

PART V

COMPARING THREE NORTH WEST INDIGENOUS WORDLISTS

Josko Petkovic

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.

Tom Carter¹

According to Tom Carter the indigenous languages from the North West region of Australia had much in common at the time of his writing and could be considered as similar dialects. If Carter is correct it is then possible to imagine that an unknown North West wordlist can be identified by cross-checking it with better known North West wordlists. This is in essence what the writing below sets out to do with the indigenous wordlist in the *Stefano* manuscript.² Specifically it compares the indigenous *Stefano* wordlist with two other early North West indigenous wordlists, namely:

- (i) The wordlist compiled by Daisy Bates from around 1904–1912 from five North West Cape and Gascoyne contributors but primarily from Tom Carter.³
- (ii) Ngarluma vocabulary left to us by Aubrey Hall.⁴

The primary aim of this comparison is to learn something about the indigenous words in the *Stefano* manuscript and if possible to confirm the meaning attributed to these words by the two *Stefano* survivors. When appropriate, reference will be made to the previous analysis of the *Stefano* indigenous wordlist by Allan Dench.⁵

Of the three wordlists, Hall's *A Partial Vocabulary of the Ngalooma Aboriginal Tribe* is likely to be the most reliable. It consists of around 886 words and probably reflects the longest engagement with the North West Indigenous language – of around 50 years and going as far back as 1876. The wordlist compiled by Daisy Bates is comparable in size to Hall's wordlist and comes to us from several interesting informants including Tom Carter. In contrast to these two substantial wordlists the *Stefano* wordlist comes to us from a youthful Baccich, barely 16, and Ivan Jurich, 20, who spent roughly three months in 1876 learning some basic Yinikurtira survival words.

The *Stefano* wordlist numbers approximately 152 words. These words will be correlated with the other two wordlists according to the following ten categories and according to the following two-part division:

- PART A
- Post-contact indigenous words
 - Pre-contact indigenous words
 - Tentative identifications
 - Uncorrelated words
 - Unknown words

PART B External indigenous words
 Adopted English words
 Names of people
 Names of places
 Adopted European names

The three wordlists' comparison is not particularly relevant to Part B as these words are either given (people and place names and localities or external words), or are recognizable adaptations. In contrast, the meaning of words in Part A is provisional and uncertain, and identifying the meaning of these words is the principle task of this writing.

The comparison of the three wordlists is given below with relevant commentary. The three wordlists are referenced as follows:

The <i>Stefano</i> wordlist	–	[Baccich et al. manuscript page number]
Hall's wordlist	–	[Hall Item number]
Bates' wordlist	–	[Bates, folio 50/ page number]

When the meaning of the *Stefano* words is consistent with one or both wordlists, the commentary is minimal. Small variations in sound and meaning are not commented upon. Generally the commentary avoids references to contemporary indigenous wordlists, although this could be a most interesting and productive undertaking. The writing below also does not address many other issues that arise from the comparison, issues that relate to multi-lingual phonetics, orthography, phonology and grammar, to name a few. These matters are outside the scope of the present writing.⁶

Not all words in the *Stefano* manuscript have cognate terms in the other two wordlists. These instances are referenced by broken lines such as “- - - [Bates - - -]” or “- - - [Hall - - -]”. The first letters in all words are left in capitals as in the original three wordlists. Hall's orthography has been kept as in the original, which includes his *ä*.⁷

PART A: POST-CONTACT INDIGENOUS WORDS

	<u>Indigenous term</u>	<u>Translation</u>	<u>Reference</u>
1.	<i>Changuru</i> <i>Chung-goo-roo</i> -----	Hat Head of penis = hat	[Baccich et al. p. 268] [Hall Item 184] [Bates - - - -]

Bates' wordlist does not contain “hat”. Hall's translation is insightful and suggests linguistic and cultural significance beyond the simple meaning of the word “hat”.

2.	<i>Chuchigo</i> <i>Choo-chee-goo</i> <i>Chuggarroo</i>	Shoes Foot wear Foot	[Baccich et al. p. 268] [Hall Item 170] [Bates, fol. 50/4]
----	---	-----------------------------------	--

- | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| 3. | Chumberi
<i>Jimboo-ra-ree</i>
<i>Jimberarree</i> | Iron weapons
Knife
Knife | [Baccich et al. p. 268]
[Hall Item 240]
[Bates, fol. 50/24] |
| 4. | Cocon-jai
<i>Cook-än-jerree</i>
<i>Kookinjai</i> | Goat
A sheep
sheep | [Baccich et al. p. 266]
[Hall Item 192]
[Bates, fol. 50/7] |

In his translation of *Cook-än-jerree* Hall indicates that this is an adaptation of an English word/ expression.

- | | | | |
|----|---|--|--|
| 5. | Culgo-manda
<i>Pool-boo</i>
<i>Munda</i>
<i>Bulba, Bulboo</i>
<i>Tunga-tunga</i>
<i>Marda</i> | Iron log of wood
A stone axe
Stone, also coin, money
Barb of a spear
Iron
Rock | [Baccich et al. p. 268]
[Hall Item 539]
[Hall Item 311]
[Bates, fol. 50/17]
[Bates, fol. 50/24]
[Bates, fol. 50/14] |
|----|---|--|--|

The original meaning of *Culgo-manda* in the *Stefano* wordlist is itself somewhat ambiguous and this makes it difficult to find comparable meaning in the other two wordlists. The translation “Iron log of wood” may stand for an iron axe; hence, the combination of a stone axe (*pool-boo*) and coin money (*munda*) as in *Pool-boo munda* seems like a possible interpretation of *Culgo-manda* in Hall’s wordlist. The interpretation from Bates’ wordlist is not so straightforward. The combination of “iron” and “rock” as in *Tunga-marda* seems a possible rendering of *Culgo-manda*.

- | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|
| 6. | Milli-Milli
<i>Millee</i>
----- | Paper
Paper, paperbark & tree
[Bates - - - - -] | [Baccich et al. p. 267]
[Hall Item 366] |
| 7. | Puliman
<i>Bull-e-man</i>
<i>Boolaman</i> | Butter
An ox
Bull | [Baccich et al. p. 269]
[Hall Item 60]
[Bates, fol. 50/7] |

It is very doubtful that the *Stefano* mariners were given “butter” by Aborigines. Most likely they picked up the meaning of this word after they were brought to Fremantle.

PART A: PRE-CONTACT WORDS

- | | | | |
|-----|--|--|---|
| 8. | Arima
<i>Nga-ri-ma</i> | To die
Die! | [Baccich et al. p. 270]
[Hall Item 491] |
| 9. | Birra
<i>Peerä</i> | Shell
Muttonfish shell,
used as a utensil | [Baccich et al. p. 266]
[Hall Item 567] |
| 10. | Babba
<i>Babba</i>
<i>babba</i> | Water
Water
Water | [Baccich et al. p. 267]
[Hall Item 1]
[Bates, fol. 50/15] |

11.	Bagay <i>Bocki</i> <i>punkai</i>	To shipwreck Break To sink ,To fall,	[Baccich et al. p. 270] [Hall Item 38] [Bates, fol. 50/29]
12.	Ba-jalgo <i>Bujalgo</i> <i>Baj-jelgo</i> <i>Bajjelgo</i> <i>Bajalgo</i>	To eat and drink Eat Drink, to Eat, to Drink	[Baccich et al. p. 270] [Hall Item 19] [Bates, fol. 50/4] [Bates, fol. 50/4] [Bates, fol. 50/21]
13.	Bambay <i>Bamba</i> <i>Bamba</i>	To sleep Sleep sleep	[Baccich et al. p. 270] [Hall Item 12] [Bates, fol. 50/6]
14.	Be <i>Pee</i> <i>Pee</i>	Fish Fish in general Fish	[Baccich et al. p. 266] [Hall Item 584] [Bates, fol. 50/10]
15.	Bellara <i>Pee-larra</i> <i>Pilarra</i> <i>Beellarra</i>	An Australian spear Spears in general Spear (generic) Spear (generic)	[Baccich et al. p. 268] [Hall Item 532] [Bates, fol. 50/29] [Bates, fol. 50/29,30]
16.	Bellara-manno <i>Pee-larra</i> <i>Beellarra</i> <i>Pillarra</i> <i>Warnee</i>	An Australian weapon Spears in general. Spear (generic term) Spear (generic term) Throwing	[Baccich et al. p. 268] [Hall Item 532] [Bates, fol. 50/29] [Bates, fol. 50/29] [Bates, fol. 50/31].

Neither Bates nor Hall have cognate terms for *Bellara-manno*. From the manuscript we learn that it is a throwing board for spears. Hence *Bellar-manno* may be a reference to *bellara-warnee*, namely spear-thrower. What brings this interpretation in question is the fact that both Hall and Bates have an expression for spear throwing-board, namely:

<i>Mee-roo</i>	Spear-thrower	[Hall Item 384]
<i>Meero</i>	Board for throwing spears	[Bates, fol. 50/18].
<i>Meeara</i>	Board for throwing spears	[Bates, fol. 50/18].

