The Language of the chosen view: the first phase of graphization of Dieri by Hermannsburg missionaries, Lake Killalpaninna 1867- 80

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Abstract

This thesis examines the documentation of the Dieri language by Lutheran missionaries in the years 1867-1880, at Hermannsburg (later known as Bethesda) mission station, Lake Killalpaninna SA.

It is based on hitherto unexamined primary sources including the first Dieri primer (Homann & Koch: 1870), mission reports published in the mission journals (both in Australia and Germany), and on a large quantity of unpublished materials including the first Dieri Grammar and Wordlist manuscripts, and unpublished correspondence. These materials have been retrieved from archival sources, and in many cases have required transcription from old German handwriting and translation from either German or Dieri or both. Some of the most valuable materials include early samples of Indigenous writing.

In contrast to descriptive work on the Dieri/Diyari language, this thesis focuses the system of description developed by the mission and used to develop literate practice in the mission community. The vast body of documentation we have as legacy of the Lutheran mission includes language documents which are the products of linguistic practice of the missionaries, which in turn are informed by the systems of metaphoric reference embedded in the Lutheran Faith and the training given to missionaries by their particular mission institute. As such the thesis seeks to contextualize the Dieri language and its scripted form.

The thesis also seeks to demonstrate that modern work on the Dieri language, incorporating linguistic advances in collection techniques (phonetic transcription and phonemic analysis), relied heavily on mission data and connections.

A major aim of the thesis is to make accessible to the Dieri descendants now living in communities across South Australia, an important early collection of Dieri language and contact-history materials, so that in turn it may promote awareness of this period of history and also the unique legacy of Lutheran documentation, and inform and enrich future work with the Dieri language.

Statement

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

Heidi-Marie Kneebone
Date: Sept '05

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I would like to thank my family, all of whom have over many years continued to believe and hope and support the fruition of my work, my mother Barbara for practical help and Tony and our sons Max, Henry and Hugo who have lived with this project and its claims on my attention and time, with patience humour and interest!

Finally I dedicate this work to Cynthia Rathjen who nurtured this project and me.

Warning

Old materials used contain language and opinion reflecting the prejudice of the day. I have not modernised such material but translated original sources as faithfully as possible, whilst attempting to place them in the context of broader historical, social, linguistic/ethnographic and Church/mission context so that their unique contribution can be more readily observed and understood.

It was uppermost in my mind that these materials be made more accessible to the Dieri descendants for future work in reclaiming this period of their heritage and the language contained in these documents

Please note: Materials also contain reference to persons deceased which may offend persons of Indigenous cultural background.

Notes

Throughout this work I will use the term Dieri, specifically to allude to the mission representation of the language name in early documents, as compared with Austin's phonemic rendering, *Diyari*.

Likewise use of the mission orthography throughout should facilitate comparisons between modern phonemic renderings and older documentation. The mission orthography is to a large extent consistent with modern practical orthography, being based on European transcription rather than English, and using digraphs particularly *tj* (*χ* in early work) and the velar nasal *ng*. By leaving language materials in the original transcription rather than seeking to standardise to modern phonemic transcription methods, I hope to reveal the consistencies and perhaps significant variations in how utterances were heard, and recorded in the early post-contact phase.

All transcriptions from old styles of German handwriting and translations from German into English are unless otherwise referenced, my own. I am thankful for the generous comment on this work by C. Rathjen and L. Zweck. Given the large amount of translated material involved in this work, these translations represent a practical translation of meaning and whilst seeking to avoid obviously modern usage do not attempt to strictly recapture language styles of the 19th century. For the interested reader I have included the original German passages in the footnotes. I refer the reader to the table of abbreviations for organisations and journals (Appendix A) and language annotation (Appendix B).

To assist in orienting the reader, there follows a list of Lutheran missionaries serving in SA mission fields, and a map of the Lake Eyre region.

Lutheran Missionaries in South Australia

I have largely based the following listing of Lutheran missionaries who worked in South Australia from the middle of the 19th century, on information contained in Hebart (1938) and Brauer (1956). This listing is not a comprehensive listing of personel present at the various missions, but is intended to assist to orient the reader with the Lutheran missionaries serving in SA mission fields, their years of service and their affiliations.

Dresden missionaries

Adelaide (1838-1845)
C.G. Teichelmann and C.W. Schürmann: 1838-40
C.G. Teichelmann and S. Klose 1840-45

Encounter Bay (1840-48)
H.A.E. Meyer: 1840-48
C.W. Schürmann: 1846-48

Port Lincoln (1840-46, 1848-52)
C.W. Schürmann 1840-1846 (work in and around Port Lincoln in the capacity of Government Deputy Protector alongside mission work) After an interval of some two years he returned to Pt. Lincoln in Dec. 1848, establishing the school site at North Shields, *Wallala*, in 1850 which continued until 1852.

Hermannsburg missionaries

Lake Killalpaninna (1867-1873)
J. Gössling: 1867 [later mission work among the Maori 1877-80]
E. Homann: 1867-71
C. Schoknecht: 1872-3

Hermannsburg-Finke/Finke River Mission or FRM (1877- 91)
H. Kempe: 1877-92
W.F. Schwarz: 1877-89 [First seven baptisms in 1887]
F.H. Schulze: 1878-91
G.A. Heidenreich, superintendant of Finke River Mission 1875-94 FW.Albrecht 1926-62

Neuendettelsau missionaries

Lake Killalpaninna (1878-1915)
J. Flierl I: 1878-85
First 12 baptisms among the Dieri in 1879
In 1886 he established *Elim* mission (12 Miles from Cooktown, Queensland. This was shifted in 1887 and given the name *Hope Valley*.

J. Flierl II (cousin of Flierl I): 1883-1891
J.G. Reuther: 1888-1906
C.F.T. Strehlow: 1892-4
O. Siebert: 1893-1902

N. Wettengel: 1896-1901
W. Bogner: 1902-1908 Manager, 1907 appointed temporary missionary. As manager Bogner regularly transported stock down from Hermannsburg/Finke (FRM) to Bethesda. Bogner had also replaced Meyer at Bloomfield, where he served four years.
W. Riedel: 1908-1915. Arrived SA 1905 and worked as assistant to Pastor Leidig, Point Pass.

Hermannsburg-Finke (1894 -)
Under Immanuel Synod and originally with a number of personnel from *Bethesda*, Lake Killalpaninna.

C.F.T. Strehlow: 1894-22
N. Wettengel 1901-1906

Colonists at *Bethesda*, Lake Killalpaninna

H. Vogelsang: 1866-1914
E. Jacob: *colonist* 1866-1907

Locally trained missionaries at *Bethesda*, Lake Killalpaninna

C.A. Meyer: 1875-86

Formerly an elder of the Langmeil Congregation. First served as a teacher at Bucaltaninna where he re-established a school with the assistance of H. Vogelsang. He was ordained a missionary in 1879.
1886 sent to Queensland when Flierl I received the call to New Guinea. In 1887 Neuendettelsau took over the station at *Elim/Hope Valley* and Meyer along with Johannes Pingilina, was transferred to the Mission *Bloomfield* (established by state government and supported by the Immanuel Synod 1886-1900). Missionary Meyer remained here until 1891.

J. Pingilina: 1879-1904

One of the first baptised at Hermannsburg, Lake Killalpaninna, in 1879. Became a *neji* or mentor in the mission community. According to Hebart (1938) he could speak four to six Australian dialects, and in 1886 he was sent to Queensland with C.A. Meyer as the first Dieri 'native evangelist.' He later returned to *Bethesda* and worked alongside Missionary J. G. Reuther until his death in 1904.

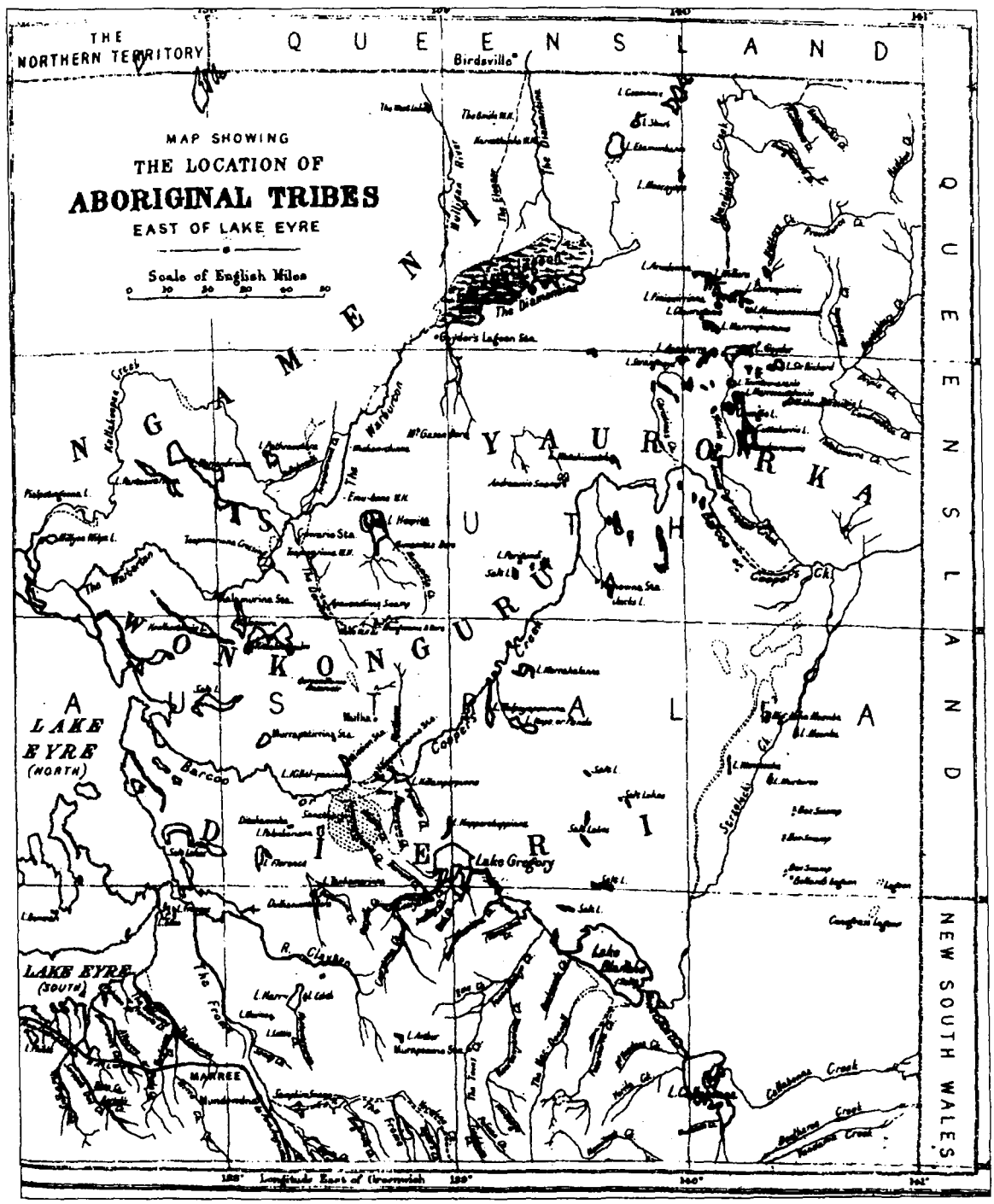

Figure 1: Map of Lake Eyre region. Source: Horne & Aiston (1924) in Sommer (1994, unpublished report)

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Having begun research with my colleague Cynthia Rathjen on the topic of the graphization of Aboriginal languages in South Australia by Lutheran missionaries, I was soon struck by the large amount of German material surrounding the establishment and history of the mission at Lake Killalpaninna, and the way in which the utilisation of this material was fragmented. The Lutheran archives, Adelaide, hold handwritten correspondence, Church journals, published and unpublished mission history, general Church history and family histories. Many of these detailed sources were written in the German language and cover the Church political history of the mission, the family history of missionaries, colonists and their descendants and also first hand accounts of mission work (including philological). More widely available English language sources including materials held at the Mortlock Library and the South Australian Museum, deal predominantly with political (Governmental) history and ethnographic issues. The mission at Lake Killalpaninna was clearly part of the South Australian Lutheran community, and their histories intertwined.

I had been warned that everything to be written on the language of the area 'had already been done'; *Diyari* had been placed in the genealogy of Australian languages (Capell: 1956, Wurm:1972), and a comprehensive descriptive grammar had been published on the language (Austin:1981). Further that the language was deemed extinct since tne passing of Austin's informants. The mission history relative to graphization, however, had only been mentioned in passing and the possibility of this process having significantly influenced the subsequent history of the language had not been considered in any detail. There was thus still scope to examine the backgrounds, motivations and methods of the missionaries who recorded and wrought the script form of the Dieri language, from the Indigenous idioms encountered in the mission area.

A.J. Schütz's work *Voices of Eden* which sought to reevaluate documentation from outside the scientific linguistic tradition of the 20th century as a time capsule of post-contact language situations, provided a useful model, and Amery (2000)

provided compelling arguments in support of the value of historic documents for reclamation and their role in preserving linguistic materials. Amery (2000:21) argued that languages should not be considered extinct where there is a written record, and that written materials contain 'spores' of the language lying dormant and awaiting reinvigoration by the community with a will to assert its cultural identity (Amery 2000:249).

Ferguson (1987:223) highlighted the lack of 'descriptive studies of the introduction of literacy into particular non-literate societies' and the need to reconstruct and interpret the sequence of events as vernacular literacy was introduced, in order to contribute to the formulation of a better theoretical framework for the study of associated cultural change and its implications. Ferguson aimed to review claims made by Ong (1982) and others regarding the cognitive effects of the shift from oral to literate culture. Gale (1997) argued against the inherent concept of development and progression in such division of oral and literate culture, supporting instead the concept of complementarity and multilingualism for sustainment of vernacular literacy.

This thesis seeks to provide more detailed information on the linguistic achievement of the Hermannsburg missionaries and their successors, and to highlight the quality of early mission Dieri documents and their value for reclamation today. The following discussion is designed primarily to refocus attention on the philological work of the early mission and its effect on the idiom. In particular I have explored the work of missionaries and lay-helpers Homann, Koch, Vogelsang and Jacob, Schoknecht, Meyer and Flierl and their Indigenous informants including Johannes Pingilina and other Dieri Christians.

The initial phase of language learning and recording should be regarded as both a work in progress, and necessarily incomplete and imperfect, but also as a powerful ongoing influence given the conservative nature of script forms and the authoritative status of Christian material translated into the idiom. The mission practice of transcribing and handing down philological work, reinforced this influence. For this reason and also due to the wealth of material it became clear

that an attempt to restrict the time frame would be necessary. The choice of the earliest period of mission work was an obvious one.

Sommer (Report 1994:1) in reviewing literature on the traditional land tenure of the Lake Eyre South area, assessed the 'accessible literature' dealing with Dieri, Arabana and Kuyani attachments to the land, but specifically excluded sources such as personal correspondence and unpublished notes and papers, as not having been subjected to academic scrutiny and therefore not qualifying as *literature* and 'not secure in its claims.' He also defined the term *accessible* as materials that any researcher would have easy access through academic libraries and bibliographies and commented:

> This is not to claim that some highly relevant but rare author-published volume in an unusual language does not exist in the stacks of some obscure Lutheran theological hall, for example. [...] it [the search] is as exhaustive as time will allow.

Sommer's discussion confirms the significant reliance of the academic debate on the Dieri on sources *published* and *in English* and *largely dating from the turn of the twentieth century.* A major aim of this thesis has been to explore materials from outside such accepted sources, which have been neglected for a number of reasons political, cultural, linguistic and practical. The cost of retrieval, transcription and translation of German language materials in both financial and time terms has clearly been an obstacle to access for both academics and more importantly for Dieri descendants. This work seeks to address this problem for early primary and contextual materials from the mission 1868-80, and to create a solid foundation for future research.

From the establishment years of the mission we have published materials including the 1870 primer, published samples of Indigenous writing and the manuscript grammar and dictionary from the papers of Missionary Schoknecht (included in Appendix C in its translated form). From the subsequent period, the Meyer and Flierl years, which I term the consolidation years of the mission station, I have drawn on an extensive body of Dieri materials including the 1880 primer along with an unpublished grammar bearing the name of Johannes Flierl,

published samples of Indigenous writing and unpublished correspondence including, a lengthy letter undersigned by members of the mission community and transcribed and translated into German by Missionary Meyer and the unpublished diary of Missionary Meyer. Finally, through great good fortune and the kindness of the Vogelsang family, I have been able to include one of the letters written in 1910 by Katharina Antjalina to Dorothea Vogelsang. There are doubtless other samples of Indigenous writing in existence, which reach into the 20th century and bear testimony to the achievement of the mission in teaching in the Indigenous language Dieri and introducing vernacular literacy.

Hanzeli (1969) called for a revisiting and re-evaluation of philological work produced before the advent of modern linguistic science, with focus on the philological methods of the missionaries, rather than their linguistic theory. [1] This approach, known as Mission Philology, reveals common ground and also characteristic differences in the linguistic methods and practices of the early missionaries. It also looks at the consequences of recording, standardisation and use of Indigenous idioms as vehicles for Christian teaching. Such an approach has to date been rare in research into Australian languages, despite the rich 19th century contact history, particularly of Lutheran missionaries with Indigenous peoples in SA/NT and Queensland, but also of the Moravian Brethren in Victoria. The Lutheran Church's involvement with Indigenous communities is particularly relevant to linguistic research, given Lutheran commitment to learning and teaching Indigenous languages.

One of the major unintentional effects of the development of a Mission idiom in the context of previously unwritten languages was the promotion of a shift in custodianship of the language, from tribal elders and traditional oral transmission to the mission as educator and authority on the standard written form of the language.

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[1] V. Hanzeli (1969:14) *Missionary Linguistics in New France:* A study of Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Descriptions of American Indian Languages. '... an attempt to discover in linguistic works of the past something more or something different from what they have been believed to contain, is not so much an attempt to rehabilitate authors but rather to rehabilitate linguistic science in its historical continuum.'

Mission materials contain traces of the way in which the missionaries both unconsciously changed the idiom in translation of the Gospel. They 'reveal their authors in their characteristic attitudes, prejudices, procedures, techniques, successes and failures.'[2] These then, to speak with Keller (1982), are the maxims which guide the mission-philologist in the encounter with the 'original Dieri language,' and its progressive transformation for and by use of the mission community.

My investigation covers the general historical context, missionary training, especially with regard to languages, and finally linguistic practices, the collection and recording of data and also translation. The following discussion attempts to shed light on the underlying principles and attitudes of the Hermannsburg Mission Insitute and other contemporary Protestant mission bodies. The mission discourse structured the encounter with the foreign reality, and especially expressed itself in the evaluation of the 'exotic' [Indigenous] culture and language. I have sought to explore the theological underpinnings of mission language policies and practices, and also the secular knowledge base for mission work. I have also investigated relevant mission organizations for South Australian mission work, personnel and affiliations.

In a similar fashion, reconstruction of the foreign language was pre-structured and constrained by the phonology and grammar of both German and Latin. The focus of this work has thus not been the adequacy of their description of the Dieri/Diyari language as such, but rather its use to develop literate practice in the mission community.

Another effect of mission linguistic intervention (including graphization) is the separation of Indigenous idioms from the linguistic ecology of the region. This separation has perhaps cemented views of Indigenous languages as entities within tribal boundaries, rather than contiguous entities. Mühlhäusler (1989) considers

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[2] Hanzeli (1969:15). '...early documents on 'exotic' languages are the ideal site for the historian of linguistic science who wishes to recapture linguistic practices at a given period. These documents reveal their authors in their characteristic attitudes, prejudices, procedures, techniques, successes and failures.'

that the view of Indigenous idioms as discrete objects has become a traditional aspect of linguistic research and constitutes a major obstacle in the study of language diversity and loss.

> ...the main obstacle to obtaining explanatorily more powerful models of language change in the Pacific has been that European and European-trained linguists have approached the problem through unsuitable metaphors. The reification metaphor provides places in time for them. Common to all of these visions is that languages are seen to be more or less self contained and amenable to study in isolation from other languages and other factors.[3]

Sebba (1992:3) highlighted that such concepts of separate languages have been associated with nationhood and European ideas of civilization. They also derive from the creation of print languages which created large geographical regions with a common written standard. Prior to this period in Europe, language boundaries were perceived in a way more akin to non-scripted Indigenous languages and various forms were not so associated with differentials in status.

Mühlhäusler (1996) has suggested the use of metaphors which frame languages and their usage in terms of ecology; notable amongst these are the interdependence of 'languages' in maintenance of fully functional status as a 'forest of mushrooms and fungi, interrelated and mutually dependent.'[4] Foreign structuring devices and lexical items are portrayed as introduced species which become 'feral' and destabilise and ultimately take over from Indigenous idioms. According to Mühlhäusler, graphisation and introduction of literacy by missionaries, similarly had the effect of a 'stepping stone' to more powerful language literacy and thus eventually aided in Indigenous language loss rather than maintenance of language communities:

> Like other agencies, the missions were in the business of dismantling the traditional ways of life in the Pacific area and replacing them with a makeshift shelter in which some traditional languages could linger on for a while but most faced a very uncertain tenancy in the long run.[5]

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[3] Mühlhäusler (1989:139) *'On the causes of accelerated linguistic change...'*

[4] Mühlhäusler (1989:166)

[5] Mühlhäusler *Linguistic Ecology* (1996:171)

Missionary research into Indigenous idioms was largely guided by pragmatic imperatives; representations of the idiom especially in early phases involved a reduction in order to transform the idiom into a suitable means of conveying the Christian message. Lexical reduction occurred along the lines of appropriacy of semantic fields and also via the choice to create new abstract terminology for the Christian message rather than directly using existing sacred terms. Structural reduction occurred due to standardisation of the idiom and often involved the imposition of Classical models of Grammar, especially Latin. Restrictions in both areas were inevitably due to constraints of perception of totally foreign cultural and linguistic systems. This was particularly the case before a generation of truly bilingual individuals had grown up on the mission. 'Mission languages' are characterised by structural standardisation and changes in lexical distribution in favour of a proliferation of religious terms at the expense, in many cases, of terms integrated with the environment. The functional range of such languages is engineered and restricted according to the aims of the mission, and the idiom becomes, even with the addition of new semantic areas, a substitute for both an Indigenous idiom and Standard Average European.[6]

Although according to Amery (2000), all languages and particularly written language is artefact, there remains the question of interpretation of that artefact. We must therefore seek to understand and acknowledge the socio-historical forces which shaped Dieri as we know it today, and the role of the literate form in preserving it, if we are not to run the risk of misinterpreting the 'remains.' Like the monkey in the anecdote below, literacy would not have been found in the Cooper Creek region at that time without this particular contact history.

The monkey had found its way to the Lake Killalpaninna mission field perhaps as the result of a pun on the part of Reuther who, on the end of a long list of orders to

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[6] Mühlhäusler (1996: 152) 'Linguistic practices before and after missionization may be quite different. The labels 'Kate', 'Tolai' or 'Yagaria' currently stand for a language that no longer embodies the totality of the traditional culture. The large-scale destruction of 'undesirable' cultural artefacts is accompanied by the removal of the linguistic means of discussing them and it is the very removal of pre- and non-Christian practices and artefacts that deprives the vernaculars of their traditional anchoring.'

Rechner, Chair of the Mission Committee, had added *Kannst mir mal einen Affen schicken* [you could send me a monkey too] and taking the joke one step farther Rechner had done just that. The monkey after some time in residence in the Reuther household, unfortunately escaped, was killed by the mission dogs and was buried by the schoolchildren in the dry Lake bed. Scherer's postscript to the story in 1966 reads:

> Should some unsuspecting and sensation-seeking scientist, unfamiliar with this strange-yet-true story, in years to come discover the fossilized skeleton of the little Mission monkey in the washed-up sands of Lake Killalpaninna or Cooper's Creek, he is going to be confronted with a unique archaeological find on which to base some new mythical theory on the zoology of prehistoric Central Australia.[7]

The Dieri documents from the years 1867-80 should be seen not as fossils of the language as it was at this time, but as man-made artefacts or representations, and this thesis attempts to identify and investigate the constraints within which the wordlists, grammar and text translations were compiled. The fully functional idiomatic Dieri pre-contact remains a matter for speculation, but in the early mission documents we have an invaluable language record which also provides information on the ways in which the language was changed and re-functioned as a written mission language.

I would therefore argue that we must acknowledge mission linguistic records as the product of a particular contact history, and as such contextual information is vital for their evaluation. Simultaneously I would argue against devaluation or preclusion of mission documents from reclamation work on such a basis - they represent a precious, vast and unique record of the Dieri language. Indeed I argue that the comprehensive appraisal and acknowledgment of mission language usage may reframe the evaluation of language knowledge held by Dieri people today.

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[7] Scherer PA V/349 'Looking Back on a Hundred Years of Bethesda Mission *LH*

1.1 Establishment of the mission on Lake Killalpaninna (1867)

In 1866 the two South Australian synods, estranged along with their founders (Kavel and Fritzsche) since 1846, united against the old enemy.[8] The provincial Mission institute Hermannsburg was to provide the men for the offensive. Founded in 1850 by Louis Harms, this small institute achieved, with the founding of the Australian mission at Lake Killalpaninna, representation on five continents.[9] The trainees came from modest backgrounds and their preparation and education primarily involved a thorough grounding in the Gospel and hard physical work. Everything else was to be placed in God's hands.

The work was able to draw on the experience of the Dresden Missionaries Schürmann und Teichelmann, who had done pioneering work with the Kaurna people of the Adelaide Plains 1838-45, and had published the first work in South Australia on an Indigenous Australian language.[10] Schürmann, now 48 years old, was approached by the Mission Committee in 1863 to take up mission work once again, this time in the newly opened area around Lake Hope,[11] but declined on the basis of his age, commenting that mission work called for younger stronger men.[12] Such presented themselves for service in the persons of the newly ordained missionaries Johann Gössling and Ernst Homann, who were sent off to the Antipodes with the sentiment 'Never to be seen again'[13] on 11th April in Hermannsburg together with the colonist Hermann Vogelsang. The voyage to

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[8] These were the Langmeil-Lights Pass Synodal union (originally followers of Kavel who died in 1860) and the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of SA (based on Fritzsche's Bethany-Lobethal Synodal union, Fritzsche died 1863). On Synodal History see Hebart (1938).

[9] See D. Haccius (1907: Vol II, 460) *Hannoversche Missionsgeschichte* and *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* 7/1868:130 (henceforth HMB). Theodor Harms: 'So giebt es nun auf der Welt vier Hermannsburg, das erste in Europa, das zweite in Afrika, das dritte in Australien und das vierte in Amerika. Es fehlt nun noch ein Hermannsburg in Asien; vielleicht kommt das auch bald.'

[10] See A. Brauer (1956:143-157) *Under the Southern Cross*

[11] Letter from P.J. Oster (Chair of Provisional Mission Committee) to Pastor Schürmann Hoffnungsthal 16/3/1863, Meeting Blumberg 8/3/1863 transcript in *Manuskript der Missionsacta* Mission Committee Minutes translated by Hebart (henceforth *Missionsacta*). Held in LA

[12] Letter from Pastor Schürmann to Oster, Hochkirch, 12/4/1863. *Missionsacta:* Meeting of the provisional Mission Committee, Hoffnungsthal 23/3/1863

[13] HMB 4/1866:65

Australia took four months (May - August) and after a short stay amongst the German Lutheran community they were once again ceremonially farewelled on the 9th of October together with E. Jacob on a journey that would last until 31st January 1867 and would be marked by considerable hardship and adventure.[14] After the failed first attempt to establish the mission, and the withdrawal on 9th May before the threatened attack by several of the 'Northern tribes,' Missionary Gössling resigned from mission work. However the fight was not abandoned, but taken up once again with the mission party travelling north through December and January 1867/8 and arriving at the Moravian station Kopperamana escorted by Brother Walder from Mundowdna, on February 5th. This larger mission party now included Homann's new wife and 2 step-children, Wilhelm and Bernhardt Wendlandt, and their nursemaid Lene Düvel, Hermann Vogelsang's first wife Dorothea (nee Hiestermann), a labourer Hämmerling, the Aboriginal man Mackey and importantly for the philological work, the young, freshly converted teacher Wilhelm Koch.

Koch brought to the mission a classical education and considerable natural talent for languages. The end of February saw the first buildings being erected including a large kitchen with a thatched roof which was cut into the side of a sandhill. This building was used for Church services. Amidst the tents and wagons on the top of the hill there was also a large *blackfellow-Hütte* which served as Homann's study, and nearby a vegetable garden which was being established by the women.[15]

It was from the start an improbable enterprise, to establish a mission station upon a sandhill with little but their own labour and the most primitive of materials, as it was to attempt to approach the Dieri people by means of a language, which the missionaries first had to graphize and record in wordlists and grammar statements. This work stood of course in the service of language learning and was

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[14] See Proeve & Proeve (1952): *A Work of Love and Sacrifice*

[15] *Kirchen- und Missionsblatt für die lutherische Kirche Australiens*, henceforth KMB 5/1868 Homann, Killalpaninna 20/2/1868

also intended to facilitate the learning of Dieri for subsequent mission personnel. In January 1869 Koch may indeed write:

> It is somewhat difficult to work out such a grammar, when one does not yet even have the least, which one could use [ie. build upon].[16]

Unfortunately Koch died at the age of just 21 on 19th April 1869 and with his death, progress in the philological work largely stalled until the arrival of the teacher C.A. Meyer in 1875 and subsequently Missionary Johannes Flierl (I) in 1878.

Some two years after Koch's death in 1871, Homann too left the mission field. His successor, the Hermannsburg missionary Carl Schoknecht made several attempts to revive mission work, involving attempts to shift the mission to Cooraninna, Tankimarina and finally Bucaltaninna (see Appendix D). The failure of these attempts marked the end of the first phase of the mission amongst the Dieri. It is however to Carl Schoknecht that we owe the preserved manuscript which comprises a short grammar and the first Dieri dictionary, in which we surmise a transcription of the work of Homann and Koch.

1.2 The early documents: 'The weapons carriers'

"...if only we had mastery of the weapons-carrier, the language..." [17]

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[16] HMB 3/1869:47 'Es ist einigermassen schwierig, eine solche Grammatik auszuarbeiten, wenn man noch nicht das Geringste hat, was man benützen könnte.'

[17] Letter from Missionary Gössling to the Mission Committee 9/3/1867 in KMB 4/1867:49 'wenn wir nur erst den Waffenträger der Sprache in unserer Gewalt hätten' and ibid. 'Der Marsch nach dem Kampfplatz ist nun vollendet. Und wie das eigentliche Kriegsleben erst mit dem Ausbruche des Krieges seinen Anfang nimmt, so geht auch für uns der eigentliche Krieg erst an [...] Und das möchten wir auch gerne, recht kämpfen und keine Luftstreiche thun;[...] Nun kennen wir ja unsere Waffen und wissen auch, wie sie geführt werden müssen, wenn wir nur erst den Waffenträger der Sprache in unserer Gewalt hätten.' 'The march to the battlefield is now completed. And just as the actual [experience of] war only commences with the outbreak of war, so for us now the actual war is just beginning. [...] And that is our desire too, to fight worthily and not fail in our mark;[...] Now we indeed are familiar with our weapons and know too, how to use them, if only we had mastery of the weapons-carrier, the language...'

The divine call to arm oneself with the weapons of Christian truths and take up the fight against Satan and his reign amongst the heathen, was of course not invented by the Hermannsburg missionaries in the latter part of the 19th century. This rhetoric draws on the Bible passages Ephesians 6, 11-17[18] and the imagery of a war, which is waged with concepts and words against the devious advances of Satan is already to be found in Jesuit tracts describing mission work in the 17th century.[19] In the colonial age, and in the related mission attempts amongst the Indigenous populations of newly-discovered and colonised lands, such metaphors become an indispensable part of mission rhetoric and both legitimised and structured language policies and practices.[20]

The first task of missionaries in the war against satanic *Verblendung* [benightedness] on the mission field at Lake Killalpaninna was complicated by the fact that there was no pre-existing written form, which one could standardise and place at the service of evangelization. Accordingly the sounds of the language first had to be reduced to signs, by way of transcribing the collected words using the Roman alphabet as realised in German. The learning of the idiomatic language progressed via the collection of *abgelauschter Wörter* [heard words] which were then recorded in wordlists. Subsequently the grammatical rules were laid down in a short document and then a primer was printed for use in the school.

It must be emphasised that in the early phases of graphization of the Dieri language, two types of documents were produced by the missionaries; learning aids which were primarily intended for the missionaries themselves and their successors, and were to facilitate use of the Indigenous idiom in sermons and in

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[18] M. Luther *Die Heilige Schrift* Eph.6,11: 'Ziehet an den Harnisch Gottes, dass ihr bestehen könnet gegen die listigen Anläufe des Teufels' 'Put on the armour of God, that you may stand firm against the devious ways of the devil' and 14: 'umgürtet eure Lenden mit Wahrheit', 'gird your loins with truth'. See too 6,16: 'ergreifet den Schild des Glaubens' 'take up the shield of faith.' See also 6,17: 'nehmet den Helm des Heils, und das Schwerdt des Geistes, welches ist das Wort Gottes', 'take the helmet of redemption, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God.'

[19] Compare Hanzeli (1969:45)

[20] On the context of the Pacific region see discussion by P. Mühlhäusler (1996:139-72) *Linguistic Ecology* Chapter VI: 'Mission Languages and Language Policies'

the school (Schoknecht's dictionary and grammar: both in manuscript form, and now also published in translation[21]) and materials for use in the school (the primer, which included the letters of the alphabet, exercises in sound-formation, short wordlists and texts, several hymns along with translation of the first three articles of the catechism, the Ten Commandments, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer).

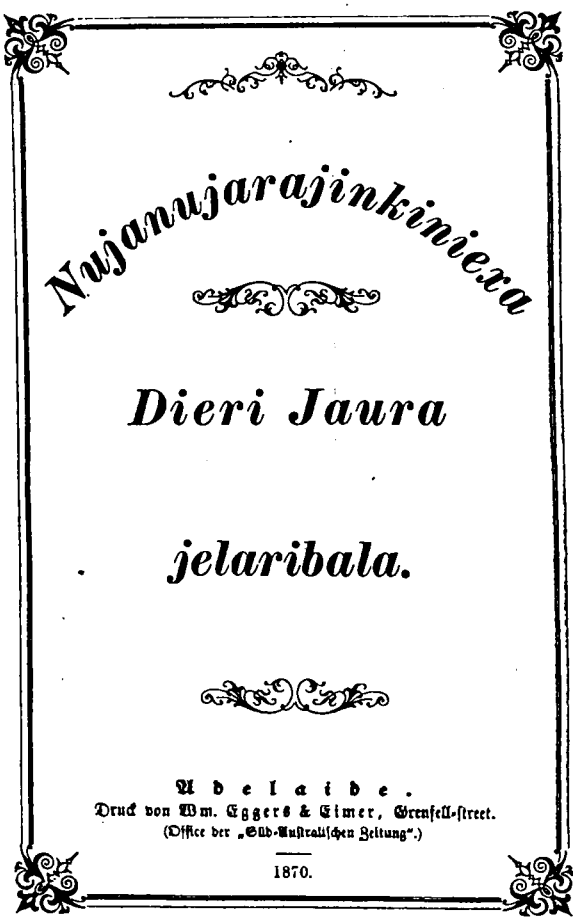

Figure 2: Title Page of first Dieri primer (Homann and Koch, 1870)

The small collection of documents, written between 1867 and 1873, and listed below, is of considerable importance, because it gives a record of the Dieri language in a very early phase of European contact. It must be viewed as an indispensable part of any diachronically oriented study into the development of Mission Dieri,[22] and also any investigation of the issues related to the changes

[21] A. Schoknecht and C. Schoknecht (1997:155-218) *Missionary Schoknecht* Killalpaninna *Mission 1871-73: Selected Correspondence* Appendices A & B

[22] A further dimension of such documents emerges in the case of the Kaurna language.

wrought on the idiomatic pre-contact form by the promulgation of a form reduced to writing and standardised to European concepts of grammar.

> The primer:
> *Nujanujarajinkiniexa* [literally: Knowledge-giver]:
> *Dieri Jaura jelaribala* [lit: Dieri Language in order to read] 1870
>
> Grundzüge der Grammatik [Basics of a Grammar]: lost handwritten manuscript by Wilhelm Koch[23]
>
> Undated Grammar (33 handwritten pages) from the papers left by Carl Schoknecht
>
> Dictionary: Deutsch-Dieri und Dieri-Deutsch:
> Manuscript bearing the signature of Carl Schoknecht, and dated Cooranina, Januar 1873

Furthermore I believe that all three texts originate in the work of Homann and Koch, and that they should accordingly be analysed in connection with one another.[24] The grammar and the dictionary which to date has been ascribed to Carl Schoknecht, should thus be considered as transcriptions, and, due to the almost complete agreement of the vocabularies, may be used as key-texts for the primer, which was published with neither German nor English commentary.

1.3 The status of early mission documents in modern research

In *A Grammar of Diyari* (Austin, 1981) the mission documents produced before 1879 were not mentioned[25] and in a later article dealing with the development of

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Kaurna is the language of the Adelaide Plains, which was described by the Dresden missionaries Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann and Christian Gottlob Teichelmann (1840). Their records have become a treasure trove for reclamation attempts, whereby the recorded words and structures are analysed, related usages are sought in other Indigenous languages, and the materials are then used both to reintroduce the language and in the creation new terms by analogy for the modern context. See Amery (1993:37-47)

[23] See HMB 3/1869:47. Koch to Theodor Harms: 'Indem ich voraussetze, dass Sie Interesse an der Sprache haben, will ich mir das Vergnügen machen, Ihnen mit nächster Post die Grundzüge der Grammatik einzusenden' also confirmed in a letter from Homann to Harms, 26/10/1868: Hermannsburg Archive, henceforth HA.

[24] Homann Letter dated 9/10/1871, probably to Rechner: 'Gegenwärtig arbeite ich wieder an der Dieri Sprache um Br. Schoknecht verbesserte Auflagen zu verschaffen.' Held in LA.

[25] P. Austin (1981:12) *A Grammar of Diyari*

Indigenous literacy 'Diyari Language Postcards' (1986) they were only briefly alluded to. Homann was not acknowledged as an author of philological work, and Koch's name appeared only in a footnote. In fact the year 1868, which was central for the future development of a mission idiom, did not feature in either work.[26] The missionaries' philological work[27] was acknowledged largely only post 1879, with the work of Johannes Flierl (I), who is seen by Austin as the father of Mission orthography.[28] From Flierl I himself, however, we read the following words, which accord the Hermannsburg missionaries a central place in the learning and recording of the Dieri language:

> The essentials of the language had already been investigated by the Hermannsburg missionaries long before my arrival. There were collections of words and the forms had been written down, and in that I thoroughly studied these records and at the same time daily associated with the Blacks and soon attempted to converse with them, the acquisition of the language could not present me great difficulty.[29]

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[26] Austin (1981:12) 'The Lutherans returned in 1869 when a police station was established at Kopperamanna and began learning the Diyari language and preaching Christianity.' See too Austin (1986a:176): 'The Lutherans returned in 1869 [...] and began to minister to the Diyari and other Aboriginal groups who assembled on the mission station they set up. The missionaries immediately began to study the Diyari language and to develop an orthography for it. A school was set up and in 1870 an elementary primer for use in teaching was printed.'

[27] Austin (1981:12): 'A number of published and unpublished works in and on the language resulted from their efforts, including grammars by Flierl (1879) and Reuther (1899) - [...] dictionaries (Reuther, 1901), primers, schoolbooks, a translation of the New Testament (Reuther and Strehlow,1897) and a manuscript translation of the Old Testament (Riedel, 1914). These materials are orthographically poor but show a solid understanding of Diyari morphology and syntax on the part of their authors.'

[28] Austin (1986a:176): 'In 1878 Pastor John Flierl joined the mission and built up its operations. Flierl was an excellent linguist and soon reformed the spelling system [...]. He translated the catechism and the Epistles and Gospels into Diyari and refined Schoknecht's grammatical statement [...]. The orthography developed by Flierl remained the standard for all mission writings (published and unpublished) until the mission closed in 1915.'

[29] J. Flierl (1899:31) *Führungen Gottes*. 'Die Sprache war schon lange vor meiner Ankunft durch die Hermannsburger Missionare im Wesentlichen erforscht. Es waren Wörtersammlungen da und die Formen aufgeschrieben, und indem ich diese Aufzeichnungen eingehend studierte und zugleich täglich mit den Schwarzen umging und mit ihnen bald zu reden suchte, konnte mir die Sprachaneignung nicht schwer werden.'

Indeed, the widely cited Flierl grammar is largely a transcription of Schoknecht's grammar,[30] which according to all evidence to date is in turn a transcript of Koch's *Grundzüge einer Grammatik.*

It must be noted that Ernst Homann and Wilhelm Koch stood at the beginning of linguistic work among the Dieri, which was continued and refined by several generations of Lutheran missionaries, *Kolonisten* [lay-helpers] and their families, work which spanned over fifty years.

1.4 Invisible contributions

Although not preserved in formal documentation, such as wordlists and grammars, it is certain that other members of the mission community contributed to knowledge of the Dieri language within the mission community, especially the European children growing up on the mission, who were probably the first to gain fluency due to their companionship with Dieri children.

Luise Homann stated that the two younger sons from her first marriage, Wilhelm and Bernhard Wendlandt, who had accompanied her to the mission in 1867, were 'the first to start to master the difficult language.'[31] Both boys were tutored by Wilhelm Koch, until his death in April 1869. Wilhelm was then sent south to join his elder brothers, Johannes and Fritz at the home of the teacher Andresen in Tanunda, Luise remarking 'It was high time [for this] as keeping company with black children was starting to exert a detrimental influence on him.'[32] One of the earliest pieces of correspondence in Dieri, was written by an Indigenous pupil, Pingibana, to his friend Wilhelm, in Tanunda, and published in the mission journal (See Figure 3 below)

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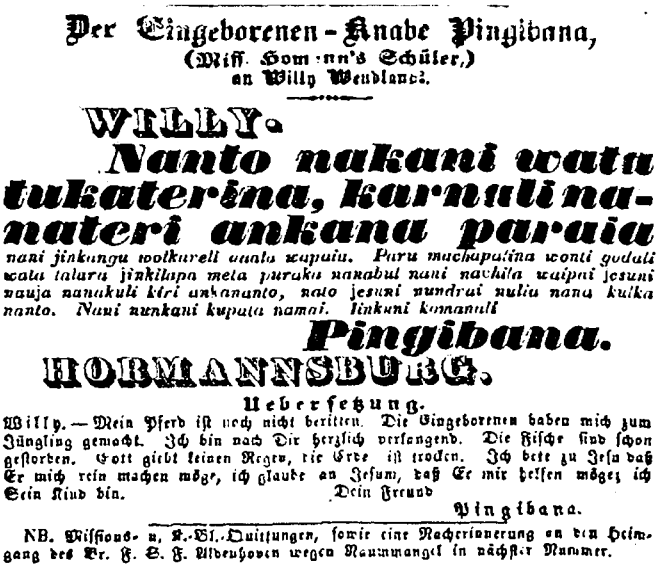
[30] Based on transcriptien and comparison of the two manuscript grammars, rather than Schoknecht in translation. The organisation and in large passages wording too are identical.

[31] L. Wendlandt-Homann (1987:75) *Zugvögel kennen ihre Zeit.* Original manuscript diary, written in form of memoirs approx.1897, held in LA.

[32] Wendlandt-Homann (1987:78)



Der Eingeborenen-Knabe Pingibana,
(Miss. Homann's Schüler,)
an Willy Wendlandt.

WILLY.

Nanto nakani wata tukaterina, karnali nanateri ankana paraia

nani jinkangu wolkureli aaala wapaia. Paru machapalina wonti godali wata talara jinkilapa meta puraka nanabul nani nachila waipai jesuni nauja nanakuli kiri ankananto, nato jesuni nundrai nulia nana kulka nanto. Nani nunkani kupata namai. Iinkuni komanuli

Pingibana.

HORMANNSBURG.

Uebersetzung.

Willy. — Mein Pferd ist noch nicht beritten. Die Eingeborenen haben mich zum Jüngling gemacht. Ich bin nach Dir herzlich verlangend. Die Fische sind schon gestorben. Gott giebt keinen Regen, die Erde ist trocken. Ich bete zu Jesu daß Er mich rein machen möge, ich glaube an Jesum, daß Er mir helfen möge; ich Sein Kind bin. Dein Freund

Pingibana.

NB. Missions- u. K.-Bl.-Quittungen, sowie eine Nacherinnerung an den Heimgang des Br. F. S. F. Aldenhoven wegen Raummangel in nächster Nummer.

Figure 3: Letter from Pingibana to Willy Wendlandt (Source: KMB 21 & 22/1869:175)

Later her eldest son, Johannes who was interested in mission work, was also to spend some three months at Lake Killalpaninna before leaving to continue his studies in Germany, departing the mission in the second half of October 1871. Johannes was accompanied South by Luise and the infant August, one of her young daughters, Elisabeth, along with Bernhard as 'the languages expert.'[33] Missionary Homann was soon to follow, and the family did not return to the mission field.[34]

Luise Homann herself brought an interesting philological background to the mission attempt of the 1860's at Lake Killalpaninna due to her experiences with mission work in Southern India amongst the Tamil and in Africa (Natal) with her first husband, Wilhelm Wendlandt.[35]

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[33] Wendlandt-Homann (1887:83)

[34] Missionary Homann did himself return briefly under instruction of the Mission Committee, but returned south almost immediately (15/2/1872) with his sick daughter Louise and her carer Lene Düvel. Detail from *Missionsacta*: MC Meetings Dec.1871 - Feb. 1872

[35] *Wochenbeilage zum Hannoverschen Kurier* Nr 538: 39, 16/11/1932. 'Luise Wendlandt-Homann: eine Mutter der Deutschen im Ausland' (obituary): 'Frau Luise verfasste hier in Gemeinschaft mit ihrem zweiten Mann eine Grammatik und ein Vokabularium der Sprache der Papuas' A derivative Article appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung der Lüneburger Heide* and refers to her knowledge of Sanskrit as a foundation for the recognition of Indo-Germanic traces in the Dieri language. Both articles held in LA. Luise however does not refer to her linguistic contribution in her diary.

Likewise we have little documentation relevant to the learning of Dieri by the *colonists* and their wives, although due to their association with the mission, which outlasted that of any missionary, their fluency in the language must be assumed. We must remind ourselves that the mission documentation of Dieri is selective data; the production of language documentation and mission materials were largely the preserve of the missionaries.

E. Jacob (d.1907) and H. Vogelsang (d.1913), who served the Mission until their deaths, do not appear to have produced documents of the language with which they were intimately acquainted; it was not their place according to the hierarchy and work-division of the mission. They, however, doubtlessly played an important role in introducing the missionaries to the Dieri people, their customs and language. Proeve (1946) paid tribute to the great commitment of these two families to the Dieri people and their contribution spanning the life of mission work at Lake Killalpaninna. (See Appendix E on Jacob and Vogelsang families)

Ernst Jacob, his wife Maria *Elisabeth* and their sons, especially Johannes [Jack] Irrgang, enjoyed a long and close association with the mission, which is the subject of part IV of P.A. Scherer's comprehensive article on the Mission among the 'Dijari' (1966).[36] Johannes (1875-1972) had accompanied his mother to the mission in 1878, spending his early childhood on the outstations of the mission with his parents, before being sent to board at the Mission school, his first teacher being Missionary Johannes Flierl. After an interval of some three years at school in Langmeil he returned to the mission in 1888, to rejoin his parents who had settled at Etadunna. He worked on the mission from the age of 15 for some 24 years until its closure, from 1909 being the general manager of the mission run.

The history of the Vogelsang family has also been intertwined with that of the mission. Hermann H. Vogelsang assisted the lay missionary Meyer in the school in the interval before the arrival of Flierl I in 1875, and also dispensed homeopathic remedies to both European and Indigenous members of the mission

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[36] P.A. Scherer (1966:333-335) 'Looking Back on a Hundred Years of Bethesda Mission' Pt IV: *LH*

community. Together with Ernst Jacob he was responsible for leading prayers and services with small groups on the outstations during Flierl's time.[37] Hermann Vogelsang also later assisted Howitt's research as a correspondent particularly on sign language of the Dieri.[38] His second wife Anna Maria (nee Auricht)[39] remained on the station almost continually from their marriage in 1877 until its closure, even returning there after Hermann's death, in March 1913.[40]

Several of Hermann's daughters also were fluent in Dieri having grown up on the mission around the turn of the century and in the case of Marie (later Mary Tschirn) having also assisted her brother Hermann (Jnr) in the mission school in its final years.[41] There are also preserved letters indicative of an ongoing correspondence between Katharina Edwards and Marie[42] and Emma[43] and also letters from Katharina Antjalina to Dora (Dorothea Paschke).[44] This correspondence is further dealt with in Chapter 10. His youngest daughter Helene (Helen Jericho) too continued contact with members of the old mission community and was to spend the last years of her life travelling, researching and writing on her family experience of the mission.[45]

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[37] J. Flierl (1899:34) 'Auf Aussenplätzen hielten die Kolonistenbrüder die Andachten und Gottesdienste mit Häuflein, die jezuweilen dort waren'

[38] See A.W. Howitt (1904:723-735) 'Gesture Language' in *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*

[39] Anna Maria Vogelsang was the sister of Ernst Jacob's wife Maria Elisabeth (formerly Irrgang) who had married for the second time in 1878, to Ernst Jacob.

[40] Hebart (1938:364) refers to orgoing correspondence between the remaining Dieri Christians and 'Mutter Vogelsang' after the closure of the mission.

[41] A small number of handwritten Dieri hymns possibly dating from this time are held by the Vogelsang descendants

[42] Letter from Katharina Edwards, 25/8/1963

[43] Three letters from Katharina Edwards, 30/6/1963; 19/8/1963 and 28/6/1964

[44] Two letters from Katharina Antjalina, 26/1/1910 and 20/9/1910

[45] Some of these visits are documented in Helen Jericho's diaries. One of Helene's visits back to the 'old mission' was in 1965 at the age of 69. On this occasion she visited Frieda Merrick. She also visited Katharina and Alec Edwards in 1970 at Davenport Reserve, Port Augusta, and in 1975 was publishing her book *Down Memory Lane*. In August 1976 Helene was again in the North and met up with Florrie (an Aboriginal woman who had grown up on the mission) and also Ben Murray then continued on to Marree to visit other 'old native friends', and the mission ruins. In Birdsville she was able to catch up with Maudie (now over 100yrs old) and her daughter Esther. A

Hermann Vogelsang's sons were part of the mission community in its final years; Theodor was storekeeper, post master and Aboriginal supervisor at the Mission over some 23 years, and is said to have been the last to leave the mission, some years after its closure. His older brother Hermann (Jnr) was school teacher on the mission from1907 until 1917, when the Government ordered the closure of all Lutheran schools in South Australia.

> ...the 'native' people soon began to disperse [after the Mission was sold to Bogner and Jaensch in 1915]. Several of the Mission's staff, however, remained in the employment of the new owners, out of loyalty to the cause; Jack Rohrlach [H.H.Vogelsang's son-in-law] at Kopperamanna, for example, until 1916, Hermann Vogelsang in charge of the school and most of the spiritual work at Killalpaninna until 1917, and Ted Vogelsang until 1921.[46]

Theodor and especially Hermann were also involved in attempts to re-establish contact with and spritual care for the remaining Christian Dieri in the 1930's. Hermann Vogelsang's last visit being in 1938 to Finniss Springs and then up the Birdsville Track to various sites including Dulkaninna, Manawalkaninna, Bucaltaninna and Kopperamana; he died in April 1940, shortly after taking up a teaching position with the Hermannsburg-Finke Mission. Theodor was later employed by the SA Museum to work on Dieri manuscripts and during this time it appears that the Vogelsang family contacts facilitated research by Tindale and Fry.

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tape recording from this visit of the meeting with Ben Murray is held by the Vogelsang family, and interestingly also makes passing reference to recent language work undertaken by Austin and Hercus with Murray. In August 1983 she was able to attend the Marree centenary, visit the old mission site for the last time and again look up old friends in Pt Augusta on the way home. She died in October that year.

[46] Scherer (1966: Pt VII:2) This 5 page document, the series conclusion, remained unpublished due to cessation of the *Lutheran Herald* Dec.1966 where first six installments had appeared. It is held in LA.

CHAPTER 2
LOCATION OF THE DIERI LANGUAGE IN TIME AND SPACE

2.1 Modern Dieri research

Diyari is presented in *The Languages of Australia* (Dixon, 1980:1-22) as a fairly typical Pama-Nyungan (suffixing) language in the genealogy of some 200 pre-contact languages descended from proto-Australian (spoken possibly before 3000 BC), all having small speaker numbers from a few hundred to a few thousand, and having a vocabulary of about 10,000 lexical items, ie. not less than the working vocabulary of the average modern citizen. According to Dixon, it also shares the fate of most Australian languages, namely that the language community has dispersed and it is no longer being spoken and taught to the younger generation.

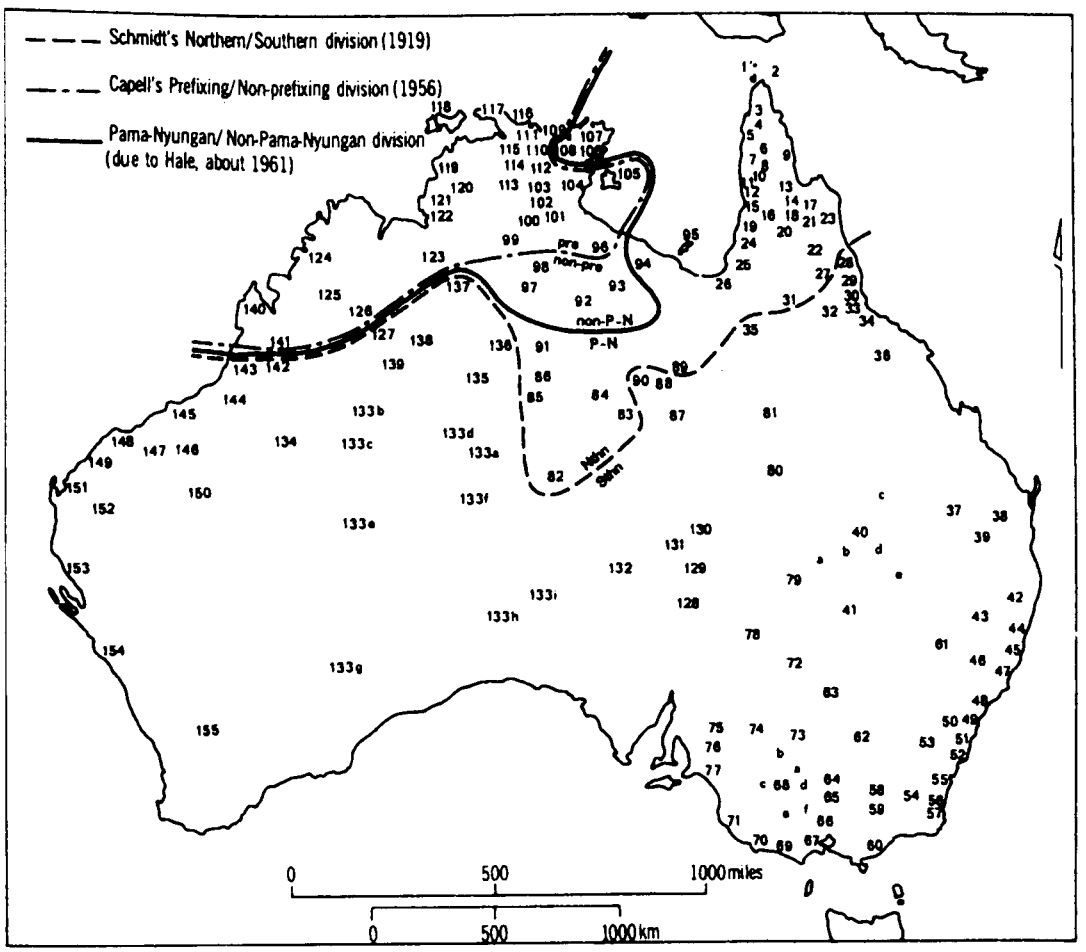

Figure 4: Map of major classifications of Australian languages. Source Dixon (1980:20). *See Diyari [129], and neighbouring languages Adnyamadhanha [128], Arabana & Wanggangguru [132], Ngamini [131] and Yandruwanhtha [130].*

According to Schmidt (1990) the number of distinct Australian languages prior to colonisation was in the vicinity of 250, and each language also was associated with a range of dialects. She estimated that some two thirds of these languages have been lost since the onset of white contact and that of the surviving 90 languages only 20 could be described as vigorous, that is being actively transmitted to children, and that the remainder are endangered due to disruption of the 'vital language transmission link from generation to generation'. According to Schmidt, the language loss can proceed very rapidly, especially in the context where it is estimated that 90 per cent of Aboriginal people 'no longer speak and have very little or no knowledge of their Indigenous languages.'[43] The Dieri language is grouped with the 160 or so languages classed as 'extinct', the only remaining Aboriginal languages given for South Australia being the Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara varieties of the Western Desert language actively spoken in the northwest corner of the State and Adnyamathanha, which is categorised as 'weak and dying'. This obviously does not take into account subsequent reclamation work being done with the Kaurna and several other South Australian languages and positions such as that of Amery (2000) and Chrystal (2000) against the use of the term extinct.

Where Diyari is not typical is in having a richly attested contact history, a time dimension which goes back to the middle of the 19th century, whereas the bulk of information available for Australian languages stems from the middle of the 20th century.[44]

Luise Hercus in *Arabana-Wangkangurru Grammar* summarised early work on Wangkangurru which appeared as additional information in predominantly Dieri documentation; the first information is included in Schoknecht's work, there are

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[43] A. Schmidt (1990:1) *The loss of Australia's Aboriginal Heritage*

[44] B. Blake (1987:1) *Australian Aboriginal Grammar*' Before the nineteenth century over 200 Aboriginal languages were spoken in Australia. Today half of these are extinct and only a few score of the remainder have enough speakers to survive for more than another generation. Grammatical information is available for about 150 languages, mostly in the form of brief grammars. However, in some instances there are papers discussing particular points of morphology or syntax. Some of this material is from the nineteenth century, but the bulk of it is from the last twenty years.'

then some references in Gason, and a brief grammar by Flierl, and finally Reuther's major contribution to the study of the Wangkangurru language. 'Ethnography had a much wider following than language study and there are many sources apart from Reuther'[45] but these are found only from the late 1890's. 'The only additional linguistic information after Reuther is minor, consists of specialised vocabularies and likewise appears much later, post 1930.

> It is clear that the fullest accounts of Wangkangurru language and traditions are due to the work of the missionaries at Killalpaninna. The missionaries also had great influence on contemporary scholars, and even work written after the 1914 closure of Killalpaninna is to some extent dependent on their pioneer work.[46]

These remarks indicate the central role of missionaries in producing the foundation for modern knowledge of Australian languages in the area surrounding the mission at Lake Killalpaninna, and hint at the influence of the exceptional body of language documentation produced by the missionaries there. I would also like to emphasise the status of the first works in the Dieri language as reaching back to the late 1860's and early 1870's, to a time some twenty years before the generation of informants for modern research were born, most having had contact with the Mission at Lake Killalpaninna during the time of Missionary Reuther, 1888-1906.

Even more importantly, we must consider the history of the Dieri language as distinct from the typical contact history of the majority of Australian languages, which has characteristically simply involved the shift to English, and culminated in language loss. The distinguishing factor is the introduction of the written form and to speak with Ferguson, it is

> ... one of the relatively rare instances of some form of vernacular literacy taking hold in a hunting-gathering society. "Vernacular literacy" here means the ability to perform reading and writing behaviours in one's native language as a means of exchanging messages within a social group;

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[45] Luise A. Hercus (1994:20) *A Grammar of the Arabana-Wangkangurru Language Lake Eyre Basin*

[46] Hercus (1994:20)

> "taking hold" means that literacy becomes a part of the shared cultural resources of the society and is not merely a marginal phenomenon activated only by direct involvement with an impinging alien culture.[47]

In the early mission documentation we can trace the introduction of the written form as the basis for preaching, teaching and intercultural communication and the associated standardisation and reduction of the idiom. This form was the basis for subsequent work which was refined and extended in mission usage. Future work may also be able to compare developments in Dieri with surviving Aboriginal languages such as Arrente and the Western desert languages, Arrente in particular having been affected by similar historical forces connected with its Lutheran mission history. I will return to some of the relevant features of language loss and relate these to the development of the mission form of Dieri in the following chapter.

2.2 Austin's Grammar of Diyari

The modern authority on the Diyari language, Peter Austin, established a phonemic transcription for the language and a detailed modern grammar of Diyari on the basis of 1970's fieldwork. This work has been extensively cited by Dixon (1980) and Blake (1987) in their overviews of Australian languages, and I would refer the reader to the appended bibliography for a selection of Austin's articles on this language.

Austin accounts for phonetic variation via a wide range of allophones, and removes redundancies and inconsistencies found in mission orthography, revealing a phonemic system which follows the normal Australian pattern.[48] A morpheme by morpheme translation of the language data he collected reveals the suffixing nature of the language and the way in which meaning is built up in an agglutinative fashion.

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[47] C.A. Ferguson (1987) 'Literacy in a Hunting-Gathering Society: The Case of the Diyari'

[48] Austin (1981:1)

Austin situates the Diyari language within tribal boundaries along with a closely related dialect Dhirari. Austin states that although most present day Diyari speakers have only vague ideas concerning the pre-contact locations of tribal groups, a reasonably clear picture of tribal boundaries can be arrived at from historical sources. Such sources include Samuel Gason's early record of this tribe and of course the work of missionary J.G. Reuther, as the most comprehensive compilation of Mission philological and anthropological data available. Tribal boundaries are broadly equated then to language boundaries.

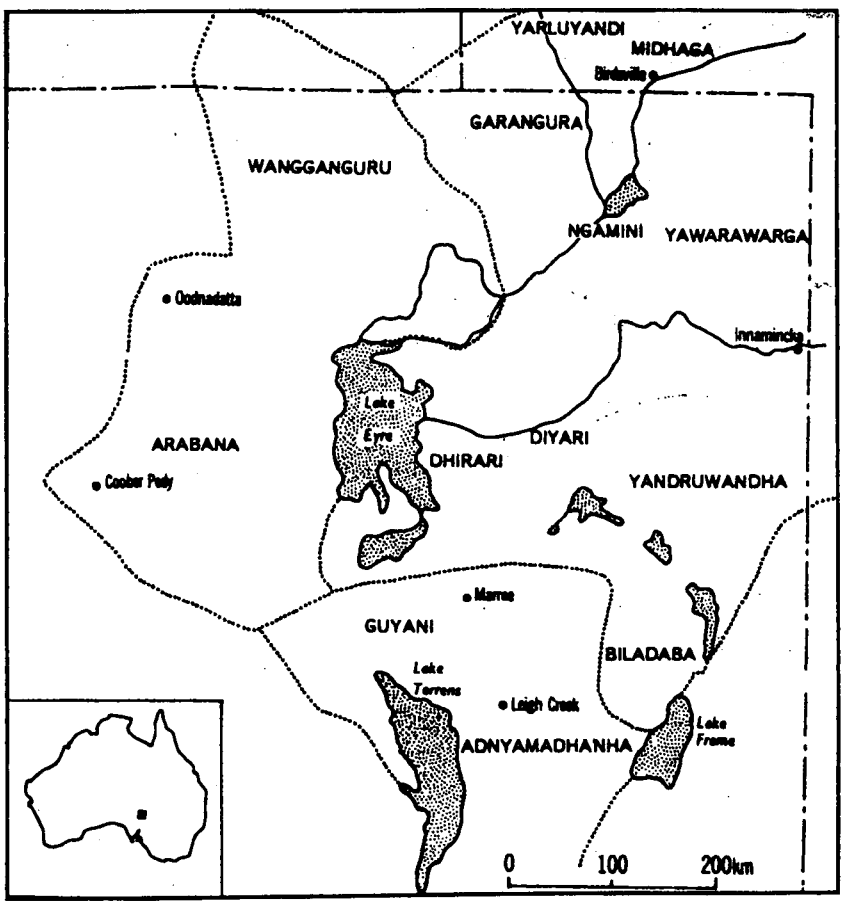

Figure 5: Map of probable language group boundaries. Source Austin (1981:7)

On the basis of lexical evidence (i.e. cognate counts from studies from early 1900's-1972), Austin states that Dieri is most closely related with its eastern and northern neighbours, however Austin states lexical similarities alone are not proof of genetic relationships and systemic comparisons at all levels are necessary.

Of the similarities between Ngamini, Yarluyandi and Diyari Austin considers all three languages may reflect a single original system which has undergone some realignments.[49]

In the pre-contact linguistic landscape, language as an identification badge meant diversity which reflected and upheld territorial boundaries but at the same time there were close associations including intermarriage and ritual links with neighbouring tribes and those along the trade routes. These are dealt with in some detail by Austin.[50] Presumably lexical and structural forms were also exchanged; the model of language ecology described by Mühlhäusler (1996) would seem very applicable to this situation, whereby regional clusters of languages form interdependent 'ecosystems' whose multilingual speakers sustain the linguistic diversity of the area.

In comparison to 19th century philology, modern Australian linguistics does not attempt to place individual Australian languages within the context of a family tree of languages extending beyond Australia, but rather concentrates on patterns of relatedness on a more local level. In seeking to establish the genetic relationships between the various languages and dialects of the Lake Eyre basin, interest centres on a set number of distinct languages of the area, and their structural similarities and differences. In modern linguistic research distinct forms are arrived at by identifying tribal boundaries and then establishing language boundaries using lexicostatistic methods and structural analysis to exclude phonetic and grammatical variation. The distinct languages are thus closely related to linguistic research which discovers and defines them.

In modern times this task is problematic given the differential in historical documentation of the various languages; poor or non-existent historical

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[49] Austin (1981:6-7) 'Morphologically, Ngamini and Yarluyandi are practically identical in both the forms and functions of the affixes they employ. Similarly, Yandruwandha and Yawarawarga have almost identical morphology. Comparing these systems with that of Diyari(including Dhirari) we can see great similarities in their categorization and paradigmatic organization as well as a large number of formal similarities.[...]'

[50] Austin (1981:6)

documentation is more the rule than the exception.[51] Of the difficulties in setting up a model of the genetic relatedness of distinct languages in the modern Australian context Dixon writes:

> Workers in other disciplines who wish to correlate genetic or cultural parameters with linguistic differences have made much use of the unsatisfactory lexicostatistic classification, because it is the ONLY attempt at subgrouping which is readily available. In fact, present knowledge of the relationships between Australian languages is not sufficient to justify any sort of fully articulated 'family tree' model. Further work on the historical development of Australian languages is urgently needed, to discover whether our present low-level subgroups can be linked together to form larger genetic groupings, and to investigate how genetic factors interrelate with arreal traits.
> It could perhaps be that the continual levelling due to diffusion of features of every sort has obscured those genetic splits that did take place in the development of the Australian languages, so that it will not be possible to reconstruct them. [...] It is likely that it will in many cases be impossible to distinguish between factors due to diffusion and those due to common descent [...][52]

With regard to Dieri, Austin states that his informants were still able to speak a number of Australian languages alongside English, with Dieri in many cases being what we might call a second language. The ability of informants to avoid codeswitching[53] underpins the status of the language samples analysed in *Diyari Grammar* as furnishing representative examples of Diyari phonology, morphology, grammar and syntax.

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[51] See Blake (1987:1-2) 'Capell 1956 made a typological distinction between *suffixing* languages and *prefixing* languages.[...] The prefixing languages are found north of a line running from Dampier Land to the Gulf of Carpentaria[...] O'Grady, Wurm and Hale 1966 (see also O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin 1966:21ff) produced another classification of Australian languages by comparing lexical similarities in short word lists. They classified a total of about 230 languages into 26 'families'(as revised in Wurm 1972). Since the classification does not always distinguish cognates from borrowings and since some of the sources are meagre amateur compilations, the results do not provide a good basis for genetic classification, at least in theory. In practice the classification seems to reflect the pattern of relative similarity and difference we obtain when we compare grammatical forms, and although little systematic reconstruction has been undertaken in Australia, it looks as if this classification in general reflects genetic relationship.'

[52] Dixon (1980:265)

[53] Austin (1981:13) Present-day Diyari speakers are all multi-lingual, speaking either Arabana or Wanggangaru as well as Diyari and, with more or less facility, English. Like other speakers of Australian languages they are careful to keep each language distinct and do not switch from one to another in the same utterance.'

Issues involving post-contact changes in the use of Dieri resulting in changes to informants' competence over a range of styles/registers, and a refocussing of the language on non-traditional semantic areas, and the role of the literate form are not addressed by Austin. In the case of Diyari/Dieri it may well be that the mission history and graphization of the language produced a more distinct and identifiable form than would have been the case in the pre-contact multilingual setting. It is also likely that the written form conferred a resilience and prestige to the Dieri language in comparison to neighbouring languages.

2.3 Inadmissable evidence? A case for revisiting mission documentation.

In the aforementioned body of work the mission history of Diyari is not considered as having substantially affected the language, as retrieved and analysed by Austin. The mission history is mentioned only as a brief (and especially pre-Reuther not always accurate) sketch of a prehistory which failed to analyse the language.

The Lutheran missionaries commencing with Flierl (I) and through to Reuther, Strehlow and Riedel were together charged with having failed to distinguish the phonemic structure underlying the phonetic realisations they attempted to transcribe, and thus producing 'orthographically poor' materials albeit with a 'solid understanding of Diyari morphology and syntax.[54] In short their representations of the language were disregarded as involving an unacceptable amount of variation, phonetic variation, and structural variation too, which must be excluded in modern analysis in order to provide a basis for comparison of the universal constants of language. Such structures were sought in the oral language samples elicited and recorded by Austin.

Reuther's work appears to have been used by Austin to validate language/dialect forms of Diyari and Dhirari, it is however unclear to what extent a familiarity with

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[54] Austin (1981:12)

the work of Reuther formed the foundation for this work. Certainly Reuther's work has to date been the most accessible to the English-speaking researcher, having been transcribed and translated by Pastor P. Scherer in 1981. Thus Reuther's orthography has attained the status of the representative historical record of the Dieri language, which has perhaps discouraged further investigation of earlier records.

An important point is that the attestation of the language in mission documentation was facilitated by non-native speakers, who were creating a record of the language not in the interests of 'objective' science but in the service of religion/evangelization. This divide in evaluation of materials has developed alongside the genesis of linguistic science. Bloomfield summarises the attitude of the 20th century linguist to materials produced before the advent of structural linguistics with its 'scientific methods' of fieldwork and transcription in the encounter with exotic languages:

> The era of exploration brought a superficial knowledge of many languages. Travellers brought back vocabularies, and missionaries translated religious books into the tongues of newly-discovered countries. Some even compiled grammars and dictionaries of exotic languages. Spanish priests began this work as early as in the sixteenth century; to them we owe a number of treatises on American and Philippine languages. These works can be used only with caution, for the authors, untrained in the recognition of foreign speech-sounds, could make no accurate record, and, knowing only the terminology of Latin grammar, distorted their exposition by fitting it into this frame. Down to our time, persons without linguistic training have produced work of this sort; aside from the waste of labour, much information has in this way been lost. [55]

In Australia, mission materials on Australian languages have also have suffered by the change to the scientific paradigm in the course of the 20th century, which claims the position of objectivity as opposed to perspectives seen as biased by religious orientation. Mission philological work, as far as it is known in the English-speaking community, has often been either dismissed as belonging to an

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[55] L. Bloomfield (1935:7) *Language.*

'unscientific prehistory' of linguistic endeavour or caricatured as cultural genocide.[56] R.M.W.Dixon (1980) summarizes:

> Missionaries in Australia were generally sincere men, devout in their own belief and determined to share it with others. But they were often unaware of the nature of the societies into which they intruded and of the traditional social and moral norms[...] Their attempts at conversion led to more efficient disintegration of ancient societies in Australia than perhaps in any other part of the world.[...] Indeed the missionary drew the younger people to him, purposely estranging them from their elders and disrupting the authority structure that underlay the social system. He banned religious ceremonies and rituals [...][57]

Of the role of the missionary in Australian language attrition Dixon highlights practices such as the separation of children from their elders and segregation of the sexes, alongside active suppression of the diverse Indigenous languages:

> Most of all, children from different language groups were deliberately mixed in the dormitories; they were laughed at - and sometimes punished for using their own tongues. There were exceptions - an occasional missionary learnt the local language, wrote a grammar of it, and began translation of the Bible - but the pattern I have described applied in the majority of settlements and missions until very recently.[58]

In the context of the Dieri language this view has not been challenged as the mission documentation is largely in German, and materials, especially those handwritten in old script forms, have remained largely untapped as resources.[59]

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[56] C. Stevens (1994) *White Man's Dreaming*. See references on pp1-3. and discussion in H. Kneebone (1996: 42-3) Review in *Journal of Friends of Lutheran Archives*.. See too Fesl (1993:210) *Conned!* on Dresden Missionaries (Teichelmann and Schürmann) support for proposed segregated reserves. 'Because of their concerns to "civilise" and at the same time protect Aborigines from the vices of the white community, they incarcerated Nungga in what could be described as concentration camps.' The choice of terminology is unlikely to be an unfortunate mistake in the context of the German background of these missionaries.

[57] Dixon (1980:77-78)

[58] Dixon (1980:79)

[59] Compare Dixon (1980: 261) on the reception of W. Schmidt's *Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen* (1919) and subsequent attempts to establish a classification of Australian Languages: 'less work was undertaken in the following forty years than at any time in the past. When interest did revive, in the 1960's, scarcely any attention was paid to Schmidt's excellent classification and bibliography; it has the misfortune to be available only in German.'

2.4 The early reception of Lutheran mission work

> ***...because it was clad in the garb of a foreign tongue, the Lutheran Church was to the average Englishman, like the sphinx, "unreadable and unreading."***[60]

The lack of authority accorded to materials produced by Lutheran missionaries is not unique to modern research. From the early days of mission work in South Australia two traditions appear to have developed around the German-speaking and English-speaking missionaries. In both the Encounter Bay/Point McLeay and Port Lincoln/Poonindie histories we may observe pioneer work of Lutheran Missionaries with modest levels of Government support as for H.A.E. Meyer and C. Schürmann, being superceded by efforts by English-speaking missionaries enjoying more systematic and sustained support as in the case of G. Taplin[61] and Rev. Matthew Hale. Brauer (1956) expressed the situation perhaps most clearly. Taplin commenced work among the natives of the Encounter Bay Territory in April 1859 (some ten years after the departure of Meyer) at which time the headquarters of the mission were removed from Encounter Bay to Point McLeay:

> ...subsequently practically all public references to this mission were based on the erroneous assumption that this was an entirely new mission. In reports issued on this mission one rarely finds a reference to the Lutheran missionary who had laboured so faithfully in that district for eight years and had prepared the way for the work of the new missionary. [62]

In one of the few published references to Meyer, Taplin himself did little to redress the popular perception regarding to whom credit for both language and mission work was due:

> The Rev. H.A.E. Meyer, a Lutheran Missionary, made a brave attempt to master the grammar of this language in 1843, and with some success; but yet his attempt presents a great number of ludicrous mistakes to one better

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[60] Brauer (1956:165)

[61] George Taplin (1831-79): originally a Congregationalist, appointed missionary agent by the Aborigines Friends Association, and Archdeacon Hale, Church of England.

[62] Brauer (1956:168)

> acquainted with it. I found I had to rely on my own observations if I was to gain any correct knowledge of the language.[63]

In a similar manner, the work of Homann and Koch with the Dieri people and their language appears to have gained very little contemporary attention as compared with the work of S. Gason, which was first published as a brochure in 1874, and subsequently in J.D. Woods compilation (1879).[64] Large excerpts of this work were also given alongside responses to the questionnaire which formed the basis of G. Taplin's SA Government commissioned survey.[65] This work was intended to gather together and preserve information on the SA Aborigines both for the benefit of 'scientific inquiry' and 'as a means of benefitting the natives themselves.'[66] Although Homann was listed as an informant (No.28) regarding the Dieyerie Tribe, his contribution is limited to a table of pronouns[67] and entries in the *Comparative Tables of Selected Aboriginal Words.*[68] Whilst relations between the Hermannsburg missionaries and Samuel Gason were cordial and cooperative, by the turn of the century, with increasing interest in ethnography, there was an increasing sense of 'competition' between scholars and missionaries. Issues of authority emerge surrounding the 'ownership' of superior knowledge or greater familiarity with the Indigenous people (see Chapter 10).

In broad terms the Lutheran mission at Lake Killalpaninna ultimately too perhaps suffered a fate related to its lack of integration with the SA Government and English-speaking community at large. The basis for this lack of integration typically rested with both parties. For its part, the supporting Lutheran community placed much importance on relative independence from Government

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[63] G. Taplin (1879:5) 'The Grammar of the Language of the Narrinyeri Tribe' in *The Folklore, Manners, Customs,and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines* Interestingly Taplin, in a letter to Teichelmann dated 12/3/1867 (KMB 4/1867:58), acknowledged his indebtedness to the pioneering work of Meyer and the Dresden missionaries.

[64] S. Gason (1879:253-307) 'The Manners and Customs of The Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines' in Woods (1879)

[65] Gason in Taplin (1879:66-83)

[66] Taplin (1879:vii)

[67] Taplin (1879:84)

[68] Taplin (1879:143-152)

regulation in questions viewed as the preserve of the Church, namely questions of worship and education.[69] This position is deeply rooted in the SA Lutheran congregations which came to South Australia from a homeland fraught with State-Church tensions.

On the part of the Government and the broader English-speaking community, there was from the outset, alongside praise and admiration, also criticism of the work of the Lutheran missionaries published in the local newspapers, and from 1900, increasing estrangement due to international developments. At the same time the State Government Royal Commission, which commenced enquiries in January 1914 and visited Lake Killalpaninna in June, signalled the intention of the Government to become more involved in Aboriginal welfare and specifically in the running of missions in South Australia. Shortly afterwards the Mission Committee decided to sell its interests in the station into the private ownership of Bogner and Jaensch, under condition that they continue to provide for the spiritual care of the Dieri. The transfer was finalised in January 1915.

Finally, the First World War itself must be seen as an important influence on the background of community relations. In practical terms the Immanuel Synod was no longer able to convene from 1914-1920, and the Killalpaninna mission school was closed along with all other Lutheran Day schools in 1917, a development which perhaps sealed the fate of mission work in the Cooper Creek area.

In 1919 the Government reclaimed the mission reserve land. Meanwhile too, Pastor Ludwig Kaibel, the last Chairman of the Mission Committee, who had held this position since 1900, passed away on 26th September 1918.[70]

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[69] See contemporary debate in German language papers eg: KMB 1862/5:47 'Gemeindeschulen und Staatsschulen': 'Die Jugend muss für die Kirche erzogen werden...' Youth must be brought up for the Church... and specific to SA legislation regarding schools and curriculum content: *Der Australische Christenbote* 9/1873:134-5 'Denn wenn eine christliche Regierung durch ein Schulgesetz den Religions-Unterricht als eine so unwichtige Sache behandelt, dass sie ihn ganz ausschliesst aus dem Schulplan und man sich in einem christlichen Staate gar nicht mehr darum bekümmert, ob die christlichen Unterthanen wissen was Christenthum ist oder nicht, so hört ein solcher Staat doch wohl fast auf, ein christlicher zu sein." on minimising the role of religious education in state schools and alienation between them and Christian community.

[70] See for more detail Scherer (1966: LH PtVII)

2.5 The Lutheran missions of South Australia and Indigenous languages

The Lutheran mission at Lake Killalpaninna is actually a case in point, that different missions approached the task of evangelization along very different lines. According to the listing of mission stations in *Conned!* (Fesl, 1993) and supplemented with dates from *Under the Southern Cross* (Brauer,1956) and *Die VELKA: Ihr Werden, Wirken und Wesen* (Hebart,1938), the Lutheran missionaries working in South Australia from the middle of the 19th century were almost unique in their sustained attempts to use Indigenous languages as the medium of instruction.

This stemmed from the Lutheran conviction that the use of the Indigenous idiom was necessary in order to approach the 'heathen'. Clamor Schürmann (1839) wrote in justification of his learning and use of the Kaurna language that

> ... the make-up of the human spirit, such as theirs and demonstrated by the pieces of information elicited from them in their own language, that one can only approach the human heart in the language intimately known to it.[71]

This conviction was maintained by the Lutheran missionaries from the various institutes (Dresden/Leipzig, Hermannsburg and Neuendettelsau) working in South Australian fields in the 19th century from the coastal regions to the Far North. In more modern times T.G.H. Strehlow (1957) replied to the question of the value of translating the Bible into Aranda, rather than switching to English in similar terms:

> No two languages ever cover each other fully; and the natural corollary is that the two worlds of ideas which influence the thinking of the speakers of two different languages are also dissimilar at many points. It is an old truism, whose implications are not always sufficiently grasped, that people cannot think deeply or utter a prayer or make love in a language other than their mother tongue.[72]

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[71] Clamor Schürmann Letter to a dear Pastor, Adelaide, 1/19/1839 in Lutheran Archive, Adelaide: '[...] ich hoffe aber, wir werden umso mehr die Zustimmung der Gesellschaft bekommen, als die Eingeborenen sehr wenig und sehr gemeines Englisch sprechen, und als die Beschaffenheit der menschlichen Seele, so wie die ihren in ihren eigenen Sprache entlockten Nachrichten zeigen, dass man dem menschlichen Herzen nur in der ihm vertrauten Sprache nahe kommen kann.'

[72] Strehlow (1957:4) 'Thoughts of a Translator' *Lutheran Herald*

The legacy for researchers and SA/NT Indigenous communities today is the Lutheran missionaries' language publications in Kaurna, Ngarrindgeri, Parnkalla/Barngarla, Dieri and Aranda. Interestingly, the translatability of cultural and religious concepts (even between European languages) was an issue which although not yet articulated in the context of mission practice, was already a subject for debate for the Australian Lutheran Church of the late 19th century, which was caught in its own struggle to maintain its rich religious heritage and historical continuity with the Church of the Reformation against the inevitable shift from German to English.[73]

From the extensive body of mission language documentation it is clear that work on the language in the case of such mission stations as that at Lake Killalpaninna (Bethesda) and the Finke River, cannot be dismissed as the work of isolated amateurs. These mission fields, established by the Hermannsburg missionaries within ten years of one another and sharing several personnel, applied Lutheran language policy aimed at thoroughly researching the Indigenous language and carefully translating Christian materials into the vernacular. Proeve and Proeve (1952:5) point out that the Lutheran Church in Australia served its 'apprenticeship' at the Cooper's Creek Mission, and that it served as a training-ground for missionaries who would later apply their experience to other areas; including J. Flierl (Elim/Hope Vale, Queeensland and later New Guinea) and C. Strehlow (Finke River Mission).

The Lutheran missionaries at Lake Killalpaninna were supported by the local South Australian synods in the adoption of a policy towards the Dieri language which saw its use on the mission sustained for nearly 50 years against a background of increasing domination of English, and disruption and loss of Indigenous language communities. This work included, as noted elsewhere, the development of written materials for formal uses (primers, biblical translation, grammars and dictionaries), alongside the emerging use of Dieri in informal

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[73] H.A.E Meyer, 1849 in Brauer (1956:164-5)

contexts for correspondence between mission personnel and members of the mission community. It was work which was carried on by several key figures, building upon and attempting to improve or update the work of predecessors, but also supported and utilized by the wider mission community.

A thought worthy of contemplation is that it is perhaps due to the mission at Lake Killalpaninna that speakers of Dieri could still be found by Austin in the 1970's, and that people of Dieri heritage today have the opportunity of reclaiming the linguistic legacy contained in early mission documents.

2.6 Speakers of Diyari in the 20th century

At the time of writing *A Grammar of Diyari* (1981) Austin estimated that Diyari was still known by some dozen people. Of these only four were the main informants, and all were then over 50 years of age, living in Birdsville, Marree and Pt Augusta. It is also significant that none were in fact first language Diyari speakers, and that three of the four main informants had been directly or indirectly connected with the Lake Killalpaninna mission school, presumably around the turn of the century or later.

Ben Murray (mother Arabana, father Afghan, 1891-1994) was literate in English and Diyari and had spent two years at the mission school; Rosa Warren (mother Aranda, father Arabana, b.1917) 'learned Diyari as a child living among people who had been at Killalpaninna' (ie.some time after the closure of the mission school, 1917); Frieda Merrick (Wangganguru descent, 1885-1978) 'learned Diyari as a young woman at Muloorina and Killalpaninna' (see references in following section to 'Maltilina'; and Leslie Russell (Wangganguru descent, 1910-75) origins of Diyari fluency unstated.[74]

Austin (1981) details the disintegration of the community after the closure of the mission school, and their dispersal to Maree and later Port Augusta. Of the culture

[74] Austin (1981:13)

Austin says 'Much of the old social system and beliefs has broken down through contact with whites and the mixing of different tribal groups. The language is remembered by a few older people but is no longer in use and is not being learnt by the children. It will become extinct within a generation.'[75] Austin referred to the two matrilineal moieties and their totems or *mardu*, some of which were not remembered by his informants, as some of the 'animals are extinct and informants were unsure of the correct pronunciation of their names.'[76] Likewise matrilineal ceremonial totems *maduka* and patrilineal ceremonial totems *pintara* were not remembered by Austin's informants.

Data upon which his study is based were systematically elicited sentences and vocabulary, whereby informants were asked to translate English words/sentences, plus a collection of monologues - personal recollections and narratives. Significantly, 'Only one traditional myth was remembered.'[77]

A number of questions arise here. Are we dealing with an attitude which only wishes to see the language represented via 'authentic' Indigenous utterances and texts? Would the structures still be constant regardless of the topic? On reviewing the language materials retrieved by Austin it is evident that there is a restricted use of language by informants; sentences are quite short and simple, and deal with everyday topics, and areas of traditional knowledge and beliefs are conspicuously absent. There is also significant use of English codeswitching particularly in areas where traditional myths were elicited.

The analysis of such materials towards a comprehensive grammar of the Diyari language proceeds in a similar manner to analysis of genetic material, whereby in

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[75] Austin (1981:13)

[76] Austin (1981:10)

[77] Austin (1981:257) 'Text 1 in the appendix "Initially none of my informants recalled any traditional stories, so I began reading to them texts from Fry's (1937) collection. Part-way through text VIII (see line 44) Rosa Warren and Leslie Russell recalled having heard the story before and went on to tell it to me. Later checking with Rosa Warren I reconstructed the beginning and added some details (see line 89). The ending of the text as given here differs from that recorded by Fry, so it seems likely that more than one version may have existed. Unfortunately, no-one remembered any of the other stories in Fry's collection.'

DNA the blueprint of the whole organism is present in each cell. The linguistic analysis reveals the underlying structures of the language beyond the imperfect speech act. This metaphor however does not cover the question of the representative adequacy of the samples; how much language does one need to establish a system and must it cover a diverse range of registers and semantic areas, must samples come from a diversity of speakers across the speech community and what role does the size and vigour speech community play? Such questions highlight the limits of the language-organism analogy and the character of language as flexible and rapidly changing. Languages by comparison to genetic material have a very 'short memory' and the trail of change is much more difficult to follow, especially in the absence of written records.

In the case of Dieri/Diyari one cannot assume that the oral language samples retrieved by Austin stand in isolation from the long contact history with the mission and its language practices, and it would immensely narrow the materials available for analysis to exclude mission documents. It would have been interesting to ask the informants if they could relate any Bible stories, hymns or prayers in Dieri and more appropriate given their backgrounds at the mission school. Especially after 1900, there appears to have been a shift to English usage in the mission school for all subjects other than religion, as documented by Helen Jericho (nee Vogelsang) from first-hand experience at the school.[78] It is therefore logical to assume that this area of vocabulary may have been more durable over time.

2.7 The Christian Dieri

The story of the Dieri Christian community post the closure of the mission at Lake Bethesda is relevant here, as I would argue that this community has provided the materials for virtually all modern Dieri language and anthropological research. The fate of this community can be traced in the reports of visits back to the former

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[78] H. Jericho (1975:31) *Down Memory Lane: memoirs of Helen Jericho.* Helene's brother Hermann Vogelsang had been called to take over the Mission school in 1907 : 'My brother was particularly well-suited for his position as teacher, as he could speak the Dieri language fluently. This was used mainly for religious subjects, while English was used for the other subjects. The majority of the children were natives.'

mission area which were published in the *Kirchen-Blatt* and which were brought together in Proeve (1945) *A Scattered Homeless Flock.* Part I of this book covers the visits made to the Dieri Christians in the 1930's and 40's and indirectly tells the story of the disintegration of the Dieri community.

The closure of the mission had left many of the Lutheran community with deep feelings of sadness and the sense of a task left unfinished. Although there was no suggestion that the Church again establish a station for such purposes, the pastoral care of the Dieri continued to be debated. Following a reconnaissance tour in October 1931 by Theodor Vogelsang, the Board of the Finke River Mission sent Hermann Vogelsang (Jnr) in 1933 to minister to some 40-50 Dieri Christians and their unbaptised children. This was followed by further expeditions in 1934 (H. Vogelsang, W. Schilling and E.H. Proeve), and 1936 (H. Vogelsang: two trips during this year).[79] At this time it was suggested that a travelling missionary be appointed to these people, as requests to the government for land to re-establish a mission-reserve along the Coopers Creek had been unsuccessful. Specifically mentioned in the 1936 reports were two Dieri Christians, Andreas and Johannes, who were to be sent to Hermannsburg /Finke for training as 'native Evangelists', of whom only Johannes eventually went. Johannes was the son of Bertha and Anton Ngujuwakana, both baptised and literate (24 and 20 years old according to the 1886 list). They were close friends of C.A. Meyer (see Chapter 6). He was later known as Jack Hannes. In 1937 H. Vogelsang again visited the Dieri Christians. Johannes meanwhile had married the daughter of blind evangelist Moses and settled at Hermannsburg/Finke mission station. The last visit by H. Vogelsang was in 1939, on his way to Hermannsburg/Finke where he had accepted a teaching position, but died shortly afterwards (4/4/1940). The reports of these visits were published in the *Kirchenblatt* and are also the basis of Pearce's documentation [80] of the dispersal of the Dieri. The legacy of these contacts and the published reports is the record of the fate of several family groups who had been associated with the mission, their movements according to

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[79] Later trips included Theodor Vogelsang's final visit together with H.F.W. and E.H. Proeve and B. Doecke, 1949, and trips documented by E.H. Proeve 1956, 1958 (party included J.Irrgang), 1964.

[80] H. Pearce (1980) *Killalpaninna Mission Station: Notes and Documentation relating to Killalpaninna Mission Station. Cooper Creek, South Australia.*

the search for work and the ravages of illness, and the break-up of the Dieri speaking community.

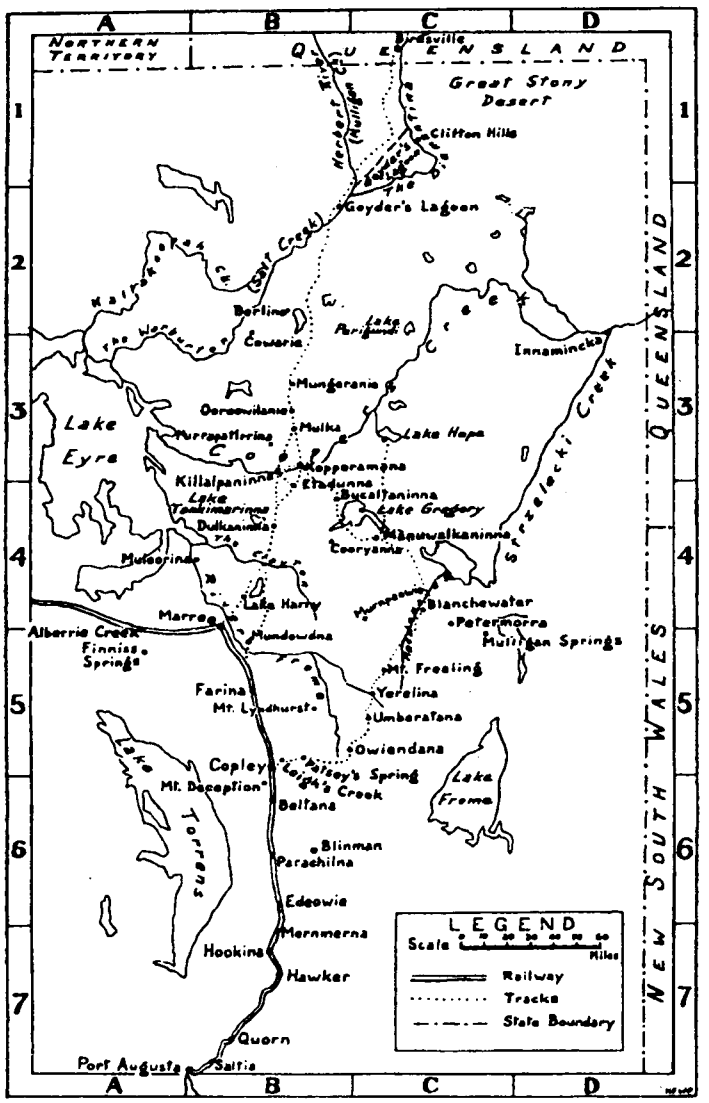

Figure 6: Map of Lake Killalpaninna/Bethesda Mission area. Source *Proeve & Proeve* (1952: 10). *See Finniss Springs to South-West and Murnpeowie to the East of Marree, and compare to Austin's location maps for Diyari and neighbouring groups. For Proeve's list of locations and map references see Appendix F*

According to Pearce, the Indigenous congregation had split into four main groups which were loose family groupings with one person assuming the role of family head. These groups most often settled on the edge of European settlements. At Marree in 1935 there were some ten ex-mission, people, and a larger group located at Mungeranie, where a drover, Mr Morley had distributed rations since

1928. This group was led by Samuel Dintibana, an important Dieri elder, and correspondent to T. Vogelsang, and thereby also informant to N.B. Tindale. Samuel died early in 1935, but the group remained largely at Mungeranie. The third group was based at New Well (Mulka Bore) and included Katharina and Bertha and their husbands Alec Edward and George Murray. Bertha is likely to have been Katharina's daughter. Katharina and Bertha had been brought to the mission with Katharina's brother Finke Bob from the area of Hermannsburg/Finke by Missionary Bogner between 1900 and 1904. Both were Aranda (Pearce 1980:177). From 1932 Aiston and his wife had been at Mulka where he was Acting Sub-Protector of Aborigines.

The final group, under the leadership of Timotheus Maltilina or Tim Merrick, lived apart at Manu Main Waterhole. Tim Merrick was an Arabana man, and his wife Anna, a Wonkanguru woman, they had both arrived as young people at Lake Killalpaninna during the 1880's (see Appendix G). They were engaged in October 1884, and six children (four sons and two daughters) were born of this marriage. Tim and Anna helped shepherding at Etadunna, then lived in a hut at Blazes Well near Tidnacoordooninna Swamp where they maintained the well for the mission stock route. Tim went in to Kilallpaninna each fortnight for goat-meat and rations.

The Maltilina/Merrick family has close family ties to the Murray family, doubtless forged due to their common history at Lake Killalpaninna mission. According to Pearce (1980:180) Ern, Ben , George (baptised Ewald) and Frieda Murray were all removed from their mother's custody at Bill and Charlie De Pierre's Wire Yard station in 1908 and placed in Pastor Riedel's care by Protector of Aborigines. Their Grandfather was an Arabana elder named *Ulpapanna*, their mother was of the Tirari tribe, and their father Bejah Dervish, an Afghan.

Gottlieb Maltilina/Merrick (the son of Timotheus) and Frieda married about 1911 at Lake Killalpaninna mission, and lived here until its closure. Selma, his sister, lived opposite with her first husband Walter Kennedy (whose Aboriginal name

was *Munapoorlina*, meaning 'mouse hole.'[81] Tim Merrick worked as a drover through the 1920's and died in 1932, and Gottlieb's group stayed permanently at Manu Main from 1935, where they kept goats and camels and journeyed 60km south to head station approximately once a month. The camp became known under his son's name, as Gottlieb's camp. In 1935 there were nine adults including Gottlieb and Frieda Merrick and about four children plus four or five Lake Killalpaninna people and children living at the Head station Murnpeowie. This family group was particularly strong:

> The Merricks resisted the drift between ration camps, and the apparent security of white settlements, for more than thirty years. For much of this time they lived in a collection of reed thatch huts at Manu Main waterhole- a bore fed soakage on Manuwalkaninna Creek [82]

The men of this group travelled widely to find work and in about 1929/30 began work on Murnpeowie fences, and several members were living around Cooryanna and Kintalabooka Creek maintaining the dog fence. In the late 1930's the community included Gottlieb and Frieda, their son Albert, and eldest daughter Gertrude and husband Jimmy Sweeney and their daughter Lene. Also Gottlieb's younger daughter Susan and husband Rowland Kennedy and his father Walter, Ruben and Hildegard and their children, Ben Murray, Gottlieb's brother Alfie and wife Therese.

It appears that the need for work increasingly brought people into the stations, with Alfie and family moving to Finniss mission in 1936 and Susan and Roland Kennedy moving to Murnpeowie with Walter in 1936-7. Ben Murray rode the netting fence from Mulligan Springs to the head station and Aleck Edward and George Murray were also employed on the netting in 1939, while their wives stayed at Manuwalkaninna. Alec and Katharina then moved to Marree in the early 1940s and then back to Finniss mission. In the 1940's George and Bertha Murray moved to Witchelina station, where Bertha died some time before 1944. Maintenance of the Murnpeowie netting was abandoned in 1945-6. Overall there was a drift to Finniss Springs and Marree by the late 1940s.

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[81] Ben Murray in Pearce (1980:182)

[82] Pearce (1980:178)

Gottlieb remained at Manu Main but died in 1947/8 and on his death Frieda shifted to Marree, and lived there with youngest daughter Suzie until her death in 1978.[83] Gottlieb's sister Selma Thompson was also living in Marree in 1976, and Alfie was still living on Witchelina station in the late 1970's.

Finniss Springs

Many Killalpaninna people from New Well, Marree and Mungeranie settled at Finniss following the severe outbreak of influenza in 1935. Here A. Vogelsang recorded Alfie Merrick, Selma, Linda, Arthur, Rosa, Maria, Gerhard and Henry along with 26 adults and 20 children, who were mainly Arabana and included people from Anna Creek, Warrina and Oodnadatta.

New Finniss Springs was a sheep run 60 kilometres west of Marree controlled by Francis Warren and William Woods, who had an association with the region dating back to 1863, first at Strangways, then Anna Creek and more recently at Finniss,[84] which was purchased from Kidman in 1919. The head station was moved 18 kms south in 1922, hence the title new.[85] There had been a drift of people from Oodnadatta and stations south due to hard times and the distribution of rations at Finniss by the philanthropic Warren. A Mission west of Lake Eyre had been established in 1924 at Oodnadatta by Miss A Locke of the NSW Missionary Society (later United Aborigines Mission) but this was closed during World War II when the Aboriginal Community was evicted from Oodnadatta, and many of these people also ent to Finniss.

The UAM approached Warren in 1937 to establish a mission settlement at Finniss, and he finally agreed in February 1939; his main interest was to provide schooling for the children on the station.[86] The first missionaries, Mr and Mrs Nelson, commenced school with 13 children, and a school building was built in

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[83] Helen Jericho in Pearce (1980:200)

[84] Pearce (1980:188)

[85] Pearce (1980:191)

[86] Stan Warren in Pearce (1980:195)

1940. In 1943-4 missionaries Mr and Mrs Andrew Pearce arrived and iron huts were erected for the people. Later Missionary Villiers arrived and a church, office, clinic and additional classroom were built. According to Pearce, 'The average number of people at the settlement remained at about seventy-five, but at times exceeded one hundred.'[87] A lack of water eventually forced the closure of the settlement in 1960, at which time the community of 40 to 50 people shifted to Marree. Later many drifted to Pt Augusta.

Snapshot of the ex-mission community, 1945

In October 1944 R.B. Reuther (son of Missionary J.G. Reuther), who had grown up on the mission, journeyed North with E.H. Proeve and G. Schmidt to re-establish contact and distribute 'Christmas Cheer', as had apparently continued to be sent to the remnant congregation every year from members of the Lutheran community. The detailed story of this visit comprises Part II of Proeve (1945) *A Scattered Homeless Flock*; ex-mission people were now mainly living on a variety of stations out from Marree (see Figure 6). This work also gives a fairly detailed picture of the extent to which the Dieri language was still known by these people now living in mixed communities, often outside their traditional lands.

The trip took them via Farina where several of the people they wanted to contact were working for the Gourlay family at Witchalena station. At Marree they drove out to the camp at Frome Creek in order to visit with the Dieri and on the Sunday a service was given by Proeve in English and followed by an address in Dieri by R.B. Reuther, gifts were then distributed. They then set out for Finniss Springs, where they were welcomed by the station owner Mr Warren and Mr and Mrs Pearce, where an afternoon service was held.

The Pearces conducted mission work here for some 32 men, 20 women, 50 children, of whom 31 attended the school. The community was made up of Dieri, Arabana, Aranda and other tribes. The school curriculum covered reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, painting, woodwork and religious instruction (all

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[87] Pearce (1980:199)

now in English of course).[88] Former 'children of Bethesda' mentioned were - Katharina and her husband Alec, who were able to speak Dieri with Pastor R.B. Reuther, and later sang Dieri hymns with the group. Another 'fruit of the Bethesda Mission' mentioned was Bertha, who had been contacted in 1934 at Mulka Bore, she had later come to Finniss Springs mission but had since died in Port Augusta. Later Proeve also mentions Arthur Murray, and his wife Flora at Finniss Springs.

The trip also took the party further North to Dulkaninna Station, and then on to Blazes Well, then with 'little Jimmy' as guide on to Etadunna and Bethesda. At Blazes Well they met up with three families:[89] Billy and Emily, Fink Bob (Katharina Edwards' brother) and his wife Jessie, Jimmy and Johanna and their daughter Ivy.

The last visit was to Murnpeowie, owned by the Beltana Pastoral Company and managed by Mr Downer, where they visited the camp about half a mile from the station, where 'a large number of Dieris with their families are employed.'[90] They were welcomed by 'Long Ben' (Ben Murray) who had returned North after working for some time at Lowbank with members of the Vogelsang family. Ben Murray appears to have been the point of contact, due to his literacy; the party had corresponded with him, hoping to also see other Dieris living in various camps on this run. Further mentioned were Olga, daughter of Gottlieb (Maltilina), and her husband Jack, Ben Watkins and his brother Stan, who also worked on the station fences with Ben Murray.

> The managers and station owners have high praise for the older men, especially those who come from our mission [...] Andreas is also one of our Bethesda Christians and seems to be a fine type of man, also Walter and Julius.[91]

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[88] Proeve (1945:39) *A Scattered Homeless Flock*

[89] Proeve (1945:50)

[90] Proeve (1945:56)

[91] Proeve (1945:57) Here the reference may be to Walter Kennedy, see too letter held in SA Museum written in Dieri, dated Murnpeowie, 7/2/1929. It is signed 'Walter' and carries the annotation 'a native of Salt Creek Tribe (Ngameni).'

The situation in 1944 according to Proeve, was that there were some 82 'Bethesda children' remaining, and that of these most lived either at the mission at Finniss Springs or on the station at Murnpeowie.[92] That the community was 'scattered and homeless' of course not only had ramifications in a spiritual sense, but also in a linguistic sense, with a fragmenting of the small community and a 're-mixing' with other tribes. At this point too, there was a shift to the use of English for the schooling of children and everyday communication with station owners and authorities.

2.8 Indigenous writers of Diyari

The Dieri Christian community of the Mission was also the source of the correspondence treated in Austin's *Diyari Language Postcards and Diyari Literacy* (1986a). Rebecca Maltilina wrote a series of postcards to Dorothea Rüdiger during 1909, addressed to Herrgott Springs (Marree), and two (1910 and 1913) addressed to Burra. These postcards were part of a long-standing correspondence, which however appears to have switched to English after about 1911.[93] Dorothea (1892-1975) was the daughter of Gottlieb *Theodor* Rüdiger who managed livestock at Lake Killalpaninna mission 1896-12. Rebecca, at the time, was working as a domestic with the family of Pastor Lohe[94] in Natimuk, Victoria. These materials were all written in mission orthography, and Austin states that 'structurally, the language of the cards is identical to the language of the conversational texts recorded from present-day speakers.'[95] There are some spelling errors which Austin considers may indicate interference of Diyari phonology, however one would have to perhaps compare similar writings by non-

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[92] Proeve (1945:61-62) '...at least some of the forlorn Bethesda children and fellow-Christians and their children have now found a home at Finniss Springs, where they are cared for bodily and spiritually by the mission. But when we think of the other scattered, homeless flock - altogether about 82 souls, as far as we have been able to ascertain, of whom there are 43 alone at Murnpeowie ...'

[93] Detail from copies of postcards, held in LA

[94] Note: not Leidig, as reported by Stevens (1994:245-246) After a short period of service at Bethesda, Pastor Leidig returned to Point Pass 1892-21, and died 1925

[95] Austin (1986a:179) 'Diyari Language Postcards and Diyari Literacy '

Indigenous Dieri speakers (such as Dorothea Rüdiger) to investigate whether the errors indeed result from native speaker innovation.

A significant body of Dieri correspondence is also referred to by Hebart (1938) and Proeve (1945) between Anna Maria Vogelsang and several of her children and a number of Dieri Christian after the closure of the mission has already been referred to and is dealt with in detail in Chapter 10. Aside from this several members of the Maltilina family maintained particularly close contacts with the Vogelsang family. Timotheus Maltilina continued to write letters to Theodor Vogelsang into his old age, in English and Dieri.[96] Martin (the son of Timotheus) and his wife Florrie (the daughter of Samuel Dintibana) later lived in the Lowbank/Waikerie area, and their son Timotheus grew up with the sons of Dorothea (nee Vogelsang) and Friedrich Paschke. There are two Dieri postcards held in the Mortlock Library, (a postcard dated 1912, and an undated birthday card with short text)[97] which were sent to Theodor Vogelsang by Martin Maltilina.

Indeed the bulk of information that has been elicited from Indigenous informants in modern research (both linguistic and ethnographic) has come from the remnant community of the Bethesda/Lake Killalpaninna Mission, thanks to their literacy and the contacts maintained with the Lutheran community. H.K. Fry's (1937) collection *Dieri Legends*, was compiled by Samuel Dintibana at the request of Theodor Vogelsang, who then translated them into English.[98] This same work was later used by Austin to elicit Dieri myths from his informants in the 1970s. That Austin's *Diyari Grammar* is based largely on work with informants connected with the remnant Dieri Christian community has also previously been accorded little attention. Indeed the close interrelationship of informants, including that major informants Ben Murray and Frieda Merrick, who were brother and sister, and had both been part of 'Gottlieb's camp' post the closure of

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[96] Flierl Eulogy to Timotheus Maltilina

[97] Held in Mortlock Library; copies at LA

[98] Stevens (1994:255) *White Man's Dreaming*

the mission, demonstrates what could be termed the mission provenance of the retrieved language.

We can speak of a lineage of informants who continued contact with members of the Lutheran community after the closure of the mission, and who represent a very literate group, with longstanding loyalty to the mission. Stevens (1997) emphasised the difficulties of this group in adjusting to life in the North after the disintegration of the mission community, and it is undoubtedly partly for this reason that we find many instances of ex-mission members later in the employ of the Vogelsang family, including the Paschkes and the Schmidts.

Finally, I would like to emphasise the rather obvious point that both literacy in Dieri and the relationships which framed such correspondence were developed on the mission; it was a written form developed by and used for communication and correspondence between the families of the mission, and the topics of such correspondence revolved around the shared experiences of mission life.

Given that the development of vernacular literacy is solely attributed to the work of the Killalpaninna Mission[99] and the fact that some 100 years post contact and some 50 years after the closure of the mission itself, the main language informant for Austin's 1981 study was a Dieri Christian, the importance of the mission in both changing and preserving the Dieri language cannot be overlooked.
With the closure of the mission school, it would be unreasonable to assume that its influence on spoken Diyari simply ceased. As we have read, visiting pastors throughout the 1930's and 40's repeatedly experienced the joy of those connected with the Lutheran mission at being able to again hear the Word and to sing hymns in Dieri together. Long after the mission closed, many ex-Bethesda people continued to request to hear the Word in their own language, and to receive written hymns that could be taught to their children and could be used to maintain their own fluency and sense of identity as Christian Dieri. This then, was the community which provided informants for ethnographic and linguistic studies in the 20th century.

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[99] See Austin (1986a) and C. Ferguson (1987) 'Literacy in a Hunter-Gathering Society'

CHAPTER 3

WHAT ARE LINGUISTIC DATA?

> All description is selective and deals only with an aspect of any phenomenon, which suggests that pluralism or complementarity in our approach to the description of language is a healthier attitude than insistence on one research strategy.
>
> S. Romaine[1]

As in the case of many Australian languages, the post-contact history of Dieri has been characterized by the erosion of traditional lifestyles and language communities and language data must reflect this decline in usage and functional range. Wurm (1990) points out that a 'shift in reference setting of a language to one which has been heavily influenced or even largely replaced by one characteristic of the average European world view' can be detected even where the language still possesses most of its original vocabulary and much of its grammatical structure. He suggests that indicators of such a shift would include the loss in vocabulary items of 'features such as class markers based on the original native world view' and in terms of grammatical structure the loss of 'categories also based on that world view, and [the addition of] new ones reflecting the average European world view.'[2]

A further aspect for previously unwritten languages is the process of conversion of the idiom into written form: and whether this in itself constitutes part of the conversion of the language to a form more conforming to Standard Average European. The benefits of literacy have been widely acknowledged as ambiguous,[3] contributing to language shift by a 'stepping stone effect' towards prestigious and powerful languages such as English,[4] and at worst amounting to

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[1] S. Romaine (1982:289) *Socio-historical linguistics its status and methodology*

[2] S. Wurm (1990:288-9) 'Human Categorisation and Language: A special situation with Australian Aboriginals'

[3] See discussion in Dixon (1980:86-7) also M. Rhydwen (1996:13) *Writing on the Backs of the Blacks* 'Whether literacy is used to liberate or to subjugate, its introduction or repression is a political act'. Also discussion of various positions regarding literacy (1996:14-15)

[4] P. Mühlhäusler (1996:235) See Chpt 8: The Impact of Literacy in *Linguistic Ecology*

the destruction and replacement of Indigenous culture.[5] The introduction of a standard written form, especially in the context of mission work cannot be seen as the introduction of a 'value-free' system of representation. I would contend that such a shift or process of conversion of the idiomatic forms to the standard written forms used to convey the Lutheran world view is particularly relevant to the form of Dieri recorded and used on the mission and is inherent in the first mission representations of the Dieri language.

School practices and the development of a literate form disrupted traditional oral modes of transmission of cultural content; the Dieri language recorded and refashioned by the missionaries and their co-workers should not be seen as a direct reflection of the Indigenous/pre-contact forms. In terms of any language genealogy contact represents perhaps a hybridisation which has ramifications for the subsequent forms of the language. A divide was created between the non-scripted and scripted forms which did not merely involve differing representations but also involved changes in the cultural property represented and changes in the speaker community.

Furthermore the sacred status of the Christian Word/Bible and of the script form itself, was a conservative force and perhaps inhibited the development of an Indigenous voice in written materials outside the mission discourse and paradigms before the closure of the mission scattered the community. Materials regarding the longer-lived Hermannsburg Mission on the Finke also provide evidence of the conservative influence of early forms and translations especially in hymn texts; where correction is not always welcomed, and errors become enshrined in the 'mission idiom'.[6]

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[5] cf. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy *The Bugbear of Literacy* ' to impose our literacy (and our contemporary "literature") upon a cultured but illiterate people is to destroy their culture in the name of our own' in Dixon (1980:87)

[6] Of the appearance of the *Aranda Lutheran Hymnal,Ljelintjamea-Pepa Lutherarinja* (1965) - a revision and expansion of the work of Kempe and C.F.T. Strehlow by P. Scherer and T. Strehlow-Albrecht: 'At first, the Aboriginals found it hard to accept the alterations and re-writings of the hymns, preferring to sing the old familiar hymns, even when they knew that certain passages were faulty.' in Graetz (1988:108) *An Open Book* (Lutheran PH, Adelaide)

The scripted form Dieri, with all its limitations and imperfections, I would argue is the form that can be traced down to the remnant speakers of the latter 20th century.

3.1 Schmidt on the salient features of language loss

Schmidt defines a healthy language as 'one which is transmitted to children and actively spoken to children in a wide range of social contexts.'[7] Furthermore no vast quantity of change is occurring under influence of an encroaching language and there is no significant level of diglossia, as a reflection of incomplete command of the language by children. Conversely weakening languages are characterised by disruption of the language transmission link, increasing reliance on the encroaching language or a creole, and limited social function.

The major encroaching language for the Australian context is of course English, but Schmidt also identifies situations where the Indigenous language is being replaced by another Aboriginal language, or in other cases by a creole, such as Torres Strait Creole and Kriol (Northern Territory and northern Western Australia).

Broad factors conducive to language loss also include the fragility of Aboriginal languages in the modern context due to small speaker populations, the critical speaker population being some 200.[8] Half of the surviving languages today fall below this level, having between 10 and 100 speakers, and in the absence of intervention face a limited future.[9]

The disappearance of languages also correlates closely with patterns of urbanisation and European settlement, which points to the sociological change

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[7] A. Schmidt (1990:2) *The Loss of Australia's Aboriginal Language Heritage*

[8] Schmidt (1990:9) 'There is no strong language with a speaker population of less than 200'

[9] Schmidt (1990:131)

which is set in train in areas of intense contact. Specifically mechanisms which promote language loss include:

- *Decimation* and or dispersal of speaker populations with a reduction in opportunities for use.

- *Relocation* of speaker populations to reserves and missions with a homogenisation of the language community. In such settings the use of a *lingua franca* as simplified interlingual communication may occur; this may involve use of a creole form, but may also mean the adoption of just one of the languages as a common code[10] the case of two or more Aboriginal Languages surviving in the same community being much rarer.

- *Intervention* aimed at promoting the shift to the official language (usually English) and the supression of the diversity of Indigenous languages/dialects.

- *Foreign media* promoting language shift; the favouring of one language form over others due to the production and dissemination of materials in that language. Such intervention includes the introduction of standard written forms and the production of literature, and today also extends to TV, radio, film and computer networks.

Mission practices and language loss

How did Lutheran mission practices at Lake Killalpaninna influence the subsequent history of the vernacular? Did the mission accelerate processes of language loss ultimately caused by European cultural contact and sociological change?

Inevitably there are several areas of overlap in the features described by Schmidt and the aims and methods of the Hermannsburg missionaries. Notable amongst these and well-documented especially by Mühlhäusler (1996) are:

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[10] Schmidt (1990:10)

- *Promotion* of one language/dialect over other forms; one vernacular form is developed as mission language (with standard written form and production of literature) due to practical considerations of dealing with a multilingual group. Language shift to the mission language is promoted and language diversity is lost.

- *Isolation* of the language: and a less obvious consequence discussed by Mühlhäusler, is the disruption of the linguistic ecology of the multilingual area, whereby the mission language itself is ultimately rendered less viable due to separation from other closely related variants providing linguistic resources.

- *Homogenisation* of language group; the impact of the mission on the demographics of the area, attracting people from across the region, and creating a need for a common mode of communication.

- *Simplification* in the creation of a mission language[11]: the role of the mission in the reduction of speech styles in scripted Dieri. Areas of the language which were either inaccessible to the missionaries or which were deemed irrelevant or undesirable (due to their association with pre-Christian practices and beliefs) were underrepresented in mission language documents, the effect of this being reduction in the functional range of the language and compromise of its character as a marker of identity.[12]

3.2 Contact, homogenization and language distinctions

An important dimension for languages which in addition to background contact with English have also been influenced by the presence of a mission and its

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[11] Mühlhäusler (1996:151) *Linguistic Ecology* 'It is sometimes argued that the elevation of local vernaculars to mission lingue franche helped strengthen their inguistic viability, but this claim ignores another effect of the choice of mission language, that is, their coming under the influence of expatriate and local second language speakers, with resulting dramatic structural and lexical reduction. Over time such reduction or even pidginization tends to become the basis of literacy and preaching and even the language of the first language users is affected.'

[12] Schmidt (1990:122)

specific language policies, is the homogenizing effect of the mission which corresponds to Dixon's dormitory effect.[13]

For the Dieri context, I would like to point out that the effect of European contact was probably well underway by 1867, due to the attraction of the stations which had been establishing in the Lake Hope area since 1863. Missionary Gössling wrote on 15th January 1867 for example, of some dozen huts and over fifty Aborigines who had gathered on the station Manuwalkaninna.[14] English words were already being taken into the Dieri language as recorded by the first missionaries at Killalpaninna,[15] and a pidgin form of English was the mode of interlingual communication with pastoralists, police and later the Moravian missionaries at Lake Kopperamana (1867-9). The Hermannsburg missionaries sought to preserve Dieri in the face of this influence, but in creating a mission lingua franca doubtless had a similar effect in accelerating loss of language diversity in the region. Homann wrote from Killalpaninna, 26/10/1868 that they had some 22 pupils, between the ages of seven and thirteen, in the mission school:

> The fewest natives are however from our specific district, but are rather jumbled together from five different tribes with just as many languages. The languages of our region differ as much from one another as English and German, however the children all understand Djaeri [Dieri], although to some extent they only speak it in a broken form. It is thus the case, that each tribe speaks its own language, and understands the other's language, but cannot speak it properly. So, for instance, when we ask questions in Djaeri our school children often answer in the language of their own tribe. Furthermore I wanted to note that our pupil-number is made up of districts/regions which [together] cover approximately 6000 german square miles, and [with a population of] perhaps 2-3000 natives.[16]

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[13] Dixon (1980:85)

[14] KMB 2/1867:25 See too Kneebone and Rathjen 'Men with a Mission' FoLA/6 (1996: 20)

[15] KMB 3/1867:43

[16] Letter from Homann, Killalpaninna, 26/10/68 'an den lieben Herrn Pastor' [likely Theo Harms] held in Hermannsburg Archive, Germany. 'Jedoch sind die wenigsten Eingeborene unseres engeren Distrikts, sondern aus fünferlei Stämmen mit eben soviel verschiedenen Sprachen zusammengewürfelt. Die Sprachen unseres Distrikts weichen so stark voneinander ab wie das Englische vom Deutschen, jedoch verstehen die Kinder alle Djaeri obwohl zum Teil sie es nur gebrochen sprechen. Es ist so die Mode, dass jeder Stamm seine Sprache spricht und nur die Sprache des anderen versteht, nichts[nicht?] aber ordentlich sprechen kann. So z.B. antworten oft unsere Schulkinder wenn wir in Djaeri fragen in ihrer eigenen Stammessprache. Noch wollte ich

Interestingly missionary Homann mentioned five tribes as represented in the school in 1868; 'Diaeri, Wonkanurro, Terrari, Aumeni & Wonkarappanna.'[17] Samuel Gason (1879) detailed the four neighbouring tribes of the 'Dieyerie', who also understand their language, as 'the Yandrawontha, Yarrawaurka, Auminie, and Wonkaooroo.'[18] The missionaries were clearly aware of a large number of different tribal groupings in the region, and this was demonstrated in the inclusion of 14 terms under 'Dieri' in Schoknecht's dictionary. The choice of Dieri as a *lingua franca* thus did not indicate an undifferentiated view of the people. In the translators preface to the typed manuscript of the Schoknecht dictionary, the translator refers to Missionary Schoknecht's notebook and includes information on tribal areas (See Appendix C) which deserves further investigation. The Dieri are given as occupying the area surrounding Coopers Creek (also known as the Barcoo). The Terari, Wonkarapana and Wonkaranda are given as occupying the same region near Lake Eyre and Salt Creek (I think here Salt Lake intended, as it is farther South) at Mt Margaret[19] or *hapa murala*. The Aumeni and the Wonkanura at Salt Creek or *kaleri* (also known as the Warburton River).

This listing provides an early indication of the reach of the mission and documents the mixing of various groups in the school. Austin (1981:7) reconstructed the location of the Dieri as surrounded to the North by the Ngamini [Aumeni or Auminie], to the North-East the Yawarawarga [Yarrawaurka], to the East the Yandruwandha [Yandrawontha], to the South the Guyani [Kujeni], to the West the Dhirari [Terrari] and further to the West beyond Lake Eyre by the Arabana and the North-West by the Wangganguru [Wonkanurro, Wonkaooroo].

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bemerken dass unsere Schülerzahl besteht aus Distrikten die einen Umfang von ungefähr 6000 deutschen Quadratmeilen umfassen, und vielleicht 2 bis 3000 Eingeborene zählen.'

[17] KMB 20/1868:193. Homann letter: 2/10/1868

[18] Gason in Woods (1879:257) 'The Dieyerie tribe numbers about 230, the four neighbouring tribes,- the Yandrawontha, Yarrawaurka, Auminie, and Wongkaooroo, about 800 - in all about 1030.[...] Their country[...]is bounded at the most southerly point by Mt Freeling, at the most northerly point by Pirigundi Lake(on the Cooper River), at the most easterly point by Lake Hope, and at the most westerly point at a part yet unnamed, but about eighty miles from Lake Hope [...] Their language is understood by the four neighbouring tribes, with whom they keep up ostensibly a friendly intercourse, inviting and being invited to attend each others festivals, and mutually bartering...'

[19] This appears to be a different Mt Margaret than the hill referred to by geoscience www.ga.gov.au as West of Lake Eyre and South of Oodnadatta. It may refer to a station name.

In the 1880's the 'light house effect' of drawing in peoples from diverse tribes from the whole region became well-established, and the Bethesda mission became the dominant station attracting not only pupils and workers, but others who formed an ephemeral camp population on its outskirts. Its influence thus reached many more people than are accounted for in government ration returns and Church lists of school pupils and baptised Dieri Christian.

