

SOME EARLY NORTH WEST INDIGENOUS WORDLISTS

Josko Petkovic

They spoke a language close to Talandji and were sometimes considered only to be western Talandji, but informants were sure that they had separate identities for a long time.

Norman B. Tindale¹

The indigenous words in the *Stefano* manuscript give us an important albeit small window into the languages of the North West Cape Aborigines.² From the available information, we can now be reasonably certain that this wordlist belongs primarily to the Yinikurtira language group.³ We also know that the Yinikurtira community came to be dispersed about one hundred years ago and its members ceased using the Yinikurtira language, which is now formally designated as extinct.⁴ If in these circumstances we want to find something authentic about the Yinikurtira language we cannot do so by simply asking one of its living speakers. Rather, we need to look at the documents on the Yinikurtira language and culture from about a century ago and from the time when the Yinikurtira people were still living on Yinikurtira country.

The documentation we have on the Yinikurtira people comes primarily from Tom Carter, who lived among the Yinikurtira community for about thirteen years.⁵ Carter left an extensive collection of indigenous bird names and through Daisy Bates he left a considerable vocabulary of Yinikurtira words.⁶ In his diaries there is an enigmatic paragraph on the languages of the North West Cape region, in which he differentiates the languages north and south of the Gascoyne River, while also invoking a commonality of languages north of the Gascoyne River:

The natives of the Gascoyne Lower River were of the Inggarda tribe and spoke a quite different language from By-oong tribe of the Minilya River, only eight miles distant. The natives at Point Cloates on the coast, one hundred miles North of the Minilya River, were the same tribe as the natives of the North West Cape peninsula, and of the Ashburton River, namely Talandjis, and spoke the typical North-West dialect which prevails a long way North, almost to the Kimberley district. This dialect consists of much shorter words, and is much easier to learn than the Gascoyne dialect. There are a few general words such as *karla* (fire),

weelarra (moon), *koorga* (one), *kutara* (two), etc. peculiar to the three tribes. In the central district of the Gascoyne River (about 250 miles from the coast) lived the Peedong tribe, who have different rites from the others, the men undergoing a mutation (sub-incision) that excites the ridicule of the neighbouring tribes.⁷

According to Carter, the Aborigine that lived on his Point Cloates Station “spoke a typical North-West dialect that prevailed a long way north, almost to the Kimberly district”. If Carter is correct then we can identify the words in the *Stefano* manuscript, by crosschecking them with other better known North West wordlists. The writing below considers two North West wordlists that would be suitable for such a comparison: one from the south and the other from the north of the North West Cape – thus covering the area from Gascoyne to Roebourne. To minimise the aberration caused by subsequent language mutation the wordlists selected are as close to the date of the *Stefano* shipwreck as possible.

THE SOUTHERN WORDLIST: From the southern region of the North West Cape, the most appropriate and arguably the only suitable wordlist to compare with the *Stefano* wordlist is a combine wordlist produced by Daisy Bates for this region between 1904 and 1912.⁸ This wordlist arose from a collection of informants as indicated below:

Tom Carter	Point Cloates
J. H. T. Monger	Weeda Station, Gascoyne
Edward Cornally	Wandagee Station (Gascoyne and Ashburton)
T. L. Richardson	Gascoyne
E. R. Gribble (Rev)	Gascoyne

The survey booklet sent out by Bates, *Native Vocabulary*, consisted of nearly 100 pages of English words for which indigenous equivalences were sought along with 33 additional anthropological questions.⁹ Two pages from this booklet are shown below:

