i>mala-ra</i>	“Joined to a man”	<i>ra</i>	c:7:1

Two of the table T9.5 examples show the additional suffix *-a*. In the next example, while Dawes’ translation suggests locative for this suffix, the

meaning of the sentence is more likely to have been: ‘the fire (agent) burnt (something)’, with -a as the ergative case marker seen previously (§9.3.1):

X9.14 *Kānti¹ gwiü’nga²* [#3]
 gana -yi gwiyang **-a**
 burn PastH fire **ERG**
 “It is burnt¹ in the fire²” (b:11:19)

9.3.5 Ablative: ‘away from’; causative: ‘because of’

Ablative and causative are treated together because they are so strongly linked in Biyal-Biyal.

9.3.5.1 Ablative: in, yin ...

The ‘ablative’ case term used here is as Dixon defines it:

We use 'ablative' for ... motion 'from' some place or thing; in Latin the ablative case covers this function but also includes instrumental and comitative senses ('by means of' and 'with') amongst others (1980:292).

The basic form of the ablative marker is -(y)in. The variations of -yin and -yan possibly reflect different hearings or pronunciations of it; in the case of the second example below, the respelling -(a)yin results from Dawes' use of i-dot (for vowel pronunciation as English 'eye'):

X9.15 P. Mr D. *Kamabaou* Haswell *windáyin* [#33]
 gama -ba -wu HASWELL WINDa -**yin**
 call FUT 1sg WINDOW **ABL**
 “Mr D., I will call Haswell from the window” (b:32:9)

Australian languages commonly have about five or six distinct case inflections. ... No language has a separate case for all twelve [different] functions [of NPs]. ... But different languages do divide up these twelve functions in different ways (1980:293-4).

X9.18 P. *Gulara Beriwa'nia kã'ngarin* [#25]

gulara	Biriwan	-nya	gangar	-in
angry		DAT	scar/cut	CAUS

“He was angry with him for seaming Beriwan” (b:31:2)

Note: ‘Him’, the object, in Dawes’ translation is understood; accordingly the suffix -nya appears to mark the indirect object, hence dative case.

X9.19 *Goredyú tágarin* [#107]

guri	-dyú	dagar	-in
more	PRES-1sg	cold	CAUS

“I more it (that is, I take more of it) from cold (that is to take off the cold).” (b: 28:1.1)

Note: This is Badyigarang’s explanation as to why one got warmer in front of a fire, naked.

9.3.6 Genitive: ‘of’: *ngai* ...

In the only sentence in which the genitive suffix *-ngai* occurs, it is attached to a pronoun, as *ngyini-ngai*, ‘thine’, featured in example X7.22. Further examples were given in *nânung-gai mirree*, ‘his dog’ [X7.26], and *Ngalaríngi*, ‘ours’ [X7.32]. One more example is:

X9.20 *Nabung-ay werowe*
 nabang **-(ng)ai** wirawi
 breast GEN girl
 “Describing an infant.” (c:29:16)

The ‘infant’ would be more correctly described as a ‘baby girl of (at) the breast’.

Another, but doubtful, form of the genitive, is *-ma*, exemplified in:

X9.21 Pat. *Go go yagu tityi baou yagu Mrs. Johnsonma gonyégo ...*
 gu gu yagu didyai -ba -wu yagu Mrs JOHNSON **-ma** gunyi -gu
 stop now quick FUT 1sg now GEN? house ALL

Mrs Brown *kángaba* [#21]
 ... Mrs BROWN ganga -ba
 wash FUT

“Stop stop. I am just going to Mrs J’s house” (b:28:13.1)
 “... Mrs Brown will wash them.” (b:28:14)

However, as genitive seems anomalous for this suffix, which has more the appearance of ergative, Dawes might have been misled by the word order, with Badyigarang intending that Mrs Brown *and* Mrs Johnson would wash the clothes.

Ergative, too, might conceivably account for *-ma* in *Nganáma ngwiyí* [X7.44]: ‘who (someone) [ERG?] gave (something)’, although the explanation offered there seems the more plausible. (See the comments following table T9.4.)

9.3.7 *Purposive: ‘for’; allative, ‘to’, ‘towards’*: *gu*

The suffixes -gu and -u occur in Bial-Bial, with purposive and allative significances. Dixon states:

Certainly the most common suffix in Australian languages is *-gu*. This occurs on verbs in several dozen languages with a prototypically purposive meaning (‘in order to’, ‘want/need to’), sometimes shifted to future. And it is the most widespread suffix on nouns (2002:166).

Examples are:

X9.22 *Ngabángo*
 ngabang **-(g)u**
 breast **PURP**
 “For the breast” (b:26:4)

X9.23 *Breado túnga* [#1]
 BREAD **-u** dunGa
PURP cry
 “She cries for bread” (b:4:5)

The allative use of -gu was given in X9.21, and is also found in:

X9.24 *Beriwál-go*
 Biriwal **-gu**
 sea **ALL**
 “To England” (b:4:2)

Note: ‘Sea’ = *barawill* (Bowman c.1824-46:22:144); = *Berrowall* (Lang n.d.; c.1840:5:120); = *barawal* (Ridley 1875:105:8).

A *temporal* allative (towards) sense of ‘to’ occurs in:

X9.25 *Wálumibámi góre badyü lgo* [#16]
 walumi -ba -mi guri badyal **-gu**
 when? FUT 2sg more ill **ALL**
 “When will you be sick again” (b:26:5.1)

9.3.8 Instrumental: ‘with’: *ra*

There is only one example of an instrumental suffix, recorded as *-ra*:

X9.26 P. <i>Bubilyidyaou handkerchyéra</i> [#11]						
bu	-bi	-lyi	-dya	-wu	HANDKERCHyi	-ra
cover	SFX: do	RFLX	PAST	1sg		INSTR
“I covered (myself) with a handkerchief” (b:17:16)						

Dixon notes:

In the great majority of Australian languages, the core case ergative (marking A function) and the peripheral case instrumental have the same form (2002:135).

There is necessary doubt as to the form of this suffix given the absence of ‘f’ in most indigenous languages, and the need to cope with it here, in ‘handkerchief’. The result, in *-ra*, may have represented a phonic compromise. It would seem most likely that, as found in other languages, instrumental suffixes would have matched ergative exactly: hence *-a*, *-ya* and possibly *-ra* (see §9.3.1).

9.3.9 Aversive: ‘for fear of’

Although Dixon states that ‘aversive’ is a ‘distinctive and pervasive feature of Australian languages’, and that for most languages ‘the same marking is used for ablative or causal or locative or dative/purposive’ (2002:137), there are no instances of ‘for fear of’ sentences in any of the Dawes, Anon or Sydney language wordlists.

Finding examples of the twelve basic functions of nouns identified by Dixon in table T9.1 can come down to a matter of definition: if the ‘causative’ examples of §9.3.5.2 were to be reclassified as ‘aversive’ as has been suggested (Sharpe 2006) based on examples from northern New South Wales Yugambeh-

Bundjalung, it would then leave the Biyal-Biyal 'causal' pigeonhole, because of the paucity of illustrative data, vacant.

9.4 Derivational suffixes

Just as verbs have derivational suffixes between the root and tense inflection, so may nouns between the root and case inflection, as discussed by Dixon (2002:145-7).

9.4.1 Privative: ‘lacking’: *buni*

The privative suffix was discussed at §8.3.4 in connection with verbs. An example was given with a noun earlier, *Bárinmunin* [X6.3]. Two further instances of this suffix with nouns follow:

X9.27 *Ngalgear, guribúni*
 Ngalgiya, guri -buni
 ear PRIV
 “Ngalgear, you have no ears” (b:35:5.1)

X9.28 *Diego-mo-ram-me. Kiara bunne*
 diyi gumura mi. giyara -buni
 DMN ? what name PRIV
 [NO TRANSLATION] (c:6:9)

Notes:

1. gumura, unknown, might be gamara ‘day’, gamari ‘Cammeray’, gumiri ‘hole’, thus a possible translation might be: ‘What is the name of this ‘. . .’? [Answer]: ‘Name-lacking’ i.e. ‘it has no name’.
2. Capell transcribed this example as: *Djegomarani djara ban* and translated it as: ‘Its name is Djegomorani’ (Capell 1979:289).

9.4.2 Proprietary: ‘having’: *mada*

Dixon wrote:

Most (or all?) Australian languages have an affix which derives an adjectival stem from a noun, and can roughly be glossed as ‘having’ (1976:203).

Neither Dawes nor any of the other list compilers specifically noted a ‘having’ suffix, perhaps because they had produced their records before such a concept as ‘having’ had been identified in Australian indigenous languages. One possibility for it is *-mada*:

X9.29 *Para-matta*
 bara **-mada**
 eel **PROP**
 “Rose Hill” (c:34:1)

This could mean ‘eel-having’. Elizabeth Macarthur stated ‘Parramatta’ to be:

a native name signifying the head of a river, which it is (1892 [1791]:509).

while in more recent times ‘Parramatta’ has been:

‘Place where the eels lie down; dark jungle; head of a river’ (McCarthy 1963).

There are 18 different examples of *-mada* in the Sydney language vocabularies; all are associated either with place names [11] or kin terms [7].

Two further examples follow, the first from the 1823 diary of Archibald Bell, in both of which ‘having’ seems appropriate:

X9.30 *Bulcamatta*
 balga **-mada**
 hill **PROP**
 “A Remarkable Level Ridge Called by the Natives Bulcamatta”
 (Else-Mitchell 1980:92:16)

Notes:

1. i.e. having hills, ‘hilly [place]’.
2. *bulga* = “Hill” (Mathews 1901:158.2:11 [Dg])

X9.31 *Ngarámata*.
 ngara **-mada**
 little **PROP**
 “Younger brother” (b:20:10.1)

Notes:

1. i.e. having someone little.
2. *Nar-rang* = “Little” (c:32:13)

Nevertheless, the fragmentary nature of the record leaves serious doubt that -*mada* really is the BB proprietive suffix, regrettably for a suffix function of nation-wide incidence. The following may add to the uncertainty:

X9.32 *Winnematta*
 wayana **-mada**
 mother ? **PROP**
 South Creek tribe (Blanket Return 1839) (cited in Flynn:106)

Note: If ‘mother-having’ is the correct translation, is this likely for a clan or locality name?

Two ‘mother [?]’ examples follow, with the suffix -*da*:

X9.33 *Wianáda*
 wayana **da**
 mother **DMN?**
 “Stop” (b:22:21)

Notes:

1. Is this a kin term? and if it is, it ends in -*da* (not -*mada*): why?
2. ‘Stop’ is an unlikely translation: might it have been a call by a child to its mother at some distance, that Dawes took to mean ‘stop!’?
3. Or might this have been not *wayana* (= ‘mother’) but *ngwiya-na* (= “To put” (b:24:4.2)), from *ngwiya* (= ‘give’ (b:15:15))? See also *Weanmaoú* [X8.83];
4. It was suggested in *Putuwidyánga wiangáta putuwí* [X8.62] that -*da* might be ergative.

X9.34 *wyanda*
 wayan **-da**
 mother **DMN?**
 “a mother” (Bowman c.1824-46:18:63)

Note: See note 1 to the previous example.

In summary, while a Biyal-Biyal proprietive suffix might have been -*mada*, this is no more than a possibility.

9.5 Other suffixes

9.5.1 Appertaining to / deriving from: *gulang*, *birang*, *bilang*

Three similar but not synonymous suffixes, generally attached to nouns, and occurring at the end of the word concerned, are -gulang, -birang and -bilang.

-gu	-la	-ng	-bi	-ra	-ng	-bi-	-la	-ng
PURP	BEN	ABSTR	SFX-do	away	ABSTR	SFX-do	BEN	ABSTR

9.5.1.1 Appertaining to: *gulang*

-gulang, based on the derivational suffix -gu, has a general sense of ‘appertaining to’, or ‘purpose’, consistent with -gu as a purposive or allative marker (see §9.3.7).

The following show -gulang attached to a *verb* stem:

X9.35 *Piyadyá**ng**un meranagolá**ng*** [#36]
 baya -dya -ngun mira -na -**gulang**
 speak PAST 1du first PURP **appertaining to**
 “We two were talking about who should be first” (b:33:12)

X9.36 *Ná**ng**agolá**ng***
 nanga -**gulang**
 sleep **appertaining to**
 “To go to sleep. This Badyegaráng said when the taptoo beat” (b:15:6)

Previous examples, with attachment to *pronouns*, were:

*Danawâgolá**ng*** [X7.13]
*Ngía büngabaoú buk **ng**yiniwâgolá**ng*** [#8] [X7.14]

The -gu-la-ng suffix is capable of further analysis. Consider the second part of this suffix, -la. Besold noted a ‘benefactor marker’ -la, in Gundungurra (Besold 2003:53), for recipients; and ‘recipients’ could be recognised as implied in respect of reflexives and reciprocals in -li and -la noted in relation to Threlkeld’s Awabakal Key (see §8.3 (note to T8.1)), and seen as occurring in Biyal-Biyal (see §8.3.2.2). In each of the following -gu-la (components of

-gulang) examples, a recipient could be perceived: of the ‘falling’; and of the ‘hunger’:

X9.37 *Yinigolá*
 yini **-gula**
 fall ‘to’ - ‘BENeficiary’
 “You had near fallen” (b:23:12)

X9.38 *Ngiéenee goóla yoóroo?*
 ngyini **-gula** yuru
 2sg ‘to’ - ‘BENeficiary’ hunger
 “Hungry. Are you hungry?” (b:23:9.2)

The termination -ng, the third part of the -gulang suffix, is a marker for nouns and adjectives (marked ABSTR, for ‘abstractifier’). Of around 1000 BB words that end in -ng, all but a handful of doubtful verb forms are nouns or adjectives. It may be concluded that -gulang is a *nominal* form. The same consequently applies to -birang and -bilang.

9.5.1.2 Deriving from: birang

-**bi-ra-ng** and -**bi-la-ng** are based on the stem-forming suffix -bi (see T8.1 and §8.4.2.3 and throughout Chapter 8), on which the stress falls (as noted by Dawes, and shown here in bold type), making them structurally distinct from -gulang.

From the inclusion of -ra/-ri as an indicator of ‘away’ and ‘from’ (see §§8.3.1.3-4), -birang conveys a sense of ‘deriving from’ or ‘caused by’. The following examples are consistent with this interpretation:

X9.39 *tdara bírüng* potatoe
 Dhara **-birang** POTATOE
 Dawes Point **deriving from**
 “Did these potatoes grow at *tdara*” (b:2:7)

X9.40 *Ka-mi berang*
 gamai **-birang**
 spear **deriving from**
 “A wound from a spear” (c:13:15.2)

X9.41 *Mu-rungle be-rong*
 marangGal **-birang**
 thunder **deriving from**
 “Struck by ditto” [thunder] (c:26:20)

Other -birang examples include:

badu-birang (= ‘from water—an amphibian’) (c:12:16))
 wadi-birang (=‘from a club—e.g. a wound’) (c:18:18)).

9.5.1.3 ‘Belong’: bilang, balang

The only Dawes example for -bi-la-ng is:

X9.42 *Dtulibílüng*
 dhuli **-bilang**
 mouth/eat/food **appertaining to**
 “A maggot in meat” (b:5:25)

The operative suffix -bi and the marker for nouns -ng are separated by -la, noted in §9.5.1.1 as a ‘beneficiary’ or ‘recipients’ marker. While this results in a semblance of coincidental meaning congruence between BB **-bilang** and English ‘bel**ong**’, the stress appears to have been distinctively different (as shown here by the application of bold type).

Dawes also recorded a personal name:

Tarabílüng Dara-bilang [name of person] (b:26:15.21)

The corresponding form -balang, featuring the operative stem-forming suffix -ba, was recorded in the first example below, and perhaps the second:

<i>Taatibalå’ng</i>	dadi-balang	“Good, as to eat”	(b:19:10)
<i>Pen-niee-bool-long</i>	Biniyi-bulang	“The name of Colebe’s child”	(c:11:11)

Note: For dadi (= ‘eat’), see note *b* following table T8.3.

9.5.2 Clan group: *gal*, *galyan/g*

The suffix *-gal* specifically denotes a locality or a clan.

X9.43 *Bidjigal*
 bidyi **-gal**
 river flats **clan**
 [clan name] (Phillip:340:32)

X9.44 *Toogagal*
 duga **-gal**
 woods **clan**
 [woods tribe] (c:43:19)

Notes:

1. bidyi = ‘river flat’: Long Dick (Mann:5.2:1).
2. duga = “Wood (sylva)” (c:33:12).
3. “wood tribes, Be-dia-gal, Tu-ga-gal, and Boo-roo-bir-rong-gal” (Collins:488:4).