We also cannot be certain that the *Stefano* mariners understood the meaning of this expression. There is a possibility that *Bellara-manno* denotes the past tense of the verb “to spear” – speared – as indicated by the following similar examples in the Hall’s wordlist:⁸

<i>Cull-e-manna</i>	Hold, prevent, detain (past tense)	[Hall Item 137]
<i>Jinnamanna</i>	To track (past tense)	[Hall Item 231]
<i>Jabramanna</i>	Mind it! (past tense)	[Hall Item 235]
<i>Pi-irr-manna</i>	Pull (past tense)	[Hall Item 537]
<i>Wangamanna</i>	Alive (past tense)	[Hall Item 688]
<i>Wilyeemanna</i>	Wash (past tense)	[Hall Item 763]

<i>Walgh-ga-manna</i>	Spoilt i.e made bad	[Hall Item 767]
<i>Waleemanna</i>	Scrub (past tense)	[Hall Item 772]
<i>Yanne-manna</i>	To do (past tense)	[Hall Item 803]

A thrown spear invokes a spear-thrower as does something that was speared. Perhaps the *Stefano* mariners came to associate the spear throwing-board with an exclamation that something had been speared – *bellara-manno*. Such a situation is also consistent with an exclamation that a spear has been thrown – *bellara-warnee*. In either case *bellara-manno* is probably not the indigenous term for the spear throwing-board or *Meero*.

17. <i>Bemanno</i>	An Australian fishing spear	[Baccich et al. p. 269]
<i>Pee-larra</i>	Spears in general	[Hall Item 532]
<i>Beelarra</i>	Spear (generic term)	[Bates, fol. 50/29]
<i>Pillarra</i>	Spear (generic term)	[Bates, fol. 50/29]
 <i>Manno-manno</i>	 Cuttlefish	 [Bates, fol. 50/10]

From the manuscript we learn that *Bemanno* is a very long fishing spear with a very strange finish:

These Australian men possess a third kind of *Bellara* twice as long and as wide as the one above described, the only difference being in its finish, which the wily Aborigine introduces.

[140] It consists of five or more wooden projections made in the shape of teeth and presumably serving the purpose of the same. The more malicious East Australian actually uses kangaroo teeth imbedded in the wood with the ever present resin.⁹

Could it be that the spearhead of this weapon resembled a cuttlefish? Hence *Bemanno*? Alternatively this may be another instance in which past tense suffix *manno* is used – this time with the fish (*Be/Pee*).

18. <i>Bildura</i>	Intestines of fish	[Baccich et al. p. 266]
<i>Wiloo-goo-roo</i>	Oil, rendered down fat	[Hall Item 708]
<i>pilgooroo</i>	Fish	[Bates, fol. 50/10]
<i>wilgoo</i>	Bowel, navel	[Bates, fol. 50/4]
<i>pilgoroo</i>	Liver	[Bates, fol. 50/5]
19. <i>Bullura</i>	Before, ahead	[Baccich et al. p. 272]
<i>Bull-ä-rä</i>	First	[Hall Item 47]
<i>bullura</i>	Walk	[Bates, fol. 50/6]

Although these three terms are all different they could be interchanged and interconnected.

20. <i>Buria</i>	Sea	[Baccich et al. p. 267]
<i>Booreä</i>	Ocean	[Hall Item 27]
<i>Weereea</i>	Sea	[Bates, fol. 50/14]

21.	Bunday <i>Boondthi</i> <i>Poond-ya</i>	Bathe at sea To bathe &/or dive To swim	[Baccich et al. p. 270] [Hall Item 8] [Bates, fol. 50/30]
22.	Chembo <i>Jim-boo</i> <i>Jimbo (kollara)</i>	Egg Egg (turtle with) eggs	[Baccich et al. p. 267] [Hall Item 221] [Bates, fol. 50/10]
23.	China <i>Jinna</i> <i>jeena</i>	Sole of foot Foot, also track Sole of foot	[Baccich et al. p. 266] [Hall Item 218] [Bates, fol. 50/6]
24.	Chullu <i>Ju-loo</i> <i>Thoola</i>	Very many All, the whole lot Very	[Baccich et al. p. 270] [Hall Item 239] [Bates, fol. 50/32]
25.	Cun-jiri <i>Coon-jirree</i> <i>Cootchee</i>	One One, the numeral One	[Baccich et al. p. 270] [Hall Item 132] [Bates, fol. 50/26]
26.	Curi <i>Cooree</i> <i>Kooree</i>	A youth, 16–20 y.o. An unmarried girl Girl, puberty	[Baccich et al. p. 265] [Hall Item 96] [Bates, fol. 50/3]
27.	Dadalgo <i>Thäk-al-goo</i> <i>Thalalgoo</i>	Take, to Take (will), get To give	[Baccich et al. p. 200] [Hall Item 613] [Bates, fol. 50/22]
28.	Dagolgo <i>Thäk-al-goo</i> <i>Thalalgoo</i>	To take Take (will), get To give (?)	[Baccich et al. p. 270] [Hall Item 613] [Bates, fol. 50/22]

Dagolgo may be the same word as *Dadalgo* and it is possible that we are dealing with transcription error. We should also note that *Dagolgo* (to take) and *Thalalgoo* (to give) are inverse of one another. This is not an uncommon linguistic phenomenon: words are at times remembered as having an inverse meaning through association.

29.	Gamogo <i>Kä-mä-ngoo</i>	Starving Hungry or thirsty, i.e. in need of	[Baccich et al. p. 269] [Hall Item 261]
30.	Galbai <i>Culbi</i> <i>Kulbai kara</i>	To arise Arise Arise	[Baccich et al. p. 271] [Hall Item 86] [Bates, fol. 50/17]
31.	Galle <i>Kylee</i>	An Australian weapon Boomerang	[Baccich et al. p. 268] [Bates, fol. 50/40]

We don't need an interpretation of the above as the manuscript gives us one:

The *Galle*, which is the Boomerang or Kilie of the eastern tribes, is a curved stick, sometimes resembling a crude and very open letter V made of hardwood, round on one side and flat on the other, about one metre long, five centimetres wide and two centimetres thick.¹⁰

32.	Go	Hey! Hello! (exclamation)	[Baccich et al. p. 272]
	<i>Coo</i>	Yes	[Hall Item 169]
	<i>Gogo</i>	Yes	[Bates, fol. 50/33]
	<i>Go go</i>	Go go	[English]

The word “go” appears on page 169 of the manuscript in the expression “*Wac-balla gudarago go*” and was directed from members of the southern tribe to members of the northern tribe encouraging them to take the two *Stefano* castaways with them. Baccich interprets this expression to mean, “Wait for the whites”. The actual words used are “White fellows two, *go go*”. The expression may well have been directed at the castaways to conveying something like “Yes you two whites”, with appropriate body language indicating that they should go with the northern tribe. It may also be that the word “go” is merely that – an English word repeated to encourage the *Stefano* castaways to join the northern tribe, broadly meaning, “You two whites, go go!”. Both are consistent with the exclamation “Hey!”. It is also possible that *go* may be an element of indigenous grammar yet to be described.

33.	Gogoy	To return	[Baccich et al. p. 271]
	<i>Cook-i</i>	Come here.	[Hall Item 180]
34.	Gudara	Two	[Baccich et al. p. 270]
	<i>Coo-tharra</i>	Two, the numeral	[Hall Item 134]
	<i>Kootarra</i>	Two	[Bates, fol. 50/32]
35.	Gundum-balla	Male organs	[Baccich et al. p. 266]
	<i>Coomboo(-balla)</i>	Urine (fella, fellow)	[Hall Item 97]
	<i>Koomboo</i>	To urinate	[Bates, fol. 50/6]
	<i>Goomboojerree</i>	To urinate	[Bates, fol. 50/6]

Gundum-balla (fellow) may be an English adaptation of an Aboriginal word, as Aborigines did not use “fellow” prior to contact.

36.	<i>Juno</i>	Thought to be the name of tribe's deity Junowanyabarri	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
	<i>Joona</i>	A man seeking vengeance on another tribe for a death in his own	[Hall Item 217]
	<i>Joona</i>	A man who commits or tries to commit <i>Ngoo-roo-carroo</i> which sees	[Hall Item 241]
	<i>Joona</i>	Devil	[Bates, fol. 50/20]

Joono Evil spirit [Bates, fol. 50/21]

The interpretation of *Juno* is detailed elsewhere in this writing.¹¹ A number of interpretations are possible. Given the context of this utterance it is likely that *Juno* may have been an avenging member of another tribe who sought revenge for a death in his own tribe. *Jun(e)* also appears in *wanyabarri june* which means “know not”.