By the early 1880's, according to Flierl, the neighbouring tribes, given as 'Aumeni, Kujeni, Wonkanguru and Wonkarapana', hardly numbered 100 souls each, and were living mixed together, all speaking several dialects.[20] The published reports of Flierl's mission trips (1881, 1883 and 1884) provide a detailed impression of the distribution of Aboriginal people in the region to the North of the mission lands and extending to the Queensland border. On each trip Flierl sought out Aboriginal encampments and surveyed whether these people spoke or understood the Dieri language. The most extensive trip took him via Lake Hope and along Salt Creek to Berlin and Cowarie, where he encountered mainly Aumenie speakers, and further to to Goyders Lagoon where the station camp was a mixed population of Aumenie, Wonkanguru and Jauraworka [Austin's Yawarawarga]. Importantly Flierl noted the disruption of traditional lifestyles and the displacement of the Aboriginal population of the region to congregate in encampments on pastoral stations 'like crows around a carcass' reduced to subsisting on the cast-off crumbs of the Europeans.[21]

In 1884 Flierl summarised the findings of his mission travels and his opinion on the proposal to found a second Lutheran mission station in the region. He concluded that the mission population was not a local but a homogenised, regional one and that the establishment of a second station upon the grounds that it would be catering to a different and hitherto unreached population in North SA would be ill-advised:

> And now as regards any possible expansion of our work, it is becoming ever more clear to me, that if we can indeed consider expansion, then we should

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[20] J. Flierl (1910:16) *Dreissig Jahre Missionsarbeit in Wüsten und Wildnissen*

[21] *Deutsche Kirchen und Missionszeitung* henceforth DKMZ 1883:150

> pitch the pegs of our mission tent across the border, in Queensland, to the North or North-East of here, and why? because the area closer to hand is that from which the mission school here and indeed the whole Aboriginal population on the mission station is drawn. Only a small proportion of those commended to our care are from hereabouts, most come from far afield in all directions of the winds: from Salt Creek, from Kalakupa, from the other side of Lake Eyre, from Lake Hope, from Manuwalkanina etc, we have even had pupils from the Kungi area close to the Eastern border and one of our Christians is from Queensland. Dieri is the universal language for all the remnants of the various Aboriginal tribes this side of the border. Inside the area described there are few Blacks to be found, who have not already travelled through the mission station and hardly a soul who has not heard at least something of the *Kanamastern* and their *Jaura* (Word) [...] For the Heathens living closer to hand [ie in North of SA] the Mission station here is a lighthouse, clearly visible to each and every one, which guides those, who have not capriciously turned away from the light, to the peaceful haven.[22]

The ramifications for later research into the distinct languages of the Lake Eyre Basin are clear; the mission exerted an influence from the very early post-contact years on the displaced populations of the Cooper region, attracting people from many different tribes and from considerable distances. The mission on the Cooper was known to the Arabana by the late 1860's, and some chose it as an 'alternative to encampment and cattle station life.'[23] Some just remained on while passing through. These people used Dieri as a medium of inter-group communication and indeed Dieri became the language used on the mission with all such remnant tribes. The influence of the mission was not limited to those who entered the school or long-term employ of the mission, but also encompassed

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[22] DKMZ 1884:124 Travel report J. Flierl-Auricht, Bethesda 27th June 1884: 'Was nun ein etwaige Erweiterung unsers Werks anlangt, so wird mir immer klarer, dass wenn wir einmal an Ausbreitung denken können, wir die Pflöcke unsers Missionszeltes dann jenseits der Grenze einschlagen müssen, in Queensland, nördlich oder nordöstlich von hier, und warum? weil das näherliegende Gebiet dasjenige ist, aus welcher sich die hiesige Missionsschule und überhaupt die Eingeborenen Bevölkerung auf der Missionsstation rekrutirt. Unsere Pflegebefohlenen sind nur zum kleinen Theil hier in der Nähe daheim, die meisten sind weit her aus allen Windrichtungen: von der Salz-Creek, von Kalakupa, von jenseits Lake Eyre, von Lake Hope, von Manuwalkanina u.s.w., selbst aus der Gegend von Kungi, nahe an der Ostgrenze, hatten wir schon Schüler und einer unsrer Christen ist aus Queensland. Das Dieri ist Universalsprache für alle Ueberreste der vielerlei Eingebornenstämme diesseits der Grenze. Innerhalb des bezeichneten Gebietes sind wenig Schwarze zu finden, die nicht schon an der Missionsstation vorübergezogen wären und kaum einer, der nicht wengstens etwas von den Kanamastern und ihrer Jaura (Wort) gehört hätten.[...]Für die näherwohnenden [im Norden Südaustraliens] Heiden ist die hiesige Missionsstation ein Leuchtthurm, Allen u. Jedem bemerkbar, der diejenigen, welche nicht boshaft sich dem Licht verschliessen, zum Friedensport leitet.'

[23] Pearce (1980:179)

many who stayed for shorter periods of time and returned to the mission station lands on many occasions over the years. Such people made up the floating population of the camp at Lake Killalpaninna and its outstations Kopperamana and Etadunna. They were also exposed to the language and teachings of the mission by special church services in Dieri each Sunday from earliest days under Homann, and on a more specialised and regular footing by Meyer 1875-86.

3.3 Language death and accelerated change

Some five years after the appearance of *Diyari Grammar*, Austin[24] discussed the consequences of language obsolescence for language structure of Eastern Australian languages and the ways their phonology, morphology and syntax have changed.[25]

Language obsolescence or language death in the Australian context traditionally has involved a generational shift, typically to the language of a numerically and socially more powerful group, English. Language death appears to follow a progression evidenced by changes in the composition of the speech community; to Nancy C. Dorian's[26] categories of *'fluent speakers'* and *'semi-speakers,'* Austin (1986b) added *'former speakers'* and *'rememberers'* which go to make up the speech community in the terminal phase of a dying language.

> Extremely rare is the case of a language dying because of the death of its last fluent monolingual speaker [...]. Much more common is for monolingual speakers to be replaced by bilinguals and finally by monolinguals in the replacing language.[27]

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[24] Austin (1986b) 'Structural Change in Language Obsolescence: Some Eastern Australian Examples'

[25] See Dixon (1990: 89-99) 'Reassigning Underlying forms in Yidiny- a change during language death.'

[26] N.C. Dorian (1978) 'The Fate of Morphological Complexity in Language death: Evidence from East Sutherland Gaelic'

[27] Austin (1986b:201-2)

Austin enumerated some general features found in the speech performance of speakers of dying languages as follows:

> 1) a narrowing and reduction of the communicative situations in which the language is used, which leads to:
>
> 2) a narrowing of functional range within which the language operates, leading in turn to:
>
> 3) a narrowing and reduction in total linguistic repertoire. This is characterised by the loss of stylistic variation [...] and, later, structural effects on the remaining single style, including:
> a) lexical reduction
> b) phonological levelling, with loss or confusion of earlier contrasts
> c) morphological reduction and levelling
> d) syntactic reduction and fossilisation, including a decrease in frequency or loss of strategies for producing complex sentences (subordination and coordination)[28]

The approach in his article is centred on the functioning speech community rather than the individual performance as representative of language structure. However, where there is loss or dispersal of the language community, the language range and complexity will almost certainly be affected.[29] All of these features were already evident in mission Dieri documents of the second half of the 19th Century, however I would argue that these features do not necessarily indicate death of vernacular but are also consistent with a simplified 'lingua franca' developed by the missionaries and their informants, the graphised form being a phonologically, grammatically and semantically reduced form. Austin leaves the question open as to whether change of the type which leads to language death is qualitatively different to that in other contact situations but notes the

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[28] Austin (1986b:203 & later 226) 'intense contact between English and the Aboriginal languages of eastern Australia have resulted in their abandonment as viable means of communication. In the process, a large number of changes have taken place in the structure of these languages, affecting their phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. We find levelling of phonemic contrasts and replacement of allophones, paradigmatic levelling and restructuring and replacement of synthetic constructions by analytic ones. In their lexicons, the languages have seen loss of vocabulary, semantic shifts and the inclusion of items borrowed from both English and other Australian languages.'

[29] Austin (1986b:204) 'Linguists working in the southern part of Australia, including myself, have too often in the past been concerned with recording the structures of the dying languages, usually from the oldest fluent speakers available, while ignoring the contemporary speech situation. Varieties of language spoken by generations below the oldest have been regularly ignored.'

speed of change as characteristic.[30] Another characteristic seems to be the locus of control of change outside the native speech community. Mühlhäusler (1989) outlines the processes of accelerated change as specifically related to European Colonialism and the resultant westernization and modernization in the Pacific as a highly multilingual region: in general these changes involve loss of inflectional and derivational morphology, narrowing of stylistic range (loss of registers, special languages), a westernisation of semantics and phonological convergence with prestige language.[31] These two factors may relate to the effect of early phases of graphization if literacy replaces oral functions and control is not transferred to first language speakers.

3.4 Mission practices and language maintenance

Against the factors involved in language loss, Schmidt explores factors common to and therefore conducive to language survival:

- modern development in attitudes which *promote Indigenous languages as identity markers* (as a people distinct from European Australians, and also on a tribal level) and language awareness as sources of pride, such as in the Kaurna reclamation.[32]

- 'the *enclaving or clustering* effect of a tight-knit community is a powerful language maintenance device'[33]

- *Isolation*: 'relatively closed communities with limited interaction and contact with mainstream white society'[34]: the 'outstation movement'

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[30] Austin (1986b:226-7) 'Many of the changes documented above are of the sort which human languages go through in the normal course of their histories[...] Language contact and obsolescence appear to be characterized by the extreme rapidity withwhich changes occur and the drastic structural adjustments which result. An important question is what, if anything, distinguishes language obsolescence from other contact situations, such as pidginization, linguistic diffusion and convergence.

[31] P. Mühlhäusler (1989) 'On the Causes of accelerated linguistic change in the Pacific area'

[32] See too Schmidt (1990:22) The gradations of language loss are not distinguished in this area, Schmidt suggesting that in some cases[...] 'a few words, affixes and phrases[..] are sufficient to signal identity' and fulfil a stopgate effect from total language loss.

[33] Schmidt (1990:23)

[34] Schmidt (1990:23)

involving all of the above in seeking to restore the Aboriginal land, language, identity link independent of European culture.

- *Intervention*: Language maintenance programs to support and complement community-based language knowledge and modes of transmission.

The following factors associated with mission activities at Coopers Creek accord largely with features Schmidt describes as conducive to language maintenance.

- The mission sought this mission field as sufficiently remote from areas of white settlement; the influence of white civilisation was acknowledged as negative in both spiritual and physical terms, given the history of contact as background to earlier mission attempts in the Eastern States including that of Threlkeld, and those of Schürmann, Teichelmann, Klose and Meyer in the settled areas around Adelaide.

- In linguistic terms it was hoped that the mission could use the local idiom as a way of excluding the European influence and directly communicating Lutheran teaching to the Dieri.

- The Mission became a focal point for Aboriginal people in the face of pastoral encroachment and the Dieri language (as spoken on the mission) provided a sense of identity and cohesion of a multi-tribal mission community. The mission sustained the language community, and maintained the transmission of the language via the school and production of written materials until its closure.

- The fact that the mission did create a script form and preached the Gospel in the idiom for some 50 years preserved the language albeit in a particular form in the face of intense contact pressure with English. Dieri became a badge of identity and belonging to that community and correspondence occurred between missionary children and Indigenous children, and also between the missionaries and their congregation.

The important point is that the scripted mission form of the language, Dieri, should not be seen as identical with the pre-contact form. It was a standard form tailored to the purposes of the mission, and dependent for its transmission on its ongoing use by the mission community and notably the school. The early philological work is particularly revealing regarding the types of semantic refashioning and reduction of range which occurred as the language was learned and documented by the missionaries,[35] and it appears that specialised

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[35] Schmidt (1990: 123)

vocabularies are indicators for this more subtle form of language shift. Schmidt describes the process of 'narrowing of the range of speech styles' and situates it as occurring 'before or in the early stages of other linguistic change (eg in phonology, semantics and grammar).'[36]

> In the process of language loss, the range of speech styles within each language is sharply reduced. Usually (and in all observed cases of Aboriginal language loss), all of the distinct speech styles appropriate for certain kin relations and social contexts are lost, leaving only the single skeletal mode of speaking, everyday speech.[37]

In the early phase of mission work, this was the type of language learned and employed in translation by the Hermannsburg missionaries due to both practical constraints of language acquisition and theological considerations regarding the suitability of Indigenous terms as the translation of Christian terms. It was a phase of philological work characterised by lack of linguistic and conceptual subtlety and the necessary importation of loan words, due in part no doubt to the constraints of the everyday speech style. However, it was work which did establish a Christian vocabulary and a range of key-words which were developed and expanded by later missionaries, it also established the orthography and grammatical paradigms which were used with minimal revision as a basis for subsequent work.

3.5 Foreigner talk as the basis of a lingua franca

In attempting to explain variation in early philological documentation in the Hawaiian context, Schütz (1994) suggests a number of ideas relevant to colonial contact in multilingual areas. One such interesting concept is the use of Foreigner Talk; this simplified language (not just lexically but also phonologically and grammatically) was used not only by the Indigenous people when confronted by Western visitors but also had a pre-history in inter-group contact within the Pacific region, such as between the Fijiians and Tongans, whereby the former

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[36] Schmidt (1990: 123)

[37] Schmidt (1990: 122)

phonologically simplified their language for the latter regarding certain unpronounceable consonants.

It is probable that Dieri, in its role as a type of lingua franca for the area East of Lake Eyre as a cultural and linguistic diffusion zone, possessed this type of dimension pre-European contact as a mode for inter-group communication. I propose that this mode applied for communication with the mission personnel, and naturally influenced the type and range of data on which the evolution of a standard Mission Dieri was based.

Given linguistic diversity as the condition for inter-group communication in the pre-contact situation, dialectal differences contributed to the variety of transcriptions and in irregularities in mission orthography. A simplified, homogenised form however became the solution to the missionaries' communication needs with the heterogenous group of tribes of the area[38] and it is likely that this process of simplification was based not only on the type of language spoken with the missionaries[39] but also on the standardisation undertaken by the missionaries themselves.

That the mission usage indeed was different to the languages encountered outside the context of school and church, and notably when Indigenous people of various tribes were speaking with one another, was demonstrated by the missionaries' inability to understand 'unstructured' utterances. Such were perceived as incomprehensible jargon and 'sloppy' or incorrect use of their own languages!

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[38] cf. Schütz (1994:49-50) '...the earliest written records of Hawaiian cannot be treated as totally accurate reflections of the language spoken at the time, but have to be understood in the context in which the data were collected.[...] imperfect as these records are, they, and the pieces gleaned from other accounts, comprise the whole of our knowledge of the language for the first several decades after European contact. Moreover, they offer tantalizing glimpses of the sociology of communication in Hawai'i: the ways people with extremely disparate languages and cultures managed to talk with each other.'

[39] Schütz (1994:49) 'Early transcriptions of Hawaiian show both words and constructions that differ from our conception of "standard Hawaiian," showing that either Hawaiians were simplifying their language for outsiders, or that outsiders were learning a simplified form of the language.'

> ... In this the confusion of languages of our Blacks reveals itself as particularly bad; they represent some half a dozen tribes with just as many languages, and even if Dieri is the universal language which all of them understand, they do not utilise such in their casual conversations, when one of us is present. Thus it is that they have the ability (and often make use of it) to say whatever they wish to one another, without us understanding anything of it.[40]

3.6 Pidgin English

Apart from the development of a mission form of Dieri by the Hermannsburg missionaries and subsequent missionaries at Bucaltaninna and Lake Killalpaninna and its outstations, the role of a pidgin form of English as a parallel means of intercultural communication is significant. Pidgin English forms were attested from earliest European contact in the region. Howitt in reference to his 1861 expedition to the Cooper in search of King, documented a number of pidgin words including *Bomako* (tomahawk), *Mucketty* (musket) and *Bucketty* (bucket) and a number of pidgin phrases.[41] He referred also to the mobility of the people associated with trade and 'walk-about old men' who travelled among the neighbouring tribes carrying news (Howitt 1875:305). This mobility would help explain the rapid spread of English pidgin forms which accompanied exploration and settlement.

Upon arrival in Kopperamana on 3rd of February 1867, the Hermannsburg missionaries were told of the approach of *kullno wilparro* [a Wagon][42], a borrowing which goes back to the English term 'wheelbarrow', and according to Howitt this term was also used in the name given to the explorer McKinley in the early 1860's, *Whil-pra-pinnaru.* This term along with news of his exploits had

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[40] DKMZ 1883:36 Joh Flierl, Monatsbericht vom Januar 'Als recht schlimm erweist sich hierbei die Sprachenverwirrung unserer Schwarzen, sie repräsentieren wohl so ein halb Dutzend Stämme und eben so viele Sprachen und ob auch das Dieri die ihnen allen verständliche Universalsprache ist, so gebrauchen sie eben dieselbe nicht bei ihren losen Reden, wenn jemand von uns gegenwärtig ist. Also sind sie im Stande (und thun es auch oft) vor unsern Ohren miteinander zu sprechen was sie wollen, ohne dass wir es verstehen können.'

[41] A.W. Howitt (1875:307-9) Notes on the Aborigines of Cooper's Creek in R Brough-Smyth *The Aborigines of Victoria and Other Parts of Australia and Tasmania Vol II*

[42] KMB 3/1867:43

apparently spread via messengers to the *Yantruwanta* tribe from beyond Sturt's Stony Desert, and followed him from tribe to tribe.[43] In March 1867 Hermann Vogelsang too reported the rapid spread of knowledge of and desire for European goods which it seems was accompanied by English vocabulary items:

> Our dear Committee sent along tobacco with us, which we can distribute to the poor natives, in order to draw them to us and establish friendly terms with them. But may I tell you, there is no end to their begging. As soon as I get up in the morning, and they catch sight of me, they come running and call out *Moke, Moke*, for they cannot pronounce *Tabak* (*Tobacco*) and this is not only the case with the men, but rather men, and women, boys and girls of 8 and 9 years old, they all chew tobacco like old men...[44]

Later, from 1875, English was formally introduced in the mission school, firstly as the language of instruction and everyday language, and later as a dedicated subject alongside others taught in Dieri. At this time it was recognised that most of the people who came to the mission station (post its re-establishment at Bucaltaninna) had some knowledge of English and spoke a pidgin form. A letter written in 1875 by a Mr Andrews,[45] the naturalist and taxidermist of the SA Government Lake Eyre Survey Expedition,[46] detailed contacts with the *Dieyerie* and observed: 'They could not speak any English except one or two very commonplace words, such as *whitefellow.*'[47] Clearly however, English pidgin

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[43] Howitt (1904:685) *Native Tribes of South-East Aust. whil-pra* , pidgin English for any wheeled vehicle, *pinnaru* headman,leader.

[44] Vogelsang to 'my very dear Mr Pastor' [Theodor Harms]: Hermannsburg 3/3/1867 held in HA: 'Unser liebes Committee hat uns Tabak mit gegeben den wir an die armen Eingeborenen vertheilen können, um sie an uns zu ziehen, um auf freundschaftlichem Fuß mit ihnen zu stehen. Da kann ich ihnen aber sagen, das[sic] das Betteln bei ihnen gar keine Grenzen hat. So wie ich den Morgen aufstehe, und sie mich sehen, kommen sie angelaufen, und rufen *Moke, Moke,* den Tabak können sie nicht sagen, und das nicht allein Männer, sondern Männer und Frauen, Knaben und Mädchen von 8 u. 9 Jahren die kauen den Tabak wie alte Männer...'

[45] Reprinted in G. Taplin (1879) *The Folklore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*

[46] Pearce (1980:117) This expedition, 'led by John Lewis, passed through the Cooper mission settlements on several occasions between March and June 1875'. It appears that the party camped at Kopperamana on several occasions, where Jacob was camped with mission flock. Andrews is also mentioned as having travelled with a Lutheran party and their stock from Kopperamana to Bucaltaninna before continuing on to Lake Eyre; it is likely that as naturalist he was gathering local information from the colonists and mission workers.

[47] Taplin (1879:83)

was used by Europeans on stations in communicating with the Indigenous population: 'on inquiry *where blackfellow got um tomahawk* the answer received was *him 'teal um along a whitefellow.*[48] Furthermore it was practice to use Indigenous interpreters with a better command of English, Andrews reported that his party had used several interpreters along the way:

> 'Tommy' had a good smattering of English from having been with the telegraph construction parties for some time, and was very useful as a guide and interpreter. One day, when travelling, we met with natives,'outsiders' whose patois Tommy was unaquainted with, and he cried out in despair *me can't hear um.*[49]

3.7 Codeswitching

Fluency in English and also German was attested for several members of the Dieri Christian community, with some members also being literate in English. Hymns were sung in all three languages, English, German and Dieri. As discussed above, a general familiarity with English Pidgin forms can also be assumed.

The linguistic background to the development of the written form and mission Dieri usage can also be glimpsed in such sources as personal correspondence between mission family members, such as the following excerpt written from the mission station by Emilie Flierl (née Gallasch, wife of Missionary Johannes Flierl II) to her sister Bertha, September 30th 1886.

The letter itself is interesting for the codeswitching between German and English, which occurs in passages where the writer's young daughter Margarethe was apparently climbing onto her lap, and it also contains the following anecdote of a conversation with Joseph, one of the Indigenous members of the mission community, where switching occurs between Pidgin English and Dieri. Given the mixture of languages, I have here quoted the letter in its original form:

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[48] Taplin (1879:84)

[49] ibid

> Nun will ich Dir noch einen Spaß erzählen. Joseph der immer für uns das Wasser holen muß war einen Abend nicht gekommen. Nächsten Tag ging ich zur Station hinauf und sagte zu Joseph er sollte gleich kommen und Wasser holen und den Garten gießen. Da meinte er '*wata* (nicht), Timotheus down there' : ich: '*pani* (nein).' Er: 'Me fellow big one bad, big one cold outside.' Ich: '*wata mola ngumu* (nicht mehr gut).' Er: '*pungani mola ngumu* (im Haus mehr gut) big one wind outside. Kept me big one warm here.' Ich: 'Mr Flierl *jatana Joseph nurrieli ngapa maninanto ja Garden turibana* (gesagt J. schnell Wasser holen und Garden gießen).' Dann kam er aber schnell, er hatte Angst, daß er sich noch mehr erkälten würde. Ich sagte wenn er draußen rumgeht, und etwas arbeitet, da wird er eher besser. Er wollte mir es aber nicht glauben, und richtig den nächsten Tag war er bedeutend besser. Ich sagte '*Karari mola ngumu* (heute mehr gut).' Er: '*Kau wolja* (ja bald).'
> Ich mußte so sehr lachen, über unsere Unterhaltung. Englisch und Dieri alles durcheinander.[50]

3.8 Was the Dieri translation of the Word understood?

In linguistic terms the missionaries encountered little that they were able to accept and utilise without significant processing; this reworking of the vernacular consisted in the collecting, ordering and selection, the graphization, standardisation and improvement of phonetic and grammatical forms, and in the importation of familiar terms and structures from the European cultural context. Together the general prejudice of European culture and the imperatives of Lutheran teaching determined not only the sociological but also the linguistic contact history of the Killalpaninna mission. Without wishing to overstretch the environmental analogy, I would suggest that the introduction of foreign vocabulary, grammatical categories and syntax exercised an equally damaging influence on the Indigenous idioms of the area, as the introduction of exotic plant and animal species on Indigenous ecosystems.[51] In recasting the 'weapons carrier', i.e. the language which carries the Gospel, in order to transform it into an appropriate vehicle for the contents of Christian teaching, the missionaries also

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[50] Emilie Flierl to Bertha, Bethesda 30th Sept. 1886. Held in LA

[51] P. Mühlhäusler (1996:139) *Linguistic Ecology*: 'Mission intrusion into the linguistic ecology of the Pacific is perhaps best characterised as an invisible hand phenomenon[...] one is justified to regard many of the dramatic consequences of mission language practices as unintended and uncontrolled.'

recast its phonological and grammatical structure, and partially alienated the idiom from its pre-contact tribal speaker population, the script form being the preserve of the mission community.

Despite over three years' activity in the area and from early 1871 Homann's especial efforts to reach members of the camp with a regular *Sonntags Gespräch*, it is clear that such people did not easily understand Homann's Dieri addresses and as the following vignette shows, were still reliant on intermediate translation by members of the mission Dieri community for clarification.

> ... after the service several older men came along, they had heard that we took no pleasure in their conduct, and therefore enquired whether we were angry with them. I denied this, but gave them quite clearly and seriously to understand what I thought of their spiritual situation. They pondered this in silence a good while, and then turned to a native, who had been in our employ for some time, with the request to repeat once more for them what I had just said, as they wanted to hear it from him. They heard this, and a good deal more [and this in a fashion], which amazed me, as the man had absconded [repeatedly] and had only just now [returned]. I cannot translate his words exactly [illegible] into comprehensible German, but I will write them down as well as I am able.
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> [That] which the old man (as I am usually called) tells you in the talk (in the worship service), he said, is not his talk, but rather God's Word. Jesus the greatest [up] there, the greatest one of all sent him here to proclaim the word: not him here (pointing to me) makes you stay alive eternally, no, I [tell you, if] you disobey the word that he preaches, [you] will be lost and go into the fire forever.[52]

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[52] DKMZ 10/1871 Homann March report : unnumbered due to damage of only preserved copy; damage in several areas of text, gaps filled according to likely sense of sentence with my wording in square brackets: '...nach dem Gottesdienst kamen mehrere alte Männer, sie hatten gehört, daß wir keinen Gefallen an ihrem Wesen hatten, und frugen deshalb nach, ob wir böse seien gegen sie. Ich verneinte es, doch sagte ich ihnen offen und ernstlich Bescheid über ihren Seelenzustand. Sie schwiegen nachdenklich eine ganze Weile, und wandten sich dann an einen Eingebornen, welcher bei uns längere Zeit in Arbeit gewesen, mit der Bitte ihnen nochmals zu widerholen[sic] was ich ihnen gesagt, sie wollten es von ihm einmal hören. Sie hörten es, ja noch viel mehr dazu [und das in einer Weise], die mich in Verwunderung setzte, da der Mann [immer wieder] fortgelaufen, und erst jetzt wieder[zurückgekehrt]. Ich kann seine Worte nicht genau übersetzen [...?] verständlich deutsch sein, aber so gut es geht [will ich sie] schreiben.[Das,] sagte er, was der Alte (so werde ich gewöhnlich genannt) in der Rede (im Gottesdienst) euch sagt, ist nicht seine Rede, sondern Gottes Wort. Jesus da [oben] der Größte, der Allergrößte hat ihn hierhergesandt das Wort zu sagen: Nicht er da (auf mich weisend) macht euch ewig lebendig bleibend, nein Ich [sage euch, wenn] ihr dem Wort, daß er predigt ungehorsam seid, werdet [ihr] verloren sein, und in das Feuer ewiglich kommen...

Misunderstanding of missionaries' actions and words were quite frequently reported, including such practices as eulogising the dead and regularly speaking of the inevitability of death and the Christian approach to death and salvation, which were offensive and incomprehensible given Indigenous cultural practice. Likewise the mission practice of singing hymns to the camp was viewed with suspicion and even fear by people from outside the mission school context, and especially by older people. In some cases actions such as ministering to and treating the sick, especially in such cases where the patient died, were sometimes misinterpreted as murder.[53] Indeed there seems to have been a mutual incomprehensibility of cultural practice. Whilst missionaries obviously found Indigenous cultural practices such as the *pinga,* which dictated that a death must be avenged, incomprehensible and unacceptable, and suggested more 'logical' and enlightened European laws and authorities, Indigenous people not receiving regular religious instruction, found Church rituals such as baptism not readily comprehensible, as the following anecdote from the year 1879 demonstrates:

> You may deduce the sort of incredible things that are circulated amongst the Camp-Blacks from the following incident: a mother, whose son was also to be baptised, came to us on the very day of baptism and asked full of consternation if what she had heard from the old men were true, namely that we would pour boiling water over the head of the baptismal candidates?[54]

It is also worth noting that such reactions were not limited to the first years of mission activity under the Hermannsburg missionaries, but persisted due to the ongoing divide between those who were in regular work or instruction with the

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[53] DKMZ 10/1871 Homann March report : unnumbered due to damage of original : '...mit besonderer Betonung hatten die Eingeborenen mir immer gesagt, ich habe den Gestorbenen vorher Medicin gegeben und das wird fast meistentheils für Vergiften ausgelegt, weshalb es nicht unmöglich gewesen, daß der Mörder von Anfang auf mich gezielt. Den andern Morgen früh erschien der Alte mit einigen seiner Schaar, um mich zu sprechen[...] leise sagte er mir, mein Kind ist todt, du hast seine Wunde gesehen, hast ihm Medicin gegeben, mein Kind, mein Sohn ist todt. Ich sprach ihm mein herzlich Mitleiden aus, da er wisse, wie lieb ich ihn und seinen Sohn gehabt. Antwort: Ja, du bist mein Freund, aber ich muß rächen, ich muß tödten, um meines todten Sohnes willen. Ich antwortete: höre du aber, der große Gott hat mir befohlen, dir etwas zu sagen, nämlich, du sollst nicht tödten, wenn du tödtest, verwirkst du dein Leben. Hast du Klage, so gehe nach der Polizei, die werden die Mörder deines Sohnes aufsuchen usw.'

[54] DKMZ 1879: 42 Meyer 8/2/1879 'Welche wunderlichen Sachen unter den Camp-Schwarzen verhandelt sein mögen, können sie daraus schließen: daß eine Mutter, deren Sohn mit getauft werden sollte, noch am Tauftage voller Besorgniß zu uns kam und frug: ob es denn wahr wäre, was sie von den alten Männern gehört hatte, daß wir nämlich den Täuflingen kochendes Wasser auf den Kopf gießen wollten?'

mission station and those who were part of the camp population. This of course also involved a generational divide between the older people and the young, given that the mission school largely reached the young.

The role of the Word in such situations is also interesting, in that the missionaries believed their words and the message, *the Word*, to be clear and readily accessible, attributing any lack of understanding either to physical inability or most commonly to unwillingness to 'hear,' the deliberate obtuseness, on the part of the older people, despite regular exposure to readings and sermons. That mission forms may not have been clear for those not educated into them is however a possibility that the modern reader cannot fail to observe, especially given the well-known use of the term 'to hear' for 'to understand' [a foreign language] in Indigenous usage including pidgin English:

> When, after the worship service, I asked one of the old men, what he had heard today (this man had also been at catechism class), he answered quite drily: 'I did not hear anything!' I was not a little astonished at this answer, as I knew full well that he could hear clearly. I therefore asked him if he had perhaps not brought his ears with him and whether these were not per chance in the camp? Whereupon he took hold of his ears with both hands and said: 'See, here are the two of them, but I still did not hear much.'[55]

It is indeed a bitter irony that whilst the Hermannsburg missionaries and their successors sought to create a written form of Dieri appropriate for the direct communication of the world of Christian thought, they simultaneously unleashed a *Verwirrung der Sprache* (a confusion of the language) which ultimately meant far-reaching changes for the pre-contact Indigenous idiom. In creating a script-based mission language, which was dependent on the church and school, for transmission and preservation, custodianship of the language was transferred to the mission community, which was predominantly a young and also a multilingual community. This language with not only lexical borrowings but perhaps more importantly with foreign metaphoric systems drawn from Lutheran Christian

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[55] DKMZ 1879:42 Meyer 8/2/1879 'Als ich nach dem Gottesdienste einen der alten Männer fragte, was er nun heute gehört hatte (dieses war noch bei der Catechisation), antwortete er ganz trocken: ich habe nichts gehört! Ich war über diese Antwort nicht wenig erstaunt, da ich doch wußte, daß er gut hören konnte. Ich frug ihn deshalb dann, ob er vielleicht seine Ohren nicht mitgebracht habe und ob diese etwa im Camp wären? Auf dieses hin faßte er aber mit beiden Händen seine Ohren an und sagte: sieh, hier sind sie alle Beide, aber dennoch habe ich nicht viel gehört.'

literature in effect worked as an esoteric language, in some measure excluding not only tribal peoples, but perhaps too hindering the missionaries both in their efforts to understand the heathen and to make themselves understood to them:

> It is disappointing that the old people still fail to comprehend words, although they have been compiled from their own language. One can sit down with them and tell of God and his Word, of heaven and hell, and the like, and yet one soon discovers that they interpret the majority in a completely different way. They [for example] understand instead of 'God', moon, or sun or some such other thing, for after all they have no word for 'God' in their language, and it is a similar case with other words.[...] An old man died in the past month; he too had heard of God's Word on repeated occasions, however I am convinced, that he understood nothing of it at all.[56]

3.9 Summary

In modern research the issue of change in the Dieri language, other than that occurring over time between the neighbouring languages of the Lake Eyre Basin by diffusion, leading to differentiation along the lines of the Darwinian family-tree model has not been addressed. Contact and the creation of a standard written form by the Lutheran missionaries have not been treated as having influenced the idiomatic form.

The Dieri language as used and developed on the mission achieved a prominence as compared with other Indigenous languages of the area due in part to the creation and teaching of a written form, but also due to demographic changes in these years. In a time of increasing pastoral encroachment, the mission exerted an attraction on peoples not just from the Dieri tribe, but from across the region. This process perhaps built on pre-contact patterns of tribal movements centering on Lake Kopperamana, the status of which was well recognised by the first Hermannsburg Missionaries Gössling and Homann (1867) and also by Samuel Gason (1874, 1879) as a meeting place and cultural centre for the tribes of the

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[56] KMB 5/1869: 38 Homann January report 'Betrübt ist es, dass die alten Leute Worte, die, obwohl aus ihrer eigenen Sprache zusammengesetzt, doch nicht begreifen. Man kann sich zu ihnen setzen und ihnen erzählen von Gott und seinem Wort, von Himmel und Hölle, u. dgl., und doch findet man, dass sie das meiste auf ganz Anderes deuten. Da verstehen sie statt "Gott" Mond, oder Sonne, oder irgend Anderes; denn sie haben ja kein Wort für Gott in ihrer Sprache; und mit andern Worten gehts ähnlich.[...] Ein alter Mann starb im letzen Monat; auch er hatte wiederholt gehört von Gottes Wort; und doch bin ich überzeugt, er hat Nichts davon verstanden.'

area. Of the Lake Eyre Basin Austin (1981) states too that the whole of the Lake Eyre basin was at one time a large cultural diffusion area.

From the 1860's the role of Dieri as a *lingua franca* for the region was strengthened; it was employed by Gason as a police officer for the Lake Hope area from the early 1860's and in 1868/9 it was given a written form by the Hermannsburg missionaries, and continued to be used for teaching, preaching and regional travel into the early 20th century.

The question must be asked as to the nature of the Diyari spoken retrieved by Austin in the 1970's and whether this language is in fact significantly influenced by mission written forms, vocabulary and grammatical organisation. One would for example, expect to find 'set phrases' as formulaically applied in translated material, and inculcated in the mission school, and perhaps too the 'over-use' of auxiliary verbs (which accords nicely with the system of tense forming auxiliaries in German)[57] and the rigidity in Word-order[58] noted by Austin in language data of residual speakers could also find explanation in this period of language contact and the process of reduction to writing.

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[57] Austin (1981:2): "There is a set of auxiliary verbs which interact with these [verbal] suffixes to express fine tense and modal distinctions. The auxiliaries appear to have developed recently from main verbs.' See too section 3.5.10, especially footnote on p.89

[58] Austin (1981:1)

CHAPTER 4
THE GRAPHISATION OF DIERI AND FIRST TRANSLATIONS

4.1 The choice of site and language

The 'elevation' of the Dieri language to become the language of the mission, naturally resulted from the decision to establish the Hermannsburg mission on Lake Killalpaninna. The language was however a fortunate choice on the part of the missionaries as the Dieri lands lay at the centre of existing Aboriginal trading routes, and the Dieri language was at least understood by the various tribes of the area, and consequently could be readily adapted for use in the mission school as medium of instruction. The children in the school came from five different tribes with very different languages and were instructed in Dieri, answering in their own languages.[1]

From the outset it was perceived that the Dieri was a predominant tribal grouping and language of the area. In October 1868 Koch wrote to Theodor Harms on the topic of the name of the tribe which Harms had referred to in his published reports from Australia as *Körni* rather than the European generic term for natives, as often encountered in mission literature, *Papua*.

> The name of the people is not *Koerni*, but rather *Dieri*. *Karna* (not *Koerni*) means 'man' in the broadest sense of the word. The name of our tribe is *Dieri*. They do not possess a special collective term for all natives. The Dieri tribe is one of the more significant amongst the tribes inhabiting Central Australia.[2]

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[1] KMB 20/1868:193 - 'Der Unterricht ist natürlich in der Diaeri Sprache, freilich haben wir Kinder von verschiedenen andern Volksstämmen, deren Sprache zum Theil eben so stark abweicht von Diaeri als das Englisch von Deutsch, doch verstehen die Kinder alle das Diaeri, antworten aber meistens in ihrer Sprache und so werden wir denn mit der Zeit uns auch an die Sprache machen müssen. Wir haben Kinder aus der Gegend von Mt. Margaret und von da nordöstlich von der Saltcreek im Ganzen von 5 verschiedenen Stämmen, den Diaeri, Wonkanurro, Terrari, Aumeni und Wonkarappanna.'

[2] Wilhelm Koch to 'Hochwürdiger Herr Pastor' [Theodor Harms] Hermannsburg, 23/10/1868 : letter held in HA: 'Der Name des Volkes ist nicht *Koerni* , sondern *Dieri*. *Karna* (nicht *Koerni*) heißt Mensch im allgemeinen Sinne des Wortes. Der Name unseres Stammes ist *Dieri*. Einen besonderen Gesamtname für alle Eingeborenen haben sie nicht. Der Dieristamm ist unter den Centralaustralien bewohnenden Stämmen einer der bedeutenderen.'

Of course this view of the Dieri and their influence may also have merely been a reflection of the mission location! Nevertheless, despite some work on the *Wonkanguru* language, on the mission *Dieri* became the collective term for the various tribes represented in the congregation.

That the area around Lake Killalpaninna and especially Lake Kopperamana held especial significance for the Indigenous population was forcefully demonstrated to the Hermannsburg missionaries in 1867, with their withdrawal in the face of hostilities with the 'united tribes of the North.' Gössling wrote in May of that year:

> That the Blacks want to keep the Whites away from these places by force, derives from the position of these sites. They lie at the centre of different tribes living several hundred English miles apart, and have for them the significance of a provincial town; where they now and again meet for talks (not at our location, but at Kopperamanna), and then once again disperse in the four directions of the wind.[3]

The status of the language as a form of lingua franca together with the strategic lakeside position of the mission site would later ensure the spread of the Gospel and the 'Mission Dieri' forms.

> The good thing about the drought, is that the Aborigines have gathered around the station, because the lake alone still holds some water, thus the Water of Life can be offered to them at the same time.[4]

Dieri instead of English as the vehicle of the Gospel

Why did the Hermannsburg missionaries choose an Indigenous idiom as vehicle of the Lutheran message above English? English was already to some extent

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[3] KMB 8/1867:101 'Dass die Schwarzen so mit Gewalt alle Weissen von diesen Plätzen entfernt halten wollen, kommt von der Lage dieser Plätze. Sie liegen im Mittelpunkte von verschiedenen einige hundert englische Meilen weit zerstreut liegenden Stämmen, und haben für diese die Bedeutung einer Provinzialstadt; wo sie sich dann und wann zu einer Berathung versammeln (nicht an unserm Platze, aber in Koppermanni), und dann wieder in alle vier Winde auseinander gehen.'

[4] HMB 7/1869:137 Theo Harms reports: 'Das Gute hat die Dürre, dass die Eingebornen sich um die Station gesammelt haben; weil der See allein noch etwas Wasser hat, so kann ihnen zugleich auch das Wasser des Lebens gereicht werden'.

understood and spoken,[5] due to its use in the small transitory camps which soon developed around the station settlements such as at Manuwalkaninna. By the time of the arrival of the missionaries, English police trooper Samuel Gason, had already achieved working fluency in the Dieri language, however the usual mode of communication for police and station owners with the Indigenous people was Pidgin English.

The most important reason for the choice of an Indigenous language as the medium for mission work goes back to Luther's conviction that the mother tongue was the most appropriate for communicating *das Eine was noth thut*, that which is most essential in spiritual terms, namely the way of salvation through Christ. This position is evidenced in the writings and language practice of both the Dresden missionaries[6] active in the three coastal missions in South Australia in the 1840's, and is later also clear in the Cooper mission attempt.

The choice of Dieri as mission language was amongst other factors, supported by practicality. Although somewhat familiar with English, as the first foreign language of their training days, the Hermannsburg missionaries had hardly any opportunity to put it to use in Australia; of the five months before their arrival at Lake Killalpaninna they had spent four on the road. Their correspondence was largely confined to the German speaking community and when obliged to write in English it is evident that their command was far from complete.

The Hermannsburg missionaries not only sought to avoid placing an additional linguistic barrier between themselves and the Dieri, but also to avoid the 'negative baggage' that was associated with the English language. Naturally the missionaries did not want to be identified with Colonial authorities or station owners via adoption of the same language. In June 1867 Vogelsang wrote

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[5] See Kneebone and Rathjen (1996:20) 'Men with a Mission'

[6] Clamor Schürmann Letter to a dear Pastor, Adelaide, 19/1/1839 in LA: '... ich hoffe aber, wir werden umso mehr die Zustimmung der Gesellschaft bekommen, als die Eingeborenen sehr wenig und sehr gemeines Englisch sprechen, und als die Beschaffenheit der menschlichen Seele, so wie die ihren in ihren eigenen Sprache entlockten Nachrichten zeigen, dass man dem menschlichen Herzen nur in der ihm vertrauten Sprache nahe kommen kann.'

chillingly of the lack of regard on the part of Europeans for the Indigenous peoples of the region and the fear that the police engendered in them:

> ...they [know] of course, if the police come amongst them, that they will be shot down like animals; and such things are not done by the police alone, but indeed by every Englishman or white man who is here in the North; admittedly we have often been proferred this remedy in the past, more often than not it is the first thing that is said to us: 'Shoot the old people, the whole lot, and then do your mission work with the young people, that is the best way.' Just think of it my dear Mr Pastor, this piece of 'good advice' was even directed to us by a Member of Parliament...[7]

Furthermore the English spoken by the Aborigines was seen as a corrupted and incorrect form. This English, which had been learned in the context of contact on the pastoral stations, and from whites who, like European civilisation at large, were seen by the missionaries as a destructive influence, was not deemed appropriate for spreading the Gospel. The notion of correctness is an important one and was not only applied to English usage on the part of the Indigenous population but also interestingly to their competence in the Dieri language! Regarding the language of the Dieri as children of nature, the missionaries had perhaps envisioned a *tabula rasa*, a pristine, natural idiom. However as early as 1861 this was found not to be the case.

Luise Homann wrote in 1868 of the ill-effects of cultural contact, the corruption of the language with idiomatic English and the obstacle that this might present for the creation of an appropriate language in which to preach the Word:

> ... our poor Blacks will not be so resistant to the Gospel, if it can only be preached to them. Considerable time will pass [before this task is accomplished], because each word has to be elicited by questioning and

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[7] Vogelsang to my very dear Mr Pastor [Theodor Harms] Bukaltenina, 1/6/1867 held in HA: '..sie [wissen] eben, kommt die Polizei unter ihnen, das[sic] sie dann niedergeschossen werden wie Vieh; das thun nicht die Polizeien allein sondern jeder Engländer oder Weiße, der hir[sic] im Norden ist; freilich ist uns das Rezept schon oft gegeben worden, sondern es ist gewöhnlich das erst was uns gesagt wird: Schißt[sic] die Alten sammt und sonders nieder und dann treibt mit der Jugend Mission, das ist der beste Weg. Denken sie sich, mein lieber Herr Pastor, sogar von einem Paarlamenns[sic] Mitgliede wurde uns dieser guthe Rath ertheilt...'

> they have unfortunately already quite spoiled and forgotten their language through several bad English words.[8]

It is likely that much vocabulary for introduced items and technologies remained in pidgin English and that on the mission certain semantic fields, notably terminology relating to livestock and farming practices[9] were dominated by English borrowings both for the Indigenous people and the German-speaking mission personnel.

In Schoknecht's vocabulary, however, we find few examples of English borrowings, and this reveals a process of selection and purification in its compilation. The following words appear to have been taken into the collection either unwittingly or as acceptable neologisms, neither was however marked as a loan from English, as elsewhere the case: *Taula*, towel and *Jerta*, shirt. Both terms were given the final vowel ending characteristic for Dieri, which was an accepted method for adjusting foreign terms to the Indigenous idiom and was often used by Homann and Koch.[10]

Despite the theological imperative to preach the Word in the language of the people and the efforts of the missionaries from earliest days in SA to learn and to create a standard Indigenous forms in which to preach and teach, Lutheran missionaries from the Dresdener in the 1840's[11] through to the Hermannsburger

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[8] Letter from Luise Homann to Harms, Hermannsburg (Killalpaninna) 28/6/1868, held in HA : '...unsere armen Schwarzen werden durchaus nicht so widerstrebend dem Evangelio sein, wenn es ihnen nur erst gepredigt werden kann. Darüber wird allerdings noch geraume Zeit hingehen, weil jedes Wort erst aus ihnen herausgefragt werden muss und sie leider durch manches schlechte englische Wort ihre Sprache schon sehr verdorben und verlernt haben.'

[9] See Meyer MS diary 1882-85: borrowings used in German include 'an der Road'; der Mailman; der Hawker; der Camp; der Paddock; die Yard; der Bush; die Lot; das Fenz (and 'Fenzpfosten bohren'); der Store; der Buggy; die Dray; der Pole (i.e. part of wagon); die Rations; das Bullockteam; and the verbs 'schiften' and 'draften' (draftete, gedraftet)

[10] Compare Gason in Woods (1879:290) 'Each word invariably terminates with a vowel; and, so accustomed are the Dieyerie to this form, that in acquiring foreign words terminating in a consonant, they always add vowels, as thus:- Bullock becomes *bulakoo*; hat, *hata*; dog, *doga*; and so on.'

[11] Schürmann to Angas, Adelaide 12/6/1839 in Schurmann (1987:44) *I'd rather Dig Potatoes* 'Some persons have blamed us that we did not proceed immediately to instruct the natives by means of the English language, but dayly [sic] experience corroborates what judgement at first led us to think, namely that it is altogether impracticable, at least as yet, to instruct the natives by means of the English language, especially on religious and moral subjects.'

and Neuendettelsauer at the turn of the century, were repeatedly obliged to defend their language policies. Prevailing opinion criticised the cost in terms of time and effort needed for learning the Indigenous language. English, the Colonial language, it was claimed, should rather be taught. Flierl (I) reported that the choice of the Indigenous language at Coopers Creek was again controversial in 1878, due to the departure of the Hermannsburg missionaries and the necessity for new personnel to recommence learning the Dieri language.[12]

> Around the time of my arrival at the mission the intention existed to use English as the medium of instruction with the Dieri. However the old people understood as good as no English, and the young ones at best only expressions for the most ordinary things of everyday life. If one wanted to work with the whole tribe and also the neighbouring tribes one was obliged to cultivate and use the Indigenous language. The Blacks of course learn English relatively easily, as far as it coincides with the content of their language. Everything outside this or 'higher' exceeds their perspective. Here the most difficult circumlocutions in their own language are still the best for promoting spiritual comprehension. The mission committee then willingly approved, for Dieri to remain the Church and School language on the Bethesda mission.[13]

4.2 Mediators and wordsmiths: Homann, Gason, Pikally and Koch

Dieri was a fortunate choice as basis for the future mission language, as from 1868 when the business of documenting the language, arriving at a grammatical outline and producing translations began in earnest, Hermannsburg missionary Homann was able to avail himself of the help of an excellent constellation of

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[12] 1874 -8 during which time English was initially used by C.A. Meyer in the school. Vogelsang was given leave to assist due to his knowledge of the Dieri language.

[13] Joh.Flierl (I) *Führungen Gottes* (1899:32) 'Um die Zeit meiner Ankunft in der Mission hatte die Absicht bestanden, bei den Dieri das Englische als Unterrichtssprache zu benutzen. Jedoch die Alten verstanden vom Englischen so gut wie nichts, die Jungen auch nur im besten Fall die Ausdrücke für die gewöhnlichsten Dinge des täglichen Lebens. Wollte man am ganzen Stamm und an den Nachbarstämmen arbeiten, so musste man die Eingebornensprache pflegen und brauchen. Die Schwarzen lernen ja Englisch verhältnismässig leicht, soweit es sich mit dem Inhalt ihrer Sprache deckt, das Übrige und Höhere geht über ihren Gesichtskreis. Da sind die mühsamsten Umschreibungen in der eigenen Sprache des Volkes immer noch am fördersamsten für die geistliche Erkenntnis. Das Missionskommitee genehmigte denn auch gerne, dass das Dieri Kirchen- und Schulsprache in der Mission zu Bethesda bleiben sollte.'

'mediators.' The following section gives a brief sketch of the individuals involved in this critical first phase of linguistic endeavour.

Homann

According to Homann's autobiography,[14] written upon application to Hermannsburg mission house for training, Homann appears to have exhibited little natural aptitude nor especial interest in mission service and exotic languages prior to his decision to become a missionary.

Born 1st December 1838 in Osterode, the son of August Ernst Homann and Juliane Friedericke (née Fischer), Ernst Homann grew up amidst rationalistic influences of the mid-19th century. He was confirmed in 1853 and up until this time had little knowledge of the Bible nor mission work. Following this he was sent to Einbeck to complete an apprenticeship in textiles and haberdashery, and entered the household of a pious employer named Oppermann. Homann experienced an awakening of faith in 1856 and at the same time was drawn to mission work, by his readings in the *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt*. Despite initial vehement opposition on the part of his parents, Homann finally gained their approval to apply to Hermannsburg in June 1858. After a further two years of work and also learning carpentry, he was accepted into the Hermannsburg Mission seminary in 1861. After 5 years' preparation he was sent out to Australia in 1866, together with Missionary Gößling, and Pastors Heidenreich and Hellmuth.

Although his was not an academically-oriented philological education, it certainly would have provided a sound practical foundation for language learning on the mission field (see Chapter 8 on the preparation of Hermannsburg missionaries). In terms of comparative philology, the linguistic background of his wife Luise Homann (formerly Wendlandt) and certainly of his assistant Wilhelm Koch (see below) may have been of more importance for the early Dieri language work.

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[14] Ernst Homann aus Osterode am Harz: *Lebenslauf* (manuscript dated 1861 held in HA)

Samuel Gason

Samuel Gason[15], who had been stationed at Lake Hope (1865-72) some two years before the arrival of the Hermannsburg missionaries and the Moravian missionaries, could be termed the first mediator of the language. In 1867 he was already able to speak Dieri, within the context of his office and contact with the Dieri tribes, and was prepared to share his knowledge with the missionaries as a first entrée into the language and mission work in the area. It is documented that he dictated 'a few hundred words,'[16] which provided Homann and Gößling with the first working vocabulary in Dieri, but he was unable to give them advice on the grammatical structure of the language[17] and the first systematic investigation of this was undertaken by Wilhelm Koch in 1868.

In 1873 Gason's manuscript *The Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines* was reviewed in *The Register*, with a view to encouraging sponsorship of its publication. The work appears as a brochure in 1874 and again in 1879 as a chapter in J.D.Wood's *Native Tribes of South Australia* . *The Register* reported an interview with Gason, who gave his reasons for compiling the book as follows:

> Firstly, I thought a record of the characteristics and tongue of a race fast dying out might possess an interest hereafter; and secondly, but chiefly, because an acquaintance with them may be of some assistance to those pious missionaries and others who in the interior of this vast continent are so nobly endeavouring to extend civilization through its gracious handmaid Christianity. [18]

In addition to giving a description of the general characteristics, usages, and ceremonies of the *Dieyeries,* Gason compiled catalogues of their weapons and ornaments, and of the animals and plants found in their country. He further prepared a 'complete' vocabulary of the language, and an outline of its

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[15] Samuel Gason (1845-1897) resigned from police service in April 1876 and settled at Beltana, where he ran a hotel.

[16] KMB 3/1867:42

[17] HMB 3/1869: 47 & KMB 4/1867:49

[18] *The Register*, Adelaide 15/11/1873:5

construction and grammar. For this latter part of his book he claimed 'considerate criticism', because of the difficulties he laboured under in executing it:

> Unassisted by any works of reference, I have been able to base it alone on the analogy of words. It may therefore be defective, yet I trust not so much so but that it may form a foundation on which a philologist may build a more worthy structure.[19]

Gason's contemporary Missionary Taplin commented in his 1879 survey, that although Gason's vocabulary was comprehensive, the analysis was superficial and too influenced by Latin grammar, which was furthermore rather disparagingly referred to as stemming perhaps from Gason's schooldays.[20] Taplin commented on the similarity of the Dieri language with Ngarrindjeri in its use of affixes and its complex pronoun system.[21] It appears that neither Gason nor Taplin was closely acquainted with the missionaries' grammatical outline, despite the fact that Missionary Homann's Dieri pronoun declension was also included in the 1879 work.

That Gason's work should not, however, be viewed as independent of the Hermannsburg language work, is indicated by his close relationship with the mission during his service in the Cooper area,[22] the inclusion of mission

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[19] ibid

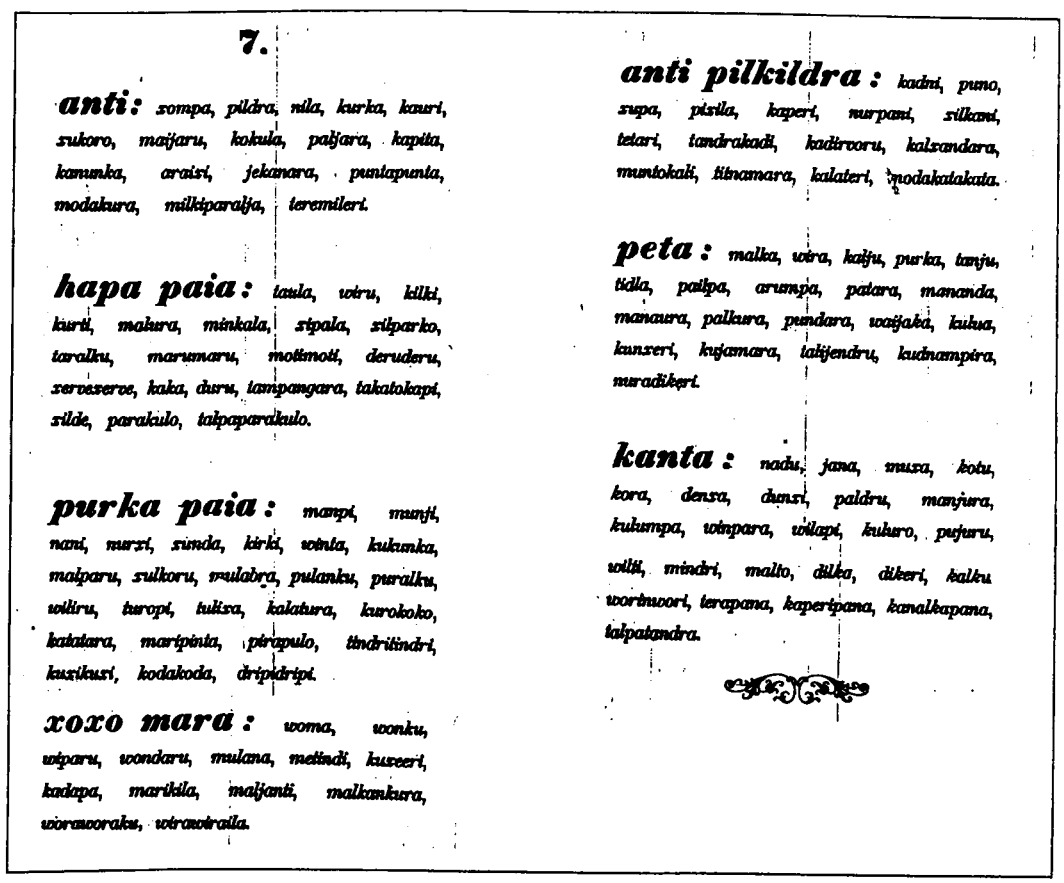
[20] Taplin (1879:82) 'Mr Gason gives us a rather copious vocabulary of the Dieyerie language. He also supplies some grammatical particulars. It is evident though that in his ideas of grammar he has not been able to get rid of the forms of the English or Latin. We find him - stimulated perhaps by recollections of the verb *amo* of his schooldays or of well-thumbed Murray - giving us a sketch of the inflexions of the verb *to love.* '

[21] Taplin (1879:82) 'It is evident that the declension of nouns is accomplished by a number of affixes, having the force of prepositions[...] We have no doubt that a closer knowledge of this tongue would discover more of such affixes. We see that this language, therefore has that sort of unlimited number of cases, or facility for forming cases, which we find in the Narrinyeri and others...The pronouns are remarkably plentiful and precise. This is another Australian characteristic.' See also p83: Dieyerie has 'distinction of the gender in the third person singular in the pronouns. This is very uncommon'

[22] See DKMZ 17/1870:74 : Thank you letter from Gason to Homann upon having received a rope made by the boys on the mission and letter written by Ichlina (elsewhere 'Idjana', indicating he had now been innitiated). The original English letter held in LA: Police Station, Kopperamanna, 12.7.1870: Samuel Gason to 'Dear Sir' [Homann] with postscript ' I forward a reply to Ityana, Pingibana'

constructs in Gason's translation of the Ten Commandments[23] and also in the similarity of vocabulary items and semantic fields between the 1870 primer sections 6 and 7 and the corresponding sections of Gason's *Dieyerie* vocabulary.[24]

Section 7 contains items grouped according to the categories foods (animal/meat), water birds, bush birds, reptiles, other non-vegetable foods, wood, grasses. Of the 140 words in this section, 43 words are not included in either Schoknecht's or Gason's wordlist – however the remaining 97 words are consistent with the primer and all but 13 are to be found in Gason. See Appendix H for a full listing of vocabulary items.



7.

anti: sompa, pildra, nila, kurka, kauri, sukoro, maijaru, kokula, paljara, kapita, kanunka, araisi, jekanara, punlapunta, modakura, milkiparalja, teremileri.

hapa paia: taula, wiru, kilki, kurti, makura, minkala, stipala, silparko, taralku, marumaru, motimoti, deruderu, xerveserve, kaka, duru, tampangara, takatokapi, silde, parakulo, talpaparakulo.

purka paia: manpi, munji, nani, murxi, sinda, kirki, winta, kukunka, malparu, sulkoru, mulabra, pulanku, puralku, wiliru, turopi, tulixa, kalatura, kurokoko, kalatara, maripinta, pirapulo, tindritindri, kuxikuxi, kodakoda, dripidripi.

xoxo mara: woma, wonku, wiparu, wondaru, mulana, melindi, kuxeeri, kadapa, marikila, maljanti, malkankura, woraworaku, wiramiraila.

anti pilkildra: kadni, puno, supa, pisila, kaperi, nurpasi, silkani, telari, tandrakadi, kadirvoru, kalxandara, muntokali, tinamara, kalateri, modakatakata.

peta: malka, wira, kalju, purka, tanju, tidla, palpa, arumpa, patara, manaida, manaura, palkura, pundara, waijaka, kuka, kanxeri, kujamara, talijendru, kudnampira, muradikeri.

kanta: nadu, jana, muxa, kotu, kora, denxa, dunxi, paldru, manjura, kukumpa, winpara, wilapi, kukuro, pujuru, wilti, mindri, malto, dilka, dikeri, kalku wortinuori, terapana, kaperipana, kanalkapana, talpatandra.

Figure 7: Homann and Koch Primer vocabulary (1870: 9 -11)

[23] See Homann & Koch primer (1870) translations [82] - [92] in Chapter 5. See too probable reference to Vogelsang's sword in entry *murrawirrie* 'two-handed sword' Gason in Woods (1879:301)

[24] See Gason in Woods (1879:285-288) Rats and their congeners, reptiles, birds, fish, vegetables, insects, manufacturing products. Also (1879:294-5) Parts of the human frame

This section of the 1870 primer vocabulary also appears in reduced format as section IV of Flierl's 1883 *First Reading-book in the Dieri language.*[25] Under the heading *Kana* (man), we find 41 terms plus 9 terms of address and in addition to the new categories *Kamaneli* (friends), *Poto* (things/objects) and *Paru* (fish) we find the 1870 primer categories *Anti, Paia, Tjo Tjo, Pita,* and *Kanta* (food, birds, worms/reptiles, wood and grasses). Interestingly it is these same categories with the addition of three terms for the elements stone, water and fire, which Austin comments on as the set of generic common nouns which cover most but not all specific nouns (e.g. weather), in Dieri.[26]

> Generic nouns classify Diyari vocabulary into nine semantic sets, namely:
> *karna* - human beings, excluding non-Aboriginal people
> *paya* - birds which fly
> *thuju* [27]- reptiles and insects
> *nganthi* - other edible animates
> *puka* - edible vegetable food
> *pirta* - trees and wood
> *marda* - stone and minerals
> *thurrhu* - fire
> *ngapa* - water

It is quite possible that these generic terms were at least in part the product of the categories set in place by the earliest documentation of the language.

A further factor worthy of note is the semantic reduction which appears to have occurred in the Schoknecht wordlist with regard especially to plant and animal names. This reduction in the lexicon is symptomatic of the missionaries' focus on aspects of the language related to religion, and had the effect over time of promoting loss of differentiated terminology for the natural world as compared to the proliferation of new terms and usages for Christian concepts and practices.

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[25] J. Flierl (1883:5-6) *Wonini-Pepa Dieri-Jaurani worapala*

[26] Austin (1981:38)

[27] I have adapted the transcription in this quote according to the practical orthography used by Austin in *Macquarie Aboriginal Words* (1999): the lamino palatal stop is here represented as *j*

The very general and imprecise nature of the glosses given for plant and animal names in Schoknecht's dictionary compares with considerably more detail given in Gason.[28] With regard to snake names we find of 8 entries, 6 are glossed in Schoknecht's dictionary only with 'snake' and in two cases there is no corresponding entry, and this for snakes ranging from the harmless *woma, wondaru* and *metindie* to the green and black spotted and venemous *malkankura*, the vicious *wonku,* the king brown *marikila*, the 10' long and 'very venemous' *wirawiraila* and the *wiparu* whose bite is said to cause instant death. Interestingly the devil arrives in Paradise according to the primer as the generic reptile *xoxo*.[29]

Pikally (also known as Macky)[30]

The Aboriginal Pikally or 'Macky', probably joined the Lutheran mission party as a guide on its initial journey via Manuwalkaninna. He remained with the missionaries despite, or perhaps due to the threats on his life by his countrymen, throughout the hostilities of April and May 1867, and also travelled south with them, where he remained for some six months until the mission party returned to Lake Killalpaninna in February 1868. In the *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* (1/1868) an article was dedicated to him, celebrating him as a hero and probable 'first fruit of the mission', who stood firm against the heathen ways of his own people. Other motives for his loyalty also become apparent in his words, quoted below. Learning the ways and the language of the missionaries was clearly perceived as a gateway to desirable European goods, foods and a lifestyle which must have appeared to the Dieri people as strange and exotic:

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[28] See Appendix H entries plant names: 11,19, 40, 42, 64, 73, 74, 120: birds: 28, 61, 93, 112, 118, 140: snakes and lizards: 13, 21, 51, 59, 62, 122, 124, 126, 127, 128

[29] See primer (1870) translations Chapter 5 sentence [54]

[30] Here I would like to acknowledge a degree of confusion regarding the identity of this person. In the MC minutes references appear to indicate two separate persons, an 'old' Pikally and a 'young' Macky. HMB articles consistently refer to 'Pikally' while the Moravians consistently refer to Macky. KMB articles use both names, before the withdrawal to the South using 'Pikally' and afterwards 'Macky.' These anecdotes refer to the 'older' man with two names, one an Aboriginal name and the other a more generic European name, who accompanied the missionaries South and remained for some 5-6 months, before returning to Lake Killalpaninna with them. In 1885, after baptism he gained a third name, and was now referred to as Jonas. Early references to a 'young' man refer rather to *Pingilina* and both are listed in the 1886 list of Indigenous residents of the mission station.

> The Lord is already giving us a first return on the success of our mission in [the form of] our loyal Pikally... Life here in the congregations has made a strong impression on him, he has come along to Church, and although he does not understand anything of what he hears, he nevertheless states: *jatana mummu, wimma mummu*, the talking and the singing is beautiful, *wulje, wulje jathana koernimaster Killalpaninna,* soon, soon the Koernimaster (missionary) will preach at Killalpaninna... I have often told him, as much as I could, of *aberi pirna,* the great Father... Thus he also prays, for example, when he eats, and if one asks him: What are you saying? he answers, pointing heavenward: *nauje ginhinna bukku*, him up there gives food.[31]

Pikally would have experienced Church services in the Lutheran congregations in the German language, indeed the Minutes of the Mission Committee mention that he has learnt a little German during his stay, and perhaps more importantly he has witnessed and experienced the cultural context of the missionaries, and returns to Lake Killalpaninna to become a major language informant for Wilhelm Koch and Ernst Homann. In effect the enforced break in mission work and the return to the settled areas of the South provided the second attempt with a foundation for commencing language work. The Moravian missionaries also recognised the cooperation of Macky as a significant advantage over their own language work with the language:

> Our Lutheran Brothers will now have a major advantage over us; the Aboriginal Mackie, who accompanied them to Adelaide, (travel and stay down South taken together over 6 months) has doubtlessly collected impressions of a diverse nature; whether it may not yet be clear to him what it is all about, he has however observed various Christian manners and customs, rejects their superstitious magical powers. May he soon prove himself to be an effective bulwark against the sea of heathendom. Our horseman 'George' also now has fond hopes of a trip to Adelaide.[32]

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[31] HMB 1/1868:4 'Ein Angeld auf Erfolg unserer Mission giebt uns der Herr jetzt schon in unserm treuen Pikally...Das Leben hier in den Gemeinden hat einen starken Eindruck auf ihn gemacht, er ist mit zur Kirche gegangen, und obwohl er nichts versteht, von dem ,was er hört, so spricht er doch: *jatana mummu, wimma mummu*, die Rede und der Gesang ist schön, *wulje, wulje jathana koernimaster Killalpaninn* , bald, bald predigt der Koernimaster (Missionar) am Killalpaninna.[...] Oft habe ich soviel ich konnte, ihm erzählt vom *aberi pirna*, grossen Vater[...]So betet er auch z.B. jedesmal, wenn er isst, und frägt man ihn: Was sagst du? so antwortet er, nach oben zeigend: *nauje ginhinna bukku*, der oben giebt Speise.'

[32] Letter from Walder to Reichel, Kopperamanna, 21/2/68, held in IATSIS Canberra. 'Unsere lutherischen Brüder werden nun jedenfalls einen grossen Vortheil vor uns haben; der Eingeborene Mackie, der mit nach Adelaide war,(Reisen und Aufenthalt dort drunten [?] über 6 Monate) hat ohne Frage Eindrücke verschiedener Art mitgenommen; ob ihm gleich noch nicht klar sein mag,

Pikally returned to Lake Killalpaninna with the missionaries at the end of 1867 and at this time was able to fulfil the important role of language-informant. It appears that he not only contributed vocabulary but also participated in grammatical work and translation of Christian concepts:

> We had already made use of several natives in this work, yet none served us so well as Pikally, who knows best or rather 'feels' what we have in mind.[...] Our dear Pikally has become so attuned to the work, that he can almost conjugate and decline by himself.[33]

Dieri vocabulary was elicited by means of charades and gestures and one can well imagine the humorous and alienating effect that the constructed terms and phrases may have had on the Dieri people, as the missionaries endeavoured to preach using their rudimentary knowledge of the language. Nevertheless, the missionaries did attempt to verify their collected vocabulary and constructions and to test them for comprehensibility;

> On each occasion we test out our work, whether it is understood correctly, and we are pleased to be able to say, that the natives understand it, in as much as they as heathens are capable.[34]

As the language work was simultaneously intended as baptismal instruction for Pikally, he was often required to repeat the biblical stories he had heard, and telling misunderstandings often arose, so for example with the story of creation, where Pikally combined elements of Christian teaching with Dieri cosmology:

> God took earth and from it shaped trees, bushes and lakes; afterwards he breathed upon them, and behold, everything sprouted leaf and grew.[35]

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um welcher Art sich all das dreht, so beobachtet er doch verschiedene christliche Sitten und Gebräuche, verwirft ihre abergläubischen Wunderkräfte. Möge er sich bald als wirksamer Wellenbrecher gegen das wogende Heidenthum erweisen. Unser Pferdehirte 'George' macht sich auch schon Hoffnung auf einen Besuch in Adelaide.'

[33] KMB 15/1868:150 'Wir hatten verschiedene Eingeborene schon mit zu dieser Arbeit gebraucht; doch keiner war uns so viel nütze wie Pikalli, der am besten weiss, oder doch fühlt, was wir wollen.[...] Unser lieber Pikally hat sich so eingearbeitet, dass er fast selbst konjugiren und dekliniren kann.'

[34] KMB 15/1868:151 'Unsere jedesmalige Arbeit wird praktisch ausprobirt, ob es richtig verstanden wird, und wir freuen uns , sagen zu können, dass die Eingebornen es verstehen, so weit sie es natürlich als Heiden können.'

Pikally was ultimately not to become the first fruit of the mission and did not remain consistently on the station or under instruction, however his association with the mission persisted despite protracted periods of absence and rejection of the mission way of life. It is interesting to note that nearly 20 years later, in November 1885, he became one of Missionary Meyer's final baptisms before he departed for Queensland:

> Old Jonas may perhaps be remembered by some friends of the mission, for he was at one time down South with Missionary Homann, and was then known as 'Mackey'. For a long time this old man resisted submitting to the Word of God, although he recognised the Truth of the same. Until now the old heathen nature and the standing which he enjoyed amongst the Blacks prevented him from committing to the Lord Jesus. Now, Thanks be to God, he has done it.[36]

Wilhelm Koch and the first grammatical representation of Dieri

Wilhelm was born on 3rd January 1848 in Bremen, the son of a merchant and financier Johann Otto Koch,[37] and arrived in Australia on the *Sophie*, sharing the voyage with the Hermannsburg missionaries Gößling and Homann. He was according to Homann a 'black sheep' who had led the life of a *echten Weltkindes*, a truly worldly child, and distinguished himself on board as *Spötter*, who poured scorn and contempt on the missionaries and their beliefs.[38]

There is very little known about Wilhelm Koch and his short career in the service of the mission, and the mystery is made all the more compelling by the fact that shortly after his arrival in Adelaide in August 1866, at the tender age of 18, he converted from a dissolute life and decided to join the mission party on its way

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[35] KMB 15/1868:151 'Gott nahm auch Erde und formte davon Bäume, Büsche und Seen; danach hauchte er sie an, und siehe da, alles grünte und wuchs.'

[36] DKMZ 1885:202, Meyer 4/12/1885: 'Der alte Jonas wird vielleicht noch manchem Missionsfreunde in Erinnerung sein, denn er war seiner Zeit mit Miss. Homann unten im Lande und hatte damals den Namen 'Mackey'. Dieser alte Mann hat sich lange gesträubt, sich dem Worte Gottes zu beugen, obgleich er die Wahrheit desselben erkannte. Das alte heidnische Wesen und sein Ansehen, welches er unter den Schwarzen genoß, hielten ihn bisher ab, sich für den Herrn Jesum zu entscheiden. Jetzt hat er es Gott sei Dank! gethan.'

[37] Personal communication: Prof Dr Reinhardt Wendt, Fern-U Hagen

[38] Private Postscript to letter: Homann to dear Herrn Pastor, Lightspass, 26./10/1867: held in HA

back to the new mission field. Furthermore in the space of barely a year this self-confessed mediocre student had managed to write the first Dieri Grammar and commence translations for the first sermons and Dieri primer. And this alongside teaching duties with the first Dieri pupils, before succumbing to what is assumed to have been typhoid on 19th April 1869, 'having brought his earthly life to 21 years, three months and 16 days.'[39]

The time between Koch's arrival and his re-acquaintance with the missionaries is poorly documented, but in September 1867 we read in the mission committee minutes that Homann had once again conveyed Koch's offer of his services to the mission and that he had this time been accepted.[40] He had apparently been working as a teacher with the Lutheran congregation in Leasingham and as a voluntary mission helper, was to be provided with remuneration in the form of maintenance and equipment, but presumably no salary.[41]

Koch submitted a *Lebenslauf* to Theodor Harms, dated 26/10/1867, with the request that he be considered for training as a missionary in Hermannsburg and announcing his intention to join the mission party and 'become acquainted with mission-life' in Australia. This document contains the customary narration of his prior life and conversion. Having lost his mother at the age of eight, Koch at ten years entered the *Vorschule* or preparatory school for Gymnasium.[42] This is confirmed in the pupils list for the *Altes Gymnasium* where he is listed as attending from March 1858 until September 1860 in the class IIIa.[43]

Subjects in this class included Religion (four hours), German Language (eight hours), Geography (four hours), Arithmetic with an introduction to bookkeeping

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[39] KMB 9&10/1869:72 Homann April report

[40] *Missionsacta*: 80, Meeting 12/9/1867

[41] *Missionsacta*: 83, Meeting 28/9/1867

[42] The school consisted of an elementary school for all pupils aged 8-14, followed by Gymnasium (from 15-19years) for academic professions or alternatively followed by commerce school (15-18 years) for business professions.

[43] Detail supplied by Dr Elmshäuser, Staatsarchiv Bremen

(four hours), Writing (four hours) Singing (two hours) in all 26 hours of tuition per week.[44] This was increased to 32 hours with the introduction of Latin (six hours) and Natural Sciences (two hours)[45] in the following class II. Latin was taught using a text by Fr Spiess, chapters 1-11 involved the learning of vocabulary and oral and written translation exercises. Furthermore *Berger's Latin Grammar* was used to practise the five declensions for nouns and also with adjectives, case endings, gender-rules and exceptions.

It appears that at this stage Koch was indeed no distinguished scholar; his report commented 'Abilities and application mediocre. Behaviour frequently unsatisfactory due to unsettled nature, otherwise well-mannered.'[46] Piecing together Koch's education, it appears that he then went on to four and a half years of Gymnasium (1860-65), where he progressed through the lower classes to Tertia.[47] Assuming Harm's familiarity with the curricula of such classes, Koch gave no detail of his higher studies, aside from mentioning that he had read Homer, Xenophon, Cicero and Sallust. He advised Harms that he had left school, aged 17, in accordance with his father's wishes to join his exchange business, despite his own desire to study Natural Sciences at University. After his confirmation in April 1865 in the Lutheran Domkirche in Bremen, Koch embarked upon a wild and dissolute period of his life, which saw him fall into bad company, become involved with a woman of ill-repute to whom he frivolously promised marriage, and run up large debts carousing. Having been once bailed out of his financial difficulties (some 200 Taler) by his family in January 1866, he failed to mend his ways and was again saved from his debts (150 Taler) by a family anxious to preserve its good name and protect his sick father from undue stress. Koch had also by this stage resorted to surreptitiously defrauding his father's business of small amounts. In March 1866 Koch decided to make a clean

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[44] *Übersicht des Lehrganges in der Vorschule* (1859-60) handwritten document: held in Staatsarchiv Bremen: StAB 4,39-1 154

[45] At the expense of German language and religion which were both reduced by two hours.

[46] Detail supplied by Dr Elmshäuser, Staatsarchiv Bremen

[47] The *Oberstufe* of Gymnasium which is divided into *Unter-* und *Obertertia*, the fourth and fifth years of Gymnasium

break from his problems, and absconded to France. He subsequently travelled to North Africa with the idea of joining the Foreign Legion. This having come to nought, and having sold his belongings and again run out of money, he was once more rescued by the family and brought back to Bremen. Despite being forgiven everything by the family, he claimed that he had left the very next evening for Hamburg, where he boarded the ship for Adelaide and was to make the acquaintance of Hermannsburg missionaries Gößling and Homann. This is the unlikely story of our first Dieri linguist's provenance.

On arrival at the mission field, Koch was charged with the preparation of mission reports for publication which were to be checked by Homann.[48] It also appears that his reports were often passed on to the English press[49] in an effort to ameliorate negative and misleading publicity which had apparently surrounded the failed first attempt and the withdrawal of Homann and Gößling.

By May 1868 Homann and Koch were well-advanced with the grammatical ordering of the language; school had been held on a fairly regular basis for one and a half months and their 'desert children' were learning industriously and obediently. Despite the shortage of mission funds and rations, Homann and Koch had resolved to distribute at least one meal a day in order to free their charges of the necessity of gathering their own food, and were simultaneously building the schoolhouse with as much haste as possible. Here, it was planned, Brother Koch would live together with the children 'for one must totally give oneself over to such conditions, and have continual contact with them in order to bring them together and hold them together.'[50] It was under such close quarters that Koch

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[48] *Missionsacta* : 92, Meeting 27/2/1868

[49] *The Register* (held in Mortlock Library): 7/5/1869-2G: 'We have been in receipt for some time of monthly letters from the Lutheran Aboriginal Mission Station at Hermannsburg on the Killalpannina, written by the Rev.Wilhelm Koch, one of the devoted band of truly Christian labourers, who, at the call of their Church, went forth to strive to reclaim the wandering tribes of natives in the dreary regions bordering the Lake Hope country. Our readers will have become familiar with their style and interested in the narrative of progress they related in mastering the native dialects, becoming acquainted with their customs, and striving to civilise the Aboriginal tribes of that dry and cheerless region[...] Giving graphic descriptions of all this, the extracts were appreciated in South Australia and copied by the leading Press of each of the other colonies.[...] The sad item in the mail news just to hand is that the gifted writer of these interesting and valuable monthly reports, a young missionary of only 21 years, full of energy and with great aptitude, has been cut down at his post.'

[50] Private Letter, Homann to Theodor Harms, Hbg am Killalpaninna 1/5/1868: held in HA

was presumably able to make such progress in learning the language in the first half of 1868. Homann wrote that they were also making progress with the adults, and through their intense efforts to learn the language were also becoming acquainted with the 'bizarre customs and rituals' of the people.

From the outset of Homann and Koch's grammatical codification we find statements indicating the importance of classical models of correct usage, and what a language should be. Koch wrote in April 1868:

> In my view the acquisition of the language will pose no great difficulty, if the time was available for such, as from everything which we have so far discovered, we have seen that the language, even if naturally very corrupted, does nevertheless have rules and incidentally, is very similar to the Greek language, not so much in the words themselves, but rather more in formation, particularly of the case forms.[51]

And one of the earliest comments on the encounter with the Dieri language also referred to the attempt to 'fix' the grammar according to traditional categories and particularly with reference to the Greek case forms. Such reflections, although here reported by Homann, were more likely the legacy of Koch's training in classical languages, and especially his recent education in ancient Greek:

> ...we finally have the pronouns in part, three [noun] declensions, the [verb] conjugation, the formation of the adverb [illeg.], and incidentally are astonished at the similarity with Greek grammar and the structure of the language in general, and also at the firm rules and well-differentiated forms (for example, there is not only a Dual but also if one may term it such, a Tri-al, and in the declension there is a case which is neither Dative nor Ablative, and thus appears to us as something completely new, etc).[52]

In the first Dieri grammar we find detailed and complete paradigms using the Latin metalanguage; for nouns we find two common noun declensions and a third

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[51] KMB 9/1868:104 'Meiner Ansicht nach wird die Erlernung der Sprache, wenn nur eben die Zeit dazu wäre, keine grosse Schwierigkeiten machen, da wir aus alledem, was wir bis jetzt gefunden, ersehen, dass die Sprache, wenn auch natürlich ungemein verdorben, doch Regeln hat und nebenbei der griechischen Sprache ähnlich ist, nicht so sehr in den Worten, als vielmehr in der Bildung besonders der Casusformen.'

[52] Homann to Harms, 1/5/1868:3, four page letter held in HA

for Proper Nouns arranged according to the cases *Nominativ, Genitiv, Dativ, Accusativ, Vocativ* and *Activ/Ablativ*. For the *Verbum* we find the *Modi*: *Indicativ, Optativ, Denuntiatio, Imperativ, Conditionalis*, it was however noted that *Denuntiatio* was a mode, not used in any language known to the writer![53] The question lies at hand as to whether Koch and Homann actually heard all the endings included in the paradigms and in how far we are dealing with a complementary adjustment and rehabilitation of the forms to conform with the familiar classical paradigms. Homann now considered that they had 'surmounted the difficult mountain of learning the language' and might soon commence to preach the Word.

In October 1868 Homann wrote to Theodor Harms that Koch had sent an outline of their grammar, which if possible was also to be shown to a certain *Herr von der Lühe,* for comment, indicating that the grammatical analysis had now reached a satisfactory stage of completeness. Unfortunately research as to the whereabouts of this copy either in the Hermannsburg Archive or with the von der Lühe family in Hermannsburg, Germany, has to date proved fruitless.[54]

Koch's Death

Koch's last days were shared by the mission personnel including mission helpers Jacob, Vogelsang and Wotzke and the Moravian Missionary Walder, who was to leave the Cooper mission field soon thereafter. Missionary Homann was acutely aware of the significance of this loss to the mission work:

> It was a hard day, hard for Brothers Jacob and Vogelsang when they dug the final sleeping place for the dear body, hard also for Brother Wotzke and dear Brother Walder as they made up the last small bed. Oh, how hard for me also as I have become solitary again and must now stand alone with a double burden of work.
>
> On Tuesday the 20th of April, we stood before his little bedroom in which was standing the coffin. We sang the first verse of the hymn 'All mankind must die.' Then the body was taken up, and with the tolling of the bell and

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[53] Schok Gr:12

[54] Private postscript to letter, Killalpaninna, 26/10/68, Homann to Dear Mr Pastor [Theodor Harms]: held in HA

> the hymn 'I rejoice in the glad time when I shall rise again' was borne to its final resting place. Following the coffin were not only the brothers and sisters but two policemen, all of the schoolchildren and also, at the express request whether they were permitted, almost all the natives from the camp. [...] Afterwards the children sang one of the hymns which the deceased had translated for them and I prayed together with them, that the Lord would make even them, the poor heathen, into his disciples and would take them to heaven.[55]

4.3 Hearing and transcribing Dieri

The Dieri language as recorded by the Hermannsburg missionaries has 20 letters; five vowels, two semivowels and 13 consonants, which according to the Schoknecht Grammar were almost all pronounced exactly as in the German language![56] The semi-vowel *y* was represented with *j* as in German, the *w* however, was to be pronounced as in English. The mission Dieri alphabet has no *c* but rather *k,* and furthermore there exists a mysterious *x,* which appears in the position of *q* and which is represented as with the Greek symbol χ in the manuscript of Schoknecht's dictionary. In the 19th century the letters *q* and *x* were regarded as superfluous by many philologists, as the sounds could also be transcribed using the combinations *kw* and *ks*. These letters were thus often used for the representation of additional sounds outside the Latin alphabet. Finally the *s* was included by the missionaries, despite their acknowledgement that the Dieri language possessed no sibilants, having neither the labiodental fricatives (*f* and *v*) nor the alveolar fricatives (*s* and *z*). In the primer the *s* appears in a number of Biblical names including Jesu, Josep, Absalom, Joanis, Petros, and Paulos.

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[55] KMB 9&10/1869 See translated excerpt Appendix I

[56] Schoknecht Grammar MS: 1 'Alle Buchstaben werden genau so wie in der deutschen Sprache ausgesprochen.'

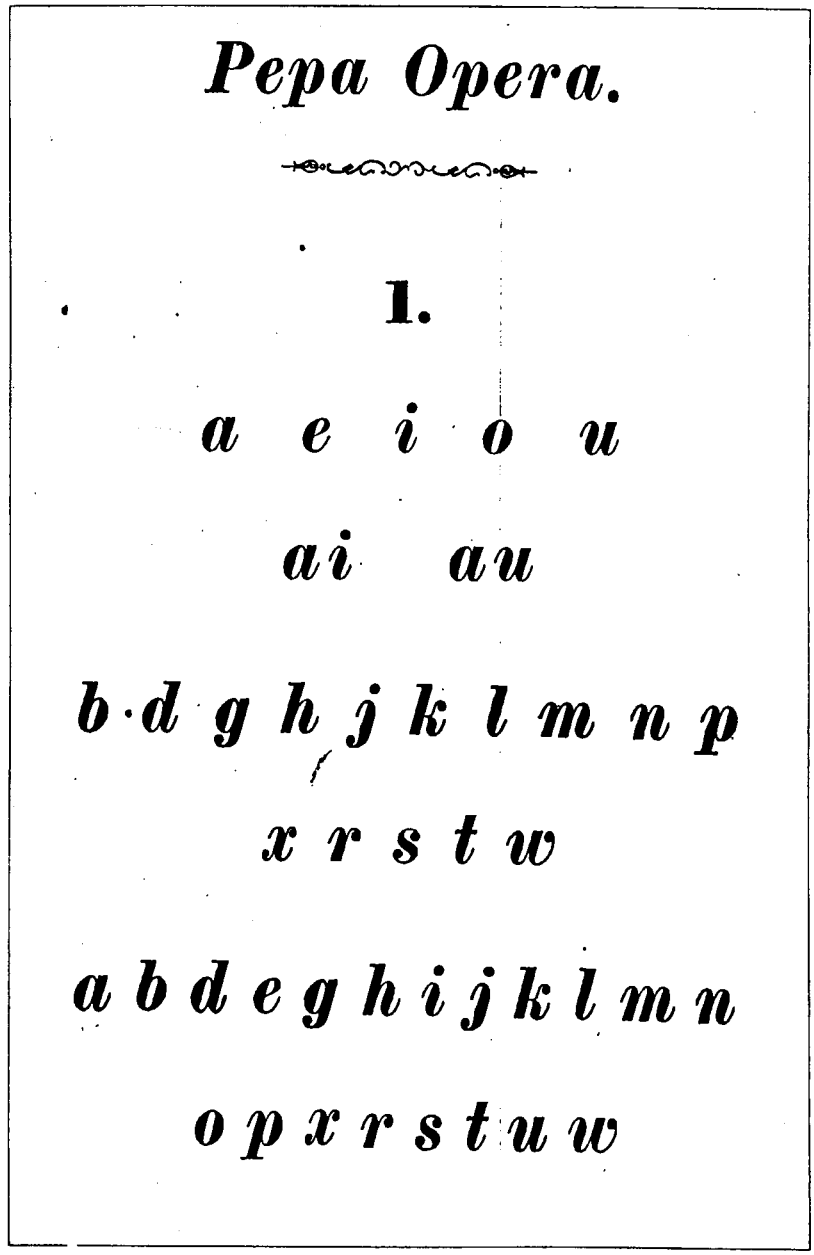

Figure 8: Dieri Alphabet in Primer (Homann & Koch, 1870)

It is interesting to note that the Hermannsburg missionaries viewed the German language as a more adequate vehicle for transcribing Dieri, and that a similar approach to transcribing Indigenous languages using 'European vowels' was also taken by Schürmann, who is today widely viewed as the father of mission philological work in South Australia. Schürmann observed in a postscript to a letter to Angas of 12th June 1839:

> The native words are spelled according to the german way which is exactly the same, Mr Threlkeld has adopted, except that my *i*

> [transcription error; should read *j*] must be pronounced as his *y* at the beginning of a sylabble [sic][57]

By comparison with modern phonemic transcription, the missionaries under-differentiated the consonants and over-differentiated the vowels, further Austin (1986) found that the mission orthography did not clearly differentiate the sounds *th*, *t* and the retroflex *rt*.[58] The German *t* equates to the interdental Dieri *th* and perhaps reflects the difficulty in distinguishing and pronunciation of this sound by native speakers of German. Austin also distinguishes variants of *l* and *n* with tongue tip as for English *th*; for similar reasons one might also expect not to see these sounds distinguished by the mission records.

In the German word lists the nasal *ng* is often but not always present, and is also described as a light *h* commencing sound, indicating a wide variation in realisations. The realisations of *r* are closer to the retroflex *r* found in German. The other *r* sounds similar to *d* between two vowels in English fast speech. Dieri *d* is more retroflex than English *d* as too are *l, n* and *t*.

Leaving aside at this point the motives of the missionary-linguist, I would here like to briefly consider the tools available to Homann and Koch in recording the initial vocabulary of Dieri, the task of introducing a consistent script form into a language, which as we have heard, revealed wide variation in its spoken forms. In the absence of modern linguistic methodology and even to a large extent in the absence of input by trained philologists of the day,[59] such tools were necessarily drawn from the linguistic background of the missionaries. I have already briefly discussed the role of Wilhelm Koch in codifying the Dieri language according to

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[57] Schürmann to Angas, Adelaide 12/6/1839 in Schurman (1987:51)

[58] Austin (1986a:177)

[59] Schütz (1994:54) 'The earliest citation for the word *phonology* in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is from 1799, and at that time, it meant simply 'the science of vocal sounds. But what was the nature of this 'science'? What did a broadly educated scientist know about the sounds of language in the latter part of the eighteenth century? How much of this knowledge trickled down to the general educated public?'

the classical grammatical forms of his education, and I would suggest that a similar process occurred with regard to the development of standard transcription. Taking Samuel Johnson's 1755 *A Grammar of the English Tongue* as a prototype for others of the time, Schütz (1994) describes the state of the art of language description in the 19th century as follows:

> ...the accepted order of description was from symbol to sound, not the reverse. [...] the appropriate section of the grammar was called not *phonology,* but *orthography*; hence, not *sound* but *writing.* [...] The most common way to create an orthography for a new language was to use one's own, illustrating unfamiliar sounds with the closest familiar ones.[60]

Der geschickte Engländer and transliteration

Just such a transliterative approach to transcribing a foreign language is also in evidence in the missionaries' attempts with foreign English terms, and especially proper nouns, which had been heard but probably never seen in their written form. Samuel Gason for example was referred to at different times in the early reports as *Gessen, Gissen, Giessen* and *Gassen,* and in Gößling's account of the journey to the mission field in 1867.[61] Lake Hope becomes *Lehk Hohp*, Leighs Creek is *Liess Crik* and *Maunt Deßepschen* - yes, Mount Deception. Such transliterations abound in the mission journals.

This method of learning a foreign language is also to be found in a contemporary textbook *Der geschickte Engländer* (1854) which according to its subtitle promised to teach 'the art of learning to read, write and speak English in 10 lessons, without a teacher!' This 'Berlitz' of the 19th century offered a transliteration of the English language using the familiar German. The main difficulty in teaching an oral fluency was perceived as the fact that the English language was written with different letters than were to be pronounced.

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[60] Schütz (1994:55)

[61] HMB 1867:34-36. Gößling account of journey

For the German speaker the main difficulties were associated with the vowels and the laminodental *th* which was described as the most difficult sound of all to master:

> *th* is the most difficult sound, it sounds almost like the *ß* of a German speaker, who lisps somewhat. The sound of *th* is either soft and most closely approximates *th*, or sharp and sounds almost as if an *f* preceded the *ß*. In the current work the former sound is rendered with *dh*, and the latter is denoted with *fßh*.[62]

The English produced when such transliterated forms are read aloud reveals a residual German accent associated largely with the overemphasis of certain sounds and the under-articulation of others. In the Dieri produced by missionaries' transliteration using the familiar sounds of German, one could also expect to hear the difficulties for pronunciation that sounds including the laminodental stop *th,* the lateral laminodental *lth* and the laminodental nasal *nth* all posed.

The difficulty that dipthongs presented for notation is also reflected in the varied early renderings of the language name *Dieri, Deerie, Deary,* and more recently *Dieyerie, Dijari* and Austin's *Diyari.* Austin's notation replaces the dipthong with two phonemes using the semi-vowel *y*.

The development of a practical orthography for unfamiliar languages would be consistent with early practice given the educational background of the Hermannsburg missionaries, and although standardisation and further refinement of the written form was undertaken and is reflected in the first primer, traces of the transliteration of Dieri according to German pronunciation necessarily remain.

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[62] *Der geschickte Engländer* (1854:5) '*th* ist der schwierigste Laut, er klingt fast wie das *ß* eines Deutschen, der mit der Zunge etwas anstößt. Der Laut des *th* ist entweder weich und kommt dem von *th* am nächsten, oder scharf und lautet beinah als wenn dem *ß* noch ein *f* vorherging. Der erstere Laut ist im vorliegenden Werkchen mit *dh* , der letztere mit *fßh* bezeichnet worden.'

laminodental:

represented in primer as *t*

th

tuſſh tooth(p15)

ſſhihf thief (p15)

dſörsti thirsty (p27)

fäſſhfull faithful (p9)

kloſſis clothes (p34)

wäſſher weather (p19)

but *uedſher* whether (p27)

möſſher mother (p7)

faſſher father (p7)

dhiß, dhät, dhieß, dhöß

this, that, these, those (p9)

dhßönnder thunder (p40)

laminopalatal stop:

represented in primer as *x*

g/j

dschenntelmän gentleman (p16)

dscherrmen german (p21)

dschennerös generous (p6)

dschennjuöri January (p64)

strehnsch strange (p44)

and *lartsch* large (p9)

ch

tschörsch / tschörtsches church/ churches (p15)

tscheild child (p7)

tschößt just (p43)

laminopalatal glide *y* :

represented in primer as *j* and also *i* + *vowel*

amjuhß amuse (p26)

njuh knew (p31) and *niu* new (p43)

niujihrsdeh New Years Day (p64)

biutiful beautiful (p9)

rifiuhß refuse (p40)

matiur mature (p42)

uik week (p7)

ueif wife (p7)

uotsch watch (p7)

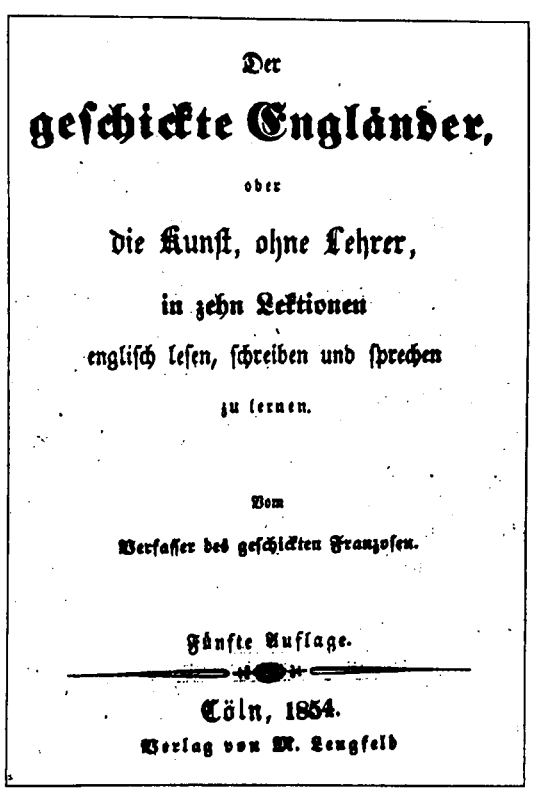
ueit white (p9)

uisches wishes (p15)

uedßher whether (p27)

ueilst whilst (p35)

dscho-in join (p41)


Der

geſchickte Engländer,

oder

die Kunſt, ohne Lehrer,

in zehn Lektionen

engliſch leſen, ſchreiben und ſprechen

zu lernen.

Vom

Verfaſſer des geſchickten Franzoſen.

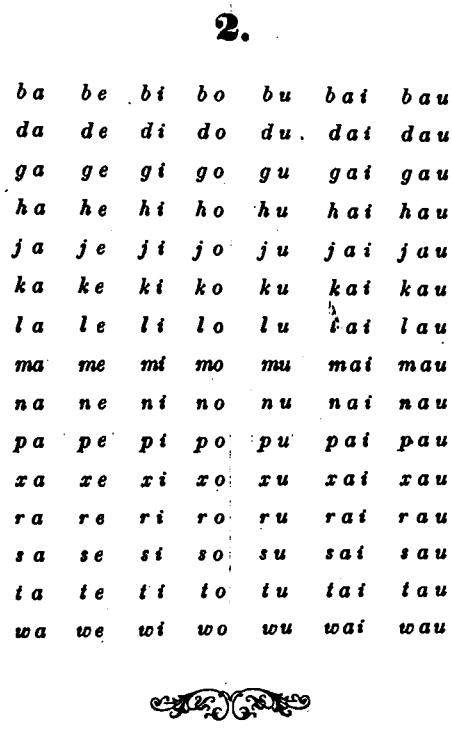
Fünfte Auflage.

Cöln, 1854.

Verlag von M. Lengfeld

Figure 9: German transliteration of English words.

It is worth noting that German fluency was later referred to in the Church journals with respect to the singing of German hymns and was also specifically attested for several members of the mission community. Given the fact that for many of the mission community, Dieri was not the native language but was rather learned in its literate form in the school and on the mission lands, it is quite reasonable to consider the possibility that the missionaries documenting and recasting of the language not only influenced its written form in terms of mission orthography and grammar but perhaps too its phonology, through the way it was spoken on the mission. Certainly reading instruction commenced with a progression from letters to single syllables combining consonants and the five vowels in what must have been in many instances unfamiliar ways, and thereby standardising the pronunciation. Following on from the first section of the primer devoted to the letters of the alphabet, we find reading exercises based on two-letter syllables (section 2) and three-letter syllables (section 4) using the five vowels and two dipthongs identified in section 1 followed in sections 3 and 5 by authentic words combining such syllables. Such primer exercises were designed to be chanted in the classroom.



2.

ba	be	bi	bo	bu	bai	bau
da	de	di	do	du	dai	dau
ga	ge	gi	go	gu	gai	gau
ha	he	hi	ho	hu	hai	hau
ja	je	ji	jo	ju	jai	jau
ka	ke	ki	ko	ku	kai	kau
la	le	li	lo	lu	lai	lau
ma	me	mi	mo	mu	mai	mau
na	ne	ni	no	nu	nai	nau
pa	pe	pi	po	pu	pai	pau
xa	xe	xi	xo	xu	xai	xau
ra	re	ri	ro	ru	rai	rau
sa	se	si	so	su	sai	sau
ta	te	ti	to	tu	tai	tau
wa	we	wi	wo	wu	wai	wau

Figure 10: Reading exercises: Primer (Homann & Koch, 1870:4)

The possibility of such a phonological influence is bourne out by documented experiences regarding the early years of the Hermannsburg Finke River Mission. The following anecdote is attributed to Moses Tjalkabota and deals with his boyhood years on FRM under German-speaking teachers A.H. Kempe (service 1878-91) W.E. Schwarz (service 1878-89) and L. Schulze (1881-91). It was told to F.W. Albrecht in Aranda (Arrarnta), and illustrates not only the tensions created between children and old men by the introduction of new knowledge and new language forms, but also the phonetic modifications introduced probably unintentionally:

> The old men said, 'Children, you are singing wrongly, really wrongly.'
> Then we said, 'a,e,i,o,u.'
> 'Oh, the childern are talking like crows', they said.
> The children are speaking as though they are crying.' In this way they rubbished us. They said, 'You are not to go to the missionaries any longer. They are teaching you wrongly. You must ignore their teaching.' Then when we were learning the Articles of the Creed, the old men said, 'Look, those boys, and those girls are making funny sounds.' They couldn't understand. The meaning of the words was hidden from them, as it were. But we continued to rote learn in the old store, and in the old church. We did other rote learning on Sundays.[63]

With regard to the transcription of Dieri, I would like to note that the few samples of Dieri included in mission reports from 1868, that is before the preparation and printing of the first primer, include significant variation in the written forms, however a striking characteristic of such transcription was the use of double consonants. These and other diagraphs were removed in the 1870 primer and this became standard mission orthography. Thus for example, *jathana, jatana* with *t* signifing the interdental. The use of *j* for the semi-vowel also became standard, (e.g. *iaola* became *jaola,* also interestingly in *ginhinna* which became *jinkina*).

> Early examples:
> *jatana mummu, wimma mummu* : the talking and the singing is beautiful
> *wulje, wulje jathana koernimaster Killalpaninna* : soon, soon the *Koernimaster* (missionary) will preach at Killalpaninna.

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[63] P.G.E. Albrecht (2002:246) *From Mission to Church: 1877 – 2002 Finke River Mission*

nauje ginhinna bukku : him up there gives food.[64]

komanelli nakanni : my friend
parri willpanni tarranallu : in heaven high above
Nanni jundru najena : me you see
- Kapperau - Mummu jerra jinkiau .- Come! good there give! [65]

Goda Iaola : Gottes Hauch [66]

Earliest Dieri documents and Lepsius' Standard Alphabet [67]

It is also possible that the orthography of the first Dieri primer, grammar and wordlist was informed by contemporary approaches of comparative philology and and in particular by Richard Lepsius' *Standard Alphabet* (See Chapter 9). The following section will briefly consider whether the early mission documents reveal evidence of this influence.

It had been philological practice for notation of unwritten languages to avoid English vowels following the work of Sir William Jones (President of the Asiatic Society, Bengal) and his renown essay *On the Orthography of Asiatic Words in Roman letters* (1788). This system was promoted in India in the 1830's, and indeed persisted there despite Lepsius' rival system. It was however perhaps Jones' work that first clearly established the 'one sign-one sound' principle.

Lepsius developed a system built around the European vowels, and a more rigorous description and consistent notation for the consonants. Sounds outside

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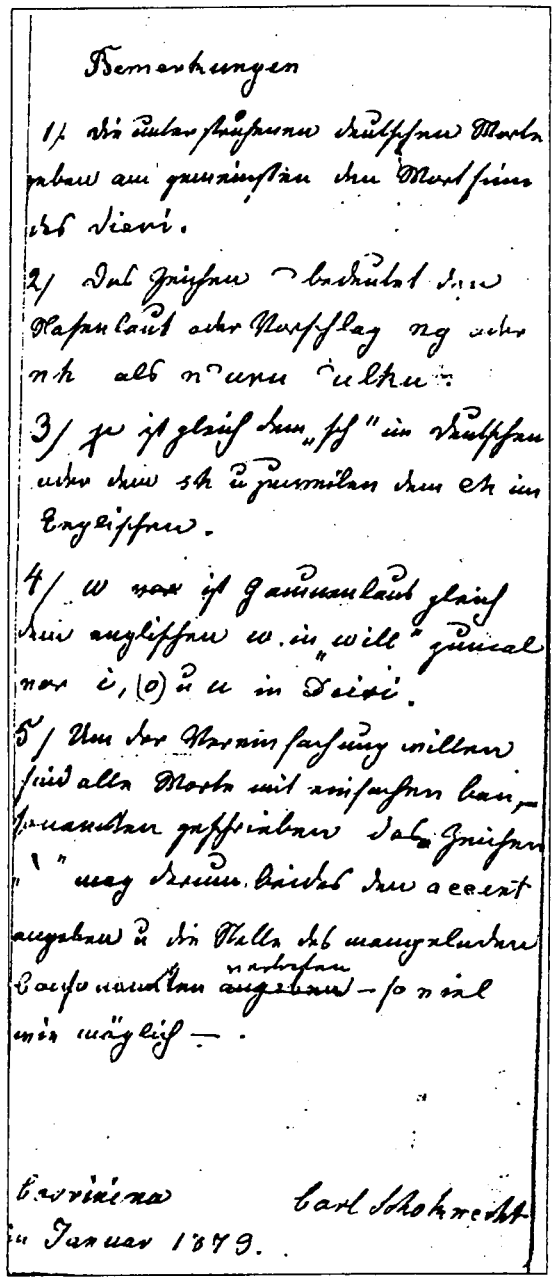
[64] HMB 1/1868:4

[65] Private Letter Homann to Theodor Harms, Hbg am Killalpaninna 1/5/1868: held in HA

[66] Letter Killalpaninna 26/10/1868: Homann to Dear Mr Pastor [Theodor Harms]: held in HA

[67] The *Standard Alphabet* originally appeared as a six-page brochure published by James Schoen and Samuel Lee under the auspices of the CMS, and was again published in 1848 as *Rules for reducing Unwritten languages to Alphabetical Writing in Roman characters with reference especially to the languages spoken in Afrika.* In 1852 Lepsius was invited Secretary of the CMS, Henry Venn, to develop this work further and in 1853 an outline of the Alphabet was published along with the CMS brochure. Afterwards Lepsius' proposal was presented to the *Berliner Akademie*, which took over production of the cast types. The committee included such famous philologists as Lepsius' former Professors Jacob Grimm und Franz Bopp. In 1855 the *SA* was published in German and English and in 1863 again in expanded format and then only in English.

the extended Roman alphabet were to be represented by diacritics and in some cases Greek symbols. Another of the main principles of the *Standard Alphabet* was that simple sounds should not be represented by digraphs. For this reason a Greek symbol used in preference to the digraph *tj* and similarly the digraph *ng* for the velar nasal, as had been used by Schürmann, was avoided. Interestingly missionaries Meyer and Flierl later relaced both the difficult diacritic and the Greek symbol χ with digraphs. By the 1880s it appears that Lepsius' Standard Alphabet had fallen into disuse despite support from the mission societies.



Bemerkungen

1/ die unterstrichenen deutschen Worte geben am gemeinsten den Wortsinn des Dieri.

2/ Das Zeichen ⁀ bedeutet den Nasenlaut oder Vorschlag ng oder nk als n⁀uru ⁀ulku.

3/ χ ist gleich dem „sch" im deutschen oder dem sh u zuweilen dem ch im Englischen.

4/ w vor ist Gaumenlaut gleich dem englischen w in „will" zumal vor i, (o) u u in Dieri.

5/ Um der Vereinfachung willen sind alle Worte mit einfachen Consonanten geschrieben das Zeichen „ ' " mag darum beides den accent angeben u die Stelle des mangelnden Consonanten ~~angeben~~ vertreten – so viel wie möglich –.

Corrinina Carl Schoknecht
in Januar 1879.

Figure 11: Schoknecht Dictionary Preface (1879)

The most notable letter in the 1870 alphabet, in that it falls clearly outside the Roman alphabet, is thus the *x*. According to the manuscripts (grammar and wordlist) it is the Greek symbol χ, however instructions as to its pronunciation are somewhat vague. The grammar states that it should be pronounced as in Greek- that is as the voiceless guttural (uvular) fricative – however it is later also transcribed as *tj* in such words as *xubo* (a ball game) or *xoxo* (grubs). In the word list manuscript we read that χ is 'equivalent to the *sch* in German or the *sh* and sometimes the *ch* in English.'[68]

The Palatal

In Lepsius' *Standard Alphabet*: one finds the base letter χ, described as the gutteral fricative as found in such words as ***lachen, Krach, ach*** – and of which he writes that only in the Greek and the Spanish languages is there to be found a simple sign for this sound. The χ was known in philological circles having already been used by Volney in 1795 and subsequently widely-adopted. However Lepsius added a variant, which more closely approaches the Dieri palatal stop, he describes it as the palatal fricative, denoted by a small vertical diacritic above the χ. The value being the same as found in the German words *Milch* or *recht*.

Lepsius noted that the palatal class were simple sounds between gutturals and dentals as found in Sanskrit, and he based his diacritic on Bopp's use of a vertical dash placed above guttural letters *k, g, n* and χ to indicate the palatal value. He noted further that 'in most languages *k* and *g* before the vowels *e, i, ö* and *ü* approach the palatal pronunciation, while before *a, o, u* they remain more guttural.'[69] Although the palatal χ presented great difficulties for speakers of English and French, for speakers of German it was familiar:

> With regard to χ (German *ch*) Germans do the same [ie they distinguish guttural and palatal pronunciation before all vowels as in Sanskrit]. They pronounce, for instance, the *ch* in all diminutives, even after *a, o* and *u*, not guttural as in *Aachen, rauchen, Kuchen,* but palatal, as in *Mamachen,*

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[68] Schok Gr:1 'gleich dem *sch* im Deutschen oder dem *sh* und zuweilen dem *ch* im Englischen.'

[69] Bunsen (1854 Vol II:415)

> *Frauchen, Uhuchen,* from *Mama, Frau, Uhu.* The guttural *ch* is pronounced after all vowels in Southern Germany.[70]

Furthermore it was noted that that this sound could easily assume the character of the semi-vowel *y*.[71] The pronunciation of Dieri words such as *anxana* (love), or *woldrakanxa* (summer) thus become more transparent and in the latter case we find confirmation in Gason's transcription *woldragunya*. Finally it must be noted that according to Lepsius, diacritics could be omitted where no distinctions in value of the base signs needed to be marked and in Dieri there is no guttural counterpart.[72]

The Velar Nasal

In some cases one finds *h* in word-initial position or in the manuscripts the use of a diacritic – a small downward curve above and slightly preceding the vowel. In the printed primer there are no diacritics and no foreign symbols used. The diacritic signifies an initial nasal *ng* or *nh* (as is found in *uru* : an other, *ulku* : complaint, grievance). In Lepsius we find the guttural *n* with a superscript dot, as already generally used in Sanskrit studies. In addition there are also signs for nasalised vowels; for these a tilde is set above the letter, as the superscript dot denoting nasal consonants was avoided due to possible confusion in the case of *i*. Although not entirely consistent with Lepsius' diacritic, this latter sign (the vowel plus tilde) more closely approaches the Dieri manuscript, and perhaps it was varied to clearly differentiate it from the umlaut marking in German handwriting, which is a slightly upward curved line over the modified vowels *a, u* and *o*.

In terms of its time and milieu Lepsius' *Standard* Alphabet fits with the early orthography of the Dieri language. The fact that his work was widely known in Protestant mission circles in the 1850's and 1860's, and in particular its endorsement by the Moravian Missions, makes it plausible that its influence reached Homann and Koch, if not directly via the Hermannsburg mission fields in

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[70] Bunsen ibid.

[71] Lepsius (1863: 71)

[72] op cit. 79: 'All particular diacritical marks are unnecessary in those languages where none of the bases have a double value. We then write the simple base without a diacritical mark...'

Africa, then indirectly via the Moravians at Kopperamana. The broader aims and context of the Standard Alphabet will be dealt with in Chapter 9.

4.4 Mission language practices and the school

The year 1868 could thus be termed the year of birth of literacy in Dieri; the mission school was established soon after the return of the Lutheran mission personel to their settlement at Lake Killalpaninna, and work on the language proceeded in earnest through the cooperation of Wilhelm Koch with Missionary Homann. Alongside the work of re-establishing the station and establishing the school Homann and Koch were working to produce documentation of the Dieri language which could be used both to produce translations as materials for the introduction of reading and writing, but also as aids to their own acquisition of Dieri.

On the 2nd April 1868, only seven weeks after the resumption of mission work, Koch reported:

> The children in the school are making good progress, they already know their ABC, as well as how to read easy short syllables of two or three letters, they have also learned a short prayer in their language[...] Until now unfortunately only the lips pronounce it whilst the heart remains unmoved.[73]

The numbers were variable, but in March Homann was able to accept some 20 pupils. Teaching was of course *ein Flick- und Stückwerk*, that is ad hoc and piecemeal, however the main imperative was for mission work to be commenced as soon as possible and the language was to be acquired by both the children and the missionaries *beim Lernen* (in the classroom):

> The tuition [...] consists for the time being in teaching the natives to read, and then showing and describing biblical pictures to them.

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[73] KMB 8/1868: 80 'Die Kinder in der Schule machen gute Fortschritte, bereits können sie das ABC, sowie leichte kleine Sylben von 2 oder 3 Buchstaben lesen, auch haben sie ein kurzes Gebet in ihrer Sprache gelernt[...] Leider sagen es ja bis jetzt nur die Lippen, und das Herz bleibt kalt dabei.'

> As especially with the adults it is not possible to teach them in English, we are teaching them to read in their language and ourselves speak in it or rather stammer as much as possible, and are learning conscientiously with class work, and that which we have collected during the day, we process of an evening. Thus it is with much effort we have pretty well succeeded in producing a declension and a conjugation, but the more one goes into the language, the more difficult it becomes.[74]

Homann took morning classes in Bible History and singing, and Koch gave classes in reading and writing in the afternoon and also supervised the children at mealtimes.[75] Koch divided the class early into two groups, one starting with the letters of the alphabet and the other learning to spell short words.[76]

From the outset too the connection between meals and the attendance of the pupils was acknowledged as just, as it was realised that the children would be prevented from collecting foodstuffs due to lessons. It was also quite clear to the missionaries that they were gradually accustoming the children to a 'more ordered' way of life, by giving the children a place to sleep in the hut where they also received their meals and tuition.[77]

In the school the pupils were to be instructed in the Christian values of industriousness, dicipline and piety, and simultaneously to learn the new vocabulary of Christian teaching, which was to be anchored amongst the people by means of repeated explanation. As in Hermannsburg (Germany) tuition was accompanied by physical work around the mission in the afternoon. For the women there was often needlework with the wives of the *Kolonists* and missionaries.

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[74] KMB 7/1868:71 'Der Unterricht [...] besteht darin, vorläufig die Eingebornen lesen zu lehren, und dann ihnen biblische Bilder zu zeigen und zu beschreiben. Da es besonders bei Erwachsenen, nicht möglich, in englischer Sprache sie zu unterrichten, so lehren wir sie lesen in ihrer Sprache und sprechen oder stammeln vielmehr auch selbst darin so viel als möglich, lernen aber auch fleissig beim Lernen, und was wir den Tag über gesammelt, verarbeiten wir des Abends. So ists unter viel Mühe gelungen eine Declination und eine Conjugation ziemlich herauszubringen, aber je mehr man sich in die Sprache hineinlebt, je schwerer sie wird.'

[75] KMB 20/1868:193

[76] KMB 22&23/1868:214

[77] KMB 11/1868:118

The children were taught according to the classical (Greek) model of primary education which emphasises the progression from simple to complicated structures,[78] that is, starting with the (names of the) letters of the alphabet, to sounds, and then to one and two syllable words, and then gradually on to sentences (once again from simple to more complex) and then to continuous texts. The children would recite the letters, sounds and later words in chorus. This organisation of teaching material is clearly evident in the structure of the first Dieri primer.

The workloads of missionary personnel were also not without consequences for the progress of philological work. As inured as the Hermannsburg missionaries were to hard physical work, they could hardly have imagined a routine in which they were to build and support a settlement via a sheep station, provisioned to a large extent by the efforts of a *Kolonist* who was almost continually on the road between Coopers Creek and the South of the state, and simultaneously establish a school using an as yet unrecorded language as medium of tuition.

> Certainly we have been here for some four months; that is but a short time, during which a mission station[...] cannot be built, in addition[to the fact that] there is more work here than in building in the South of the colony. However it was after all the wish of the kind mission committee to begin work with the heathens themselves as soon as possible, and so we soon started up a school, which confined itself to the children, as it turned out that it was yet out of the question with the adults; also, because it was not yet possible to relate biblical history, in the end it only confined itself to reading lessons. Alongside this we worked on the language with the help of a few natives (...) however, if we wanted to retain our pupils, (...) we had to feed them at least once a day. This we did, but the good work was soon disrupted. We had no more provisions (...) and with very heavy hearts we had to suspend teaching, and our language study too due to extraneous work.[79]

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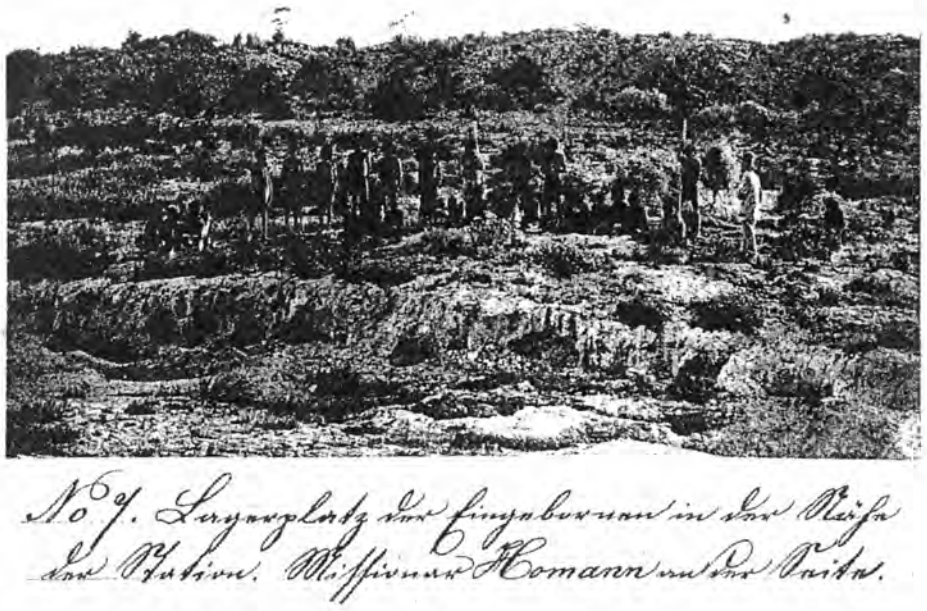
[78] See Marrou (1956:150-153) *Education in Antiquity*

[79] KMB 13/1868:136 'Freilich sind wir ungefähr vier Monate hier; das ist kurze Zeit, in der eine Missionsstation[...]nicht kann gebaut werden, noch dazu hier der Arbeit mehr ist als beim Bau im Süden der Kolonie. Doch war ja der Wunsch des lieben Missions-Comites auch so bald als möglich die Arbeit an den Heiden selbst anzufangen, und so begannen wir bald eine Schule, die, da es sich herausstellte, dass es mit den Erwachsenen noch nicht anging, sich auf die Kinder beschränkte; auch, da es mit der Sprache noch nicht ging biblische Geschichte zu erzählen, sich nur zuletzt auf Leseunterricht allein beschränkte. Nebenbei trieben wir dann mit der Hülfe einiger Eingebornen die Sprache.[...]doch, wollten wir unsere Schüler halten,[...] so müssten wir sie wenigstens einmal täglich beköstigen. Wir thaten es, doch leider wurde bald diese schöne Arbeit



No 7. Lagerplatz der Eingebornen in der Nähe der Station. Missionar Homann an der Seite
[Aboriginal Camp near the station. Missionary Homann at side]

No.3 Missions-Station von der Westseite, vom trocknen Seebett abgenommen. Sandhügel steil; links die Schule- Miss. Hom. Haus- rechts erste Wohnung. [Mission station from the western side, taken from the dry lakebed. Steep sandhill, school to the left- Missionary Homann's house- and the first residence on right.]

Figure 12: Views of the Hermannsburg Mission Station 1868 (LA).

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gestört. Wir hatten keinen Proviant mehr[...] und wir mussten mit sehr schwerem Herzen den Unterricht einstellen, auch das Sprachstudium um der äusseren Arbeit willen.'

4.5 First fruits of work with the language

As a proof of their labours Homann enclosed in a letter to Theodor Harms, [80] a copy of their first school-prayer which, he commented, when it is earnestly prayed with folded hands by such a brown child makes one's heart rejoice in one's breast[81]:

Jesus	komanelli	nakanni
Jesus	Freund	mein
Jesus	friend	my

jidni	namai	parri willpanni	tarranallu
Du	sitzest	Wolken	noch höher
you	sit	in heaven	high above

Nanni	jundru	najena	-	Kapperau
mich	Du	siehest,	-	Komme
me	you	see	-	Come!

Mummu	jerra	jinkiau.	-	Amen
Gutes	da (uns hier)	gieb		
good	there (us here)	give!		

Homann also attempted to convey something of the 'pleasant sound of the language' by giving an example of a short folk-song that was sung by the men only. He commented however that it was difficult to translate as several of the words were different in the vernacular.

Jirimpa arumpa
meranne pilpanta
nanna parrukurrukurru
worintji
mirra mirra weiada

---

[80] Private Letter Homann to Theodor Harms, Killalpaninna 1/5/1868: held in HA

[81] ibid

This is probably the earliest recorded Dieri song. Of such songs Homann stated there are many types, for example some sung on the occasion of circumcision 'of course in a very indecent manner' others to be sung by women and children. 'It is just a shame' he writes 'that the beautiful language is spoken in a nasal (*schnarrend*) manner and that it is sung so mono-tonally.'[82] Once again we encounter concepts of correct and aesthetic use of language, which were applied by the missionaries from the earliest days of recording the Dieri language.

4.6 Christian vocabulary and translation problems

Aside from the skeleton vocabulary mainly concerned with terminology for the natural world which had been obtained as a starting point from Samuel Gason, the missionaries soon became aware of the difficulty attached to translation of the most necessary Christian texts, their first efforts centering on the the first sections of the catechism; the Lord's prayer, the Ten Commandments and the Creed (as we will see in the translations of the first primer which follow this section).

The lack of abstract concepts in the Indigenous language was a typical complaint of the missionaries of the establishment phase of the mission, and was represented as the largest obstacle in the path of spreading the Gospel. The first philological work therefore comprised the search for terms which could be refashioned to convey such concepts. The discovery of the appropriate word was believed to effect automatic comprehension, just as the Christian Truth was to automatically convert the human soul, once it had been heard. Gössling wrote to the mission committee, 21/3/1867:

> They have as yet no concept of mission and spiritual things, and it will be very troublesome for us, even when we have completely mastered the language, to teach them something of this, as their language is very poor [in terms] in this respect, and indeed largely has no such words at all.[83]

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[82] ibid.

[83] KMB 4/1867:56 'Von Mission und geistlichen Dingen haben sie auch noch gar keinen Begriff, und es wird uns, wenn wir auch die Sprache vollständig in unserer Gewalt haben, sehr viel Mühe machen, ihnen davon etwas beizubringen, da ihre Sprache in dieser Beziehung sehr wortarm ist, ja

In this area then, words were formed by the missionaries in accordance with their knowledge of grammar and phonology, and a necessary simplification in Lutheran teaching and a polarisation of vocabulary resulted, which the missionaries ascribed to the lack of understanding of the Dieri people, rather than to their own want of competence in the language:

> Where the words are missing, as for example sin, there the word is made bad, very bad, dirty, disobedient and the like. Words must do. For the word holy 'good' must be said and in addition pure, obedient and the like, as strongly as one can make it. One must relate the joyous message of redemption and redeemer to them as to small children, and above all one must be quite plain, simple and childlike, they are no clever Athenians and no educated Hindu, but rather natural/primitive people.[84]

Some twenty years earlier the Dresden missionaries Clamor Schürmann und Christian Gottlob Teichelmann working among the Kaurna in the Adelaide area, and had faced very similar difficulties with the translation of core concepts of Christianity. An interesting example is the search for an appropriate name for God. Schürmann wrote to Angas, 12/6/1839:

> *Munaintyerlo*, who of old lived on earth, has made the sun, moon and stars, the earth and the visible world in general. As soon as I got this name, I substituted it for the hitherto used Jehova, which they could scarcely pronounce. I told them of the creation, of the incarnation, sufferings, death, resurrection and ascension of the son of God, and I had the satisfaction of seeing not only that I was perfectly understood but also that I created a deep interest. If further discoveries do not show that they combine too pagan and absurd ideas with the name *Munaintyerlo*, I mean to retain it for the name of God.[85]

But later he reconsidered the choice:

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zum grossen Theile gar keine Worte hat. So haben sie kein Wort für Sünde oder Unrecht, ja nicht einmal für Strafen.'

[84] HMB 11/1869:234 Homann: 'Wo die Worte fehlen, als z.B. Sünde, da wird das Wort schlecht, sehr schlecht gemacht, schmutzig, ungehorsam u.dgl. Wörter müssen helfen. Für das Wort heilig muss gut gesagt werden und dazu rein, gehorsam u. dgl., so stark man es machen kann. Die fröhliche Botschaft vom Heil und Heiland muss man ihnen erzählen wie kleinen Kindern, und überhaupt muss man recht platt, schlicht und kindlich sein, es sind keine klugen Athener und keine gelehrten Hindu, sondern sehr grobnatürliche Leute.'