In a rare gender distinction, *-galyan* denotes *female* group membership:

X9.45 *Cadi-gal-leon*
 Gadi **-galyan**
 Cadi **clan (female)**
 [clan name] (King 1786-90:MS 405:12.2)

X9.46 *Kowalgaliā'ng* (w)
 gawal **-galyang**
 old **member (female)**
 “Elder sister” (b:20:9.2)

The suffix *-gal* has not only *place* but *time* reference, as seen above:

Capt. Ball *wellamába Paramatín ngírigal* [X9.16].

The same applied exactly to Awabakal:

But time and place require *-kal*, and *-kalin*; as,
bug°gai-kal, ‘belonging to the present’ period of time now becoming;
England-kal, ‘a man belonging to England’, ‘an Englishman’;
England-kalin, ‘a woman belonging to England’, ‘an Englishwoman’ ... (Threlkeld
 1892:12).

9.5.3 *Emphasiser: bu, gangai*

Two suffixes, -bu and -gangai, occur as emphasisers, with -gangai the stronger (see X9.50), as in:

X9.47 *Yenmánye kaouwi kamarabú*
 yan -ma -nyi gawai gamara **-bú**
 go FUT 1pl come day **EMPH**
 “We will return the same d.” (b:12:13)

X9.48 *Mulla-bo*
 mala **-bu**
 man **EMPH**
 “All men” (c:27:16)

X9.49 *Bíalgángí yinîbóonî*
 biyal **-gangai** yini -buni
 no **EMPH** fall PRIV
 “No. I shall not fall down.” (a:11:1)

X9.50 *Bíalgángí Ngarabóonî*
 biyal **-gangai** ngara -buni
 no **EMPH** hear PRIV
 “The same (more forcibly)” (a:36:2)

Note: The previous line had *Ngarabóonî* alone.

9.5.4 *Pluraliser: ra*

Number on nouns, that is, whether there is more than one of a thing, is not usually indicated—although it may be. Capell remarked:

Most Australian languages ... do have some method available to mark a plural as such. There can be no doubt that such markers were originally free forms meaning “many”, or something similar, and have been reduced to the status of suffixes at later times (1966 [1956]:62).

In Biyal-Biyal, the suffix *-ra* appears to be the means to convey plurality, examples having been given earlier: *bira-ra* (“berara”) ‘shells’ and *yura-ra* (“eorara”) ‘people’:

P to D: *Ngia ngirinarabaouwínia berra* [#23] [X8.1]

P. *Ngwiadyaoúwi magôra eorra dyi* [#43] [X9.3]

and plurality was possibly the intention in *TEA-ra* ‘teas’, in examples seen earlier:

*Ngan wü'ra würá wídályi brányi **ngyiningí** teara* [#7] [X7.22]

Ngan wídá-lyi teara wü'ra würá [#6] [X8.32]

Two further examples are:

X9.51 *Tung-oro*
 dungu **-ru**
 dog **PLUR**
 “Dogs” (c:16:9)

X9.52 *Nabaouwi ngalári wídadwá'ra eorára naba* [#34]
 na -ba -wi ngalari wayida -dwara yura **-ra** na -ba
 see FUT 3pl 1duO drink DO WHILE people **PLUR** see FUT
 “This last in preference” (b:32:14.2)

Note: The previous sentence referred to by Dawes was:

“W. *Nabaouwi* : **ngalía** : *naba eora wídadwá'ra*” (b:32:14.1)

with the translation:

“The eoras shall see us drink (sulphur.)”

9.5.5 Reduplication

There are around thirty examples of reduplication in the Dawes/Anon data. It appears to indicate emphasis, or plurality, apart from onomatopoeia, as the following examples show:

9.5.5.1 Emphasis

X9.53 *Kali Kali*
 gali **gali**
 replete **EMPH**
 “Full” (b:11:12)

Note: i.e. very full.

X9.54 *Didyi didyi*
 didyai **didyai**
 hurt **EMPH**
 “Oh, you hurt me” (b:5:11)

Note: i.e. hurt a lot.

X9.55 *Gnan-gnan-yeele*
 nga **-nga** nyili
 see **EMPH** DMN
 “The glass a reading glass” (c:9:9)

Note: i.e. see a long way, that.

X9.56 *Molu-molu*
 mulu **-mulu**
 cluster **PLUR**
 “A cluster of ditto [stars]” (c:26:10)

Note: For a reference to this example as a misunderstanding for ‘very dark’, see §4.1.

9.5.5.2 Plurality

X9.57 *Bir-ra-bir-ra*
 bira **-bira**
 shell **PLUR**
 “The rock in the channel” (c:38:6)

Note: i.e. shells. This is the name of the Sow and Pigs Reef in the Harbour.

9.5.5.3 Onomatopoeia

X9.58 *Bulbul*
 bul **-bul**
 heart **onomatopoeia**
 “Kidney” (b:3:12)

Note: bud bud = ‘heart’ (King 1786-90:MS 403:30): i.e. the sound of a heart beating.

X9.59 *Bokbok*
 bug **-bug**
 mopoke **onomatopoeia**
 “An owl” (b:3:20)

Note: This is the sound of the call of this night bird.

9.6 Common endings

In the AllSyd database there are about 1550 lexically different nouns and adjectives, reduced from around 4500 after omitting words more obviously not Biyal Biyal or Dharug, exact duplicates, similar forms although not duplicates but having the same translated meaning, words assessed as roots (e.g. yura: ‘man’), and nouns consisting of two or more words. Many of these words have similar endings, the following table being confined to endings with 20 or more examples. The table reveals, for example, that words ending in -gang are largely fauna.

T9.6 FREQUENCY OF BB NOMINAL SUFFIXES, WITH OVER 20 EXAMPLES IN THE DATABASE, BY CLASSIFICATION

CLASSIFICATION	-bi	-gal	-gan	-gang	-lang	-nang	-ra	-rang	-ya	-yang
number of endings	20	50	29	34	20	24	55	62	20	20
body parts			3	2	2	3	11	9	4	5
ceremonial								3		
elements		3			2	2	6	4		4
fauna	5	12	8	22	5	10	7	13	3	3
flora	2	2	2		2	1	2	6		
human classification		2	3	2	2		4			2
human emotion							3			
kin terms				2						2
name, proper	5		5			2	2	3	4	
physical					2		4	2		
place	4						4	5		
time		2								
clan		23								
weapons and parts			3				5	6		

The table, which reveals the abundance of nouns ending in a nasal -n and especially -ng, could be a key to vocabulary extension. For example, the suffix -gan (and possibly -gang), which for some words has the underlying meaning of ‘living role’ (equivalent to English ‘-or’, ‘-er’: *doctor*, *baker*), as in the first two examples below, might have the same meaning in other words, such as the next three:

T9.7 NOMINAL SUFFIXES: A POSSIBLE KEY TO UNDERLYING MEANING: gan(g)

	English	Source	Possible significance
garadi-gan	Doctor. They call our surgeons by this name	b:11:1	
midi-gan	comrade	(Ridley 1875:103:15)	
wu-gan	Crow	c:24:4	makes sound 'wa': 'wa'- <i>er</i>
gugini-gan	Laughing kookaburra	(Hunter 1989:49)	makes sound 'gu': 'gu'- <i>er</i>
bidyl-gang	water lizard	(Mathews c.1900: Nbk 5 116:15 [Dg])	river-bank- <i>er</i> (see <i>Bidjigal</i> [X9.43])

9.7 Case consistency in nouns and adjectives

With regard to case consistency between nouns and adjectives, Dixon writes:

In most Australian languages nouns and adjectives take the same inflections
(1980:274).

There is no evidence for such case consistency in Biyal-Biyal, perhaps because the record is too slight or imperfect to have displayed it.

10 OTHER WORD CLASSES

Pronouns, verbs and nouns have been previously looked at. The remaining word classes comprise adjectives, demonstratives, adverbs and interjections.

Conjunctions, articles and prepositions do not generally exist as such in Aboriginal languages, or their roles are covered in other ways. The information on all these word classes for Biyal-Biyal, or for data collected in the Sydney region generally, is sparse.

10.1 Adjectives

A selection of ‘adjectives’ from the Dawes/Anon data follows:

T10.1 SIMPLE ADJECTIVES

Australian	Respelt	Original translation	Source
<i>Múrry</i>	mari	“Large. An augmentative in general”	b:13:1
<i>Nar-rang</i>	narang	“Little”	c:32:13
<i>Bood-yêr-rê</i>	bu-dyiri	“Good”	c:32:9
<i>We-re</i>	wiri	“Bad”	c:26:13.1
<i>Wúrül</i>	wural	“Bashful” (‘slow’: see X8.55)	b:26:8.1

Dixon suggests many more are likely:

Australian languages typically have a rich open class of adjectives with some hundreds of members. Adjectives cover value, age, dimension, posture, speed, physical characteristics of people (‘tired’, ‘sick’, ‘lame’) and things (‘sharp’, ‘sweet’, ‘rough’) and also mental attitudes and states (‘happy’, ‘sad’, ‘ashamed’, ‘jealous’, ‘greedy’, ‘overconfident’ and many more) (1980:274).

There are what seem to be others from their translations, but some could be nouns, or verbs:

T10.2 ADJECTIVES—OR OTHER WORD CLASSES

Australian	Respelt	Original translation	Source
<i>Ghoólara.</i>	gula-ra	“Cross, or ill natured.”	b:8:1.1
<i>Ba-gel</i>	badyal	“Sick”	c:33:5.1
<i>Karüng’ül</i>	garangal	“Hard. Difficult to break.”	b:12:1
<i>Ta-go-ra</i>	dagura	“Cold”	c:26:12.1
<i>Bog-gay</i>	bugai	“Fat”	c:22:19
<i>Yan-bad</i>	yan-ba-d	“Tired”	c:17:12

Colours, often seen as adjectives, occur in the Dawes/Anon data:

T10.3 COLOURS

Australian	Respelt	Original translation	Source
<i>Ngána</i>	ngana	“Black”	b:39:7
<i>Tyerrá</i>	dyira	“White”	b:39:8
<i>Ta-boa</i>	dabuwa	“White clay”	c:18:12
<i>Múdyil</i>	mudyil	“Red”	b:39:11
<i>Gomü’n</i>	guman	“Green”	b:39:9
<i>Bool-ga-ga</i>	bulga-ga	“The Colour Green”	c:30:19
<i>Yerakál</i>	yaragal	“Yellow”	b:39:10

Dixon:

There are often only two, and probably never more than four, basic colour terms (‘black’, ‘white’, sometimes ‘red’ and sometimes also ‘green’) (1980:274).

Those given in T10.3 are the only examples, and, of these, some might be more appropriately considered as nouns, especially where they have a characteristic suggesting the colour, as: *dabuwa* (white clay) and *yaragal* (= “Clean” (b:23:21)), while *bulgaga* (green) might derive from *bulga* (= “hill” (Mathews 1901:158.2:11 [Dg])).

Dixon has further stated:

In most Australian languages nouns and adjectives take the same inflections, and they can generally occur in either order in an NP (1980:274).

In the Dawes/Anon data there are 17 different examples of what might be an adjective qualifying a noun. Most occur in probably verb-less phrases of 2 or 3 words, and one in a three-word sentence. One alone appears to display matching inflection:

X10.1 *Gonyéra wogúla*
gunya **-ra** *wagul* **-a**
house **LOC** one **LOC**
“In one house (all three)” (b:35:4)

This is not to assert that matching of inflection did not occur in Biyal-Biyál: just that it was virtually not recorded.

As to word order, this could vary in Biyal-Biyal, according to King in commenting on the following entry in his wordlist:

†Bado-burra, or Burra-badu, *To pour water* (King 1968 [1793]:270)

† It should be observed that, in speaking, Wolle-warrè frequently changes the position of his words, as in Bado-burra: so when walking one night, from Prospect-Hill to Rose-Hill, we frequently stumbled against the roots, and he exclaimed “Wèrè Wadè, and Wadè Wèrè,” bad wood, or bad roots (King:270, footnote).

Note: ‘Wolle-warrè’ was one of Bennelong’s names.

This confirms the variable word order claim by Dixon for Australian languages, cited above.

10.2 Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns are those that:

point out or distinguish things. The chief are—*this, that* (with their plural forms, *these, those*), *such, same* (Low and Hollingworth 1955:39).

No demonstratives were identified as such in the Dawes/Anon data, but a wide range occurs in the Mathews' descriptions of Dharawal and, jointly with Everitt, of Gundungurra. Of Dharawal, Mathews noted:

Demonstratives. These are very numerous, and are inflected for number, case and tense. They usually follow the word qualified (1901:139).

Many variations arise through the addition of suffixes specifying location, possession, number and other concepts.

Likewise, Threlkeld noted (as interpreted by his editor, Fraser) (Threlkeld 1892:19):

Demonstrative pronouns. These are so compound in their signification as to include the demonstrative and the relative; e.g. —
 1. *g°ali* is equivalent to 'this is that who *or* which,'—the person *or* thing spoken of being here present;
 2. *g°ala*, 'that is that who *or* which,'—being at hand;
 3. *g°aloa*, 'that is that who *or* which,'—being beside the person addressed, or not far off.

Note: *g°* is Fraser's *ng* [ŋ].

Awabakal demonstratives, after elaboration mainly through the addition of case and other suffixes, yield around forty different forms.

Dixon stated (as noted in §7.2.3) that many Australian languages adopt demonstrative pronouns in place of third person pronouns. This applies especially in the singular. Biyal-Biyal examples of *wagul*, 'one', and *diyi*, 'this' or 'him', were given in §§7.2.3.1-2.

diyi appears to have been difficult for the original recorders to identify and define. Three out of ten examples follow:

X10.2 *Mediey*
 mi **diyi**
 what **DMN**
 “I do not know” (King:MS 400:19)

Note: Meaning: ‘What’s this?’

X10.3 *Ding-al-la-dee*
diyi nga -la **diyi**
DMN see IMP **DMN**
 “There he, she or it is” (c:4:10)

Note: Meaning: ‘This! Look at this (him)!’

X10.4 *dídyirigúru*
di -dyiri guru
DMN ? more
 “... enough” (b:4:17.3)

10.2.1 *Other possible demonstratives*

10.2.1.1 na, ni, da, and di

In the Dawes/Anon data there are a number of examples of words ending in -na, -ni, -da, and -di that are not readily analysable, and whose translations, when supplied, are of little help. It seems possible, after reference to data for the neighbouring languages, that some might not be terminations but discrete demonstratives. Many Dharawal demonstratives appear to be based on nha, nham, nhayi, nhaya, and there are two examples of nhi. Gundungurra has nin for ‘this’, as well as variations such as nin-gulangu, ‘belonging to that’. These are mainly n-initial, but Gundungurra also has dhanu, ‘that’ (Mathews 1901:153:16.2).

A link between -da and -na forms might be explained by difficulties in transcribing what was heard, as in the following illustration from a Mathews notebook:

	Thurawal - Thurawal			157
	This Nthia	Nthiawolale	Nthiawolale	
	That Nthia	Nthiawolale	Nthiawolale	
	who did that?			
agent	Nthie This	Nthiawolale	Nthiawolale	

"This Nthia" (Mathews c.1900:Nbk 5 157:1-4) – Should this be nhaya, or dhaya?

nhaiang - that one	Nhai - that
Thurawal	M ³ Jirabery

"nhaiang = that one Nhai = that" [nhayang, nhayi] (Mathews c.1900:Nbk 3 43:0.12)

Note: From this data it is not possible to determine whether the demonstratives should begin with nh-, dh-, or even ndh-.

The following are a few Biyal-Biyal examples where na might be a demonstrative:

X10.5 **Ngana** würrí dianá
 ngan -a waridya na
 who ERG distant DMN
 "Who did it?" (b:14:20)

Note: Possible meaning: 'who over there that fellow?'

X10.6 P to G: **Gonang**. poerbungana
 Gonanguli bur -ba -nga na
 PFX-up SFX: do? SFX-HUMAG? DMN
 "Gonang. Take hold of my hand and help me up : " (b:29:13)

Note: Possible meaning: 'G., lift/raise/pull that (hand)'.

X10.7 *Pe-mul-gina*
 bimal -ga -yi **na**
 earth SFX: be PastH **DMN**
 “Gritty or dirty” (c:21:9)

X10.8 *Worga-weena*
 wa -gawi **na**
 PFX-move come **DMN**
 “To whistle” (c:11:10)

Notes:

1. See §8.6 ‘Prefixes’.
2. Meaning: ‘whistles he’, or ‘that (fellow) whistles’.

In the following, the possible demonstrative is not suffixed but placed first:

X10.9 *Nandara*
 nan dara
 DMN tooth
 “Dents” [French for ‘teeth’] (Lesson 1839:296:13)

Notes:

1. dara, dira, yira = ‘tooth’.
2. Possible meaning: ‘that (is a) tooth’.