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PARTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BODY—continued.		PARTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE BODY—continued.	
Elbow ...	Ju'elka, Kama, Joma	Heel (left) ...	Juna.
Eyeball ...	Ka'rao.	Heel (right) ...	Juna.
Eyebrow ...	Ya'a'rae	Hip Bone ...	Bos-dhein
Eyelash ...		Instep ...	Juna.
Eye-lid ...	Ya'a'-rae, Joma	Jaw, lower ...	Ju'rao.
Eye ...	Ka'rao, Koo'rao	Jaw, upper ...	Ju'rao.
Face ...	Ju'rao, Nabha	Kidney ...	Britken, Ki'ang (?)
Fat ...	Bulgan, tchinje, mamnati	Knee ...	Mooree
Fatigue ...	Beebung, thomanterree	Kneecap ...	Mooree
Feeling ...		Leg (left) ...	Kearana
Finger ...	Ma'ra, Mindee	Leg (right) ...	Kearana
Finger joint ...	Ma'ra, Moorse, Mindee	Legs ...	
Finger nail ...	Ma'ra, Moorse, Mindee	Lip, lower ...	Ju'rao
Foot (left) ...	Juna, moondernoo	Lip, upper ...	Britken, Jilgoss, gabbel
Foot (right) ...	Jhos-garao, Jena, bolgo	Liver ...	Britken, Jilgoss, gabbel
Forehead ...	Ju'rao	Lung ...	Wang-gale
Frowning ...	Jhel-Kee marda	Moustache ...	Ju'rao da, Jallurda
Generative Organ (female) ...	Mo'los, muggala, totha	Mouth ...	Ju'rao da, daa, romanoo
Gums ...	Ke'ee	Mouth, roof of ...	
Hair ...	Mukka, yilgaroo, yilgoe (?)	Muscle ...	
Hand ...	Jhos-gai, Ma'ra, minioe	Nape of the neck ...	Kganke, Karambo, Koo'rao, Jilgoss
Hand (left) ...	Ny'rao (left)	Navel ...	Kganke, Mo'gel
Hand (right) ...		Neck ...	Kganke, Mo'gel
Head ...	Mugga, Kook'holo, Koy'pale	Nipple of breast ...	
Hearing ...	Koo'ga'rao	Nose ...	Mo'lye, mo'gole, mo'ldha
Heart ...	Ba'le'da, Mo'rao, Koo'dero		Ny'ingale.
Heel ...	Juna		

The first pages of this booklet outlined the method by which the indigenous words were to be entered:

In obtaining the native equivalent of the English word, very great care should be taken to ascertain exactly how it is pronounced by the native, and then, in writing it down, it should be spelt phonetically, that is, to represent as nearly as practicable the exact sound made use of. Each word should be divided into syllables as it is naturally divided in the pronunciation, and an accent should be placed over the syllable or syllables on which emphasis or stress is laid, as, for instance, in the Murchison word for "Plain" – Yal'-ga."

Natives, as a rule, have distinct names for every minute portion of the human frame and other natural objects, and consequently very great care should be exercised to obtain the *exact* native equivalent of each word appearing in the list.¹⁰

This wordlist compiled by Bates from the five informants covers the area of interest and it comes to us from a period of time that is reasonably close to the date of the *Stefano* shipwreck. Carter is the lynchpin of this wordlist as he is among the first pastoralists to settle in Yinikurtira country and probably the last pastoralist to see the Yinikurtira people disperse from their country and disappear as a coherent cultural entity. We also know him as a published ornithologist and as someone who would have taken care when compiling indigenous words. In the survey book he completed for Daisy Bates, he notes that he knows native names for many North West sea fish but he does not know their correct English ones.¹¹

The other important contributor to this wordlist is Edward Cornally, who was already at Wandagee Station when Carter came to work there in 1888. Carter mentions him often in his diaries.¹² Wandagee Station was immediately adjacent to the Yinikurtira country. It had a mixed indigenous population and it is likely that Cornally would have been familiar with a range of local language groups. Daisy Bates also singled him out as a significant contributor. In a handwritten note introducing this combined wordlist, she notes his long and extensive experience with the Aboriginal people.¹³ The other informants in this combined wordlist can account for the possibility that the southern tribe may have used Maia as well as Baijungu words.

One would expect that this substantial wordlist, emanating from such a broad area of the Yinikurtira country, as well as from its southern and eastern neighbours, would be able to identify most words in the *Stefano* indigenous wordlist.

THE NORTHERN WORDLIST: According to Bates, Mulgarnu (Yinikurtira) tribal groups were found as far north as Onslow.¹⁴ If we take up the common suggestion that Yinikurtira were a Talandji sub-group then the influence of Yinikurtira may have extended further north than Onslow. We can best test the northern extent of the Talandji influence by comparing the *Stefano* Yinikurtira vocabulary with Ngarluma, the language spoken around Roebourne.¹⁵

The comparison between Yinikurtira and Ngarluma is also of interest because both groups are coastal tribes – the only two tribes that Bates describes as coastal tribes in her North West Nation which spans the region we are presently considering.¹⁶ Living

on the coast has all kinds of cultural implications. Along with this common geographical attribute, both language groups were known to have used watercrafts that were not all that common along the difficult West Australian coast until one gets to the Kimberley.