[85] Schürmann to Angas 12/6/1839 in Schurmann (1987:46)

> The *Munaintyerlo*, is not a Noun proper of a person, as I was then led to believe, only a very ancient being, so that it can be justly said, that the Aborigines have an idea of creation, or that the universe has in very remote times been made by some being, but that they have no distinct notions of that being.[86]

Missionary Taplin too had subsequently adopted *Jehova* as the name of God after first considering *Nurundere*:

> When I first spoke to the natives about religion, I found that they believed in a god Nurundere, and at first I was inclined to adopt that name in speaking to the blacks for our English word God; but I soon found that Nurundere was only a deified blackfellow whose attributes were gigantic vices. I therefore determined always to use the word Jehova for our God, and thus avoided the confusion which would have resulted from using the native name.[87]

A similar search for terminology occupied Homann and Koch; the names of Indigenous mythological figures were apparently not considered appropriate. The chosen name must furthermore be pronouncible for the Dieri, and at the same time not conjure up any misleading associations:

> ... but is no small thing to deal with the Word of God and to bestow a name upon this and that, which may often denote something blasphemous alongside something virtuous.[88]

The missionaries wanted to empathise with the conceptual world of the Aborigines in learning the language and attempting to communicate directly with them, but there also existed the necessity of clearly differentiating the Christian belief system and the representation of the Divine Being from the domain of Indigenous spiritualism/cosmology, which was labelled superstition and *Verkehrtheit* by the missionaries. Thus sermons were to be held in Dieri, but we

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[86] Schürmann to Angas Adelaide, 3/4/1840 in Schurmann (1987: 91)

[87] Taplin in Woods (1879:68) See too p.76: reference to Bible as Jehovah's book/Word: interestingly some of the Narrinyeri question the status as perhaps more 'whitefellow lies'. p.82: "How do you know that Bible is Jehovah's book? Did he give it to you? Did he tell you it? Did not whitefellow make it?" "No," I replied, "Jehovah gave it to my fathers a long time ago." "Well," he said, "and our God told my fathers these customs a long time ago, and so we must do them."

[88] HMB 3/1869:45 '...aber es ist doch nichts Kleines mit dem theuern Wort Gottes umgehen und diesem und jenem einen Namen zu geben, der neben Gutem auch oft Lasterhaftes bedeutet.'

find the most important names retain their foreign form, superficially adapted to the Indigenous idiom with a Dieri suffix. In the case of the word 'God' it was doubtless also significant that the Dieri *t* was pronounced as an interdental *th*, and here the 'correct' English was given preference over an 'incorrect' German one. The choice of the word 'God' over the term 'Jehovah' is also significant. This was apparently the accepted term for the Dresden missionaries Teichelmann and Schürmann (in Adelaide area and also in Port Lincoln), Klose and Meyer (Encounter Bay) and was also adopted by Taplin at Point Macleay in the 1860's.

The new term *Goda*, I would suggest, reflects the emphasis of the Hermannsburg mission on the New Testament teachings of repentance love and forgiveness, rather than the Old Testament God of retribution and punishment. Indeed Homann's first sermon in the Dieri language, given in August 1869,[89] was based on John 3:16; 'For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life...' The German word *eingeboren* in a biblical context means 'only begotten' (interestingly it is also the term for Indigenous). In Dieri this concept was rendered by *natamurra kulno* ; according to Gason *Athamoora* [90] *(natamurra/ natamura)* is the term given for either the son or daughter by the father, and *Coornoo (kulno)* signifies one.

> Now for *God*, we could not find any suitable name. And we could not take the names of spirits or demons, which they possess. So we said: *Goda*, God. The *a* had to be added on for the sake of the declension, and also because they have no words which do not end with a vowel. Now the expression must of course be explained, until the people understand it. For God, The Father, we have: *Aperi* 'Father', *pirna* 'big/great'; for God The Son: *Jesu, nattamurra kulno* eingeborner Sohn, der *Joa* Saviour, Helper, Redeemer. For 'Holy Ghost' we are still uncertain. *Janalka* means breath, Odem [breath of life]. To this we must add the appropriate adjective, explain it as a person, and in this manner also introduce it [the concept] among the people(...). The word 'eternal' also caused us difficulty, as it does not exist. Here we circumlocute: 'has always been, is still, and will always be'.[91]

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[89] *Missionsacta*: General Mission Convention, Blumberg, 29/9/1869

[90] Gason in Woods (1879:296)

[91] KMB 15/1868:150: 'Nun für Gott konnten wir keinen passenden Namen finden. Und Namen von Geistern, oder Dämonen, die sie haben, durften wir nicht nehmen. Wir sagten also: *Goda*,

The term *janalka* appears neither in Gason's nor in Schoknecht's wordlist. Both give 'breath' as *yowla* (Gason)[92] or *jaola* (Schoknecht).[93] The only similar word appears to be *ulka* (Gason),[94] which appears as *nalcha* in Schoknecht,[95] both having the gloss 'spittle/saliva.'

In October of the same year Homann wrote to Harms that the term for the Holy Spirit had been particularly difficult to translate, and that he and Br Koch were very concerned not to introduce silly or even diabolical instead of godly terms by oversight:

> We were unable to translate God's Spirit, for spirit also has the meaning 'dream' and also 'ghost', finally we have now settled for *Goda Iaola* God's Breath or Odem, and we define and explain this as we go along. If there existed words for 'holy', 'eternal' or merely 'morally good', we could construct words, however the language is too poor in this regard and we cannot be too careful.[96]

Interestingly the missionaries had considerably fewer problems with the name of the Devil, who was apparently easily recogniseable by his evil influence on the Dieri people. According to the Schoknecht word-list, the word *kuchi* means evil spirits, which often appear in the form of animals, and especially birds. The Devil is given the same name, strengthened via the addition of the adjective *madlanchi* bad/evil, giving *kuchi madlanchi.*

Gott. Das *a* musste dahinter wegen der Declination, und, da sie kein Wort haben, das nicht mit einem Vocal schliesst. Der Ausdruck muss nun freilich so lange erklärt werden, bis es das Volk versteht. Für Gott, den Vater haben wir: *Aperi* Vater, *pirna* gross; für Gott den Sohn: *Jesu, nattamurra kulno* eingeborner Sohn, der *Joa* Erretter, Helfer, Erlöser. Für *heiligen Geist* sind wir noch zweifelhaft. *Janalka* heisst Hauch, Odem. Dazu müssen wir das passendste Adjektiv umsetzen, als Person erklären, und so es auch unter das Volk bringen.[...] Das Wort *ewig* machte uns auch Schwierigkeit, da es nicht vorhanden. Wir umschreiben nun: *ist immer gewesen, ist noch und wird immer sein.*'

[92] Gason in Woods (1879:307)

[93] Schok DD3B

[94] Gason in Woods (1879:304)

[95] Schok DD9C

[96] Killalpaninna 26/10/1868: Homann to Dear Mr Pastor [Theodor Harms]: held in HA 'Gottes Geist konnten wir nicht übersetzen, den Geist bedeutet auch Traum, auch Gespenst, wir haben nun *Goda Iaola* Gottes Hauch genommen und umschreiben und erklären solches fort und fort. Wären Worte da für 'heilig', 'ewig' oder nur 'moralisch gut', könnten wir zusammenstellen, doch darin ist die Sprache so arm und Sorgfalt können wir nicht genug anwenden.'

There were also benevolent spirits; *muramura*, which in the Dieri cosmology created the Earth and humanity, however Homann and Koch could not take such a term for the Christian God. The diversity of religious figures among the Indigenous tribes was obviously irreconcilable with the characteristics of uniqueness and omnipresence. Furthermore, they wanted to avoid unwanted associations of the Dieri term and possible misunderstandings, especially since the *muramura* appeared to be decidedly colourless and ineffectual as compared with the *kuchi.*

> ... the influence, which the notion of such a [benevolent] being exercises upon their life amounts to nothing. The kuchi, however, the evil spirit, is feared to an extraordinary degree by them, and this fear is the only remnant which remotely approximates a religious mode of thought, which perhaps existed in earlier times.[97]

4.7 First samples of literate practice from the school

The April report of 1869 contained a sample letter written to the mission committee by the five boys of the first class including Ichana (who later appears as Idjana in reports of the Meyer/Flierl years) and Pingibana, who became friends with Homann's step-son Wilhelm Wendlandt.

The letter was composed in Homann's room by the five signatories and written down by Ichana in what the mission committee assured readers, was a very regular and careful hand. It was published complete with German translation as a visible proof of the progress of mission work for the supporting communities.

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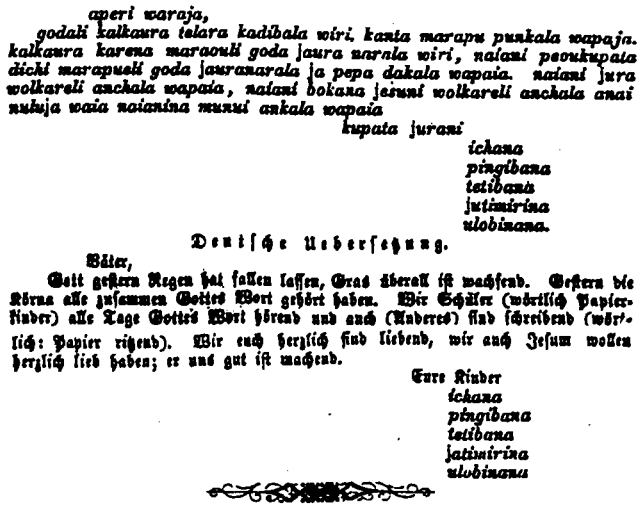
[97] *Geschichte* (1886:19) 'Der Einfluss aber, den die Vorstellung eines solchen [wohlwollenden] Wesens auf ihr Leben ausübt, ist gleich Null. Kutji jedoch, das böse Wesen wird von ihnen aufs äusserste gefürchtet und diese Furcht ist das einzige an's Religiöse anstreifende Ueberbleibsel von vielleicht in früheren Zeiten vorhanden gewesenem religiösem Denken.'



aperi waraja,
godali kalkaura telara kadibala wiri. kanta marapu punkala wapaja. kalkaura karena maraouli goda jaura narala wiri, naiani peoukupata dichi marapueli goda jauranarala ja pepa dakala wapaia. naiani jura wolkareli anchala wapaia, naiani bokana jesuni wolkareli anchala anai nuluja waia naianina munui ankala wapaia
kupata jurani
ichana
pingibana
tetibana
jutimirina
ulobinana.

Deutsche Uebersetzung.

Väter,
Gott gestern Regen hat fallen lassen, Gras überall ist wachsend. Gestern die Körna alle zusammen Gottes Wort gehört haben. Wir Schüler (wörtlich Papierkinder) alle Tage Gottes Wort hörend und auch (Anderes) sind schreibend (wörtlich: Papier ritzend). Wir euch herzlich sind liebend, wir auch Jesum wollen herzlich lieb haben; er uns gut ist machend.

Eure Kinder
ichana
pingibana
tetibana
jatimirina
ulobinana

Figure 13: Letter from boys of the first class to members of the Mission Committee (KMB 9&10/1869:76)

The first Dieri letter

The original with my translation reads:

aperi	waraja[98],
father/s	Oh!

Väter!

Fathers!

godali	kalkaura[99]	telara	kadibala wiri,
by God	yesterday (evening)	rain	fell

Gott gestern hat Regen fallen lassen

God made rain fall yesterday

kanta	marapu	punkala	wapaja.
grass	many	is growing	

---

[98] *aperiwaraja* : see Schok Gr:2 re plural suffix *-wora* followed by vocative inflection *-iai* also primer translation [75] Kupa worai! (Voc.1.Decl.pl) Oh Children!

[99] *kalkaura* evening (SchokDD4C) but in Schok MS:19 yesterday evening. Yesterday is glossed *woldrauti* (ShokDD15A) yesterday midday, and *woldrawirti* yesterday afternoon (SchokDD15B).

Gras überall ist wachsend.
grass is growing everywhere.

kalkaura	karena[100]	maraouli[101]	goda	jaura
yesterday (evening)	?koerna	entire/all of	God	Word

narala wiri,
heard

Gestern die Körna alle zusammen Gottes Wort gehört haben
Yesterday the people (Aborigines) all heard God's Word together.

naiani	peoukupata[102]	dichi	marapueli
we	paperchildren	days	many

goda	jaura	narala[103]	ja	pepa	dakala[104]	wapaia.
God	Word	are hearing	and	are writing		

Wir Schüler (wörtlich Papierkinder) alle Tage Gottes Wort hörend und auch (Anderes) sind schreibend (wörtlich: Papier ritzend).
We school children (lit. paper children) are all hearing God's Word and also (other things?) are writing (lit. paper scratching)

naiani	jura[105]	wolkareli	anchala	wapaia,
we	you	longingly	are loving	

Wir euch herzlich sind liebend
We are loving you earnestly

---

[100] *karina, karena* encircle, drive, hunt in a party (Schok DD5B) also possible misread for *koerna* i.e. Aborigines

[101] unusual form, *maruja* whole, entire (Schok DD8A) *die ganzen...*

[102] *pepakupata*: suffix *-ta* also found at the close of this letter and in Pingibana's letter to Willy of same year. Otherwise not attested in early documents

[103] error word break, should be *jaura narala*

[104] *pepa dakana* construction for 'to write' lit. to pierce or scratch paper

[105] According to paradigm Schok Gr:5 Acc.2.pl should be *jurana*

naiani	bokana	jesuni	wolkareli	anchala	anai
we	also	Jesus	longingly	will love	

wir auch Jesum[106] wollen herzlich lieb haben;
we also wish to love Jesus earnestly;

nuluja	waia	naianina	munui[107]	ankala wapaia
he		us	good	is making

er ist gut uns machend.
He is making us good.

kupata	jurani
child/ren	your

Eure Kinder
Your children

ichana, pingibana, tetibana, jutimirina, ulobinana

The second Dieri letter

A second letter written by Pingibana[108] to Willy (Wendlandt) was published in November 1869[109] once again with German translation furnished by Homann. (It is reproduced Chapter 1:9).

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[106] Note Acc. form *Jesum* whereas in Dieri usage with verb *anchana* in early documents the Dat.obj. form appears consistently, in later documents this is 'corrected' to the Acc. form.

[107] error/misprint *mumu* good

[108] J. Flierl (1910:19) *Dreissig Jahre Missionsarbeit in Wüsten und Wildnissen* Refers to initiation ceremonies at which time the youth was given a new name to signify his new status. 'The boyhood names ended in *-ana*, e.g. Tiwana, Tankibana, the men's names in *-ina* as in Pingilina, Terelina and so forth.' To this name the mission added a new European Christian name after baptism.

[109] KMB 21&22/1869:175 See too the story of Pingibana's initiation in this issue on p.165. Homann had negotiated with the tribal elders and Pingibana's parents and allowed him to be initiated (this involved circumcision) by the tribe, on the condition that he be allowed to return immediately afterwards, and that the natives dispense with the 'dancing and obscene singing' which usually accompanied such rituals: to his surprise the terms of the agreement were upheld.

Willy-			
Nanto	nakani	wata	tukaterina,[110]
horse	my	not	riding

Mein Pferd ist noch nicht beritten

My horse is not yet ridden (i.e. broken in)

karnalina-[111]	nateri[112]	ankana	paraia
native men	man	made	

Die Eingebornen haben mich zum Jüngling gemacht

The Aborigines have made [initiated] me into a young man

nani	jinkangu	wolkareli[113]	anala wapaia.
I	for you	longing	am being

Ich bin nach dir herzlich verlangend.

I am yearning [missing] very much for you.

Paru	machapalina[114] wonti
Fish	already have died

Die Fische sind schon gestorben.

The fish have already died

Godali	wata	talara	jinkilapa
God	not	rain	is giving

---

[110] *tukana* ride (SchokDD14A) see too SchokGr:9 on reflexive verbs and suffix *-terina*; see Austin (1981) discussion on sentences [76] and [156] on antipassives and reflexives with *-tadi.*

[111] Act.1.Decl *kanali* the suffix *-na* is not covered under mission grammar: it may also be a misprint given that the hypen indicates that this word was read as one with the following, and that this may have lead to the misreading of the initial *m* in *materi.* It is also possible that there is a missing pronoun Acc.1.sg *nana* 'me' between these two words.

[112] error/misprint *materi*

[113] Note *wolkareli anana* be nostalgic/state of missing someone, used with Dat personal object. Possible German calque

[114] word division error *macha palina*

Gott giebt keinen Regen,
God gives no rain,

meta	puraka	nanabul[115]
earth	dry	is being

die Erde ist trocken.
The earth is dry

nani	nachila	waipai[116]	Jesuni[117]
I	am asking (praying)		to God

Ich bete zu Jesu,
I pray to Jesus,

nauja	nanakuli[118]	kiri	ankananto,
He	me	clean	in order to make/might make

daß Er mich rein machen möge,
that He might make me pure,

nato	jesuni[119]	nundrai
I	in Jesus	believe

ich glaube an Jesum,
I believe in Jesus,

nulia	nana	kulkananto.
He	me	in order to help

---

[115] possible misprint for *anana* also occurs as *nanana*

[116] error *wapaia*

[117] once again note Dat personal pronoun object as in German

[118] error word break *nana kulikiri*

[119] Note again Dat personal pronoun object with verb *undrana* which is adapted for 'believe' + Dative case as consistent with German usage without prepositional construction. Note that the German prepositional construction demonstrates the Acc. noun inflection. Original meaning of *undrana* possibly 'to think'

daß Er mir helfen möge;
that He might help me

Nani	nunkani	kupata[120]	namai.
I	his	child	am

ich sein Kind bin.
I am his child

Jinkani	komanali
your	friend

Dein Freund
Your friend

Pingibana. Hormannsburg

In both these published letters there are several errors, misspellings and incorrect word breaks, which I would attribute more to mis-transcription of the original letters than to errors on the part of the writers, especially since these letters were carefully produced under Homann's supervision to be sent to the mission committee for publication in the mission journal.

Obvious difficulties arose in printing materials not only in an unfamiliar language but also in an unfamiliar handwriting style, as for Dieri the missionaries used an English handwriting style as opposed to German script. In the following year the first primer was printed after Homann had prepared and carefully corrected the manuscript:

> In accordance to your instructions I am sending the correction-proofs directly to H.P. Auricht. To my pleasure there were very few printing errors in it, only the script is much too small in the reading exercises section and the *t* and *l* could often not be distinguished even by the best pupils, likewise the *o* and *a* and *u*.[121]

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[120] *kupa* child; *kupara* young (n), young of animals (SchokDD6C); but *kupata* not attested in early documents

[121] Homann to Dear Pastor [Rechner], Hermannsburg 25/4/1870: held in LA. 'Ihren Anweisungen zufolge sende ich den Korrekturbogen direkt an H.P. Auricht. Zu meiner Freude waren sehr wenig Druckfehler darin nur ist die Schrift viel zu klein in den Leseübungen und könnten *t* und *l*, *o* und *a* und *u* oft auch von den besten Schülern nicht unterschieden werden.'

Homann advised that the primer in all probability would require a thorough-going revision in due course, and that it should be seen as a provisional work:

> It will be inevitable In due course, that I will need to undertake a thorough correction [of the work], not in the organisation, but rather with respect to some words such as for example for *undrana* 'believe, think', *pankina* 'believe, trust'. You will easily understand that with this work in Dieri one must daily learn more in vocabulary and grammar, and therefore a very rigorous process of correction [of the printed form] is necessary.[122]

Once printed, however, the primer assumed authority as the repository of the standard form especially as there followed in the 1880's a period of transition for the mission, when its authors and their expertise in the Dieri language had been lost to mission work. The following section sets out the main sections of the primer and I have provided translations and a grammatical analysis based on the earliest wordlists and grammatical outline.

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[122] Undated letter Hermannsburg presumably early 1870 during printing of primer: Homann to Rechner: held in LA. 'Es wird nicht anders gehen als das ich eine gründliche Correctur vornehmen muß, nicht in der Einrichtung, sondern nur in einigen Worten als ZB für *undrana* 'glauben, denken' *pankina* 'glauben, vertrauen'.[...] Sie werden leicht einsehen, daß bei dieser Arbeit in Dieri man täglich mehr lernen muß in Grammatik und Vokabularum, deshalb ist eine sehr starke Correctur [des Gedruckten] nöthig.'

CHAPTER 5
THE 1870 PRIMER TRANSLATIONS

5.1 Metalanguage of the Hermannsburg missionaries

The following primer translations have been undertaken using Schoknecht's Grammar and the grammatical annotation uses the terminology of this 19th century analysis. There were no notable areas of inconsistency between the primer language samples and the Schoknecht grammar and interestingly the grammar proved remarkably consistent with the grammar rewritten by Austin in the late 20th century. This consistency may indicate not so much that the missionaries did not alter the Dieri language, but rather that the modern analysis too was dependent on the language usage developed by the mission community and the forms of language originally recorded and standardised by the missionaries. In several areas of the Schoknecht grammar there is redundancy; forms were identified according to the grammatical paradigms of the day, for example the use of separate categories for nouns and adjectives, the identification of three separate noun declensions and the use of traditional cases alongside further postpositions.

The following translations reveal the method of the missionaries in not only recording the Dieri language, but also in developing a standardised grammar. Together the wordlist and grammar were used to synthesise sentences needed for teaching. The missionaries approached this task in a very pragmatic manner as will also be seen in Flierl I's comments on the language and his experiences acquiring it and employing it in translations and teaching (see chapter 10). The missionaries as we have read were acutely aware of their responsibility to produce quality translations as worthy vessels for the Gospel, but also laboured under various difficulties including the lack of existing language knowledge and time imperatives. They approached the learning and documentation of Dieri as adult learners of a foreign language and created structured resources and methods which facilitated their own language acquisition and the development of a working fluency. The missionaries viewed the language as having a limited but

adequate vocabulary and a highly structured grammar, and with their early collection of words and grammatical analysis were soon able to put together translations in a systematic and even somewhat mechanical fashion. Over time this system was refined and mission translations of written Dieri reveal an almost word-for-word equivalence. There is therefore a large amount of semantic and syntactic calquing.

Whilst we may never exactly know the pre-contact Dieri language, due to the early language documents we may know it through the mission record. This forms a vital primary source for any future language reclamation work. Whether or not a further standardisation of materials according to modern linguistic practice should be undertaken will be something that the Dieri community will decide according to the language knowledge that is still held by the descendants of families who shared the history of the Killalpaninna mission.

The written and standardised form was introduced to the Indigenous mission community and formed a 'shared code.' The Dieri mission documents are the product of the contact between the German-speaking missionaries and co-workers and the Indigenous congregation and they incorporate cultural knowledge, vocabulary and grammatical organisation of both languages, Dieri and German. It also was influenced also by the classical models of Latin and Greek.

5.2 Grammatical notes on the Schoknecht Grammar

The following notes are not intended as a comprehensive comparison of the Schoknecht Grammar with the Grammar of Austin, but aim to illuminate a number of aspects of similarity and to highlight the sophistication and reliability of the early documentation of the Dieri language by Hermannsburg missionaries.

Parts of Speech are divided into:

I. Noun

Declensions

According to the Schoknecht Grammar there are three Declensions, for which forms are not well differentiated

1st Declension: this declension is used for words ending in *-a* , and sometimes for words ending in *-i*

2nd Declension: this declension is used for words ending in *-o, -u , -i.* According to Schok Gr:2 : 'The endings of the words do not enable one to decide according to which declension they are to be flexed' and for 'those ending with *i* or *u* it is doubtful - here practical use must come to one's aid.'

3rd Declension: this declension is used for personal and place names, *Nomina Propria*. Note that *Goda* and *Jesu* are declined as common nouns.

The most commonly encountered nouns belong to the 1st and 2nd Declension paradigms, furthermore these forms can be seen to be essentially the same. Austin (1981) includes both under 'common nouns' category (see his phonemic representation of inflections in oblique slashes below)

Nom and **Acc** forms are identical and are the 'base' form

Gen.	1.Decl	*-(a)ia*	2.Decl	*-(u)ja* = /ya/
Dat	*-ni* for both			
Voc	1.Decl	*-(a)iai*	2.Decl	*-(u)jai* = /yi/
Abl/Act	1.Decl	*-(a)li*	2.Decl	*-(u)jelli* = /yli/

The difference in the declensions reflects differing realisations which were determined by the final vowel of the stem; the missionaries heard and recorded the semi-vowel which followed the high vowel /u/ or/i/ and in the case of words ending with the low vowel /a/ where the semi-vowel is less pronounced, they recorded it rather with the separate letters *i* and *a.*

The production of a complete set of declensions was also seen as a prerequisite for formulating or synthesising sentences in the 'foreign' language.

The 3rd Declension for Proper Nouns, all ending in *-a*, is in most cases the same as for Declensions 1 and 2, the Nominative and Accusative and also the Vocative and Ablative/Active case endings are the same across all three declensions, however in the Genitive and Dative cases special endings for Proper Nouns appear, which are not attested in the 1870 primer and the translations I have undertaken. These are consistent with Pronoun inflections.

Gen	3.Decl	*-ni*
Dat	3.Decl	*-ngu*

The Cases

According to the Schoknecht Grammar there are seven cases which the missionaries divided according to function as familiar to them in German and Latin:

Nominative: for the intransitive subject

Genitive: 1. for possession (this is Austin's Dative, which for common nouns has the same realisation as the Allative. See Austin 1981:51, Table 3.3 Case Forms)
2. for movement towards (as noted under postpositions and referred to by Austin 1981 as the Allative)

Dative: for indirect object (including goal or beneficiary of action) and also for location (as in German with prepositions governing Dative denoting position and also certain time expressions *in, an*). This case is Austin's Locative[1].

Accusative: for transitive or direct object

Vocative: for expressive speech (inflection same across all three declension paradigms and consistent with interjection *aai!* Austin (1981:32) refers to this as distortion of the final vowel in stressed or shouted speech)

Ablative: for instrumentality

Active: for the transitive subject (Austin's Ergative)

NOTE: the Active and Ablative were analysed as one paradigm by the missionaries

According to mission grammar, the noun remained unflexed when a postposition was present (this consisted of either a monosyllabic suffix, which was sometimes identical with case inflection, or sometimes it was an independent word).

Whilst the missionaries' concept of case was relatively clear-cut, and closely tied to semantic function, Austin's analysis is more complex. He states that there is some syncretism in all case paradigms apart from the ablative: 'No nominal type distinguishes all three cases [that is locative dative and allative] formally' (Austin 1981:46) and 'Every case form has a number of syntactic and semantic functions and conversely, some syntactic or semantic functions may be coded by more than one form...thus the various cases are all polysemous' (Austin 1981:114)

Nouns with Dative complement

Undrana see sentence [10], *jurana* 'to love'see sentence [11], *anxana* 'to love' see sentences [70, 98, 99], *wodatarana* 'to obey' see sentences [13, 43], *jinkina* 'to give' see hymn 7, [*naxina* see sentence [42] See Austin (1981:127) on verbs with locative case complements. Possible German syntactical calquing.

Number

There are three indications of number, with the singular form most common and covering all numerals. If the dual suffix *-ulo* or the plural *-wora* suffix present, the noun receives no further case inflection.

maru whole, entire is similar in that it behaves as a quantifying suffix and the associated noun is unflexed.

Gender

Gender is not ascertainable from noun form but in the pronoun, three genders are evident, which are masculine, feminine and neuter.

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[1] Temporal and Spatial locatives cf German usage Dative for expressions of location and time in conjunction with specific prepositions. Compare *Mondayni* (Austin 1981:223) loan + loc with German *am Montag* where the article is marked for Dative case.

Noun morphology

The Schoknecht Grammar noted that nouns could be constructed by adding the following suffixes to many verbs; these nouns often express agent, one who habitually does the action or possesses a characteristic

> *-kanchi* [negative personifier] *kurikanchi* one who steals, *jadikanchi* one who lies. Also used for abstract agents eg. *woldrakanxa* 'summer' i.e. 'hot one/possessor of heat'
>
> *-echa* [habitual action, noted as often having profane or vulgar meaning] *milkiecha* one who lusts by eye (leers), *kaltiecha* spear thrower, *tidnaecha* tracker.
>
> *-pani* ['without', not possessing a characteristic]
>
> *-pirna* [positive personifier 'great' also 'old'] Nouns are frequently constructed using the present participle plus the suffix *–pirna,* eg. *kulkanipirna* mission construction for 'great saviour'; *aperipirna* mission construction for 'great Father/God the Father'; *undranipirna* thinker.
>
> *Pirna* is also attested as an Adjectival Noun similar to those found in German (eg. *der Grosse* great one) see sentence [99]

II. Adjective

Adjectives, in accordance with the traditional category, convey size, number and type. They are inflected as nouns, hence in modern analysis such as Austin (1981) they are included together with nouns under the category *Nominal groups*.

Adjectives with Adverbial function

Comparative endings do not exist, instead separate words *mola, pirna, mutu* [more, great, most] are used, and these adjectives are referred to as intensifiers and may be used with nouns or other adjectives. I have used the annotation Adj(intens). Austin (1981: 107-8) says that a number of adjectives have adverbial

function; *pirna* is used with nouns and *mola* with adjectives and both express degree; this distinction was not attested in the primer translations, see *mumu pirna* sentence [7]. Others such as *madlanxi* (bad, evil) and *talku* (upstanding, decent) express manner.

III. Pronoun

Personal Pronoun

Paradigms are arranged according to case (all except Ablative, which is subsumed under Active) and number (Singular: Dual: Plural) for First, Second Third person, plus Third Person Feminine. In the First Person Dual and Plural there are parallel forms which distinguish inclusive and exclusive speech:

nali 1.pers.dual.excl 'we'excluding person spoken to
naldra 1.pers.dual.incl 'we two' including person spoken to
naiani 1.pers.pl.excl 'we'excl.
naiana 1.pers.pl.incl 'we'incl.

Possessive Pronouns are listed in a separate section of Schoknecht's Grammar but the forms are identical with those given in the Genetive pronoun paradigm (Schok Gr:5). These forms correspond with Austin's Dative.

1st Person: *nakani* (1.Pers.sg.Gen 'my'); *nalini* (1.Pers.dual.excl.Gen 'our'); *naldrani* (1.Pers.dual.incl.Gen.'our'); *naianani* (1.Pers.pl.incl.Gen) and *naianini* (1.Pers.pl.excl.Gen). Note that this latter form is found in Austin (1981:61) but not attested in the 1870 Primer translations
2nd Person: *jinkani* (2.Pers.sg.Gen 'your): *judlani* (2.Pers.dual.Gen.'your'): juranani (*jurani* in paradigm: 2.Pers.pl.Gen. 'your')
3rd Person: *nunkani* (3.Pers.sg.m.Gen.'his'); *nakani* (3.Pers.sg.fem.Gen.'her'); *pudlani* (3.Pers.dual.Gen.'their'); *tananani* (*tanani* in paradigm: 3.Pers.pl.Gen.'their)

Table 3.6. *Pronouns*

	Ergative	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Locative/ Allative	Ablative
1sg	*ŋaɻu*[1]	*ŋaŋi*	*ŋaŋa*	*ŋakaɳi*	*ŋakaɳu*	*ŋakaɳundu*
2sg	*yundu*[1]	*yini*	*yinaŋa*[2]	*yiŋkaɳi*	*yiŋkaɳu*	*yiŋkaɳundu*
3sgF	*ŋandu*	*ŋani*	*ŋaŋa*	*ŋaŋkaɳi*	*ŋaŋkaɳu*	*ŋaŋkaɳundu*
3sgnF	*ŋulu*	*ŋawu*	*ŋiŋa*	*ŋuŋkaɳi*	*ŋuŋkaɳu*	*ŋuŋkaɳundu*
1Dlincl	*ŋaldaɳ*		*ŋaldaŋa*	*ŋaldaɳi*	*ŋaldaɳu*	*ŋaldaɳundu*
1Dlexcl	*ŋali*		*ŋaliŋa*	*ŋaliɳi*	*ŋaliŋu*	*ŋaliŋundu*
2Dl	*yula*		*yulaŋa*	*yulaɳi*	*yulaŋu*	*yulaŋundu*
3Dl	*pulali*	*pula*	*pulaŋa*	*pulaɳi*	*pulaŋu*	*pulaŋundu*
1Plincl	*ŋayana*		*ŋayanaŋa*	*ŋayanaɳi*	*ŋayanaŋu*	*ŋayanaŋundu*
1Plexcl	*ŋayani*		*ŋayaniŋa*	*ŋayaniɳi*	*ŋayaniŋu*	*ŋayaniŋundu*
2Pl	*yura*		*yuraŋa*	*yuraɳi*	*yuraŋu*	*yuraŋundu*
3Pl	*ʈanali*	*ʈana*	*ʈanaŋa*	*ʈanaɳi*	*ʈanaŋu*	*ʈanaŋundu*

[1] The Dhirari form for 1sgA (ergative) is *ŋaɻi* and for 2sgA (ergative) is *yindi*.
[2] In fast speech (2.6) *yinaŋa* contracts to *yiŋa*, especially following *ŋaɻu*. The sequence *ŋaɻu yiŋa* tends to be pronounced [ŋʌ́ɻθiŋʌ].

Figure 14: Austin case inflected Pronoun forms (1981:61)

Note that Austin's Ergative is the Mission Grammar Active case, and Austin's Ablative inflection *-ndu* is represented in the Schoknecht grammar as a postposition *-ndru* which expresses the functions:

1. because of (similar to the German Genetive preposition *wegen)* and
2. movement away from (similar to the German Dative preposition *aus*).

It is likely that these two inflections were therefore not analysed as case paradigms. Austin's Locative/Allative corresponds to the missionaries' Dative case forms.

Demonstrative Pronoun

Singular masculine: Singular feminine: Dual and Plural forms given in all cases except the Vocative. The paradigm shows that with minimal change the Personal Pronoun is modified to take the suffix *-pini* to form the demonstrative pronoun 'this' 'him/her-here.'

pedini/poroni (Schok Gr:13) are listed as locational postpositions meaning 'beside' In most cases any modification occurs in the Nominative and the Accusative cases where the final syllable is dropped before adding the suffix – *pini.*

Here I would like to note that these forms are not reconstructible from Gason:

bolya (291: that two), *boliya* (293: that two), *nowieya* (293:there), and compare Schok DE24A: *ninkia, ninkida* here.

Naupara is to be treated according to the paradigm and also means 'this': *-para* is to be added to the personal pronoun.
Munta is listed as a demonstrative pronoun too, but is declined as 1.Decl.Noun with the meaning 'self'.

IV. Numeral

Counting systems were notoriously neglected in early language work and it was a commonplace assertion that Australian languages possessed no terms for numbers greater than three. Interestingly the early missionaries recognised and utilised the locational expressions *opera, tati, nadani* [in front, middle, at rear] as the ordinals first, second and third. It is also reported that Homann developed a simple calendar for use in negotiating and regulating length of absence, which was used with pupils from the mission school. Austin refers to a counting system in Dieri using hands and feet (1981:56-7), this may well have been introduced by the missionaries in the school.

V. Verb

Schoknecht's Grammar states that the verb only has one conjugation, which does not reflect gender or number.
The tenses and moods are formed with the assistance of auxiliary verbs.

The missionaries divided verbs into

- active (transitive and intransitive)
- reflexive, including as in Greek, actions directed by the subject upon the self or part of the self. These are formed by adding the suffix *-terina* to the verb stem
- reciprocal verbs action directed upon one another. These are formed by adding the suffix *-malia* to the verb stem

- passive verbs were not identified by the missionaries

Over-differentiation of Verbs

A number of verbs were identified and used by the missionaries for distinct semantic purposes in translations:

Example: *namana*

In Homann and Koch's primer we find

namana	exist/live
nomana	sit
anana	to be; extensively used as an aux.verb, future tense

In the Schoknecht Manuscript we find

Namana	*dasein, vorhandensein, sitzen* and also
nomana	
anana	

In Flierl's work we find

ngomana

anana

whereas in Gason (296) we find only *aumuna* sitting down residing, remaining and it is plausible that all three forms originate in this one term and were differentiated for mission translation purposes.

Present Tense

The missionaries identified three present tense forms, whereby Present I and II forms were preferenced.

Pres I inflection *–ai;* see sentences [1], [2], [6]

Pres II inflection *-la wapaia;* see sentences [9], [12], [13], [28]. See too the contraction, stem + *-lapa,* as found in sentences [35], [36].

Pres III inflection *–ila;* (noted as rare) This form was not explained in the Schoknecht Grammar (Schok Gr:11) and was not acknowledged or used in translations as having any specific or additional meaning to pres I and pres II forms, however Austin (1981) identifies the form as comprising the present tense inflection, here represented as *-i* + *-la*, post-inflectional

suffix conveying 'new information' and immanent action,[2] translated as 'now' and with the 1.dual/plural subject as the exhortation 'let's...'

Infinitive

In sentence [83] the infinitive *wodatarana* appears in conjunction with the finite verb *namana.* See too [86] *pankina* + *namana.* For the early missionaries the citation form of the verb was the infinitive, as used in German. According to Austin (1981:88) it is the participial.[3] In other sentences the infinitive form is found in conjunction with the verbs *naijina* and *narana* [to see, to hear resp.] as is also found in German. In early Indigenous writing the infinitive form also appears to function as a present tense form (see Chapter 6, *Pingilina's Letter*: sentences [1] –[8])

Present Participle

The present participle is given as having two forms 1) stem + *ni* form and 2) stem + *nani*; the first form being designated as 'the more correct' and the more commonly used, and the second being identical to the conditional form.

Past Tenses

The missionaries identified four past tenses (see Schok Gr:11). The Past IV form is frequently encountered in translation of Biblical stories.

Past I inf form plus auxiliary *warai* for today past, see sentence [27].
Past II stem + *-la* plus auxiliary *wirri* for yesterday/few days ago
Past III inf form plus auxiliary *paraia* for some time ago
Past IV stem + *-nala* plus auxiliary *wonti,* see sentence [54] also the contraction consisting of stem + *-nanti* as in sentences [4], [48], [52] and [53].

Past Participle

Stem + *-nala* eg. *nandranala.* This form was noted as very rare.

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[2] Austin (1981: 83f)

[3] See Austin: 'The participial is also used in Diyari and Dhirari as the citation form of verbs. Thus, when citing or talking about a verb root or stem informants use its participal form'

Future

Stem + *-la* plus auxiliary *anai* eg. *palkala anai* sentence [31], also sentences [32] and [45].

Table 3.9. *Verb inflections*

	Diyari	Dhirari
TENSE – MOOD		
1. present	*-yi*	*-yi*
2. past	*-ya*	*-ya*
3. imperative[1]	*-ø ~ -ya*	*-ya*
4. optative	*-yaṯimayi*	*-yaṯimayi*
NON-FINITE		
5. participial	*-ṇa*	*-ṇḍa ~ -ḍa*
6. future	*-ḻa*	*-ḻa*
SUBORDINATE		
7. implicated – same subject	*-ḻa*	*-ḻali*
8. implicated – different subject	*-ṇaṇṯu*	*-yani*
9. relative – ss	*-ṇa*	*-ṇḍa ~ -ḍa*
10. relative – ds	*-ṇaṇi*	*-ṇḍaṇi ~ -ḍaṇi*
11. sequential – ss	*-ṇandu*	*-ṇḍandu ~ -ḍandu*
12. sequential – ds	*-ni(ṇura)*	*-ni(ṇura)*
13. lest	*-yaṯi*	*-yaṯi*

[1]The imperative inflection may be followed optionally by a number marker, *-lu* for dual subject and *-ni* for plural, and/or an emphatic *-mayi* (see [3] below).

Figure 15: Verb inflections (Austin, 1981:83)

The missionaries did not make this distinction. Of the conditional the Grammar states (Schok Gr:12, section 7.6) that it expresses condition as well as consequence, and that the form is the same as the present participle. The example is a same subject sentence: *judla tajinani, judla palinani* '[if] you eating [then] you dying.'

The Moods of the Verb

Optative

As with sentences [72] & [75] we have a complex sentence, in the subordinate clause the verb ending *-la* indicates reference to the same subject; this area is not specifically covered in the early Grammar, but usage is consistent with Austin's analysis of implicated clause, same subject. [4] One of the semantic functions is 'purpose, intent.'

The form is briefly mentioned in the paradigms as the *Supinum* (see Schok Gr:15) and translated with *um zu....* eg. *nandrala*: *um zu schlagen* 'in order to strike'

In cases of an implicated clause with different subject, the mission Grammar is more specific; this is covered by the optative Schok Gr:12 (section 7.4.b) 'this appears as a concluding term stating a purpose' as verb ending *-nanto* in subordinate clause. Interestingly the missionaries saw it as the equivalent of the German subjunctive form *möchten.*

Imperative

'The imperative is the only mood that has different forms for singular, dual and plural', 'each numeral appears in two forms, of which that with *-mai* is the most commonly used' (Schok Gr:11)

The imperative was one of the areas which caused Homann and Koch the most difficulty, and the paradigm in the translated manuscript is complicated by the format of the paradigm, the inclusion of extra forms as imperatives and the occasional mistranscription and mistranslation (eg *nandruja* as 'they' instead of 'she' and *nandraiationai* instead of *nandraiatimai* given as the form 3.sg he/she shall strike!)

The paradigm should be presented in three sections to adequately demonstrate the early missionaries' concept of the Imperative:

Singular

1. *nandrau*	stem + *u*	2. *nandramai*	stem + *-mai*

Dual

1. *nandralau*	stem + *la* + *u*	2. *nandralumai*	stem + *-lu* + *-mai*

Plural

1. *nandranau*	stem + *na* + *u*	2. *nandranimai*	stem + *-ni* + *-mai*

The additional forms given:

Act.3.sg (m. & f.) *nulia / nandruja nandraiatimai* translated *er/sie schlage!*

---

[4] Austin (1981:190f)

Act.3.dual *pudlalia nandraiatulumai* : *beide schlagt*

Act.3.pl *tanalia nandraiatianimai* : *schlagen*

The suffix *-iati* is encountered under the paradigm for the Denunciative, translated as *sonst*, 'otherwise' and does not appear as a discrete item in the lexicon, whereas *-mai* becomes quite widely used in mission documentation and appears in the first dictionary as an interjection *mai!*: *hört! gebt Acht!* and also the peculiarly German, *nun!* [5] 'listen!/pay attention!/now (then)!' (Schok DD 7B)

Austin mentions the imperative form *-yati-mayi* which conveys 'or else, lest' He writes:

> Interestingly, the Lutheran missionaries made frequent use of this verb form in prayers translated into Diyari; for example, in the Lord's Prayer we find *tala yinkani kulikidi pantjiatimayi* 'Let your name become clean.'[6]

The *-yati* form corresponds to *-iati* in the earliest grammar of Dieri and was well known for denoting unpleasant consequences, being described as the Denunciative: eg. *nato nandraiati* 'otherwise I strike'(Schok Gr:14), however this form is not attested in either the 1870 or the 1880 version of the Lord's Prayer.

1870 Primer: Homann&Koch:

jinkani	tala	naianina	mumu	pirna	ankamai
your	name	us	beautiful	very	make

1880 Primer: Meyer & Flierl:

Tala	jinkani	jundru	ngaianangu
name	your	you	to us
ngumu	pirna	ankamai	
beautiful	very	make	

[5] MS Schok Dictionary: 61

[6] Austin (1981:87)

Conditional

The verb inflection *-nani* was termed the conditional by the early missionaries. According to Austin, this is the verb inflection for relative clause different subject. See Table 3.9 (reproduced above) also Austin (1981:212) on the semantic function condition of relative clauses, which can either have the same subject, in which case a form identical to the participial is used (here termed *rel ss*) or for different subject the inflection *-nani* appears in the subordinate clause (*rel ds*).

VI. Adverb

Adverbs according to the Schoknecht grammar express manner, time and place as in German (see Schok Gr:8 on adverbial interrogatives *woda* 'how?'; *woderi* 'where?'; *winta* 'when?'). The missionaries divided Adverbs into two types, namely 'primitive adverbs' which were uninflected eg. *karari* (today) and adverbs which were derived from adjectives with addition of the suffix *-li*. This form is identical with the Active case and is analysed by Austin as the ergative inflected nominal.

VII. Postposition

Schok Gr :13 gives a long list of postpositions divided into two categories, firstly those comprising of suffixes (in many cases identical with case inflections eg *-li* the Active/Ablative 'by means of'; *-ni* the Dative 'in, on, to'; *-ia* the Genetive, also used for directional movement.

The second category 'real postpositions' comprised independent words and were largely expressions of location.

VIII. Particles

Although not given a grammatical term by the missionaries, there were a small number of words which remained uninflected and have been termed particles in modern analysis (Austin 1981:174) As the term did not exist I have used the annotation (particle). These include *windri* see sentence [47]; *pulu* see sentence [70]; *maxa* see sentence [40]. *Wata* is also a particle according to modern analysis, however the missionaries referred to it as the negative/negation and I have retained their terminology where possible See sentences [35, 47].

Note: See Appendix B for abbreviations of interlineal language annotation, and referencing. Note that references to Gason found here as a page no. enclosed in round brackets refer to Gason in Woods (1879). References to sentences in this Chapter are given in square brackets.

5.3 *Pepa tati*: Paper 'inbetween' (Homann & Koch 1870:13-24)

Section 1:13

[1]	Jesueli	nana	anxia[7]
	Act.2. Decl	Acc.1.sg	pres I
	Jesus	me	loves

Jesus loves me

[2]	Jesueli	kana	amalkai
	Act.2. Decl	Acc.1.Decl	pres I
	Jesus	man	guards

Jesus watches over mankind

[3]	Jesu	nakani	kulkanipirna
	Nom. 2. Decl	Gen.1.sg	pres.part + Adj
	Jesus	my	protecting/saving great (one)

Jesus is my great protector

Note: *Kulkanipirna*: this became the mission term for Jesus (Saviour).
-pirna great, old, venerated, heavy (Schok DD12A); *-pirna* is often used as a nominalizer (see Schok Gr:4)
kulkuna to help, protect, defend (Schok DD6B);

[4]	Godali	kana	wora	panixinanti
	Act 1.Decl	Acc.1. Decl	pl	past IV.contr
	God	mankind/men		created long ago

God created mankind

[5]	Goda	nakani	aperi	pirna
	Nom.1. Decl	Gen.1.sg	Nom.2.Decl	Adj
	God	my	father	great

[7] misprint *anxai*

God is my Father

Note: verb omission, see also [7]. *Aperipirna* became the mission term for God the Father. Compare *kulkanipirna* in sentence [3]

[6]	Godaia	jaolali	nana	kiri	ankai
	Gen.1.Decl	Act 1.Decl	Acc.1.sg	Adj	pres I
	God's	breath	me	wise/clean	makes

God's spirit cleanses me

Note: the term *jaolali* is associated with fire

[7]	Godaia	jaura	mumu	pirna
	Gen.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	Adj (Int)
	God's	word	beautiful	very

God's word is very good/very great/very beautiful

[8]	Jaurali	nunkanali	nani	Goda
	Abl./Act 1.Decl	Gen.3.sg	Nom.1.sg	Acc.1.Decl
	Through/by word	his	I	God

milkila
perf part.
having seen

I know God through his word

Note: *milkila* seen, having knowledge of (Schok DD8B). This term conveys the concept of *kennen*, to be familiar with, rather than the verb 'to see' *naijina*, or a construct with *nuja nujara* 'knowledge', which would correspond with *Wissen*. A verb *milkina* is however not recorded in the early documents.

[9]	Nani	Godaia	jaura	undrala - wapaia
	Nom.1.sg	Gen.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	pres II aux
	I	God's	word	am believing

I believe God's word

Note: Pres II form *-la + wapaia* see Schok Gr:14

[10]	Nani	Jesuni	undrai
	Nom.1.sg	Dat.2.Decl	pres I
	I	in Jesus	believe

I believe in Jesus

Note: *glauben* + Dat. corresponds with dative object required with this verb in German

[11]	Nani	Jesuni	jurai
	Nom.1.sg	Dat.2.Decl	pres I
	I	Jesus	love

I love Jesus

Note: Dative object 'give love to.' *anxana* is the more commonly used verb for spiritual love is also used with a Dative object

[12]	Nato	Jesu	padaterila - wapaia
	Act.1.sg.	Acc.2.Decl	pres II aux
	I	Jesus	?am embracing

I am embracing Jesus

Note: *pa(r)dana* grasp, hold, touch: *pa(r)daterina* seize, ward off, avert (Schok DD10C). Some confusion is present in this translation!

[13]	Nani	Jesuni	wodatarala - wapaia
	Nom.1.sg	Dat.2.Decl	pres II aux
	I	Jesus	am subject to

I am subject to/obey Jesus

Note: use of Dative object corresponds well with German usage *gehorchen* + Dat. We also find the distinction *wodaterana namana* 'to be subject to' [presumably + Dat.obj.] and *wodaterina* 'to obey' (Schok DD15A)

[14]	Godali	nunkani	komanali	anxai
	Act.1.Decl	Gen.3.sg	Acc.1.Decl	pres I
	God	his	friend(s)	loves

God loves his friend(s)

Section 2:14

[15]	Pandoni	paru	tarakai
	Dat.2.Decl	Nom.2.Decl	pres I
	in the lake	fish	swim

Fish swim in the lake

[16]	Metani	patara	punkai
	Dat.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	pres I
	in the earth	tree(s)	grow

Trees grow in the earth

Note: *patara* used here as a generic term cf.Gason (302) *pathara*: a box tree

[17]	Kupali	hapa	mandrai
	Act.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	pres I
	child (ren)	water	carry

Children carry water

[18]	Matarali	dinti[8]	dakai
	Act.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl.	pres I
	man/adult	*minti* net/s	plait/make

Men make/plait nets

[19]	Kukunkali	paru	taji[9]
	Act.1.Decl	Acc.2.Decl	pres I
	hawk	fish	eat

Hawk/s eat fish

[20]	Wonku	mandrali	palkai
	Nom.2.Decl	Abl.1.Decl	pres I
	snake	by/with stomach	goes

Snake/s crawl on belly

---

[8] misprint *minti* net (Schok DD8B); Gason (300) *mintie* net

[9] misprint *tajai or taijai*; *taijana/taijina* to eat (Schok DD12C)

[21]	Paia	merini	tarai
	Nom.1.Decl	Dat.1.Decl	pres I
	Bird/s	in the air	fly

Bird/s fly in the air

[22]	Kanali	warukoti	kari[10]
	Act.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	pres I
	man	emu	hunt

Men hunt emu(s)

[23]	Kuldro	nani	patai
	Nom.2.Decl	Nom.1sg	pres I
	back	I	aches

My back is aching

Note: According to Schok Gr:3, with parts of body Genitive is not used, instead the Nominative appears e.g. *matari milki* the man's eye NOT as in *mataraia kalti,* the man's spear

[24]	Pulanku	patarani	katai
	Nom.2.Decl	Dat.1.Decl	pres I
	bird/parrot	in the trees	climbs

Parrot/s climb in the trees

[25]	Godali	talara	kodibai
	Abl.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	pres I
	By God	rain	continuously falls

Rain falls by grace of God

Note: *-li* Abl. by, with or from: identical with Postposition *-li* with/by means of

[26]	Taralku	kapai[11]		kurai
	Nom.2.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	pres I	

---

[10] misprint *karai: karina/karena* encircle, drive, hunt in a party (Schok DD5B)

[11] misprint *kapi* egg (Schok DD5B) also lizard (Schok DD5A) and *kapa* belly, lower body (Schok DD5A)

Duck(s) lay eggs

[27]	Widla	jauani	palkana - warai
	Nom.1.Decl	Dat.1.Decl	past I aux
	woman/women	for jaua	have gone wandering

Women went wandering for jaua[12]

Note: the Dative here indicates the indirect object/goal

[28]	Kanku	pepa	dakala - wapaia
	Nom.2.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	pres II aux
	boy	paper	is writing

Boy is writing (a letter)

[29]	Kupa	dakuni	werarila - wapaia
	Nom.1.Decl	Dat.2.Decl	pres II aux
	child(ren)	in the sandhill(s)	going walking

Children go rambling in the sandhills

Note: *wirarina* to walk for enjoyment (Schok DD14C)

[30]	Pinaro	moka	parala - wapaia
	Nom.2.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	pres II aux
	old man	sleep	is lying down

Old man is lying down to sleep

Note: *moka parala* to sleep (Schok DD8C) *parana* to lie, sleep (Schok DD11B). *Moka* is the complement of the verb *parana* and also *turana*

[31]	Nani	tankubana	palkala - anai
	Nom.1.sg	Adv	fut. aux
	I	tomorrow	will go walking

I will go walking tomorrow

[12] Small edible grass bulb, see entry [11] Appendix H

Note: *palkana* to walk, wander (Schok DD11A) probably in search of food. Compare *wirarina* as in [29] which means to walk for enjoyment, stroll.

[32]	Jidni	tankubana	namala - anai
	Nom.2.sg	Adv	fut. aux
	you	tomorrow	will be (here)

You will be here tomorrow

[33]	Nuja[13]	nura	namala - wapaia
	Nom.3.sg	Adj	pres II aux
	he	always	is existing

He is eternal

[34]	Widla	kunxerandru	tikai
	Nom.1st Decl.	N.+ postpos	pres I
	woman/women	out of the bush	return

Women return from the bush

Note: *kunxeri* is used in general sense of scrub or bush by the missionaries, whereas Gason (288) *Coonchirrie* gives specific translation: 'The seed from a species of acacia, ground and made into small loaves.' The name of the seed is also the plant name. The postposition *-ndru* conveys directional movement 'from, out of.'

[35]	Godaia	komanali	wata	jadi	jatalapa
	Gen.1.Decl	Act.1.Decl	neg	Acc.1.Decl	pres II contr.
	God's	friend(s)	not	lies	tell

God's friend(s) do not tell lies

Note: contraction: *jadi jatalapa* for *jadi jatala wapaia*

[36]	Kuxia	komanali	nura	jadi	jatalapa
	Gen.1.Decl	Act.1.Decl	Adv	Acc.1.Decl	pres II contr
	devil's	friends	always	lies	tell

Devil's friends always tell lies

[13] misprint *nauja*

[37]	Godali	kuxia[14]	turoni	jinpai
	Act.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	Dat.2.Decl	pres I
	God	devil	in/to fire	sends

God despatches the devil into fire

[38]	Kuxi	jadikanxia	aperi
	Nom.1.Decl	Gen.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl
	devil	of liars	father

Devil is the father of liars

Section 3:15

[39]	Talara	kodanani,	jaua	xeri
	Nom.1.Decl	cond./pres.part	Nom.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl
	rain	falling	jaua	knots

punkanani
cond./pres.part
growing

When/if rains falls then the jaua clumps will increase/grow

Note: conditional form is identical with present participle form. Very similar construction to 'if...then..' clause in German. Note position of verbs. See too [39] - [41] and [45]

[40]	Woldra	wapanani,	maxa	kilpa
	Nom.1.Decl	cond/pres.part	(particle)	Adj
	warmth/daylight	going	enough	cold

wokarinani
cond./pres.part
arriving

When daylight goes then the cold arrives

Note: *maxa* possible English calque 'much' it is also used for the German *schon*

[41]	Jundru	naxinani,	Godali	jinkinani
	Act.2.sg	cond./pres.part.	Act.1.Decl	cond./pres.part
	you	asking	God	giving

[14] misprint *kuxia* is Gen. form rather than the expected Acc. *kuxi*

If you ask, God will give

Note: *naxina* became the mission term for 'to pray'

[42]	Godani	naxianimai,	jurana	mumu
	Dat.1.Decl.	imp.II.pl	Acc.2 pl.	Adj
	to God	pray!	you	good

ankananto
opt
that may make
Pray to God, in order to make you good
Note: *naxia-ni-mai* stem + pl + imp II

[43]	Jesuni	wodatarana	namamai
	Dat.2.Decl	inf	imp II.sg
	to Jesus	subject/obedient	be

Obey Jesus!

Note: possible German calque, compare *gehorchen* + dative object.
See [13] and [83]

[44]	Godaia	jaura	undramai	ja	amalkamai
	Gen.1.Decl	N(uninflected)	imp II.sg	conj	imp II.sg
	God's	word	believe	and	guard

Believe and keep God's Word

Note: *amalkana* to keep watch over (Schok DD2A)

[45]	Pariwilpani	Jesu	anxani,	nura	tepi
	Dat.1.Decl.	Nom.2.Decl	cond/pres part	Adv	Adv
	in heaven	Jesus	is loving	always	alive

namala - anai
fut aux
will be

If (you) love Jesus in Heaven (you) will have eternal life

Note: *pariwilpa* 'heaven's vault' mission semantic refashioning, lit. 'hole in sky'

[46]	Jesueli	kana	warupoto	
	Act.2.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	Adj-N	
	Jesus	man	all things	
	meta	maruni	najila - wapaia.	
	N.	Adv+Dat	pres II aux.	
	earth	all around on	seeing is	

Jesus sees all men on the whole earth

Note: *warupoto* included without gloss (Schok DD14C), but reconstructible from *poto* thing/s (Schok DD12A) and the plural suffix –*wora* (Schok Gr:2) giving *warupoto* all things and the variant translation 'Jesus sees men and all things on the whole Earth' see [81], [102], [107]: *meta maruni*: note that the Dative suffix attaches to the second component *maru* 'all around'; *maruja* 'whole, entire' (Schok DD8A) also *mita maruja* 'on the whole earth'(Schok DD8B). Indeed *-uja* is the Gen.2.Decl suffix giving a meaning 'of the whole.'

[47]	Wata	windri	pariwilpanulu	Jesu	namai,
	neg	(particle)	N.+postpos	Nom.2.Decl	pres I
	not	only	heaven in only	Jesus	exists
	paru paru	nauja	namala - wapaia.		
	Adv redup.	Nom.3.sg	pres. II aux		
	everywhere	he	is existing		

Jesus does not only exist in Heaven, he is everywhere

Note: *pariwilpanulu* here one of the rare instances where the missionaries consciously used a word containing more than one affix: *pariwilpa* 'heavens vault' (Schok DD11B) + Dat *-ni* + Postposition *-lu* only, alone (Schok Gr:13) *Windri* is uninflected and is termed a particle in modern analysis (Austin 1981:174) I have therefore annotated (particle) as this term was not used by the missionaries.

[48]	Warula	Jesu	pariwilpandru	wokarina - wonti,
	Adv	Nom.2.Decl	Dat.1.Decl	past IV aux
	long ago	Jesus	from heaven	arrived long ago
	waianina[15]	kulkananto.		
	Acc.1.pl	opt		
	us	in order to save		

Jesus came down from heaven a long time ago in order to save us

[15] misprint *naianina*

[49]	Godali	naianina	jaura	nunkani
	Act 1.Decl	Acc.1.pl	Acc.1.Decl.	Gen.3.sg
	God	us	word	his
	jinkilapa,	naiani [16]	kulikiri	ankananto.
	pres II contr	Act/Nom.1.pl	Adj	opt
	is giving	us	clean	in order to make

God gives us his word in order to make us clean

Note: pres II contr: *jinkila wapaia* Compare [35] & [36] *kulikiri* 'clean (also in moral sense)' (Schok DD6B). Likely adaptation of existing vocabulary by missionaries. This term became widely used. *kuli* 'clever' (Schok DD6A) cf Gason (298) *kirrie* 'clear-headed, sensible. Also used to order way to be "cleared" to allow of passing' and *koolie* 'odour, scent'

[50]	Nurali	Godani	naxianimai,	nulia
	Adv	Dat.1.Decl	imp	Act.3.sg
	Always	to God	pray!	he
	jaola	nunkani	jinkinanto.	
	Acc.1.Decl	Gen.3.sg	opt	
	breath/spirit	his	in order to give	

Always pray to God that he might give (you) his spirit

[51]	Jidni	Jesuni	undranani,	wata
	Nom.2.sg	Dat.2.Decl.	cond/pres.part	neg
	you	in/to Jesus	believing	not
	jidni	tintanani,	Godali	jidnana
	Nom.2.sg	cond/pres.part	Act.1.Decl	Acc.2.sg
	you	losing	God	you
	tepi	pariwilpani	jinkila - anai.	
	Acc.1.Decl	Dat.1.Decl	fut aux.	
	life	in heaven	will give	

If you believe in Jesus you do not lose, God will give you life in heaven

Note: *glauben* + Dat. *undrana* + Dat. but *jinkina* + Acc. not Dat. as in German

[16] Correct form Accusative *naiana/naianina* according to paradigm Schok Gr: 5

Section 4:16

[52]	Goda	ninaia	meta	ja	pariwilpa
	Nom.1.Decl	Acc.3.sg.m.	Acc.1.Decl	conj	Acc.1.Decl
	God	him	earth	and	heaven

	jaurali	nunkanali	panximana - wonti.
	Abl.1.Decl	Gen.3.sg+Abl.	past IV aux.
	by word	by his	created long ago

God created heaven and earth by his word
Note: *Goda* not Act. also role of *ninaia* unclear. Note apposition *nunkanali*

[53]	Goda	kana	Adam	metali
	Nom.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	PN	Abl.1.Decl
	God	man	Adam	with/by earth

	ankibananti,	jaola	nunkani	Adamini
	perf IV.contr	Acc.1.Decl	Gen.3.sg	Dat.
	built long ago	breath	his	in Adam

	pulkananti,	jeruja	Adam	tepi
	past IV.contr	Adv. corr	PN	Adj
	blew long ago	thus	Adam	alive

namananto.
opt
might be

Long ago God formed the man Adam of earth and blew his breath/spirit into Adam so that Adam might have life

Note: contraction: *ankibana wonti* is contracted to *ankibananti*; *pulkana wonti* is contracted to *pulkananti*. *Tepi namana* 'guard, watch over' (Schok Add.17A) but this appears to be an error

[54]	Kuxi	madlanxi	xoxoeli	paradisini
	Nom.1.Decl.	Adj	Abl.2.Decl.	Dat.1.Decl
	Devil	evil	by/as snake	in paradise

	wokarina - wonti,	pudlaia,	Adam	jo[17]	Epa
	past IV aux	Nom.3.dual	PN	conj	PN
	arrived long ago	they two	Adam	and	Eve

[17] misprint *ja*

jadijaurali	madlenxi	ankana - wonti.
Abl.1.Decl	Adj	past IV aux
by lies	evil	made long ago

The Devil arrived in paradise as a snake long ago, those two, Adam and Eve, sinned by lies long ago.

Note: *Epa* modified as no *v* in mission alphabet. *Madlanxi ankana* mission construction for 'to sin' lit. 'make evil'

[55]	Kainali	nunkani	natala[18]	Abel
	Act.1.Decl	Gen.3.sg	Acc.1.Decl	
	Cain	his	younger brother	Abel

narielu	nandrana - wonti.
Adj+postpos	past IV aux
until dead	struck long ago

Cain beat /struck his younger brother Abel to death long ago.

Note: Postposition *–lu* 1. until 2. only, alone (Schok Gr:13)

[56]	Godali	kanawora	madlenxi	papali[19]
	Act.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl+pl	Adj	Abl.1.Decl
	God	men/mankind	evil	by means/with water

nandrana - wonti,	windri	Noa	ja	nurala
past IV aux	(particle)	PN	conj	Acc.1.Decl
struck long ago	only	Noah	and	family

nunkani	petabotani	kulkana - wonti.
Gen3.sg	Dat.1.Decl	past IV aux
his	in wooden boat	saved long ago

Long ago God struck/smote evil men with floods,[he] only saved Noah and his family in a wooden boat.

Note: *apa-li*: by means of water: also interesting mission construction *peta-bota-ni* ark. *peta* [wood] *bota* [loan:boat */Boot* (Ger) + *-a*] *-ni* [Dat] Also subject omission in second clause: presumably referred to *Goda*, as passive constructions not used by the early missionaries.

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[18] misprint *natata*

[19] misprint *apali*

[57]	Josep	nura	ninta		pirna
	PN	Adv	Nom.1.Decl		Adj
	Joseph	always	shame		great
	namananti,	jeruja		Godali	Josep
	past IV.contr	Adv.corr.		Act.1.Decl	
	was long ago	thus/so		God	
	mulali	ankana - wonti.			
	Adv	past IV aux			
	happy	made (long ago)			

Joseph was always very ashamed, God made him happy thus/like this.
Note: Meaning somewhat unclear, perhaps these sentences were used in the classroom in conjunction with a series of Bible pictures.

[58]	Absalom	delkina	anananti,	Godali	nulia
	PN	inf	past IV contr	Act.1.Decl	Act.3.sg
	Absalom	defiant	was(long ago)	God	he
	petani	kalala		katibananti.	
	Dat.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl		past IV.contr	
	in tree	revenge		hung up long ago	

Absalom was stubborn/defiant, God hung him up in a tree as punishment.

Note: *nulia* is probably a mistake. Acc3.sg is *ninaia.*
kalala avenge (Schok DD4C), but also has meaning replace. This word was used by the mission to denote God's wrath, see too [79] Psalm 34, verse 17 *kalakalarila wapaia* to be hating, to be opposed to.
Gason (299): *kullula* retaliation. It was also used in other contexts by the missionaries to denote reciprocated action eg. *kalala dakala* to write in reply.

[59]	Jesu	pariwilpandru	Betlemini	wokarina - wonti.
	Nom.2.Decl	N.+Postpos.-ndru	Dat.2.Decl	past IV aux
	Jesus	heaven from	in Bethlehem	arrived long ago

Jesus arrived in Bethlehem from/out of heaven.

[60]	Betlemini	Judakana	namananti,	tanangupini
	Dat	Nom.1.Decl	past IV contr	Dat.pl.dem.pron.
	In Bethlehem	Jewish men	lived long time ago	for these
	Jesu	wokarinanti		
	Nom.2.Decl	past IV contr		
	Jesus	arrived long ago		

Jewish tribes lived in Bethlehem long ago, Jesus came for these.

Note: *Betllemini* is not declined as a Proper Noun (giving *Betlemingu)* as might be expected from the paradigms but as 2.Decl. common noun. *Judakana* compound noun created by mission cf *petabota* [56]

Section 4 (contd):17

[61]	Jesu	nurali	Goda	anana - wonti,
	Nom.2.Decl	Adv	Nom.1.Decl	past IV aux
	Jesus	always	God	existed long ago

waru	bokana	kana	anana - wonti,
Adv	conj	Nom.1.Decl	past IV aux
long ago	also	man	existed long ago

nulia	kana	kulkananto.
Act.3.sg	Acc.1.Decl	opt
he	man(kind)	in order to save

Note: Assumed meaning, Jesus was (eternally) God, also long ago man, that he might save man.

Waru, woru long time ago (Schok DD14B)
warula of old, of long ago (Schok Gr:13) *waru* + *-la* postposition 'of, from' likely identical with Gen. *-ia , -ja*

[62]	Jesu	naianangu	palipali,	materina - wonti,
	Nom.2.Decl	Dat.1.pl	redup.	past IV aux
	Jesus	for us	died	?suffered long ago

naiana	tepi	namananto.
Nom.1.pl	Adj	opt
we	alive	in order to be

Jesus died and suffered for us a long ago that we might live (eternally).

Note: *tepi* is both a noun (life) and an adjective (alive and well)
Mission construction: *tepi namana* to live, in eternal sense.
materina possible meaning: to suffer. This word appears to be derived from *matala* pain in limbs, lame (Schok DD8B)

[63]	Jesu	wonpani	tepi	terkana - wonti
	Nom.2.Decl	Dat.1.Decl	Adj	past IV aux
	Jesus	grave from	alive	returned long ago

naiana	bokana	wonpani	tepi	terkananto
Nom.1.pl	conj	Dat.1.Decl	Adj	opt
we	also	from grave	alive	in order to return

Jesus returned from the grave that we might also return from the grave (have life after death).

[64]	Jesu	pariwilpani	tikana - wonti,	
	Nom.2.Decl	Dat.1.Decl	past IV aux	
	Jesus	to Heaven	returned long ago	
	nulia	naianana[20]	bokana	pariwilpani
	Act.3.sg	Acc.1.pl	conj	Dat.1.Decl
	he	us	also	to heaven

maninanto
opt
in order to take

Jesus returned to Heaven long ago, that he might also take us to Heaven.

[65]	Minankru[21]	Jesueli	naianina	kulkana - wonti
	interrog	Act.2.Decl	Acc.pl.1	past IV aux
	why/for what	Jesus	us	saved long ago

Why did Jesus save us?

[66]	Nulia	naianana[22]	wolkarali	anxala - wapaia
	Act.3.sg	Acc.1.pl	Adv	pres.II aux
	he	us	yearningly	loving is

He loves us dearly (spiritually).

Note: Mission construction for spiritual love: *wolkarali anxana*. Inconsistency here with *anxana* elsewhere taking Dative object.

[67]	Worana	kana	Jesueli	pariwilpani
	Acc.interrog	Acc.1.Decl	Act.2.Decl	Dat.1.Decl
	whom	man	Jesus	to Heaven

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[20] Acc.1.pl : *naiana, naianina* according to Schok Gr:5 paradigms

[21] misprint *minandru, mina* (Interrogative)+*-ndru* for what reason

[22] See footnote 13

manila	-	anai
fut		aux
take		will

Which man will Jesus take to Heaven?

[68]	Windri	nunkani	komanali
	(particle)	Gen.3.sg	Acc.1.Decl
	only	his	friends

Only his friends.

[69]	Wale	komanali	nunkani?
	Act.Interrog	Nom.1.Decl	Gen.3.sg
	who	friends	of him/his

Who are his friends?

Note: *Wale* is Active case, but according to paradigms the form should here be should be Nominative *wora*

[70]	Kana	Jesuni	anxai,
	Nom.1.Decl	Dat.2.Decl	pres I
	man	Jesus	loves,
	Jesuni	naxai,	
	Dat.2.Decl	pres I	
	to Jesus	prays,	
	Jesuni	undrai,	
	Dat.2.Decl	pres I	
	in Jesus	believes,	
	nunkani	jaura	amalkai,
	Gen.3.sg	Acc.1.Decl	pres I
	his	word	guards, keeps
	wata	pulu	narai,
	neg	(particle)	pres I
	not	in vain	hears,

janipara	kana	Jesuja	komanali.
Dem.Pron	Nom.1.Decl	Gen.2.Decl	Nom.1.Decl
such a (one)	man	of Jesus	friend.

The man who loves Jesus, prays to Jesus, believes in Jesus, keeps his Word, who does not hear it in vain, such a man is Jesus' friend.

Note: *amalkana* used to translate *hüten*

[71]	Joanis	ja	Petros	kana	xunderu	kaditepi
	PN	conj	PN	Acc.1.Decl	Adj	Adj
	John	and	Peter	man	lame	healthy

ankana - wonti
past IV aux
made long ago

Long ago John and Peter made a lame man healthy (i.e. walk) again.

[72]	Paulos	nurali	palkana - wonti,
	PN	Adv	past IV aux
	Paul	always	walked long ago

kana	wora	Godaia	jaura	jatala,
[Dat]	pl.	Gen.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	opt.ss
[to]	men/mankind	God's	word	in order to speak

tananana[23]	mulali	ankananto
Acc.3.pl	Adv	opt
them	happy	in order to make

Long ago Paul was always travelling, speaking God's Word to men in order to make them happy/ bring them happiness.

Note: *kanawora* see Schok Gr:2 ; if the plural indication *-wora* is added the Noun is not declined. The form *jatala* without auxiliary (pres II + *wapaia,* or past II + *wirri*) is not recorded in the paradigms (Schok Gr:14). If based on pres III, this form would be *jataila.* Here we have a complex sentence, in the subordinate clause the verb ending *-la* indicates reference to the same subject; consistent with Austin's analysis of implicated clause, same subject.[24] One of the semantic functions is 'purpose, intent' In cases of an implicated clause with a different subject, as in the final clause of this sentence the mission Grammar is more specific; this is covered by the optative (SchokGr:12, section 7.4.b) 'this appears as a concluding term stating a purpose' as verb ending *-nanto* in subordinate clause. This is one of the few areas of the primer translations not explicity covered by the Schoknecht Grammar. In order to attempt to stay within mission metalanguage, I have termed the inflection *-la* opt:ss that is optative:same subject. Austin's term is impl.ss. In my notation *-nanto* optative is therefore opt:ds, that is, optative different subject.

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[23] misprint *tananaua*

[24] Austin (1981:190f) also table (3.9):83

Although the inflection *-la* is not specifically covered in the early Grammar, usage of both forms in this sentence indicates that the missionaries were aware of the distinction same subject/different subject endings in subordinate clauses.

Section 4 (contd):18

[73]	Warula	Jesu		anxanala,
	Adv	Nom.2.Decl		perf part
	Long ago	Jesus		having loved
	ninaia[25]	metani		palkanala
	Acc.3.sg	Dat.1.Decl		perf part
	him	on Earth		having wandered
	kana	xunderu	talko	ankananti,
	Acc.1.Decl	Adj	Adj	past IV.contr
	man	lame	upright	made long ago
	kana	talpakuro	narani	ankananti,
	Acc.1.Decl	Adj	pres.part.	past IV.contr
	man	deaf	hearing	made long ago
	kana	buxu	naijani	ankananti,
	Acc.1.Decl	Adj	pres.part.	past IV.contr
	man	blind	seeing	made long ago
	nari[26]	tepi	jinkinanti	
	Acc.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	past IV.contr.	
	corpse	life	gave long ago	
	ja	jaura	nunkani	jatananti.
	conj	Acc.1.Decl	Gen.3.sg	past IV.contr.
	and	word	his	spoke long ago

A long time ago Jesus having loved, having wandered on Earth, made the lame man walk, the deaf man hear, the blind man see, gave the corpse life and preached his Word.

Note: *warula* 'of old' now lexicalised as 'long ago' despite Genitive suffix, see notes [61]

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[25] Note: not Nominative *nauja* and in following phrases Active *nulia*

[26] Here not Dative object of *jinkina* i.e. *narini*

Section 5: Psalm 34, verses 12-17 (Homann & Koch 1870:18)

12: Kommt her, Kinder, höret mir zu, ich will euch die Furcht des Herrn lehren.

[74]

Kaperau,		Kupa worai!	
Imp I.sg		Voc.1.Decl.Pl	
Come		O Children!	
Nakangu		naramarau!	
Dat.1.sg		Imp I.sg	
To me		listen!	
Nato	jurana[27]	nujanujara	jinkilapa
Act.1.sg	Acc.2.pl	Acc.1.Decl	pres II contr.
I	you	knowledge	am giving

worana	Godali	anxai
Interrog.Acc	Act.1.Decl	pres I
whom	God	loves

Come, Oh Children! Listen to me! I will tell you whom God loves.

Note: Inconsistency between plural address and singular imperative form used here. *Jinkilapa* is contraction for present II *jinkila wapaia*
Acc. Interrog. *worana* is used as a relative Pronoun, also there is no apposition for complement of *anxana* which is elsewhere Dative.
Interestingly the concept of *Furcht des Herrn* (Fear of the Lord) is omitted in the translation and replaced with the concept of God's love.

13: Wer ist, der gut Leben begehret, und gern gute Tage hätte?

[75]

Wale	anxai	nurali	dixi	mumu	namala
Act.Interrog	pres I	Adv	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	opt:ss
Who?	loves	always	day	beautiful	to live

ja	milinjeru	mulali	anala
conj	Adv	Adv	opt:ss
and	always	happy	to be

Who loves to always live beautiful/good days and always be happy?

Note: pres III forms should be *namaila, anaila* according to Schok Gr:14 paradigms, see notes [72] & [85]
The mission translation of the optative form involved a construction with *möchten* ('would like to')

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[27] Note again *jinkina* + Accusative complement rather than Dative as elsewhere

14: Behüte deine Zunge vor Bösem, und deine Lippen, daß sie nicht falsch reden.

[76]	Jinkani	tali	madlenxini	kulkau
	Gen.2.sg	Acc.1.Decl	Dat.1.Decl	imp I.sg
	Your	tongue	from evil	protect
	jinkani	monamimi	amalkau,	
	Gen.2.sg	Acc.1.Decl	imp.I.sg	
	your	mouth	guard/watch over	
	jundru	wata	jadijatananto	
	Act2.sg	neg.	opt.	
	you	not	in order that...lies say	

Protect your tongue from evil, watch your mouth so that you may not tell lies

15: Laß vom Bösen, und thue Gutes, suche Friede und jage ihm nach.

[77]	Madlenxani	puntiamai,
	Dat.1.Decl	imp II.sg
	From evil	avoid/abstain
	mumu	ankamai,
	Acc.2.Decl	imp II.sg
	Good	make
	malti	namamai,
	Nom.1.Decl	imp II.sg
	peace	live/exist
	malti	ankamaliamai!
	Acc.1.Decl	imp II (recip)
	peace	make with one another

Abstain from evil, do Good, live in peace, make peace with one another!

Note: use of *madlenxani, mumu, malti* as Adjectival Nouns, as in German *das Böse, das Gute, der Friede* (Good, Evil, Peace).
The reciprocal imperative construction *anka-malia-mai* is not covered under the section on imperatives in the Schok Grammar, however the missionaries, in seeking discrete reciprocal pronouns, identified 'reciprocal verbs' (as described in Schok Gr:9, V.1.3): 'They are constructed by adding the suffix *-malia* to the stem of the primitive verb' eg. *nandra-mali-la wapaia* (pres II) and *antja-mali(a)-ni-mai* (imp II.recip.pl) Gason (291) records *mullauna*: 'together, each other' which corresponds to the affix *-malia* (recip.) + *-ni* (plural)

Section 5 (contd):19

16: Die Augen des Herrn sehen auf die Gerechten, und seine Ohren auf ihr Schreien.

[78]	Milki	Godaia	anxani	kana	mumu
	Nom.1.Decl	Gen.1.Decl.	pres.part	Acc.1.Deci	Adj
	eyes	of God	loving	men	good
	najila - wapaia.				
	pres II aux				
	are seeing				
	Talpa	nunkani	tananana	naxi	narala-wapaia.
	Nom.1.Decl	Gen.3.sg	Gen.3.pl	Acc.1.Decl	pres II aux
	Ear	his	their	requests	is hearing

The loving eyes of God see good men. His ears hear their prayers.

Note: Here the use of the Genitive with parts of the body appears to contradict the rule given Schok Gr:3 which states the Gen. should only be used if the article/object is no part of the principle subject; in such cases the Nom. should be used. eg. *nani mara* (lit. 'I hand') therefore here (Nom) *nauja talpa,* literally he ear and *Goda milki* literally, God eye/s

17: Das Antlitz aber des Herrn stehet über die, so Böses thun, daß er ihr Gedächtnis ausrotte von der Erde. [sowohl ihr Andenken als sie selber]

[79]	Madlenxi	kana	Godali	kalakalarila - wapaia,		
	Adj	Acc.1.Decl	Act.1.Decl.	pres II	aux	
	Evil	man	God	is opposing/hating		
	nulia	tananaua[28]	tala	kalila - wapaia	metani.	
	Act.3.sg	Gen.3.pl	Acc.1.Decl	pres II aux	Dat.1.Decl	
	he	their	name	is wiping out	from earth	

God opposes evil men, He obliterates their name from the Earth.

[28] misprint *tananani*

Section 6:19

This section contains the Ten commandments which comprise 'das erste Hauptstück' of Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus*. Homann reported in January 1869, that these translations were now complete and that they would now be progressing to the 2nd and 3rd *Hauptstücke.*[29] I have included in the notes for each translation a comparison with Gason's translation which appears to have been done with knowledge of mission usage as in several instances forms are used which are not to be found elsewhere in his lexicon.

[80]	Jeruja	Godali	jirijiribani.	
	Adv.corr	Act.1.Decl	pres.part	
	Thus	God	is commanding	

Thus God is commanding.

[81]	Jeruja	Godali	jirijiribala - wapaia		karnani
	Adv.corr	Act.1.Decl	pres II	aux	Dat.1.Decl
	Thus	God	is commanding		to/for men

warupotoni
Dat.2.Decl
to all things/all

Thus God commands to all men.

Note: *Jeruja* heavily used in mission texts, possible calque German *also* *warupoto* 'every thing' used for numerical adjective *alle* hence too is declined as for nouns. See [46].
jirijiribani : pres participle, stem + *-ni* , see Schok Gr:15, a parallel form stem + *-nani* is given which is identical to the conditional, suggesting that the shcrter form may have been used by the missionaries to distinguish it from the conditional in their translations. A base or 'primitive'verb, of which *jirijiribana* is the reduplication and derived (by addition of *-bana*)not recorded in the early documents, but Schok Gr:11 treats the modification of 'primitive' verbs by the addition of the suffix *-bana* as an 'intensifier.' Austin discusses the benefactive function of the derivational affix *-ipa* or *-yirpa* with transitive verbs.[30]

I. Gebot

Ich bin der Herr, dein Gott. Du sollst nicht andere Götter haben neben mir. Du sollst dir kein Bildnis noch irgend ein Gleichnis machen, weder des, das

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[29] KMB 5/1869:38

[30] Austin (1981:74 &78)

oben im Himmel, noch des, das unten auf Erden, oder des, das im Wasser unter der Erde ist. Bete sie nicht an und diene ihnen nicht

1st Commandment:

[82]	Nani	Goda,	kunakulno	pirna	jinkani
	Nom.1.sg	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	Adj	Gen.2.sg
	I	God	only one	great	your

I God am your only Great One.

Note: *kunakulno* possible misprint. *kanakulno* as in [83], however this form is preserved in both the 1883 and 1907 editions of the revised and expanded primer by Flierl & Meyer
kulno one; *kulnulo* alone (Schok DD6A): Possibly intended reduplication *kulnokulnulo* one alone

Cf Gason (296) *Athona yoora Goda* which is difficult to reconstruct from his wordlist: *Athoo* (294) *Althoo* (296,291) 'I'
In mission orthography this is *nato* (Act 1.sg)
yoora 'ye'(293]) but also 'few' (307) and *yoola* 'you two'(307) equate to the mission record *jura* (Nom/Acc.2.pl.)
Whilst the term *Goda* has obviously been taken over from mission usage, the pronouns appear a random combination of declensions, and do not reflect mission paradigms.
Gason's 2nd Commandment (296) belongs here also:
Watta yoondroo aunchana pitta, paroo, ya ya pitta pilkildra windrie Goda yondroo aunchuna. 'Do not (you) love wood, fish and other wooden things, only God you love'

[83]	Nakangu,	Goda	kanakulnoni,
	Dat.1.sg	N(uninflected)	Dat.2.Decl
	To me	God	to one (man) only

wodatarina	jidni	namai,
inf	Nom.1.sg	pres I
subject/obeying	you	are

ja	maltieli	nana	anxamai.
conj	Adv	Acc.1.sg	imp II.sg
and	peacefully	me	love

To me, (your) only God you are subject and (you must) love me serenely (in peace).

Note: *wodaterina* 'obey'and *wodaterana namana* 'to be subject to'(Schok DD15A) In this sentence the infinitve appears in conjunction with the finite verb 'to be' See too [86] *pankina* + *namana.* For the early

missionaries the citation form of the verb was the infinitive, as it is used in German. According to Austin (1981:88) it is the participial.[31]
malti 'cool, pleasant, happy' (Schok DD7B) is used in mission texts to denote state of peace.

II. Gebot

Du sollst den Namen des Herrn, deines Gottes, nicht unnützlich führen; denn der Herr wird den nicht ungestraft lassen, der seinen Namen mißbraucht.

2nd Commandment

[84]	Nakani	tala	wata	bakueli	dikau
	Gen.1.sg	Nom.1.Decl	neg	Adv	imp I.sg
	my	name	not	for nothing	say

Do not say my name in vain

Note: *baku* nothing (Schok DD2B)
cf Gason (296) 3rd Commandment: *Watta Goda yoondroo baukooelie dikana*

Section 6 (contd):20

III. Gebot

Du sollst den Feiertag heiligen.

3rd Commandment

[85]	Godaiɛ	dixini	toda	namamai,
	Gen.1.Decl	Dat.1.Decl	Adv	imp II.sg
	God's	in/on day	mid-day/idle	be

nakani	jaura	narala	ja	undrala	nakangu.
Gen.1.sg	Acc.1.Decl	pres:impl	conj	opt:ss	Dat.3.sg
his	word	to hear	and	to believe	in him

Rest on God's Day, listen to his Word and believe in him.

Note: *toda namana* 'to be idle' (Schok DD13C), *namana* 'existence, to be present, sit ' with correction of initial *a-* to *-o.* (Schok MS DD66A), *nomana* sit (Schok DD10C)
undrana + Dat *undrala, narala* here are used without the aux *wapaia* usual in pres II form.

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[31] See Austin: 'The participial is also used in Diyari and Dhirari as the citation form of verbs. Thus, when citing or talking about a verb root or stem informants use its participal form'

As with [72] & [75] we have a complex sentence; in the subordinate clause the verb ending *-la* indicates reference to the same subject; this area is not specifically covered in the early Grammar, but usage is consistent with Austin's analysis of implicated clause, same subject.[32] One of the semantic functions is 'purpose, intent.' In cases of an implicated clause with different subject, the mission Grammar is more specific; this is covered by the optative (Schok Gr:12, section 7.4.b) 'this appears as a concluding term stating a purpose' as verb ending *-nanto* in subordinate clause.

IV. Gebot

Du sollst deinen Vater und deine Mutter ehren, auf daß dirs wohlgehe und du lange lebest auf Erden

4th Commandment

[86]	Pankina	namamai	aperani	jinkanani[33]	ja	
	inf	imp.II.sg	Dat.1.Decl	Gen.2.sg	conj	
	trusting	be!	(in) father	your	and	
	andrini	jinkanani,				
	Dat.1.Decl	Gen.2.sg				
	(in)mother	your,				
	pudlanaia	anxamai	ja	talpa - kaldrueli	pudlanaia	naramai,
	Acc.3.dual	imp	conj	Adv Phrase	Acc.3.dual	imp II.sg
	them (two)	love	and	attentively	them(two)	hear,
	Godali		mara - manjumanjueli		jidna	metani
	Act/Abl.1.Decl		Act/Abl.2.Decl		Acc.2.sg	Dat.1.Decl
	(by)God		(by)hand very kind		you	on earth
	amalkananto					
	opt.					
	in order to guard/keep safe					

Be trusting in your father and mother, love the two of them and heed them well, in order that God's benevolent hand keep you safe on earth.

Note: *pankina namana* here we have a construction consisting of the 'infinitive' in conjunction with the verb 'to be.' See [83] constructions:
talpa kaldrueli naranana
naranarana 'listen attentively, remember'
narana hear; *kaldrueli narana* 'listen attentively'
talpa ear; *talpa kaldrueli* obedient

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[32] Austin (1981:190f) also table (3.9):83

[33] *jinkani* is form given in Schok Gr:5 as Gen 2.sg

Compare Gason's 4th Commandment (296):
Appirrie, ya andrie, parabara oondrana thana thipie aumanunthoo
Father and mother (with) strength think (believe) in order that they remain alive.

The form *aumanunthoo* (optative according to the Schoknecht Grammar) appears to be borrowed from mission forms as it is not represented elsewhere. The use of the verb *oondrana* as 'believe' also appears to come from mission usage. Note too significant difference in meaning due to use of pronoun *thana* (they).

V. Gebot

Du sollst nicht töten

5th Commandment

[87]	Wata	narielu	nandranau
	neg	Adv	imp I.pl
	Not	fatally	strike

Do not kill!
Cf Gason's 5th Commandment (296): *Watta yoondroo narrie nundrala*
Gason does not use his own form of the imperative as it appears in his verb paradigm, but rather one that appears in the Schoknecht Grammar as imp.I.pl

VI. Gebot

Du sollst nicht ehebrechen

6th Commandment

[88]	Wata	palakanxi	namamai,	ninta	pirna	namamai
	neg	Nom.1.Decl	imp II.sg	Nom.1.Decl	Adv	imp II.sg
	not	promiscuous	be,	shame	great	be

Do not be a promiscuous person, be very ashamed (?ie bashful/modest?)

Note: *palakanxi* consists of *pala* + *kanxi* (personifier, usually negative). Etymology of *pala-* is uncertain, possibly *palku* 'flesh, body' and *palu/parlu* 'bare, naked.' In the Schoknecht dictionary we find only *milkirina* 'lust of eyes,' *(nara) waluwalungana* literally 'heart blazes,' 'sexually eager, sexual excitement' and *tanina* 'beget, cohabit.'

cf Gason (296): *Watta yoondroo pulakaunchie.* This word is not found in Gason's dictionary either. It later appears in Reuther and later sources.

VII. Gebot

Du sollst nicht stehlen

7th Commandment

[89]	Wata	kurieli	maniau
	neg	Adv	imp I.sg
	Not	secretly	take

Do not steal!
Note: *kurieli manina* to steal
cf Gason (296): *Watta yoondroo kooriekaunchie.* Not you (be) thief
(Schok DD7A): *kurikanxi kuri-* (etymology uncertain) + *kanxi* (personifier)

VIII. Gebot

Du sollst nicht falsch Zeugnis reden wider deinen Nächsten

8th Commandment

[90]	Wata	jadiau
	neg	imp I.sg
	Not	tell lies/lie

Do not lie!

cf Gason (296) 8th Commandment:
Watta yoondroo kurna komanelie, baukooelie ulchulchamuna
Do not you native friends, in vain/for nothing threaten.
This obviously relates to the practice of perpetuating blood-feuds, which Gason as a police officer and the missionaries were anxious to discourage.

Section 6 (contd):21

IX. Gebot

Du sollst nicht begehren deines Nächsten Haus

9th Commandment

[91]	Wata	milkirina	najumai[34]	kana	uruja	punga
	neg	inf	imp II.sg	N.	indef.sg.Gen.	Acc.1.Decl
	Not	lusting	see	of another man		hut

[34] Schok DD9C *naijina* to see. Note reduplication

Do not desire/covet another man's house

Note: *milkila* seen, having knowledge of (Schok DD8B)
According to Schok Gr:10/6 *-rina* is the suffix used to create a verb from a noun or adjective
milki (eye) *-rina* ('be') lust of eye (Schok DD8B) *sich gelüsten nach etwas , etwas begehren.* The mission usage for 'to desire/covet' became *milkirina naijina.* It may be a calque for the Biblical verb 'to know' in a sexual sense.

Compare Gason's 9th Commandment (296) which combines the 9th and 10th Commandments of Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus.* This was not an unusual connection. See below.

X. Gebot

Du sollst nicht begehren deines Nächsten Weib, Knecht, Magd, Vieh oder alles, was sein ist.

10th Commandment

[92]	Wata	milkirina	najumai	kana	uruja	uruja[35]
	neg	inf	imp II.sg	N.	indef.sg.Gen.2.Decl	
	Not	lusting	see	man	of another	

noa,	ja	kana	uruja	poto.
Acc.1Decl	conj	N.+	indef.sg.Gen.2.Decl	Acc.2.Decl
wife	and	of another man		thing/s

Do not covet the wife of another man, nor covet another's belongings

Note: *noa* is used here as translation for *Weib* where in Dieri it refers to spouse ie both husband and wife.

Compare Gason *Watta yoondroo bootoo thoola milkirrana ya noa thoola watta yoondroo milkirrana baukooaumanunthoo*: Do not you property 'stranger' covet and wife stranger do not you covet in order that you be idle. (*thoola* 'other' *tula* 'stranger' (sg.) Schok DE30B)
baukooaumanunthoo is a form not found outside the Ten Commandments in Gason's work and is most likely a borrowing from mission usage where it is based on *baku namana* to be idle, do nothing + optative *-nanto* (Schok Gr:12) in order that.
Interestingly it appears that as with the 8th Commandment, translation has been adapted to address Dieri social relations and the perpetuation of feuds between clans.

[35] probable error

Von allen diesen Geboten sagt Gott also:

Ich, der Herr, dein Gott, bin ein eifriger Gott, der über die, so mich hassen, die Sünde der Väter heimsucht an den Kindern bis ins dritte und vierte Glied; aber denen, so mich lieben und meine Gebote halten, tu ich wohl in tausend Glied.

Postscript to the Ten Commandments

[93]	Jeruja	Goda	naianangu	jatai:
	Adv.Corr.	Nom.1.Decl	Dat.1.pl.	pres.I
	Thus	God	to us	speaks

Thus God speaks to us:

Note: *jeruja* very liberally used in mission documentation, it is the equivalent of German *also*

[94]	Ninapini	Jaura	talpa	kaldrurina	naranimai.
	Acc.Dem.1.m	Acc.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	inf	imp.I(pl)
	This one/him	Word	ear	attending	hear!

Listen attentively/heed this Word

Note: *kaldrueli narana* listen attentively (Schok DD4C). Compare sentences [83], [86] and [91]

[95]	Nakani	Jaura	talpa	kaldrurina	naranani,
	Gen.1.sg	Acc.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	inf	cond/pres.part.
	My	Word	ear	be attentive	listening

jurana	nato	anxala - anai,	
Acc.2.pl	Act.1.sg	fut aux	
you	I	will love	

ja	mara - manju - manjueli		jurana
conj	N.	Adj.redup Abl.2.Decl	Acc.2.pl
and	hand	benevolent very (by)	you

nato	amalkala - anai.
Act.1.sg	fut aux
I	will protect/guard

If you heed my word I will love you, and I will protect you by (my) very benevolent hand.

Note: word breaks are often unclear; *maramanyu* kind, obliging (Schok DD8A), it is likely that *mara manju manjueli* belongs together, with reduplication for emphasis, hence Ablative inflection on last component.

[96]	Nakani	Jaura	wata	jura	talpa
	Gen.1.sg	Acc.1.Decl	neg	Nom/Act.2.pl	Nom.1.Decl
	My	Word	not	you	ear

kadrurina	naranani,	
inf	cond/pres.part,	
be attentive	hearing,	

jurangu	nani	kalakalarila -	anai,
Dat.2.pl	Nom.1.sg	fut.	aux
to you	I	will be opposed/hate	

ja	tiri	jurangu	nani	anala -	anai.
conj	Adj	Dat.2.pl	Nom.1.sg	fut	aux
and	angry	to you	I	will be	

If you do not heed my Word, I will be opposed to you and I will be angry with you.

Note: *kalakalarina* to hate, be opposed to: *kalala* avenge, replace (Schok DD4C) see too Schok Gr:10 (*-rina*) as verbalizer.

Section 6 (contd):22

The following section contains the Apostles' Creed, and comprises *das Zweite Hauptstück* of Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus*

Der christliche Glaube

[97]	Nato	undrai.
	Act.1.sg	pres I
	I	believe

Note: *undrana* is the verb chosen by the missionaries to convey belief, faith. According to Gason's wordlist (302) *oondra-* had the meaning 'to think.'[36] It is a good example of a basic verb being adapted to new purposes and its new meanings were propagated in mission usage.

[36] Gason does use *oondrana* in his 4th Commandment, but the form and this meaning appear to have been borrowed from mission usage, as discussed above.

1st Article of The Apostles' Creed

Ich glaube an Gott den Vater, den Allmächtigen, Schöpfer Himmels und der Erde

[98]	Nato	undrai	ja	anxai	Godani	Aperi,
	Act.1.sg	pres I	conj	pres I	Dat.1.Decl	Adj
	I	believe	and	love	God	Father

nulia	nato	kokai	Panximanipirna,
Act.3.masc.sg	Act.1.sg	pres I	part+Adj
he	I	call/scream	great creating (one)

pariwilpaia	ja	meta	maruja
Gen.1.Decl	conj	N.	Adj(Gen.2.Decl)
of heaven	and	Earth	of the whole

I believe and love God the Father, him I call the great creator of heaven and the whole Earth.

Note: *anxana* + Dat
nulia is a probable error, according to paradigms, the pronoun should here be Acc. *ninaia* or possibly the Dem.Acc *ninapini*
kokana 'scream, call' (Schok DD6A). This term was used for 'raise voice to Lord, praise'
jurakokana (Schok DD4B) 'praise'; this term may have roots in 'to tell everyone'
Panximani, panximana 'create, call into existence' (Schok DD11A)
panximani (pres.part)+ *pirna* (Adj. great) ie great creating one, mission construction for 'Creator'
meta maruja becomes a lexical item *meta* (N. earth) + *maru* (Adj. all around) +*-ja* (Gen) of the whole earth. Inflection on final component.

2nd Article of The Apostles' Creed

Und an Jesum Christum, Gottes eingebornen Sohn, unsern Herrn, der empfangen ist von dem Heiligen Geiste, geboren von der Jungfrau Maria, gelitten unter Pontio Pilato, gekreuziget, gestorben und begraben, niedergefahren zur Hölle, am dritten Tage auferstanden von den Toten, aufgefahren gen Himmel, sitzend zur rechten hand Gottes, des Allmächtigen Vaters, von dannen er kommen wird, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten.
The second article of the Apostles' Creed varies considerably from Luther's; notably all mention of the immaculate conception and indeed of Mary is omitted.

[99]	Nato	undrai	ja	anxai	Jesuni,
	Act.1.sg	pres I	conj	pres I	Dat.2.Decl
	I	believe	and	love	Jesus

kulnoni	Godaia	natamura,	naianani	Pirna
Dat.Adj	Gen.1.Decl	N.	Gen.1.pl	Adj-Noun
one,alone	of God	son	of us/our	great

I believe and love Jesus, the only son of God, our great one.

Note: *anxana* + Dat, also apposition.
natamura: in Gason (294) *Athamoora* is the father's term for either a son or daughter
Pirna is capitalised to indicate Adjectival Noun as in German.

[100]

Nauja	nurali	anana - wonti,
Nom.3.sg	Adv	past IV aux
He	always	was long ago

nauja	warula	bokana	pariwilpandru	wokarina - wonti,
Nom.3.sg	Adv	conj	N.+ loc.suffix	past IV aux
He	long ago	also	from heaven	arrived long ago

kana	jera	baka	namana - wonti
N.	Adv	Adv	past IV aux
man	there	like/same	existed long ago

jaolali	Godaia,
Abl.1.Decl	Gen.1.Decl
by breath	of God

kana	ja	Goda	jela	namani
Nom.1.Decl	conj	Nom.1.Decl	Adv	pres.part
man	and	God	together	existing

naianina	kulkananto.
Acc.1.pl	opt
us	in order to save

He was always existed, long ago he also arrived from Heaven, lived like man long ago by God's spirit, man and God existing together in order to save us.

Note: *jera* there (close) (Schok DD3C) also appears in Adverbial (and Adjectival) correlatives section.
baka similar (Schok DD2B)
jeribaka similar (Schok DD3C) i.e. 'like this/that there'

[101]

Jesu	kaxikaximaterina - wonti,
Nom.2.Decl	past IV aux
Jesus	suffered pain long ago

Jesu	palipalimaterina -	wonti,
Nom.2.Decl	past IV	aux
Jesus	died/suffered death long ago	

Jesu	dixi	parokulo	wonpani	parana -	wonti,
Nom.2.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	Dat.1.Decl	past IV	aux
Jesus	day(s)	three	in grave	lay long ago	

nakaldra	wonpani	tepi	terkana -	wonti,
Adv	Dat.1.Decl	Adv	past IV	aux
again	in grave	alive	?stood long ago	

nauja	pariwilpani	tarana -	wonti,
Nom.3.sg.m	Dat.1.Decl	past IV	aux
he	in/to heaven	flew long ago	

namala -	wapaia	unarani	Godaia,	pirnaia	Aperaia
pres II	aux	Dat.1.Decl	Gen.1.Decl	Gen.1.Decl	Gen.1.Decl
existing		in arms	of God	of great	of Father

Long ago Jesus suffered and died, Jesus lay three days in the grave (then) returned to life (lit. stood alive again) in the grave, he flew to heaven and exists in the arms of God, Our Great Father

Note: *kachikachina* hurt, feel pain (Schok DD5B) verb derived from noun *kachi-* (pain) and *-rina* (verbalizer)
matala pain in limbs (Schok DD8B); *materina* therefore translation of Christ's suffering
palipalina: the reduplicate form more usually signified drowning, *palina* 'to die.' There is some uncertainty with the verb *terkana:* we find *tarkana* 'stand'(Schok DD13A) and *tarkakana* stand up (Schok DD13B), *terkina* 'remain, stay' (Schok DD13B) and *tikana* 'return, come towards one' (Schok DD13B). It appears that *tepi terkana* was the mission translation for *auferstehen* (return to life i.e. resurrection).
Once again we also encounter the use of the Genitive case with parts of the body as opposed to recommended usage of Nominative. This appears to be particularly so in samples involving *Goda*.
Also note apposition for *pirnaia Aperaia*

[102]	Jesu	nankaldra[37]	pariwilpani	tikala -	anai,	
	Nom.2.Decl	Adv	N.+postpos	fut	aux	
	Jesus	again	from heaven	will return		
	kana	nari	warupoto	tepi	ankala	
	Acc.1.Decl	Adj	Acc.2.Decl	Adj	opt.ss	
	man	dead	all things	alive	to make	

[37] misprint *nakaldra*

ja	wonpani	kakala,	kana-wora	madlanxi
conj	Dat.1.Decl	opt.ss	N. pl	Adj
and	in grave	in order to call	men	evil

turoni	jinpala,	ja	kana	nunkani	komanali
Dat.2.Decl	opt.ss	conj	Acc.2.Decl	Gen.3.sg	Acc.1.Decl
in/to fire	in order to send	and	man	his	friend

taranalu,	pariwilpani	manila
Adv	Dat.1.Decl	opt.ss
up above	to heaven	in order to take

Jesus will return from heaven again in order to make dead men and all things alive/live, to call (them) in (or from) the grave, and in order to send evil men into fire and to take those who are his friends up to heaven.

Note: opt.ss see [72] above use of phrases such as *kana wora madllanxi* 'evil men' and *kana nunkani komanali* 'men his friends' in place of relative clauses.
taranalu translation for German *Oben, in der Höhe* (MS Schok:77). As with *narinalu* 'below, in the depths'(Schok DD10A) the ending varies from that used to derive Adverbs from Adjectives, and it falls into the missionaries' category of 'primitive adverbs'(Schok Gr:12)

Section 6 (contd): 23

3rd Article of The Apostles' Creed

Ich glaube an den Heiligen Geist, eine heilige christliche Kirche, die Gemeinde der Heiligen, Vergebung der Sünden, Auferstehung des Fleisches und ein ewiges Leben. Amen.

[103]	Nato	undrai	ja	anxai	Godaia	jaolani,
	Act.1.sg	pres I	conj	pres I	Gen.1.Decl	Dat.1.Decl
	I	believe	and	love	of God	the breath

nulia	Jesuja	komanali	Jaurali	jela
Act.3.sg	Gen.2.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	Abl.1.Decl	Adv
he	of Jesus	friend/s	by Word	together

mapala - wapaia,	Godaia	nurala	ankala
pres II aux	Gen.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	opt.ss
is collecting	God's	family	in order to make

I believe and love the spirit of God, by his Word he is collecting together his friends in order to make God's family.

Note: *jaola* breath, this term is a mission construction: *Godaia Jaola* is used for *Odem* / God's spirit

nurala family, circle of friends (Schok DD10C). This term is frequently used in translations and originates in *(n)ura* 'the camp'(Schok DD14A) + *-la* postposition (Schok Gr:13) denoting 'from, of.' The meaning 'of the camp' was lexicalised as 'family' for God's family.

[104]	Nato	undrai	Godaia	Jaola	nakani	madlanxi
	Act.1.sg	pres I	Gen.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	Gen.1.sg	Acc.1.Decl
	I	believe	God's	spirit	my	evil

worala - wapaia,	ja	nana	kulikiri	ankala - wapaia.
pres II aux	conj	Acc.1.sg	Adj	pres II aux
is throwing	and	me	clean	is making

I believe God's Spirit is casting away my sin and making me clean.

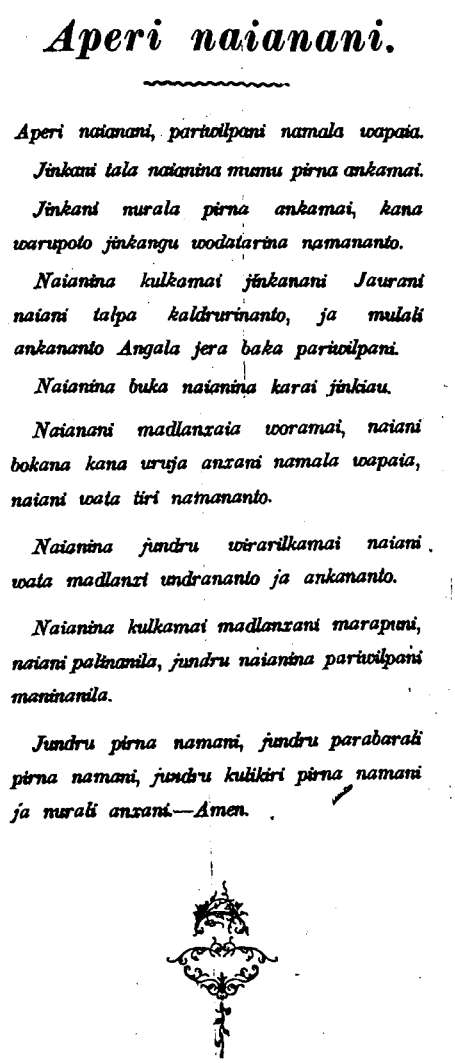
Note: *worana* 'throw' (Schok DD15C). This term assumes the figurative meaning of 'to cast away (sin)'

[105]	Godaia	Jaola	tepi	nurali	jinkila - anai.	Amen
	Gen.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	Acc.1.Decl	Adv	fut. aux	
	of God	Spirit	life	always	will give	

God's Spirit will give eternal life. Amen.

Note: *nurali* elsewhere identified as an adverbial form, is here used in the construction *tepi nurali* literally always alive, which became the mission term for 'eternal life.'

Section 6 (contd):24



Aperi naianani.

Aperi naianani, partuilpani namala wapaia.

Jinkani tala naianina mumu pirna ankamai.

Jinkani murala pirna ankamai, kana warupoto jinkangu wodatarina namananto.

Naianina kulkamai jinkanani Jaurani naiani talpa kaldrurinanto, ja mulali ankananto Angala jera baka pariwilpani.

Naianina buka naianina karai jinkiau.

Naianani madlanxaia woramai, naiani bokana kana uruja anxani namala wapaia, naiani wata tiri namananto.

Naianina jundru wirarilkamai naiani wata madlanxi undrananto ja ankananto.

Naianina kulkamai madlanxani marapuni, naiani palinanila, jundru naianina pariwilpani maninanila.

Jundru pirna namani, jundru parabarali pirna namani, jundru kulikiri pirna namani ja murali anxani.—Amen.

Figure 16: The Lord's Prayer (Homann & Koch 1870:24)

The following section under the title **Aperi naianani** is The Lord's Prayer, which comprises *Das Dritte Hauptstück* of Luther's *Kleiner Katechismus*

Die Anrede

Vater unser, der du bist im Himmel

[106]	Aperi	naianani,	pariwilpani	namala	-	wapaia
	Nom.1.Decl	Gen.1.pl	Dat.1.Decl	pres II		aux
	Father	our	in heaven	existing		

Die erste Bitte

Geheiligt werde dein Name

[107]	Jinkani	tala	naianina	mumu	pirna	ankamai.
	Gen.2.sg	Nom.1.Decl	Acc.1.pl	Adj	Adj(int)	imp II.sg
	Your	name	us	good	very	make

May your name make us blessed

Note: This translation is in accordance with the catechism interpretation, that God's name be holy among us; and that for this to happen men must live in accordance with God's Word as His children

Die zweite Bitte

Dein Reich komme

[108]	Jinkani	nurala	pirna	ankamai,	
	Gen.2.sg	Acc.1.Decl	Adj	imp II.sg	
	Your	family	great	be!	
	kana	warupoto	jinkangu	wodatarina	namananto.
	Nom.1.Decl	Nom.2.Decl	Dat.2.sg	inf	opt
	man	all things	to you	obeying	in order to be

Make your family great, that all men might be subject to you

Note: *kana warupoto* 'all men'whereby *warupoto* is used as a translation of *alle.* See too [46], [81] & [102] where *warupoto* also functions as a numerical adjective.

Die dritte Bitte

Dein Wille geschehe, wie im Himmel, also auch auf Erden

[109]	Naianina	kulkamai	jinkanani[38]		Jaurani	naiani
	Acc.1.pl	imp II.sg	Gen.2.sg		Dat.1.Decl	Nom.1.pl
	us	protect!	your		to Word	we
	talpa	kaldrurinanto,		ja	mulali	ankananto
	N.	opt		conj	Adv	opt
	ear	in order to heed		and	happy	in order to make
	Angala	jera	baka		pariwilpani.	
	loan	Adv	Adv		Dat.1.Decl	
	Angels	there	like		in heaven	

Protect us, that we might heed your Word and in order to make us happy like the Angels in heaven.

Note: *jinkanani.* If this indeed is a typographical error for *jinkani,* we must also acknowledge that in the previous sentence [107] it was used

[38] *jinkani* see paradigm (Schok Gr:5)

correctly, and the same form has been preserved in the 1880 Primer where other errors have been corrected.
The form is very similar to the conditional of *jinkina*. The variant translation would be *jinkanani* as the present participle/conditional form, 'giving' - Protect us, giving your Word that we might heed [it] and in order to make us happy like the Angels in heaven.

Die vierte Bitte

Unser täglich Brot gib uns heute

[110]	Naianina	buka	naianina	karai	jinkiau.
	Acc.1.pl	Acc.1.Decl	Acc.1.pl	Adv	imp I.sg
	us	bread	us	today	give

Give us today our bread

Note: the pronoun *naianina* is corrected in the 1880 Primer: Genitive form *naianani* and Dative form *naianingu* as is commonly used with the verb *jinkina*.

Die fünfte Bitte

Und vergib uns unsere Schuld, wie wir vergeben unsern Schuldigern.

[111]	Naianani	madlanxaia	woramai,	naiani	bokana
	Gen.1.pl	Gen.Adj	imp II.sg	Nom.1.pl	conj
	our	evil	throw(away)	we	also
	kana	uruja	anxani	namala - wapaia,	
	Acc.1.Decl	Adj	pres part	pres II	aux
	men	other	loving	are	
	naiani	wata	tiri	namananto.	
	Nom.1.pl	neg	Adv	opt	
	we	not	angry	in order to be	

Cast away our sin, (so that) we also loving others are and that we might not be angry (i.e. fighting).

Note: It is unclear why the optative form is not used in the second clause but rather pres II

Die sechste Bitte

Und führe uns nicht in Versuchung

[112]	Naianina	jundru	wirarilkamai	naiani	wata
	Acc.1.pl	Act.2.sg	imp II.sg	Nom.1.pl	neg
	us	you	guide	we	not

madlanxi	undrananto	ja	ankananto.
Acc.1.Decl	opt	conj	opt
evil	in order to think/believe	and	in order to do

(May) You guide us, so that we might not think evil (thoughts) nor do evil (deeds).

Note: *wirarilkana* give friendly guidance(Schok DD14C).

Die siebente Bitte

Sondern erlöse uns von dem Übel

[113]	Naianina	kulkamai	madlanxani	marapuni,
	Acc.1.pl	imp II.sg	Dat.1.Decl	Adj+postpos(Dat)
	us	protect	from evil/ sin	from many

naiani	palinanila,
Nom.1.pl	fut.cond
we	if will die

jundru	naianina	pariwilpani	maninanila
Act.2.sg	Acc.1.pl	Dat.1.Decl	fut.cond
you	us	to heaven	if will take

Protect us from many sins, (and) if we should die you would take us to heaven.

Note: *palinanila* and *maninanila* both appear to be forms which are given in the paradigm Future Conditional, which consists of the participle form + *-nila*: Schoknecht's Grammar however is unclear as to the status of the form, giving an alternate form participle + *-lia*.. The translation given for the example *nandrananila* is *wenn ich schlagen werde.*

Beschluß

Denn dein ist das Reich und die Kraft und die Herrlichkeit in Ewigkeit. Amen.

[114]	Jundru	pirna	namani,
	Act.2.sg	Adj	pres part
	You	great	being

jundru	parabarali	pirna	namani,
Act.2.sg	Adv	Adj(int)	pres part
You	strong	very	being
jundru	kulikiri	pirna	namani
Act.2.sg	Adj	Adj(int)	pres part
You	pure	very	being
ja	nurali	anxani.	
conj	Adv	pres part	
and	always	loving	

Amen.

You are great, You are very powerful, You are very pure (holy), and eternally loving. Amen.

Note: *parapara* compare the German *laut, kräftig; parabarali, parapueli* '*laut, kräftig*' loud or strong (Schok MS: 71)
kulikiri clean, also in moral sense (Schok DD6B). This term was taken for the translation of 'pure, holy.'

5.4 The Hymns: comparisons 1870 and 1880 versions

This section contains hymns and is much expanded in the primer of 1880 (pages 83-129). Several hymns are preserved, and I have noted these in each case. In several cases hymns have additional verses in the later version, and their authorship is unclear. These verses have not been included in this comparison.

Comparisons between the hymns of 1870 and those of 1880 reveal interesting modifications. Misprints are dealt with in the footnotes, whilst systematic orthographic reform is relatively minor and has not been specifically commented on. In some cases there has been significant recasting of material where the translation was perceived as particularly problematic and in need of revision. It is however unclear as to how much of such improvement was undertaken by Homann after the publication of the first primer and how much is attributable to the work of Meyer and Flierl.

1880 Hymn Groupings

It is also interesting that in the 1880 collection 15 groupings of hymns are introduced, the titles of each section formed along the same lines as the Catechism sections. The composite noun consists most often of present participle plus noun:

I Jesu wokarani-wima: Jesus arriving-song/s [1,2]
II Jesu kupa pantjini-wima: Jesus child creating-song/s (therefore birth of Christ songs) [3-6]
III Jesu ketjiketjini-ja palini-wima: Jesus suffering and dying song/s [7-10]
IV Jesu tepi terkakani-wima: Jesus returning to life[39](resurrection) songs [11]
V Jesu tarani-wima: Jesus flying[40] (ascension) song/s [12]
VI Jaolaia-wima: Holy Spirit's song/s(Songs of the Holy Spirit) [13]
VII Undrani-wima: believing (faith) song/s [14,15]
VIII Multibani-wima: baptising song/s [16]
IX Jesu palku-ja kumari-wima[41] : Jesus flesh and blood songs [17,18]
X Modlentjidikani-wima: evil (sin) saying songs (confession) [19,20]
XI. Tankubana-ja kalkaura-wima[42] : morning[43] and evening song/s [21-23]
XII Pepa-kupaia wima[44]: 'paper-children's'(school-children's) song/s [24-26]
XIII Duldrungani[45]-wima: dancing, i.e. rejoicing/celebration songs [27-32]
XIV Naria wima[46] : songs of dead (funeral songs) [33,34]
XV Tepi terkakani-wima: returning to life (resurrection) song/s [35]

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[39] note conflation of *tikana* return; *tarkana* stand; *tarkakana* stand up; as discussed [101]

[40] see *tarana* to fly; taranalu above, high (Schok DD13A)

[41] Here reflection of German usage of hyphenation: *Jesu palku-wima ja kumari-wima; ja* is not a declension but a conjunction

[42] see footnote 1.above

[43] see *tankubana* morning, tomorrow (Schok DD13A) neat correlation with German: *Morgen, morgen* (noun and adv)

[44] missing hyphen: *Pepa-kupaia-wima*

[45] not found in this form in Schok dictionary: perhaps *tuldrina* dance (Schok DD13C) and hence celebration songs

[46] missing hyphen: *Naria-wima*

5.5 *Pepa nadani* 'Paper at rear' (Last Paper)
Wimaia Pepa 'Paper of Songs'
Homann & Koch 1870: 25-31

Pepa	**Nadani**
Nom.1.Decl	postpos
paper	last/at rear

Wimaia	**pepa**
Gen.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl
of singing/song/s	paper

Hymn 1 is found in the 1880 primer as verse I & verse VIII (with significant recasting) of hymn 29, attributed to Missionary Homann (set to *Lobt Gott ihr Christen alle gleich*).

Malti	naiani	anana
Adj	Nom.1.pl	inf
cool, pleasant	we	be

Godaia	Jaurandru,
Gen.1.Decl	N+postpos
of God	word because of

Nulia	jinkila - ana[47]
Act.3.sg.m	fut aux
He	will give

Tepi	milingeru.
Acc.1.Decl	Adv
life	always[48]

We live in peace because of God's Word, He will give life eternally

Note: *malti* cool, pleasant (Schok DD7B) becomes the mission term for peaceful, in peace.
anana appears here in citation form instead of pres I: *anai*
-ndru because of (see Schok Gr:13)

Komanali	naianani
Nom.1.Decl	Gen.1.pl
friend	of us

---

[47] misprint *anai*

[48] Schok MS: 63 *immer*

Naianina	kulkai,	
Acc.1.pl	imp II.sg	
us	protects	
Naiani	kala	anxani
Nom.1.pl	Adv	pres part
we	in return	loving
Jidnana	Jesuai.	
Acc.2.sg	Voc.2.Decl	
you	O Jesus!	

Our friend protects us, we loving you in return O Jesus

Note: *anxani* may here be used to convey the conditional, 'if we love you in return'

Hymn 2 by W. Koch (set to original music): appears in 1880, as hymn 31

Naianani	komanali,	
Gen.1.pl	Nom.1.Decl	
of us	friend	
Naianangu	wolkaroli[49]	
Dat.1.pl	Adv	
for us	longing	
Jesu	jidni	anana.[50]
Nom.2.Decl	Nom.2.sg	inf
Jesus	you	to be

Our friend, you Jesus are earnestly loving us

Kana	jidni	panxinanti,
Acc.1.Decl	Nom.2.sg	past IV contr.
man	you	created long ago
Waru	jidni	wapananti,
Adv	Nom.2.sg	past IV contr
long ago	you	walked

Jera	pariwilpandru
Adv	N.+postpos
here	from heaven

---

[49] Schok MS:82: *wolkarali*: *sehnsüchtig liebend, Heimweh habend*

[50] citation form of verb was assumed to be the infinitive in early documents, but here it appears to be used more like the participle, as indeed it is according to modern description

You created man long ago.
You came down here from heaven long ago.

Nani	mumu	anananto,
Nom.1.sg	Adj	opt
I	good	in order to be
Ura[51]	nani	namananto,
Adv	Nom.1.sg	opt
always	I	in order to live, remain
Tepi	pariwilpani.	
Adv	Dat.1.Decl	
alive	in heaven	

O That I might be good and always live (remain alive) in heaven!

Note: the optative is also used to express wishes; the missionaries translated this mode with the verb *möchten* (see Schok Gr:12)

Jesu	jidni	palinanti,
Nom.2.Decl	Nom.2.sg	past IV contr
Jesus	you	died long ago
Madlanxali	nandrananti,	
Abl.2.Decl	past IV contr	
by Evil	struck long ago	
Natamura	Godaia.	
Nom.1.Decl	Gen.1.Decl	
son	of God	

Jesus, you died long ago, struck (down) by Evil, the son of God.

Jidna	nato	anxalapa,
Nom.2.sg	Act.1.sg	pres II contr
You	I	am loving
Nana	jundru	jinkilapa
Acc.1.sg	Act.2.sg	pres II contr
me	you	are giving
Tepi	pariwilpani[52]	
Acc.1.Decl	Dat.1.Decl	
life	in heaven	

---

[51] misprint for *nura* always: in the 1880 primer we find *ngura*

[52] *pari wilpani* printed as separate words to reflect emphasis on final three syllables

You I love, (to) me you give life in heaven.

Note: *anxana* and *jinkina* both appear here without the Dative object used hitherto

Hymn 3 by W. Koch (set to original music) appears in 1880 as hymn 2, and it has 5 extra verses in this version. It is still attributed to W. Koch.

Nato	jidnana	nurali	anxai,
Act.1.sg	Acc.2.sg	Adv	pres I
I	you	always	love

Pankina	nani	jinkangu	namai,
citation form	Nom.1.sg	Dat.2.sg	pres I
believing, trusting	I	to you	am

Tidni[53]	nakangu	nura	jurai,
Nom.2.sg	Dat.1.sg	Adv	pres I
You	to/for me	always	love

Tidni[54]	nakani	Jesu	anai.
Nom.2.sg	Gen.1.sg	Nom.2.Decl	pres I
You	my	Jesus	are

I always love you, I believe you, you always love me, you are my Jesus.

Note: *pankina* is used here with a Dative object as for *glauben*, and *vertrauen* in German.[55]
Jurana: wünschen, gern haben, lieben (Schok MS:54) 'wish (for), like, love'[56]
Furthermore note that *jurana* is used here with a Dative object as for *anxana* in early documents, although strangely enough not in the first line of this verse.

Tidnita[57]	kupa	pirnaia	Godaia,
Nom.2.sg	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	Gen.1.Decl
You	child	of great	of God

[53] misprint: *jidni* as in 1880 version, p.87

[54] misprint *jidni*: as in previous line

[55] see Schok MS: 70, which is ambiguous, the entry *pankina*, indicates an accusative object but an extra note indicates that also Dative can be used

[56] compare Schok DD4B 'wish, desire to possess'

[57] misprint *jidni*: as in1880 version, p.87

Nani	jinkangu	naxila - wapaia;	
Nom.1.sg	Dat.1.sg	pres II aux	
I	to you	am asking/praying	
Kulkau	nakaldra	nana	karai,
imp I.sg	Adv	Acc.1.sg	Adv
save,protect	again	me	today,now
Nani	jinkani	kupa	namai.
Nom.1.sg	Gen.2.sg	Nom.1.Decl	pres I
I	your	child	am

You are the child of (the) Great God, I am praying to you, protect me once more today, I am your child.

Note: *naxina* + Dat, which reflects refunctioning of this verb for mission term 'to pray to' (+ indirect object).

Hymn 4 appears in the 1880 primer as Hymn 23 (set to *Müde bin ich geh' zur Ruh*)

Maxa	nani	mokali,
(particle)	Nom.1.sg	Adv
already,very	I	sleepy
Moka	parala - anai,	
Acc.1.Decl	fut aux	
will (lie down/go to)sleep		
Godai	milki	jinkani[58]
Voc.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	Gen.2.sg
O God	eye/s	your
Nura	nakangu	namai.
Adv	Dat.1.sg	pres I
always	to/?on me	are

I am very sleepy, I will lay down to sleep, O God your eyes are always upon me.

Note: *maxa: wirklich, fertig* (Schok MS: 63). Gason (301) lists this word as *mutcha* 'enough, sufficient.' This word is used both as an intensifier and frequently in later mission translations for the German *schon* 'already.' *Moka parana* sleep (Schok DD8C) *parana* lie, sleep (Schok DD11B).

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[58] Not Genitive but rather Nominative used with inalienable possession, but especially in such phrases involving God we find many inconsistencies ; in the 1880 version *jinkani* is corrected to *jidni*

Madlanxi	nato[59]	karai,
Adj-Noun	Act.1.sg	Adv
Evil	I	today,

Nani	delkina -	warai,
Nom.1.sg	past I	aux
I	defied, disobeyed	

Jidnana	nato	naxai,
Acc.1.sg	Act.sg.1	pres I
me	I	ask, pray

Kulikiri	ankamai.
Adj	imp I.sg
clean	make!

I sinned today, I disobeyed (you). Make me pure I pray.

Komanali	nakani,
Nom.1.Decl	Gen.1.sg
friend	my

Aperi,	ja	andrini,
Nom.1.Decl	conj	Dat.1.Decl
Father	and	to mother

Kana - wara	marapu	
N. pl.	Adj	
men	many	

Jinkiau	moka	mumu.
imp I.sg	Acc.1.Decl	Adj
send!	sleep	good, beautiful

To my friends, Father and Mother, and to many men send good (?peaceful) sleep

Note: this verse is grammatically difficult. One must assume that as the verb *jinkina* is used with indirect object, the nouns *komanali* and *aperi*, should like *andrini* be marked for Dative case. *kana* remains undeclined as it is followed by the plural suffix *wara* (see Schok Gr:2)

Jundru	Anxanipirna,
Act.2.sg	pres part + Adj
You	Great Loving (one)

[59] The Active form, *nato*, here implies 'I do evil' rather than the intransitive *nani madlanxi* 'I am evil': this was altered in the 1880 version with the introduction of the verb *ankana* 'do' giving the mission verb 'to sin'

Nani[60]	amalkalapa,
Acc.1.sg	pres II contr
me	guard

Tinkawirti	amalkai,
N.+ postpos	pres I
during night	guard

Nato	jidnana	anxai.
Act.1.sg	Acc.2.sg	pres I
I	you	love.