37.	<i>Kai-biri</i>	Unfortunate me	[Baccich et al. p. 272]
	<i>Kaiabarree</i>	To listen	[Bates, fol. 50/25]
	<i>Ko’bijee</i>	Baby	[Bates, fol. 50/3]
	<i>Ko’bijee</i>	Young in animals	[Bates, fol. 50/33]

In the manuscript the word *Kai-biri* appears in the phrase *Kai-biri gogoy* and is described as the lament of a mother who had lost her young child.¹² The *Stefano* mariners interpret her lament as meaning “Return to unfortunate me”. From the manuscript wordlist we also learn that *gogoy* means “to return”. Hence, by elimination, the “unfortunate me” signifier in *Kai-biri gogoy* must be the *Kai-biri* part of the expression. Neither Bates nor Hall have a cognate term for the English “unfortunate (me)”, although Bates list the words *kaiabarree* (listen to) and *ko’bijee* (baby), which seem cognate with the indigenous word *kai-biri*. Thus one interpretation of *Kai-biri gogoy* is *Kaiabarree gogoy*, which we could translate to mean “Listen (to my sorrow?) and return”. The sentiment of the two interpretations may be similar even if the words are somewhat different. Another possible interpretation for *Kai-biri gogoy* is *Ko’bijee gogoy*, meaning: “O young one, return (to unfortunate me)”. In this case, as with a number of other interpretations in the *Stefano* manuscript, the context provides the meaning for the words that are actually missing, namely “to unfortunate me”.¹³

38.	<i>Kalla</i>	Wood	[Baccich et al. p. 267]
	<i>Kä-lä</i>	Fire	[Hall Item 244]
	<i>Kala</i>	Fire	[Bates, fol. 50/13]
	<i>Kala</i>	Flame	[Bates, fol. 50/22]

39.	<i>Kachullyamoru</i>	Poor fellow	[Baccich et al. p.272]
	<i>Coo</i>	Yes	[Hall Item 169]
	<i>Ko-a</i>	Will (I), Yes	[Bates, fol. 50/33]
	<i>Chool-yoo</i>	Old, worn out	[Hall Item 191]
	<i>Mara-joonu</i>	Exclamation of welcome, an expression of kindly feelings	[Hall Item 317]
	-----	Poor fellow	[Bates - - - - -]

It may well be that *Kachullyamoru* is made up of the prefix *Coo/ Ko-a* and a combination of *Chool-yoo* and *Mara-joonu* – *Kai-chool-yoo-mara-joonu*. It is worth noting in passing that, according to Tom Carter, *katchoola* is a native creeper like *convolvulus*. Is there a connection between these?

Katchoola Plant, native creeper [Bates, fol. 50/41]

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|
| 40. | Mamma
<i>Mäm-a</i>
<i>Mamma</i> | Very much
Big, large, very (adj.)
Big | [Baccich et al. p. 270]
[Hall Item 398] (=419)
[Bates, fol. 50/18] |
| 41. | Manda-wan-ji
<i>Mendeeda</i>
<i>Wanjee</i> | Crabs and crayfish
crabs
large | [Baccich et al. p. 266]
[Bates, fol. 50/10]
[Bates, fol. 50/24] |

This is a somewhat tentative identification which assumes that crayfish can be described as large crabs.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|---|
| 42. | Minara
<i>Min-a-warra</i>
<i>Meenawarra</i> | In a short while
By and by
By and by | [Baccich et al. p. 271]
[Hall Item 352]
[Bates, fol. 50/19] |
| 43. | Mira
<i>Midda</i>
<i>Meeta</i> | No
No, not
No | [Baccich et al. p. 272]
[Hall Item 323, 368]
[Bates, fol. 50/26] |
| 44. | Mira-wabba
<i>Midda (wabbä)</i>
<i>Meeta-woba</i> | Bad
No, not
Not-right (proper) | [Baccich et al. p. 269]
[Hall Item 323, 368]
[Bates, fol. 50/26,28] |
| 45. | Muriandi
<i>Moodi-and-i</i>
<i>Mooree-an-tee</i>
<i>Mooreantee</i> | Quick
To depart quickly and secretly
Quickly
Quick, quickly | [Baccich et al. p. 271]
[Hall Item 304]
[Hall Item 408]
[Bates, fol. 50/27] |
| 46. | Nagoru
<i>Nhä-koo-roo</i>
<i>(Naa?) Kooroo</i>
<i>Naa</i> | To see, to observe
See.
Eye
What, which, why, who | [Baccich et al. p. 271]
[Hall Item 486]
[Bates, fol. 50/4]
[Bates, fol. 50/32] |

Nagoru seems to be made of a composite expression *Na-goru*. Both components have cognate terms in Bates' wordlist (*Naa* + *Kooroo*), although they do not occur together.

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|
| 47. | Nayengolo
<i>Ningole</i>
<i>Nyingalo</i>
<i>Ningola</i>
<i>Ningola</i> | Nose
Nose
Point
Point Cloates
Chin | [Baccich et al. p. 266]
[Bates, fol. 50/5]
[Bates, fol. 50/27]
[Bates, fol. 50/27]
[Bates, fol. 50/4] |
| 48. | Neru
<i>Naaler</i>
<i>Naa</i>
<i>Naaja</i> | What
What
What
What | [Baccich et al. p. 272]
[Hall Item 518]
[Bates, fol. 50/32]
[Bates, fol. 50/32] |

This word appears in the expression “*Neru wolu*” (What do you want?), but we cannot be certain if this interpretation is correct. Perhaps an oblique interpretation is possible that makes use of “*Nalloo*” (plenty), which is phonetically closer to “*Neru*”.

	<i>Nalloo</i>	Plenty	[Bates, fol. 50/27]
49.	<i>Niengo</i> <i>Nhingo</i> <i>Neenda</i>	You You (singular) You	[Baccich et al. p. 269] [Hall Item 470] [Bates, fol. 50/33]
50.	<i>Nulla</i> <i>Nth-oo-la</i> <i>Nhula-willa</i>	Here This here, in this place (Like, as in) this	[Baccich et al. p. 272] [Hall Item 481] (=511) [Hall Item 516]
51.	<i>Nulla</i> <i>Mulla</i> <i>Mulla</i>	Birds Bird (meat) (Bird) meat	[Baccich et al. p. 266] [Hall Item 374] [Bates, fol. 50/25]
52.	<i>Nurgan</i> <i>Nulgan</i>	Fat Fat	[Baccich et al. p. 267] [Bates, fol. 50/4]
53.	<i>O-ju</i> <i>Ngä-chu</i> <i>Nujjee</i>	I, me Me Me	[Baccich et al. p. 269] [Hall Item 465] [Bates, fol. 50/24]

Both Hall and Bates use *Natha* for “I”. In terms of language development “me” is an earlier version of “I” and linguistically is much easier to use than “I”, which suggests that Aborigines may have used “baby-talk” “me” instead of “I” when communicating with the two castaways.

54.	<i>Pinoro</i> <i>Koomooroo</i> <i>Koomaroo</i>	Fire Firestick Firestick	[Baccich et al. p. 267] [Bates, fol. 50/22] [Bates, fol. 50/22]
-----	--	---------------------------------------	---

The English meaning suggests that these may be cognate terms even though the pronunciation is not entirely consistent.

55.	<i>Pinyari</i> <i>Pin-yarree</i> -----	To quarrel Fight	[Baccich et al. p. 271] [Hall Item 544] [Bates - - - - -]
56.	<i>Polko</i> <i>Bolgo</i>	Calf of leg Foot	[Baccich et al. p. 266] [Bates, fol. 50/4]
57.	<i>Ta</i> <i>Thi-ä</i> <i>Taa</i>	Mouth Mouth mouth	[Baccich et al. p. 265] [Hall Item 598] [Bates, fol. 50/5]

58.	Tataruga <i>Thä-thä-rooka</i> <i>tattarajjee</i>	A turtle or a tortoise Turtles in general turtle	[Baccich et al. p. 266] [Hall Item 593] [Bates, fol. 50/10]
59.	Tulla <i>Thulä</i>	Eyes Eye	[Baccich et al. p. 266] [Hall Item 597]
60.	Wabba <i>Wobbä</i> <i>Wobba</i>	Good Good (see <i>Moon-ga</i>) Right (proper)	[Baccich et al. p. 269] [Hall Item 671] (=412) [Bates, fol. 50/28]
61.	Wagay <i>Woki!</i> <i>wokkai</i>	To go Go! To walk	[Baccich et al. p. 271] [Hall Item 706] [Bates, fol. 50/6]
62.	Wandi <i>Wän-dee</i> <i>Wandi</i>	Male organs Male organ Penis	[Baccich et al. p. 266] [Hall Item 742] (=757) [Bates, fol. 50/5]
63.	Wan-ja <i>Wän-jä</i>	Dog Dog	[Baccich et al. p. 266] [Hall Item 712] (=833)
64.	Wan-ji <i>Wanjiler</i> <i>Wanda</i>	Where Where Where	[Baccich et al. p. 272] [Hall Item 659] [Bates, fol. 50/32]

The word used in the *Stefano* wordlist on page [272] is *varigi*. This is most likely a typographical error and the word is probably *vangi* (*Italian*) – *wan-ji* (*English*) as indicated in other instances of “where”.

65.	Wanyabari <i>Wan-yä-burry</i> <i>Wan-ya-burrima</i> <i>Wanya-burry-june</i> <i>Wangaberree</i> <i>Wangaberree</i>	Originally in the name of tribe's deity Junowanyabari To know Listen! & know you! know not To know To understand	[Baccich et al. p. 264] [Hall Item 777] [Hall Item 778] [Hall Item 779] [Bates, fol. 50/24] [Bates, fol. 50/32]
-----	---	---	--

Interpretation of *Wanyabari* is considered elsewhere in this writing.¹⁴ It is likely that the meanings attributed to this term by Bates and Hall are both correct.