PEMBERTON WALCOTT: Ngarluma is also an appropriate language choice as we want a wordlist from as close as possible in time to the *Stefano* shipwreck, if not earlier. Here we are lucky, as the earliest wordlist from the North West is from the Ngarluma people, compiled 1861. It consists of 70 words compiled by Pemberton Walcott during the Gregory's 1861 expedition to the North West.¹⁷ The *Stefano* wordlist is the second oldest wordlist from the North West region and comparing these two wordlists is of intrinsic interest. This comparison is also of interest because Pemberton Walcott came to be implicated in the events associated with the *Stefano* shipwreck and subsequently met the two *Stefano* survivors when they came to Tien Tsin (Cossack) for about three weeks in June 1876.¹⁸ The meeting between them took place on 28 June when Walcott returned to Tien Tsin in the schooner *Victoria*, having just visited the *Stefano* shipwreck site. Walcott is in fact the primary material witness for the *Stefano* shipwreck as we learn from the *Stefano* manuscript:

[256] The schooner *Victoria*, which had been sent by the British government from Tien Tsin to search for more survivors, had not been heard from and grave fears were entertained for its safety. Finally, after two whole months, it sailed into port on 28 June.

[257] Among the first visitors were *Bačić* and *Jurić* and their friend, *Vuković*. The *Victoria* had brought back all the relics which they had left behind as reminders of sorrowful days. Among these were the door of the *Stefano* on which poor *Costa* had inscribed all the names of those who were then the ten survivors, little dreaming that the number would soon be reduced to only two, the rest to perish in such awful agonies.

On 30 June, Captain Vuković set sail for Fremantle, taking with him besides the two survivors, Captain Walcott of the *Victoria*, who was returning to his home, and several other passengers.¹⁹

Walcott was with the two survivors on board the *Rossette* for two weeks as it sailed from Tien Tsin to Fremantle. This means that he was with them when they met the large Yinikurtira gathering on the North West Cape on 4 July 1876 – a reunion arranged to reward the Yinikurtira people with gifts for helping the two mariners survive.²⁰ Given the extent and the nature of Walcott’s interaction with the two survivors we also need to account for the possibility that he may have shared his Ngarluma knowledge with the young *Stefano* mariners while they were together on the *Rossette* or in Tsien Tsin itself.

The comparison of Walcott’s 1861 Ngarluma wordlist with the 1876 *Stefano* wordlist is given in Appendix 1. There are only 12 cognate terms common to the two. Twelve out of seventy words is approximately 17% of the sample, which is rather small and suggests that linguistic exchange between the two was unlikely even if it cannot be entirely ruled out. These twelve words are as follows:

	<u>Walcott 1861 Ngarluma Wordlist</u>		<u>Baccich 1876 Yinikurtira Wordlist</u>	
4.	Barbed spear	Bilara	Bellara	An Australian spear
6.	Foot	Jinna	China	Sole of foot
8.	Water	Baba	Babba	Water
10.	Come here	Gokie	Gogoy	To return
33.	Come	Gokee	Gogoy	To return
34.	Go	Wakkie	Vagay	To go
36.	Sun	Yanda	Yanda	Sun
39.	Native dog	Wanga	Wan-ja	Dog
41.	Knife	Chumberrie	Chumberi	Iron weapons
50.	Hungry	Kamoongoo	Gamogo	Starving
66.	Scoop shell	Bera	Birra	Shell

These twelve cognate terms also tell us something about the selection and the size of our sample. Of the seventy indigenous words only nineteen English words are common to the two wordlists. Of these nineteen English words, seven have indigenous words that are *not* cognate:

Walcott 1861 Ngarluma Wordlist

7.	Sleep	Gnaree
9.	Sit down	Barnee Boongoo
13.	Twine	Bingooro
14.	Nose	Moola
31.	Firewood	Tamara
65.	Rain	Bandaroo
68.	Boat	Kajuree
70.	Sugar	Kungknara

Baccich 1876 Yinikurtira Wordlist

Bombay	To sleep
Tantagoria	To sit down
Wario	Vine
Nayengolo	Nose
Call	Wood
Yengo	Rain
Yanie-balla	Ship
Chugga	Suger

Of this small sample of nineteen overlapping English terms, 37% of the indigenous words are not cognates. 63% are cognate terms. . The overlap is still considerable, although it would be inappropriate to generalize too much from such a small sample.