The next example is one of a handful where -ni might be analysed as a demonstrative:

X10.10 *War-rai-gy-yen-ne*
 warayi -gi ya(n) **ni**
 away SFX: be go **DMN?**
 “I believe he is gone” (c:14:13)

Note: As this example is capable of analysis in various ways—e.g. ya might be PAST, and not ‘go’—demonstrative ni remains in doubt.

The following are two of about ten Biyal-Biyal examples displaying the suffix -da that might represent demonstrative usage:

X10.11 *Odooroodah*
 Yuduru **da**
 Yuduru **DMN?**
 “Benallon spoke ... of a fam’d charmer (Odooroodah), greatly admired ...” (Southwell 1893 [1788]:718:16)

Notes: Possible meanings:

1. 'Yuduru, that (person)', i.e. 'that is Yuduru'.
2. wadara = 'white', 'arm' [Biripi].
3. yidara = 'name', to be named [Awa]; cf giyara = 'name' [BB].

X10.12 *Talla-wo-la-dah*
 Dalawala **da**
 Dalawala **DMN?**
 "Where the hospital stands" (c:38:10)

Note: Possible meaning: 'Dalawala, that (place)', possibly based on daliwa (= "Forest Oak." (Moore 1855:12:131)).

The suffix -da was also identified as a 'declarative' element in Chapter 8 (see table T8.1 and §8.4), a role that, although functionally different, is not inconsistent semantically with the demonstrative usage suggested here.

10.2.1.2 nyili, nyila

A final possibility for a demonstrative in the Dawes/Anon data is nyili/nyila.

Words with matching or similar phoneme sequences are familiar in neighbouring languages to the south. Mathews, partly together with Everitt, recorded such instances from Dharawal and Gundungurra, as pronouns and demonstratives:

T10.4 NYILI/NYILA IN LANGUAGES TO THE SOUTH

Australian	English	Function	Language
-nyiling/-ngaling	we-all excl.	PN Bd 1pl ex	Dwl
-nyilung/-ngalung	we-all excl.	PN Bd 1pl ex	Gga
-nyila/-ngila	we-all excl.	PN Bd 1pl ex	Gga
-nyili	we-all excl.	PN Bd 1pl ex	Dwl/Gga
nyila	this	DMN	Dwl
nyili	this	DMN	Dwl

These suggest interpretations both of 1pl 'we-all' and demonstrative 'this, that, these, those'. As shown below, a third possibility for nyili/nyila is 3du 'they-two'.

The following three examples in the Dawes/Anon data suggest a *demonstrative* interpretation:

X10.13 *Pomera Bannielly*
 bumira -ba **nyili**
 clap SFX: do? **DMN**
 “to clap hands” (c:19:19)

Note: Possible meaning: ‘clap does **that** (fellow)’.

X10.14 *Tallangeele*
 dalang **nyila**
 ? **DMN**
 “window glass” (c:9:10)

Note: Unlikely meaning possibilities include: ‘tongue? (river? man?), **that**’; from: dalang (= ‘tongue’ (c:22:5)); dulang (= ‘river’ (Russell:27:11 [Gga])); dalai (= “Man” (Ridley 1875:122:1.6 [DgR])).

X10.15 *Boo-in-yella*
 buwi **nyila**
 kiss **DMN**
 “[Speaking of a man and his wife he used these words]” (c:21:12.5)

Note: Possible meaning: ‘kiss **those**’, i.e. ‘they kiss’.

Other examples of *nyili* as a possible demonstrative are:

Gnan-gnan-yeele nga-nga *nyili* ‘see a long way, **that**’ [X9.55]

and—spelt *nili*—in the description of a harbour island remote from the settlement, in an example to be met later:

Arrowanelly [ng]arawan *nili* ‘distant, **that**’ [X10.26]

Also considered earlier was *ngyila* as a 1pl ‘we-all’ example:

Ngýéla tienmíle **ngýéla** *ngyila* dyin-mi-li *ngyila* ‘**we-all** playing, **we-all**’ [X7.33]

as well as the following, perhaps evidence of *nyila* as 3du ‘they-two’:

Maani’la man-ni-la (or man-nila?) ‘**they-two** take’ [X8:10];

: *Yenî 'la* : yan-ni-la (or yan-nila?) '**they-two** walk' [X7.39];

P.: Mr Faddy *yéla* Mr Clark *yenýában* Norfolk Island '**they-two** went ...' [X7.40]

In summary, given the extensive use of demonstratives in the neighbouring languages, it would seem likely that this word class was not only present in Biyal-Biyal but that the recordings might have captured some of the forms of it, without their being specifically noted in the given translations.

10.3 Adverbs

Dixon confirmed the existence of some types of adverbs:

All Australian languages have locationals (e.g. ‘near’, ‘east’, ‘uphill’) and temporals (e.g. ‘tomorrow’, ‘soon’, ‘all the time’), some or all of which may take local case markers (2002:181).

Adverbs occur in the Dawes/Anon data covering manner (‘how’), place (‘where’), quantity (‘how much’), and time (‘when’), with corresponding interrogatives. Some of the principal interrogative examples follow:

T10.5 INTERROGATIVE ADVERBS

#	Australian	Respelt	Original translation	Source
1	<i>Wau</i>	wa	“Where”	c:29:19
2	<i>Whalloo</i>	wa-lu	“Where are you going”	c:6:6
3	<i>Waurimi</i>	wa-ri-mi	“Where have you been”	b:22:26
4	<i>Wauranga</i> <i>Wârû ’nga</i>	wara-nga	“When”	b:22:15
5	<i>Minyin?</i>	minyin?	“Why?”	b:17:17
6	° <i>Mee Murry</i> °	mi mari	“How many”	b:13:13
7	<i>Mi ’ngâ ’ni</i>	mi nga-ni	“Why, what for”	b:13:17
8	<i>Way-lin</i>	walin	“How”	c:14:14.1

The above table suggests the following considerations or comments:

1. Examples 1-4 are based on *wa*. In the first three, this is the interrogative of *place*: ‘where’, which has the same form as the locative suffix *-wa* (see §9.3.4), the verbal root *wa* (§8.1), and the stem-forming suffix for motion *-wa* (§8.4.3.2); in the fourth, it is the interrogative of *time*: ‘when’.

As with abstract art and poetry, where interpretation might exceed an original intention, it is possible that the *-ra* and *-lu* suffix distinctions described below were *idiomatic*, rather than having the structural significance about to be suggested.

The first example of these suffixes to be presented occurs in the one and only sentence provided by Dawes to establish *waranga* as the meaning ‘when’:

X10.16 *Wârü'nga píaba² warü'nga¹ domine³ buk⁴*
 wa -ra -nga baya -ba wa -ra -nga DOMINE BOOK
 when **away** ? speak FUT when **away** ?
 When¹ will² domine³ (that is, Mr Johnson) read² in the book⁴? (b:21:5.1)

This is a future ‘when’, or ‘ahead’, situation where, as will be seen, -lu might have been expected. However, this can hardly have been a slip because Dawes specifically added:

This question was by my desire repeated several times by Badyegaráng & mostly without ‘warü'nga’ the second time.

Yet, in accordance with the next example from Mathews, who over a century later recorded the nearby Darkinyung language, waranga might have conveyed the idea of past ‘when’:

X10.17 *Wur'runga*
 wa -ra -nga
 when **away** ?
 “When did you do it” (Mathews c.1900:Nbk 7 80:8 [Dark])

Note: This is a past ‘when’ situation, where -ra occurs, as expected.

While it might seem reasonable to prefer Dawes to Mathews, it is useful to look further. The following table reveals that wa was used adverbially for both spatial (‘where’) and temporal (‘when’) concepts, and that it was suffixed on the one hand by -ra (or -ri), which might have indicated ‘away in space’ or ‘past in time’, and on the other by -lu, which might have indicated ‘towards in space’ or ‘ahead in time’.

T10.6 THE SPATIAL/TEMPORAL -ra/-ri AND -lu CONTRAST

Where—‘away in space’: wa-ri	Where—‘towards in space’: wa-lu
wa-ri-mi (Example 3 in T10.5)	wa-lu (Example 2 in T10.5)
	<i>Waulomi</i> (b:22:13.2) (Collins 1975 [1798]:511.1:16) [X10.18]
When—‘past in time’: wa-ra	When—‘ahead in time’: wa-lu
<i>warunga</i> (Mathews [Dark]) [X10.17]	<i>Wal-lu-meron wea</i> (c:31:10) (King: MS 402:18.1) [X10.19]
	<i>Wålumibámi góre badyü'lgo</i> (b:26:5.1) [X10.20]

This tabular summary may be re-presented as follows. -ra (and -ri) as a suffix indicating *spatial* ‘away’ has been encountered previously (e.g. §8.1, §§8.3.1.3-4). The following are examples relating to the complementary concept, *spatial* and *temporal* ‘ahead’:

First, spatial ‘ahead (towards)’:

X10.18 *Waulomi* (contr. *Waulomyen*)
 wa -lu -mi yan
 where **ahead** 2sg go
 “Where are you going?” (b:22:13.2)

Notes:

1. By ‘contr.’ Dawes probably intended ‘contraction of’.
2. This was confirmed almost identically by Collins (1975 [1798]:511.1:16).

Next, temporal ‘ahead (when in the future)’:

X10.19 *Wal-lu-meron wea*
 wa -lu -mi -ra ngwiya
 when **ahead** 2sg ? give
 “Will you have any more” (c:31:10)

Notes:

1. Possible meaning: ‘when [will] thou give [more]’.
2. This too, was confirmed almost identically, by King (King:MS 402:18.6), (King in Hunter 1793:410.2:24).

And, finally, a confirming temporal ‘ahead’ example, by Dawes:

X10.20 *Wâlumibámi góre badyü lgo*
 wa -lu -mi -ba -mi guri badyal -gu
 when **ahead** SFX-CAUS FUT 2sg more ill ALL
 “When will you be sick again” (b:26:5.1)

Dawes added, however, believing that this might have been in error (probably because of X10.16):

X10.21 “A mistake I think in saying *wâlumibámi* for *wârü’ngabámi*” (b:26:5.2)
 walumibami wa -ra -nga -ba -mi
 for when **away** SFX? FUT 2sg

Notes:

1. Dawes has suggested **walu(mi)** to have been a mistake for **wara(nga)**, which he had taken to mean ‘when’. This is perhaps because, if there were a -lu ‘towards/ahead and -ra ‘away/past’ contrast, he had not identified it.
2. Compare this with **warimi** (in X13.3 in Appendix 2), which, although ‘ahead in time’ was not translated by Dawes as ‘when’ but as ‘whence’, i.e. ‘away in space’, and so might be consistent with the specific roles suggested for -ri (and -lu).

Once again, the data, including an internal conflict provided by X10.16, is too scanty to permit a firm conclusion to be arrived at; but it is sufficient for the possibility of a *temporal* ‘away (i.e. past)’ role for -ra, as part of a general -ra and -lu contrast in this context, to be suggested.

Returning to the table T10.5:

2. Examples 5-7 are based on the widespread interrogative **mi**.
3. Example 7, **mi ngani**, ‘what for’, could include the purposive -ni; however, as there are only two Dawes examples (a third, **ngani**, by Collins, is translated as “whose” (Collins 1975 [1798]:510.1:21)), this remains uncertain.
4. There are no other examples of ‘how’.

Some common adverbs other than interrogatives are the following:

T10.7 SOME OTHER ADVERBS

#	Australian	Respelt	Original translation	Note	Source
1	<i>Parribúgo</i>	bari-bu-gu	“Tomorrow”	+EMPH+ALL	b:16:1
2	<i>Parre-bu-war-rie</i>	bara-bu-wari	“The day after tomorrow”	+EMPH+away	c:15:16
3	<i>Branyé</i>	bara-nyi	“Yesterday”		b:3:2
4	<i>Yagóona</i>	yagu-na	“ Now This instant Today”		b:22:16
5	<i>gu-ru-gal</i>	guru-gal	“a long time back”	long+ time/place	c:21:6
6	<i>Guaúgo</i>	gwagu	“Bye and bye”	+ALL	b:25:1.3
7	<i>Wú ra wúrá</i>	wára wará	“Just now, or some little time back”	away away; different stressing	b:21:6
8	<i>Tarimi</i>	darimi	“A long time”		b:20:18

⁹	<i>Inyam</i>	nyam	“Here”		c:33:15
¹⁰	<i>-jam</i>	-dyam	“[jam] was added we were on the spot, & is supposed to mean, this is.”	here	c:36:11.2
¹¹	<i>Eeneé</i>	yini-ya	“There”		b:6:3
¹²	<i>Ngárawün</i>	ngara-wan	“A great way off”	distant	b:14:16
¹³	<i>gore</i>	guri	“more”		b:26:7.3

Some comments on the above examples follow:

Examples 1-3: The stem *bari/bará*, here concerned with time, is common in Biyal-Biyal and perhaps Australia-wide—including Bardi, a language at the ‘tip of the Dampier Peninsula, to the northwest of Broome’, in which *booroo* — respelt *buru* or possibly *bara* — occurs:

The word translates as ‘camp, ground, place’ and also ‘time’ or ‘tide’ (Bowern 2005:3).

The Bardi meaning of ‘tide’ is also one of the BB meanings:

bara-gula “The flood-tide” (King in Hunter 1793:407.2:8).

Example 5: cf:

guru-gal “old, worn out” (Threlkeld 1892:219:7.2 [Awa]).

Example 6: cf:

gabú “presently” (Threlkeld 1892:44:33 [Awa])
gaga “By and by” (Mathews 1904:298:30.1 [Gga/Ngw]).

Example 7: cf:

wirai “Now” (Mathews c.1903:274:10 [Dark])
wara “Yesterday” (Threlkeld c.1835:137.2:3 [Kre]).

Example 8: cf:

diramai “Always” (Mann c.1842:4.1:4 [Long Dick]).

Note: This example, having no 2sg association, renders questionable any analysis of the suffix *-mi* as 2sg in *warimi* (see table T10.5 above, line 3).

Examples 9-10: Dawes' "inyam" is probably nyam, and related to dyam, this last forming part of the expression Daral-bi dyam, 'South Head here':

X10.22 *Tar-ral-be*
 Daralbi
 "South ditto [Head]." (c:36:11.1)

-*jam*
 -dyam
 "[jam] was added; we were on the spot, and is supposed to mean, this is" (c:36:11.2)

The respelling and analysis in the following are tentative, although there appears to be nothing to contradict the assumption that dyam means 'here':

X10.23 *d'a-mou*
dyamu -wu
here 1sg
 "Here I am; Here I come" (Southwell c.1791:149.1:25.2)

Note: On the assumption that the original record might have ended in a long vowel, and consistent with the translation, -wu is suggested as an (additional) 1sg bound pronominal suffix.

X10.24 *Diam-o-waw*
dyamu wa
here where
 "Where are you?" (King:MS 402:24)

Notes:

1. The above analysis is a suggestion only.
2. There is no detectable 2sg component in the record.

X10.25 *War-ran-jam-ora*
 Waran **dyamu** -ra
 Sydney Cove **here** LOC?
 "I am in Sydney Cove" (c:18:4)

Notes:

1. This is also only a suggestion.
2. Waran = 'Sydney Cove' (c:36:1).
3. If -ra is locative, then dyamu would be most unlikely to be dyamu-wu (i.e. incorporating a 1sg suffix as in X10.23), given that case inflections do not follow bound pronouns.

Example 12: Another meaning, apart from ‘distant’, recorded for ngarawan/ngarawang was ‘paddle’ [BB: King, Blackburn, Bowman; Dg: Ridley].

Meanings from neighbouring languages include:

‘flat place’ [Awa, Kre, Gga] (e.g. Threlkeld 1892:210:7);

‘sea’ (Ridley 1875:126:10.71 [Dwl, Wodi]).

Circumstances can be envisaged when ‘paddling far on the (flat) sea’ might have led to the various translations recorded. The “Island at the Flats” once around Homebush Bay prior to dredging, in the following example:

X10.26 *Arrowanelly*
[Ng]ara-wa-ni-li
“Island at the Flats” (c:34:10)

might have been so called because it was ‘distant’ from the Settlement, or because of the ‘flats’.

10.4 Interjections

Dawes recorded a small number of interjections, such as *gu gu ...* and *di di ...*:

X10.27 *Go Go Go Yágu ngarabaoú*
gu gu gu yagu ngara -ba -wu
 INTJ now think FUT 1sg
 “Stop stop stop (don’t tell me) I shall think of it directly” (b:15:8)

Note: *ngara* covers the mental senses: ‘hear’, ‘listen’, ‘think’.