You Great Loving One are watching over me, watch over me through the night, I love you.

Note: *tinka* night (Schok DD13C); *tinkawirti* during the night; *wirti* (postposition) equivalent to the German *entlang, lang* (Schok MS:81)

Hymn 5 appears in 1880 as Hymn 32 (set to *Weil ich Jesu Schäflein bin*)

"Anxamalianimai"
stem + recip + pl.-imp II
love one another!

Jesu	jeruja	jatai
Nom.2.Decl	Adv	pres I
Jesus	thus	speaks

Wata	tirimalina
neg	recip.inf
not	being angry with one another, fighting

Wata	kaldri	jatana
neg	Adj	inf
Do it not	bitter/salty	talking

"Anxamalianimai"
stem + recip + pl.-imp II
love one another!

Jesu	jeruja	jatai
Nom.2.Decl	Adv	pres I
Jesus	thus	speaks

Love one another! Thus speaks Jesus. Do not fight, do not argue. Love one another! Thus speaks Jesus.

[60] probable misprint for *nana* 'me' as appears in 1880 version

Note: *anxamalianimai*: *anxa* (verb stem) + *mali* (recip) + *ni* (pl.) + *-mai* (imp.II)
tirimalina lexicalised (Schok DD14A) fight; *tiri* angry (Schok DD13B) + *-mali* (recip) + *-na* (infinitive or citation form of verb)

"Anxamalianimai"
stem + recip + pl.-imp II
love one another!

Jesu	jeruja	jatai
Nom.2.Decl	Adv	pres I
Jesus	thus	speaks

Malti	namamalina
Adj	recip.inf
cool,pleasant	existing/living together

Mara - manju	anana
N - Adj	inf
kind/obliging	being

"Anxamalianimai"
stem + recip + pl.-imp II
love one another!

Jesu	jeruja	jatai
Nom.2.Decl	Adv	pres I
Jesus	thus	speaks

Love one another! Thus Jesus speaks. Living together in peace. Being kind. Love one another! Thus Jesus speaks.

Note: *malti* became the mission term for 'peace' it originally appears to have had the meanings 'cool, pleasant' whilst heat was associated with passion as in *nara topungana* 'to be angry'. Literally, the heart or lung burns (Schok DD10A): *topu* smoke (Schok DD13C); *malti ankana* is therefore 'make peace'.
anxana to love; however in the manuscript there is the added note: "*nicht unser lieben, nicht so allgemeiner Begriff*" [not our love, not such a general concept] (Schok MS:49) Interestingly Gason (296) gives this item as *aunchuna* 'caressing' and appears to use *yoorami* (Gason 1879:294) to love. *jurana* (Schok MS:54) *wünschen, gern haben, lieben* wish (for), like, love.
-malia suffix (see Schok Gr:9) is added to the stem of the primitive verb to form reciprocal "one another (dual and plural). Gason (293, 300) *mullana/ mulluna* According to Austin *-mali* is the reciprocal marker, and the imperative marker is *-ya* and this can be followed by a number marker; *-lu* for dual or *-ni* for plural addressees. An emphatic suffix *-mayi* may follow. ie. *anxa-* (stem),*-mali* (reciprocal), *-ya* (imperative), *-ni* (plural), *-mayi* (emphatic).

Hymn 6 appears in 1880 as Hymn 4 (set to *Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her*) The first 4 verses appear with small alterations, verse 5 has been omitted and the hymn has 11 new verses. It is still attributed to Missionary Homann.

6.
Angelaia Jaura.

"Metani pari wilpandru
Jurangu kana marapu,
Juranga mumu jatala,
Jura mulali ankala.

Karai kupa Godaia
Ninkidani wokarina,
Kana jerabaka anai,
Goda jerabuka namai.

Nulia anxanipirna,
Jurani kulkanipirna,
Muntali jura kulkala,
Jurani neji anala.

Nulia tepi maniai,
Nulia mula jinkiai,
Nulia anxani jurai,
Jura nunkani ankamai."

Figure 17: Hymn 6 (Homann & Koch 1870:30)

Angelaia	**Jaura**	
Gen.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	
Angel's	Word/s	
"Metani	pari wilpandru[61]	
Dat.1.Decl	N.+ postpos	
to Earth	from, out of heaven	
Jurangu	kana	marapu,
Dat.2.pl	Nom.1.Decl	Adj
to you	men	many
Juranga[62]	mumu	jatala,
Dat.2.pl	Adj	opt ss
to you	good	in order to speak

[61] *pariwilpandru* appears here as separate words for rhythm

[62] misprint *jurangu* as in 1880 version

Jura[63]	mulali	ankala.
Nom.2.pl	Adv	opt ss
you	happy	in order to make

To Earth down from heaven, to you many men (we come) in order to bring you glad tidings and joy.

marapu number, not a great many (Schok DD8A) comes to be used as the mission translation for *viele*. See too (Schok Gr:8) "Should the number exceed 10, they content themselves by saying; *marapu,* many".

Karai	kupa	Godaia
Adv	Nom.1.Decl	Gen.1.Decl
today	child	of God
Ninkidani	wokarina,	
Adv	inf	
there	arriving	
Kana	jerabaka	anai,
Nom1.Decl	Adv	pres I
man	like	is
Goda	jerabuka[64]	namai.
Nom.1.Decl	Adv	pres I
God	like	exists

Today the Child of God arrives yonder, (he) is both man and God.

Note: *ninkia, ninkida* 'here'(Schok Gr:8) and 'there, yonder'(Schok DD10B). This term appears under the category 'Demonstrative Adverbial correlatives' and suggests a location close by which may also be indicated by a gesture. The corresponding Interrogative is *wodaninki* 'where?'
jerabaka see primer translation [109] here appears as single word, as becomes standard in 1880 primer usage, but not with a Dative object as in later usage. See discussion of the verbs *anana, namana, nomana* under section 5.2.

Nulia	anxanipirna,
Act.3.sg.m	pres part+Adj
He	great loving one
Jurani	kulkanipirna,
Gen.2.pl	pres part+Adj
your	great saving, protecting one

[63] misprint *jurana* Acc.2.pl: same line found in 1880 version but in verse IV *Jurana murlali ankai*

[64] misprint *jerabaka*: *jeribaka* in 1880 version

Muntali	jura[65]	kulkala,
Adv	Nom.2.pl	opt ss
alone	you	in order to save

Jurani	neji	anala.
Gen.2.pl	Nom.1.Decl	opt ss
your	older brother	in order to be

He is the Great Loving One (God of Love?), your Great Saviour, that He might save you and be your (older) Brother.

Note: *muntali* alone (Schok DD9B) derived from *munta* 'self'i.e.'by him/herself' *Neji* older brother (Schok DD10B); Jesus was thus identified with authority and the protective role of older brother. This term became mission usage and is found in correspondence by indigenous members of the mission community for addressing members of the mission committee.

Nulia	tepi	maniai,
Act.3.sg.m	Acc.1.Decl	pres I
He	life	brings

Nulia	mula	jinkiai,
Act.3.sg.m	Acc.1.Decl	pres I
He	happiness	gives

Nulia	anxani	jurai,
Act.3.sg.m	pres.part	pres I
He	loving	loves

Jura[66]	nunkani	ankamai.
Nom.2.pl	Gen.3.sg.m	imp II.sg
you	his	make!

He brings life, He gives happiness, He desires to love. Make you His!

Note: *tepi* and *mula* are both primarily seen as adjectives but are used here as nouns, they exemplify the difficulty the missionaries had in assigning vocabulary to traditional European grammatical categories.

jurana and *anxana* are the two verbs used for 'love'
jurana (Schok MS:54): *wünschen, gern haben, lieben* and *anxana* (Schok MS:49) *lieben, auch : dafür halten als : nato ninaia aperi anxai; nicht unser lieben, nicht so allgemeiner Begriff* 'love, also: regard as: 'I love/regard him as father'; not *our* love, not such a general concept'

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[65] probable misprint: *jurana* Acc 2.pl: as in 1880 version. See also verse 1 of this hymn

[66] probable misprint *jurana* Acc.2.pl: as in verse 1 & 3 of this hymn

jurana, which Gason (1879:294) uses as his example of conjugation, as was common in Latin Grammar) is used for desire (to possess), want, like (very much) whilst *anxana* is taken by the missionaries for 'love.' They were however at pains to distinguish spiritual love from physical love, and the extra notes in the manuscript demonstrate this. It appears that *anxana* is preferenced over *jurana* . Both verbs (more commonly *anxana* in later texts such as the 'Antjalina letters') are used in conjunction with other verbs, in a manner very similar to *lieben* in German usage. Further ambiguity as to the original connotation of *anxana* is found in Gason's translation *aunchana* 'caressing' (1879:296).

The final imperative of this verse is problematic and was removed in the 1880 version.

Naiani	Jesuni	wapai,
Nom.1.pl	Dat.2.Decl	pres I
we	to Jesus	go
Naiani	Jesuni	undrai,
Nom.1.pl	Dat.2.Decl	pres I
we	in Jesus	believe
Naiani	kala	anxani
Nom.1.pl	Adv	pres part
we	in return	loving
Jesu	mumu	naianani.
Nom.2.Decl	Adj	Gen.1.pl
Jesus	good	our

We go to Jesus, we believe in Jesus, we reciprocate (his) love, our good Jesus.

Note: *kala anxana* reciprocate love (Schok DE25B); *kala* is later used with other verbs, notably *dakana* to write back, answer a letter.

Hymn 7 appears in 1880 as hymn 5 (set to *Nun singet und seid froh*). It is attributed to Missionary Homann.

Mulali	**wonkamai,**
Adv	imp II.sg
happily, joyously	sing!
Mulali	**jatamai:**
Adv	imp II.sg
happily, joyously	talk!

Make a joyous noise unto the Lord!

Naianani	Jesu
Gen.1.pl	Nom.2.Decl
our	Jesus

Ninkidani	namai,
Adv	pres I
there, yonder[67]	is

Naianani	Jesu
Gen.1.pl	Nom.2.Decl
our	Jesus

Naianana	kulkai,
Acc.1.pl	pres I
us	protects

Jesu	nakani,	Jesu	nakani.
Nom.2.Decl	Gen.1.sg	Nom.2.Decl	Gen.1.sg
Jesus	my	Jesus	my

Our Jesus is here, our Jesus protects us. My Jesus, my Jesus.

Watamura[68]	Godai[69]
Nom.1.Decl	Gen.1.Decl
Son	of God

Naianina	jurai,
Acc.1.pl	pres I
us	loves

Jinkangu	wolkarali
Dat.2.sg	Adv
to you	earnestly, longingly

Naiani	ninkia[70]
Nom.1.pl	Adv
we	here

Jinkangu	komanali
Dat.2.sg	Nom.1.Decl
to you	friend

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[67] See notes to Hymn 6,v.2 for *ninkidani*

[68] misprint *natamura*, as appears in 1880, *ngatamura*

[69] *Godaia*: final *a* omitted for rhyme

[70] misprint *ninkida*: as appears in 1880 version.

Naiani	anala
Nom.1.pl	opt ss
we	in order to be

Naiani	naxai,	naiani	naxai.
Nom.1.pl	pres I	Nom.1.pl	pres I
we	pray	we	pray

Son of God (who) loves us, to you longingly we (down) here, that we might be friends to you, we pray, we pray.

Note: rather difficult and unclear translation; see Flierl/Meyer alterations

Goda	anxanala
Nom.1.Decl	perf part
God	having loved

Kana	naianana,
Acc.1.Decl	Acc.1.pl
man/men	us

Nunkani	natamura
Gen.3.sg.m	Nom.1.Decl
his	son

Naianangu	jinkai,
Dat.1.pl	pres I
to us	sends

Naianani	nurtila
Gen.1.pl	Nom.1.Decl
our	dirt, sin

Nulia	kaliai
Act.3.sg.m	pres I
He	wipes away

Nunkani	pandrali,	nunkani	pandrali.
Gen.3.sg.m	Abl.1.Decl	Gen.3.sg.m	Abl.1.Decl
his	by blood	his	by blood

God having loved us men, sends his Son to us, (and) wipes away our Sin by His blood by His blood.

Note: *nurtila* dirt (Schok DD10C) see too *nurti nurti* dirt (Schok DD10B). The German translation is *Schmutz* and this term is adapted for the concept of 'sin'.
kalina to obliterate a sign or track (Schok DD4C).
pandra 1. 'soft, juicy' 2. 'juice, blood, cooked meat'. It appears that this word was inappropriate and it is accordingly changed in the Meyer/Flierl version to *kumari* blood (Schok DD6C). This word may have been initially avoided due to

associations with menstruation and *kumana* 'obscene dance by women and girls'(Schok DD6C).

Woderi	namani,
interrog	pres part
where,whither	being

Nurali	wonkani,
Adv	pres part
always	singing

Angalwora	ja	kana
N.+pl	conj	Nom.1.Decl
angels	and	man/men

Godaia	nurala.
Gen.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl
of God	family

Goda	nunkani	kupa
Nom.1.Decl	Gen.3.sg.m	Nom.1.Decl
God	his	child/ren

Nura	manilapa?
Adv	pres II contr
ever	is fetching

Pari	wilpani[71]	Pari	wilpani.
Dat.1.Decl		Dat.1.Decl	
in heaven		in heaven	

Where (are) hosts of angels and men of God's family existing, eternally singing, (and) God ever fetching his children? In heaven, in heaven.

Note: *angalwora* the plural ending is most likely used here to convey 'a great number' i.e.'a host of angels.'
The Meyer/Flierl version introduces an optative, and also corrects the case of *Goda* to the Active *Godali* in this verse: *Godali maninananto Kupa warupoto* 'so that God might fetch all his children.'

[71] *pariwilpani* printed separately for emphasis, is printed as one word in 1880 version.

5.6 Salient features of the initial language work

How and why the missionaries recast the Dieri language

i) The Hermannsburg Missionaries entered upon philological work with the aim of learning the language in order to create a suitable medium for spreading Christian teaching.

ii) The mission area was multilingual; they chose Dieri as the most suitable idiom, as it was that of their particular area and was understood and spoken to some extent by the neighbouring tribes. It became the mission lingua franca, by which I do not infer that it was a fully functional language, but rather one built upon simplified interlingual communication patterns and subsequently refashioned to cover semantic areas relevant to mission station life.

iii) The missionaries standardised Dieri along European phonological and classical grammatical lines in order to facilitate learning the language themselves. There was also an aspect of standardisation which related to contemporary concepts of rehabilitation of the language, which was seen as a degenerate or corrupted form of an original or classical form, in order to make the idiom into an appropriate vehicle for the Gospel. This version was propagated in the school.

In phonological terms sounds were standardised to conform with the five European vowels and two dipthongs, as identified at the beginning of the 1870 primer, and syllables were practised by chanting in the classroom, as a precursor to reading authentic Dieri words. Of the adults we read:

> Some letters [sounds] are almost impossible for them to pronounce, others they are only able to produce with the greatest distortion of their faces.[72]

iv) The fact that the missionaries were compelled to commence using the

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[72] KMB 8/1868:80 'Einige Buchstaben sind ihnen unmöglich auszusprechen, andere bringen sie nur unter Verzerrung der Gesichter heraus...'

language before they were competent,[73] meant simplistic and erroneous versions may have become enshrined in script forms and propagated through the church and school.

Homann frequently complained of the lewd jokes that the children came up with 'given the least linguistic slip![74] 'Yet for all the childishness of our young people, a terrible depravity (*Versunkenheit*) is also noticeable, so that we must speak very carefully and must be ever vigilant in order to defend against immoral talk and deeds.'[75] In a letter dated June 1868, he gave a telling description of the linguistic difficulties of evangelization:

> I stammered to them as best I could, that today far away many, many of their friends were gathered and were speaking to the Great Father and Jesus, that to them, the *Körna* [native men], good [things] might happen, that their death might one day become but sleep. Then Br. Koch spoke to them, as Jesus said unto us, go to the *Körna* and speak, that Jesus wants to give good things to you etc. However they understood very little in this way. They accepted only that they were given this food from 'up there' and enjoyed it very much. May the Lord grant us over the year, that we serve our poor people with spiritual nourishment too.[76]

Clearly the missionaries commenced preaching using short carefully constructed texts, even so the danger was ever present that they would err and give rise to

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[73] Eylmann (1908:476) describing a Sunday on Hermannsburg station (Finke) approx.1897: 'After the service the gravity of the church-goers is suddenly gone. As soon as they reach the open air they make jokes amidst loud laughter, at the linguistic-errors, which Missionary Strehlow had committed. I would like to take this opportunity to emphasise the folly that the missionaries commit, when they presume, even after a relatively short time of residence in a foreign land, to preach in the language of their flock. It is then unavoidable that they make error upon error and as a result may move their audience to laughter, but do not make the least impression on their hearts.'[my translation]

[74] HMB 2/1869:31: Homann letter 23rd November 1868: 'Der Unterricht aus Gottes Wort muss sehr sorgfältig sein, denn wo man kaum es ahnt, haben die jungen Kinderseelen gleich schmutzige Gedanken, die sie schamlos unter sich spöttelnd aussprechen.'

[75] Homann to Dear Mr Pastor [Theodor Harms], Killalpaninna, 26/10/1868. Held in HA

[76] HMB 9/1868:179 Homann:'Ich stammelte ihnen so gut es gehen wollte vor, dass heute weit weg viele, viele ihrer Freunde versammelt wären und sprächen zum grossen Vater und Jesus, dass ihnen, den Körna Gutes geschehen möge, dass auch aus ihrem Sterben mal sollte ein Schlaf werden. Dann sprach Br.Koch zu ihnen, wie Jesus zu uns gesagt: geht zu den Koerna und sprecht, dass Jesus Euch Gutes geben will u.s.w. Doch nur wenig haben sie in dieser Weise verstanden, nur dass ihnen von oben diese Speisen gegeben wurde, liessen sie sich gefallen und auch bescheiden gut schmecken. Möchte doch der Herr uns übers Jahr es schenken, dass wir unserem armen Volk geistlich zu Tische dienten [...]'

misinterpretation or worse, ridicule; 'even a word used in the wrong position in the sentence can give rise to an opposite meaning.'[77]

v) From the outset children were important language informants. The adults were less open to influence by the mission, and were to some extent excluded by the creation of many new terms in the language. These had to be inculcated in the school before the missionaries could be certain they were understood. Homann wrote:

> To the others [the Camp] I explain as best I can something of God's word, but to this still belongs much that one cannot make comprehensible in the language of the Elders. [...] we must 'feel out'/intuit and form the words for this during instruction of the children, so that we might not introduce stupid or even diabolical instead of divine [concepts] into the language.[78]

The ramifications of this situation were several:

The missionaries disrupted traditional modes of linguistic transmission/socialization and effectively split the language community between Mission Dieri and traditional usage. Homann wrote on 15th March 1869:

> Even now, whenever I exhort the natives to come to the schoolhouse on Sundays to hear God's word, only perhaps eight or ten adults do so, the others are much too indifferent and already know how to make fun of it in the most frivolous manner.[79]

The missionaries were in all likelihood not learning a full idiomatic form, but rather a non-specialized form, ie. selecting one idiolect from the language community, and intentionally or otherwise excluding others, such as speech styles

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[77] HMB 11/1868: 214

[78] Letter 26/10/1868 'an den lieben Herrn Pastor'[likely Th.Harms] held in HA 'Den anderen sage ich hie und da so gut ich kann etwas aus Gottes Wort, aber zu letzterem gehört noch vieles was man in der Sprache der Alten nicht recht verständlich machen kann. Das ist auch der Grund weshalb wir noch immer nicht mit der Übersetzung des kl. Katechismus anfangen, die Worte dazu müssen wir beim Unterricht der Kinder herausfühlen und bilden um nicht thörichtes oder gar diabolisches statt Göttliches in die Sprache einzuführen.'

[79] HMB 6/1869:98 'Schon jetzt, wenn ich Sonntags die Eingebornen auffordere in die Schulhütte zu kommen, um Gottes Wort zu hören, kommen doch nur von Allen vielleicht acht oder zehn Erwachsene, die andern sind viel zu gleichgültig und verstehen jetzt schon lustig und liederlich darüber zu scherzen.'

reserved for the initiated. Child's language has been dealt with extensively in linguistic literature as a source of analogic change, that is the reduction of irregular forms by analogy (Bloomfield: 1935, and more recently by Sankoff:1986) This process was of course compounded by the fact that children were from at least five different tribal groupings.

vi) Complex grammatical structures are often indicators of cultural and environmental integration and specialised language functions and are therefore characteristically lost in language decline. Such structures may be imperfectly socialized due to generational language shift, and obsolescence is thus driven by cultural and lifestyle changes.[80]

vii) The missionaries also intentionally avoided certain semantic areas and proliferated synthetic or adapted vocabulary in others (Christian/abstract terminology). In translation the early missionaries used fairly simple and often exaggerated concepts repeatedly: a reduction in the Lutheran teaching and a polarisation in terminology becomes apparent which is usually attributed to the lack of understanding of abstract concepts on the part of the Dieri rather than to the limitations of their own language knowledge:

> Where the words are missing, as for example *sin*, there the word is made bad, very bad, dirty, disobedient and the like. Words must do. For the word *holy, good* must be said, and in addition *pure, obedient* and the like, as strongly as one can make it.[81]

That these concepts were by no means unambiguous, is demonstrated in several

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[80] See Stephen Wurm (1992:145) on noun classes in Ayiwo and the differing ways different cultures organize semantic categories. Wurm cites Kamilaroi: 'The Kamilaroi culture disintegrated rapidly following European contact and the language headed towards extinction. The last fluent speakers of Kamilaroi were interviewed and recorded over thirty years ago, largely by the present writer, and it was found that much of this special tense system [related to the movement of the sun] which had been described by interested persons almost a century ago, had disappeared from the language. These last speakers of the language were very old men who had no longer been hunting animals for many years, and the elaborate tense distinctions relating to animal behavior were no longer culturally significant for them. They had thus ceased to be part of their daily language and had been forgotten.'

[81] HMB 11/1869:234 Homann: 'Wo die Worte fehlen, als z.B. Sünde, da wird das Wort schlecht, sehr schlecht gemacht, schmutzig, ungehorsam u.dgl. Wörter müssen helfen. Für das Wort heilig muss gut gesagt werden und dazu rein, gehorsam u. dgl., so stark man es machen kann. Die fröhliche Botschaft vom Heil und Heiland muss man ihnen erzählen wie kleinen Kindern, und überhaupt muss man recht platt, schlicht und kindlich sein, es sind keine klugen Athener und keine gelehrten Hindu, sondern sehr grobnatürliche Leute.'

anecdotes, notably the difficulty in making hell as unattractive as possible, since *fire* for the Dieri meant something more like comfort from the cold![82]

viii) In the mission school, children were taught reading and writing as vehicles for religious instruction. As evidenced in the structure of the primer, work progressed from the simplest to the more complex structures according to the classical Greek model;[83] from the letters to the sounds, from one to two syllable words and gradually to sentences and texts, whereby the children would chorus first the sounds and later the words. Rote learning, stories and singing played a large role, utilising pre-existing mnemonic strategies of an oral-transmission based culture. The practice of singing and especially singing hymns with the school children in the camps, was often often feared by the *Alten* as some form of magic or weaving of spells on the part of the missionaries.[84]

ix) Finally, the missionaries propagated change by raising the prestige of Dieri compared with surrounding idioms, by conferring on it a standard written form and by fostering literacy within the mission community.

In a few short years the Hermannsburg missionaries had documented the Dieri language and developed a small literate group of Indigenous people, based around the school. The next Chapter will explore what became of the work and the nascent literate Christian community after their withdrawal.

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[82] See HMB 3/1869:45 'the *Körna* do not recognise any 'sin', and as long as we do not have this word, hell will not be hot and heaven will not be sweet for our *Körna*, hell is just a fireplace and heaven is a lovely fertile country, where there is much to be enjoyed/eaten, but nothing spiritual.'

[83] See Marrou (1956:150-53)

[84]HMB 2/1869:31 Homann reported a recent visit by himself and children from the mission school to sing to the 'Alten' in the camps: 'We squatted down infront of a hut and asked an old man: Shall we sing something to you? The answer was : I am scared. Nevertheless we sang, then on to another hut, and although there too another old man was frightened, we sang. Last Sunday I visited a distant native camp with the children. We sat ourselves down in the middle of the huts and started to sing, and when we were finished I struck up a conversation with the natives about the future of their souls, however they continually gave evasive answers, and finally they said: Why don't you go home. You can regularly hear these words, if you talk to them about the salvation of their souls.

CHAPTER 6
THE TRANSITIONAL YEARS

In the years following the withdrawal of Homann and up until the re-establishment of the mission at Lake Killalpaninna in early 1879, the Dieri mission had no firmly established centre, but was dependent on the activities of Missionary Carl Schoknecht and the colonists, Vogelsang and Jacob, who provided Christian support alongside their primary task of tending the mission livestock on the outstations.

Having almost been abandoned, mission work among the Dieri was continued after the synodal split of 1875, whereby the colonists and the newly-formed Immanuel synod resolved to remain and work among the people of the Cooper whilst the Hermannsburger and the ELSA opted to make a fresh attempt in the Macdonnell Ranges.

From 1875 - 1879 teacher and Missionary C.A. Meyer worked from Bucaltaninna where he was also responsible for maintaining the mail service, and from May 1879 until 1885 Meyer continued service alongside Missionary Flierl (I) at Lake Killalpaninna, then renamed *Bethesda*.

The main sources of information for this period include the mission reports as published in the local mission journal, the *Deutsche Kirchen- und Missions-Zeitung*, the Mission Committee Minutes, and the unpublished diary of Missionary C.A. Meyer. Together such sources provide valuable insights into the following areas:

- The state and location of the mission and its school.
- Demographic observations and contemporary references on the composition of the mission community and participants in instruction.
- The nature of such instruction.
- English and Dieri usage on the mission.

A major justification for detailed examination this period of mission language work is in order to redress the perception of Missionary Flierl as the father of mission orthography which has persisted through to contemporary work on the Dieri language. Following Scherer's lead I have sought to examine 'new' sources and reapportion credit for this work also to Missionary Meyer and literate members of the Indigenous mission congregation, including Johannes Pingilina. Scherer wrote:

> Much has been written in the publications of the Lutheran Church in praise of Missionary John Flierl[...] At the same time, perhaps through missing evidence, it could be said that insufficient attention has been paid to the work of his fellow-missionaries, especially that of C.A.Meyer...[1]

The Meyer/Flierl years at Bethesda (1878-85) were indeed characterised by productivity in the face of adversity and not least by the very considerable amount of Dieri materials produced. Both *Christianeli Ngujangujara--Pepa. Dieri Jaurani. Pepaia Buru Kulnolu* (1880) and *Wonini-Pepa Dieri-Jaurani Worapala. First Reading-Book in the Dieri Language* (1883) represent significant expansions on the material of the Hermannsburger years (1867-73).

During this period mission orthography was simplified and standardised; notably the digraph *ng* was introduced for word initial velar nasal and in place of variations such as *h* and word initial vowels. In addition the digraph *tj* was introduced in place of *χ* of the Hermannsburg documents, however there was no major retranscription of vocabulary. It is also not attested to what degree such changes were carried out by Homann after the appearance of the first primer and in response to printing constraints, as opposed to representing linguistic reform by Meyer and Flierl. Further I would argue that the grammatical system as recorded by Koch and Homann was not subject to any major revision but rather taken as a legacy and applied in the construction of mission translations. In each case included here the early grammar and wordlists can be used adequately to analyse and translate language samples of the 1880's, and over the years I would argue that a systematic method based on word-equivalences made both for ease of

[1] P.A. Scherer (1966:304) 'Looking back on a Hundred Years Bethesda Mission' Pt II

translation and facilitated acquisition of Dieri for school and Church purposes by newcomers to the mission.

Given the paucity of direct reference to the language work it is clear that such work was not viewed as an academic task, nor was authorship a central concern. The Missionaries viewed the learning of Dieri and the work of translating as an essential part of their primary duty to bring the Gospel to the people of the region.

The final years of the Hermannsburg-Dieri mission (1871-73)

Due to water shortage and the death of Wilhelm Koch, mission activities had probably wound down some time before October 1871, when Frau Homann and three of her children had left the station in order to accompany her eldest son to Port Adelaide. By December, with water shortage critical, the entire personnel of the mission station had withdrawn to Mundowdna, an English cattle station approximately 100 miles to the South. Missionary Homann apparently departed for Adelaide on 21st December, the same day that Missionary Schoknecht had arrived at The Gums, just south of Mundowdna. Homann was sent back to the mission to attempt to find a water supply but Homann had departed Mundowdna again by mid-February 1872, leaving Schoknecht and a colonist, Wotzke, to proceed to the mission site. By mid-March the well-digger and also Vogelsang and Wotzke had travelled South again, leaving Schoknecht and Jacob behind. The mission was in crisis, its funds were depleted, its personnel dispersed and 'there was a ferment of discordance in the congregations.'[2]

At this time the relocation of mission work was discussed and Missionary Homann, accompanied by Brother Dohnt, was sent to investigate Yorke Peninsula (4th-15th June, 1872). This was said to be one of the few areas where significant numbers of Aborigines could still be encountered. Meanwhile Wotzke and Vogelsang had reaffirmed their commitment to the Dieri mission despite the obvious difficulties and were again sent North to meet up with Jacob in Port Augusta and return to the mission site for shearing time.

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[2] *Missionsacta*: 167

Homann reported in June that Yorke Peninsula would provide no suitable site for mission work; they had only encountered some 40 [Aborigines] and they stated that these were under the influence of a mission established by the Moravian Brethren (Point Pearce).

Homann and Dohnt were subsequently sent on a 2-week trip to investigate the Murray River, however this too proved fruitless; 'in all the areas traversed by them, they found only six aborigines in the border districts of the three colonies. When they made inquiries of the white people, they were informed that there were only about 100 aborigines scattered along the Murray to its mouth, that these few were under the influence of the English Station at Point Macleay on Lake Alexandrina, and that no children were being born any more etc.'[3]

At the Mission General Convention of July 1872, Homann was censured for his lack of commitment to the mission and for disregarding the authority of the mission committee. Homann 'urgently begged the Convention to release him from service to the mission,'[4] a request which although initially granted was rescinded at the General Convention in Grünberg in September 1872 by the newly elected Mission Committee. At this time the role of the colonists in the future of the mission was also in great doubt, and it was pointed out that unmarried missionaries would be more appropriate in future work. Schoknecht had remained at Mundowadana and was placed in charge of the mission in August 1872.

Meanwhile the relationship between the mission committee in Australia and Theodor Harms in Germany had become distictly cool and confusions abound in the correspondence. In a letter to Hensel, dated 1st November 1872 Harms sanctioned Homann's resignation and recalled Schoknecht. He furthermore gave Homann and Schoknecht the right to take up positions as Pastors until such a time

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[3] *Missionsacta*: 171

[4] *Missionsacta*: 172

as he might call them to overseas fields.[5] The Mission Committee entreated Schoknecht to stay put until the situation could be clarified.

Regarding the location of the mission further difficulties arose; having secured three additional grazing areas from the Government each of some 40 square miles at Dulkaninna, Tankimarina and Itadinna (Etadunna), Lake Tankimarina was chosen as a good location for a base on Jacob's advice, and in February 1873 a stonemason was sent to build tanks for the station water supply. However it soon became apparent that there was confusion over the Tankimarina site, and that it instead belonged to the Mundowdna lease. After unsuccessful negotiations with the leaseholders, the Mission Committee begged Schoknecht to persevere and instructed to have the stonemason build a hut and tank at Bucaltaninna instead, even though it was clear that this was not a suitable site to permanently re-establish the station. It was now June 1873.

At the mission committee meeting of July, an open letter was drafted for printing and circulation to every pastor of the synods and undersigned by Präses Oster. It outlined the impasse that mission work had reached: 'the actual work of our Australian mission had been at a standstill for almost two years now... We have not been able to re-occupy the abandoned stations, Killalpaninna and Kopramana.' Despite Harms' recall, Schoknecht, who had chosen to attempt re-establishment of the mission at Tankamarina, but when this failed he was not prepared to assume responsibility for establishing another new station at Bucaltaninna which, in his words, was a lonely frontier post with hostile native tribes. Furthermore it was noted that 'the Committee has no call merely to raise stock under the pretext of conducting mission' and could not continue without a properly ordained missionary. Finally, the letter concluded, 'a significant number of delegates considers the present state a waste of time and money, and that active participation has diminished considerably.' The question was put to the congregations: should mission property and livestock be sold up and divided

[5] *Missionsacta*: 183

among synods according to payments made, and should the Colonists be dismissed?[6]

The General Convention of August 1873 resolved to continue the mission on a provisional basis, and to transfer the direction and mission property, at the three locations Killalpaninna, Mundowdna and Bucaltaninna, to Director Harms. At the end of 1873 the government recalled the police, stationed at Cooraninna [Cooryanna] who had acted as postmasters for the mission. Schoknecht, who had left Bucaltaninna in October and travelled South to meet his fiancee from Germany, reported to the committee in December. It soon became clear that Schoknecht would not be returning to the mission with his new wife:

> ...after manifold experiences during the two years of my stay among the aborigines in the North, I am convinced that under the difficult conditions obtaining hitherto and again prevailing at present, I am unable to do any real or even blessed mission work, because there is not only no prospect of success, but above all we have no one definite place, which would be necessary for enduring work...[7]

6.1 Missionary Schoknecht and language work

Schoknecht had remained mostly at Mundowadana [Mundowdna] until July 1872, where he boarded with the station manager Debney. At this time he was fully expecting the mission to be wound up, given the lack of success encountered in finding a water supply. Under such uncertain conditions no actual mission work and little study was possible:

> In regard to your question of how I keep busy, the answer is: sometimes I am a pastor and have to preach and baptise etc, sometimes I am a smith who has to shoe horses etc, then at others I drive wagons and lie around on the country roads, or I sit for days on a horse, so that the last time I came back I had weeping sores, and therefore could not sit, walk or sleep for eight days. Now it is better again. The rest of the time I use, as far as that is possible, reading English or German, but most of my books remain down South, [as they have done] for over a year now, in sealed crates. And that is probably the safest place for them, for study in such a situation as this is impossible.

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[6] *Missionsacta*: 196-198

[7] *Missionsacta*: 207

> In this situation, if such does not change soon, I am certain sooner to become a bush teamster than [take up] the profession for which I have been sent.[8]

In a June letter to Harms, Schoknecht reported that he had of late been left alone at Mundowadana and had attempted to use the time to do some study, presumably of the language, however he conceded 'the actual mission work lays idle for the time being [...], I do not have command of the language, for this there are too few natives here...'[9]

At this time too the station Mundowadana was for sale and Schoknecht suggested its purchase to the committee, however this was not considered, probably due to financial constraints. Schoknecht advised that just as many Aborigines came to the Mundowdna station as to the Lake Killalpaninna location, where none had been seen for some eight months. Failing the acquisition of a suitable and well-attended site he considered 'The last option would be if some bachelors like Br Jacob, living in tents, could roam about with the blacks, as circumstances demanded.'[10]

Schoknecht followed the colonists, who at the invitation of the police had moved stock closer to Cooraninna for security. Cooraninna had become a police-post when they too had withdrawn from Kopperamana, with the lease apparently subsequently taken up by one of the police, Cornu.[11] The state of inaction was however not relieved here and Meyer wrote to Harms in September:

> Nine months have gone by since my arrival here in the north, where my time, as you in part already know, was used up partly on trips, partly with the heathens, but mainly in Mundowadana through idle waiting. At the present, I am a herdsman who looks after cows and horses at the policestation. [...] we are still without a home and a roof over our heads. To

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[8] Carl Schoknecht to 'lieber Bruder' in Christo [Rechner] Mundawadana, 7/3/1872 held in LA. See translation in *Missionary Carl Schoknecht* henceforth MCS:55

[9] Schoknecht to Harms: Mundowadana, 3/6/1872: HMB 8/1872:171

[10] MCS:72

[11] Schoknecht to Rechner, Coorinina 8/3/1873 in MCS:97

> hold school classes or to do actual mission work under those conditions is not possible and hardly worth mentioning.[12]

Here at Cooraninna he spent some seven months until March 1873. It was however during this period of enforced waiting that Schoknecht evidently produced the manuscript dictionary (dated 10/1/1873), and possibly the grammar outline (undated). Clearly the acquisition of the language at this time was based on the transcription and study of the Homann/Koch's Dieri documents, possibly with the support of Vogelsang and Jacob and Aboriginal workers, but for the most part it seems that Carl was teaching himself the language from the existing documents which had been passed on to him. In February 1873, with improved prospects for the re-establishment of the mission, Schoknecht reported to Harms:

> I have advanced with my linguistic studies to the point where I am able to begin to hold church services and begin school classes for the Blacks, as soon as circumstances allow it. Up until now my activity was only occasional.[13]

Schoknecht now hoped that a new settlement could be established at Tankimarina, and that he would finally be able to commence mission work by May. Although the Lake was small and often dry for years at a time, the soil was not salty and he did not consider relocation of mission activities to be a great obstacle; 'usually there are not many Blacks here, [however] they will come from everywhere if plenty of food and tobacco is to be had.'[14]

Mrs Vogelsang was dispatched to return to the North to give housekeeping support to the mission personnel, and the committee was hopeful of once again receiving monthly reports of work with the heathen.[15] In March it appears that Meyer was starting some school work with people who had been working with the mission livestock.

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[12] Schoknecht to Harms, Cooranina 24/9/ 1872 in MCS:70

[13] Schoknecht to Harms, Cooranina 11/2/1873 in MCS:92

[14] Schoknecht to Harms, Cooraninna 11/2/1873 in MCS:91

[15] Oster to Schoknecht, 27/2/1873 in MCS:94

> Most of the Killal[paninna] Blacks will come in any case. About 12-14 have already come across today with our sheep. If only we had work and bread for hundreds of them then there would never be any lack of Blacks. I have started to give some instruction for some former school-pupils and non-pupils, however under the present circumstances I am in no way able to continue the same on a regular basis.[16]

From mid-March until May Schoknecht remained at Dulkaninna in the vicinity of Tankimarina, awaiting the return of Jacob and Vogelsang and a chance to finalise negotiations over Tankimarina, but by mid-May all hope of obtaining Tankimarina was dashed and with that all hope of 'proper mission work.'

The Committee then turned its attention once more to Bucaltaninna, and July saw the building of stockyards and housing there, however without Schoknecht's commitment to the new attempt. Schoknecht refused to again shoulder responsibility for the choice of a new site, and gave his preference to Lake Killalpaninna, if the long awaited flood would but arrive. In September he reported to Harms:

> ...it [Bucaltaninna] is a plain between sand dunes, which from time to time fills with water if there is enough rain. But the water often dries up, fodder for our herds is sparse, as is the timber. The main thing also is that it is no lasting dwelling-place for the blacks as it lies on the border between various, often hostile tribes and does not provide anything for their existence. In short, the place is not suitable for a Mission station.[17]

Nevertheless Schoknecht endured a little longer and reported that he had again attempted some mission work alongside the building and well-digging. His books, in transit and storage for three years, had finally been brought on from Mundowdna and for over a month he had been giving lessons to six children and also attempted services with the adults:

> ... I think that by learning, through teaching in the school, I can be put in the situation where I can preach to them more fluently. There are no books from which I could learn the language, and to start a conversation with the grown-ups, especially about religious things, where it would be possible to learn the proper expressions and phrases in their language, is impossible, as for the words God, Sin, Mercy, Salvation, Conversion, etc, also for

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[16] Schoknecht to Rechner, Coorinina 8/3/1873: my translation [see MCS:98]

[17] Schoknecht to Harms, Bucaltanina 22/9/1873 in MCS:122

> Thinking they have no words, so through teaching the children I hope to learn words or sayings expressing those words. Gratitude towards God and also toward man, and therefore any feeling of thankfulness, I venture to say, lies beyond the range of their language and feelings, and the only mood of a request is in the imperative.[18]

Despite this positive initiative, the letter closed with the suggestion to Harms that the Australian mission should not be allowed to draw further on Hermannsburg funds as it was an extremely costly and unrewarding enterprise as compared to mission in other countries such as Africa.

The Dieri mission of the years 1871 - 1873 was thus a diffuse and provisional entity with periods of little formal work, as it was clear that the choice of the Bucaltaninna site was not ideal but had been forced upon the Mission Committee by the pressures of circumstance. It was known that Bucaltaninna was situated on the borderlands of various tribes. According to Austin's language group boundaries (1981:7, see Figure 5) this probably referred to the Dieri, The Dhirari, the Yandruwandha and the Guyani. This was, however, not considered an obstacle to conducting mission as the demographic scene had been disrupted and it was thought that the people could be attracted from various tribes and localities with the offer of food and work. These years were therefore a period of homogenisation and the mission was no longer strictly a Dieri mission in terms of community or locale.

The role of the mission record of the Dieri language was particularly important, given the disruption to the location and nature of mission activities in this period. The Homann/Koch language documents provided the basis upon which Schoknecht learned the Dieri language and made initial attempts to form a school with pupils who predominantly were ex-pupils of Homann or had been in work with Vogelsang and Jacob. These pupils were acquainted with primer texts and had the rudiments of reading, writing and spelling based on such materials.

A small undated handwritten document containing several translations and a number of catechism questions has been passed down through the Schoknecht

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[18] Schoknecht to Harms, Bucaltanina 22/9/1873 in MCS:123

family along with a copy of the 1880 primer, presented to Carl by the Mission Committee. The orthography of this document is consistent with the 1870 primer, and also with the first word-list and grammar. Each biblical passage is accompanied by a German translation giving an interesting insight into the way in which translations were done using a limited and closed system of word-equivalents as for the first primer translations treated earlier.

After the withdrawal of Schoknecht, the Dieri primer, grammar and word-list remained as a legacy for the resumption of work by Meyer.

6.2 The Dieri Mission in the balance (1874-5)

After the withdrawal of Schoknecht in 1873, the fate of the mission remained doubtful pending word from Theodor Harms and the location of a more suitable site for mission work. At this time it is likely that the Immanuel synod saw a repeat in history whereby missionaries were allowed to take up Pastor's positions with the ELSA as the Dresdner had done some 20 years before upon the curtailment of the first South Australian mission attempts.

Meanwhile Vogelsang and Jacob continued to press the Mission Committee for a commitment to the mission in the Cooper area. In June 1874 the Committee authorised the Colonists to take over authority for the mission station at Bucaltaninna and Kopperamana.[19] The rains of 1874 had again made prospects of establishing a central mission station more hopeful and there was thought that the flood might yet fill Lake Killalpaninna and make work there possible again for some 6-7 years.

Theodor Harms however had for some time preferred the option of abandoning the Cooper Creek area and Giles and Gosse's report of new areas to the North in the Macdonell Ranges provided the opportunity. Oster reported that an area of 200 square miles would be set aside as mission reserve, in an area with telegraph line, better climate and soil, a good well-travelled road and furthermore that

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[19] *Missionsacta*:214, Meeting 4/6/1874

'Aborigines exist there in large numbers and reveal greater intelligence than the tribes roaming about further down South.'[20]

At this time the decision of Hermann Vogelsang and Ernst Jacob to remain at the old mission sites was critical. In September 1874 Vogelsang requested to be discharged should the mission be transferred or should no Pastor be found to serve the old mission area.[21]

By the end of 1874 it was clear that the two mission synods would separate. In early 1875 there was considerable negotiation regarding the loyalties of the Colonists, with Heidenreich (Harms' newly appointed mission Superintendent) urging Vogelsang to stay at his post despite his wife's illness in order to protect Hermannsburg's interests. He was also offered the position of station master for his allegiance. Dorothea Vogelsang later died on the trip South (8th April 1875) and it appears that a major split between Vogelsang and Hermannsburg was cemented at this time.

Vogelsang and Jacob resolved to join the Immanuel synod[22] and a division of mission property was arranged.[23] The South Australian synod placed its share at the disposal of Director Harms and proceeded to establish Hermannsburg on the Finke River station, while the Immanuel synod 'happy to finally emerge from the involuntary inaction, which had been forced upon it by the South Australian synod'[24] retained the old sites and mission work among the Dieri.

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[20] *Missionsacta*: 222. Oster to Harms 12/8/1874

[21] *Missionsacta*: 225. Vogelsang to MC 7/9/1874

[22] *Missionsacta*: 227. Oster to Harms 19/5/1875

[23] *Missionsacta*: 227-8 Committee meeting 12/6/1875

[24] DKMZ 1875:38 '...froh, endlich aus dem unfreiwilligen, durch die Handlungsweise der Missionare und der südaustralischen Synode auch ihr aufgezwungenen Nichtsthunkönnen herauszukommen'

The initial Meyer years at Bucaltaninna

The Immanuel synod met on 17th May 1875 to elect a new committee and to consider the resumption of mission work at the old sites. This meeting was addressed by Hermann Vogelsang who also examined an Aborigine in reading and singing. Artistic articles made by people of the Cooper area were displayed to the committee in order to give proof 'that the Aborigines were not as uncultured and unsusceptible as they had at times been described.'[25] This was an allusion to the pessimistic portrayals of Homann's final years.

Under the Immanuel synod several aspects of the running of the station were changed, specifically external affairs were placed under the authority of the Colonists who were also to be paid a wage (15 pounds p.a.) for their work. Furthermore a Commission, including Rechner and Graetz, was organised to personally inspect the mission site in August that year, in order to ensure that the Mission Committee had a thorough understanding of the situation and its difficulties, which it had lacked in the past.

Whilst seeking a missionary via calls to Neuendettelsau and Leipzig, a teacher was urgently sought. At the first meeting of the new Mission Committee it was decided that this person must be fluent in English in order to take over duties of Postmaster and of furnishing monthly ration reports to the Government,[26] both of which had hitherto been done by the Missionary (and of late by Vogelsang). The issue of establishing a school on the mission lease as quickly as possible was a response to Government wishes in this regard and the danger of losing mission leases if such work was allowed to lapse for too long. In the meantime the Colonists were requested 'to do whatever they could to give the Aborigines at the station some school instruction.'[27] Once again I would point out that it was not a matter of having a ready-made congregation or school population from any single tribe awaiting instruction.

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[25] *Missionsacta*: 15. Gen. Meeting Immanuel Synod 17/5/1875

[26] ibid: 19

[27] ibid: 17

Carl Meyer had placed himself at the disposal of the Mission Committee as mission teacher and had been accepted at the General Convention of Immanuel synod in June 1874. It was arranged that he would journey from Pt Augusta to the mission field with Vogelsang in July. He was to be paid a wage of 25 pounds plus provisions and his main task was described as 'to look after the spiritual welfare of the Aborigines to the best of his judgement and to teach them English.'[28]

It was thus a time of specialisation of duties with the intent of allowing the day-to-day running of the mission station to proceed independently of the missionary who would be able to direct his efforts to the spiritual care of the community. The introduction of a teacher in charge of English literacy tasks (including Government reports and business correspondence) and formally teaching English to the mission school children, also meant specialisation and diversification of mission language policy.

Arrivals and gathering the community

Meyer reported that on the way back North they were already attempting to contact people to accompany them back to the mission; former pupils were sought to form the nucleus of the new mission community. Through Pingibana (also referred to as Pingilina) the mission party contacted people at various stations along the route as far South as Leigh Creek. The immediate neighbours of the mission at Lake Killalpaninna were described by Meyer in 1880 as a cattle station owned by Crozier to the South, to the East Naylon's station, to the North Debney's sheep station and to the West White's sheep station.[29] The mission community of Homann's years had dispersed and many of those who had previously received instruction were now in work with pastoral stations. Indeed these stations continued to exert an attraction drawing people away from the mission at periodic intervals. Here we already encounter a greater mobility of the Indigenous population than is addressed by discussions of traditional tribal boundaries.

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[28] *Missionsacta*: 23. Meeting 30/6/1875

[29] DKMZ 1880:35

> Pingibana travelled to Murtell Station about 6 miles away, where many Blacks up here live, in order to tell them that we were travelling up to the station. The result was, that presently a few Blacks arrived to convey their joy about our return and also a few of them declared themselves willing to come with us. Some were unable to accompany us immediately due to standing contracts, however we gained a 12 year old pupil there and then.[30]

In Mundowdna four further pupils joined the party, making a total of six including Pingibana. In Bucaltaninna another two joined whilst Meyer reported that pupils would soon number 18 when those who had promised to follow also arrived.[31]

Rechner and Graetz travelled to Bucaltaninna in August and held a Committee meeting with Jacob and Vogelsang and the Meyer party [32] with whom they had journeyed the last leg to Bucaltaninna. Rechner specifically mentioned his meetings with Homann's former pupils Pingibana, Idjana and also Macky.

> And what a pleasure it was as we ate our evening meal! [...] suddenly Pingibana sprang up and called out *"Kopperamana boy there"* – and in no time Itjana [...] came riding up to us [...]. He had to join our circle and his repast was placed before him; but, before he ate, he folded his hands and prayed, which brought tears to our eyes. And how happy was he, when he heard that Bro Meyer as *Kerni-Master* (teacher) would be coming up with us. [...] Of course it would be better if we had sites such as there are in Gippsland, or may be found in the Macdonald Ranges; but after all the dear Lord has placed this poor folk in such a desert; and since they are capable of redemption, we must indeed send the proper Bread after them into this desert too.[33]

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[30] DKMZ 1875:78, Meyer Bucaltaninna, 20/9/1875. 'Pingibana ging nach der Murtell Station, etwa 6 Meilen, wo viele Schwarzen von hier (oben) sich aufhalten, um ihnen zu sagen, daß wir hinaufgingen zur Station. Die Folge war, daß auch sogleich einige Schwarze ankamen, ihre Freude über unser Hinaufgehen kundzugeben, sowie auch einige sich bereit erklärten, gleich mitzugehen. Unsere Aufgabe war es nun, zu sehen, daß wir die Schüler, welche früher schon Unterricht genossen hatten, bewegten, wieder mitzugehen. Einige konnten wegen eingegangener Contracte nicht gleich mitkommen. Doch einen etwa 12 Jahr alten Schüler gewannen wir gleich.

[31] ibid

[32] His wife Emma and also his elderly mother who died 19/2/77 at Bucaltaninna.

[33] DKMZ 1875:67, Rechner travel report 25/8/75. 'Und welche Freude wurde uns, als wir Abendbrod gegessen![...] da springt Pingibana auf und ruft: "*Kopperamana boy there*" - und in wenigen Augenblicken kam Itjana[...] an uns herangeritten[...] Er mußte nun mit in den Kreis u. sein Abendbrod ward ihm vorgelegt; aber, ehe er aß, faltete er seine Hände und betete, wobei uns die Augen übergingen. Und wie freute er sich, als er hörte, daß Bruder Meyer als *Kerni-Master* (als Lehrer) mit hinauf käme.[...] Freilich wäre es ja besser wenn wir Plätze hätten wie in Gippsland sind, oder and der Macdonald Range gefunden werden mögen; aber diese armen Leute hat nun der liebe Gott in solche Wüste gestellt; und weil sie erlösungsfähig sind, so müssen wir ihnen doch auch in die Wüste das rechte Brod nachsenden.'

Indeed the impressions left by this visit were very important not only for the Mission Committee members themselves and their mission personnel but also for several Indigenous people who later formed the core of the mission community, and later corresponded with members of the committee.

The Commission inspected Bucaltaninna, the store built by Kassebaum, and Vogelsang's house which had been burnt down in his absence. Only 16 Aborigines were present at the time, four of whom were employed by the mission and 12 who frequented the site and returned to their camp at night.[34] In addition they also visited Kopperamana and later the deserted station on Lake Killalpaninna where they visited Koch's grave and wondered at the buildings which the missionaries and workers of that time had managed to erect. Finally however the choice of Bucaltaninna as mission site was reaffirmed.[35]

The School: English literacy and rations

At the beginning of October only weeks after arrival, Meyer reported that he had already commenced instructing the schoolchildren in spelling aloud and writing, and that he was much impressed by their willingness to learn. Furthermore the interest in literacy was not confined to the children, and Meyer reported the disappointment of the older workers when they were unable to participate in the school.[36]

> The number of children at the location already amounts to 11, and if those who have said they will also come, the number should rise to 24. However a great need has now become apparent for school materials, as I have *nothing* apart from a few ABC books which I purchased just in case in Pt Augusta. I took all that were to be had, which only amounted to three copies. There are only five slates here, but a great many writing pencils. I would therefore request that you send a few articles at the next available opportunity, as no tradesman can work without tools.[37]

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[34] DKMZ 18/1875:73, Rechner travel report

[35] DKMZ 19/1875:76, Rechner travel Report 6/9/1875

[36] DKMZ 1875:80, Meyer Bucaltaninna 2/10/1875. The anecdote mentions George who had also been in the employ of the Moravians 1867-69.

[37] ibid: 'Die Zahl der Kinder am Platze beläuft sich bereits auf 11, und sollten die angemeldeten noch kommen, dann wird die Zahl auf 24 steigen. Da zeigt sich nun aber ein großer Mangel an Schulsachen, denn ich habe "Nichts" außer einigen ABC Büchern, welche ich in Port Augusta

Meyer reported that several of the pupils had not forgotten their original schoolwork under Homann and he sent the committee samples of their handwriting as proof. He also acknowledged Hermann Vogelsang's great contribution in winning prospective pupils for the school[38] and accordingly the Mission committee now allowed him to assist Meyer in the school for an indefinite period.[39] Both Vogelsang and Jacob were now also officially encouraged to find wives in order to increase household support for the mission and provide instruction in such tasks for the women and girls.

Meyer and Vogelsang built a schoolroom so that lessons were no longer 'under the open sky.' This was a room of very modest proportions, some 12 feet square and only seven feet tall at its highest point and it served as schoolroom, dining room and dormitory for the pupils.[40] Despite all constraints Meyer was overjoyed at the rapid progress of his charges who now numbered 18, and also at the support he was receiving from the *Alten* in bringing the young people to the school:

> The old people are not ill-willed in any way, nor are they inclined to withdraw their children from our influence. Rather they are much happier when the younger people learn, and they do everything in their power to bring them here so that they can receive instruction. For example some older people went forth to fetch pupils, amongst whom there is a crippled child, who can barely walk, and whom they will be obliged to carry by turns on their shoulders even though the distance they have to travel back to here amounts to some 70 miles. Where, one may ask would there be in all of Christendom such people, who would willingly subject themselves to such trouble to bring other people's children to school?[41]

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noch zufällig gekauft habe, ich nahm den ganzen Rest, welcher sich auf drei Exemplare beläuft, Schiefertafeln sind nur fünf Stück hier, Schreibstifte hingegen in großer Anzahl, und ich möchte somit bitten bei nächster Gelegenheit einige Sachen zu schicken, denn kein Handwerker kann ohne Werkzeug arbeiten.'

[38] ibid: Nanibana was mentioned as a further ex-pupil of Homann, who produced samples of handwriting.

[39] *Missionsacta*: 27. Meeting 6/1/1876

[40] DKMZ 1876:93, Meyer 14/10/1876

[41] DKMZ 22/1875:87, Meyer Bucaltaninna, 31/10/1875. 'Die Alten sind nicht etwa gehässig, oder geneigt, ihre Kinder unserm Einfluß zu entziehen, sondern freuen sich vielmehr, wenn die Jüngeren was lernen, sie thun sogar alles mögliche die Jugend nach hier zu bringen, damit sie unterrichtet werden. Da sind zum Beispiel einige Alten fortgegangen, um Schüler zu holen, unter welchen auch ein Krüppel ist, welcher wenig oder gar nicht gehen kann, wo sie nun genöthigt sein werden, ihn abwechselnd auf ihren Schultern zu tragen, und beträgt die Strecke, welche sie zu reisen haben, ohngefähr einige 70 Meilen zurück, nach hierher. Wo? möchte man fragen, finden

Of course one can here observe that it was the young and from such examples as that of the crippled Henry Tipilina, also the sick who were brought to the mission, however it does seem that the attraction of an education, especially in English, was especially powerful in decisions to bring the young people to the mission. In due course however, it would emerge that the interpretation of such actions as a commitment to remain on the mission and in the school differed markedly between the missionary and his charges.

6.3 Growth of the mission community

By the end of 1875 there were some 90-100 Aboriginal people at Bucaltaninna and Meyer's school had grown to 27 pupils, with two others awaiting the arrival of clothing so that they might be admitted. Still others were apparently making their way to the mission. These people had been attracted from across the region; there were pupils at the school, and also people in the camp, who did not belong to the Dieri tribe. Meyer specifically mentioned 3 pupils from the Wonkaura tribe who offered to go to Salt Creek and bring back more pupils from their tribe, as they said there were plenty of children aged 6-8 years there.[42] Over time this drift was no doubt accelerated due to increasing pastoral encroachment and at times of hostility with neighbouring pastoral property owners.[43] It was also the beginning of a situation which became characteristic of the Meyer/Flierl years 1879-85, where the mission became home to a large floating population alongside a smaller, more stable school and Church based community.

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sich wohl in der Christenheit Leute, welche sich einer solchen Mühe unterziehen würden, um fremde Kinder zur Schule zu bringen?'

[42] DKMZ 1/1876:2, Meyer 26/12/1876

[43] *Missionsacta*: 31. Vogelsang to MC 25/3/1876 'Since Mr Lewis had banished all Aborigines off his land, these Aborigines would now proceed in great numbers to Kopperamana' and according to MC 25/7/1877 Minutes, Lewis had been prosecuted by the police in June for maltreatment of Aborigines.

English as language of instruction

Assisted by Hermann Vogelsang and his knowledge of Dieri in the school, which was used as a support language to clarify instruction in English, Meyer reported:

> The school is a colourful mixture, there are pupils here from 6 to 30 years of age; the majority are aged 12 to 16. There are 6 children aged between 6 and 12, 5 boys and a girl. In all there are now 8 girls in the school. The pupils are now starting to learn by heart short prayers, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments etc in English. And from the song *'Jesus loves me'* they can already sing one verse very prettily. A few of the older ones are also starting to spell, and in writing some of the former pupils [from Homann's time] are already quite advanced. Up until now I have had little time to practise the language of the natives, however I am already able to make myself tolerably understood with the Blacks.[44]

The older pupils including Pingibana and Idjana were able not only to recite The Lord's Prayer and several other prayers, despite ongoing difficulties with English pronunciation, but also to read and spell and write such materials in English.[45] Meyer also commented that singing of English hymns including *Come Boys, Come Girls* was especially popular and that the melodies were liked more than their own songs.[46]

The School and rations shortage

Despite such positive work in the school, 1876 was a year of shortage of resources both at the mission site and on the part of the Mission Committee. Due to a severe water shortage the mission sheep had to be driven from Kopperamana to Mungeranie with the aid of Aboriginal workers George, Macky and Tommy.[47] While Vogelsang was away with the flocks Meyer remained with the school and

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[44] DKMZ 22/1875:88, Meyer to Pastor Reusch, 13th November. 'Die Schule ist ein buntes Durcheinander, es sind Schüler hier von sechs Jahren bis zu 30 Jahren; die Mehrzahl steht im Alter von 12-16 Jahren. Von 6-12 Jahren sind 6 Kinder, 5 Knaben und ein Mädchen hier. Mädchen sind im Ganzen bis jetzt 8 in der Schule. Die Schüler fangen jetzt an kleine Gebete, das Vaterunser, die 10 Gebote usw in englischer Sprache auswendig zu lernen; von dem Liede: *"Jesus loves me"* können sie einen Vers schon recht nett singen; einige der älteren fangen auch an zu buchstabiren; im Schreiben sind einige vom früheren Unterricht her schon ziemlich weit. Bis jetzt hatte ich wenig Zeit, mich in der Sprache der Eingebornen zu üben, doch kann ich mich schon nothdürftig mit den Schwarzen verständigen.'

[45] DKMZ 24/1875:96, Meyer 29/11/1875

[46] DKMZ 1/1876:2, Meyer 26/12/1875

[47] DKMZ 1876:11, Meyer 24/1/1876

at this time was able to use Pingibana as an assistant.[48] Meanwhile some 120 people had gathered at Bucaltaninna, increasingly too older people were wanting to be accepted into the school, however government rations for the camp had been exhausted and the school rations were also running low.

The mission had been caught short by the rapid 'blossoming' of the community, the onset of the hot dry season and and the time lag in creating a stockpile of rations to meet this demand. Due to uncertainty over the future of the mission, only the bare minimum of provisions had been forwarded to Bucaltaninna, and at the withdrawal of the Hermannsburger government rations had also been lost for a time. Now Meyer was forced to dismiss a number of the pupils who were sent back to Salt Creek equipped with a small amount of flour tea and sugar for the journey.[49] At this time Rechner's good relations with George Fife Angas did much to assist the situation, and both Meyer and Vogelsang offered a portion of their annual salary to be paid into the mission fund. Funding was also sought by subscriptions and other initiatives such as the sale of mats made by the Aborigines.[50] Meanwhile the Immanuel synod was joined by the Victoria synod under Herlitz in support of the mission.[51]

6.4 The 'first fruit'

The drought continued throughout 1876, evidently forcing more people to Bucaltaninna, however due to shortage of rations Meyer could only continue the school on a reduced scale of some 5-8 pupils, whom he was particularly concerned to retain. One such pupil was Idjana, described as a very talented pupil

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[48] DKMZ 1876:12, Meyer 24/1/1876

[49] DKMZ 1876:29, Meyer report

[50] *Missionsacta*: 39. Meeting 31/8/1876. See too DKMZ 1876:29 mention of 35 mats sent down for sale via Jacob.

[51] Whilst leaving administrative affairs in the hands of the South Australian Mission Committee the Victorian synod was to be consulted over core issues such as the calling of missionaries and future shifting of site, and quarterly reports were published in the *Christenbote*.

who was given additional evening-instruction in the hope that he would soon be able to assist Meyer in the school and become 'the first fruit of the mission.'

> This young person recently volunteered to me that he had especially of late reflected on his condition and was not at all pleased with the same. The life and activities of the natives was repugnant to him, he would much rather learn as much as possible, in order that he might if possible soon teach the Blacks himself. To my question whether his only concern was to gather much knowledge, he answered that he also wanted the Blacks to come to know the Lord Jesus, whom he also loved, because He had such a good *Jaura* or talk.[52]

Another of Homann's ex-pupils, Pingibana received additional instruction as an exemplary student being groomed to assist in the school. He was later among the first group baptised in 1879 and travelled to Queensland with Meyer in 1886 to become the first Dieri Evangelist.

At this time too Meyer introduced small services for the school-pupils and others including Aboriginal workers at Bucaltaninna; they sang hymns together, Meyer customarily led prayers and then Idjana recited the Lord's Prayer. Interestingly these services were conducted in Dieri and apparently represented the desire of the Aboriginal mission community to participate in the same type of Church rituals as the European personnel:

> This arrangement was requested by the Blacks themselves and naturally I acceded with much pleasure. The Blacks wish to do things in this respect in the same manner as us, as they have repeatedly seen and heard that we hold Morning and Evening services. Earlier the inadequacy of my language compentence prevented me, but now, thanks be to God, this is progressing somewhat better. May the Lord tend and sustain also this lowly seed, that in time it too may bring fruit to the Honour of His Name.[53]

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[52] DKMZ 1876:48, Meyer 12/6/1876 'Eben dieser Junge Mensch erlkärte mir neulich, aus freiem Antriebe: er habe besonders in der letzten Zeit über seinen Zustand nachgedacht, und sei mit demselben gar nicht zufrieden; das Leben und Treiben der Eingebornen sei ihm zuwider, er möchte viel lieber recht viel lernen, um wo möglich selbst bald die Schwarzen lehren zu können. Auf meine Frage: ob es ihm nur darum zu thun sei Vieles zu wissen? antwortete er mir: Er wollte auch gerne, daß die Schwarzen den Herrn Jesum möchten kennen lernen, welchen er auch liebe, weil derselbe eine so gute *Jaura* oder Rede hätte.'

[53] ibid: 49 'Diese Einrichtung ist von den Schwarzen selbst erbeten worden; und natürlich ging ich mit Freuden darauf ein. Die Schwarzen wollen es in diesem Stücke auch gerne so machen wie wir, da sie immer gesehen und gehört haben, daß wir Morgen- und Abendstunde halten. Früher hielt mich die Mangelhaftigkeit in der Sprache noch ab; jetzt aber geht es, Gott sei Dank schon etwas besser. Möge der Herr auch dieses geringe Keimlein pflegen und nähren, damit dasselbe seinerzeit auch Früchte bringe zur Ehre Seines Namens.'

The lack of continuity in resourcing the mission school meant that the number of pupils who could be accepted was limited, and also that there was no opportunity or funding to erect purpose-built sleeping accomodation for the pupils, where an appropriate lifestyle and *christliche Zucht und Ordnung* could be established away from the influence of the camp. Furthermore as Meyer was solely responsible for the school it was hard to separate more advanced pupils from newer unschooled pupils who disrupted progress. The familiar complaint of the gap between school accomplishments and true changes in lifestyle was again voiced, and the departure for Mundowdna of his best pupil and school-assistant Idjana was a major disappointment for Meyer, who had refused to give his approval for him to wander with the tribe. This had apparently been custom under Homann.[54] Meyer welcomed Idjana back to the school some 4 months later in February 1877 only to have such episodes repeat themselves many times.

By September at least the long-awaited provisions had arrived and instruction could be resumed with greater numbers of students. There were now some 150 people on the mission, this population being divided between Bucaltaninna and Kopperamana, where the smaller group was able to support itself with good supplies of nardoo and firewood. Indeed Meyer reported in October that, rather than expanding or repositioning the buildings at Bucaltaninna, it would be better to establish the station at Kopperamana.[55]

It appears too that the time of drought and ration shortage contributed to the narrowing of mission school policy to now focus on younger children.[56]
There were other subtle shifts in the course of 1876 with regard to language policy. Meyer was making additional effort to become competent in Dieri, probably due to the necessity of tending the school alone in Vogelsang's absences, and was learning the language in the usual manner, that is by using the old

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[54] DKMZ 1876:70, Meyer 21/8/1876 'es [ist] ein großer Schade, daß in früherer Zeit den Schülern Ferien gegeben, und für die Dauer derselben sogar Lebensmittel u. dgl., damit sie herumstreifen konnten, so sind sie eher noch darin bestärkt worden, denn sie berufen sich darauf, daß es ihnen doch früher erlaubt gewesen sei, zu gewissen Zeiten fortzugehen.'

[55] DKMZ 1876:93, Meyer 14/10/1876

[56] DKMZ 1876:84, Meyer 19/9/1876

documents and from the school pupils. English remained the primary language of instruction, however Dieri was clearly important as a support language and was used especially to convey religious concepts. It was however also noted that the children were particularly keen to learn English and that this language was made the *Umgangssprache* or everyday language of the mission.[57] This was possibly the beginning of the split in language usage which ultimately saw Dieri connected to Church usage by the turn of the century, whilst other subjects were taught in English.

In October Meyer requested a good English translation of Luther's catechism for use in the school in order that he might lay some foundation in religious instruction for any future missionary:

> ... I have nothing further to offer them apart from the book by Mr Homann in the Dieri language, which I also utilise as much as I am able. However as the pupils are now to be instructed in English, they are unable to make use of this book, it is only of assistance to me, so that I may make things more readily understood to them.[58]

School routines had become established with the class divided whenever possible, Meyer taking the more advanced pupils in the schoolroom and Vogelsang teaching the younger and weaker pupils the ABC and the rudiments of 'spelling out' (reading) in the open air. Instruction consisted of two sessions each day, which were opened and closed with prayer; 9.30am -12.00 for reading and writing and 3.00pm -5.00pm for reading and basic religious instruction followed by the singing of English hymns.[59] Meyer served the pupils lunch in the mid-day break

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[57] ibid: 'In der englischen Sprache jedoch sind sind sie noch sehr zurück, weil ich doch erst suchen mußte so schnell und gut wie möglich mich selbst in die Dierie-Sprache hineinzuarbeiten; aber einige der Schüler sind jetzt so weit, daß sie das zweite *lesson-book* gebrauchen. Jetzt jedoch soll auch mehr dafür gesorgt werden, daß die Schwarzen, und besonders die Schüler, die englische Sprache sprechen lernen, indem wir dieselbe zur Umgangssprache machen wollen, wozu die Schüler auch sehr große Lust haben.'

[58] DKMZ 1876:93, Meyer 14/10/1876 'weiter habe ich jetzt aber nichts, was ich ihnen bieten kann, als nur das Buch von Herrn Homann in der Dieri-Sprache, welches ich auch, so viel ich kann, in Gebrauch nehme; doch da die Schüler jetzt im Englischen unterrichtet werden, so können dieselben von diesem Buche keinen Gebrauch machen, nur mir kommt dasselbe zu statten, so daß ich ihnen die Sache leichter begreiflich machen kann.'

[59] ibid

and dinner of an evening followed by evening prayers.[60] In addition the pupils were supervised in tasks about the station including collecting wood and mending their clothing.

6.5 Sunday services

The drought finally broke in early 1877 and allowed an expansion in mission work as Vogelsang was released from some duties with the livestock. An important initiative of 1877 was the attempt to preach to the older people in addition to the predominantly English instruction of children and adolescents in the school. Meyer and Vogelsang planned to hold regular alternate Sunday afternoon services in Dieri with the aim of conveying the concepts of sin and the way of salvation through Jesus in as simple a fashion as possible to these people who would otherwise not be reached.[61] The format was very simple; they began by singing a short hymn in Dieri followed by a prayer and short sermon, to close another prayer all in Dieri and finally an English hymn.[62]

This was an important division of the community, and Meyer continued to conduct services in the Dieri language and to have responsibility for the people from the camp during Flierl's years of service.

The workload was heavy and Meyer stressed the need to appoint a Missionary to the station. 'Where,' he complained amidst all the work 'does one find the time to collect ones thoughts, to prepare work for the school or do work in the native language or also to make preparations for the service with the natives on Sunday afternoons?'[63]

The attendance of such services continued to grow. They were held in the schoolroom but many sat outside to listen too. In August 1877 Meyer reported

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[60] DKMZ 1877:123, Meyer 28/7/1877

[61] DKMZ 10/1877:74, Meyer 30/4/1877. See too DKMZ 1877:90, Meyer 26/5/1877

[62] DKMZ 1877:188, Meyer 26/11/1877

[63] DKMZ 1877:123, Meyer 28/7/1877

that some 55-60 people were present including his schoolpupils with the remainder coming from the camp.[64]

Rituals and change in Wandel or way of life

Although the school and Sunday services were progressing well Meyer could not report that there had been great advances in respect of the spiritual life of the community, and it often seemed to him that 'he was preaching to deaf ears,'[65] a small proof however of change was seen in the fact that 'their heathen sinful way' was no longer practised as openly as before but rather that such rituals were conducted many miles away in deference to the missionaries.

Indeed the Christian rituals associated with such events as funerals, baptisms and marriages and especially Christmas, with the added attraction of a Christmas tree with candles, the singing of carols and distribution of cakes, lollies and small gifts,[66] proved a powerful force of conversion, replacing one spiritual life gradually with another. Whilst discouraging his pupils from participating in heathen practices, Meyer was sometimes obliged to tolerate gatherings of the Camp Blacks at Bucaltaninna, which for example saw people from across the region gather at the station for the *Mindarie*[67] ceremony:

> Yesterday and today they had their ceremonies, in which the object was to make three young men to *Mindarie.* This is, as far as I can discern, actually a peace ceremony, in which one of the primary concerns is to resolve all past disputes with all other tribes and to make peace. I did not want to say

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[64] DKMZ 1877:130, Meyer 21/8/1877

[65] DKMZ 1876:84, Meyer 19/9/1876

[66] DKMZ 1/1878:2, Meyer 25/12/1877. See too comments by the *Alten* on baptism DKMZ 1879:51, Meyer 5/3/1879. Meyer heard from Vogelsang at Killalpaninna that the old men were aggrieved that the missionaries had baptised the young lad Bernhardt. They had intended to carry out circumcision ritual first and this now seemed superfluous, as other older baptised boys had told them it was too late, he had already 'been made big (ie adult)'

[67] This ceremony is described in Howitt (1904: 661-62) based on Gason in Woods (1879: 271-73) According to Gason the *Mindarie* is held approximately every two years and is a 'festival to invoke peace' which young men from various tribes of the region may participate in. The young men must have passed through the first ceremony of initiation *wilyaru* and their hair must be of a certain length. The ceremony involves ritual adornment, singing and dancing and the tribes meet and can settle any disputes amicably.

> much against this whole ceremony, as everything which I have witnessed of it to date is mostly trivial and harmless.[68]

At innitiation ceremonies in October 1877, Meyer gave approval on the condition that he be present at all times to ensure 'that nothing base be going on under the cover of the ceremony.'[69] Accordingly he was allowed to witness the preparations for the ceremony and the accompanying emu-dance which in all took over two days. Meyer was aware of the threat to the school that such occasions presented, but it seems he was able to turn the large gatherings of people from different tribes to advantage by using them as a forum for preaching the Word:

> I had seriously feared that a rending apart of the school might have been intended but now I am pleased to say it has not suffered, but rathermore has been reinforced. During these ceremonies many Blacks have had the opportunity to hear God's Word, and according to all appearances, this has not been in vain. Some of the older Blacks who had come here from Manuwalkanina to participate in this ceremony also diligently attended worship services, and these have now resolved to remain here, as they find pleasure in God's Word. At the behest of these Blacks a start has finally also been made with prayers in the camp. When for instance, the rations of flour have been collected and baked of a morning, they do not partake of the same until they have offered prayers, which all are called upon to join in. The question of Heaven and Hell and whether to be lost or saved is now also enthusiastically debated.[70]

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[68] DKMZ 1877:130, Meyer 21/7/1877 'Gestern und heute haben sie nun ihre Festlichkeiten gehabt, wobei es sich darum handelte, 3 junge Männer zu Mindarie zu machen. Dies ist, so viel ich ersehen kann, eigentlich ein Friedensfest, wobei es sich besonders darum handelt, mit allen Stämmen alle bisherigen Streitigkeiten zu schlichten und Frieden zu machen. Gegen diese ganze Festlichkeit wollte ich nun nicht viel sagen, weil alles, was ich davon gesehen habe meist nichtssagend und harmlos ist.'

[69] DKMZ 1877:164, Meyer 1/10/1877

[70] ibid: 'Ich hatte in allem Ernst befürchtet, daß eine Zerreißung der Schule beabsichtigt sein möchte und freue mich jetzt hingegen: daß diesselbe nicht allein nicht gelitten hat, sondern sogar noch befestigt ist.- Bei dieser Festlichkeit haben nun viele Schwarze Gelegenheit gehabt, Gottes Wort zu hören, und wie es den Anschein hat, so ist dieses auch nicht vergeblich gewesen. Einige ältere Schwarze, welche von Manuwalkanina hierher gekommen waren um dieser Festlichkeit beizuwohnen, kamen auch fleißig zum Gottesdienst, und diese haben sich jetzt fest entschlossen hier zu bleiben, weil sie Gefallen an Gottes Wort finden. Auf Veranlassung dieser Schwarzen ist denn nun endlich im Camp der Anfang mit dem Gebete gemacht worden. Wenn z.B. des Morgens die Rationen Mehl geholt und gebacken sind, dann genießen sie dieses nicht eher, als sie gebetet haben, wozu alle ohne Ausnahme aufgefordert werden. Die Frage wegen Himmel u. Hölle, und: ob verloren oder selig werden, wird jetzt auch eifrig besprochen...'

Furthermore he was able to report in early 1877 that the pupils were learning to withstand the influence of the *Alten*[71] and that despite their often subversive influence 'the better pupils no longer believe what they have to say.'[72] Meyer saw it as further confirmation of the success of the Word that he had on several occasions observed the pupils holding evening prayers together for themselves before going to sleep, and that 'a pleasing solemnity' was then in evidence.[73] Indeed this is one of the proofs of mission work customarily reported in 19th century Lutheran mission literature.[74] Nevertheless in coming years, Meyer continued to have difficulty retaining his pupils in the school over long periods of time, even after intensive insruction and baptism.

Preparation for the first baptisms

Alongside tending the school the Mission committee requested that until the arrival of a missionary, Meyer was also to see to the preparation of 'those capable of being taught and to baptise such as ask for it and who are sincere and evince sufficient understanding and are worthy of trust.'[75]

Meyer was thus able to commence baptismal instruction with a group of six candidates early in 1878 'who have a good understanding and concept of the step they are about to take and the majority of whom have learned the Five *Hauptstücke* (articles) of the catechism by heart, can write competently, including the dictation of short sentences and have somewhat lesser abilities in arithmetic.'[76] It seems that such instruction, as compared with general school

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[71] DKMZ 1877:44, Meyer 5/3/1876

[72] DKMZ 1877:58, Meyer 2/4/1877

[73] DKMZ 10/1877:74, Meyer 30/4/1877. See too DKMZ 1877:90, Meyer 26/5/1877. The majority of the pupils have been observed praying together the Lord's Prayer, Creed, the Ten Commandments and part of the Baptism from the catechism as learned by heart in class.

[74] See Klose to Committee of the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society of Dresden, Native Location Adelaide, 14/12/1844 on children praying independently and the relationship of this to *Wandel.* It was especially important that this be spontaneous, observed secretly, and in their own language. HAE Meyer reported overhearing children praying their own prayers in English: Meyer to the Committee of the Ev-Luth. Mission Society of Dresden, 17/3/1845

[75] *Missionsacta*: 46. Meeting 23/2/1877

[76] DKMZ 1878:35, Meyer 4/3/1878

instruction, was far more reliant on materials translated into the Dieri language. By May Meyer reported that the candidates for baptism had received 'systematic instruction in the entire way of salvation beginning with creation' and he was hopeful they might be baptised upon his return. Regarding his work with the Dieri language he reported that 'the little Wesleyan catechism and Luther's treatise on baptism, as well as many questions from the English version of the Large catechism have been translated into the Dieri Language.'[77]

6.6 Meyer's visits to Moravian missions in Victoria

In April Meyer had travelled South due to ill-health and during his 6-month absence Vogelsang again took over the running of the school. Meyer travelled to Victoria where he visited other mission stations and held addresses on the Cooper mission and its work. His first visit was to Lake Condah mission, under the supervision of Missionary Stähle, some 30 miles outside Hamilton which was at that time home to some 70 part-Aboriginal people including 45 baptised Christians. Here he attended a Church service and addressed the congregation in English on his experiences. The ordered mission establishment with its fenced grounds and Church as centrepiece, made a very positive and lasting impression on Meyer.

> The mission property has been fenced very well by the Blacks under the supervision of the missionary, and before one arrives at the station one drives past fields of potato, hop and and arrowroot crops, which bear very good testimony to the industriousness of both the missionary and the Blacks. When the station comes into view one sees the Church in the centre of the place and next to that the school and the orphanage. A little further to the left the quarters of the mission personel, the store and the mission vegetable plot. Further to the right stand the lodgings of the Blacks, arranged in a square, all neat clapboard cottages which the Blacks have erected themselves under the guidance of the missionary. [...] When I inspected the lodgings [...] the women were busy scrubbing and cleaning the same, and a few were in the midst of baking bread etc, I was most impressed and pleased with all of this work. [...] The school there is thriving and stands under the supervision of a young English woman, Miss Gregory [...] I especially liked the beautiful four-part singing[...] and intend to embrace quite a lot of that which I have seen and heard here.'

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[77] *Missionsacta*: 64. Meeting 13/5/78

Following this visit Meyer called on the Moravian mission Ebenezer (Wimmera) under Missionary Kramer, who had also served at Kopperamana in the years 1867-69. Here, despite finding few permanent Aboriginal residents, Meyer reported once more on the flourishing Mission garden, the beautiful stone Church, the roomy schoolhouse and the orderly improvements which the Aborigines of the station had helped to build.[78] He also held a Mission address in the church of ex-Cooper Missionary, Pastor Schoknecht in Natimuck. Meyer's final invitation was to visit Missionary Hagenauer at Ramahyuck in Gippsland which Meyer later described as the most beautiful place he had seen in Victoria. Once again Meyer praised the well laid-out grounds with their hop and arrowroot fields, housing, church, school and orphanage, and also the hospital which was under construction. Most importantly for Meyer, all such tasks and work were undertaken by the Aborginal people themselves, of whom there were some 90 living on the station.

> The school is one of the best which I have visited... The next morning I visited some of the Blacks in their houses and was astounded at the cleanliness which prevailed throughout the same.[79]

The influence of such experiences cannot be underestimated especially given that the South Australian mission community had long been aware of the successes of the Moravian mission fields through reports in the mission journals, and had indeed compared the 'failure' of the Hermannsburg missionaries with this work. Since the mission's revival at Bucaltaninna the issue of meaningful and regular

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[78] DKMZ 1878:107, Meyer Travel Report. 'Das Missionsland ist von den Schwarzen unter Anleitung des Missionars sehr gut gefenzt, ehe man zur Station kommt, fährt man bei den Kartoffel-, Hopfen- u. Arrowrootfeldern vorbei, welche gleich ein kräftiges Zeugniß der Betriebsamkeit des Missionars und der Schwarzen ablegen. Erblickt man die Station, so sieht man im Mittelpunkte der Anlage die Kirche, nächst derselben die Schule und das Waisenhaus; etwas weiter links die Wohnungen der Missionsgeschwister, den Store und den Missionsgarten; weiter rechts stehen in einem Quadrat die Wohnungen der Eingebornen, alles nette Bretterhäuser, welche die Schwarzen selbst unter Leitung des Missionars aufgebaut haben.[...] Als ich die Wohnungen[...] besichtigte, waren die Frauen gerade damit beschäftigt, dieselben zu scheuern u. überhaupt zu reinigen; einige trafen wir beim Brodbacken usw, alles Arbeiten, worüber ich mich höchlichst verwundern und freuen mußte.[...] Die Schule ist dort sehr blühend u. steht unter der Leitung einer jungen englischen Dame, Miss Gregory[...] Besonders gefiel mir der schöne vierstimmige Gesang ungemein.[...] und gedenke ich Manches, was ich dort gesehen und gehört habe, zu beherzigen.'

[79] ibid: 'Die Schule ist aber eine der besten, welche ich besucht habe. [...] Am nächsten Morgen besuchte ich noch einige der Schwarzen in ihren Wohnungen, u. war erstaunt über die Sauberkeit, welche in Denselben überall herrschte.'

work for the Aboriginal community had also been frequently discussed. Such work was intended not only to benefit the sustainability of the station but also to support evangelical aims. Throughout 1877 experiments with growing various types of fruit and vegetables including maize, barley, peas turnips, carrots and cabbages had been carried out at Kopperamana, and various types of work for the mission community were put forward such as growing flax, spinning wool and at Jacob's suggestion fencing the land and tending an expanded mission flock.
I consider that the example of the Victorian Moravian missions in terms of organisation and running of the mission station, church and school were formative in the re-establishment of the mission at Lake Killalpaninna in 1879.

6.7 Samples of literate practice

Bucaltanina, June 23., 1878.

Mr. Meyer,—Please don't forget my bible. We are very sorry for you and wish, you would soon be back again. I am not qu te well yet, I have some boils very bad, the other blacks are all well. Two of the girls out of the school left. We had a fine rain today, that the water is running into the lake. We have been working at the dam on the other end of the lake. Mr. Vogelsang is well, so is Mr. Iacob and their wives. Mr. Hestor came last Thursday back with another lot of sheep. I think, you are travelling a good deal down below, so we hope, that it may do you good and restore your health, further to serve us poor blackfellows. — Don't forget to remember us in your prayers, that the Lord may help us to become His children by the believe in his Son, *Iesus Christ.* I am very sorry, having been so bad before and want to become better by the help of the Lord.—I am sleeping now in grandmothers room, after Gottlieb has left.— Mr. *Iacob* will start to Beltana this next days, so the Lord will.

Ngatu kalkanni wirriaina nantoelli, nanto wontina warai; koerna ngaru kuino ngatu nathina warai ngalla ngallani nato tarnnna dauana warai worita mikungaru winakillana.

Tikerna Bucaltanina jaura ngarana kuba ninkida mikungaru tinpamallina, ngatu walturina dauadauina, terri mullatti ngarana windri mankara delkinnana.

Iacka jai waiani Mrs. Meiangu wolkarelli pirna, winta judla tirkana?— (Ueberſetzung: Ich war neulich ausgeritten, um einige Pferde zu ſuchen; da traf ich auch Schwarze bei Ngala ngalani (ein Waſſerloch), welche dort friedlich tanzen wollten; ich ermahnte ſie aber, ſie ſollten es doch nicht thun. — Ich kam dann nach Bucaltanina zurück u. hörte dort, daß die Schüler auch hier leichtfertig geweſen ſeien; ich bin aber ſchon ſo müde ſie zu ermahnen. Die jungen Burſchen hören ſo ganz gut, nur die Mädchen ſind ſo ſehr ungehorſam. — Aber nein! wir ſehnen uns ſo ſehr nach Frau Meyer, wann werdet ihr doch wieder zurückkehren zu uns?) —

I remain your obedient,— Pingilina.

Bucaltanina, July 23*d*, 1878.

Mr. Meyer,—Dear Sir, Dear Mr. Meyer,—I am very glad, to hear from Mr. Vogelsang, that you are back from Melbourne, and that you and Mrs. Meyer well and like to come back to us. I pray to the Lord, that he may give us and the other children new hearts, so that we may be the Lords' beloved children, so that when we die, we may come to our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ in the heavenly kingdom.—I am sorry to say, that Idjana is gone to the camp again; still so long he is gone, we have departed with the Camp-blacks, and no quarrels have been more about us.

Your truly *Tipilina.*

Figure 18: Letters from pupils to C.A. Meyer (Excerpt: DKMZ 1878:131)

Pingilina's letter

During Meyer's absence from the mission field he also maintained a correspondence with the Indigenous pupils awaiting baptism. Indeed the writing of letters between members of the mission community and missionaries on furlough and members of the mission committee in the South became a regular feature of literate practice in the Meyer/Flierl years and gave the supporting congregations some insight into the life of the mission station. Letters were often published in the *DKMZ*, usually in translation provided by the missionaries. One such group of letters was written by young people from the Bucaltaninna school to Meyer and his wife in June and July 1878. The letters are all in English, except for one section by Johannes Pingilina, as reproduced above. Here I would like to look at the Dieri fragment by Johannes Pingilina in the context of the Dieri language samples of the first Primer. We have already encountered Johannes Pingilina as one of Homann's earliest pupils, the friend of his son Wilhelm and the author of the first preserved Dieri letter. His writings highlight the role of Indigenous Christian individuals in the production of mission materials in Dieri.

The letter contains a longer section in English followed by a short passage in Dieri, which demonstrates a narrow thematic scope and perhaps a lesser command of the written form as compared to vernacular Dieri or indeed written English. Please note too that the German translation also represents a recasting of the original into a fuller more literary form. The orthography of the Dieri passage is generally consistent with that of the 1870 primer and Schoknecht word list, however some variation occurs even within the letter itself in the spelling of some words. Interestingly the use of the digraph *ng* for the word initial velar nasal, which becomes characteristic of later mission Dieri documents, is already in evidence in this sample. Grammatically the letter conforms to the Homann/Koch outline, although there is restricted use of tenses and the present tense (pres I in primer translations) is notably absent. In its place we find the infinitive (Austin's citation form of the verb) which should be translated as the participle.

[1]	Ngatu	kalkanni	wirrinina[80]	nantoelli,
	Act.1.sg	Adv	inf	Abl.2.Decl
	I	recently	going	by horse

Ich war neulich ausgeritten
Recently I rode out

nanto	wontina -	warai:
Acc.2.Decl	past I	aux
horse/s	searched for	

um einige Pferde zu suchen:
in order to seek some horses:

[2]	koerna	nguru	kulno	ngatu	naihina -	worai
	Acc.1.Decl	indef.pron.	Adj	Act.1.sg	past I	aux
	man/men	another	one	I	saw	

da traf ich auch Schwarze
whereupon I also encountered Blacks

ngalla	ngallani[81]
PN	
Ngala	Ngalani

bei Ngala ngalani
at Ngala Ngalani

[3]	nato	tarnaua[82]	dauana - worai
	Act.1.sg	Acc.1.pl	past I aux
	I	them	forbade

worita[83]	milunguru	wimakillana.[84]
Adv	Adv	inf
far-away	always	singing & dancing

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[80] Misprint for *wirririna*; *wirarina* walk for enjoyment (Schok DD14C); but note Gason (1879:305) *wierurna* leaving the camp for a day's hunt.

[81] Stevens (1994:35) refers to *ngarlangarlani* as Lake Allalina, a location near Lake Killalpaninna which, according to Hercus, became a *mindari* ground from 1870. www.ga.gov.au gives only Allarinna Waterhole, latitude 27degrees S, longitude 133 degrees 50 minutes East, which is West of Lake Eyre and NW of Oodnadatta, thus too remote to be the location referred to.

[82] Acc to paradigm Schok Gr:5 there are two forms for Acc.1.pl. pronoun *tananaia* and *tanaua*, the latter being identical with the Nom.1.pl

[83] *wurita* far-away (Schok DD15C); Gason (1879: 305) *worietha* long way off, distant

[84] *kilina* (n.& v.) dance (Schok DD5C); see too Gason (1879: 298) *killuna* dancing; *wima* (n.) singing (Schok DD14C)

welche dort heimlich tanzen wollten;
ich ermahnte sie aber, sie sollten es doch nicht thun.
who wanted to dance secretly there;
I admonished them however, they should not do it.

[4]	Tikarna	Bucaltaninna	jaura	ngarana
	inf	PN	Acc.1.Decl	inf
	returning	Bucaltaninna	word	hearing

Ich kam dann nach Bucaltaninna zurück und hörte dort,
I then came back to Bucaltaninna and heard there

kuba[85]	ninkida	milunguru	timpamallina,[86]
Nom.1.Decl	Adv	Adv	recip inf
child/ren	here	always	teasing one another

daß die Schüler auch hier leichtfertig gewesen seien;
that the pupils here too had been silly;

[5]	ngatu	walturina[87]	dauadauina[88]
	Act.1.Decl	Adj	inf
	I	tired	forbidding/admonishing repeatedly

ich bin aber schon so müde sie zu ermahnen.
I am however so tired of admonishing them.

[6]	teri	mullati[89]	ngarana
	Nom.2.Decl	Adv	inf
	boy/s	willingly	listen

Die jungen Burschen hören ja ganz gut,
The young lads listen really very well,

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[85] *kupa* child (Schok DD6C)

[86] *tilpana tarana* tease, molest; *-mali* reciprocal suffix (Schok Gr:9); *tilpamalina* therefore 'to tease one another'; see too Gason (303) *thilpuna* provoking

[87] *walturina, wolturina* tired, languid (Schok DD14B)

[88] Note reduplication Schok Gr:11 acknowledges the semantic modification which occurs with reduplication in verbs but gives no rules on the nature of such stressing the variations in meanings achieved. Austin (198: 68) gives semantic effect in verbs as making the action iterative (where the original verb is 'punctual') and making the action durative (where the original verb involves process). Hence *dauadauina* repeatedly forbidding/admonishing.

[89] misprint: *mulali* happy,willing (Schok DD9B)

[7]	windri	mankara	delki	anana.[90]
	(particle)	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	inf
	only	girl/s	disobedient	being

nur die Mädchen sind so sehr ungehorsam.
only the girls are so very disobedient.

[8]	Jacka jai[91]	naiani	Mrs Meiangu[92]	wolkarelli	pirna,
	interjection	Nom.1.pl	Dat.PN	Adv	Adj(int)
	Oh Dear!	we	for Mrs Meyer	yearning	greatly

Aber nein!-wir sehnen uns so sehr nach Frau Meyer,
Alas!- we miss Frau Meyer so very much,

[9]	winta	judla	tirkana?
	interrog	Nom.2.dual	inf
	when?	you two	returning

wann werdet ihr doch wieder zurückkehren zu uns?
Oh when will you return to us again?

Meyer and his wife corresponded with the pupils via Pingilina, who reported not only on the progress of the school and the behaviour of the pupils, but also on the running of the station and personal matters particularly health. Pingilina also eagerly awaited Meyer's return with the promised Holy Bible, presumably in English. Although no original Meyer letters to his pupils have currently been located it is likely that Meyer used English alongside passages of Dieri in the early years. Other later correspondence written by Pingilina includes a long letter written in 1885 addressed to Frau Flierl, which has been preserved in the Dieri

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[90] disobedient, stubborn, defiant *delki -anana* as above appears as adj + verb. *delki/delkina* not attested in Gason. Possible connection to *dilka* thorn

[91] Schok Gr:14 *jaka jaka* expresses displeasure, annoyance, vexation; *jakajai* oh!; note too that the inflection *-ai* is consistent with the Vocative. *jaka jaka* o woe! (Schok DD3B). Note neat translation for German *Ach!*

[92] See Schok Gr:3 Proper Noun Declension which notes all proper nouns end with *a*: *Meyer/ Meia* The Dat. inflection form is consistent with the Dat. pronoun inflection and also Dat. interrog. In the above example there is a dovetailing of the German construction *sich sehnen nach* + Dat with *wolkarelli* + Dat. See Austin (1981: 49) on locative case inflection of personal nouns. The early documents do not distinguish between masc. and fem. proper nouns and the distinctive fem. Act (Ergative) inflection is also not attested in the documents I have investigated 1870-1885. Later attestation: see 1910 Antjalina letters

handwritten original (see Appendix J).[93] There are also a number of short letters to the Mission Committee (DKMZ 1882:147 and DKMZ1883:194), and in 1886 a letter written to Meyer, all of which were published in German translation (see Appendix K).[94] By this time and with this gifted and longstanding pupil Meyer's correspondence could well have been exclusively in Dieri. In the second grouping of published letters (1878) several commence with a quotation from the Bible and appear to be more of the nature of a class exercise, perhaps set by Vogelsang for the baptismal candidates in the school. Certainly thematically they are consistent and all request the support of Meyer and the mission community in their prayers that they may remain faithful and become 'new people'or be given 'new hearts.'

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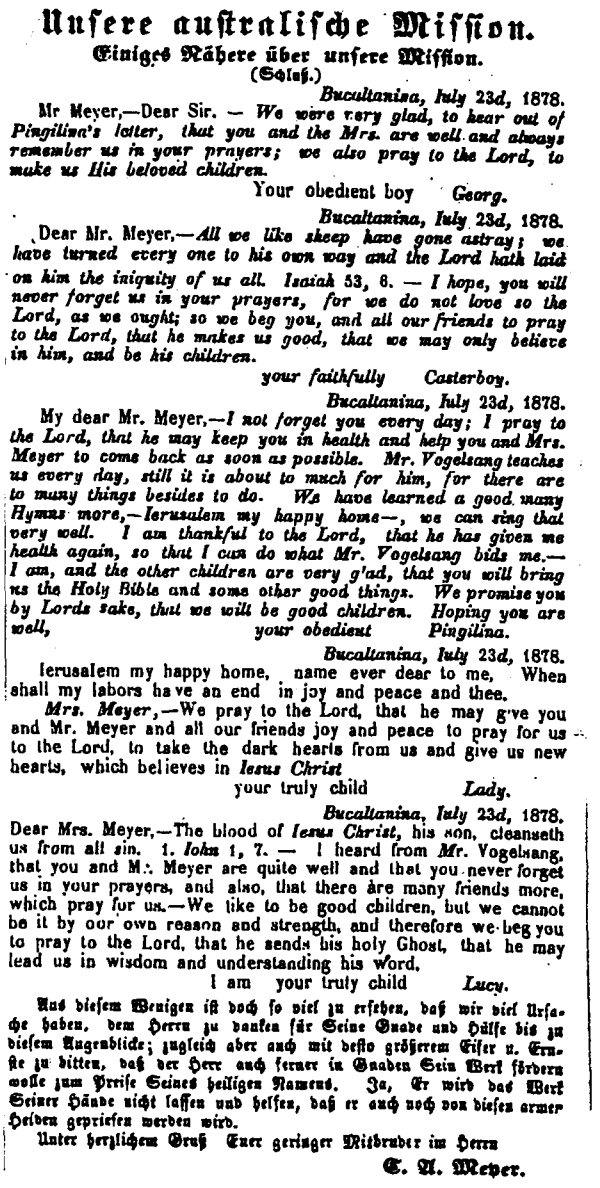
[93] Pingilina to Frau Flierl, Bethesda 17th June 1885: held in LA. The letter is not addressed personally, but reference to the harmonium indicates that the likely recipient was Louise Auricht-Flierl, who was the organist for daily devotions and Sunday services.

[94] Pingilina to Meyer, Bethesda 31st March 1886: in *Geschichte der Ev-luth. Mission in Süd-Australien* (1886:43-45).



Unſere auſtraliſche Miſſion.

Einiges Nähere über unſere Miſſion.

(Schluß.)

Bucaltanina, July 23d, 1878.

Mr Meyer,—Dear Sir. — *We were very glad, to hear out of Pingilina's letter, that you and the Mrs. are well and always remember us in your prayers; we also pray to the Lord, to make us His beloved children.*

Your obedient boy *Georg.*

Bucaltanina, July 23d, 1878.

Dear Mr. Meyer,—*All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. Isaiah* 53, 6. — *I hope, you will never forget us in your prayers, for we do not love so the Lord, as we ought; so we beg you, and all our friends to pray to the Lord, that he makes us good, that we may only believe in him, and be his children.*

your faithfully Casterboy.

Bucaltanina, July 23d, 1878.

My dear Mr. Meyer,—*I not forget you every day; I pray to the Lord, that he may keep you in health and help you and Mrs. Meyer to come back as soon as possible. Mr. Vogelsang teaches us every day, still it is about to much for him, for there are to many things besides to do. We have learned a good many Hymns more,—Ierusalem my happy home—, we can sing that very well. I am thankful to the Lord, that he has given me health again, so that I can do what Mr. Vogelsang bids me.— I am, and the other children are very glad, that you will bring us the Holy Bible and some other good things. We promise you by Lords sake, that we will be good children. Hoping you are well, your obedient Pingilina.*

Bucaltanina, July 23d, 1878.

Ierusalem my happy home, name ever dear to me, When shall my labors have an end in joy and peace and thee.

Mrs. Meyer,—We pray to the Lord, that he may give you and Mr. Meyer and all our friends joy and peace to pray for us to the Lord, to take the dark hearts from us and give us new hearts, which believes in *Iesus Christ*

your truly child *Lady.*

Bucaltanina, July 23d, 1878.

Dear Mrs. Meyer,—The blood of *Iesus Christ,* his son, cleanseth us *from all sin.* 1. *John* 1, 7. — I heard from *Mr.* Vogelsang, that you and Mr. Meyer are quite well and that you never forget us in your prayers, and also, that there are many friends more, which pray for us.—We like to be good children, but we cannot be it by our own reason and strength, and therefore we beg you to pray to the Lord, that he sends his holy Ghost, that he may lead us in wisdom and understanding his word.

I am your truly child *Lucy.*

Aus dieſem Wenigen iſt doch ſo viel zu erſehen, daß wir viel Urſache haben, dem Herrn zu danken für Seine Gnade und Hülfe bis zu dieſem Augenblicke; zugleich aber auch mit deſto größerem Eifer u. Ernſte zu bitten, daß der Herr auch ferner in Gnaden Sein Werk fördern wolle zum Preiſe Seines heiligen Namens. Ja, Er wird das Werk Seiner Hände nicht laſſen und helfen, daß er auch noch von dieſen armen Heiden geprieſen werden wird.

Unter herzlichem Gruß Euer geringer Mitbruder im Herrn

C. A. Meyer.

Figure 19: Sample letters from pupils to C.A. Meyer.[95] (Excerpt: DKMZ 1878: 139) German translations of this collection of letters were also later published. See Appendix L

6.8 The state of school and language work (1878)

Meyer's time at Bucaltaninna from the end of 1875 to early 1878 was a very productive and important one in the development of mission language practice

[95] 'From this small offering it is at least evident that we have much cause to thank the Lord for His Grace and Help to this time, and also to pray with even greater earnestness that the Lord continue to mercifully progress His Work to the Honour of His Holy Name. Indeed, He will not abandon the work of his hands, and will help that He may also be lauded by these poor heathens. With heartfelt greetings, Your humble Brother in the Lord, C.A. Meyer

and policy. The supporting role of Hermann Vogelsang in the school and also in developing Meyer's fluency in Dieri was again prominent. In the early days of the school the introduction of English instruction and literate practices were supported by Meyer's role as teacher and administrator of the mission, by his own initial lack of fluency in Dieri and it seems by the wish not only of the Government but also the Indigenous people to be instructed in English. It must be remembered that in the intervening years 1872 - 75, many people had been working on pastoral properties where vernacular English was the everyday language.

From this point however there was a development towards once again using the Indigenous language as the vehicle for religious instruction, as per traditional Lutheran practice. The lack of evidence of spritual change despite mastery of literate practices such as reading (and singing) and writing based mainly on Biblical materials led to the conclusion that the Indigenous language Dieri must become the vehicle especially for religious concepts. The cause of Dieri was furthered at this time by the fact that Vogelsang was fluent in the language and many of Homann's ex-pupils, with basic literacy in Dieri, had been brought to Bucaltaninna to re-establish the mission. Indeed some of these pupils later became assistants in the school. With Meyer's own developing fluency came the possibility of conducting baptismal classes in Dieri and to this end materials used in the school in English were translated, the basis for such instruction being Luther's Catechism.

It is thus clear that the formal reintroduction of Dieri as the mission language at Bethesda on Lake Killalpaninna from 1879, was not solely the work of Missionary Flierl, but the culmination of the work of the preceding phase of mission work. A particularly important initiative was the introduction of Sunday services for the camp population, which had been held regularly and in Dieri from 1877. These services were continued by Missionary Meyer through the 1880's and will be treated in the following section.

CHAPTER 7
THE MEYER AND FLIERL YEARS (1878-85)

Johann Flierl arrived in South Australia in September 1878 and was ordained together with C.A. Meyer who was due to return to the mission field. Although the ordination of the two men was somewhat controversial, with the support of Pastor Herlitz of the Victoria Synod reservations were overcome, especially as Flierl, although thoroughly trained and duly qualified for the new post, was still very young and had as yet no first hand experience of foreign mission, and the peculiar difficulties of the Cooper. Meyer of course had complementary qualifications for the work; extensive experience on the mission field, knowledge of the language, but a lack of formal theological training. He was thus granted ordination on the understanding that it would be a limited one, which would allow him to preach and perform weddings and baptisms on the mission but not to take on such duties in other Lutheran congregations.

A major factor in the case for Meyer's ordination was his conviction that the role of the missionary should encompass the Aboriginal camps, not just the school and Church, the formal institutions of the mission. Meyer emphasised that he could 'on no account accept being put on a level with the Missionary [Flierl] as pastor to the white personnel' but argued that two missionaries would have work enough on the same mission field. He felt it desirable that the Gospel be preached at two places simultaneously, here referring to the outstations and camps. Meyer furthermore pointed out that the nature of mission in South Australia was different to that seen in Victoria where 'the Government had divided the Aborigines into districts which they were not allowed to leave' and that the mission thus had to cater for this shifting population.[1] In Meyer's support Pastor Reusch proclaimed any camp to be a preaching place, and stated that mission efforts should not be confined solely to the mission station.

Interestingly it appears that Meyer, despite his prodigious contribution to the mission, continued to be perceived by many, including his co-worker Hermann

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[1] *Missionsacta*: 70. Meeting 5/7/1878

Vogelsang,[2] as not being quite of equal rank to other missionaries, who had usually completed training in Germany, and Meyer's lack of profile in work on mission philologists has persisted down to the present day.

With the arrival of the two missionaries at Bucaltaninna in October 1878 new routines for mission work on an expanded scale were immediately established. Flierl's first task was to learn the Dieri language, which he claimed to have found easier than English, due to its more regular pronunciation

> In the acquisition of this language I encounter no particular difficulties. Due to the more precise pronounciation I can now understand Dieri almost better than English, if I sit in on school instruction for some time each day.[3]

Meyer for his part resumed duties in the school, again taking over the first class while Vogelsang continued with the second.[4] There were now some 28 pupils,[5] and in addition Meyer commenced preparations for the baptism of the first group of Dieri Christians. It appears that this occurred as an extension of school classes until Flierl's Dieri fluency allowed for dedicated baptismal classes. By December Meyer was able to report that Flierl had made great progress with the Dieri language and had already done some preaching in Dieri.[6]

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[2] Meyer Diary (Nov 1882-Dec 1885) entry 2nd April 1885: It seems Bro. Vogelsang had taken exception to the fact that Meyer had held church service in inappropriate attire, and that he had revealed that although he bore Meyer personally no ill-will, he was unhappy with the Synod and the committee over the manner in which Meyer had been ordained. And this after some 10 years dedicated service!

[3] DKMZ 1878:170, Flierl Bucaltanina, 28/10/1878. 'In Erlernung dieser Sprache treten mir keine besonderen Schwierigkeiten entgegen. Um der bestimmteren Aussprache willen kann ich Dieri schon jetzt fast besser verstehen wie Englisch, wenn ich täglich immer einige Zeit dem Unterricht in der Schule beiwohne.'

[4] DKMZ 1878:179, Meyer 7/11/1878

[5] DKMZ 1878:171, Meyer 8/11/1878

[6] DKMZ 1/1879:3, Meyer 16/12/1878

7.1 New beginnings

'Foremost it is necessary, that we come into orderly circumstances with our station, as the provisional state has persisted quite long enough.' [7]

On January 5th 1879 the first baptismal candidates were tested before the congregation including members of the camp. The following Sunday the community celebrated the baptism, the female candidates clothed in dresses made by the mission wives and the men in moleskin pants, shoes and shirts from the mission store with Meyer loaning one of his own shirts for the occasion.

Die Namen der Getauften ſind folgende:
1) Benjamin Dalkilina, ohngefähr 21 Jahre alt; mit ſeiner Frau
2) Louiſa, ohngefähr 17 Jahre; ſodann
3) Godfrey Yildimirna, ohngefähr 20 Jahre, verheirathet, aber nur allein getauft, weil ſeine Frau noch nicht fähig, obgleich ſie die Schule beſucht;
4) Johannes Pingilina, ohngefähr 18 Jahre alt;
5) Henry Tipilina, ohngefähr 17 Jahre alt (dies iſt der Krüppel, worüber ich früher berichtete);
6) Guſtav Tiltjilina, ohngefähr 16 Jahre alt;
7) Auguſt Maolina, ohngefähr 15 Jahre alt;
8) Bernhardt Tiwana, ohngefähr 12 Jahre alt;
9) Suſanna, ohngefähr 14 Jahre alt;
10) Bertha, ohngefähr 14 Jahre alt;
11) Roſalie; und ſchließlich
12) Clara, beide ohngefähr 12 Jahre alt.

Figure 20: Listing of first baptisms: DKMZ (1879:27)
'Three of the most gifted of those baptised will now receive further, more comprehensive instruction, in order where possible to be capable to assist in the school, or also to proclaim God's Word to the Blacks. Bro. Flierl has assumed responsibility for this instruction. The names of these three are Johannes [Pingilina], Godfrey [Tiltimirina] and Bernhard [Tiwana].' [8]

The service itself was held in a thatched cottage and opened with the singing of an English hymn, followed by a short sermon, the reading of the baptismal prayer and liturgy, and then the Lord's Prayer by Missionary Flierl. The sermon and prayers were all conducted in Dieri, using the translated materials prepared by Meyer, Flierl and Vogelsang. Meyer then baptised the group, speaking the

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[7] DKMZ 1879:115, Meyer 28/7/1879. 'Vor allen Dingen thäte es noth, daß wir mit unsrer Station in geregelte Verhältnisse kämen, da der Nothstand nun schon lange genug gedauert hat.'

[8] DKMZ 1879:27, Meyer 9/1/1879

baptismal liturgy, the Peace and the closing prayer accompanied by a short address encouraging the newly baptised to keep the Faith:

> Nothing other than the singing of the two English hymns was conducted in the English language; we had translated the liturgy into the Dieri language in order as far as possible to give the Blacks an understanding of the sacrament. This translation was no easy task, but the Lord in His Mercy helped through all difficulties.[9]

With the arrival of Flierl there was not only the available personnel but also a renewed determination to minister to the nascent mission congregation in Dieri and the following years saw a considerable increase in the production of materials for use in the school and Church services. Alongside English, used in the school and as an everyday mode of communication, Dieri was used in the baptismal class and the role of these pupils was probably significant in the refinement of mission translations. Dieri became the major Church language for the mission congregation, made up of school pupils, baptismal pupils and mission station workers and was also used for regular Sunday services with the fluctuating population in the camp.

Meanwhile German was used in the mission households, where of course many of the Indigenous women and girls also worked, and also for regular Church services with the European community. The mission community thus became a trilingual one, and the singing of songs in all three languages was regularly reported.[10] Meyer observed that 'in order to be honest and conscientious in the work, they

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[9] DKMZ 1879:26, Meyer 9/1/1879. 'Außer dem Singen der beiden englischen Lieder wurde nichts weiter in englischer Sprache vorgenommen; die Liturgie hatten wir in die Dieri Sprache übersetzt, um den Schwarzen so viel als möglich ein Verständniß von dieser heiligen Handlung zu geben. Diese Übersetzung war nun zwar kein leichtes Stück Arbeit, aber der Herr half in Gnaden über alle Schwierigkeiten hinweg.'

[10] DKMZ 1879:26, Meyer 9/1/1879. 'Nach dem Schlusse dieser interessanten Feier sangen wir in unserm Hause noch verschiedene Lieder und Arien in deutscher und englischer Sprache; die Getauften, als sie uns singen hörten, kamen sogleich, um Theil daran zu nehmen; um nun schließlich allen gerecht zu werden, sangen wir dann noch einige Lieder in der Dieri Sprache, besonders dies: "Wo findet die Seele die Heimath der Ruh", von Br Flierl übersetzt, welches die Schwarzen mit großer Vorliebe singen.' See too DKMZ 1878:179, Meyer 7/11/78, on welcoming return of Meyer and Flierl with English and German songs.

now saw themselves obliged to conduct the Church services in three languages,'[11] and this of course also necessitated much additional translation work.

The Mission Committee endorsed this shift in language policy in March 1879, and cited the inadequacy of English competence especially among the old people, and the difficulty of acquiring English for the young, but it is likely that the Mission Committee was also now reacting to the need of the two missionaries to work cooperatively. It would have been illogical to have Meyer preaching to the camps in Dieri while Flierl maintained English with the pupils of the school.

> ... it is [...] necessary to make the Dieri language the written language and also the language used for instruction, and especially also for divine service [...] this is not only desireable but also necessary if the work of the Mission is to prosper.[12]

By March 1879 Meyer had begun preparing a translation of Luther's catechism while Flierl was working on a Dieri Bible history, both works were intended as components of a primer. The committee however requested to defer printing these until the translations could be tested and perfected, and until such time as it could be confirmed that the Dieri language was indeed the most suitable language for mission purposes:

> They [Meyer and Flierl] must moreover find out as much as possible how the Dieri language is related to the other languages or dialects of the surrounding native tribes, and whether the Dieri language is actually also one of the predominant languages that can be understood by most of the Aborigines of the surrounding country...[13]

Early in 1879 Meyer and Flierl were also preparing to transfer the mission back to the old mission site. Jacob and Vogelsang and some of the pupils had moved there at the end of January to prepare the buildings for the return of the missionaries,[14] and it appears that the camp followed to Killalpaninna in

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[11] DKMZ 1879:27, Meyer 9/1/1879

[12] *Missionsacta*: 83. Meeting 17/3/1879

[13] ibid

[14] DKMZ 1879:27, Flierl 11/2/1879

February.[15] Shortly afterwards Flierl together with the baptismal candidates under his instruction followed. Meyer was left with eight or so school pupils and a few Aborigines from the camp at Bucaltaninna, mainly due to the necessity of maintaining the postal service until it too could be transferred to the Killalpaninna station.[16] The separation of mission personnel endured for some three months. As far as the mission committee was concerned, the shift to Killalpaninna was intended only as a transitional arrangement while the main station was being established at Kopperamana, the mission personnel however it seems had other plans and proceeded on their own initiative; from the outset they did not want to leave Killalpaninna again for Kopperamana and it is evident that later the building of the Church, in the face of the Mission Committee's consistent rejection of their requests to stay, finally sealed the decision;

> ...the decisions of the Committee are simply not obeyed. The mission personnel take offence at almost every reprimand directed at them by the committee. They, however, unjustly accuse the committee of expecting them to do work that goes beyond their strength [here reference to the instruction to attempt to grow fodder at Kopperamanna]. To undertake the building of a Church with clay (without first telling the committee anything about it, and, of course, without asking the committee for its opinion in the matter) - that does not go beyond their strength!...[17]

By May Meyer had transferred to Killalpaninna and wrote full of enthusiasm of the many plans and tasks that lay ahead; lambing and shearing, general repairs and the building of cottages for the married couples, 'so that they might become accustomed to other circumstances.'[18] A new school was also to be established with instruction that it should be conducted in a more rigorous, comprehensive and energetic manner than the Dieri mission had hitherto experienced. A major component involved the refocussing on the Dieri language; Meyer confirmed that both he and Flierl were resolved to put more effort into the Dieri language and particularly to teach the children to read in their own language and that English

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[15] DKMZ 1879:43, Meyer 8/2/1879

[16] *Missionsacta*: 83. MC resolves to make transfer request to Postmaster General. Meeting 17/3/1879

[17] *Missionsacta*: 109. Meeting 2/6/1880

[18] DKMZ 1879:67, Meyer 3/5/1879

would not be neglected but practiced wherever possible.[19] Lake Killalpaninna not only provided a much more sympathetic setting than Bucaltaninna, with fish and waterfowl to supplement the station diet of sheep and goat meat, but importantly it was seen as more removed from outside influences :

> The good thing that has been achieved by our relocation is that we will no longer be plagued by so many travellers; this place is of course far too isolated that they should come here. Just how much this means to us can only be judged by one who is acquainted with the circumstances. We are of course willing to extend hospitality, but the behaviour of visitors towards the natives has often given us much concern...[20]

7.2 Setting the division of work

With the re-establishment of the mission station at the Lake Killalpaninna site in early 1879 and the arrival of Meyer in May, a division of responsibilities between the missionaries was soon arrived at, which involved a sharing of the duty to write reports to the Mission Committee for publication in the journal and sharing pastoral and teaching duties, alongside manual labour.

Pastoral and teaching duties were extensive and included school for the European children and Indigenous children (held separately), additional instruction for small numbers of baptised Dieri, pastoral care of all groups, services in German for the European personnel, Dieri services for the Indigenous congregation and members of the camp. Meyer preached regularly on Sunday in Dieri to a mixed group including the *Campschwarzen* whilst Flierl conducted baptismal instruction in Dieri in the afternoon, which Meyer also invariably attended. Flierl was also responsible for German services for the mission personnel. In June 1879 Flierl reported:

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[19] See DKMZ 1879:66, Meyer 7/4/1879

[20] DKMZ 1879:67, Meyer 3/5/1879. 'Das Gute, haben wir durch unsern Umzug doch erreicht: daß wir jetzt nicht mehr von so vielen Reisenden belästigt werden; dieser Platz ist ihnen doch wohl zu sehr abgelegen, als daß sie hierher kommen sollten. Wie viel dieses für uns werth ist, kann nur ein solcher beurtheilen, der die näheren Verhältnisse kennt. Wir sind ja gerne bereit, Gastfreundschaft zu üben; aber das Betragen der Besucher gegen die Eingebornen hat uns schon oft viel Kummer gemacht...'

> With regards to the Sunday worship services and the daily morning and evening devotions for the natives, since our relocation to this place we have been holding sermon services each Sunday morning and in the afternoon catechism classes. In each instance our bell also invites the Blacks from the camp to attend. [...] In the daily devotions we sing a morning or evening hymn with our baptised members and pupils, we translate and explain a short Bible passage, we pray and affirm the Apostolic Faith with them. Brother Meyer leads the morning services including the devotional services and I have assumed responsibility for the remainder. In all these we exclusively employ the language of the natives.[21]

Meanwhile translation work proceeded, not only for the 1880 primer, but on a week-to-week basis for prayers and services in Dieri. In July Meyer reported that they had been able to complete the difficult task of translating the Order of Service for communion and that the first 12 baptised Indigenous Christians had been able to partake for the first time on the fifth Sunday after Trinity.[22] In August work was completed on the translation of the Small Catechism and a brief Biblical history on which the missionaries had spent some 6 months. The corrected manuscripts were sent off to the committee to arrange printing in the hope that they would soon have to hand a Christian textbook for the Dieri school.[23] At the General Mission convention in 1879 the printing of the manuscript (*Christianeli Ngujangujara-Pepa Dieri-Jaurani*, 1880) was discussed.

> The two brethren, Meyer and Flierl, had translated the following into the Dieri language for the Aborigines: 1. The six main parts of the catechism,[24] 2. the most important bible stories, 3. a series of prayers, 4. a number of hymns from the Breslau hymn book and the *Missionsharfe*. A

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[21] DKMZ 1879:107, Flierl 30/6/1879. 'Was die sonntägliche Gottesdienste und tägliche Morgen- und Abendandachten für die Eingebornen betrifft, so halten wir seit unsrer Uebersiedlung an diesen Ort allsonntäglich Vormittags Predigtgottesdienst u. Nachmittags Katechese für dieselben. Beide Male ladet unser Glöcklein auch die Schwarzen aus dem Camp dazu ein. [...] In den täglichen Andachten singen wir mit unsern Getauften u. Schülern ein Morgen- oder Abendlied, übersetzen und erklären ihnen eine kurze Schriftstelle, beten und bekennen den apostolischen Glauben mit ihnen. Die Vormittagsgottesdienste sammt den Morgenandachten hält Br. Meyer. Das Uebrige habe ich übernommen. In diesem allen bedienen wir ausschliesßlich der Sprache der Eingeborenen.'

[22] DKMZ 1879:115, Meyer 28/7/1879

[23] DKMZ 19/1979:146, Flierl 3/9/1879

[24] Luther wrote five main sections of the catechism, the sixth part referred to here, *The Office of the Keys*, was later taken up into the Small Catechism and deals with Confession and absolution from sin. It is often found following Part IV: Sacrament of Holy Baptism.

> letter from Bro. Flierl about the translations made by him and Bro. Meyer was read out. In it he gives an extact account of how the written work was divided between them, and especially of the choice of the respective Bible stories from the Old and New Testaments. A letter from Bro. Meyer was also read out. In it he points out that their translations should actually be examined and checked by experts. But since such experts, capable of doing this could, of course, not be found, they themselves had conscientiously undertaken to check their translations and to improve some expressions.[25]

In one of the typical ironies of archival work, precisely this letter has proved unlocatable. However Meyer referred to this work in other correspondence with typical modesty:

> It pleased us to hear that our modest work has been met with approval. I can honestly assure you that it has been no easy task, as in this language there are almost no words for godly things and we must therefore make all manner of circumlocution in order to adequately render the meaning. Thanks be to God, that this task is now behind us; this booklet will be of great assistance to us, once we have it printed and in our hands.[26]

The second Dieri Primer was finally received on the mission station towards the end of 1880 and was first distributed only to infirm baptismal candidates. Later all literate members of the community were given their own copy for use outside formal classes.[27]

7.3 Translation and the role of the Indigenous Christians

An insight into the methods of translation can be found in Missionary Meyer's unpublished diary, 16th November 1882 - 3rd Dec 1885, which covers a period of relentless work for the personnel of the mission. In his daily entries we read of the precisely documented harsh seasonal temperatures as high as 122F/50C degrees in the shade (recorded 14th January 1884), the building and dedication of

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[25] *Missionsacta*: 92. Gen Mission Convention 29/9/1879

[26] Meyer to his Brother and Sister-in-Law (Kässling), Killalpaninna 1/11/1879: 'Es hat uns gefreut zu erfahren, dass unsere geringe Arbeit doch Anerkennung gefunden hat. Kein leichtes Stück Arbeit ist es nicht [sic] gewesen, dass kann ich dir gewisslich versichern, da in dieser Sprache fast alle Wörter für göttliche Sachen fehlen und wir deshalb viele Umschreibungen machen mussten um den Sinn wiederzugeben. Doch Gott sei Dank, dass diese Arbeit hinter uns liegt; eine grosse Hilfe wird uns dies Büchlein werden, wenn es erst gedruckt in unsern Händen sein wird.'

[27] DKMZ 1881:11

the mud brick church, and the balancing of the many physical tasks of the mission with the work of translating materials and teaching and preaching. Meyer managed station affairs; building and maintenance, coordinating movement of the mission flock, shearing and transport of provisions and mission produce. This was no small undertaking as statistics reveal that by 1881 the mission stock had grown to 4,700 sheep, 60 cattle, 150 goats and 50 horses.[28] Alongside postmaster and storemaster duties, Meyer was responsible for compiling English reports to Government. All this Meyer coped with uncomplainingly despite his 40 years.

Attendance at Meyer's Sunday Dieri services fluctuated with the size of the camp, with 20 people from the camp commented on as low and 50 being seen as good attendance. He also regularly took over responsibility for all three services in Flierl's absences. In addition to Sunday services there were extra services for Church festivals, preaching to the camp, and visits to the outstations of the missions and especially to Kopperamana, Bucaltaninna and Etadunna where services were conducted for the workers. His pastoral duties included resolving disputes between its members, managing attendance/absences from the mission, supervising the Indigenous community in work about the mission and also periodically organising special excursions in the area.[29] Regularly members of the congregation absconded, including some of those already baptised and well-established members of the community, with the movements of groups passing through the mission camp exerting an influence over the congregation.[30] One such 'lapse' by Gottfried Yildimirina and his wife Beate, both established members of the mission community, was described by Meyer as 'one of the saddest experiences of my time here.'[31] Meyer candidly reported such setbacks

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[28] DKMZ 2/1881:9

[29] Meyer Diary: Wed. 3rd Jan. 1883. 'This morning we first had a meeting because of the fight of the evening before, it turned out that Tankibana had been making shameful comments for some time which had given rise to the dispute. As a consequence he was suspended from baptismal instruction and questioned as to whether he wished to mend his ways, in which case he would be allowed to remain in the school. Unfortunately he chose to leave in his sin.'

[30] Meyer Diary: 4th March 1883. Meyer reports that numbers at his Sunday service were down as the Lake Hope Blacks had left again.