AUBREY HALL: To get a better comparison of the two languages we need to ensure a better correspondence of the words in the two wordlists that are being compared. We need a vocabulary large enough to account for the majority of the *Stefano* wordlist. There is in fact a very substantial early Ngarluma vocabulary available. It comes from Harold Aubrey Hall, who, as the 5-year-old son of William Shakespeare Hall, first went to live Roebourne and Cossack (Tien Tsin) in 1876 – the very year that *Stefano* castaways were rescued and taken to Fremantle.²¹

Hall's vocabulary was re-discovered by Carl Georg von Brandenstein, who subsequently published it in 1971 as *A Partial Vocabulary of the Ngalooma Aboriginal Tribe*. In the Foreword to this book, Hall's daughter Margaret H. Wilson describes his engagement with the Ngarluma community in Cossack as follows:

In between attending the tiny local school and being tutored by his well educated father he swam, dived, fished, boated and played with his elder brother and their young aboriginal companions. This early and long exposure to the language and culture of the local Ngalooma tribe finally led to his compilation of following Vocabulary. Evidence suggests that he commenced this work soon after the turn of the century.²²

Hall remained in the Roebourne area from 1876 until 1926, which means that his interaction with Ngarlum speakers extended over fifty years. Because his engagement with Ngarluma began in the same year as the *Stefano* shipwreck, his vocabulary is likely to be less distorted by cultural perturbations that followed. Nor was Hall just an ordinary informant who delivered his linguistic knowledge in a few quick language sessions with an anthropologist. Rather, in Hall we have an intelligent person intentionally recalling a language for posterity because he thought it important:

Right to the end of his life he worked on the finer points of his Ngalooma vocabulary and it is unfortunate that he failed to interest anthropological circles in his work. Elder Aborigines in Roebourne today will tell you that he knew more of their folklore, and spoke their dialect, better than any other white man in the area.²³

Brandenstein considers his vocabulary to be the most comprehensive of the 12 historical vocabularies of the Ngarluma language recorded.²⁴ It also seemed that Hall's attitude toward the indigenous people was very similar to the one we find in the *Stefano* manuscript:

He appears to be remembered with great respect and warmth for his understanding and kindness to Aborigines – a traditional attitude extending over three generations of Hall men. Early records show that Henry Edward Hall and, in particular, two of his sons Henry Hastings and Wm Shakespeare were well known often pleading for less harsh treatment of the Aborigines when the attitude to them was, all too often, unthinking and cruel in the extreme.²⁵

Hall's vocabulary is not only useful in identifying the *Stefano* vocabulary but is also inspiring and rewarding. This is most evident with the very first word in the *Stefano* vocabulary and the first word I attempted to identify using Hall's vocabulary, namely that of the deity *Junowanyabari*. The *Stefano* manuscript begins to describe this deity as follows:

[145] The idea of deity is also very obscure. The few mysterious actions and words repeated and performed at the beginning of every fishing expedition are the nearest approach to anything resembling a religious ceremony. They, however, have some ideas of supreme beings superior to man. Some of them good, some evil.

Junowanyabari, who ruled them with the power of Jupiter and Eolus and Neptune, kept them in abject fear and trembling. This god or gods lived on the very peak of the highest mountains and from thence set forth fearful lightning, terrific storms and blistering winds. They feared the evil powers more than they adored the good.²⁶

We can appreciate the value of Hall's wordlist by comparing it with a contemporary linguistic analysis of a word such as *Junowanyabari*. This is what Dench has to say about *Junowanyabari* in his 1998 analysis of the *Stefano* wordlist:

Some analysis of this name is possible. First, the word incorporates a suffix – *pari*, which (usually in the form – *wari*) serves the function of deriving personal names from place names in the Kanyara and Mantharta languages (Dench, 1997). The derived name is used to refer to a person who has rights to a place through their father. Thus *Junawanya-pari* would be someone whose father's country was *Junowanya*. Second, this place name incorporates a final suffix – *nya*, common to proper names (personal or toponymic) in all Pilbara languages.²⁷