Collins also recorded *ga-ga ga-ga* as cries made by non-initiates assisting during an initiation ceremony (Collins 1975 [1798]:481, footnote). Another example was given in Chapter 9:

Pat. *Go go yagu tityi baou yagu Mrs. Johnsonma gonyégo...* (b:28:13.1) [X9.21]

This displayed not only *gu gu* but also, in *didyai-ba-wu*, a verb formation from the following interjection:

X10.28 *Tetetetetete ...*
di-di-di-di-di-di-
 “Go go go make haste” (b:19:14)

This was repeated by Dawes, and again made into a verb, in:

X10.29 *Tete Tetebaoú*
di-di di-di-ba-wu
 “To go away” (b:19:13)

di di di is evidently a widespread indigenous interjection indicating speed, recorded in use in remote Gugu-Yimidhirr (Cooktown):

56, 57: Elsewhere the navigator speaks of *yarcaw* and *tut, tut, tut*, etc., as supposed expressions of admiration; the former is the modern *yir-ké*, a note of exclamation indicative of surprise, while the latter is still used as exclamatory of swift motion, e.g., a fish shooting along in the water (Breen 1970:33).

Another interjection is *gayi*:

X10.30 *Kai?* (at some distance)
gayi
 “What do you say?” (b:11:2)

Neighbouring languages had: *gayi* (Threlkeld 1892:212:3 [Awa]), *yai* (Mathews 1901:150:18.1 [Dwl]) and *ya* (Mathews 1904:299:13.2 [Gga/Ngw]).

There were likely to have been several other interjections, one of which, although not recorded for Biyal-Biyal, was probably gwag. This was noted in the surrounding languages: (Ridley 1875:107:22 [DgR]), (Mathews c.1900:31:28 [Dg]), (Mathews 1901:150:15 [Dwl]). It was recorded by Mathews, in Darkinyung, as gurag (c.1903:274:45 [Dark]).

10.6 Prepositions

There are no prepositions as such in Biyal-Biyal, this assertion being consistent with a comment by Yallop in a private communication to the effect that, as in many Aboriginal languages, case suffixes serve many of the functions of English prepositions. Yallop had earlier observed:

The other functions of cases [apart from ‘signalling subject and object’] are more or less those covered by prepositions in English (*‘to a boy’, ‘of a boy’, ‘from a boy’, etc.*) (1982:79).

Two ‘prepositions’, or perhaps ‘adverbs of place’, were recorded in Biyal-Biyal:

X10.32 *Barúa*
baru -wa
? LOC
“: Near to :” (b:4:8)

This, with ‘doubtful colons’, was recorded on another occasion, without those ‘authorities’ (see §3.4.1), as follows:

X10.33 *Puráwã*
bura -wa
? LOC
“Above, up stairs &c.” (b:16:23)

Dawes’ second example refers to ‘up stairs’. One place with stairs would have been the Governor’s house. Another was Dawes’ observatory, a fact confirmed by Dawes in a caption to a sketch of the observatory in a letter to the Astronomer Royal:

A stair case of communication between the upper & lower floors (Dawes 1788:2).

Bennelong, who went to both places, might have once pointed to the stairs and said bura-wa, indicating ‘up’. In the discussion of examples 1-3 of table T10.7 above, it was noted that bari/bara is a common BB stem; one recurring theme for this stem appears to be ‘up’, ‘rise’, as in:

X10.34 *Porbü'ga*
bur -ba -ga
 rise SFX: do SFX: be
 “Awake. Or to awake” (b:16:14)

This point was made earlier: see Note 1. to X8.77. The ‘raise up’ idea also appears similar to the example cited above:

P to G: *Gonang. poerbungana* [X10.6]
 “Gonang. Take hold of my hand and help me up :” (b:29:13)

Mathews noted a comparable Dharug usage a century later:

X10.35 *Bô'-ra-ga*
bura -ga
 rise SFX: be
 “get up! Arise!” (Mathews c.1900:112:11 [Dg])

An example featuring celestial movements was:

X10.36 *Yannadah Paragi*
 yanada **bara** -gi
 moon rise SFX: be
 “New moon” (King MS 401:7)

for which Mathews again provided a parallel:

X10.37 *Kuñ bâ-ra-bee*
 guny **bara** -bi
 sun rise SFX: do
 “Sun-rise” (Mathews c.1900:110:19 [Dg])

From the examples X10.34-37 it would seem that the different stem-forming suffixes might denote, in the case of -gi/-ga (SFX: be), the existence or fact of the moon- or sun-rise, and in the case of -bi/-ba, the activity of rising (classified as ‘operative’ in T8.1, and identified in the analysis lines of the examples by SFX: do).

And finally:

X10.38 *Bourra*
 bura
 “A cloud, or the clouds” (King in Hunter 1793:407.1:18)

This perhaps suggests that bura-wa meant ‘cloud - at’; and where clouds are is ‘up’.

The second ‘preposition/adverb’ was:

X10.39 Ca-dy
gadi
“Below or under” (c:21:11.1)

It is not possible to offer a comparable plausible explanation for it.

10.7 Articles

There are no articles, such as indefinite ‘a’, ‘an’ (a dog, an owl) or definite ‘the’, as in ‘the end’, in Bial-Bial or in most Australian languages.

11 RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

The present thesis recalls the record made by Dawes, noted earlier:

Ngia būngabaoú buk ngyiniwågolå'ng [X7.14]
 ngaya banga -ba -wu BOOK ngyini -wa -gulang
 1sg do FUT 1sg thou DAT? appertaining to
 “I will make a book for you” (b:15:5)

that is, in general terms: here is a ‘book’ (i.e. thesis), about Biyal-Biyal.

11.1 Partial reconstruction

What began as a casual interest has become a partial reconstruction of the Sydney Aboriginal language. This study confirms the connection of the Sydney Aboriginal language to Pama-Nyungan languages generally. Biyal-Biyal was found to have links to the neighbouring languages to the north and south of Sydney, with which it shares some vocabulary and certain derivational suffixes, and closer ties through stem-forming suffixes. It has its own pronouns, although there are similarities in them to these languages, and it has its own tense markers. It has closest links to Dharug.

This has not been a full reconstruction. There are major gaps, in such areas as irrealis, ‘if’ constructions, permissive, derivational suffixes, demonstratives, and vocabulary. Later scholars may be able to fill some of these lacunae, whether from new insights into the existing data, or by extrapolating from better understanding of the surrounding languages.

11.2 Has this thesis extended earlier work?

The incisive scholarship of Osmond relating to many of the elements covered in the foregoing text is acknowledged, as is the valuable work of Troy in first presenting the Biyal-Biyal language publicly, as well as Wilkes' several papers and drafts. This was earlier mentioned in §2.2. What might be said to be new in this thesis? The following could be highlighted.

—The thesis is the sustained explanation of Biyal-Biyal that was missing, when such work had been done for Awabakal (Oppliger 1984), Gundungurra (Besold 2003) and Dharawal (Eades 1976).

—It is written so as to be accessible to any reader with application, by its avoidance where possible of specialist terminology, with guidance in a glossary to such terms where used, and even the use of pictures to illustrate the ergative concept (see §9.3.1). However excellent the work of the specialist linguists cited, some readers could find the terminology used to be practically as obscure as the expositions in nineteenth century spelling by Threlkeld (Awabakal), Mathews (many languages), and Mathews and Everitt (Gundungurra).

—By its use of many examples, respelt and analysed, and by two large and many other tables, it has presented the language openly, so that later scholars might check its detail, readily correcting its errors and filling in its gaps.

The thesis also for the first time:

- attempts to explain the Dawes notebooks, and how they came to be written;
- considers the different systems of notation employed by Dawes;

- evaluates Dawes’ gradual learning, and suggests that different levels of credence be attached to entries made at different stages of his progress;
- occasionally corrects Dawes (e.g. b:7:1 *mara bidyal* [see §3.7]);
- clarifies some puzzles, such as offering occasional translations of untranslated entries, interpreting particular examples (e.g. X9.28 *Diego-mo-ram-me* and X8.85: *Wã’wi bowanára wã ngóra*) and offering a translation of ‘yela’ in X7.40 P.: Mr Faddy *yéla* Mr Clark *yenyában* Norfolk Island, which had perplexed Dawes;
- identifies prefixes, in §8.6;
- compares Biyal-Biyal with the neighbouring languages in a comprehensive way.

The inter-language comparative pronoun table at §5.2.1 is new, and it includes a frequency of occurrence of examples cited concept, to enable readers to estimate the reliability of particular entries. This device is used again throughout §7.2 on pronouns.

New, too, is a second large table, T9.3, analysing sentences to reveal their nominal inflexions.

The thesis also suggests that Threlkeld’s Key really might hold a key to Australian languages to some extent, where scholars had rejected it previously (see §8.3).

Finally, the associated databases are new. By opting for an approximate sound estimate of words, as well as standardised English translations, they enable intra- and inter-language comparisons to be made. Various layouts show global

comparisons, analyse entries on a line-by-line page display of case and verb suffixes and bound pronouns, enable sorting to be done by any criterion or collection of criteria, whether original entry or original translation, respelt form, standardised English, source, page and line, category classification, part of speech, language.

The thesis and the databases contain innovations and detail that the above summary reflects but does not completely cover. Both also most likely contain errors, but the databases at least can be constantly corrected and improved.

11.3 Aids for further study

The databases that have underpinned the analyses in the present work by providing the links to comparable forms, whether vocabulary or functional elements such as noun and verb suffixes and inflections, accompany this text. They are intended to give later scholars the same access to this data. They are working tools under constant development, for example by the addition of annotations in the 'Comments' field, and suggestions to links in the 'Meaning clue' field. The databases are 'North' (primarily for Awabakal, Darkinyung, Karree, Gadang), South (primarily for Dharawal, Gundungurra, Ngunawal, Ngarigu), and AllSyd (for the Dawes and other Sydney region vocabularies, including Dharug). The Coastal database is a compilation of these three databases, together with relevant Curr lists (Curr 1887:340-433, coastal lists only), enabling all to be searched at once.

In addition to the databases, the appendices include a summary of the sources on which the present work has been based, and notes on the informants.

11.4 What more could immediately be done

Three steps that could advance the study of Biyal-Biyal are:

- the preparation of a line-by-line analysis of the Dawes/Anon notebooks, to include a facsimile copy of the notebooks, and full respelling and analysis;
- the preparation of a Biyal-Biyal dictionary, or more usefully a dictionary of the Sydney and surrounding languages, paying greater attention to such matters as, for example, vowel length;
- the preparation of simplified school texts, such as has been done by Grant and Rudder for Wiradhuri (2001) and Giacon and Betts for Kamilaroi (1999).

This project was embarked upon for the descendants of the indigenous people of Sydney. May they find some merit and advantage in it.

12 APPENDIX 1: Writers

Name	Status	Where born (as far as known) (accent clue)	Description of document	No of records	Source	Indigenous informant(s)	Locality [language]	Date
Bennett, Alfred Leonard (1877-1942)	Inherited grazing properties at Camden and enlarged the holdings into Kedumba Valley. Acquired Gundungurra vocabularies from c.1908.	N.S.W.		890	Handwritten notes, transcribed by Jim Smith	Billy Russell and others	Burragorang [Gga]	c.1908-14
Binnie, Richard (1819-1884)	Arrived in Sydney 1835.	...	Handwritten wordlist	39	(Binnie 1849)	Unknown	[Dg, Dwl?]	1849
Blackburn, David (dates unknown)	Master of the <i>Supply</i> ; arrived on the <i>Supply</i> and presumably left on it when it returned to England on 26 Nov. 1791.	...	Handwritten wordlist copied from William Dawes, Notebook (b)	135	(Blackburn 1791: Mitchell Lib. CY Reel 1301)	As for Dawes	[BB]	1789-91
Bowman, Dr James (1748-1846)	Surgeon. Arrived in NSW in 1819. In 1823 married into Macarthur family (Elizabeth, second daughter of John and Elizabeth Macarthur). In 1824, acquired 12 000-acre Ravenswood estate in Singleton area.	Carlisle, Cumberland, England	Handwritten wordlist (both 'Bowman' hands similar)	159	'Camden list', Macarthur Papers A4286 (Bowman c.1824-46)	Unknown	Camden [Dg]	c.1824-46
Bowman [as above]			Handwritten wordlist (both 'Bowman' hands similar)	19	'Bulgara list', Macarthur Papers A4286 (Bowman c.1824-46)	Unknown	Possibly Camden [Dg?]	c.1824-46
Brown, Robert (1773-1858)	Nominated by Sir Joseph Banks to join Mathew Flinders, as naturalist on HMS <i>Investigator</i> , leaving in mid-1801. Collected specimens on coastal surveys on unknown southern coast, and on Australian circumnavigation; also near Sydney, and Hunter River. Returned to England in 1805.	Scotland	Handwritten field notebooks (hard to read)	92	'Georges River list' (Brown 1803)	Unknown	Georges River [Dg?]	28 Sep.-4 Oct. 1803 (Vallance, Moore and Groves 2001:444-7)

Name	Status	Where born (as far as known) (accent clue)	Description of document	No of records	Source	Indigenous informant(s)	Locality [language]	Date
Brown [as above]			Handwritten field notes (hard to read)	44	'Bagara list' (Brown c.1804)	Bagara	Broken Bay [Kre?]	1802?
Caley, George (1770-1829)	Botanist, naturalist, explorer, collector. Arrived in NSW in 1800. Field trips to 1807 included parts of Victoria, Tasmania, the Cowpastures area and beyond, Blue Mountains, Narrabeen, upper Georges River, Cataract and Cordeaux Rivers, and elsewhere. Sympathetic to Aboriginal people.	Yorkshire, England	Words occur in published extracts of Caley's reports and letters, lists	80	(Caley 1967)	Muwadin (probably)	[BB]	1800-07
Carter, Benjamin Bowen [possible Log author]	Surgeon, <i>Ann and Hope</i> , US whaler.	...	Handwritten list	37	(Carter)	Mahroot the Elder (c. 1773-1817)	[BB]	21 Oct. 1798
Clark, Ralph (1755-1794)	Officer of marines. Arrived Sydney 1788, and left Dec. 1791. Kept a diary 1787-92.	...	Words occurring in diary entries	5	(Clark 1981)	Unknown	[BB]	15 Feb. 1790
Clarke, Rev. William Branwhite (1798-1878)	Church of England minister, poet, geologist. Arrived in NSW in May 1839. Became headmaster at the Kings School, before securing a parish at North Parramatta in 1840 until 1844.	Suffolk, England	Handwritten names of places in the Baulkham Hills district	9	(Clarke 1833-1841)	Naraginni, Chief of the South Creek natives	Baulkham Hills area [Dg]	6 Nov. 1840
Collins, David (1756-1810)	Captain of marines and deputy judge-advocate; arrived with First Fleet Jan. 1788, leaving in 1796.	London, England	Published wordlist in vol. 1 of <i>An Account of the English Colony</i>	112 in text; 348 in word-list; 3 in text, vol. 2	(Collins 1975 [1798]:507-13)	Various	[BB]	1788-96

Name	Status	Where born (as far as known) (accent clue)	Description of document	No of records	Source	Indigenous informant(s)	Locality [language]	Date
Cunningham, Allan (1791-1839)	Botanist and explorer. Arrived in NSW in 1816. In 1817, went with John Oxley to Lachlan River. Four voyages with Philip Parker King included circumnavigation of Australia 1817-18, and two others, in <i>Mermaid</i> ; and a fourth, in <i>Bathurst</i> , 1821-22. Then concentrated mostly on land collecting and exploration until 1830. In England Feb. 1831-37 before returning to Sydney.	Surrey, England	Handwritten table, 6 Jan. 1822: 'A comparative table ... of the different languages spoken by the aborigines of the continent of Terra Australis at different parts of the coast': four locations	35	'Specimen of the languages parts of the coast ... cutter Mermaid 1817-22' (Cunningham 1822)	Unknown	Port Jackson	1817-22
Cunningham, Peter Miller (1789-1864)	Naval surgeon 1810-40, land holder in NSW 1825-30 in upper Hunter River district, and author.	Scotland	Words appearing on pp. 17-18	4	(Cunningham 1827:17-18)	Unknown	[Dg?]	c.1825-27
Delessert, M. Eugene (1819-1877)	French traveller, recorded a world voyage 1844-47, including Sydney in 1845.	...	Words appearing in the text: pp. 127-157	40	(Delessert 1848:127-57)	Unknown	[Awa, Dg]	1844-47
Enright, W.J. (dates unknown)	Lawyer and amateur ethnologist (Thomas 2002)	...	Published list	460	(Enright 1900)		[Gdg]	1900
Everitt, Mary Martha (1854-1937)	Mistress in charge of the girls department of the superior public school in South Parramatta (Illert 2001:19)	...	Handwritten	86	(Everitt c.1900)	Bessie Sims, La Perouse	Burragorang [Gga]	c.1900
Fulton, Rev. Henry (1761-1840)	Church of Ireland minister, transported. Arrived NSW 11 Jan. 1800. Conditionally pardoned Nov. 1800. To Norfolk Island 1801 as chaplain. Full pardon 1805. To Parramatta 1806. Chaplain for Castlereagh and Richmond 1814-40.	England	Heavily crossed-out handwritten words on various pages of births, deaths and marriages register	70	(Fulton 1800-01)	Unknown	[BB]	1800-Nov. 1801