[31] Meyer Diary: 13th March 1884

for the mission, and on occasion he was confronted with well-argued rejection of the mission way of life:

> ...heathendom is still a force which should not be underestimated...Some time ago a couple was attending baptismal instruction very conscientiously...The man became ill and we cared for him for a long while; after things had improved for him, he left together with his wife and her child (coloured) and was not seen at the station anymore. Recently Bro. Flierl-Auricht sought them out and brought them back, however the man steadfastly refused to come to the station again, and argued that if he were again to stay with us he would get sick again, as the work and the food were to blame...One still frequently hears that the *Alten* claim staying with us for any length of time and learning the *jaura* (God's Word) causes the Blacks to become sick and die.[32]

Somehow amidst all such work he managed to find time to meticulously prepare materials for the Sunday service. Initially this appears to have been done alone and later in group with Flierl I and later Flierl II, who had arrived from Neuendettelsau in August 1883. Most Wednesdays found Meyer at work preparing for the following Sunday in a workman-like fashion, and a handwritten booklet titled *Episteln und Evangelien für die Sonn- und Festtage des Kirchenjahres 1884* is held in the Lutheran Archive. Here a typical diary entry on his translation work from Saturday 29th November 1884:

> In the morning we together translated the pericopes [Bible readings] of the Church Year; afterwards I wrote out the clean copy and prepared the Aborigines Returns and towards evening I made a visit to the camp. Today cool, only 88[=31 C] degrees in the shade.[33]

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[32] DKMZ 1885:155. The reference here is probably to Mik and Rosalie Pakibana. '...das Heidenthum ist noch eine Macht, welche nicht zu unterschätzen ist...Vor einiger Zeit besuchte ein gewisses Paar den Taufunterricht sehr fleißig...Der Mann wurde krank und pflegten wir ihn lange Zeit; nachdem es etwas besser mit ihm geworden war, ging er mit seinem Weibe und ihrem Kinde (halbweiß) fort und ließ sich nicht mehr sehen. Vor kurzem suchte sie Br. Flierl-Auricht jedoch auf und brachte sie auch zurück, der Mann jedoch verweigerte beharrlich wieder zur Station zu kommen und meinte: wenn er wieder bei uns ware, da möchte er auf's Neue krank werden, denn die Arbeit und das Essen sei daran schuld...Sehr oft erfährt man es noch, daß die Alten behaupten, daß der beständige Aufenthalt bei uns und das Lernen der 'jaura' (des Wort Gottes) die Schwarzen krank mache und daß sie stürben.'

[33] Meyer Diary: 29th Nov. 1884. 'Vormittags übersetzten wir gemeinschaftlich Perikopen des Kirchenjahres; nachher schrieb ich sie ins Reine und fertigte *Aborigines-Returns* aus, machte auch gegen Abend einen Besuch im Camp. Heute kühl, nur 88 Grad im Schatten.'

The method of work appears to have been collegial and focussed also on the passing on of skills to newer missionaries and it appears that a method of what might be termed systematic translation was developed and refined in the Meyer/Flierl years. Some days between translation, preparation of services and correspondence, Meyer worked the entire day in the Dieri language.[34] In 1883 he also noted that he had been writing a history of the mission,[35] and in April 1884, at a time when both Flierl I and Flierl II were contemplating resignation over synodal tensions, Meyer mentioned that he had recently commenced work on a translation of the New Testament, indeed the second half of 1884 was a period of intensive translation work.

In the development of such translations the role of Indigenous individuals including Johannes Pingilina, Timotheus Maltilina and other literate members of the mission community should not be overlooked. There is attestation that Johannes read and translated the English Bible together with Meyer (Meyer Diary: 25th June 1883) and also gave talks in Dieri (Meyer Diary: 1st July 1883) and such practices were probably part of small group instruction for baptismal candidates.

The table below, published in 1886, records the 42 baptised Aborigines, either receiving instruction or living and working on the mission lands, and reflects the culmination of the work of the Homann, Meyer and Flierl years in both spiritual and linguistic terms. The list includes several married couples and their families and notes under *Erziehung,* capabilities in reading and writing. Of the 42 individuals designated with an asterix, to indicate that they were baptised, eight were young children, and 21 baptised adults were recorded as being able to both read and write. A further seven could read only, and six individuals were recorded as baptised but unable to read and write. Although not explicitly stated, literacy skills were developed in both English and Dieri, and although literacy was not strictly a prerequisite for baptism, it appears closely associated.

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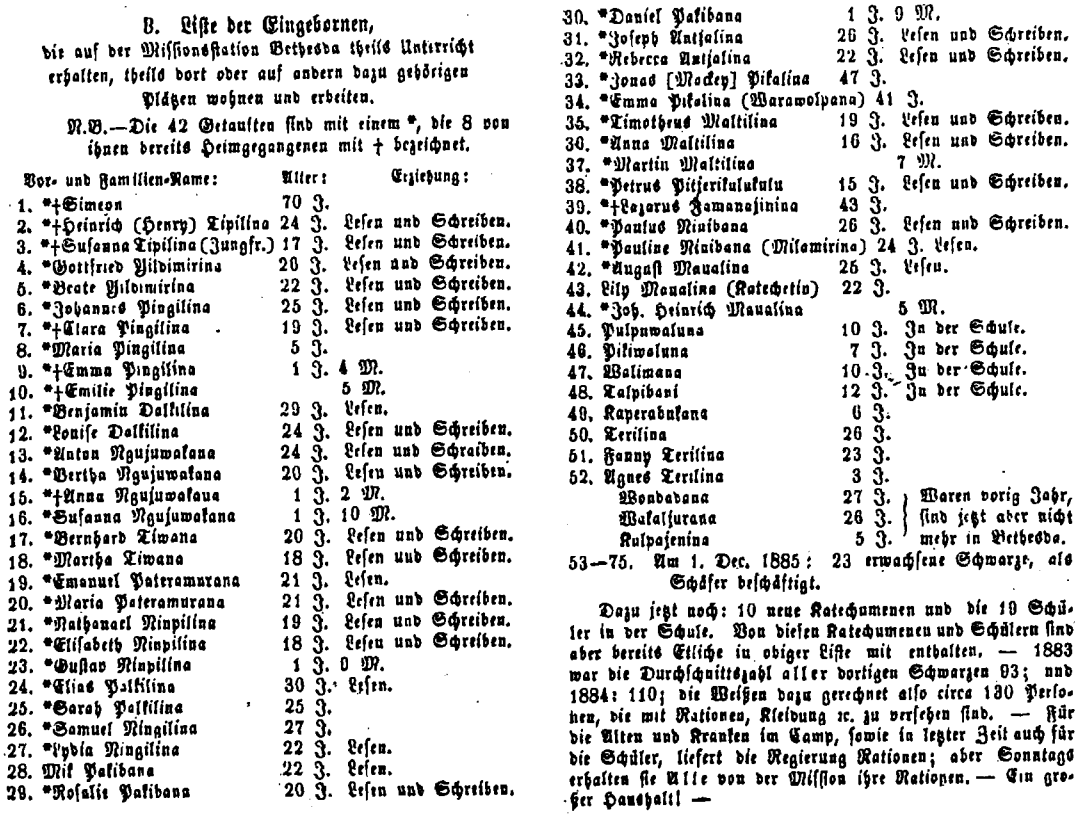
[34] Meyer Diary: 16th Dec. 1882. 'Today I worked the entire day in the Dieri language, in that I prepared myself for the coming Sunday; I also translated the epistle and the evangelium for the fourth Sunday in Advent, and I also wrote a letter to Daniel.'

[35] See references in Meyer Diary entries 1st Sept; 13th Oct; 30th Nov; 12th Dec in 1883



B. Liste der Eingebornen,
die auf der Missionsstation Bethesda theils Unterricht erhalten, theils dort oder auf andern dazu gehörigen Plätzen wohnen und erbeiten.

N.B.—Die 42 Getauften sind mit einem *, die 8 von ihnen bereits Heimgegangenen mit † bezeichnet.

Vor- und Familien-Name:	Alter:	Erziehung:
1. *†Simeon	70 J.	
2. *†Heinrich (Henry) Tipilina	24 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
3. *†Susanna Tipilina (Jungfr.)	17 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
4. *Gottfried Yildimirina	20 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
5. *Beate Yildimirina	22 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
6. *Johannes Pingilina	25 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
7. *†Clara Pingilina	19 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
8. *Maria Pingilina	5 J.	
9. *†Emma Pingilina	1 J. 4 M.	
10. *†Emilie Pingilina	5 M.	
11. *Benjamin Dalkilina	29 J.	Lesen.
12. *Louise Dalkilina	24 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
13. *Anton Ngujuwakana	24 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
14. *Bertha Ngujuwakana	20 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
15. *†Anna Ngujuwakana	1 J. 2 M.	
16. *Susanna Ngujuwakana	1 J. 10 M.	
17. *Bernhard Tiwana	20 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
18. *Martha Tiwana	18 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
19. *Emanuel Pateramurana	21 J.	Lesen.
20. *Maria Pateramurana	21 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
21. *Nathanael Ninpilina	19 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
22. *Elisabeth Ninpilina	18 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
23. *Gustav Ninpilina	1 J. 0 M.	
24. *Elias Palkilina	30 J.	Lesen.
25. *Sarah Palkilina	25 J.	
26. *Samuel Ningilina	27 J.	
27. *Lydia Ningilina	22 J.	Lesen.
28. Mit Pakibana	22 J.	Lesen.
29. *Rosalie Pakibana	20 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
30. *Daniel Pakibana	1 J. 9 M.	
31. *Joseph Antjalina	26 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
32. *Rebecca Antjalina	22 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
33. *Jonas [Mackey] Pikalina	47 J.	
34. *Emma Pikalina (Warawolpana)	41 J.	
35. *Timotheus Maltilina	19 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
36. *Anna Maltilina	16 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
37. *Martin Maltilina	7 M.	
38. *Petrus Pitjerikulukulu	15 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
39. *†Lazarus Jamanajinina	43 J.	
40. *Paulus Ninibana	26 J.	Lesen und Schreiben.
41. *Pauline Ninibana (Milamirina)	24 J.	Lesen.
42. *August Maualina	26 J.	Lesen.
43. Lily Maualina (Katechetin)	22 J.	
44. *Joh. Heinrich Maualina	5 M.	
45. Pulpuwaluna	10 J.	In der Schule.
46. Pikiwoluna	7 J.	In der Schule.
47. Walimana	10 J.	In der Schule.
48. Talpibani	12 J.	In der Schule.
49. Kaperabukana	6 J.	
50. Terilina	26 J.	
51. Fanny Terilina	23 J.	
52. Agnes Terilina	3 J.	
Wondabana	27 J.	Waren vorig Jahr, sind jetzt aber nicht mehr in Bethesda.
Wakalsurana	26 J.	
Kulpafenina	5 J.	

53—75. Am 1. Dec. 1885: 23 erwachsene Schwarze, als Schäfer beschäftigt.

Dazu jetzt noch: 10 neue Katechumenen und die 10 Schüler in der Schule. Von diesen Katechumenen und Schülern sind aber bereits Etliche in obiger Liste mit enthalten. — 1883 war die Durchschnittszahl aller dortigen Schwarzen 93; und 1884: 110; die Weißen dazu gerechnet also circa 130 Personen, die mit Rationen, Kleidung ꝛc. zu versehen sind. — Für die Alten und Kranken im Camp, sowie in letzter Zeit auch für die Schüler, liefert die Regierung Rationen; aber Sonntags erhalten sie Alle von der Mission ihre Rationen. — Ein großer Haushalt! —

Figure 21: Listing of Indigenous members of the mission community Excerpt: Mission History (1886: 46 & 47)

Most literate individuals ranged in age from 17 to 30, however from early 1884 it is significant that Meyer and Flierl had introduced a type of Sunday School instruction for older people focussed mainly on teaching of the Ten Commandments and other parts of the catechism. This provided a complement to Sunday services and small group pre-literacy instruction from which individuals could move on to baptismal classes.[36] The Indigenous Christians, with their skills in translating and interpreting, filled a central role in approaches to the camp:

> Now, each Sunday, we assemble all the Blacks in the Church before catechism class. The male Christians must each take on a couple of heathens, and the female Christians devote themselves to women heathens. Then in and before Church, in several groups, the Commandment or whatever we have set for that day, must be recited and repeated and if possible learned. The Blacks have taken to this quite well...on such occasions old grey-headed men listen and repeat what is spoken to them.

[36] Meyer Diary entries: 6th April 1884; 27th April 1884

> To close, the passage learned is commended to the Camp Blacks in a short address.[37]

A further important development was the teaching and mentoring role of first generation Christians such as Pingilina and Gottfried.[38] These individuals were formally charged with assisting the evangelisation and recruitment of new candidates for baptism from the Camp, and also for maintaining and supporting standards of conduct within the Indigenous Christian community. It is interesting to note that the missionaries designated these Indigenous teachers and mentors *neji* [older brothers] which was also the term used by the mission community for members of the mission committee, and denoted individuals of authority:

> Some time ago we arrived at the beginnings of a Christian code of conduct for our community, and the few sentences which we wished our black brothers and sisters to know and embrace, were posted on the church doors. In conjunction with that, we caused three to be chosen from the five nominated Christian men, who all would view as *neji.* These have the duty to assist us with supervision, conciliation, guidance and correction in our small congregation. Each Sunday evening we hold a short conference with these three *neji* in the vestry, so that they may report on all manner of events of the week, to consult with them and, if necessary, to give them advice and instructions.[39]

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[37] DKMZ 1884:107. 'Nun versammeln wir an jedem Sonntag Nachmittag alle Schwarzen in der Kirche vor der Katechese. Die Christen müssen ein jeder ein paar Heiden besonders nehmen, die Christinnen Heidinnen, da muß denn in und vor der Kirche, bei zahlreichen Gruppen, das Gebot, oder was wir eben für den Tag aufgeben, vor- und nachgesprochen und wo möglich gelernt werden. Die Schwarzen finden sich dabei schon ganz gut zurecht...Mit wichtiger Miene hören und sprechen zuweilen die alten Grauhäupter, was ihnen vorgesagt wird. Am Schluß wird das gelernte Wort in einer kurzen Ansprache den Camp-Schwarzen aus- und ans Herz gelegt.'

[38] DKMZ 1882:138. Rechner's visit to the mission school, where Gottfried was teaching spelling to the class and was dubbed the schoolmaster and given a black robe.

[39] DKMZ 1884:170. 'Vor einiger Zeit kamen wir zu den Anfängen einer christlichen Gemeindeordnung und haben die wenigen Sätze, von denen wir wünschen, daß sie seitens unserer schwarzen Geschwister gekannt und beherzigt sein möchten, an die Kirchenthür angeschlagen. Im Zusammenhang damit ließen wir von unsern Christen aus fünf vorgeschlagenen christlichen Männern drei auswählen, die sie alle als *negi* [neji]: ältere Brüder ansehen möchten, ihnen liegt ob, uns zur Hand zu gehen im Beaufsichtigen, Schlichten, Steuern, Ermahnen in unserm Gemeinlein. Jeden Sonntag Abend halten wir mit diesen drei '*negi*' kurze Conferenz in der Sakristei, um von ihnen uns berichten zu lassen über allerlei Vorkommnisse einer Woche, um mit ihnen zu berathen und ihnen nöthigenfalls Winke und Weisungen zu geben.'

7.4 Demographic observations: births and the congregation

The mission congregation was consolidated in the 1880's starting with the first baptisms in 1879, which were followed at regular intervals with small additional groups. Baptismal candidates were prepared carefully, having participated in catechism classes and been tested on their Faith and commitment to a new life. It was also practice to encourage formation of families within this group, as a further support for conversion to the Christian way of life and so that children might be born into the community of the Church:

> After the catechism class we had a conference with Emanuel, Nathanael and Bernhardt and also one with Martha, Elisabeth and Nelly, in order to ascertain whether they might be inclined to accept each other in marriage. After quite some discussion back and forth all were in agreement. However in the evening the relatives started to cause disturbance, and raised their *Mordus* and other kinship rules, according to which they could not accede – it is foreseeable that there will yet be much to discuss and to overcome in this matter, however the Lord in His Mercy will help.[40]

Children born into this new life were of particular concern to the missionaries, and it seems that they went to great pains to retain these children and their families on the mission. In the case of the son of Rosalie and Mik Pakibana, the missionaries secured the consent of both the baptised mother and 'heathen' father for the child to be baptised and receive the name Daniel. Further the parents apparently gave both a verbal and written undertaking 'never to remove their child from Christian upbringing and schooling of the mission station.'[41] Nevertheless, from time to time baptised couples would decide to leave the mission. This often happened at night and it was not unusual for Flierl or Meyer, usually accompanied by one of the Christian Dieri, to track the persons in question in order to persuade them to return to the mission, or at least to allow the children to return to the school. The commitment to remain part of the mission community and raise

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[40] Meyer Diary: Sunday 4th November 1884. 'Nach Schluß der Catechisation hatten wir noch eine Conferenz mit Emanuel, Nathanael & Bernhardt, ebenso mit Martha, Elisabeth und Nelly um zu erfahren, ob sie geneigt seien sich gegenseitig zur Ehe zu nehmen. Nach längerem hin und herreden waren sie Alle einverstanden. Am Abend jedoch, fingen die Verwandten an Unruhe zu machen und hoben ihre Mordus und andere verwandtschaftelichen Regeln hervor nach welchen sie es nicht zugeben wollten – Es wird in dieser Angelegenheit voraussichtlich noch Vieles zu besprechen und zu überwinden sein, doch wird der Herr in Gnaden helfen.'

[41] DKMZ 1884:170

one's children in a Christian way, was evidently in several cases a differentially perceived one. Whilst there is no attestation of physical compulsion or force, it was standard practice for the missionaries to confront the individuals concerned with their decision and to argue strongly for their return. These children were seen as a proof of God's blessing on the mission enterprise and also as confirmation of the Christian way of life as against the heathen way of life which the missionaries saw as being rewarded with barreness.

> With this [with birth and baptism of the child Maria Pingilina] our small congregation has again grown by one soul. In a few months we also have prospects of receiving a new arrival. It is however notable, that it is precisely amongst the baptised Blacks that children are arriving, whilst the other young Blacks who live in the camp are childless; only very few exceptions occur with young Camp-Blacks bearing children; if children are still being born to them at all, this primarily occurs amongst the older people.[42]

Of course this situation had ramifications for language transmission. Most obviously ill-health and decline in birth rate amongst the Indigenous population outside the mission community could have preferenced the survival of the form of Dieri taught on the mission. Furthermore it is clear that such children were born into a community which not only used a standard form of Dieri but also reinforced this form through regular participation in church and school.

7.5 Physical work as an instrument of evangelisation
Listen! Pray! Work![43]

The mission community of the 1880's was one in which a culture of work was strongly encouraged as an evangelical tool, and the missionaries were closely involved with the supervision of members of the mission community in building

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[42] Meyer correspondence 1876-85 to brother-in-law Käßler (Meyer's wife Emma Louise nee Käßler): Bethesda, Oct. 11th 1880: 'Somit [mit der Geburt und Taufe des Kindes, Maria Pingilina] ist unsere kleine Gemeinde wieder um Eine Seele gewachsen. In einigen Monaten haben wir auch Aussicht einen neuen Zuwachs zu erhalten. Eigenthümlich ist es aber doch, daß gerade bei den getauften Schwarzen, die Kinder sich einstellen, während die anderen jungen Schwarzen welche im Camp leben - kinderlos sind; nur sehr vereinzelte Ausnahmen kommen vor, daß junge Camp-Schwarze Kinder bekommen; wenn noch Kinder unter ihnen geboren werden so kommt dieß besonders bei den älteren Leuten vor.'

[43] DKMZ 1883:139 'Höret! Betet! Arbeitet!' Flierl's address to baptismal candidates 10/8/1883

and other works. Alongside formal instruction in the school and via Church services, such work was regarded as central to the *Erziehung* of the people towards a Christian life, and the model of the Victorian Moravian missions was influential in this approach. Simultaneously the missionaries strove to avoid the necessity of taking on European workers, who were seen as potentially disruptive to the spiritual progress of the community:

> A greater portion of this poor race can never be saved if these poor people are not urged to orderly activity, under our continual supervision and separated from those who are Christians in name only and give cause to the gravest affronts. If this is not done, every seed of the Divine Word which falls upon their hearts will be suffocated by thorns or removed by the Devil, or it will be lost due to their own lack of constancy. Only the Word's constant discipline can change these people.[44]

Although the constant work involved in running the station often brought disadvantages for school attendance, its benefits were recognised, especially for bringing members of the camp into regular contact with the spiritual life of the mission.[45] In this area too, baptised Christians such as Johannes Pingilina provided role models, shearing the mission flock and also shearing on neighbouring properties. The provision of ongoing meaningful and, where possible profitable work, was a constant concern for the missionaries who attempted to employ as many people from the camp as possible. In 1882 Meyer reported to the Protector of Aborigines that although various attempts to sow wheat, barley and corn had failed, they were employing as many as were willing to work, with all manner of tasks about the station. These included shepherding and stockwork, fencing, building and repairs, carting wood and provisions and tending vegetable gardens. Others were encouraged to hunt dingos 'for which we

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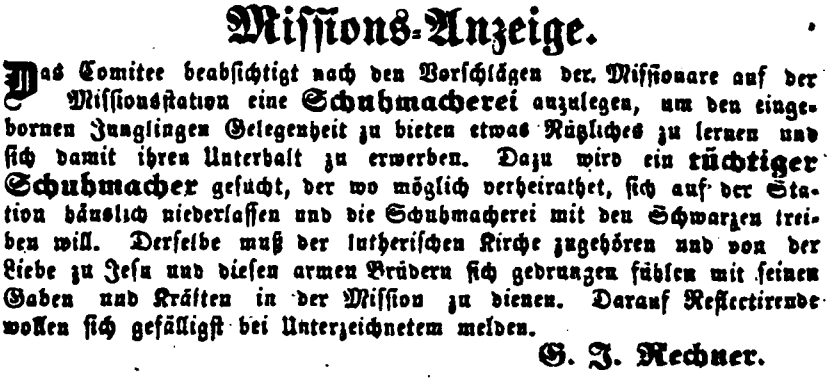
[44] DKMZ 1879:107, Flierl 30/6/1879. 'Niemals kann ein größerer Theil aus diesem armen Volke gerettet werden, wenn diese armen Leute nicht unter unserer beständigen Aufsicht, geschieden von den gröbsten Aergernisse gebenden Namenchristen, zu geordneter Thätigkeit angehalten werden. Andernfalls wird jedes Samenkörnlein des göttlichen Worts, das in ihre Herzen fällt, wiederum von den Dornen erstickt, durch den Teufel weggenommen, oder es geht durch ihre Unbeständigkeit verloren. Nur beständige Zucht des Wortes kann diese Leute umändern.'

[45] ibid: 'With regard to the school it is be reported that the progress of the same was miserable for this month. Above all the blame for this lies in a circumstance that is apparently not easily avoided, that on virtually no occasion the full complement of pupils was in attendance; on one occasion a few had to bring in the stock, on another several had to go carting wood etc etc. This necessity will largely disappear once we have enough rations to employ the Camp-Blacks for such tasks, which at the same time has the good effect on them that they thus come under our influence.'

pay the full price' and during that year some 400 scalps had been brought in.[46] Missionary Flierl pointed to the need for work that was neither too easy nor too difficult, and the need for assistance with supervision. To that end he considered that 'proper trades' would be ideal and that the necessary apprenticeship years would be quite *heilsam* or beneficial for some of the lads. 'Because the Blacks have an innate aptitude for all sorts of sewing-work, and also because lots of shoes are required here'[47] he considered the establishment of a shoe workshop would be appropriate. Although this innovative plan was taken up by the Mission Committee it was never realised.



Miſſions-Anzeige.

Das Comitee beabſichtigt nach den Vorſchlägen der Miſſionare auf der Miſſionsſtation eine **Schuhmacherei** anzulegen, um den eingebornen Jünglingen Gelegenheit zu bieten etwas Nützliches zu lernen und ſich damit ihren Unterhalt zu erwerben. Dazu wird ein **tüchtiger Schuhmacher** geſucht, der wo möglich verheirathet, ſich auf der Station häuslich niederlaſſen und die Schuhmacherei mit den Schwarzen treiben will. Derſelbe muß der lutheriſchen Kirche zugehören und von der Liebe zu Jeſu und dieſen armen Brüdern ſich gedrungen fühlen mit ſeinen Gaben und Kräften in der Miſſion zu dienen. Darauf Reflectirende wollen ſich gefälligſt bei Unterzeichnetem melden.

G. J. Rechner.

Figure 22: Proposal to establish a shoe factory at Bethesda (DKMZ/1882: 32)

'Following suggestions by the missionaries, the Committee intends to establish a shoe workshop on the Mission Station, in order to provide the Aboriginal young men with the oppoprtunity to learn something practical and be able to earn their living. For this a good shoemaker is sought, if possible married, to settle on the station and operate the shoe workshop with the Blacks. He must belong to the Lutheran Church and must feel himself compelled by the Love for Jesus and these poor brothers to serve the mission with his talents and strengths. Interested parties should kindly contact the undersigned. G.J. Rechner'

The building of the mudbrick Church and bell-tower, 1879/1880 had fully involved both European and Indigenous members in the making of mudbricks, forging of structural components and the gradual building up of the walls. It was a major project which had fulfilled the function of providing rewarding work for the Indigenous community towards an achievement which was widely admired throughout the region and beyond. Indeed the Church assumed symbolic status

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[46] DKMZ 1882:39. Meyer's report to the Protector also published in the *Advertiser* 14/2/1882

[47] DKMZ 22/1881:170

and represented the building of the mission community. This was expressed too in the renaming of the mission station in reference to the waters of Bethesda, as a centre from which spiritual healing could emanate. Missionary Flierl in 1880 referred to the new Church standing atop a sandhill as a clearly recogniseable *Wahrzeichen* or landmark visible from afar, which immediately conveyed that the station was not one of the usual livestock stations.[48]

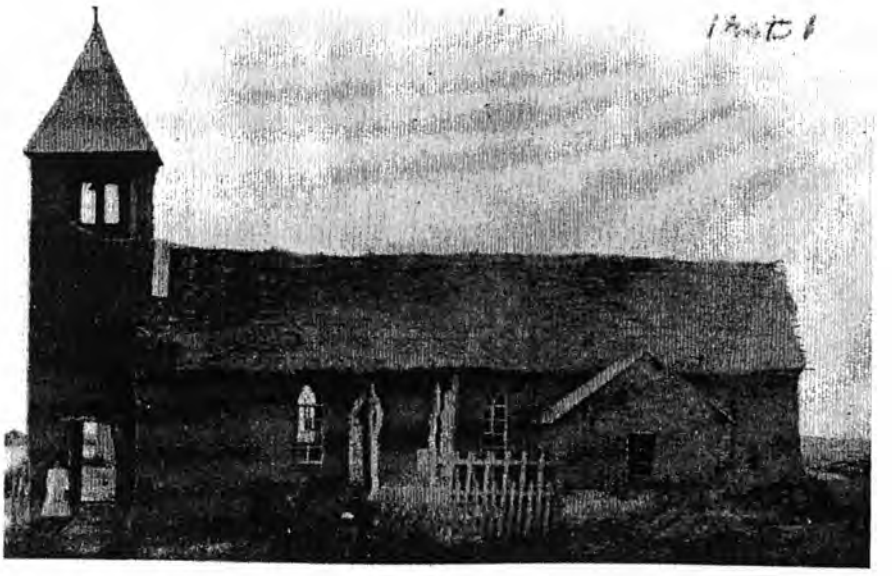

Figure 23: The mudbrick Church, Helen Jericho in foreground circa 1907 (Scholz Photo collection: copies held in LA)

The mission station and its Church were a centre for a new Christian way of life and new knowledge for the Dieri people, created with and for the members of the mission community, and the comparison lies close at hand with its role in disseminating literacy.

> I opened the Church in the Name of the Triune God, whereupon the Church quickly filled. Br Flierl had assumed the leading of the German part of the ceremony, whilst I was to lead the Dieri service. The Church was dedicated in the German and the Dieri language in order that all would gain an understanding of proceedings. After dedication of the Church I also had to bless the first new mother from amongst the Blacks and after both sermons we celebrated the Holy Communion together - Whites and Blacks – whereby Br Flierl administered it in German and I in Dieri. The

[48] DKMZ 1880:170

> celebrations were truly blessed and thus we could wholeheartedly sing *May we all thank God*, which we then did in both languages at once.[49]

The status of the mission as a centre for the region was also supported by the practice of 'mission journeys' aimed at spreading the Gospel to outlying camps and encouraging people to come to the mission and bring their children to the school. In this too, the first generation Christians played an important role. In the 1880's Missionary Flierl made three separate journeys, which were duly reported in the *DKMZ*. Reconnaissance trips were undertaken in 1881 (along the Coopers Creek to Lake Hope and then to Lake Perigundi, approximately half way to Innaminka and then returning via Salt Creek). On this trip Benjamin Dalkilina, who was one of the first baptised and had reading fluency, accompanied Flierl. In May 1883 Flierl undertook a six week journey to Salt Creek, through the Great Stony Desert to the Queensland border and Birdsville, and then westwards to Herbert River returning via the Diamantina. Nathanael Ninpilina (baptised and literate) and Elias Palkilina (baptised and with reading fluency) who himself came from across the Queensland border, acted as his guides and companions. Finally a shorter trip in June 1884 explored the area north-west of the mission station up to Lake Eyre and then north again to Salt Creek, which Flierl appears to have used as a base for local travels.[50] On this occasion Timotheus Maltilina acted as guide and contact to the groups of the region, and Flierl reported reading with his English-speaking companion from an English primer, catechism and Bible, and learning whilst he taught. Flierl was concerned not only to make contact with the people but also to survey the reach of the mission and the utility of Dieri as a common language for the area. Flierl encountered many people who had visited or worked on the mission in the past, and some lapsed Christians who had evidently opted to seek work without *Erziehung* on other stations in the region.

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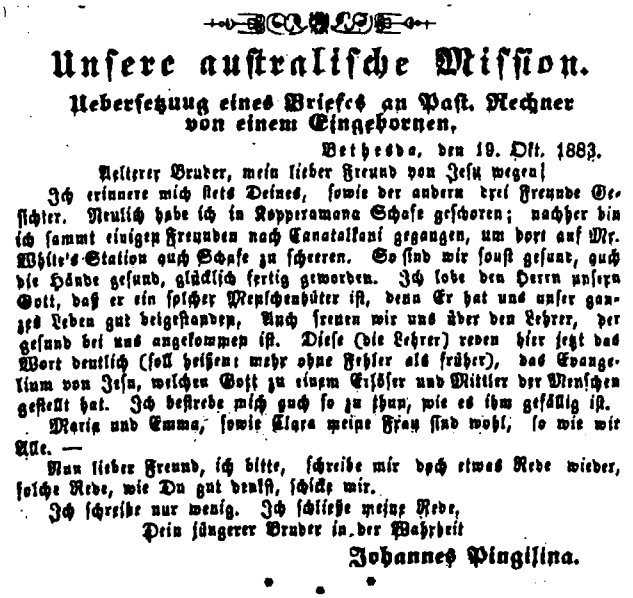
[49] Meyer to Brother and Sister in law (Kässling), Bethesda, 8/11/1880: Letter held LA. 'Ich schloss die Kirche im Namen des dreieinigen Gottes auf, worauf sich dann die Kirche auch bald füllte. Br Flierl hatte die Leitung des deutschen Theils der Feier übernommen, während ich den Gottesdienst in der Dieri-Sprache zu leiten hatte. Die Kirche wurde in deutscher und in Dieri Sprache geweiht, damit alle ein Verständnis davon bekommen sollten. Nachdem die Kirche geweiht war, hatte ich auch die erste Wöchnerin aus den Schwarzen einzusegnen und nach beiderlei Predigten feierten wir - Weisse und Schwarze - gemeinschaftlich das heilige Abendmahl, doch so dass Br Flierl dasselbe im deutschen austheilte und ich in Dieri. Die Feier war eine recht Gesegnete und konnten wir somit aus vollem Herzen 'Nun danket alle Gott' singen welches wir auch thaten in beiden Sprachen zugleich.'

[50] *Lutheran Almanac* 1966:34-54

His companions often encountered friends and relatives. In the later years it had been debated whether it was viable to establish a 'branch station' of the mission, however Flierl concluded that this was not justified as the *Bethesda* mission served the whole region west of the Queensland border. A more cost-effective solution would be for each pastoral station to become a type of mission with the European owners fulfilling their Christian obligation to care for and instruct the small groups of Aborigines that congregated on them.[51]

7.6 Indigenous Christians and the Lutheran congregations

Alongside the culture of shared work in the Meyer/Flierl years a culture of letter writing to the *Alten* or *neji* in the South was established. This was complemented by a culture of exchange and visits, which likewise involved translation by both the missionaries and the literate Dieri Christians.



Unſere auſtraliſche Miſſion.

Ueberſetzung eines Briefes an Paſt. Rechner von einem Eingebornen.

Bethesda, den 19. Okt. 1883.

Aelterer Bruder, mein lieber Freund von Jeſu wegen!

Ich erinnere mich ſtets Deines, ſowie der andern drei Freunde Geſichter. Neulich habe ich in Kopperamana Schafe geſchoren; nachher bin ich ſammt einigen Freunden nach Canatalkani gegangen, um dort auf Mr. White's Station auch Schafe zu ſcheeren. So ſind wir ſonſt geſund, auch die Hände geſund, glücklich fertig geworden. Ich lobe den Herrn unſern Gott, daß er ein ſolcher Menſchenhüter iſt, denn Er hat uns unſer ganzes Leben gut beigeſtanden. Auch freuen wir uns über den Lehrer, der geſund bei uns angekommen iſt. Dieſe (die Lehrer) reden hier jetzt das Wort deutlich (ſoll heißen: mehr ohne Fehler als früher), das Evangelium von Jeſu, welchen Gott zu einem Erlöſer und Mittler der Menſchen geſtellt hat. Ich beſtrebe mich auch ſo zu thun, wie es ihm gefällig iſt.

Maria und Emma, ſowie Clara meine Frau ſind wohl, ſo wie wir Alle. —

Nun lieber Freund, ich bitte, ſchreibe mir doch etwas Rede wieder, ſolche Rede, wie Du gut denkſt, ſchicke mir.

Ich ſchreibe nur wenig. Ich ſchließe meine Rede,

Dein jüngerer Bruder in der Wahrheit

Johannes Pingilina.

Figure 24: Johannes Pingilina's Letter to Rechner 19/10/1883 (Excerpt: DKMZ/1883: 194)

'Older Brother, my dear friend because of Jesus! I continually remember you, as well as the other three friends' faces. Recently I have been shearing sheep in Kopperamana; afterwards, together with a few friends, I went to Canatalkani [West of Lake Killalpaninna] to shear sheep

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[51] DKMZ/1884: 124

there on Mr White's station. Apart from that we are well, also our hands are healthy [busy] and successfully finished the task. I praise the Lord Our God, that He is such a good carer of men, for he has truly stood by us our whole life. We are also very pleased with the teacher [Flierl II] who arrived safe and well here. These (the teachers) now speak the word clearly here (i.e. with fewer errors than earlier)...'

As Chair of the Mission Committee, J. G. Rechner travelled to the mission in 1875 and again in 1882 along with other members of the committee, in an effort to ensure that the Mission Committee had a comprehensive understanding of conditions and challenges of the mission field. Such commission trips became a regular feature of mission practice and were repeated in 1887, 1891 and 1897. A secondary effect of these visits, as noted by Meyer after the 1882 visit, resulted from the personal interest and encouragement that Rechner and his colleagues had given to members of the mission:

> Since the worthy Commission left us, quite a lot has changed up here... the visit of the Commission on the station has largely contributed to the fact that so many are now willing to to stay on the station and receive instruction. The guidance that the members of the commission were able to give the Blacks on various occasions has brought this about, for to my question as to how it had come to pass that they were all at once so different and so willing, I received the following answer from a number of different persons: 'Yes, we now see that you are serious about us; why else would the "Elders" have come so far up here to guide us...'[52]

Johannes Pingilina subsequently wrote several letters to Rechner which were published in translation in the *DKMZ*, including the letter reproduced above. Further preserved Dieri letters written by other members of the mission community, with translations provided by the missionaries, include a letter from Henry Tipilina dated Bethesda November 14th 1881, a letter from Rosalie dated 30th August 1882,[53] and a letter from Timotheus Maltilina [to Flierl I] dated June 16th 1885 (see Appendix M).

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[52] DKMZ 1882: 163 'Seit die werthe Commission uns verlassen hat, hat sich bereits schon Manches wieder hier Oben verändert... der Aufenthalt der Commission auf der Station trägt viel dazu bei, daß sich so viele jetzt willig finden, auf der Station zu sein und Unterricht zu empfangen. Die Ermahnungen, welche seitens der Commission der Schwarzen zu verschiedenen Zeiten gegeben worden sind, haben dieses bewirkt, denn auf meine Fragen: wie es käme, daß sie sich mit einem Male so ganz anders, so willig zeigten, habe ich von Verschiedenen die Antwort bekommen: "Ja, wir sehen doch, daß es euch Ernst um uns ist; warum wären sonst die "Alten" so weit heraufgekommen, uns zu ermahnen...'

[53] *Geschichte der Ev-luth. Mission in Süd-Australien* (1886:42) henceforth *Geschichte* (1886)

Visits and cultural exchange also occurred with a number of Dieri Christians travelling down with the missionaries to the Lutheran congregations in the South. Johannes Pingilina's letter (31/3/1886) requested that he be able to come down to Adelaide with the sheep so that he could see the Friends.[54] And the 1886 Mission History also made special mention of past visits by baptised Christians with the congregations:

> Furthermore the Mission Church, as on several occasions in the past, again had the opportunity this past year to host for an extended period one of the Black Christian couples, who were staying with Missionary Meyer in the South. We were also able to rejoice at the quiet, modest nature of the same and at the sweet Christian hymns which they sang for the public, and the eloquent testimonials made by the husband at the Mission festival in his own language, and which were then translated by the Missionary.[55]

On this occasion the couple appear to have been Bertha (20 years old) and Anton Ngujuwakana (24 years), both literate and baptised, and their daughter Susanne Njujuwakana (1 year 10 months).[56] Bertha had apparently been taken in by Frau Meyer as household help early in 1879,[57] and it appears that both were involved in participating in services and addressing the congregation with the assistance of Missionary Meyer, translating into German.

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[54] Johannes Pingilina to Meyer, Bethesda 31/3/1886 in *Geschichte* (1886: 44) 'Mr Meyer, up here there is talk that next Winter sheep will be sent to Adelaide; if so, it would be very kind if I could then meet the Friends [of the mission]. Could you perhaps ask the Friends, whether I could come down with the sheep? I am yearning to be able to see the Friends.'

[55] *Geschichte* (1886:33) 'Ferner hatte die Missionskirche wie schon öfter, so auch im verflossenen Jahre Gelegenheit, eins von den schwarzen, christlichen Ehepaaren, die mit Missionar Meyer im Süden weilten, auf längerer Zeit unter sich zu haben und sich an dem stillen bescheidenen Wesen derselben zu erfreuen, sowie an den christlichen lieblichen Liedern, welche sie beide öffentlich sangen, und an den schlichten Zeugnissen des Ehemannes, die derselbe auf Missionsfesten in seiner Sprache ablegte und die der Missionar dann übersetzte, sich zu erbauen.'

[56] Meyer to Brother and Sister-in-Law [Käßling], Bethesda 23/9/1885 held in LA. 'This time we do not come alone but rather we bring a baptised couple and their child with us; the woman helps Emma in the kitchen and has been with us for the whole 10 years that we have been up here, we therefore wanted to give them this pleasure, as the Blacks like to be able to see Adelaide and the Friends down South too.'

[57] DKMZ 1879:43, Meyer 8/2/1879

7.7 Letter to Johann Christian Auricht (25/10/1880)

Here I include a letter undersigned by a number of Indigenous Christians from *Bethesda* in reply to J.C. Auricht, with the Missionaries again providing translation into German. Auricht had recently been voted on to the Mission Committee, and as well as writing to all Mission congregations commending himself and the mission committee members to their prayers, he decided to write to the Dieri congregation at Bethesda. The letter alongside the response is preserved in a 37 page document which covers mission history 1875-1880 through excerpts from the Immanuel synod minutes,[58] together with the note that the missionaries had translated Auricht's letter into the Dieri language and the response into German from Dieri. The Dieri letter is significant for its length and complexity, and also for its writers who included Henry Tipilina and once again Johannes Pingilina.

From the translated letter below it is apparent that the missionaries had refined a 'fixed code' based on close word equivalences between German and Dieri, and that many of the words and phrases taught in the school and used in Church services and baptismal instruction, were now also being used by the Indigenous members of the mission community in their writing.

The relationship between these language forms and fuller oral forms existing outside mission documentation remains difficult to assess, what is however clear is that the Dieri language as used on the mission was dominated by standard forms developed by the missionaries and largely bounded by the subject areas relevant to mission work. Through the 1880's, alongside its uses as a liturgical language, written Dieri consolidated its function of identifying and binding the mission community, both internally and with the Lutheran community in the South of the State.

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[58] Auricht *Geschichtlicher Überblick 1875-1880.* 37p manuscript with minute excerpts authenticated by Joh. Reusch: held in LA

Bethesda, October 25, 1880
To Joh. Christian Auricht (See copy of original in Appendix N)

[1]

Kamaneli	ja	neji	antjanalu	ngaiani	Jesungundru
Freund	und	Br. älterer	lieber	unser	um Jesu willen
Friend	and	older Bros	dear	our	for Jesus sake

Dear friends and older brothers in Jesus

[2]

Kau	matja	ngaiani	jinkangundru	pepa
Ja	schon	wir	von dir	Papier
Yes	already	we	from you	paper

mainina	warai
empfangen	haben
received	have

Yes, we have already received your letter

[3]

ja	ngaiani	bakana	kalkani	ngarai	parana paraia,
und	wir	auch	neulich	uns	verwundert haben,
and	we	also	recently	us	wondered have

nunkangupini	pepani
(über)deinen	Papier
(at) your	paper

and we were very surprised at it.

[4]

Jakajai	ngaiani	pirna	mankina paraia,
Potztausend	wir	sehr	(uns)gefreut haben,
Upon my soul	we	very	rejoiced have,

Jundru	ngaianina	ngundrana	paraia,	Kamaneli.
(weil) Du	(an) uns	gedacht	hast,	friend.
(because) you	(of) us	thought	have,	friend

My, we were overjoyed that you thought of us, dear friend.

[5]

Ja	ngaiani	bakana	matja	jinkangu
Und	wir	auch	schon	Dir
And,	we	also	already	to you

kalala	pepa	dakana paraia
(zur) Vergeltung	Papier	gestochen (geschrieben) haben.
(as) retaliation	paper	pierced (written) have.

And we have already written back to you.

[6]

Kauna[59]	ngaiani	matja	multibanilali	Jesuni
Ja	wir	schon	durch die Taufe	Jesu
Yes/indeed	we	already	by baptism	Jesus'

mili	morlalu	pantjina paraia.
Jünger	wahrhaftig	geworden sind.
disciples	truly	become have.

Yes, we have now become followers of Jesus through our baptism.

[7]

Matja	ngaiani	bakana	milkila	pirna	Godaia
Schon	wir	auch	wissend	sehr	durch Gottes
Already	we	also	knowing	very	by God's

jaurali	ja	Jaolali	nunkanali.
Wort	und	durch den Geist	Seinen.
Word	and	by Spirit	his.

[59] ?*Kaura*: in sentence 10 more clearly as *Kauna*

Already we have learned much through God's Word and through His Spirit.

[8]

Ja	palpa	ngaianangundru	delkina	paraia,
Und	etliche	von uns	ungehorsam	gewesen,
And	several	of us	disobedient	have been,

morlalu	puntina paraia	modlentjieli;
wahrhaftig	abgefallen sind	durch das Böse;
truly	lapsed have	by evil/sin;

ja	bakana	tanalia	wata	walto waltoeli
und	auch	sie	nicht	in Schwachheit
and	also	they	not	in great weakness

modlentji	pirna	ankana paraia.
schlecht	sehr	gethan haben.
evil/sin	great	done have.

And several of us have been disobedient and truly lapsed into sin, and they have sinned greatly in great weakness.

[9]

N-ai,	milkilali	palpalita	modlentji	pirna
Nein,	wissend	Etliche	schlecht	sehr
No,	knowing(ly)	several	evil/sin	great

ankana paraia.
gethan haben.
done have.

Alas, several have knowingly sinned greatly.

[10]

Kauna	morlalu	ngaiani	walto walto	anana paraia,
Ja,	wahrhaftig	wir	sehr schwach	gewesen sind,
Yes/indeed,	truly	we	very weak	been have

ja	karari	ngaiani	ngurrungurru	multibanilali	ja
und	jetzt	wir	stark	durch die Taufe	und
and	now	we	strong	by baptism	and

Jesuni	palkueli,	ja	kumarieli	anananto,
Jesu	Leib	und	Blut	sein möchten.
Of Jesus	(by) body	and	blood	be might.

ja	wata	matja	anai.
und (aber)	nicht	schon	sind.
and (but)	not	already	are.

Indeed, truly we have been very weak. And now by baptism and by Jesus' body and his blood, we might be made strong.

[11]

Ngaiani	morlalu	wolkareli	Godani	ngatjinanto.
Wir	wahrhaftig	sehnsüchtig	zu Gott	beten möchten
We	truly	earnestly	to God	pray might.

We may truly and earnestly pray to God

[12]

Nulia	ngaianina	mara ankananto,
Er	uns	helfen möchte,
He	us	help might,

Ngaiani	milingeru	mola	ja	mola	ngumu
wir	immer	mehr	und	mehr	gut
we	always	more	and	more	good

ja	kulikiri	pantjinanto	Godaia	Jaolali
und	rein	werden möchten	durch Gottes	Wort.
and	clean	become might	by God's	Word.

That He might help us, and that we might continually improve and be made clean by His Word.

[13]

Mai,	Kamaneli	antjalu,	Jeruja	ngaiani	jinkangu
Nun,	Freund	lieber,	So	wir	Dir
Now,	Friend	dear	Thus	we	to you

Jaura	jinpai,	ja	neji	antjalu	ngaianani
Worte	senden,	und	Bruder (älterer)	lieber	unser
Words	send,	and	older Bros.	dear	of us

jidni.-
Du.-
you.-

Now, Dear Friend, thus we write to you and the dear members of the committee (older brothers)

[14]

Mai,	Kamaneli	antjalu,	jenia	jaura	jundru
Nun	Freund	lieber,	solche	Worte	Du
Now,	friend	dear,	such	words	you

bakana	ngaianangundru	Godani	ngatjiamai,
auch	unsert wegen	zu Gott	bete,
also	for our sake	to God	pray!

ngaiani	jinkangu	jinpala wapaia.-
(die) wir	Dir	senden jetzt.-
(which) we	to you	send now.-

Now dear friend/s, please pray these words that we send to you also on our behalf to God.

[15]

Ngaiani	matja	jaurapunga	ankibana paraia,
Wir	schon	Redehaus (Kirche)	gebaut haben,
We	already	Talk-house (Church)	built have,

ja	mina	jundru	ngundrai.
und	was	du	denkst.
and	what	you	think.

We have already built the Church, and what will you decide?

[16]

Ngaianina	Koperamana	kara	jinpana,[60]
Uns	nach Kopperamanna	entweder	senden,
Us	to Kopperamanna	either	send

ninkida	kara	ngomananto.
(oder) hier	entweder	sitzen möchten.
(or) here	either/or else	sit/remain might.

To send us Kopperamana or allow us to remain here?

[17]

Ngaiani	anda andarina	nunkangupini	mitani	ngamala.
Wir	nicht vermögen	auf diesem	Lande	zu sitzen
We	not able	on this	land	to sit/remain

We cannot remain on this land [Kopperamana]

[18]

Nganau	nauja	mita	Koperamana	ngapa	kaldri
Darum weil	er	Erde	Kopperamanna	Wasser	bitter
For the reason	he	earth	Kopperamanna	water	bitter

ja	bakana	mita	modlentji.-
und	auch	Erde	schlecht.-
and	also	earth	bad

Because the Kopperamana country water is salty and also the soil is poor.

---

[60] cit. form: sending

[19]

Minandru	ngaiani	piri	nguru	nakaldru	waninanto?
Warum	wir	Platz	neuer	wieder	anfangen möchten?
Why	we	place	new	again	to begin wish?

Why would we want to begin again in a new place?

[20]

Ngaiani	bakana	antjai	kana	balu,
Wir	auch	lieben	Menschen	weisse,
We	also	love	men	white,

nulia	ngaianina	mara	ankananto,
er (sie)	uns	helfen	machte(n);
he (they)	us	help	would help

nauja	bakana	ankanietja	ninkida	ngamananto,
er(sie)	auch	(als)Arbeiter	hier	sitzen möchte(n),
he(they)	also	(as) worker	here	remain would

ja	jenia	kana	ngaiani	antjai,	Christiani
und	solche	Menschen	wir	lieben,	Christen
and	such	men	we	love,	Christians

ngumu	ja	talku,	wata	delkinietja,
gut	und	recht,	nicht	ungehorsam,
good	and	just,	not	defiant,[61]

ja	wata	kupula tapanietja.
und	nicht	Bottle-Trinker.
and	not	bottle-drinker/s.

We also ike white men, they would help us to build, they would also stay here as workers. Such men we love, Christians, good and just, not defiant and not drinkers.

---

[61] Here disobedient to God, i.e. unprincipled, without Christian morals

[21]

Matja	tanalia	windri	ngumula	ankanani,
Schon	sie	nur	Gutes	thun:
Already	they	only	Good	do

jeruja	tanaia	ngaianangmita[62]	jela	ngaimonani[63]
so	sie	bei uns		sitzen möchten.
thus	they	with us	(here)	remain wish to

They only do good, thus they wish to remain with us here.

[22]

Kauna	ngaiani	wolkarali	pirna	anai,
Ja	wir	sehnsüchtig	sehr	sind
Indeed	we	longing	very	are

ja	ngaiani	Godani	ngatjina Jaura	jinkila anai,
und	wir	zu Gott	Gebets-Worte	geben werden,
and	we	to God	prayer-words	give will,

Nulia	jenia	kana	ninkida	jinpananto.-
Er	solche	Menschen	hierher	senden möchte.-
He	such	men	here	send might

Indeed we miss them very much, and we will pray to God that He might send such men here.

[23]

Mai,	Kamaneli	antjalu	ngaianani,
Nun,	Freund	lieber	unser,
Now,	friend	dear	our,

Matja	jundru	jaura	dakana warai,
Schon	Du	Worte	gestochen hast,
Already	you	words	written have,

---

[62] Unclear as to word boundary

[63] Form unfamiliar

ja	jundru	bakana	mudana warai	palpa.*
und	Du	auch	gefertigt hast	etliche.
and	you	also	finished have	several

Now, our dear friend, you have already written and closed several letters.

[24]

Ngato	ngundrai	wata	pratjana	jundru	matja
Ich	denke	nicht	alle	Du	schon
I	think	not	all	you	already

mudana	paraia.
gefertigt	hast.
prepared	have.

I do not remember all the letters you have already written.

[25]

Jeruja	ngaiani	windri	jidna	jekibala wapaia.
So	wir	nur	Dich	fragen jetzt.
Thus	we	only	you	ask now.

Thus we ask you now

[26]

Ja	pepa	palpani	ngaiani	matja	milkila;
Und	Papier	etlichen	wir	schon	wissend;
And	paper	several	we	already	knowing;

ja	pepa	ngumu	pirna,	ja	ngaiani
und	Papier	gut	sehr,	und	wir
and	paper	good	very,	and	we

bakana	pirna	mankina paraia.
auch	sehr	(uns)gefreut haben.
also	very	rejoiced have

and we have seen several letters

[27]

Ja	pepa	ngumu	pirna	ja	ngaiani
Und	Papier	gut	sehr	und (aber)	wir
And	paper	good	very	and (but)	we

kana	modlentji	pirna	ja	delkinietja.-
Menschen	schlechte	sehr	und	ungehorsam.-
men	bad	very	and	disobedient.-

and they are very good, and we are [but] very sinful and disobedient people.

[28]

Ngaiani	jurangu	jatai:
Wir	Euch	sagen:
We	to you	say:

Mai	Kamaneli	ngaiani,	palpa	jurangundru	
Nun	Freunde	unsern,	Etliche	von Euch	
Now	friends	our,	several	of you	

ninkida	palkananto,	muntali	mita	najila	ja
hierher	reisen möchten	selbst	die Erde	zu sehen	und
here	travel would	yourself	the country	to see	and

bakana	kana	najila.-
auch	die Menschen	zu sehen.-
also	the people	to see.

We invite you, now our friends, that several of you might travel here to see the country yourselves and to visit the people.

[29]

Matja	ngato	dakana	mudana warai.
Schon	ich	stechen	geendet habe.
Already	I	writing	finished have.

I have now finished writing.

[30]

Jidnana	kala	antjai	Kamaneli	ja	ngatata
Dich	gegen	liebend	Freund(e)	und	(jüngere)Brüder
You	in return	love	friend(s)	and	(younger)brothers

jinkani
Deine
Your

Your loving friends and younger brothers

Henry Tipilina; Johannes Pingilina; Godfrey Tiltimirina; Benjamin Dalkilina; Gustaf Diltjilina; Emmanueli Punkalina; Antonius Ngakilina; August Mau(w)alina; Bernhardt Tiwana; Bertha; Rosalie; Beata; Clara; Louisa; Elisabeth; Fenny; Bakupuntana; Katjererini; Mikioby[?]; Ngapakaldrina; Nginpilina; Bitikarbana; Tankibana; Tantana Tiwana

*Die lieben schwarzen Geschwister meinen damit das Dieri-Büchlein und thun mir zu viel Ehre an, da bekanntlich dasselbe in Adelaide gedruckt ist.
The dear black brothers and sisters here refer to the Dieri-booklet and do me too much honour, as it is common knowledge that the same was printed in Adelaide.

Calques and Mission Usage

ankana to do/make (*machen*) used very liberally
ankibana to build: *ankanietja* workers (*Arbeiter*)

antjalu dear, as address in letters

delkinietja disobedient, defiant ones (*ungehorsame Menschen*)

jaura dakana to write; literally to scratch words (*Worte stechen*) see too *kalala pepa dakana* to answer a letter

jaura jinpana to send words/write (+ dative personal obj.)

ngatjina jaura prayers (*Gebetsworte*) literally 'asking words'

jaurapunga church (*Redehaus*) lit.talk-house

kalala retribution, revenge (*zur Vergeltung*)
kala antjana to love in return. *kalala pepa dakana* to write a letter in return, answer a letter ; lit.to write in retribution.

kupula tapanietja bottle-drinker (bottle-*Trinker*)[64]

matja already (*schon*) very liberally used!

mola ja mola more and more (*mehr und mehr*) Note: Schok Gr:13 states that the conjunction *ja* was rarely used

morlalu truly, veritably (*wahrhaftig*)

mudana to finish/complete, to close (*fertigen/fertig machen, schliessen*) particularly with letters

multibana to dip, submerge, now used for baptise:
multibanilali by means of/through baptism (*durch die Taufe)*

N-ai no (*nein*) German calque

neji older Brothers, a term of respect, used to adress members of the mission committee.

puntina lapse from faith (*abfallen*)

wolkareli yearningly (*sehnsüchtig*):
wolkareli ngatjina (to pray earnestly):
wolkareli anxana (to love, yearn, also to miss) specifically also for spiritual love

7.8 The end of an era

Flierl (I) departed the *Bethesda* station in August of 1885 for a new mission field in New Guinea, and quite to the surprise of Meyer,[65] despite the fact that the year before Flierl had had intended to submit his resignation together with Flierl II.[66] Flierl was to be placed in service under the Neuendettelsau Mission society as the

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[64] *kupula* onomatopoeia for sound made whilst drinking. Austin (1981:40) states that Hercus (1976:72) recorded *gubula* [drink repeatedly] the Victorian language *Wemba Wemba* and that it could have come to the Dieri language from that language.

[65] Meyer Diary: 31st August, 1885 'At noon the mail unexpectedly arrived and brought the extremely important tidings that Bro. Flierl-Auricht had been immediately recalled to establish a mission in the German portion of New Guinea. This decision came as some surprise to us, the Lord's will, however, be done.'

[66] Meyer Diary: 6th April, 1884 'The Bros. Flierl communicated the sorry news to me today, that they were resolved to resign due to the unionistic position [adopted] in our synod. Unfortunately I could not dissuade them, as they appear to have sufficient grounds. - But what is to become of the mission? In conscience I cannot let this work lapse; may the Lord grant me Grace to persevere alone, so that this work might not be torn asunder by the devil's wiles.'

first Lutheran missionary to Kaiser Wilhelms Land, the new German Colony in north-east New Guinea (established 1884). He apparently regarded this new field of endeavour as a much more rewarding one compared with the Bethesda mission field, where German missionaries were placed in service under the local South Australian mission committee and an Australian Colonial Government. Flierl had often in the past referred to the great difficulty encountered by missionaries working with the Australian Aborigines as a race, which he held to have degenerated from the Divine origin common to all races, to a far greater extent than almost all other heathen races.[67] Whilst this was by no means an uncommon view of the time, and indeed similar thoughts had been articulated by his Hermannsburg predecessors, it did underpin negative comparisons with mission fields in other countries and with other peoples.[68]

Due to a delay in Queensland on the way to New Guinea, Flierl was able to assist the Queensland Government and establish the mission station *Elim* (later *Hope Vale*) near Cooktown, and a five year obligation was entered into. Thus, when issues of Flierl's access to New Guinea were unexpectedly resolved, the Immmanuel Synod sent Missionary Meyer and Johannes Pingilina to take up service in his place in early 1886. When new missionaries from Neuendettelsau arrived in September, Meyer and Pingilina were assigned to another Government mission, *Bloomfield* (estab. 1885), which was operated under auspices of the Immanuel Synod until it was abandoned 'without visible results' in 1900. Meyer and Pingilina had again undertaken the enormous work involved in the establishment phase of a new mission field, and managed to start a school, however in 1891 Meyer's service came to an unpleasant end. According to Hebart (1938: 369) he fell victim to cynical people; having warned his community against boat owners who were hiring Aborigines in the area, he had however, been powerless to restrain individuals on the mission. His great mistake was to have naively accepted a cheque for 15 pounds, which he believed to be a donation

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[67] DKMZ 1881: 20

[68] DKMZ 1880: 113 'It does however make a truly humbling impression on us, when we read mission reports from India, Africa etc, how so and so many souls have been won for the Lord, whilst here the Word only finds access to so few.'

for the mission and which was duly forwarded to the mission committee Treasurer. He was subsequently accused of selling Aborigines into service, and the Queensland Government demanded his sacking. Rechner travelled to North Queensland to advocate on his behalf, and although Meyer's name was cleared by the investigation, he could not stay at Bloomfield and returned to SA with Johannes in January 1892. Meyer finished his working life as parish teacher to the Lutheran community of Steinfeld and died in 1912. Pingilina returned to Bethesda, where he became language informant and assistant to Missionary Reuther until his death in 1904.

An interesting contemplation is the timing of Pingilina's return from Queensland and the commencement of work on the first translation of the complete New Testament into any Australian Language. This work, undertaken in the years 1892-4 and completed in October 1895, is attributed to Reuther with C.F.T. Strehlow's assistance, however the role of Johannes Pingilina as a catalyst and co-translator, beyond the brief acknowledgement offered in Reuther's obituary piece, is surely a topic worthy of future research:

> Because he understood 4-6 dialects he was, together with Gottfried who has since passed away, a steadfast support as translator on the translation of the New Testament.[69]

[69] DKMZ 11/1904:83 'Weil er 4-6 Dialekte verstand, so war er für Br. Strehlow und mich mit dem verstorbenen Gottfried eine treue Hilfe als Dolmetscher bei der Übersetzung des Neuen Testaments.' Both Johannes Pingilina and Gottfried Yildimirina appear in the 1886 listing of baptised and literate Aborigines, with an approximate age of 25 and 26 years respectively. The Pingilina obituary will again be dealt with in Chapter 10

CHAPTER 8
PROTESTANT MISSION

In this section I would like to explore the theological underpinnings of the work of the Hermannsburg missionaries at Lake Killalpaninna, which I contend is an integral part of their attitude towards the vernacular and their approach to language learning and translation. The great expansion in Protestant mission work in the first half of the 19th century defined itself largely against older Catholic Mission work throughout the world and in Germany was accompanied by the field of study known as missiology. In the latter 19th century this field was synonymous with the figure of Gustav Warneck. Warneck (1834-1910) who completed his theological training in Halle and obtained a doctorate from Jena in 1871, subsequently worked with the *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft* in Barmen for three years but was unable for health reasons to serve overseas. He founded the *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift* in 1873, which he continued to edit until his death. In 1897 he took up the first chair of mission studies in Germany at Halle and continued there until 1908[1] and produced the seminal works *Missionsstunden* (1878 -1899) and *Evangelische Missionslehre* (in 5 volumes 1892 -1903).

Warneck (1910) provides authoritative contemporary insights into the understanding of and obligation to mission work within the Protestant Church at that time, and traces its development from the Reformation down to the beginning of the twentieth century. Warneck's orientation, as well as that of the *Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft* was *uniert*, that is, broadly Protestant rather than the confessionally orthodox Lutheran position of the Hermannsburger, and his work encompassed the development of Protestant mission work across Europe and America. The Protestant mission movement according to Warneck did not develop until the 18th century, the first period of the Reformation being focussed on internal Church issues. It was much newer than Catholic mission work, and distinguished itself in several important ways.

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[1] http://foxborogh.com/Biographies: G.H. Anderson (1998) *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*

One of the most obvious differences was the apparently greater rate of conversion, both in terms of numbers and in terms of rapidity achieved by the Catholic Church. Warneck indignantly reported that for the Catholic Church, not merely heathens and Jews, but all non-Catholics, presumably even Protestants too, were deemed mission-objects.[2] This was interpreted as prioritising the advancement of the Church, rather than the advancement of Christianity, as was the focus of the Protestant approach.

Catholic mission work had accompanied Spanish and Portugese exploration and trade; the Portugese took possession of large areas of west and east Africa, the west coast of India, Ceylon and various islands in the Malayan archipelago. The Spanish took areas from Mexico to Peru. The Portugese established themselves in South America, and the Spanish in the Philippines. Missionaries, predominantly from the religious orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans, accompanied the colonists and for Warneck this first phase of Catholic mission embodied the worst excesses of mission practice, 'mission by the sword':

> As pleasing as it was on the one hand that mission undertakings at once accompanied exploration, just as concerning was it on the other that this alliance, as it not only had to serve to legitimise, indeed almost sanctify conquest by means of the purpose of conversion, but, in making the sword an instrument for conversion, also secularised mission work itself. Everywhere where discovery led to conquest [...] mass-christianisation was conducted in the most extreme manner imagineable, using much force and often the most brutal violence. There were protests against this violent and mechanical mission activity, but they were exceptions.[3]

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[2] Warneck (1910:173) *Abriss einer Geschichte der protestantischen Mission* 'Im Protestantismus ist es [das Objekt der Mission] die gesamte nicht-christliche, im Katholizismus die gesamte nichtrömisch-katholische Welt, also nicht bloss die Heiden, Mohammedaner und Juden, sondern auch alle Christen, welche nicht unter der Herrschaft des Papstes stehen und die als Schismatiker und Häretiker betrachtet werden; ja in solchen christlichen Ländern, in denen die römische Kirche nicht offiziell die herrschende ist, wird selbst die katholische Bevölkerung in den Missionsverband eingegliedert'.

[3] Warneck (1910:178) 'So erfreulich es auf der einen Seite war, dass sich mit der neuen Welterschliessung sofort Missionsunternehmungen verbanden, so bedenklich war doch diese Allianz auf der anderen Seite, da sie nicht nur dazu dienen musste, die Eroberung durch den Bekehrungszweck zu legitmieren, ja geradezu zu heiligen, sondern die Mission selbst auch verweltlichte, indem sie das Schwert zu einem Bekehrungsmittel machte. Überall wo die Entdeckung zur Eroberung führte[...] wurde in Verbindung mit der politischen Macht, unter Anwendung von viel Zwang, oft der brutalsten Gewalt, in der denkbar äusserlichsten Weise Massenchristianisierung betrieben. Es fehlte nicht an Protesten gegen diesen gewalttätigen und mechanischen Missionsbetrieb, aber sie waren Ausnahmen.'

The characteristics attributed to Catholic mission work of involvement with secular power and a 'mechanical' method of mission found their opposites in the Evangelical determination to separate State from Church affairs in the realms of mission and education, and in the emphasis on conversion at the individual level, and thorough instruction and preparation.

The second phase of Catholic mission work commenced with the establishment of the Jesuit order (1540). The Catholic mission areas expanded at this time beyond the boundaries of Portugese and Spanish influence, to India, and thence to Japan and China, the Philippines, and in America to Brasil, Paraguay, and later to Canada in the North amongst the Indians and in Africa to Abyssinia. This was the zenith of Catholic mission, however its successes, portrayed from the Protestant perspective, were deceptive and ephemeral. The Jesuit order was dissolved in 1773, and reinstated in 1814, but never again achieved the influence of its hey-day. This was seen as justification of Protestant criticism of Catholic mission activity focussed on the type of evangelising oriented towards mass conversions, more towards the teaching of external forms than true understanding and with tolerance of accommodation making Christianity vulnerable to corruption.[4]

The third phase of Catholic mission was characterised by rebirth and an upswing in mission activity which accorded with the reestablishment of the Jesuit order in 1814, and was also related to France's colonial expansion. Once again Warneck saw the Protestant/Lutheran position of the necessity of independence of mission work from State/Colonial interests vindicated, not only with respect to political compromise, but also regarding financial independence.[5]

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[4] Warneck (1910:179) 'Bei voller Anerkennung der grossen Begabung vieler jesuitischer Missionare und des hingebungsvollen Eifers der meisten ist aber ihr kluger, nicht immer mit Einfalt gepaarter, auf Massenerfolge angelegter, mehr dressierender als erzieherischer, durch Akkomodationen das Christenthum der Verheidnischung ausetzender Missionsbetrieb der ernstesten Kritik zu unterziehen. Und so blendend die Scheinerfolge waren, sind doch fast überall die grossen jesuitischen Missionsschöpfungen zusammengebrochen. Es waren Häuser auf Sand gebaut, die ganze Mission mehr Konquista als Bekehrung.'

[5] Warneck (1910:182) 'Frankreich und die katholische Mission arbeiten sich gegenseitig in die Hände, eine Allianz, die in der letzten Zeit allerdings in die Brüche gegangen ist. Durch das französische Protektorat wurde die katholische Mission aufs stärkste in die französische Politik und diese in das katholische Missionsinteresse hineingezogen, ein Verhängnis, über das jetzt, wo dieses Protektorat seine Schuldigkeit nicht mehr tut, auch katholischen Organen die Augen aufgegangen zu sein scheinen. Frankreich stellte auch das Hauptkontingent zu dem katholischen

> The reasons for this decline, almost ending in total collapse, were, alongside the 'unevangelical' nature of mission activity which in most cases merely superficially grafted Christianity, and the intimate involvement with political powers, the gradual decline of Portugese and Spanish power. This was only partially compensated by the later alliance with France, lauded as the 'Soldier of the Church.' [Other reasons were] the persecutions which were unfortunately often caused by their own political alliances and agitation, the accommodation controversies in China and India, the disbanding of the Jesuit order, the so-called Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Thus enthusiasm for mission was cooling long before the collapse, under the influence of these unfavourable conditions for mission and a exhausted spiritual/church life[6]

The lack of a vital mission community, which obliged mission to rely on the goodwill of the state was, according to Warneck, a major contributing factor to the decline of Catholic mission work. He pointed to the heirarchical nature of Catholic mission work which was traditionally the preserve of the mission Orders and the State rather than a matter for local mission bodies as existed in Protestant circles (commitees, synod and general congresses). The centralised structure of the Catholic Church and specifically its organisation of mission work through the central body the *Congregatio de propaganda fide* (est.1622) whilst perhaps simplifying decision-making processes and unifying efforts under its authority, in the Protestant/Lutheran view this gave false priority to 'a perfectly functioning heirarchical machinery' over a vital spiritual life in the broader church community.[7]

Missionspersonal und brachte- wenigstens bis vor kurzem- von den Freiwilligkeitsgaben für die Mission die Hauptsumme auf.'

[6] Warneck (1910:181) 'Die Gründe für diesen fast mit einem Zusammenbruch endigenden Niedergang waren neben der unevangelischen Art des Missionsbetriebs, die das Christentum meist nur äusserlich aufgepropft hatte, und der intimen Verbindung mit den politischen Gewalten: der allmähliche Niedergang der portugiesischen und spanischen Macht, welche nur teilweise durch die spätere Allianz mit dem als 'Soldat der Kirche' gepriesenen Frankreich kompensiert wurde, die leider durch die politischen Allianzen und Agitationen oft selbst verschuldeten Verfolgungen, die Akkomodationsstreitigkeiten in China und Indien, die Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens, die sog. Aufklärung und die französische Revolution. Dazu war schon lange vor dem Zusammenbruch unter dem Einfluss dieser missionsungünstigen Verhältnisse und des ermatteten kirchlichen Lebens der Missionseifer am Erkalten gewesen.

[7] Warneck (1910:191) 'Die Zentralisation der römisch-katholischen Mission in der Propaganda [Die Congregatio de propaganda fide: eine seit 1622 direkt unter dem Papst stehende Missions-Zentralbehörde] stellt eine ganz enzigartige Macht dar; denn sie ermöglicht eine planmässige Leitung des Ganzen nach einem einheitlichen Willen, der mit ebenso klugem diplomatischen Geschick wie mit zäher Beharrlichkeit seine Ziele zu erreichen versteht. Nimmt man dazu, dass auch die unter der Propaganda stehenden Missionsoberen[...] als eine Art Vizekönige regieren, und dass ein solches Regiment den gesamten Missionsapparat nicht nur sehr vereinfacht, sondern auch Initiative und Energie mehr ermöglicht als missionarischer Independentismus oder Synodalismus,

In summary then, the broad characteristics of Protestant/Lutheran mission as articulated at the end of the 19th century, inevitably echoed the tenets of the Reformation itself and also defined themselves against the early phases of Catholic mission activity particularly in the Americas. Firstly, mission work was regarded as a matter for the Church, as distinct from the State, and therefore had to remain separate from secular and political influences. Secondly, force had no place in mission and emphasis was placed on the individual conversion, the finding of Faith rather than on mass conversion to the Church. Thirdly, baptism was to involve lengthy preparation and testing and success was not to be measured in terms of the speed of progress nor by numbers of converts. Furthermore the Christian teachings were to be protected from corrupting influences, as in religious accommodation. Mission work was to be supported both spritually and financially by the various congregations and seminaries, rather than by a centralised and heirarchical Church. In the Lutheran view this was necessary for the vitality of the Church itself at a grass roots level.

8.1 German Mission societies in the 18th and 19th centuries

The great expansion in Protestant mission work in the first half of the 19th century in Germany saw the establishment of some eight new mission societies and had its roots in two major mission bodies in the 18th century, namely Francke's Halle mission and Zinzendorf's *Brüdergemeine* (also known as the Herrenhuter or in Australia as the Moravian Brethren). These pioneering Protestant mission bodies were central in raising consciousness of an obligation to mission work within the broader Protestant community in Germany and particularly the *Brüdergemeine* played a direct and important role in both the resumption of mission work in the 1860's by the Lutheran congregations in South Australia and through the influence of its own mission work in both Victoria and South Australia.

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so begreift man, dass die katholische Mission stolz auf ihre Organisation ist und dieselbe geradezu als ihr 'Lebenselement' bezeichnet. Dieser Ruhm ist ja sehr charakteristisch dafür, was Rom unter Leben versteht, nämlich eine exakt fungierende hierarchische Maschinerie[...]

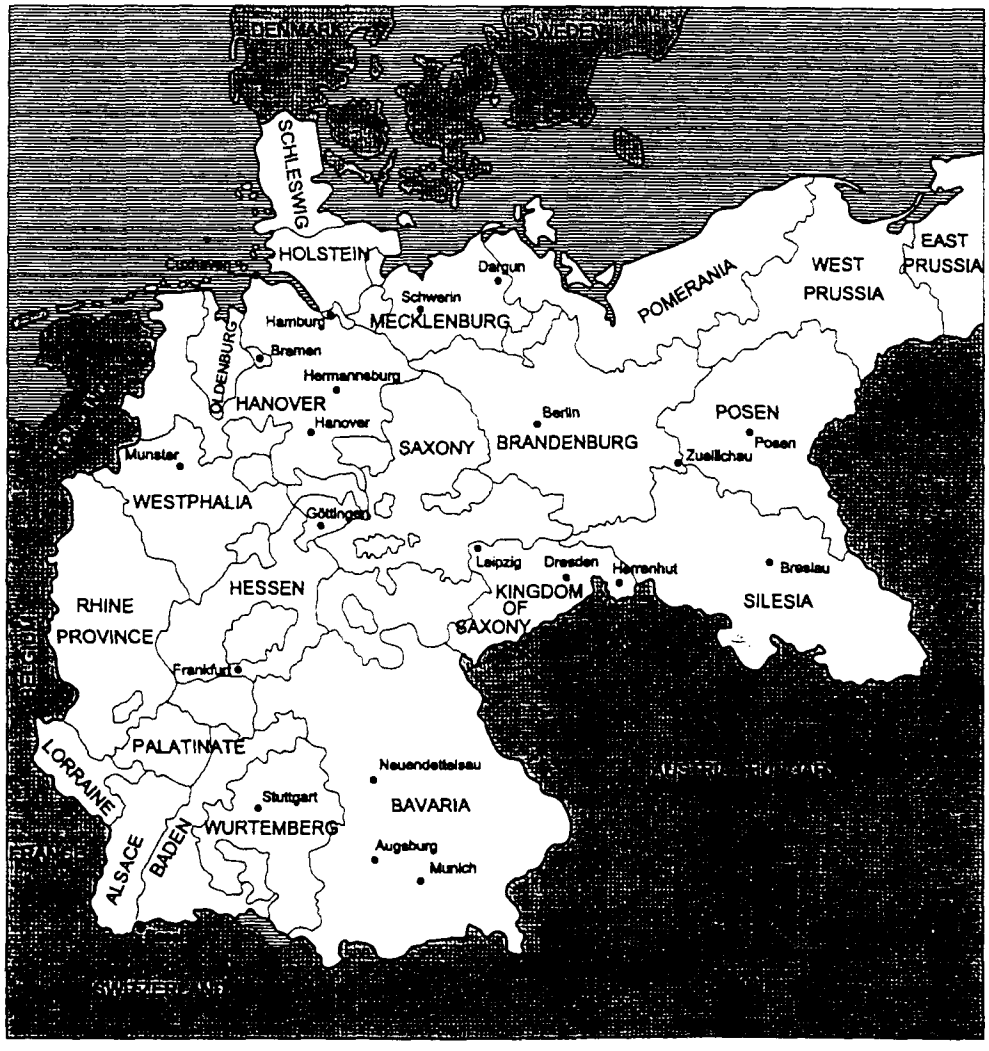

Figure 25: Map of Germany in the 19th century (Courtesy of Schoknecht family)

Halle

Although not of direct influence on the South Australian Lutheran missions, the Halle mission is important as one of the original mission bodies of the modern era, and I would contend that the experiences and reports of its missionaries and their encounters with 'the heathen' in various fields continued to be influential in later Lutheran mission undertakings. The Halle mission conceived of mission work as no longer the preserve of rulers, but also as the responsibility of the Christian community. Perhaps in reflection of Francke's own role as Professor of Hebrew, this mission also placed great value on education and preparation of its missionaries alongside its Pietist emphasis on Faith, and originally aimed to send out university-trained theologians. The main area of activity of this mission

society were the Danish[8] Colonies Greenland and Tranquebar, on the south east coast of India. By 1800 Francke's institutes had sent out some 60 missionaries including Ziegenbalg (who worked in Tranquebar until 1720) and Plutschau (d.1710) who were sent out in 1705. Francke's missionaries later worked in conjunction with the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge* in British holdings in India, using Anglican Church practices.

The Brüdergemeine (Moravians)

The second major Protestant mission body of the modern era was *Die Brüdergemeine* or *Herrnhuter* which was re-established by Graf von Zinzendorf (1700-60) with the settlement of a company of Moravian refugees on his estate at Berthelsdorf, Saxony in 1722. Zinzendorf came from a Pietistic background and was a former pupil of Francke, and he had met both converts and Halle missionaries including Ziegenbalg, in his student days. On a trip to Copenhagen in 1731 he made contact with converts from The West Indies and also from Greenland, and these became the first fields of the Moravian missionaries, followed in the first period by mission attempts in Persia, China, Ceylon, East India and later America and Australia. Moravian mission attempts were rapidly innitiated in many countries throughout the world, but were generally based on small numbers of missionaries rather than being larger institutional presences:

> ... these many missions undertaken in quick succession resulted in a fragmentation, which wasted energies; however there remains something heroic in the fact that the small *Gemeine* dared to undertake such world-wide enterprises [...] The small Moravian Brethren society had called more missions into being in two decades than the whole of Protestantism in two centuries.[9]

Preparation of Moravian missionaries was practical and informal in orientation and missionaries were often sent out without any prior training, and overcame opposition to the 'untutored layman' by their humility and loyalty to the cause.

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[8] In Denmark the State religion was Lutheran.

[9] Warneck (1910: 67) 'diese in rascher Aufeinanderfolge unternommenen vielen Missionen hatten eine Zersplitterung zur Folge, welche Kräfte vergeudete; aber es bleibt doch etwas Heroisches, dass die kleine Gemeine solche weltumfassende Unternehmungen ins Werk zu setzen wagte [...] Die kleine Brüdergemeine hatte in zwei Jahrzehnten mehr Missionen ins Leben gerufen, als der gesamte Protestantismus in zwei Jahrhunderten.

The Moravians were to be 'the storm troops of the mission army... a core team of courageous action and stamina'- men of resolute will, and toughness, prepared for every privation and labour, filled with calm in the face of the greatest dangers, and with a burning desire to save souls.[10] The brothers were bound to extreme simplicity and frugality, and were supposed to help earn their keep via their own labour. They typically worked in the hardest and 'lowest' situations and 'as with the Halle-Pietists principally would have nothing to do with mass-conversions'[11] They did not see it as their duty to attempt to introduce Christianity on a national level, it was a mission undertaking without any colonial motivation and without any connection with political powers. Although there was a lull in mission work in the period 1800-32, the continuity was not broken. After the centenary of its founding, the traditional mission fields in West India, Greenland and Labrador, Surinam and South Africa, were augmented with fields in Alaska, California, the Western Himalayas and Australia (South Australia, Victoria and North Queensland). Despite the group's small size, the Moravians had sent out hundreds of missionaries in the 18th century - and inspired countless others.[12] They were influential in the development of the new mission movement of the 19th century, both in England and Germany. The Moravians had established a society in England in 1744, and had been recognised by Parliament as 'an ancient Episcopal Church' in 1749, and Zinzendorf himself had spent much of 1750 in London.

Although historically and nationally close to the Lutheran denomination, the Moravians were essentially unionistic and admitted to their communion Lutherans, Pietists, Calvanists and Anglicans.[13] They freely associated with Wesleyans and the Basel Mission Institute included amongst its foundation members three Moravians, Götze, Lorschke and the publisher Burghardt, who also presided over a branch of the Basel Christian Society in Dresden in 1819. Unlike the Halle Mission, the Moravians continued to be a force throughout the

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[10] Warneck (1910:64)

[11] Warneck (1910:70)

[12] JA De Jong (1977: 476) 'Expansion World-Wide' in *The History of Christianity*

[13] www.ccel.org : Creeds of Christendom, with Historical and Critical notes. Vol I

19th century and were also one of the significant mission bodies of the 1850's phase of Mission work in Australia.

8.2 Rejection of the Enlightenment and revitalisation of mission

The influence of the Enlightenment provided neither motivation nor understanding for mission work and accordingly the interest in and expansion of mission activity in Germany had largely stalled following the early period of mission activity overseen by the Francke and Zinzendorf.

> ...the devaluation of the Christian Faith stripped of its secrets, the indifference to the claim of Christianity to be in possession of absolute Truth, and the tolerance which proceeded from this position, which aimed to allow each person – Christians as well as non-Christians to attain Grace after his own fashion, made such a duty [as mission] appear as something superfluous and presumptuous.[14]

However, following on from this period there occurred what Chevalier Christian Charles Josias Bunsen, termed 'the great Protestant missionary movement all over the globe' of the mid-19th century.[15] Karsten (1893) points to the important role of English Protestantism, including the influence of Wesley, in the early 1800's reawakening of faith, which also resulted in a revitalisation of the old Pietistic circles in Germany. It was a non-denominational movement characterised by a return to the Bible and accompanied by the development of a new vernacular script culture.[16] It was also of course linked to England's colonial expansion which brought encounters with many new heathen peoples and provided the impulse for the founding of a number of mission organizations at the turn of the century including the *Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen* (est. 1792), the ecumenical *London Missionary Society* (est. 1795,

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[14] Warneck (1910: 71): '...die Entwertung des seiner Geheimnisse entleerten christlichen Glaubens, die Indifferenz gegen den Anspruch des Christenthums, in Besitz der absoluten Wahrheit zu sein und die aus ihr folgende Toleranz, die jeden - Christen wie Nichtchristen - nach seiner Facon selig werden lassen wollte, liessen eine solche Pflicht als etwas Überflüssiges und Anmassendes erscheinen.'

[15] C.C.J. Bunsen (1854: 379, vol II Appendix D) *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, applied to Language and Religion

[16] H. Karsten (1893:9-12) *Die Geschichte der evangelisch-lutherischen Mission in Leipzig* I.Teil

henceforth LMS), the State Anglican Church aligned *Church Mission Society* (est. 1799, henceforth CMS), *Society for propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* and the *Wesleyan Missionary Society.* In the early 18th century these British bodies placed many German Protestant missionaries in their mission fields. In the Pacific the LMS and in New South Wales the CMS were of particular prominence. It is in the context of this development that the establishment of new mission fields first in the Eastern Colonies of Australia (New South Wales and later in Victoria) and then in South Australia should be viewed.
In general terms the new Protestant mission undertakings were modern in their emphasis on individual education in the Gospel and a life informed first and foremost by Faith as opposed to secular rationalism. 19th century Lutheran missionaries drew their call and justification for mission work directly from the Bible's imperative to spread the Gospel of salvation, and relied on the Word itself for success. The focus on Faith rather than empiric knowledge and proof, placed the second generation of German Protestant mission bodies, especially the more fundamental Gossner and Hermannsburger, outside rationalistic criticism.

Up to the middle of the 19th century seven sustainable German Mission Societies came into being within three decades, and all of these new mission societies bore the stamp of reaction to the Enlightenment and Rationalism.

> A powerful vitality must have existed in the small pietistic circles, in which they all had their origins, that they were able to initiate such enterprises. In any case the energy of this young mission movement benefited the change in direction, which post Schleiermacher in theology and gradually also in the Church came to fruition with the overcoming of Rationalism. In its place gradually emerged, together with the biblically rejuvenated theology, a Church life permeated by the traditional Biblical Faith, which sensed a need for practical action.[17]

The mission societies most relevant to South Australian mission fields were thus born not only out of a pietistic orientation but also of the commitment to

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[17] Warneck (1910:149) 'Es musste doch in den kleinen pietistischen Kreisen, in denen sie sämtlich ihren Ursprung hatten, eine gewaltige Lebensmacht liegen, dass sie solche Unternehmungen ins Werk zu setzen vermochten. Allerdings kam der Energie dieses jungen Missionslebens auch der Umschwung zugute, der sich seit Schleiermacher in der Theologie und allmählich auch in der Kirche durch die Überwindung des Rationalismus vollzog, an dessen Stelle mit der biblisch verjüngten theologischen Wissenschaft nach und nach ein vom alten Bibelglauben erfülltes kirchliches Leben trat, welches ein Bedürfnis zum praktischen Handeln fühlte.'

independent Lutheran mission rather than, as often in the past, in conjunction with English mission societies and on a more ecumenical basis. Below is a brief outline of the second generation of Protestant missions which dominated the Protestant 'mission landscape' in the second half of the 19th century. The Dresden/Leipzig and Hermannsburg mission societies were of most direct significance for the South Australian mission fields and are therefore treated in more detail.

- *Jänicke's Missionsschule* in Berlin (est.1800)

- *Die Basler Missionsgesellschaft* (Mission school established 1815): this society originally united Christians of both evangelical/Protestant confessions in Germany and Switzerland (namely *Altlutheraner* and *Reformierte*). Journal: *Der evangelische Heidenbote*

- *Die Berliner Missionsgesellschaft* (*Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der evangelischen Missionen unter den Heiden* est.1824). Journal: *Berliner Missionsberichte*

- *Der Barmer Missionsverein* (est. 1819) was alligned with Basel, and opened its own mission school in 1825. In 1828 it joined with Elberfeld, Köln und Wesel to found the *Rheinische Missions-Gesellschaft.* Journal: *Berichte der Rheinischen Missions-gesellschaft*

- *Die Norddeutsche/Bremer Missionsgesellschaft* (est.1836) was made up of Mission associations based in Hamburg, Bremen and Ostfriesland (which were established from 1802 onwards and were much influenced by the work of the Moravians and the London Missionary Society). Growing confessional tensions resulted in many of the associations leaving the Society and alligning themselves either with the Leipzig or the Hermannsburg Mission Society. Journal: *Monatsblatt der Norddeutschen Missions-Gesellschaft*

- *Die Gossner Mission* (est. 1836): Gossner left the Berlin South-African society, amongst other things due to the increasing demands for academic training of missionaries. At the age of 63, he founded his own mission for the training of young tradesmen, a training that focussed primarily on their instruction in the Bible and the deepening of their own Faith. Journal: *Biene auf dem Missionsfelde*

- *Die evangelisch-lutherische Missionsgesellschaft zu Dresden* (est. 1836) and *Leipzig* (from 1848). A Mission society had existed in Dresden since 1819 in association with Basel, but the growing awareness of confessional differences in Saxony led to the founding of a mission preparatory School

in 1832 and a full-fledged mission seminary in 1836, along with an independent evangelical-lutheran mission society, named the Evangelical-Lutheran Mission Society of Dresden. Dr Graul, an academic and theologian, was called as Director in 1844 and sought to make Dresden the centre of Lutheran mission work. In 1848 the mission institute was shifted to Leipzig, and the principle of only sending university-trained theologians was adopted. The first missionaries graduating from this society were sent out to South Australia: Schürmann and Teichelmann (1838), Meyer and Klose (1840).

From 1840 the Dresden Mission Society also took over from the Halle mission amongst the Tamil. It was here that difficulties arose over the caste question as the Leipzig mission had adopted a position of tolerance in this issue, which saw Luise Wendlandt-Homann's first husband, Wilhelm, along with Missionaries Appelt and Meischel (who then came to South Australia and were closely involved in the establishment of the Coopers Creek mission in the 1860's) split with the Leipzig Mission Society in the late 1850's.[18] This issue also contributed to the decision of the newly united South Australian synods to redirect funds from the Leipzig mission society, which they had hitherto supported, to the new mission society Hermannsburg. Journal: *Evangelisches-lutherisches Missionsblatt*

- *Die Hermannsburger Mission* (est.1849) has a number of similarities with the Gossner mission including the great influence of its founder on the nature of the enterprise, the emphasis on non-academic training in favour of development of aspects of Faith, and the typically low-middle class background of mission candidates. Louis Harms had formerly been associated with the *Norddeutsche-Bremen Missionsgesellschaft*, however parted with it due to, 'the strictly Lutheran confessional orientation, which dominated Harms' whole spiritual life, and a type of medieval concept of mission, that envisaged the sending out of whole mission colonies as the surest and most economical way to christianise the heathen.'[19]

  The mission on the Cooper was first negotiated with Louis Harms and continued after his death with the sending out of missionaries Gössling und Homann (1866) and Schoknecht (1872) by his brother Theodor Harms. After the split of the ELSA and Immanuel synods in South Australia, Theodor Harms assumed authority for the new mission field Hermannsburg on the Finke River (1877- 91) and missionaries including H. Kempe, W.F. Schwarz and F.H. Schulze, G.A. Heidenreich (superintendant of Finke River Mission 1875-94) and later F.W. Albrecht, were Hermannsburg trained. Journal: *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt*

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[18] This matter is given some attention in Luise Wendlandt-Homann (1987) *Zugvögel kennen ihre Zeit*: see p32/33 & 37

[19] Warneck (1910:144)

- To these societies I would add the *Neuendettelsau Mission Society* (Bavaria) which was established as a Lutheran society for home and foreign mission by Wilhelm Löhe in 1849. This society had strong associations with American congregations and Löhe developed a North American Colonisation scheme which sought to combine pastoral/congregation and missionary functions.[20] It sent missionaries to Lake Killalpaninna between 1878 and 1915: J. Flierl (1878-85); Flierl II (1883-1891); J.G.Reuther (1888-1906); C.F.T Strehlow (1892-4) ; O. Siebert (1893-1902) and N.Wettengel (1896-1901), and also to Hermannsburg-Finke commencing with Strehlow (1894-22) and Wettengel (1901-1906), and also later to Hope Valley in Queensland. Broadly this society was alligned with the Leipzig Mission Society.

These mission societies were the focal points for mission interest in Germany, and each organised its own territory or *Hinterland.* Often too, the areas from which the various mission bodies drew their support in Germany overlapped; such as in the case of the Hermannsburg, the Rheinisch, the Barmen and the Leipzig mission societies in Northern Germany.[21] Furthermore important mission centres such as Dresden hosted a number of different mission bodies.

8.3 Connections between SA and mission societies in Germany

Mission bodies and the network of journals

The following section seeks to place the work of the first missionaries to the Dieri in the context of what might be termed the Protestant mission landscape of the mid 19th century, so that in turn we might investigate the Lutheran missonaries' encounter with the Indigenous population at Lake Killalpaninna and their preparation for linguistic work.

I would like to highlight the close connections that existed both in terms of personnel and in terms of language and literature which existed between the South Australian congregations and a number of mission bodies in Germany at that time. The Lutheran mission community was in many ways much closer to Europe than

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[20] J. A. Scherer *The triumph of Confessionalism in Nineteenth-Century German Lutheran Missions* in *Missio Apostolica* 2/1993:79

[21] See D.G.Haccius (1907) *Hannoversche Missionsgeschichte.* II.Teil. Chpt.18 on the interrelationship of the Lutheran mission societies of the North German region.

it was to its Colonial setting. In the mid 1800's the South Australian Lutheran community was largely dependent on Christian materials produced in the publishing centres associated with major German mission institutes. According to Graetz[22] a very limited amount of Christian literature was produced locally; the first publication unsurprisingly was *Dr Martin Luther's Small Catechism for Pastors, Schoolmasters, Fathers of Families, Youth and Children* (printed by Kornhardt, 1848) and distributed through a number of Lutheran day-school teachers including former Dresden Missionary Klose. However Graetz states:

> From 1848 to 1851 the attempts to meet the Christian literature needs of the growing Lutheran community by having books printed in Tanunda did nothing more than nibble at the edges of an urgent problem. School books of all descriptions were still in short supply; catechetical material for Confirmation instruction was insufficient and lacked uniformity, a more vigorous program of importation was clearly necessary.[23]

Literature was brought first in the luggage of the Lutheran immigrants and later in a more systematic importation via appointed 'agents' within the two South Australian synods who organised and forwarded orders. Dresden Missionary H.A.E. Meyer passed on orders from Fritsche's congregations, and Rechner (from 1875 Chair of the Mission Committee) fulfilled this role for Kavel's congregations. As a young teacher in the 1850's, Rechner had experienced the lack of German language Christian text books for use in the Lutheran schools, and he later brought in large quantities of literature unbound to save freight and bound the books himself upon delivery. According to Graetz, Rechner imported 'Bibles and devotional literature, hymn books and music editions, Bible pictures, greeting and sponsor cards, and other church requisites such as crucifixes, candles and communion wafers.'[24] From the 1860's books including the Breslau[25] and Bremer

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[22] J Graetz (1988:34) *An Open Book*: The story of the distribution and production of Christian Literature by Lutherans in Australia

[23] Graetz (1988:37)

[24] Graetz (1988:39)

[25] see Graetz (1988:51) 'the hymn book was virtually a complete handbook supplying basic resources for worship, meditation, and instruction in the faith. In most editions it contained, besides 1929 hymns, a section of prayers, the Gospels and Epistles for every Sunday and festival, as well as the history of the Passion and of the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, the

hymnals and *The collected writings of Dr Martin Luther* in 24 volumes, and these were distributed through M.P.F. Basedow and his *Tanunda Deutsche Zeitung*:

> By the early 1860s, devotional and educational literature, Bibles, hymn books, music and church periodicals were finding their way in a steady stream into the homes and schools of Lutheran people, the majority of whom had by then become affluent enough to afford them.[26]

Christian literature, and in particular Church journals were essential instruments for maintaining connectedness with Lutheran spiritual and intellectual life in Germany and with its mission enterprises throughout the world. In the words of Hartwig Harms, a descendant of the founder of the Hermannsburg Mission institute, fulfilled something akin to the role of scientific journals today:

> Even though mail needed a lot of time to travel from continent to continent, there was already a theological 'internet' which connected theologians and churches in the last century to an astonishing degree...[27]

Coinciding with a period which according to Scherer (1993:72) was formative for Lutheran mission and Lutheran confessional consciousness; the development of Lutheran mission work in SA was set against a broader Lutheran Diaspora and an internal Church struggle waged between unionism and confessionalism, which was intimately connected with the missionary effort. Accordingly each 'parent' mission organisation, either published or was aligned with a particular journal according to its confessional standpoint. The *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt* for example was orthodox Lutheran Faith-based rather than, for instance, the non-denominational broader Protestant approach of the *Der evangelische Heidenbote* (published by the Basler Missionsgesellschaft). The same divide existed between what were pereceived as orthodox confessionally strict *Altlutheraner* and more liberal non-denominational bodies who were often termed *Uniert*, and was also in evidence in the Australian Lutheran synodal groupings and their Church journals.

Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, Luther's Large Catechism, and the Augsburg Confession.' The Breslau hymn book was also used as a source for several hymns for translation into Dieri by Meyer and Flierl for the 1880 primer.

[26] Graetz (1988:40)

[27] H.F. Harms (1997:5) 'The Hermannsburg Mission Origin and History with special reference to its involvement in Australia' *FoLA* 7

The Lutheran Pastors and Missionaries involved with the establishment of mission work in South Australia were thus readers of Christian literature produced by a variety of mission centres in Germany. Schürmann, pioneering Dresden missionary to the Kaurna and Parnkalla peoples, was a subscriber to *Das lutherische Kirchenblatt* (Liegnitz) and *Die lutherische Missionsnachricht* (Leipzig) and also read the *Hermannsburger Missionsblatt.* Likewise missionaries and colonists at Lake Killalpaninna were avid readers of a number of journals, both as part of their training and as essential ongoing communication with their 'professional field.' Johann Gößling wrote to the Mission Committee, shortly after arrival 'When you send us the other journals, we also request those of the year 1866 of the *Missionsblatt,* so that we might remain in touch.'[28] Journals provided accounts of spiritual and linguistic encounters with 'the Heathen' throughout the world. Such publications constituted a network disseminating a consistent system of metaphoric reference based on Protestant theology alongside information on exotic countries and peoples, their cultures and languages. Mission journals were also publicity organs, designed to engender support both in a financial and a spiritual sense. Mission booklets 'for children' were also widely circulated, and were intended for a less erudite, broader reading public. The literary production of the mission centres encouraged intending missionaries to partake in a great adventure set in exotic countries, with peoples from many nations in the struggle to bring God's Word to the heathen. The aspects of inconceivable hardships and not infrequent death of missionaries and their families were framed in terms of heroism and martyrdom, consistent with the master-analogy of mission work as warfare, the 'good fight.' It is hardly surprising that the images and words of such work resonate through the reports produced by the Hermannsburger at Lake Killalpaninna. Of Hermann Vogelsang we read:

> His uncle and aunt [who were childless and raised him with the blessing of his parents], who were keenly interested in missionary work, were readers of the [*Barmer*] *Missionsblatt* (the official organ of the Barmer Mission Society). The boy was fond of reading, but best of all he liked to read the reports of the mission fields. He would forget his play and even sacrifice

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[28] KMB 5/1867: 77 'Wenn Sie uns die anderen Blätter schicken, bitten wir auch um den Jahrgang 1866 vom Missionsblatt, damit wir noch im Zusammenhange bleiben.'

> the company of his playmates when the copy of the mission paper arrived.[29]

This story was typical for the missionaries and colonists sent from Hermannsburg to work on the South Australian mission field. For the middle or working-class candidate for mission training in the 19th century, the mission vocation offered vistas for study, travel and excitement beyond the possibilities of a language teacher in a School for young ladies, as in the case of Wilhelm Wendlandt (first husband of Luise Homann), or in the case of the Hermannsburg missionaries, the life of a draper (Homann) or coachbuilder (Schoknecht) in a provincial town of North Germany.

New forums for discussion of Australian mission work were added with the development of locally administered mission work in SA in the 1860's, which provided the impetus for development of local publications by the supporting synods according to their confessional standpoint. The congregations of the Immanuel Synod gave birth to the *Kirchen- und Missionsblatt* (1862) and the *Südaustralische Kirchenblatt* (1865 - 69) which was continued as the *Deutsche Kirchen- und Missions-Zeitung* (from 1870). The ELSA founded the *Lutherische Kirchenbote* in 1873 and the Victorian Synod was represented by the *Australische Christenbote* established in 1860.

Missionaries and members of the mission committee were actively involved as both contributors and editors. Pastor Auricht, member of the Immanuel Synod and the mission committee, was the founding editor of the *Kirchen und Missionsblatt.* The *Australische Christenbote* was established by Pastor Goethe (who had trained at Dr Lang's Australian College NSW) and from 1868 was edited by Pastor Herlitz (Basel Mission institute trained) for the Victorian synod. Following his service to the Kaurna and Parnkalla peoples, Missionary Schürmann was instrumental in encouraging the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia to found an official church paper in 1874, the *Lutherische Kirchenbote* which was first co-edited by former Missionary Homann and from 1883 by

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[29] Proeve (1846:18)

Schürmann himself. These journals carry mission reports and also in some cases language samples and letters from Indigenous converts.

Further, local mission bodies now embarked upon the publication of primers and readers with a focus on school rather than ethnographic or philological documents. Whereas the publications of the Dresden missionaries Schürmann, Teichelmann and Meyer between 1840 and 1846 were published via public subscription and with the backing (and in cases editorial assistance) of the Colonial Government, the 1870 and 1880 Dieri Primers and the 1883 Reader were published and funded by the Mission Committee. Further, whereas the 1840's publications aimed to 'make a small contribution to a general study of the manners and customs of the aborigines; to refute the prevalent and unjust depreciation of the mental capabilities of the aboriginals'[30] and to promote good relations not just between European settlers and Aborigines but also between the German missionaries and and the Colonial community, these primers were produced independently, by and for the missionaries and their Dieri pupils. Given the early stage of development of Lutheran publication, the achievement of the 1870 Dieri Primer is all the more astounding and gives clear testimony of the Lutheran commitment to bring the Word to the people in their own language.

SA Lutheran community and its mission knowledge base

This section is not intended as an exhaustive survey but rather aims to give some indication of the nature of the mission community in the South Australian Colony, its composition and its connections with mission societies in Germany and other mission fields. Given the newness of the Lutheran Church in Australia and the necessity of drawing many personel from Germany, it was inevitable that a myriad of such connections existed. Indeed it appears that the German Lutheran communities in Australia in the mid 1800's were an extension to the domestic or *innere* mission landscape in Germany and as such presented alternative fields for work in themselves, apart from work with the Indigenous population in Australia. In 1860 a congregation made up in part of the old Trinity Church in seeking a Pastor connected with the South Australian Lutheran synod requested that

[30] Brauer (1956:166)

Adelaide be regarded as a mission field,[31] and accordingly a Leipzig Missionary, Meischel, was called to take up work at Adelaide Bethlehem Church.on Light Square (1860-63).

The South Australian Lutheran community in the mid 19th century was born out of opposition to the State enforced union of the Lutheran with the Reformed Church (Calvinist in orientation, and aligned with Basel) under Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia. The community also developed divisions according to alignment with the theological positions of its spiritual leaders in Australia, Kavel and Fritzche. Kavel is credited with having innitiated approaches by Angas to the Dresden mission society which resulted in the sending out of the first missionaries to South Australia.[32] The work at Adelaide, Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln was administered from Germany by the Dresden/Leipzig mission society and financially supported, albeit on a partial and rather ad hoc basis, by the Colonial Government. Dresdner Missionaries Schürmann, Teichelmann and Klose were not members of Synod of the first Lutheran Church of Australia (Glen Osmond, 1839) however they were in close contact with the South Australian congregations and by express invitation of Pastor Fritzsche were present at the 1846 Synod. This ended with a synodal split[33] and gave birth to the ELSA (the Lobethal, Hahndorf, Bethany congregations under Fritzsche) and the Immanuel Synod (the Langmeil-Lights Pass congregations under Kavel). At this time the Dresden missionaries aligned themselves with Fritzsche and indeed after their mission work in Adelaide, Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln was discontinued they attracted much unfair critcism for taking up Pastor's positions with the ELSA.

By the 1860's the SA Lutheran congregations were in a position to fund mission work, largely independently of the newly constituted State Government,[34] and

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[31] Brauer (1956: 95)

[32] Brauer (1956: 144)

[33] This was largely caused by disagreement over the issue of chiliasm, Kavel's 'Apostolic Constitution' and 'Protestations against certain parts of the Lutheran Confessions'. The divide between the synods lasted 120 years, the two bodies only coming together after the deaths of Kavel (d.1860) and Fritzche (d.1863) for the combined mission attempt at Coopers Creek (1866-75).

[34] SA Statehood 1857

there also existed a strong pool of local experience and knowledge based not only on the former Dresden Missionaries 1840's work but also on the background and mission training of other pastors who had been called to SA.

1856-1860 Pastor Fritzsche also issued invitations to the Victoria Synod to join the ELSA. The Victoria Synod included former *Gossner* mission workers J. G. Haussmann and J. P. Niquet, who had worked in the Moreton Bay district of Queensland 1838-1844, and later trained at Dr Lang's college in Sydney. Hausmann attended Bethany synod in 1860 and addressed Strempel's congregation (Hahndorf) on his work with the Queensland Aborigines.[35]

Notably two missionaries from India had also arrived in South Australia in 1861 from the Leipzig (formerly Dresden mission society) in response to calls from Pastor Fritzsche. J.F. Meischel (1810-83), had been trained in Basel Mission Institute (1843-46), under which he worked in West Africa's Gold Coast until 1851 before joining the Leipzig Mission in India to work among the Tamil.[36] Meischel was influential in the call to recommence mission work in South Australia rather than to direct support to overseas fields, and in 1863 was involved in information-gathering and negotiations with Elder on behalf of the Provisional Mission Committee for a prospective site at Lake Hope.[37] Meischel later became a Pastor in Mount Gambier (1863-78).

Missionary Appelt was a graduate of the Dresden Mission seminary and had served in India (1843-61). According to Brauer he was able to minister in Tamil, Portugese, German and English.[38] Appelt was elected to the joint Provisional Committee (1863-66), which drafted regulations for conducting mission.

With regard to the mission resources available within the supporting Lutheran congregations it is also important to note that individuals often had connections

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[35] Brauer (1956: 269)

[36] see Hebart (1938:110) also Brauer (1956:96 &423)

[37] *Missionsacta*: Minutes for Gen Convention, 8/3/1863

[38] see Brauer (1956:252 & 416)

stemming not only from their own training institution but also often with more than one mission body. In the early 19th century many missionaries were ordained into work with non-Lutheran missions, as many of the early mission societies were involved in training but did not administer and fund their own mission fields. There were especially close ties in this regard between early German mission bodies and mission societies in England. Thus it was that the first Lutheran missionaries to SA, Schurmann and Teichelmann, Meyer and Klose, were prepared by *Jaenicke's Mission School*, but were ultimately ordained by *Dresden Mission Society*. In some cases confessional differences also led to changes in allegiance and placement, as was later the case for Missionaries Meischel, Appelt and Louise Homann's first husband Wilhelm Wendlandt, who after initial service in India under the Leipzig mission institute, joined the Hermannsburg mission to Africa, due to their opposition to accommodation and 'unionistic' tendencies.

Synodal affiliations and choice of missionaries[39]

Although mission work was acknowledged as a 'universal' obligation of the Lutheran synods there were tensions between the different synodical groups and separate affiliations existed between certain mission institutes in Germany and the three Australian synods. Graduates from such institutes were heavily represented both in the ranks of missionaries and in the organising bodies for mission work.

At the establishment of the Dieri mission it was decided by both the ELSA and Immanuel synods, for reasons perhaps both confessional and political, to draw missionaries from Hermannburg rather than Leipzig (formerly Dresden) Mission Society. This choice reflected a new start and also an affirmation of the Lutheran orthodox approach.

Later a major divide concerning associations with the Basel Mission Institute would emerge as the Dieri Mission work was passed from the ELSA to the Immanuel Synod in conjunction with the Victoria Synod. In 1874 members of the ELSA had called for no further pastors or theological candidates to be drawn from

[39] See Appendix O for Graph of Synodal History

that institute, claiming that it was non-Lutheran and 'subscribed only to that which is common to all Protestant denominations.'[40] In 1875 J.G. Rechner of the Immanuel Synod and as Mission Committee *Präses* (Chairman), joined with the Victoria synod under Pastor Hermann Herlitz and Pastor Reusch (both Basel trained). The Victoria Synod had close associations with the Moravian missions of Victoria and claimed that insistence on narrow Lutheran confessionalism would lead only to dead orthodoxy. At this time the Immanuel Synod sought new missionaries from Wilhelm Löhe's *Neuendettelsau Mission Society* which had hitherto mainly been involved with sending missionaries to North America, and the ELSA opted to re-establish mission work at Hermannsburg/Finke River, again in conjunction with missionaries from Hermannsburg (Germany).

Indeed this network of alignments still existed between mission societies in Germany and the Lutheran Church in Australia at the turn of the century as highlighted by Missionary Flierl:

> The evang.-luth. Immanuel synod [...] now comprises 11 Pastors, of which 9 graduated from the mission institute at Neuendettelsau, as well as 9 missionaries. The luth. synod of Australia [ELSA] originates from the blessed Pastor Fritzsche and his pupils, and in South Australia has 15, and in all of Australia 25 parochies [parishes] and Pastors. It drew its teachers initially from Hermannsburg and later from the Missouri Synod in America. Alongside the two aforementioned synods there exists a luth. General Synod in Australia with 4 parochies in South Australia and 21 in the other Colonies, which draws its Pastors from Basel.[41]

In sum it appears that the mission community and the missionaries who were called to South Australia came from a number of societies within the same area of the mission society landscape, and in particular from an 'orthodox' and conservative orientation. Scherer (1993:71) termed K.Graul of the Dresden-Leipzig Mission, L. Harms of the Hermannsburg Mission and W. Löhe of the

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[40] Brauer (1956:219)

[41] Flierl (1899:26) *Führungen Gottes* 'Die evang-luth. Immanuel-Synode [...] zählt jetzt elf Pastoren, von denen neun aus dem Missionshaus zu Neuendettelsau ausgegangen sind, sowie neun Missionare. Die luth. Synode von Australien stammt von dem sel. Pastor Fritzsche und seinen Schülern, hat in Südaustralien 15, in ganz Australien 25 Parochieen und Pastoren. Sie bezog früher von Hermannsburg, später von der Missouri Synode in Amerika ihre Lehrkräfte. Neben den beiden genannten Synoden besteht noch eine luth. General-Synode in Australien mit 4 Parochieen in Südaustralien und 21 in den übrigen Kolonien, diesselbe beruft ihre Pastoren von Basel'

Neuendettelsau Mission Society three of the principal fathers of Neo-Lutheran missions,[42] and these were the three main German mission bodies involved in both early contact phases (1840's and 1866-75) of mission work in South Australia. Furthermore it is important to note that far from being amateurs, working in isolation from other sources of knowledge, there existed amongst members of the SA Lutheran community a considerable depth of mission experience at the time of the establishment of the Dieri mission, which related not only to knowledge disseminated in print but also to direct mission experiences gathered in Africa and India and in contact with English missionaries including those of the *London Missionary Society* and *Church Mission Society*, alongside local Australian mission experiences.

8.4 Hermannsburg training and the return to Faith

Aufklärung[43] *and education*

Central to the revitalisation of Protestant mission activity in the 19th century was the reaction to the Enlightenment, and 'modern' thinking which appeared to leave little room for Faith and phenomena which could not be explained using scientific proof. Attention turned to natural phenomena determined by natural laws, and the principles upon which the Christian Church was based were exposed to investigation and criticism. To those involved in the Protestant revival of the 19th

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[42] J.A. Scherer *The triumph of Confessionalism in Nineteenth-Century German Lutheran Missions* in *Missio Apostolica* 2/1993 [71-81]

[43] *Aufklärung*: I am using the German term here rather than the English translation 'Enlightenment' to ensure the meaning of that period in German history focussed more on the second half of the 18th century and continuing to be a major influence in the 19th century. On Enlightenment see Hampson (1968:143) 'At its lowest level, the Enlightenment began with the substitution of information for an oral tradition of folk-memory, superstition and blind habit, and the mere practice of regular reading was at least a step along the road [...] Germany proved much more receptive [to new ideas/reform/scientific principles of government etc], but issues here were complicated by the emergence of a new national literature, struggling to assert its independence of the French culture which maintained its hold over Court society.' See also p.152: 'On the whole , however, the educated men of Europe were convinced by this time that natural phenomena were determined by natural laws, and many of them extended their disbelief in contemporary miracles to those on which the Christian Church had based its claim to be the only true religion... One consequence of this, which appeared particularly offensive to many Christians, was a new attitude towards religious toleration.' In Germany both the Sturm und Drang movement (1770's) and 19th century romanticism should be viewed as a reflex to this movement.

century Enlightenment thinking revealed man's *hubris,* a mistaken belief in the value and scope of 'earthly' knowledge and a misguided and indulgent attachment to the 'material'realm.

Likewise the characteristic principles of the training of the Hermannsburg missionaries and their subsequent work on the mission field, may be traced back to the religious understanding of Louis Harms and his rejection of the values of the *Aufklärung.* A pivotal point in the formation of this religious understanding was his conversion, and the experience of turning away from book-learning back to Biblical Truth both echoes Luther and is later embodied in his Mission House and its training program. Haccius states: 'The Hermannsburg Mission is like hardly any other a personal work, the creation of Pastor Louis Harms in Hermannsburg....He called it into being and stamped it with his particular personality.'[44]

Figure 26: Portrait Louis Harms from *Harms Predigten* (1905: frontispiece)

[44] Haccius (1907:1-2) vol II. 'Er hat sie ins Leben gerufen und hat die Eigenart seiner Persönlichkeit ihr aufgeprägt.'

Louis Harms was born in 1808 and attended the Gymnasium in Celle 1824-27 and then the university in Göttingen where, instead of Theology as planned, he undertook wide-ranging studies; he was apparently equally drawn to almost all subjects; History, German Literature, Philosophy, Mathematics, Physics, and Ancient Languages including Chaldaic (a semitic-aramaic language) and Sanskrit, but in Latin, Greek and Hebrew 'he was probably the most gifted of [student] of all.' [45] This example of academic education and achievement did not however inspire the curriculum of Harms' Mission House (founded1850), but was rather presented as the fruit of an erroneous way of thinking and false priorities. Harms described his thirst for knowledge as an addiction; 'I sat at my books day and night, I read [my way through] whole libraries [...] and I am sorry to say the books were my God.' [46]

Louis Harms did not find Truth in empiric logic nor in the pietistic works of the *Schwärmer.* [47] Here it is likely Harms was referring to the Moravians, and Zinzendorf's theology, which is said to have passed through a period of sickly sentimentalism (1743-50).[48] Rather the Hermannsburg approach emphasised literal interpretation of the Bible and the practical application of its teaching to everday reality. This attitude was to become one of the major characteristics of the Hermannsburg missionaries. Harms considered the spreading of the Gospel as the sacred responsibilty of a vital Christian community, and indeed the establishment of the Mission House did effect what has been termed a *Geistesfrühling*, in the sense of a spiritual reawakening in Hermannsburg.[49] In Louis Harms' words:

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[45] Haccius (1907:4) vol II 'er war er wohl von allen der vorzüglichste'

[46] Haccius (1907:5) vol II 'Ich habe bei Tag und bei Nacht über den Büchern gesessen, ganze Bibliotheken durchgelesen[..]und die Bücher sind leider mein Gott gewesen'

[47] This term has been translated by others as 'enthusiasts' or 'fanatical mystics', and yet is still problematic.

[48] www.ccel.org Creeds of Christendom Vol I:881

[49] Haccius (1907:69) vol II. See too Veit (2003:8) 'This dialectic of the being and cognition of the self and the other is recognized by Lutheran missions too because missions among heathens demonstrate the inspiring work of the Spirit to the dispirited modern Christians at home. Mission work turns into a critique of the flagging strength of faith in Europe.'

> ...I personally am of the conviction, that a Church which lacks an externally focussed vigour and growth, will inevitably internally collapse/decay.[50]

That the Mission House had but few means at its disposal, and yet found sucess in its international mission plans, was seen as confirmation of the undertaking. The Mission House itself also took on a symbolic dimension; 1849 Louis proclaimed 'I will errect a Mission in Hermannsburg in God's Name [even though] I have not a penny to do it.' [51] And by God's Will and unwavering faith the money and the candidates were found, the latter first converting the building into a Mission House with their own hands. As teacher Louis appointed his younger brother Theodor (1819 - 1885), who had studied Theology in Göttingen 1839 - 1842, and who took over the direction of the Mission after his death (14th November 1865). Louis Harms neither could, nor wanted to, send out academically educated theologians, as his own experiences had convinced him that the essential ingredient for success was Faith.

The pupils were to present themselves at the age of 22-25 years, and further to this be free of obligations to military service and have the approval of their parents. They were mostly the sons of farmers and tradesmen, and had often completed an apprenticeship. Homann for example had learned the Draper's trade. This practical foundation was built upon in training for the mission; their study (mornings 6-12 o'clock and evenings 4 - 8.30). Morning sessions of the curriculum covered subjects such as the interpretation of important Bible passages, Church History, Dogmatik, German (language) and English[52] and in the evening World History, Geography, Arithmetic and Brass band (Blasen!).[53] Learning alternated with physical tasks and this was deemed most beneficial for the spiritual and physical health of the candidates. They managed all the fields and gardens, planted and

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[50] *Dresdner Missionsblatt* 21&22/1851:375 (henceforth DMB) '...ich hege persönlich die Überzeugung, daß eine Kirche, der die erweiternde Lebenskraft nach außen fehlt, nothwendig innerlich zerfallen muß.'

[51] Haccius (1907:25) vol II 'Ich werde in Gottes Namen eine Mission in Hermannsburg errichten und habe keinen Pfennig dazu'

[52] Haccius (1907:42) vol II 'weil fast kein Missionar ohne diesselbe auskann'

[53] Haccius (1907:42) vol II

weeded, sowed and mowed, bundled bushels and hay, threshed and loaded manure. Further they worked as carpenters and cabinetmakers, cobblers and tailors, and in these crafts they were instructed at no cost by local master-tradesmen. They also carried out stonemasonry and smithing partly on the mission property and partly at local workshops.[54]

Learning was carried out in a collegial brotherly atmosphere, in a setting of rural serenity far from any hustle and bustle *Aufruhrschwindel*.[55] This romantic model of community life was also intended as an example to be emulated on the mission field. Haccius reported:

> He envisioned the Mission of the Middle Ages. The way in which groups of monks, ecclesiastic and Lay brothers in these days went out into the heathen lands and founded their monasteries and settlements, and from thence cultivated and christianised the surrounding country... [56]

Rarely would the utopian expectations of the mission trainees collide so obviously with such a different and harsh reality, as was to be found at Lake Killalpaninna, and yet their holistic non-academic training turned out in many ways to be appropriate preparation, and the Hermannsburg model of their own training days was one which was clearly applied to the Australian setting. Homann and his colleagues were not just teaching but rather more learning with the pupils, and working with them in the home, on the farm and in the vegetable gardens, as their teacher Theodor Harms had done.[57] Finally the well-rounded preparation of Hermannsburg Missionaries reflected Louis Harms' intention that the work should, like the early mission to the Germanen, incur minimal cost and be

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[54] DMB 21&22/1851:376

[55] Haccius (1907:25) vol II

[56] Haccius (1907:222) vol II 'Er hatte dabei die Mission des Mittelalters vor Augen. Wie damals eine Schar Mönche, Geistliche und Laienbrüder auszogen, in den Heidenlanden ihre Klöster und Niederlassungen gründeten und von da aus das umliegende Land kultivierten und christianisierten [...] Durch gemeinsame Anstrengung sollten kleine Gruppen von etwa 12 Mann, stark genug sein an den Heiden zu arbeiten und ihren Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen, und dann weiterziehen und immer neue Siedlungen gründen, so dass binnen kurzer Zeit ein ganzes Land mit einem Netz von Missionsstationen wird.' See Appendix P for extended description by Louis Harms

[57] DMB 21&22/1851:377 'Mein Bruder ist aber auch ihr Mann, denn er lehrt sie nicht nur, sondern lernt mit ihnen und arbeitet mit ihnen im Hause, im Felde und im Garten.'

virtually self-sustaining – an obvious attraction for the Australian mission congregations!

> ...the figures also add up; for where could there be found a Mission body, that costs so little as this one? And will not the mission set up in this fashion... almost sustain itself, so that only the sending out of missionaries in each case would have to be covered? Who after all sent much after the Anglo-Saxons in those days when they came into our [German] forests?[58]

8.5 Hermannsburg mission principles in school practices

According to Louis Harms, the propagation of christian teaching overseas should arm the converted peoples with Christian education and morals, 'so that they might successfully fend off the corrupting European onslaught and not become victims of the Europeans' [59] and at the same time also preserve the future of Christianity in the face of secular-rationalistic influences.[60] It is therefore not surprising that one often reads passages of polemic against 'Enlightenment-style thought' in the correspondence of the Hermannsburger missionaries. For the indigenous children in the mission school all education was likewise intended to stand in the service of religious education and conversion, and the introduction of literacy, especially in the younger generation was intended to assist them out of a 'materialistic' mode of thought, and entrapment in the satisfaction of physical needs,[61] and thus open the way into Christian teaching. Literacy, as facilitating

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[58] DMB 21&22/1851:377 '...die vernünftige Rechnung stimmt auch; denn wo ist ein Missionshaus, das so wenig kostet, als dies? Und wird die Mission, so eingerichtet...sich nicht fast selbst erhalten, so daß nur die jedesmalige Aussendung wird zu beschaffen sein? Wer schickte den Angelsachsen damals viel nach, als sie in unsere Wälder kamen?'

[59] Haccius (1907:223) vol II 'so dass sie sich mit Erfolg des verderblichen europäischen Andranges erwehren können und nicht Opfer der Europäer werden'

[60] Haccius (1907:223) vol II Compare Harms (1980) *Lebendiges Erbe* 'Filled with a zeal to redress the wrongs of the Enlightenment which had resulted in the de-christianising of the Christian world he [Harms] had no doubts about the future of the Church of God and her mission [...] God is preparing a new place in other countries for his orthodox church' in 'Men with a Mission' *FoLA*/6 (1996)11

[61] HMB 3/1869:44 Homann: January 1869 'Unser Volk ist das jetzt, wonach die klugen Fleischesmenschen in Deutschland sich sehnen: Freiheit des Fleisches in allen Dingen. Es giebt kein Wort für Gott, es existirt keine Ehe, sondern lustig und fröhlich leben ist aller Ziel, und bei aller Gütergemeinschaft ist die gröbste Selbstsucht, und um seinen Willen zu erreichen, muss man pfiffig sein, aber irgend etwas zu verehren, einen Götzen oder Geist, dazu sind auch unsere Körna zu aufgeklärt; aber die Lehre von einer Weltseele, von Phosphor im Gehirn und dergleichen

access to the Bible, was seen as integral to baptismal instruction and testing. That the beginnings of an Indigenous script-culture developed in the course of time was a by-product of mission activities.

> The way in which we conduct mission work is of course quite different to that reported recently in a German newspaper; for we do not want to achieve anything else amongst the heathens than preach Christ Crucified [redemption], to speak of sin, and of the wrath of God, of mercy and of bliss for poor sinners; for that is what the Lord Christ has bid us do, even if it appears to the world at large as folly.(...) We do not want civilisation according to the modern concepts of *Aufklärung,* but rather to give testimony to poor heathens blinded by Satan, of the light, which illuminates the whole world and brings happiness, and by which man becomes truly enlightened about himself and his eternal soul's salvation.[62]

Clearly the focus of mission work for the Hermannsburg missionaries was not education in itself, nor in introducing a literate form of Dieri, was the primary aim to teach literacy. The priority was 'First the sermon then school; first Church and then school.'[63] The orientation of the *Engländer* as demonstrated in India was seen as too secular, placing too much weight on education and too little on religion.[64] True mission success was not to be achieved via compromise but rather through rigorous application of the teachings contained in the Bible, and via baptism and conversion to the Christian (not synonymous with modern European) lifestyle.[65] This approach was perhaps the defining characteristic of the

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Unsinn würden sie ganznatürlich finden; ja das Vermögen zu denken nennen sie *pua* , (das auch Eiter und Unreinigkeit heisst), das sitzt im Gehirn, sagen sie;also ist ihr Begriff vom Denken gar nicht weit entfernt von dem der aufgeklärten Geister, die behaupten, die Gedanken seien Ausschwitzungen des Gehirns.'

[62] KMB 22&23/1868:214 'Die Art und Weise, wie wir Mission treiben, ist freilich ganz anders, als neulich Jemand in einer deutschen Zeitung schrieb; denn wir wollen nichts Anderes bei den Heiden thun, als Christhum den Gekreuzigten predigen, von Sünde und vom Zorn' Gottes, von Gnade und von Seligkeit für arme Sünder reden; denn das hat uns der Herr Christus geboten, gleichviel, ob's vor der Welt Thorheit ist.[...] Wir wollen nicht Civilisation nach moderner Aufklärung, sondern in Gottes Namen armen, vom Satan verblendeten Heiden von dem Licht zeugen, das alle Welt erleuchten und selig machen will, und wodurch der Mensch wirklich aufgeklärt wird über sich selbst und seiner unsterblichen Seele Heil.'

[63] HMB 8/1871:182 'Erst Predigt, dann Schule; erst Kirche dann Schule.'

[64] HMB 8/1871:182 'es ist recht, Satans Reich von den verschiedensten Seiten anzugreifen. Aber dennoch können wir aus zwei Gründen den Engländern auf diesem Wege nicht ganz folgen. Denn einmal an dem Grundsatz fest[halten]:Erst Predigt, dann Schule; erst Kirche dann Schule.'

[65] See Hebart (1938:350) 'Wirtschaftliches und Geistliches muß da Hand in Hand gehen, und wer den australischen Eingebornen das Brot des lebens bringen will, der muß irgendwie dafür sorgen, daß ihnen auch des Leibes Nahrung auf neuer Kulturbasis ermöglicht werde.'

Hermannsburg approach to mission work, and is also important in the evaluation of the relatively slow progress and small sucesses in terms of baptisms of the early phases of mission work.