The above description may well be correct regarding the meaning of the suffixes *pari* and *nya*, even if it does not illuminate our understanding of *Junowanyabari*. It is, however, questionable if *Junowanyabari* incorporates either of the suffixes *pari* or *nya* as Dench suggests. From Hall's Ngarluma vocabulary we can discern that the term *Junowanyabari* probably incorporates the term *wan-ya-burry*, which is related to the following three terms in his wordlist:

<i>Wan-ya-burry</i>	To know	[Hall 777]
<i>Wan-ya-burrima</i>	Listen! & know you!	[Hall 778]
<i>Wanya-burry-june</i>	Know not	[Hall 779] ²⁸

The last entry *Wanya-burry-june* is in fact very close to *Juno-wanya-bari* if one ignores the word order which is often fluid in Aboriginal expressions.

The *wan-ya-burry* term also appears in Bates' wordlist we will be considering:

<i>wangaberree</i>	To know	[Bates, fol. 50/24] ²⁹
<i>wangaberree</i>	To understand	[Bates, fol. 50/32]

While Hall's *Wanya-burry-june* brings us very close to the meaning of *Juno-wanya-bari*, nevertheless the context tells us that there is more to these words and that their meaning has something to do with a foreboding spirit or a deity. If we accept that the meaning of *wanyabari* as described above we should then look for a deity in the *Juno* element of *Junowanyabari*. There is indeed a *Juno* apparition in the Bates' wordlist:

<i>Joono</i>	Evil spirit	[Bates, fol. 50/21] ³⁰
<i>Joono</i>	Whirlwind	[Bates, fol.50/15]
<i>Joona</i>	Devil	[Bates, fol. 50/20]

Hall's wordlist has the same translation for *Joona*, but in addition his wordlist opens up an illuminating interpretation for *Junowanyabari*, one that potentially resolves the mystery of the terrifying deity described in the manuscript. Entry 217 of Hall's vocabulary is very close to *Juno* and reads as follows:

<i>Joona</i>	A man seeking vengeance on another tribe for a death in his own. ³¹	[Hall 217]
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A man seeking vengeance gives us a much more logical reason why Aborigines in the *Stefano* narrative were afraid. It was not the fear of their deity but the fear of a *Joona* that moved them. Hall's Item [241] gives a little more information about *Joona* which in turn brings about a cascade of other narrative descriptions:

<i>Joona</i>	A man who commits or tires to commit <i>Ngoo-roo-carroo</i> which see. ³²	[Hall 241]
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Hall's Item [520] gives the meaning of *Ngoo-roo-carroo* in what is almost a page long entry. The entry of this length was the only one of its kind in the entire book, and it potentially enriches our understanding of the *Stefano* manuscript as well:

<i>Ngoo-roo-carroo</i>	Neck twisting murder, inter-tribal revenge for alleged bone pointing.	[Hall 520]
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If an old person dies, that is natural & there is no suspicion of witchcraft on the part of a hostile tribe, but if a young adult dies, that has for a certainty been caused by a “sending”, a “singing” or a “Bone pointing” & has to be revenged.

The elders meet & decide what tribe is faulty & nominate the appropriate relative of the deceased to go forth single handed to kill a member of the guilty tribe. A dangerous & difficult assignment that calls for Spartan conditions, he fasts and refrains from sexual intercourse for days, then leaves on his task; once over his tribal boundary he travels by night & hides by day, suffering great privation to water & food as all he can start off with, is a few lumps of ground seed baked in the ashes & some roasted kangaroo, shredded & dried.

He, if possible, chooses a known water near a hill of boulders where he can secretly observe by day & plan his approach with feather sandals to, for preference, a semi-isolated group.

Up to about 10 or 11 the occupants of the camp will be talking, singing &/or dancing, after that all are asleep except the very old men, who meantime have been sleeping. They then come on watch & start *Thabee*, i.e. solo singing, to prevent *Joonas* approaching, but by about 3 a.m. even they fall asleep.

This is the *Joona*'s opportunity. Stealthily approaching his selected victim he kneels astraddle his victim, with one hand on the latter's throat, the victim's mouth opens & is immediately filled with sand.