Name	Status	Where born (as far as known) (accent clue)	Description of document	No of records	Source	Indigenous informant(s)	Locality [language]	Date
Hale, Horatio (1817-1896)	American linguist and ethnographer, member of U.S. exploring expedition 1833-42.	America	Published comparative table of words from nine localities (including Sydney, Liverpool and Lake Macquarie)	29 BB; 18 Liverpool; 41 Lake Macquarie	(Hale 1846:479-531)	Unknown	[Dg, Awa]	1839
Hicks, Zacchary (1739-71)	Second lieutenant on the <i>Endeavour</i> .	Stepney, east London, England	Published wordlist	9	(Lanyon-Orgill 1979:35)	Unknown	Botany Bay [BB]	2 May 1770
Hunter, John (1737-1821)	Captain; arrived Jan. 1788; to Cape of Good Hope Oct. 1788-May 1789; Norfolk Island Feb. 1790-Jan. 1791; to England Mar. 1791.	Leith, near Edinburgh, Scotland	Words appearing in the text	17	(Hunter 1793)	Unknown	[BB]	1788-91
Hunter [as above]			Captions to illustrations	29	(Hunter 1989)	Unknown	[BB]	1788-91
King, Philip Gidley (1758-1808)	Second lieutenant. Arrived in Sydney Jan. 1788, then to establish a settlement in Norfolk Island, 14 Feb. To England Mar. 1790.	Cornwall, England	Handwritten list, copied from existing records; published list	237 (MS); 371 (Historical Journal)	(King 1786-90: MS) (King 1968 [1793]:196-298)	Unknown	[BB]	1788-91
King, Phillip Parker (1791-1856)	Naval officer (and son of P.G. King). In England 1797-1817. Undertook three coastal surveys in <i>Mermaid</i> to 1820, and a fourth in <i>Bathurst</i> , 1821-22.	Norfolk Island	Published comparative table of words from eight localities (including Port Jackson)	58 (38: Collins; 7: Cunningham)	(King 1827:632-637)	Unknown	[BB]	1788-1822

Name	Status	Where born (as far as known) (accent clue)	Description of document	No of records	Source	Indigenous informant(s)	Locality [language]	Date
Lang, John Dunmore (1799-1878)	Presbyterian clergyman and author. Arrived Sydney 1823. Through controversial writing and lecturing, and membership of organisations and personal representation, advanced education, immigration, the separation of Victoria and Queensland; founded newspapers.	Greenock, Scotland	Handwritten list (thin sloping hand: recorder unknown)	43 (12 BB)	'Argyle list' (Lang 1838-73)	'One of the Natives of Argyle'	Argyle: Goulburn area [Gga]	n.d.
Lang [as above]			Handwritten list (bold round hand: recorder unknown)	266	'NSW Vocabulary' (Lang n.d.; c.1840)	Unknown	[BB, Dg]	n.d.
Larmer, James (dates unknown)	Surveyor, 1829-1860.	...	Published list	114	(Larmer 1898:223-9)	Unknown	[Awa, Kre]	1832
Larmer [as above]			Handwritten list	32	(Larmer c.1853:419-20)	Unknown	Sydney Harbour [BB]	1853
Leigh, Rev. Samuel (1785-1852)	Methodist missionary. Arrived in NSW in 1815. Went to Castlereagh, between Richmond and Penrith, where first Methodist church was built.	Staffordshire, England	Handwritten list	19	(Leigh 1817)	Unknown	[Dg]	1817
Lesson, René Primavère (1794-1849)	French naturalist and explorer. In Sydney from 17 Jan. to 20 Mar. 1824.	...	Handwritten and published lists	67	(Lesson 1839)	Unknown	[Some BB, Awa and other languages, but unreliable]	1824
Macarthur, Mrs Elizabeth (1767?-1850)	Wife of John Macarthur, pastoralist.	Devon, England	Published letter	20 names of people	(Macarthur 1892 [1791]:504-5)	Unknown	[BB]	Mar. 1791

Name	Status	Where born (as far as known) (accent clue)	Description of document	No of records	Source	Indigenous informant(s)	Locality [language]	Date
Mann, John Frederick (1819-1907)	Arrived Sydney c. 1841. Explorer 1846; joined Survey Department in 1848 (SMH 9 Sep. 1907).	Lewisham, Kent, England	Handwritten list	303	(Mann c.1842: frames 174-8)	Long Dick	[Awa]	c.1842
Mathews, Robert Hamilton (1841-1918)	Surveyor. Extensive recorder of Aboriginal languages. See §2.2.1 and §§2.2.5-7.	Narellan, N.S.W.	Published papers and field notebooks		See bibliography	Various	[Dark, Dg, Gga, Dwl]	c.1900-03
Mitchell, Sir Thomas Livingstone (1792-1855)	Surveyor-general, explorer, author. Explorations: 1831: N-W of Sydney, between Castlereagh and Gwydir Rivers; and Barwon; 1835: Bogan and Darling Rivers; 1836: Lachlan, Murrumbidgee, Murray, Darling Rivers; Murray upstream and Victoria; 1845: central Queensland.	Craigend, Scotland	Published comparative table	85	'Vocabulary of words having the same meaning in different parts of Australia': seven localities (including Wollondilly River) (Mitchell 1838:377-84)	Unknown	[Gga]	1827-38
Mitchell [as above]	Mitchell's focus of activity, c.1830, was on Sydney region, and roads to Goulburn and Bathurst.		Handwritten list	97	'Vocabulary from Natives about Stonequarry Creek' (Mitchell c.1830:425)	Unknown	[Gga]	c.1830
Monkhouse, William (?-1770)	Surgeon on James Cook's first voyage, in the <i>Endeavour</i>.	...	Published wordlist	31	(Lanyon-Orgill 1979:33-4)	Unknown	Botany Bay [BB]	2 May 1770
Moore, Charles (1820-1905)	Botanist. Arrived Sydney Jan. 1848 to take up appointment as director of Botanic Gardens, Sydney.	Dundee, Scotland	Printed catalogue	111	(Moore 1855)	Unknown	[Dwl, Gga, Dg, Kre]	1855
Paine, Daniel (1770-after 1807)	Boat builder. To Sydney in the <i>Reliance</i> — with Bennelong, returning from stay in England. Taken on board Sep. 1794, ship sailed Feb. 1795 and arrived Sydney 8 Sep. 1795. Dismissed by Governor Hunter Sep. 1796 for his conduct, not for his expertise, and left colony on 24 Nov. 1796.	Minorca, Spanish island in Mediterranean Sea; (family's place of origin: Deptford, east London, England)	Published list	75	(Paine 1983:41-2)	Ben-nelong; possibly others	[BB]	1795-96

Name	Status	Where born (as far as known) (accent clue)	Description of document	No of records	Source	Indigenous informant(s)	Locality [language]	Date
Phillip, Arthur (1738-1814)	Captain and Governor. Arrived Sydney Jan. 1788 and left 11 Dec. 1792.	London, England	Published text	27	(Phillip 1968 [1793]:299-375)	Ben-nelong and others	[BB]	1788-92
Phillip [as above]			Handwritten letter to Banks	7	(Phillip 1791:41-3)	As above	[BB]	1791
Port Jackson Painter	Unknown artist(s)		Captions to works of art	37 (S&W); 97 (NHM;)	(Smith and Wheeler 1988) (Natural History Museum)	Unknown	[BB]	1788-c.1797
Ridley, Rev. William (1819-1878)	Presbyterian minister, philologist. Arrived Sydney 1850.	Essex, England	Published text	263	(Ridley 1875:99-108)	Malone, John and other(s)	Cowpastures [Dg, Dwl]	[?]
Russell, William (1830-1914)	Russell, indigenous name 'Werriberrie', 'almost the last of his tribe' (A.L. Bennett, editor, <i>Recollections</i>)	The Oaks (or possibly Oakdale, where there is a Russell Lane), N.S.W.	Published list; words in text	List: 85; in text: 45	(Russell 1991 [1914]:25-7)	Werriberrie	[Gga]	1830-1914
Schmidt, Fr P.W. (1868-1954)	Austrian priest and linguist. Surveyed and analysed Australian language material (doing this in Austria, not in Australia.)	Austria	Published list	BB: 67; Dark: 58; Awa: 61; Dwl, Gga, Ngwl: 148	(Schmidt 1919)	Unknown	[BB, Dark, Awa, Dwl, Gga, Ngwl]	1919
Smith, Isaac (1752-1831)	Midshipman on <i>Endeavour</i> , surveyor. Retired as rear admiral (Villiers:97, 231).	...	Published wordlist	20	(Lanyon-Orgill 1979:34)	Unknown	Botany Bay [BB]	2 May 1770

Name	Status	Where born (as far as known) (accent clue)	Description of document	No of records	Source	Indigenous informant(s)	Locality [language]	Date
Southwell, Daniel (1764?-1797)	Naval officer; mate on the <i>Sirius</i> . Arrived Sydney Jan. 1788. With <i>Sirius</i> to Cape of Good Hope for supplies 2 Oct. 1788 to 9 May 1789. Made responsible for the lookout on South Head, Mar. 1790, and left colony 28 Mar. 1791.	Probably London, England	Handwritten list	180	(Southwell c.1791)	Ben-nelong or Marou-bra or both	[BB]	1791
Suttor, J.B.	Contributor to <i>The Australasian Anthropological Journal/Science of Man</i>.	...	Published lists, mostly copied from P.G. King	147	Issues: 31 May 1897, p. 123; 1 Dec. 1909, p. 160; 1 Jan. 1911, p. 177, 1 Dec. 1911, p. 170 (Suttor 1897)	Unknown	[BB]	[?]
Tench, Watkin (1758?-1833)	Captain-lieutenant of marines. Arrived Sydney Jan. 1788; left 18 Dec. 1791. Wrote two accounts of experiences in Sydney.	Chester, Cheshire, England	Words in text	87	(Tench 1979 [1789, 1793])	Various	[BB]	1788-92
Thornton, George T.	Member, NSW Legislative Council 1877-1901, businessman and landowner (Webmaster:NSW Parliament).	Sydney	Words in text	80	(Hill and Thornton 1892)	Unknown	[BB, Gdg, Dwl]	1892
Threlkeld, L.E. (1788-1859)	Congregational minister, missionary, author. Arrived Sydney Aug. 1824 (Champion 1939:303). Established mission at Lake Macquarie May 1825, which was closed in 1841. Wrote on Awabakal language and translated gospels into it.	London, England	Grammar, translations, lexicon		For a list of publications, see §2.2.2. Also annual reports etc.	Biraban (M'Gill)	Lake Macquarie [Awa, Kre]	1824-41
Tuckerman, J. (dates unknown)	Unknown.	...	Published wordlist	120	(Tuckerman 1887:358-9)	Unknown	[Dark?]	1887
Watling, Thomas (1762-1814?)	Forger and artist. Transported and arrived Sydney Oct. 1792. After being pardoned, left Sydney and was in India 1803 before continuing to Scotland.	Dumfries, Scotland	Captions to works of art	S&W: 23; NHM: 63	(Smith and Wheeler 1988) (Natural History Museum)	Unknown	[BB]	1788-c.1797

Additional notes

Much of the preceding biographical information was drawn from the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* with some other sources indicated in parentheses (*Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1967).

David Blackburn

Of the 135 entries in the Blackburn list, about 130 are virtually identical to entries in Dawes' Notebook (b), a few differing by a single letter, or similar. All occur in the same sequence as in the Dawes notebook. On a few occasions Blackburn omitted a word in the Dawes series he copied. Three words are not direct copies from Dawes, and another two do not occur in the Dawes records.

The main importance of the Blackburn list is not the vocabulary provided but the date of preparation. As the letter to which the list was attached was dated 17 March 1791, the list was copied before then. This provides additional information about the date of compilation of Dawes' Notebook (b), and how to interpret Dawes' sound transcription system. None of the 'Blackburn' entries make use of the special characters in the third system of transcription (combined 'ng', i-no-dot, u-dot, a-dot-over), which means that Dawes' pronunciation guide, and any entries appearing lower down on a page than a Blackburn-copied entry, were made after 17 March 1791.

David Collins

David Collins was the major contributor of information on Biyal-Biyal after Dawes, providing the longest wordlist and considerable language data in his narrative.

John Dunmore Lang

The Lang Papers in the Mitchell Library contain an 'Argyle list', the author and date of which being unknown; the hand is thin and right-sloping. It is a pidgin, containing some English forms, and mixing languages, including twelve items of Sydney origin. Mistranscriptions, or handwriting ambiguities, might account for significant lack of links to words of nearby languages.

The Lang Papers include a second wordlist, a 'NSW Vocabulary', distinct from the 'Argyle list'. It is an 11-page manuscript in ink, in a broad, bold, rounded hand, contrasting with the thin, right-sloping hand of the 'Argyle list'. It contains linguistic observations that a scholar such as Horatio Hale would have been capable of making.

Hale is not likely to have been the author. The handwriting is dissimilar; and there is less than full agreement between the items in this list and those in Hale's published record. Nevertheless, out of Hale's 29 Sydney words, 17 correspond closely with the Lang list; of the remainder, 4 are not represented in that list; and some of the rest can be explained as resulting from communication difficulties (e.g. 'water': drinking water and sea water probably had different words, accounting for differences in the two lists for this term), or attributing words to 'Sydney' when they are northern forms.

René Primavère Lesson

This list, taken by the French-speaker Lesson, is for the most part suspect. There appear to have been communication difficulties with the informants. If Bungaree's wife Gooseberry were one informant, she has given 'Gooseberry' (perhaps intending 'I am Gooseberry') in response to an enquiry for 'eye', when Lesson might have been pointing towards her eye. "Date oui-line" (DAD wilin), has been given for 'lip', when Gooseberry was probably saying: 'THAT (is) wilin'. (There are 14 other records of wilin(g) for 'lip'.) Likewise she has given 'kiss' in response to an enquiry about 'lower lip'. There are many words with no links to any records for the languages of the region: *dandanamang* for 'boomerang', and *gulura* for 'moon' are two of many examples.

Robert Hamilton Mathews

The papers by Mathews are listed in Chapter 2: Sources and Literature.

J.B. Suttor

Wordlists featuring words from Port Jackson appeared in the monthly journal *Australasian Anthropological Journal (Science of Man)* in December 1896 and a larger list in April 1897. A list in May 1897 was marred by a misalignment of the English word and the indigenous equivalent beginning at the 6th entry and continuing to the 27th. Part of the April 1897 list was repeated in December 1909, in January 1911, and the December 1911 issue reproduced a list from December 1896. Of the 151 words listed, 142 are taken from P.G. King in Hunter's 'Transactions', 6 probably from there, and 3 from elsewhere, of which *Mawersal* (= 'river' [?]) is untraceable.

George T. Thornton

The George Thornton material is mainly place and people's names and brief historical notes.

13 APPENDIX 2: Informants

The following are Dawes' informants, of whom by far the most important is Badyigarang. Wariwiya's contribution seems large, but 21 of her entries occur in a single plant list. The years of birth are necessarily estimates, and consequently too are the ages in 1791, the year when Dawes was most actively making his records. Reasoning for the estimates is given in the notes below the table.

T13.1 THE INFORMANTS

Name	Respelt	No of records	Status	Sex	Born approx	Age in 1791 approx
Patyegarang	Badyigarang	59	child	f	1775	16
Balluderry	Baludiri	1	man	m	1771	20
Barangaroo	Barangaru	5	woman	f	1750	40
Bennelong	Binilang	5	man	m	1764	27
Booroong	Burung	7	child	f	1775	16
Tarabílŭng	Darabilang	1	child	m	1774	17
Tugear	Dugiya	1	child	?	?	?
Coleby (Kolby)	Gulibi	2	man	m	1760	30
Gonangŭlye	Gunangulyi	8	child	f	1781	10
Kurubín	Gurubayin	1	man	m	1730	60
Munánguri	Munanguri	1	child	f	1783	8
Nanbarry	Nanbari	5	child	m	1780	11
Anganángan	Nganangan	1	man	m	1773	18
Wáriwéar	Wariwiya	25	child	f	1775	16
Wáriwiyal the less	Wariwiyal	2	child	f	1775	16
Yirínibî	Yirinibi	1	child	m	1773	18

Badyigarang, 16

Badyigarang had probably reached puberty (mula = 'blood', or 'ill'):

P. *Bubilyidyaou handkerchyéra* [X9.26]
 bu -bi -lyi -dya -wu HANDKERCHyi -ra
 cover SFX: do RFLX PAST 1sg INSTR
 "I covered (myself) with a handkerchief" (b:17:16)

Dawes: "*Minyin?*" ["Why?"] (b:17:17)

X13.1 P. *Mulalidwâ'rin*
 mula -li -dwar -in
 blood CONT while CAUS
 "Because I was sick." (b:17:18)

Note: A possible translation is also: 'Because I was bleeding'.

