Language Recovery of the New South Wales South Coast Aboriginal Languages

Part B
Language Material

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Chapter B.1 Dharrawal

This chapter presents all stories sourced to-date and texts transcribed into the Dharrawal language, as well as all sentences provided by Mackenzie and Mathews in published and unpublished sources. Altogether the SCLs corpus contains six different stories in the Dharrawal language. Four of these were published and transcribed by Mackenzie. Mathews entered three stories in his notebook, but there are four different versions of *The Parable of the Sower*. While Mathews did not note any details about whom he obtained his stories from, Mackenzie’s did give some information in his accompanying letters that were published along with the language material. However, this information is not given for all of his Dharrawal material.

Mathews’ stories are all found transcribed successively in Notebook 4 (held in the Mathews manuscript collection MS 8006 Series 3/6 at the National Library of Australia). One of the *Parable of the Sower* versions is marked with the date 15th November 1902. The texts are reproduced here as they were transcribed in the notebook. This means that any additional corrections and clarifications Mathews noted along the stories are included in the presentation here.

Section B.1.3 contains Wodi Wodi sentences collected by William Ridley, and one sentence by Mathews.
B.1.1 Dharrawal Texts

B.1.1.1 Dharrawal Texts collected by Andrew Mackenzie (1818-1878)

The three Dharrawal stories (Texts 1-3) transcribed by Mackenzie are found published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*. Two of them, Text 1 *<Yirrama Karwēr>* and Text 2 *<Mullimūla>* , were also published by Ridley in 1875. There are slight differences in the English translation between the published versions, the reason why is unknown. Perhaps Ridley changed the format and translation to suit his own presentation style.
1. **Yirrama Karwēr - Jerra Thurawalthery – The Spirit of the Fig Tree (A-AM-1874-250-YK)**


Mackenzie, Andrew 1875 ‘Tales in Tharumba and Thurawal’ in William Ridley *Kamilaroi, Dippil, and Turrubul – languages spoken by the Australian Aborigines* Pp.143-147

This is one of Mackenzie’s Dharrawal texts that were published twice; details given above. Other than the informant’s place of origin, no details are given. In an accompanying letter, dated 27th May 1872, Mackenzie stated that

the story is a local legend, told in their own elliptical and dramatic fashion, and taken, word for word, from the mouth of the narrator, a native of Shell harbour. (Mackenzie, 1874:250)

Shellharbour is a township on the South Coast, south-east of Lake Illawarra and about 25 km south of Wollongong.

It is not clear whether *Yirrama* is the name of the spirit or perhaps a generic name for ‘spirit’, no further reference to the word is found in the SCLs corpus. I have included the scans of both published versions of the text. The first publication (Mackenzie, 1874, see Figure 2 and Figure 3) gives the story and English translation in a block of text, whereas in Ridley’s publication (1875, see Figure 4), the story is broken up and presented in separated sentences.

Note that there are some discrepancies in the arrangement of the sentences between the two publications. For example, in the first sentence of the story (1), Ridley moved the final *ngay* to the next line, which is transcribed as part of the first sentence by Mathews (as shown in Figure 2). There is no reference in the sources as to the reason for these differences.
Moelly, Wandandian, 27th May, 1872.

Sir,—I enclose specimens of Thurawal, the vernacular of the aborigines occupying the country from Wollongong to the banks of the Lower Shoalhaven inclusive. The ten sentences, of which a translation into Muddhung was given in my last letter, are now, for the sake of comparison, rendered into Thurawal. The story is a local legend, told in their own elliptical and dramatic fashion, and taken, word for word, from the mouth of the narrator, a native of Shell harbour.

I have, etc.,
ANDREW MACKENZIE.

The Honourable the Colonial Secretary, Sydney.

A THURAWAL STORY.

The Spirit of the Fig Tree.

"I am going for wild figs." "Very well, go on, start away." Net, bangaly basket. He picked the figs, filled net and basket. Cut more bangaly for baskets and filled them with figs. The spirit comes, catches him, swallows him. Takes him to the water, drinks, spits him out again. Looks back, tickles him, looks at him; comes back, and tickles him again. Goes away, comes back, and tickles him again. Goes a long way, comes back and tickles him again. Goes a long, long way to the mountain. He gets up, runs to the sea, and jumps in; the spirit very near catches him. He goes into the sea; the spirit walks along the beach. He got upon an island; the spirit went to the rocks. The man shouted "Come here!" Shouted

Figure 2 Mackenzie <Yirrama Karwër> 1874:250

JERRA THURAWALDHERY.

YIRRAMA KARWÊR.


Paddington, 29th June, 1872.

Sir,—Herewith I return Mr. Andrew Mackenzie’s communication of date 10th June, with the accompanying specimens of the Muddhung or Thrumbo, and the Thurawal dialects, which were enclosed in your letter of the 19th June.

Figure 3 Mackenzie <Yirrama Karwër> 1874:251
**Yirrama Karwēr.**

Yandi gai karwerullago.  
Kai, yanniŋ kainaunhdha yandhänai.  
Kurumunni, biŋalŋu.  
Wunnumainbala kurwery; kurma biŋalŋu ŋóhímasta.  
Kullymirga, biŋalŋyalŋu, ŋóhímasta kurwery.  
Yandhänai mnumbajanai, kūbāga yirramain.  
Maindhänai wurr̠i madjongo, ūndhumain dhūrawaia.  
Jellunjirana nthanai; yanguuđajanai; nanyina jellanai, yallumbyuynai yanguündibbala.  
Jauagūnala, yallumbunga, yanguündabillaja. Jaua worry jaulajila, yanguündibbala jella.  
Jangunala war-r̠y bobarah. Ya jaulubulugu tholbaralunbilla, ye maunda wunanye.

**Jerra Thurawaldhery.**

**A Thurawald Story.**

The Spirit of the Fig Tree.

"I am going for wild figs."

"Very well; go; go on; start away."

Net, basket.

He picked the figs; filled net and basket.

Cut more bangal for basket, and filled them with figs.

The spirit comes; catches him; swallowed him.

Takes him to the water, drinks, spits out again.

Looks back; tickles him; looks at him, comes back and tickles him again.

Goes away; comes back and tickles him again. A long way goes, comes back and tickles him again.

Goes a very long way to the mountains.  
He gets up, runs to the sea, and jumps in; the spirit very near catches him.

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**TALES.**

Kaiūŋojja yangariya ya wudjut yendap.

Barungara thallymbilla ya kurubun juya yirrama. Karrūga "yuŋyä ya-ŋi!" Karkugbilla.


Into the sea he goes, the spirit along the beach walks.

Upon an island he got; to the rocks went the spirit. He shouted—"Come here!"

Shouted again.

They fetch spears; walk round him.

"The spirit is this way!" The man got into a canoe. The spirit could not be found; he went into the rocks; he got into the hole.

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**Figure 4** Mackenzie <Yirrama Karwēr> in Ridley 1875:145-46

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(1) **Yandinay karwerullago gai,**

yan-dhi = ngai    garwaray-langu = ngay

go-PRST = 1s    wild.fig-PURP = 1s

*I am going for wild figs.* (A-AM-1874-250-YK)
(2)  yannieŋ, kainandha, yandhānai.
yani-ng  gay(i)andha  yan-dha nhay
go-FUT  ?  go-PST  that
Very well, go on, start away. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(3)  Kurmnunŋu, biaŋaly,
garma = nu³  biyangalay
net.bag = 3s.PSSR  grass
Net, hanging basket. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(4)  Wunnomainbala Kurwery; Kurma, biŋayãŋobymāta.
wanama-yi-nbala⁴  garwaray  garma  biyangalay  ngubi-ma-dha
put.in-PRST=?  wild.fig  net.bag  grass  fill-CAUS-PST
He picked the figs, filled net and basket. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(5)  Kullymirgaia biŋalywal, ņobymāŋa Kurwery-
gali-mirrga-ya  biyangalay-wal  ngubi-ma-ya  garwaray
break-MORE?=PST  grass-OTHER  fill-CAUS-PST  wild.fig
Cut more bangaly for baskets and filled them with figs (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(6)  Yandhānai, mumbaianai Kūbaia Yirramain-
yan-dha = nhay  mumba-ya = nhay  gubaya⁵  yirramanj⁶
go-PST = 3s.OBJ  catch-PST = 3s.OBJ  spirit  spirit
The spirit comes, catches him, swallows him (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(7)  ņaindhānai wurry nadjo, ņindhāmaia, dhūrauwaia.
ngayi-ndha = nhay  wari  ngadjung-gu  ngundhu-ma-ya⁷  dhurawa-ya
carry-PST = 3s.OBJ  far  water-ALL  drink-?PST  spit.out-PST
Takes him to the water, drinks, spits out again. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

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³ The usual form of the 3s possessive pronominal clitic is =nhung, but -nu may be a shortened variant here or the Dharumba/Dhurga form of 3s.PSSR.

⁴ Although there is an ‘AGAIN’ particle or clitic bala this does not see, to fit here. Note also that this verb also occurs in the Dharumba story in (234); this confirms again that Mackenzie’s Dharrwal is the southern dialect of Dharrwal, compared to Mathews’ northern dialect.

⁵ gubaya may contain an ergative suffix -ya. The form of the noun is not found in other instances.

⁶ It is curious that the word ‘swallow’ does not seem to be given here. We have ‘drink’ in (7), but not in (6).

⁷ The causative -ma seems unlikely on this verb in this instance. Neither does -ma the continuous action marker.
(8) Jellunjūranadhanai, yangundaianai;
djala-ndjurana-dha = nhay, yanga-nda-ya = nhay;8
look-?:PST = 3s.OBJ tickle-PST-? = 3s.OBJ
Looks back, tickles him, (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(9) nanyina-jellānai, yallumbunyainai, yangundibbā-lananji9 nhay djala nhay, yalamba-nja-yi = nay yanga-ndi-bala
see? that look that come.back-?-PRST = 3s.OBJ tickle-PRST-AGAIN
looks at him; comes back, tickles him again. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(10) Jaugūnalaia, yallumbuŋa, yangundabillajaia-
djawa-gunala-ya, yalamba-nja, yanga-nda-bila-dja = ya
run-AWAY-PST come.back-? tickle-PST-AGAIN-? = THEN
Goes away, comes back, and tickles him again. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(11) Jania warry, jaulajilaia, yangundibbāla jella.
djana-ya wari djawa-dji-la-ya yanga-ndi-bala djala10
go-PST far look-HITHER-?-PST tickle-PRST-AGAIN that
Goes a long way, comes back, and tickles him again. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(12) Jaugūnalaia war-r-ry bobărādha-
djawa-gunala-ya war[-r-r-ji] bubara-dha
run-AWAY-PST far[iterative] mountain-LOC
Goes a long long way to the mountain. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(13) Ya jauīna bulgo, thobarāralunbilla,
yadjawa-ya nha balga dhabara-ra-lun-bila
and run-PST that sea jump.in-PST?-?-AGAIN
He get up, runs to the sea; jumps in; (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(14) ye maunda wunanye.
ya man-dha wunanji
and catch-PST spirit
the spirit very near catches him. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

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8 The morphology is not clear on this verb construction. It may be that yanga- is the verb with -nda being the past tense marker, see (11) with yanga- with -ndi present tense marking perhaps. This would then leave -ya unanalysed for function.

9 This could be nandi- ‘see-PRST’.

10 The function of djala in examples (8) - (11) is confusing and could be either ‘look’ or a demonstrative or both. Perhaps there is a distinction in Mackenzie’s transcription of <jella…> that could be interpreted as either djala or djila. There are no cognates of other examples that would shed some light onto this.
(15) *Kainŋoyia yangariya, ya wudjut yendən.*
gayinngayi-ya yan-garu-ya ya wadjad yan-dha-ng
sea-LOC? go-?-PST and beach go-PST-
*He goes into the sea, the spirit walks along the beach. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)*

(16) *Barlungaŋa thallybunbla, ya kūrubun jiŋa Yirrəma-
barang-a nga hali-ba-(n)biila ya guraban-dju-ya*¹¹ yirrama
island-LOC go.up-AGAIN and stone-BECOME-PST spirit
*He got upon an island; the spirit went to the rocks. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)*

(17) *Karrupaŋa yūinya ya-a-i-Karuganbilla-
garuga-ya yuwinj yaŋa-yal yirrəga-(n)biila
call-PST man come-IMP call-AGAIN*
*The man shouted “Come here!” Shouted again. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)*

(18) *Gumma ŋaimathaua; Kūlwaiona*
gama ngaya-ma-dha=wa gula-wayana
spear carry-CONT-PST=3p spear-?
They fetch spears, walk round him. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(19) “*Yirrəma na pulla!”*
Yirrama nha bala
Yirrama there near
‘The spirit is this way!’ (A-AM-1874-250-YK)

(20) *Mudgéry purria-
mudjari barra-ya*
canoe step.into-PST
*The man got into a canoe. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)*

(21) *Parrylankaŋa, yerraluŋa, yirriballaŋa.*
bari-lan.gana-ya yarawang-(g)a yiriba-la-ya
disappear-?-PST rocks?-LOC¹³ go.into-?-PST
*The spirit could not be found, he went into the rocks, he got into the hole. (A-AM-1874-250-YK)*

¹¹ This part of the story must refer to the formation of a natural feature, i.e. ‘becoming stone’.

¹² The imperative marker here is identical to that found in Gandangara. Usual imperative morpheme is -ra.

¹³ NOTE alternative glossing yara-wa-nga ‘go...’, not sure whether this is a word for ‘rocks’
2. **Pleiades (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)**


Mackenzie, Andrew 1875 ‘Tales in Tharumba and Thurawal’ in William Ridley *Kamilaroi, Dippil, and Turrubul – languages spoken by the Australian Aborigines*. Pp.146

As the previous text, this story was also published twice, in the same publications as *Yirrama*, and is the shortest amongst all the Dharrawal and Dharumba texts. The English translation in Ridley’s publication differs slightly from that to earlier published version. The word order in the English translation is changed to follow more closely the word order in the clauses as in the Dharrawal language version.

The moon came, the moon was enamoured, came to the Mullymoola damsels. (Mackenzie, 1874:260)

Came the Moon; was enamoured the Moon, to the Mullymoola damsels came he. (Mackenzie in Ridley, 1875:146)

The transcription also shows some discrepancies, such as *m* instead of *n*, and the omission of some diacritics in either publication that are found in the other. The original version presented her for glossing, was taken from the *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*.

The title of the story suggests that this mythological story tells of the origin and formation of the stellar constellation Pleiades or Seven Sisters. According to *Wikipedia* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pleiades, visited 22nd August 2011), it is one of the constellations that are closest to earth and is therefore easily visible in summer in the southern hemisphere.
Stories about the origin and/or creation of stellar constellation are common in Australian Aboriginal culture and are in some social groups considered to be secret women’s or men’s business.\textsuperscript{14} We do not know whether Mackenzie’s informants were male or female; and perhaps the shortness of the story may be a result of it being secret business, and that only the very rough outline of the story was told.

In one of Mathews’ wordlists, $<mullamullung>$ (A-M.1.3-276) is given as the word for the ‘Pleiades’. The placenames mentioned in this story, namely Indoula, Poolinjerungga and Kān, have not been located or correlated to existing placenames. The informant, or narrator, of this story is not given for this story.

\textsuperscript{14} One such example was the contention that the The Seven Sisters creation story evoked in the Hindmarsh Bridge Controversy. During the trials of the local Ngarrandjeri (SA) people trying to prevent the bridge from being built, the Seven Sisters story was told by several female Elders, but were restricted to being read by female participants in the trial only and later judged to have been fabricated by the Elders.
MULLIMŪLA THURAWALDHERI KURIALLA.

Yenda Jeju, mulliwaithana Jejuoko, mullimūla mēga yandhananu ng thu'llimalaao kaiuogo, kundthumaiaoa paaiminganga, kaiuogo, Pulinjirunga, kanda-Yangao ana Jindaola-surundthinai Guiaiin, wuthawain, yægai’? thuraodamura yanganai surumbaąganda; kubbutgailaąganda; pailinuradtha yangamaorurudthutha kuliniainumai thurinaianai mobarudthu. Kulabimaianai, mérirugo yenaũwa, kuranaiũwa manrūdthana.

THE PLEIADES.—A THURAWAL STORY.

The moon came, the moon was enamoured, came to the Mullymoola damsels. They were catching kaioong, were roasting with hot stones paaiming* and kaioong,† at Poolinjerunga, near Kān. They went to Jiudoula. The Southron heard them. Where are they singing about me? I hear them singing about me in the gully; let me have pipe clay to corroborree; sing that song; let me dance. I’ll spear you in the eye. They go under the ground—they went up to the sky; the sisters became stone.

Figure 6 Mackenzie <Mullimūla> 1874:260

Figure 7 Mackenzie <Mullimūla> in Ridley 1875:146
Yenda Jejū, mulliwauthana Jejūŋko,
yan-dha djadju maliyuradhanamali djadjung-ga
go-PST moon enamoured? moon-ERG

The Moon came, the Moon was enamoured, (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

mullimūla mega yandhanunung
Malimula miga yan-dha-nunung
Malimula woman go-PST-?
came to the Mullymoola damsels – (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

thullimalaaoa kaiūŋgo,
dhalima-la = wa gayung-gu
catch-PST = 3p gayung-DAT

They were catching kaiooong, (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)
kundthumaiooa paiaminganga, kaiunga, Pulinjirunga, kanda -
gundhama-ya-ra bayaminga-ngga16 gayung-a17 Poolinjerungga
burn-PST-? bayaming-INSTR gayung-INSTR Poolinjerungga
Kān-dha
Kān-LOC
were roasting with hot stones piaming(1) and kaiooong(2), at Poolinjerunga near Kān. (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

Yangaoana Jindaola -
yanga = wa = na Indoula18
go = 3p = THEN Indoula
They went to Jiudoula. (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

– ńurundhilanai Guiain,
gagara = ndhi = lana19 guya -yiin
hear-PRST-3p.OBJ south-ABL

The Southron [sic] heard them. (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)
wudthawaiin, yangai?
wadha-center -yiin yangga-yi
where-?-ABL sing-PRST?

Where are they singing about me? (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

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15 There are no further instances of this word or cognate in the SCLs corpus that would assist with the analysis and morphological break down of this lexeme. Curiously, Tindale (1938), <‘mali’> ‘coitus’ in the language collected at Wallaga Lake (either Djirringanj or Dhurga).

16 “Bulbous reed that grow in swamps” (footnote given with text).

17 “A small type of fish” (footnote given with text), probably the same as gayung that is mentioned in (25).

18 Again, tense is not marked like Mathews’ Dharrawal material.

19 -lana could be a variation of the 3p object marker found in other instances as = ndhana.
(29) thuraodamurra yangganaiŋgurumbanganda;
dharawadamara yangga-nay ngara-mba-ngganda:20

gully? sing-? hear-CONT-?
I hear them singing about me in the gully; (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

(30) Kubbutgailanganda;
gabad gayila=ngganda
pipe-clay ?=?
Let me have pipe clay to corroboree; (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

(31) piailinuradtha yangamaoranurdhundtha
bayalinuradha yangga-mawara = nhur = dhanha
? sing-?=2p=3p.OBJ
sing that song; (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

(32) kulinaianumai
gali-nayanu-ngay
dance-?=1s
let me dance – (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

(33) thurinaianai mobarudthu.
dhuri-naya=ngay mabara-dha
spear.PRST-?=1s eye-LOC
I’ll spear you in the eye – (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

(34) Kula-bimaianai,
galabina-ya nhay
?-PST? that
They go under the ground, (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

(35) merirungo yenaũwa,
mirrir-nggu yana-yu=wa
top-ALL go-?=3p
they went up to the sky; (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

(36) kūranaiuwa mamarūdhana.
gurana-yu-wa mama-rudhana21
stone-VBLS=3p elder sister-?
the sisters became stone (A-AM-1874:260-Pl)

20 The morphology is unclear, the same final segment occurs in the following example. A speculative analysis of this might be =ngay =ndha ‘=1s=3p.OBJ’ in the first example, but that does not apply to the following example.

21 This suffix perhaps conveys a collective or a dyadic sense ‘sisters to each other’. There are no other instances with this suffix or sense.

Mackenzie, Andrew 1874 ‘Specimen of Native Australian Languages’ in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* Vol 3 Pp 255-256


The Dharrawal name of the story *<Mēgaaloāli Wurragul>* simply means ‘the women and the dog’. This story was published with the accompanying letter from Mackenzie dated 17th June 1872 (picture Figure 10), which provided the geographical setting of this mythological story “at Bendthualaly, between Perry’s Meadow’s and the Kangaroo Ground, as the two latter places are called by the settlers. Kangaroo ground is a corruption of the native name Kangargraon”. Although the placenames Mackenzie referred to do not exist in this form today, they most likely refer to Berry’s Meadow near Berry, and Bendthualaly to Bundewallah. Perry’s Meadow’s is likely to be “(B)erry's meadow country on Broughton Creek” (RTA NSW Preliminary Report for Princes Highway Upgrade, November 2007, http://www.rta.nsw.gov.au/roadprojects/projects/princes_hway/berry_bomaderry/documents/route_options_dev_report_nov07/appendix_i-part_1.pdf, visited 14th March 2011).

All identified places and placenames are located within the Shoalhaven area, NSW.

This narrative omits a lot of assumed knowledge, a pattern that is common in Australian Aboriginal narratives with a traditional and mythological context. For example, the question may be asked ‘why did the women turn to stone?’ Mathews provides the missing information in one of his publications that share cultural information about Aboriginal groups he visited or knew about.

…they were immediately changed to stone, together with their bags of burrawangs and their yamsticks, gaualang. Rocks bearing a fanciful resemblance to these women are pointed out at a place on the hills between the Kangaroo Valley and the coast. (Mathews 1904:347)
The reason given by Mathews is that menstruating women were not allowed to talk to dogs, and the story clearly begins with the opening of the women carrying nuts they had collected, coming across a dog, and they speak to him.

The Purungalaioula met the dog along an Aboriginal trail and it is known that one of the earliest European bridle trails passed just 800 m northeast of Broughton Head through Woodhill Gap. It is highly likely that this trail followed an existing Aboriginal trail which utilised the Woodhill Mountain Ridge down to Broughton Creek. (RTA Report. November 2007:22)

The handwritten version by Mackenzie (in Illert, 2003) shows unremarkable discrepancies between the handwritten and the later published version.

Figure 8 Mackenzie Handwritten <Mēaaloāli Wurragal> story
Moelly, Wandandian, 17th June, 1872.

Sir,—The scene of the accompanying legend is at Bendi-thualalaly, between Perry's Meadow's and the Kangaroo Ground, as the two latter places are called by the settlers. Kangaroo Ground is a corruption of the native name Kangargraon. As in the case of the story previously transmitted, this has been taken word for word from the mouth of the teller.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) ANDREW MACKENZIE.

The Honourable the Colonial Secretary, Sydney.

JERRA THURAWDLTHIRI.

Megaaloali Wurrugul.

Murra-murra maumirria, ngaimaia Kangargraon; Kuruaiala megaaloali Kangargraon purawanga; palmialala puruaialulo; kiaolanai miiti mirigaoga; yakaioananna "wadthain bundamiai? ""Murra-murra sandein yarib." Naacalya; waitborro Kulaola me-gaaalan purawandthir; wuraoranbala. Nindtha Bendi-thualali.

He got the mullet from the river, took it up to Kangargraon; he met the women coming from Kangargraon with poorawang (samia nuts, or native arrowroot); they fetched the poorawang, they talked to that dog; they said "where have you come from?" "I am bringing mullet from the river." That will do; the women corrobory gestulating with the left hand; they fall dead. This was at Bendi-thualalaly.

Figure 9 Mackenzie <Megaaloali Wurrugul> 1874:255

The English translation is also given in form of a rhyming verse, which was most likely authored by Mackenzie himself.
The Nut Gatherers

From the mountain the nutters fruit-laden come back,
And the dog runs along the track.

"Now whence come you, Wurragal, tell us we pray?"
"From the river below I have come all the way,
To meet the dog on the track.

"Now whence come you, Wurragal, tell us we pray?"
"From the river below I have come all the way.
A mullet to take thence to Kangarong, thought,
Mura-mura thus far on my journey have brought.

Enough! through the frame of his ears there steals
Subtle poison the blood, flesh, and bone that congeals.
Wild, speechless, and rigid, in vain to reply,
Every fibre benumbed, a last effort they make.
The spell that is freezing all motion to break.
For dance of defiance, they raise the left arm,
Outstretched, the limb stiffens, too strong is the charm.
They stagger; the purawang poised on each head,
Falls split to the ground as the bearer falls dead.

At Benderbrandy they lie side by side,
With uplifted arm, as they fell down and died.
To this day may be seen, with their nuts round them strewn
The Purungalaiaula all turned into stone.

Figure 10 Mackenzie Handwritten The Nut Gatherers <Mëgaaloāli Wurragal> English rhyming version

256 A. MACKENZIE.—Native Australian Languages.

THE NUT GATHERERS.

From the mountain the nutters fruit-laden come back, with a fish
Twixt their teeth; meet the dog on the track.

"Now whence come you, Wurragal, tell us we pray?"
"From the river below I have come all the way.
A mullet to take thence to Kangarong, thought,
Mura-mura thus far on my journey have brought.

Enough! through the frame of his ears there steals
Subtle poison the blood, flesh, and bone that congeals.
Wild, speechless, and rigid, in vain to reply,
Every fibre benumbed, a last effort they make.
The spell that is freezing all motion to break.
For dance of defiance, they raise the left arm,
Outstretched, the limb stiffens, too strong is the charm.
They stagger; the purawang poised on each head,
Falls split to the ground as the bearer falls dead.

At Benderbrandy they lie side by side,
With uplifted arm, as they fell down and died.
To this day may be seen, with their nuts round them strewn
The Purungalaiaula all turned into stone.

Figure 11 Mackenzie The Nut Gatherers <Mëgaaloāli Wurragal> English rhyming version 1874:256

24
(37) *Murra-murra maunnmirria, ngaimaia Kangargraon;
marra~marra mawunmiri-ya\(^{22}\) ngayi-ma Ya Kangargrawan\(^{23}\)
mullet~REDUP river-LOC carry-CONT-PST Kangaroo.Ground
*He got the mullet from the river, took it up to Kangaroo-grown; (A-AM:1874:255-Nu)

(38) *Kūruŋaiala mēgaaloalal Kangargraon pūrrwāŋga;
gurunga-la = lu\(^{24}\) migalal Kangargrawan buruwang-ga
meet-PST = 3d.OBJ woman-walawali Kangaroo.Ground burrawang-INST
*he met the women coming from Kangaroo with poo-rawang (zamia nuts, or native
arrowroot); (A-AM:1874:255-Nu)

(39) ngaimialaola pūrrungailaol;
ngayi-ma-la = wula burungaya = wulung
carry-CONT-PST.? = 3d burrawang = 3d.PSSR
*they fetched the poo-rawang, (A-AM:1874:255-Nu)

(40) kaiolana mi ni mirienga;
ga-ya = wula = nhay mingi\(^{25}\) mirigang-ga
talk-PST = 3d = 3s.OBJ ? dog-LOC
*they talked to that dog; (A-AM:1874:255-Nu)

(41) yakaolianana “wadhain bundamiai?”
yaga-ya = wula = nhay “wadhay -yiin bundhamaya-ya-yi”\(^{26}\)
say-PST = 3d = 3s.OBJ where-ABL take-PST.?;
*they said “where have you come from?” (A-AM:1874:255-Nu)

(42) “Murra-murra ēndēm yariba.”
marra~marra ngandi -yiin\(^{27}\) yari-yi-ba
mullet~REDUP river-ABL carry-PRST.?
*I am bringing mullet from the river.” (A-AM:1874:255-Nu)

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\(^{22}\) There is no corresponding cognate or lexeme found for this word in the SCLs corpus. This may be
the actual name of the river or a word not used in other contexts.

\(^{23}\) Note the lack of a locative or allative marker here and on *<Kangagrawan*> in (37).

\(^{24}\) The analysis of the 3s.OBJ clitic is not certain, but perhaps = lu here is a shortened variant of
= wulung.

\(^{25}\) Perhaps this is migal ‘woman’.

\(^{26}\) The construction *<bundamiai> could not be properly analysed. Although the translation suggests
that this should be a verb such as ‘come from’, there is no other instance that would confirm this.
*bundha- or bandha- is found in other Dharrawal instances, but with the rough translation of ‘use’ or
‘spend’. See Mathews’ *Parable of the Prodigal Son* and *<Gwayamiñ>.

\(^{27}\) There is no other occurrence of ngandi as ‘river’ in the corpus, this could be a demonstrative.
(43)  Naoalya;
    nawalya\(^{28}\)
    enough
    That will do, (A-AM-1874:255-Nu)

(44)  waitborro Kuliala mëgaolan pûrûwandthir;
    wadjbara gali-ya = wala mig-wulan buruwa-ndhi-\(^{29}\)
    left cut-PST = 3p woman-? fall-PRST-?
    women corrobory gesticulating with the left hand; (A-AM-1874:255-Nu)

(45)  wuraoranbala
    wara-wara = nbala
    dead-REDUP = THEN
    they fall dead. (A-AM-1874:255-Nu)

(46)  Nindha Bendthäalali.
    nindha  Bendhualaly\(^{30}\)
    this  Bendhualaly
    This was at Bendhualaly. (A-AM-1874:255-Nu)

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\(^{28}\) There is no other instance of this expression, but according to narrative style in AALs, this might be something like ‘alright’ or ‘enough’.

\(^{29}\) A possible analysis of this construction could be something having to do with the burrawang they were carrying. Perhaps this is a reference to the creation of a natural feature?

\(^{30}\) The noun might show a dual marker -wulali, i.e. ‘the two X’. 
B.1.1.2 Dharrwal Texts collected by Robert H Mathews (1841-1918)

All of Mathews’ transcribed stories in the SCLs corpus are in Dharrwal. There are four different versions of The Parable of the Sower, which differ only marginally in vocabulary. Informants or background information is not given in any of them. The various translations could suggest that Mathews may have employed the methodology of back-translation31, a methodology often used by bible translators. However, as there are no English translations of the text other then the paragraphs taken from the King James Bible32, rather three different versions in Dharrwal, Mathews may have asked three different informants to translate The Parable of the Sower. From the scribbles and notes added to some of the transcriptions/translations, it certainly seems that he checked and verified and clarified some of the constructions in the text with or without the help of Dharrwal speakers. Due to his methodology, the entries of the different version of the The Parable of the Sower are not clearly segregated and it is impossible to determine whether and which variants of sentences are information given by different informants. The text is therefore presented here in the format in which they were entered into his notebook.

No information is given about the informant(s) who helped Mathews with his transcriptions, but it is most likely that he would have worked with people in La Perouse, where he collected most of his Dharrwal material. One of his Dharrwal


32 This is the version of the Bible that was first printed in 1611 and was the version used by the Church of England in the late 19th century/early 20th century, the time when Mathews transcribed his biblical stories.
informants was Mrs Timbery, a name that was mentioned in one of his notebook entries as “Mrs Timbery is the best” language informant.

The versions are presented here in order in which they appeared in the notebook, and include all of Mathews’ comments, glossing and corrections as found in his entries. Methodology of presenting Mathews’ notebook entries were previously discussed in Chapter 2 (Methodology), but are briefly repeated here for user friendliness.

![Image of notebook entry]

Figure 12 Mathews Excerpt of The Parable of the Sower Notebook 4 p.17

Taking the excerpt above as example, the following convention is used to transcribe this entry. Scribbles and glossing are placed into (brackets) following and attached to the appropriate word/morpheme or segment. Corrections such as crossed-out lexemes, as well as underlining of morphemes or lexemes, are retained. Hence the excerpt above, is represented as follows:

v.6. Burwamarralia(dropped some) Kūrrubunga(rock on). Dyurwalailla(sprung of it) bullijullaia(died it after) nhai(it), madha(because) bunaiana(rain none) yeddhaia(wet was) dhaiana(not any) yeddha yeddha yenna

Any other added comments by myself, are placed in [square brackets] following the appropriate segment, see in The Parable of the Sower number 1, line (52) for an example.

As the various versions of The Parable of the Sower are given in the order in which Mathews entered them into his notebook, the first translated version shows a
larger number of additional notes than the following versions. This version contains one or more variants of translation of the same sentence/verse. These are here labelled with 1/a, 1/b and 1c, rather than extracting the differing segments and trying to realign them in any right order. We do not know whether the various translations were provided by different informants and if they were, which segment was translated by whom. The first version is reproduced in this chapter in the way it is found in Mathews’ notebook. This means, I included the additional phrases and verifications that Mathews added as notes to the actual transcription of the story. Information like this adds an extra value to the stories because they assist in understanding Mathews’ methodology and procedure; these additional examples are thus contained in the corpus presented here.
4. Parable of the Sower (version 1) (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1/a)

(47) yenda(went) yellagan(a worker or smart fellow) yerrimurri(to throw) bûmbûrû(grass-seed)
yan-dha  yalaganj  yiri-ma-ri  bamburu
go-PST  worker  throw-CONT-PURP  grass.seed
A worker went to sow some seeds. (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1/a)
A smartfellow went to throw grass seeds.
(48) Burwamarrai(a some fell) yau'-ang-ga nguddhañ(along of each) wurri(side)
burwa-mara-ya yawang-ga ngadhanj wari
fall-SOME-PST path-LOC side far
Some fell alongside the path. (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1/a)
Some fell on the sides of the path.

(49) yuinbulo-yellagañ yenda yerrimurri bumburu,
yuwinj yalaganj yan-dha yiri-ma-ri bamburu
man worker go-PST throw-CONT-PURP grass.seed
A worker went away on purpose to scatter his seeds (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1/b)
A man smartfellow went to throw grass seeds.

(50) Burwamarrai(yauawurri nguddañdyarri dharrandha(trod on) yuinbuloalñ(many men)
burwa-mara-ya yawa-wari ngadhanj-djari dhara-ndha yuwinj-bulawala
fall-SOME-PST path-far side?-? step.on-PST man-PL
and while he continued scattering his seed, some of it fell on the side of the path, and was
trodden on (by many men). (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1/b)
Some fell along the sides of the path and many men stepped on (them).

(51) yuinbulalñ yuinbuloalñ(the accent on the last syllable)
yuwinj-bulali yuwinj-bulawala
man-DU man-PL
two men many men (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1)

(52) (for agent) dhülyung(palm berry)-gürubông(stone seed)-wullanhung(seed stone)-
Budjanbuloala(all the birds) dhûnjawa(ate it)
dhalyan gurabang walanhung budjan-bulawala dhanj-dja=wa
palm.berry stone seed bird-PL eat-PST=3p
All the birds ate the palmberry seeds. (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1/a)
Many birds ate the palmberry seeds.

(53) dyurwammoñ yendingai
djurwa-ma-ri yan-dhi =ngay33
seed-CONT-PURP go-PST =1s
I went to scatter. (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1)

(54) yuin dyurwmañ(a-m-ñori)(present?) dyurwammañ yenda
yuwinj djurwa-ma-ya yan-dha
man seed-CONT-PST go-PST
A man went and scattered. (A-M.2.6-16-PoS1)

33 The past tense marker should be -dha, maybe the translation would more appropriately be ‘I go to scatter’ in present tense.
(55) *yuindyu dyurwaia*

`yuwinj-dju  djurwa-ya`\(^{34}\)  
man-ERG  seed-PST  
a man scattered \((A-M.2.6-16-PoS1)\)

(56) *yuindyu yenda dyurwāʾmorī nama’rungguli*[inserted later] wullanhunggo(seed)  
`yuwinj  yan-dha djurwa-ma-ri  namarung-guli  walanhung-ga`  
man  go-PST  seed-CONT-PURP  3s-GEN  seed-INSTR  
A man went to scatter seeds.  \((A-M.2.6-16-PoS1/c)\)

(57) *yugundu*(that time) *dyurwamaiaidha*(he sowed) *wullanhunggo*(dropped) *yuangga burwa*(drop)*marraia*(some) *nguttañbulail*  
`yugun  du  djurwa-ma-ya = dha  walanhung-ga  burwa-ya`  
then-?  seed-CONT-PST = SUB  seed-INSTR  fall-PST  
`yawang-ga  burwa-mara-ya  ngadhanj-dja  ngadhanj-bulali(-yi)`  
path-LOC  fall-SOME-PST  side-LOC  side-DU(-LOC)  
Then, as he was scattering the seed, (some) fell off the path along the sides.  \((A-M.2.6-16-PoS1)\)

(58) *yugundu*(that time) *wullanhunggo*(the seed) *dyurwamaiaidha*(sowed he)  
`burwa*(drop)*morraia*(some) *nguttañbulail*\(\textit{both sides}\) *yauangga*(the path)\(-/\) *dhurramarraia yugundugai*  
`yagun-du  walanhung-ga  djurwa-ma-ya = dha  burwa-mara-ya`  
then-?  seed-INSTR  seed-CONT-PST = SUB  fall-SOME-PST  
`ngadhanj-bulali  yawang-ga  dhara-mara-ya  yagun-gay`  
side-DU  path-LOC  stand-SOME-PST  then-?  
...and while he continued scattering the seeds, some of it fell on the side of the path, and was trodden on.  \((A-M.2.6-16-PoS1)\)

\(^{34}\) Based on the previous two examples, we would expect *-ma* on *djurwa-*.
5. Parable of the Sower (version 2) (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

A man went out to scatter his seed, but while he continued, some of it fell on the side of the path, and was trodden on and the birds of the sky ate it all.

Figure 14 Mathews The Parable of the Sower Notebook 4 p.17
A worker went away on purpose to scatter his seeds and (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)
(60) yugungai(yugundu(at that time) written above it) dyurwamaiadha(sowed he)(yerrimaiadha[as alternatives scribbled underneath] wallunhunggo(the seed) bür’wa(dropped) marraia(some) nguttañ(sides) bulali(both) yauangga(path)(yauang = road).
yagun-gay djurwa-ma-ya = dha (yiri-ma-ya = dha) walanh-ga then?
seed-CONT-PST = SUB (throw-CONT-PST = SUB) seed-INSTR
burwa-mara-ya ngadhanj-balali yawang-ga
fall-SOME-PST side-DU path-LOC
while he continued scattering his seed, some of it fell on the side of the path, (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

(61) dhurrandhawa(they several trod) yûgungai(at the time) yernēauaia(as they went away).
dharan-dha = wa yagun-gay yana-ya = wa = ya
step.on-PST = 3p then-? go-PST = 3p = SUB
and was trodden on (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

(62) Buddyanbuloala(birds many) mirrirdin(from above) dhandyawa(they ate)
budjan-bulawala mirirr-diin dhanj-dja = wa
bird-PL top-ABL eat-PST = 3p
‘and the birds of the sky ate it all.’ (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

(63) Buddyanbulaula(a lot of birds) mirrirdin(from the top) dhandyawa(they ate)
budjan-bulawala mirirr-diin dhanj-dja = wa
bird-PL top-ABL eat-PST = 3p
‘and the birds from the sky ate it all.’ (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

(64) v.6. Burwamarraia(dropped some) Kûrrubungga(rock on).
burwa-mara-ya gurabang-ga
fall-SOME-PST stone-LOC
And other fell on the rock; (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

(65) Dyurwalailla(sprung of it) bullijullaia(died it after) nhai(it), madha(because) bunnamaa(rain none) yaddhaiyena(wet was not any) yeddha yeddha yenna [dyurwalialaia(grew it up) – bullijullaia nhai(died it)]
djurwa-la-ya-la bali-djala-ya nhay
seed-INCEPT-PST-THEN die-AFTER-PST that
madha [bana-yana yadha-ya dha-yana]
because [rain-PRIV wet-PST that?-PRIV]
yadha–yadha-yana [djurwali-la-ya bali-djala-ya nhay]
wet-wet-PRIV [grow-INCEPT-PST die-AFTER-PST that]
and as soon as it grew, it withered away, because it had no moisture. (A-M.2.6-17-PoS2)

(66) v.7. Burwa(fall) marraia(some) bâ-wannyaur’ungga(inserted above) dhuradhural(thorns) nyyurrungga(among).
fall-SOME-PST [thorn middle-LOC] spikes–REDUP middle-LOC
And the other fell amidst the thorns; (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

35 The words wallunhunggo and dyurwamaiadha were swapped according to Mathews’ notes, originally the sequence was reversed.
(67) Dhuradhurala(Bawandu written underneath) dyurwa(grow)liau(together)wula kurwandhū’laia kuridaia nhai[added later]
dhura-dhural-a djurwali-ya = wula gurwandhulaya36
spikes~REDUP-ERG grow-PST = 3d ?
gurida-ya nhay
choke-PST that
and the thorns grew with it, and choked it. (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

(68) v.8. Burwa marraia nuggunggo(good) thalgai(ground)
burwa-mara-ya nagung-ga dhalga-yi37
fall-SOME-PST good-LOC ground-LOC
‘and another fell on good ground, (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

(69) [dyurwalea(grew)nhai(it), dhung-ang dyurwa(grew)linhaia(it)dhurranhaianai]
Dyurwalaea(grew)nhai(it) - dhung-ang(food(fruit) burramurrang gurnunggularn(a lot)
ngunyaia(on it) dyurwalinyaia
djurwali-ya nhay
grow-PST that
dhangang baramarang gurnunggularn ngunja-ya
food plenty that-LOC
and did yield fruit that sprang up and increased , and brought forth, some thirty, and some sixty,
and some hundred.’ (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

(70) yugundu gamaiaadhia,
yagun-du gama-ya = dha
then? say-PST = SUB
‘and he said unto them, (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

(71) nguritgurnhaia(when) nyaiyuulla(stopped he) –
ngaridgurnhaia njaya-ya-la
? stop-PST-THEN
when he stopped (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

(72) Gurragawarndha(he shouted), gurira(guri = ear) ngurramaiaandha - ngurramaiaandha(added later)
garuga-wa-ndha
call?-PST
guri-yira ngara-ya-ndha
ear-HAVING hear-CAUS?-HORT
he that hath ears to hear, let him hear.’ (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

36 There are no other instances of this construction or part of it in the rest of the corpus. Although it looks like a verb with a final past tense marker, I am unable to analyse it further.

37 This could be the same word as dhalga ‘ground’ (see (102) and (102) for example.
(73) Burwa marraia bāw’an ngurrungga [Dyurwaliau-wula(grow together)(circled)]-
burwa-mara-ya bawan njarung-ga [djurwali-ya = wula]
fall-SOME-PST thorn middle-LOC [grow-PST = 3d]
And the other fell amidst the thorns; (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

(74) yerratbiau-wula(sprung up together)-
yaradba-ya = wula
spring.up-PAST = 3d
and the thorns grew with it, (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

(75) bawundu [Kūradaia(circled)] kuradhandhulaia(all got choked)
bawan-du [gurada-ya] gurada-ndhula-ya38
thorn-ERG [choke-PST] choke-ALL-PST
and choked it. (A-M.2.6-18-PoS2)

38 -ndhula suggest that is means ‘all’ got choked. There are no other instances with this suffix.

The transcription of this version is marked with the date 15th November 1902. Note that this version is out of all the *Parable of the Sower* versions a much tidier entry in the notebook; less glossing and fewer scribbles. The date does not provide further information on where and who he may have worked with to construct these parables; the corresponding diary entry (Mathews’ Diary in Mathews Collection at the National Library of Australia, MS 8006) does not provide any further insight.

![Figure 16 Mathews The Parable of the Sower Notebook 4 p.18](image-url)
5. The sower went forth to sow his seed; and as
he sowed some fell by the way side, and was
vain, and the birds of the heaven came and
devoured it.
6. And other fell on the rock; and as
soon as it grew, it withered away, because
it had no moisture.
7. And other fell amongst the thorns; and
the thorns grew with it, and choked it.
8. And other fell into the good ground,
and grew, and brought forth fruit a
hundred-fold.

![Figure 17 Mathews The Parable of the Sower Notebook 4 p.19](image1)

![Figure 18 Mathews The Parable of the Sower Notebook 4 p.20](image2)
(76) yūni yenda dyurwammurri(sow) [yerrimurri(scatter)(added above, alternative] wullanhungga namarungguli.

yuwinj yan-dha djurwa-ma-ri [yiri-ma-ri] walanhung-ga

man go-PST seed-CAUS-PURP [throw-CAUS-PURP] seed-INST

namarung-guli

3s-GEN

A worker went away on purpose to scatter his seeds (A-M.2.6-18-PoS3)

(77) Yūgung-gai dyurwammaiadha [wallunhunggo(added on side)] būrwa marraia nguddhaṅbulali nhari(along)[inserted] yau-angga(on path)

yagun-gay djurwa-ma-ya = dha walanhung-ga burwa-mara-ya

then-? seed-CAUS-PST = SUB seed-INST fall-SOME-PST

ngadhanj-bulali nhari yawang-ga

side-DU there path-LOC

and while he continued scattering his seed, some of it fell on the side of the path, (A-M.2.6-18-PoS3)

(78) dhurranda yuin-da dhurrandhawa(they trampled) dhunna(foot) mirrigullimangga būddyanda(birds) dhundyaww(ate)

dhara-ndha = wa dhana mirirr-gal-mangga budjan-da dhanj-dja = wa

step.on-PST = 3p foot top-BELONG-? bird-ERG eat-PST = 3p

and was trodden on and the birds or the sky ate it all. (A-M.2.6-18-PoS3)

(79) ver.6 būrwa marraia kūrubungga, dhadya dyūr-wal’-i-laiadha, bullia(died) nhai(it), madha(because) nguddya(XXX)-nguddyāng(ground) gūn'īha

burwa-mara-ya gurabang-ga dhadja djurwali-la-ya = dha

fall-SOME-PST rock-LOC then grow-INCT-PST = SUB

bali-ya nhay madha ngadja-ngadjung-ganha

die-PST that because water~water-PRIV

And other fell on the rock; and as soon as it grew, it withered away, because it had no moisture. (A-M.2.6-19-PoS3)

(80) ver.7 Burwa marraia bā-wan(thorns) nyurrungga(among), bawan nhaiung dyurwalaula- Kūrradhaia bawundu

burwa-mara-ya bawan njarung-ga

fall-SOME-PST thorn middle-LOC

bawan nhayang djurwali(-ya) = wula gurada-ya bawan-du

thorn that grow-(PST)=3d choke-PST thorn-ERG

‘and some fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up and choked it (and it yielded no fruit).’ (A-M.2.6-19-PoS3)
And the other fell into the good ground, and grew, and brought forth the fruit a hundred-fold. (A-M.2.6-19-PoS3)

‘and he said unto them, He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.’ (A-M.2.6-20-PoS3)
7. Parable of the Sower (version 4) (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

This last version of The Parable of the Sower is the neatest entry and looks more like a finalised version with very little corrections or scribbles. The scribbles suggest alternative lexemes rather than corrections.

Figure 19 Mathews The Parable of the Sower Notebook 4 p.23

(83) 5. yuini yenda yerrimuri wullanungga namaranguli.
yuwinj yan-dha yiri-ma-ri walanung-ga namarung-guli
man go-PST throw-CONT-PURP seed-INST 3s-GEN
A man went to throw his seeds. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)
As he threw them, he dropped some on the sides of the path. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

Many feet stepped on them. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

Birds belonging to the sky ate them. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

Other fell on the rock. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

Then as it grew, it died because there was no water. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

Other fell amongst the thorns. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

That one’s thorns grew together. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)

The thorns choked it. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)
(92) **8. Bûrwa marraia nuggunggo dhalgai.**

burwa-mara-ya nagung-ga dhalga-yi
fall-SOME-PST good-LOC ground-LOC

*Other fell on good ground. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)*

(93) **Dyurwallia nhai.**

djurwali-ya nhay
grow-PST that

*That one grew up. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)*

(94) **gûrrû’-lan-gaia (it was bent) dhung’-ga (with fruit).**
gurulanga-ya dhangang-ga
bend-PST fruit-ERG

*It was bent with (having) fruit. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)*

(95) **Yugundu gamaiadha:**

yagundu gama-ya=dha
thus talk-PST=SUB

*Then he spoke. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)*

(96) **Gurrugarnyaia guriyirra(wulola) (added)(ear if) ngurramai’andha**
garuga-nja-ya guri-yira-wulawala gara-ma-ya=ndha
shout-?-PST ear-HAVING-PL hear-CAUS-PST=SUB

*He shouted ‘those that have ears, let them hear. (A-M.2.6-23-PoS4)*
8. The Parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke 15, verses 11-18 (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

Following the Parable of the Sower, Mathews also transcribed the Prodigal Son (Luke 15, verses 11-18) into Dharrawal. The neatness of this notebook entry, compared to the previous Parable of the Sower versions, might suggest that Mathews copied this text perhaps from another source, but he may have had an informant who he had worked with on the Parable of the Sower parable, as there are relatively few additional scribbles and corrections.

In the King James Version of The Bible, the parable starts with the opening “and Jesus said…” . The word given here to translate Jesus is <benggang> which is found elsewhere in the SCLs corpus as <bangang> ‘old man’ (A-M.1.3-275) by Mathews, and as ‘young man’ <banggung> by Ridley (A-WR-418). Whether this was an appropriation for the concept of ‘Jesus’ is not known.
Figure 20 Mathews The Parable of the Prodigal Son Notebook 4 p. 21

Figure 21 Mathews The Parable of the Prodigal Son Notebook 4 p. 22
Old man said “there was a man and his two sons”

The younger son said to his father:

Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

And he divided unto them his living.’ (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

He divided all their many things.

‘And not many days after the younger son gathered all together (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

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39 -wulala is possibly meant to be -wuli creating the possessive 1s pronoun ‘mine’ but with a final -la to mark plurality of the belongings. See also the following sentence showing -gulala marking the 3s pronoun as possessor.

40 minggang ‘what’ is extended to mean ‘something’ or ‘things’ here. The function of -djangga is not known.

41 Note the two constructions here that show the same morphology on maga- and marni-. The meaning of either of them is unknown. marni might be ‘meat’. 
(102) yennaiirea dhurgawalu (another country) wurru (far away) -
yana-yiri-ya dhalga-walu waru
   go-AWAY-PST ground-OTHER far
   and took his journey into a far country; (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

(103) burrat (all)(did) bundhaia (use [he]) gurnai’anungbulo’ala.
   baradj bandha-ya garnaya-nhung-bulawala
   all use-PST bad=3s.PSSR-PL
   and there he wasted his substance with riotous living.’ (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

(104) 14. yugundu burratbundhaia, dhung-ang (food) gunnaia ([none]) nham (that) dhūlga (everything),
guggarnyaia (he was hungry)
   yagundu baradj bandha-ya dhanang-ganha-ya nham dhalga
   then all use-PST food-PRIV-? that ground
   gaganja-ya hungry-PST
   ‘And after he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in
   want.’ (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

(105) 15. [yenda (went) middhang-algangga (another place) dhulauwalu (another place) yernaiirrea]
yernaiirea dhulgawalu yuindhi (to a man).
   [yan-dha midhangalgang-ga dhalga-walu yana-yiri-ya]
   [go-PST other.one-LOC ground-OTHER go-AWAY-PST]
   yana-yiri-ya dhalga-walu yuwinj-dhi
   go-AWAY-PST ground-OTHER man-ALL
   ‘And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country, (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

(106) irraiia nhai dhūnmundyimarri gulunggulu (pig) bulola.
   yira-ya nhay dhanjma-ngijima-ri gulung-bulawala
   send-PST that eat-?-PURP pig-PL
   and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.’ (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

42 The suffix -walu may have a meaning of ‘other’ but it may also be the ‘BELONG’ suffix -wal followed by a locative, allative or dative suffix -u.

43 Something like ‘became food-less’ could be expected here. The function of the final -ya suffix here is not clear.

44 There are only three instances in the Dharrawal corpus that show ‘hungry’. Two instances occur in this text and a third one is a sentence in Mathews’ notebooks (see B.1.2.3 example (132) gaga-yiri ‘hunger-HAVING’ and in this chapter example (112) gaganja = ngay ‘I perish with hunger’).

45 The allative case suffix should have been -dji according to phonological rules.
16. ngalda (he) dhûndyilbul (would have) nha bugganyunggang(husks or rhodes?) gulung-gûdha dhûndya.

ngal-da dhan-djilbal ngay baganjanggang gulung-ga-da dhan-dja
want-PST eat that husks pig-ERG-SUB eat-PST

‘And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat; (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

17. irrungundaiala (when he came to himself) yuggaianhung(he said):
yirangunda-ya-la yaga-ya = nhung
wake.up-PST-THEN say-PST = 3s.PSSR

‘And when he came to himself, he said, (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

18. [Batygaingai] Batybangai yenbangai babundindi yuggawangai (I will say) nhai (him)-
[badjga-ya = ngay] badj-ba = ngay yan-ba = ngay baba-ndi-ndi yaga-wa = ngay
[arise-PST = 1s] arise-FUT = 1s go-FUT = 1s father-KIN-DAT? say-IRR = 1s
nhay

that

‘I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

46 Note the verb form ending in l, which is also found in other examples showing ngal- ‘want’

47 See the additional note Mathews added to clarify the meaning of <bûngallainmari> ‘to put away’, i.e. ‘to put in store’. The word seems to be broken into ba and ngalainmari- in the actual sentence. It is unclear which analysis is more accurate as they are no other instances of this construction in the corpus.
(113) “Babang, gürnüng ünyaiaingai gürnüng(wrong) bumbadhagun(I have been to thee) gwian-garinyaingai(ashamed am I)

baba-ng garnang bunja?-ya = ngay\(^{48}\) garnang bamba-dha = gun
father-ADD wrong do?-PST? = 1s wrong be-PST = 1s/2s.OBJ

guyan-ga-nja = ngay
shame-be-?= 1s

Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee.’ (A-M.2.6-21-PoPS)

\(^{48}\) The verb bun- ‘do’ as found in sentences (302) - (307) in B.1.2.3 (Dharrawal Sentences) might be the same verb here. However, in the other examples the construction banja contains the past tense marker –nja; this would mean that -ya in the example here would not mark for tense.

This mythological story is found in the same notebook following Mathews’ transcribed biblical stories. Apart from English glossing scribbled above words and phrases, Mathews does not provide any English translation to this story, and the translation given here is my own. No information is given about the informant who helped Mathews with transcribing this story, or if and who someone gave Mathews the story already transcribed and Mathews verifying and correcting it at a later stage.

This text is relatively long compared to the preceding biblical texts and shows direct speech within the story, as was also found to some extend in the preceding *Parable of the Prodigal Son*.

This mythological story tells of the two young children (fish hawks) who were given two fish by their mother, took each others’ by mistake and then fought over them. *<Gwaiamiñ>* heard them quarrelling and went to have a look for them. The other people in the camp saw him coming and tried to hide the two children but he found them and carried them in a net bag back to his camp. On the way home he tripped and the children bit through the net and escaped. On arrival in his camp he hangs up the bag in a tree (a common practise to hang up food in a tree to avoid it being attacked by ground dwelling animals/insects). Later he orders his wife to tell her mother to get the food from the tree. This reflects the cultural avoidance practise between mother-in-law and son-in-law. The story ends with *<Gwaiamiñ>* accusing the mother-in-law being careless and enabling the children to escape. In the Dharumba version (Dharumba Text 7), *<Gwaiamiñ>* hurts or kills his mother-in-law by throwing a boomerang at her out of rage.

The story begins with setting the location of *<Gwaiamiñ>*’s camp *Wingecarribee*, located in the Southern Highlands near Bowral in New South Wales.
The children’s’ camp is named *<Gūrambūnda>* but the placename does not correlate with any presently known place in the area. Knowing that this story is told in Dharrawal, it is likely that this place is located somewhere between Bowral and the coast. Bowral is situated to the south of Mittagong, at the outer edge of Gundungurra country, which covers the Southern Highlands. *<Gwaiamiñ>* may therefore have been a Gundungurra person.

A longer alternative version of this story is found in Mackenzie’s collected material (see Dharumba Text 7), which supplied further context of the story and made translation of this story easier.
Figure 22 Mathews <Gwa'amii̱n> Notebook 4 Pp. 24-25
Gwayaminj ngullaia Wingeecarribee nguramaianhung (was his native camp).

Gwayaminj ngala-ya Windjigaribi ngura-maya = nhung
Gwayaminj sit-PST Wingeecarribee camp-=3s.PSSR

Gwayaminj lived in his camp (called) Wingeecarribee⁴⁹. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

Bunbariwulaligang ngullaiawula Gūrambůnda ngubbamurra-a-wulanhung (with their mother)

bunbari-wulali-gang ngala-ya = wula Gurambandha ngaba-mara-ya = wulanhung
boy-DU-DIM sit-PST = 3d Gurambandha mother-KIN-LOC = 3d.PSSR

Two (other) boys lived in Gurambandha with their mother. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

Dūnggabulali gudyaga.
dungga-bulali⁵⁰ gudjaga
cry-DU? child

The two children cried. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

⁴⁹ Wingeecarribee Shire lies in the area north-west to Nowra, and west of Wollongong, containing (amongst others) the townships Moss Vale, Mittagong and Bowral.

⁵⁰ Note the unusual marking on dungga-, we would expect the 3d subject marker = wula and a past tense marker. Perhaps a more likely analysis would be dungga-ba = lali ‘cry-PST = 3d’ (with an unusual 3d form).
(117) Bindyawulung ngubbamurrar’lanhung dhuñbulaligangga(fish two small ones) wur’ria’ulanhai(they played with).

bindja = wulung51 ngaba-mara = wulanhung dhanj-bulali-gang-ga wari-ya = wula nhay
give-PST = 3d.OBJ mother-KIN = 3d.PSSR fish-DU-DIM-INSTR play-PST = 3d that

Their mother gave them two small fish to play with. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(118) [Kurrabungga(rock)dūngguluround hole](circled to suggest alternative wordorder)
yūnmadaulung dunggulgangga(in a hole) Kurrabungga(in a rock)
gurabang-ga dongsul-uyūnm-a-dha = wulung dunggul-gang-ga
[stone-LOC round hole-LOC] put.in-PST = 3d.OBJ round.hole-DIM-LOC

gurabang-ga stone-LOC

She placed them in a small round hole in a rock. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(119) Dhedya(after) wurraiaulaia(playing a bit) dhurrung(by mistake)-a-malanaiaula(one another they took) nha dhundya(fish) gujaga[inserted] manmaia(took) midhangga(one) dhundya(fish).
dharunga malana-ya = wula dhanj-dja
play-PST = 3d=SUB mistake that

After the two played for a while, they took each others’ fish by mistake. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(120) yuggaia nha gujagawal “ngaiawuli(mine) nha(that)

say-PST that child-OTHER 1s-GEN

The other child said ‘that is mine’. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(121) “ mirra(no) ngaiauwuli(mine) dyang(little one) nha ngālung(my own)”.
mirra ngaya-wuli djang=ngalung
no 1s-GEN small = 1d.PSSR52

‘No, mine is the small one.’ (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(122) Ngubbamwuraualanhung(her mother) manmadaulung manmagun(get)-hnalaiaulung(them other two) dyumbulalwiwala(two other fish).
ngaba-mara = wulanhung manma-gunhala-ya = wulung dhanj-bulali-wala
mother-KIN = 3d.PSSR get-BEN-PST = 3d.OBJ fish-DU-OTHER

Their mother got two other fish for them. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

51 See examples of bin-dha- ‘give-PST’ in B.1.2.3 (Dharrawal sentences).

52 The 1s.PSSR suffix clashes with the sense of the translation. It is possible that this is a different suffix altogether, such as ‘private property’.
(123) yunmagunalaialung nyingili(in same) gurrubungga.

yunma-gunhala-ya = wulung njin-gili gurabang-ga
put-BEN-PST = 3d.OBJ this-same? stone-LOC

She put them (fish) for them (children) into the same hole. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(124) Gunbalangali (they were headstrong) dhunggaiaulula (they cried) bundullari (taking each others) dhundya (fish).

gunbalangali dhungga-ya = wula bundha-la-ri dhanj-dja stubborn? cry-PST = 3d take-REC-PURP fish-DAT

(But) they were stubborn and cried over taking each others’ fish. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(125) Dunggaiaulula (cried they) nauwai (all day) - irung (long) - gālir’i (constant)

dhungga-ya = wula nhaway-yirang-galiri
cry-PST = 3d day-long? - constant?

They cried all day. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(126) Gwaiamindji (Gwaiaymin) ngurrandhauulung (he heard them) yah (while) [inserted] dunggaulaia (they two cried).

Gwayaminj-dji ngara-ndha = wulung ya dhungga = wula = ya
Gwayaminj-ERG hear-PST = 3d.OBJ and cry = 3d = SUB

Gwayaminj heard them crying. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(127) Yenngulaia (he came) nhai (it) nhamurri (to see) dhedya minggang (what)
bünerrindhadawulaia (about) dunggaiari (crying for).

yan-gula-ya nhay nhama-ri dhadja minggang
go-HITHER-PST that see-PURP then what
ban-ya-rindhada = wula = ya 31 dhungga-ya-ri
do-PST = 3d = SUB cry-PST-PURP

He came to see what they were crying over. (A-M.2.6-24-GW)

(128) Nhandawa (they saw) Gwaiamiñ dyaulaiadha (running along) nhamarri (to see).

nhan-dha = wa Gwayaminj dja-wula-ya = dha
see-PST = 3p Gwayaminj run-HITHER-PST = SUB

They saw Gwayaminj running along (to see). (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

(129) Bidboriauwa (they threw) dyirrambunggo (with bushes) gujagambulali (the two children) [circled to suggest alternative word order] buddherri (to hide),

bidbari-ya = wa djirambang-ga gudjaga-mbulali badha-ri
cover-PST = 3p bushes-INST child-DU hide-PURP

They covered the children with bushes to hide them. (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

31 The middle segment on this verb construction is unknown.
They said (to the children) ‘if you cry he will take you.’ (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

Gwayaminj that say-PST where-VBLS-PST that child-DU
dhungga=ya=wula=ya
cry-PST=3d=SUB

That Gwayaminj said ’Where are the those two children crying?’ (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

Gwayaminj that say-PST that child-DU

dhungga=ya=wula=ya

cry-PST=3d=SUB

They said ‘Ha! Where did they go?’ (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

‘Ha! I can hear you sobbing!’ (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

He went to the bushes to look for them and found them there. (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

He put them into his bag and carried them away. (A-M.2.6-25-GW)

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54 This is likely to be a modal construction of a subjunctive ‘if you cry then there is a possibility that you might be found’ or a LEST construction Both verbs mayi- and dhungga- are marked with -yi, which could be a future tense marker on these verbs or have modal function.

55 nunga- ‘cry’ seems to be a variant spelling of dhungga- (see (131)). It is possible that this is a dialect variant and Gwayaminj’s direct speech conveyed that. There are no other examples of a n versus dh variation found. Also note that there is no overt tense marking on this verb as we would expect -yi here.

56 The verb crossed out in this sentence is ‘see’, so the original meaning was ‘he saw them there’. 
Yugunda(then) ngainyaiirri’ā’wulindha(when taking them 2 away) yugundu barmaiadha(he stepped) barmagangga(a log)-ba dhurragangga-yaddhaiadha(he jumped)-
yagun-da\textsuperscript{7} ngayi-nja-yiri-ya = wulung = dha
then-? carry-?-AWAY-PST = 3d.OBJ = SUB
yagun-du barma-ya = dha barmagang-ga ba dhurragang-ga yadha-ya = dha
then-? step-PST = SUB log-LOC and creek-LOC jump-PST = SUB

As he was carrying them away, he stepped on a log and jumped/tripped on a log. \textit{(A-M.2.6-25-GW)}

Gutbündhaia’wula(they two bit) gurmanhung(his net)-
gadba-ndha-ya = wula
garma = nhung
bite-THROUGH?-PST = 3d
net.bag = 3s.PSSR

The two bit his net. \textit{(A-M.2.6-25-GW)}

Gwayaminj nha yaggaia “mingga nha (what’s that)”, nambannha(not) nhandha(broken be) nha(it)
gurmanhung(bag his)
Gwayaminj nha yaga-ya ‘mingga nha’ nambanha nandha\textsuperscript{8} nha
Gwayaminj that say-PST what that NEG broken that
garma = nhung
net.bag = 3s.PSSR

That Gwayaminj said ‘what’s that?’ (because) his bag had not been ripped. \textit{(A-M.2.6-25-GW)}

Bullawilaiadha nguria namarungguli běddhaba-wulung gündu nhai gürman[hung][added] gündu
bala-wila-ya = dha?\textsuperscript{9} nguri-ya namarung-guli badhaba-ya nhay
return-?-PST-SUB camp-LOC 3s-GEN hang.up-PST that
garma = nhung gundu\textsuperscript{60}
net.bag = 3s.PSSR tree

As he returned to his camp (and) hung up that bag in a tree. \textit{(A-M.2.6-25-GW)}

Gaiānha(he said) ngurrunggal(wife) murranhung(his)
ga-ya nha ngaranngal-mara = nhung
say-PST that woman-KIN = 3s.PSSR

Gwayaminj said to his wife: \textit{(A-M.2.6-26-GW)}

\textsuperscript{7} Note the difference between \textit{yagundu} and \textit{yagunda} in this sentence. This might be a distinction in ‘while’ constructions, i.e. ‘\textit{while} he was carrying them away, \textit{this} happened…’. Also note the use of the subordination marker \textit{=dha} in both clauses marking them to be dependent to each other.

\textsuperscript{8} It is not clear whether \textit{nandha} is an adjective ‘broken’ or whether this is a verb such as ‘break-PST’.

\textsuperscript{9} Although this looks like the subordination marker \textit{=dha}, it does not seem to fit here.

\textsuperscript{60} We would expect a locative or dative marker on \textit{gundu} here.
(141) “yūggari(tell) nanaridya(mother in law) yendāwanda(go for) murnja(the meat) nhaia[inserted] beddhabalinda(hanging up) nharria(yonder) wurriddyang(far) gundu(tree)”

‘yaga-ri nanari = djan = di61 yanda-wa-ndha marnidja nhaya
tell-PURP mother.in.law = 1s.PSSR = KIN? go-FOR-HORT meat that
badhaba-li = ndha nharaya waridjan gundu
hang.up-DTRSV = SUB that far tree

tell mother-in-law to go for the meat hanging in that tree over there’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

(142) Nanarimurranhung yenda nanda(she saw) na(the) gurma(bag) gumirdhirra(with hole)- nanari-mara = nhung yan-dha nan-dha nha garma gumirr-dharramark mother.in.law-KIN = 3s.PSSR go-PST see-PST that net.bag hole-HAVING

The mother-in-law went and saw that bag with the hole. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

(143) gurugai(a called) “mirra(nothing) nyinyi(in it) murnyea(n meat none)”-

garuga-ya ‘mirra njinji marnidja-yanha’
call-PST no here meat-PRIV

She called out ‘there is no meat in it’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

(144) “Nha-nha(there there), beddhabangai(hung it up I)”

‘nha nha badhaba(-ya) = ngay’
there there hang.up(-PST) = 1s

there there I hung it up’ (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

(145) She = “mirragwiung(nothing) nyinyi(here), gurndhi.xxx nothing at all) nyin(this) gurma(bag)”

‘mirra-guyang njinji gurndhi njin garma’
not-HAVING here nothing this net.bag

‘there is nothing here, nothing at all in this bag’’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

(146) Gwayamin nhaing(there) baiit-be-anya(he jumped up) dyurang(angry)- madha(because) yuggaia(he said) Nanaridiyanda[wulung](his mother in law) yenmandyawulung(let them out).

Gwayaminj nhayang badjba-ya-nja dyurang madha yaga-ya
Gwayaminj there jump.up-PST-= angry because say-PST
nanari = djan-da yan-ma-dja = wulung
mother.in.law = 1s.PSSR-ERG go-CAUS-PST = 3d.OBJ

Gwayaminj jumped up angrily because, he said, ‘my mother in law let them go’. (A-M.2.6-26-GW)

61 Note that the final -di suffix could perhaps be -ndi and have the same function as -ndi on baba in the Parable of the Prodigal Son story (Text A.8). It is unlikely that is marks for a specific possessor because ‘mother in law’ is already marked for possession both in (142) and (143).
10. **Bundoola – King of the Sea**

Dharrawal text spoken by Les Bundle, recorded by Arthur Capell in September 1955 in Nowra. This story has to date not been transcribed due to its poor sound recording. Although it was an initial goal of this study to transcribe and analyse the text, consultation with experts resulted in the decision that this would more suitably be left as a project for future studies, undertaken by phoneticians and/or sound technicians who are able to manipulate the material and analyse accordingly.

Listening to the story numerous times, and being familiar with the topic through the other written versions of *Bundoola*, it is possible to identify some words in the recording, but anything further requires a trained ear and familiarity with spoken AALs.

The story is yet another version of *Bundoola*. Three other Dharumba versions were transcribed by Mackenzie, see Texts 1, 2 and 3 in this chapter.

> Well, Bandulu was a very clever man
> and when he used to go out to get his fish
> he used to go into the rough weather to spear his fish
> he would[‘n’t] go any kind of weather - whatever
> he ... ... ... in the rough weather to get his fish
> and when he got his fish he used to give his wife stingarees
> and himself the good fish
> and then he went into the bush and got his honey - what we call honey
> collected his honey in a bag
> took it to his home where he used to camp
> and gave his wife the young bee and he had the honey himself
> and then he used to go out and get his yam and fernroot
> and cooked the fernroot in the ashes and made food of that
> and also got the burrawangs and soaked them in the freshwater
> to take the [...] poison off the burrawang
> and then when that was done he broke the burrawang seeds
> and made [bread with it....................]
> and cooked that and had it
> and divided that amongst his wives
> he also had two wives
> he was a great king
King of the sea
and the other tribe didn’t seem to care for him because he was a very clever man - in his days
so- they took him out one day to a place what they call the waterfalls
hun tin’ - for kangaroos and wallabies
and when they got him to this fall
they got him [near the base of the falls]?
and shoved him over the falls - quick - right at the bottom
and got vines - and lowered the vines down to him
and when the vine was near the top again
[helping/hacking] to this man up - as he thought he was then {or dead?}
and cut the vine again
and then his spirit rose from there into a place what they call a bosom
Abraham’s bosom
and he’s remaining there to this day
B.1.2 Dharrawal Sentences

B.1.2.1 Mackenzie’s Dharrawal sentences

From the choice of lexemes found in Mackenzie’s Dharrawal sentences, it seems almost certain that his informant was from the southern parts of Dharrawal speaking country, due to the shared vocabulary with Dharumba/Dhurga.

(1) *Ye*nndaŋil bobaruŋo wēyagatiry windērong  
yan-dhi = ngil  bubaru- ngu wayagadi- ri  windarang  
go-PRST = 1ep  mountain-ALL  look.for-PURP  cedar  
*Come let us go to the mountain and look for cedar. (A-AM-1874:251)

(2) Wuddāna jirabar?  
wadha  nha  djirabar  
where  that/there  gun  
*Where is the gun? (A-AM-1874:251)

(3) Wattagū bulmo wongawonga.  
wadagu  bulma  wongawonga62  
want?  strike  wonga.pigeon  
*I want to shoot some blue pigeons. (A-AM-1874:251)

(4) Ijinda mundaboŋ kullywajal da bungun kullywajal da kündā.  
nginda  mundabang  gali-wa = ngal  da  banggan  
bring  tomahwak  cut-IRR = 1id  that  vine  
galiya-wa = ngal  da  gunda  
cut-IRR = 1id  that  tree  
*Bring the tomahawk to cut the vines and mark the trees. (A-AM-1874:251)

(5) Iūa berungle mūka kullywawajaldo kündo mūka.  
yuwa  baru-wa = ngal  muga  galiwa-wa = ngal  da  gunda  muga  
perhaps  find-IRR = 1id  honey  cut-IRR = 1id  that  tree  honey  
*Perhaps (too) we might find a honey tree and cut it down. (A-AM-1874:251)

62 The verb form is not known and does not show a subject marker, unless it is the Dharumba/Dhurga 1s subject marker -ga. The modal sense in the translation can only be marked by the first word in the sentence *wadagu*, but this is an isolated instance of this lexeme.
(6) *Ijinda jejüng flint kunbyüma.*
nginda djadjung flint ganbi yuma\(^{63}\)
bring.IMP moon flint fire- make

*Bring tinder and flint to make a fire.* (A-AM-1874:251)

(7) *Ijindaŋal thunoŋ po munny.*
nginda=ngal dhangang ba marni
bring=1id food and meat

*Let us take some bread and meat with us.* (A-AM-1874:251)

(8) *Thuŋja na mirigoŋ yendajiŋ yükũndo.*
dhuwi-nja nha mirigang yandha=ngil yagunda\(^{64}\)
call.PRST=1ip that dog go=1ep then

*Call the dogs, it’s time for us to go.* (A-AM-1874:251)

(9) *Minyana purrowally thunna, thuŋa biagally.*\(^{65}\)
minja nha buru-wali dhana dhanga biyangali\(^{66}\)
what that kangaroo-BELONG foot food? old

*See here is a kangaroo track, it is that of a big old man.* (A-AM-1874:251)

(10) *Yendanjiŋ wurrawry, mata kūna nara wurraury.*
yanda=ngil warra~warri madha guna nhara warra~warri
go=1ep far~REDUP because duck there far~REDUP

*Let us go by the lagoon, there’s always plenty of ducks there.* (A-AM-1874:251)

(11) *Ijarundygo wonga wonga kūryirra mudgy.*
ngara-ndi=ga wongawonga guri-yira madji\(^{67}\)
hear-PRST=1s wonga.pigeon ear-HAVING bush

*I hear a wonga wonga sounding its note in the bush.* (A-AM-1874:251)

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\(^{63}\) In Mackenzie’s sentences, imperative is often expressed with an unmarked verb. *-yuna* on fire may be a derivative meaning ‘strike/make fire’. *djadjung* might be used for the word ‘tinder’ as well.

\(^{64}\) Tense marking on Mackenzie’s verbs does not show a pattern as it does in Mathews’ material and in many cases tense seems not to be marked overtly.

\(^{65}\) This sentence has three salient words found in the Dhurga/Dharumba languages; *dhanga* ‘food’, *dhana* ‘foot’ and *minja* ‘what’.

\(^{66}\) *biyangali* is etymologically derived from *biyang* ‘father’ and possibly the ‘belonging’ suffix *-gal*.

\(^{67}\) Note again the 1st person subject marker *-ga* which is the Dharumba/Dhurga form, not =ngay as in Dharrawal.
B.1.2.2 Mathews’ unpublished Dharrawal sentences

(12) nharrabulla (between us) yenda[y]andha (walking to you people) dhin’hurrayn kubbudjandi your [your enemy, my [cousin]]. I’-u i’-u!

Bunawalla yan-dha yan-dha dhinharr = ung gabudja-ndi\(^{68}\) iyu iyu
between come-PST come-PST people=2s.PSSR cousin-KIN ONOM
the dyunidyunuty (night owl or small grey owl) says this. (A-M.2.4-53)

(13) bundāwurri yuindyu bulmaia mirrigang
bundawari yuwinj-dju bulma-ya mirrigang
tall man-ERG hit-PST dog

a tall man hit the dog (A-M.2.6-1)

(14) bundāwurriwulali yuindyu bulmaia ’wula mirrigang
bundawari-wulali yuwinj-dju bulma-ya-wula mirrigang
tall-DU man-ERG hit-PST-3d dog

two tall men beat the dog. (A-M.2.6-1)

(15) gumbulwulali yuindyu mandhawula dhuñ
gumbal-wulali yuwinj-dju man-dha-wula dhanj
strong-DU man-ERG catch-PST-3d fish

two strong men caught a fish (A-M.2.6-1)

(16) gaianda yuindyu dhūraia būrru
gayan-da yuwinj-dju dhura-ya buru
big-ERG man-ERG spear-PST kangaroo

a big man spears a kangaroo (A-M.2.6-1)

(17) gaianbulali yuindyu dhurraiawula būru
gayan-bulali yuwinj-dju dhura-ya-wula buru
big-DU man-ERG spear-PST-3d kangaroo

two big men speared a kangaroo (A-M.2.6-1)

(18) yuīn yenda Bunnabi-u
yuwinj yan-dha Bunnabi-yu\(^{69}\)

man go-PST Bunnabi-ALL

a man went to Bunabee (A-M.2.6-1)

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\(^{68}\) dhinarung and gabudjandi may show a 2s possessive marker on the former and the kinship marker -ndi on the latter. -ndi is found on constructions like ‘my father’ in Mathews Parable of the Prodigal Son. Gabu is given elsewhere in Mathews’ material as being ‘man who courts one sister’.

\(^{69}\) Bunnabi, “name for Wall Street to Waterworks in Sydney” (A-M.1.2-106). It is also the name for the northern head of Botany Bay (Ray Ingrey, pc).
(19) **yuuiŋbulali yendawula Bunnabi-u**

yuwinj-bulali yan-dha-wula Bunnabi-yu
man-DU go-PST-3d Bunnabi-ALL

two men went to Bunnaby (A-M.2.6-1)

(20) **dyadyamurrawillinhung warrangan**

djadja-mara-wuli = nhung warranganj
brother-KIN-GEN = 3s.PSSR boomerang

his brother’s boomerang (A-M.2.6-1)

(21) **bindinmädha (he gave away) dyadyamurrinung warrangandya**

bindinma-dha djadjja-mara = nhung warranganj-dja70
give.away-PST brother-kin = 3s.PSSR boomerang-INSTR

he gave his brother’s boomerang away (A-M.2.6-1)

(22) **mirrigangbulali = wulanhung**

mirigang-bulali = wulanhung
dog-DU = 3d.PSSR

The two dogs of the two men. (A-M.2.6-1)71

(23) **mirrigan-bulanhung yuuiŋbulaliwiwuli**

mirigan = bulanhung yuwinj-bulali-wuli
dog = 3d.PSSR man-DU-GEN

the dog of the two men (A-M.2.6-1)

(24) **yuinburmangga bulmaia mirrigang**

yuwinj burmang-ga bulma-ya mirigang
man big-ERG beat-PST dog

a big man beat a dog (A-M.2.6-1)

(25) **bindinmadha’dhan warrangandya**

bindinma-dha = dhan warranganj-dja

give.away-PST = 1s.PSSR boomerang-INSTR

he gave away my boomerang (A-M.2.6-1)

(26) **bindinnilla warrangandyanung**

bindinn-ila72 warranganj-dja = nhung
give.away-PST? boomerang-INSTR = 3s.PSSR

he gave away his own boomerang (A-M.2.6-1)

70 This suffix -dja is found on inanimate nouns in similar sentences throughout the Dharrawal corpus. I assigned the instrumental case to these instances.

71 Unclear whether the translation should be ‘the dogs of the two men” or ‘the dogs each belonging to one man’.

72 The -ila in this construction is unclear. See previous example (25) for comparison and also for another occurrence of -ila on another verb manda- ‘catch’ in (83).
(27) *dyadyamurrung bindinmadha warrangandya*
djadja-mara = nhung bindinma-dha warranganj-dja
elder.brother-KIN = 3s.PSSR give.away-PST boomerang-INSTR
*he gave away his brother’s boomerang (A-M.2.6-1)*

(28) *ngullaingai*
ngala-ya = ngay
sit-PST = 1s
*I sat down (A-M.2.6-1)*

(29) *ngullaingai nhamurri*
ngala-ya = ngay nhama-ri
sit-PST = 1s watch-PURP
*I am sitting watching (A-M.2.6-1)*
**I sat down to watch.**

(30) *gamadigun*
gama-di = gun
speak-BEN = 1s/2s.OBJ (in Dhurga)
*I talk for thee etc (A-M.2.6-2)*

(31) *Bulmadigûn*
bulma-di = gun
beat-BEN = 1s/2s.OBJ (in Dhurga)
*I beat for thee etc (A-M.2.6-2)*

(32) *ngannun nha gumbulluûdhung-nha mega ya yuîn*
nganung nha gumbalu-wudhung nha miga ya yuwinj
who that strong-INTENS that woman or man
*who is the strongest, the man or the woman (A-M.2.6-2)*

(33) *yawalingai*
yawali = ngay
also = 1s
*I also (A-M.2.6-2)*

(34) *yawalibi*
yawali = bi
also = 2s
*thou also (A-M.2.6-2)*

(35) *yawalinhain*
yawali-nhay-n\(^{73}\)
also-that-?
*he also (and so on) (A-M.2.6-2)*

\(^{73}\) The function of the final *n* is unclear.
(36)  nuggung ngudumba
     nagung ngudumba\(^74\)
     good ?
     (nguūdhumba = really) thou get better (A-M.2.6-2)

(37)  nuggung bumbyau-a
     nagung bumba-ya = wa
     good be-PST = 3p
     they (pl) have been good (A-M.2.6-14)

(38)  nuggung bumpye
     nagung bumba-y(a)
     good be-PST
     he was good (A-M.2.6-14)

(39)  nuggung bumbiaula
     nagung bumba-yi = wula
     good be-PRST = 3d
     they (dl) are good (A-M.2.6-14)

(40)  nyilli bulmai
     njili bulma-yi
     this beat-PRST
     he is beating (A-M.2.6-14)

(41)  nyilla bulmai[ur]
     njila bulma-ya[ur]
     this beat-PST[?]
     he did beat (A-M.2.6-14)

(42)  nyilla bullmang
     njila bulma-ng
     this beat-FUT
     he will beat (A-M.2.6-14)

(43)  yandingai’ (narremang) (present)
     yan-dhi = ngay narimang
     go-PRST = 1s yonder
     I am walking. (A-M.2.6-14)

(44)  yendangai narremang (past)
     yan-dha = ngay narimang
     go-PST = 1s yonder
     I walk (A-M.2.6-14)

\(^74\) A possible analysis of this example could be nagung-gudhung = bi ‘good-INTENS = 2s’.
(45) yenbangai narremang (future)
yan-ba = ngay\(^{75}\) narimang
go-FUT = 1s yonder
I will walk (A-M.2.6-14)

(46) yuũn yenda narremang
yuwinj yan-dha\(^{76}\) narimang
man walk-PST yonder
Man walking away (A-M.2.6-14)

(47) yuũn yenngulai dhangu
yuwinj yan-gula-yi dhangu
man go-HITHER-PRST this.way
Man walking this way (A-M.2.6-14)

(48) yuũn yendi nharria (away) wurrijang (far)
yuwinj yan-dhi nhari-ya waridjang
man go-PRST there-LOC yonder
man walking far away (A-M.2.6-14)

(49) yuũn yenngulai ngaigandi
yuwinj yan-gula-yi ngayaga-ndi
man go-HITHER-PRST 1s-LOC
a man coming towards me (A-M.2.6-14)

(50) mega gudyaga yirra nha yenngulai
miga gudjaga-yira nha yan-gula-yi
woman child-HAVING there go-HITHER-PRST
a woman a child has there comes (A-M.2.6-22)

(51) jauanga ngaigandeen
djawa-nga ngayaga-ndiin
run-PST? 1s-ABL
(someone) ran away from me (A-M.2.3-50)

(52) Bũũ-gulladha
a man who uses wrong [many] woman (A-M.2.3-50)

(53) Kubbo
[no translation given] (A-M.2.3-50)

\(^{75}\) According to the previous two sentences, it looks as if -ba marks for future tense in this construction. There is no other example that shows the use of -ba

\(^{76}\) This is translated as a present tense verb but according to the -dha past tense marker, the translation might be more appropriately “men walked away”.
(54) **yuindyu(or yerroodhan)dhan yerreawarrangandyänung**
yuwinj-dju = dhan yiri-ya warranganj-dja = nhung
man-ERG = 1s.OBJ throw-PST boomerang-INSTR = 3s.PSSR
a man threw his boomerang at me (A-M.2.3-51)

(55) **yuindyu yerriwandhan warrangandyä**
yuwinj-dju yiri-ya = ndhan warranganj-dja
man-ERG throw-PST = 1s.OBJ boomerang-INSTR
He threw a boomerang at me. (A-M.2.3-51)

(56) **yuindyudhan yerriwang warrangandyä**
yuwinj-dju = dhan yiri-wa-ng warranganj-dja
man-ERG = 1s.OBJ throw-IRR?-FUT boomerang-INSTR
a man is going to throw a boomerang at me (A-M.2.3-51)

(57) **yerriwanying yuindyu warrangandyä**
yiri-wa = njing yuwinj-dju warranganj-dja
throw-IRR = 2s.OBJ man-ERG boomerang-INSTR
a man will throw a boomerang at thee (A-M.2.3-51)

(58) **yerranpanying nyila yundya warrangandyä**
yiri-ya = njing njila yuwinj-dja warranganj-dja
throw-PST = 2s.OBJ this man-ERG boomerang-INSTR
that man threw a boomerang at thee (A-M.2.3-51)

(59) **gung-gala(brother louse) wurridya(over there), gurrinda(eggs) wurridya mai-a-di((young lover)) wurridya**
gunggala waridja garinda waridja mayadi waridja
louse yonder egg yonder young.lover yonder
This is a song as sung by bullidya wullidya in a story about him (A-M.2.4-20)

(60) **Babundyang indihi(father mine with) yuen(left)ngwüangai warrangandyân**
baba-ndi-ndi-nj yuwangwu-ya = ngay warranganj = djan
baba-KIN-COM? leave.behind-PST = 1s boomerang = 1s.PSSR
I left my boomerang with my father (A-M.2.4-22)

(61) **Ngubbbandyaunng ngullainbi nguránhung [nungainung(camp)]**
ngaba = (n)djan ngala-yi-nbi ngura = nhung
mother = 1sPSSR sit-PRST?-? camp = 3s.PSSR
my mother is sitting in her camp (A-M.2.4-22)

77 The combination of the suffixes -wa and ng is puzzling. We would not expect irrealis marker and future marker ng to co-occur.

78 Note the unusual vowel on the ergative suffix -dja here. Usually the form is -dju.

79 The morphology on this noun is unclear.
(62) Babadyen (my father) ngariandha (he took it) warranyung (his boomerang) dyenmallangga (going hunting)

father = 1s.PSSR take go-PST boomerang = 3s.PSSR hunt-PST-

My father took his boomerang with him when he went hunting (A-M.2.4-22)

(63) yuindyu(a man) burruwulaia (come towards) ngaiagandi (to me)

the man came towards me (A-M.2.4-22)

(64) yuindyu bindadhan (to me gave)

the man gave it to me (A-M.2.4-22)

(65) yuin yannairia’ ngaiagandin

the man went away from me (A-M.2.4-22)

(66) yuindyu bulmaiadhan

the man hit me (A-M.2.4-22)

(67) yuin nyinyi ngullai ngaiagandi

the man is stopping with me (A-M.2.4-22)

(68) yandhangai bullawurriu nhamurri

I walked up onto the hills to look (A-M.2.4-23)

(69) yandhangai bullawurri[u] gur’riamilliri

I walked onto the hill to watch (A-M.2.4-23)

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80 An alternative analysis might be something like ngari-ya-ndha ‘take-PST-?’.
(70) babamurra-ingun(at your yün(left)-nguriangai(l) warrangandye[r](boomerang mine)
baba-mara-yi = ngun yuwangari-ya = ngaybabamurra-ingun(at your yün(left)-nguriangai(l) warrangandye[r](boomerang mine)
father-KIN-LOC = 2s.PSSR leave.behind-PST = 1s boomerang-INSTR
I left my boomerang with your father. (A-M.2.4-23)

(71) Nharra bulla(between us) yendaiantha(walking to) dhinurang(you people) Kubbu dyandi(your enemy/my cousin) i-u’! i’-u! (look out!)
nharabala yan-dha ya-ndha dhinarr = ung gabudja-ndiiiyu-iyu
between come-PST come-PST people = 2s.PSSR cousin-KIN EXCL
[note translation given] (A-M.2.4-53)

(72) Bulleanga ngurree ngurrawai
baliyanga ngari ngaraway
north.east.wind ?? ??
north east wind making ripples on water (A-M.2.4-54)

(73) Ngalngai mandya(nhaia) goorwoora
ngal = ngayngal=ngay
mandja nhaya gurawura
want = 1s catch that possum
I would like to catch that possum (A-M.2.5-45)

(74) Jilleri( give it or [saget] it) marra(a name)
djila-ri marra
?.PURP name
give it a name (A-M.2.5-45)

(75) Garwaiadhan būrr[u]i
garwa-ya = dhan buru-yi
scratch-PST = 1s.OBJ kangaroo-ERG
[Scratched](kangaroo) [wet] (A-M.2.5-45)

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81 This is the same verb as in (60), but the form is slightly different; the phonemicisation here is therefore somewhat based on the two versions.

82 This is the same sentence as the unpublished version shown in (12).

83 ngal- could be a non-verbal predicate meaning ‘wanting’. It is also found in one example in the 
Parable of the Prodigal Son, example (107) in B.1.1.

84 The exact translation of djila- is not clear, as there are not other examples to compare this lexeme with. Note that the Dharrawal texts are titled <Jerra Thurawaldhery> by Mackenzie. Perhaps the <Jerra> and <Jilleri> share meaning or an underlying form.
(76) yauinyeendadeendhan
djawi-njinda-di = ndhan
run-away-PRST = 1s.OBJ
running from me (A-M.2.5-45)

(77) yauinyeendau-wandha
djawi-njinda-wa = ndha
run-away-IRR = 1s.OBJ
going to run away from me (A-M.2.5-45)

(78) jauin(run did)undryindhan(from me) yuindyoo
djawi-njinda(-ya)=dhan yuwinj-dju
run-away(-PST)= 1s.OBJ man-ERG
the man ran away from me (A-M.2.5-45)

(79) jaulaia (-yuin) ngaiajadi(to me)
djawu-la-yi ngayaga-ndi
run-towards-PST 1s = LOC
the man ran towards me (A-M.2.5-45)

(80) jaauan yuin (ngaiagandi?)
djawa-ng yuwinj
run-FUT man
the man will come (A-M.2.5-45)

(81) yanngoolaia ngulling yuin
yan-gula-ya ngaling yuwinj
come-HITHER-PST ? man
the man came with me (A-M.2.5-45)

(82) yanngoolaiang ngulling yuin(nhai)
yan-gula-ya ngaling yuwinj nhay
come-HITHER-PST ? man that
the man came with you (A-M.2.5-45)

(83) mandilladhan
mandil-a = dhan
take.from-PST = 1s.OBJ
took from me (A-M.2.5-45)

85 Note that the verb yawa ‘run’ is elsewhere transcribed as djawa. Perhaps it is a misinterpretation of Mathews’ handwriting in this instance, where I identified j wrongly as y.

86 This is the same construction as in (56).

87 The tense in (83) - (85) is not marked in accordance with other observed rules.
(84) mandilleendhan
mandil-i = ndhan
take.from-PRST = 1s.OBJ
*taking from me (A-M.2.5-45)*

(85) mandillandhan(future)
mandila = ndhan\(^{88}\)
take.from = 1s.OBJ
**Will take from me (A-M.2.5-45)**

(86) Bindadhan (past)
binda(-ya) = dhan
gave(-PST) = 1s.OBJ
gave to me (A-M.2.5-45)

(87) Bindany[i]njing (gave to thee)
binda(-ya) = njing\(^{89}\)
give(-PST) = 2s.OBJ
(A-M.2.5-45)

(88) Bindaia nhai
binda-ya nhay
give-PST that
**Gave to him/her. (A-M.2.5-45)**

(89) Bindendhan (present)
bindi(-yi) = ndhan
give to(-PRST) = 1s.OBJ
giving it to me (A-M.2.5-45)

(90) Bindecenyng
bindi(-yi) = njing
give(-PRST) = 2s.OBJ
giving it to thee (A-M.2.5-45)

(91) Bindendhan (future)
binda = ndhan
give.to.FUT = 1s.OBJ
will give to me (A-M.2.5-45)

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\(^{88}\) Example (85) seems to not show future tense marking, apart from the difference in morpheme initial nasal in *-ndhan*, compared to *-dhan* in (83).

\(^{89}\) Expect a past tense marker here as in (88). It is possible that this is a case of elision.
(92)  *Bindenying*  
binda = njing\(^90\)  
give.to.FUT = 2s.OBJ  
*will give to thee (A-M.2.5-45)*

(93)  *Bindaulaian*  
binda(-ya) = wula = yan  
give.to(-PST) = 3d = 1s.OBJ  
*they two gave it to me (A-M.2.5-45)*

(94)  *Bindaulainying*  
binda(-ya) = wula = njing  
give.to-PST = 3d = 2s.OBJ  
*they 2 gave to thee (A-M.2.5-45)*

(95)  *Bindauwaian*  
binda(-ya) = wa = yan  
give.to(-PST) = 3p = 1s.OBJ  
*the all gave to me (A-M.2.5-45)*

(96)  *Bindau-wanying*  
binda(-ya) = wa = njing  
give.to(-PST) = 3p = 1s.OBJ  
*they all gave thee (A-M.2.5-45)*

(97)  *jaulangai nanda*  
djawula = ngay nan-da  
lyrebird = 1s see-PST  
*i saw a pheasant (A-M.2.5-46)*

(98)  *gunmemangafi] nanda*  
ganama = ngay nan-da  
kangaroo.rat = 1s nanda-PST  
*i saw a k[angaroo]-rat (A-M.2.5-46)*

(99)  *gununguyirngai nanda*  
gununguyirr = ngay\(^91\) nan-da  
echidna = 1s see-PST  
*i saw a porcupine (A-M.2.5-46)*

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\(^{90}\) As with the present tense examples as in (90), the future tense marker may have been elided. Note the difference between an apparent long vowel in the present tense in (89) *<Bindenah></* and the shorter quality of the vowel in *<bindenying>*</*>.

\(^{91}\) The word for echidna might consist of ‘thorns-having’ showing the -yir ‘HAVING’ suffix.
(100) *jaulangai nandi*
   djawula = ngay nan-di
   lyrebird = 1s see-PRST
   *I’m cooking a pheasant (A-M.2.5-46)*
   **I see a lyrebird.**

(101) *jaulangai nambang*
   djawula = ngay namba-ng
   lyrebird = 1s see-FUT
   *I will(am going to) see a pheasant (A-M.2.5-46)*

(102) *yuinngai bulmang*
   yuwinj = ngay bulma-ng
   man = 1s beat-FUT
   *I will beat a man (A-M.2.5-46)*

(103) *Dhûngngai manbang*
   dhanj = ngay manba-ng
   fish = 1s catch-FUT
   *I going to catch a fish (A-M.2.5-46)*

**B.1.2.3 Mathews’ Published Dharrawal sentences**

(104) *juggarnañdya dhuñ manda*
   djagananj-dja dhanj man-da
   boy-ERG fish catch-PST
   *the boy a fish caught (A-M.1.4-131)*

(105) *mirrigangga guraura bubbugaia*
   mirigang-ga gurawura babuga-yaj
   dog-ERG possum bite-PST
   *a dog an opossum bit (A-M.1.4-131)*

(106) *ngurrungalla mundha gulanya*
   ngarangal-a mundha gula-nja
   woman-ERG snake kill-PST
   *a woman a snake killed (A-M.1.4-131)*

(107) *bunbari-i gunnungwir yurinya*
   bunbari-yi gununguyirr yuri-nja
   youth-ERG echidna hit-PST
   *the youth a porcupine hit (A-M.1.4-131)*

75
(108) wuragalangga bundaia
wuragalang-ga bunda-ya
man-ERG cut-PST
_the man chopped (A-M.1.4-131)

(109) yuĩďyu gujaga bulmaia
yuwinj-dju gudjaga bulma-ya
man-ERG child strike-PST
_the man the child struck (A-M.1.4-132)

(110) warrangandya wawarnang yeriŋgaŋai
warranganj-dja wawarnang yiri-ya = ngay
boomerang-INSTR crow throw-PST = 1s
_a boomerang at a crow threw I (A-M.1.4-132)

(111) ngurrungalla ngadyunγo ngaimilai
ngarungal-a ngadjung-u ngayi-mila-yi
woman-ERG water-INSTR bring-?-PRST
_the woman water brings (A-M.1.4-132)

(112) wuragalangga mundubangga bundaia
wuragalang-ga mundabang-ga bunda-ya
man-ERG tomahawk-INSTR cut-PST
_the man with a tomahawk chopped (A-M.1.4-132)

(113) yuĩďya warrangandya gujaga bulmaia
yuwinj-dja warranganj-dja gudjaga bulma-ya
man-ERG boomerang-INSTR child beat-PST
_the man with a boomerang a child struck (A-M.1.4-132)

(114) juggarnañ bunnabiu dhundya ngaimaia
djagarananj Bunnabi-yu dhanj-dja ngayi-ma-yi
boy Bunnabi-ALL fish-INSTR bring-?-PST
_the boy Bunnabi to fish carried (A-M.1.4-133)

(115) ngurawulaliu yendigulling
ngura-wulali-γu yan-dhi = ngaling
camp-DU-ALL go-PRST = 1ed
camps two to go we (dual excl) (A-M.1.4-133)\(^2\)

(116) warrangan babamurrawulingun\(^3\)
warranganj baba-mara-wuli = ngun
boomerang father-kin-GEN = 2s.PSSR
_a boomerang to thy father belongs (A-M.1.4-133)

\(^{2}\) The translation here could perhaps be ‘we go to our (respective) camps’.

\(^{3}\) Note here that warranganj is not marked for possession, as it usually would be.
(117) **mundubang yuiŋgunhung**
  mundubang  yuiŋ-ung
  tomahawk  man-DAT
  *a tomahawk for the man- (A-M.1.4-133)*

(118) **babamurrungun nyilli binding**
  bab-a-mara = ngun  njili  bindi-ng⁹⁴
  father-kin = 2s.PSSR  this  give-FUT
  *to thy father this give (A-M.1.4-133)*

(119) **ngurrungalla buddaín nadyungo ngaimilai**
  ngarungal-a  badha -yiin  nadjung-(g)u  ngayi-mila-yi⁹⁵
  woman-ERG  creek-ABL  water-INSTR  carry-?-PRST
  *the woman from the hole water carries (A-M.1.4-133)*

(120) **jaulaidhangu ngurain**
  dja-wula-yi  dhangu  ngura -yiin
  run-HITHER-PRST  this.way  camp-ABL
  *he runs from the camp (A-M.1.4-133)*

(121) **yuĩdyua Bunnabi-in dhundya ngaimilai**
  yuwinj-dju  Bunnabi-yiin  dhanj-dja  ngayi-mila-yi
  man-ERG  Bunnabi-ABL  fish-INSTR  carry-?-PRST
  *a man from Bunnabi fish carries (A-M.1.4-133)*

(122) **yuĩ nyilli warrangandya gungaledin jindama**
  yuwinj  njili  warranganj-dja  gungala(n)-diin  djindama⁹⁶
  man  this  boomerang-INSTR  myrtle-ABL  make
  *a man this a boomerang from myrtle makes – gungalen is the myrtle tree (A-M.1.4-133)*

(123) **bundaiaidhan**
  bunda-ya-dhan
  take-PST = 1s.OBJ
  *took from me (A-M.1.4-133)*

(124) **ngaiagandin**
  ngayaga-ndiin
  1s-ABL
  *from me (A-M.1.4-133)*

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⁹⁴ The object is not expressed in this sentence.

⁹⁵ See also the same morphology on the verb in example (111). The meaning of -*mila* is unclear but might have a directional function.

⁹⁶ **djindama/djinama** is the verb stem for ‘make’; however this verb shows no tense marking. **yuwinj** also does not show ergative case marking.
(125) *ngaiagandi*
ngayaga-ndi
1s-COM
with me (A-M.1.4-133)

(126) *gajagadyen*
gudjaga = djan
child = 1s.PSSR
my child (A-M.1.4-133)

(127) *Babandyang*
baba = djang
father = 1s.PSSR
father my (A-M.1.4-133)

(128) *Gujagangunandyen*
gudjaga-nguna = ndjan
child-DAT = 1s.PSSR
for my child (A-M.1.4-133)

(129) *Babanduggunhung*
baba-nda-gunhung
father-KIN-DAT
for my father (A-M.1.4-133)

(130) *Gujagandidyen*
gujiaga-ndi = djan
child-COM = 1s.PSSR
with my child (A-M.1.4-133)

(131) *Babandindidyen*
baba-ndi-ndi = djan
father-KIN-COM = 1s.PSSR
with my father (A-M.1.4-133)

(132) *yuiñ wurriin yengulaia-guggaîiri*
yuwijnj warri -yiin yan-gula-ya gaga-yiri
man far-ABL go-HITHER-PST hunger-HAVING
the man far walked – he is hungry (A-M.1.4-138)

(133) *yuiñ dhallauga yendadha – warrangandy a gurrangamadadhan*
yuwijnj dhaluga yan-dha-dha warranganj-dja garangama-dha = dhan
man yesterday go-PST-SUB boomerang-INSTR steal-PST = 1s.OBJ
the man yesterday went [away] - a boomerang stole he from me, (A-M.1.4-138)
(134) mirruandalwali
   mirra-wandal-wali97
   not-?-
   no one (A-M.1.4-138)

(135) warranganbulali ngaiawuli
   warranganj-bulali  ngaya-wuli
   boomerang-DU   1s-GEN
   boomerangs-two mine (A-M.1.4-138)

(136) warranganbuloala ngaiawuli
   warranganj-bulawala  ngaya-wuli
   boomerang-PL   1s-GEN
   boomerangs-several mine (A-M.1.4-138)

(137) nyilli bulmandhan
   njili     bulma=ndhan98
   this     strike = 1s.OBJ
   this (fellow) strikes me (A-M.1.4-140)

(138) yuiñ nyinyawaia
   yuwijnj     njinja-wa-ya
   man        this/here-VBLS-PST?
   the man is here (A-M.1.4-140)

(139) yuiñ nhameng
   yuwijnj     nhamang
   man        there
   the man is there (A-M.1.4-140)

(140) Yuiñ nyinyawaia
   yuwijnj     njinja-wa-ya
   man        here-VBLS-PST
   the man was here (A-M.1.4-140)

(141) Yuiñ nhawaia
   yuwijnj     nha-wa-ya
   man        that/there-VBLS-PST
   the man was there (A-M.1.4-140)

97 mirra is ‘not’ or ‘nothing’, see (362), but the function of the remaining morphology is not clear. The final morpheme -wali might be ‘-OTHER’.

98 Tense does not seem to be marked with the usual present tense marker -ya on bulma-.
(142) *yuiñ nyinyawawang*
  yuwinj njinja-wa-wa-ng
  man here-VBLS-IRR?-FUT
  *the man will be here (A-M.1.4-140)*

(143) *yuiñ nhawawang*
  yuwinj nha-wa-wa-ng
  man there-VBLS-IRR?-FUT
  *the man will be there (A-M.1.4-140)*

(144) *yawali*
  yawali
  also
  *that one also (A-M.1.4-140)*

(145) *yawalingai*
  yawali = ngay
  also = 1s
  *I also (A-M.1.4-140)*

(146) *nyilligarangga*
  njili-garang-ga
  that-?-ERG
  *that fellow also (did it) (A-M.1.4-140)*

(147) *ngai*
  nga-yi
  here-ALL
  *to here (A-M.1.4-140)*

(148) *ngundyin*
  ngun-djiin
  here-ABL
  *from here (A-M.1.4-140)*

(149) *mungandin*
  munga-diin
  place-ABL
  *from this place (A-M.1.4-140)*

(150) *ngunnung nyinyim?*
  nganung njinjim
  who here
  *Who there? (intransitive verb – hence nominative) (A-M.1.4-140)*
(151)  ngunnumbulali (du)
    nganu(ng)-mbulali99
    who-DU
    Who there? (intransitive verb – hence nominative) (A-M.1.4-140)

(152)  ngunnumbuloala (pl)
    nganu(ng)-mbulawala
    who-PL
    Who there? (intransitive verb – hence nominative) (A-M.1.4-140)

(153)  ngunnungga
    nganung-ga
    who-ERG
    who? “refers to act described in a transitive verb” (A-M.1.4-140)

(154)  ngunnungga nham
    nganung-ga nham
    who-ERG that
    who him (struck threw at etc) (A-M.1.4-141)

(155)  ngunnunggawulung nawulali
    nganung-ga=wulung nha-wulali
    who-ERG=3d.OBJ that-DU
    who those DU (threw at, struck etc) (A-M.1.4-141)

(156)  ngunnunggadhunnung nawulaliwuli
    nganung-ga=dhanung nha-wulaliwuli100
    who-ERG=3p.OBJ that-PL
    who those PL (threw at, struck etc) (A-M.1.4-141)

(157)  ngunnunggawul
    nganung-ga=wul
    who-ERG=2d.OBJ
    who DU…? (A-M.1.4-141)

(158)  ngunnungganhur
    nganung-ga=nhur
    who-ERG=2p.OBJ
    who PL…? (A-M.1.4-141)

99 The noun ends in a velar nasal, which governs the following number marker to change from -bulawala to mb initial.

100 The plural marker should be -wulawala.
(159) *ngunnungadhan*
  
  *nganung-ga = dhan*  
  who-ERG = 1s.OBJ  
  who me (struck etc)? (A-M.1.4-141)

(160) *ngunnunganyin*
  
  *nganung-ga = njin*  
  who-ERG = 2s.OBJ  
  who thee (struck etc)? (A-M.1.4-141)

(161) *ngunnunga*
  
  *nganung-ga*  
  who-ERG  
  who him (struck etc)? (A-M.1.4-141)

(162) *ngunnunganurra*
  
  *nganung-ga = marra*  
  who-ERG = perhaps  
  who might it be? (A-M.1.4-141)

(163) *ngunnunggunhung*
  
  *nganung-gunhung*  
  who-DAT  
  who for? (A-M.1.4-141)

(164) *ngunnundin*
  
  *nganung-diin*  
  who-ABL  
  who from ? (A-M.1.4-141)

(165) *ngunnung warrangandhurra?*
  
  *nganung  warranganj-dharra*  
  who  boomerang-HAVING  
  who has the boomerang? (A-M.1.4-141)

(166) *ngunnunganyin gaia*
  
  *nganung-ga = njin  ga-ya*  
  who-ERG = 2s.OBJ  
  say-PST  
  who thee told? (A-M.1.4-141)

(167) *mingang*
  
  *mingang*  
  what  
  what is that? (A-M.1.4-141)
(168) mingangga
    mingang-ga
    what-ERG
    what did that? (A-M.1.4-141)

(169) minganguli
    minga(ng)-guli
    what-GEN
    what belonging to? (A-M.1.4-141)

(170) mingangunhung
    minga(ng)-gunhung
    what-DAT
    what for? (A-M.1.4-141)

(171) mingarang
    mingarang
    how many
    how many? (A-M.1.4-141)

(172) mingang bumbadi
    mingang  bamba = di
    what  do = 2s
    what wantest thou? (A-M.1.4-141)

(173) winggala
    winggala
    which
    which one? (A-M.1.4-141)

(174) waianha nuggung
    wayanha  nagung
    which  good
    which is good? (A-M.1.4-141)

(175) mingangudyen
    mingang-gu = djan\textsuperscript{101}
    what-DAT = 1s.OBJ
    what for me (struck thou)? (A-M.1.4-141)

(176) mingangubi
    mingang-gu = bi
    what-DAT = 2s
    what for him (struck thou)? (A-M.1.4-141)

\textsuperscript{101} The 2s subject is not marked here.
(177) *mingangudbungalin*
  mingang-gu-dj = bi = ngalin\(^{102}\)
  what-DAT-? = 2s = 1ed
  what for us two (struck thou)? (A-M.1.4-141)

(178) *mingangudbenyinnin*
  mingang-gu-dj = bi = njanin
  what-DAT-? = 2s = 1ep
  what for several (struck thou)? (A-M.1.4-141)

(179) *ngurrunggalla dhuñ mandha*
  ngarunggal-a dhanj man-dha
  woman-ERG fish catch-PST
  the woman caught a fish (A-M.1.4-144)

(180) *bindich bingalin*
  bindi-dj = bi = ngalin\(^{103}\)
  give-NEG? = 2s = 1ed
  do not give to us (A-M.1.4-146)

(181) *bunggu nandangai*
  bunggu nan-dha = ngay
  sugarglider see-PST = 1s
  a squirrel I saw (A-M.1.4-146)

(182) *bunggulali nandangambula*
  bunggu-lali nan-dha = ngay = mbula
  sugarglider-DU see-PST = 1s = 3d.OBJ
  a pair of squirrels I saw (A-M.1.4-146)

(183) *bungguloala nandangandhunnung*
  banggu-lawala nan-dha = ngay = ndhanung
  sugarglider-PL see-PST = 1s = 3p.OBJ
  several squirrels I saw (A-M.1.4-146)

(184) *bunggu nandangul*
  bunggu nan-dha = ngal
  sugarglider see-PST = 1id
  we (dual inclusive) saw a squirrel (A-M.1.4-146)

\(^{102}\) It is unclear whether the *dj* between -gu and *bi* has a function. See also (304) - (307) for the same construction.

\(^{103}\) There is no negating suffix found on this construction. (See examples (327) - (338) for the use of -biin as negator) It may here be not expressed due to the 2s subject marker having the similar form *=bi*. The only unusual segment here is the *dj* following the verb stem. This may perhaps express negation here.
(185) **bunggu nandanyang**
bunggu  nan-dha = njang
sugarglider  see-PST = 1ip
we (plural inclusive) saw a squirrel (A-M.1.4-146)

(186) **bulumbinkyen**
bulma-mbi = ndjan$^{104}$
strike = 2s = 1s.OBJ
strike not thou me (A-M.1.4-146)

(187) **burumbadindhan**
barumbadin = dhan$^{105}$
?-ABL = 1s.OBJ
it is facing or in front of me (A-M.1.4-147)

(188) **bulgadyanda**
bula = djan-da$^{106}$
back = 1s.PSSR-LOC
at my back (A-M.1.4-147)

(189) **nguraidyen**
ngura-yi = djan
camp-LOC = 1s.PSSR
at my camp (A-M.1.4-147)

(190) **nunganandyi**
nunganan-dji$^{107}$
around-LOC
around this way (A-M.1.4-147)

(191) **nunganandyimung**
nunganandji-mang$^{108}$
around-?
around (behind me) (A-M.1.4-147)

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$^{104}$ See example (180) for another instance when negation might be expressed differently when the subject is 2s = bi. Also note the form of the 2s marker (or negator?) = mbi instead of = bi.

$^{105}$ The exact translation of this lexeme is unknown. Note that baru is given in wordlists as ‘between, in the midst’.

$^{106}$ Examples (188) and (189) show a reverse order of locative case marker and possession marking.

$^{107}$ nunganandja is given by Mathews as ‘around/behind’.

$^{108}$ This suffix -mang occurs on some demonstratives, as in (192) for example; the function is unclear.
(192) narrimung
    narimang
    yonder
    over yonder (A-M.1.4-147)

(193) gundulali burrumunbula
    gundu-lali barumunbala\textsuperscript{109}
    tree-DU between
    between two trees (A-M.1.4-147)

(194) warrungalwundu dhurranggga
    waru-ngal-wundu dharagang-ga
    far-OTHER-side river-LOC
    on the other side of the creek (A-M.1.4-147)

(195) nowundubulla dhurranggga
    nha-wundu-bala dharagang-ga
    that-side-near river-LOC
    on this side of the creek (A-M.1.4-147)

(196) bullawundu
    bala-wundu
    near-side
    more this way (A-M.1.4-147)

(197) nungananyi wurrijanthung gundu
    nunganan-dji warridja = nhung gundu
    around-LOC far = 3s.PSSR tree
    around at the farther side of the tree (A-M.1.4-147)

(198) mudjewuru nhari dharratbaiangai
    madji-waru nhari dharadba-ya = ngay\textsuperscript{110}
    bush-far that go.through-PST = 1s
    bush yonder through went I (A-M.1.4-147)

(199) buru nha bullawarri-miiriri ngullai
    buru nha balawarri mirirr-i ngala-yi
    kangaroo that hill top-LOC sit-PRST
    kangaroo that on the hilltop sits (A-M.1.4-147)

\textsuperscript{109} The construction barumunbala seems to contain both baru and bala, both given by Mathews as ‘between’, bala also translated as ‘near’.

\textsuperscript{110} We would expect a case marker on madji ‘bush’. The form for ‘bush’ is given by Lau as madjuru. Perhaps -waru has a locative function here.
(200) **bullawarriu dhulibaingai**

balawarri-yu    dhaliba-yi = ngay
hill-ALL        go.up-PRST = 1s
the hill up I go (A-M.1.4-147)

(201) **bullawarriin wurwaingai**

balawarri -yiin  wurwa?-yi = ngay
hill-ABL        go?-PRST = 1s
the hill down I go (A-M.1.4-147)

(202) **bullawarree warrungalee wowingi**

balawarri  warungal-i wurwa?-yi = ngay
hill           along-LOC  go?-PRST = 1s
the hill along the side of go I (A-M.1.4-147)

(203) **nunganandyi burrima yalwaingai**

nunganan-dji   barima  yalwa-yi = ngay
around-LOC     ironbark go?-PRST = 1s
around the ironbark tree I go (A-M.1.4-147)

(204) **gundu ñilli bowañingai**

gundu     njili      bawanj(a)-yi = ngay
tree          this       climb-PRST = 1s
tree this up I climb (A-M.1.4-147)

(205) **yarrawangga narri irribaingai**

yarawang-ga nhari  yiriba-yi = ngay
cave-LOC       that      go.into-PRST = 1s
cave that I go into (A-M.1.4-147)

(206) **illingiaibi**

yiling-dja-ya = bi
how-do-PST = 2s
how didst thou do it? (A-M.1.4-148)

(207) **illingbi mandha**

yiling = bi man-dha
how = 2s   catch-PST
how didst thou (catch a fish etc)? (A-M.1.4-148)

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111 *wurwa*- looks like the verb *wurwama* ‘divide’ in the *Parable of the Prodigal Son* (see Chapter B.1). The verbs in (201) - (204) are not found in any other examples.

112 The verb is not known.

113 The verb is not known.

114 -*dja* could have a function of ‘do’ here.
Citation: (A-M.1.4-148)
(216) **mingarang**

how many times? (A-M.1.4-149)

(217) **burramurrandhurrabi – mirraguyungai**

baramarang-dharra = bi  mirra-guyang = ngay

plenty-HAVING = 2s  not-PRIV? = 1s

thou hast plenty (I have none) (A-M.1.4-149)

(218) **mirraguyumbi – burrumurrundhurrangai**

mirra-guyang = mbi  baramarang-dharra = ngay

not-PRIV? = 2s  plenty-HAVING = 1s

thou hast nothing-I have plenty (A-M.1.4-149)

(219) **mirragang yundingai**

mirragang  yun-di = ngay

some  have-PRST = 1s

some left I have (A-M.1.4-149)

(220) **burramurring yundingai**

baramarang  yun-di = ngay

plenty  have-PRST = 1s

plenty I have left (A-M.1.4-149)

(221) **yuui nhai jimbai – mgurrenggal nhai jombowouddhumbai**

yuwinj  nhay  djamba-yi  ngarunggal  nhay  djamba-wudhu(ng)-mba-yi

man  that  thirsty-PRST  woman  that  thirsty-INTENS-?-PRST

This woman is thirstier than this man.

(222) **bunbari nhai jauaierr, ma yuui nhai irrandaia**

bunbari  nhay  djawayarr  ma  yuwinj  nhay  yiranda-ya

boy  that  fast  because  man  that  overtake?-PST

boy this very swift, because man this he overtook. (A-M.1.4-150)

(223) **bunggu gaiandyu guraura gulanya**

banggu  gayan-dju  gurawura  gula-nja

squirrel  large-ERG  possum  kill-PST

a squirrel large an opossum killed (A-M.1.4-150)

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118 The form of this unknown suffix -mba is likely due to the preceding intensifying suffix -wudhung ending in ng. In other environments the form is likely to be -ba.
(224) yuwinj burnung-guli miriganhung
   yuwinj burnung-guli miriga=nhung
   man big-GEN dog = 3s.PSSR
   the big man’s dog (A-M.1.4-150)

(225) mirreegangga yooin bubboogia
   mirigang-ga yuwinj babuga-ya
   dog-ERG man bite-PST
   a dog a man bit (A-M.1.7-1)

(226) yooindyoo dhun manda
   yuwinj-dju dhanj man-da
   man-ERG fish catch-PST
   a man a fish caught (A-M.1.7-1)

(227) yooindyoo warrangandyia yerradhan
   yuwinj-dju warranganj-dja yira= dhan119
   man-ERG boomerang-INSTR throw-PST = 1s.OBJ
   a man a boomerang threw at me (A-M.1.7-1)

(228) warrangandyia yooin yerreearngi
   warranganj-dja yuwinj yiri-ya = ngay
   boomerang-INSTR man throw-PST = 1s
   a boomerang at a man threw I. (A-M.1.7-1)

(229) yooin-goolee warranganthoong
   yuwinj-guli warranganj = nhung
   man-GEN boomerang = 3s.PSSR
   a man’s boomerang (A-M.1.7-1)

(230) yooindyoo bunggoo bulnia
   yuwinj-dju banggu bulma-ya
   man-ERG sugarglider strike-PST
   a man a squirrel struck (A-M.1.7-3)

(231) yooinboolally bunggoo bulmioula
   yuwinj-bulali banggu bulma-ya = wula
   man-DU sugarglider strike-PST = 3d
   a couple of men a squirrel struck (A-M.1.7-3)

(232) yooinbooloala bunggoo bulmioula
   yuwinj-bulawala banggu bulma-ya = wa
   man-PL sugarglider strike-PST = 3p
   several men a squirrel struck (A-M.1.7-3)

119 Tense seems to be only marked by the verb stem final vowel. See for comparison (228).
(233)  *dhulleebingi*
  dhalibi = ngay\(^{120}\)
  go.up,PRST = 1s
  up I go (A-M.1.7-4)

(234)  *dharrabiangi*
  dharabi-ya = ngay
  go.through,PST = 1s
  through went I (A-M.1.7-4)

(235)  *waddhungi*
  wadha(-wu) = ngay
  where-VBLS = 1s
  where am I?  (A-M.1.7-4)

(236)  *waddhoobeet*
  wadha(-wu) = bi
  where-VBLS = 2s
  where art thou? (A-M.1.7-4)

(237)  *waddhoo*
  wadha(-wu)
  where-VBLS
  where is he? (A-M.1.7-4)

(238)  *ngurrungalla moondha yoorinya*
  ngarangal-a mundha yuri-nja
  woman-ERG snake kill-PST
  the woman a snake killed (A-M.1.2-106)

(239)  *mulyangoolee ngoorancoongong*
  malyan-guli ngura = nhung
  eaglehawk-GEN camp = 3s,PSSR
  eaglehawk’s nest (A-M.1.2-106)

(240)  *wollarnoongyen*
  wularr(nung) = yan\(^{121}\)
  head = 1s,PSSR
  my head (A-M.1.2-106)

\(^{120}\) Present tense is marked possibly by the verb-stem final *i*.

\(^{121}\) ‘head’ is given in wordlists as *walarr*. 
(241) wollarnoonoong
  wularr(nu) = ngun
  head = 2s.PSSR
  thy head (A-M.1.2-106)

(242) wollornoonooong
  wularr(nu) = nung
  head = 3s.PSSR
  his head (A-M.1.2-106)

(243) bunnabeeoo
  Bunabi-yu
  Bunabi-ALL
  to Bunnabee “oo dative” (A-M.1.2-106)

(244) ngooraaao
  ngura-yu
  camp-ALL
  to the camp (A-M.1.2-106)

(245) Bunnabee-een
  Bunabi -yiin
  Bunabi-ABL
  from Bunnabee “oblative” (A-M.1.2-106)

(246) buddieen
  Badha -yiin
  waterhole-ABL
  from the waterhole buddi ‘waterhole’ (A-M.1.2-106)

(247) ngooraaeen
  ngura -yiin
  camp-ABL
  from the camp (A-M.1.2-106)

(248) dyan-mul-lin-nyang
  djamma-li = njang
  hunt-PRST = 1ip
  hunting (A-M.2.2-94)

(249) yan-deen(going out)-nyang yer-ree(fishing)-nee-ree
  yan-di = njang  yiri-ni-ri
  go-PRST = 1ip  throw-?-PURP
  fishing (A-M.2.2-94)
  **We’re going to fish.**
(250) *bulmi-nghi nthi yoin*
bulma-yi = ngay nhay yuwinj\(^{122}\)
strike-PRST = 1s that man
shall I strike that man (A-M.2.2-97)

**I strike that man.**

(251) *bulmiang’a ng nthia Kunna mirreegang*
bulma-ya = ngay nhaya gana mirigang
strike-PST = 1s that yamstick dog

[no translation given] (A-M.2.2-97)

**I struck that dog with a yamstick.**

(252) *Kunnaang’a bulmianya ntha mirreegang*
gana = ngay bulma-ya-nja nha mirigang\(^{123}\)
yamstick = 1s strike-PST=? that dog

I struck the dog with a yamstick (A-M.2.2-97)

(253) *Bulmiangamboola mirreegamblalee*
bulma-ya = ngay mbula miriga(ng)-mbulali
strike-PST = 1s = 3d.OBJ dog-DU

I struck two dogs (A-M.2.2-97)

(254) *bulmiang’andhanna mirreegang-bullôla*
bulma-ya = ngay = ndhana mirigang-bulawala
strike-PST = 1s = 3p.OBJ dog-PL

I struck several dogs (A-M.2.2-97)

(255) *bulming-al nthiang*
bulma-yi = ngal nhayang
strike-PRST = 2id that

shall we 2 strike that man (A-M.2.2-97)

**We two strike that man.**

(256) *bulmi-nyang*
bulma-yi = njang
strike-PRST = 1p

shall we all strike that man (A-M.2.2-97)

**We all strike.**

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\(^{122}\) -yi on the verb marks for present tense in other examples with the same verb, see (40). This translation suggests some modality, as is found in (255), but is not marked differently to the present tense construction in (40).

\(^{123}\) The function of -nja is not clear. Past tense is marked by -ya, but -nja is found as past tense marker in other verbs, see (223) for example.
(257) *bulmun-tha- nyeelal’lung*
   bulma-ndha njilalung\(^{124}\)
   strike-HORT this
   *shall all these others strike than man (A-M.2.2-97)*

(258) *yerreemirabee warangandya*
   yiri-ma-yira = bi warranj-dja\(^{125}\)
   throwCAUS-POT = 2s boomerang-INSTR
   *can you throw a boomerang? (A-M.2.2-98)*

(259) *yerreemira ntham warangandya*
   yiri-ma-yira nham warranj-dja
   throwCAUS-POT that boomerang-INSTR
   *can he throw a boomerang? (A-M.2.2-98)*

(260) *yerreemun-yee-ling warangandya*
   yiri-ma = njiling warranj-dja\(^{126}\)
   throw-Caus = 1ep boomerang-INSTR
   *can we throw a boomerang? (A-M.2.2-98)*

(261) *gamirabee?*
   gama-yira = bi
   speak-POT = 2s
   *Can you speak? (A-M.2.2-98)*

(262) *gami (gammirra) nghe ngi*
   gama-yi = ngay
   speak-PRST = 1s
   *I am speaking (A-M.2.2-98)*

(263) *gamiang’ee*
   gama-ya = ngay
   speak-PST = 1s
   *I was speaking (A-M.2.2-98)*

(264) *gamijelleeâ-ngi*
   gama-djala-ya = ngay
   speak-AFTER-PST = 1s
   *I shall speak (A-M.2.2-98)*
   \[I \text{ spoke after.}\]

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\(^{124}\) Person or subject does not seem to be expressed in this example, although *njilalung* might contain some of that information.

\(^{125}\) Note the difference in verb stem between usual *yiri-* as in (54) for example. This could be a causative -*ma* added to the stem.

\(^{126}\) Compare the verb with that in (258) and (259), which also show a modal marker. This is missing in (260) and the translation is perhaps not correct.
(265) *goo-row-ra ṇthia*
guratua nhaya
possum that
that is an opossum (A-M.2.2-98)

(266) *goo-row ra dhine(eats)-mi jerramboonga(leaves)*
guratua dhanjma-yi djirambunga
possum eat-PRS leaves
the possum eats leaves (A-M.2.2-98)

(267) *mirragangga* bobbagorianyeent(will?bite) mirragangga
babaga-ra-yi njin mirigang-ga¹²⁷
bite-HAB-PRS this dog-ERG
the dog bites (A-M.2.2-98)

This dog bites.

(268) *Gwak!*
gwag!
EXCL
Look out! (A-M.2.2-98)

(269) *bobbagan’-dhan(biting me)- mirreegang’ga(the dog)*
babaga = ndhan mirigang-ga¹²⁸
bite = 1s.OBJ dog-ERG
the dog is biting me (A-M.2.2-98)

(270) *jow(runs)-i nthâ mirreegang*
djawa-yi nha mirigang
run-PRS that dog
the dog is running (A-M.2.2-98)

(271) *bobbagowandhan(will bite) nyillee(this) mirreegang’ga(dog)*
babaga-wa = ndhan njili mirigang-ga
bite-IRR = 1s.OBJ this dog-ERG
will that dog bite? (A-M.2.2-98)

Will that dog bite me?

(272) *nan-dang-a booroo bu-lâ-ning’ay(close)*
nan-da = ngay buru balaningay
see-PST = 1s kangaroo near
I saw a kangaroo (A-M.2.2-103)

¹²⁷ The suffix -ra may have a habitual function here. Compare this sentence to (269), where -ra is not found on the verb, and (271) where bite is marked with an irrealis marker.

¹²⁸ Tense is not overtly marked on the verb in this example.
(273) booroobally nandanga
buru-bali nan-da = ngay129
kangaroo-DU see-PST = 1s
I saw two kangaroos (A-M.2.2-103)

(274) boorooboola [nandanga not added]
buru-bula130
kangaroo-PL
I saw several kangaroos (A-M.2.2-103)

(275) bamboordal jilloary booroo
bambu-rdal djilawari buru131
big-? grey kangaroo
a big grey kangaroo (A-M.2.2-103)

(276) bamboolally jilloaran-bla booroolally
bambu-lali djilawaran-bula buru-lali132
big-DU grey-DU kangaroo-Du
2 big grey kangaroos (A-M.2.2-103)

(277) bambooboola jilloa-ran-nha booroolooloa
bambu-bula djilawara-nha buru-lula133
big-DU? grey-DU? kangaroo-DU?
a lot of big grey kangaroos (A-M.2.2-103)

(278) bulmingin nha [probably not related to rest] -yerree(suppose) wang’(I throw)-ee
yooiñ(inserted)(at that man) warrang’andy(a boomerang) wurreejang (that) yooiñ(man)
yiri-wa = ngay yuwijn warranganj-dja waridjang yuwijn
throw-IRR = 1s man boomerang-INSTR far man
I could throw the boomerang far at the man. (A-M.2.2-103)

129 We would expect the dual suffix -lali on buru.
130 As in (267), the plural suffix is also in an unusual form, would expect -lawali.
131 The form of the suffix -rdal is unusual and the function is not known.
132 The number marking is most unusual in (276) and (277). Perhaps this is 3d subject of a predicate adjective, i.e. ‘the two big kangaroos are grey’?
133 See previous footnote also. The number marking is unexpected and does not follow the other observed patterns. On djilawaran ‘grey’ we might expect = wa for 3p subject, but here it is -nha.
(279) yereewange’ee warranga’an
yiri-wa = ngay  warranganj\(^{134}\)
throw-IRR = 1s  boomerang

*If I throw a boomerang I’ll tell you* (A-M.2.2-103)

(280) yerrang’anay(I threw) warang-a’-din-nyilly yooīn
yira = ngay  waranganj-din  njili  yuwinj\(^{135}\)
throw.PST = 1s  boomerang-?  this man
*I threw a boomerang at the man* (A-M.2.2-104)

(281) yer-rad’-den nyilli warangandyā
yira = dhan  njili  warranganj-dja\(^{136}\)
throw.PST = 1s.OBJ  this  boomerang-INSTR
*the man threw a boomerang at me* (A-M.2.2-104)

(282) yerradden(he threw at me) nyilli (inserted) nyilly
yira = dhan  njili
throw.PST = 1s.OBJ  this
*he threw a boomerang at me* (A-M.2.2-104)

(283) yerradden nyil warangandyā yooindyoo nyilli
yira = dhan  njil  warranganj-dja  yuwinj-dju  njili
throw.PST = 1s.OBJ  this  boomerang-INSTR  man-ERG  this
*he threw a boomerang at me* (A-M.2.2-104)

(284) yerrang’allung(he threw at us two) (you and i) warrangandyā
yira = ngalung  warranganj-dja
throw.PST = 1d.OBJ  boomerang-INSTR
*he threw at us two a boomerang* (A-M.2.2-104)

(285) yerrān’-yen-ung (he threw at us all) yooindyoo warrangandyā (a boomerang)
yira = njanung  warranganj-dja
throw.PST = 1ip.OBJ  boomerang-INSTR
*He threw at us all a boomerang.* (A-M.2.2-104)

(286) yerrawine(throw thou) yoiñ (at that man) warrangandyā(a boomerang)
yira-wa = nji  yuwinj  warranganj-dja
throw-IRR = 2s  man  boomerang-INSTR
*You will throw a boomerang at the man* (A-M.2.2-104)

\(^{134}\) Note that *warranganj* is not marked with the additional morpheme -*dja* as in other similar constructions. This example sentence seemed someone incomplete in the notebook and may therefore lack completion.

\(^{135}\) Although the -*din* on *warranganj* looks like the ablative suffix, it would make little sense here.

\(^{136}\) Examples (280) - (285) seem to lack overt tense marking on the verb. Perhaps this is encoded in the final vowel of the verb stem.
(287) yer-yoo-ang’-an-a(shall I throw) yooiñ (at that man) warrangandy (a boomerang)
yiri-yu-wa = ngay nha yuwinj warranganj-dja
throw-NOW-IRR = 1s that man boomerang-INSTR
Will I throw a boomerang at that man now? (A-M.2.2-104)

(288) bug-ga-rin-ya(beat thou) goo-jà-gang’-oon (that child)
bagarin-ya gudjaga = ngun
beat-PST child = 2s.PSSR
You beat your child. (A-M.2.2-104)

(289) buggarin-yoo(I will am going to beat ) âng’ee nhìa (that) goo-jà-ga (child) (now)
bagarin-yu-wa = ngay nhaya gudjaga
beat-NOW-IRR = 1s that child
I am going to beat that child now. (A-M.2.2-104)

(290) [yerrea (threw)] warangandyee (boomerang that) yooranyad’dhan (to hit me) yooin
yira-ya warranganj-dji yura-nja = dhan yuwinj¹³⁷
throw-PST boomerang-INSTR hit-PST = 1s.OBJ man
The man threw a boomerang and hit me. (A-M.2.2-126)

(291) yooranyangullang(hit us)3 yooindyoo (that man)1 warangandyee (with a )2
yura-nja = ngalung yuwinj-dju warranganj-dji
hit-PST = 1id man-ERG boomerang-INSTR
The man hit us with a boomerang. (A-M.2.2-126)

(292) yerrangullung (hit them) yooin nagunnung (no good) ngul (us)
yura = ngalung yuwinj nagung-ung = ngal¹³⁸
hit = 1id.OBJ man good-? = 1id
The man hit us - we are bad. (A-M.2.2-126)

(293) ee’dhowyab’bee
yidhawa-ya = bi
come.quick-PST = 2s
you came early (or quick) (A-M.2.2-126)

(294) yer’andha (fast) booroo
yarandha buru
fast kangaroo
(A-M.2.2-126)

¹³⁷ Note the -dji suffix on warranganj, which is -dja on most other examples. An alternative analysis
would be that both -dji and -dja are the demonstratives nji and nja with hardened nasal after the final
palatal nasal on warranganj.

¹³⁸ The analysis and morphological break down of this construction leaves many unanswered questions.
(295)  yendeengi
       yand-ī = ngay
       go-PRST = 1s
   who is going to throw? (A-M.2.2-127)
     I go.

(296)  bindeeringala warrangandya
       bindi-ri = ngala(ng)  warranganj-dja\(^{139}\)
       give-PURP = 1id.OBJ boomerang-INST
   give me that boomerang (A-M.2.2-129)
     Give us that boomerang.

(297)  bindeebungaleen nyilla warrangandya
       bindi-ba = ngalin  njila  waranganj-dja\(^{140}\)
       give.? = 1ed  that boomerang-INSTR
   give us that boomerang (A-M.2.2-129)

(298)  warranganya nhia
       warranganj-a  nhaya\(^{141}\)
       boomerang-? that
   that one’s boomerang (A-M.2.2-129)

(299)  mirregangoo
       mirigang = u
       dog = 3s.PSSR
      a pup (A-M.2.2-129)

(300)  mirregang
       mirigang
     dog
     a dog (A-M.2.2-129)

(301)  bindeen marrialan
       bindi = ng  marrayalan\(^{142}\)
       give = FUT some
   give me some of that (A-M.2.2-131)

\(^{139}\) The person marking on this verb looks most like the 1id.OBJ marker, although its form is usually = ngalung.

\(^{140}\) The person marker on the verb has the form of the subject 1ed. This does not fit the translation and would be better translated as ‘we give him that boomerang’. The function of the -ba morpheme after the verb stem is not known.

\(^{141}\) Possession marking here does not follow the observed pattern. Possessor is not marked and should be according to the translation.

\(^{142}\) It seems that there is an alternative transcription mirra and marra for ‘not’.  

99
(302) *minganggoodyen bunya (did)*
mingang-gu = dj = ban-ya
what-DAT = 1s.OBJ do-PST
what did you that for to me? (A-M.2.2-131)

(303) *mingangoo’bee bunya nthan*
mingang-gu = bi = ban-ya ndhan¹⁴³
what-DAT = 2s do-PST that
what did you do that for to him? (A-M.2.2-131)

(304) *mingangoody *bunya* bungaleen bunya*
mingang-gu-dj = bi = nga=lin ban-ya¹⁴⁴
what-DAT.-? = 2s = 1ed.OBJ do-PST
what did you do that for to us 2 incl (A-M.2.2-131)

(305) *mingangoody binyaneen bunya*
mingang-gu-dj = bi = njanin ban-ya
what-DAT.-? = 2s = 1ep.OBJ do-PST
what did you do that for to us all excl (A-M.2.2-131)

(306) *mingagoody booloong bunya*
mingang-gu-dj = bulung ban-ya¹⁴⁵
what-DAT.-? = 3d.OBJ do-PST
what did you do that for to them 2 (A-M.2.2-131)

(307) *mingangoody bennthang bunya*
mingang-gu-dj = bi = ndhang ban-ya
what-DAT.-? = 2s = 3p.OBJ do-PST
what did you that for to them all (A-M.2.2-131)

(308) *bulmâ’goonmurra*
bulma = gun = marra
hit = 1s/2s.OBJ = perhaps
I’ll hit him perhaps (A-M.2.2-158)
I will hit you perhaps.

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¹⁴³ *ndhan* might be a 3p.OBJ clitic and the sentence should be translated as ‘Why did you do that to them?’.

¹⁴⁴ See (177) and (178) for the same construction with the -d(j) morpheme.

¹⁴⁵ 2s subject is not marked on the verb as in the previous examples.
(309) **babundung watgamädeendhan warrangandy**

baba = ndhang  wadgama-di = ndhan  waranganj-dja

father = 1s.PSSR  make-BEN = 1s.OBJ  boomerang-INSTR

*my father makes for me a boomerang (A-M.2.2-158)*

(310) **ngal-goon-dya(I have a good mind) bulmul (to hit) | jiwalmurra (kill man, perhaps)**

ngal-gun-dja  bulma-l  djayawal = marra

want-1s/2s.OBJ-?  beat-?  kill = perhaps

**I have a good mind to hit/kill that man perhaps. (A-M.2.2-160)**

(311) **merrungi**

mirra = ngay

not = 1s

*I have none (A-M.2.2-160)*

(312) **merribee**

mirra = bi

not = 2s

*thou hast none (A-M.2.2-160)*

(313) **merra nhī**

mirra  nhay

not  this/there

*he has none (A-M.2.2-160)*

(314) **merra-ngal**

mirra = ngal

not = 1id

*we 2 incl have none (A-M.2.2-160)*

(315) **burroomrrun(плenty)gdhurring-i**

baramara-dharra = ngay

plenty-HAVING = 1s

*I have plenty (A-M.2.2-160)*

(316) **murrayandhurrang-i**

marragang-dharra = ngal

little-HAVING = 1s

*I have a little (A-M.2.2-160)*

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146 We would expect ergative case suffix on ‘my father’, and the 1s possessive clitic has an unusual form (usually -dhan or -djan). Perhaps this form includes the ergative marking.

147 This sentence leaves many questions regarding morphology. Is subject marked on the verb? The verb bulma- ends in l, which is an isolated form found in the Dharrawal corpus and seems to occur with the non-verbal predicate ngal- ‘want’, see examples (73) and (351). Also the verb djayawal- is not known from other instances.
(317) ngadyerree yeendeengi
ngadjari yan-di = ngay
ready go-PRST = 1s
I’m just going or ready to go (A-M.2.2-162)

(318) jimbi (jimbowuddhumbi) nthia ngurrunggal – jimbi nthia yooiñ
djambay (djamba-wudhu/ng)-mbay nhaya ngaranggal
thirsty (thirsty-INTENS-?) that woman
djambay nhaya yuwinj
thirsty that man
the woman is more thirsty than the man (A-M.2.2-163)

(319) jowierra nthia bunb’aree ma (because) [g?]irrandia mhi yooin
djawayarr nhaya bunbari ma yiranda-ya nhay yuwinj
fast that boy because overtake-PST that man
the boy runs faster than the man (A-M.2.2-163)

(320) kiangoodhung (the largest) ba! (inserted) murrangangoodhung (the smallest)
gayan-gudhung ba marragang-gudhung
large-INTENS or little-INTENS
(A-M.2.2-163)

(321) garatyboli (sneaking) nthia moondha (that snake)
garadjbali nhaya mundha
slow148 that snake
the snake is crawling slowly (A-M.2.2-163)

(322) nuggoongamurra bumbeng
nagung = marra bumba-ng
good = perhaps be-FUT
perhaps I’ll be good (A-M.2.2-163)

(323) nuggoonggooneecang
nagung-gu = njang
good-VBLS = njang
Let us all be good! (A-M.2.2-163)

(324) nuggoongoongulla
nagung-gu = ngala
good-VBLS = 1id
be thou good! (A-M.2.2-163)

148 Although we have no other instance of Dharrawal words for ‘crawl’ and ‘slow’, Mathews listed garagadj ‘slow’ < gur’-ra-gaty> (U-M.1.1) in his Dhurga language material. As it looks like a cognate, I analyse the sentence as given.
(325) *nugggoongoombool*
  nagung-gu = mbul
  good-VBLS = 2d
  *be you two good (A-M.2.2-163)*

(326) *nuggoon-oo-nangal*
  nagung-gu-nha = ngal
  good-VBLS-THEN = 1id
  *let us two be good (A-M.2.2-163)*

(327) *yendâbeendyen*
  yanda-biin-Ø = djan\(^{149}\)
  come-NEG.IMP = 2s = 1s.OBJ
  *do not thou come to me (A-M.2.2-164)*

(328) *yendabeen*
  yandha-biin
  come-NEG.IMP
  *do thou not come to him (A-M.2.2-164)*

(329) *yendabeenbung’aleen*
  yandha-biin = bu(l) = ngalin
  come-NEG.IMP = 2d = 1ed.OBJ
  *do not ye two come to me (A-M.2.2-164)*
  **Don’t you two come to us.**

(330) *yendabeenbooldyen*
  yandha-biin = mbul = djan
  come-NEG.IMP = 2d = 1s.OBJ
  *do not ye two come to me (A-M.2.2-164)*

(331) *yendabeenhoordyen*
  yandha-biin = nhur = djan
  come-NEG.IMP = 2p = 1s.OBJ
  *do not ye all come to me (A-M.2.2-164)*

(332) *bulmunbeendyen*
  bulma-mbiin = djan
  hit-NEG.IMP = 1s.OBJ
  *do not beat me (A-M.2.2-164)*

\(^{149}\) When the subject is 2s in negative imperative, the person marker = *bi* is omitted due to the negative imperative suffix -*biin.*
(333) bulmunbeen (nhi?)
bulma = (m)biin nhay
hit-NEG.IMP that
do not beat him (A-M.2.2-164)

(334) bulmunboonbungalleen
bulma-(m)biin = bu(l) = ngalin
hit-NEG.IMP = 2d = 1ed.OBJ
do not beat us two excl (A-M.2.2-164)

(335) bulmunbeenbinyenneen
balma-(m)biin = njanin
hit-NEG.IMP = 1ep.OBJ
do not beat us all excl (A-M.2.2-164)

(336) yenbeen
yan-biin
go-NEG.IMP
do not thou go away (A-M.2.2-164)

(337) yenbeembool
yan-biin = mbul
go-NEG.IMP = 2d
do not ye 2 go away (A-M.2.2-164)

(338) yenbeen(t?)hoor
yan-biin = nhur
go-NEG.IMP = 2p
do not ye all go away (A-M.2.2-164)

(339) nuggoonggieenthoor
nagung-ga-yii = nhur
good-VBLS-PSRT = 2p
are you pl well? (A-M.2.2-164)

(340) nuggoonggiowal
nagung-ga-ya = wal
good-VBLS-PST = 2d
were ye 2 all right? giawa, several (A-M.2.2-164)

(341) nuggoonggieembool
nagung-ga-yi = mbul
good-VBLS-PRST = 2d
are ye 2 all right? (A-M.2.2-164)
(342) *bulmanda nyilla yereemιandha*
bulma-ndha njila yirima-ya-ndha
beat-HORT this throw-?-HORT
*let him strike (A-M.2.2-166)*

(343) *bulmamboola yerreemiιimboola*
bulma = mbula = ya yirima-ya = mbula = ya
beat = 2d = HORT throw-? = 2d = HORT
*let thou 2 strike (A-M.2.2-166)*

(344) *bulman-nthia yerreemιamthia*
bulma = ndha = ya yirima-ya = ndha = ya
beat = 3p? = HORT throw-? = 3p? = HORT
*let them all strike (A-M.2.2-166)*

(345) *bulmangamurra yereemιangamurra*
bulma = ngay = marra yirima-ya = ngay = marra
strike = 1s = perhaps throw-? = 1s = perhaps
*I may strike (A-M.2.2-166)*

(346) *bulmangmurra*
bulma-ng = marra
strike-FUT = perhaps
*thou may strike (A-M.2.2-166)*

(347) *bulmiabbeemurra*
bulma-ya = bi = marra
strike-PST = 2s = perhaps
*thou may have struck (A-M.2.2-167)*

(348) *bulmiangamurra*
bulma-ya-ngay = marra
strike-PST = 1s = perhaps
*I may have struck (A-M.2.2-167)*

(349) *bulmiamurranιilly*
bulma-ya = marra njili
strike-PST = perhaps this
*he may have struck (A-M.2.2-167)*

(350) *bulmiangulmurra*
bulma-ya = ngal = marra
strike-PST = 1d = perhaps
*we (dual)(incl?) may have struck (A-M.2.2-167)*
(351) *ngulgoondya bulmul*

ngal-gun-dja bulma-l
want-1s/2s.OBJ?-? strike-?

*I have a good mind to hit thee (A-M.2.2-175)*

(352) *ngoonung-un’da bulmeelee*

nguna = ngay = nda bulma-yil-i\(^{150}\)
ought = 1s = ? beat-REFL-PRST

*I ought to beat myself (A-M.2.2-175)*

(353) *ngoonangalda bulmeelee*

nguna = ngal = da bulma-yil-i
ought = 1id = ? beat-REFL-PRST

*we 2 ought to beat ourselves (A-M.2.2-175)*

(354) *ngoonanyanda bulmeelee*

nguna = njan = da bulma-yil-i
ought = 1ip = ? bulma-REFL-PRST

*we all ought to beat ourselves (A-M.2.2-175)*

(355) *ngoonawoolia bulmeelee*

nguna = wula = ya bulma-yil-i
ought = 3d = ? beat-REFL-PRST

*they 2 ought to beat themselves (A-M.2.2-175)*

(356) *watgawangi nyillamung*

wadga-wa = ngay njilamung
make-IRR = 1s now

*I shall do it now (A-M.2.2-175)*

(357) *watgawangi dhadjan*

wadga-wa = ngay dhadjan
make-IRR = 1s soon

*I shall do it by the bye (A-M.2.2-175)*

(358) *watgawangi ???

wadga-wa = ngay
make-IRR = 1s

*I shall do it in a good while (A-M.2.2-175)*

\(^{150}\) Examples (352) - (355) all show subject markers plus -da after consonants and -ya after vowel. These constructions could be similar to (343) and (345), where subject markers also show the same following suffixes/clitics. The function is not clear.
(359) watgawangi dyed-yoong-alla dyedyoong = moon
wadga-wa=ngay djadjung-wala
do-IRR = 1s moon-OTHER
I shall do it next moon (A-M.2.2-175)

(360) Dyedyuunboolalee
djadjung-bulali
moon-DU
2 moons (A-M.2.2-175)

(361) mudyerree irrungi
madjari-yira = ngay
canoe-HAVING = 1s
I have a canoe (A-M.2.2-175)

(362) mirrungi
mirra = ngay
not = 1s
I can’t (A-M.2.2-178)

(363) goorang’-a’lang(our mate) gool’ee(that man) ūneeña(his) bur-ree’wa(spear)
gurangalang-guli njinja biriiva
man-GEN this spear
this spear belongs to that man there over there (A-M.2.2-31)

(364) may-gow’lee ūneeña mir’reegang
miga-wuli njinja mirigang
woman-GEN this dog
this dog belongs to that woman (A-M.2.2-31)

(365) goorang’alung gool’ee ūneeña mirregang ngub’ba-miñ
gurangalang-guli njinja mirigang ngabaminj
man-GEN this dog female
this slt belongs to that man (A-M.2.2-31)

(366) ngia-woo-lee ūneeña mur’ra(all) bir-ree’-wa
ngaya-wuli njinja marra biriiva
1s-GEN this all spear
these are my spears here (A-M.2.2-32)

(367) ngia-gang’-gool-lee niā wurree-(yonder)dyang birree’wa
ngayagang-guli nhaya waridjang biriiva
1s-GEN that yonder spear
those are my spears yonder (A-M.2.2-32)
B.1.3 Wodi Wodi Sentences

As a southern dialect of Dharrawal, Wodi Wodi material is included in this Dharrawal chapter.

B.1.3.1 Ridley's Wodi Wodi sentences

The following sentences are labelled to be ‘WodiWodi – The language of the Illawarra’ and were published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1877, volume 7. The informant is given as Lizzy Malone, “whose mother was a Shoalhaven”. These constructions were in most cases impossible to analyse. The morphology rarely conforms with the observations found in both the Dharumba/Dhurga and the Dharrawal languages.

(368) *ŋullari jungiri*

ngala-ri djangi-ri\textsuperscript{151}
sit-PURP quiet-PURP

*Sit down quietly.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(369) *Mundanaia*

manda-naya
take-AWAY

*Take them.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(370) *yunda warŋiri*

yanda wara-nga-ri
go.IMP play-QUIET?-PURP

*Go and play.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(371) *yai yunmaŋuy*

yay! yanma-la = ng
EXCL come-HERE = 2s

*Come here.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

\textsuperscript{151} Commands can be expressed by means of the purposive marker.
(372) *junbunya warŋri*
\[ djianba-nja \quad wara-nga-ri \]
fight-NEG play-QUIET?-PURP

*Don’t fight, play quietly.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(373) *yundanaia warityuiŋ*
\[ yanda-naya^{152} \quad waridja-ying \]
go-? far-?

*Go away.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(374) *nilguŋ yurriniŋ, or nilguŋ*
\[ njilgang \quad yari = njang^{153} \]

1ip go = 1ip

*Let us go.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(375) *gallemmiŋgun*
\[ galima-yi = gun \]
like-PRST = 1s/2s,OBJ

*I like you.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(376) *muiyē ŋē*
\[ muyi = ngay \]
glad = 1s

*I am glad.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(377) *ŋurrumbaiŋē*
\[ ngaramba = ngay \]
sorry = 1s

*I am sorry.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(378) *wundumaia ŋummi*
\[ ngundama-ya^{154} \quad ngami \]
drink-NOM! give,IMP

*Give me a drink.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(379) *dunmun dieri*
\[ dhanman \quad diya-ri \]
food give-PURP

*Give me some food.* (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

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152 This might contain a final suffix -ya marking for imperative.

153 No overt tense marking on this construction. The translation should rather be ‘we go’.

154 There is no cognate or other instance in the SCLs corpus that would shed light on this construction. I therefore suggest that this is a mis-transcription and should be *ngundhu* - ‘drink’. Although Ridley did not have a problem with word-initial velar nasals. The final -ya may be a nominalising strategy.
(380) *kunnundigui or wirrunmigun*

garna-nda = gun    wirranma = gun
bad-? = 1s/2s.OBJ hate = 1s/2s.OBJ

I hate you. (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(381) *ŋutbai ōgu*

ngadba-yi = gun
?-PRST = 1s/2s.OBJ

I will tell you the truth. (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(382) *yunula nulimun*

yanu-la njarimang\(^{155}\)
come.FUT-? that.one

He will come soon. (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(383) *dunuŋ ālle*

danangali
?

He stayed a long time. (WW-WR-1877:265-LM)

(384) *Mirrirul wirrin muniŋ*

mirrirul wirrin maning
God bad

Mirrirul will not allow it. (WW-WR-1877:266-LM)

**B.1.3.2 Mathews’ Wodi Wodi sentence**

(385) *wannup*

wana = b(i)
who = 2s

who are you in W.W. (WW-M.2.2-8)

\(^{155}\) There are two possible analysis for the first segment. It may be *yanu-la* 'come-PST’ showing Dharumba/Dhurga tense marking, or *yanu-la* ‘come.FUT-?’ The final -la may also be the TOWARDS marker as found on some Dharrawal ‘come’ constructions.