8.6 The Word as cornerstone of individual conversion

Luther and the authority of the script

As orthodox neo-Lutherans of the mid-19th century, the Hermannsburg approach to mission and language work in its service was closely Faith-based and took much guidance directly from Luther's teachings and the Bible. Lutheranism has traditionally emphasised the importance of the Bible being brought directly and in its entirety to the broader population in the vernacular, rather than through the Church's selection and interpretation of Biblical passages. Not only did Luther's 1522 translation of the Bible into German effect a literacy-based 'revolution' in Germany but alsô set off similar developments in England which likewise flouted Papal bans on translation and aimed to transfer possession of the Word to the people:

> ...Worshippers thus knew that the Bible was a treasure chest, from which the preacher plucked a single gem of wisdom to flash before them each sermon time. But at all other times, except for the handful who could read Latin, the scripture was locked away in a dead language.'[66]

Luther himself had emphasised the work of translation of God's Word was a sacred and immensely difficult responsibility. This regard for the power of the Word, the necessity of bringing it to the people in their own language and the great importance of the work of translation is inevitably reflected in the approach of the Hermannsburg missionaries to the Dieri language

According to Moynahan (2002), 'The great issue of the Reformation was the relation of the Church/Tradition to the scripture and Faith' whereby the Bible was

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[66] B. Moynahan (2002: 24-25) *If God Spare my Life*

accorded authority over the Church and teachings outside the Bible were rejected as the Bible was God's Word heard and written down in the New Testament.[67] Although Luther harboured a deep distrust of *Gelehrte* (academics) who might misappropriate the Word and disposess the people of the Truth, he recognised the importance of literacy not only enabling the people to read the Truth, but also the script as enshrining and preserving it. Indeed it appears that Luther viewed literacy as nothing less than the foundation of order and civilisation:

> Knowledge is useful and necessary, for the writers shall govern the world, and the pen shall prevail. If God were to become enraged and remove all the literate people from the world, then all men would become beasts and wild animals. Then there would be no knowledge, no respect, no justice, but rather chaos and plunder. Men would be as in the land of the cannibals, where there is no civil order, but rather (the men there) are wild animals. The rabble would, of course, much rather that there were no wise/knowledgeable people, no preachers and no Government, so that they might live howsoever they choose. But that would mean the downfall of the people, for not even the Turk or Tartar can live without knowledge and without laws. Wherever there are people, they must have laws. Where there are none, they are like bears, lions and wild animals – with neither domestic nor civil order.[68]

The laws and the script intended here by Luther is clearly God's Word as contained in the Bible and in the catechism. Indeed the catechism is given special status as a lay-Bible which contains all that is necessary for a Christian to attain salvation. According to Lutheran teaching it summarises the 'right, true, old, pure divine' teaching of the Holy Christian Church and therefore should be continually taught to the young.[69] The texts of Christianity are described by Luther as the pinnacle of all Human knowledge:

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[67] Moynahan (2002: 239)

[68] M. Luther *Tischrreden* hrsg v K. Aland (1981:198-9) 'Die Weisheit ist nützlich und nötig, denn die Schreiber sollen die Welt regieren, und die Feder soll die Oberhand haben. Wenn Gott zürnte und alle Schriftkundigen aus der Welt wegnähme, dann würden alle Menschen zu Bestien und wilden Tieren. Dann gäbe es keine Weisheit, keine Ehrfurcht und kein Recht, sondern Unordnung und Raub. Die Menschen wären wie im Lande der Kannibalen, wo es keine staatliche Ordnung gibt, sondern [die Menschen dort] sind wilde Tiere. Dem Pöbel wäre es freilich lieber, wenn es keine weisen Leute, keine Prediger und keine Regierung gäbe, damit sie leben könnten, wie sie wollten. Aber das wäre der Untergang für das Volk, denn ohne Weisheit und ohne Gesetze kann auch der Türke und Tartare nicht leben. Wo Menschen sind, müssen sie auch Gesetze haben. Wenn nicht, dann sind sie wie Bären, Löwen und wilde Tiere – ohne häusliche und staatliche Ordnung.'

[69] ibid:161 'Der Katechismus ist eine Laienbibel. In ihm ist der ganze Inhalt der christlichen Lehre inbegriffen, die einem jeden Christen zur Seligkeit zu wissen nötig ist. Wie das Hohelied

> 'The Catechism is Lay-Bible. In it is the whole content of Christian Teaching...Just as the Song of Solomon is known as a Song above all songs, so should the Ten Commandments be called a Teaching above all other Teachings...The Creed of our Holy Christian Faith is a History above all other Histories, the penultimate History...The Lord's Prayer is a prayer above all other prayers, the penultimate prayer...the sacraments are the highest rituals.[70]

Unsurprisingly therefore too we find the Catechism at the heart of the first Dieri primer and its components, the Ten Commandments, The Lord's Prayer and the Creed amongst the earliest translations undertaken by the Hermannsburg missionaries at Lake Killalpaninna.

Likewise for the missionaries in the field, the Word was to provide continuing support and guidance as to the Truth and a way to protect themselves from *Rückfall* or lapsing in faith and judgement and going native!:

> No heathen is [ever] converted, if a missionary takes a wife from among the daughters of the country (Blackfellow-Lubra), if he eats with the Blacks (rats, mice, lizards and snakes) and then tells them of glorious Nature [creation] No! The missionary would himself become a heathen, as dirty as all other heathens.[71]

Salamos ein Gesang über alle Gesänge genannt wird, so sollen die zehn Gebote eine Lehre über alle Lehren genannt werden. Aus ihm wird der Wille Gottes erkannt, was Gott von uns fordert und was uns mangelt. Das Bekenntnis unseres heiligen christlichen Glaubens ist eine Historie über alle Historien, die allerhöchste Historie, in der uns die unermeßlichen Wunderwerke göttlicher Majestät von Anfang bis in alle Ewigkeit vorgetragen werden: wie wir und alle Kreaturen erschaffen, wie wir durch den Sohn Gottes vermittels seiner Menschenwerdung, seines Leidens, Sterbens und Auferstehens erlöst, wie wir durch den Heiligen Geist erneuert, geheiligt, eine neue Kreatur und allesamt zu einem Volk Gottes versammelt, Vergebung der Sünden haben und ewig selig werden. Das Vaterunser ist ein Gebet über alle Gebete, das allerhöchste Gebet, welches der allerhöchste Meister gelehrt und in das er alle geistliche und leibliche Not inbegriffen hat. Es ist der trefflichste Trost in allen Anfechtungen, Trübsalen und in der letzten Stunde. Die Sakramente sind die höchsten Zeremonien, die Gott selbst gestiftet und eingesetzt hat. In ihnen versichert er uns seiner Gnade. Deshalb sollen wir ja den Katechismus lieb und wert haben und der Jugend fleißig einprägen. Denn in ihm ist die rechte, wahre, alte, reine göttliche Lehre der heiligen christlichen Kirche zusammengefaßt.' Further p101: 'darin habt ihr den richtigsten Weg der ganzen Religion. Die Zehn Gebote hat Gott selbst gegeben, Christus selbst hat die Gestalt des Vaterunsers vorgeschrieben, der Heilige Geist hat das Glaubensbekenntnis aufs genauste zusammengestellt. Diese drei Dinge sind so gestellt, daß sie nicht feiner, tröstlicher und kürzer gefaßt werden konnten. Aber man verachtet's, weil es eine geringe Sache ist, weil es die Knaben und Kindlein täglich aufsagen.'

[70] Luther (1981:161)

[71] KMB 22&23/1868:214 Homann: 'Es wird auch kein Heide bekehrt, wenn ein Missionar ein Weib von den Töchtern des Landes(Blackfellow-Lubra) nimmt,wenn er mit den Schwarzen (Ratten, Mäuse, Eidechsen und Schlangen) isst und dann von der grossen Natur erzählt. Nein! Ein Heide, so schmutzig wie die andern Heiden, würde der Missionar selbst werden.'

This statement referred back to the experiences of the German missionaries Haussmann and Hartenstein, of the Goßner mission society, which appear to have demonstrated to the Hermannsburger the folly of any approach to mission work based on compromise of Christian lifestyle.[72] The example of a christian lifestyle embodied in the mission community, and based on rigorous application of the Bible's teachings was intended to exert a gradual influence on the heathens and imperceptibly win them over to Christianity 'in that they can convince themselves with their own eyes of the great difference between [the states of] heathen wretchedness and Christian joy.'[73]

> Accordingly they [the missionaries] should heed their way of life, as they might afterall have to preach exclusively through this [example] in the beginning, before they have learned the heathen tongue, and even then when they have learned it, bear testimony, through their way of life to the truth of what they were preaching. This is to be embraced even more so, as the heart may so easily grow less resolute under the poisonous influence of the heathen [way of life], and the way of life become less clear, unchaste, loveless, physical.(...) Heed the lesson. Above all live and work in the script[ures], no dust may lie upon your Bible...[74]

The Babel Metaphor: One Christian Word versus a Multiplicity of Beliefs

Whereas according to Luther the Word, and the Bible as God's Word preserved in script, was perceived to capture and record the Truth, clarify distinctions and create order, the spiritual beliefs of Heathens, who had not developed a script-form, to structure and preserve their religious ideas, were perceived as chaotic, conflicting and erroneous. Louis Harms:

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[72] The Gossner missionaries had worked at Moreton Bay (near Brisbane) in the 1840's and had subsequently attempted to found a mission station some 30 miles inland. Their methods included periodically accompanying the tribe on their movements and sharing their foods. The attempt however ended in the plundering of the station and Haussmann only narrowly escaped being killed. See Hebart (1938:353)

[73] HMB 3/1866:43 On the mission attempt in in Africa: 'in dem sie sich mit ihren eigenen Augen von dem grossen Unterschiede heidnischen Elendes und christlichen Glückes überzeugen können.'

[74] HMB 4/1866:65 'Sodann sollten sie Acht haben auf ihren Wandel, müssten sie doch anfangs, ehe sie die Heidensprache gelernt, durch ihren Wandel ausschliesslich predigen, und auch dann, wenn sie diesselbe gelernt, durch ihren Wandel die Wahrheit dessen bezeugen, das sie predigten. Das sei nun noch mehr zu beherzigen, als unter dem Gifthauche des Heidenthums das Herz so leicht erschlaffe und der Wandel unlauter werde, unkeusch, lieblos, fleischlisch.[...] Habt acht auf die Lehre. Vor allem lebt und webet in der Schrift, auf eurer Bibel darf kein Staub liegen.'

> The religion of the heathens is a religion of fables. The heathens have as many Gods as sand on the beach, and that which they tell of their Gods is all tall-tales. When for example our heathen forebears told how as a reward fallen heroes and warriors would go to a place called Valhalla after death, where they would sit together with the Gods at table and drink mead from the skulls of defeated foes, or when they believed that Thor drove across the skies on a wagon pulled by goats and would throw down his war hammer and that this would cause the thunder, or when in honour of the Goddess Hertha each year a number of young men and women were tied together, thrown into a pond and drowned because one thought thereby to secure the Goddess's mercy - who does not at once see that these were all tales.[75]

By comparison with the stories contained in the Bible, the sermons of the apostles who received and recorded the teachings in Jesus' own words, heathen beliefs were deemed unreliable and corrupted having been passed down orally. Prevailing 19th century opinion concurred that the diversity of languages found among the heathen peoples was mirrored by the diversity of religious stories and beings in their culture, and almost by definition diversity was seen as proof of benightedness and falsehood. The possession of a script-form was understood as a characteristic of a higher level of civilisation and religious consciousness, and was also equated with the possession of Truth. It was in this context that the Hermannsburg missionaries and their successors up until the turn of the twentieth century consistently represented the language and beliefs of the Dieri:

> It is very difficult to achieve clarity regarding the religious ideas of this people. This is in all likelihood partly because a rather indeterminate/vague character is inherent in their religious ideas, due to the way and means of their preservation, that is oral transmission. It may be of interest to note here, that these religious concepts are by no means the common property of all tribes on the mainland, but that also in this regard great variation prevails among the different tribes.[76]

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[75] L. Harms (1905:240) *Predigten über die Episteln des Kirchenjahrs* 'Die Religion der Heiden ist eine Fabelreligion. Die Heiden haben Götter so viel wie Sand am Meere, und was sie von ihren Göttern erzählen, sind lauter Fabeln. Wenn da z.B. unsre heidnischen Vorfahren erzählten, die verstorbenen Helden und Kriegern kämen nach dem Tode zur Belohnung an einen Ort, der hieße Walhalla, da saßen sie mit den Göttern an einem Tische und tränken Meth aus den Hirnschalen der erschlagenen Feinde, oder wenn sie glaubten, daß ihr Gott Thor auf einem mit Ziegenböcken bespannten Wagen durch die Lüfte führe und würfe seinen Streithammer herab, davon entstände der Donner, oder wenn der Göttin Hertha zu Ehren jährlich eine Anzahl junger Männer und Mädchen zusammengeknebelt in einen Teich geworfen und ersäuft wurden, weil man meinte, dadurch würde die Göttin ihnen gnädig, wer sieht nicht gleich, daß das Fabeln waren.'

[76] *Geschichte* (1886:18): 'Ueber die religiösen Vorstellungen dieses Völkleins Klarheit zu erlangen, ist sehr schwer. Dies kommt [...] theils auch wohl daher, weil ihre religiösen Ideen durch

Figure 27: 'Drinking Vessel made of a skull (from the Albert Lake area)' From Christmann (1870:357)

The Fall from Grace Metaphor

The concept of the Fall from Grace was integral to the 19th century Lutheran concept of language and is therefore also briefly sketched here. The biblical story of the erection of the Tower of Babel describes the punishment of humanity for their pride and preoccupation with earthly concerns; God caused the confusion of the languages and dispersed the people.[77] This Bible quotation also formed the basis of Gössling's words upon his encounter with the Dieri language:

> With no other people has the Word of Satan: 'You will be as [equal with] God,' taken root so deeply as here. For they also have no thought of a higher being [...]. They make everything themselves, heaven and earth, heat and cold, drought and rain and whatever else is to be found.[78]

The loss of a universal communication form amongst men, as in the story of Babel, reflects the loss of unmediated communication with God, as illustrated in

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die Art und Weise ihrer Erhaltung, nemlich durch mündliche Ueberlieferung, einen sehr unbestimmten Charakter an sich tragen. Es mag interessant sein, hier zu bemerken, dass keineswegs diese religiösen Begriffe das Eigenthum aller Stämme des Festlandes sind, sondern das im Gegentheil auch in dieser Hinsicht bei den verschiedenen Stämmen ein grosser Unterschied waltet.'

[77] *Heilige Schrift* : 1. Moses 11.1-9

[78] KMB 5/1867:75 'Bei keinem andern Volke hat das Wort des Satans:"Ihr werdet sein wie Gott", so tief Wurzel geschlagen wie hier. Denn bei ihnen ist auch kein Gedanke von einem höheren Wesen[...].Sie machen Alles selbst, Himmel und Erde, Hitze und Kälte, Dürre und Regen und was überhaupt nur da ist.'

the original Fall from Grace in the Garden of Eden, whereby mankind was driven out of a condition of unconscious harmony with God to adopt a condition where each individual is trapped in their own self-consciousness. Louis Harms articulated the orthodox Lutheran attitude to the diversity and value of human languages as finite and transient:

> Languages will one day cease to exist. Why? Today there are in this sinful world some 200 different human languages which have been recorded, and how many more might there be that have not yet been recorded, for one has not yet travelled all regions. And he who is particularly clever and educated can speak perhaps at best seven or eight different languages. Rather, do not boast of your learnedness, do not take pride in your hardwon knowledge of language. It is as transient as the prophecy. The diversity of languages will one day come to an end in heaven. In that place there will be only one language, which here on earth no-one knows and no-one has learned. The diversity of languages on earth is also a consequence of The Fall. There, in the new world, where there will be no more sin, there will also be no more diversity of languages, but rather one single language.[79]

Language post the Fall from Grace of mankind was represented as an inadequate means of capturing and communicating Truth. It is also to be noted that the concept of the limitation and ambiguity of human language was at that time widely encountered in secular German literature, in which Louis Harms was widely-read as a young man. Although language was acknowledged as that which distinguishes mankind from beasts, and that which makes Church, School and mission possible, if not informed by God's Law and Love, it was seen as a curse rather than a blessing:

> Language is a valuable advantage, a wonderful gift of men. If man could not speak, what would he be other than an animal! Without language there would be no Church and no sermon, no school and no instruction, no friendship and community. Everything by which the heart is touched and

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[79] Harms (1905:288) 'Die Sprachen hören einst auf. Warum? Jetzt giebt es auf der sündigen Erde an zweihundert verschiedene Sprachen der Menschen, die man erforscht hat, und wie viele mag es noch geben, die noch nicht erforscht sind, denn man ist noch nicht einmal allenthalben auf der Erde hingekommen. Und wer recht klug und gelehrt ist, der kann vielleicht sieben, acht oder zehn verschiedene Sprachen sprechen. Lieber, rühme dich deiner Gelehrsamkeit nicht, sei nicht stolz auf deine mühsam erworbne Sprachkenntniß. Sie ist eben so vergänglich, als die Weissagung. Die Verschiedenheit der Sprachen hört einst gänzlich auf im Himmel. Da giebt es nur eine Sprache, die hier auf Erden keiner kann und keiner gelernt hat. Die Verschiedenheit der Sprachen auf Erden ist auch eine Folge des Sündenfalls. Da auf der neuen Erde, wo keine Sünde mehr sein wird, wird auch keine Verschiedenheit der Sprachen, sondern nur eine Sprache sein.'

> moved, by which reason is illuminated and the will improved, everything by which man is discouraged from and warned of Evil, and instead made aware of Good and strengthened to its purpose, all this comes to man through language... By what agency has Christianity been planted, established and spread across the whole globe? By what agency are people now moved to turn away from darkness towards the light and away from the power of satan to God? Is it not through the force of the sermon, through human speech? And yet without Love, this whole advantage of human language is nothing but a disaster, indeed a double curse.[80]

Mission language work and translation were therefore seen as progressive linguistic work with imperfect tools, in an effort to more nearly approach the utopian notion of a form of communication that functions via the heart of mankind rather than being mediated by reason. Song, being a more natural and unmediated expression of the heart, was accorded a special significance; and the use of hymns *Wimaia Pepa* (paper of singing) and *Angelaia Jaura* (words of angels) was central to Hermannsburg mission practice and language work among the Dieri as across many other missions:

> ... thus you wished to awaken our hearts through the Holy Ghost, that we might join with the choir of heaven and earth, and that through song our houses might once more become home to the holy angels. Otherwise we would be shamed before the birds of the skies, and could never have the heart to enter heaven, if we cannot and do not happily sing.[81]

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[80] Harms (1905:282) Ein köstlicher Vorzug, eine herrliche Gabe des Menschen ist die Sprache. Könnte der Mensch nicht sprechen, was wäre er anders als ein Thier! Ohne Sprache gäbe es ja keine Kirche und Predigt, keine Schule und Unterricht, keine Freundschaft und Gemeinschaft. Alles, wodurch das Herz gerührt und bewegt, der Verstand erleuchtet und der Wille gebessert wird, Alles, wodurch der Mensch vor dem Bösen abgeschreckt und davor gewarnt, zu dem Guten aber erweckt und gestärkt wird, das alles kommt dem Menschen durch die Sprache...Wodurch ist das Christenthum gepflanzt, gegründet und über den ganzen Erdkreis ausgebreitet worden? Wodurch werden jetzt noch die Menschen bewegt, sich zu bekehren von der Finsterniß zum Licht und von der Gewalt des Satans zu Gott? Ist es nicht durch die Macht der Predigt, durch die menschliche Rede? Und doch ohne die Liebe ist dieser ganze Vorzug der menschlichen Sprache nichts als Schaden, ja doppelte Verdammniß...'

[81] Harms (1905: 584) '...so wolltest Du denn auch unsre Herzen erwecken durch Deinen heiligen Geist, daß wir einstimmen in den Chor des Himmels und der Erde, und auch unsre Häuser wieder Herbergen der heiligen Engel werden durch den Gesang. Wir müssen uns ja sonst schämen vor den Vögeln unter dem Himmel, können auch nimmer Lust haben, in den Himmel einzugehen, wenn wir nicht singen können und mögen.'

The Weapon and Shield Metaphor: Bonifacius and the coming of Christianity to the Germanic tribes

The demonstration of Faith in the conscious choice of the Word over the Gun, is another important facet of Lutheran attitudes toward language, which is anchored in theology. Incidents such as that described below demonstrate the status of the Word, the lessons of the Bible applied directly to everyday life in quite a literal fashion, a position which appears to be characteristic for the Lutheran missionaries in the 19th century. Upon establishing the mission site in 1868 the Missionaries had embarked upon felling trees for building material, however soon encountered resitance from the Dieri, based on the spiritual significance:

> ...they pleaded earnestly with us to rather spare these trees, and we did so, whilst of course reminding them that their beliefs were untrue. It would also be injust and uncivilised, I consider, to destroy the place where the people were born, especially when one is not yet able to explain to them anything of the true Faith and of Superstition.[82]

The fact that Homann reports this episode suggests a conscious position to the well-known Bonifacius story. Bonifacius,[83] the missionary Saint famous for having brought Christianity to France and Germany, had symbolically felled the oak dedicated to the pagan god Donar in 725 near Geismar (Fulda, Hessen). Homann in respecting the wishes of the Dieri regarding their sacred trees by comparison demonstrated his modernity, an approach to mission which did not seek to antagonise but rather to convert by means of Christian love and example.

Interestingly a recent history of the Lake Killalpaninna mission has cited this anecdote in translation as a demonstration of single-minded and culturally

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[82] HMB 5/1868:84 Homann letter dated 5/3/1868 'jedoch baten sie uns dringend, doch diese [nicht alle] Bäume zu schonen und wir haben es gethan, freilich ihnen gesagt, dass ihr Glaube Unwahrheit sei. Es wäre auch unrecht und roh, meine ich, dem Volke die Stätte zu zerstören, wo es geboren, noch dazu, wenn man ihnen noch nichts vom wahren Glauben und Aberglauben sagen kann.'

[83] *Lexikon Christlicher* Kunst (1989: 63) Bonifacius/Boniface (Winfried) b.675 Wessex, Benedictine. 716 dedicated himself to mission in Friesland, Türingen and Hessen, annointed as Archbishop Bonifacius by Pope and became organiser of mission in Germanic lands, founded many convents and monasteries throughout Germany.

insensitive missionary zeal.[84] However this implication is clearly the opposite of what is stated in the original letter.

The example of the first Christian missionary to the Germanic tribes also resonates in reports where Homann visits the camps and seeks to bring the Word and peace in times of hostilities, holding out the Bible as protection. Bonifacius was killed on a mission journey to Friesland by opponents of the new religion, a sword piercing the Bible which he held out in protection. This same image was reinforced by subsequent missionaries to the Dieri including the well-known anecdote related by Scherer where Reuther intervened in a potentially explosive situation, reportedly against the better judgement of his colleague Missionary Siebert:

> Turning next to the people, Reuther addressed himself to them: 'You asked me *eni makitina mankai?* Sure! You tell all those people to sit down, then I'll *makita wandrana* (I'll show you the gun).'
> Quickly the tribal elders ordered the people to be seated. Then, putting his hand into his breast pocket to pull out the New Testament, Reuther held it aloft and raised his voice: 'This is my *makita*: you can't do anything to me!'[85]

The Seed and Plant Metaphor: The Word as initiator of organic change

The following phrase, again based on a biblical quote, becomes an oft-repeated mantra for the Hermannsburg missionaries at Lake Killalpaninna

> God's Word never returns empty [without effect][86] and many a seemingly lost grain of seed sprouts all the more greenly and produces much fruit. And if you were only to save one soul, what joy that would be for you![87]

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[84] C. Stevens (1994:60) *White Man's Dreaming* 'The Diyari pleaded with the Germans not to cut further trees. Presumably this was not heeded, for the missionaries continued to build their settlement, using this example to insist that the heathen belief system was untrue.'

[85] Scherer, P.A. (1966:317) 'Looking Back on a Hundred Years of Bethesda Mission' III. *Lutheran Herald,* 22/10/1966

[86] *Gottes Wort kommt nicht leer zurück*: reference to Isiah 55.11

[87] HMB 41/1866:65 Inspektor Dreves, who had instructed the candidates for the previous two years, from his farewell speech at the dedication ceremony of Gössling und Homann: 'Gottes Wort kommt nicht leer zurück und manches scheinbar verlorene Samenkorn grünt um so freudiger und trägt viel Frucht. Und hättet ihr nur eine Seele gerettet, welche Seeligkeit würde das für euch sein!'

'The sacred mission work is a sowing based on hope'[88] and the seed of the Word is to produce the fruit of change over time. Related metaphors such as the word as a yeast or a salt are also to be found. Sometimes too, the Word is portrayed as a thorn which is planted in the soul, to 'prick the conscience' until man sees the error of his ways and turns to Christian Truth. For Luther the Word and the sacraments given to men, were a blessing bestown upon all, and like rain they bring forth 'fruit' of positive change in man.[89]

The Christian Duty to bring the Word to all people, as articulated in Matthew (28,20) *Taufet alle Völker* (baptise all people!), was coupled with an urgency borne of the conviction that the Dieri and other Australian people were a race on the brink of extinction.

For Louis Harms as for Luther, each Christian was a tree planted in the vineyard of the church, where it must be tended, nurtured and freed of weeds in order to bear fruit. Further man is born not into the divine garden but into an earthly one where the Devil is in charge.[90] Likewise the heart of man is equated with soil to be tilled and a place where the Word may be planted and nurtured in order to bear fruit.

In arguing for the resumption of Lutheran mission work in South Australia, and attributing the 'failure' of the 1840's attempts to insufficient faith, love and commitment on the part of the Dresdner missionaries Torbitzki used the same consistent system of metaphoric reference.

> ...If one wishes to clear a field of trees and brush, one does not merely chop the same off at the top, leaving the trunk and roots in the ground, but rather endeavours to dig out the entirety with roots, stump and trunk, lest they later send out yet more succers, which will overshadow the land and strangle the sown seed...[91]

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[88] DKMZ 1876:93, Meyer 14/10/1876: 'Das heilige Missionswerk ist eine Saat auf Hoffnung'

[89] Luther (1981:170)

[90] Harms (1905: 113)

[91] KMB 5/1862 *Etwas über Mission.* J.M. Torbitzki, Nairne, 8/5/1862: 'Will man einen Acker von Bäumen und Gesträuchen reinigen, so haut man selbige nicht oben ab, und lässt den Stamm und die Wurzeln in der Erde, sondern man sucht alles mit Wurzeln, Stumpf und Stiel auszuroden,

And later at Cooper Creek the Hermannsburg missionaries conceived of their mission work in terms of the struggle with the desert which is simultaneously the desert of the soul and a consequence of sin. Homann writes back to Harms that they have all reflected on the connection of God's Kingdom with Nature, that sin leads to the suffering of creation, whilst justice and God's Kingdom bring blessing in the realm of nature too. 'If only,' he wrote 'I could but report that the desert is beginning to green and the desolation is beginning to become more cheerful.'[92] Reports from this period contain a string of such Biblical references, whereby the experience of the drought and the desert is structured by the story of the prophet Elijah and the three year drought sent by God in Ahab's time, as a punishment for idolatry (1 Kings,18), the metaphorical concepts of desert as punishment for sin and estrangement from God and of rain for God's mercy, the reward for Faith, and the victory of God's Kingdom over heathendom.[93] In both a spiritual sense (coming of victory over heathendom) and literal sense (breaking of the drought) the missionaries were dependent on their Faith and God's will.

Finally, in accordance with Lutheran theology, Missionaries also emphasised their reliance on the Lord for the Harvest – that is, success and understanding of the Word would be brought by the Lord's Blessing, metaphorically rain, rather than by man's efforts. Missionary Meyer summarises the work:

> For it was the Lord's Mercy which once more helped to cast seeds in Hope into the hearts of this poor heathen people. Unfortunately it is not my priviledge to be able to inform you that there is any fruit whatsoever to be seen amongst the Camp Blacks; for as dry and barren as this region is, so too the hearts of the people appear to be. The Lord has however not sent us forth to harvest, but rather to sow. For this reason may we soley ask that the Lord make us diligent in the sowing of his Word; and if the Lord

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andernfalls sie hernach desto mehr Auswüchse treiben, welche das Land beschatten und die Saat ersticken'..

[92] HMB 9/1868:179 &180. See also HMB 4/1867:68 Indeed the first use of these references may have come from Hermannsburg. Theodor Harms, in editing the reports of the first journey for the HMB, described the journey as passing through drought areas 'wie zu Elias Zeiten in Israel'...'Es war ein grauenhafter Anblick. Die Ursachen, weshalb der Herr das Land so schwer heimsucht hatte, mochten wohl dieselben sein, wie die, um deren willen der Herr Israel so furchtbar geschlagen, als selbst Elias Feuereifer fast nichts in Israel ausrichtete zur Bekehrung des Volkes.'

[93] Isaiah 35 and Isaiah 41, 17-20 and the story of Elijah as a believer was sent to the brook Cherith and subsequently disproves the prophets of Baal and their beliefs before the people, a rain storm appears out of a clear sky (1. Kings,17&18)

> in His Mercy grants us in time to be able to bring in a few fruit, so may we thank Him as children.[94]

The approach of the Hermannsburg missionaries and their successors to the role of language studies in missionary preparation, and language learning and translation on the mission field, was thus structured by their confessional standpoint as much as by practical considerations. Walter Veit concludes that 'Those societies with a closer relation to pietism relied more on divine inspiration and the power of the Word'[95] and less on formal study of ethnography or philology.

We do know however that Homann and Koch, and later Meyer and Flierl had access to the language work of their Dresdner predecessors with the Kaurna, the Ngarrindjerri and the Parnkalla, and that the Dresdner Schürmann and Teichelmann were familiar with the work of both London Missionary Society missionary Rev. John Williams' *Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands* (1840) and that of Lancelot Threlkeld[96] *An Australian Language as spoken by the Awabakal* (1834). These works doubtless contributed to the foundation for Lutheran language work in early Australian missions and equally to what these missionaries were 'trained' to see in ethnographic terms.[97]

However on debating the resumption of mission work in SA, the Indigenous language was generally not perceived to be a significant barrier to the Divine imperative to preach the Gospel to all peoples. Pastor Meischel argued with Bible

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[94] DKMZ 1881:66 Meyer 6/4/1881: 'Denn des Herrn Gnade war es, die da wieder geholfen, Saamen auf Hoffnung in die Herzen dieses armen Heidenvolkes auszustreuen. Leider ist es mir nicht vergönnt, Euch mittheilen zu können, daß irgendeine Frucht davon unter den Camp Schwarzen zu sehen sei; denn so dürr und unfruchtbar wie diese Gegend ist, scheinen auch die Herzen dieses Volkes zu sein. Der Herr hat uns ja aber auch nicht gesandt zu erndten, sondern zu säen; darum wollen wir denn auch den Herrn nur bitten, uns treu zu machen in der Aussaat Seines Wortes; und vergönnt es uns der Herr in Gnaden, auch seiner Zeit einige Früchte einsammeln zu dürfen, so wollen wir Ihm dafür nur kindlich danken.'

[95] Veit (2003:27)

[96] Threlkeld served with the Church Mission Society 1826-41 at Lake Macquarie: from 1829 after a parting from Rev. Marsden he was supported by local congregations.

[97] Compare J. Fraser (1892: xi-lxiv) introduction to Threlkeld's Grammar.

quotations that there is no language in which God's voice cannot be heard (Ps 19,4) and The Lord will proclaim in all languages...(Ps 87,6).[98] Former missionary H.A.E. Meyer concurred that neither inherent difficulty of the language nor the diversity of languages was the reason for the withdrawal from early Lutheran mission work in SA as in all three mission fields the hardest tasks had been done and the languages learned and their grammars written.[99] And in any case he added, mission should be far easier now, as wherever any mission-work at all was being done it was in English. For Meyer success was far more likely to be linked to pragmatic concerns of resourcing and long-term commitment.

8.7 A concurrent but contrasting mission language policy

Finally I would like to compare the concurrent mission work of the Moravians with that of the Hermannsburger, with particular reference to the role of attitudes and approaches to the Indigenous language.

In the 1840's an Australian Association had been formed in Herrrenhut, Germany to pray and raise funds in support of mission work amongst the Australian Aborigines and in 1848 the Moravian Synod resolved to establish a mission in the area of Port Phillip, with the co-operation and support of Charles La Trobe, a Moravian and first Superintendent of the Port Phillip District.[100] In Victoria Moravian missions were established at Lake Boga (1851-56), Ebenezer/Lake Hindmarsh (1858-1903), where the partially preserved buildings of which can still

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[98] Pastor J.F. Meischel in KMB 1/1862:4 According to P. Lockwood (pers. communication) the Hebrew may not support Luther's translation, and in the case of 19,4 The Psalm refers to 'the celestial choir which sounds out throughout the whole created universe in praise of God's glory and his handiwork, but which at the same time is not spoken/sung in words that humans are capable of hearing, except by Spirit-created faith in the remarkable God of creation.'

[99] H.A.E. Meyer in KMB 3/1862:21 'Die Schwierigkeit und die Mannichfaltigkeit der Sprachen war kein Grund, daß die früheren Missionare der Dresdener Missions-Gesellschaft nach jahrelanger Thätigkeit ihr Werk aufgaben,. Die größten Schwierigkeiten waren ja, Gottlob besiegt: die Adelaider, Encounter-Bayer und die Port Lincoln Sprache waren nicht nur erlernt, sondern auch grammatisch bearbeitet. Es sind, beiläufig bemerkt, verschiedene Sprachen – nicht Dialekte, wie Einige wähnen. Heute ist das Missionieren unter den Eingeborenen einfacher, wo nur immer Etwas für sie gethan wird, da bedient man sich der englischen Sprache.'

[100] W. Edwards (2002:5) (Strehlow Conference Paper)

be visited near Jeparit, and Ramahyuck/Lake Wellington (1862-1908). Around the turn of the century further Moravian mission fields were established in Queensland in conjunction with the Presbyterian Church at Aurukun (1904-78), Mapoon (1891-1987), and Weipa (1896-1966).[101] Whereas the early missions were primarily run by German-speaking Moravians, the newer missions were conducted by English-speaking missionaries and after the First World War ceased to be foreign missions of the Moravian Church and were transferred to the Presbyterian Church (1923).[102]

In the latter half of the 19th Century the Victorian Moravian missions were often favourably compared to the Lutheran missions in South Australia, including by the Lutheran mission committee and congregations themselves. Indeed they were held up as role models for the establishment of working mission stations for the efficient running of their settlements and farming enterprises, and their early progress with baptisms and conversions. However in South Australia, the Moravian Missionaries' work was much shorter-lived.

A group of Moravian missionaries was sent out from Ebenezer in 1865 for Cooper's Creek in the wake of the Burke and Wills expedition. The discovery of John King, who had survived living with the Dieri, led to the suggestion to establish Moravian mission work amongst that tribe. C. Kramer, W. Kühn, G. Meissel und H. Walder arrived in Australia in November 1864 and except for Kramer, came to Adelaide in mid 1865 and were welcomed by members of the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches. In fact Meissel, in the eight months before the departure for Coopers Creek (July 1866), worked as assistant to Congregationalist Missionary Taplin in Point McLeay.[103]

Missionary Kühn established a school and pastoral care at Kadina on the Upper Yorke Peninsula in early 1866, which he ran until 1880. This Mission became Point Pearce. It appears that this mission was modelled on the Victorian

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[101] See dates in Fesl (1993:195-200) *Conned!* also www.aiatsis.gov.au/lbry : Stations Missions and reserves

[102] www.capeyork.pcq.org.au : Cape York Patrol Presbyterian Church, Brief History

[103] L.Grope (1989) *In the wake of Burke and Wills*

Moravian missions and made use of the English language for school and church purposes. The work done by Missionary Kühn with the Point Pearce school, and any language and ethnographic documentation would be an area worthy of further investigation.

The remaining three missionaries Kramer, Walder and Meissel proceeded to Cooper Creek and established a Moravian mission at Lake Kopperamana in January 1867, however the work was interrupted for half of that year due to Aboriginal hostilities and on re-opening the school in December with one pupil, Meissel reported that they had picked up only a few words in the language (Edwards 2002:13). The mission continued in 1868 under the shadow of drought until official word of its closure was received in November. Its land and work were subsequently incorporated into the Lutheran mission.

The Moravians and Language Work

Disbray (unpublished Hons Thesis, 1997) examined the Moravian Missionaries' language contacts in Colonial Victoria and emphasised the birth of the Moravian movement in the use of the vernacular and the split from the Roman-Catholic Church, with the Brethren being among the first people to have the Bible printed in their own language. Disbray pointed to the connection between these origins and Moravian mission language practices which accepted and valued creoles. It is interesting to note that English was quickly adopted at these missions in comparison with sustained attempts to use indigenous idioms for teaching and preaching by Lutheran missionaries.

In the Victorian missions, Moravian missionaries encountered a situation where in contrast to what Edwards has termed *the first outback mission* (at Lake Kopperamana/Lake Killalpaninna) English language contact, pastoral encroachment and displacement and disruption of Indigenous communities was further advanced. They were focussed on the inevitable change that contact brought and acknowledged the effect that their own mission efforts and specifically European-style schooling wrought on indigenous culture.

Figure 28: Moravian reception of Dresden mission school in SA. Fragment: *Missionsbilder* (1874)
'It was first in South Australia that Christian men took the part of the black original inhabitants of the fifth continent, and began to collect their children together in a school. But how difficult that was to sustain! The Papuan men and the mothers love their children dearly, and they were in no doubt as to which type of upbringing was better - that of the 'Whitefellow' or that of the 'Blackfellow.' They had already experienced for example that Jack could now recite his alphabet, but could not jump as well and not throw as surely as in earlier times, and that whilst Rosa could now count far beyond five and could talk about Africa, Asia and Europe, she did not know how to dig out roots and fat grubs nearly as well anymore...'

A famous and paradigmatic story from the pietist oriented *Missionsblatt für Kinder* (1864) was that of William Wimmera, who died in1852 at the age of 11, probably from tuberculosis. Having fallen from a dray and been lost in Melbourne, he had been taken into the home of Missionary Chase in 1850. His intention was to give Willie a 'Christian upbringing in order that he perhaps one day could return as a teacher to his poor ignorant people' and had subsequently he accompanied Chase to England. However 'the young Australian was a tropical plant, which thrives in sunshine and warmth but could not withstand the harsh European Winter' and before he could be sent home 'his heavenly Father planted

him into a much more beautiful Garden'[104] Chase had published his story as a pamphlet in 1858 and Charles La Trobe gave a copy to the Moravian missionary Hagenauer, who was on his way to Australia. By bizarre twist of fate, William Wimmera turned out to be a boy of a tribe from the precise area where the Ebenezer Moravian mission was later established. [105]

Beyond the individual tragedy the Moravians also were focussed to on what they saw as the inevitable death of the Aboriginal peoples which gave impetus to their mission efforts and shaped language policy. As a consequence the Moravians were not so much concerned with re-instating the Indigenous language than choosing a vehicle which could quickly be employed to spread the Gospel, therefore the use of existing English pidgin forms.

In terms of mission language policy the Moravians concurred with the view, perhaps formed by experiences in Victoria, that the use of English in the mission school and the development of English literacy was logical and desireable given the Colonial setting and the inevitable future integration of the people. Thus it was that two otherwise confessionally close Protestant mission bodies working among the Dieri in 1867 and 1868 approached the role of the Dieri language in mission work with such differing levels of commitment and success.

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[104] *Missionsblatt für Kinder* (1864:55f)

[105] Harris (1994:189-190) William's mother had been killed during a raid by settlers on an Aboriginal encampment in 1846, and indeed the station owner Ellermann had participated in that raid and later repented; in 1858 he offered land including that site to the Moravian missionaries to establish mission work. The missionaries discovered the connection when relating the story to the people of Ebenezer, and were shown the grave of the mother. Several family relations were still living in the area and all knew of the loss of William.

CHAPTER 9

19TH CENTURY PRECONCEPTIONS AND PREJUDICES

'The conceptual systems of cultures and religions are metaphorical by nature...' [1]

Attitudes towards the Indigenous population in the contact situation, decisively influence the evaluation of Indigenous idioms and the way in which language data are recorded and used. Specifically certain concepts act as filters through which data are observed.[2] Just as Lutheran Mission language work was defined by its metaphors, reports of the encounter with the Indigenous population reveal a coherent system of metaphoric reference. These metaphors were often not unique to the Hermannsburger and their successors, indeed the origins of the missionaries' preconceptions of the *Papua*[3] can be readily traced back to the reports of the exploration voyages of Dampier and Cook. By the 1800's, archetypal encounters with 'Australian natives' had firmly implanted themselves on the popular European imagination. Indeed for this reason many aspects of early missionary reports strike the reader as derivative.

Broadly the contact history in the Pacific followed the 'bucaneer' presence of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, through to the voyages of scientific exploration, notably Cook's voyages 1768-79, which led to colonization and the expansion of first English (predominantly Protestant) and then French (Catholic) mission work on the islands of the Pacific.

Whereas the earliest reports of the West Coast of Australia by Dampier were characteristically 'negative,'[4] Cook's reports from the East Coast were much more

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[1] Lakoff & Johnson (1980:40) *Metaphors We Live By*

[2] Schütz (1994: 25) 'perhaps the idea of the Noble Savage and primitive languages acted as screen through which data were observed. In other words, these early writers may have been preconditioned to find certain things and not to find others.'

[3] Burkhardt (1862:132) 'They [the Australian natives] are deemed to be a mixture of the Malayan and the Negro races (therefore the term *(Papua)*...'

[4] 'The Inhabitants of this Country are the miserablest People in the World... [they] have no Houses, and skin Garments, Sheep, Poultry...(Dampier in Lamb, Smith, Thomas 2000:12) William Dampier spent two months at Cygnet Bay on North coast of WA in 1688 and visited Australia again in 1699. His reports are contained in *A New Voyage Round the World (1697-1703)* and *A Voyage to New Holland (1703)* which were widely read in Europe.

favourable regarding both the land and its inhabitants and contributed to the popular perception of Australia and the Pacific in general as a utopia peopled by unspoiled children of nature.[5] It is interesting to contemplate the reason for such difference in positions as lying in a growing awareness in the late 18th century, of Christian obligation to the heathen on the part of the Anglican Cook and also Banks, whose family connections were Moravian.[6] Further both Cook and Banks would have been aware of the Moravian mission work in Newfoundland and Labrador, both having travelled the area in the 1760's.[7]

Indeed so in tune with the sentiment of the time were Cook's reports that Warneck claims they were instrumental in focussing English mission efforts on the South Seas and that from the outset such efforts were much influenced by a *Zauber der Südsee-Romantik* [the enchantment of the romaticised South Seas].

> Cook's voyages of exploration awakened at that time in Europe a romantic infatuation for the pretty islands with their delightful natural beauty but also for their inhabitants, who were portrayed as the happiest children of nature. Indeed one was so enchanted with the new island-realm that one

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[5] Journals of Captain James Cook Vol I: Voyage of the Endeavour 1768-1771 (Ed J.C. Beaglehole 1955) in Baker (2002:122): '...they [the inhabitants of Australia] may appear to some to be the most wretched people upon Earth, but in reality they are far more happier than we Europeans; being wholly unacquainted not only with the superfluous but the necessary conveniences so much sought after in Europe, they are happy in not knowing the use of them. They live in a tranquillity which is not disturbed by the inequality of condition: the earth and sea of their own accord furnishes them with all things necessary for life, they covet not magificent houses, household-stuff etc., they live in a warm and fine climate and enjoy a very wholesome air, so that they have very little need of clothing and this they seem to be fully sensible of...'

[6] See O'Brian (1987:31) Paraphrase: Mrs Banks was a deeply religious woman and lived for a time in London, she had the Moravian Brethren half a mile up the river (Thames) in Lindsey House beyond what is now Battersey Bridge. Lindsey House was bought in 1750 by Count Zinzendorf for the Moravians, a religious community originating in Bohemia and ultimately deriving from Hus, that sent missionaries to the West Indies, Greenland and North America. Some of these missionaries were interested in botany, and they gave Joseph Banks specimens from Labrador, that are still to be seen in his herbarium, now housed in the Natural History Museum.

[7] Banks had travelled to Newfoundland and Labrador in 1766 and James Cook had undertaken survey of Newfoundland coasts and harbours 1763-67 incl part of Labrador coast. O'Brian (1987:47) 'For some years the Moravian Brethren, so well-known to the Bankses, had been in contact with them [the Eskimos] and the Moravians' influence was regarded as entirely good. If they had been Jesuits the official view of their activities might not have been the same, but the Moravians had been legally recognized as "an ancient Protestant Episcopal Church" and their settlements in Labrador were actively helped and encouraged, since apart from anything else the missionaries told the Eskimos in their own language that King George loved the Innuit.'

> believed to have found in it a Paradise [on Earth]; however the worm soon turned; mostly through fault of the Whites, it came to bloody confrontations, and when the natives were disovered to be primitive people with often very barbaric customs, even including cannibalism, the angels of early days were turned into devils, against whom every act of violence was deemed permissible.[8]

In the wake of late 18th century voyages of exploration, first the Pacific and later the Colony of New South Wales experienced a Protestant Mission boom, which soon brought experiences to temper the *Child of Nature* concept. The London Missionary Society was active in Tahiti and then in the 1820's expanded work westward to the Cook Islands and Samoa and thence to New Zealand where it was followed by the Church Mission Society. The Wesley Mission worked on Tonga from the 1820's and later Fiji, and the American Board of Missions established on Hawaii also in 1820. In Australia Protestant mission work was not established until over 30 years post European settlement, first via two brief attempts in Sydney under William Walker (Wesleyan Missionary Society) 1822-26 and George Clarke (Church Mission Society) 1822-24. A comprehensive account of this period can be found in Harris (1994: 23-87). These were followed by the first sustained mission under Rev. Lancelot Threlkeld (London Missionary Society) who established a mission settlement on the shores of Lake Macquarie, South of Newcastle and also learned the Aboriginal language and produced grammatical notes and translations, commenced a school and provided his charges with instruction in agriculture and other useful skills, during his service 1826-41.

Threlkeld and perhaps less deservedly also Samuel Marsden[9] appeared in mid 19th century German Mission literature as the founding fathers of Australian mission work, and it is largely against this history that the South Australian mission experience was framed and reported – once again with a heavy emphasis on the

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[8] Warneck (1910:482): 'Die Cookschen Entdeckungen erweckten ihrerzeit in Europa eine romantische Schwärmerei nicht bloß für die lieblichen Inseln mit ihren entzückenden Naturschönheiten, sondern auch für ihre Bewohner, die man als die glücklichsten Naturkinder schilderte. Man war von der neuen Inselwelt so bezaubert, daß man das Paradies in ihr gefunden zu haben glaubte; aber bald wendete sich das Blatt; es kam – meist durch die Schuld der Weißen – zu blutigen Zusammenstößen, und als man dann in den Eingeborenen wilde Menschen mit oft recht grausamen Sitten entdeckte, sogar bis zur Menschenfresserei, da wurden aus den anfänglichen Engeln Teufel gemacht, gegen welche jede Gewalttat als erlaubt galt.'

[9] Harris (1994:51) describes Marsden's enthusiastic support for mission work in New Zealand as never matched by anything other than pessimism for missionary work among the Aborigines.

difficulty of the work stemming from a perceived extreme degeneration of the generic Australian heathen. In contemplating the early mission attempts the Hermannsburg Mission Society appears to have focussed on the NSW and Tasmanian example of the catastrophic physical and spiritual impact of European settlement and the ability of the German Lutheran community to achieve success where the English and their colleagues had failed.[10]

9.1 First contact mythology

> ***One of the most striking features of first contact between Aborigines and Europeans, wherever and whenever it took place, was the highlighting of the differences between them.***[11]

At the time of establishment of Hermannsburg at Lake Killalpaninna specific information on the Dieri people and their country was almost non-existent. The missionaries' impressions of the missionfield were largely formed by their preparation in Hermannsburg, including reports from Australia published in other mission journals,[12] which also formed the basis for mission histories such as Burkhardt's *Missionsbibliothek* (1861) and *Die evangelische Mission unter den schwarzen Insulanern der Südsee und auf Neuholland* (1862). The latter appears to have been used in the compilation of the *Hermannsburger Missionsbüchlein für Kinder* (1870).[13]

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[10] *Hermannsburger Missionsbüchlein für Kinder* hencefort HMBK (1878) did not mention the Dresden missionaries in SA and only obliquely referred to the Moravians (the baptism of *Papper*, Nathanael Pepper 1860 at Ebenezer)

[11] R.M.& C.H.Berndt (1964:430) *The World of the First Australians* The quote continues: 'Responsibility for this lies partly with the particular period during which first settlement took place - the whole climate of opinion which influenced the settlers at that particular time. Christian ideals were balanced, if not outweighed, by materialistic notions of progress, by preoccupation with property and wealth... In fact, the Aborigines seemed to them so different that many considered them scarcely human'.

[12] These include Threlkeld: CMS/LMS Lake Macquarie; the Gossner missionaries Haussmann and Hartenstein in Moreton Bay: *Biene auf dem Missionsfelde* , the publications and reports of the Dresdner missionaries in Adelaide, Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln in the *Ev.Luth. Missionsblatt* and later the Brüdergemeine in Victoria: *Missionsblatt der Brüdergemeine* and *Periodical Accounts relating to the Moravian Missions*

[13] There is close correspondence of passages of Burkhardt (1862:117-120) on the Australian seasons, flora and fauna with the HMBK (1874:240-242) and also on the *Papuas*

The earliest mission references to the Dieri people cannot be seen as ethnographic observation but rather as mythologised intercultural encounters between the Civilised and Primitives, structured by metaphors including that of the 'noble savage' and its counterpart 'the degenerate heathen' so typical of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century discourses. Even so it is important to revisit source materials from first-contact situations such as the early reports of the Homann and Koch, which highlight the particular rather than universal aspects of the mission encounter.

Homann, Gößling and Koch were young and entering a 'frontier' region where they repeatedly encountered confronting environmental and cultural realities, and one must recognise in their reports the self-reassurance at work in representations emphasising the difference and negativity of heathen cultural practice and the legitimacy and desirability of Christianity and European civilisation. Thus it is one repeatedly finds themes of alternatives to civility including of course the cardinal sins - cannibalism, infanticide, aggression, ingratitude, amorality, gluttony, sloth – all of which lent legitimacy to the enterprise of mission in its role to rehabilitate and restore human nature.

In fact it is interesting to contemplate missions as compared to the figurative Beach cross-cultural encounter-zone or 'liminal space' described by Lamb, Smith and Thomas (2000:xviv-xxi) where two social orders intersect and neither is sovereign. Clearly 19th century mission stations were also an encounter zone albeit of a different nature. The location of the mission station was significant for both the Hermannsburg missionaries and their Dresdner predecessors; the section of land set aside for the settlement and its farm should be fenced, so that the Indigenous people need not wander in the wilderness like sheep without a shepherd[14] and preferrably removed from the Colonial surroundings so that Christian principles would not be contaminated by undesirable European behaviours. Further, at the physical and spiritual heart of the mission station should lie a Church – and indeed in time *Bethesda* came to resemble a German village island in the midst of the Australian desert sea.

[14] Letter Meyer to Mission Committee, Encounter Bay 2/2/1842.

The mission was a place with a different concept of time, structured routines and new rituals including Church, School and Work/farming and building. It was clearly delineated from the Indigenous landscape and contained its own introduced flora and fauna. Further it was a zone where European religion and language-practices and culture could be propagated. Here Indigenous individuals could be reinvented as converts, living in European style houses, speaking and writing a new language and the appropriate spatial metaphor is the farm or field, with each individual as we have seen also being a synecdoche for cultivation of Christian life. Whilst the Missionaries did not leave behind their roles or identities but rather held fast to these as constituted in the script, for the *heathen* the area must have been one of disorientation and loss of identity, but as well it was an area where identity was reconstituted, even if in a foreign image.

9.2 The Heathen-Dieri versus the heathen-*Germanen*

In the earliest reports of Homann, Koch and later Schoknecht a system of representation[15] of the Dieri was evident, which emphasised the negative distinction between the missionaries and the 'poor, very poor restless heathens of this country.'[16] The absence of industry, discipline and good family values came to characterise the Dieri, and there was much talk of cannibalism and the eating not only of children, but also of the dead.[17] The assumed *Versunkenheit* and *Verkehrtheit* [degradation and perversity] of their condition was especially emphasised in times of difficult relations and resistance on the part of the Dieri. '...the women have to do all the work and the men lie about the live long day and do nothing', they do not recognise the sanctity of marriage and mothers are said to strangle their children if they cry too much. Missionary Gössling wrote during hostilities of March 1867 that the Aborigines of the Coopers Creek were

[15] The model is structured according to opposed concepts, e.g.; black - white; living in darkness - living in the divine light; superstition - truth; fear - faith; immoral behaviour- moral behaviour; deception and lies-honesty; animal behaviour - human, that is 'civilised' behaviour; dirt - cleanliness ; chaos - order

[16] KMB 3/1867:43 Homann: ' die armen, sehr armen ruhelosen Heiden dieses Landes'

[17] HMB 5/1867:81 'wie manche ausgeartete Schweine'

> ...liars and cheats [...], who do not seek to carry out their plans in honest and open battle but rather by means of deception, lies and trickery. They are in short the exact opposite of the old heathen Germans.[18]

Indeed the mission experience was structured by a revisiting of the history of the coming of Christianity to the Germanic tribes around the 9th century AD. The romanticised characterisation of the *Germanen*, their pagan beliefs and social structure found in Leonhardi (1873: 2nd edition) forms a neat corollary to the descriptions of the Australian heathen and there are many resonances in Homann's reports.

Physically strong, 'they [the Germanic heathens] appeared as giants to the people of the South. White and pure was the colour of their skin; the golden hair cascaded in abundant thickness, like the lion's mane, in both women and men.'[19] By contrast, the *Papua*, are reported as being black as coal with dark, curly hair growing down onto a low forhead, and having deepset eyes and a flattened nose, 'Not an attractive image of man, who was once made in the image of God! The poor Papuan is inwardly and outwardly [spiritually and physically] very degenerated.'[20]

According to the romanticised 19th century portrayal of the *Germanen* before their conversion to Christianity, they were brave, fierce and loyal fighters:

> One considered it permissible to kill or rob another in manly struggle; but clandestine attack, hidden malice, treacherous lies and deception was seen as unmanly and therefore to be condemned.[21]

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[18] KMB 5/1867:75 Gössling: '...die Weiber müssen das Arbeiten thun und die Männer liegen den ganzen lieben langen Tag und faullenzen...", sie kennen kein Eherecht und die Mütter sollen die Kinder erwürgen,wenn sie zuviel weinen. Sie sind "Lügner und Heuchler [...] , die nicht im ehrlichen und offenen Kampfe, sondern mit List, Lug und Trug ihre Pläne auszuführen suchen. Sie sind just das Gegentheil von den alten heidnischen Deutschen.'

[19] Leonhardi (1873:63) *Nacht und Morgen* II.1

[20] HMBK (1878:243) 'Kein schönes Bild, des einst nach Gottes Ebenbild erschaffenen Menschen! Der arme Papu ist äusserlich und innerlich sehr tief gesunken.'

[21] Leonhardi (1873:65) 'Im mannhaften Kampf einen andern zu erschlagen oder zu berauben, hielt man für erlaubt; aber heimlicher Überfall, verborgener Tücke, hinterlistiger Lug und Betrug galt für unmännlich und darum verwerflich.'

Morally the *Germanen* were portrayed as unforgiving and strict to the point of cruelty with women, children and their subordinates, but honest, proud and above all as a more chaste race than many of the 'modern heathens'! The sanctity of marriage and virginity[22] was apparently enshrined in their social code despite their other heathen practices, and women were accorded a degree of respect not found in any other race of the time. Christianity was portrayed as having made their society more humane and compassionate, the measuring stick being the treatment of the women and children, the aged and infirm:

> ... that there is a German people, that order and morality has flourished in our forests, that one can rejoice in security of one's own life, for all this we have Jesus Christ alone to thank.[23]

9.3 *Die Verkehrte Welt*: Australia through the looking glass

> The Land is of a dry sandy Soil, destitute of Water...the Woods are not thick nor the Trees very big. Most of the Trees that we saw are Dragon-Trees as we supposed; and these too are the largest Trees of any there...There was pretty long Grass growing under the Trees; but it was very thin. We saw no Trees that bore Fruit or Berries...Here are few small Land-birds, but none bigger than a Black-bird...
>
> ***William Dampier*** [24]

Just as the *Papuas* were represented by the early missionaries as opposite to and other than the *Germanen,* and their culture and their languages were seen by both missionaries and contemporary ethnologists and philologists as degenerate forms in comparison with European and classical forms, the Australian environment was subject to a similarly mythologised view, in the tradition, if not in some cases almost the same wording, of Dampier. The landscape was represented as an

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[22] Leonhardi (1873:79) ' Wohl waren die alten Deutschen auch in ihrer heidnischen Wildheit ein keuscheres Volk als die meisten jetzigen heidnischen Völker. Wie der deutsche Jüngling und Mann sich selbst in strengster Keuschheit hielt, so war ihm auch Wahrung der Ehre und Unschuld des Weibes die heiligste Pflicht (...) Wohl wurde dem weiblichen Geschlechte von ihnen eine Achtung erwiesen, wie sie bei keinem andern Volke gefunden ward'

[23] Leonhardi (1873:84) '...dass es ein deutsches Volk giebt, dass Zucht und Sitte in unsern Wäldern aufgewachsen ist, dass man seines Lebens sicher und froh sein kann, dass danken wir allein Jesu Christo.'

[24] William Dampier: *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697-1703) in *Exploration & Exchange* (2000:10)

inverted world to Europe, its seasons and time opposite, its flora and fauna compared to European forms strange, and useless if not dangerous to man.

Representations of landscape were structured by such metaphorical concepts as:

- Australia as an inverted world
- The Indigenous landscape as empty and untouched by human agency; unsettled and with no buildings or cultivation
- The natural environment as unproductive, dangerous and treacherous
- The Indigenous flora and fauna as sparce and inferior in terms of size and utility

Mission literature reinforced and popularised first contact mission descriptions of this world through the looking-glass.[25]

> It is a big country - a continent perhaps only one seventh smaller than Europe, but to us Europeans it must almost seem a topsy-turvy world. For is it not strange that the people here have their feet where we have our heads, that they have their afternoon tea when we are wiping the sleep from our eyes in the morning, that January there is the hottest and July the coldest month, that when the violets are blooming here the Autumnal storms are raging there, and that in May-time the Winter commences. Yes, really. New-Holland is a strange country... The Australian native trees look strange indeed. They do not, as here, extend their green boughs like benefactive hands, but rather hack through the air as it were with knives, ...for they do not have any proper leaves ...they do not even change them once a year, but instead shed their bark... And what about the animals in this topsy-turvy world? [They are] funny enough too. You've probably heard them described by some prankster: 'The mammals have beaks, the birds hair, the swans are black, the ravens white, the cuckoo calls at night and the dogs do not bark.' An amusing tale, is it not? - And yet actually none.[26]

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[25] This particular example can be traced to Burkhardt's (1862) *Missionsbibliothek*, an almanac in current circulation, and further back to reports of Cook's journals.

[26] HMBK (1878:241/242) : 'Es ist ein grosses Land - ein Erdtheil, nur vielleicht um ein Siebentel kleiner als Europa, aber uns Europäern will's fast bedünken, als sei dort die verkehrte Welt. Denn ist's nicht wunderlich, dass die Menschen dort die Beine haben, wo wir die Köpfe, dass sie ihren Nachmittagskaffee trinken, wenn wir uns den Morgenschlaf aus den Augen reiben, dass der Januar bei ihnen der heisseste und der Juli der kälteste Monat ist, dass wenn bei uns die Veilchen blühen, bei ihnen Herbststürme wüthen, und zur Maienzeit der Winter bei ihnen seinen Anfang nimmt? Ja, in der That. Neu-Holland ist ein wunderlich Land... Die Australien eigenthümlichen Bäume sehen wunderlich genug aus. Sie strecken nicht, wie bei uns, ihr grünes Blättergezweig gleich segnenden Händen aus, sondern sie durchsägen so zu sagen die Luft damit wie Messer, die auf dem Rücken stehen...,weil sie keine rechten Blätter haben... Sie wechseln sie nicht einmal alle Jahre, aber

This style of representation was still current in an official history of the Killalpaninna mission, published in 1886[27] which presented the reader with the difficulties the mission had faced since earliest days, and incidentally justified its modest numbers of baptisms.

All aspects of the area described were larger than life, not least the huge distances; Killalpaninna lay almost the length of Germany from the capital Adelaide and one hears of burning Summer heat of 42 Grad Reaumur,[28] of a North wind, as searing as if it came out of an oven, and of storms, which tear the roofs from houses and fill the air with sand. The landscape was like none seen in the familiar green homeland:

> Lack of water is thus the primary scourge in this country, for where the talk is of lakes, the reader must not imagine an expansive sheet of water, pleasant to the eye, but rather an extended depression in the ground... Rivers are likewise not to be found on the mission property, but plenty of dried up creekbeds... The country to the north of Coopers Creek comprises mostly of low chains of sandhills, which run from South to North, however violent storms often change an area in that sand is blown away from one place and piled up to considerable heights in others, in a similar manner to the formation of snowdrifs in Germany.[29]

In this barren lunar landscape, the Hermannsburg missionaries were cut off from the civilised South and protected by only the most primitive of homemade

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dafür werfen sie die Rinde ab[...] Und wie steht's in der verkehrten Welt mit den Thieren? Auch komisch genug. Hast sie [sic] vielleicht schon von einem Spassvogel beschreiben hören: 'Die Säugethiere haben Schnäbel, die Vögel Haare, die Schwäne sind schwarz, und die Raben weiss, der Kuckuk ruft bei Nacht und die Hunde bellen nicht.' Ein lustig Märlein, nicht wahr? Und doch eigentlich keins.'

[27] *Geschichte* (1886)

[28] *Geschichte* (1886:6) [42 R.= 52 C]

[29] *Geschichte* (1886:7): 'Wasserarmuth ist also in diesem Lande das vorherrschende Uebel, denn wenn von See'n die Rede ist, darf der freundliche Leser nicht etwa an einen das Auge erquickenden weithin sich ausdehnenden Wasserspiegel denken, sondern er muss sich eine weit ausgestreckte Bodenvertiefung vorstellen, ...Flüsse finden sich auf dem Missionsland auch nicht, wohl aber ausgetrocknete Flussbetten... Das Land nördlich von Coopers Creek bildet meistens niedrige Sandhügelketten, von Süden nach Norden gehend, jedoch verändern oftmals heftige Stürme eine Gegend, dadurch, dass der Sand von einem Ort weggefegt und an andern Orten zu nicht unbeträchtlicher Höhe angehäuft wird, ähnlich wie in Deutschland die Schneetriften entstehen.'

constructions.[30] The flora of the region gave them little consolation; they observed that although summer grasses, tough rushes and gnarled trees did grow there, there could be no thought of any cultivation of the land with European plants for cropping or enjoyment.[31] And the fauna was deemed similarly impoverished; the largest Australian mammal, the kangaroo, occured seldomly, but by contrast there was no shortage of dangerous dingos, lizards, poisonous snakes and emus, whose flesh was 'unpalatable to Europeans, due to its oily taste.' The report closed with an observation, which acquires a foreboding dimension for the modern reader:

> It is truly fortunate that, given this poverty of fauna, almost all of the European domestic animals integrate [as native] here and in this way compensate for the want. [32]

9.4 Heathen sterotypes

The Hermannsburg missionaries and indeed other contemporary 'scientific observers'[33] repeated representations of the Australian Aborigine which were to be found in the reports of early explorers, particularly the negative descriptions of Dampier, early English missionaries to the Pacific and NSW and the first German Missionaries to the coastal regions of SA. As for the early explorers, in the first-contact phase the Missionaries' European eyes registered the absence of European culture, but not the presence of Indigenous reality.

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[30] The completion of the Overland Telegraph line in 1872 came too late to be of benefit to the first period of the mission [...]. The railway was extended from Port Augusta to Farina in 1883 and to Herrgott Springs early in 1884 shortening the distance covered by the mission wagons for supplies to a mere 144 kilometres.': Kneebone and Rathjen 'Men with a Mission' in *FoLA*/6,1996:21

[31] *Geschichte* (1886:8) 'zwar wachsen Sommergräser, zähe Binsen und verkrüppelte Bäume', aber 'An Cultivirung des Bodens, an Anpflanzung europäischer Nutz- und Zierpflanzen ist ... gar nicht zu denken.'

[32] *Geschichte* (1886:9): 'Ein wahres Glück ist bei dieser Armuth an Thieren, dass die europäischen Hausthiere fast alle hier einheimisch werden und so den Mangel ersetzen.'

[33] See Koeler *Notes on the Aborigines on the East coast of the St Vincent Golf in SA 1837 &38* in Monatsberichte über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin (1842:42-57 & 1844:35-75) Notes on the physiognomy of the people are particularly reminiscent of Dampier.

The *Hermannsburger Missionsbüchlein für Kinder* (1878) summarised an all pervasive miserable state: The physiognomy was unattractive and bestial, health and hygiene poor and clothing grotesque, primitive or absent. Likewise tools and instruments were few and extremely simple. On culinary habits the *Missionsbüchlein* reported that the Australian Aborigine was totally undiscerning 'they consume lizards, snakes, beetle larvae and all type of noxious insects and worms' (HMBK1878: 245) and Christmann added that even 'The culinary arts are an extremely the low level among the Blacks. Many foodstuffs are consumed raw, fish and other animals are roasted on a fire or in the coals, often they are merely half cooked or barely warmed through.'[34] Of housing: 'no Hotentott, no Indian or Greenlander would exchange his accommodation for that of such a poor *Papu*. Some of them build themselves a type of bee-hive and cover it with clay, some just dig themselves deep into the sand, that is simpler.'[35]

On Familial and social relations: The mistreatment of women, infanticide, cannibalism and murder and blood feuds were commonly and enthusiastically reported. Many of these social evils were interpreted as associated with a perceived lack of social authority and order; the missionaries regularly complained of the *communism* of the Dieri. They noted no personal property, no obvious governmental structures and also missed the associated attitudes of reverence, loyalty and gratitude towards superiors!

On Beliefs and Customs: Indigenous beliefs were portrayed as nothing but a confused and destructive collection of superstitions rather than having the status of a religion. At this time there could be no thought of the religious relativism that emerged in the 20th century, Christianity was seen in Europe as *the* not *a* religion amongst others.

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[34] Christmann (1870:352) 'Die Kochkunst steht bei den Schwarzen auf einer äußerst niedrigen Stufe. Viele Nahrungsmittel werden roh verschlungen, Fische und andere Thiere werden auf dem Feuer oder in den Kohlen geröstet, oftmals nur halb gar gemacht oder kaum durchgewärmt.'

[35] HMBK (1878:244) 'kein Hottentott, kein Indianer und Grönländer würde mit so einem armen Papu die Wohnung tauschen. Manche von ihnen bauen sich eine Art von Bienenkorb und überkleiden ihn mit Lehm, Manche graben sich nur tief in den Sand, das ist einfacher'

> Their Gods are evil spirits... The poor, poor *Papuas* , who are thus enslaved by their fear their whole life long! For they do not have anything to counter all those dark powers apart from their magic spells and curses.[36]

In the early reports of both Homann and Gössling, customs and rituals labelled as immoral were linked with the physical decline of the race and reflected widely-held opinion that the Dieri race would not survive its childhood.[37] Such statements reappeared with renewed vigour in times of hostility. Where detail of heathen practices was included in reports at all, it was designed to highlight the irrationality and the disastrous effect of the heathen lifestyle on the people. Any possible rationale such as, for example, the role of subincision in population control, or the role of the constraints of the kinship system in preserving the genetic vigour of the tribes was not considered. From the perspective of the 19th century Missionary, all such customs and ritual merely demonstrated the bonds of Satan:

> At the beginning of the month the long awaited natives of other tribes arrived, and made much 'heathen rumpus' during their stay, before wandering away again at the end of the month. Indecent traditional dances and songs, various comedies/farces, were put on almost every day, and in the end the natural consequence was sickness and misery. ...he [the devil] gives them entertainments, which destroy body and soul, and the poor deceived people think they are preserving their existence through such devil's work. The so-called 'corroberes' here are of very diverse types, but I am yet to find one of an innocent nature. The various songs which accompany them contain all type of incitement and temptation to licentiousness, and the actual dancing is nothing other than this.[38]

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[36] HMBK (1878: 245) 'Ihre Götter sind böse Geister...Die armen, armen Papuas, die so durch Furcht des Todes Knechte sind ihr Lebenlang! Denn allen jenen finsteren Gewalten haben sie nichts entgegenzusetzen als Zaubersprüche und Flüche...'

[37] See 'Über das Aussterben der Naturvölker' in *Süd-Australische Zeitung* : 21/7/1869:4. This article alluded to a work by Garland treating the topic of the reason for the disappearance of the 'natural' peoples of the world in the face of contact with 'civilisation'. Physical causes were found in the sicknesses introduced from Europe and in the violent dispossession of the natives, but also in the lifestyle of excess in terms of alcohol and promiscuity' and practices such as infanticide which reveal a disregard for personal and societal physical wellbeing. Furthermore psychological aspects were discussed, such as feelings of powerlessness, disorientation and resentment against the intruding culture, leading to melancholy and apathy which is 'the lethal blow to the soul of the vanquished'.

[38] KMB 14 & 15/1869:112 'Zu Anfang des Monats kamen die längst erwarteten Eingebornen andere Stämme zugereist, machten während ihres Aufenthalts viel Heidenspektakel, bis sie mit Ende des Monats wieder fortgewandert sind. Unzüchtige Volkstänze und Gesänge, verschiedene Comödien, waren fast alle Tage, und die natürliche Folge am Schluss war Krankheit und Elend. ...er [der Teufel] gibt ihnen Vergnügungen, welche Leib und Seele verderben, und das arme

As a result, and in contrast to the work of the Dresden Missionaries, customs and beliefs of the Dieri were not accorded sustained attention or investigation and in terms of language study, specific semantic areas were either not perceived, or else, far from being viewed as a repository and possible resource for spiritual or abstract terms, were intentionally excluded from teaching materials and early mission wordlists and grammars. This was again not a unique trait to the Hermannsburg missionaries: both Gason[39] and Taplin[40] exercised a form of censorship, and Wood at several points in his introduction to *The Native Tribes of South Australia* (1879) resorted to Latin footnotes in deference to the sensitivities of the 19th century reader.[41]

Language: Although complex grammatical and kinship forms were gradually discovered, a lack of concepts (religious and general including numerical) and a small vocabulary were routinely attributed to the Indigenous idiom. Missionaries associated this with a perceived materialism, frivolity and childishness on the part of the Dieri,

> Certain attributes, which only pertain to childhood in other races, are never laid aside by the Australian Blacks, even when they are adult. The pleasure in childish frivolities and games, in endless practical jokes doubtlessly is associated with the infinite lack of all care with which they remain anchored in the present, and are totally unaffected by anything

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betrogene Volk meint durch solchen Teufelsdienst sein Leben zu erhalten. Die sogenannten Corroberes hier sind sehr verschiedener Art, aber noch keins habe ich gefunden, welches unschuldiger Art wäre. Die verschiedenen Gesänge dazu enthalten alle Reissung [sic:Reizung] und Lockung zur Unzucht, und das eigentliche Tanzen dabei ist nichts Anderes.' Homann also specifically related the story of a man killed because he had supposedly been named by a corpse, and another incident later in same report (p.113) whereby a new song was invented; after some 14 days of singing, 'stamping, shaking, crawling on the ground,' Homann reported that almost all participants were now sick.

[39] Gason in Taplin (1879: 67) *The Folklore, Manners, Customs...*:'Polygamy is practised in an exceedingly barbarous manner, unfit for publication' See too p.73: 'The Mooramoora... bade them perform certain ceremonies (observed, but too obscene to be described), and then created the sun'

[40] Taplin in Woods (1879:61): 'I have omitted one or two [legends] which were too indecent for general readers'

[41] Woods (1879:xiv) referring to the practice of subincision: 'The details of this peculiar practice are appended in a note [in Latin]. They can scarcely be recorded in English. How this horrible custom originated can only be a matter of conjecture'. Eyre also apparently entered such information in his journals in Latin. One can only conclude that if one was able to read Latin one was sufficiently educated to exercise academic and scientific judgement in such matters!

> which lays beyond it. The past and the future are concepts which the Australian cannot grasp...[42]

Phonetic features of the Dieri language, with its predominance of syllable final vowels and absence of consonant clusters and sibilants,[43] alongside reduplicative forms, a fluidity of syntax, the seemingly restricted lexicon and the presence of a sign language presumed to compensate for the 'paucity' of words, were sited as proofs of the limitation and inferiority of the Indigenous vehicle.[44] The lack of a writing system, variation, that is the use of what the missionaries viewed as non-standardised vernacular forms, and later also the use of English pidgin forms, were seen as indisputable evidence of an undeveloped language capacity or childlike language.[45] Language, measured against European norms, was seen as an indicator of cultural sophistication and prestige. In short, Indigenous forms were constantly being compared to European languages and found wanting. The perspective of the observer however was seldom called into question.

> One must relate the joyous message of redemption and redeemer to them as to small children, and above all one must be quite plain, simple and childlike, they are no clever Athenians and no educated Hindu, but rather primitive, natural people.[46]

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[42] Christmann (1870:350f): 'Gewisse Eigenthümlichkeiten aber, die bei anderen Völkern nur der Kindheit angehören, werden bei den australischen Schwarzen, auch wenn sie erwachsen sind nie abgelegt. Die Lust an kindischen Tändeleien und Spielen, an endlosen Possen hängt sicherlich mit der unbegrenzten Sorglosigkeit zusammen, mit der sie in der Gegenwart stehen, vollkommen unbekümmert um Alles, was außer derselben liegt. Vergangenheit und Zukunft sind Begriffe, welche die Australier nicht fassen können...'

[43] Compare Schütz (1994: 15): discussion of early impressions of Polynesian phonotactics as childlike or under-developed speech forms

[44] See Schütz (1994:19): 'One of the popular misconceptions about 'primitive' languages, unfortunately still held, is that somehow cultures can survive with a few hundred words, enhanced by gestures.'

[45] R. Foster and P. Mühlhäusler 'Native Tongue, Captive Voice in *Language and Communication* (1996) Discussion of concept of an Indigenous captive voice in the context of use of Pidgin English as the vehicle of intercultural communication in Colonial SA. The perceived lack of mastery of the foreign linguistic forms, ie in aberrant pronunciation and 'ungrammatical' forms marginalised the message. See too Taplin in Woods (1879:68) on speaking to the Ngarrindjerri as to children 'On the first Sunday after my arrival I opened the largest room in my house for divine worship, and invited the blacks to attend. A good number came and listened with attention while I read and prayed and tried to address them in simple language from the text *The Lord is a great God*. At that time I knew very little native; but some of the blacks knew a great deal of broken English, and by using their way of speaking, and coming down to their level, I managed to make some of them understand.'

[46] HMB 11/1869:234 Homann: 'Wo die Worte fehlen, als z.B. Sünde, da wird das Wort schlecht, sehr schlecht gemacht, schmutzig, ungehorsam u.dgl. Wörter müssen helfen. Für das Wort heilig

The Hermannsburg missionaries viewed the 'chaotic' conditions of the Dieri way of life as mirrored in the language, which to them was likewise confusing and primitive.

> In the language, according to what I have heard, I expected [to find] more order, but it seems to me, as far as I [...] am able to judge, to be very unstructured and undeveloped, as indeed there is no order in anything with these people (except for in a few customs). The 'communism' which prevails among them, the freedom and equality,[in the negative sense of laxity and lack of differentiation] has removed and consumed all relationships.[47]

Such extreme initial evaluations of the language were tempered by Koch; his more distanced attitude towards mission rhetoric and his philological studies perhaps allowed him to perceive traces of order and of an abstract dimension which had previously gone unrecognised:

> It has been claimed, that our Blacks are the most stupid of all heathens, that they have no terms at all in their language for any concepts which transcend the everyday [level], I must say that after only these six months we have evidence of the opposite case. Their language is one rich in imagery, so rich in imagery that it must seem ridiculous to one who is unaquainted with the customs of the people, but it is also precisely for this reason that it is difficult to work one's way into it.[48]

However Homann and Gössling,[49] Koch,[50] Meyer and Flierl, as indeed earlier Protestant missionaries reconciled the complexity and unexpected richness of

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muss gut gesagt werden und dazu rein, gehorsam u. dgl., so stark man es machen kann. Die fröhliche Botschaft vom Heil und Heiland muss man ihnen erzählen wie kleinen Kindern, und überhaupt muss man recht platt, schlicht und kindlich sein, es sind keine klugen Athener und keine gelehrten Hindu, sondern sehr grobnatürliche Leute.'

[47] KMB 5/1867:75 Gössling: 'In der Sprache habe ich, nach dem was ich erfahren habe, auch eine grössere Ordnung erwartet, sie scheint mir aber so weit ich[...] urtheilen kann, sehr ungeordnet und unausgebildet zu sein, wie denn bei ihnen in keinem Stücke (einige Gebräuche ausgenommen) Ordnung ist. Der bei ihnen herrschende Communismus, Freiheit und Gleichheit hat alle und jede Verhältnisse aufgehoben und zerfressen.'

[48] HMB 3/1869:47 'Es ist behauptet worden, unsere Schwarzen seien die dümmsten von allen Heiden, sie hätten durchaus in ihrer Sprache keine Ausdrücke für irgend Begriffe, die sich über das Niveau des Alltäglichen erheben, ich muss sagen, wir haben schon nach diesen sechs Monaten Beweise vom Gegentheil.Ihre Sprache ist eine bilderreiche, so bilderreich, dass sie einem mit den Sitten des Volkes Unbekannten lächerlich erscheinen wird, aber ebendeshalb ist es auch schwierig, sich in diesselbe hineinzuarbeiten.'

[49] KMB 3/1867:41 Gössling: 'Wenn sie sterben, meinen sie , kommen sie als weisse Leute wieder - Allgemein ist die Beschneidung unter ihnen und ihre Zeitrechnung führen sie nach

Indigenous language with a culture dismissed as primitive, via the concept of degeneration, a loss of language and civilisation over time post the Fall from Grace:

> All men have strayed far from their divine origins through sin...however not all to the same degree, and just as the attitude to the mercy offered varies from individual to individual, so it is with races of people in general. With many heathen peoples there is still to be found beneath the debris of superstition a considerable treasure trove of divine truths, which have been inherited from Paradise, and even if they are often distorted almost beyond recognition, they offer welcome departure points for the preaching of the Gospel. On the other hand there are heathen peoples, for whom all remnant of original revelation has disappeared, and whose understanding and conscience is so degenerated, that no trace of the Divine image can be discerned in them. And amongst these so piteously degenerated races belong the poor Aborigines of this country, a few tribes of whom I have come to know through my two-year residence amongst them.[51]

9.5 From mythology to ethnology and philology

A further major component of the representation of the Australian Aborigine stems from the 'Enlightenment tracings of society's original outlines' which, in the words of Lamb, Smith and Thomas (2000:xvi), saw 'taxonomic hierarchizing and universalist habits of mind appropriate Oceanic places, environments and peoples.' To this list I would add languages. During the 19th century interest emerged in organising data (linguistic and ethnographic) largely collected through

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Mondesmonaten. Es scheint dies, so wie auch bei sehr Vielen der Gesichtsausdruck auf semitische Abkunft hinzudeuten; dazu auch der Bau der Sprache, wenn auch nicht der einzelnen Worte.'

[50] KMB 9/1868:104 '...da wir aus alledem, was wir bis jetzt gefunden, ersehen, dass die Sprache, wenn auch natürlich ungemein verdorben, doch Regeln hat und nebenbei der griechischen Sprache ähnlich ist.'

[51] DKMZ 1881:20 Flierl: 'Alle Menschen sind durch die Sünde...sehr weit von Gott ihrem Ursprung und der göttlichen Wahrheit abgekommen, aber doch nicht gleichweit und wie das Verhalten des einzelnen Menschen zur angebotenen Gnade ein Verschiedenes ist, so auch die Völker im Ganzen. Bei vielen heidnischen Völkern findet sich unter dem Schutt des Aberglaubens und Götzendienstes und heidnischen Grausamkeit immer noch ein ansehnlicher Schatz göttlicher Wahrheiten, die aus dem Paradiese ererbt sind und wenn sie auch oft fast bis zur Unkenntlichkeit entstellt sind, bieten sie doch willkommene Anknüpfungspunkte beim Vortragen der göttlichen Heilslehren. Hinwiederum giebt es heidnische Völkerschaften, denen jeder Überrest der Uroffenbarung entschwunden, deren Erkenntnis und Gewissen so erstorben, daß an diesen Armen kaum eine Spur des göttlichen Ebenbildes zu entdecken ist. Zu diesen so traurig verkommenen...Völkern gehören die armen Eingeborenen dieses Landes, von denen ich einige Stämme durch 2-jähriges Zusammenleben mit ihnen kennenlernte.'

missionary encounters, to reflect trees of descent or genealogical relatedness. According to J. Harris (1994:27) with the Darwinian concept of evolution came scientific respectability and currency for views which emphasised the superiority of European physiognomy, intellect, culture and language which in secular society not only legitimised a systematic neglect and wilful ignorance of injustice, but would also prove damaging to both missionary and academic endeavour well into the 20th century.

Whereas Biblical representations of Language Diversity had centred on the aspect of a Fall from Grace, emergent scientific approaches to ethnology and philology focussed on evolutionary principles of adaptation and divergence. In the mission sphere the multitude of languages was deemed the consequence of the loss of a universal mode of communication and a fragmentation of the original language. This change was deemed chaotic and negative, and involved a degeneration from ideal classical forms. Missionaries sought to address this degeneration in the area of religion and cultural practices including language, and with respect to the latter, missionaries saw the creation of a standard written form as rehabilitation of a corrupt and disorderly vernacular. By contrast the 'scientific approach articulated in the 19th Century, emphasised certain types of regular change, with the concept of diversification of forms being positively evaluated as the result of increasing adaptation. As such Indigenous languages and cultural practices were now deemed valid objects of investigation and academic study.

The Tree of Life, as a static taxonomic metaphor based on a Biblical image, was refunctioned by Darwin to express dynamic historical processes with 'successful and failed lineages subject to natural selection.'[52] In arguing the validity of processes of natural selection as resulting in large-scale evolution, Darwin proceeded 'by grand analogy' based on the observation of small changes in limited time produced by humans in artificial selection (such as used in agriculture).[53] From observable structural similarities and differences, organisms could be

[52] S.J. Gould (1997:445) *The First Unmasking*

[53] Gould (1997:452-3)

grouped and categorized, and from this organisation of data a theory of the genesis of the diversity of the species could be formulated.

The tree metaphor as genealogy was also central to the work of Indo-European comparative philologists pre-Darwin.[54] Darwin both drew from their metaphors and enriched and returned them. Indeed in *The Origin of species* (1859) linguistic affiliation was used as a non-biological example to demonstrate a natural system of classification, based on descent with modification.[55]

> In effect, Darwin says that linguistics, as practised by the leading exponents of comparative Indo-European philology, offers *the* paradigm of scientific method. It has moved from mere comparison to *historical* comparison; and historical comparison is nothing other than genealogy.[56]

For the linguistic field the concept of natural selection could be harnessed to explain why linguistic change over time did not simply result in ever-increasing chaos[57] but rather certain regular types of change. Languages were already seen as species descended from common ancestral languages, and Grimm's *Lautverschiebung* (1822:*Deutsche Grammatik*) could now be raised to the status of a Law parallel with Darwin's concept of descent with modification; 'natural selection' framed this modification as directional.

> Dominant languages and dialects spread widely, and lead to the gradual extinction of other tongues. A language, like a species, when once extinct, never...reappears. The same language never has two birth-places. Distinct languages may be crossed or blended together. We see variability in every tongue, and new words are continually cropping up; ...single words, like whole languages, gradually become extinct. As Max Müller has well remarked: -'A struggle for life is constantly going on amongst the words and grammatical forms in each language. The better, the shorter, the easier forms are constantly gaining the upper hand, and they owe their success to their own inherent virtue.' To the more important causes of the survival of certain words, mere novelty and fashion may be added... The survival or

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[54] R. Harris and Talbot J. Taylor (1989) *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought.* See Chpt 13: Müller on linguistic evolution pp165-175, and especially p.170

[55] Harris and Taylor (1989: 167)

[56] Harris and Taylor (1989: 167)

[57] Harris and Taylor (1989: 172)

> preservation of certain favoured words in the struggle for existence is natural selection.[58]

9.6 Contemporary theories on Australians and the origin of man

In the early 1800's missionaries to the Pacific had pondered the question of the origins and relatedness of 'the Dark races.' Of particular relevance was London Missionary Society Missionary John Williams, who had also visited NSW in 1821. Williams contended that there were two races of Polynesians, Eastern and Western, the latter of which included Australian peoples:

> The one race is allied to the negro, having a Herculean frame, black skin and woolly, or rather crisped hair; while the hair of the other is bright, lank, and glossy, the skin of a light copper colour, and the countenance resembling that of the Malay. The latter inhabit Eastern Polynesia, which includes the *Sandwich,* the *Marquesan*, the *Paumotu*, the *Tahitian* and *Society*, the *Austral*, the *Hervey*, the *Navigators*, the *Friendly Islands, New Zealand*, and all the smaller islands in their respective vicinities; while the former race, which we may designate the Polynesian negro, is found from the Fijis to the coast of New Holland, which, for the sake of distinction, we shall call Western Polynesia. It will appear then, that the natives on the eastern part of New Holland, and the intertropical islands thirty degrees east of it, including *New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland,* the *Archipelago of Lonsiade, Solomon's Isles, New Caledonia,* the *New Hebrides,* and the *Fijis*, differ essentially from the copper-coloured inhabitants of the other islands...Hitherto Missionary labours have been entirely confined to the copper-coloured natives. We have now, however, proceeded so far west, as to reach the negro race, and our next effort will be to impart the same blessings to them.[59]

Proof of the Asiatic origin of Eastern Polynesians was sought in the language, and the search for related words was characteristic of 19th century philology.[60] Further, Williams theorized that the negro race inhabited the *whole* of the islands

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[58] C. Darwin (1871:138-9) *The descent of man* in Harris and Taylor (1989: 169)

[59] J. Williams (1840:130)

[60] ibid Williams' comparative table English-Rarotongan-Malay:

English	Rarotonga	Malay
The eye	mata	mata
Food	manga	mangan
Dead	mate	mate
A bird	manu	manu
Fish	ika	ika
Water	vai	vai

prior to the arrival of the Malay Polynesians; who succeeded in conquering and extirpating them from the smaller islands and groups, but were unable to effect this in the larger ones.[61] In effect the journey to Western Polynesia was represented as a trip back in human history to encounter peoples of a much earlier stage.[62]

One of the earliest reports by a German observer on the South Australian Aborigines, by a Dr Koeler following his visit to the fledgling Colony (*Notes on the Aborigines on the East coast of the St Vincent Golf in SA 1837 and 1838*) proclaimed the Adelaide tribes members of the Ethopian race and gave a familiar 'Dampierian' description of the people.[63] In addition to general observations on the Indigenous language he included some examples of early pidgin English usage[64] and particularly commented on the people's facility for imitation and rapid language acquisition.

These concepts continued to be current throughout the 19th century and are encountered again in the comparitive work of contemporary Missionary-Philologist/Ethnologist George Taplin,[65] who likewise posited that the Australian Aborigines consisted of two races on the basis of similarities in kinship systems, myths and sorcery. The one being of south and south-eastern Asia origins (he

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[61] Williams (1840:133)

[62] Baker (2002:121) summarises that a four-stage theory of man was current in the 18th and 19th centuries according to which 'human society passed from hunting to pastoralism, from pastoralism to cultivation and agriculture, and from there to commerce and trade.'

[63] Koeler in *Monatsberichte der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* (1842:45-47) physical description and (1842:44) '...und wenn schon diese ganze Race in physischer, wie in intellectueller Hinsicht die niedrigste Stufe des Menschengeschlechts einnimmt, so stehen unter ihnen wieder gerade die Süd-Australier äusserst tief und selbst gegen andere Neu-Holländer zum Theil weit zurück.'

[64] Koeler (1842:49) on Pidgin 'so sprechen sie auch schnell und glücklich und mit vortrefflichem Gedächtnis Wörter, die sie hören, nach, nur hier und da sie etwas verstümmelnd, um Härten, die sie nicht aussprechen können, zu umgehen. So kennt ein Jeder die Wörter *no, yes, bad, good, mutton, money, black man, how do you do, good morning, good day* usw und weiß sie richtig zu gebrauchen. So hört man sie sprechen von *schépeh (ship), birkétti (biscuit), black money* (bedeutet Kupfergeld), *ueípeh money* (statt *white money,* d.h. Silbergeld); und den Lieblingsruf "*me very hungry*"...

[65] Taplin (1879) attempted to demonstrate genetic relationships via similarities in vocabulary and grammar. See p.154/155, also comparative tables 142-153, and 112

noted Tamil and Telugu kinship system similarities) and being found to the East (including Tahitians, Hawaiians and Tongans) with the 'remarkable characteristic, unity of language, and an indisposition to change their language.' The other to the West, groups of islands inhabited by the 'multitudes of the dark races' being remarkable for the multitude of their languages; 'Every few thousand people have a different tongue. They possess too, a great aptitude for learning new languages.'[66] In philological work of the 19th century the Biblical model of Babel and the dispersal of the Tribes was never far removed. Here Congregationalist Missionary Taplin:

> Now, some *savans* have supposed that human languages were developed from the utterances natural to animals. If this were true, we might, therefore, expect to find amongst the natives of Australia a language very little superior to the cries of the beasts of the field. But what do we find?- that they possess a language which is remarkable for the complexity of its structure, the number of its inflections, and the precision with which it can be used.[...] Now, the Aborigines with their present power of invention, if they were only developed from a still lower grade of human nature, could never have constructed this language for themselves.[...] And this points to the conclusion that they never could have risen to their present state from a lower grade of savage life, but must have descended to their barbarism from a state more nearly approaching civilisation; and their language must be the remnant of what was then in use amongst them. Its inflections have been retained, but its range contracted within the limits of the objects of their present sphere of existence.[67]

9.7 Contemporary debate on Turanian languages

In both England and Germany the theories of Oxford Philology Professor Max Müller were particularly relevant and influential to the linguistic encounter with Australian languages. Bunsen a diplomat in London with a lifelong passion for Indo-Germanic studies had met Max Müller as a young student of Sanskrit in 1846, and subsequently became a patron, friend and collaborator. From his own early years of study it had been Bunsen's special project to create a historical philosophy whereby comparative philology would 'provide the proof of the

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[66] Taplin (1879:14) *The Folklore,Manners,Customs and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*

[67] Taplin 'The Narinyeri' in Woods *The Native Tribes of S.A.*(1879:119-120)

connection of developing language with the progress of humanity.'[68] Of particular interest for the representation and study of Australian languages was the concept of a *Turanian* language group. Bunsen's *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History, applied to Language and Religion* (1854), aimed to report on the newest philological research and included Müller's 'Letter to Chevalier Bunsen'(1853) on *The last results of the Researches respecting the non-Iranian and non-Semitic Languages of Asia or Europe, or the Turanian family of Language.* Interestingly Müller's discussion was reviewed with particular reference to Australian languages by the German philologist Dr Bleek (Cape Town) in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (1870), the same journal and edition which contained Taplin's comparative tables of South Australian languages. Bleek himself was familiar with the philological studies of former SA Governor Grey into Indigenous languages and their relatedness in West and South Australia, and had undertaken comparative research into Indigenous languages, manners and customs in South Africa.[69]

The story of Tur was probably first encountered by Bunsen as a student of Oriental languages. According to Bobzin (1991:83) his purchase in 1814/15 in Holland of a manuscript of Firdowsi's *Shahname* (the extant *Avesta*) an epic written between 935 and 1026 AD[70] was pivotal in his later work in philology. Significantly, the legend presents Iranians and Turanians as one stock. Tur was one of three sons of Feridur/Fereydun (the other two were Silim and Irij), who belonged to the peoples of Central Asia and Iran in ancient times. Feridur divided his kingdom between his three sons, Anatolia (Asia Minor) and the west to Silim, China and Turkestan (Central Asia) to Tur, and Iran, the best part of the kingdom,

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[68] H. Bobzin (1991: 92) 'Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen und sein Beitrag zum Studium orientalischer Sprachen'

[69] Wilhelm Heinrich Immanuel Bleek (1827-75): *The Library of his Ex. Sir George Grey: Philology II/I : Australia* also *A comparative Grammar of South African languages, I* . This latter work was mentioned by Lepsius in the 1863 edition of the *Standardalphabet*, as an example of new research utilising his system.

[70] Bashiri (1993:2) www.angelfire.com/rnb/bashiri/Farr/farr.html See too Jafarey (2005:1) www.zoroastrian.org/articles/Iran_Turan_in_Avesta.html

to Irij. This led to the murder of Irij by Tur. On the Turanian stock Bunsen wrote:

> The separation of the Arian stock took place long before the ancestors of the Arian family left their common home; for, wherever these Arian colonists penetrated, in their migrations from east to west, they found the land occupied by the wild descendants of Tur. Through all periods of history, up to the present day, by far the largest share of the earth belongs to Tur; and the countries reclaimed by Shem and Japhet, although they mark the high road of civilization, ... are but small portions if compared with the vast expanse of the empire of the Turanian speech. [71]

According to Müller the philological category *Turanian* owed much to Wilhelm von Humboldt,[72] who proposed that languages be divided into three large families, namely the nomadic languages and the two 'political languages' Arian (or Indo-Germanic) and Semitic, however it has recently been posited that Friedrich Rückert originated the term in the 1840s. According to Bobzin the current classification was Semitic - Japhetic - Hamitic: and that Bunsen was interested in showing that the Japhetic consisted of two groups the Arian/Iranian ie Indo-Germanic languages and Turanian, including Altaic languages such as Mongolian, Turkish and Finnish.[73]

The three traditional classifications originated in the Biblical story of the dispersal of another three sons, namely Noah's sons Sem/Shem and Jafet, who both received their father's blessing, and Ham/Kham, the youngest son who was cursed for his disrespect. The broad characteristics of the original dispersal from the region of the Black Sea were the Semitic peoples to the East (encompassing the Hebrew and Arabic), the Jafetic to the North-West (including the Hellenic and Phonecian) and the Hamitic to the South (including the Afro-Asian, the ancient Egyptian, Ethiopian and the Palestinian). Ultimately Bunsen considered that Khamitic languages were the antecedents of the Semitic and that in a similar manner Turanian languages had given rise to Jafetic, in both cases via

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[71] Bunsen (1854:18)Vol II

[72] W.v. Humboldt: *On the Varieties of Human Language and its Influence on the Mental Development of Mankind* translated excerpts in Bunsen (1854: vol.I:413) *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History, applied to Language and Religion*

[73] Bobzin (1991: 92)

development of script which allowed progress towards fixed grammar and refinement of both vocabulary and concepts.[74]

The characteristic grammatical structure of *Turanian* was the use of affixes and this was supposedly determined by the nomadic way of life of the peoples:

> ...the life of tribes, where the individual and the family are separated only by the floating walls of tents, and in daily intercourse with their clansmen. It is an indispensable requirement in every nomadic language, that it should be intelligible to many, though their intercourse be but scanty. The introduction, therefore, of elements expressing as clearly as possible the grammatical relation of words, the invention of signs, whether natural or conventional, for distinguishing between nominal and verbal roots, the avoidance of everything that might obscure the meaning of words or the intention of their grammatical exponents, distinguishes the Turanian from the Chinese.[75]

Briefly, *Turanian* languages were thought to exhibit the following characteristics:

- They are unscripted and dependant on oral transmission
- They have a small vocabulary[76]
- Their vocabulary can be rapidly changed, which gives rise to the divergence and fragmentation of languages, which was seen as illogical and chaotic change.[77] 'Nomadic languages shed their words almost in every century; while political languages keep their plumage for thousands of years.'[78]

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[74] Bunsen (1854:3-4)Vol II. See too p13 on the development of writing The history of writing 'belongs exclusively to the Iranian and the Semitic family, and most preponderantly to he latter. Tur learnt to write from his more intellectual brethren, and, generally speaking, very late.'

[75] Müller in Bunsen (1854:285) vol I

[76] Müller in Bunsen, op cit, I:483 'It must be remembered also that the dictionary of these languages is small if compared with a Latin or Greek thesaurus. The conversation of Nomadic tribes moves within a narrow circle[...] '

[77] ibid, I:483 'We can at present hardly form a correct idea with what feeling a savage nation looks upon its language; whether it may be as a plaything, a kind of intellectual amusement, a maze in which the mind likes to lose and find itself. But the result is the same everywhere. If the work of agglutination has once commenced, and there is nothing like literature or society, to keep it within limits, two villages separated only for a few generations, will become mutually unintelligible.'

[78] Müller in Bunsen (1854:403)vol I

- Their grammatical structures are simple and extremely regular by comparison with 'script-languages'; Further: *Turanian* languages are the language of the day and 'cannot preserve what is not continually revived and used...they are extrememly regular and monotonous, without any of those strange anomalies which, in the Arian languages, harass the student, but delight the schɔlar.'[79] This characteristic also underlies the relative paucity of synonyms and homonyms in *Turanian* languages according to Müller.

Although it was acknowledged that empiric data was wanting - Humboldt had only Threlkelds work as a basis, he saw in the dark-skinned *Austral-Negern*[80] (in comparison to 'lighter' races of Malay origins) members of an earlier, perhaps displaced group, whose language was primitive, and through isolation and the effect of *Turanismus* (lack of script!) had further degenerated. The Polynesian languages, although distantly related to the Arian via Sanskrit, were seen as representatives of earlier stages of development and the struggle to achieve grammatical form and consistency.[81]

The philological world therefore anticipated in the investigation of further Australian languages, fascinating examples of *Turanian languages,* and the repeated discovery of complex grammatical systems in the data of the first coastal South Australian missions among the Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri and Parnakalla would have been explained by Müller along the following lines:

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[79] Müller in Bunsen (1854: 291) vol I

[80] ibid, I:415 Die Kategorie 'Austral-Neger' bezeichnete die dunkelhäutigen Rassen; man hielt sie für Überbleibsel primitiver Rassen. Noch auf gewissen polynesischen Inseln und vor allem in Neu-Guinea, Neu Holland und Van Diemens Land anzutreffen, 'they constitute a population of uniformly low development.' See too vol II:114 'Whether the Papua languages, spoken in Australia and New Guinea[...] be a primitive type of the same stock as the Malay, which afterwards in many parts superceded it, is a point which must be left undecided till we obtain from the missionaries a Papuan grammar. Thus much, however, we know, that it is an earlier and very primitive formation, and one which will probably prove to have only degenerated.'

[81] Bunsen (1854:485) vol I. See too vol I:331 'If the unsettled state of grammar and dictionary in the Turanian languages is the result of that nomadic state of society in which they grew up and live, we should expect that this effect would cease wherever nomadic races enter into a state of political consolidation. This is indeed the case. Wherever there is a written literature and fixed standard of grammar kept up by the higher classes, the Turanian character approaches more and more to an Arian type.'

> Tribes who have no literature and no sort of intellectual occupation, seem occasionally to take a delight in working their language to the utmost limits of grammatical expansion. The American dialects are a well-known instance: and the greater the seclusion of a tribe, the more amazing this rank vegetation of their grammar.[82]

It is in the context of the search for affinities in order to place the new languages under these classifications that we should therefore see early references in mission documentation to Semitic and Greek (ie Arian/Indo-Germanic). Gössling for example noted similarities with the Semitic language, facial characteristics and the practice of circumcision,[83] and Koch observed on numerous occasions that the language, although of course uncommonly corrupted, did however posess rules which were similar to those of ancient Greek.[84]

Indeed the diversity of Turanian languages was subsumed under concepts of primitive and illiterate language practices and they were in many respects the equivalent of the mythologised 'Other':

> What was the state of the Arian and Semitic dialects during this early period of ethnic migration and struggle we do not know. Their history begins only when they cease to belong to the chaotic mass of Turanian nomads. They appear at once on the stage of history, fully clad in their own armour, the enemies of the barbarians, the worshippers of brighter gods, and with a language which has left forever the tumult of a Turanian arena. They are Arians, or Shemites, inasmuch as they are no longer Turanians...It is only after having conquered in themselves Turanianism...that they advance through Asia and Europe as the conquerors of the descendants of Tur. This battle is not yet ended; and the largest share of the earth still belongs to its earlier occupants.[85]

By the turn of the century the term had been abandoned as philologists, including Bunsen and Müller themselves, came to the insight that the *Turanian* languages as a group did not exhibit a genetic relatedness comparable to that

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[82] Müller in Bunsen (1854:483) vol I

[83] KMB 3/1867:41 Gössling:'Wenn sie sterben, meinen sie , kommen sie als weisse Leute wieder - Allgemein ist die Beschneidung unter ihnen und ihre Zeitrechnung führen sie nach Mondesmonaten. Es scheint dies, so wie auch bei sehr Vielen der Gesichtsausdruck auf semitische Abkunft hinzudeuten; dazu auch der Bau der Sprache, wenn auch nicht der einzelnen Worte.'

[84] KMB 9/1868:104

[85] Müller in Bunsen (1854:484) vol I

classifications Semitic and Indogermanic, despite many exhibiting the typological characteristic of agglutination.

Thus although with differing motivations and with differing consequences drawn to those of the Lutheran missionaries, contemporary ethnological and philological investigators placed the Australian Aborigine and with that the Dieri at the bottom of a scale of humanity with the European at its apex and other peoples encountered in the colonial or mission setting ranged below according to the cultural products possessed and the perceived level of physical and intellectual vigour.[86]

> The 'zero of humanity' will be the tribe which has the fewest and rudest tools, the most imperfect weapons, and which obtains its subsistence most from the spontaneous productions of the country whereit lives. In order, therefore, to determine the position of a people in the human family we have to enquire what are their weapons, tools, means of subsistence? How do they find shelter? What regulations exist amongst them, having for their object the welfare and health, and fecundity of the race? ...There is no country in the known world where man can live without implement or weapon. And when man is reduced to a desperate battle for existence, having only the rudest appliances for his purpose, he drops all those wholesome customs, and moral observances, and obedience to law, which are absolutely indispensable for his health, and continuance as a race, and social well-being: his bodily vigor decreases...Man's highest state of health and vigor is only compatible with high civilisation and pure morality.[87]

9.8 The imperative to rehabilitate

Contemporary opinion was as yet undivided on the beneficial effect of mission as perceived in the mission history of the Pacific, in contrast to the detrimental effect of Imperialism, the effects of which the missionaries could perhaps ameliorate but not of course control. The heathen peoples were however portrayed as in need of

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[86] Taplin (1879:8) 'There is a danger of our regarding, like the old Greeks, all nations not having European culture as barbarians. We are liable to forget that there is a great difference between tribes who are all, compared with ourselves, to be regarded as uncivilised. The term savage has been too freely used by us. Races, as far apart as the semi-civilised Samoan and Tongan of Polynesia is from the low aborigines of the Australian mallee scrub, have all been called savages. The fact has been overlooked that the difference between these people is as great as that which exists between the polished European and the superior class of barbarians.'

[87] Taplin (1879:9-10)

salvation prior to European contact. Missionaries were seen as the pioneers and cultivators of the new field, entering a world portrayed as chaotic and hellish and bringing order and peace:

> When Williams sighted the *Schiffer* islands, they were engulfed in war. From the deck of his ship he could see nothing of Uno and Upolu but billowing smoke, where the combative parties surrounded themselves with death and destruction. Many hundreds were burned alive, old men, women and infants, and without mercy were roasted and consumed like pigs... The ship on which Williams arrived was called *The Peace Herald* and carried native messengers of peace, who were prepared to risk their lives and proclaim the Gospel to the Samoans.[88]

And not only this – there was an unreserved optimism regarding the consequences of interventions in Indigenous culture. Of the changes wrought on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) *Die Biene* reported:

> Their dirty shanties have been transformed into sweet cottages, and for the chieftains stately mansions. The Queen *Pomare* has a large solid building of 72 feet long by 40 feet wide, with a reception room and several chambers. Instead of their miserable canoes they now have durable boats, indeed schooners of 40 Tonne capacity, which they have built themselves. In bygone days in the South Seas one saw no other animals than pygmie pigs and rats, now they have horses, cattle sheep, goats etc in abundance...[89]

Whilst the Hermannsburg missionaries and their successors Meyer and Flierl clearly were aware of contemporary thought, they believed that all people were originally created in the image of God and as such necessarily retained God-like

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[88] *Die Biene auf dem Missionsfelde* 4/1846:27 with excerpts from *Der Missionar und sein Lohn* by Pastor Besser- summary of English mission journals on the fruits of mission in the South Seas after Pritchard's book of same title. 'Sie sind die Pionire, in deren aufgeworfene Schanzen die europäischen Missionare einrücken; sie sind die Urbarmacher eines neuen Arbeitsfeldes; ohne ihre Hülfe würde das Evangelium in der Südsee noch auf einen engen Raum beschränkt seyn' and 'Als Williams die Schiffer-Inseln besuchte, waren sie mitten im Kriege. Vom Verdecke seines Schiffes aus sah er in Una und Upolu nichts als Rauch und Feuer aufsteigen, wo die streitenden Parteien Tod und Verderben um sich verbreiteten, viele Hunderte wurden lebendig verbrannt, Greise, Weiber und Säuglinge ohne Schonung gebraten und verzehret wie die Schweine... Das Schiff, auf welchem Williams kam, hiess "der Friedensbote" und hatte eingeborene Friedensboten am Bord, welche bereit waren, ihr Leben zu wagen, und den Samoanen das Evangelium zu bringen.'

[89] *Die Biene* 5/1846: 34 'Ihre schmutzigen Kabachen sind in niedliche Häuschen , und für Häuptlinge in stattliche Häuser umgewandelt. Die Königin Pomare hatte ein grosses massives Gebäude von 72 Fuss lang und 40 Fuss breit, mit einem Audienzsaal und mehreren Zimmern. Anstatt ihrer elenden Kanoes haben sie jetzt dauerhafte Boote, ja Schooner von 40 Tonnen Last, die sie selbst gezimmert haben. Früher sah man in der Südsee nichts von Thieren, als Zwergschweine und Ratten, jetzt haben sie Pferde, Rindvieh, Schafe, Ziegen usw in Menge...'

elements which could be restored. The instrument of this rehabilitation was the Word in the Indigenous language. The perceived *Versunkenheit* and *Verkehrtheit* therefore buttressed Mission motivation to redeem and rehabilitate and it was a similar case for 19th century attitudes towards the introduction of literacy:

> The *natural* peoples are the fallen sons of Adam; the lost son also lost nobility of mind, custom and language. A few remarkable remnants however remained, perhaps much as if in an impoverished noble family the brocade hem of an ancestor's stately robes might be passed down.[90]

Script, with its roots in Mespotamia (cuniform) and the first alphabetic writing developed by Semitic peoples from the same region,[91] was spread throughout Western Europe alongside Latin and the Roman alphabet by Christianity and this 'gift' was now to be proffered to the 'unwritten cultures' of Oceania and Africa.

9.9 Mission and Lepsius' *Standard Alphabet*

If mission brought peoples devoid of script and hence the Bible the alphabet, it also clearly prepared the way for linguistic research, and especially for comparative philology of the 19th century. India was the 'cradle' of this new science; there the investigation of Sanskrit and its reduction to Roman script offered academics in Europe a new field. The sounds of Sanskrit were compared with those of Latin and Greek, and a genealogy of languages was constructed. And the evangelical Church and mission network was utilised from 1855 to publicise the Lepsius system for a standard alphabet, and to promote its adoption (see Appendix Q).[92]

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[90] P.E. Wallroth 'Was hat die gegenwärtige Mission für die Sprachwissenschaft geleistet' in *Allgemeine Missions-Zeitschrift* (1891:324) 'Die Naturvölker sind eben heruntergekommene Söhne Adams; der verlorene Sohn verlor auch den Adel der Gesinnung, Gesittung und der Sprache. Einige wunderbare Reste bleiben, wie vielleicht in einer verarmten Adelsfamilie sich der Brokatsaum von des Urahn Staatskleid weiter vererbt.'

[91] See M. Gale (1997:23-25) Dhaŋum Djorra'Wuy Dhäwu: A history of writing in Aboriginal languages (Aboriginal Research Institute, University of South Australia) See p24: 'It could be said that every alphabet in use today derives in one way or another from these original Semitic developments, including the modern Hebrew, Ugaritic, Greek, Cyrrilic, Arabic, Tamil, Malayalam and Korean alphabets and the modern Roman alphabet.'

[92] The Standard Alphabet project originated in conjunction with the CMS and the introduction to the first edition (1855) contains a number of endorsements from the leading Protestant mission

Like Bunsen, Lepsius considered that comparative philology, based on a standardised system of notation for newly discovered unwritten languages, would provide answers on the genealogy of peoples of the world and assist investigators to sort and order the *Volksgewirre,* or confusion of races.[93] He believed further that it would be easier to achieve such a standardisation of practice via the network of missionaries throughout the world than via academic networks.

The graphisation of Indigenous idioms was intended to accelerate the spread of the Gospel, in that literacy would allow the 'missionised' to participate in their own conversion via reading of the Bible. The decision to introduce literacy at the cost of existing oral traditions was not questioned. It was further envisioned that the introduction of a Standard Alphabet would provide a durable foundation for Bible translation work and it was Lepsius' view that Mission and Bible societies should go hand in hand:

> ...only where the Word of God is read by the people themselves, and where a whole people are made susceptible to the spirit of Christianity by the distribution of the Bible and of Christian schoolbooks, can a rapid, deep and lasting work be hoped for.[94]

The fruits of technical progress and likewise the cultural content of developed countries were viewed as necessary to elevate the heathen, and furthermore it was held that they could never invent such for themselves. This attitude was mirrored with respect to the introduction of literacy, which was generally viewed as a

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organisations of the day, including LMS, Moravians, the Barmen und Basel Mission Societies and also the American Board of Missions.

[93] Bunsen (1854:382) vol II 'We may hope to fix upon an alphabet which will be the basis of civilisation and literature for tribes growing into nations under the benign influence of Christianity....Such an alphabet will take away a great bar to communication between such of the Indian populations as speak a very cognate language, and gradually with all; and, at the same time, bring them nearer to their European rulers, and the rulers nearer to them. But finally, that same alphabet will render it possible, not only for the scholar by profession, but for every friend of ethnology and comparative philosophy of language, to transcribe and to read the sounds, and to understand whatever belongs to the noblest branch of ethnology, whether published at London, or at Paris, or at St Petersburg. And why not at Pekin and Nankin? For I am sure that the first step needful for the 360,000,000 composing the Chinese empire, before entering into the stream of the common civilisation of mankind, will be their adoption of an alphabet of sounds, to which, as experience has already shown, even that most abnormal language can be reduced.'

[94] Lepsius (1863:26) *Standard Alphabet for Reducing Unwritten Languages and Foreign Graphic Systems to a Uniform Orthography in European Letters* (2nd edition 1981)

Kulturgabe. Lepsius formulated the task of missions with regard to language as follows:

> The Aboriginal tribes of Africa, America, Australia, and Polynesia are almost entirely destitute of written language. This fact alone ccaracterises[sic] them as barbarous and uncivilised. And if there be no nobler calling for the civilised and Christian world than to impart to all mankind the treasures of religious knowledge and human culture so freely entrusted to their hands by Divine Providence, - and if the obligation of this calling, now more powerfully felt than ever, rests especially on those associations of high-minded Christian men, which have taken their name as *Missionary Societies* from this highest of all missions; - then it is their especial duty to furnish destitute nations, first of all, with that most important, most indispensable means of intellectual, moral, and religious culture, *a written language.*[95]

Simultaneously the development of standard forms sought to address the need for more reliable data, and to provide academics with a basis for cooperative research. Just as in the early phases of Protestant mission work each missionary had followed his own inspiration in developing a system of notation for an unscripted language, according to Bunsen, a similarly depressing and unsatisfactory state of affairs was to be found amongst the newest investigations in comparative philology.

> I was painfully reminded of the want of two great principles- I mean, a physiological one for the basis, and a practical one for the application. None of the systems I found, including that which I use myself, proved to be consistent as to its basis; none unobjectionable as to its application.[96]

In 1836 a shared interest in Egyptology and philology had brought together Richard Lepsius and Christian Bunsen, who in his role as statesman and adviser to Friedrich Wilhelm IV, helped to bring to fruition the famous royal expedition to Egypt under Lepsius' leadership. It was also Bunsen who, late in his diplomatic career, arranged the four London conferences of January and February 1854, and to which he invited alongside Lepsius, another former Protegé, Professor Max Müller. Both were to present their proposals for a Standard Alphabet to representatives of the leading mission societies.

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[95] Lepsius (1863: 26)

[96] Bunsen (1854:380) vol II

The four conferences were chaired by Bunsen and also included Professor Johannes Müller (Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin) and Professor R. Owen on the physiology of speech. The unapologetically Eurocentric object was to arrive at a uniform system of notation for all languages of the world, with the exception of Greek, Latin and the Teutonic and Romanic languages of Europe, and the resolutions were:

- That every sound must be defined physiologically before being given a place in the alphabet.
- The comparative philologist must reduce the infinite possible sounds by linguistic observation to the typical sounds employed in the various manifestations of human speech, and fix the number of letters requisite for a universal alphabet.
- The graphic system must be rational and consistent and serve the purposes of reading and writing, and particularly printing. Components should in the first place be drawn from the Roman Alphabet, in the second place employ modifications of Roman types, and only by way of exception use Greek letters ('Arabic, Russian, or fanciful types must be excluded altogether').
- This scientific alphabet should be the *Standard Alphabet* against which all others were to be measured; other deviating systems were to be considered *Transition Alphabets.*[97]

Lepsius' system was ultimately given the support of the meetings, despite Sir Charles Trevelyan's argument for the older system of Sir William Jones, which, like Müller's Alphabet made use of italic forms of the letters instead of diacritic symbols to expand the Roman alphabet.

The alphabet was in the first instance to be tailored to the needs of mission practice, and particularly for use with hitherto unwritten languages in comparison to script languages, where there was often (as with Sanskrit) a competing and 'erroneous' orthographic tradition.[98] The alphabet was to be scientific in its

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[97] Bunsen (1854:390) vol II

[98] See Lepsius, op cit., 82 'The difficulty of transcription is greatest in those systems of writing which, originating in an earlier period of the language, and fully developed, have been retained unaltered, whilst the pronunciation has undergone a change, as also in those in which several

rigour and consistent approach; each sound was to be described as accurately as possible with regard to its physiological basis, and for each sound there was to be only one symbol. With regard to vowels, Lepsius proposed a triangular representation, which was intended to show the relationships between the cardinal vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*: pronounced as in Italian and German, the so-called European vowels) and their gradations. Originally Lepsius (1855) used the metaphor of colour to express differences in sound; the cardinal vowels as the primary colours (*a*/red, *i*/yellow, *u*/blue) and between each pair a whole range of shades (e.g. *e*/orange, *ü*/green, *o*/lilac). In its attempt to systematise the representation of vowels with regard to human physiology, Lepsius' approach represents an important step toward modern phonetics. With regard to consonants, Lepsius proposed that notation should clearly separate the two major consonant groups, the fricatives (*f/v*, *z/s*, *th/th*) and plosives or stops (*p/b*, *k/g*, *t/d*). The alphabet was to be based on the letters of the Roman alphabet, which for practical reasons were treated in their traditional order – this was the 'right of the European.'

> ...in as much as all European nations use one and the same order of letters as handed down to them by the Romans, who received it from the Greeks, who again received it thousands of years ago from the Phoenicians, they possess also the right of communicating the historical arrangement, as well as the characters themselves, to foreign nations.[99]

The alphabet was thus to serve both the more modest purposes of mission and the more sophisticated demands of scientific notation. On the one hand there was available a highly complex set of diacritic symbols, which aimed to allow representation of every nuance of sound in all Asiatic and African languages, and on the other hand a much smaller selection of signs for use of the mission – the system of notation was intended to be elastic enough to accommodate both goals.

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reformations have left their traces. An instance of this kind has already been mentioned in speaking of the Sanskrit palatals[...]As the object of a standard transcription is to avoid, as much as possible, all such incongruity of sound and sign, no other course remains open in such cases than to fix upon a distinct period of the language in question, and to adapt its transcription to the different purposes of rendering, either the *actual* pronunciation, or the *ancient* one.'

[99] ibid, 17: see too 29

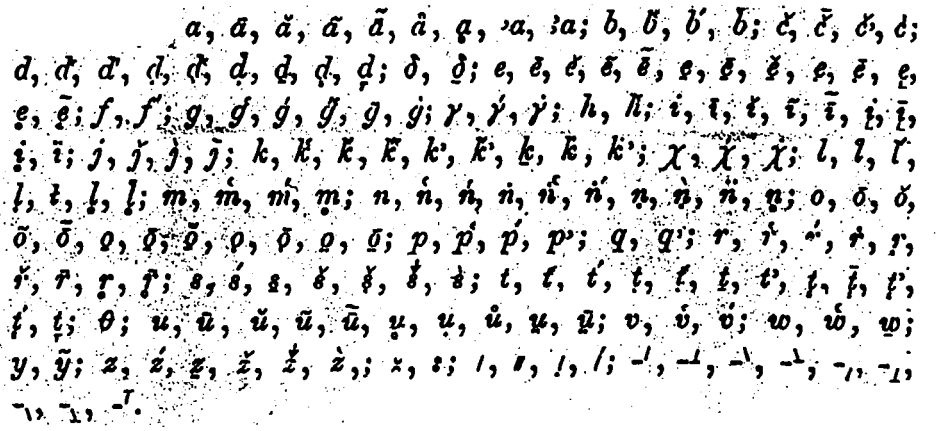

Figure 29: Lepsius' full set of diacritics (1863:18)

According to Lepsius the full set of symbols would not be required for any single language and the alphabet could therefore be greatly simplified for each application; where the bases[base letters] have no double value, diacritics could be omitted.[100] This was likely some consolation for the missionary, who ultimately carried the responsibility of simply recording the sounds as they heard them, with their untrained ears. According to Kemp's excellent introduction to Lepsius' 1863 Standard Alphabet (1961) Lepsius' focus on a practical classification separating vowels and consonants, appears to have come at the cost of phonetic theory:

> Lepsius had in mind the practical needs of the users of his alphabet. Not that he gives any hint as to how they are to approach the very difficult task of listening to and categorising unfamiliar vowels in terms of the classes he provides. [101]

The task of fixing the 'important' sounds of the language, via thorough analysis, was reserved for philologists. This tension between collectors of data and specialised scientific researchers, together with the complexity of the diacritic system, which gave rise to problems for 'the writer, reader and printer'[102] were the main weakness of the Standard Alphabet.

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[100] Lepsius (1863:79)

[101] Lepsius (1863: 61*) * denotes Kemp's introduction page numbering

[102] Lepsius (1863:79*) 'The type faces needed for it, in its full form at least, were not available to the ordinary printer, and too many of them needed to be specially cut. Then there were the

As it was a major concern of Lepsius to make mission language documents available to philologists, a collection of orthographies for different languages was provided in the appendix to the first edition, this included not only his own work on Nubian, Congara and Hieroglyphics, but also the work of other collectors of language data, whose grammars had either been written in collaboration or at least in accordance with Lepsius' *Standard Alphabet*, or whose work could be adapted to this system of notation. In the second edition this collection was expanded. Lepsius also described his attempts to accurately describe and to verify the sounds of exotic languages via conversation with 'intelligent natives', 'learned gentlemen of long residence in their countries with a practical acquaintance with their languages,' and correspondence with missionaries.[103] The Dieri language documents of the Hermannsburger post-date both editions, however the Australian languages are represented by the published grammar of Teichelmann und Schürmann; of the nine languages and language-areas listed in the second edition of the *Standard Alphabet*, four stem from the SA Dresden mission fields and the Adelaide language is the only one noted as having been brought into line with its principles.[104]

Lepsius and South Australia

Teichelmann und Schürmann's *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary and Phraseology of the aboriginal language of South Australia, spoken in and around Adelaide* (1846) is included in both editions (1855:64 and 1863:266), and according to Lepsius the work conforms with the Standard Alphabet, except for the nasal, which appears in Teichelmann and Schürmann as *ng* and in Lepsius as *ṅ* (with a superscript dot signifying nasalisation). It is likely that copies of Schürmann and Teichelmann's published language work was sent via the Dresden mission society to the *Königliche Bibliothek* in Berlin.

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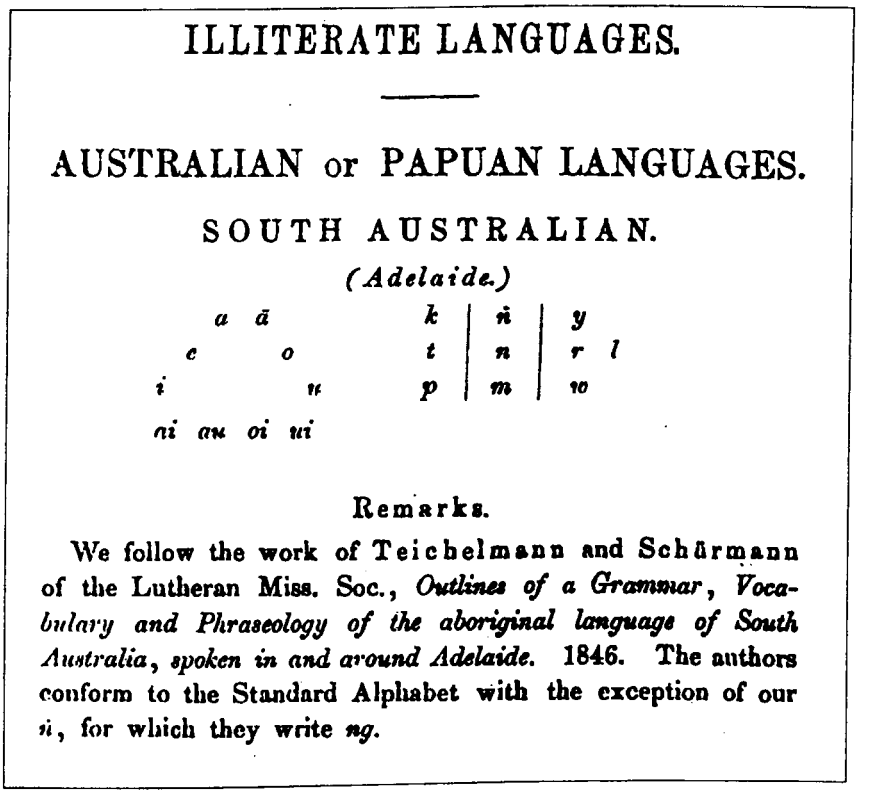
problems to the writer, reader and printer of symbols which were so dependent on accurate reproduction of every little dot and dash.'

[103] Lepsius (1863: 311-12)

[104] Lepsius (1863: 306)



ILLITERATE LANGUAGES.

AUSTRALIAN or PAPUAN LANGUAGES.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN.

(Adelaide.)

a *ā*		*k*	*ṅ*	*y*
e *o*		*t*	*n*	*r* *l*
i *u*		*p*	*m*	*w*

ai *au* *oi* *ui*

Remarks.

We follow the work of Teichelmann and Schürmann of the Lutheran Miss. Soc., *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary and Phraseology of the aboriginal language of South Australia, spoken in and around Adelaide.* 1846. The authors conform to the Standard Alphabet with the exception of our *ṅ*, for which they write *ng*.