66.	Willara <i>Willarra</i> <i>Weelarra</i>	Stars or moon Moon when shiny Moon, month	[Baccich et al. p. 267] [Hall Item 755] [Bates, fol. 50/13]
67.	Willa <i>Willä</i> -----	How Like this, thus	[Baccich et al. p. 272] [Hall Item 748] [Bates - - - - -]

68.	Wirago <i>Wee-ra-goo</i> <i>Weera'go</i>	Sick Sick Ill	[Baccich et al. p. 269] [Hall Item 724] [Bates, fol. 50/24]
69.	Woteri <i>Wath-arree</i> <i>Watharree</i> <i>Watharree</i>	To search Search To search Look for, to	[Baccich et al. p. 271] [Hall Item 666] [Bates, fol. 50/28] [Bates, fol. 50/25]
70.	Wrai ----- <i>Woorai</i>	From 2 to 10 all (a lot) , abundance	[Baccich et al. p. 270] [Hall - - - - -] [Bates, fol. 50/17]
71.	Yamina <i>Nham-in-er</i>	Dugong fish Dugong	[Baccich et al. p. 266] [Hall Item 432]
72.	Yanda <i>Yandä</i> <i>Yenda</i>	Sun The sun Sun	[Baccich et al. p. 267] [Hall Item 805] [Bates, fol. 50/15]
73.	Yanie-balla <i>Yandilj-burra</i> <i>yandeejburra</i>	Ship, Ship fellow ? A sailing vessel ship (big wooden scoop)	[Baccich et al. p. 268] [Hall Item 785] [Bates, fol. 50/29]
74.	Yengo <i>Yoong-oo</i> <i>Yonga</i>	Rain Rain To drizzle	[Baccich et al. p. 267] [Hall Item 788] [Bates, fol. 50/12]
75.	Yi-jala <i>Yij-alla</i> <i>Eejela</i>	Immediately Now At once	[Baccich et al. p. 271] [Hall Item 828] [Bates, fol. 50/17]
76.	Yirala <i>Yeeralla</i> <i>Ee-re-lar</i>	A sail A ship's sail A sail	[Baccich et al. p. 268] [Hall Item 784] [Bates fol. 50/144 p. 64]

This word appears in the manuscript as “*Srala*” which is unlikely as the sound “sr” does not occur in Italian. It is likely that with *Srala* we are dealing with a transcription error and the “S” in question should be replaced with “T” in Italian and “Y” in English as designated here. Alternatively, it may be that *Srala* is an indigenous pronunciation of Sail which fuses “Sail” with “*Yeerala*”, giving us *Srala*.

Bates’ wordlist does not contain “A sail”. This is probably an accidental omission as this word is present in Carter’s wordlist as *Ee-re-lar* (Sail). Carter’s wordlist was incorporated into the larger Bates’ wordlist used here. It should include *Ee-re-lar* which is why I have included it here.¹⁵

77.	Yungaya <i>Moona-kan-ma</i> <i>yooragaia</i>	To approach Bring it near(er) close (near)	[Baccich et al. p. 271] [Hall Item 329] [Bates, fol. 50/19]
-----	---	---	---

78.	Yungoro	To give	[Baccich et al. p. 271]
	<i>Yoong-oo-roo</i>	Give	[Hall Item 812]
	<i>yungarnee</i>	give, (food, I will give)	[Bates, fol. 50/35]

PART A: TENTATIVE IDENTIFICATIONS

79.	Birida	Thirsty	[Baccich et al. p. 269]
	<i>Beerooja</i>	Thirsty	[Bates, fol. 50/6]
	<i>Bedda-ja</i>	Dry	[Bates, fol. 50/21]
	<i>Bid-dee</i>	Not	[Bates, fol. 50/26]

In the manuscript the word *Birida* is used together with *babba* – water, as in:

<i>Babba birida</i>	He is thirsty	[Baccich et al. p. 273]
---------------------	---------------	-------------------------

It may be that *Birida* does not mean thirsty, but “no water” as in *Babba bid-dee*.

80.	Bolue	To row	[Baccich et al. p. 270]
-----	--------------	---------------	-------------------------

Neither Bates nor Hall have a word for “row” that comes close to “*Bolue*”. It is possible that “*bolue*” is the indigenous pronunciation and adaptation of the word “row” itself. Since a number of Aborigines helping the *Stefano* castaways had been pearling with Charles Tuckey, it is likely they would have been very familiar with this much used maritime term.

81.	Buday	Setting	[Baccich et al. p. 273]
-----	--------------	----------------	-------------------------

On page 273 of the *Stefano* manuscript this word is used in the expression:

<i>Yanda buday</i>	The sun is setting.	[Baccich et al. p. 273]
--------------------	---------------------	-------------------------

It is possible that this is the same word as *Bunday* – swimming; that is, the Sun is swimming.

Bunday	Bathe at sea	[Baccich et al. p. 270]
<i>Boondthi</i>	To bathe &/or dive	[Hall Item 8]
<i>Poond-ya</i>	To swim	[Bates, fol. 50/30]

The context of sun swimming at sunset seems appropriate. Another alternative translation for *buday* is *punkai* – the Sun is falling – *Yanda punkai*:

<i>Punkai</i>	To fall	[Bates, fol. 50/21]
---------------	---------	---------------------

82.	Br	From 10 on	[Baccich et al. p. 270]
-----	-----------	-------------------	-------------------------

It is possible that *Br* is also a particular adaptation of the English word ‘far’, as suggested in the following quote from Tom Carter:

In those days it was extremely difficult to obtain from a native any idea of the distance of a place, thus: ‘Close fellow’ meant quite near, perhaps one mile; ‘Little bit close fellow’ meant farther away, say two miles; ‘Far away close fellow’ might mean ten miles; ‘Far away’ might mean twenty of two hundred miles, the word ‘far’ being accentuated according to distance, thus ‘Far-r-r-a-away’ (crescendo) meant a very long way indeed.¹⁶

In some North West languages the suffix/ nominal ending “*bura*” indicates the plural form. In *Bilybara* Janet Sharp and Nicholas Thieberger give one such example in which *birrungu* (= relative) in the plural form becomes *birrungu-bura* (= relatives).¹⁷ Thus a plural ending “*bura*” may have sounded like *Brr* to the *Stefano* mariners.

83.	<i>Chinchi-chinchi</i>	To divide, to share	[Baccich et al. p. 270]
	<i>Tchinjee</i>	Fat	[Bates, fol.50/4]
	<i>Pindee-pindee</i>	Separate	[Hall Item 579]

This verb is found in the *Stefano* manuscript in the expression *Cinchi-chinchi ba-jalgo* (“Let us divided the food”). Bates has *tchinjee* for “fat”, which when repeated as in *Tchinjee-tchinjee* generally indicates splitting and dividing (as in Hall’s *pinnee-pindee*) both conceptually and phonetically – in this case dividing the fat that is eaten *Tchinjee-tchinjee ba-jalgo*.

84.	<i>Cominini</i>	Married women	[Baccich et al. p. 265]
	<i>Coo</i>	Yes	[Hall 169] (= 475&787)
	<i>Mim’meejee</i>	Aunt	[Bates, fol. 50/3]
	<i>Nen’nyin</i>	To see	[Bates, fol. 50/28]

Cominini in the manuscript is used in the expression *Pinyari cominini* (“Women are quarrelsome”). It may be possible that the expression means “Yes, aunties (*Coomim’meejee*) are quarrelsome”.

Alternatively, it may be a visual directive: “Yes, see them fighting” – *Pinyari coo nen’nyin*.