Badyigarang was significantly taller, and therefore probably older, than

Gunangulyi:

Dawes: Gonangúlye desiring to wear one of Patyegarang's petticoats; I told her it was too long for her, on which she said (b:8:14.2):

X13.2 *Gulbangabaou*
 gul -banga -ba -wu
 PFX: up do FUT 1sg
 "I will hold it up." (b:8:14.1)

which Patye explained as above. (b:8:15)

Meaning of name: badagarang = 'kangaroo'.

Baludiri, 20

Baludiri was old enough to be a husband, and young enough to be styled 'young man':

. . . a young man who lived with Bannelong desired to remain with her, and, from the tenderness he shewed her when Bannelong was not present, was supposed to be her husband (Phillip 1968 [1793]:321);

Ballederry, the young man who has been mentioned as living chiefly at Governor Phillip's house . . . (Phillip 1968 [1793]:340)

Meaning of name: baludiri = 'leatherjacket' (fish).

Barangaru, 40

Barangaru was the first of Binilang's wives to be encountered by First Fleet members:

Bannelong's wife, Ba-rang-aroo, appeared to be older than himself, and had had two children by a former husband, both of which were dead (Phillip 1968 [1793]:311).

Bennillong burnt the body of his first wife Ba-rang-a-roo, who, I suppose, was at the time of her decease turned fifty (Collins 1975 [1798]:499).

Collins' age estimate of 50 is likely to have been wrong. Binilang was only about 27, and Barangaru had just had a daughter in 1791, which she could not have done at 50 years of age. She might have been, say, 40, when she died—her death being estimated by Smith at 'towards the end of 1791' (2001:135).

Meaning of name: Unknown.

Binilang, 27

The capture of Binilang in late 1789 was recorded by Tench:

Baneelon we judged to be about twenty-six years old, of good stature, and stoutly made, with a bold intrepid countenance, which bespoke defiance and revenge (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:159).

He was probably the principal source of information about the indigenous people of Sydney to members of the First Fleet.

Possible meaning of name:

Bennillong told me, his name was that of a large fish, but one that I never saw taken (Collins 1975 [1798]:465:36).

banala occurs as "Sunshine" (Lang n.d.; c.1840:6:167 [Dg]), which meaning is supported by three Awabakal entries. A further twenty examples show banal = 'sun', especially in languages to the north; and Dawes gives banal = 'sunshine' (b:16:19). bana, (b:16:5.1), is a widespread word, especially southwards, for 'rain'. 'Banalang', if not the name of a fish, might thus have meant either 'raining', or 'sun shining'.

Burung, 16

In April 1789:

Two more natives, one of them a young man, and the other his sister, a girl of fourteen years old, were brought in by the governor's boat, in a most deplorable state of wretchedness from the small-pox. The young man died at the end of three

days: the girl recovered, and was received as an inmate, with great kindness, in the family of Mrs. Johnson, the clergyman's wife. Her name was Bòo-ron; but from our mistake of pronunciation she acquired that of Ab-ar-òo ... (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:148).

Possible meaning of name: barang = 'belly', birang = 'star', burang = 'grass'.

Darabilang, 17

Darab**il**ang, whose name was pronounced with the stress as shown in bold type, must have been old enough, on 13 November 1791, to accompany Dawes and two men to Botany Bay, and to enquire of Dawes about his return; Dawes was to leave for England a month later, on 18 December 1791:

X13.3 *Wārími wéllamabámi?*
 warimi walama -ba -mi
 whence return FUT 2sg
 "From whence will you return?" (b:26:15.1)

"This, to me by Tarab**il**ang when going towards B. Bay with him, Kolbi & Beriwá'ni, 13th Nov^r. 1791." (b:26:15.2)

Darabilang was young enough, on the occasion in 1795 described below, to be referred to as 'a lad':

... a large party of natives belonging to different tribes, being assembled at Pan-ner-rong* (or, as it is named with us, Rose Bay), the spot which they had often chosen for shedding blood, after dancing and feasting over-night, early in the morning, Mo-roo-ber-ra, the brother, and Cole-be, another relation of Bone-da, seized upon a lad named Tar-ra-bil-long, and with a club each gave him a wound in his head, which laid the skull bare (Collins:489).

* Pan-ner-rong in the language of the country signifies Blood.

Meaning of name: 'Appertaining to dara'; dara means 'thigh', 'leg' and 'tooth', and is also the placename for where Dawes set up his telescope, Dawes Point.

Dugiya

There are three references to "Tugear", or Dugiya, but only one word is attributed to this informant, *mullayin*:

X13.4 D. *Mínyin báaraküt Tugéar, mínyin?* [X8.77]
 minyin bara-ga -d Dugiya, minyin?
 why rise COMPL why
 “Why are you afraid Tugéar, why?” (b:32:10)

T. *Mulláyin*
 mala -yin
 man CAUS
 “Because of the men” (b:32:11)

There being no other information, Dugiya’s age and sex are unresolved.

Possible meaning of name: dugayi = ‘night’ (Threlkeld 1892:55:33 [Awa]) and dagayid = ‘frost’ (Larmer 1898:225.3:10 [Batemans Bay]); duga = ‘bush, woods’ (c:33:12).

Gulibi, 30

Gulibi (“Coleby”, “Cole-be”, “Kolbi” etc.) and Binilang are two of the best known indigenous personalities of the First Fleet days, both having been captured on 25 November 1789 for the purpose of language acquisition, as noted above §3.6.

Colbee was perhaps near thirty, of a less sullen aspect than his comrade, considerably shorter, and not so robustly framed, though better fitted for purposes of activity (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:159).

Possible meaning of name: gulubi = ‘grey goshawk’, gulibi = ‘dusky wood-swallow’.

Gunangulyi, 10

As mentioned above, Badyigarang was taller than Gunangulyi and presumably somewhat older than her, but not so much older that they would choose not to share each other’s company. An age of 10 is suggested for the younger girl. She was to become a tragic retributive victim:

After the murder of Yel-lo-way by Wat-te-wal, his widow Noo-rooing being obliged, according to the custom of her country, to avenge her husband’s death on some of the relations of the murderer, meeting with a little girl named Go-nang-goo-lie, who was

someway related to Wat-te-wal, walked with her and two other girls to a retired place, where with a club and a pointed stone they beat her so cruelly, that she was brought into the town almost dead. In the head were six or seven deep incisions, and one ear was divided to the bone, which, from the nature of the instrument with which they beat her, was much injured. This poor child was in a very dangerous way, and died in a few days afterwards (Collins 1975 [1798]:488).

Smith concluded that this incident occurred on 8 June 1792 (Smith 2001:144).

Meaning of name: Unknown.

Gurubayin, 60

X13.5 *Kurubín. Wå dyin taringál?*
 Gurubayin. Wa dyin daringal?
 Where wife his
 “Where’s his wife?” (b:32:12)

It would seem from the above example that Gurubayin was male, and from the following reference to “Go-roo-bine” that he was elderly:

Three or four days after this, Go-roo-bine, a grey-headed man, apparently upwards of sixty years of age, who was related to Bone-da, came in with a severe wound on the back part of his head, given him on account of the boy’s decease; neither youth nor old age appearing to be exempted from those sanguinary customs (Collins 1975 [1798]:490).

Some doubt is cast on the status of this person by the record made by Mrs Elizabeth Macarthur of a woman with a similar sounding name, ‘Crewborn’, she being the last of those mentioned in the following lists:

I will give you a few native names, and begin with the men:—
 Anabason, Volahoaverry, Immwaranga, Boldarry, Wecong, Walteval, Erroniba.
 Female names:— Milbah, Booel, Barangeroo, Cadimanga, Monengoom, Worigan,
 Crewborn (Macarthur 1892 [1789-95]:505).

The doubt is slight because the enquiry “Where’s his wife?” is inconsistent with Gurubayin’s being female.

Possible meaning of name: gurubang = ‘stone’ [Dwl, Gga], gurabang = ‘fog’ [Awa, Biripi, Dark, Kre, Dg], garaban = ‘groper’ (fish) [Gdg], garubawin/garubin = ‘kangaroo-rat’ [Biripi, Kre], guraban = ‘koala’ [Gga/Ngw], garabung = ‘black

glider' [Long Dick], gariban = 'spotted gum' [Gdg]. This profusion of possibilities highlights the difficulty of determining the true meaning of a personal or place name.

Munanguri, 8

In an untranslated passage, Dawes appears to provide a list of Binilang's sisters, and possibly brothers (murubin = "Woman's milk" (Collins 1975 [1798]:507.2:22)):

Murubün Benelå'ng. Wãriwéar Karangaráng Wü'rrgan Munánguri. (b:9:6-8)

If the order be significant, Munanguri would be the youngest of the four, and so perhaps around 8 years of age. 'She' could be the 'Monengoom' mentioned by Elizabeth Macarthur.

Possible meaning of name: minangaru = 'big toe' (Brown 1803:259.1:26.2).

Nanbari, 11

Tench described the first contact with Nanbari, in April or late March 1789:

Here they found an old man stretched before a few lighted sticks, and a boy of nine or ten years old pouring water on his head, from a shell which he held in his hand: near them lay a female child dead, and a little farther off, its unfortunate mother ... (Tench 1979 [1789, 1793]:146).

The following extracts indicate what happened to Nanbari. The first, which establishes Nanbari's connection with Dr White, relates to an intended retribution against Nanbari's uncle, Gulibi, for the murder of Yirinibi:

... a lad, who was also related to him [Cole-be] (Nan-bar-ray, the same who formerly lived with Mr. White, the principal surgeon), was to have been sacrificed; ... and it was thought that when the present tumult against his uncle (for Cole-be was the brother of this boy's father) had subsided, nothing more would be thought of him (Collins 1975 [1802]:48).

The second reports on Nanbari's death on 12 August 1821:

On the 12th of last month died, at the residence of Mr. James Squire, Kissing-point, Andrew Sneap Hammond Douglass White, a black native of this Colony. He was about 37 years old, and was taken from the woods a few months after the first establishment in 1788, by Dr. White, after whom he was named. His mother died just before of the small pox, which raged horribly among the poor natives at that time, and was buried by Mr. Squire. ...

Mr. Squire ... treated him with particular tenderness, and ... occasionally gave him amusing employment ... He lies interred in the same grave with Bennelong and his wife, in Mr. Squire's garden (*Sydney Gazette*: 8 September 1821:3:2).

Meaning of name: Unknown.

Ngana-Ngana, 18

It seems possible that Dawes' "Angan-angan" might be the same person as "Gnung-a-gnung-en" (c:41:12), and the same as "Collins", in the following extract:

His native names were Gnung-a gnung-a, Mur-re-mur-gan; but he had for a long time entirely lost them, even among his own people, who called him 'Collins,' after the judge-advocate, whose name he had adopted on the first day of his coming among us (Collins 1975 [1798]:250).

A portrait of Ngana-Ngana "Collins" is reproduced in the preliminary pages of the present work. The likeness suggests he is a young man.

Possible meaning of name: ngana = 'black'; also nguna = 'elbow'.

Wariwiya

There is some confirmation of the youthfulness of Ngana-Ngana "Collins" from his having a young wife, Wariwiya, as recorded by his namesake David Collins in relation to a spearing incident that took place in December 1795:

We saw him ["Collins"] from time to time for several weeks walking about with the spear unmoved, even after suppuration had taken place; but at last heard that his wife, or one of his male friends, had fixed their teeth in the wood and drawn it out; after which he recovered, and was able again to go into the field. His wife War-re-weer shewed by an uncommon attention her great attachment to him (Collins 1975 [1798]: footnote, 372).

There were at least two young Wariwiyas in camp. “Collins”’ wife, because of the absence of an additional sobriquet, may have been the Wariwiya who featured more frequently in Dawes’ circle of teenagers, rather than either “Wauriwééal the less” following:

Tadyéra
Da-dyira
“Mother of Wârwiar the less and Bidya Bidya” (b:36:3.1)

who was also recorded by Dawes on another occasion:

Wârwiar the less or *Wauriwééal the less*: a different girl from Wariwiya. The analysis of the statement is as follows:

X13.6 ‘Maaniliedianga Mrs Brooks’

mani-li-dya-nga

take CONT PAST 2sgO

take did [for] me (a:38:5)

or the unfortunate “Wariwear Wogul Mi” (‘one-eye’)—who might possibly have been the same person as “Wariwear the less”:

A young woman (nearly related to Bennillong), who had resided from her infancy in the settlement, was most inhumanly murdered; . . . The name of the good-tempered girl (for such she was) was War-re-weer; but, to distinguish her from others of the same name, an addition was given to her in the settlement from a personal defect that she had. Being blind of one eye, she was called War-re-weer Wo-gul Mi, the latter words signifying one eye (Collins 1975 [1802]:89).

Dawes (b:9:6), and Collins below, both recorded a Wariwiya as one of Binilang’s sisters:

I observed that the women seated themselves at some little distance from Bennillong, and then the group was thus disposed of—the husband was seated on a rock, preparing to dress and eat the fish he had just received. On the same rock lay his pretty sister War-re-weer asleep in the sun, with a new born infant in her arms; and at some little distance were seated, rather below him, his other sister [Car-ang-ar-ang] and his wife [Gurubarubula], the wife opening and eating some rock-oysters, and the sister [Car-ang-ar-ang] suckling her child, Kah-dier-rang, whom she had taken from Bennillong (Collins 1975 [1798]:493).

Meaning of name: wirawi = ‘female child’.

Wariwiya and Wariwiya(l) the less, 16

There are no age indications for the Wariwiya girls, whether older or younger than Badyigarang. In the table above, for simplicity, the same age has been suggested for both—or all, if “Wariwear Wogul Mi” is another.

Yirinibi, 18

There were two ‘Yirinibis: Yirinibi, who was killed (at the age of perhaps about 26), on 16 December 1796 by Gulibi in a retributive incident (Collins 1975 [1802]:47); and Yirinibi Guruwi (YG).

YG appears to have been the brother of Burung, as recorded by Dawes before March 1791:

X13.7 *Naabángoong Booroong*

na -ba -ngun Burung
see FUT ldu

“We will see, or shall we see Booroong?”

These words were spoken to me by Yirinibi, Booroong’s brother, and he was evidently anxious in enquiring after Booroong,” (a:3:8-9)

It may be inferred from the following comments by Collins, who was reporting on Baludiri’s funeral on about 17 December 1791, together with a further comment by Phillip, that Burung and Baludiri were sister and brother:

Boo-roong had her head cut by Go-roo-ber-ra, the mother of the deceased (Collins 1975 [1798]:500).

Mau-go-ran, the father [of deceased Baludiri], attended them armed with his spear and throwing-stick (Collins:501).

Mau-go-ran, the father of the native girl who lived with the clergyman, had a bad wound on the back of his head, which, he told the surgeon who dressed it, was done by a spear (Phillip 1968 [1793]:311).

As was seen in the ‘Burung, 16’ entry above, it was Burung who had been taken in by the clergyman’s wife, Mrs Johnson. Thus, if Baludiri and Burung were born in 1771 and 1775 respectively, it might be surmised that YG was born around the same time, perhaps 1773 or 1777. He is recorded as being a big, powerful man, and having clubbed another to death:

On the 26th [March 1795], some of our people witnessed an extraordinary transaction which took place among the natives at the brickfields. A young man of the name of Bing-yi-wan-ne, well known in the settlement, being detected in the crisis of an amour with Maw-ber-ry, the companion of another native, Ye-ra-ni-be Go-ru-ey, the latter fell upon him with a club, and being a powerful man, and of superior strength, absolutely beat him to death (Collins 1975 [1798]:345).

To have been physically capable of this feat seems more probable for YG as a 22-year old than as, say, an 18-year-old, and hence a birth date of 1773 seems more likely.

The concern for Burung expressed by YG in X13.7 could equally have been by a *protective elder* brother, or by *timid younger* brother—with timidity seeming unlikely according to Collins’ account above. Should the following 1791 sentence (#29 in table T9.3) have included YG as one of the two principals:

X13.8 *Yúdidyíngun yudi Burungà*
 yudi -dyi -ngun yudi Burung -(ng)à
 guide PAST 1du guide ACC
 ‘‘We two are going to see Booroong part of the way home’’ (b:30:6)

this would further suggest YG as an *elder* brother, at the time aged 18 to Burung’s 16 years.

Possible meaning of name (doubtful): yiringbin = ‘steep rock’ (Mathews c.1903:280.2:29 [Dark]).