Figure 30: Lepsius *Standard Alphabet* (1863:266)

In 1843 Missionary H.A.E. Meyer had sent 21 books to the Mission Committee, including two copies of the Adelaide Grammar and three of his own Grammar of the Encounter Bay language, for Professor Rückert (Berlin), with the request to give one copy for each language to the Royal Library.[105] As mentioned above, Rückert was another philologist of Bunsen's circle; like Lepsius he had met Bunsen in Rome (1818) and according to Bobzin[106] it is likely that Bunsen supported him in his studies of Oriental languages and in his academic career. Further, Rückert also had Müller as a student of Persian in 1844-5 in Berlin, but also discussed other languages including Tamil, which he viewed as a member of the Turanian language group.[107] Meyer's connection with Rückert likely stemmed from his preparatory studies in Erlangen: in 1839 Meyer had attempted to learn

[105] Letter H.A.E. Meyer to the Committe of the ev. luth. Mission Society of Dresden, Encounter Bay, 9/11/1843: held in Ev.Luth. Missionsarchiv, Leipzig

[106] H. Bobzin (1991:91) 'Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen und sein Beitrag zum studium orientalischer Sprachen' in *Universeller Geist und guter Europäer Christian Carl Josias von Bunsen 1791-1860*

[107] ibid. 93

Tamil before being sent out to Australia in 1840 whilst his co-pupil Rückert managed to learn and then teach it within three months.

Although there are no direct references to the Dieri language, as I have argued in Chapter 4, Lepsius' Alphabet is likely to have influenced the initial graphization. Alongside its endorsement by many Protestant missions there were also academic connections via Göttingen University, where Bunsen, as later Lepsius and in the same years Louis Harms studied Classical languages.[108] Elsewhere the Standard Alphabet was influential on a national scale, notably in Africa where Lepsius' method directly informed mission language practice and a unified system of notation for the diverse vernaculars was envisaged. Here, according to Reinecke, the influence of Lepsius' Alphabet cannot be overestimated in the creation and development of a script form adequate for the sounds of African languages.[109]

Certainly, Lepsius' *Standard Alphabet* is a fossil of a time when the areas of mission work and comparative philology were intimately connected, and when the emergent science was dependent on the 'linguistic byproducts' of evangelisation. Scientists had not yet begun to question whether mission collection affected the authenticity of language data collected and missionaries were positive as to their role in transformation of unwritten languages. In reducing such languages to writing missionaries aimed not only to create a worthy vessel for Christian teaching, but to rehabilitate and elevate Indigenous languages, and their language practices and interventions reflected these attitudes.

9.10 Missionaries as collectors of data

Although Protestant missionaries in general became the major collectors of ethnographic and linguistic data on the new encounter Australia, there were

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[108] Lepsius (1810-1884) studied one semester in Leipzig, then in Göttingen 1830-32, where Jacob Grimm was one of his Professors, and took him into his circle of friends. Later Lepsius continued his philological studies under Bopp in Berlin. Louis Harms (1808-1865) studied Germanic languages and literature in Göttingen 1828-30, his younger brother Theodor (1819-1885), studied Theology in Göttingen 1839-42.

[109] B. Reineke (1988:202) 'Die Bedeutung von Lepsius' Standardalphabet für die schriftliche Fixierung afrikanischer Sprachen' in *Karl Richard Lepsius (1810-1884) Akten der Tagung anlässlich seines 100. Todestages.*

differing levels of integration and contribution of the various missionaries and their organizations with the world of science.

Whilst the Dresden missionaries Schürmann, Teichelmann and Meyer published significant works on the customs and languages of South Australian coastal peoples in the 1840's this occurred under the encouragement and collaboration of the Colonial Government, and Governor Grey's own scientific interest in philology and Australian languages was central to their publication. The work of these missionaries was also communicated to philologists in England and Germany.

Likewise Moravian missionaries in Victoria and South Australia were informants for ethnographic and philological collections such as Brough-Smythe's *The Aborigines of Victoria* (1878) and Taplin's South Australian collection *The Folklore, Manners, Customs and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines* (1879). Moravian missionaries to the Dieri (1867-69) also provided early geographical information along with a map of the Cooper region and a sketch of Bucaltaninna (Meissel 1867), which in Germany was published in Petermann's *Geographische Mitteilungen* (1867/13:437-447). Furthermore both the Moravian missions in Victoria and at Cooper Creek were undertaken in close association with the Victorian Colonial Government and detailed reports were written not just for the purposes of the mission journal but to inform the broader public. As preparation for the South Australian attempt, Meissel worked for eight months until departure for Coopers Creek in July 1866 as an assistant with Missionary Taplin, in Point McLeay, connections which later benefited Taplin's investigation and collection of South Australian materials.[110]

Comparative samples of Australian languages had been compiled by George Taplin and presented to Sir James Ferguson, the Govenor of South Australia at

[110] Here the Dieri words originate from Howitt's 1861 expedition in search of Burke and Wills. See Grope (1989) *In the wake of Burke and Wills*. Kramer Kühn, Meissel and Walder arrived in Australia in Nov. 1864 and came to Adelaide in May 1865. In the eight months before their departure for Cooper's Creek (July 1866), Meissel was assistant to Missionary Taplin, at Point McLeay. It is therefore likely that this material reached Taplin through his connection with Meissel.

that time. A copy had been forwarded to the Colonial Office in England and the work was then duly sent to Professor Max Müller in Oxford,[111] who advised that it be printed. It appeared in the first issue of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (1870)[112] and covered 71 equivalents of English words in 18 languages, with additional data for 7 further languages from Northern Australia being added from data possessed by the Institute. Taplin reformatted and re-edited these tables for his 1879 publication *The Folklore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines,* after the above-mentioned Dr Bleek in an open letter called upon Governor Musgrave to further the preparation of comparative investigations into the languages, manners and customs of the South Australian Aborigines.[113]

Under the 43 Australian languages in *Comparative Tables of Selected Aboriginal Words*[114] are to be found contributions on the Dieri language by Howitt/Meissel (Informant No.7), Homann (No. 28) and Gason (No 27). Homann also provided a table of pronoun forms[115] and his contributions were noted as collected at Coopers Creek and appear in their original German-style orthography. Gason's contributions, in English orthography, originate from the area of Lake Hope and the early Howitt list from Lake Kopperamana.

In general, however, the Lutheran Missionaries to the Dieri 1866-85 did not produce or publish philological work for the benefit of science, and were rarely cited as informants for scientific investigations. Whilst they were certainly aware of such work, it appears that philological and ethnographic questions were simply not their priority and in general ethnographic knowledge was dismissed as a tool for the task of Christian rehabilitation of the people. The separation of language

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[111] Taplin (1879:154) Notes on the Comparative Table of Selected Words.

[112] *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* (1870:88)

[113] Taplin (1879:vii)

[114] Taplin (1879:143-152)

[115] Taplin (1879: 84)

collection, acquisition and translation practice from ethnographic questions, was characteristic of the time.

For Lutheran missionaries and indeed for many philologists of the 19th century, the standardised and scripted Indigenous language was one which was reconstituted in a foreign image, 'improved' and refined by the Christian view. Wallroth summarises the legacy of mission work for the 19th century study of language:

> ...Enough, the unwritten language was not only investigated by the missionaries and set down in script, but also further developed and at the same time refined as a wonderous reflection of the spirit of the people, improved by God's Word...[116]

The fact however remains that Lutheran Missionaries were singular in their embracing of Indigenous language in the service of mission and that outside their efforts and documentation, academic/secular investigation of the Dieri language did not develop until 20th century. The challenge today is to put this legacy to use together with the Dieri people.

[116] Wallroth (1891:325) '... Genug, die schriftlose Sprache wurde von den Missionaren nicht nur erforscht, schriftlich niedergelegt, sondern auch weitergebildet, veredelt zugleich als ein herrliches Spiegelbild des durch Gottes Wort verbesserten Volksgeistes.'

CHAPTER 10
CHANGES IN THE METAPHORS OF MISSION WORK

If in the mid 19th century the early missionaries had viewed the lack of knowledge of the language as the major barrier to understanding the Dieri, their beliefs and customs, then by the turn of the century the converse insight was being articulated. Namely that a lack of knowledge of Indigenous customs and beliefs was a major barrier to understanding, learning and utilising the language! It is no coincidence that by the end of the 1800s great change can be observed in terms of mission method, its concepts and goals. These changes throw into relief the characteristics of the early mission phase 1867-80 and form a useful summary to my exploration of the period. There was an increasing sensitivity to the way the task of evangelisation was approached and an awareness of the emerging science of ethnography, and this change in paradigm is encapsulated in Siebert's paper[1] regarding the interdependence of language and mission work at *Bethesda,* Lake Killalpaninna.

Missionary Siebert served there from 1893-1902 concurrently with Missionary Reuther (service 1888-1906) and also with Johannes Pingilina, who had returned from Queensland in 1892 and remained at the mission until his death in 1904. During the years of Siebert's service Reuther was working on the translation of the Dieri New Testament *Testamenta Marra* (1897)[2] together with C.F.T. Strehlow, who served at *Bethesda* 1893-94 before leaving for Hermannsburg on the Finke Mission (1894-1922). His defence of his interest in further language and Dieri cultural studies was submitted in March 1900 to Präses Rechner who had conveyed the Mission Committee's reprimand at what they evidently saw as superfluous work.

Siebert was obviously convinced that the current mission knowledge was not the 'last word' on the Dieri language and specifically that mission translations could

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[1] Otto Siebert to the honoured and dear [mission] committee: 16 page hand-written document dated 28th March 1900: Held in LA. Here quoted according to my transcription and translation.

[2] The New Testament translation was completed in October 1895, and printed 1897. It was the first translation of the complete New Testament into any Australian Language.

be made more effective by better knowledge of Dieri cultural practice. To the committee this must have seemed a tall claim in the light of Reuther's recent work and his subsequent comprehensive Dieri dictionary, completed in 1904. Siebert in effect was claiming a need for qualitative improvement over quantity and compilation, which could be brought by scientific rigour in investigation. Specifically Siebert considered it imperative that data should be collected outside the influence of the mission and its usual Dieri Christian informants. Thus he articulated a counterpoint to Reuther and earlier language work. However, future research must evaluate his translations in order to establish their superior efficacy and concrete points of difference.

Whereas the committee viewed Siebert's endeavours and his collaboration with Howitt[3] as as a piece of scientific work, he maintained that it was mission work 'through and through' and assured that it was not undertaken with a view to gaining standing amongst academics. If at all, he viewed his interest in Dieri culture and language as a *Nebenbeschäftigung* which, citing Warneck, should not be begrudged the missionary, as their years of service in exotic countries make them 'the most natural *Consuls* [i.e.ambassadors] ...they are born scientific pioneers just as they are pioneers of culture.'[4]

Further, Siebert saw it as his duty, alongside illuminating the twilight of the race with the Gospel, to collect together whatever was still to be collected of the Customs and Manners of the natives. As this work had not been a priority in the past, Siebert considered that the field of scientific investigation had been appropriated by others less qualified and with less noble motives than the

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[3] Howitt *The Native Tribes of South East Australia* was published 1904, but he had commenced publishing articles in this area in the 1880's. Siebert became one of his informants and described Howitt as one of the most knowledgeable men and at the same time one of the Aborigines' most loyal friends. Siebert claimed that his work did not involve any great effort or cost, and that it was intended to serve his own ends and those of his co-missionaries rather than to benefit Howitt. He hoped that the work would enable him to develop a mode of preaching more in keeping with the Dieri mode of thinking and therefore more effective.

[4] Warneck *Evangelische Missionslehre* Vol. III:200 in Siebert to MC:2 'Eine private wissenschaftliche Nebenbeschäftigung ist für die Missionare eine Erholung, die man ihnen gern gönnt, und der jahrelange Aufenthalt im fremden Lande macht sie zu den natürlichsten Konsuln im Reich der Wissenschaft; sie sind geborene wissenschaftliche Pioniere, wie sie Kulturpioniere sind.'

missionaries. These people he dubbed *Verläumder*, devoid of all love and conscience.

> ...And it is just these Big-noters that innoculate the general population with their mostly bad opinions about the Blacks in reports, in public papers, and in brochures and books, and thus influence the majority of the Whites against our Australian Aborigines. It is hair-raising what sort of rubbish has already been talked and written up about our Aborigines; no wonder when we hear the most contemptuous and loveless pronouncements on the Australian Blacks, even there where one has the least reason to expect such.[5]

Siebert considered that the missionaries must therefore stand up for those entrusted to their care and act as their protectors against such judgements; they must be able to bring proofs that Missionares' knowledge of Aboriginal Manners and Customs was superior due to their longer and closer acquaintance with the people. Here Siebert was probably referring to Spencer and Gillen's recently published work.[6]

He argued that missionaries must equip themselves with detailed cultural knowledge via thorough study of the customs and manners, as had been reflected in past mission work undertaken specifically for Australia including by Threlkeld Schürmann, Teichelmann and Meyer and Taplin. Evidently Siebert keenly perceived an incongruity between Lutheran commitment to and achievement in study of Indigenous vernaculars, and the lack of dissemination of 'Dieri knowledge' to the broader community and scientific world via publication. This, as I have argued in Chapter 9, was characteristic of the Hermannsburg approach.

Siebert saw his work as having two main benefits for mission. First, in relation to the 'preached Word' and second, in relation to the written Word; the translation of God's Word.

Citing Warneck, the first Chair of Missiology in Germany and the greatest Protestant *Missionkenner,* Siebert argued that in order to truly communicate the

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[5] Siebert to MC:3

[6] B. Spencer and F. Gillen (1899) *Native Tribes of Central Australia*

meaning of the Gospel it was not sufficient to learn the Indigenous language or even to speak it fluently, but that rather it was necessary to have 'lived ones way into' the complete perspective and manners of the people.[7] And for this he recommended study of relevant ethnographic and geographic literature, psychological study of the people (on location), and first and foremost thorough acquisition of the idiom:

> Here the important thing is to learn to see...and indeed to acquire such a rigorous objectivity, that one observes the foreign objects, with the same eyes that the Aborigines observe them. In order to arrive at that point, one must question the Aborigines and encourage them to speak, by way of congenial manner in which they recognize compassionate interest. One must investigate the traditions on which their manners and customs are based, and also investigate the grounds by which they justify them, and enter into their argumentation. To the stranger from the Western world of culture much in the structures, manners and customs of peoples from outside this world must at first sight appear not only curious but obscene, absurd, yes even damnable, and some things are in truth so. However, the clearer foreign conditions become to him, and the more he takes pains to understand the individual habit in the context of the entirety of natural character, tradition, perspective, and way of life of the people, the more accurate will be his judgement.[8]

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[7] Warneck *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift* Vol I/1898 in Siebert to MC:5 'Unsere Missionare kommen als Fremdlinge in eine ihnen fremde Welt, und erst wenn sie heimisch werden in dieser fremden Welt, wenn sie nicht bloß die fremden Sprachen reden als ihre Muttersprache, sondern in die ganze fremde Weltanschauung und Sitte sich eingelebt haben, wird das Wort ihrer Verkündigung wirksam.'

[8] Warneck *Ev.Missionslehre* Vol III:37 in Siebert to MC:8 'Hier gilt es sehen zu lernen...und zwar eine solche Energie der Objektivität sich anzueignen, daß man die fremden Dinge mit denselben Augen anschaue, mit denen die Eingeborenen sie anschauen. Um dahin zu kommen, muß man die Eingeborenen auch fragen und sie durch menschenfreundliches Wesen, dem sie die liebevolle Teilnahme anmerken, zur Aussprache ermutigen. Man muß die Überlieferungen erforschen, auf denen ihre Sitten und Gebräuche beruhen, und die Gründe, mit denen sie sie rechtfertigen, und auf ihre Argumente eingehen. Auf den ersten Blick erscheint dem Fremdling aus der abendländischen Kulturwelt vieles in den Einrichtungen, Sitten und Gebräuchen der außerhalb dieser Welt stehenden Völker nicht bloß kuriös sondern unziemlich, absurd ja geradezu verdammenswert, und manches ist es auch in der Wirklichkeit; aber je durchsichtiger ihm die fremden Verhältnisse werden, und je mehr er die einzelne Gewohnheit im Zusammenhang mit der gesammten Naturart, Tradition, Anschauungsweise, Lebenshaltung des Volkes zu verstehen sich bemüht, desto gerechter wird sein Urteil.'

10.1 New mission paradigms: Boniface and Paulus

For Siebert the new missionary role model should be Paulus,[9] the multilingual missionary, educated in the culture of the non-Christian people. The implicit comparison was Boniface, as invoked by the Hermannsburg missionaries, who approached the heathens with the Bible as a shield. Although other aspects of mission method including the progressive founding and nurturing of Christian communities may have been very similar, the salient point for Siebert as for Warneck was

> Just as Paulus in his time did not make Jews of the Greeks and of the Jews no Greeks, but rather new men in Christ, who placed their natural character, sanctified by Christianity, in the service of God's empire, so too should today's mission make no Englishmen or Germans of the Negroes, the Japanese, the Polynesians etc, but rather Christians, who retain the genuine nature of their people and make it available to Christ. And just as Paulus, in his self-effacing will to convert, became a Jew to the Jews and a Greek to the Greeks, ...so too must the present-day Missionary compassionately and wisely explore the unique attributes of the various peoples, to whom he is called to help bring Christianity.[10]

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[9] *Lexicon zur Bibel* (1998:1202) Paulus was the son of pious Jewish parents and from childhood was obedient to the Law of Moses; he was trained by the Rabi and became an academic in Judaism. He was charged with locating and punishing the Christians in Syria, but had a vision of Christ, was blinded and sent to Damascus where Hananius told him that he had been chosen as the instrument of the Lord to spread the Gospel. His sight was restored and he was baptised a Christian. After his encounter with Christ, the Law he had practiced became meaningless in comparison with Faith in God. Paulus also joined together Jews and Greeks in Faith in Jesus and saw divisions as based on human rather than God's Law. Paulus went to Arabia and thence to his homeland Cilicia (NW of Syria) and 14 years after his conversion he set out on the first mission journey together with Barnabas and Johannes/Markus (47/48 AD). The second mission journey was with Silas/Lukas and then with Timotheus to Syria, Cilicia and Lykaonia and then on to Macedonia and Athens where he founded Christian congregations and stayed in Corinth 50-52 AD. During the third mission journey with Timotheus, Lukas and Titus, he stayed in Ephesia 52-55AD. On each journey he strengthened the communities he had founded in the past and added new areas. He returned to Jerusalem and was taken prisoner by the Romans and transported to Rome for 2 years, after which he was active again in Greece, Asia Minor and Crete. He is said to have been executed by Nero about same time as Peter was crucified.

[10] Warneck *Ev.Missionslehre* Vol III:33ff in Siebert to MC:7 'Paulus seinerzeit aus den Griechen keine Juden und aus den Juden keine Griechen machte, sondern neue Menschen in Christo'die ihren christlich geheiligten völklichen Naturcharakter in den Dienst des Reiches Gottes stellten, so soll die Mission der Gegenwart aus den Negern, Japanern, Polynesiern usw keine Engländer oder Deutsche bilden, sondern Christen, die ihre genuine Volksart behalten und sie Christo dienstbar machen. Und wie Paulus im selbstverleugnenden Bekehrungseifer den Juden ein Jude, den Hellenern ein Hellener wurde, ...,so muß auch der Missionar der Gegenwart liebevoll und weisheitsvoll auf die Eigentümlichkeiten der verschiedenen Völker eingehen, an deren Christianisierung er mitzuarbeiten er berufen ist.'

As an essential prerequisite to approaching the Hellenic heathen, Paulus had made specific study of the objects of religious worship, had studied the inscriptions of the altars, the rituals and rites, sacrifices and devotions, rules and also magical practices. This knowledge was gleaned from visiting sacred places and attending celebrations and from discourse with the people, their teachers and priests on the meaning of their rituals. This preparation assisted him to characterise the religion and to tailor his approach.

Siebert, although reconciling mission and 'scientific' methods, did not attempt to introduce any further standing for Indigenous Customs and Beliefs, or to raise their status to that of the Christian religion. The attitude of the modern, 'enlightened' missionary was to thoroughly understand the beliefs of the heathen, to analyse them and appreciate aspects that perhaps approached Christian beliefs or offered points of departure for comparison, debate and persuasion of the people. The Missionary, he argued, must himself first have worked through questions including which elements of culture and religious belief were positive, neutral or indeed negative to mission aims before embarking on the task of evangelisation.[11] Only then would he be in a position to exercise judgement and in effect sift through Indigenous culture in search of positive religious elements. For the otherwise progressive Warneck, and likewise for Siebert, heathen religions remained objects to be overcome; 'live opponents, with whom he [the missionary] must measure himself upon the battlefield.'[12]

> It is only on the basis of a thorough understanding of the people that it is possible to distinguish amongst customs and that which is natural expression of the individuality of the people and a healthy result of historical development, and that which is pathological deviation...that which is neutral in Christian terms, and that which is anti-Christian, and

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[11] Siebert to MC:11 'Der Missionar muß die Heiden verstehen, ehe sie ihn verstehen. Er muß zwar in seinem eigenen Geiste die Auseinandersetzung mit der heidnischen Anschauungsweise vollzogen haben, ehe er ihr in Gespräch, Predigt, Unterricht und litterarischer Arbeit erfolgreich entgegentreten.' kann.

[12] Warneck *Ev Missionslehre* Vol III:119 in Siebert to MC:10: 'Weil diese Religionen für den Missionar Objekte der Überwindung sind, lebendige Gegner, mit denen er sich auf dem Schlachtfeld zu messen hat, muß er sie zum Gegenstand seines Studiums machen, wenn er nicht erfunden werden soll, also einer, der in die Luft streicht.'

> accordingly to decide what is to be nurtured, what is to be tolerated and what is to be dispensed with.[13]

In addition Siebert drew upon the popular ideas of Professor Max Müller, whose philological work was discussed earlier. Müller likewise argued that it was impossible to truly appreciate and understand a people, its art, morality, and world-view without a thorough understanding of all aspects of its religion. Indeed, one must leave behind one's European perspective and 'oneself become Elders and Heathens.'[14] This statement must have struck the rather conservative South Australian Mission Committee as radical if not dangerous.

According to the new precepts of missiology the early approach of the Hermannsburg and other missionaries to the Dieri 1867-1885 was presented as an unsophisticated approach by which the Gospel as Truth was translated without recourse to mediation by Indigenous beliefs. One must keep in mind however that the Dieri mission, particularly of the 1880's had been very successful both in terms of number of baptised Christians, development of the school and outreach to the camps, and in production of translations and school materials. Many members of the contemporary mission community would not have empathised with Siebert's insistence on research into customs widely viewed as evidence of the Devil's influence. Rather than a response to a concrete need at Bethesda, I consider Siebert's progressive views to have been more a response to progress in missiology and science (ethnology and philology). Towards the turn of the century there had been increasing scientific interest in the Dieri and a number of visits to the mission by 'men of science' including Dr E.Eylmann (1897),[15] ethnologist and

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[13] Siebert to MC:8 'Erst auf Grund eines wirklichen Volksverständnisses ist es möglich zwischen den Volkssitten zu unterscheiden was ist naturgemäßer Ausdruck der Volksindividualität und gesundes Ergebnis geschichtlicher Entwicklung, was krankhafter Auswuchs,...was christlich indifferent, und was widerchristlich; und dannach zu entscheiden, was ist zu pflegen, was zu dulden, was zu beseitigen.'

[14] Müller *Essays* Vol I:278 in Siebert to MC:11

[15] E. Eylmann (1908) *Die Eingeborenen der Kolonie Südaustralien.* In 1897 he had spent some six weeks as guest of missionary Reuther and also visited C. Strehlow at Hermannsburg/Finke. See p.81: 'Unter den Europäern gibt es übrigens sehr wenig Leute, die eine der Sprachen der Eingeborenen einigermassen richtig sprechen. Zu diesen gehören im Binnenlande meines Wissens nur Missionar Strehlow von Hermannsburg und die angestellten der Missionsniederlassung an Cooper's Creek.' And yet he also gives an anecdote on p.476 referring to Strehlow's language difficulties giving rise to much mirth among the natives.

ornithologist A.L. Yaschenko (1903) and philologist-ethnologist J.R.D. Love.[16] This was work which missionaries such as Siebert would have seen as exhibiting a pathological interest and turning the people into objects for research:

> For the missionary, the study of foreign religions does not merely have a pathological interest, as often for the academic, who encounters them with cool objectivity, but rather the practical interest: to persuade the hearts of followers of those religions of the inadequacy of the same, and to win them over for Christianity. To this end he must build a double-bridge in that he
> 1) acknowledges that for every race, its religion is 'sacred land'
> 2) compassionately seeks the sparks of Light and Truth, which every religion contains in fragmentary, obscured and misinterpreted forms.[17]

10.2 The Bible as a book to be rewritten for each people

For translation method the new concepts meant increasing efforts by missionaries to incorporate broad knowledge of Indigenous culture and religion, the latter of which had previously been avoided. Siebert acknowledged that many still believed that it was possible and even preferable to simply proclaim the Gospel without any great delay or excursions into heathen culture. Even though the Bible, as an 'international' book spoke to every human of every culture, Siebert emphasised that it did not speak to each in the same manner. He argued that just as Christian love should motivate a city Pastor to adapt his preaching to a country congregation, this adaptation would be the essential duty of a missionary preaching to an audience much farther removed from his own conceptual world. Otherwise one would in effect be demanding that the whole congregation continually translate from their viewpoint into that of their Pastor.

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[16] J.R.D. Love (1911) *A Visit to the Lutheran Mission Station at Killalpannina, Coopers Creek, South Australia.* Manuscript held in LA

[17] Warneck *Ev.Missionslehre* Vol. III:124 in Siebert to MC: 9ff 'Für den Missionar hat das Studium der fremden Religionen nicht bloß ein pathologisches Interesse wie oft für den Gelehrten, der ihnen mit kühler Objektivität gegenübersteht, sondern das praktische Interesse: die Herzen der Menschen welche diesen Religionen anhängen, von der Unzulänglichkeit derselben zu überzeugen und für das Christentum zu gewinnen. Zu diesem Zweck muß er eine doppelte Brücke schlagen, indem er 1) anerkennt, daß jedem Volk seine Religion heiliges Land ist und 2) liebevoll die Funken des Lichtes und der Wahrheit aufsucht, die bruchstücklich verhüllt und mißverstanden jede Religion enthält.'

> ... the Bible is international, but it also speaks to each heart, and not [in the same way] to one as to the next, no, to each one individually; and it is for this reason that it is grasped and comprehended by everyone after his own individual fashion. We Germans approach the Bible in every respect as Germans, and can only understand it as German, if we have not fully assimilated the spirit and perspective of another people. Due to its individual character the international Bible has become for us a German-national book.[18]

10.3 The Bush Missionary as opposed to Station Missionary

In adopting the new approach to mission work, Siebert was defining his role against that of earlier missionaries and also his contemporary, Missionary Reuther. He therefore needed to prove that there was an unmet need among the Dieri and the potential to tap new linguistic and cultural resources, not utilised by his predecessors. Accordingly the measure of success was to be comprehension by the camp or bush Dieri and also 'outsiders' such as the sick, elderly and mentally infirm. In positing that it was not merely important to preach, but to be understood, Siebert reviewed his own early experiences using the traditional approaches and translations.

> ...Of course I too thought quite differently in the first period of my mission service, then I was of the opinion : 'As long as you just proclaim God's Word purely and clearly, it was fine, - and it was alright as long as I almost only had to preach to our Christian community. Here there were always particularly gifted individuals like Johannes Pingilina, who adapted that which had been preached in the Church to the Dieri way of thinking for the others, and thus quasi interpreted from the German into the Dieri perspective. I was, however, given quite a different lesson after I had spent more time among the heathen Camp Blacks and had often proclaimed God's Word to them. I then recognised the inadequacy and weakness of my way of preaching to date; it was after all too much for me to accept, when after a detailed and quite plain (as I thought it then) proclamation of God's Word, I received quite opposite answers to my subsequent questions, to what I had anticipated. I could just as well have whistled in the wind. My listeners had sat there very quietly, as still as

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[18] Siebert to MC:12 '...die Bibel ist international, redet aber auch zu jedem Herzen, und das nicht zu dem einen wie dem andern, nein, zu einem Jeden individuell; aus dem Grunde wird sie aber auch von einem Jeden nach seiner individuellen Eigenart erfaßt und verstanden. Wir Deutsche treten in jeder Hinsicht als Deutsche an die Bibel heran, können sie aber, wenn wir uns nicht in den Geist und die Anschauungsweise eines anderen Volkes hineingelebt haben, nur deutsch verstehen. Die internationale Bibel ist uns vermöge ihres individuellen Charakters ein deutsch-nationales Buch geworden.'

> mice, and apparently reverently, and had granted me their attention until the end – but of what I had said they had comprehended nothing, let alone retained it.[19]

Furthermore Siebert argued that if *volkstümliche* [appropriate to the people] oral communication was problematic, the written form was even more fraught, and that no missionary successes could be achieved if the written forms were not comprehensible in themselves, that is without the aid of explanation, questions and answers.[20] The aim of Bible translation should be that it speak 'with the familiar tones of the mother tongue to the heart of the people.'[21]

This was clearly not what, in Siebert's estimations, past translations had achieved. Indeed he termed the language used in general on the mission, and by implication that used by past missionaries 'kitchen Dieri' and used parentheses when referring to it, to differentiate types of mission language usage as compared to the ideal of a universally comprehensible language truly expressive of Dieri thought.

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[19] Siebert to MC:13 'Anders dachte freilich auch ich in der ersten Zeit meiner missionarischen Wirksamkeit, da war ich der Meinung: 'Wenn du nur das Wort Gottes rein und lauter verkündigst, so ist's gut, - und es ging ja auch so lange als ich fast nur vor unserer christlichen Gemeinde zu predigen hatte. Da gab es immer besonders Begabte wie Johannes Pingilina, die den Übrigen das in der Kirche Gepredigte dem Dieri Gedankenkreis anpaßten und so gleichsam von der deutschen in die dieri Anschauung verdolmetschten. Eines Andern wurde ich aber belehrt, nachdem ich mich mehr mit den heidnischen Campschwarzen abgegeben und ihnen das Wort Gottes öfters verkündigt hatte. Da erkannte ich die Unzulänglichkeit und Schwäche meiner bisherigen Predigtweise; es war mir doch ein etwas zu starkes Stück, wenn ich (meiner damaligen Meinung nach) nach einer eingehenden und ganz einfachen Verkündigung des Wortes Gottes auf meine nachherigen Nachfragen die gerade entgegengestetzten Antworten erhielt, wie ich erwartet hatte. Ich hatte geradezu in den Wind hinein geredet. Ganz ruhig und mäusschenstill ja scheinbar andächtig hatten meine Zuhörer dagesessen und mir bis zum Ende Gehör geschenkt – aber verstanden und erst recht behalten von dem was ich gesagt, hatten sie nichts.'

[20] Siebert to MC:15 'Ist es den abendländischen Missionaren schon schwer sagt Warneck (Ev. Missionslehre III.2 p186) in der ihnen fremden Sprache ihrere Missionsobjekte volkstümlich zu sprechen, so ist es ihnen noch schwerer, in dieser Sprache volkstümlich zu schreiben. Und gelingt das nicht, ist das geschriebene Wort nicht leicht verständlich, so ist es fast *pro nihilo*. Wird die *viva vox* nicht verstanden, so läßt sich durch Erklärung, Fragen und Antwort allenfalls nachhelfen, ist aber die *scripta littera* nicht an sich selbst faßlich, so ist es eine Illusion von ihr missionarische Erfolge zu erwarten. Ein Missionar, der sich litterarisch beschäftigt, muß nicht nur die Sprache der Eingeborenen beherrschen, sondern auch in ihre Denkweise sich eingedacht haben.'

[21] Warneck *Ev.Missionslehre* Vol III:203 in Siebert to MC 15 '...daß die ganze Sprache wie im Ausdruck so in der Form, Haltung und Gestaltung volkstümliches Gepräge trage, so daß in jeder Zunge die Bibelübersetzung mit den Klängen der ihm vertrauten Muttersprache das Herz des Volkes anspricht.'

> As you know, some years ago I had translated a selection of Psalms (approximately 80) into Dieri, and had arranged them for singing. I revised them again and again, and each time I discovered something to improve or to make more readily comprehensible to the mode of thought of the people. I therefore took my psalms, and even though they had already been partly copied out, I laid them aside in a box...better to wait a few years with the publication of the psalms, hymns and prayers, in order to give these to our Dieri in truly Indigenous Dieri language, appropriate to the mode of thought of the people and therefore universally comprehensible, rather than in *Kitchen*-Dieri (if I may call it so). I do not delude myself that there will still not be inaccuracies, but my translation will, in any case, be more readily comprehensible, precisely because it exhibits more of the Dieri-character.[22]

Although it must here remain a subject of future research whether Siebert's new approach actually produced more effective translations, a cursory comparison of Psalm 34, verses 12-17 as rendered by Homann and Koch in the 1870 Primer, and also by Siebert at the turn of the century, does reveal some interesting substitutions of vocabulary although not exhibiting any radical changes to orthography and grammar. Most notable is the use of the term *Kapara* (head man, chief) instead of the early loan *Goda*. Interestingly, however, the term *Goda* seems to have prevailed among the Christian Dieri themselves, as attested in Katharina Edwards' letters well into the 1960's.

It is also worth reflecting on the changes that had occurred and were continuing in the Indigenous linguistic and cultural landscape outside the mission. Here I would contend that the transient camp population was likely to have been far less stable (demographically and linguistically) than the Dieri Christian mission community, and that over time the trend was to greater heterogeneity. Thus the aim of universal comprehension using a culturally more sophisticated and 'purer' form of

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[22] Siebert to MC:15 'Wie ihr wißt hatte ich bereits vor Jahren eine Auswahl der Psalmen (circa 80) ins 'Dieri' übersetzt und zum Singen eingerichtet. Ich revidierte sie wieder und wieder, fand aber jedesmal etwas zum Verbessern resp. der Denkweise des Volkes verständlicher zu machen. Da nahm ich meine Psalmen und, obwohl schon zum Theil abgeschrieben, legte ich sie beiseite in eine Kiste...lieber ein paar Jahre warten mit der Herausgabe der Psalmen, Lieder und Gebete, um dann diese unseren 'Dieri' nicht im "Küchen-Dieri" (wenn ich so sagen darf), sondern wahrhaft volksthümlichen der Denkweise des Vokes angemessenen und deshalb gemeinverständlichen 'Dieri' zu übergeben, daß sich auch dann noch Unrichtigkeiten finden werden, verhehle ich mir nicht, doch wird meine Übersetzung jedenfalls besser verständlich werden, eben weil sie dann mehr Dieri-Charakter an sich trägt.'

Dieri language may have been misplaced. In any case the initiative was curtailed by Siebert's return to Germany in 1902.

10.4 Dieri intermediaries and informants

> ***... there were always particularly gifted individuals like Johannes Pingilina, who adapted that which had been preached in the Church to the Dieri way of thinking for the others, and thus quasi interpreted from the German into the Dieri perspective.*** [23]

With regard to Johannes Pingilina and other Indigenous individuals who could interpret the mission Dieri for their compatriots not schooled on the mission, the important implication was that such individuals had command of two distinct forms of the language and could clarify the mission language and religious instruction by means of reference to more truly Indigenous forms and customs. This was undoubtably the case. As earlier discussed, the Hermannsburg missionaries realised the limitations of their language knowledge and their successors formalised the practice of working with *neji* or 'older brothers' who in effect were mentors for pupils approaching baptismal classes and other members of the Indigenous congregation. The *neji* were individuals such as Johannes who had been educated on the mission as young people.

At the turn of the century both Siebert and Reuther were involved in efforts to improve their own Dieri knowledge and thus speak to the people, in the way of the *neji*; Siebert pursuing research outside the mission in the camps, and Reuther working with Dieri Christians on the mission. And indeed in this context, it is fascinating to read Reuther's obituary piece for Johannes Pingilina which appeared in March 1904 and totally recast the life of this man as hitherto referred to in mission documents. Reuther painted a picture of his 'heathen life' and in so doing accentuated his status as an 'authentic' Indigenous informant. He described Pingilina as the son of *Dijana* [!] and *Warukatimaruna*, the *Kapakapara* or district chieftain of the mission land *Ngapadapina*, who was only second to the

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[23] Siebert to MC:13 'Da gab es immer besonders Begabte wie Johannes Pingilina, die den Übrigen das in der Kirche Gepredigte dem Dieri Gedankenkreis anpaßten und so gleichsam von der deutschen in die dieri Anschauung verdolmetschten.'

Kapara or King *Tjampina.* Further Reuther detailed Pingilina's matrilineal (*kararu*) and patrilineal (*wiljaru*) totem and his status as *wimabili* in the *Mindiri* ceremonies. This he described as a festival of the Gods which 'is the equivalent of a Peacemaking Day between the peoples, similar to the Olymics of the Greeks. As during the Olympics, a Divine peace prevailed and diverse tribes came together, irrespective of the otherwise usual tribal boundaries and enmities.[24] This was a topical reference given the reinstatement of the Olympic Games in 1896. Reuther described the childhood of Pingilina as a much loved 'Prince' who against the wishes of his parents, lived on the Mundowdna station with Mr Debney as *Billy*, and travelled with him on several occasions to Adelaide, where he experienced English Church services and decided to leave his heathen life behind. According to Reuther he had only brief association with the first mission at Killalpaninna and subsequently spent a long time with Debney in Adelaide and Crystal Brook (possibly in the years between the Hermannsburg missionaries' departure and Meyer's arrival: 1873-1875).

Reuther's account of Pingilina's mission life therefore commenced with his baptism in January 1879 and, his previous life obviously being of less interest to Reuther, was only accorded a brief paragraph. Neither Pingilina's close association with Missionary Homann and his family, nor his enduring friendship and collaboration with Missionary Meyer were mentioned, and Pingilina's service as a native Evangelist in Queensland (1886-1892) was merely referred to as 'he was a few years in Bloomfield.'

I would argue that this recasting was symptomatic of the changes in attitude towards language work at the turn of the century, and a reflex to emerging scientific interest and its methods. Missionaries including Reuther and Siebert now sought to re-investigate and improve earlier work and, like scientists, also to claim validity for their investigations and quasi possession of their informants and data collected from them.

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[24] KMZ 11/1904:83

10.5 With the benefit of hindsight

So what did an 'early' missionary from the period now seen as 'pre-scientific' himself think of such developments in missiology and mission language practice? How did he reflect on language practices of the 1870's and 1880's?

In contrast to the Hermannsburg missionaries and to his colleague Missionary Meyer, Flierl (I) had continued active mission service to see the progress of the mission through the years of Reuther, Strehlow and Siebert and its decline after the turn of the century due to a combination of political and environmental factors, the passing of the station into private management and eventual closure by 1917. Flierl had also lived to see great changes in approaches to mission work and was involved in efforts by the *Bethesda Mission Society* to revive Lutheran work among the Dieri people in the 1930's. In 1934 a Committee meeting of this society aimed to support negotiations with the Government of SA for a reserve of land (possibly the re-purchase of the Lake Kopperamana site) as a rallying centre for the people.[25] This was to be a new approach in that the land was not to be used or administered by the Church as a stock-run but purely as a point of contact with the Lutheran Church and a centre for their pastoral care.

In the intervening years to 1941, Flierl returned to Australia several times on leave, for six months in 1887 or early 1888, and again in January 1898 for over 12 months, during which time he wrote the manuscript for *Führungen Gottes*. He returned at the end of 1908 and remained until March 1909, and wrote the manuscript for *Dreissig Jahre Missionsarbeit in Wüsten und Wildnissen* before travelling on to Germany. During these visits Flierl was active in the mission community, giving mission addresses and raising support for the work in New Guinea. He also visited the Bethesda mission on at least two of these occasions (1887 and 1898), and in 1898 he visited both the missions on Yorke Peninsula (Point Pearce) and at Lake Alexandrina (Point Macleay, now known as Raukkan) then under the care of English missionaries. He also mentioned having visited the

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[25] P.A. Scherer (1966) 'Mission among the Dijari: Looking back on a Hundred Years' Pt VII, p3: unpublished conclusion to series in LH.

Adelaide museum (probably 1908/9) where Theodor Vogelsang was involved in translating Dieri materials, and where 'a sacred tree had been delivered by one of his successors [Reuther].' He commented at that time he could only wonder at all the fine objects made by the Aborigines on display there, which one could no longer observe in the daily lives of the Aborigines.[26]

The three texts (1898, 1908 and 1941), written as memoirs of a life spent in the service of mission, afford us the unique opportunity of observing Flierl's growing awareness of the progress in mission practices and in attitudes towards the relationship between mission work and linguistic/ethnographic study. It is apparent that Flierl revisited his original published reports in preparing such texts, however it is also evident that he was attempting to fill in some of the silences in the primary sources on how the language work was conducted in comparison to more modern approaches and experiences.

From the recently published (abridged) autobiography of Johann Flierl, completed in 1941 when Missionary Flierl was 83 years old (some 56 years after leaving the SA mission field), and from additional detail contained in its manuscript, we read how Flierl set about systematically learning the Dieri language, first by copying out language material from the Hermannsburger, including the 1870 primer.[27] In addition he was able to learn from the people on the mission and he describes sitting around the fire at the end of the day, listening to their language and practising speaking. Flierl emphasised that English was used as a mediating language at this stage as the people were not 'untouched natural people' but were workers on the mission 'clothed simply after European style' and that 'most of them had been on the white stations and could speak some broken English.'[28] This competence however lay far below their mother tongue and Flierl observed that only once did he later meet an Aborigine in a camp on The Gums station

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[26] Flierl Autobiography MS: 250 Where possible I have cited from the published abridged English translation of J. Flierl *My Life and God's Mission* ed. E. Flierl (1999), otherwise references refer to the manuscript, henceforth Flierl Autobiography MS.

[27] Flierl Autobiography MS: 153

[28] Flierl Autobiography MS: 152

(Farina), who had a complete command of English.[29] Flierl observed that at the time of his arrival most people preferred to speak their own 'pleasant-sounding Dieri language rich in vowels' and rejoiced at each word that their *Kanamaster*[30] could repeat and even moreso when he grasped its meaning.[31] The process of language acquisition was described as follows 'the first thing is of course that one collects and commits to memory names, items of vocabulary. Simple short sentences follow later. The people of course also make borrowings from English...'[32] Flierl also observed that in the early years of his service the language was 'naturally' limited to the 'simplest realities of bush life' and that they of course did not discuss profound matters.

Flierl's awareness of the progress in the approach to mission and Indigenous languages which had occurred from the turn of the century onwards is particularly evident in the chapter written on the 'remnants of religion, customs both moral and immoral, and all types of tradition amongst the Dieri and related neighbouring tribes in the far North of South Australia on the Cooper and Salt Creek.'[33] Looking back on his seven years among the Dieri and his work with the language, Flierl was very self-effacing:

> Of course, I had little choice but to learn their language, for without it, I could not have brought them the Gospel. Other than that, I cannot pride myself at having researched the intellectual or spiritual wealth of these people. At the time I had too little appreciation for such things in any case, and the pressure of my daily duties and responsibilities did not leave enough time to pursue such research, even had I wanted to.[34]

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[29] MS Flierl Autobiography: 152: '...he boasted, I am speaking Englisch [sic] as well as an Englischman [sic] as well.' Here the likely reference is to Timotheus Maltilina.

[30] MS Flierl Autobiography: 152: '*Kana-master, kana* sind die Menschen, *Master* Englisch, unser Meister. Also der Missionar wird als Meister der Eingebornen angesehen, der ihnen allerlei beibringt.' *Kana* is 'men' and *master* (English loan) 'Therefore the missionary is regarded as the Aborigines' master, who teaches them all sorts of things.

[31] Flierl (1999:72) *My Life and God's Mission*

[32] Flierl Autobiography MS: 152

[33] Flierl Autobiography MS: 249

[34] Flierl (1999:107)

The work of Meyer was not mentioned in this account either in his role as aiding Flierl to acquire the language or as co-translator and pastor to the *Camp Schwarzen*.

Having mastered the wordlists and grammatical systems already in existence, Flierl described the process of producing Biblical translations as a mechanical process. The basis for such translations was a defined set of vocabulary items, with equivalents in German, and a simple grammatical model which could be applied to produce sentences in Dieri. The materials translated were also well-defined, with recurrent and consistent themes and vocabulary. Likewise the application of the translations themselves was in well-circumscribed contexts of Church and school.

> The material of this language is of course not terribly extensive. The forms of the Australian languages are extremely simple. The verb has no [differentiated] forms for different persons and numbers. Once one has command of the Pronoun[system] and is familiar with the endings for the various tenses and modes, then one can use the verb quite easily in all contexts. Likewise one is soon able to retain the endings for the various contexts [cases] of the Noun. The languages of New Guinea distinguish themselves from the Australian languages through a greater abundance of forms and and in their [grammatical] structure differ fundamentally from them; alone they are similar in their abundance of vowel-sounds. The main difficulty of all these languages lies in the lack of abstract, intellectual and spiritual terms.[35]

Of the reach of the Dieri language, Flierl stated that it could be used as a basis for communication far beyond local tribal boundaries, due to the close relationship of Australian languages across North-Eastern Australia. The central point here being that given a simple grammatical model and a skeleton vocabulary, one could synthesise sentences easily and make oneself understood tolerably well.

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[35] Flieri (1899: 31) 'Das Material dieser Sprache ist ja nicht so sehr umfangreich. Wenn es hochkommt, so sind es gegen 2000 Worte. Die Formen der australischen Sprachen sind äußerst einfach. Das Zeitwort hat keine Formen für die verschiedenen Personen und Zahlen. Wenn man das Fürwort sicher inne hat und die Endungen für die verschiedenen Zeitstufen und Weisen kennt, dann kann man das Zeitwort in allen Beziehungen bequem gebrauchen. Auch die Endungen für die verschiedenen Beziehungen des Hauptwortes kann man bald inne haben. Die Sprachen in Neu-Guinea unterscheiden sich von den australischen durch größeren Formenreichtum und sind im ganzen Bau wesentlich von den hiesigen verschieden; nur an Vokalreichtum sind jene und diese sich einander ähnlich. Die Hauptschwierigkeit aller dieser Sprachen liegt in dem Mangel von abstrakten, geistigen und geistlichen Begriffen.'

Therefore by ignoring local language variations and using something akin to the most general language, one could extend the reach of a particular language, in this case Dieri, and communicate, albeit not at any sophisticated level.

> All these [Australian languages] are significantly related to one another right through to Northern Queensland, notwithstanding widely varying vocabularies: they modify the verb only at the end, and only according to manner of speech and tense, not however according to number and person. One merely had to have good command of the Pronoun in the singular, dual and plural, and the verbal endings in the various tenses and manners/modes of speech and, with a modest vocabulary, one could soon make oneself understood quite tolerably. Thus *ankana* means to make/do, the form for the Present tense: *ankai*, hence *ngato, jundru, nulia ankai*: I, you, he makes/does etc. Derived from *ankana* is *ankibana* : to build. Hence *ngato punga ankibana warai, paraia* or *wonti* : I have built a house, just now, recently or some time ago.[...] Finally, the Dieri language is also malleable, one can, for example, easily derive nouns from verbs...[36]

Flierl thus reflected on the language work of the 1880's as belonging to an era, when such studies were subordinate to practical work, and the language was learned and employed primarily in order to spread the Gospel as quickly and simply as possible. Interestingly, he did not comment on the adequacy of the orthographic system or grammar. His silence on such topics may suggest that, in an active language community, the redundancies and inconsistencies of the mission system of notation, as compared with modern phonetic transcription and phonemic analysis, were not perceived to impede communication and comprehension.

The pressures of work and contemporary views that 'heathen tongues' were simple, natural languages lacking in the resources necessary to discuss abstract concepts, lent justification to practices which involved formulaic learning of the

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[36] J. Flierl (1910: 16) *Dreissig Jahre Missionsarbeit in Wüsten und Wildnissen* 'Eine wichtige Verwandtschaft haben alle diese Dialekte bis nach Nord-Queensland hinauf auch bei sehr abweichendem Wortschatz: sie ändern das Zeitwort nur am Ende und nur nach Redeweisen und Zeiten, nicht aber nach Zahlen und Personen. Man mußte nur das Fürwort nach Einzahl, Zweizahl und Mehrzahl gut inne haben und die Endungen der Zeitwörter in den verschiedenen Zeitstufen und Redeweisen beherrschen, und man konnte sich im Besitz eines mäßigen Wortschatzes schon ziemlich gut verständigen. So heißt ankana: machen, die Form für die Gegenwart: ankai, also ngato, jundru, nulia ankai: ich du er macht usw. Von ankana abgeleitet ist ankibana: bauen. Also ngato punga ankibana warai, paraia oder wonti: ich habe ein Haus gebaut, jüngst, neulich oder vorlängst.[...] Schließlich ist auch das Dieri bildsam, man kann z.B. mit Leichtigkeit von Zeitwörtern Hauptwörter ableiten...'

language and changes to its vocabulary through constructs and borrowings. In the early years Indigenous spiritual or religious terminology (where known to the missionaries) was often viewed as unsuitable and consciously disregarded.[37] Furthermore, Flierl acknowledged the changes wrought in tribal life in part by mission activity itself, as having reduced accessibility to sources of traditional knowledge which could have been used to inform language work:

> I do not know any detail regarding the various ceremonies which attended circumcision. No such ceremony took place during the 7 years in which I lived and worked in the Far North...Such Customs and practices fell more and more into disuse due to the great decline in population and also due to the influence of the mission.[38]

Flierl's position that Indigenous belief systems contained the foundations of religion in remnant form, and that Indigenous spiritual terms could and should be used to convey Christian principles, dates from the turn of the century and was often articulated as mission work reacted to the development of the anthropological and linguistic areas as sciences.

> ...and no language, even of the most degenerate Natural Man, is so poor as not to be able, after careful research and development, to render the concepts of the Gospel in simplest terms, and to relate the great deeds of God.[39]

However, despite an abundance of terminology for visible and concrete things, the Dieri language according to Flierl, still exhibited a paucity of expressions for spiritual and conceptual matters. This for Flierl was the characteristic divide between languages of 'natural peoples' and *Kultursprachen*, languages of Western

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[37] Flierl Autobiography MS: 249 'On my first journey South my companion *Frank* once quite spontaneously began to speak of their *Muramura*. Unfortunately I paid too little attention to what he had to say and did not pursue such thoughts.'

[38] Flierl Autobiography MS: 251

[39] Flierl (1910: 16) '...und es ist keine Sprache auch der verkommensten Naturmenschen so arm, dass sich nicht nach genauer Erforschung und Bearbeitung die Gedanken des Evangeliums in einfachster Weise darin wiedergeben und die grossen Taten Gottes in unserm Heil erzählen liessen.'

culture.[40] On the use of introduced vocabulary for Christian terms in Dieri, despite the known existence of Indigenous terminology, he conceded:

> The Hermannsburg missionaries introduced the English word for God with the vowel-ending *a*, that is *Goda* and we retained it as did my successors in the translation of the *New Testament*. Perhaps after more careful research it would have been better to introduce their truly own word regarding the good Supreme being...[41]

Clearly the reference here was to the translation by Reuther and Strehlow,[42] but the trend was towards integration of Indigenous belief systems and vocabulary, specifically sacred speech styles, as later evidenced in Siebert's attempts to naturalise Biblical translations and more famously in T.G.H. Strehlow's retranslation of the Aranda New Testament. Meanwhile Flierl had also experienced more modern approaches to mission work in his subsequent service in New Guinea.

By the end of the 19th Century the questions asked of mission linguistic practice had changed from a position which placed emphasis on the graphization, standardisation and improvement of the Indigenous language in order to use it as a vehicle for the Gospel to a position where linguistic practice was intended to take account of pre-existing Indigenous belief systems in translating written Biblical materials. However the discussion of introduced change to the language was still restricted to questions of authenticity of vocabulary. The effects of standardisation and the use of European grammatical models in graphization of the language, and the effects of mission language practices on the idiom remained unasked.

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[40] ibid: 'Bei genauerer Bekanntschaft fand man in der Dieri Sprache auch noch allerlei wunderliche Eigentümlichkeiten, und mit allen Sprachen solcher Naturvölker teilt sie die Armut an Ausdrücken für geistige und begriffliche Dinge; vor allem fehlen natürlich die Wörter für geistliche und biblische Begriffe, während für alle sichtbaren und greifbaren Sachen der Natur die Bezeichnungen viel reichlicher vorhanden sind als in unsern Kultursprachen.'

[41] Flierl Autobiography MS:250. See too *proweta*, prophet, introduced in Meyer/Flierl primer (1880:48,49) See section *Testamenta waru*.

[42] The New Testament translation (1897) See Flierl (1899:51) On his visit in October 1898 Flierl had witnessed the joy of the Dieri congregation at receiving their fresh copies of the New Testament.

10.6 Naturalisation of translations

Over the history of the mission various missionaries attempted to improve upon early language work, and more authentically translate the Christian message. After Siebert, this task was revisited by W. Riedel.[43] J.J. Stolz, grandson of Rechner[44] and stepson of Reuther, who had spent some 5 years on the mission as a child (approximately 1888-93) concurred that there was another form of the idiom not captured by the mission documents:

> The language of the natives presented no difficulty for me, I could follow it and speak it like a native. And it has stuck to me. There were times when I thought the language had vanished from my mind, but now after sixty-five years it still comes back to me. With my friend Dave [Jack] Irrgang of Angaston I am trying to uncover what was artificial Diari, not idiomatic, in the translation of the New Testament of Reuther and Strehlow so as to get Diari properly recorded, not for practical reasons because the remaining Christian at Bethesda had, as Pastor Riedel informed me, adopted not the Diari of their parents but the bad Diari of the Missionaries, but for the sake of science that at least another native tongue be properly preserved.[45]

J.J. Stolz (1878-1961)[46] had been part of a small community of school-aged children of missionaries and lay-helpers including 'two Vogelsangs, one Jacob, three Stolzes' [i.e. Reuther's stepsons]. These probably were Hermann (b.1880) and Luise (b.1883) Vogelsang, Friedrich Jacob (b.1879), Johannes (b.1878), Benjamin and Paul Stolz (n.d.), and Johannes Irrgang (b.1875). At the time only he and J.Irrgang, both now in their 80's were still living.[47]

Given that mission work among the Dieri had long been discontinued, the work was of course not intended to result in better renderings of mission materials, nor

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[43] Service at Killalpaninna 1908-1914, during which time he compiled a new Bible history, this work remains unpublished and is held in LA

[44] Chairman of the Mission Commitee 1874-1900

[45] Dr J.J. Stolz (MS undated, but approximately 1958:18) edited and with a preface by Frederick Kummerow: held in LA.

[46] Dr J.J. Stolz was General President of the UELCA 1928-53, and 1911-1919 Editor of *Kirchen und Missionszeitung*, also 1928-1950 Editor of the *Lutheran Herald* and the *Kirchenblatt*; and 1925-60 Editor of the *Almanac*

[47] Stolz Autobiography MS: 17

new Bible translations, but rather to create a scientific record of the language before the passing of the last generation of mission European children. Notably Johannes Irrgang's knowledge especially of plant and animal names was used to complement information given in the Reuther dictionaries.[48]

As for Flierl, the appearance of the reworked Aranda New Testament (1956) by T.G.H. Strehlow, appears to have prompted Stolz' reflection on the mission language records and encouraged efforts within the Lutheran community to record language data from those who had grown up on the mission and had native speaker competence. Like Stolz, Strehlow had grown up amongst Indigenous children and was thus able to unite an intimate knowledge of Aranda with his academic knowledge in Classics and linguistics. According to Strehlow, the final stage of integration of the foreign belief system into the Indigenous idiom could be accomplished by subsequent retranslation by an Indigenous native speaker scholar with 'full academic qualifications in both theology and the classical languages.'[49] However it is also worth reflecting that, even in the first phase translation work, Strehlow was not just drawing on Indigenous knowledge hitherto inaccessible to Europeans, but also necessarily on 60 years of preceding missionary endeavour which had established Christian knowledge in the Aranda community.

In some ways T.G.H. Strehlow's Aranda Bible translation, represented an attempted continuation and fruition of Siebert's approach with the Dieri language. Most obviously Strehlow sought to improve over the translation work of his father,[50] and his predecessors, through the refunctioning of sacred speech styles to express Christian teaching.

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[48] These vocabulary items appear as additional entries in the Reuther translation by P.A. Scherer.

[49] Scherer: *Lutheran Herald* 24/11/1956: 348

[50] The First Arrarnta Primer by Kempe appeared 1891 *Galtjintana-Pepa Kristianiberaka Mbontala* 24 Old Testament stories, 9 Psalms, 48 New Testament stories, 53 hymns, 22 occasional prayers and Luther's Small Catechism. Carl Strehlow revised and expanded it (1904, reprinted 1924) and it was used for many years. He was also first to translate the New Testament – which was not published, but for Gospel of St Luke in 1925, and the 4 Gospels in 1928. The NT was revised by TGH Strehlow and published in 1956.

> This Book is written in the classical form of the Aranda 'sacred,'archaic speech of the secret chants (as contrasted to the simple everyday speech of the people). In this way the 'sacred' language which would otherwise have passed into oblivion, - because it is the language known only to the initiated, - has been preserved into perpetuity and been used to express the undying and unchanging truths of God's Word.[51]

Ironically however, this work highlighted the problem of rapid language change, and by the time of publication it no longer reflected current usage but rather older speech styles that had not been recorded by the missionaries and not passed on by the Elders. Subsequent language work has acknowledged that whilst Strehlow hoped that his translation would help to preserve the richness of the Aranda language, much of the specialised vocabulary used was no longer familiar to speakers of Aranda.[52]

As a translator, Strehlow considered that although every language is a reflection of the particular 'objects, concepts and ideals'of its speakers, any language could be expanded to incorporate new activities and concepts, such as the 'new Christian world of ideas,' by way of 'slight changes of meaning' to words found in Indigenous myths and legends.[53] Despite this innovation, T.G.H. Strehlow's translations are now referred to as representing the old style of translation, because although he innovated in integrating sacred vocabulary into Biblical

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[51] P.A. Scherer 'The New Testament in Aranda - A Linguistic Appraisal': LH Nov/1956: 348

[52] Paul GE Albrecht (2002:193) *From Mission to Church:1877-2002 Finke River Mission* (Finke River Mission/Openbook) 'Strehlow hoped that his translation would help to preserve the richness of the Arrarnta language, and to that end he incorporated many words and synonyms which at that time were only known to the old people. They told him that they would teach these words to the younger generation, but this does not appear to have eventuated, as many of these words are now not known, and have not been known for some time.'

[53] T.G.H. Strehlow 'Thoughts of a Translator' in LH 1/1957:4 'It is, of course, clear that every language will have words for the expression of only those objects, concepts, and ideals that are appreciated by its speakers. But every living human language is sufficiently well developed to expand its vocabulary, so that it expresses all new activities and concepts that come into the experience of its speakers from time to time. The Aranda New Testament undoubtedly brings into the intellectual life of Aranda speakers a new Christian world of ideas which did not exist in the aboriginal way of life in pre-white days.[...] And it was in the vocabulary [ie.of myths and traditions] in which these moral, ethical and religious concepts were expressed, no matter how imperfectly, that an adequate store of words could be found which could be used with slight changes of meaning in order to express the full message of the Christian faith.'

translations, his method was still based on word-for-word equivalents and foreign grammatical structures.[54]

Developments in mission and translation work at Hermannsburg/Finke which reach into the present-day emphasise the central role of Indigenous Pastors and Translators and for many demonstrate what could have become had the Dieri mission also continued.[55] Clearly the focus of modern language work is preservation of the living language, community ownership of vernacular literacy, and ongoing retranslation in response to cultural change, rather than preservation of a 'museum specimen' of pre-contact language of the traditional past.

The dilemma that remains for many linguists, is that even embracing more refined methods of functional translation, there may be an inevitable loss involved in translation and that it may not be possible to arrive at a state of mutual translatability between languages (and indeed cultures). In appropriating vocabulary and semantic refashioning, especially when this is done in connection with the introduction of literacy and the promotion of lifestyle changes, terms are taken from their traditional contexts and replaced with 'similar but different' new terms. Wurm (1990) described the integrity of each language as dependent upon the unity of its specific contents, contexts and forms:

> ...each language is in some ways unique, especially from the point of view of cognitive linguistics, and that the disappearance of any one language or its conversion, in cognitive terms, to 'Standard Average European'

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[54] Albrecht (2002:193) 'When TGH Strehlow was translating, it was still held that translations of the Scriptures had to be word equivalent. The net effect of this principle was to force the Arrarnta language into an alien mould – a Greek/English mould. Where Greek used a concept, the Arrarnta had to be turned into a concept, even when the language did not naturally use concepts. Where Greek used long sentences with many relative clauses, the Arrarnta translation used long sentences with relative clauses, even when it was not natural for the language to use this form. The end result was that TGH Strehlow's translation of the New Testament became more and more unintelligible, as people lost more of their vocabulary, and didn't have the skills to decipher the meaning behind very complicated grammatical constructions which were foreign to the language. In more recent years there has been a dramatic change in the theory and practice of translating. While the former method was word equivalent, the current method is functional equivalent or meaning based, with the meaning being expressed in the idiom of the language into which the translation is being made.'

[55] Harms (2003:94)

> constitutes the irretrievable loss of a conventionalised system for making sense of the world.[56]

In sum, the translations of the early period of mission work among the Dieri, which were a significant basis for language usage in Church and school settings, have subsequently and by modern standards been judged by both missionaries and linguists as unauthentic, simplified, general language, which given specialised study and or generational work could have been improved. Ironically, the experience of T.G.H. Strehlow may vindicate the practices of the early missionaries in creating a more durable literate form based on general language rather than specialised usage. Modern linguists too support the notion that vernacular literacy should complement rather than displace oral tradition as a vehicle for transmission of traditional knowledge. What such judgements do not highlight however, is the role of Indigenous people who participated in mission education and embraced literate practices, and the great significance of this written legacy as a resource.

10.7 The early reception of literacy

For members of the Dieri mission community of the 1870's and 1880's prestige was undoubtedly conferred by the possession of European knowledge, especially literacy. Reports from the early days of the mission contain several anecdotes which reveal the fascination that the written form held for the Indigenous people and the way in which knowledge of the mission and interest in literacy had rapidly spread. One of the most interesting of these is that of the 'talking letter'. Utilising pre-literate practice of message sticks, Homann had sent a letter exhorting some of his pupils to return to the school after they had left to join the tribe in the vicinity of Salt Creek:

> The letter fixed to a piece of wood, as is custom, and one which the natives greatly respect, arrived at Salt Creek.... There are a lot of camps there and many natives, thus the pupils were not to be promptly located. Instead other pupils who were also fairly versed in reading, opened the

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[56] S. Wurm (1990:288) 'Human Categorisation and Language: A special situation with Australian Aboriginals' in *Language and History*

> letter and read the contents out to the astonished natives. Then the letter wandered from camp to camp and sought out the pupils, who, three in number, soon returned together with the letter, which had been read to tatters, and which had travelled some 200 miles in but a short time, and which, much to the astonishment of the wild heathens, could speak so well.[57]

Literacy was developed in the earliest years, not just for school purposes but also for correspondence with absent members of the congregation and school. And there are several documented instances where people from the region came to the mission with the express intention of receiving instruction and becoming literate. See for example the case of Timotheus Maltilina (Appendices G) and that of Joseph Ngantjalu[58] who also joined the mission as a young man in the 1880's. Joseph's story as told to Dora Paschke (nee Vogelsang) clearly juxtaposes traditional knowledge and the new authority of the script and the alternative model of understanding of the world that the Christian message represented especially for young people. Joseph explained how as a small boy, he had asked his father and the elders who had made the stars in the sky, and received no answer, until coming to the mission:

> It came to pass that my father came to work for an Englishman, a very good man, whom I often observed reading in a book. That fascinated me. One day I asked him, 'Why do you always look in the book?' 'I am reading,' he answered. 'Then does the book speak to you?' I questioned him further. 'Yes' he said, 'It speaks to me of God.'- 'Who then is God?' - 'That is He who made you and everything.'- 'Did he perhaps also make the stars in the sky?' I asked full of anticipation, happy to have found someone, whom I could ask all those things, which I had long wished to know. 'Yes' I received as answer, 'He also made the stars in the sky.' As I continued to ask him more and more, the man now said 'You can come to me every day, and I will read to you from the book.' However, when he came to explain to me that which he had read, I could not properly understand it in English. Then one day he said 'There are white men on a

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[57] KMB 21&22/1869:163 'Der Brief, an einem Stückchen Holz befestigt, wie die gewöhnliche Weise ist, und wovor die Eingebornen grossen Respect haben, kam zum Salt Creek (...). Dort sind viele Campplätze und viele Eingebornen, deshalb waren die Schüler nicht gleich zu finden. Aber andere Schüler die auch schon des Lesens so ziemlich kundig, öffneten den Brief und lesen den Inhalt den erstaunten Eingebornen vor. Dann ist der Brief von Platz zu Platz gewandert und hat die Schüler aufgesucht, welche, 3 an der Zahl, bald zurückkamen samt dem ganz zerlesenen Briefe, der in kurzer Zeit ca. 200 Meilen gewandert war und der zum grossen Erstaunen der wilden Heiden so gut sprechen konnte.'

[58] Joseph Antjalina was listed in 1886 as being 26 years old, baptised and literate. He died circa 1931.

station (Bethesda), who can explain it to you better, you should go to them.'[59]

In the years 1875 to 1885 the Word and its attraction was further strengthened by the expansion not only of the school, baptismal classes and the Indigenous congregation but also by the formalisation and diversification of Church services regularly held for the Camp, a generally older, floating population of up to 100 people on the mission. Despite the questionable success of such initiatives in spiritual terms, the effects regarding the spread of mission language usage and contact with practices of literacy should not be underestimated. It must be remembered that Church usage such as sermons and baptismal instruction, were largely based on written translations.

10.8 Lifestyle and linguistic change

An important metaphor related to the central Lutheran metaphor of the Word as a seed, was used by the missionaries to describe the effect of the Word as a catalyst for change, namely that of the Word as a thorn. The Word as a thorn, once lodged in the heart and mind of man, continues to act and prick the conscience of man to change. According to this image the greatest emphasis is on the preaching and teaching of the Word and the long-term effect of passive exposure, rather than on the strategies and actions of men. It followed from this model that missionary interventions (other than disseminating the Word) were not essential, and that it was also of less consequence whether the Indigenous community heard the Word with the right motivation, that is with a will to learn, or indeed whether they

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[59] KB 6/1931:181 'Es fügte sich, dass mein Vater zu einem Engländer in Arbeit kam, einem sehr guten Mann. Den sah ich oft in einen Buch lesen. Das interessierte mich. Eines Tages frug ich ihn: "Warum siehst du immer in das Buch?" "Ich lese," gab er zur Antwort, "Spricht denn das Buch zu dir?" frug ich weiter; "Ja," sagte er, "das spricht zu mir von Gott." – "Wer ist denn Gott?" – "Das ist der, der dich und mich und alles gemacht hat." – "Hat der vielleicht auch die Sterne am Himmel gemacht?" frug ich voller Erwartung, froh, jemanden gefunden zu haben, den ich um alles das fragen konnte, was ich schon längst gern gewusst hätte. "Ja," bekam ich zur Antwort, "der hat auch die Sterne am Himmel gemacht." Nun sagte der Mann als ich ihn immer mehr frug: "Kannst jeden Tag zu mir kommen; da werde ich dir aus den Buch vorlesen. Doch wenn er mir das Gelesene erklären sollte, konnte ich es in Englisch nicht recht verstehen, da meinte er eines Tages: "Es sind weisse Leute auf einer Station (Bethesda), die können dir das besser sagen, gehe zu denen.' See too Appendix R on the authority of the letter, as revealed in the message to the people of the Cooper region from Governor Daly by the Sub-Protector of Aborigines.

wanted to change their way of life. Rather it was held that simply by hearing (reading and singing) the Word repeatedly over time, a change would one day occur and that would mean the internalisation of the teachings and consciousness of the need to strive towards a Christian way of life. This metaphor structured mission language policy especially towards the Indigenous people not receiving regular instruction in the school and Church and not living permanently on the mission lands. The goal was change at an individual level.

> The Blacks who roam free hereabouts, and from time to time build their huts here with us, have lately been attending Sunday services in considerable numbers... Also our Blacks in the Camp are asking by Wednesday whether it will soon be Sunday. Oh, were that only a good sign among these poor people, but unfortunately that is not the case. They do not so much desire the Word of God, as the bit of flour which they receive on Sunday. We have made use of this lure in recent times, as almost none of the free [nomadic] Blacks were turning up to hear the divine Word any more, and we thought, even if they only hear the same from impure motivations, it could still leave a 'thorn' behind with one or the other of them...[60]

10.9 Intermediaries as makers of mission language

For the missionary, change on an individual basis would be evidenced in a desire to learn more about Christian teachings on the part of the hearer and in turn would often lead to further instruction, including in literacy. In due course such individual converts would become mentors and intermediaries to their people and effect further and broader change. The role of such individuals as language makers (in mission translations) and subsequently as teachers or 'native evangelists' was an essential part of Protestant mission practice in 19th century Australia. Mission literature abounds with discursively constructed success stories.

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[60] DKMZ 19/1879:146 Meyer: 'Die freiherumziehenden Schwarzen, die von Zeit zu Zeit ihre Hütten bei uns bauen [besuchten] in der letzten Zeit die sonntäglichen Gottesdienste sehr zahlreich...Auch fragen unsre Schwarzen im Camp schon am Mittwoch, ob es nicht bald Sonntag sei. O wär das doch ein gutes Zeichen bei diesen armen Leuten, leider ist es nicht so. Nicht nach dem Wort Gottes haben sie Verlangen, sondern nur nach dem Bißchen Mehl, welches sie am Sonntag erhalten. Wir haben uns dieses Lockmittels in letzter Zeit bedient, weil von den freien Schwarzen sich fast keine mehr zum Hören des göttlichen Wortes einfanden; auch dachten wir, wenn sie dasselbe selbst nur aus unlautern Beweggründen hören, könnte es dennoch in dem Einen oder Andern einen Stachel zurücklassen...'

For Threlkeld's pioneering work in Lake Macquarie we read of the loyal and gifted Biraban or M'Gill,[61] George Taplin was assisted at Point Macleay initially by Waukeri and after 1864 by James Unaipon.[62] The Moravians' Spieseke and Hagenauer at Ebenenezer (Wimmera District, Victoria) first baptised Pepper (August 1860), later known as Nathanael.[63] These assistants were usually described as members of an elite group, unusually intelligent or linguistically gifted (and perhaps unusually cooperative) individuals, who were able to help the missionaries bridge the communication gap between two cultures.

As discussed earlier, for the Hermannsburg missionaries the role of language informant was first filled by Pikally who had accompanied them to Adelaide and had lived in the Lutheran community for some six months. Particularly during 1868, Pikally assisted Homann and Koch in the search for words to translate the core concepts and texts of Christianity: the Creation and the Fall from Grace, the deliverance from Sin, and the Way of Redemption through Christ. Despite initial promise, however, Pikally did not prove to be the 'first fruit' of the mission attempt - the first fruit was to be grown through the school and catechism classes and confirmed in baptism. Pingilina, Ichalina and Timotheus Maltilina are some

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[61] N. Gunson (Ed) *Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E.Threlkeld* (1974:vol I:157) 'From the Published Account of Horatio Hale and James Agate': 'His physiognomy was much more agreeable than that of the other blacks, being less strongly marked with the peculiarities of his race. (...) It was very evident that M'Gill was accustomed to teach his native language, for when he was asked the name of any thing, he pronounced the word very distinctly, syllable by syllable, so that it was impossible to mistake it.' And from Threlkeld's 8th Report (Dec.1838): 'From conversation with the Aborigines, it appears that the Christian knowledge which has been communicated to M'Gill and other Aborigines, has been the subject of discussion among the remnant of the tribes forty miles distant. In two or three instances, when communicating what was supposed to be subjects perfectly new to them, they replied with perfect coolness, "We know it, M'Gill has told us. '

[62] Taplin in Woods (1879: 101) Unaipon had actually been converted by a Scottish missionary, James Reid, who died in 1863: 'He became also a nucleus around which those who were impressed by divine truth could rally'

[63] *Missionsblatt der Brüder-Gemeine*: (1861:154) in D.E.Burkhardt (1862:174) *Die evangelische Mission unter den schwarzen Insulanern der Südsee und auf Neuholland* 'Auch gegen der anderen Eingeborenen zeugte er nun von dem, was sein Herz erfüllte, und sie äusserten es gefiele ihnen ganz gut. Pepper holte nun auch von entfernteren Orten Eingeborene herbei, so dass Anfang Februar 28 Leute da waren, die regelmässig zum Gottesdienst kamen'

such men who began as pupils of the school and later assumed roles as assistants, and language informants to Missionaries Meyer, Flierl and later Reuther.

In addition to aiding evangelisation attempts with one's own people and one's own language, another typical role of the 'Indigenous loyal convert' was to facilitate communication with 'foreign' tribes such as in reconnaissance journeys seeking new mission fields. In the 1860's the Moravian Brethren, Walder, Meissel and Kühn, had taken a young man, Daniel[64] along with them from Ebenezer (Victoria), who had hoped to accompany the mission party to Cooper's Creek as the first native Evangelist.[65] Various faithful Bethesda converts assisted Flierl (I) on his journeys of exploration,[66] and in 1886 Johannes Pingilina accompanied Meyer from Lake Killalpaninna to the Queensland stations of Elim and Bloomfield in this capacity. Furthermore it is to be noted that increasingly members of the mission community were drawn from outside the immediate mission area, and that such journeys promoted the drift to the mission occasioned by displacement and pastoral encroachment. In the Meyer years Dieri Christians, including Bertha and Anton Ngujuwakana, were also involved in regular visits in the supporting communities. Such visits became part of mission practice; Missionary Meyer gave talks and sermons in various parishes and also acted as facilitator and translator for 'testimonials.' Indeed their son Johannes (later known as Jack Hannes) was sent as the first Dieri Evangelist to Hermannsburg/Finke in 1935.

I would argue that in mission practice, cultural, religious and linguistic change are intimately connected and that new standard Dieri usage was spread not only amongst pupils of the mission school and baptismal candidates, but also had a broader effect through the role of converts amongst non-mission people. An interesting comparison with the practice of enlisting the 'first fruit' of the mission, as *neji* to aid with spreading the Gospel to their people, is to be found in Stephen

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[64] For Daniel's story see L.Grope 'In the Wake of Burke and Wills' in *Yearbook of the Lutheran Church of Australia I* (1989/90:46-7)

[65] He died in Adelaide in October 1865.

[66] Flierl Autobiography MS: 7 His guides and companions were 1881:Benjamin Dalkilina and for second trip: Palkilina and Ninpilina and on the third trip: Timotheus Maltilina

Wurm's description of the effect of German guest workers on the Turkish language and gives insights into how prestigious groups can import change even into groups not directly exposed to new forms:

> Many thousands of Turks have returned to Turkey in recent years, especially to the large cities, bringing back with them changed types of linguistic expression. These returned Turks are often highly respected and influential, having money and bringing back with them new knowledge and experiences. Because of this, local Turks, in particular members of the young generation, tend to admire and imitate their manner of speaking Turkish, which contributes to the spread of the typologically non-Turkish features.[67]

10.10 The role of children in effecting change

With respect to linguistic change one of the most powerful forces for change was the children who became recipients of European style literacy alongside religious instruction and a rudimentary education in other areas such as arithmetic and geography. It was mission practice to establish a separate community of school pupils in order to promote their instruction in both literacy and religious matters. To this end, under Homann, no school children were permitted to spend the night in the camp.[68] In the March report of 1869 Homann reported that the Vogelsangs intended to take in two girls 'in order to bring them up in the spirit of Christian love' and that his family had also taken in two boys, one of whom was Pingibana, and the Wotzke family has taken in one of the loyal *Arbeitsschwarzen* (native workers) who was also being instructed together with Pikally in reading and writing. The acquisition of literacy and a new lifestyle apart from the camp was an integral part of the preparation for baptism, which was seen as the beginning of a new life, a new identity. Homann wrote:

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[67] S. Wurm (1992:143) 'Change of Language Structure and Typology in a Pacific Language' in *Culture Change, Language Change*

[68] KMB 8/1869:62 'Mit aller Strenge halten wir freilich darauf dass kein Kind mehr Nachts im Campplatz der Eingebornen ist, und die Kinder haben sich nun auch endlich daran [g]ewöhnt.' [sic]

> If only it were possible for us to take in all the children, in order to protect them from the abominable influence of the heathen nature.[69]

The role of the children was furthermore significant in that the missionaries were able to learn and in some measure create the school language whilst instructing them, and in the early phase of mission work children assisted in their approaches to the camps. From such pupils baptismal candidates were later drawn and gradually family groups of baptised partners such as Timotheus and Anna Maltilina were encouraged by the missionaries. As once again revealed in its metaphors, it was mission intention that such families play a central role in promoting change:

> At that time one dozen young people from this heathen people were ready to receive Holy Baptism. This circumstance gave substance to our hope, that the newly-converted would be bright lights amongst their benighted compatriots, and that the small young native congregation here would permeate their whole surroundings like a sour-dough, and like a salt would protect against the moral decay of their race and in not too far distant time that the poor remnants of the same would become obedient to the Gospel.[70]

The role of Indigenous Christian families was essentially linked to the Lutheran view of the family unit as the bastion of religion, and the head of each household as responsible for discipline over wife and children. The father was to exercise a *Hauspriesteramt* in order to provide the children with a Christian upbringing and to maintain the Christian spiritual life of the family. Of course Luther's catechism and the Bible were the twin texts which were to be read, studied and applied to real life situations on a daily basis. Each family was to be fostered and supported by the missionaries and the wider Church community. Such families were exhorted to stay and work on the mission, and children from such marriages were baptised, raised within the community and in due course attended school on the

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[69] KMB 8/1869:62 'Wäre es uns nur möglich dass wir alle Kinder ins Haus nehmen könnten um sie vor dem gräulichen Einfluss des heidnischen Wesens zu bewahren'.

[70] DKMZ 1/1880:1 Flierl wrote 27/12/1879: 'Damals stand ein Dutzend junge Leute aus diesem Heidenvolk auf dem Punkte die heilige Taufe zu empfangen. Durch diesen Umstand glaubten wir uns zu der Hoffnung berechtigt, daß die Neubekehrten helle Lichter sein würden unter ihren verfinsterten Volksgenossen, daß die kleine junge Heidengemeinde hier als ein Sauerteig ihre ganze Umgebung durchdringen, als ein Salz der sittlichen Fäulniß ihres Volkes wehren würde u. in nicht gar ferner Zeit die traurigen Ueberreste desselben dem Evangelium gehorsam werden möchten.'

mission. In time such families as the Pingilina, Maltilina, Antjalina and Ngujuwakana families became the mainstays of the mission community and also the main proponents of Dieri literacy. One such child was Katharina Antjalina.

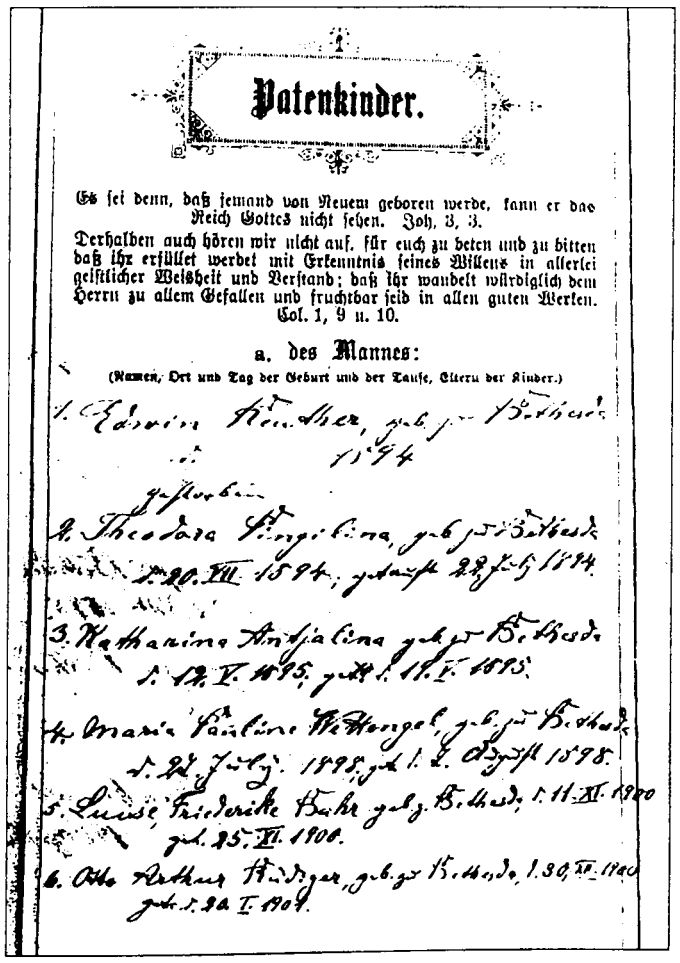
10.11 The letters of Katharina Antjalina and Katharina Edwards

Here I would like to briefly examine two cases of literate practice which fall outside the early mission work, but which I would argue are the product of mission and language practices. Thus despite the intervening 30 and even 80 years, they are surprisingly consistent with early mission orthography and notation.

Background: Katharina Antjalina

According to the certificate below, Katharina was born at Bethesda on 12th May 1895 and baptised on 19th May 1895, with Siebert being her sponsor. Her parents were Rebecca and Joseph Antjalina (who were listed in 1886 as being 22 and 26 years of age respectively, both baptised and both literate). Stevens (1994:181) includes a photo of her with her parents. She is documented as one of A.H. Vogeslsang's pupils in 1909. She also refers in the 1910 letter below to the presence of her parents on the mission. She was about the same age as Helene Jericho and attended the school with her, first under Dora Vogelsang, who assisted in the school 1906/07, and then under A.H. Vogelsang who took over as teacher from 1907.[71] According to Jericho (1975: 45) Katharina died as a young girl of tuberculosis.

[71] H. Jericho (1975: 5) *Down Memory Lane*



Patenkinder.

Es sei denn, daß jemand von Neuem geboren werde, kann er das Reich Gottes nicht sehen. Joh. 3, 3.

Derhalben auch hören wir nicht auf, für euch zu beten und zu bitten daß ihr erfüllet werdet mit Erkenntnis seines Willens in allerlei geistlicher Weisheit und Verstand; daß ihr wandelt würdiglich dem Herrn zu allem Gefallen und fruchtbar seid in allen guten Werken. Col. 1, 9 u. 10.

a. des Mannes:

(Namen, Ort und Tag der Geburt und der Taufe, Eltern der Kinder.)

Figure 31: Certificate recording Siebert's God-children, including Katharina Antjalina (at 3.) Private Holding: Courtesy of Chris Nobbs

School Practice in 1910

In 1907 August Hermann Vogelsang (1880-1940), who had grown up on the mission, returned to Bethesda as a qualified teacher together with his family. From his correspondence with the Chair of the Mission Committee[72] we can gain insight into what was being taught to the Indigenous children in the school as compared to school practice of the 1870's and 1880's under Homann and Koch, Meyer and Flierl. A.H. Vogelsang was responsible for tuition to three different classes each day. These were a class of 12 Indigenous children, held from 8.30 to 10.30 am, followed by a class for the European children from 10.30 am to

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72 Two letters: 27/7/1909 'an lieben Herrn Pastor' [Kaibel]; 3 pages (with printed numbering perhaps from a Mission Committee letter book: 34-36). 9/9/1909, 'an den lieben Herrn Pastor'; 7 page letter (letter book pages 40-43). Report of progress in the school since Kaibel's visit in June.

12.00 noon, and finally an evening class for Indigenous adults from 7.00pm to 8.00pm.[73] Here I will only give detail for the Indigenous children's classes but I have included detail on the European children's curriculum in the Appendices (Appendix S). Indigenous children were grouped into a number of classes. Katharina would have been approximately 14 years old at this time and was part of the baptismal class. Below is a translated excerpt outlining the curriculum for each level:

> The various subjects are firstly reading. The little ones have finished the 4th and 5th Lesetafel [reading tables] and are beginning the 6th – when they have finished that they will start with the first reading book. They must also copy on the board some words which they have read and have been written up on the board. In the Catechism this class is at the 8th Commandment.
>
> The following class is at the 3rd Bitte in the Catechism. In reading they are up to the story of Joseph in the small reader. These children have writing exercises in copybooks, as well as on the slate, where they copy a portion of that which has been read. In Arithmetic they are up to Ex. 7 in *Elementary Arithmetic Part One.* This class has just recently commenced calculating in this book.
>
> The following class is made up of those children who have joined confirmation classes; a boy Julius and 3 girls Thodora, Katharina & Felory [Flory]. "In Catechism I am repeating the 2nd Königsstück , and in reading they have finished Chapter 2 of Corinthians. As I have no reader for this class, I have to use the New Testament, I started at the beginning again and we are working our way through it chapter by chapter. I explain what is read wherever necessary. This class also sometimes reads English in the *Royal Reader* when time allows. They have writing exercise in copybooks, also alternately dictation and copying in Dieri. This class is also in the process of writing out all the *Hauptstücke* in books for our Blacks, as there is a lack of printed books here. In arithmetic this class is at Ex 74 in *Elementary Arithmetic.* In Bible History we are at the story of the feeding of the 5,000 and the storm on the sea in the New Testament. For singing these children have learned '*Fang Dein Werk mit Jesu an!*' '*Werde munter mein Gemüte!*' Now they are learning *'Lobt Gott ihr Christen allzugleich!*'[74]

Clearly Dieri literacy was developed from youngest grades using mission Bible translations, and although later English reading (and presumably writing) was

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[73] A.H. Vogelsang 'an den lieben Herrn Pastor,' 9/9/1909.

[74] ibid: letter book page nos. 38-30

introduced using secular readers and other subjects, notably Arithmetic were also taught in English, Religious instruction remained in Dieri. Writing included transcribing from the few published Dieri sources (New Testament and Primers) in order to provide teaching materials for the younger children. Interestingly hymns were apparently still taught in English, German and Dieri.

Katharina Antjalina Letters

Katharina is the author of two Dieri letters held by the Vogelsang family. The first to 'Dora' was written on January 26th 1910, when Katharina was nearly 15 years old, to her friend and former teacher, aged approximately 25 years. The second was written after Dorothea had married Friedrich Paschke at Bethesda on 12th August 1910 and moved south to Tanunda.[75]

I have translated the first letter, once again using the first Dieri grammar and wordlist of Homann and Koch. I have also included a copy of the original in Appendices (Appendix T)

Kopperamana, January 26th 1910

[1]	Kamaneli	ngantjalu	Dora!
	Nom.1.Decl		
	friend	dear	Dora!

dear friend Dora

Note the form *ngantjalu* consists of the verb stem *ngantja* [*anxa-*] + *-lu* which is encountered in the early Grammar as the dual marker in the imperative form & as the monosyllabic postposition with the meanings 1.'until' and 2. 'only'. Such postpositions according Schoknecht (Schok Gr:13) are to be applied to nouns and pronouns. Here the verb stem (i.e. no inflection present) + affix appears in the adjectival position and is lexicalised as *liebe* 'dear.'[76] Austin refers to *-lu* as one

[75] Katharina Antjalina to Dorothea Paschke (nee Vogelsang): one addressed to Dorothea in 26/1/1910 and one to Thea 20/9/1910

[76] See Auricht letter sentence [1] Usage as an adress form is not attested in earlier documents

of the 'eight suffixes which can be added to words of any morphological class following any and all other affixes including inflections.'[77] The relevant semantic function here is 'aspectual'[78], and translated as 'still' ie *antjalu* 'still love'

[2]	Ngata	ngantjai	jinkangu	jaura	palpa
	Act.1.sg	pres I	Dat.2.sg	Nom.1.Decl	Adj
	I	love	to you	word/s	some

dakala
opt ss
write

I love writing to you

Note: *pepa dakana*: to write [lit. scratch paper]
See usage *antjana* + main verb in opt ss: this is common in both 1910 letters, but is not a feature of early usage.

[3]	Ngani	matja	tepi
	Nom.1.sg	(particle)	Adv
	I	very	alive

ja	ngakani	Ngaperi	ja	ngandru	bakana.
conj	Gen.1.sg	Nom.1.Decl	conj	Nom.2.Decl	conj
and	my	father	and	mother	also

I am very well and so are my father and mother.

Note: *matja* : now used as and Adjectival intensifier similar to *pirna,* with the meaning 'much/very' (calque) eg. *matja tepi*: very well

[4]	Ngato	jidna	ngundrai	ngurali.
	Act.1.sg	Acc.2.sg	pres I	Adv
	I	you	think	always

I think of you/remember you all the time

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[77] Austin (1981:177-180)

[78] Austin (1981:178) 'it indicates that the situation described is continuing at the time related by the predicate, having begun at a previous point in time'

Note: *undrana* has taken on the meaning of 'remember' in the 1910 letters, and this is also not unusual in the light of German usage: *denken* 'to think'and *gedenken* 'recall, remember.'

[5]	Ninkida	Kanta	kuljakulja	pirna	punkai.
	Adv	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	Adj(int)	pres I
	here	grass	green,juicy	great	grows

Here tall green grass is growing

[6]	Ja	tiri[79]	marapu	bakana.
	conj	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	conj
	and	birds	many	also

And [there are] also many birds.

Note: Originally *marapu* denoted 'several, not a great number', in later usage *marapu* becomes the translation for *viele* 'many.'

[7]	ja	jaua	marapu	bakana
	conj	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	conj
	and	jaua	many	also

and [there are] also many jaua.[80]

[8]	ngato	ja	Emmandru	ngurali	jaua	bakuai[81]
	Act.1.sg	conj	Act.fem.PN	Adv	Acc.1.Decl	pres I
	I	and	Emma	always	jaua	dig

Emma and I are always digging up jaua.

Note: *Emmandru* In early documentation (SchokGr:13) the suffix *-ndru* appears as a monosyllabic suffix with the meanings 1. 'out of, away from' (i.e. indicating movement) and 2. 'because, on account of.'

In these later documents it appears as a declension on both the feminine noun, see in this section [3], and for the feminine Proper Noun, see [8] & [25]. Austin

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[79] *tindri* [likely writer intended this rather than *tiri*: anger]

[80] small edible grass bulb see Appendix H entry [11]

[81] *bakuna* dig, excavate (Schok DD2B)

identifies this as the ergative case inflection for female personal names, whereby English names are inflected like traditional names when used in Diyari.[82] This declension was not covered in the first Grammar, and the form does not appear in the 1870 primer.

The Declension for *Nomina Propria* gives the Act form *-li* which according to Austin is applied to the second nominal group (male personal names, singular common nouns) plus non-singular common nouns ending in *u* or *a* and optionally to stems with final *i*. Thus the case inflection covers both the Declension 1 (nouns ending in *a*) and Declension 2 (nouns ending in *o* or *u*) of the first Grammar, whilst nouns ending in *i* were declined variably (Schok Gr:2)

[9]	ngali	Gardinni	wapanani
	Nom.1.dl	Dat.1.Decl	pres.part/cond
	we two	in Garden	walking

Both of us are strolling in the garden.

Note: *Gardinni* loan with case inflection

[10]	ngaiani	last Sunday	wirarina - worai	pitapitani
	Nom.1.pl	loan	past I aux	Dat.1.Decl
	we	last Sunday	wandered	in wood/bush

ja	ngaiani	manjura	marapu,	tajina - worai.
conj	Nom.1.pl	Acc.1.Decl	Adj	past I aux
and	we	manjura	many	ate

Last Sunday we went wandering in the wood and we ate many manjura[83]

Note: loan for day of week: use of Past I (immed. past) where according to Schok Gr:15 another form (past II or past III) may have been more appropriate. Also see syncretism in *pitapitani* 'wood, forest' other translations: *wira, purka/buka* used for 'bush, scrub.'

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[82] Austin (1981:48)

[83] Gason (1879:287) *manyaroo*: a plant much eaten; Austin (1981:258): *man(j)ura* N.seed type McEntee (pers.comm): *manyura/manyaru* portulacca

[11]	Ngani	ja	Bertha	ja	Emma	ja	Flory
	Nom.1.sg	conj		conj		conj	
	I	and	Bertha	and	Emma	and	Flory

ja	Helene	ja	Emma	ja	Hedwig
conj		conj		conj	
and	Helene	and	Emma	and	Hedwig

ja	ngaiani	dakuni	miri[84]	wirarina - worai.
conj	Nom.1.pl	Dat.2.Decl	Adv	past I aux
and	we	in sandhills	high	went wandering

I and Bertha and Emma and Flory and Helene and Emma and Hedwig and we [all] went wandering high in the sandhills.

[12]	Bertha	ja	Emma	jinkani	ngatata
		conj		Gen.2.sg	Nom.1.Decl
	Bertha and	Emma	your	younger	sibling

pudlaia	ngamana - worai	daku-mudlani[85]
Nom.3.dl	past I aux	Dat.1.Decl
they(two)	remained	in/on the face of the sandhill/s

ja	ngaiani	daku	witi[86]	wirarina - worai
conj	Nom.1.pl	Acc.2.Decl	postpos	past I aux
and	we	sandhill/s	along	went wandering

Bertha and Emma your younger [sisters] both of them stayed on the slope and we went wandering along the sandhills.

Note: *ngatata* originally specifically used for 'younger brother' now apparently used as 'younger sibling,' in this case a sister.
dako mudla [87] not found as a separate lexical item in Schoknecht's dictionary but the term is included an extensive section on sandhills in Reuther's dictionary.

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[84] *meri* high , *meriankana* lift up high (Schok DD8B)

[85] corrected by writer from *madlani*

[86] *wirti* along (Schok DD14C) and under postpositions (Schok Gr:13)

[87] Reuther Vol IV: MS Dictionary:118, entry 184.13: 'the face or the steeply sloping end of a sandhill'

[13]	Thomas	ja	Petrus	tanalia	kanta	wakaribala -	nganai
		conj		Act.3.pl	Acc.1.Decl	fut	aux
	Thomas	and	Petrus	they	grass	will break off	

ja	kana	palpa	Killalpala	wokarala -	nganai[88]
conj	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	N+postpos	fut	aux
and	men	some	from Killalpa.	will arrive	

Thomas and Petrus, they will mow hay and some Killalpaninna men will arrive.

Note: *wokaribana* break off (Schok DD15B) *kanta wokaribana* constructed for 'to mow'

Killalpala: *killalpa* + *-la* 'from/of Killalpaninna.' See (Schok Gr:13) *-la* 'from, of.' Also Austin(1981) on the characteristic derivational affix *-la* which denotes belonging to an area or time.[89]

[14]	winta	ngaiani	praknlali	ngurungu[90]-tani
	interrog	Nom.1.pl	[?parakulo]	[?nguru ngatani]
	when	we	three	[home?]

manina -	worai.
past I	aux
took/got	

When we three reached home [sentence continued below]

[15]	Nunkanguja	ḍitjini	talara	pirna	kudana - worai
	Dat.3.sg	Dat.1.Decl	Nom.1.Decl	Adj	past I aux
	?for him	on day	rain	great	fell

ja	ngaiani	jaura	dunkana -	worai
conj	Nom.1.pl	Acc.1.Decl	past I	aux
and	we	word/s	[dakana]	wrote

For him in day much rain fell and we wrote.

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[88] this auxiliary verb inserted as correction

[89] Austin (1981:40)

[90] two short lines appear under final *u*. This is German-style hyphenation

Note: *dunkana* 'to rise (sun), to come out (from the hut), to grow (bodily), to come into view'; *dakana* 'make, plait, carve, prick, spear, write, rub (sticks for fire)' (Schok DD2C)

[16]	kalkaurani	ngaiani	wirarina - worai.
	Dat.1.Decl	Nom.1.pl	past I aux
	in evening	we	went walking

In evening we went walking

[17]	Jaurajinkinietja	ja	nunkani	noa	ja	Maria
	N + pers.	conj	Gen.3.sg.masc	Nom.1.Decl	conj	
	teacher	and	his	wife	and	Maria

ja	Dorie	ja	nankani	noa	ja	ngani
conj		conj	Gen.3.sg.fem	Nom.1.Decl	conj	Nom.1.sg
and	Dorie	and	her	husband	and	I

ja	ngakani[91]	Aperi	ja[92]	ngandri	ja	Florie
conj	Gen.1.sg	Nom.1.Decl	conj	Nom.1.Decl	conj	
and	my	father	and	mother	and	Florie

ja	Julius,	ngaiani	daku-mudlani	wirarina - worai
conj		Nom.1.pl	Dat.1.Decl	past I aux
and	Julius	we	on sandhill face	wandered

ngadani	ngaiani	tikana - worai.
Adv	Nom.1.pl	past I aux
last	we	returned

Teacher/missionary [lit. giver of word/s] and his spouse and Marie and Dorie and her spouse and I and my father and mother and Florie and Julius, we went walking on the sandhill slopes, at last we returned.

[18]	Daku-witi	ngadani	ngaiani	najina - worai
	N+postpos	Adv	Nom.1.pl	past I aux
	along sandhills	last	we	saw

[91] *ngk*...corrected to *ngak*...

[92] A flourish, similar to commencement of capitalised M appears before this word

tanaia	najipa[93]	pirkinani	Martin	ja	Heinrich
Acc.3.pl	v.	pres part		conj	
them	watch over	playing	Martin	and	Heinrich

ja	Katharina	ja	Ida	ja	Arthur.
conj		conj		conj	
and	Katharina	and	Ida	and	Arthur

Along the sandhills at last we watched them playing/joking Martin and Heinrich and Katharina and Ida and Arthur

[19]

ngani	karari	ngaṇtjai	manjurai	wapala
Nom.1.sg	Adv	pres I	pres I	opt ss
I	now,today	love	gathering manjura	going

I love going for [gathering] manjura

[20]

jinkani		ngandri		jatana - worai			
Gen.2.sg		Nom.1.Decl		past I	aux		
your		mother		talked			

ja	Florie	ja	Emma	bakana		ja	Oscar
conj		conj		conj		conj	
and	Florie	and	Emma	also		and	Oscar

ninkida	wakarana - paraia
Adv	past III
here	arrived (some time ago)

Your mother said Florie and Emma and also Oscar came here

[21]

nauja	karari	ninkida	ngamai
Nom.3.sg	Adv	Adv	pres I
he	now,today	here	is

He is here at present

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[93] *naijinaijipana* watch over guard; *naijina* see: Schok DD 9C. See too Schok Gr:10 & 11 *–bana* suffix may be used to construct a transitive verb from intransitive verb. 'The modification of the primitive verb, by adding the ending *-bana* may however denote merely an intensification of the

[22]	nauja	jatai	nau	Saturday
	Nom.3.sg.masc	pres I	conj	loan
	he	says	because	Saturday

tikala - nganai.
fut aux
will return

He says because he will return on Saturday

[23]	Ngaiani	ngurali	jelalu	pirkiai.
	Nom.1.pl	Adv	Adv	pres I
	we	always	together	play

We always play together

Note: *jelalu: jela* 'to be together' (Schok DD3C) see too *jelaua* 'somewhere' (Schok DD3C); *-lu* 1.'until' 2.'only, alone' (Schok Gr:13)

[24]	Ja	wama	bakana	ngaiani	tajina - wapai.
	conj	Nom.1.Decl	conj	Nom.1.pl	pres II aux
	and	woma	also	we	eat

And we're also eating woma[94]

[25]	Ja	Helenendru	jinkangu	Schönen Gruss	jinpai
	conj	Act.fem.PN	Dat.2.sg	loan	pres I
	and	Helene	to you	greetings	sends

And Helene sends you greetings

[26]	ngani	mudai	dakala
	Nom.1.sg	pres I	opt ss
	I	close,finish	writing

I close [writing]

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meaning of the verb.' Austin (1981:77f) refers to *–yirpa* as the benefactive derivational affix marking 'an altruistic action performed for another person or for an animal.'

[94] Non-poisonous snake. See Appendix H entry [126]

[27]	ngani	jinkani	Kamaneli,	Katarina Antjalina[95]
	Nom.1.sg	Gen.2.sg	Nom.1.Decl	
	I	your	friend	Katharina Antjalina

I [remain] your friend Katharina Antjalina

Apart from very few instances the letter is easily translated using the early grammar and wordlist and the language is remarkably consistent orthographically and grammatically with the language of the 1870 primer. Literacy was clearly a shared code between members of the mission community, both Indigenous and European, and was embraced in its function of sharing information, reinforcing friendships and marking identity as part of the mission congregation across time and space.

10.12 Literacy post closure of the Mission

It was literacy too, which continued to support connections between the remnant Dieri-speaking mission community and the Lutheran Church throughout the 1930's and 40's. Some of the correspondence between members of the Vogelsang family and Katharina Edwards was published in the *Kirchenblatt* in 1931 and roused much sympathy amongst the Lutheran community for continued pastoral care to the Dieri (See figure below). Katharina continued to write in Dieri to the Vogelsang family well into the 1960's. There are three preserved letters to Emma: (30th June 1963; 19th August 1963 and 28th June1964), and one letter to Mary Tschirn (nee Vogelsang) of 25th August 1963, which are now held by the family. All letters once again demonstrate a high level of consistency with the first mission grammar and word-list.

Katharina was Aranda by birth and is said to have been brought to the Bethesda mission together with Bertha, probably her daughter, by Missionary Bogner between 1900 and 1904. She attended the mission school and was baptised under Riedel before his departure in 1914.

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[95] close of letter appears vertically in left margin of p.1

Bethesda.

„Meine liebe Freundin Dora,

Ich habe Deinen Brief erhalten und mich ſehr darüber gefreut. Ich habe mich in der Tat ſo ſehr darüber gefreut, daß ich kein Brot gegeſſen habe. Und ſoviele Leute mich Deinen Brief haben vorleſen hören, die haben ſich auch ſehr gefreut. Liebe Freundin, ich bin noch geſund. Wie geht es Dir und Deinem Mann und Kindern? Seid Ihr auch noch geſund? Meine liebe Freundin, hier ſterben viele Leute. Die Mutter von Deinem Patenkind iſt tot; Mathildes Vater, Hermann iſt tot. Ebenſo Joſeph, Euer großer Freund und Emilie. (Dies iſt der Joſeph, von dem obige Geſchichte handelt. K. Bl.) Ach, wir haben hier keinen Prediger mehr und hören Gottes Wort nicht mehr. Wir vergeſſen Gott nicht und wir vergeſſen Jeſum nicht. Wir gedenken daran, wie viel er einſt für uns gelitten hat um unſerer Sünden willen.

Wie geht es Deiner Schweſter Louiſe und ihrem Mann und Kindern, und wie ihrem älteſten Sohne Johannes und Tochter, die nun ſchon groß iſt? Eures Vater Grab iſt in guter Ordnung. Wie geht es Deiner jüngeren Schweſter Emma? Ich habe ſie einmal in Tanunda geſehen. Dich habe ich da nicht geſehen, nur von Dir gehört. Ach, Lydia iſt auch tot. Marie, die kleine Tochter iſt in Maree. Wir ſind wie die wilden Tiere (Hunde). Warum habt Ihr uns verlaſſen und weggeworfen? Wir vergeſſen Sein Wort nicht und ein beſtimmtes kleines Lied: „Weil ich Jeſu Schäflein bin" und freuen uns darüber. Wir vergeſſen auch nicht zu beten. Nun kommt Jeſu Geburtsfeſt wieder und Ihr werdet in der Kirche Gott loben, und wir werden draußen ſitzen und daran gedenken, wie wir früher auch in die Kirche gegangen ſind. Heute ſind wir ganz zerſtreut und denken nur daran, welche große Freude wir einſt hatten. Theklas Mutter iſt auch ſchon lange tot, ſag ihr das (Thekla iſt in der Low Bank Gegend. K. Bl.). Ja, und Daniel und Lea ſind auch tot und alle die Leute, die früher bei Deinem Vater waren. Hat Dir das nicht Dein älterer Bruder erzählt? Es ſind nur noch ganz wenige übrig geblieben. Wenn Du jetzt nach Killalpaninna kommen würdeſt, ſo würdeſt Du weinen, wenn Du daran gedenken würdeſt, wie es hier einſt war.

Es iſt hier jetzt große Hitze. Habt Ihr auch große Hitze? Liebe Freundin Dora, vergiß nicht mir Selbas Bild zu ſchicken. Sage Deinem Mann, daß ich ſehr ſehnſüchtig nach Euch allen bin.

Meine liebe Freundin,
ich bin Deine Freundin,
Katharina."

Bethesda

My Dear Friend Dora,

I received your letter and was so pleased. In fact, I was so overjoyed that I ate no supper. And so many people have listened to me read your letter, and they too have been very happy. Dear Friend, I remain well. How are you and your husband and children? Are you well too? My Dear Friend, here many people are dying. The mother of your Godchild is dead; Mathilde's father, Hermann is dead. Also Joseph, your good friend, and Emilie.[...] Oh Dear, we have no Pastor anymore and we no longer hear God's Word. We do not forget God, and we do not forget Jesus. We remember how he suffered for us long ago, for the sake of our sins.

How is your sister Louise and her husband and children, and how is your eldest son Johannes and daughter, who is already grownup? Your father's grave is in good order. How is your younger sister Emma? I saw her once in Tanunda. I did not see you there, but heard news of you. Oh Dear, Lydia is dead too. Marie, the little daughter is in Maree. We are like stray animals (dogs). Why have you all left us and cast us adrift? We do not forget His Word and a certain little song: "Weil ich Jesu Schäflein bin" and take much pleasure in it. We also do not forget to pray. Now the celebration of Jesus' birth is again approaching, and you will praise God in the Church, and we will sit outside and recall how we too once went to Church. These days we are completely scattered, and only reflect upon the happiness that we once had. Thekla's mother is also long dead, please tell her [...]. Yes, and Daniel and Lea are also dead and all the people who were once with your father. Did your older brother not tell you? There are only very few remaining. If you were to come to Killalpaninna these days, you would weep to recall how it once was here.

Here it is very hot now. Is it also very hot there with you? Dear Friend Dora, do not forget to send me Selba's picture. Tell your husband, that I miss you all greatly.

My Dear Friend
I am Your Friend
Katharina

Figure 32: Letter written in Dieri to Dora Paschke by Katharina Edwards received Christmas 1930, and published in German translation (*Kirchenblatt* 8/6/1931:182)

Her brother Finke Bob also came to live at Bethesda. Katharina's first husband Henry Maualina was also a baptised Christian. His parents are likely to have been August and Lily Maualina, who in 1886 were listed as 25 and 22 years of age respectively. August was recorded as baptised and able to read, and Lily was a Catechetin in the baptismal class. Henry died about 1920 and Katharina married her second husband Aleck in 1925. He had been known as Aleck Punyipunda before he came to the mission at Lake Killalpaninna, and at the close of the mission chose Edwards as his European surname.[96] According to the Vogelsang family, who were long-standing friends of the couple, Aleck was older and had been a schoolboy when Mary Vogelsang, attended the school (before 1899). Katharina was mentioned as one of the school community in Katharina Antjalina's letter of 1910 (see above), and according to Jericho (1975: 40), Ben, Ern and George Murray also all attended the mission school around that time. According to Pearce (1980:200), Katharina was later part of the group of Dieri based at New Well (Mulka Bore), which included Bertha (her daughter) and her husband George Murray. In 1935 the Edwards clan was still there. Aleck and Katharina moved to Marree in the early 1940s and subsequently to Finniss mission before returning to Marree in the early 1960's. In about 1970 they moved south to Davenport mission station in Pt Augusta, where Katharina died about 1974 and Aleck about a year later. According to Raelene Hannes-Warren (personal communication), Katharina was her maternal great-grandmother and was not only literate in Dieri, but also fluent in German. She can remember being taught the language by her. Raelene also experienced visits of the Lutheran pastors back to Marree and surrounds in the 1960's as a teenager. She states that there still exists an enormous amount of goodwill towards the Lutheran community.

The resilience of Dieri Christian families and their enduring bonds with the Lutheran Church was also demonstrated in their attempts to remain to together as family groups and to retain the Christian Faith after the closure of the mission. Families such as the Maltilina family and notably Katharina Edwards' family maintained a correspondence with the mission community and were visited on a

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[96] Ben Murray in Pearce (1980:187)

regular basis throughout the 1930's. On the trip of May 1936, A.H. Vogelsang reported visting Katharina and Eduard [Edwards], Bertha and Ewald [George Murray] and children, and their relations, 11 adults and four children altogether, where he found Dieri hymns and catechism still being taught to the children:

> These are the most advanced and also those, where the greatest interest for God's Word was shown. All six *Hauptstücke* without explanation, were recited almost perfectly by the children. [...] The singing too each evening was always very enthusiastic.[97]

Katharina and Bertha's families were working to maintain Dieri language use and literate practice within the family and community; Bertha requesting in 1937 that additional hymns be written down for her so that she could teach others at Finniss Springs.[98] Clearly Dieri literacy was a phenomenon not only linked to Dieri people, but had assumed an important role for people of the region during the mission years and beyond, as a marker of identity and a tool for preserving Indigenous language use.

> ...when I once again held service in Finnniss Springs, I noticed how several of the Arabana-tribe joined in with the Lord's Prayer in the Dieri language. Then, when I was speaking with one Arabana woman, and she answered me in Dieri, I asked: 'Where have yo now learned to speak Dieri? You could not speak like that the last time!' and she answered me: 'You taught it to us when you were here. You always used to hold prayer-services in Dieri and sing with us and accompany us on *die Musika*.[99]

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[97] KB 14/1936: 218 'Es sind dies die weitgefördesten und auch diejenigen, wo das grösste Interesse für Gottes Wort gezeigt wurde. Alle sechs Hauptstücke ohne Erklärung wurden fast tadellos von den Kindern hergesagt. [...] Auch das Singen an jedem Abend ging immer sehr lebhaft.'

[98] KB 17/1937: 264 'Sodann auch Bertha, die früher bei Missionar Reuthers war, mich gefragt, ob ich ihr nicht noch verschiedene Lieder abschreiben und ihr zuschicken wolle. Etliche von den Schwarzen dort mochten noch mehr Lieder lernen; und sie wollten sie ihnen lernen.' Raelene Hannes-Warren (pers. communication) refers to a collection of hymns written down in a book, which is still in possession of her family, further that AITSIS holds recordings of hymns sung by Rosa Warren.

[99] KB 17/1937:264 H. Vogelsang: '... als ich in Finniss Springs zum erstenmal wieder Andacht hielt, bemerkte ich, wie etliche von dem Arabanna-Stamm bei dem gemeinsamen 'Vaterunser'-Beten in der Dieri-Sprache mitbeteten. Dann auch, als ich mit der einen Arabanna-Frau sprach und sie mir in Dieri antwortete, ich sie fragte: 'Woher kannst du denn jetzt Dieri? Du hast ja letztesmal nicht so gesprochen!' sie mir antwortete: 'Du hast es uns ja gelernt, wie Du hier warst. Du hast da immer in Dieri Andacht gehalten und tüchtig mit uns gesungen und die Musika dazu gespielt.'

CHAPTER 11
CONCLUSION

In the context of the Dieri language, both missionaries and linguists have discounted the effect of mission language practices as causing change to the language, albeit for different reasons.

Although Austin (1981) sought to locate 'authentic,' non-Church usage sources of the Dieri language in field work through elicitation of traditional materials, he conceded in *Postcards and Diyari Literacy* (1986) that Diyari has a long and well-established tradition of vernacular literacy with an established orthography, and that most of the large amount of material written in Diyari, both by Europeans and by native speakers, is written this way.[1]

Ferguson (1987:224) too acknowledged Dieri vernacular literacy (the use of reading and writing behaviours to exchange messages within a social group) as having 'taken hold.' That is,'literacy becomes part of the shared cultural resources of the society and is not merely a marginal phenomenon activated only by direct involvement with an impinging alien culture.' Ferguson (1987:228) emphasised the enthusiasm, interest and competence of individual missionaries in the Indigenous language and culture, along with the use of literacy by the European mission community as decisive factors in the successful introduction of literacy among the Dieri. For Indigenous members of the community however, the emphasis was on its irrelevance and relatively constricted use, both in terms of function and participation:

> Most of the applications of literacy in the mission would have been of little use to the Diyari, but some kinds of messages would have had immediate appeal...In general, the teaching of reading and writing in the classroom must have seemed a useless exercise, to be persisted in only because it led to food and other valued associations with the missionaries. As some Diyari began to accept the Christian religious teaching, however, the reading of Scripture became highly significant; and as some of them began to work as drovers and labourers...they would have found the

[1] Austin (1986a:175)

> sending of letters and keeping of simple records valuable for exchange of family and community news and carrying out their work.[2]

Gale (1997) also compared the case of Dieri literacy unfavourably with that of other developments in writing, for example, the newer history of literacy among the Pitjantjatjara under Presbyterian missionaries, where in time a community newspaper was developed.[3] Gale proposes Three Phases of Literacy, namely *The Christianising Phase* (including language collection, devising orthography and translating by missionaries), *The Educating Phase* (during which the vernacular is adopted by teachers and missionaries for 'educating' the Aboriginal people) and *The Aboriginalising Phase* (which 'involves Aboriginal people themselves taking increasing control over the directions and initiatives regarding writing in their own languages.'[4] Dieri vernacular literacy, and possibly all 19th century mission efforts to introduce literacy, would thus be consigned to the first and second phases, with the development of a truly Indigenous vernacular literacy linked to modern linguistic and socio-political developments. However, in such categorisation of vernacular literacies we must guard against devaluing early Dieri literate practices and products against much more modern practices and technologies as a 'few bits of writing' which remained a merely individual practice for maintaining and reaffirming social ties and did not persist past the next generation.[5]

According to Gale, in order for literacy to fully take root in Indigenous culture, vernacular literacy develops according to three main imperatives; social action, reinforcement of group identity and cultural and linguistic maintenance (as a tool

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[2] C.A. Ferguson (1987:229) 'Literacy in a Hunting-Gathering Society: The Case of Diyari in *Journal of Anthropological Research* Vol 43/3

[3] M. Gale (1997: 33) Dhaŋum Djorra'Wuy Dhäwu: A history of writing in Aboriginal languages (Aboriginal Research Institute, University of South Australia). Compare Ferguson (1987:229) '...the classroom emphasis was more on reading than writing and the missionaries do not seem to have instituted news bulletins or initiated other mechanisms of personal [communication] as opposed to church and school literacy.'

[4] Gale (1997:43)

[5] Ferguson (1987:231)

for recording oral history).[6] Furthermore Gale argues that vernacular literacy should be considered a plural set of social practices serving diverse functional purposes, and that there may be functional separation of skills for each language, eg. for religious purposes, for schooling, for commercial, for personal affairs.[7] Thus vernacular literacy may take on certain functions whilst not displacing traditional functions served by speech in stories and song cycles, reinforcing speech functions rather than displacing them.[8]

We should note that for Dieri, literacy was not (at least before 1900) developed alongside literacy in English. It was not imposed through the language of the missionaries (German) or that of the Colonisers (English). And it was not introduced with a view of being a transitional step towards English literacy. A more accurate criticism was perhaps that much traditional knowledge was not part of the mission written record, and that although it did not directly replace it, it also did not support or preserve it. Despite this its important role in reinforcing and supporting group identity, including its function of reaffirming identity and historic links with the Lutheran mission, and preserving the Dieri language remain. We must acknowledge that whatever the debate as to the most appropriate orthography for writing Aboriginal languages or the most appropriate content or domains for vernacular literacy, Dieri people have their own heritage in relation to writing. And it is a rich and detailed heritage.

Kaurna literacy, by comparison provided no such time depth, being undertaken with much smaller numbers of people and largely confined to years 1839-44, rather than encompassing several generations as was the case for Dieri. Paradoxically the production of dedicated and detailed ethnographic and language work by the Dresden missionaries at the behest of the Colonial Government did not ensure Governor Grey's support for education in the Indigenous language and the development of vernacular literacy. And it was a similar case for Parnkalla

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[6] Gale (1997:52)

[7] Scribner & Cole 1981 in Gale (1997:28)

[8] Gale (1997:36)

(1840-52) and Ngarrindjeri (1840-48) where a shift to English schooling ensued after initial Lutheran work using the Indigenous language.

H. F. Harms (2003) also addressed the issue of the status of Dieri language graphization by Hermannsburg missionaries, and responded to the question of change wrought on the Dieri language, which in the past has often been accompanied by negative assessments of mission intervention in traditional cultures. Harms observed that neither Government nor science of the day provided any practical alternative to mission in terms of attempting to hold the Dieri community together and introduction of Dieri vernacular literacy:

> With certainty the dissolution of the [Dieri] culture would have merely accelerated. It is of course correct that no alternatives were offered, which would have provided the people with an option for survival as a community and a new sense of identity. Here there was a lack of ideas as well as financial means.[9]

Harms also critiqued my position that missionaries, by the process of graphization itself, and their language practices, substantially changed the Dieri language:

> Indeed the question is very much whether they [the Lutheran Missionaries] thereby alienated the people from their own language. Rather than this they promoted a certain state of parallel forms – alongside the everyday language there developed a religious artificial [synthesised] language, which did not reach the heart. They introduced barely any confusion into the idiom at all. One overestimates the influence of the Missionaries and other foreign 'agents of change,' if one considers that they can impose something on a people against their will. Naturally we are dealing with a question of time. In all cultural and religious change, language and thought must first be expanded, before the new elements are fully accepted and assimilated. That is a process which is not concluded in merely a few decades,... that is a process which takes generations. The Dieri Mission was not granted this time.[10]

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[9] H.F. Harms (2003:93) *Träume und Tränen: Hermannsburger Missionare und die Wirkungen ihrer Arbeit in Australien und Neuseeland* 'Mit Sicherheit wäre die Auflösung der Kultur nur schneller vorangeschritten. Richtig ist allerdings, dass keine Alternative angeboten wurde, die dem Volk ein gemeinsames Überleben und neues Selbstbewusstsein gegeben hätte. Hier fehlten sowohl Ideen wie Mittel.'

[10] Harms (2003:94) 'Allerdings ist sehr die Frage, ob sie damit das Volk seiner eigenen Sprache entfremdet haben. Eher haben sie eine gewisse Zweigleisigkeit gefördert – neben die Alltagssprache trat eine religiöse Kunstsprache, die das Herz nicht erreichte. Verwirrt haben sie die Alltagssprache kaum. Man überschätzt den Einfluss von Missionaren und anderen

Perhaps, however, objections disintegrate if we observe changes which are not intentional and which do not preclude these forms as resources for future revival work. Alongside such changes as the Missionaries were well aware of, and were a conscious part of language and mission practice, there were doubtless others, which were unforseen and cumulative in their consequences. Keller (1982) considers the dichotomy of natural - artificial, which has been embedded in Western thinking from Classical times,[11] to be unproductive in explaining the processes of language change as it implies on the one hand, lack of human agency, and on the other total human design (intentionality). Instead of a dichotomy he proposes a trichotomy, which introduces a category of entities which are neither natural entities, that is not the result of human actions, nor artefacts, which are the result of human actions and the goal of their intentions but rather 'the result of human actions, but not the goal of their intentions.'[12] Phenomena of the 'Third Type' evolve from the unintended collective consequences of individual actions.[13]

According to Keller, collective consequences are to be expected where 'individuals of a group carry out their particular actions according to similar maxims.'[14] The investigation of well-defined groups operating under a relatively clear set of 'maxims' is particularly relevant to the types of change introduced by missionaries, including the introduction of literacy for previously unwritten languages. Keller's concept of the 'invisible hand process' helps link processes such as the destabilisation of language and accelerated change with interventions

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ausländischen "Agenten des Wandels"(agents of change), wenn man meint, dass sie einem Volk etwas aufdrängen können, was es nicht will. Natürlich haben wir es mit einer Zeitfrage zu tun. Bei jedem kulturellen und religiösen Wandel müssen Sprache und Denken erst erweitert werden, bevor die neuen Elemente voll aufgenommen und eingebaut sind. Das braucht Zeit und ist nicht in wenigen Jahrzehnten abgeschlossen,...das ist ein Prozess, der Generationen dauert. Der Missionarbeit unter den Dieri war diese Zeit nicht vergönnt.

[11] Keller (1982) 'Zur Theorie Sprachlichen Wandels' in *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* :10.1. See discussion pp4-6

[12] Keller (1982:6)

[13]Keller (1982:12) '...a process is inherent to phenomena of the Third Type, namely the path from the micro-level of individual actions to the macro-level of the structure produced [...] Invisible-hand-explanations are hypothetical reconstructions of this process.'

[14]Keller (1982:9)

such as standardisation, semantic and grammatical simplification and reduction of function which are characteristic mission usage. As we have seen the production of a written form was guided by principles which related to the context of the work, contemporary knowledge and certain concepts as filters (through which the foreign culture and language were perceived), and missionary aims to present Christian teaching according to the theological position of the mission body.

It is also useful to revisit the concept of the mission as an encounter zone, which is separate from the surrounding environment, in a sea of socio-cultural impacts including massive culture and language change. An island with its own internal patterns of change which defined and delineated it. The language practices and policies of the missionaries, and particularly the introduction of a written form and vernacular literacy, likewise set that usage of Dieri apart from its ecological background. Lessons from Island Biogeography highlight the negative effect of isolation from the broader ecology. For mission Dieri isolation from the broader eco-linguistic context meant separation from resources of other surrounding languages and dependence on the school and Church for transmission, and thus dependence on ongoing intervention.

Isolating factors include the development of a younger generation possessing literacy, the divide between school-based knowledge as compared to traditional knowledge, and the increasing use of English and literacy related to employment on surrounding stations. Further, phonetic standardisation and grammatical standardisation along with special vocabulary for new content such as Christian teachings and school subjects, and the effect of avoidance of 'undesireable' or 'irrelevant' content or associations in translations, together created a distinct usage, essentially based on written forms for the mission community. In practical terms, opportunities for transmission of specialised knowledge were interrupted due to school, work and church routines, the decrease of rituals on mission lands, and the discouragement of movement of young people with those maintaining a traditional lifestyle.

It appears that further growth in Dieri vernacular literacy and progression through this phase of dependence towards Indigenous-steered change was an aim also

held by the Lutheran missionaries themselves, but which was prevented by the dispersal of the mission community post the closure of the mission.
At the turn of the century Warneck (1910:510) articulated the ultimate aim of Lutheran mission as to develop the independence of the Indigenous Christian Church and the central role of language in the process of 'naturalisation.'

> Only where Christianity is planted into the foreign soil of heathen nations in such a way, that it naturalises there as an indigenous growth, can a truly independent native-Christian Church come into being. [...] There are primarily two main dangers to be avoided: a rigorous treatment of exotic customs in religious terms, and a conflation of Christianisation with Europeanisation or Americanisation.[15]

11.1 Mission language documents as resources

'Was Du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast, Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen.'
That which you have inherited from your Forefathers must be earned in order that you can possess it.
JW Goethe: Faust I, 682-3

There are many Dieri descendants living in communities in SA and NSW including Maree, Broken Hill, Whyalla and Pt Augusta,[16] who still retain language, and importantly many who may rightly claim the mission language documents as their linguistic heritage.