It may also be a possibility that *cominini* is an English adaptation of a phrase “coming in”. In this context we should note that Tom Carter gives the Aboriginal expression for a “tame dog” as “*come here*”.¹⁸

85.	<i>Dirido</i>	thirsty	[Baccich et al. p. 273]
-----	----------------------	----------------	-------------------------

Dirido may be another version of *Birida* – thirsty (below) or a transcription error for the following:

<i>Birida</i>	Thirsty	[Baccich et al. p. 269]
<i>Beerooja</i>	Thirsty	[Bates, fol. 50/6]
<i>Bedda-ja</i>	Dry	[Bates, fol. 50/21]
<i>Bid-dee</i>	Not	[Bates, fol. 50/26]

86.	<i>Gallyadaga</i>	To kiss	[Baccich et al. p. 270]
	<i>Ngaliya</i>	we two (excluding you)	(*)
	<i>Ngallee</i>	Together	[Bates, fol. 50/31]
	<i>Ngälee</i>	We	[Hall Item 43, 471]
	<i>Daa, Taa</i>	Mouth	[Bates, fol. 50/5]
	<i>Thiä</i>	Mouth	[Hall Item 498]
	<i>Palgoo</i>	Flesh	[Hall Item 538]

Neither Bates nor Hall have a cognate term for *Gallyadaga*, although both have terms for the verb to kiss:

<i>Booyalgoo</i>	Kiss, it (to)	[Hall Item 44]
<i>Booyanmä</i>	Kiss, it (do)	[Hall Item 45]
<i>Booyänä</i>	Kiss, it (did)	[Hall Item 46]
<i>Bungalla</i>	Kiss, to	[Bates, fol. 50/24]
<i>Moonama</i>	Kiss, a	[Bates, fol. 50/24]

It may well be that the expression *Gallyadaga* is a composite expression signifying two of us (*Ngalya*) with our mouths together (*daa-ga*) – *Ngalya daa-ga*. On this occasion I have combined a particular subject-based free pronoun “We” (*Ngalya*), “mouth” (*daa*) and a suffix marker *ga* that do not appear in Hall’s or Bates’ wordlist but are likely to be present as the primary terms *Ngälee* (Hall) and *Ngallee* (Bates) do exist. (*)¹⁹

87.	<i>Inagoyo</i>	So much	[Baccich et al. p. 272]
	<i>Naa</i>	What, which, who, why	[Bates, fol. 50/32]

This is an unusual word as Aboriginal words generally avoid “I” at the beginning. It is likely that *Inagoyo* is derived from *Nyo-gaya* (Item 88) below:

Nyo-gaya chullu wac-balla. What a number of whites [Baccich et al. p. 251]

In Item 89 below I suggest that *Inagoyo/ Nyo-gay* is probably derived from *Ngallee* – Together.

88.	<i>Mayabulu</i>	Canoe	[Baccich et al. p. 268]
	<i>Maia</i>	house	[Bates, fol. 50/24]
	<i>Bolue</i>	Row	[Baccich et al. p. 270]

Mayabulu is another enigmatic term with many possible meanings, although most of these are tentative. The two canoes in question had some kind of a bamboo shelter or decking built on them that could be designated as a *maia* (shelter/ house). Rowing such a canoe could be described as a ‘rowing house’ – *maia-bolue*.

In a letter written to the Colonial Secretary on 9 May 1876 Charles Tuckey lists the names of Aborigines who helped the two *Stefano* mariners. One of these named is *Maghabulla* – a masculine Aboriginal name.²⁰ Is there a connection?

89.	Nyo-gaya	What (a number)?	[Baccich et al. p. 251]
	<i>Naa</i>	What	[Bates, fol. 50/32]
	<i>Ngaliya</i>	we two (excluding you)	[See Item 86*]
	<i>Ngallee</i>	Together	[Bates, fol. 50/31]

The meaning of *Nyo-gaya* has quite a few alternatives, but not exactly as “what”. The expression where it occurs is:

Nyo-gaya chullu wac-balla. What a number of whites [Baccich et al. p. 251]

It may be that *Ngallee* (together) is a more appropriate rendition of *Nyo-gaya* (What) for this particular context, as it results in a similar meaning:

<i>Ngallee chullu wac-balla</i>	=	Together very many whites
	=	So many whites together!
	=	What a number of whites!

90.	Wolu	Want?	[Baccich et al. p. 272]
	<i>Willä</i>	Like this, thus	[Hall Item 748]
	<i>Nhula-willa</i>	(Like, as in) this	[Hall Item 516]
	-----		[Bates - - - - -]

This word appears in the expression *Neru wolu* (What do you want?) but we cannot be certain if this interpretation is correct. Perhaps an oblique interpretation is possible which makes the indicative of what is wanted: “Here, like this” (*Nhula-willa*) may be a more appropriate interpretation for *Neru wolu*.

91.	Tantargoria	To sit down	[Baccich et al. p. 271]
	<i>Dun-garrer-mia</i>	Ground (surface of)	[Bates, fol. 50/144pC31]
	<i>Dungara maia</i>	Ground (surface of)	[Bates, fol. 50/13]
	Tanta	Trousers	[Baccich et al. p. 268]
	-----		[Hall - - - - -]

There is no cognate term for *Tantargoria* in either Bates’ or Hall’s wordlist. Hall has no word for “sitting down”. Bates does:

Nyinna; hyinna gai naneen; yennan Sit down, to [Bates, fol. 50/29]

In these circumstances we should look for words or expressions that signify sitting down. Putting the seat of one’s pants to the ground is a possible interpretation. In such a case the term *Tantargoria* may be a composite term which incorporates the word for the surface of the ground, namely: *Dun-garrer-mia* (or *Tun-garrer-mia*) and pants. From the *Stefano* wordlist we also know that the word for trousers/ pants is *Tanta*. Perhaps the *Stefano* mariners conflated these two words: *Tanta-Dun-garrer-mia* and may have heard it as a hybrid word *Tanta-garr(er-m)ia*.

PART A: UNCORRELATED WORDS

The words below have no cognate terms in either Bates' or Hall's wordlists. We should simply accept these as unique Yinikurtira vernacular.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 92. | <i>Chir iriri</i> | To satisfy nature's demands, to void | [Baccich et al. p. 273] |
| 93. | <i>Eun-jeri</i> | Oh the Devil | [Baccich et al. p. 273] |
| 94. | <i>Wario</i> | A vine | [Baccich et al. p. 269] |

PART A: UNKNOWN WORDS

In addition to the above words there were also a number of expression attached to the end of the manuscript which add a number of unknown words. These include words described in the manuscript as “ugly word, a curse”:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Tendi wan-ju-jeri</i> | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| <i>Tendi balan-jeri</i> | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| <i>Tendi duga</i> | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |

In addition to this there was also a song which the castaways never understood.

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Paur-paur gutari</i> | The evening song or verse | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| <i>Puhur cerima</i> | which had never been | |
| <i>Mali jungura</i> | understood | |

Together these two can produce another eleven unknown words:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 95. | <i>Tendi</i> | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| 96. | <i>Wan-ju</i> | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| 97. | <i>Jeri</i> | Devil? [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| 98. | <i>Balan</i> | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| 99. | <i>Duga</i> | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| 100. | <i>Paur-paur</i> | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| 101. | <i>Gutari</i> | Two? [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| 102. | <i>Puhur</i> | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| 103. | <i>Cerima</i> | Die? [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| 104. | <i>Mali</i> | [Baccich et al. p. 274] |
| 105. | <i>Jungura</i> | Give? [Baccich et al. p. 274] |

It may not be useful to say anything about the “ugly word[s], curse” in the above list, as these are notoriously variable and original in all cultures. We should simply accept them as original Yinikurtira words.

The song in question may also be traditional, which according to Hall may no longer have an accessible meaning.²¹

PART B: EXTERNAL WORDS

The words below are either described as external to the Yinikurtiri language in the manuscript or we know them to be used by external groups such as *Pikinini*:

106.	<i>Kili</i>	Boomerang (southern tribes)	[Baccich et al. p. 136]
	<i>Kylee</i>	Boomerang	[Bates, fol. 50/40]
107.	<i>Hileman</i>	Wooden shield (southern tribes)	[Baccich et al. p.140]
108.	<i>Womera</i>	Woomera	[Baccich et al. p.139]
	<i>Wommerera</i>	Throwing board	[Bates, fol. 50/31]
109.	<i>Bumerang</i>	Boomerang	[Baccich et al. p.136]
110.	<i>Pikinini</i>	A boy	[Baccich et al. p. 265]

PART B: ADOPTED ENGLISH WORDS

111.	<i>Bulac-balla</i>	A black fellow	[Baccich et al. p. 265]
112.	<i>Bulawa</i>	Flour	[Baccich et al. p. 267]
113.	<i>Char</i>	Shirt	[Baccich et al. p. 268]
114.	<i>Chinaman</i>	Chinaman	[Baccich et al. p. 265]
115.	<i>Chugga</i>	Sugar	[Baccich et al. p. 267]
116.	<i>Cocona-jih</i>	Coconuts	[Baccich et al. p. 267]
117.	<i>Cuggy</i>	A cook (corruption)	[Baccich et al. p. 265]
118.	<i>Denki</i>	Skiff, yawl, dinghy	[Baccich et al. p. 268]
119.	<i>Island</i>	Island	[Baccich et al. p. 269]
120.	<i>Komin</i>	To come	[Baccich et al. p. 271]
121.	<i>Niril</i>	Needles	[Baccich et al. p. 268]
122.	<i>Parue</i>	Far, distant, Far away	[Baccich et al. p. 271]
123.	<i>Paura</i>	Gunpowder	[Baccich et al. p. 268]
124.	<i>Tanta</i>	Trousers?	[Baccich et al. p. 268]
125.	<i>Thie</i>	Tea	[Baccich et al. p. 267]
126.	<i>To morning</i>	Tomorrow morning	[Baccich et al. p. 269]
127.	<i>Turadji</i>	Rice?	[Baccich et al. p. 267]
128.	<i>Ulma</i>	Old (“old man”?)	[Baccich et al. p. 269]
129.	<i>Wac-balla</i>	A white fellow	[Baccich et al. p. 265]

Most of the above are self-evident adaptations of English words. Three comments may be relevant:

- Aborigines did not wear trousers so this must be an adaptation of an English word. Is it “trousers” as the *Stefano* manuscript has it? Phonetically it does not sound entirely convincing. The *tanta* sound is closer to “pants/ *pantaloni* (Italian)” and it is tempting to suggest that *tanta* may be an indigenous adaptation of English “pants”. *Tanta* is also the Yinikurtira word for a scorpion.

<i>Tanta</i>	Scorpion	[Bates, fol. 50/10]
--------------	----------	---------------------

- One wonders how the *Stefano* mariners came to interpret the word for rice as they probably did not see any rice. “*Turadji*” does not exactly sound like an adaptation of “Rice”. “Turkey” may be a better translation. This is closer to the interpretation given by Brandenstein for turkey = *tarrgi*.²²
- In the *Stefano* manuscript the meaning for *Ulma* is given as “old”. Dench identifies this word as a corruption of the English word “old man” which is most probably correct.

PART B: NAMES OF PEOPLE

130.	<i>Junowanyabarri</i>	Name of tribe’s deity ?	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
131.	<i>Bengo</i>	Bengo	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
132.	<i>Challi</i> (corruption)	Charlie	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
133.	<i>Ca-jaro</i>	Cajaro	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
134.	<i>Chuchigo</i>	Chuchigo	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
135.	<i>Igranne</i>	Igranne	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
136.	<i>Jaki</i>	Jacky	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
137.	<i>Jimmi</i>	Jimmy	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
138.	<i>Miki</i>	Micky	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
139.	<i>Naman</i>	Naman	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
140.	<i>Nili</i>	Nellie?	[Baccich et al. p. 265]
141.	<i>Sandy</i>	Sandy	[Baccich et al. p. 269]
142.	<i>Tairo</i>	Tairo	[Baccich et al. p. 264]
143.	<i>Toby</i>	Toby	[Baccich et al. p. 269]
144.	<i>Tondogoro</i>	Tondogoro	[Baccich et al. p. 265]
145.	<i>Walero</i>	Walero	[Baccich et al. p. 209]

The following comments may be relevant:

- The meaning of *Junowanyabarri* is considered elsewhere in this writing.²³
- Nili may seem to be a feminine name but is not, as is evident from page 205 of the *Stefano* manuscript:

The night of the second and third of April, a certain *Nili*, a very brave fellow, availing himself of an opportunity, caught a wild dog and killed him with stone blows.²⁴

- Seven of the above 16 names are adopted English names: Challi, Jaki, Jimmi, Miki, Nili, Sandy and Toby. One would assume that each one of these men had contact with white pearlsharers in colonial towns. It is likely that this contact started as early as 1867, when pearlsharing began in the North West. The letter from Charles Tuckey to the Colonial Secretary indicates that some of these men had been to Roebourne and from the *Stefano* manuscript we learn that some of them had been to Tien Tsin, Perth and Fremantle – names which appear in the list below.²⁵

PART B: NAMES OF PLACES

146.	<i>Bunda-ja</i>	Bandigi – locality	[Baccich et al. p. 265]
147.	<i>Chinchin</i>	Tien Tsin (town)	[Baccich et al. p. 265]
148.	<i>Karkara</i>	Karrakatta (Perth)	[Baccich et al. p. 265]
149.	<i>Pulimandur</i>	Fremantle (city)	[Baccich et al. p. 265]

PART B: ADOPTED EUROPEAN NAMES

150.	<i>Dagi</i>	Tuckey (Charles)?	[Baccich et al. p. 271]
151.	<i>Mir</i>	Miho (Baccich)	[Baccich et al. p. 232]
152.	<i>Tigone</i>	Ivan(e) (Jurich)	[Baccich et al. p. 232]

In the manuscript we learn that the Aborigines address the castaways with a phrase:

Minara Challi dagi Pulimandur wagay [Baccich et al. p.211]

The vocabulary gives us an approximate meaning: “In a little while Challi will come and you will leave for Pulimandur.” In the *Stefano* manuscript the phrase *Challi dagi* is interpreted to mean Challi will “come”. Dench interprets this utterance to mean – what it most likely does – namely Charles Tuckey.

However, when it comes to the Croatian native names of Ivan Jurich and Miho Baccich, it would seem that Dench is handicapped because he is not familiar with Dalmatian-Croatian language. Generally this is not a problem, except for the following passage in the original manuscript which invokes Jurich’s Christian name :

It is worthy of notice here that the natives had given names to their protégés, *Mir* to *Bačić*, a corruption of Miho, a pet name by which his companions called him and *Tigone* to *Jurić*, this was a corruption of Ivane (sic), his Christian name.²⁶

There is nothing complicated about this expression to those who understand Croatian. Ivane is an inflexion of a Croatian proper noun Ivan, used in direct personal address. With only two shipwreck sailors communicating, this is the mode of address that the Aborigines would have heard all the time – Miho would have addressed Ivan as Ivane continually. Accordingly, the Aborigines would have deduced that the inflected version of Ivan, namely Ivane, was Ivan’s proper name, albeit transformed somewhat by the indigenous pronunciation: *Tigone* for Ivane and *Mir* for Miho. Because Dench is not familiar with Dalmatian-Croatian language he has to rely entirely on his interpreter who has not correctly translated all Aboriginal and Croatian words. Somehow, in the retranslation from Italian into English the unambiguous Croatian Christian name of Ivan described above becomes Giovane in the following expression:

Minara nulla Challi gogay niengo gudara Tigone Tondogoro gudara Pulimandur
vagay ba-jalga chulu chugga thie turadji kokona-ji.²⁷

This is translated into:

Soon here Charlie come you two, Giovane (sic), Tondogor two go Fremantle, eat much sugar, tea, rice and coconuts.²⁸

Factually this English translation is as odd as if one were to translate the name of Henry Groiss (Grice?), the young English boy on the *Stefano*, as Enrico Groiss. Normally such a slippage in translation would be considered as an incidental error, with nothing more needing to be said about it. However, there are a number of indications in Dench's paper which suggest this was an intentional convention which should be clarified and addressed in a paper that deals with indigenous languages.

The native names and genealogy of the *Stefano* sailors were researched by Gustave Rathe and Neven Smoja as well as Nenad Vekaric of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Science in Dubrovnik.²⁹ The correct indigenous crew names are given in Rathe's book and it is curious that these were not taken up by Dench and his translator. It would have indicated awareness of existing research and especially as the primary informant in this case was a direct descendent of Miho Baccich. As it is, Dench or his translator chose to subscribe to the convention of the Austro-Hungarian Imperial bureaucracy, which insisted on renaming Dalmatian-Croatians with foreign names and in a foreign language. Ethically this is not all that different from renaming Tondogoro, Billy. This type of linguistic coercion was deeply resented by the cosmopolitan inhabitant of the Dalmatian coast, especially as it came to be associated with Mussolini's "Blackshirt" fascists and war criminals during WWII.³⁰ The inclusion of the proper Dalmatian-Croatian names in a translated English text would have been factually more concise, ethically more appropriate and would have demonstrated a more nuanced understanding of the Croatian-Dalmatian history. One wonders if Dench was aware of the conventions imbedded in the translation he was using, as one would expect him to be especially aware of indigenous sensitivities. One also wonders why on matters to do with Dalmatian-Croatian language, history and culture, he did not seek advice from specialists on this area of the Adriatic or at least from the natives of this region.³¹

ANALYSIS

The comparison between the three wordlist has been most useful in helping to identify the indigenous words in the *Stefano* manuscript. The *Stefano* wordlist consists of about one-hundred-and-fifty-two (152) words. Of these, thirteen words (8.6%) had only a tentative identification, three words (2.0%) could not be accounted for and eleven words (7.2%) were curse words or words unknown to the *Stefano* mariners. The remaining one-hundred-and-twenty-five words (82.2%) were broadly identified using only two North West wordlists. If we add tentative identification to this figure then the potential identification of the *Stefano* wordlist can go as high as 90.8% . The breakdown is as follows:

%	Sum%
---	------

PART A	7	Post-contact indigenous words	4.6%	4.6%
	71	Pre-contact words	46.7%	51.3%
	13	Tentative identifications	8.6%	59.9%
	3	Uncorrelated words	2.0%	61.9%
	11	Unknown words	7.2%	69.1%
PART B	5	External indigenous words	3.3%	72.4%
	19	Adopted English words	12.5%	84.9%
	16	Names of people	10.5%	95.4%
	4	Names of places	2.5%	97.9%
	3	Adopted European names	2.0%	99.9%
	152	TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%

If we consider that the “ugly word, curse” and the words of the unknown song are uniquely Yinikurtira words then from one-hundred-and-fifty-two (152) words only three (uncorrelated) words (2.0%) are not accounted for, which give us an interpretation rate between 89.5% and 98.0% – depending on how many tentative identifications (8.6%) are correct.

PRE-CONTACT WORDLIST: Of these one-hundred-and-fifty-two (152) words only ninety eight (98) qualify as potential pre-contact wordlist. The other fifty-five (55) words are either post-contact words or words for names of people and places.