The *Joona*'s hand are now free, grabbing locks of hair on either side of the victim's head, his head is twisted until it is comply in reverse, the head is then twisted back to normal; victim now unconscious is placed in a crouching attitude which allows him to breathe.

The whole operation takes only a matter of seconds, the victim gradually regains consciousness but dies in two or three days from mortification of the spinal cord.³³

We can continue with this description along a network of signifying connections. It is easy to imagine an old man singing *thabee* using *mee-roo*:³⁴

<i>Thabee</i>	A song, to sing, recitative, accompanied on the <i>Mee-roo</i> (=384)	[Hall 604]
<i>Mee-roo</i>	The appliance used to launch a spear; also has notches in one edge, a hard stick or bone run up & down the notches, is used to mark time in singing.	[Hall 384]

The picture described by Hall is vivid and dramatic and it resonates with the narrative in the *Stefano* manuscript. The entire description seems to be replicated in the *Stefano* manuscript, but this time from the point of view not of the *Joona* but of the tribe he is stalking. For example, it may well be that the mysterious song heard by the castaways but not understood by them was a communal *thabee* accompanied by the sound of *mee-roo*:

Before retiring, the men gathered in groups around the various fires, intoning a chant, which they accompanied with loud beating and pounding on their various weapons:

Paur paur gutari

Puhur cerima

Mali jungura

This ceremony would last about an hour, but our men never understood its meaning nor its accompanying words.³⁵

This song is mentioned in the manuscript when the castaways were with the southern tribe near the cliffs and water spring at Point F (see Map 1 in “[II] Aboriginal Groups in the Stefano Manuscript”). What follows may well be a description of a general *Joona* alert:

[145] About midnight of an exceptionally dark and cloudy night all of a sudden the whole tribe rose like one man and advancing towards the edge of a cliff huddled together in a group, emitting the most violent shrieks and unearthly whistles imaginable, as though, by these means, they could ward off some impending catastrophe.

[146] Shaking and trembling in every limb, all kept their eyes riveted on the distant mountain. When the two whites rushed to the scene to discover the cause of this fierce outbreak, they were told in mysterious undertones, to go to the spring. Fearing nothing and wishing to show some expression of gratitude towards their benefactors, they unhesitatingly proceeded in the direction of the springs. Now, whether they wanted merely to test the courage of the two men, or whether they feared some untoward accident may befall them, they were brusquely and almost forcibly ordered to return.

This scene of abject terror lasted over half-an-hour. Then as suddenly as the terror started it quietened as easily. Each group returned very quietly to its own resting place without uttering a sound and thereafter no allusion was ever made to the incident.

What was it? A hallucination? These men were certainly superstitious as was proven by various actions.³⁶

Hall's vocabulary gives us a workable explanation for the behaviour of Aborigines if they thought that *Joona* was in their midst. All details seem to fit, including the fact that the event described happened at "about midnight of an exceptionally dark and cloudy night". Even the act of sending two castaways ahead and towards *Joona* had a logic of a kind – perhaps they thought that *Joona* would not attack white men. It certainly explains the state of apprehension experienced by the tribe. If they were not shrieking or whistling they would have been listening for that which they feared. Listening for things that may not have been real but could have been. The bewildered castaways would have heard two already mentioned explanations for the tribe's behaviour: *Joona* and *Wanya-burry-june*.

<i>Joona</i>	A man seeking vengeance on another tribe for a death in his own.
<i>Wanya-burry-june</i>	Know not

The interpretation of *Joona* or *Wanya-burry-june* by the *Stefano* castaways as *Junowanyabari*, or as a deity, seems understandable even if mystifying. In contrast, Hall's wordlist complements the *Stefano* narrative with ethnographic information that demystifies the content and potentially contributes to a deeper understanding of the Yinikurtira culture.

Notes and References:

1. Jinigudira entry in Tindale, Norman B., *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*, Canberra, Australian National University Press, 1974, p. 243.
2. All references to the *Stefano* manuscript refer to the publication Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, *The Wreck Of The Austro-Hungarian Barque Stefano On The North West Coast Of Australia*, translated into English by Angelina Baccich (1920), edited with analysis by Josko Petkovic (2007). *IM: Interactive Media* e-journal, No 3:2007.
3. See Petkovic, J. “[II] Aboriginal Groups in the Stefano Manuscript”, and “[III] Language Groups in the Stefano Manuscript” in “Indigenous Languages in the Stefano Manuscript”, *IM: Interactive Media* e-journal, No 3 (2009 addendum).
4. Yinikurtira language is often not mentioned at all when North West languages are listed. See Janet Sharp and Nicholas Thieberger, *Bilybara: Aboriginal Languages of the Pilbara Region* (Wanka Maya, The Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre, 1992), p. 139.
5. See Vines, Freda, “Thomas Carter, Ornithologist”, in *Early Days*, Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society, Volume VI, part VII, 1968, pp. 7–21.
6. Carter, T. in Bates, D., “Vocabularies of Natives from Roebourne, Gascoyne, Ashburton, De Grey” in *Papers of Daisy Bates MS 365* National Library of Australian, Box 25, Section XII Language: Grammar and Vocabularies Part 2.D.12. T. Carter – Point Cloates, Ashburton, MSS. Folio 50/114.
7. Carter, Thomas, *No Sunday in the Bush: An English Jackeroo in Western Australia 1887-1889*, Melbourne, Lothian, 1987, p. 30.
8. Bates, D., “Vocabularies of Natives from Roebourne, Gascoyne, Ashburton, De Grey” in *Papers of Daisy Bates MS 365*, National Library of Australian, Box 25, Section XII Language: Grammar and Vocabularies Part 2.D.12. T. Carter – Point Cloates; J. H. Monger – Gascoyne; Edward Cornally – Gascoyne and Ashburton; T. L. Richardson – Gascoyne; Rev. E. R. Gribble – Gascoyne; MSS fol. 50/ 1–44.

9. Bates, D., *Papers of Daisy Bates MS 365*, National Library of Australia. The survey booklet *Native Vocabulary, etc*, Perth, Government Printer, 1904, was sent out was under the authority of Alfred Watson, with an Introduction by Malcolm A.C. Fraser.
10. Bates, D., *ibid.* p. x.
11. Carter, T. in Bates, D., *op. cit.* p. 24.
12. See Carter, Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-123.
13. Bates, D., “Vocabularies of Natives from Roebourne, Gascoyne, Ashburton, De Grey”, *op. cit.*
14. Bates, D., *The Native Tribes of Western Australia*, Canberra, National Library of Australia, 1985, Edited by Isobel White, pp.56-57.
15. On Tindale’s map Talandji country extends some way north of Onslow. See Extract from Tindale’s map (Map) 2 in Petkovic, J. “ [II] Aboriginal Groups in the Stefano Manuscript”, *op. cit.* or the map in Tindale, *op. cit.*
16. Bates, D., *The Native Tribes of Western Australia*, *op. cit.* pp. 56-57.
17. Gregory, C. G. & F. T., *Journals of Australian Explorations 1846 – 1858*, Hesperian Press, 1981, p. 97.
18. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, *op.cit.*, manuscript page [255-257]
19. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, *op.cit.* manuscript page [256-257]
20. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, *ibid*, manuscript pages [257-260]
21. Hall, H. A., *A Partial Vocabulary of the Ngalooma Aboriginal Tribe*, with concordance and commentary by C.G. von Brandenstein, Australian Aboriginal Studies No. 46, Canberra A.C.T., Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1971.

The inspiration for this element of the paper arose from a chance meeting some years ago with Ron Wilson, Aubrey Hall’s grandson. It was Ron who alerted me to the

existence of Aubrey Hall's Ngarluma vocabulary. I recorded this information in my large *Stefano* archive where it stayed for quite a while. It was only when I started working on this paper that I went back to the information Ron Wilson left me and almost immediately realized that there were good reasons for recording his pamphlet to memory.

22. Hall, *ibid.* Foreword, p.i.
23. Hall, *ibid.* p. ii.
24. Hall, *ibid.* p. 80
25. Hall, *ibid.* p. ii.
26. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, *op.cit.* manuscript page [145].
27. Dench, A, "Pidgin Ngarluma: An Indigenous Contact Language in Northern Western Australia", *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 13:1, p.12.
28. Hall, *op cit.*, p. 26.
29. Bates, *op cit.*. fol. 50, 24 and 32.
 These two terms are found in contemporary Ngarluma world as well.
 See Janet Sharp and Nicholas Thieberger, *Bilybara: Aboriginal Languages of the Pilbara Region*, Wanka Maya, The Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre, 1992), p 89:

<i>Wanyabarri-gu</i>	To hear
<i>Wanyabarri-gu</i>	To know

 On page 85 we learn that the suffix *-gu* signifies the present tense in what otherwise is a complicated matrix of verb endings.
30. Bates, D., "Vocabularies of Natives from Roebourne, Gascoyne, Ashburton, De Grey", *ibid.* MSS fol. 50/ 1-44, fol. 50/21, 50/51 and 50/20.
31. Hall, *op cit.* p. 8

32. Hall, *ibid*, p. 9.
33. Hall *ibid*. p.18.
- 34 Hall *ibid*. p. 21 & p.13.
- 35 Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, *op. cit.*, manuscript page [126].
36. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, *ibid*. manuscript page [145 &146]

APPENDIX 1

Comparison of Ngarluma (Walcott) and Yinikurtira (Baccich) Vocabularies

Walcott 1861 Ngarluma Wordlist		Baccich 1876 Yinikurtira Wordlist		
	English	Ngarluma	English	Yinikurtira
1.	Emu	Galiberie		
2.	Kangaroo	Peckoorra		
3.	Kangaroo (Rock)	Noordee		
4.	Barbed spear	Bilara	Bellara	An Australian spear
5.	Common spear	Wera Wera		
6.	Foot	Jinna	China	Sole of foot
7.	Sleep	Gnaree	Bombay	To sleep
8.	Water	Baba	Babba	Water
9.	Sit down	Barnee Boongoo	Tantagoria	To sit down
10.	Come here	Gokie	Gogoj	To return
11.	Eastern tribes	Kakardi		
12.	Hair of head	Knuggnura		
13.	Twine	Bingooro	Wario	Vine
14.	Nose	Moola	Nayengolo	Nose
15.	Tongue	Talee		
16.	Cockle (unio)	Yoondo		
17.	Ears	Kuika		
18.	Scars on the arms, &c.	Waarbungabo		
19.	Red ochre or wilgee	Marder		
20.	Sand	Narnoo		
21.	Bean (scarlet runner)	Koordala		
22.	Toenail	Mindee		
23.	Oyster (rock)	Jibboor		
24.	(pearl)	Weerde		
25.	Grass	Warabo		
26.	Fishing net	Takaroo		
27.	Fetch or bring	Takora		
28.	Acacia	Paragoon		
29.	Breadfruit tree	Tangoola		

30.	Gourd or calabash	Guabooraanj		
31.	Firewood	Tamara	Calla	Wood
32.	Granite rock	Caragnoo		
33.	Come	Gokee	Gogoy	To return
34.	Go	Wakkie	Wagay	To go
35.	Cowrie or "Cypra"	Weelungooroo		
36.	Sun	Yanda	Yanda	Sun
37.	Biscuit	Mardomurrie		
38.	Sea shag	Toorna		
39.	Native dog	Wanga	Wan-ja	Dog
40.	Vomit	Kalkalubata		
41.	Knife	Chumberrie	Chumberi	Iron weapons
42.	Horse	Gnoormiee		
43.	Sponge	Banga		
44.	Axe	Carama		
45.	Black wattle	Eringgna		
46.	Snake	Walee		
47.	Tobacco	Gaanaree		
48.	Convolvulus	Yaabin		
49.	Scarlet trefoil	Beeban		
50.	Hungry	Kamoongoo	Gamogo	Starving
51.	Knee	Manboor		
52.	Shin	Kojaee		
53.	Thigh	Woolagallu		
54.	Eyelash	Gneearee		
55.	Forehead	Wan		
56.	Lip	Walee		
57.	Knuckles	Munjee		
58.	Elbow	Yarna Mangoola		
59.	Big toe	Guangaarse		
60.	Seaweed	Binda		
61.	Smoke	Choochoo		
62.	Ribs	Boonggna		
63.	Fly	Boroo		
64.	Clouds	Yoonggnoo		
65.	Rain	Bandaroo	Yengo	Rain
66.	Scoop shell	Bera	Birra	Shell

67.	Iron	Tanga Tanga		
68.	Boat	Kajuree	Yanie-balla	Ship
69.	Sneeze	Kanjeerneo		
70.	Sugar	Kungknara	Chugga	Suger

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