14 APPENDIX 3: Analysis of the Dawes/Anon data

The following table summarises the composition of the Dawes/Anon data

COMPOSITION BY PART OF SPEECH AND CATEGORY, ALSO SHOWING NUMBER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES, AND PHRASES (EXPRESSIONS WITHOUT A VERB)

	Dawes							Anon			
Total records	950							768			
Classification / --> no of words	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4
SENTENCE	42	113	41	17	8	1	1	14	31	5	
PHRASE (no verb)	5	39	9					1	45	5	1
VERB											
simple	122							81			
1-word sentence	193							46			
NOUNS	c.247							c.454			
abstract								1			
artefacts	8							17			
bodily function								1			
body parts	41							49			
ceremonial								9			
common	5							5			
death and superstition								3			
eat/drink, food, cooking	4							1			
elements	9							48			
fauna	18							72			
flora	22							18			
human activity								3			
human classification	12							19			
human emotion	2							1			
kin terms	14							15			
medical	2							1			
name of person	68							64			
number	3							6			
place	26							55			
time	6							10			
tribe/clan	3							27			
voice and thought	3							5			
weapons	4							18			
ADJECTIVE	33							29			
abstract	2							3			
bodily state	7							7			

	Dawes	Anon
colour	5	3
human emotion	4	3
medical	1	2
physical	14	11
SUFFIX	11	1
verb	6	
noun	5	1
PRONOUN	40	8
ADVERBS	37	36
DEMONSTRATIVE		1
GERUND	7	1

15 APPENDIX 4: Databases

The following databases are provided electronically on a separate disc:

- AllSyd
- North
- South
- Coastal

These are described in Chapter 4: Manuscripts and Databases.

Also included are related databases containing source reference detail required by the above four databases:

- Carol Vocab Details²²
- Dixon language list

Further interrelated databases of peripheral interest also included are:

- Inland
- Anthropsoc
- Elaboration

These are Macintosh Filemaker Pro 7 databases.

Thesis

An electronic copy of the thesis itself (Microsoft Word 2004 for Mac, Version 11) is also provided on the disc.

²² So named because Carol Neville first demonstrated to me how relational databases work, and demonstrated on this database.

16 BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amery, Rob. 2006. Examiner's Report. Adelaide, 15 July 2006.
- Austin, M. 1963. The Early Defences of Australia. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 49 (3) (November 1963):189-204.
- Australian Dictionary of Biography*. 1967. Edited by D. Pike. 12 vols. Vol. 1-2: 1788-1850. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Barratt, Glynn. 1981. *The Russians at Port Jackson, 1814-1822*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Besold, Jutta. 2003. A Sketch Grammar of Gundungurra (Gandangara): A 'sleeping' language from south-eastern New South Wales. Partial fulfilment of Bachelor of Arts degree, Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, University of Melbourne.
- Binnie, Richard. 1849. Vocabulary of Words used by the Aborigines about Sydney. In *Binnie Family Papers, 1846-1882*. Sydney (Mitchell Library MSS 7326).
- Blackburn, David. 1791. Attachment to a letter of 19 March 1791: List of native names, with English equivalents. Sydney (Mitchell Library: Original: ML ref. Safe 1/20; microfilm: CY reel 1301).
- Blake, Barry J. 1987. *Australian Aboriginal Grammar*. London: Croom Helm.
- Bowern, Claire. 2005. Recording Indigenous Placenames. *Placenames Australia* (June, 2005):1, 3-4.
- Bowman, James. c.1824-46. Bulgara list of 19 words. Sydney (Mitchell Library CY reel 2358).
- . c.1824-46. Camden list of 159 words. Sydney (Mitchell Library CY reel 2358).
- Bradley, William. 1969. *A voyage to New South Wales, the journal of Lieutenant William Bradley RN of HMS Sirius, 1786-1792*. Sydney: Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in association with Ure Smith.
- Breckell, Maureen. 1993. Shades of Grey: Early Contact in the Blue Mountains. In *Blue Mountains Dreaming: The Aboriginal Heritage*, edited by E. D. Stockton. Winmalee, N.S.W.: Three Sisters Productions Pty Ltd.
- Breen, J.G. 1970. A Re-examination of Cook's Gogo-Yimidhir Word-list. *Oceania* xli (No 1):28-38.
- Brown, Robert. 1803. [Field notebooks]. London: Botanic Library, Natural History Museum (Sydney (Mitchell Library: AJCP reel M2495, Vol. II)).
- . c.1804. Native Names of Plants &c taken down from Bagara a very intelligent Native of Broken Bay. In *M Series: Robert Brown's MSS*. London: Natural History Museum (Sydney (Mitchell Library (AJCP reel M2494))).
- Caley, George. 1967. *Reflections on the colony of New South Wales*. Edited by J. E. B. Currey. London: Angus and Robertson.
- Campbell, J.F. 1926. Notes on 'Explorations under Governor Phillip'. *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* XII (i):26-40.
- Capell, Arthur. 1966 [1956]. *A New Approach to Australian Linguistics: Handbook of Australian Languages, Part 1*. Edited by A. P. Elkin, Prof., *Oceania Linguistics Monographs*. Sydney: University of Sydney.
- . 1970. Aboriginal Languages in the South Central Coast, New South Wales: Fresh Discoveries. *Oceania* xli (No 1):20-27.
- . 1971. History of Research in Australian and Tasmanian Languages. In *Linguistics in Oceania*, edited by T. A. Sebeok. The Hague, Paris: Mouton.
- . 1979. Classification of Verbs in Australian Languages. In *Australian Linguistic Studies*. Canberra: Dept of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- . 1979. Grammatical Classification in Australia. In *Australian Linguistic Studies*. Canberra: Dept of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Carter, Benjamin Bowen. Log of the 'Ann & Hope': A visit to Botany Bay and Sydney, 1798. Providence, Rhode Island, U.S.A. (Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, Rhode Island 02912).
- Champion, Ben W. 1939. Lancelot Edward Threlkeld—his life and work—1788-1859. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* XXV (iv-v):279-329; 341-411.
- Clark, Ralph. 1981. *The journal and letters of Lt. Ralph Clark, 1787-1792*. Edited by P. G. Fiddon and R. J. Ryan. Sydney: Australian Documents Library in association with the Library of Australian History.
- Clarke, William Branwhite. 1833-1841. Diaries 1833-1841: A diary of occurrences, facts and thoughts. Sydney: Mitchell Library.
- Cobley, John. 1962. *Sydney Cove 1788*. Vol. I. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- . 1963. *Sydney Cove 1789-1790*. Vol. II. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.
- Collins, David. 1975 [1798]. *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners. etc., of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*. Edited by B. H. Fletcher. First ed. 2 vols. Vol. I. Sydney: A.H. & A.W. Reed in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society. Original edition, 1798, published by T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, London.
- . 1975 [1802]. *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, With Remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners. etc., of the Native Inhabitants of that Country*. Edited by B. H. Fletcher. First ed. 2 vols. Vol. 2. Sydney: A.H. & A.W. Reed in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society. Original edition, 1802, published by T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, London.

- Cunningham, Allan. 1822. Diary. Sydney: New South Wales State Records SZ8: reels 47 and 6034 (Mitchell Library: FM4/3090).
- Cunningham, Peter. 1827. *Two years in New South Wales: comprising sketches of the actual state of society in that colony, of its peculiar advantages to emigrants, of its topography, natural history, &c &c.* 2nd, rev. and enl. ed. London: Henry Colburn.
- Curr, Edward M. Micklethwaite, ed. 1887. *The Australian race: its origin, languages, customs, place of landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent.* 4 vols. Vol. III. Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer.
- Currer-Jones, A. 1930. *William Dawes, R.M., 1762-1836: a sketch of his life, work and explorations (1787) in the first expedition to New South Wales; also, as Governor of Sierra Leone, and in Antigua, West Indies / by his great-grand-daughter A. Currer-Jones.* Torquay [England]: Smith.
- Dagelet, Joseph Lepaute. 1788. Letter to William Dawes, c. 10 March 1788. Sydney (Mitchell Library Ad. 49 CY reel 1414).
- Dampier, William. 1729. *A Collection of voyages: in four volumes.: illustrated with maps and draughts: also several birds, fishes, and plants, not found in this part of the world: curiously engraven on copper-plates.* 4 vols. Vol. III. London: James and John Knapton.
- Dawes, William. 1788. Letter to Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, Astronomer Royal. London.
- . 1791. Grammatical forms of the language of N.S.Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney, by — Dawes, in the year 1790. In *Marsden Collection*. London: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- . 1791. Vocabulary of the language of N.S.Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney. (Native & English), by — Dawes. In *Marsden Collection*. London: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- . 1926 [1791]. Map of 'Parts of the Territory of New South Wales'. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* XII (i):16.
- . 1926 [1826]. The Memorial of Lieutenant William Dawes (Antigua, December 1, 1826). *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* XII (iv):227-228.
- Delessert, M. Eugène. 1848. *Voyages dans les deux océans, Atlantique et Pacifique, 1844 à 1847: Brésil, États Unis, Cap de Bonne-Espérance, Nouvelle Hollande, Nouvelle Zélande, Taïti, Philippines, Chine, Java, Indes Orientales, Égypte.* Paris: A. Franck.
- Dixon, Robert Malcolm Ward. 1979. Ergativity. *Language* 55 (1):59-138.
- . 1980. *The Languages of Australia.* Edited by W. S. Allen and et al., *Cambridge Language Surveys*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2002. *Australian Languages, Cambridge Language Surveys.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- , ed. 1976. *Grammatical categories in Australian languages, Linguistic series; no.22.* Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Eades, Diana Kelloway. 1976. *The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales South Coast.* Vol. No 8, *Australian Aboriginal Studies: Research and Regional Studies*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Elder, Bruce. 1998. *Blood on the Wattle: Massacres and maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians since 1788.* Frenchs Forest: New Holland.
- Else-Mitchell, R. 1980. The Discovery of Bell's Line, 1823: A Note and a Document. *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 66 (2) (September 1980):91-96.
- Enright, W.J. 1900. The Language, Weapons and Manufactures of the Aborigines of Port Stephens, N.S.W. *Journal of the Royal Society of N.S. Wales* XXXIX:103-118.
- Everitt, Mary. c.1900. Burragorang or Gundungurra (Collected from Native of Burragorang, Mrs Bessie Sims, of La Perouse). [R.H. Mathews M/S Folder Doc AFa].
- Fitzhardinge, L.F. 1959. Editor's introduction. In *Sydney's First Four Years, by Watkin Tench.* Sydney: Library of Australian History in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society.
- Flynn, Michael. 1995. *Place of Eels: Parramatta and the Aboriginal Clans of the Sydney Region: 1788-1845.*
- Fraser, Bryce, ed. 1983. *The Macquarie Book of Events.* Sydney: Macquarie Library.
- Fulton, Henry, Rev. 1800-01. B, D, G, H, K, M, N, P, T, U, W, Y. In *Norfolk Island Birth, Deaths and Marriages Register 1797-1806.* Sydney (State Records New South Wales reel SZ1022 Vol. 4a).
- Giacon, John, and Marianne Betts. 1999. *Yaama Maliyaa, Yuwaalaraay - Gamilaraay.* Walgett, N.S.W.: Yuwaalaraay – Gamilaraay Program at Walgett High School.
- Gillen, Mollie. 1989. *The Founders of Australia: a biographical dictionary of the First Fleet.* Sydney: Library of Australian History.
- Grant, Stan (Snr), and John Rudder. 2000. *Introducing Wiradjuri Sentences.* A.C.T.: Restoration House.
- . 2001. *Wiradjuri Language—How it Works.* A.C.T.: Restoration House.
- Gunson, Neil. 1967. Threlkeld, Lancelot Edward. In *Australian Dictionary of Biography, 1788-1850,* edited by D. Pike. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Hale, Horatio. 1846. *United States Exploring Expedition: during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 under the command of Charles Wilkes, U.S.N.* Vol. VI: Ethnography and Philology. Philadelphia, U.S.A.: Lea and Blanchard.
- Hercus, L.A. 1969. Southern Ngarigu. In *The Languages of Victoria: a late survey.* Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Hill, Richard, The Hon, M.L.C., and George Thornton, The Hon, M.L.C. 1892. *Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales — with personal reminiscences of the tribes formerly living in the neighbourhood of Sydney and the surrounding districts.* Sydney: Charles Potter, Govt Printer

- (Published by authority of the New South Wales Commissioners for the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893).
- Holland, Margaret Jean, Viscountess Knutsford. 1900. *Life and Letters of Zachary Macaulay*. London: E. Arnold.
- Horton, David. 2000 [1996]. *Aboriginal Australia*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
- , ed. 1994. *The Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander history, society and culture*. 1994 ed. 2 vols. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
- Houston, W. 1905. Notes of an Interview between W. Houston Esq., one of the Trustees of Capt. Cook's Landing Place (Kurnell) and — Longfield, at Kurnell on Sunday, the 22nd of January 1905.
- Hunter, John. 1793. *An historical journal of the transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island: including the journals of Governors Phillip and King, since the publication of Phillip's voyage: with an abridged account of the new discoveries in the South Seas / by John Hunter. To which is prefixed a life of the author and illustrated with a map of the country by Lieut. Dawes and other embellishments*. London: Printed for John Stockdale.
- . 1892-1901 [1798]. Letter of May 1798 to the Home Secretary, the Duke of Portland. In *Historical Records of New South Wales*, edited by F. M. Bladen. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- . 1968 [1793]. *An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea, 1787-1792 / by Captain John Hunter, Commander H.M.S. Sirius; with further accounts by Governor Arthur Phillip, Lieutenant P. G. King, and Lieutenant H. L. Ball*. Edited by J. Bach. Sydney: Angus and Robertson in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society.
- . 1989. *The Hunter sketchbook: birds & flowers of New South Wales drawn on the spot in 1788, 89 & 90 / by John Hunter*. Edited by J. Calaby. Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- Illert, Christopher R. 2001. The Centenary of Mary Everitt's "Gundungurra" Grammar. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* 134:19-44.
- Jones, Philip. 2002. Strehlow, Theodor George Henry (1908-1978). In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*: Melbourne University Press.
- Jones, Philip B. 1995. Norman B. Tindale, 12 October, 1900–19 November, 1993: An obituary. *Records of the South Australian Museum* Vol. 28.2 (December 1995):pp. 159-176.
- King, Philip Gidley. Journal of P.G. King, 1786-1790. In *Mitchell Library, CY Reel 13 C115*. Sydney.
- . 1968 [1793]. Lieutenant King's Journal. In *An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea, 1787-1792 / by Captain John Hunter, Commander H.M.S. Sirius; with further accounts by Governor Arthur Phillip, Lieutenant P. G. King, and Lieutenant H. L. Ball*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society.
- King, Phillip Parker. 1827. *Narrative of a survey of the intertropical and western coasts of Australia: performed between the years 1818 and 1822 / by Phillip P. King. With an appendix containing various subjects relating to hydrography and natural history*. Vol. 2. London: John Murray.
- Lang, John Dunmore. 1838-73. Words taken from One of the Natives of Argyle. In *Rev. J. D. Lang, Papers, Vol. 9, Personal and Miscellaneous, 1838-73*. Sydney (Mitchell Library MS A2229, CY reel 900).
- . n.d.; c.1840. Vocabulary of the language of the Aborigines of N.S. Wales. In *Rev. John Dunmore Lang Papers, Vol. 9, Personal and Miscellaneous, 1838-73*. Sydney (Mitchell Library A2229, CY reel 900).
- Lanyon-Orgill, Peter A., ed. 1979. *Captain Cook's South Sea Island vocabularies*. Byfleet, Surrey, UK (5 Farm Close): The editor.
- Larmer, James. 1898. Native Vocabulary of Miscellaneous New South Wales Objects. *Journal and Proceedings of The Royal Society of New South Wales* XXII:223-229.
- . c.1853. Native Names of Points and Islands in Port Jackson. In *Sir T.L. Mitchell Papers, v. 8*. Sydney (Mitchell Library A295, Part 3).
- Leigh, Rev. Samuel. 1817. Rev. S. Leigh letter of 14 October 1817, p.4: native names. In *M Series: Methodist Missionary Society Correspondence 1812-1826: British Library*. Sydney (Mitchell Library FM4/1398-1399 (AJCP reels 121-4)).
- Lesson, René Primevère. 1839. *Voyage autour du Monde entrepris par order du Gouvernement sur la Corvette La Coquille*. 2 vol. in-8°, portrait et pl. en noir et en coul., fig. au titre vols. Vol. 2. Paris: P. Pourrat Frères, éditeurs.
- Low, W.H., and G.E. Hollingworth. 1955. *Matriculation English Course*. Fifth ed. London: University Tutorial Press.
- Macarthur, Elizabeth. 1892 [1789-95]. Appendix B. The Macarthur Papers. In *Historical Records of New South Wales*, edited by F. M. Bladen. Sydney: Govt. Printer.
- . 1892 [1791]. Letter of 7 March 1791 in Appendix B: The Macarthur Papers. In *Historical Records of New South Wales*, edited by F. M. Bladen. Sydney: Govt. Printer.
- The Macquarie Dictionary*. 1981. Edited by A. Delbridge. St Leonards, Sydney: Macquarie Library.
- Mander-Jones, Phyllis. 1983 [1966]. Dawes, William (1762-1836). In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, edited by A. G. L. Shaw. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- , ed. 1972. *Manuscripts in the British Isles relating to Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific*. Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Mann, John Frederick. 1886. A few notes on the Aborigines. *Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney (Mitchell Library Newspaper Cuttings 116:169).

- — —. c.1842. Australian Aborigines—A few notes on their language etc. Information obtained from Long Dick an influential native of the Cammeray Tribe a son of Bungaree and Queen Gooseberry. Sydney (Mitchell Library).
- Marsden, William, FRS. 1827. *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana Philologica et Orientalis. A catalogue of books and manuscripts collected with a view to the general comparison of languages, and to the study of Oriental Literature*. London: J. L. Cox.
- Mathews, Robert Hamilton. 1897. The Burbung of the Darkinung Tribes. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria* X (1):1-12.
- — —. 1901. The Dharruk Language, in 'The Thurrawal Language'. *Journal and Proceedings of The Royal Society of New South Wales* XXXV:155-157; vocabulary 157-160.
- — —. 1901. The Gundungurra Language. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia* xl (167):140-148.
- — —. 1901. The Gundungurra Language: Appendix in 'The Thurrawal Language'. *Journal and Proceedings of The Royal Society of New South Wales* XXXV:151-155.
- — —. 1901. Thurrawal Grammar—Part I. Parramatta: Federal Printing Works.
- — —. 1901. The Thurrawal Language. *Journal and Proceedings of The Royal Society of New South Wales* XXXV:127-160.
- — —. 1904. The Ngunawal Language: in 'The Wiradyuri and Other Languages of New South Wales'. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* XXXIV (July–December 1904):294-299; vocabulary 302-305.
- — —. 1904. The Wiradyuri and Other Languages of New South Wales. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* XXXIV (July–December 1904):284-305.
- — —. c.1900. Field Notebook: 8006/3/5- No 2. Canberra (National Library of Australia).
- — —. c.1900. Field Notebook: 8006/3/5- No 5. Canberra (National Library of Australia).
- — —. c.1900. Field Notebook: 8006/3/6- No 3. Canberra (National Library of Australia).
- — —. c.1900. Field Notebook: 8006/3/6- No 4. Canberra (National Library of Australia).
- — —. c.1900. Field Notebook: 8006/3/7- CRITERION. Canberra (National Library of Australia).
- — —. c.1900. Field Notebook: 8006/3/7- No 7. Canberra (National Library of Australia).
- — —. c.1903. The Darkinung Language, in 'Languages of the Kamilaroi and other Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales'. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* XXXIII:271-275; vocabulary: 280-281.
- — —. c.1903. Languages of the Kamilaroi and other Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* XXXIII:259-283.
- Mathews, Robert Hamilton, and Mary Martha Everitt. 1900. The Organisation, Language and Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the South-East Coast of New South Wales. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales* XXXIV:262-281.
- McCarthy, Frederick David. 1963. *New South Wales Aboriginal Place names and Euphonious Words, with their Meanings*. Fourth ed. Sydney: The Australian Museum. Original edition, 1921, compiled by W.W. Thorpe, published by the Australian Museum.
- — —. 1983 [1966]. Bungaree (Bongaree, Boungearee). In *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, edited by A. G. L. Shaw. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Mitchell, Thomas Livingstone, Sir. 1838. *Three expeditions into the interior of eastern Australia: with descriptions of the recently explored region of Australia Felix, and of the present colony of New South Wales*. 2 vols. London: T. & W. Boone.
- — —. c.1830. Vocabulary from Natives about Stonequarry Creek. Sydney (Mitchell Library).
- Monkhouse, William. 1979 [1770]. 13. Australia—Botany Bay (Monkhouse) (MS. Lanyon 8a). In *Captain Cook's South Sea Island Vocabularies*, edited by P. A. Lanyon-Orgill. Byfleet, Surrey, UK (5 Farm Close): The editor.
- Moore, Charles. 1855. *New South Wales. (Nouvelle Galles du Sud) Australie. Catalogue des collections de bois indigènes des différents districts de cette colonie faites par MM. Macarthur*. Paris: Imprimerie Horticole de J.-B. Gros.
- Moore, Geoff. c.2001. Aboriginal Language Observers/Researchers. In *Australian Aborigines History and Culture, Research Project*. Sydney: <<http://www.aaa.com.au/hrh/aboriginal/index.shtml>> [internet, 2001].
- Nash, David. 1993 [1994]. Obituary: Gerhardt Laves 15/7/1906–14/3/1993. *Australian Aboriginal Studies*:101-2.
- Natural History Museum, London. *Search The Natural History Museum's library catalogue* [cited. Available from <http://unicorn.nhm.ac.uk/uhtbin/cgiirsi/a0qWrL9KlF/175150007/60/126/X>].
- Nicolas, Paul Harris. 1845. *Historical Record of the Royal Marine Forces*. 2 vols. London: [S.l.]: Boone.
- Oates, Lynette Frances. 1988. *The Muruwari language, Pacific linguistics. Series C; no. 108*. Canberra: Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Oppliger, Mandy. 1984. The Phonology and Morphology of Awabakal: A reconstitution from early written records. For the degree of Bachelor of Arts with honours, University of Sydney.
- Osmond, Meredith. 1989. A Reconstruction of the Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax of the Sydney Language as recorded in the Notebooks of William Dawes. Canberra.
- Paine, Daniel. 1983. *The journal of Daniel Paine, 1794-1797: together with documents illustrating the beginning of government boat-building and timber-gathering in New South Wales, 1795-1805*. Edited by R. J. N. Knight and A. Frost. Sydney: Library of Australian History in association with the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, England.
- Phillip, Arthur. 1788. Letter of 9 July 1788, quoted in Cobley, John (1962). *Sydney Cove, 1788*: p.178. Sydney, 9 July 1788.

- — —. 1790. Letter of 17 June 1790, quoted in Cobley, John (1963). *Sydney Cove, 1789-1790*. Sydney.
- — —. 1791. Letter of 3 December 1791. Sydney (Mitchell Library Banks Papers, vol. 18 Botanical and Horticultural, pp. 41-43).
- — —. 1968 [1793]. *Journal of Governor Phillip*. In *An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea, 1787-1792 / by Captain John Hunter, Commander of H.M.S. Sirius; with further accounts by Governor Arthur Phillip, Lieutenant P. G. King, and Lieutenant H. L. Ball*, edited by J. Bach. Sydney: Angus and Robertson in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society.
- Reynolds, Henry. 1999. *Why weren't we told?* Ringwood, Victoria: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Ridley, William. 1875. *Kamilaroi and Other Australian Languages*. Second edition, revised and enlarged by the author; with comparative tables of words from twenty Australian languages, and songs, traditions, laws and customs of the Australian race. ed. Sydney: Thomas Richards, Govt Printer.
- — —. 1878. Australian Languages and Traditions. Language of the Aborigines of George's River, Cowpasture and Appin, that is from Botany Bay, 50 miles to the south-west. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (Feb. 1878):258-263.
- Royal Marines Museum. n.d. Summary of service of Lieutenant William Dawes. Southsea, Hants, U.K.
- Russell, William "Werriberrie". 1991 [1914]. *My Recollections*. Camden, N.S.W.: The Oaks Historical Society for the Wollondilly Heritage Centre.
- Sadleir, Richard. 1883. *The Aborigines of Australia*. Sydney: T. Richards, Govt. Printer.
- Schmidt, P. Wilhelm. 1919. *Die Gliederung der australischen Sprachen: geographische, bibliographische, linguistische Grundzüge der Erforschung der australischen Sprachen*. Vienna, Austria: Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerei.
- School of Oriental and African Studies. 2004. William Marsden (1754-1836). London.
- Sharpe, Margaret. 2006. Examiner's Report. Sydney, 23 October 2006.
- Shelley, William. 1814. Letter of 6 October 1814, quoted in 'Public Education in N.S.W. before 1848', *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society XXXVI* (iii), p.152. Sydney, 6 October 1814.
- The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. 1966 [1933]. Edited by C. T. Onions. 1 vols. London: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, Bernard, and Alwynne Wheeler, eds. 1988. *The Art of the First Fleet and other early Australian drawings*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press in association with the Australian Academy of the Humanities and the British Museum (Natural History).
- Smith, Keith Vincent. 1992. *King Bungaree: a Sydney Aborigine meets the great South Pacific explorers, 1799-1830*. Kenthurst, N.S.W.: Kangaroo Press.
- — —. 2001. *Bennelong: the coming in of the Eora: Sydney Cove 1788-1792*. East Roseville, N.S.W.: Kangaroo Press.
- — —. 2002. Bialba dialect. Sydney, 25 March 2002.
- — —. 2004. Eora Clans: A history of Indigenous social organisation in coastal Sydney, 1770-1890. MA, Indigenous Studies, Division of Society, Culture, Media and Philosophy, Macquarie University, Sydney.
- Southwell, Daniel. 1893 [1788]. *Journal and Letters of Daniel Southwell*. In *Historical Records of New South Wales*, edited by F. M. Bladen. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- — —. c.1791. A List of such Words used by the Natives of New Holland, in the District of Port Jackson, New South Wales, as could be gathered from them; and expressed as nearly as possible according to their mode of Enunciation; To which are added, the Words in English, that most closely correspond to them. In *Southwell Papers, British Library Add. MS 16,383*. London; Sydney (Mitchell Library).
- Spiers, B., Miss, for director. 1981. Letter of 2 June 1981 from the director, Royal Marines Museum. Southsea, Hants, U.K.
- Stockton, Eugene D. 1993. Aboriginal Sites in the Blue Mountains. In *Blue Mountains Dreaming: The Aboriginal Heritage*, edited by E. D. Stockton. Winnalee, N.S.W.: Three Sisters Productions Pty Ltd.
- Strehlow, Theodor George Henry. 1944? *Aranda phonetics and grammar*. Vol. 7, *Oceania monographs*. Sydney: Australian National Research Council.
- Suttor, J.B. 1897. Linguistics. *The Australian Anthropological Journal* (30 April 1897):106-107.
- Tench, Watkin. 1799 [1789, 1793]. *Sydney's First Four Years, being a reprint of 'A narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay; with an account of New South Wales, its Productions, Inhabitants, &c., to which is subjoined, A List of the Civil and Military Establishments at Port Jackson' and 'A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson in New South Wales, including an accurate description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and of its Natural Productions'*. Sydney: Library of Australian History in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society.
- Thomas, Martin. 2002. A Very Human Survey: The Cross-Cultural Inquiries of R.H. Mathews: A lecture by Harold White Fellow, Martin Thomas, at the National Library of Australia, Canberra, 24 October 2002. <<http://www.nla.gov.au/grants/haroldwhite/papers/mthomas.html>>.
- Threlkeld, Lancelot Edward. 1825. The orthography and orthoepy of a dialect of the Aborigines of New South Wales. Part 1. Newcastle, N.S.W.
- — —. 1827. *Specimens of a dialect, of the Aborigines of New South Wales: being the first attempt to form their speech into a written language*. Sydney (Printed at the "Monitor Office," by Arthur Hill).
- — —. 1834. *An Australian Grammar: comprehending the principles and natural rules of the language, as spoken by the Aborigines in the vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarie, &c. New South Wales*. Sydney: Printed by Stephens and Stokes, "Herald Office".

- — —. 1836. *An Australian spelling book in the language as spoken by the Aborigines in the vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarie, New South Wales*. Sydney: Printed by Stephens and Stokes, "Herald Office".
- — —. 1850. *A key to the structure of the Aboriginal language being an analysis of the particles used as affixes, to form the various modifications of the verbs: shewing the essential powers, abstract roots, and other peculiarities of the language spoken by the Aborigines in the vicinity of Hunter River, Lake Macquarie, etc., New South Wales: together with comparisons of Polynesian and other dialects*. Sydney: Printed by Kemp and Fairfax.
- — —. 1858. Language of the Australian Aborigines. In *Waugh's Australian Almanac, for the year 1858*. Sydney: James W. Waugh.
- — —. 1892. *An Australian language as spoken by the Awabakal, the people of Awaba or Lake Macquarie (near Newcastle, New South Wales) being an account of their language, traditions and customs / by L.E. Threlkeld; re-arranged, condensed and edited with an appendix by John Fraser*. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- — —. 1892. An Awabakal-English lexicon to the gospel according to Saint Luke. In *An Australian language as spoken by the Awabakal, the people of Awaba or Lake Macquarie (near Newcastle, New South Wales) being an account of their language, traditions and customs / by L.E. Threlkeld; re-arranged, condensed and edited with an appendix by John Fraser*. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- — —. 1892. The Gospel by St Luke Translated into the Language of the Awabakal. In *An Australian language as spoken by the Awabakal, the people of Awaba or Lake Macquarie (near Newcastle, New South Wales) being an account of their language, traditions and customs / by L.E. Threlkeld; re-arranged, condensed and edited with an appendix by John Fraser*. Sydney: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- — —. 2002 [1837]. *The Gospel of St. Mark in Awabakal*. Edited by D. A. Roberts, Carey, H.M. and Grieves, V., *A Database of Historical Materials Relating to the Aborigines of the Newcastle-Lake Macquarie Region*. Newcastle: University of Newcastle
<<http://www.newcastle.edu.au/group/amrhd/awaba/>>.
- Threlkeld, Lancelot Edward? c.1835. Specimens of the Language of the Aborigines of New South Wales to the Northward of Sydney. In *Rev. L. Threlkeld Papers, 1815-1862*. Sydney (Mitchell Library: Threlkeld Papers—CY820).
- Tindale, Norman B. 1940. Results of the Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition, 1938-1939: distribution of Australian Aboriginal tribes: a field survey. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 64 (1).
- Troy, Jakelin. 1990. *Australian Aboriginal contact with the English language in New South Wales: 1788 to 1845*. Canberra: Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- — —. 1992. The Sydney Language Notebooks and responses to Language Contact in Early Colonial NSW. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 12:145-170.
- — —. 1993. Language Contact in Early Colonial New South Wales 1788 to 1791. In *Language and Culture in Aboriginal Australia*, edited by M. Walsh and C. Yallop. Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
- — —. 1993-94. *The Sydney Language*. Canberra: Produced with the assistance of the Australian Dictionaries Project and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
- — —. 1994. The Sydney Language. In *Macquarie Aboriginal Words*, edited by N. Thieberger and W. McGregor. Sydney: The Macquarie Library.
- — —. 1994. Melaleuka: a history and description of New South Wales pidgin, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Tuckerman, J. 1887. No. 189. —The Hawkesbury River and Broken Bay. In *The Australian race: its origin, languages, customs, place of landing in Australia, and the routes by which it spread itself over that continent*, edited by E. M. M. Curr. Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer.
- Vallance, T.G., D.T. Moore, and E.W. Groves, eds. 2001. *Nature's investigator: the diary of Robert Brown in Australia, 1801-1805*. Canberra: Australian Biological Resources Study.
- Villiers, Alan. 1967. *Captain Cook, the seamen's seaman: a study of the great discoverer*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Vocabulary of the language of N.S. Wales, in the neighbourhood of Sydney. (Native and English, but not alphabetical). c.1791. In *Marsden Collection*. London: Library, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Webmaster. 2005. Parliament of New South Wales. Sydney:
<<http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/parlment/members.nsf/>>.
- Wilkes, Charles. 1845. *Narrative of the United States exploring expedition, during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*. 5 vols. Vol. II. Philadelphia, U.S.A.: Lea and Blanchard.
- Wilkins, David P. 1991. The European "Discovery" of a Multilingual Australia: The Linguistic and Ethnographic Successes of a Failed Expedition. In *Unpublished MS*. Buffalo, New York.
- — —. 1991. A One in a Million Chance? Dharug -birang and English belong. In *Unpublished MS*. Buffalo, New York.
- — —. 1992. Dharug, The Sydney Language. Buffalo, New York.
- Wood, G. Arnold. 1924. Lieutenant William Dawes and Captain Watkin Tench. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* X (i):1-22.

- — —. 1926. Explorations under Governor Phillip. *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Australian Historical Society* XII (i):1-26.
- Yallop, Colin. 1982. *Australian Aboriginal languages*. London: Andre Deutsch.

LATE pdf file CORRECTIONS

Note that on thesis page 138, TABLE T6.2, top line: the 'Phonetic value' Q is an inadvertent computer substitution for the intended character Q.

In the bibliography page 238, the 'Dixon' references should be to: 'Dixon, R.M.W.'

Jeremy Steele

Tuesday 13 March 2007