71	Pre-contact indigenous words	72.4%
13	Tentative identifications	13.3%
3	Uncorrelated words	3.1%
11	Unknown words	11.2%
98	TOTAL	100.0%

Of these ninety eight (98) pre-contact words sixty two (63%) were identified from Bates’ wordlist and sixty five (66%) were identified from Hall’s wordlist. Even with the unknown and the unaccounted words we can still conclude that the Yinikurtira languages in this particular sample have a high correlation with both Bates’ and Hall’s wordlist.

Arguably, the most interesting comparison is between the seventy-one (71) pre-contact words which exclude unknown songs, ugly words, cursing and devils. Of these seventy-one pre-contact words sixty two (87.3%) were identified from Bates’ wordlist and sixty five (91.6%) were identified from Hall’s list. What is also clear from this outcome is that the Yinikurtira wordlist has a similar percentage overlap with both Bates’ and Hall’s wordlist. It is likely that the difference between the two (87.3% and 91.6%) can be accounted for by the small sample size of the *Stefano* wordlist.

CIRCULAR ANALYSIS: Having identified the indigenous words in the *Stefano* manuscript what else can we say about this wordlist? Can we say that the *Stefano* wordlist supports Carter’s position, which holds that all North West indigenous languages have much in common? Alternatively, can we say that the *Stefano* wordlist has much in common with Ngarluma language, as some have attempted to do?³² The answer to both questions is that we cannot confirm or negate either of these two positions using the above results. Both positions may be correct, or not, but it is not something we can deduce from the above wordlist comparison. We cannot do this for

two reasons at least. Firstly, there is nothing ordinary, accidental or random about the *Stefano* wordlist. It is a very loaded vocabulary sample made up, broadly, of two types of words. Half of these words could best be described as survival words that have to do with eating, drinking, walking, sleeping and fishing. Because of their essential nature these survival words were not only useful to the shipwrecked *Stefano* mariners, but would have been useful when communicating with neighbouring communities such as Baijungu, Talandji and even Ngarluma. One could best describe these words as common North West Australian words. The other half of the *Stefano* vocabulary consist of maritime and pearling words that include ships, sails, dinghies, shipwrecks, Chinese cooks, Pulimandur, Tsien Tsin, Karkara, white-fellas, black-fellas, adopted English words and maritime comings and goings. Neither of these two groups of words has anything substantial to do with the larger Yinikurtira language.

If, from a living language and from its many thousands of words, we selected and analysed only the basic survival words, on the one hand, and maritime and post-contact words, on the other hand, we should not be surprised to discover some very common words and some very common maritime and post-contact words. The best we can say about this type of analysis is that it is circular, as it will find what was selected in the first instance.

The second problem with this analysis is that the three wordlists comparison was never a true comparison. Comparison is generally defined by comparing like terms. One could compare Hall's and Bates' wordlists as these are similar in size. But this was not the comparison made above. Comparing a small and loaded language sample, such as the *Stefano* wordlist, with much larger wordlists can only result in aberrant conclusions.

The comparison undertaken above had a utilitarian purpose, namely to identify and confirm the indigenous words in the *Stefano* manuscript. We cannot say much beyond this. The size and the nature of the *Stefano* wordlist works against our desire to generalize about the commonality of the North West dialect or the importance of Ngarluma language. The desire to reach a conclusion beyond this from such limited data may be very tempting but is of doubtful value.

INDIGENOUS EXPRESSIONS IN THE *STEFANO* MANUSCRIPT

Along with its list of words, the *Stefano* manuscript also comes with a range of indigenous expressions. Some of these are imbedded in the body of the manuscript (MS pp. 1–263) and others are attached to the wordlist at the end of the text (pp. 273–274). We can approximately work out what these expressions mean using the vocabulary that comes with the manuscript. When we do this it is apparent that the word order in many sentences is different to that expected with English sentences. If, however, we are tempted to say more about this we should probably desist for a range of reasons.

The indigenous expressions in the *Stefano* manuscript are not delivered to us by native speakers and we should not treat this wordlist as if it comes from native speakers. The reality of the *Stefano* indigenous word collection is that it comes from two young men who were stranded in a strange land with a strange language for approximately three months of the total six months they were stranded. Analysing the

language they acquired during this time can only be a most fragile undertaking. Most of the time the *Stefano* mariners were guessing at the meaning of the indigenous words and often their guesses were only partly right. The linguistic difficulties they experienced are evident in every expression in the manuscript and exemplified by this quaint example:

The privations and sufferings were so great that the poor boys barely could drag themselves along.

The natives noticed this and sought to encourage them by repeating, “*Bullura Wagaj*” (Let us go ahead). Thinking from previous experiences that *Bulura* meant cape – as they always seemed anxious to reach the North West Cape – the whites would answer, “*Wan-ji Bullura*” (Where is *Bullura*?). But the answer always came back, “*Parue*” (Far away).³³

With the *Stefano* mariners, we are not only dealing with naive non-speakers but their indigenous benefactors knew that they were non-speakers. In such circumstances the fluent speakers punctuate, emphasise, filter, truncate, repeat and create sentence order that would not normally occur. This is the outstanding characteristic of most expressions that we find in the pages of the *Stefano* manuscript as indicated in Appendix 1.

The grammar in these expressions is at its most elementary. No case markers, no conjugation nor any of the other features one would expect from native speakers. When verbal communication is of this quality speakers often complement their verbal messages using signs and body language. The meaning that comes from such a combination of gestures and words may be quite different from the meaning derived using words alone. For example, the statement which approximately means “Here how turtle take”, *Nulla wi la tataruga dadalgo*, is interpreted by the *Stefano* mariners as “We will have as many as I have fingers”.³⁴ In this interpretation the *Stefano* mariners omitted “turtle” (*tataruga*) from the expression and inserted “fingers”, which is not in the original expression but was most probably implied by the use of sign language (hand/ fingers) in the context of catching turtles.

Something similar can be said about the inverse word order in a sentence reconstructed for us by non-speakers. We do know that word order in many Aboriginal languages is much more fluid than in European languages. However, we cannot be certain if the word order inversions in the *Stefano* manuscript reflect the language itself or if they are a simple error arising from a flawed attempt to communicate in an unfamiliar language. Another complication is that the *Stefano* mariners were native Croatian speakers and this potentially had a bearing on their understanding and on their recreation of indigenous expressions. Word order in Croatian sentences is often the inverse of that found in English sentences. Many of these sailors could also speak some Italian and some could do so fluently, which further complicates this multi-lingual problem.

In these circumstances, one would have to be a brave scholar to use such material in any serious analysis. This is not to suggest that there is no value in analysing these expressions, but only that the sample is too small to draw any convincing conclusions.

Notes and References:

1. Carter, Thomas; *No Sunday in the Bush: An English Jackeroo in Western Australia 1887–1889*, Melbourne, Lothian, 1987, p. 30.
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. 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. Also See Petkovic, J. “[IV] Some Early North West Indigenous Wordlists” in “Indigenous Languages in the Stefano Manuscript”, *IM: Interactive Media* e-journal, No 3 (2009 addendum).
4. 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. Also see Petkovic, J. “[IV] Some Early North West Indigenous Wordlists” in “Indigenous Languages in the Stefano Manuscript”, *IM: Interactive Media* e-journal, No 3 (2009 addendum).
5. Dench, A, “Pidgin Ngarluma: An Indigenous Contact Language in Northern Western Australia”, *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages*, 13:1, pp 1–61.
6. In passing it is worth noting that the difference between Aboriginal and English phonology is readily apparent in the comparisons that will follow. The Aboriginal *k* sound is between the English *k* and hard *g* (as in got). Hence we should not be surprised to find that the *g* and *k* sound seem interchangeable (ie. *gudara/ kootarra*) in the three wordlists that follow. Likewise, the *p* sound is between the English *p* and *b* and appears as both (i.e. *polko/ bolgo*). Similarly, the *t* sound is between the *t* and *d* and appears as both (i. e. *Dadalgo/ Thalalgoo*). It is also evident from the comparison that follow that the *ch* and *j* sounds seem interchangeable (ie. *china, jina*). It seems that the *b* and *w* sound are also interchangeable (*buria/ weereea*).
7. See Hall, H. A., op. cit. Note 1. , p. 77.
8. See Hall, H. A., op. cit., pp. 6, 9, 19, 24, 26, 27.
9. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, op.cit., manuscript page [139–140]
10. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, ibid., manuscript page [136].
11. See Petkovic, J., “[IV] Some Early North West Indigenous Wordlists” in “Indigenous Languages in the Stefano Manuscript”, *IM: Interactive Media* e-journal, No 3 (2009 addendum).
12. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, op.cit., manuscript page [205]
13. Curiously “O young one, return to unfortunate me” is the meaning attributed to *Kai-biri gogoy* by Gustave Rathe in his book *The Wreck of the Barque Stefano Off the North West Cape of Australia*, Carlisle, Hesperian Press, 1990. Rathe achieved this

meaning by adding *curi* to the original expression so that in his book it reads as *Kai-biri* (unfortunate me) *gogoy* (return) *curi* (young one). The only problem with this is that the word *curi* normally means youthful girl of sixteen years and older.

How Rathe got this expression is puzzling. It is possible that the expression “Oh young one, return to unfortunate me” was circulated among the extended Baccich family gatherings in New Orleans whenever the *Stefano* story was narrated amongst them. When Rathe came to write his book he may have deduced from the manuscript wordlist that the “young one” was not in the expression *Kai-biri gogoy* and may have added *curi* (youth) to make it consistent with his memory of this scene.

14. See Petkovic, J., *op.cit.*
15. 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, General Vocabulary, p. 64.
16. Carter, *op. cit.*, p. 40
17. See Janet Sharp and Nicholas Thieberger, *Bilybara: Aboriginal Languages of the Pilbara Region* (Wanka Maya, The Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre, 1992), p. 84.
18. Carter. T. in Bates, D., *op. cit.*, p. 11.
19. Sharp, J. & N. Thieberger, *op. cit.* pp. 84, 43.
20. SROWA 1876, C.S.R. 844, fol. 81.
21. See Hall, H. A., *op. cit.* On page 3, Item 68 Hall notes that:
“Many of the words of the songs to which the various figures are performed have no meaning, having passed on from tribe to tribe & possibly circled and crossed Australia prior to invasion by the Whites.”
22. See Brandenstein von, C.G., *Narratives from the North-West of Western Australia* V3, 1970 Australian Institute of Indigenous Study No 35, p. 442.
23. See Petkovic, J. “[IV] Some Early North West Indigenous Wordlists” in “Indigenous Languages in the Stefano Manuscript”, *IM: Interactive Media e-journal*, No 3 (2009 addendum).
24. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, *op.cit.* manuscript page [205].
25. SROWA 1876, C.S.R. 844, fol. 81.
26. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, *op.cit.*, manuscript page [232].
27. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, *op.cit.*, manuscript page [232].
28. Dench, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
29. For analysis regarding the names of the *Stefano* crew see: Petkovic, J., “Notes From The Editor: The 1920 Translation Of The *Stefano* Manuscript”, *IM: Interactive Media e-journal*, No 3:2007. All mariners in the *Stefano* manuscript except Henry Grosse and Karlo Costa are designated as Croatian speakers, even though the document itself is written in Italian. These include: *Antončić*, *Bačić*, *Brajević*, *Bučić*, *Dediol*, *Jurić*,

Lovrinović, Miloslavić, Osoinak, Pavišić, Perančić, Radović, Vukasinović, Vulović, Zanetović as well as the manuscript scribe *Stjepan Skurla*. Genealogies of many of the *Stefano* crew can be found in Vekarić, Nenad; *Peljeski Rodovi*, Serija: Prilozi Povjesti Stanovništva Dubrovnika I Okolice. Knjiga 5, Svezak 2, Dubrovnik 1996. For full names of the *Stefano* crew see Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, op.cit. manuscript pages [3]. For additional details see Rathe, Gustave; *The Wreck Of The Barque Stefano Off The North West Cape Of Australia In 1875*, Carlisle, WA, Hesperian Press, 1990. Smoje's contribution to Rathe's research is acknowledged in Rathe's Introduction p. xviii.

30. For accounts related to this period see:
Smith, M.D., *Mussolinijevo rimsko Carstvo*, Globus, Zagreb, 1980.
Giorgio, R., *Alle origini della politica estera facista 1918–1923*, Bari, 1968.
Radetić, E., *Istra pod Italijom*, C. Albrecht, Zagreb, 1944.
Mihovilović, I. *Italijanska ekspanzionistička politika prema Istri, Rijeci i Dalmaciji (1945–1953)*, Institut za međunarodne politiku i privredu, Beograd, 1954.

31. For further details of complexities involved see:
Večerina, D. *Talijanski Iredentizam*, Zagreb, 2001.
Kreleža, M. *Deset krvavih godina*, Zora, Zagreb, 1957.
Marjanović, M. *Londonski ugovor is godine 1915. Prilog povjesti borbe za Jadran 1914–1917*, Jugoslavenska akademija znanost i umjetnost, Zagreb, 1960.

32. This is the conclusion that Dench (op. cit.) reaches. In his analysis of the *Stefano* wordlist Dench identifies the prominence of Ngarluma words in the list. He does this using a multi-language approach and concludes that the Aborigines in the *Stefano* narrative probably used Ngarluma when speaking with the castaways rather than their own language. Why and how? The reasons Dench gives for this are broadly based on (i) the possibility that some Yinikurtira men were acquainted with Ngarluma language through contacts with pearlers in Cossack, which is in Ngarluma country; and (ii) Yinikurtira men thought they would be better understood by the shipwrecked *Stefano* mariners if they spoke Ngarluma rather than their own dialect.

33. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, op.cit. manuscript pages [178–179].

34. Baccich, M. & S. Skurla, op.cit. manuscript page [200].

APPENDIX 1

Fish search	<i>Be woteri</i>	pp. 79, 273
Tomorrow morning eat	<i>To morning ba-jalgo</i>	p.125
Divide food	<i>Chinchi chinchi ba-jalgo</i>	pp.125, 273
Quarrel women (?)	<i>Pinyari cominini.</i>	pp.128, 213, 274
Turtles search	<i>Tataruga woteri</i>	p.152
Turtle eggs	<i>Tataruga chembo</i>	p.158
Shortly, dinghy see	<i>Minara denki nagoru</i>	pp.161, 196
Poor fellow! (?)	<i>Kachuljamoro!</i>	pp.163, 272
Shortly dinghy row	<i>Minara denki bolu</i>	p.163
Ahead go	<i>Bulura wagaj</i>	p.168
Whites, two yes! (?)	<i>Wac-balla gudarago go!</i>	p.169
Black quarrel	<i>Bulac-balla pinyari</i>	p.171
Black return	<i>Bulac-balla nagoru</i>	p.173
Where Bullura?	<i>Wan-ji Bullura?</i>	p.179
Here how turtle take	<i>Nulla wi la tataruga dadalgo</i>	p.200
Listen, return (?)	<i>Kai-Biri gogay.</i>	pp.205, 272
Whites not dog eat	<i>Wac-balla mira wan-ja ba-jaglo</i>	p.206
Here, whites, Karkara like water	<i>Nulla wac-balla, Karkara willa babba.</i>	p.207
Shortly Challi return Pulimandur go much eat sugar, rice, drink tea, eat coconuts	<i>Minara Challi gogay, Pulimandur wagay chullu ba-jalgo chugga, turadji ba-jalgo thie, ba-jalgo cocona-ji</i>	p.208
Ship approaching	<i>Yanie-balla yurogaya</i>	p.210
Shortly Challi Tuckey Pulimandur leave	<i>Minara Challi dagi Pulimandur wagay.</i>	p.211

Shortly Challi return Chinchin go	<i>Minara Challi gogay, Chinchin wagay.</i>	p.211
Not good turtle	<i>Mirawaba tartaruga.</i>	p.222
Ship Challi coming!	<i>Yanie-balla Challi komin.</i>	p.229
Shortly Challi return here	<i>Minara Challi gogay nulla.</i>	p.230
Shortly return	<i>Minara gogay.</i>	p.230
Not return	<i>Mira gogay.</i>	p.230
Whites two black two, Sandi Tobi here Chinese cook	<i>Wac-balla gudara bulac-balla gudara, Sandi Tobi, nulla kughi chinaman.</i>	p.231
Shortly, Challi come you two Tigone Tondogor two Chinchigo Fremantle go eat much sugar, rice, tea coconuts	<i>Minara, nulla Challi gogay niengo gudara Tigone, Tondogoro, gudara Chinchigo Pulimandur wagay ba-jalgo chulla chugga, turadji, thie, kokona-ji</i>	p.232
Together very many whites	<i>Nyo-gaya chullu wac-balla</i>	p.251
Give me here beat women	<i>Yungoro a-ju nulla pinyari cominini</i>	p.259
Together?	<i>Inagoyo</i>	p.272
Like this (?)`	<i>Neru-wolu</i>	p.272
Ship wrecked	<i>Yanie-balla bagay</i>	p.272
Oh the devil!	<i>Eun-jeri!</i>	p.272
Fat very	<i>Chinchi mamma</i>	p.273
Water not?	<i>Babba birida</i>	p.273
Wood search	<i>Colla woteri</i>	p.273
Soon rain return	<i>Minara yongo gogay</i>	p.273
Where sleep?	<i>Wan-ji bambay</i>	p.273
Where going?	<i>Wan-ji wagay</i>	p.273

You water not (?)	<i>Niengo babba dirido</i>	p.273
You hungry	<i>Niengo gamogo</i>	p.273
You very hungry	<i>Niengo mamma gamogo</i>	p.273
You not eat	<i>Niengo mirra ba-jalgo</i>	p.273
Whites lot eat	<i>Wac-balla chulla ba-jalgo</i>	p.274
Defecate	<i>Chir iriri</i>	p.274
Sun setting	<i>Yanda buday</i>	p.273
Give me	<i>Yungoro a-ju</i>	p.273
Give drink water	<i>Yungoro ba-jalgo babba</i>	p.273
(?)	Tendi wan-ju-jeri	p. 274
(?)	Tendi balan-jeri	p.274
(?)	Tendi duga	p.274
(?)	Paur-paur gutari Puhur cerima Mali jungura	p. 274