Whilst acknowledging the provenance of the mission Dieri documents, we must today acknowledge the positive effort of the missionaries in preserving Dieri and the significance of this legacy as an exceptional body of linguistic material. Even today, with modern technologies and supportive Government policies, Indigenous

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15 Warneck, G. (1910:511) 'Nur wenn das Christentum in den ihm fremden Boden der heidnischen Nationen so eingepflanzt wird, daß es sich in ihm als ein einheimisches Gewächs naturalisiert, kann eine wirklich selbständige heidenchristliche Kirche zustande kommen...Vornehmlich zwei Hauptgefahren sind zu vermeiden: eine religiös-rigorose Behandlung der fremden Sitten und eine Vermengung der Christianisierung mit der Europäisierung oder Amerikanisierung.'

16 Many of these descendants have now joined together from the former groups *Ngayana Dieri Karna* and *Dieri Mitha*, as the *Dieri Aboriginal Corporation*, signalling a new stage in the work to reclaim and promote Dieri identity, connections to land and family and linguistic heritage.

language and culture maintenance programs in Australian schools have in only few cases achieved comparable sustained programs in vernacular literacy. Scientific focus too has broadened from the search for authentic content and reform of notation and grammatical analysis to encompass questions of preservation and sustainment of Indigenous languages. Chrystal (2000) has emphasised the impact on Indigenous languages of the increasing trend to globalisation and consolidation of the world's languages with 'just 4% of world's languages spoken by 96% of the population.'[17] However, he does not consider that development of *lingua franche* on a regional or global scale should necessarily be at the expense of other languages and that the answer to preserving small languages lies in multilingualism with complementarity rather than domination of languages.[18] Chrystal (2000:31) points to the benefits of preserving Indigenous languages and language diversity as conferring 'community cohesion and vitality, fostering pride in culture, and giving the community (and thus a workforce) self-confidence.' Further Chrystal and Mühlhäusler (2001) view Indigenous languages as the repositories of history, knowledge and unique world views.[19] Indeed Sapir describes language as 'the most massive and inclusive art we know, a mountainous and anonymous work of unconscious generations.'[20] I would add that by contrast the literate tradition may be conscious and selected,

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[17] D. Chrystal (2000:14) *Language Death*

[18] Chrystal (2000:29)

[19] Chrystal (2000:53) "as each language dies, another precious source of data- for philosophers, scientists, anthropologists, folklorists, historians, psychologists, linguists, writers- is lost." "Diversity ...is a human evolutionary strength, and should be safeguarded..." See too P. Mühlhäusler (2001:160) 'Babel Revisited' in *The Ecolinguistics Reader: Language, Ecology and Environment* [whereas the mapping or labelling view maintains that we live in one world that consists of many parts and each language provides a different set of labels for the same set of parts the other theory] 'holds that most perceptions of the world and parts of the world are brought into being and sustained by languages. Speakers of different languages, therefore, do not perceive the same world. Instead, different languages emphasise and filter various aspects of a multi-faceted reality in a vast number of ways... hence each language may be seen as a provisional interpretation of a world so complex that the only hope of understanding it is to approach it from as many different perspectives as possible.' And p.161: 'Different languages communicate different perceptions of reality in a number of ways. These include differences in vocabulary, differences in grammatical information that is expressed, and differences in the boundary between what is regarded as literal truth and what is regarded as metaphorical'

[20] E. Sapir in Chrystal (2000:40)

man-made and intentional, with a more appropriate metaphor being the building rather than the reef with its internal living memory.

Importantly for Dieri, Chrystal (2000) also addresses the issue of the status of literacy and change, in effect arguing against purism if small languages are to have a sustainable future:

> The message for endangered languages is clear: its speakers need to be prepared for change. [...] Some of the changes may well be unpalatable to them - in particular, the introduction of 'alien' words [...]. Even though the language has changed from its traditional character, it can nonetheless be of great psychological and social value as a means of providing people with a badge of identity.[21]

The role of the written record, although in some ways a 'double edged sword' in that graphization and translation involves change to the language, thus becomes an 'ark' or a buttress against irretrievable language loss. Amery (2000:21) conceptualises historic language documents as inert seeds awaiting invigoration by a language community with a will to reappropriate the language and reassert identity: 'Just as life can exist as relatively inert spores in a bottle, languages too can exist in a static unchanging form as words written in a book...Given the right conditions the spores can be activated and burst into life.' Both Chrystal (2000:162) and Amery (2000:24) in reviewing the legitimacy of reclamation work based on historical sources such as in the case of Kaurna, argue against purism and distinctions based on concepts such as 'artificial' and 'natural' languages, and focus on the will of the community to use and develop the language.[22]

One of the major factors to emerge from the detailed exploration of the early history of the mission and the introduction of vernacular literacy was the role of Indigenous language informants. In this area too I consider we should lay aside

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[21] Chrystal (2000:116-117)

[22] Chrystal (2000:162) 'The revived language is not the same as the original language, of course; most obviously, it lacks the breadth of functions which it originally had, and large amounts of old vocabulary are missing. But, as it continues in present-day use, it will develop new functions and new vocabulary, just as any other living language would, and as long as people value it as a true marker of their identity, and are prepared to keep using it, there is no reason to think of it as anything other than a valid system of communication.'

concepts based on linguistic and cultural purity which dismiss the legacy of mission language work as incorrect, inferior or unauthentic and the involvement of missionaries and Indigenous Christians as collaborators. Rather we should acknowledge and celebrate them as language makers.

Although for Dieri its connection with a speech community is historically far less remote than in the case of Kaurna prior to reclamation work, the challenge ahead is similar; namely to reconnect the language with a broad community that is no longer geographically discrete, to reinforce and strengthen functional ties with the language[23] and to support the community in its recasting of the language towards today's communicative needs. This thesis has contributed to making accessible and contextualising mission records of the language, which in time might inform and enrich the development of new Dieri educational materials and facilitate access for Dieri people to this chapter of their social and linguistic history.

We have an opportunity to acknowledge the unique linguistic achievement of both Indigenous and European members of the Dieri mission community and an obligation to work to put this legacy to use.

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[23] Compare Amery (2001: 247) 'The Kaurna language is a microcosm in which to view the development of a language. Until recently, the Kaurna language was almost completely restricted to the status of an historical artefact, a language without a speech community. Its revival involves the rebuilding of this speech community and the development of functional links between the language and those who identify with it.'

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The Language of the chosen view: the first phase of graphization of Dieri by Hermannsburg missionaries, Lake Killalpaninna 1867- 80

APPENDICES Vol II

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Appendices Volume

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APPENDIX A

Abbreviations: organisations and publications

Mission Organisations

CMS	Church Mission Society
ELSA	Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Australia (1863-1876) Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia (1876-1941)
FRM	Finke River Mission
LMS	London Missionary Society
UAM	United Aborigines Mission
UELCA	United Evangelical Lutheran Church in Australia (1921-1966)
ELCV	Evangelical Lutheran Church of Victoria (1856-1921)

Publications

AC	Der Australische Christenbote (ELCV)
DKMZ	Deutsche Kirchen- und Missions-Zeitung (Immanuel Synod: 1870-1888)
DMB	Dresdner Missionsblatt
HMB	Hermannsburger Missions-Blatt
HMBK	Hermannsburger Missionsbüchlein für Kinder
KB	KirchenBlatt für die lutherisch Kirche Australiens (Immanuel Synod: 1866)
KMB	Kirchen- und Missions-Blatt für die lutherische Kirche Australiens (Immanuel Synod: 1867-70)
LH	Lutheran Herald (UELCA)

Archives/Archival Holdings

HA	Hermannsburg Archiv (Germany)
LA	Lutheran Archives (Adelaide)
LS	Luther Seminary (Adelaide)

APPENDIX B

Abbreviations: language notation

NOTE:
Appendix B has been removed
to comply with copyright regulations.
It is included in the print copy of the
thesis held by the University of Adelaide
Library.

APPENDIX C

Schoknecht Grammar and Dictionary (MS translation)

NOTE:
Appendix C has been removed
to comply with copyright regulations.
It is included in the print copy of the
thesis held by the University of Adelaide
Library.

APPENDIX D

Important dates from the establishment phase: 1866-1874

1866

9th September:

Arrival in South Australia of the Hermannsburg missionaries J. Gössling und E. Homann together with the *Colonist* H. Vogelsang. Dedication service on 9th October together with Ernst Jacob as second *Colonist*.

1867

31st January:

Decision to establish the mission at Lake Killalpaninna, subsequently named Hermannsburg.
The Moravian Brethren, Missionaries C. Kramer, G. Meissel and H. Walder, select a location approximately 10 Km to the east on Lake Kopperamana.

9th May:

After increasing tensions the missionaries fear an attack by the united tribes of the Coopers Creek area, and withdraw initially to Bucaltaninna and subsequently in May to Adelaide. The Dieri man Macky accompanies them. Gössling resigns from mission work due to ill-health.

26th June:

The mission is granted 100 sq. miles from the Government and a permanent police post is established at Kopperamana for security.

3rd October:

Ernst Homann marries the missionary widow Luise Wendlandt

1868

Beginning of a 4-year drought.

5th February:

Recommencement of the mission attempt after a nine month interval. The mission party reach the mission field after some eight weeks' journey; Homann, his wife Luise, her companion Lene Düvel and the two youngest sons from Luise's first marriage, Wilhelm und August, Hermann Vogelsang and his wife Dorothea, the young teacher Wilhelm Koch, Ernst Jacob, a teamster Hämmerling and Macky.

1869

19th April :

Koch dies aged 21 from *Nervenfieber*, probably typhoid

30th June:

The Moravians leave their mission at Lake Kopperamana, amongst other things due to financial problems in sustaining the mission.

1871

Further unrest among the neighbouring tribes. The lack of water becomes critical.

13th December:

Homann withdraws disheartened from the mission field Killalpaninna and returns to Adelaide in order to confer with the Mission Committee. Vogelsang and Jacob remain behind.

22nd December:

The mission personel (Hermann and Dorothea Vogelsang, Friedrich and Christine Wotzke, Lene Düvel and Luise Homann's daughter, Jacob, 'an Aborigine', the worker Hämmerling and an English shepherd named Smith) withdraws to Mundowdna due to the continuing drought.

1872

3rd January:

Schoknecht arrives in Mundowdna, where he is accomodated by the Station Manager Debney until July.

End of January:

At the request of the Mission Committee, Homann travels back to Killalpaninna to report on the attempt to sink bores, which was not successful.

16th February:

Homann leaves Mundowadana and travels South with his sick daughter and her carer Lene Düvel.

30th April:

The *Colonists* Wotzke und Vogelsang and their wives also arrive in Adelaide. Schoknecht stays in Mundowdna.

4th -15th June and 3rd -17th July:

Homann travels to Yorke Peninsula and subsequently to the Murray, the region near the New South Wales border, in order to assess possibilities for new mission sites.

1st November:

In a letter from Theo Harms to Pastor Hensel, Homann's departure from mission service is finally officially approved.[1] He accepts a call to the Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Adelaide, where he remained until 1888.

July:

Schoknecht moves the mission to Cooranina (Cooryanna), the mission attempt is continued here until January 1873.

August:

The *Colonists* return to the mission (without Frau Vogelsang, who remains in the South until April 1873) and ensure the continuity of the mission until its future is assured with the arrival of Flierl I.

1873

March - June:

The mission is relocated to Tankimarina.

July - December:

A renewed attempt, this time in Bucaltaninna. In December Carl Schoknecht travels South in order to meet his bride Auguste, who has arrived from Germany. He does not return to the mission field.

1st October:

In a letter from Harms to Schoknecht.[2] Carl is granted approval to accept a call as pastor to the Wimmera region of Victoria. Schoknecht was the last Hermannsburg missionary to the Dieri people.

The mission attempt is interrupted until the arrival of lay preacher C.A. Meyer, in July 1875, and J. Flierl, in November 1878, from the mission institute Neuendettelsau.

---

[1] *Missionsacta:* 183

[2] *Missionary Carl Schoknecht: Killalpaninna 1871-73. Selected Correspondence.* A.C. & C.P. Schoknecht (1997:131)

APPENDIX E

Jacob and Vogelsang families

Jacob Family

Maria *Elisabeth* Auricht (10/5/1841 - 13/10/1924)
1. marriage 1862: W.G. Irrgang (30/5/1838 – 26/12/1876): 5 Children: 3 daughters and 2 sons
2. marriage 1878: **J.E. Jacob** (1835 - 1907): 1 son

August Irrgang (1872 -1951) : fostered along with his three elder sisters by relatives when his mother went to live at the mission station : visited the mission as a teenager 1886 - 1869, and again in 1895.

Johannes (Jack) Irrgang (1875 - 1972): accompanied mother to mission in 1878, and was later sent south for schooling but returned to live on the mission.

Friedrich Jacob (1879 – 1939): grew up at the mission station, but was sent south for schooling. He trained as a teacher at Point Pass and was subsequently appointed as a teacher at Moculta.

Vogelsang Family

Thank you to G. Leske and C. Vogelsang (personal communication) for additional detail.

Vogelsang Homestead at Lake Kopperamana, circa turn of the century

Hermann Vogelsang (1832 - 1913)
1. marriage 1867: Dorothea Hiestermann (1838 - 1875): two sons: Julius and Heinrich.
2. marriage 1877: *Anna* Maria Auricht (1855 – 1945): eight children, two sons and six daughters.

Julius born 1870, died in May 1871 (typhoid fever).

Heinrich (1871 – 1912): born at Mundowdna, his mother died when he was four and he was left with Pastor and Mrs Rechner. He later worked in the Yorketown area and married Cicely Laffin, with whom he had one son.

Theodor (1878-1955): baptised 1878 by Flierl I; spent childhood on the mission, confirmed 1892 by Reuther, then went south to do apprenticeship. In 1898 he returned to the mission as wheelwright, postmaster and Aboriginal Supervisor, marrying Rose Ruediger at Tanunda in 1910. He remained at *Bethesda* until 1921 when he settled at Point Pass, then moved to Norwood in 1930. He died in 1955.

Hermann (1880-1940): baptised in 1880 and attended school first at the mission and later at Eudunda. After returning to the mission he trained at Point Pass as a teacher from 1896. In 1901 he worked at Tiparra and in 1902 at Brownlow, where he married Lydia Schmidt in 1905. He worked as a missionary and teacher at Bethesda, approximately 1907-1917. Subsequently he was involved in efforts to maintain contact with the remnant Dieri Christian. He died shortly after taking up a position as teacher with the Hermannsburg/Finke mission, leaving three sons and three daughters.

Luise (1883-1969): baptised 1883 by Missionary Flierl, in 1894 she left for Langmeil for schooling. She was confirmed in 1895 by Pastor Auricht, and then returned to the mission until 1899 when she worked at Point Pass College. In 1901 she learned sewing at Tanunda before again returning to the mission in 1906. and marrying Gottlieb Schmidt there on 13th June 1907. Together they established a property at Low Bank, where her mother Anna joined them from 1915, and had five sons and three daughters.

Dorothea (1885 - 1972): was baptised, and spent her childhood at the mission, commencing school there on June 22nd 1891. In 1894 she was sent to Langmeil to finish school, returning in 1897. In 1900 she left the mission to work for Pastor and Mrs Leidig, returning again in1902. From 1906-7 she assisted with school instruction until her brother Hermann arrived as teacher. She married Friedrich Paschke on 12th August 1910 at Bethesda, subsequently lived at Tanunda.

Bertha (1888 - 1966): baptised by Missionary Flierl and schooled at the mission. About 1900 trained in dressmaking at Tanunda, where she worked for Hanisch and Gehricke. She then returned to the mission about 1910, where she worked for the Riedel family. She married Johannes Rohrlach (1885 - 1975) on 29th January 1912 at Bethesda, with whom she had five sons and five daughters. Johannes

helped Hermann Snr on the mission until his death. In 1916 the family moved to Low Bank, and in 1927 to Murray Bridge.

Maria (1891 - 1978): baptised by Missionary Reuther and schooled at the mission and from 1899 at Langmeil. She worked for Pastor and Mrs Hossfeld, 1909 at the mission, and in 1910 at Lowbank. In 1912 she trained as a teacher at Point Pass College, and in 1913 worked at Robertstown school. In October 1915 Mary returned to the mission to assist her mother leaving. She married Otto Tschirn at Point Pass on 24th July 1916. From December 1916 they worked some years at Hermannsburg/Finke, where on 9th November 1917, their son George was born, but died shortly afterwards. They later had four sons and two daughters. In 1918 they returned south and lived at Bright , Spring Hill Creek, and then Brady Creek, where Mary managed the post Office and telephone exchange for 40 years. In 1953 and 1965 Mary and Emma travelled to the mission lands and visited several Dieri people.

Emma (1894 - 1973): baptised by Missionary Reuther, she was sent south to cousin Friedrich Jacob at eight years, and attended school at Moculta. About 1906 she returned to the mission for some seven years and subsequently moved to work with Luise's family at Low Bank. Emma did not marry. She was later Governess with the Modra family at Corny Point and Tiparra. She also served in the home of Pastor Reidel, and various elderly people at Nuriootpa and Tanunda.

Helene (1896 - 1983): baptised by Missionary Reidel, was sent to school in Brownlow in 1903. In 1907 she returned to mission with her brother Hermann and his family, and moving with them again in 1915 to Wirrabara. Helene married August Heinrich Jericho on 5th February 1920 at Low Bank and they had three sons five daughters. From 1936 they farmed at Tiparra and various places on Eyre Peninsula, before retiring in 1960 to Butler Tanks. In later life Helene made several trips back to the old mission to visit the Dieri people, and in 1968 wrote *Down Memory Lane* on her experiences growing up at *Bethesda.*

Vogelsang Sisters l. to r. Bertha, Mary, Helene, Emma and Dora (seated). Circa 1965 on the occasion of Dora's 80th Birthday.

APPENDIX F

Place Names. See Chapter 2, Figure 6
Proeve & Proeve (1952: 10)

THE FAR NORTH

Alberrie Creek A5
Berlino (Station) B2
Birdsville C1
Blanchewater (Station) C4
Blinman B6
Bucaltaninna (Station) B4
Clayton River B4
Clifton Hills (Station) C1
Cooper's Creek
D2, C2, C3, B3, A3
Cooryanna (Station) ... B4
Copley B5
Cowarie (Station) B3
Desert, Great Stony C1, D1
Diamantina River C1
Dulkaninna (Station) ... B4
Edeowie B6
Etadunna (Station) ... B4
Farina B5
Finniss Springs (Station) A5
Frome River B5, B4
Goyder's Lagoon
(Station) B2
Great Stony Desert C1, D1
Hawker B7
Herbert River B1
Hookina B7
Innamincka D3
Kallakoopah Creek B2, A2
Killalpaninna (Station) B3
Kopperamana (Station) B3

Lakes—
Eyre A3, A4
Frome C5, C6
Goyder's Lagoon C1
Gregory C4
Harry B4
Hope C3
Perigundi C2
Tankimarinna B4
Torrens A5, A6, A7
Lake Harry (Station) ... B4
Lake Hope (Station) ... C3
Leigh's Creek (Station) B5
Macdonald River ... C5, C4
Manuwalkaninna
(Station) C4
Mernmerna B7
Mt. Deception (Station) B6
Mt. Freeling (Station) ... C5
Mt. Lyndhurst (Station) B5
Mulka (Station) B3
Mulligan Creek B1
Mulligan Springs C5
Muloorina (Station) ... A4
Mundowdna (Station) ... B5
Mungeranie (Station) ... B3
Murnpeowie (Station) ... C4
Murrapatirrina (Station) B3
Ooroowilanie (Station) ... B3
Owiendana (Station) ... C5
Parachilna B6
Patsey's Spring B5
Petermorra (Station) ... C4
Port Augusta A7
Quorn B7

Rivers—
Clayton, The B4
Cooper's Creek
D2, C2, C3, B3, A3
Diamantina, The C1
Frome, The B5, B4
Herbert River B1
Kallakoopah Creek B2, A2
Macdonald River C5, C4
Mulligan Creek B1
Salt Creek B2, A3
Strezelecki Creek D, C4
Warburton, The ... B2, A3
Salt Creek B2, A3
Saltia B7
Strzelecki Creek ... D3, C4
Umberatana (Station) ... C5
Warburton River ... B2, A3
Yerelina (Station) C5

APPENDIX G

Maltilina/Merrick family

Timotheus Maltilina

According to Flierl Manuscript[1], Timotheus Maltilina came to the mission in 1882, aged approximately 16 years. He is mentioned by Meyer upon his baptism in June 1884 as 'a half-European youth', who had been on the station not quite two years and who is 'serious-minded, talented, industrious and obedient.'[2] He was of Wonkangurru and European descent, and had lived in the camps to the West of Lake Eyre, where he had heard of the mission station. Subsequently he had sought employment with the stations in the area, and brought a reference from his former employer, when he decided to join the Killalpaninna mission 'in order to work here and attend the school.'

> He understood and spoke Dieri very well when he came to us, and equally so English. With his great gifts he made very good progress in the school, and learned the art of reading in the twinkling of an eye, not only in Dieri, bit also in English with its difficult orthography.[3]

Due to his 'unpronouncible long native name' the mission gave him the name 'Maltilina', 'the gentle-natured', to which he chose the name Timotheus upon his baptism (1884).

In October 1884 **Timotheus** was engaged to **Anna** [also recently baptised], who had come to the station along with her parents and several other young people as a result of Flierl's 1881 trip via Lake Hope, Perigundi and Salt Creek. At the mission, Anna received schooling and religious instruction and in 1884 she was baptised. This was apparently against the wishes and customs of her tribe (Wonkangurru), as she had been promised to another and was also of the same *mardu*. The missionaries felt justified however, in ignoring this objection:

---

[1] J. Flierl *Eulogy to Timotheus Maltilina*. 17 p.undated (1930's approx), held in LA

[2] DKMZ 1884:107, Meyer 3/6/1884

[3] Flierl *Eulogy* Manuscript:2 'Er verstand und sprach ganz gut Dieri, als er zu uns kam und ebenso auch Englisch. Bei seinen guten Gaben kam er in der Schule sehr gut vorwärts und lernte gleichsam im Handumdrehen die Kunst des Lesens nicht nur in Dieri, sondern auch in Englisch mit seiner schwierigen Orthographie.'

> For our part, it was ascertained that they were absolutely not related by blood, and that they were thus allowed to marry according to Christian Law.[4]

Tim and Anna helped shepherding at Etadunna, then moved to a hut at Blazes Well near Tidnacoordooninna Swamp and maintained the well for the mission stock route. After the closure of the mission according to Pearce (1980) Tim Merrick's family group lived apart at Manu Main Waterhole (60 km North of Murnpeowie head station), with the men dispersing to find work.

There were six children born of this marriage, four sons and two daughters:

> **Martin**: Martin and Rebecca moved down Murray after closure of mission, together with his wife Florrie (daughter of Samuel Dintibana: author of Fry's Dieri myths) and son Timotheus. He lived and worked at Low Bank, where Anna Maria Vogelsang had settled with her daughter Luise and son-in-law Gottlieb Schmidt after 1915. Florrie died in Adelaide in 1948, Martin died in Waikerie in 1954
>
> **Gottlieb** married **Frieda** (Frieda Merrick, one of Austin's informants for Diyari Grammar) about 1911 at Killalpaninna and lived there until closure. This couple innitially stayed on at the Killalpaninna station under the new tenants, Lance and Beryl Powell. Frieda was sister to Ern, Ben and George (baptised Ewald) Murray[5] and all had been removed from their mother's custody at Bill and Charlie De Pierre's Wire Yard station in 1908 and placed in Pastor Riedel's care by the Protector of Aborigines. Their Grandfather was an Arabana elder *Ulpapanna*, and their mother Tirari, and father Bejah Dervish, an Afghan. Frieda had earlier been married to an old Aboriginal man, and had brought a small baby to mission (son of European stockman) with her (Helen Jericho in Pearce,1980). Gottlieb and Frieda's children included eldest daughter Gertrude (married to Jimmy Sweeney from Queensland, daughter Lene) and younger daughter Suzie

---

[4] Flierl *Eulogy* Manuscript:4

[5] The surname taken from European woman, who ran a boarding house in Hergott Springs

Kennedy[6], and son Albert. Gottlieb remained at Manu Main but died in 1947/8 and on his death Frieda shifted to Marree and lived there with youngest daughter Suzie until her death in 1978.

Rebecca: Rebecca moved down Murray after closure of mission, she was a correspondent of Dorothea Rüdiger in early 1900's.
Additional information from Mrs Elsie Lohe (widow of Wolfgang Löhe, son of J.P. Löhe) courtesy of J. Graetz:

> J.P Loehe had taken a trip to the mission station at Lake Killalpaninna as part of his recuperation from an illness, and brought Rebecca back with him at this time. She was a member of the Loehe household for many years. When the Loehe family moved to the Immanuel (later Luther) Seminary campus, Rebecca continued to visit them regularly, and according to other sources was still part of the household possibly into the 1930's. When she died, J.P. Loehe conducted the funeral, and she was buried in West Terrace cemetery in an unmarked grave.

Selma remained in North after the closure of the mission and was part of the Manu Main community in the late 1930's. Her first husband was Walter Kennedy. His son Rowland married Suzie Kennedy (daughter of Gottlieb and Frieda). Susan & Rollie with Walter moved to Murnpeowie 1936-7. Selma left the group in 1934 with Tom Thompson. Selma Thompson was still living in Marree in 1976 has since died.

Albert: died aged 12

Alfie after the closure of the mission also remained at 'Gottlieb's camp' with his wife Therese and their infant daughter (dec.1935). Alfie and wife Therese went to Finniss mission in 1936. Alfie was living on Witchelina station in the late 1970's.

---

[6] See C. Stevens (1994:262)

APPENDIX H

Primer (1870) sections 6 & 7(short dictionary)

Section 6 is devoted to terminology for parts of the body, but without particular order, the last 20 terms or so being composite nouns with *mara-, milki-, titna- and mona-*(hand, eye, toe and mouth resp.)

There are 50 items given in this section, and in most cases vocabulary is consistent with that given by Gason albeit using European orthography, but there are occasional inconsistencies such as for:

> *kapura* (Schok DD5B) 'armpit'; see too (Schok DD5A) *kapa* belly, lower body') whereas Gason (294) gives *caupoora* waist.
>
> *mara-oxu* (Schok DD7C) third finger/ Schok MS:15 'other fingers'(i.e. between thumb and small finger) whilst Gason (295) gives *murrawootchoo* 'forefinger.'
>
> *titna-alki* 'little toe' (although not listed in Schoknecht, has parallel in *mara-alki* (Schok DD7C) 'little finger') whereas Gason (295) gives *thidnaulkie* ' between toes.'
>
> *mona-tanka* 'gums' (Schok DD9A) see too *mara-tanka* (unlisted but likely meaning 'nail beds') and Gason (295) *munanilyie* 'gums.'

Occasionally too there are confusions caused by imprecise usage, and perhaps also due to influence of mission usage; see Gason (295) *yerkala* 'neck' and *jarkola* 'throat, gullet'(*jerkola* Schok DD3C) and *wokari* (*wokara* Schok DD15A) 'neck'

There is also one misprint, item 23, *mitperi* for *milperi* (Schok DD8C) 'brow, forehead' as also in Gason (295) *milperie*

Homann & Koch Primer: Pepa Opera, Section 7 (1870:9-11)

This section is also of interest due to the correspondence with Gason's vocabulary; it is particularly interesting to compare the glosses given for the items in this section which relate to flora and fauna. The paucity of information noted in the Schoknecht word-list as compared to detail included by Gason is immediately obvious.

As the Primer provided no translations, the section 7 vocabulary is included below in the form of a brief dictionary with references to vocabulary items as found in the contemporary Gason and Schoknecht manuscripts. Where no translations were found in the above mentioned works, I have also provided where available Dieri references from Austin (1981,1999) and cognates from Adnymathana which may shed light on original meaning. In both cases the language items were retrieved in the late 20th century and are therefore included under the section'modern links'. A comparison with Reuther's dictionary, especially for the 23 entries where no further information was available from the abovementioned

sources, may give some indication as to the contribution of early mission documents to Reuther's work and whether he was able to retrieve such items at the turn of the century and elicit any further detail or simply compiled such items from early sources. This comparison would be desirable but goes beyond the scope of the present work.

Entries are arranged according to the following key:

I **Word from Primer:** first digit is page No./ second digit is section No.
II **Schoknecht Reference:** Based on typed translation of Schoknecht manuscript dictionary. D Dictionary ; D Dieri Section; E English Section. Followed by page no. and column letter. Pages were numbered from first page of dictionary and the three columns across the page denoted 'A/B/C' resp. All entries were checked for translation against the manuscript version.
III **Semantic Field taken from Primer**
IV **Gason Reference:** Page number according to Gason, S. 'The Manners and Customs of The Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines' in Woods (1879) *The Native Tribes of South Australia*
V **Modern Links:** reference is made to Austin's phonemic rendering as found in the short word list appended to *A Grammar of Diyari* (1981) denoted as AustGr plus page no., and where unavailable, to Austin in *Macquarie Aboriginal Words* (1999) denoted as AustMac plus page no.
References made to Adnymathana (Adn), result from consultation with John McEntee and are given in the practical orthography found in McEntee and McKenzie *Adna-mat-na English Dictionary*(1992) denoted as McDict plus page no.
VI **Early Usage Examples: Primer, Gason, Schoknecht**

Orthographic Variation
For the purposes of this survey, the Primer and Schoknecht's Documents are understood as consistent unless otherwise stated. In both cases the orthography is consistent with German. One consistent change in orthography, however, was the substitution of *ch* by the translator in the typed Schoknecht manuscript for *tj* as found in the original handwritten manuscript (annotated χ) which is represented as *x* in the 1870 primer. Gason's Dieri entries are recorded in English orthography and may together with contemporary mission documents shed light on early realisations of the items.

I would like to thank Cynthia Rathjen and John McEntee for their generous assistance in the compilation of this word-list

[1] anti: 9/7
II DD2A: meat for food alive or dead
III Pr. title
IV 296: *antie* meat, flesh, animal food
V AustGr.259: *nganthi* meat, edible animal.
McDict 9: (Adn) *andi* thigh; *andi/kandi* meat (pers.comm.)
VI SchokDE25C: *anti kilti* cooked; *anti karti* raw; Pr 10/7: *anti pilkildra* other food/misc; Gason 296: *antiea* the meat; *antiemura* of the meat.

[2] araixi: 9/7
III Meat/Food
IV 285: *arutchie* native ferret

[3] arumpa: 10/7
II DD2B: eucalypt
III Wood/Tree

[4] denxa: 10/7
III Grasses

[5] deruderu: 9/7
III Water Bird
IV 287: *doolpadoolparu* black diver.
V AustMac 132: *darurdarrhu* seagull.
McDict 47: (Adn) *Darrudarru* red-necked avocet, Recurvirostra novaehollandiae; word probably from Dieri (pers.comm)

[6] dikeri: 11/7
III Grasses

[7] dilka: 7/5 & 11/7
II DD3A: thorn, thorn bush
III Grasses
IV 298: *dilka* thorn, burr, prickle
V McDict 23 (Adn): *ilka* buckbush, Salsola kali

[8] dripidripi: 9/7
III Bushbirds

[9] hapa: 9/7
II DD2A: *apa/hapa* water; Sch.Gr1: 'h has a light ng commencing sound: *ng-hapa*" water
III Pr. title *hapa paia* water birds
IV 296: *apa* water
V AustMac 131: *ngapa* water
VI (Pr)14/2 line 2: *kupali hapa mandrai* child/ren carry water.
Gason 296: *apanie* the water; *apalie* of the water; *apanundroo* relating to the water; *apulya* watery

[10] jana: 10/7see *jaua* (misprint)

[11] jaua: 15/3
III Grasses
IV 287: *yowa* rather larger than a pea, found 3" deep in the ground
V AustMac 134: *yawa* wild onion
VI Pr14/2line8: *Widla jauani palkana warai* woman/women for yowa have gone wandering.
Pr15/3 : *Talara kodanani, jaua xeri punkanani* [if] rainfalling, jauas increasing.

[12] jekanara: 9/7
III Animal:Eaten
IV 285: *tickawara* native cat
V McEntee (pers comm.) *Yikawara* and *Tikawara* are both acceptable pronunciations.

[13] kad-ni: 7/5:10/7
II DD4B: lizard
III Other food
IV 285: *kunnie* jew lizard
V AustGr 257: *kani* frill necked lizard; AustMac 132: *kadni* stumpy tail lizard. McDict 7: (Adn) *adnu* central bearded dragon, Pogona vitticeps.

[14] kadapa: 10/7
III Snakes & reptiles

[15] kadirvoru: 10/7
III Other food/meat
IV 285: *kudieworoo* red-backed lizard, about 3" long; 285: *kadirvoru* lizard

[16] kaka, duru: 9/7
misprint *kakaduru*
II DD4B: duck
III Water Bird
IV 287: *kockadooroo* mountain duck

[17] kalateri: 10/7
II DD4C: frog (large) [probably toad]
III Other food
IV 286: *kulathirrie* frog : large frog/toad *thidnamura*

[18] kalatura: 9/7
III Bush Bird
IV 286: *kulathoora* bustard
V AustMac 132: *karlathurrha* wild turkey

[19] kalju: 10/7
II DD4C: bush
III Wood/Tree
IV 288: *caulyoo* the seed of the prickly acacia, pounded and made into loaves
V McDict 3: (Adn) *adlu* myrtle, Myoporum montanum

[20] kalku: 7/5; 11/7
II 1. DD4C, 2. DE27C: 1. rushes, sack, 2. reed
III Grasses
IV 298: *kaulkoo* rushes
V AustGr 257: *karlku* bulrush

[21] kalxandara: 10/7
III Other food
IV *kulchandarra*: 285: spec of lizard, flat head, scaly back, about 4" long; lives under the ground, and only appears above after heavy rains. The natives describe it as venomous and affirm its bite is certain death, wherefor they are very frightened of it, and even

avoid killing it, from fear of its poisoning their weapons
V McDict 12: (Adn) *aldanara* the name of a Gekkonidae lizard, most likely Underwoodisaurus milii/Nephrurus levis.

[22] kanalkapana: 11/7
III Grasses
-pana suffix also found with other grasses: *terapana, kaperipana.*

[23] kanta: 10/7
II DD5A: grasses
III Grasses (Pr title)
IV 299: *kanta* grass
V AustGr 257: *kantha* grass
VI Gason 299: *kunthaundroo* relating to grass; *kunthakoola* green; *kunthakunthuna* (v.tr.) shaking

[24] kanunka: 9/7
III Animal, eaten
IV 285: *kaunoonka* bush wallaby
V AustGr 257: *kanungka* spectaled hare wallaby

[25] kaperi: 8/5; 10/7
II DD5A: lizard
III Other Food/Meat
IV 285: *kopirri* iguana; 299: *kaupirrieundroo* relating to the iguana

[26] kaperipana: 11/7
III Grasses

[27] kapita: 9/7
III Food/Meat
IV 285: *capietha* native rabbit [bilby]
V AustGr 257: *kapitha* bandicoot

[28] katatara: 9/7
II DD5C: bird
III Bush Bird
IV 286: *cathathara* shell parrot [budgie]
V McDict 7:(Adn) *atatara* (green)moss. [?colour of budgerigar]

[29] kau-ri: 5/3; 9/7
II DD5C: mouse
III Food/Meat
IV 285: *cowirrie* rat 'I don't know the species' Gason 285: mouse *poontha.*

[30] kilki: 9/7
III Water Bird
IV 287: *kilkie* water hen

[31] kirki: 7/5; 9/7
II DD6A: *kiriki* hawk, falcon
III Bush Bird
IV 286: *kirrkie* whistling hawk (very swift)

[32] kodakoda: 9/7
III Bush Bird
V AustGr 258: *kurdakurda* night hawk: McDict 35: (Adn) *kuta kuta* spotted nightjar, Caprimulgus guttatus

[33] kokula: 9/7
III Food/Meat
IV 285: *kulkuna* species of wallaby very swift
AustGr 258: *kukula* sticknest rat

[34] kora: 10/7
III Grasses

[35] kotu: 10/7
II DD6A: grass
III Grasses

[36] kudnampira: 10/7
II DD6A *kudnamperi*: shrub
III Wood/Tree

[37] kujamara: 10/7
III Wood/Tree

[38] kukunka: 9/7
II DD6B: hawk
III Bush Bird
IV 286: *kookoongka* kite
V AustMac 133: *kukunka* hawk
VI Pr 14/2: *kunkunkali paru taji[tajai]* : hawk/s eat fish

[39] kulua: 10/7
II DD6B: *kulje kulje* green and juicy
III Wood/Tree

[40] kulumpa: 10/7
III Grasses
IV 288: *kuloomba* indigenous clover, when young cooked by the natives and eaten in large quantities

[41] kuluro: 10/7
III Grasses
V McDict 13:(Adn) *alarru* paperbark tea trees, Melaleuca glomerata/ Melaleuca uncinata

[42] kunxeri: 10/7
II DD6C *kuncheri*: bush
III Wood/Tree
IV 288: *coonchirrie* The seed from a species of acacia, ground and made into small loaves.
V AustGr 258: *kuntyidi* bush type
VI Pr14/2: *widla kunxerandru tikai* woman/women from the bush return

[43] kurka: 9/7
II DD7A: rat
III Food/Meat
IV 285:*koolchie* spec. of rat; *kooraltha* spotted ferret
V McDict 32:(Adn) *ulka* bettong

[44] kurokoko: 9/7
II DD7A: bird; DE27A &16C:pigeon *kurkuku*
III Bush Bird
IV 286:*koorookookoo* dove
V AustGr 258: *kurkurku* bird type. McDict 35: (Adn) *kurukuku* diamond dove, Geopelia cuneata

[45] kurti: 9/7
II DD7A: swan
III Water Bird
IV 287: *kootie* swan
V AustMac 135: *kuti* swan. McDict 28:(Adn)

uti blackswan, Cygnus atratus

[46] kuxeeri: 10/7
II DD5A: *kacheeri* snake
III Snakes/Reptiles
IV 299: *kootchieelie* devil, evil spirit- hence perhaps for the missionaries biblical serpent, Gason does not have this as a snake name.
V AustGr 258: *kutyi* devil

[47] kuxikuxi: 9/7: see entry *kuchi*
II DD6C *kuchikuchi*: bird
III Bush Bird
V AustGr 258: *kutyikutyi* blue long-tailed wren

[48] maijaru: 9/7
II DD7B: wandering rat
III Food/Meat
IV 285:*miaroo* rat
V AustGr 258: *mayadu* marsupial rat; AustMac 132: *mayarrhu.* McDict 79: (Adn) *mayarru* rat, most likely Long-haired Rat, Rattus villosissimus

[49] maljanti: 10/7
II DD7B *maljaanti*: snake. Mission documents differentiate this entry from *madlanxi* evil.
III Snakes/Reptiles
V AustGr 258: adj. *malantyi* bad

[50] malka: 10/7
III Wood/Tree
IV 288: *mulka* mulga; *mulkathandra:* seed of the mulga tree.
V AustGr 258: *malka* mulga tree. McDict 82: (Adn) *malka* mulga tree, Acacia aneura

[51] malkankura:10/7
II DD7B: snake
III Snakes/Reptiles
IV 286: *mulkunkoora* Black and green spotted snake, 5'long, venomous

[52] malparu: 9/7
III Bush Bird
IV poss. 286: *mulliepirrpaoonga* quail; 286:*mulyamulyapunie* swallow
Note: In several cases Gason gives reduplication where Schoknecht does not.
V McDict 82: (Adn) *malparu widlu* spotted harrier, Circus assimilis

[53] malto: 11/7
II DD7B *malto malto* 1. fish 2. weed
III Grasses
IV 287: *multhoomulthoo* a fish weighing from 3-3 ½ lbs.

[54] malura: 9/7
III Water Birds
IV 287: *muloora* cormorant
V AustGr 258: malyuda cormorant.
McDict 83: *malurra* (Adn) straw-necked ibis, Threskiornis spinicollis

[55] mananda: 10/7
III Wood/Tree

[56] manaura: 10/7
II DD7B: tree (small)
III Wood/Tree
V McDict 77:(Adn) *manawarra* native plum, Santalum lanceolatum

[57] manjura: 10/7
II DD7C: a herb
III Grasses
IV 287: *manyaroo* a plant much eaten
V AustGr 258: *manyura* seed type. McEntee (pers.comm): (Adn) *manyura, manyaru* portulacca

[58] manpi: 9/7
II DD7C: pigeon
III Bush Bird
IV 286: *murnpie* bronze wing pigeon
V AustGr 258: *marnpi* bronzewing pigeon.
McDict 77:(Adn) *manbi* bronzewing pigeon, Phaps chalcoptera

[59] marikila: 10/7
II DD8A: snake
III Snakes/Reptiles
IV 286: *marrakilla* large brown snake, about 7' long, has large head, is very venomous and vicious

[60] maripinta: 9/7
misprint *naripinta*
II DD10A: *naripinta* bird
III Bush Bird

[61] marumaru: 9/7
III Water Bird
II Schok DD8A *maru* black, dark colour.
IV 287: *muroomuroo* black water hen
V AustGr 258: *maru* black (adj). McDict 80: (Adn) *maru* dark skinned

[62] metindie: 10/7
III Snakes/Reptiles
IV 286: *mithindie* white and yellow spotted snake, small thin body, about 3' long; harmless
V McEntee (pers comm.): (Adn) *mitindi* snake, possibly curl snake

[63] milkiparalja: 9/7
III Meat/Food

[64] mindri: 11/7
II poss. link DD8B: *mindrina* run
III Grasses
IV 288: *mindrie* a large root, from the outside of which is obtained a kind of resin, which, when prepared at the fire and afterwards allowed to dry, becomes very hard and tough, called *kundrie* and is used in fastening a flint to a short stick called *kundriemooko*

[65] minkala: 9/7
III Water Birds

[66] modakatakata: 10/7
II DD8C: *moda* stone ; DD5C *kata* fleas/lice on dogs. Therefore could mean beetle /slater
III Other Food/Meat
IV 301: *murda* stone ; 299: *kutta* lice, vermin Therefore modakatakata could mean sandlice/slaters
V AustGr 258: *marda* stone,hill. AustGr 257: *kata* louse

[67] modakura: 9/7
see *modakatakata*
III Meat/Food

[68] motimoti: 9/7
III Water Birds
IV 287: *mootoomootoo* species of snipe
V McDict 88:(Adn) *mutu-mutu* black winged Stilt, Himantopus himantopus

[69] mulabra: 9/7
II DD9B: pigeon
III Bush Birds
IV 286: *moodlubra* pigeon
V McDict 91:(Adn) *mulambara* crested pigeon, Ocyphaps lophotis

[70] mulana: 10/7
II DD9B (not stated)
III Snakes/Reptiles

[71] munji: 9/7
III Bush Birds
IV 286:*moonyie* mopawk [mopoke]
V AustMac 133: *munyi* owl. McDict 87:(Adn) *muni* tawny frogmouth, Podargus strigiodes

[72] muntokali: 10/7
III Other Food/Meat

[73] muxa: 10/7: 5/3
III Grasses
IV 288: *mootcha* native cotton bush. When the leaves sprout and become quite green, the natives gather and cook them and at seed time they pluck and eat the pods. Also later: The stems of this bush (the pods and leaves of which afford food), when dry are pounded into a fine fibre, then teased and spun, after which it is made into bags, which are very nicely done, and occupy many days in their production.
V McDict: (Adn) *mutata* stout vine stem of *mayaka*

[74] nadu: 10/7
II DD9C *na(r)du*: a herb
III Grasses
IV 288: *ardoo* (often described in newspapers and by writers as Nardoo). A very hard seed, a flat oval about the size of a split pea; it is crushed or pounded and the husk winnowed. In bad seasons this is the mainstay of the native sustenance, but it is the worst food possible, possessing very little nourishment and being difficult to digest
V AustGr 259: *ngadu* nardoo seed. McDict 10: (Adn) *ara* nardoo, Marsilia drummondii

[75] nani: 5/3; 9/7
II DD9C:'I' pers. pron; no meaning for 'bird'. DD10A: *naripinta* bird
III Bush Birds
V McDict 50: (Adn) *nani vadnapa* owlet nightjar, Aegotheles cristatus. Often shortened to *nani*.

[76] nila: 9/7
II DD10B: *nila nila* mirage
III Meat/Food
IV 301: *nillanilla* mirage

[77] nuradikeri: 10/7
III Wood/Tree
See too *dikeri*

[78] nurpani: 10/7
III Other Meat/Food
IV 285: *oolaumi* lizard, transparent skin, spotted yellow and black, about 5" long

[79] nurxie: 9/7
III Bush Birds
IV 286: *wurchiewurchie* white owl

[80] paia: 9/7
II DD10C: bird
III Birds
IV 302: *piya* birds
V AustGr 256: *paya* bird
VI Pr 14/2: *paia merini tarai* bird/s in the air fly. Pr 9/7: *hapa paia* water bird/s ; *purka paia* bush bird/s

[81] pailpa: 10/7
II DDllA: *pailpo* hemlock
III Wood/Tree

[82] paldru: 10/7
III Grasses
IV 302: *pooldroopooldroo unkuna* meal ground from seeds

[83] paljara: 9/7
III Meat/Food
IV 285: *pulyara* long snounted rat
V AustMac 132: *palyarra* kangaroo rat

[84] palkura: 10/7
II DDllA: wood
III Wood/Tree
V AustGr 255: *parlkura* seed type. McDict 62: (Adn) *valkura* broughton willow, Acacia salicina May refer to differing species.

[85] parakula: 9/7
see too *talpaparakulo; puralku*
III Water Birds

[86] patara: 10/7
II DDllB: tree, wood
III Wood/Tree
IV 302: *pathara* box tree
V AustGr 255: *patharra* box tree. McDict 4: (Adn) *atara* jointed native cherry, Exocarpus aphyllus.

VI Pr 14/2: *Metani patara punkai* tree/s grow in/on the earth; *Pulanku patarani katai* the parrot climbs in/on the tree

[87] peta: 5/3; 10/7
II DDllB: wood, stave
III Wood/Tree
IV 302: *pitta* stick, piece of wood
V AustGr 256: *pirta* tree, stick
VI Pr16/4: *Godali[...], windri Noa ja nurala nunkani petabotani kulkana wonti* God only Noah and his family in wooden boat saved long time ago. Pr16/4: *Godali nulia [Absolom] petani kalala katibananti* God him in a tree as revenge hung up long time ago.

[88] pildra: 8/5; 9/7
II DDllC: possum; also loin cloth
III Meat/Food
IV 285: *pildra* opossum (of rare occurrence)
V AustGr 256: *pildrra* possum. McDict 69: (Adn) *vilda* common brush-tailed possum, Trichosurus vulpecula

[89] pilkildra: 10/7
II DDllC: something else
III Pr. title *anti pilkildra* (adj) other food
IV 302: *pilkildra* something else
V AustGr 256: *pilki* different

[90] pirapulo: 9/7
III Bush Birds

[91] pixila: 10/7
III Other Meat/Food
IV 287: *pitchula* species of spider

[92] pujuru: 10/7
III Grasses

[93] pulanku: 9/7
II DD12A: bird
III Bush Birds
IV 286:*poolunka* parrot
VI see under *patara*

[94] pundara: 10/7
III Wood/Tree
IV poss. 288: *thoopara* native pear

[95] puno: 10/7
III Other Meat/Food
IV poss. 286: *thoona* grey snake, generally about 5' long; venomous.

[96] puntapunta: 9/7
III Meat/Food
IV 285: *poontha* mouse
V AustGr 256: *puntha* marsupial mouse

[97] puralku: 9/7
see *parakulo*
III Bush Birds
IV 287: *buralkoo* native companion (large species of crane)
V AustGr 256: *pudalku* ; AustMac 133: *purrhalka* brolga. McDict 73:(Adn) *vurralku* brolga, Grus rubicundus

[98] purka: 9/7
II DD12B: scrub
III Pr. title *purka paia* Bush birds
IV 297: *bookaundrinie* scrub, shrubbery, more bushes than trees

[99] takatokapi: 9/7
II DD13C: *tuka tukapi* duck
III Water Birds
IV 287: *thookabie* diver (water fowl)

[100] talijendru: 10/7
III Wood/Tree

[101] talpaparakulo: 9/7
see *parakulo*
II DD12C: *talpa* 1.leaf 2. ear hence perhaps 'crested parakulo'
III Water Birds
IV poss. 287: *thanpathanpa* slate coloured snipe (wader)

[102] talpatandra: 11/7
III Grasses
II DD12C: *talpa* 1. leaf 2. ear ; D(D)13A: *tandra* fruit; small pieces of hard substance. Hence perhaps a grass carrying fruit/seed in the leaf like wheat.
V AustMac 134: *tharlpa* leaf

[103] tampangara: 9/7
II DD13A: *tampanyera* pelican
III Water Birds
IV 287: *thaumpara* pelican

[104] tandrakadi: 10/7
II DD13A: *tandra* fruit. DD4B: *kadni* lizard. Hence perhaps lizard eggs.
III Other Meat/Food

[105] tanju: 10/7
III Wood/Tree
IV 303: *thanyoo* dried fruit
V AustGr 257: tyangu = plant type

[106] taralku: 9/7
II DD13A: *teralku* ; DD14A: *turalko* duck
III Water Birds
IV 287: *tharalkoo* teal
V AustMac 133: *tharrhalku* teal duck
VI Pr 14/2: *taralku kapai [kapi] kurai* duck/s lay egg/s

[107] taula: 9/7
III Water Birds
IV 287: *thowla* spoonbill duck
V McEntee (pers comm.): (Adn) *yawala* pink-eared duck, shoveller

[108] terapana: 11/7
III Grasses
IV 304: *thoorpuna* twisting string or rope. Note: Hence name too of plant it is produced from, - *pana* suffix found in other grasses

[109] teremilerie: 9/7
III Meat/Food
IV 285: *thillamillarie* species of ferret

[110] tetari: 10/7
II DD13B: *tilteri* a fly
III Other Meat/Food
IV 287: *thiltharie* centipede sometimes 7" long-its bite is venomous
V AustGr 256: *thilthirri* centipede

[111] tidla: 10/7
III Wood/Tree
V McDict 24: (Adn) *ila* thorny saltbush, Rhagodia spinescens

[112] tindritindri: 9/7
II DD13B: a bird
III Bush Birds
IV 286: *thindriethindrie* shepherd's companion (species of wagtail)
V AustGr 256: *thindrrithindrri* willy wagtail. McDict 21: (Adn) *indar-indari* willy wagtail, Rhipidura leucophrys

[113] titnamara: 10/7
II DD13B: *tidnamara* frog
III Other Meat/Food
IV 286: *thidnamura* toad
V AustGr 256: *thidnamara* frog

[114] tulixa: 9/7
III Bush Birds

[115] turopi: 9/7
III Bush Birds
IV 286: *thoaroopathandrunie* white hawk

[116] waijaka: 10/7
III Wood/Tree

[117] wilapi: 10/7
II DD15A: plant very juicy, with fruit similar to bean
III Grasses
IV 288: *willapie* a small watery plant

[118] wiliru: 9/7
III Bush Birds
IV 286: *willaroo* curlew
V AustMac 133: *wirluru* curlew. McDict 120: (Adn) *widluru* southern stone curlew, Burhinus magnirostris

[119] wilti: 11/7
III Grasses

[120] winpara: 10/7
III Grasses
IV 287: *winkara* a very starchy root about 5" long

[121] winta: 9/7
III Bush Birds
IV 286: *windtha* grey owl
V McDict 121: (Adn) *winda* barn owl, Tyto alba

[122] wiparu:10/7
II DD 14C: snake
III Snakes/Reptiles
IV 286: *wipparoo* Long, thin snake, black, shaded with other dark colours, about 7' long; v. venomous, its bite causing instant death, so the natives are v. cautious in killing it
V McDict 122: (Adn) *wiparu* whip snake, Demansia psammophis.

[123] wira: 5/3: 10/7
II D(D)14C: bush
III Wood/Tree

[124] wirawiraila: 10/7
II DD14C: snake
III Snakes/Reptiles
IV 286: *wirrawirrala* large brown snake, with yellow belly from 6-10' long; very venomous

[125] wiru: 9/7
III Water Birds

[126] woma:10/7
II DD15B: a snake
III Snakes/Reptiles
IV 285: *woma* carpet snake, from 5-12'long, large body; its bite not venomous
V AustGr 259: *wama* carpet snake. McDict 113: (Adn) *wabma* snake(general term)

[127] wondaru: 10/7
II DD15B: *wondaru* bag; DD15B *wonderi* (not stated)
III Snakes/Reptiles
IV 286: *wondaroo* green and yellow snake, very thick body, about 5' long, quite harmless, and has a sleepy appearance

[128] wonku: 10/7
II DD15B: snake
III Snakes/Reptiles
IV 286: *wonkoo* light brown and grey snake from 4-7' long; venomous and very vicious
V AustGr 259: *wanku* snake
VI Pr14/2: *wonku mandrali palkai* snake goes by/on stomach

[129] woraworaku: 10/7
II DD15C: a snake
III Snakes/Reptiles

[130] worinwori: 11/7
III Grasses

[131] xervexerve: 9/7
III Water Birds
IV 287: *chooiechooie* snipe

[132] xilde: 9/7
III Water Birds
V McDict 27: (Adn) *unatildi* grebe (generic term)

[133] xilkani: 10/7
III Other Meat/Food

[134] xilparko: 9/7
III Water Birds
V AustGr 257: *tyilparku* bird type

[135] xipala: 9/7
III Water Birds
IV 287: *chipala* whistling duck

[136] xompa: 8/5: 9/7
II D(Add)16B: 1. strange, 2. wild man, animal, 3. dingo
III Meat/Food
IV 298: *kintalo* dog; 304: *thoola* stranger.
V McEntee (pers comm.): (Adn) *yumba* stranger ; (Karna) *tumba* stranger

[137] xoxo mara 10/7
II D(Add)16B: *chocho* worms, reptiles; DD8A: *mara* 1. hand 2.with
III Pr title Worms/Reptiles
IV 304: *thootchoo* reptiles/ insects ; 296 *-mara* as suffix eg. *antiemura* of the meat
V AustGr 256: *thutyu* reptile
VI Pr16/4:*Kuxi madlanxi xoxoeli paradisini wokarina wonti* the devil by means of / as snake in paradise arrived long time ago.

[138] xukora: 9/7
II D(Add)16B: *chukera* kangaroo
III Meat/Food
IV 285: *chookaroo* kangaroo
V AustGr 257: *tyukudu* kangaroo. McDict 47: (Adn: child's word) *tutuki* kangaroo

[139] xulkoru: 9/7
III Bush Birds

[140] xunda: 9/7
III Bush Bird
IV 286: *choonda* red-breasted robin

[141] xupa: 10/7
II D(Add)16B: *chupa* lizard
III Other Meat/Food
IV 285: *choopa* a slender lizard about 3" long

APPENDIX I

Wilhelm Koch's death
Kirchen und Missionsblatt, June 1869 (Nr 9/10)

On the Friday after Easter at dusk he wished to lie down in bed and although we entreated him, as he was very ill, to stay in my room he did not however wish to: should he become much worse, he would return. Wretched and pale he staggered out of the door, yet scarcely an hour had passed, before we heard him returning hastily. He opened the door and said " I can bear it no longer, it will soon be over" and with that the young man, usually so lively and strong, broke down. We held him and led him into my room. Scarcely had we laid him down when he exclaimed amidst tears " It is finished Lord Jesus Beloved Saviour, have Mercy on me!" The cold sweat stood on his brow like the sweat of death and his whole nature was transformed like that of one about to die. We called the others together. Our dear sick brother was engaged in a struggle as between Life and Death, but Life true spiritual Life carried the day. He grasped the words of consolation with all his strength, prayed them with me and testified that such for him was the precious truth. His baptism, that he was God's child and heir, was a great comfort to him. He prayed loudly with me our precious Lutheran hymns of strength and verses taken from the same. So passed the difficult struggle. Now the Brothers undressed him and laid him in bed. His first request was that he receive Holy Communion. When the outward preparations were being made for this, he urgently beseeched us to make haste for he yet believed his end was upon him. [...]

Afterwards our dear Brother was quite calm and peaceful, and wished to attempt to sleep a while. It was as if after the partaking of the Holy Supper not only the soul but also the sick body was refreshed and strengthened. Apart from Brother Wotzke and myself who wished to remain with him through the night, the others left him. Then he called me to his bedside in order also to put his earthly house in order. With a calm and firm voice he spoke of his coming death and burial. [...]

After he was finished with earthly matters he lay there quiet and peaceful, accepting with gratitude each word of comfort " I remain firm in the Word: for God so loved the world that He gave His only Begotten Son, that is my consolation" he said softly to me. After this night until the 19th of April he was confined to his bed, a quiet and forbearing patient. The dear Brothers read aloud to him during the night vigils, speaking to him and caring for his needs as Christ's followers are said to have served each other. Our dear Brother became weaker from day to day, showing all the symptoms of typhoid fever, and in the last days those of actual typhus. Not until then did the severe pains come, which the dear Brother bore with great fortitude. His only complaint was that he had not loved the Lord as much as he would have desired, and that he would wish to have an even stronger faith. [...]

Though weak and sapped of all srength and weary, he still read God's work frequently and also still sang with us at the family devotion almost until the last. It was a particular instance of God's mercy that almost until the final day of his illness he was without delirium, indeed even when such a condition set in, and

one spoke to him of spiritual matters, he immediately answered soberly and clearly. [...]

Then arrived Jubilate Sunday. On the previous evening he wished to be present at vespers with us and we therefore opened the door of his sickroom [...] On Sunday he also desired to attend the worship service. Again we opened the door, yet on this day he was so weak, that Brother Jacob recited the verses to him, but again the dear patients voice sounded from the deathbed.[...]

Not on one single occasion during his illness did he express the desire for a physical recovery. No, on the contrary; when I said to him a few days before he departed this world ; Nothing was impossible with the Lord, perhaps he would recover again, he answered that he did not believe in a physical recovery.[...]

On Sunday evening I kept watch with Brother Walder. The dear Brother had come in order to see his dying friend once more. A member of my family had been lying sick in bed for two days with severe pains; I therefore went during the night from one sickbed to the other. Our late Brother lay still, now in delirium. I said to him that the Lord would probably soon come, he answered "Yes he will come soon." We were struck by how the sufferer was so cold and how cold sweat stood so often on his forehead, however he often dozed a little, but the delirium increased. At one o'clock I awoke Brother Wotzke to relieve us, never suspecting that the Lord would fetch him during the night. At 2'oclock Brother Wotzke read to him [...] to which he listened, fully lucid. He also asked the dear Brother if he wished to live and die in Faith alone in his Lord Jesus. This he answered with a clear "Yes." Shortly afterwards he stretched out his hand, which Brother Wotzke took into his own. And then, with no perceivable struggle, his breathing ceased.

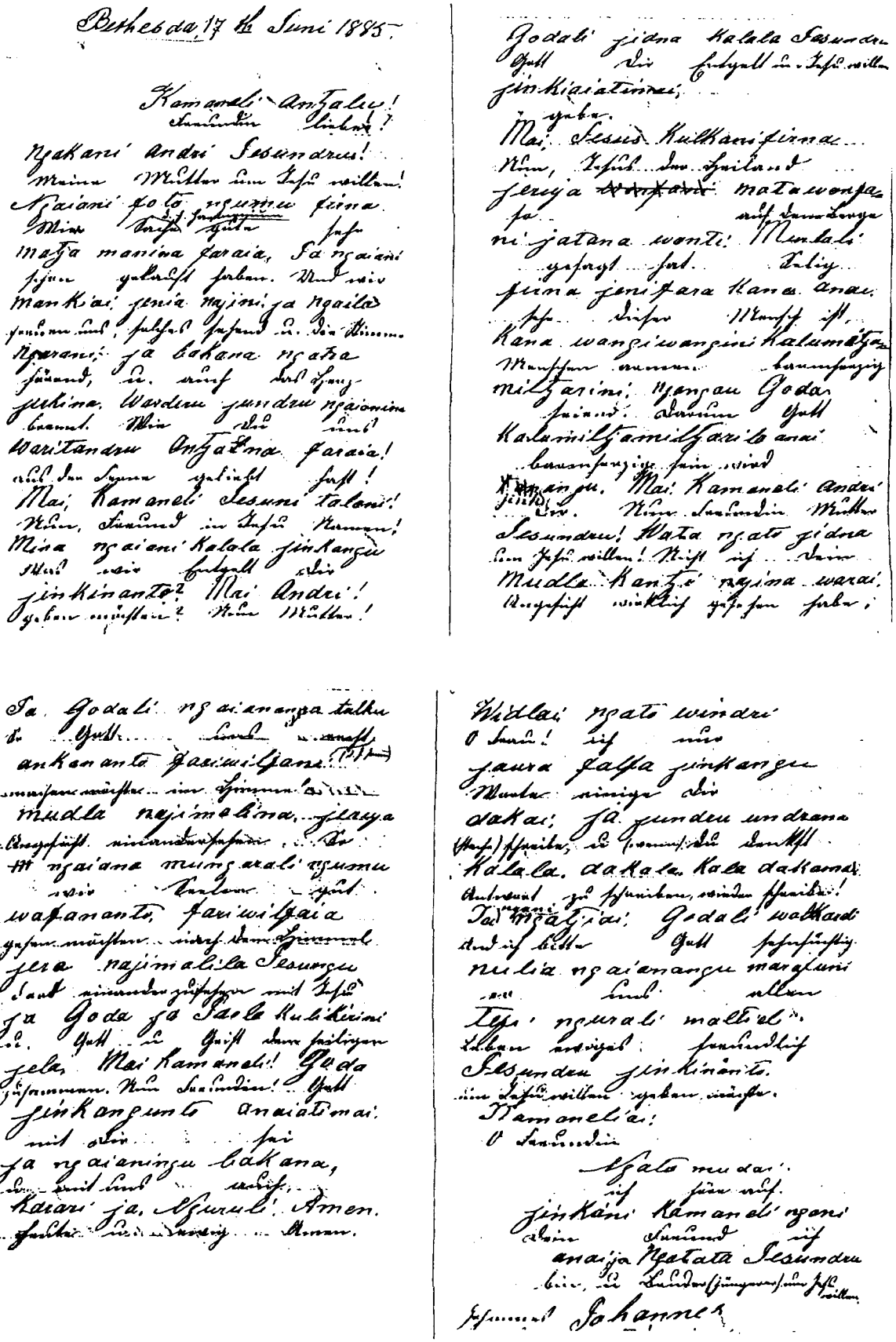
Brother Wotzke woke us. We had not imagined we would view the dear body so soon.[...] It was a hard day, hard for Brothers Jacob and Vogelsang when they dug the final sleeping place for the dear body, hard also for Brother Wotzke and dear Brother Walder as they made up the last small bed. Oh, how hard for me also as I have become solitary again and must now stand alone with a double burden of work.

On Tuesday the 20th of April, we stood before his little bedroom in which was standing the coffin. We sang the first verse of the hymn 'All mankind must die'. Then the body was taken up, and with the tolling of the bell and the hymn 'I rejoice in the glad time when I shall rise again' was borne to its final resting place. Following the coffin were not only the brothers and sisters but two policemen, all of the schoolchildren and also, at the express request whether they were permitted, almost all the natives from the camp. [...]

Afterwards the children sang one of the hymns which the deceased had translated for them and I prayed together with them, that the Lord would make even them, the poor heathen, into his disciples and would take them to heaven.
So the weary body now rests in the still, cool grave, rests from the daily toil and heat which he bore in abundance. He yielded up his earthly life at the age of 21 years, three months and 16 days.

APPENDIX J

Letter from Johannes Pingilina to Frau Flierl, 17th June 1885
Held in LA: below with my transcription and translation into English



Bethesda 17 th Juni 1885

Ramaneli Anjalu!
Liebe Schwester!

Ngakani andri Jesundru!
Meine Mutter um Jesu willen!
Ngaiani jo to ngumu jina
Mein Auge sehr
matja manina jaraia, Ja ngaiani
jisun yalukst jaban. Mu nsis
mankiai jenia najini, ja ngaila
junium und fulja? jasund u. Jes dimm
ngarani; ja bakana ngatta
jasund, u. mich sehr Jung-
jesina. Wadum jundru ngaionim
traurig. Min die und
waritandru Anjalna jaraia!
nicht Jesu Sunde yalukst jesst!
Mai, Ramaneli Jesum talani!
Mein, Sündin in Jesu Namen!
Mina ngaiani Kalala jinkangu
Muss wir Erlösung die
jinkinanto? Mai Andri!
gehen müssen? Mein Mutter!

Godali jidna Kalala Jesundru
Gott die Erlösung in Jesu willen
jinkiaiatinai;
geben.
Mai Jesus Kulikanijinna
Nein, Jesus der Heiland
jenja ~~Kalala~~ matawonja
ja nicht kann lange
ni jatana wonti! Muntali
gesagt hat. Taliy
jidna jini jara Kana anau
Jesu Diese Mensch ist.
Kana wangiwangini Kalamitja
Menschen wenn kommen
milgarini, ngangau Godas
Feind. durch Gott
Kalamilgamilgaiata anai
kommen wird
Kanangu. Mai Ramaneli andri
sind. Ja. Mein Sündin Mutter
Jesundru! Wata ngato jidna
um Jesu willen! Nicht ist dein
Mudla Kanto najina warai.
Aufgist wirklich Jesum haben;

Ja Godali ngaianangga talku
Ja Gott Land anstatt
ankananto Jaiwilgaia!
mussen müssen im Himmel
Mudla najimalina, jilaya
Aufgist niemand Jesum
Ni ngaiana mumgarali ngumu
nicht Taten gut
wagananto, Jaiwilgaia
gesehen müssen nicht den Himmel
jera najimalila Jesungu
sind niemand zusammen mit Jesu
Ja Goda ja Bala Kulikinini
u. Gott u. Geist dem heiligen
jela, Mai Ramaneli! Goda
Jesum. Mein Sündin! Gott
jinkangunto anaiatinai
mit die Sei
Ja ngaianingu bakana,
u. sind Land nicht,
Kaiari ja, Ngurali! Amen.
Jesus u. Segen. Amen.

Widlai ngato winari
O Sünde! ist nur
jaura jalja jinkangu
Mutter einzige die
dakai; ja jundru undrama
(Herz) spalte, u. kommt die Sünde
Kalala. dakala. kala dakama!
Aufwand zu spalten, wieder spalte!
Ja ngaiani Godali walkadi
und ist Bitte Gott gesprochen
nulia ngaianangu marajuni
nur Land allen
Tejo ngurali malteli.
Leben ewigen! Freundlich
Jesundru jinkinanto.
Jesu willen geben müsse.
Ramaneli:
O Sündin
Ngato nu dai:
ist für mich
Jinkani Ramaneli ngani
Sein Sünde ist
anaija Ngatata Jesundru
hier u. Sündenvergebung Jesu willen
Jesum! Johannes.

P1
Kamaneli antjalu! Ngakani andri Jesundru!
Freundin liebe! Meine Mutter um Jesu willen!
Dear Friend! My Mother for Jesus' sake![in Jesus]

Ngani poto ngumu pirna matja manina paraia.
Wir Sache (d.h. Harmonium) gute sehr schon gekauft haben
We have already bought the beautiful thing (ie the harmonium)

Ja ngaiani mankiai jenia najini ja ngaila ngarani, ja bakana ngara jerkina
Und wir freuen uns, solches sehend u. die Stimme hörend, u. auch das Herz brennt.
And we are very happy to see it and hear its voice, and our hearts burn [with joy]

Warderu jundru ngaianina waritandru antjana paraia!
Wie Du uns aus der Ferne geliebt hast!
How you have loved us [shown us love] from faraway!

Mai, Kamaneli Jesuni talani!
Nun, Freund in Jesu Namen!
Now, friend in Jesus' name!

Mina ngaiani kalala jinkangu jinkinanto?
Was wir Entgelt Dir geben möchten?
What may we give you in return?

Mai, Andri!
Nun Mutter!
Now, Mother!

P2
Godali jidna kalala Jesundru jinkiaiatimai.
Gott Dir Entgelt um Jesu willen gebe.
God will reward you for Jesus' sake.

Mai, Jesus Kulkanipirna jeruja matawonpani jatana wonti:
Nun, Jesus der Heiland so auf dem Berge gesagt hat:
Now, Jesus the Great Saviour spoke thus on the mountain

Mulali pirna jenipara kana anai,
Selig sehr dieser Mensch ist,
Blessed is the man

Kana wangiwangini kalumiltjamiltjarini.
Menschen armen barmherzig seinend.
Men [who are] poor and compassionate

Ngangau Goda Kalumiltjamiltjarila anai jinkangu.
Darum Gott barmherzig sein wird Dir.
For that reason God will be merciful to you.

Mai Kamaneli Andri Jesundru!
Nun Freundin Mutter um Jesu willen!
Now, friend and mother for Jesus' sake![in Jesus]

Wata ngato jidna Mudla Kantji najina warai.
Nicht ich dein Angesicht wirklich gesehen habe.
I have not seen your face [in person]

P3
Ja Godali ngaianana talku ankananto pariwilpani
So Gott uns recht (d.h. fromm[?]) machen möchte im Himmel.
And may God make us upright [ie good, pious] in Heaven

Mudla najimalina,
Angesicht einandersehen,
Look upon each other's faces

Jeruja ngaiana mungarali ngumu wapananto pariwilpaia,
So wir Seelen gut gehen möchten nach dem Himmel
Thus we good souls may go to heaven

Jera najimalila Jesungu ja Goda ja Iala Kulikirini jela.
Dort einanderzusehen mit Jesu u. Gott u. Geist dem heiligen zusammen.
There to see one another together with Jesus and God and the Holy Spirit

Mai Kamaneli!
Nun Freundin!
Now, friend

Goda jinkangunto anaiatimai
Gott mit Dir sei
God be with you

ja ngaianingu bakana
u. mit uns auch
and also with us

karari ja Nguruli. Amen
heute u. ewig. Amen
today and forever. Amen

P4
Widlai ngato windri jaura palpa jinkangu dakai
O Frau! Ich nur Worte einige dir (steche) schreibe,
O Woman! I am only writing a few words to you

Ja jundru undrana kalala dakala, kala dakamai
u. (wenn) Du denkst Antwort zu schreiben, wieder schreibe!
And (if) you think to write back, write back again!

Ja ngani ngatjiai
Und ich bitte
And I ask

Godali wolkareli nulia ngaianangu marapuni tepi ngurali maltieli Jesundru jinkinanto.
Gott sehnsüchtig Er uns allen Leben ewiges freundlich um Jesu willen geben möchte.
God earnestly that he might kindly grant us all eternal life for Jesus' sake.

Kamaneliai Ngato mudai
O Freundin Ich höre auf.
O Friend I close [letter]

Jinkani Kamaneli ngani anai ja ngatata Jesundru
Dein Freund ich bin, u. Bruder (jïngerer) um Jesu willen
I am your Friend and (younger) brother in Jesus.

Johannes Pingilina

APPENDIX K

Johannes Pingilina to Missionary Meyer, Bethesda 31st March 1886

(*Geschichte der Ev-luth. Mission in Süd-Australien*, 1886:43-45)

Brief an Miss. Meyer, der zu seiner Erholung im Süden weilte.

(In der Uebersetzung.)

Bethesda, 31. März 1886.

Lieber Freund Mr. C. A. Meyer!

Neulich war ich sehr schwach wegen meiner lieben (verstorbenen) Frau; sehr traurig war ich, sowie auch Alle mit mir; ich ermahnte sie jedoch solches nicht zu thun, ich möchte sonst noch schwächer werden.

Nun, lieber Freund, fürchte Dich nur nicht um meinethalben; bitte nur Gott meinethalben, da ich so gar keine Kraft habe, daß Er mich stark machen möge durch Seinen Geist, die Traurigkeit immer mehr besiegen zu können.

Emilie und Marie (Kinder von ihm) sind ganz wohl und munter so wie auch ich selbst. Neulich, an dem Tage als meine Frau starb, wurde ich aber wie krank; jedoch mein Freund, Mr. Flierl, tröstete mich mit Gottes Wort, wodurch ich dann wieder fröhlich und stark wurde; denn JEsus, unser Heiland ist ja der Weg des Lebens. Er hat auch sie (meine Frau) fröhlich gemacht, fröhlich sterben zu können; nicht in Furcht, sondern fröhlich hat sie geendet, wie die andern Christen. Ich habe nicht gesehen, wie sie gestorben ist, da ich bei Kintelamanku war; und kam ich erst in der Nacht sehr traurig von Kintelamanku hier an. Nachher frug ich die Freunde: wie sie doch möchte gestorben sein? Und alle antworteten mir: sie sei sehr fröhlich gestorben; worüber ich mich dann sehr gefreut habe.

Nun lieber Freund, ich verwundere mich nicht, denn Er der Heiland ist ja doch unser Gott; Er erkannte was für mich gut sein würde; denn Er ist ja doch die Weisheit selbst. —

Mr. Meyer, es wird hier oben davon gesprochen, daß im nächsten Winter Schafe nach Adelaide gesandt werden sollen; da würde es mir denn sehr lieb sein, wenn ich die Freunde einmal sehen könnte. Willst du die Freunde vielleicht fragen, ob ich mit den Schafen hinunter kommen könnte? Ich bin sehr sehnsüchtig, die Freunde sehen zu können. Auch würde es mir lieb sein, wenn Ihr uns recht oft durch Briefe ermahnen und trösten wolltet; nicht aber, wie vor einiger Zeit, wo ich viel: Male vergeblich auf einen Brief wartete. Ich bin sehr sehnsüchtig, Dich wieder hier zu sehen. Ich bin jetzt ganz zufrieden; meine Traurigkeit ist beinahe vorüber, denn Gottes Wort tröstet mich beständig. Ich verwundere mich nicht des Todes wegen; denn der Tod ist doch blos die Thüre zu JEsu Reich.

Nun, lieber Freund, neulich sandten wir Timotheus mit einem Fuhrwerk nach Hergott Springs, um von dort verschiedene Sachen zu holen; er kam aber blos bis Tidnacoordanina, von wo er dann wieder nach Bethesda zurückkam; und da haben wir ihn tüchtig ausgelacht, daß er mit leerem Wagen zurück gekommen war.

Nun, lieber Freund, ich schreibe diesmal nur wenig, bald mehr.

Euer Bruder in der Wahrheit

Johannes Pingilina.

APPENDIX L

German translations of letters to Meyer
(DKMZ 1878: 179)

Auf mehrfach ausgesprochen Wunsch wird hier noch die deutsche Uebersetzung der in Nro. 17 und 18 ds. Bl. mitgetheilten englischen Briefe von Schülern unserer Missionsschule an Br. u. Schw. Meyer mitgetheilt:

(1) Bucaltanina, den 23. Juni 1878.

Mr. Meyer. — Bitte, vergessen Sie nicht meine Bibel. Wir sind sehr betrübt Ihretwegen u. wünschen, Sie würden bald zurückkehren. Ich bin noch nicht ganz gesund. Ich habe einige sehr schlimme Beulen. Die andern Schwarzen sind alle gesund. Zwei Mädchen aus der Schule sind fortgegangen. Wir hatten heut einen schönen Regen, daß das Wasser in den See lauft. Wir haben an dem Damm am andern Ende des Sees gearbeitet. Mr. Vogelsang ist gesund; desgleichen Mr. Jacob und ihre Frauen. Mr. Hektor kam vorig. Donnrst. zurück mit einer andern Masse Schafe. Ich denke, Sie machen da unten ein gut Theil Reisen; so hoffen wir, daß es Ihnen gut thun möge und Ihre Gesundheit wieder herstellen, uns armen Schwarzen ferner zu dienen. — Vergessen Sie nicht, unserer zu gedenken in Ihren Gebeten, — daß der HErr uns helfen möge, Seine Kinder zu werden, durch den Glauben an seinen Sohn JEsum Christum. Ich bin sehr traurig, daß ich früher so böse gewesen bin u. wünsche, besser zu werden, durch die Hülfe des HErrn. — Ich schlafe jetzt in dem Raum der Großmutter, nachdem Gottlieb uns verlassen hat. Mr. Jacob will diese nächsten Tage nach Beltana reisen, so der HEr will. — (Den Schluß siehe Nr. 17.) Ich bin Ihr gehorsamer Pinglilina.

(2) Bucaltanina, den 28. Juli 1878.

Mr. Meyer, werther Herr, theurer Mr. Meyer! Ich freue mich sehr von Mr. Vogelsang zu hören, daß Sie von Melbourne zurück sind, und daß Sie und Frau Meyer wohl sind, und wünschen zu uns zurückzukommen. Ich bete zu dem HErrn, daß Er möchte mir und den andern Kindern neue Herzen geben, so daß wir möchten des HErrn geliebte Kinder sein, so daß, wenn wir sterben, wir möchten zu unserm HErrn und Heilande JEsu Christo in das himmlische Reich kommen. Es betrübt mich, zu sagen, daß Johane wieder in den Camp (das Lager) gegangen ist; jedoch, so lange (seit) er fort ist, haben wir uns von den Camp-Schwarzen geschieden und es sind keine Streitigkeiten mehr über uns gewesen.

Ihr treuer Lipilina.

(3) — Vom selbigen Datum. —

Mr. Meyer, werther Herr! — Wir freuen uns sehr, aus Pinglilinas Briefe zu hören, daß Sie u. Ihre Frau wohl sind und unser immer gedenken in Ihren Gebeten. Auch wir beten zum HErrn, uns zu Seinen lieben Kindern zu machen. Ihr gehorsamer Junge Georg.

(4) — Vom selbigen Datum. —

Werther Herr Meyer! Wir sind alle wie Schafe in die Irre gegangen; wir haben jeder sich auf seinen eigenen Weg gewandt, und der HErr hat auf Ihn unser Aller Missethat gelegt. Jes. 53. 6. Ich hoffe, Sie werden uns nie in Ihren Gebeten vergessen; denn wir lieben den HErrn nicht so, wie wir sollten; so bitten wir Sie u. alle unsere Freunde, zum HErrn zu beten, daß ER uns gut mache, daß wir nur an Ihn glauben möchten und Seine Kinder sein. Ihr treuer Casterboy.

(5) — Vom selbigen Datum. —

Mein theurer Mr. Meyer! Ich vergesse Sie nicht jeden Tag. Ich bete zu dem HErrn, daß Er Sie gesund erhalten möchte und Ihnen und der Frau Meyer helfen zurückzukommen so bald als möglich. Mr. Vogelsang lehrt uns jeden Tag; doch ist es fast zu viel für ihn; denn da sind so viele Sachen außerdem zu thun. Wir haben ein ganz Theil mehr Lieder gelernt. „Jerusalem mein selig Heim! ꝛc." das können wir sehr gut singen. Ich bin dankbar gegen den HErrn, daß Er mir wieder Gesundheit gegeben hat, so daß ich thun kann, was mir Mr. Vogelsang gebietet. Ich und die andern Kinder freuen uns sehr, daß Sie uns die heilige Bibel und andere gute Sachen bringen wollen. Wir versprechen Ihnen um des HErrn willen, daß wir gute Kinder sein wollen. — Hoffend, daß Sie wohl sind, Ihr gehorsamer Pinglilina.

(6) — Vom selbigen Datum. —

Jerusalem, mein selig Heim! Name, mir immer theuer! Wann werden meine Arbeitsmüh'n Enden, — wann kommt die Freier Der sel'gen Freud' u. Fried' in Dir? — Frau Meyer! Wir beten zu dem HErrn, daß Er möchte Ihnen und Mr. Meyer und allen unsern Freunden Freude und Frieden geben, zu beten für uns zu dem HErrn, die finstern Herzen von uns zu nehmen und uns neue Herzen zu geben, welche an JEsum Christum glauben. Ihr treues Kind Lady.

(7) — Vom selbigem Datum. —

Theure Frau Meyer! — Das Blut JEsu Christi, Seines Sohnes, reiniget uns von aller Sünde. 1 Joh. 1, 7 Ich höre von Mr. Vogelsang, daß Sie u. Mr. Meyer ganz wohl sind und daß Sie uns nie vergessen in Ihren Gebeten und auch, daß dort viel mehr Freunde sind, die für uns beten. — Wir wünschen, gute Kinder zu sein; aber wir können es nicht sein durch unsere eigene Vernunft und Kraft; und daher bitten wir Sie, zum HErrn zu beten, daß Er Seinen heiligen Geist sende, daß derselbe uns einleiten möchte in Weisheit und Verständniß seines Wortes.

Ich bin Ihr treues Kind Lucy.

APPENDIX M

Three Indigenous letters

1. Rosalie (Pakibana) to the Mission Committee (Geschichte der Ev-luth. Mission in Süd-Australien, 1886:42)

2. Briefe von ſchwarzen Chriſten.

Brief eines jungen Mädchens an die dort geweſenen Commiſſionsmitglieder:

30. August 1882.

Mai kamaneli ja neji antjalu, jura ngaiani ngunto ngomana paraia matja jura milkila, ngaiani kana modlentji ja ngaiani bakana Godani ngatjinanto, Nulia modlentji worananto Jesundru, opera jura murlali ngaianangu wokarana paraia, mai neji warai ngato pepali jaura jinpalapa jurangu ngani wata mola puntila anai mola ja mola ngato wontjala anai, ja wata mola marapueli ngaiani puntila anai, ngomala anai matja jura milikla mina kana ninkida punga modlentji analkani, mina jura undrai, jura bakana ngaianangu pepa jinpala anai, mai kamaneli ja neji antjalu kalala ngaianangu bakana jinpanimai jaura, ngangau Godaia kupa ngaiana multi banilali pilki nunkani. Mai neji warai, Godani ngatjianimai ngaiani ngundru Nulia ngaianina ngumu ja kulikiri ankananto.

Rosalie.

In der Ueberſetzung:

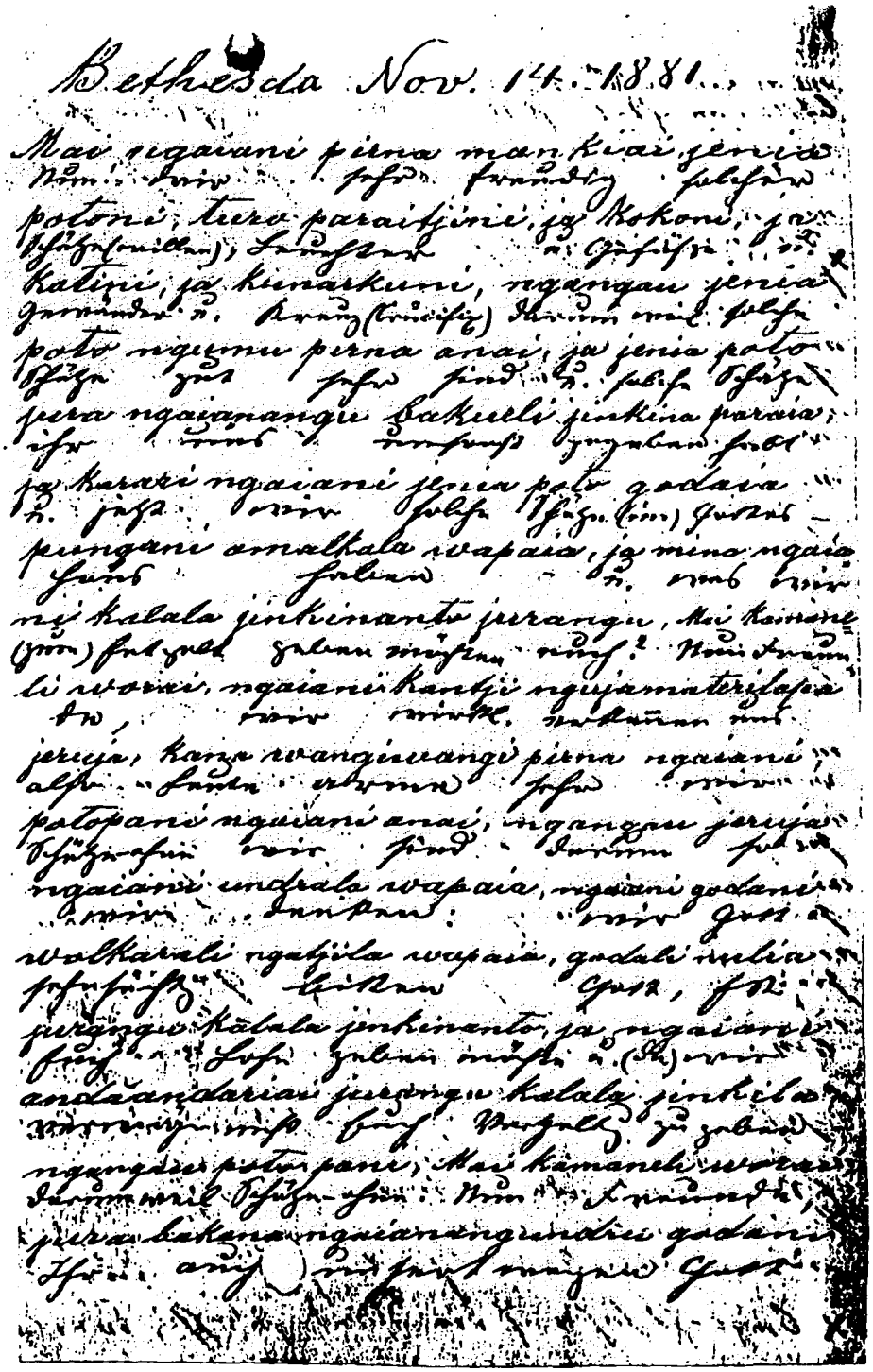
30. Auguſt 1882.

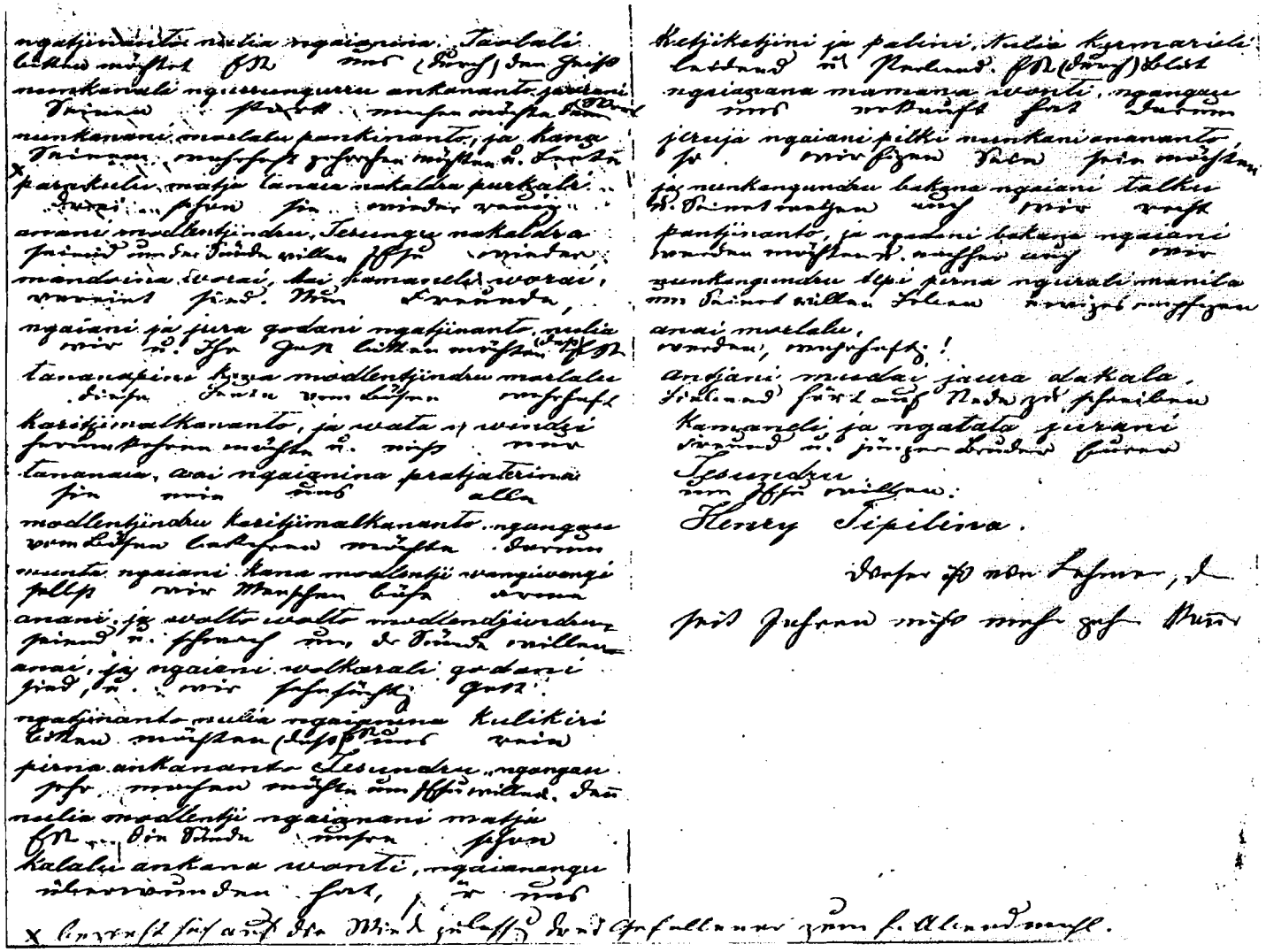
Meine lieben Freunde und älteren Brüder. Ihr ſeid neulich bei uns geweſen und wißt, daß wir ſchlechte Menſchen ſind; doch beten wir zu Gott, Er wolle unſer Böſes von uns hinwegwerfen um Jeſu willen. Ihr ſeid freundlich zu uns gekommen, darum ſchicke ich Papier-Rede zu Euch, alſo: ich (die Station) nicht mehr verloſſen will, mehr und mehr will ich verſuchen (Jeſu zu folgen); auch wollen wir Viele nicht mehr verlaſſen (fortgehen), ſondern beſtändig hier bleiben. Ihr wißt ja, welche ſchlechten Hütten die Schwarzen hier (im Camp) haben. Wie denkt Ihr? wollt Ihr uns auch einmal Papier (Brief) ſchicken zur Vergeltung (als Antwort)? denn wir ſind ja auch durch die Taufe Gottes Kinder und Sein Eigenthum geworden. Nun, ihr älteren Brüder, betet doch für uns zu Gott, daß er uns gut und heilig machen möge.

Roſalie.

* * *

2. Henry Tipilina, November 14th 1881 (page 1 of 3). Held LA





3. Timotheus Maltilina, 16th June 1885. Held LA

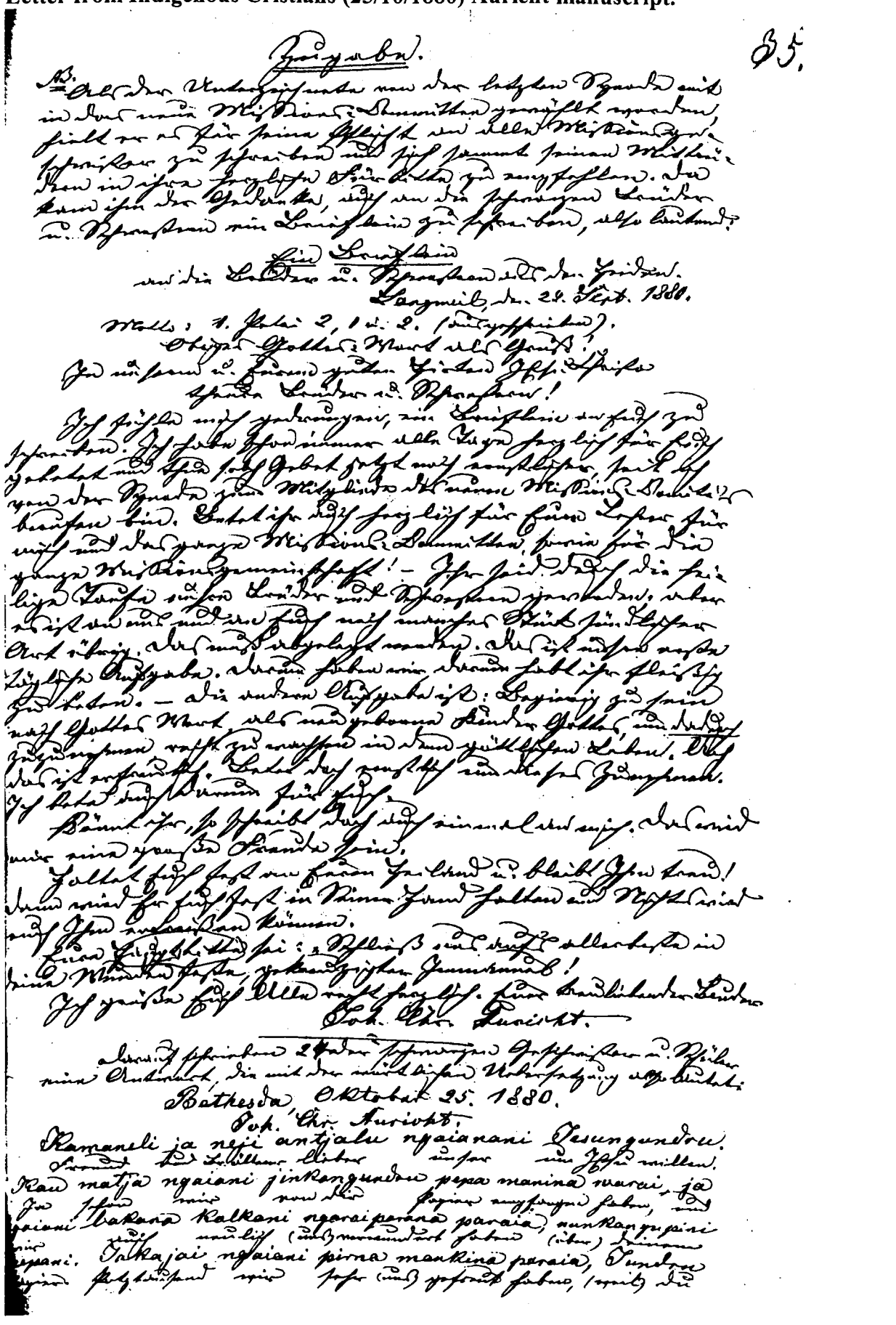
Bethesda 16th. June 1885.

Mai Kamaneli antjalu Jesundru!
Nun Freund lieber um Jesu willen!
Ngato ngundrai walkareli jundru
Ich denke sehnsüchtig. Du.
ngaianangu moni palpa jinpana
uns Geld einiges gesandt
paraia, 25 pound ja jenia monieli
hast, 25 Pfund Sterling u. mit solchem Geld
ngaiani matja moseke paiama
wir schon ein Harmonium gekauft
na paraia ja ngaiani pirna
haben u. wir sehr
mankiai, Mai Kamaneli! Godali
uns freuen. Nun Freund! Gott
Kalala jinkinanto jinkangu,
Entgelt geben möchte Dir,
Jesundru tepi ngurali ngani
um Jesu willen Leben ewiges. Ich
Godani ngatjila anai Nulia
zu Gott beten will Er
mara ngukananto. mai Jesus
helfen möchte. Nun Jesus
~~Ch~~ Christus jinkangunto anaiate
Christus mit Dir ei

mai ngurali narinilu Amen.
immer bis in den Tod. Amen.
Timotheus Maltilina.
Timotheus Maltilina

APPENDIX N

Letter from Indigenous Cristians (25/10/1880) Auricht manuscript.



86.

37.

bakana warai, ja jundru bakana mudana warai palpa. *)
gestochen hast, und du auch gefertigt hast etliche.
Ngato ngundrai wata pratjana jundru matja mundana paraia.
Ich denke, nicht alle du schon gefertigt hast.
Teruja ngaiani windri jidna jekibala wapala. Ja pepa
So wir nur dich fragen jetzt. Und Papier
palpani ngaiani matja milkila; ja pepa ngumu pirna,
etlichen(s) wir schon wissend, und Papier gut sehr
ja ngaiani bakana pirna mankina paraia. Ja pepa
und wir auch sehr (uns) gefreut haben. Und Papier
ngumu pirna ja ngaiani kana modlentji pirna, ja
gut sehr u. (aber) wir Menschen schlechte sehr und
delkinietja. – Ngaiani jurangu jatai. Mai kamaneli
Ungehorsame. – Wir Euch sagen: Nun, Freunde
ngaianani, palpa jurangundru ninkida palkananto,
unsere: etliche von Euch hierher reisen möchten
muntali mita najila ja bakana kana najila. –
selbst die Erde zu sehen und auch die Menschen zu sehen. –
Matja ngato dakana mudana warai.
Schon ich Stechen geendet habe.
Jidnana kala antjai kamaneli ja
Dich gegenliebend Freund(e) und
ngatata jinkani
Brüder jüngere deine

(1) Henry Tipilina. – (2) Johannes Pingilina. –
(3) Godfrey Tiltimirina (4) Benjamin Dalkilina.
(5) Gustaf Diltjilina. (6) Emanueli Punkalina.
(7) Antunius Njakilina. (8) August Mauanlina. –
(9) Bernhardt Tiwana (10) Bertha.
(11) Rosalie. (12) Beata
(13) Clara. (14) Louisa.
(15) Elisabeth (16) Fenny.
(17) Bakupuntana. (18) Katjirerini.

(19) Mekirby (20) Nghapakaldrina.
(21) Njinpilina (22) Bitikarbana.
(23) Tankibana (24) Tantana Tiwana.

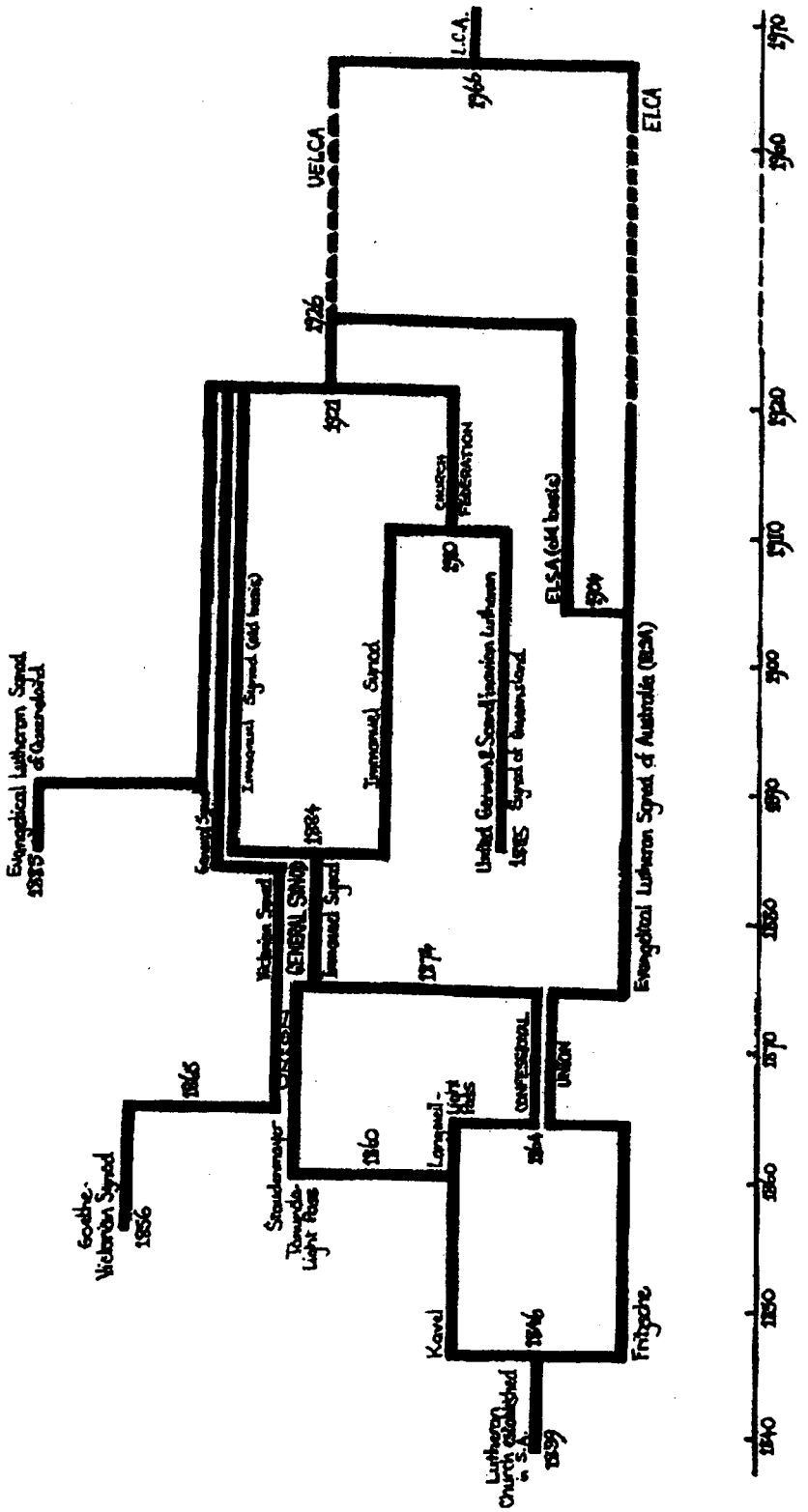
*) Die lieben Schwarzen Geschwister meinen damit das Dieri-Büchlein und thun mir zuviel Ehre an, da bekanntlich dasselbe in Adelaide gedruckt ist.
J. C. Knaiht.

NB. Natürlich mußten die Missionare mein Büchlein in die Dieri-Sprache u. dann auch die obige Antwort mir ins Deutsche übersetzen. Zu Weihnachten schrieb ich wieder hinauf an die Schwarzen Geschwister, worauf sie mir direct noch nicht wieder schrieben. –
J. C. Knaiht.

E. d. [illegible]

APPENDIX O

Synodical History in a diagram (Source: www.lca.org.au/lutherans/history.cfm) **followed by detail of composition of Mission Committee 1863-1875**



Mission Committee 1863-75

I: Joint work of Langmeil-Lights Pass (Kavel: later Ev.Luth.Immanuel Synod) and Bethany-Lobethal (Fritzsche: later ELSA 'Ev.Luth.Synod of Australia') synods with missionaries from Hermannsburg (1866-73)

Oster PMC (Präses) 1863-75

March 1863: Provisional Committee consisting of three pastors and two laymen drafted regulations for conducting mission: Oster(Präses/Chair), Appelt, Rechner, and Brothers Klar and Aldenhoeven.

Mission Committee term of three years, election held at General Mission Convention.

September 1866: election of Mission Committee: seven members.
Pastor Oster, representing Victorian Brethren, again appointed Chair
Pastor Rechner(Minutes Secretary)
Br.Jäschke, representing Langmeil-Lights Pass Synod
Pastor Strempel and Brothers Laubsch, Ahrens and Frost, representing the Bethany-Lobethal Synod.

September 1869: election of Pastors Oster (again appointed Chair), Strempel, Rechner, and Brothers Hahnel, Laubsch, Ahrens and Dohnt.

September 1872: Pastors Oster (Chair), Rechner (treasurer), Heidenreich(Secretary) and Brothers Graetz, Ahrens, Heinrich and Koch.

August 1875 Commission appointed to effect property division between the Immanuel Synod (which retained the Killalpaninna Mission) represented by Pastor Rechner and Br.Graetz and the South Australian Synod (which embarked upon mission at the Finke River), represented by Pastor Heidenreich and Br. Droegermüller

II: Continuation of work by the Immanuel Synod (derived from Kavel's synod) with Neuendettelsau missionaries (1874-1915)

G.J. Rechner (Präses) 1875-1900

He was joined by Pastors Niquet and Reusch (had come to the Immanuel synod via union with the Ev.Luth.Synod of Victoria: then Ev.Luth General Synod, until the split in 1884) Rechner died 21/8/1900

L. Kaibel (Präses) 1900-1915

1915, the interests of the Immanuel Synod in the mission were transferred into private hands (Bogner and Jaensch) for the sum of 5000 pounds. Synod did not convene again until after WW I. Präses Kaibel had died 26/9/1918.

APPENDIX P

Louis Harms' concept of mission work
from *Zeitblatt für die Angelegenheiten der Lutherischen Kirche* in *Dresdener Missionsblatt* (1851/21&22:377). Below with my translation into English

Denn das ist mein glühender Wunsch, die Heiden bekehrung so zu treiben, daß alle 3 bis 4 Jahre und später vielleicht in kürzeren Zwischenräumen immer eine Anzahl von zwölf in die Heidenwelt soll hinausgeschickt werden. Die ersten zwölf sollen zusammen an einem und demselben Orte bleiben und sich ansiedeln, um durch gemeinsame Anstrengung stark genug zu sein, an den heiden zu arbeiten und ihren Lebensunterhalt zu verdienen; da sie im Landbau und allen nöthigen Handwerken geübt sind, und dazu mannstark genug, etwa ähnlich wie es die Angelsächsischen Missionare in Deutschland machten, die zugleich im Geistlichen und Leiblichen die Lehrer unserer Väter waren. Bildet sich dann um sie eine Heidengemeine, so sollen etwa zwei oder drei bei der zurückbleiben, und die übrigen nicht hunderte, oder zehn, sondern 1,2 oder 3 Meilen weiter ziehen und da eben so wieder anfangen, und die von hier nachrückenden haben danngleich, wenn sie hinkommen Beschäftigung und können um ihren Unterhalt arbeiten bis sie die Sprache gelernt haben, und besetzen dann ihrerseits geeignete, nahe gelegene Stellen, so daß binnen kurzer Zeit ein ganzes Land mit einem Netz von Missionsstationen umzogen wird, und Völker bekehrt und mit christlicher Sitte und Bildung gewappnet werden, so daß sie sich mit Erfolg des verderblichen Europäischen Andrangs erwehren können und nicht das Opfer der Europäer werden, was bisher fast allenthalben der Fall gewesen ist. So steht es mir vor den Augen.

For it is my ardent wish, to conduct the conversion of the heathens in such a way, that every three to four years, and later on perhaps at shorter intervals, always twelve in number should be sent out to the heathen world. The first twelve should remain together at the same one location and establish themselves, in order that through shared effort they be strong enough to work with the heathens and to sustain themselves. As they are practised in agriculture and all manner of necessary trades and crafts, and

also sufficient in number, [they would operate] somewhat akin to the way in which the Anglo-Saxon missionaries worked in Germany, who were at the same time the teachers of our forefathers both in spiritual and physical matters. If a native community (congregation) then formed around them, then two or three should stay behind with them, and the others should journey not hundreds or even ten, but rather one, two or three miles further on, and there they should commence again in the same fashion. Those who followed them would then have work when they arrived and could earn their keep by their own labor until they had learned the language, and then in turn they would occupy nearby places, so that within a short time the whole country would be covered by a network of mission stations, and peoples would be converted and armed with Christian morality and education, so that they might successfully defend themselves against the ruinous influence of European incursion, and not fall victim to the Europeans, as to date has almost everywhere been the case. This is the picture I see before me.

APPENDIX Q

Mission endorsements of Lepsius' *Standard Alphabet* (1863:1-2)

In respect of Africa it is especially important to take every step which may facilitate the mutual instruction, and supersede the labours of European teachers. In this way only can we hope for the Evangelization of that vast continent.

It is a matter of much satisfaction, that in this, as in other instances, science lends its aid to the Christian zeal of missionaries for communicating to mankind the highest benefits; and the work is commended under this aspect to the blessing of Almighty God for the furtherance of the Kingdom of Christ among the nations of the earth.

H. VENN, B.D. Hon. Sec.
J. CHAPMAN, B.D. Sec,
Late Missionary in South India, and Principal of the Syrian College, Travancore.
H. STRAITH, Hon. Lay Sec.
C. GRAHAM, Lay Sec.,
Late Persian Interpreter to the Commander-in-Chief in India.
} *Church Missionary Society.*

Having been concerned in the preparation of the Rules, &c., referred to above, which have been successfully employed in our West African languages—where the want of a uniform system was especially felt,—we express our cordial approval of this treatise, in which Professor Lepsius clearly explains the scientific principles upon which a *standard* alphabet must be constructed, and renders it, in its complete form, capable of the most extensive application.

JOHN BEECHAM, D.D. Sec.
ELIJAH HOOLE, Sec.,
Formerly Missionary in South India.
} *Wesleyan Missionary Society.*

London Missionary Society.

London, June 28th 1856.

The importance of the object proposed by Dr. Lepsius will be deeply felt by every individual conversant in any degree with the difficulties to be encountered in the formation of a language previously unwritten, and with the want of harmony which has hitherto been found in such attempts. I cannot therefore but rejoice in the result of Dr. L.'s close and profound attention to this subject, as exhibited in his pamphlet and I most earnestly hope that it may greatly tend hereafter to secure substantial agreement, and if possible, uniformity in the practice of Christian Missionaries who are labouring to give the Word of God to tribes and nations among whom the symbols of thought have been previously unknown.

ARTHUR TIDMAN,
Foreign Secretary L. M. S.

Moravian Missions.

London, June 1855.

I beg to give my cordial assent to the general principles which Professor Lepsius has so ably sketched in his Treatise. That the adoption of his system, however modified in some of its details, will be of the greatest service to Missionaries in every part of the world and especially to English Missionaries, can hardly admit of a doubt. Had such a system been originally applied to the languages of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux and to those of the Indian tribes of North and South America, much uncertainty and difficulty would have been avoided.

P. LA TROBE,
Secretary in England to the Moravian Missions.

[Barmen, 30th July 1855. The Committee of the Missionary Society of the Rhine declares hereby its assent to the principles of Orthography laid down by Professor Lepsius in his treatise on the Standard Alphabet, and will give directions accordingly to its Missionaries for their linguistic labours. For the Committee: Inspector Wallmann.]

Calw, Würtemberg, den 29. Oct. 1855.

Der Unterzeichnete muſs, auch abgesehen von dem umsichtigen Fleiſs, womit dieses Standard Alphabet entworfen ist, schon um des harmonischen Zusammenwirkens willen, dringend wünschen, daſs wenigstens auf diesem Theile des Missionsgebietes Uniformität zu Stande komme, und schlieſst sich darum demselben mit Freuden an.

Dr. CHR. G. BARTH,
Vorstand des Calwer Verlags-Vereins.

[Calw, Wurtemberg, 29th October 1855. The Undersigned, besides acknowledging the care and completeness of the views, upon which this Standard Alphabet is founded, cannot but earnestly desire for the sake of harmonious cooperation, that Uniformity may be attained at least in this part of the Missionary field, and therefore begs to give it his cordial assent. Dr. Chr. G. Barth, Director of the Calw Publishing Union.]

Evangelische Missions-Gesellschaft zu Basel.
Auszug aus dem Protokoll vom 9. Nov. 1855.

„Die Committee der evangelischen Missions-Gesellschaft hat „in Anerkennung der grofsen Wichtigkeit übereinstimmender Grundsätze bei Feststellung des Alphabets bisher nicht „geschriebener Sprachen besonders auf dem Africanischen „Sprachgebiet beschlossen, das von Hrn. Prof. Dr. Lepsius in „Berlin aufgestellte System der Orthographie zu adoptiren und „den in ihrem Dienst stehenden Missionaren dasselbe zu allmähliger Einführung zu empfehlen.“

Namens der Committee:
JOSENHANS,
Inspector.

[Evangelical Missionary Society at Basle. Extract from protocol of 9. November 1855. „The Committee of the Evangelical Missionary Society, acknowledging the great im-

APPENDIX R

The authority of literacy: Buttfield's address
Proeve & Proeve (1952:81-82)

> "I drew from my pocket a sheet of foolscap paper and addressed them to the following effect—The great Master Sir Dominic Daly, Master of white fellow and black fellow all about,[6] had connected with the lightning. After expatiating upon the marvellous power and knowledge our Master possessed, I repeated to them what he had heard about their intentions towards the white fellow. That our master was very angry ('Big one growl'). He had told the lightning to tell us to walk to Koppromaran and say to Blackfellows if they molested or injured whitefellows he would send up his men of war all the same as flies and sweep them like dust from the face of the earth. On the other hand if they did not interfere with the settlers, our great master would protect them in the full enjoyment of their native rights and privileges. He desired his black and white children to sit down together in peace and friendship.
>
> "During the delivery of my oration the natives eyed curiously and suspiciously the paper from which the message was supposed to emanate. After an animated conversation between themselves one old friend replied as follows: 'You see we have got country, water, fish, seeds &c &c &c, we no "growl" along white fellow. Let white fellow sit down and take some fish. We will live in peace. Another one country blackfellow growl (meaning the Perigundians)—that is not good.'
>
> "I have no doubt the Natives *designed mischief.* These children of the desert fear further encroachments upon their territory. They are jealous for their heritage, and cannot distinguish between the motives of the Missionaries and those of ordinary settlers. Their love of their country is an encouraging feature in their character. They travel southward some 200 miles for ochre and they find that the ranks of once flourishing tribes have been greatly reduced and white men occupying the country, and doubtless view with alarm the gradual occupation by strangers of the country northward.
>
> ". . . The natives mistake the kindness and harmlessness of the Missionaries for a craven spirit; the Missionaries prompted by the noblest and best intentions toward the Natives are naturally and perhaps unreasonably discouraged by the utter want of a suitable appreciation of their motives by those whom they seek to benefit. They have a stupendous work in hand, but a fair field to solve a much debated problem." . . ."

John Parker Buttfield (1822-1885) Arrived in SA in 1848 and worked as a Baptist missionary around Gumeracha, and from 1863 in Port Lincoln. He was appointed Sub-Protector of Aborigines for the Northern region in 1866 and was based at Blinman. From 1869 he also acted as Magistrate.
(Source: www.southaustralianhistory.com.au/buttfield.htm)

APPENDIX S

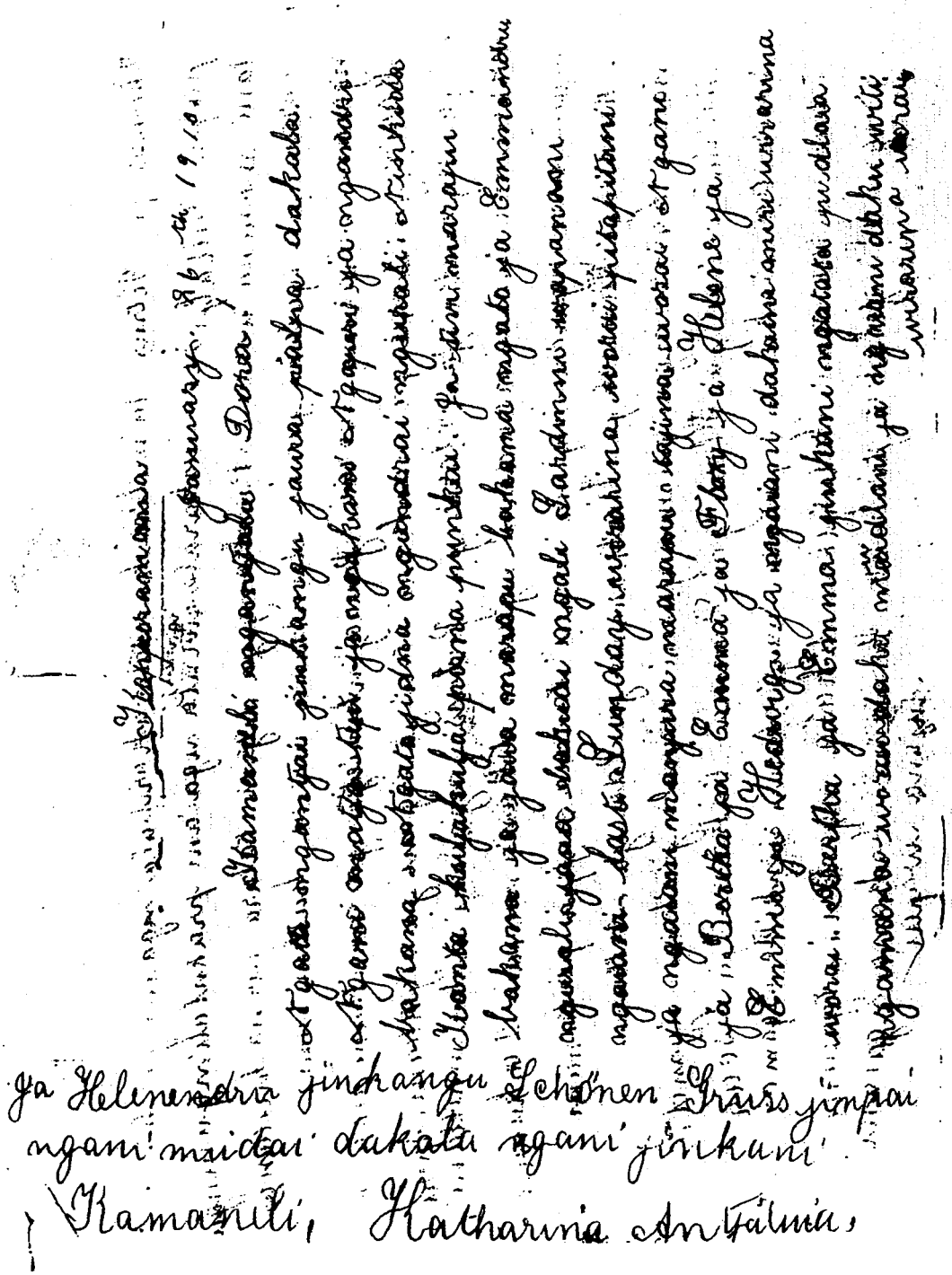
Excerpt: A.H. Vogelsang school report (1909): curriculum and progress
My translation into English of excerpt from
Letter dated September 9th 1909 from August Hermann Vogelsang (1880-1940) an den lieben Herrn Pastor (7 pages). Held in LA

Teaching for the white children begins as previously mentioned at 10.30am. In Catechism the first class is now at the 2nd *Glaubensartikel* and the next class is nearly finished the 5th *Hauptstück.* The following class is at the explanation of the 2nd *Hauptstück*- attributes of God in the First Article of Faith, and the last class is at the explanation of the 6th *Bitte.* In German reading the first class is half way through the primer, in English reading they are up to Fanny at the Farm. In writing I conduct it as for the first class in Dieri. In arithmetic they have reached Ex 140 in *Elementary Arithmetic Part I.* The next class is in German reading up to *Lebensbilder II No 49 'Zwei Kinder, die sich selbst regieren wollen',* in English reading they are finished the first *Royal Reader* and should be starting the second one soon. The following class has in German reading reached *Lebensbilder III No 92* 'die Blumenlese', in English reading they are up to *Royal Reader IV* 'Casablanca'. The last class in German reading has reached *Lebensbilder III 2nd section No 90* 'Die Baumwollemanufaktur', and in English reading have almost finished the *New Graphic Reader VI.* These last three classes have with each reading a certain number of spelling words to learn, as well as the given meanings to them. With the writing exercises I conduct it in a similar manner as with the children in Dieri. In arithmetic the second class is up to *Elementary Arithmetic Part II Ex.37.* In geography the map, which you sent me recently, is of much assistance to me. There is of course some fault with it, however I already made mention of this matter last time. The second and third classes have now completed South Australia and have started with Victoria. The 4th class has finished Germany and has started with England. In German grammar we are currently working on the *Fürwort* and the following class is on *Satzlehre.* In English grammar we have finished verbs and are now on the Pronoun. The following class is on Syntax. In Bible History we are in the New Testament at the story of the *Workers in the Vineyard.* In the last 3 months in singing they have learned in German *'Ach bleib mit Deiner Gnade!', 'Wach auf du Geist der ersten Zeugen!'* and *'Nun danket alle Gott!'* and they are now learning *'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott!'.* In English singing they have learned *'Daniels Band'*and *'Safe in the arms of Jesus.'*

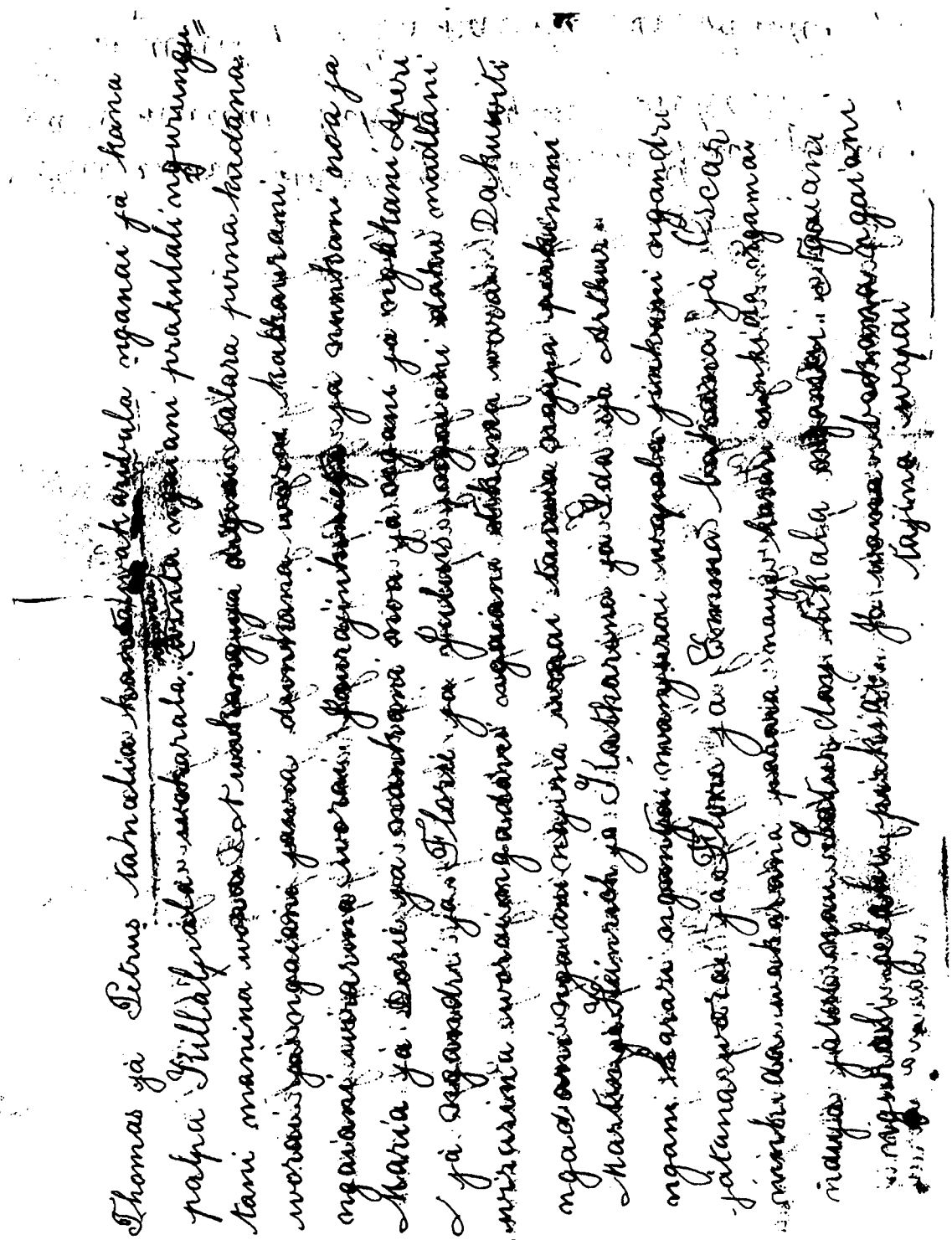
APPENDIX T

Katharina Antjalina letter to Dora dated 26th January 1910

Page 1:



Ya Helenendru jinkangu Schönen Gruss jinpai
ngani mudai dakala ngani jinkani
Kamaneli, Katharina Antjalina,

Katharina Antjalina letter to Dora dated 26th January 1910

Page 2: