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Ngaityo tarruanna.

Ngatto naalityangga paper
kaitya. Na ngattaitya ngaityo
ngunya waietinna kaityaninga,
ngaii ngunya waietta ngaityo
worlingga tauatta tindanna.

Ngaii ngunya waietta ngaityo
naaka waietta ngaityo gurni kaityaninga

BEYOND ALL EXPECTATIONS

The Works of Lutheran Missionaries from Dresden, Germany
amongst Aborigines in South Australia, 1838-1853

Two Contributions

naaka paper kaitya.

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Photo: KWP

Foreword by Katrina Karlapina Power

It is universally known that language is power in anyone's language.

There are no Kaurna, German or English words to express the pride I take in reclaiming my right as a Kaurna woman, Mother and Grandmother to speak and share my own language. This is a right previously stolen from many Kaurna people as a result of English invasion.

As Aboriginal people we have our own faith, values and beliefs. We do not and did not ever need to be "Christianised".

Irrespective of the Lutheran Church and the Missionaries' hopes and intent – the writing and documentation of Kaurna Language during that time remains the most fruitful outcome of all.

So many Aboriginal languages throughout Australia have been lost because they were not documented. The Church valued the learning and the documentation of the Kaurna Language. I value the Church for that.

In my eyes and in the eyes of many in my community – the decision of the Dresden Mission Society in Germany to send Lutheran missionaries to Kaurna Country, Adelaide, in the mid 1840's, is something to be applauded for all eternity.

Irrespective of race or religion, it is important as human beings to remember where we come from and to honour those – both black and white – who have roamed this priceless earth before us.

It is important to show courage in our willingness to sit in each other's camps and share stories and hopes and dreams.

In 2011, a delegation of Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri people travelled to Dresden, Germany to share in the Mission's 175th birthday celebrations.

A new campfire is being created in 2013 – a delegate is travelling from Germany all the way to Kaurna and other peoples' countries.

This is a time for many new stories to learn and tell as old traditions continue.

Welcome and safe travels to one and all.

Katrina Karlapina Power is a Kaurna woman and has been involved with the revival of her language for many years. She works as a Senior Aboriginal Therapeutic Practitioner for Mental Health Programs at Relationships Australia (SA)

Foreword by Dr. Greg Lockwood

In August 2011 the Director of the Leipzig Mission, Rev. Volker Dally, warmly welcomed an Australian delegation to the 175th anniversary celebrations of the Dresden/Leipzig Mission Society. These celebrations culminated in a commemorative evening in the 'Three Kings Church' in Dresden, beginning at 18.36 hours on 17 August.

Our delegation included representatives of the Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri people among whom the 'Dresden 4' – Teichelmann and Schurmann, Meyer and Klose – had laboured during the early years of the South Australian colony. Descendants of the four were also part of the delegation, together with staff members of Adelaide University's Discipline of Linguistics. Gerhard Rüdiger and Tony Rathjen took a lead in making the arrangements.

We have fond memories of the gracious hospitality and Christian friendship extended to us by Director Dally and his staff at Leipzig Mission headquarters both before and after the days in Dresden. The Director always welcomed us and sent us on our way with a reading and prayer from the daily devotional book of the Moravian Brethren. We were accommodated on the Jaeschke floor with its photographs along the corridor reminding us of another close link between Leipzig Mission and the Lutheran Church of Australia: our common endeavours in Papua New Guinea. Ernst and Elisabeth Jaeschke served with Leipzig Mission in Tanzania and PNG. Among the photos are the 'Jaeschke Memorial Church' at Kotna in PNG's western highlands, and the seminary chapel at nearby Ogelbeng, where Ernst and Elisabeth served until retirement. Their daughter, Dorothea, and her husband, Pastor John Prenzler, live in Angaston, South Australia, while their grandson, Matthias, is a pastor at Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Adelaide. Another grandson, Michael, is a second-year pastoral ministry student at Australian Lutheran College.

Two years after our visit to Leipzig, we are delighted at this opportunity to welcome Director Dally on his return visit in July 2013. We pray that his time with us will strengthen the bonds of our common mission in the name of Jesus.

Rev Lockwood is a New Testament Scholar and has been a missionary in Papua New Guinea.

Introduction by Gerhard Rüdiger

The first edition of this book was printed 175 years after the voyage to, and arrival of the first two of four young missionaries from Germany in infant South Australia in 1838. Sent out by the Lutheran Dresden Missionary Society, they commenced living and working with Aboriginal people on what is now known as the Adelaide Plains and, two years later, at Encounter Bay and on Eyre Peninsula.

The First Australian people of the Kurna community, the Ramindjeri/Ngarrindjeri community, and the Barngarla community, trusted these missionaries and taught them their languages. With the support of the parents, the missionaries taught the Aboriginal children in their own languages, beginning with Kurna at 'Piltawodli' [in the new spelling adopted in 2010: Pirltawardli], on the former Native Location on the River Torrens, from December 1839. The missionaries recorded these languages systematically, and published three dictionaries hoping that their efforts would help establish a better understanding of the Aboriginal people amongst the white fellow settlers. This did not happen. On the contrary, relations quickly deteriorated.

Within 10 years, the missionaries gave up their work due to the lack of financial support and the dispersal of most of the Aboriginal people with whom they had been in contact. As not one of them had been baptised, the Australian mission was considered a failure.

However, since the late 1980s, the three dictionaries have come into good use. The Aboriginal people in South Australia, descendants of their forefathers at the time of invasion, use these records today to reclaim their languages and thus their culture and identity. The two articles in this book tell this story.

It is only since 2010 that contact has been re-established between the three Aboriginal communities and the successors of the former Dresden Missionary Society, now in Leipzig. In July 2013, the director of Leipzig Mission (*Leipziger Missionswerk*) made a return visit to Adelaide and met with representatives of all three communities.

This book provides background information of the past and present of this story. It has been made possible on short notice in 2013 through a generous private donation.

For better readability we did not publish the many scientific footnotes, apart from references to historical sources, and have added an extensive bibliography. As an historical analysis, most Aboriginal language spellings in this book appear as they did in the original sources.

Gerhard Rüdiger is a staff worker with Kurna Warra Pintyanthi (KWP)

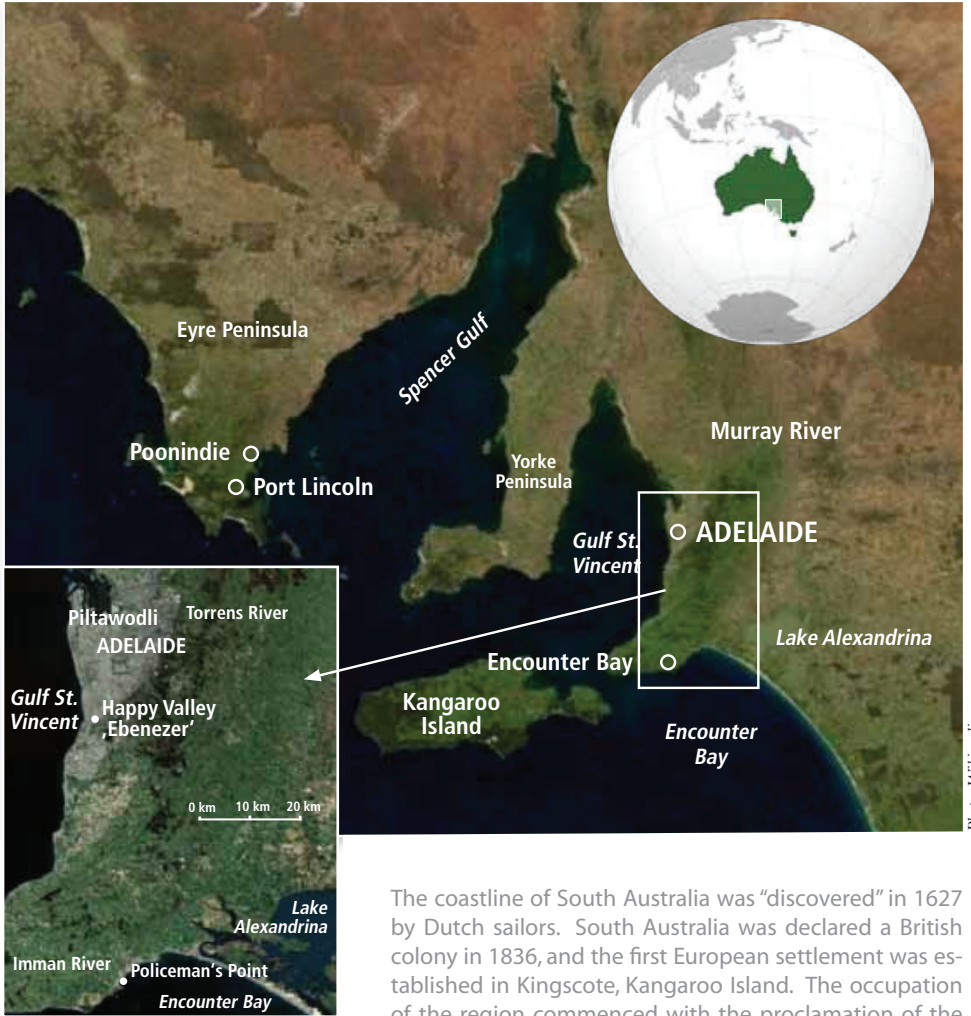


Photo: Wikimedia

The coastline of South Australia was “discovered” in 1627 by Dutch sailors. South Australia was declared a British colony in 1836, and the first European settlement was established in Kingscote, Kangaroo Island. The occupation of the region commenced with the proclamation of the colony on 28 December 1836, when an estimated 15,000 Indigenous people still lived in the new colony. South Australia is the only Australian state that was never a convict colony.



Christine Lockwood

Christine Lockwood has completed a PhD thesis at the University of Adelaide on the four Dresden Lutheran missionaries Clamor Schürmann, Gottlob Teichelmann, Eduard Meyer and Samuel Klose.

Her research focuses on how these Lutheran missionaries' understanding of the relationship between Christian theology and Aboriginal culture differed from that of the British in South Australia. In this paper she gives a comprehensive overview of the missionaries' work while examining their theological stance and obstacles to their work including their dependence on colonial political structures.

Her interest in this study is rooted in her experience of 17 years in Papua New Guinea as a mission teacher and missionary's wife. Colleagues included German missionaries from the Leipziger Missionswerk (Leipzig Mission).

Dresden Lutheran Mission work among the Aboriginal people of South Australia 1838–1853

Christine Lockwood

“They were powerless to stem the tide of exploitation and oppression. But at least they tried.”

John Harris

The first missionaries to the Indigenous people of South Australia were from the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden. They were recruited by George Fife Angas, who was one of South Australia’s founders, a Colonizing Commissioner and Chairman of the South Australian Company. Christian Gottlob Teichelmann (1807–88) and Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann (1815–93) arrived in October 1838, only two and half years after the founding of the colony. Heinrich August Eduard Meyer (1813–62) and Samuel Gottlieb Klose (1802–89) followed in 1840. By 1853 the work of all four missionaries had come to an end, their mission considered a failure.

However, in recent years there has been renewed interest in these men as their linguistic and ethnographic work has been the basis of successful programs to ‘reclaim’ the language and culture and to strengthen the identity of the Kurna people of the Adelaide Plains, the Ngarrindjeri people of the Lower Lakes area, and, more recently, the Barngarla people of Eyre Peninsula.

This paper examines the goals of these missionaries, the difficulties they faced and the role theology played in shaping their vision and experience in the colony.



Darstellung
der
Ordinationsfeier

von
zwei nach Südastralien
bestimmten Missionaren
in der
St. Bartholomäikirche zu Altenburg
am 5. Sonntage nach Epiphania 1838.

Herausgegeben
von
Dr. Fr. Geseffel,
Dersogl. Schif. Generalsuperintendenten.

Als Einleitung
ein
Abriß der Lebensgeschichte der beiden
Glaubensboten
von ihnen selbst geschrieben.

Altenburg, 1838.
In Commission bei G. H. Pöcher.

Image: www.commons.wikimedia.de

Left:
Saint Bartholomew's City church in Altenburg, Thuringia,
where Clamor Schürmann and Gottlob Teichelmann
were ordained on 4 February 1838

Top right:
Cover page of a report about the ordination celebrations for Schürmann and Teichelmann
(Source: Saxonia Museum für saechsische Vaterlandskunde, Volume 5, No 7. – Pietzsch,
1841. Attachment).

1.

The missionaries' background

“Their plight provided the catalyst for the founding, in 1836, of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden”

Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Germany experienced a Pietistic spiritual reawakening which found expression in new mission societies that downplayed doctrinal distinctions. One was the Basel Missionary Society, which represented both the Lutheran and the Reformed traditions.

However, from 1830 the coercive implementation of a union of Lutheran and Reformed congregations in Prussia reawakened among Lutherans an appreciation for their Confessions. Protests centred on the Lutheran teaching of the Real Presence in Holy Communion. Lutheran pastors forced to leave Prussia moved to Saxony, where relations between the Dresden Mission Aid Society and the Basel Seminary were breaking down over the training of Saxon students destined for Basel's Evangelical Lutheran Mission in India. Dresden wanted Saxon students instructed in the Lutheran Confessions, but Basel said 'Lutheran' must be understood historically, not doctrinally, and insisted on joint communion services between the Lutherans and the Reformed.

Schürmann and Teichelmann initially studied at the Berlin Mission Institute, which supplied Lutheran missionaries to Dutch and English mission societies. However, in 1836 the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Lands (SPG) decided that missionaries serving the society must receive Anglican

ordination and accept the Church of England's Thirty-nine Articles, which deny the Real Presence. Unhappy with this, Schürmann and Teichelmann refused positions the SPG offered them in India. Told to expect no other offers, their plight provided the catalyst for the founding, in 1836, of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden (DMS), then unique in making the Lutheran Confessions foundational to its witness. The DMS opened a seminary, with Schürmann and Teichelmann among its first graduates.

Asked for advice about starting a mission field, the London Missionary Society advised the DMS to establish a mission where work had already begun, comparatively close to Germany, and not in a new, isolated field. They suggested East India, near an English mission, with at least two missionaries working together.

However, in 1837, George Fife Angas asked the DMS to send missionaries to South Australia, promising to support them with £100 a year if he was satisfied with their conduct. The Society agreed to provide missionaries as none were working in South Australia; it believed South Australia's religious freedom meant missionaries could found independent Lutheran congregations and the support of the South Australia Company chairman meant Aboriginal welfare would not be sacrificed to colonists' interests.



Photo: Lutheran Archives, Adelaide

This photo of Clamor Schürmann, as well as the following ones of Teichelmann and Klose, show the missionaries in their later years. At the time of his embarkation in 1838, Schürmann was 23 years of age.

Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann

Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann was born on 7 June 1815 in Schledehausen near Osnabrück, West Germany. His father passed away when he was one year of age, and his mother when he was eleven. In his childhood and youth, Schürmann followed his older brother Johann Adam Schürmann, who later became a missionary in Benares, India. After finishing school, Clamor, like his brother, applied for theological and mission training at the Jänicke Mission School in Berlin. He was admitted on 23 July 1832.

Both Schürmann and Teichelmann acquired a knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, Latin and English. The future missionaries were also trained in Geography, and World and Church History, as well as in Theology. At least Schürmann also had an introduction into Chinese languages, as a surviving study notebook testifies.

On 13 September 1836, Schürmann and Teichelmann transferred to the newly established Dresden Missionary seminary. On 4 February 1838 they were ordained in the Saint *Bartholomäuskirche* in Altenburg, Thuringia, and four days later commissioned for Australia from the *Waisenhauskirche* in Dresden.

The two young missionaries reached Adelaide on 14 October 1838. Schürmann married Wilhelmine Charlotte Maschmedt from Osnabrück on 11 February 1847.

Two years after the death of his wife in 1891, Schürmann passed away on 3 March 1893, during a Lutheran Church synod in Bethany, Barossa Valley. He was first interred at West Terrace cemetery in Adelaide, but his body was later reburied at the Lutheran cemetery, South Hamilton, Victoria.

2.

Lutheran theology and its mission implications

“The Dresden missionaries must use the local language to reach peoples hearts and to teach them to read their Scriptures”

Lutheran theology shaped the aims of the Dresden Mission Society.

The Lutheran Confessions teach that people cannot attain salvation through their own efforts: they are forgiven and reconciled to God through faith in the atoning life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ as a gift offered to all. This has implications for mission work.

First, the offer of salvation is for all; the mission task is to offer this Gospel to all people. By contrast, Angas, a Baptist who believed in double predestination, entertained the possibility that God may not have willed the salvation of Aboriginal people but may have doomed them to extermination. Later in the century people debated whether Aborigines were capable of Christianity.

Second, this emphasis on justification by grace through faith permits a greater openness to variant cultural expressions of the Christian faith than found in churches that emphasise sanctified living and sometimes define this in cultural terms.

Lutheran teaching emphasises Scripture as God’s Word, and conversion as the work of the Holy Spirit, creating faith through the Word. For the Dresden missionaries this meant they must use the local language to reach people’s hearts and teach them to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue. In keeping with the doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, the Dresden Society saw its missionaries’ primary task as Gospel proclamation, with the government responsible for Aboriginal welfare.

The missionaries’ convictions also influenced relations with other churches. In particular, the missionaries resisted the Anglican insistence on ‘apostolic succession’ and the Anglican ordination of Lutherans recruited for Anglican mission fields.



Photo: State Library of South Australia (B501)

Christian Gottlob Teichelmann

Born 15 December 1807 in Dahme (South of Berlin in the Province of Brandenburg, then part of the Kingdom of Saxony) as one of eight children, Christian Gottlob Teichelmann initially trained as a carpenter. In 1829 he travelled to Berlin and enlisted private tuition in Algebra, Arithmetic and Geometry to prepare himself for admission to the Royal Institute of Building Trades. During his time at this school, Teichelmann got to know students from the Jänicke Mission Institute in Berlin. In 1831, he left the Royal Institute of Building Trades and assumed his theological education at the Jänicke Mission Institute in Berlin.

On 13 September 1836 he was admitted to the newly established Dresden Missionary Seminary. Together with Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann he was ordained in Saint Bartholomew's Church in Altenburg, Thuringia, and four days later commissioned for Australia at the Waisenhauskirche in Dresden.

Both missionaries arrived in Adelaide on 14 October 1838. With little financial support, Teichelmann and Schürmann established the first school for Aboriginal children at Piltawodli, the Native Location on the northern banks of the River Torrens. On 25 December 1843, Teichelmann married 21-year old English woman Margarethe Nicholson. The couple had 15 children.

Teichelmann passed away on his farm in Haywood Park, Stansbury, Yorke Peninsula, on 31 May 1888.

The mission vision for South Australia

Angas was both a businessman and a Christian philanthropist. In SA, he hoped to found a haven for England's deserving poor, especially Dissenters. He promoted Christian mission work and sought to protect heathen peoples from the devastating effects of British colonisation. He also wanted a good return on his investments.

These aims were incompatible, as they implied the dispossession of one people for the sake of another. However, Angas thought Aboriginal people could be protected, the 'virtuous' settlers of SA would act decently towards them and Aboriginal people would benefit from the spread of Christianity and civilisation.

Angas wanted Teichelmann and Schürmann to establish a mission settlement on the Moravian model near the Murray-Darling junction, a potential cross-road between NSW, Victoria and SA, and far from the demoralising effects of white settlement. The missionaries were to learn the local language and customs, induce Aboriginal people to give up 'habits of war and wandering', start a school and teach both Christianity and the skills of settled, civilised living.

Angas had lent passage money to Lutheran refugees led by Pastor August Kavel. He planned that they should settle nearby, supporting the missionaries financially and teaching skills to the Aboriginal people, whose labour would be essential to the support of the mission. He also envisaged the settlement sending produce down the Murray to markets in Adelaide and becoming self-supporting. Fearing conflict was inevitable given the Aboriginal desire for revenge, he proposed that unarmed missionaries live with each tribe, and through the gospel teach them the 'unlawfulness' of revenge.

By learning to grow food, especially potatoes, he believed Aboriginal people would become less jealous of the white man.

However, while Angas believed white settlement had a demoralising effect on Aboriginal people, he hoped settlers could use the Aboriginal youths as labourers. Thus Angas' two interests – a model colony and mission work – were intertwined. Rather than identifying with the Aborigines, the missionaries were to draw them into a model European, Christian community.

The DMS had a different vision. It instructed its missionaries to establish congregations among Germans in South Australia who it hoped would support mission work. The missionaries were to learn the local language, making their chief aim to 'bear witness to the heathen of the Gospel of the grace of God' through evangelism, literature, preaching and schools. They were to gather converts into congregations, training them to assist in evangelism. 'Civilising the natives' was not mentioned.

The Society did not define Christianity in terms of European civilization and believed the Indigenous people's temporal welfare was primarily a government responsibility. It only had sufficient funds to support spiritual work. Having in mind the situation in India, where it was feasible for missionaries to live like locals, the Society urged its missionaries to live among the Aboriginal people, identify with them and live as close to their level as possible, partially supporting themselves. The basis of DMS work was to be Lutheran teaching while Angas favoured a non-sectarian approach.

Even before the missionaries arrived in October 1838 difficulties emerged. Angas' South Australian manager, David McLaren, begged Angas to stop German migration, horrified at the idea of transporting hundreds of impoverished immigrants to



Photo: Lutheran Archives, Adelaide

Samuel Gottlieb Klose

Samuel Gottlieb Klose was born on 27 December 1802 in Löwenberg, Silesia (today Lowek Slaski, Poland). His father was a "Postillion", a mail horse rider. Gottlieb became a shoe maker and, as an apprentice, travelled across the country. In Basel in 1829, he made his first contact with a mission society and was admitted to the Dresden Mission seminary in October 1837. Together with missionary Meyer, he was ordained on 26 February 1840 in the Dukedom and town of Greiz, and commissioned to Australia on 7 March 1840. After his arrival in Adelaide on 10 August 1840 he worked as a teacher of the children of Kaurna families, at the Piltawodli school on the former outskirts of the town.

In 1844 he married the English woman Elizabeth Duncan, with whom he had four daughters. After the demise of the mission in 1846, Klose became a pastor of the Lutheran church in Adelaide. In his later years he farmed, together with his wife, at Happy Valley, south of Adelaide, and died in 1889.

the remote Murray-Darling junction and provisioning them. The area was too dry and the Murray River mouth unsuitable for navigation. The Aboriginal population proved numerous and hostile, unlikely to meekly relinquish their land, settle and work for the white man. Teichelmann later warned, 'No Native will enter the service of a European, at least not for a long period, for all are accustomed to live independently and be their own masters.' He feared the missionaries' real work would suffer as Angas expected them to farm as well.

Nor did the missionaries share Angas' colonial vision. En route to South Australia, disagreements arose when Governor Gawler advocated bringing Aboriginal people close to larger towns and assimilating them as servants. Schürmann disagreed, advocating the retention of indigenous languages and identity. When Schürmann questioned the legitimacy of England's colonial ambitions, Gawler suggested his opinions would cause bloodshed. Schürmann told the Dresden Society he believed the English occupation of foreign countries without consideration for their occupants was humanly and morally unjust. The Society warned him his views were 'highly dangerous':

"[By] criticising the behaviour of the English you will [bring on] yourselves much unpleasantness and trouble in your missionary calling. You may even find your work completely prohibited, yourselves expelled from the colony, and the indigenous people inflamed to anger and revenge by your comments".



Photo: State Library of South Australia (B82236)

Heinrich August Eduard Meyer

H E A Meyer was born on 5 March 1813 in Berlin. In his autobiography for the mission, he wrote that "it was only granted to me to enjoy schooling until my tenth year because to their distress my parents were unable to afford the school fees for me and my older brother, due to their low income." Therefore, he had to help to ensure the family income. As it was impossible for his family to financially support his wish to study painting or sculpting, he commenced vocational training as a plumber, although without much enthusiasm.

On 1 July 1833 Meyer was admitted to the Jänicke Mission Institute, but was forced to leave it in October 1836 because he did not want to convert to the Anglican Church in order to be sent out into the mission field in India. Like his two fellow missionaries, he applied for admission to the Dresden Mission Seminary.

Meyer was eventually ordained in Greiz, Thuringia on 26 February 1840, together with Gottlieb Klose, and both were commissioned for Australia, in Dresden, on 2 March 1840. They arrived in Adelaide on 10 August 1840. Prior to their departure, Meyer had married Fridericke Wilhelmine Sternecke, from Berlin. They had six children. Meyer passed away at the young age of 49 on 17 December 1862 in Bethany, Barossa Valley, where he is buried.

3.

Beginnings in Adelaide

“Teaching in the Kurna language, Schürmann delighted in his students’ aptitude”

On arrival the missionaries began church service for Adelaide Germans but these soon folded. Most Germans employed by the South Australian Company were indifferent, and Pastor Kavel, who arrived with his congregation soon after the missionaries, insisted his followers attend his services.

Immediately on arrival, Teichelmann and Schürmann began learning the Kurna language of the Adelaide area. While Teichelmann focused on evangelistic work among adults, in 1839 Schürmann started a school at *Piltawodli* on the Torrens River in present-day north Adelaide. Teaching in the Kurna language, Schürmann delighted in his students’ aptitude, as did

Samuel Klose, who took over in 1840. Progress varied, as attendance depended on the students’ whims and their parents’ seasonal movements, with frustration decreasing when boarding began in 1843. In 1844 the Governor of South Australia, George Grey (1841–45), established a government school in English at Walkerville (now an Adelaide suburb) for children from the Murray River tribes. At Grey’s insistence, Klose began using English, except in religion lessons. In 1845 the two schools were amalgamated into a new Native Training Institute. Early in 1846 Klose’s employment was terminated, as was government support for the Dresden missionaries.



Photo: Gerhard Rüdiger

Torrens River
Kurna: *Karrawirra-Pari*

The Torrens River is the most important river of the Adelaide Plains. From its source, near Mount Pleasant in the Adelaide Hills, it flows for 85 km across the Adelaide Plains to the Gulf St Vincent. On its banks, the capital city of South Australia – Adelaide – was established. When the Torrens was discovered in 1836, the explorers selected a river bend for their first settlement.

The river was named after the British officer and economist, Robert Torrens, who played a prominent role in the establishment of South Australia. He was also the chairman of the Colonizers' Commission for South Australia, but was dismissed in 1841 because of financial mismanagement and conflict of interest.

The river is also known today by its Kurna name, Karrawirra Pari.

4.

Attempts at Aboriginal settlement

“Confronted with people seriously affected by colonisation, the missionaries felt the need to care also for their physical wellbeing.”

The DMS' instructions were to concentrate on spiritual matters. However, confronted with a people seriously affected by colonisation, the missionaries felt the need to care also for their physical wellbeing. Schürmann complained dispossession was reducing a once honest and open people to begging and thieving, and the plan to scatter the natives among the 'rough and ungodly ... English rabble' was 'highly destructive.' The missionaries thought that reserving land away from Europeans might provide some solution for both the missionaries and Aboriginal people.

The missionaries had built huts and planted gardens with the Kurna on land reserved for them at Piltawodli, but complaints from settlers led to their removal. Believing Aborigines should be left at least enough land for their sustenance, and insisting that the Aboriginal people inherited clearly defined territories from their fathers, Schürmann hounded the government until Gawler reserved land near Adelaide, Encounter Bay, Lake Alexandrina and the Murray, but it was later mostly leased to whites when Aboriginal people did not immediately and spontaneously practice agriculture there. Missionary requests for the use of reserved land and assistance to help local people settle were denied.

Angas had thought if his mission were over the border in NSW he could get a government land grant or cheap land.

Neither he nor his company made provision for land for Aboriginal people or mission work in South Australia but it was difficult for the missionaries, as foreigners, to acquire freehold land themselves. The missionaries' applications for citizenship were not accepted until 1847. Kavel's suggestion that Angas set aside part of his survey for its former inhabitants and Teichelmann's hopes for a mission station on some of Angas' Barossa land came to nothing.

Deciding that a station at the Murray-Darling Junction was impractical and that the area around Encounter Bay and the Murray mouth was more suitable, Schürmann accepted Gawler's invitation to move there. However, asked for money for land, implements and draught animals, the DMS replied in 1840:

“It appears questionable to us that missionaries alone should undertake the civilising of the natives since by so doing they become distanced from their actual calling ... we are convinced that you cannot do more towards furthering it than you indirectly do by way of the ... Word and by erecting schools and dispensing good advice.”

The DMS suggested that colonial tradesmen settle nearby, support the mission and help Aborigines acquire the skills necessary for sedentary living. It assumed the government would help with land and housing and admonished:



Piltawodli School

At the end of 1839, Clamor Schürmann opened the first school for Aboriginal children in South Australia - Piltawodli on the River Torrens – where Samuel Klose continued teaching in the Kurna language from 1840.

The colonial administration provided the building, the teaching material and food, while the missionaries were initially given a free-hand. Apart from additional training in sewing for the girls, all children received the same education. The colonial administration, however, established a boarding school system in 1843 to separate the children from their parents and enforced teaching them in English. In 1845 the mission school was closed in favour of a newly established government institute.

Acknowledgment:

Aboriginal school and chapel in Piltawodli (Adelaide), a coloured painting in the diaries of W. A. Cawthorne, 1843. Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW, Ref. CYA 103, part 3, p254.

“You are not to establish a specifically civil community, but rather a religious one ... Do not concern yourselves with the physical dependence or independence of the aborigines but with their spiritual liberation through the spiritual means of grace.”

In 1840 Schürmann’s plans changed when Gawler asked him to go instead to Port Lincoln as Deputy Protector of Aborigines.

Teichelmann continued evangelistic work in Adelaide. His pleas for government provision for Aboriginal people fell on deaf ears. When a Dresden Committee member provided £100 to purchase land and make the mission more independent, Teichelmann bought land at Happy Valley, south of Adelaide.

In 1844 he encouraged Kurna people to settle and farm with him, promising them the harvest. After clearing, fencing and planting, none returned to harvest the crop. Teichelmann blamed government rations and his neighbours’ ability to pay higher wages. Lack of resources frustrated his desire to start a school and to help the needy and elderly who gathered around him.

5.

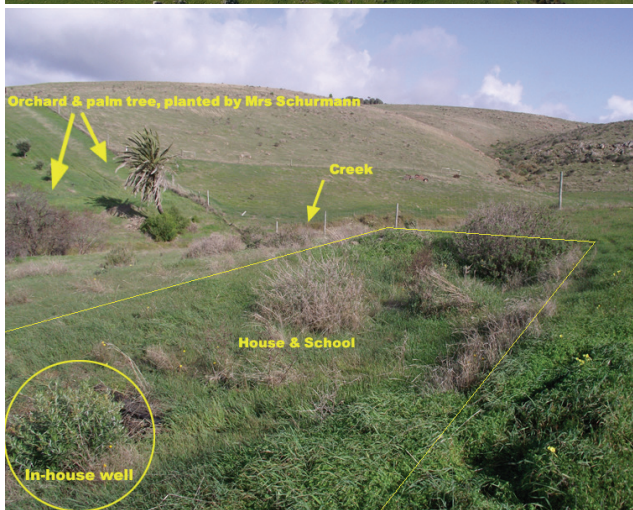
Meyer and Encounter Bay

“Meyer believed that the government wanted to disperse Aboriginal people as labourers.”

Heinrich August Eduard Meyer and his wife arrived in 1840 to work with Schürmann at Encounter Bay, but instead went there alone. Meyer learned the Ramindjeri language, established an Aboriginal school using Ramindjeri and English, farmed leased land with Aborigines, and ministered to both Aboriginal people and settlers, teaching settlers' children at night. He ministered to and interpreted for Aborigines before the courts.

Poverty, the government's indifference and its discontinuance of rations for the school children, Ramindjeri nomadic habits and the impact of whalers and sealers thwarted his work. The government denied his request to use good land reserved for Aborigines, instead leasing it to settlers.

Meyer believed that the government wanted to disperse Aboriginal people as labourers and thought it could safely ignore the needs of the Encounter Bay people because they were not troublesome.



Photos: Theo Moders, Port Lincoln, South Australia

Only the foundations of the house, a well and an orchard have survived and give testimony of the Aboriginal school established by Clamor Schürmann near Port Lincoln on Eyre Peninsula.

Here Schürmann studied his third Aboriginal language, Barngarla. He taught the Barngarla Language in his school. After the establishment of the Native Training Institute at nearby Poonindie through the Anglican Church, Schürmann was forced to close his school at the end of 1852. In Poonindie, local languages were no longer being taught. All Instruction was in English.

6.

Schürmann and Port Lincoln

“Who can observe their condition without being convinced of the extent to which they are dependent on external influences?”

Meanwhile at Port Lincoln Schürmann found Aborigines suspicious of whites because of the abduction of Aboriginal women by white men. Clashes, thefts and killings hampered his efforts to gain the trust of Aborigines and settlers. Limited ongoing contact made learning the Barnjarla language slow. By 1841 he was becoming increasingly convinced he must address the Aborigines' material situation and questioned the DMS' emphasis on spiritual work:

“You warn me wisely and correctly not to place too much emphasis on the outward affairs of the Aborigines, but who can observe their condition without being convinced of the extent to which they are dependent on external influences? ... I am beginning to fear that the otherwise correct basis for missionary activity, which is limited to the spiritual domain only, can scarcely find any application here or that from this alone the physical and spiritual salvation of the Aborigines could proceed.”

Port Lincoln was in a state of siege. Aborigines attacked pastoral stations and police and settlers retaliated indiscriminately. Schürmann found his official position conflicted with his missionary role. Expected to accompany police expeditions as interpreter, he witnessed unarmed Aborigines being shot. He was pressured to inform on people and then minister to those condemned to death.

In April 1842, in protest, he left an expedition led by the Government Resident, Mr Driver, when an unarmed, innocent Aboriginal man Schürmann knew well was killed. Schürmann's position was abolished, but Grey offered the Lutheran Mission a £100 subsidy (shared between the four missionaries) on the condition that a missionary remained in Port Lincoln. Schürmann stayed, but under Driver's supervision.

Schürmann begged the DMS for re-assignment and advised the Society to abandon mission work among nomadic people and where little support was provided. Schürmann said Grey believed that Aborigines were dying out and money spent on them was wasted. The DMS refused Schürmann's request.

Afraid the local people could die out, Schürmann repeatedly asked the government to reserve land for Aboriginal people where they could be helped to settle. This would also enable him to share the Gospel with Aboriginal people. He proposed a settlement, at least 10 miles from Port Lincoln, where Aborigines could choose between their traditional lifestyle, regular employment with Europeans, or a settled life based on agriculture or cattle-raising. Begging, free rations, prostitution, stealing and handouts in return for odd jobs would not be options.



Photo: Wikimedia

George Fife Angas

George Fife Angas was born on 1 May 1789 in Newcastle upon Tyne, England. For more than twenty years he worked in his parents' coach factory. Having grown up in a Christian family, the wealthy businessman was looking for investment opportunities and became interested in the settlement of South Australia. He became a co-founder and the chairman of the South Australian Company, and supported a systematic colonisation of the country according to liberal ideals of his time, i.e. free trade, religious freedom and a free government.

In 1836, Angas met the Lutheran pastor, August Kavel, who was seeking refuge for his congregation in Klemzig, Prussia as the result of political pressure from Prussian king Frederick William III, who was pursuing a union between Lutheran and Reformed Christians. The Lutherans rejected this policy, and some opted for migration. Angas sponsored the migration of the Klemzig congregation to South Australia in 1838 on credit, and his encounter with Kavel prompted him to recruit missionaries from Dresden and partially support them for their first two years in South Australia.

As result of serious health problems, Angas, together with his wife and youngest son, moved to South Australia in 1851, where he was received with all honour. As one of the most important politicians of his time, he campaigned strongly for the establishment of an education system. He was soon able to repay his debts and passed away on 15 May 1879 at the age of 90.

George French Angas, one of three sons – and three daughters – became an important artist, painting many Aboriginal people and Australian landscapes.

Schürmann believed the settlement would be self-supporting within two or three years and would reduce government costs and conflict with settlers. In 1844 a number of Aborigines asked Schürmann to live with them and help them farm at Kunta, 30 miles from Port Lincoln. A German settler, Hermann Kook, promised his services, free, for a year. The DMS offered £100, provided the government matched it. Grey rejected the proposal.

Instead Schürmann farmed six acres two miles from Port Lincoln. He employed Aborigines, initially using government rations as payment. He explained to the DMS:

“Even though the preoccupation with such external affairs is not the immediate and actual purpose of my mission it nevertheless gives me pleasure, partly because it presents me with the best opportunity of advancing my knowledge of the language, partly also because the natives do not fail to appreciate the good outcome of such care.”

The Aborigines worked with a will but lost heart when others demanded a share of food. Grey refused requests for land, tools and further rations. Crop loss from fire, foraging animals and theft, and the repeated burning of fences forced Schurmann to give up.

In 1844 Schürmann requested £100 for an Aboriginal school. Grey refused.

7.

The end of Lutheran Mission

“The missionaries were convinced that the government would never help Aborigines settle”

The missionaries met in January 1846. Grey’s refusal to accept or match the DMS offer of £100 toward an Aboriginal settlement near Port Lincoln convinced them the government would never help Aborigines settle. Without substantial change in the Aboriginal situation, they considered prospects for evangelism hopeless.

Without converts, they were reluctant to take money that could better support the Society’s flourishing Indian work. They resolved to concentrate work in two locations, retaining their association with the DMS but relinquishing its monetary support.

With most Kurna gone from Adelaide and the mission school closed, Klose and Teichelmann ministered to Germans and English people in Adelaide. Schürmann joined Meyer near Encounter Bay.

They bought land and farmed with the Aborigines, supporting themselves while preaching the Gospel.

In 1848 Meyer accepted a call to serve the Bethany congregation in the Barossa Valley, citing the Lutheran settlers’ needs and the poor prospects for an Aboriginal Lutheran church. The missionaries decided to close the mission in South Australia, but to continue assisting individual Aborigines. Meyer suggested the DMS had not done its homework, sending missionaries to the most difficult field on earth without recognising the financial commitments required to first settle the Aborigines. He maintained that the field should have been left to the English churches.

8.

Schürmann returns to Port Lincoln

“The black children in the school are giving us a joyful expectation and ... we are very happy.”

In 1848 Governor Robe asked Schürmann to return to Port Lincoln as court interpreter.

Governor Young offered him in 1849 a £50 salary to start an Aboriginal school. ‘If not productive of ... permanent and general good,’ said Young, it would ‘at least have a tendency to generate and maintain kindly feelings between the Natives at Port Lincoln and the European settlers’, and if it kept a few children from their parents, it would be worth the cost. Schürmann started a school in the Barnjarla language at Wallala, 12 km from Port Lincoln, with minimal Government expenditure. Winning his students’ affection and their parents’ confidence, Schürmann had no trouble with attendance, student numbers being limited only by government rations. He also shared the Gospel with adults. Schürmann wrote to Meyer in 1851, ‘The black children in the school are giving us a joyful expectation ... we are very happy.’

The venture was short-lived. The Anglican Church was entering mission work with a proposal for a Christian settlement. Young favoured his own church’s initiatives and soon assisted only Anglican missions. In 1850 he gave Archdeacon Hale the use of 3000 acres of native reserve at Poonindie, three miles from Schürmann’s school, advanced him £600 and gave £300 annually for a schoolmaster, matron and labourer. Hale purchased additional land. Students from the Native Training Institute in Adelaide were married at puberty and, to segregate

them from both white society and their tribes, taken to Poonindie to work the land. Initially, local Indigenous adults and children were strictly excluded from Poonindie. Hale approached Schürmann to join him. Schürmann wrote to Meyer in 1851:

“You are aware that Archdeacon Hale called upon me ... to join the English Church... I have of course answered negatively, because I was compelled by my conscientious convictions to do so... It appears to me that Archdeacon Hale wants to reduce the influence of my school in Port Lincoln... It could be that if I don’t join him, he will find some reason to shift my school from my section to Poonindie... One thing is for sure. I will never accept the responsibility and the shame of attaching myself to an alien confession.”

In 1852, Lutherans moving to Victoria called Schürmann to be their pastor but he could not desert his students. ‘I [have] finally found my settled place and made it comfortable,’ he told Meyer. ‘I would be quite wretchedly crucified by the change.’

The Adelaide school closed in 1852 as students absconded and parents withheld their children to prevent their removal to Poonindie, cutting off Hale’s main source of students. Poonindie’s high death rate and students absconding forced Hale to look elsewhere for replacements. In 1852 Governor Young decided to close Schürmann’s school and gave Hale £1000 a year to accept Schürmann’s students and whatever Aboriginal youths Young sent him. Schürmann accepted his call and moved to Victoria in 1853.



Clamor Schürmann with his wife, Wilhelmine Charlotte, known as Minna, in later years as a pastor in Hochkirch (Tarrington), Victoria.

9.

Stumbling blocks to effective mission work

“The missionaries became ... convinced they needed to fill the void left by government negligence.”

Lack of financial support

Inadequate support denied the missionaries independence and crippled their mission efforts. Domestic and manual work and the need to supplement their income limited time for their real work. The DMS thought Angas had agreed to support the missionaries for five years and naively believed reports that the government would be enlightened and responsible in its treatment of Aboriginal people. However Angas support of a £100 a year was insufficient for the missionaries' most basic necessities, let alone mission work. Relations with Angas were strained by misunderstandings and humiliating treatment from Angas' agents. The DMS channelled additional funds via Angas' company but it often went astray. After two years the support from Angas ended. The colony was on the brink of bankruptcy and his agent's purchase of Barossa land brought Angas to the point of ruin. He denied having promised support for 5 years.

Faced with demands from its Indian mission and under pressure for its confessional stance, the DMS supplied only a meagre stipend. It believed missionaries should focus on proclaiming the Gospel and, like the Apostle Paul, partially support themselves, living near the level of those they worked among. Lutheran settlers, poor and indebted themselves, gave occasional foodstuffs, donations and voluntary labour, but little more. Tensions arose between Pastor Kavel and the missionaries over Kavel's insistence on his 'Apostolic Constitution', strict church discipline and desire

to have oversight of their work. These tensions affected support. In 1842 a group of leading Adelaide citizens formed the South Australian Aboriginal Missionary Society in Aid of the German Mission to the Aborigines, but assistance was short-lived. Meyer and Teichelmann accepted money; Schürmann, however, declined because of the conditions placed on it. When government support ended, so did the Lutheran Mission in South Australia.

The tyranny of distance

Distance and slow communications meant the missionaries often felt isolated and unsupported. It could take a year to receive a reply from Europe. Meyer and Schürmann, working in widely separated locations, craved the support of a colleague.

Poor communications led to misunderstandings and strained relationships with Angas and, more importantly, between the Dresden Society and its missionaries. It was hard for the Dresden Society to understand the missionaries' situation and respond appropriately or in a timely fashion. Disagreements arose over whether the missionaries should marry given their inability to support a family, but the missionaries believed that their single state hampered their work because the Aborigines suspected their intentions towards their women and children. All eventually married but struggled to support their families. Disagreement also arose over the level of financial support and the extent of the missionaries' responsibility for the Aborigines'

physical wellbeing. The DMS considered this a government responsibility. However, Teichelmann suggested the government was guilty of genocide, having dispossessed Aboriginal people, turning them into wandering beggars and thieves, trespassers on their own land. The missionaries became increasingly convinced that they needed to fill the void left by government negligence if the Aborigines were to survive and their spiritual work to succeed.

Aboriginal language and culture

The missionaries considered the people's nomadic lifestyle their major obstacle, compounded by the small size of groups and multiplicity of languages. Language learning and evangelism required ongoing contact. Initially they tried joining local people in their wandering life style but, faced with the practical difficulties, concluded that for evangelism to succeed Aboriginal people would need to settle. As early as 1839 Schürmann believed that mission success would be minimal because of the denial of land to Aborigines. When attempts at Aboriginal settlement failed, chances for an indigenous Lutheran church disappeared.

Without ongoing contact, language work generally, and finding linguistic and cultural equivalents for Christian terms such as grace, faith, repentance and salvation, was difficult. Schürmann lamented that the Law was easier to communicate than the Gospel, the Ten Commandments easier to translate than the Lord's Prayer. He wrote that most of all it was hard to find an appropriate word for 'forgiveness', lamenting that in his observation the Aborigines never sought forgiveness but resolved wrongs 'either by abuse or with blows'. The missionaries translated hymns, Bible stories and catechism portions, but no entire biblical book before their work ended.

As can be expected in the early stages of mission work, the missionaries experienced

ridicule, apathy, and resistance to their preaching, particularly when they criticised behaviour destructive of the Aboriginal people. However, they did report evidence of faith among children and adults, but were slow to claim conversions, realising that the Aborigines sometimes said what was expected of them, and converts, under tribal pressure, would potentially revert to heathen ways. The missionaries had hoped to form congregations providing support for new believers.

European treatment of Aboriginal people

Settlers derided mission work. The poor example of some settlers and their horrendous treatment of Aboriginal people discredited all Europeans in Aboriginal eyes and contributed to their dispersal and rapid decline in numbers. This decline was greatly hastened by introduced diseases such as small pox, influenza, TB and syphilis. Missionary Meyer, especially, reported on the devastation caused by exploitation and disease spread by whalers and sealers in the Encounter Bay area. The traditional practice of infanticide hastened the decline of a despairing people. These factors, together with the Aboriginal preoccupation with physical survival, impeded evangelism.

Government policy and conflicting agendas

In many regards the Dresden missionaries were out of step with the colonial agenda.

The South Australia Act of 1834 made no provision for Indigenous people and all land was thrown open for sale. Under pressure from the British Colonial Office, the Colonising Commissioners in their First Annual Report, made undertakings to respect Aboriginal land rights and provide for their sustenance – but in such a way as to 'be beneficial rather than burdensome

to settlers' and to 'accelerate the prosperity of the Colony, by training the Aborigines to habits of useful industry, and by bringing a supply of native labour to aid the efforts of the settlers.' In practice, Aboriginal land rights were basically ignored as successive governors hoped to 'civilise' and assimilate Aborigines into colonial society as labourers through contact with settlers and missionaries. Colonists, without evidence of permanent Aboriginal dwellings or agriculture, dismissed Indigenous land claims.

It has been common to see missionaries as part of the colonisation process, serving colonial agendas and using colonial power for their ends. Colonial administrators and missionaries are seen as sharing the same Christianising and civilising goals. However the Dresden Lutheran missionaries' discussions with Gawler show that they opposed colonisation and the seizure of Aboriginal land. Their emphasis on salvation as God's gift, received through faith, meant bringing Aborigines to faith, not promoting civilisation or a particular lifestyle, though they expected that the Christian faith would transform moral aspects of Aboriginal culture. The Dresden men did, however, encourage Aboriginal people to settle so they could learn their language and teach them, and because they saw no alternative if Aboriginal people were to survive and have a meaningful future. But 'civilising' the people as such was not their mission goal.

As a result of their theological perspective, the missionaries' approach differed from that of the government in significant ways. They opposed the dispersal and assimilation of Aborigines as servants. They believed God had created them a separate people. They recognised indigenous land ownership. They advocated reserves where Aboriginal communities could maintain their identity, language and aspects of their culture, where Aboriginal Lutheran congregations could be established, and where the impact of dispossession and European

culture could be cushioned. They believed Christianity would free Aborigines from their fears of the spirit world and transform destructive aspects of Aboriginal culture. They proposed training on settlements so that Aboriginal people could live independently, and they insisted on the use of Aboriginal languages in schools, introducing English as necessary. Only gradually would communities adapt, as needed, to the invaders' culture.

However, after 1838 the government had no interest any longer in preserving Aboriginal society or assisting Aborigines to settle on their own land. Colonial critics expected the missionaries to 'civilize' Aboriginal people, believing that Christianity demanded assimilation into European civilisation. They complained of the slowness of missionary efforts, expecting greater changes in students' outward appearance and manners, instruction in English and training as useful workers. They contended that Aborigines employed by Europeans were more useful and industrious than the mission school's graduates.

As disillusionment about the possibility of civilising Aboriginal people set in, Government policy began to focus on providing rations to the needy and educating children in English, using money from leasing to Europeans land reserved for Aboriginal people. Governor Robe (1845-1848) developed a system of ration depots which promoted social control and Aboriginal dependency.

The general thinking was that Aboriginal traditions should be broken down, and adults concentrated in defined areas, employed as pastoral workers and encouraged to adopt European ways. Civilising efforts should concentrate on educating children and separating them from Aboriginal adults. Aboriginal languages should not be used. Thus Governor Young supported the Anglican efforts to segregate young people both from Europeans and their tribes at their Poonindee Mission.



Photo: Gerhard Rütiger 1

The following is a transcript from the plaque at the Piltawodli memorial:

Wanti nindo ai kabba? Ningkoandi kuma yerta!
 “Where have you pushed me? You belong to another country!”

This Kurna song was sung by Ngurpo Williamsie in 1844 in protest at the invasion of his country.

In May 1837 the Kurna people led the ‘Protector’ of Aborigines to a site across the river, to begin the first ‘Native Location’ in South Australia. In late 1838 it was relocated to this place, known to the Kurna people as Piltawodli, meaning ‘possum home’. Here it contained cottages for Kurna families and for missionaries, many wurlies and, by late 1839, a permanent school. By the 1840s Piltawodli was a fenced-in area extending over 14 acres.

Piltawodli is especially significant for the Kurna people today, because it was here that almost everything we know about the Kurna language was recorded by the German missionaries and others. This information was provided by the Kurna people, particularly Mullawirraburka (‘King John’), Kadlitpinna (‘Captain Jack’) and Itymaitpinna (‘King Rodney’). Missionaries Schürmann and Teichelmann published a grammar and vocabulary in 1840 and, together with missionary Klose, taught in the Kurna language. Each day the children at the school sang or recited hymns, the Ten Commandments, a prayer and some Bible stories. They wrote several letters in Kurna, which have survived to this day. In 1845 the children were relocated to an English-only school ‘Native School Establishment’ on Kintore Avenue, and their houses at Piltawodli were destroyed by soldiers.

These children became the first of the ‘Stolen Generation’.

On 26 May 2000 many of the descendants of these children returned to this site.

Erected by the South Australian Bringing them Home committee on the second anniversary of National Sorry Day, 26 May 2000.

Proudly sponsored by
 Lutheran Church in South Australia
 Corporation of the City of Adelaide

The Dresden missionaries opposed focusing solely on children and forcibly segregating them from their families, although they did welcome boarding facilities to improve school attendance as parents moved around. They advocated segregation of Aboriginal communities from destructive European influences but wanted schools as part of these communities; they shared the Gospel with people of all ages and hoped their students would share the Gospel with their people. Another area of tension with the government was in the judicial system. The government used the missionaries as interpreters for the police, officials and the courts, with the result that their other work suffered. Schürmann criticised the application of 'British justice', and argued for the admission of Aboriginal evidence in court, and recognition of their own laws.

Relations with other churches

For some time the Dresden men were supported by other Christian denominations and were happy to work with them as long as their Lutheran convictions were respected. However, they came under pressure from both Dissenters and Anglicans. Some despised the missionaries' poverty, manual labour and lack of university training. Some were offended by their theological emphasis. Most disagreed with their approach.

Other colonial churches, more in line with government and community thinking, emphasised Christian living and tended to define this in terms of European civilisation. Angas saw Christian mission in these terms. Methodists teaching religion at the Walkerville school emphasised a disciplined lifestyle and an English education. The South Australian Aboriginal Missionary Society in Aid of the German Mission to the Aborigines, representing all denominations, opposed perpetuating native languages, favouring 'a more comprehensive' education, instruction in English, training in 'useful' skills, and sepa-

rating children as young as possible from their parents. The Anglican Colonial Chaplain, Rev. James Farrell, endorsed these policies, as did the Poonindie Mission which was founded on the principle of isolating young Aborigines from their tribes.

Aspirations for the Anglican Church to achieve the prominence it held in England finally thwarted the missionaries' hopes. Governors Robe (1845–48) and Young (1848–54) supported these aspirations. When the Piltawodli mission school closed, Klose wondered whether he could teach in the new school when it was placed under Farrell's supervision, but agreed to it, if the children's religious education remained in his hands. Robe did not agree to this request. With the formation of Adelaide's Anglican diocese in 1847, Bishop Short demanded the right to supervise the missionaries. Accepting a call to Bethany in 1848, Meyer wrote to the Dresden missionaries, 'The bishop [...] encouraged us to continue the mission at his cost, with the stipulation however that if some should be converted to Christianity, they are then to be led to the English Church ... This is indeed no fertile ground for our Lutheran Church.'

With this the missionaries asked the DMS to release them, and the mission was closed. Only Schürmann continued working with Aborigines, as court interpreter in Port Lincoln and then starting a vernacular school. This too was closed when the Anglican venture under Archdeacon Hale at Poonindie, more in line with government policy, presented itself. As Schürmann was unwilling to become Anglican, his work came to an end. The Dresden men felt disadvantaged dealing with authorities. With humble origins, imperfect English, an unfamiliar creed and nationality, and denied citizenship until 1847, they could not hope to have the same influence as men like the wealthy, aristocratic, Anglican Hale.

10.

The missionaries' contribution

“They left unique linguistic and ethnographic records of Aboriginal language and culture”

The Dresden missionaries did not establish an Indigenous Lutheran church. However, they left unique linguistic and ethnographic records of the Kaurna, Ramindjeri and Parnkalla (Barngarla) people. Meyer, Teichelmann and Schürmann were competent linguists; other linguists and missionaries built on their work, adopting their orthography and methods.

Teichelmann and Schürmann published works on Kaurna grammar, vocabulary and customs which have formed the basis, in recent times, for reclaiming the Kaurna Language and promoting cultural awareness. Meyer's work on the Ramindjeri Language and customs has informed Ngarrindjeri Language and cultural revival. Schürmann also wrote on the culture of Port Lincoln tribes and prepared a Parnkalla vocabulary and grammar.

The missionaries led the way in establishing schools and influenced the government to reserve some land for Aboriginal people. They also helped persuade authorities to finally allow Aboriginal evidence in court.

Although the Lutheran missionaries baptised none, some Aboriginal people showed at least the beginnings of Christian faith. Lutheran efforts provided the foundation for Anglican mission work. Three of Schürmann's students were baptised soon after being transferred to Poonindie.

At Point McLeay (Lake Alexandrina), Congregationalist missionary George Taplin, built on Meyer's linguistic work and

acknowledged harvesting seed sown by Meyer. He said the people accepted him because they appreciated Meyer and his wife.

There were links also between the Dresden/Leipzig Mission Society and later Lutheran mission work. Friedrich Meischel, Adelaide pastor and former Leipzig missionary to India, was responsible for initiating the next Lutheran mission venture which began at Killalpaninna in the Lake Eyre Basin in 1866. A colleague from India, Pastor David Appelt, was on the mission planning board. Planners and missionaries at Killalpaninna and later Lutheran missions learned from the Dresden missionaries' experience: they established missions far from European settlement, accepted responsibility for Aboriginal welfare, both the physical and spiritual, and better understood the financial commitment needed. These missionaries also used local languages and drew on the Dresden men's linguistic work.

For the Aboriginal people the Dresden missionaries served, their efforts were not pointless. Prisoners were comforted, people befriended, fed and taught to read and write, the sick and dying cared for and a despised people shown many acts of kindness and love.

In his book, *One Blood*, John Harris describes their efforts as 'impressive, courageous, selfless, loving and generous. They were powerless to stem the tide of exploitation and oppression. But at least they tried.'

Conclusion

The Dresden missionaries saw their goal as bringing the gift of God's love to the Indigenous inhabitants of Australia. They envisaged Lutheran congregations in Aboriginal communities established on their own land, retaining their identity, language, and culture insofar as this did not conflict with faith in Christ.

This approach did not resonate with settlers who coveted Aboriginal land, favoured assimilating Aboriginal people as cheap labour, and believed that missionaries should Europeanise indigenous people as well as bring them to Christ. As German Lutherans in an English colony, the Dresden missionaries' influence was limited. When Anglicans began Aboriginal mission work, government support was transferred to them. Without the means to work independently and unwilling to become Anglicans, the Dresden missionaries' work among a dispossessed, wandering, dwindling people came to an end.

Epilogue

The four missionaries' contribution to Australia did not end there however. All four went on to serve Lutheran congregations at a crucial time when Lutheran immigrants were flooding in. Called to Bethany in the Barossa Valley in 1848, Meyer started eleven new congregations at Eden Valley, Hoffnungsthal, Rosenthal, Schönborn, Ebenezer, Neukirch, Karlsruhe, Friedrichswalde, Peter's Hill, Gnadenberg, Steinau. He became the first President of the Bethany-Lobethal Synod (later the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Australia, ELSA) 1851-61.

In 1853 Schürmann assumed the pastoral care of German and Wendish Lutherans who had moved to the Hamilton, Victoria, area. From Hochkirch (Tarrington) he served Lutherans as far afield as Mt Gambier, Portland, Warrnambool, Geelong and the Wimmera. From 1883 Schürmann co-edited the *Kirchenbote* (Church Messenger) and from 1885 was the President of the Victorian District of the ELSA. In 1846 Teichelmann and Klose organised the Trinity Lutheran congregation in Adelaide, some of whose members later formed Bethlehem Lutheran church. In retirement Klose lived at Happy Valley and served a Congregationalist congregation. Teichelmann served as a Lutheran pastor at Salem, near Callington 1856-58, Callington and Kanmantoo 1858-64, at Peter's Hill and Karlsruhe 1865-1867 and Monarto 1871-1872. In retirement he moved in 1874 to the Yorke Peninsula where he became a founding member of the Stansbury Methodist Church.

The Dresden missionaries contributed significantly to the development of the Lutheran Church in Australia and its identity as a confessional Lutheran church. In the wider community they are today recognised particularly for their linguistic and ethnological work, some of which is the subject of the second article in this booklet.



Designed by Sherry Rankine for Kaurna sympathy cards (2006)



KWP

Dr. Robert Amery

Rob Amery has studied Aboriginal languages since 1980 when he worked as a nurse at Balgo (Kimberley, WA) with people speaking the Kukatja language.

He later taught Linguistics at Batchelor College in the Northern Territory. In 1993-94 he developed a national framework for teaching the languages of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples at senior secondary level.

Rob has worked with the Kurna language since 1989, completing his PhD in 1998 on an analysis of the historical sources and the language revival movement based on them (published in 2000).

In 2002, together with Kurna Elders Dr Lewis Yerloburka O'Brioen and Dr Alitya Wallara Rigney, he formed Kurna Warra Pintyanthi (KWP). This committee meets monthly to discuss translation and naming requests, and the development of new Kurna words.

Rob Amery has also studied other Australian Aboriginal languages and participated in a South Australian state-wide survey of Indigenous languages in 2001-02. He has visited many Aboriginal language communities in Australia and currently teaches linguistics at the University of Adelaide, with an emphasis on Aboriginal languages, in particular Kurna.

The following text is an updated version of his article "Beyond their Expectations: Teichelmann and Schürmann's efforts to preserve the Kurna language continue to bear fruit," in: Walter F Veit (ed.): *The Struggle for Souls and Science, Constructing the Fifth Continent: German Missionaries and Scientists in Australia* (2004, see bibliography).

Beyond Their Expectations:

Teichelmann and Schürmann's efforts to preserve the Kurna language continue to bear fruit.

Dr. Rob Amery, Linguistics, University of Adelaide, July 2013.

“The Dresden missionaries accomplished by far the most comprehensive and best documentation of the language”

Whilst not the first, nor the last, to record the Kurna language, the Dresden missionaries accomplished by far the most comprehensive and best documentation of the language as it was spoken in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Teichelmann and Schürmann pioneered the serious study of the languages of South Australia and had a strong influence on some of their contemporaries and numerous researchers following in their footsteps.

In 1858 Teichelmann had abandoned all efforts to record Kurna and sent, what was probably his only copy of his work, his handwritten manuscripts (1857; 1858) to George Grey, then in Cape Town, South Africa. Clearly he saw no future for the language when he wrote:

“I do not entirely approve of the orthography of the native language, as we have spelt it, but it is useless now to alter any thing in it after the Tribe has ceased to be.”

However, today their work has enabled a language, which long ago was silenced, to be taught in schools and spoken again in a slowly expanding range of contexts. And it is gaining a significant profile within the public domain.

Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann and Christian Gottlieb Teichelmann arrived in Adelaide on 14 October 1838 aboard the *Pestonjee Bomanjee*. This was less than two years after the Proclamation, while the

colony of South Australia was still in its infancy. Fortuitously, they boarded the same ship as George Gawler, South Australia's second Governor and a good relationship developed between them. Schürmann tutored Gawler's daughter in German, and Gawler invited the missionaries to his table aboard ship and lent them books including Threlkeld's (1834) grammar of Awabakal.

Even before they arrived in Australia, Schürmann and Teichelmann were conscious of the need for active measures to preserve Indigenous languages and this would appear to be part of their rationale for their use of Indigenous languages in education and religion. Clearly they were able to influence Gawler's views on Indigenous languages and language policy as Schürmann's journals reveal:

“Surprisingly, His Excellency [Governor George Gawler] said that the best way to educate the natives would be to bring them nearer the larger towns. Naturally I spoke against such an idea, and so did Teichelmann. If the natives blended with the Europeans, the language of the natives could be lost. His Excellency and Mr Hall then agreed, and stated they would do everything possible to preserve the native language.” (Diary, June 1838).

Evidently, Gawler pursued this topic further some months later:



Kadlitpinna ('Captain Jack')

A mediator between the European colonists and the Wirra tribe at the Para River.

“There was further discussion on the extent to which the missionary wished to preserve the natives’ language, and on whether that had been ordered by the Mission Society. He [Schürmann] answered that he believed the Society would naturally expect that the retaining of the language, because in his instructions he had been told that as soon as he could master it, he should translate the Bible. Well then, would he encourage the natives to learn English? “Individuals, yes, but not the people as a whole. In church and school I would introduce their own language, and when they had education and ability, I would encourage them to learn their own language to perfection.” (Schürmann, 1987: 26)

So, both the missionaries and Gawler had thought about the issue of language preservation on the voyage out to Australia. Upon arrival in Adelaide, Gawler made a point of having his speeches to the assembled Indigenous peoples translated into Kurna, promoted the use of Indigenous place names and supported the linguistic efforts of the missionaries. On arrival in Adelaide, Schürmann and Teichelmann immediately set about learning and documenting the Kurna language. A little more than a year after their arrival, Schürmann opened a school on the banks of Karrawirrapari (the River Torrens) at Piltawodli on 23 December 1839 which he taught in the Kurna language.

At the same time, Schürmann had been learning Ramindjeri, primarily from Tamuruwe or ‘Encounter Bay Bob’. He indicates in his journals, that by January 1840 he could conduct a conversation in the Murray River language, though no trace of his Ramindjeri linguistic notes has yet been found. It is likely that he passed these on to Missionary H A E Meyer, also of the Dresden Mission Society, who accompanied Samuel Klose to South Australia arriving on 9 August 1840.

Meyer published a grammar of the Ramindjeri language in 1843.

Schürmann was planning to establish a mission at Encounter Bay. He had made several journeys there and had already chosen a suitable site for his house. At the last minute, however, Governor Grey sent him to Port Lincoln, and he immediately set about learning Parnkalla (now spelt Barngarla), his third Australian language. He developed considerable fluency in Barngarla, serving as interpreter for the colonial authorities. At times this placed him in a compromised position. Schürmann also established a school at Port Lincoln which he taught in Barngarla and published a description of the language in 1844.

Meanwhile, back in Adelaide, Teichelmann continued to work on the Kurna language and to preach in Kurna, while Klose took over the responsibility for running the school at Piltawodli. In 1842, Teichelmann attempted to establish another mission for the Kurna at Happy Valley, calling it “Ebenezer”. Unfortunately, Teichelmann had few means to support himself and his own family, let alone Kurna people on the mission.

Relationships with Kurna People

Teichelmann and Schürmann quickly established strong relationships with the main Kurna leaders of the time. Mullawirraburka (known to the colonists as ‘King John’ or ‘Onkapinga Jack’) and Kadlitpinna (‘Captain Jack’) were amongst their main sources. In fact, a short text is recorded from each to illustrate dialect differences and two short songs, “Kadlitpiko Palti — Captain Jack’s Song” and “Mullawirraburkarna Palti — King John’s Song” are attributed to each (T&S, 1840: 72-73).

Within months of their arrival Schürmann was taken aside by Wauwityinna and told things of a secret sacred nature that were not to be revealed to women and children.

Leichtigkeit und Geschwindigkeit. Vor einigen Tagen gingen wir mit einem Knaben, Namens Waritja, der mehrere Tage in unserem Hause schlief, aß, und arbeitete, der aber leider wieder davon gegangen ist, nach der Stadt, um einzukaufen; unterwegs kamen wir bei einem Zelte vorbei und wir fragten, wie es hieße; er gab die erwartete Antwort: ich weiß nicht; nachdem er sich indeß einen Augenblick besonnen, sagte er: Turnki-wodli. Das erstere Wort ist allgemeine Bezeichnung für Zeug und das letztere heißt Hütte, Haus, so daß der Ausdruck übersetzt lautet: Zeughaus, nur freilich in einem andern Sinne als in Deutschland. Wir wissen bestimmt, daß der Knabe sich dieser Zusammensetzung nicht erinnerte, sondern sie selbst bildete, und wir meinen, dieses Beispiel beweise, wie leicht sich die Sprache vervollkommen ließe. Sollte sie dennoch, wie die Leute hier glauben und zu hoffen scheinen, verloren gehen, so liegt der Grund wenigstens nicht in ihr. Die



Report by Teichelmann and Schürmann

In *Dresden Mission Society News (Missions-Nachrichten)* 1839, Page 98f:

"A few days ago we went shopping into town together with Waritja, a boy who stayed with us for several days, ate and worked, but unfortunately has left us again.

Along the road we passed a tent and asked him how to call it.

He gave us an answer we expected: 'I don't know.'

However, after thinking about it for a few moments he said: 'TURNKI-WODLI.'

[Turnkiwodli actually means 'tent'. Teichelmann and Schürmann misunderstood this term when they wrote what follows].

The first word is a general term for 'any things', and the latter means 'cottage or house'. This phrase, therefore could be translated as 'the house of things', or arsenal, but in a different sense as in Germany.

We are certain that the boy did not simply remember this phrase but rather created it himself. We mean to say, therefore, that this example proves how easy this language can be brought to perfection. If this language should get lost, as many people here seem to believe or hope, the reason certainly is not rooted in itself."

“The women and children do not know of these happenings and a lot of the following. That is why Wauwilyinna found it advisable to come home with me. To tell me in secrecy and on my promise not to tell it to any native. Woe betide whoever tells it!”
(Diary, 5 June 1839)

When Schürmann commenced teaching the Kurna children in the school at Piltawodli, it appears Ityamaitpinna volunteered to assist. Schürmann writes “Today as planned, I opened my school for the native children. There were seven, and a few adults, including Itjamaitpinna. He followed the letters so fast that he was soon a help to me in teaching” (Diary, 23 December 1839). These instances go to show that the Kurna invested considerable trust in the missionaries.

Klose developed close relationships with the children. Within a few months of arriving in Adelaide he wrote:

“During the lessons the children sit quietly and pay attention. It is a pleasure to be with them. I am just waiting for the time when I shall possess a sufficient command of the language to be able to tell them stories from the sacred history. For they are not so lacking in intelligence, as is generally believed, that they are not able to comprehend such things. Not at all! I find no difference whether I am among European children or among these, other than they are black and not dressed. Often as a matter of fact, their faces appear so familiar, as if I had seen them as whites in Europe.”
(Letter to Dresden, 29 December 1840.)

The children were invited to Klose’s wedding in Holy Trinity Church 16 April 1844, dressed in green wool cloaks. They shared plum pudding with the Kloses at Piltawodli that evening. In July 1845, the government closed the school taught by Klose at Piltawodli. It was a sad occasion. Klose writes:

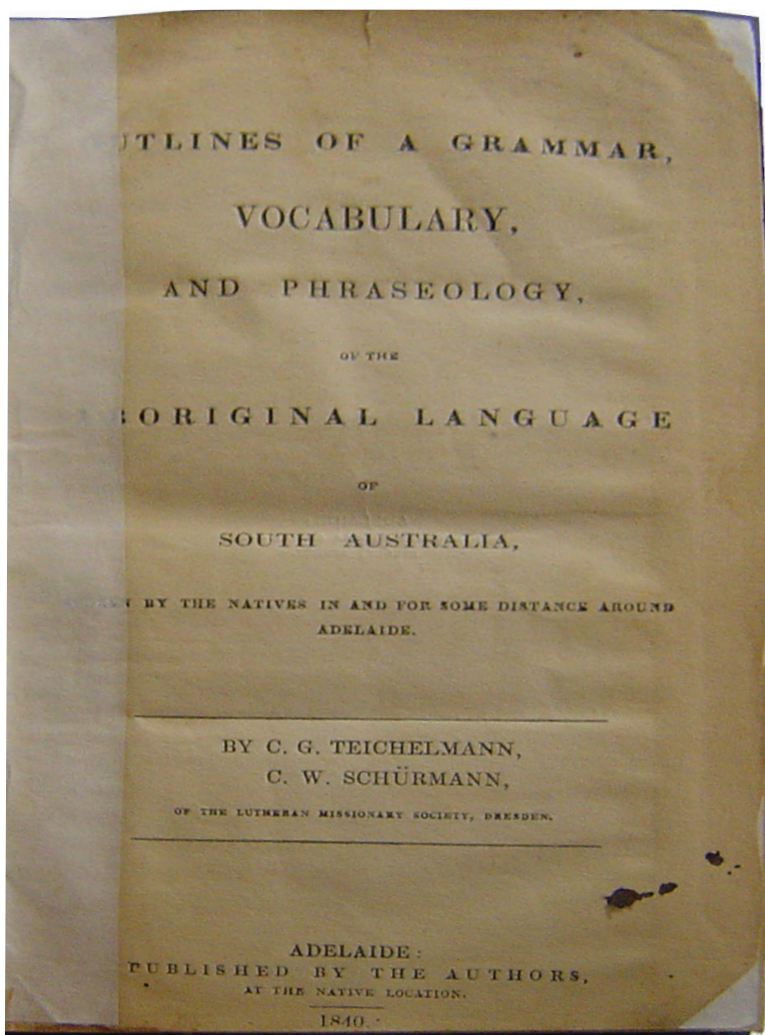
“Towards evening I gathered the children, 18 in number, 9 boys and 9 girls in the schoolhouse for the last time and gave them a farewell tea.

My wife had baked cake. The conversation was largely about past times and the impending separation. A few said they would cry; others that they would come and visit me. They could not understand why I could not go along with them since the teacher at Walkerville was moving with his children. Occasionally we interrupted the conversation with singing of hymns they had learnt both in the native and in the English language and closed the evening with prayer.”
(Letter to Dresden, 29 August 1845.)

Teichelmann, Schürmann, Klose and Meyer probably all felt a deep sense of failure in their attempts to preserve some of the Indigenous languages of South Australia and in their endeavour to Christianise and ‘civilise’ the Kurna, Ramindjeri and Barngarla peoples. Their missions and schools were short-lived and their preaching often fell on deaf ears or even met with outright rejection and ridicule from Indigenous peoples. However, as this paper will show, their linguistic and ethnographic work is increasingly being recognised and valued by Aboriginal people today who are survivors of the Kurna, Ramindjeri and Barngarla peoples.

Their Achievements

The linguistic achievements of the Lutheran missionaries in Adelaide were considerable. In just eighteen months, Teichelmann and Schürmann produced a sketch grammar of Kurna together with a vocabulary of about 2,000 words and about two hundred Kurna sentences translated into English (hereafter referred to as T&S, 1840). They also produced a Kurna translation of the Ten Commandments (published in the *South Australian Gazette & Colonial Register*, 20 May 1840) and a school prayer in the language (yet to be located). Schürmann took a higher public profile than Teichelmann, probably because he was more comfortable in speaking English.



Facsimile of Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840)

In 1840, two years after their arrival, the two missionaries Schürmann and Teichelmann published the book "*The Aboriginal Language of South Australia*", which contains a sketch grammar and an extensive vocabulary of the Kurna Language. In 1962, the State Library of South Australia printed a facsimile to make this source publicly available. Howard Groome from the Department of Education published a second reprint in 1982 and thus expanded its availability. During the past 25 years, Rob Amery, Jane Simpson and the Kurna Language team have exhaustively researched and revised this wordlist together with the Teichelmann manuscript (1857) and other sources for present-day use.

He translated Governor Gawler's speeches, one of which also appears in the *South Australian Gazette & Colonial Register* (20 May, 1840). Prior to his departure for Port Lincoln in 1840, Schürmann also produced translations of two German hymns.

Following Schürmann's departure, Teichelmann continued to preach in Kurna, to support the Piltawodli school and to research and document the Kurna language. In 1857 Teichelmann sent a detailed manuscript (hereafter TMs, 1857) to George Grey, the former governor in South Australia, now in South Africa. It complements T&S (1840) and provides more complex definitions and many more example sentences and phrases. Teichelmann translated an additional four German hymns into Kurna that we know of. These were longer and more complex translations than the two translated by Schürmann earlier.

In just eighteen months, Teichelmann and Schürmann produced a sketch grammar of Kurna together with a sizeable vocabulary

Samuel Klose took over from Schürmann in teaching the school soon after his arrival in August 1840. He used materials prepared by Schürmann and Teichelmann and seems not to have done any linguistic work himself, though he did make a number of very important ethnographic observations in his correspondence to Germany. Significantly, Klose has preserved the hymns translated by Schürmann and Teichelmann and a number of letters and texts written by Kurna children whom he taught.

The Adelaide School

Schürmann and Teichelmann had a more far-reaching influence on linguistic work in South Australia than their immediate

work on Kurna and Schürmann's work on Barngarla. They gained some followers in Adelaide who adopted their orthography and their methods. Weatherstone (1843), a Wesleyan lay preacher, used their orthography to compile a vocabulary of Ngayawang at Swan Reach on the Murray River. Moorhouse (1846) also modelled his grammar of Ngayawang on work produced by the missionaries and appears to have incorporated Weatherstone's vocabulary, without acknowledgement, into this publication.

Jane Simpson (1992:410) puts forward the notion of an "Adelaide School of language researchers" who exchanged information and learned from one another. She identifies Teichelmann, Schürmann, Meyer and Moorhouse in this group under the patronage of Governor Grey and Governor Gawler before him.

However, the names of Klose and Weatherstone should also be added to this group. Whilst Klose, as far as we know, produced little original linguistic research himself, he did use the vocabulary, grammar and hymns written by Teichelmann and Schürmann and employed their orthographic system in teaching literacy at Piltawodli. Others also adopted T&S (1840) spellings and used their materials.

Later in the nineteenth century, the Hermannsburger missionaries who worked with the Dieri People at Lake Killalpaninna in the Lake Eyre basin drew on Teichelmann and Schürmann's work, just as the Dresden missionaries themselves had drawn on the work of Threlkeld (1834) at Lake Macquarie in NSW.

Second person plural, NA—you:

Nom. Naako,	naakurla,	naakurna
Gen. Naakunna,		naakuitya
Dat. Naakurni		

Third person plural, PANA—they:

Nom. Pansko,	pannakurla,	pannakurna
Gen. Panakunna,		pannakuitya
Dat. Panakurni		

NOTE 1.—It may strike the reader to see so many cases wanting in these examples. The accusative cases have been omitted, because they are like the nominative. The active cases of some occur, but not frequently, for they can be supplied by the substantive to which they are referred; as, *Ngangko makawakarlo ninanni yangki?*—My child gave it to me. But, *Ngangko makawakarlo ninanni yangki?*—Whose child gave it to you? Mine. All the other cases could have been easily formed according to analogy of the declension of substantives, had it not been preferred to give only what hitherto has occurred or been met with; there remains little doubt of their existence, inferring from the regularity of the language.

2.—The dative cases singular have, besides the termination *nai*, also *ani*; as, *ngaiyurni* and *ngaiyoanni*. This is only a difference in the dialect, and used precisely in the same sense.

Another possessive or adjective pronoun may be derived from each of the demonstratives, *ia* and *ngu*, in the same manner as from the other personal pronouns.

1st, from *ia*, this; *idourla*, these two; *itto*, these:

	Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
Nom. Innako, his,	idlourlako,	their two	ittuko, their
Dat. Innakurni,	idlourlakurni,		ittukurni

2nd, from *ngu*, that; *ngurloverlako*, those two; *ngunna*, those:

	Sing.	Dual.	Plur.
Nom. Ngurnako, that,	ngurloverlako,	those two,	ngunna, those

NOTE.—The other cases are not yet ascertained.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

Kuma, another; any one; properly, one
Kumarnullo, with; by another; at another (time); also,
the agent
Kumarnulla, two other (the dual)
Kumartanna, other; others
Kutyu, the other; the rest
Kutyounrlo, on the other; the following (day); also, the
agent
Ngapidlo, somebody; something
Ngapidurlo, somebody (was the agent)

RELATIVE PRONOUNS.

If there should be any, they are hitherto unknown. We have observed that the relation between two nouns is expressed in the following way:—*Ngurluntya ai kunda, tikandi urlo*—That man struck me, who is sitting there. *Idlo atto nuna nakkoma, padlo ngai turuki yangkoma idlo*—Him I would love, who would give me clothing; *ngatto pa weadi nakkandi, ngai turuki padlo yakko yangkondi*—but him I hate, who gives me no clothing.

VERBS.

INFORMATION on this part of the language is more limited than that of any other; therefore the reader cannot expect a full and perfect treatise upon this division, nor ought he to draw inferences as regards the perfection or imperfection of the language in general.

OF THE ORIGIN OF VERBS.

They are—

1.—Primitive; as, *tikkandi*, to sit; *panmandi*, to spear; *reandendi*, to lie; *kundandi*, to beat.

A Detailed Assessment of Schürmann and Teichelmann’s Work on Kaurna

“Teichelmann and Schürmann produced the only grammar of the Kaurna language.”

Grammar

Teichelmann and Schürmann produced the only grammar of the Kaurna language. Without their materials, only a little is able to be uncovered about Kaurna grammatical structure from a handful of sentences recorded by John McConnell Black of the South Australian Museum following his interviews with the last known Kaurna language speaker, Ivaritji (died 1929). Significantly, Black’s material fits closely with Schürmann’s and Teichelmann’s analyses (T&S, 1840; TMs, 1857; TMs, 1858). Schürmann’s and Teichelmann’s contemporaries (Williams, 1840; Wyatt, 1879; Koeler, 1842; and Hack, 1837) who managed to record a small number of sentences, have all recorded a jargon or Pidgin Kaurna, a simplified version of the language used to converse with Europeans (see Simpson, 1996). Teichelmann and Schürmann were aware of the existence of this variety and critical of other Europeans who used it. They strove to document the language in its original form.

There are a number of indications that Teichelmann and Schürmann recorded only what they heard. Of course they worked in an era before sound recording equipment, so they had to rely on their memories to record what they heard. It is certainly possible that in this process they inadvertently regularised the language to some degree. All the verbs appear listed in their present tense form with an invariant *-ndi* ending.

Other sources (Williams, 1840, Wyatt, 1879; Robinson, n.d., Koeler, 1842, Gaimard, 1833) suggest variant *-ni* and perhaps *-n* endings, though these other sources are generally less reliable.

The grammar produced by Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840) accords well with what we would expect of a Pama-Nyungan language, the language family to which Kaurna belongs. They correctly established the major case suffixes, including:

- the Locative suffix *-ngga* (= *-ngka* in Pitjantjatjara and numerous other Australian languages),
- the Ergative suffix *-rlo*, (= *-lu* in many languages across Australia), though they called it the “Active” case,
- the Dative *-ko* (= *-ku* in numerous other Australian languages),
- the Allative *-anna* ‘towards’, Ablative *-un-angko* ‘from’ and Perlative suffixes *-arra* ‘through, along, via’ etc., just as to be expected.

The aversive suffix *-ttoai*, the ‘having’ suffix *-tidli* and the privative suffix *-tina* or *-pulyo* ‘without’ are also grammatical categories found in other languages like Pitjantjatjara, though the form of these Kaurna suffixes appear to be unrelated. Pitjantjatjara has *-lawara*, *-ljara* and *-wiya* respectively.

However, Teichelmann and Schürmann’s grammar has its shortcomings. For instance, it would appear that Kaurna has at least two distinct verb conjugations or verb

classes, and perhaps more, but these were not analysed in their grammar. The verb conjugations are only evident by comparing the forms of verbs occurring in their sentence materials. Because all verbs in the dictionary are listed in the present tense with an invariant suffix *-ndi* there is no way of knowing which conjugation a given verb belongs to, unless the other tenses of the verb happen to occur in the example sentences.

Pama-Nyungan languages vary in the number of verb conjugations they have, a few like Adnyamathanha having just a single conjugation, but others having as many as seven. Pitjantjatjara has four main conjugations plus some irregular verbs. The recorded Kurna forms suggest some resemblance to the Pitjantjatjara system. However, because T&S (1840) and TMs (1857) do not adequately distinguish between interdental, alveolar and retroflex consonants, the existence of more conjugation classes is perhaps obscured.

Vocabulary

Altogether, the Lutheran missionaries recorded about 3,000 words. We would expect a vocabulary of at least 10,000 words in a language like Kurna at the time of colonisation. Further, T&S (1840) record just 32 place names. But on the basis of detailed work in Cape York, where any mature man knows at least 2,000 to 3,000 names within a relatively small localised area, we would expect at least that many names to have existed on the Adelaide Plains, if not more. Nor did they ever produce any maps as far as we know.

T&S (1840) and TMs (1857) reveal the existence of an elaborate kinship system with distinctive terms for each of the four grandparents and additional reciprocal terms for each of the four grandchildren.

The single English phrase ‘your grandchild’ could be translated in four different ways — *ninko kammilya*, *ninko ngapilya*, *ninko tammu* or *ninko madlanta*, depending on the specific relationship involved. T&S (1840) and TMs (1857) also reveal the existence of terms for the bereaved (eg *willo* ‘a man whose brothers and sisters have died’ or *wikandi* ‘a father whose children are dead’), distinctive terms for the deceased (eg *kuttari* ‘a late elder sister’ which is quite different to *yakkana* ‘elder sister’) and dyadic terms (eg *tarrotawrla* ‘two brother’s-in-law’ and *tarrotanggula* ‘standing in a brother-in-law relationship to each other’).

These distinctions are not made in English. The German missionaries did not fully understand the Kurna kinship system. They recorded some terms like *kumarro* ‘name for a relative’, which they did not understand at all. But what they did record reveals a system that was so complex, that it makes English look ‘primitive’ by comparison. When we look at other Indigenous languages which are better described by modern linguists, we find that the kinds of kinship categories recorded in T&S (1840) and TMs (1857) are indeed the kinds of categories we would expect to find in a Pama-Nyungan language such as Kurna.

Perhaps surprisingly, given the strong interest in family histories within Lutheran circles, there is no evidence that the German missionaries ever produced a family tree. Whilst they recorded the names of a fair number of Kurna people, mostly men and children living during the late 1830s and early-mid 1840s, little can be established of the kin relationships between them. This is a source of disappointment and frustration for Kurna people today.

Some areas of the vocabulary, such as body parts, are very well documented. Specialised terms appear such as *pillupillunna* ‘ensiform cartilage’, *meya* ‘anterior fontanelle’, and

tangka artatta ‘membrane which divide the nobler entrails from the lower’, which possibly refers to the diaphragm. Verbs related to speaking, thinking, emotions, feelings and bodily functions are also reasonably well recorded. The definitions of some terms give a very clear image of at least some of the contexts in which these terms were used.

For instance in TMs (1857), we find *ngaiandi* ‘used of little children when singing themselves to sleep’, *tarndendi* ‘to crackle; to pretend to fight by flourishing the spear and jumping about like a madman’ and *tanendi* ‘to come forth, appear (of the sun, of seeds, of rising from the dead)’. Other entries, such as the following examples, provide copious encyclopedic information that is not found in a simple vocabulary:

- “*Nguya* s. pustule; the disease of small-pox, from which the aborigines suffered before the Colony was founded. They universally assert that it came from the east, or the Murray tribes, so that <it> is not at all improbable that the disease was at first brought among the natives by European settlers on the eastern coast. They have not suffered from it for some years; but about a decennium ago it was, according to their statement, universal; when it diminished their numbers considerably, and on many left the marks of its ravages, to be seen at this day. They have no remedy against it, except the *nguyapalti*.”
- “*Nguyapalti*, small-pox song, which they learnt from the eastern tribes, by the singing of which the disease is believed to be prevented or stopped in its progress.” (T&S, 1840: 34)
- “*Pangkarra*, s. a district or tract of country belonging to an individual, which he inherits from his father. *Ngarrailya paru ailyo pangkarrila*, there is abundance of game

in my country. As each *pankarra* has its peculiar name, many of the owners take that as their proper name, with the addition of the term *burka*; for instance, Mulleakiburka (Tam O’Shanter), Mulla-wirraburka (King John), Kalyoburka, Karkulyaburka, Tindowirraburka, &c. Another mode of giving names to themselves is to affix the same term, or *itpinna*, to the surname of one of their children; as Kadlitpinna (Captain Jack), Wauwitpinna, Wirraitpinna, &c.” (T&S, 1840: 36)

One of the better fleshed out entries is that of *paltandi* and related forms and illustrative sentences. I will use this example to demonstrate the superior quality of many of Schürmann’s and Teichelmann’s recordings compared to those of other observers:

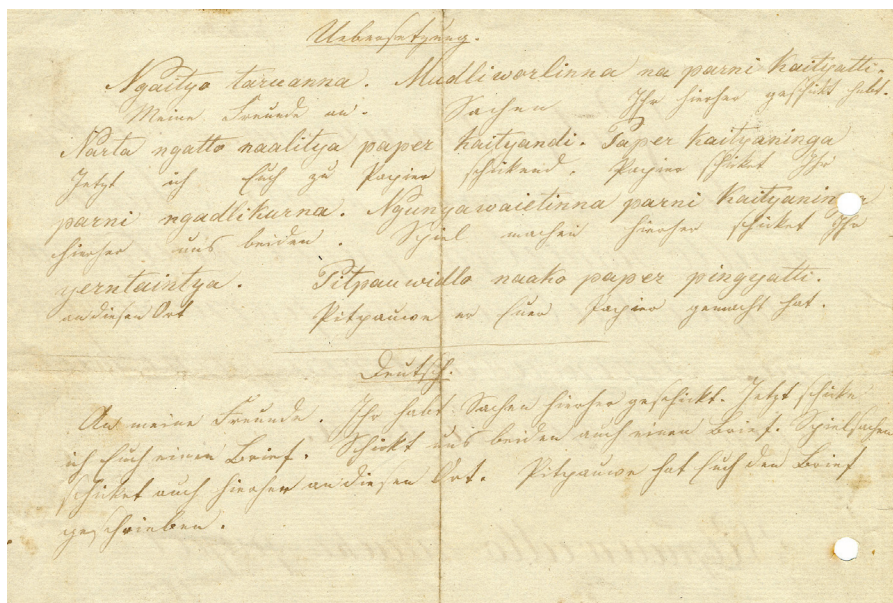
T&S (1840) define *paltandi* as follows:

- *Paltandi*, v.a. ‘to knock; push; throw; beat; pluck off; pull out.’ (T&S, 1840: 35)
- Earlier in the grammar section (T&S: 15) they have *paltandi* ‘to throw; rend’.

Compare these definitions with those provided by other observers:

- *Paldann* ‘dechirer’ (= ‘tear, rip’) (Gaimard, 1833: 7)
- *Poltánde* ‘werfen; schleudern’ (ie ‘to throw; drag’) (Koeler, 1842: 54)
- *Pul-ta-ne* ‘to throw’ (Williams, 1840: 295)
- *Perltáne* ‘to break; beat in corrobory <sic>’ (Wyatt, 1879: 18)
- *Palla* ‘to strike’ (Black, 1920: 84)

These other observers have recorded just one or two senses in which the word is used ‘tearing’ vs ‘throwing’ vs ‘breaking’ vs ‘beating’ or ‘striking’ vs ‘dragging’.



An example of a Kauria text with translation by Samuel Klose (1843)

Missionary-teacher Klose had the foresight to collect some of the writings by his pupils and sent them to the Dresden Missionary Society. In the above image of a letter to Dresden, Klose copied and translated the text of one of the three letters reproduced in this booklet on the following pages..

Written by the 12 or 13 year school boy Pitpauwe, this letter asks for more toys (see next image).

In September 2014, the three letters were returned to the Kauria Community in Adelaide and are now held in the Special Collections of the Barr-Smith Library, University of Adelaide.

Another note, written by Ityamaii for Governor Grey and his wife, was attached to two watermelons grown by the children in 1845, now held in the South African Public Library, Cape Town.

Interestingly there is much variation in the meanings given, but comparison back to T&S (1840) shows that all these meanings are probably correct. T&S (1840) begin to reveal some complexity in the semantics of this word in their gloss. But they go further and also list additional derived forms in their vocabulary (T&S, 1840: 36):

- *Pallapalta*, s. ‘knocking’
- *Pallapaltarendi*, v.r. ‘to stretch one’s self’
- *Pallapaltaritti*, s. ‘stretching’
- *Paltarendi*, v. the same as paltandi. Manya *paltarendi*. ‘it rains heavily’.
- *Pallariappendi*, v.a. ‘to pull off; pluck out; rend’

They also cite the following sentence example which uses the word in the sense of ‘throw’:

- *Ngai padlo ningka palta, ngaiyo tokutyurlo*. ‘He attempted to throw at me, my child.’ (T&S, 1840: 66)

Teichelmann (1857) defines the word as follows:

- *Paltandi* ‘1. to pull of <sic>, to throw, strike; 2. to beget; used of men’.

Here Teichelmann introduces an entirely new sense in which the word is used, which he identifies as a separate meaning. In addition he also provides the following derivations:

- *Palta paltarendi* ‘1. to stretch or throw oneself when arising from sleep; 2. to decay, fall to pieces or crumble’
- *Paltanyarnendi* <unglossed, though this is clearly an inchoative form, perhaps ‘becoming stretched’ or ‘becoming split’ etc.>
- *Pallariappendi* v.caus
- *Palta paltaretti* ‘the act of stretching oneself etc.’

- *Paltarta* ‘weak, feeble, not strong etc.’
- *Paltarti* ‘not heavy, light’

Teichelmann goes further to provide a number of sentence and phrase examples as follows:

- *manyarlor paltandi*, ‘the rain does beat, i.e. it rains heavily <sic>’
- *garla padlo paltandi*, ‘to kill the fire’
- *minno borumbo paltandi*, ‘the flower of the wattel <sic> tree is falling’
- *painingga ngatto paltati, numa ba <?> errurretti ngatto paltaninna*; ‘formerly when I was splitting/cutting (that piece of wood) it did run very well when I did split’
- *ngaii paltananna*, ‘I am one who has been beaten.’
- *ngatto ngaiyo meyu wortanna warra paltata, na meyu wortatinna*, ‘I shall tell it to my countrymen <sic> (meaning take care & fear) you are without countrymen’
- *manya paltarendi*, ‘it is raining’
- *Turnki ngattaiyangga paltarendi*, ‘the coat shall wear off on my body.’
- *Tangka/Yitpi paltarendi kathiurlo or worltarlo tauarurlo*, ‘my heart or soul is wearing out by fatigue or excessive heat.’
- *paltarta ninna*, ‘you are weak, feeble, not strong etc.’
- *murla warridlo paltata*, ‘when a dry wind will blow’
- *Narta ngadlu wingko paltariappi*, ‘now have we terminated life’
- *yarra palta paltarendi*, ‘when many separate one from the other’.
- *Turnki ngattaiyangga paltarendi*, ‘The coat shall throw itself from my body, i.e. it shall wear off on my body.’
- *ngarro paltarta* , <unglossed>

- *mekauwe pallarendi*, ‘the tears are flowing’
- *manya pallareola ngurlo kura, manya yakko budnaoto (or wadneota) ngurluntya murreota*, ‘in case it does rain then (<sic> we stay home, (but) if rain do not come (or fall) then (we) shall go’.

Here we see numerous additional senses in which the word may be used, including flowers ‘falling’; wood ‘splitting’; ‘extinguishing’ fires, life or breath ‘terminated’; coats ‘wearing out’, the heart or soul ‘wearing out’, the wind ‘blowing’; tears ‘flowing’ etc. Many of these contexts could not be predicted from the definitions provided by the various observers above, including Teichelmann himself. Without the work of Schürmann and Teichelmann we would be left with a very rudimentary understanding of the word *paltandi*, to say the least.

I have pursued this one example at length to demonstrate some of the richness and complexity buried in Teichelmann and Schürmann’s recording of the Kaurna language. However, the quality of their work on Kaurna vocabulary is very uneven.

The glosses of some words are seriously lacking, such that it is quite impossible to identify the referent. A small number of words, for example *munainlya*, and several sentences are left unglossed or untranslated in TMs (1857). Some glosses are underspecified (eg. *tiangarra* ‘a kind of shrub’).

Others, such as *narntarti* ‘vegetable food eaten along with meat’ and *ngarkatta* ‘a famous hunter’ are ambiguous. Is *narntarti* a particular kind of vegetable food, or does it refer to any vegetable food eaten as a side dish with meat? I suspect that it is the former, though there is no way of telling from the entry itself. Does *ngarkatta* apply to anyone who is a well-known and skillful hunter, or is it actually the name of a totemic ancestor renowned as a skilled hunter? I suspect it is the latter.

The only other related form recorded is *ngarkatta palti* ‘hunter’s song’ which does not serve to resolve the ambiguity.

There are also several instances in the work of Schürmann and Teichelmann where apparent errors or misunderstandings occur. For instance, *kauwawa* glossed by T&S (1840) as ‘uncle’ is more likely ‘cousin’, whilst *kauwanu* is more likely the correct form. Wyatt (1879: 15) has *kouáno* ‘uncle’ and Tindale (1935) has *kawawa* ‘mother’s brother’s daughter; mother’s brother’s son’ and *kawano* ‘mother’s brother’, which coincides with *nukunu kawarna* ‘uncle, mother’s brother. The weight of evidence seems to indicate that Teichelmann & Schürmann misunderstood the term.

There are also occasional apparent contradictions in the work of Teichelmann and Schürmann. For instance, *taibyo* is given as ‘hungry’, yet *taibutinna* is also given as ‘hungry’. Now *-inna* is the regular privative suffix meaning ‘without’ and other words such as *maülinna* ‘without food’, *parutinna* ‘without meat’ and *gallatinna* ‘without fire’ are all glossed in a way consistent with this. One can only assume that *taibutinna* really means ‘without hunger’ or ‘loss of appetite’.

By contrast with the body parts, many other areas of the vocabulary are poorly documented. Very few terms for marine or aquatic species appear, though there is ample evidence of their importance in the diet of Kaurna people in the 1840s. A number of terms recorded are redundant because they are underdefined. For instance, T&S (1840) recorded five terms for fungi, including *parnappi* ‘mushroom’. The remaining four terms are given simply as ‘a species of fungus’. There seems to be no way of determining what these terms referred to. There were probably dozens of edible fungi and other species used for medicinal purposes, each having a distinctive Kaurna name.

Unless we arbitrarily assign meaning to these terms, there is not much we can do with them, apart from using them as personal names. One of the children at the Piltawodli school did in fact have one of these terms as her name, Tangkaira.

All languages use metaphor to greater or lesser extents. It is probably a universal phenomenon that terms for animals are used metaphorically in reference to people because of certain characteristics or behaviours they display. Certainly some examples have been recorded in other Australian languages.

For instance, Pitjantjatjara uses *kaanka* ‘crow’ for ‘thief’, Yolngu Matha uses *wunggan* ‘dog’ for ‘playboy’, and I observed the frequent use of *buku m̐pili* ‘mudskipper forehead’ as an insult by children at Yirrkala in the mid-1980s. However, none of this kind of usage has been documented in Kaurna.

Only a few instances of idiomatic usage of Kaurna language have been recorded. The extended meanings, metaphor and idiomatic usage are the genius of a language that afford rich cultural insights. In the work of Schürmann and Teichelmann we see glimpses of this rich culture, but so much has gone unrecorded. However, by comparison with their contemporaries and other observers of the Kaurna language, Schürmann and Teichelmann certainly provide a far superior record.

Recorded Utterances

A number of utterances recorded by Teichelmann & Schürmann provide insights into life for Kaurna people in the 1830s and 1840s. Some utterances can be tied to particular historical events. We find a number of sentences referring to hangings, for instance:

- *Yakko nindo pindi meyu kundata, tiltappettoai. Waieninga; ngannaiya na waiwillanna?*
‘You must not kill a white man, lest you be hanged. Be afraid; why are you bold?’ (T&S, 1840: 71)

- *Pulyunna meyu tiltappewri, pinde meyu nurultoai.* ‘Don’t hang the black man, that the European be not charmed (or enchanted).’ (T&S, 1840: 69).

This latter sentence was probably uttered in 1839 by Kadlitpinna (known to the colonists as ‘Captain Jack’) who tried to act as a mediator between the European colonists and the ‘Wirra Tribe’ from the Para River district who threatened to put a curse on the Torrens River to wipe out the colonists when their countrymen were about to be hanged for the killing of shepherds. On 18th June 1839, shortly after the hangings, Schürmann records in his diary:

“*Today the much feared relatives and fellow tribal members of the two executed men arrived at Piltawodlinga, accompanied by Minno Gudnuitja Kadlitpinna. Why they didn’t proceed with their witchcraft I don’t know, probably because of M.G. Kadlitpinna. When I was going to ask them why they didn’t perform their magic as intended, I was interrupted by Kadlitpinna and advised not to ask, because he was afraid they could still do it.*”

In the TMs (1857) we find the sentence:

Ngaityerli pullondo, burro ngaii wortarra padneta, perkäbbinama ngaii yailtyattoai tulyarlo.

‘Tell my father that I shall come after you, later, lest he think the police have shot me’. This reveals something about the dangerous times in which Kaurna people lived, where the assumption was that a person might have been killed by police if they didn’t arrive home at the expected time.

Insights about traditional Kaurna cultural practices are also embedded in this material.

For example:

A. Jan 16. 1843.

Ngaityo taruanna. Muuli
woelina na parni kaitti. Narta
ngallo naalilya paper kaityanu
Tapee kaityaninga parni ngallika
na. Agunijawaelinna parni kait
yaninga yerentajintya.

Pitpauwidlo naako paper
pinggatti.

Letter written by Pitpauwe (1843)

There were two boys writing letters while at the Piltawodli school at the time of missionary-teacher Klose. No doubt, the reference in this letter to the 'two of us' (*ngadlikurna*, dual form 'for us two'), refers to Pitpauwe and Wailtyi.

"To my brother-in-law.

You [plural] have sent here (some) household things.

Now I am sending you [plural] a letter.

You [plural] send a letter for both of us. You [plural] send toys here.

Pitpauwi has written this letter to you [plural]."

Pammaringga ngai budni, mokarta kundangka, kurru karrendaii. 'For the sake of spearing I came (but as it has not taken place or is not to take place) beat my head (that the blood runs down) for I feel ashamed.'

This sentence is likely to have been uttered by a man who had fronted up to accept his punishment for some misdemeanor. When the punishment did not take place, he was deeply shamed. Ritual spearings are still relatively commonplace in some remote communities in the Northern Territory, Western Australia and the northwest of South Australia.

Almost all of the recorded sentences were uttered by men in conversation with other men, often the missionaries themselves. Male-female, female-female, child-adult and child-child interaction is almost entirely absent.

A Literary Tradition

The German missionaries established a brief literary tradition in the Kurna language amongst the Kurna between 1839 and 1845. By sending examples of the writings of Kurna children to the Dresden Mission Society in Germany, Klose has preserved several prime examples of letters and pages from the children's copybooks. In November 1840, just ten months after the establishment of the school, Klose sent a page of a copybook belonging to an 11 year old girl called Kartanya. It consists of three lines repeated as follows:

- *Yeowarnalitya tondari mangaringa;*
Always worship God;
- *ngadluo pinggalinggalla pa;*
He is our creator;
- *wakinnanangko padlo ngadlu tiraappeta.*
He protects [ie saves] us from sin.

The longest surviving text (61 words) written by Kurna children is a group letter penned by Itya Maii in May 1841 and signed by eight other children.

The letter which was sent to Governor Gawler pleads with him to remain and look after them. It is accompanied by a cover note signed by Teichelmann, Moorhouse and Klose and appears to have been orchestrated by them.

In 1843, Klose sent two letters to Germany written by Wailtyi and Pitpauwe, 12 or 13 year old boys. These letters, requesting some more toys, are in superb copyplate writing. Another letter attached to some watermelons grown by the children and sent to Governor Grey and his wife in 1845 was written by Itya Maii.

Hymns

Six German hymns translated by Schürmann and Teichelmann survive. There are numerous accounts in the missionaries' letters and journals that these hymns were sung, not only in the school program, but also at fellowships with other congregations, such as the Wesleysans in Hindmarsh and the Baptists in North Adelaide, and at the Queen's Birthday Celebrations and other official gatherings. They were even sung at the funeral for Meyer's deceased child when the Kurna children visited Encounter Bay.

Dreaming Stories

Whilst they were certainly told much about Kurna beliefs, unfortunately the German missionaries did not record Kurna Dreaming stories in the Kurna language itself. This is a great shame because it is precisely this material which is highly sought after by Kurna people today.

13.

Jan No. 183.

Ngaityo tarruanna.

Ngatto naalityangga paper
kaitya. Na' ngaittaya ngaityo
ngunya waiittinna kaityaninga,
ngaii ngunya waiitta ngaityo
worlingga tawatta tindanna.

Ngaii ngunya waieta ngaityo
mudli worlinna panni kaitjaninga

Waiittyedlo naako paper kaitya.

Letter by the Kurna boy Wailtyi, produced in perfect handwriting in 1843 and asking for more toys.

"To my brother-in-law.

I have sent this letter to you all.

You [plural] send my household things [i.e. toys] to me.

I will move happily in my house for many days.

I will dance happily if you [plural] send household things here.

Wailtyi has sent this letter for you [plural]."

Only Wyatt (1879: 25) has recorded a short excerpt of a Kurna Dreaming story, just 19 words in length.

At least the German missionaries did record some snippets of Kurna Dreaming stories and Kurna cosmology in German and English in their journals and correspondence. Some of the recorded Kurna vocabulary also provides some clues and insights into the Indigenous belief systems (see Amery, 2000c for a detailed analysis of what has been recorded in relation to Kurna Dreamings).

Why didn't Teichelmann and Schürmann record Kurna Dreaming narratives when they were privy to this information? The German missionaries were not ethnographers. They came with a mission — to convert the Aborigines of South Australia to Christianity. Kurna “religious imaginings” as Schürmann referred to them, were in direct opposition to their main task. It would appear that they did not record Dreaming stories in Kurna because they did not view them, in contrast to the language itself, as worthy of preservation.

In fact, there are numerous references in their letters, papers and journals to occasions when they confronted Kurna people and ridiculed and denigrated their beliefs in an effort to persuade them to abandon them in favour of Christianity. The following illustrates the kinds of exchanges between the missionaries and the Kurna on matters of religion:

“One Sunday evening we took two lately tattooed Natives home to our house and spoke to them of the rite they had undergone, the origin of which they ascribe to a red species of kangaroo. We endeavoured to show them the foolishness of this practice, and spoke to them of Jehovah, that he alone was to be feared, and not the red kangaroo; as they believe when they do not cut themselves in this way, the kangaroo will kill them.

One of them growing angry said, ‘why do you charge us with a lie, i.e. reject our opinion, we do not charge you with lies; what you believe and speak of Jehovah is good, and what we believe is good?’”

We replied that only on one side the truth could be, and that was on our side.

‘Very well,’ he answered, ‘then I am a liar and you speak the truth, I shall not speak another word, you may now speak.’” (Teichelmann, 1841: 12-13)

Nor did Teichelmann or Schürmann record any texts of consequence, though they did record several sets of connected sentences or question and answer routines. It is the absence of texts which is the main shortcoming in T&S (1840) and TMs (1857).

The Kurna Sources Rediscovered

“Very few copies of this second work exist in the libraries of the world”.

Kurna linguistic heritage has lain dormant in the archives for many years. According to Joyce Graetz, Teichelmann and Schürmann’s Kurna dictionary (1840) and Teichelmann’s *Aborigines in South Australia* (1841) had slipped into obscurity until discovered by the Public Library of South Australia at the auction of a deceased estate in 1960. According to *The Advertiser* at the time, “The Principal Librarian (Mr H.C. Brideson) said that the only other known copy [of Teichelmann (1841)] was in the Mitchell Library, Sydney” and that “very few copies of this second work [T&S (1840)] exist in the libraries of the world” .

The State Library produced facsimile copies in 1962 which were placed on the open shelves, thus making the early Kurna sources more readily available. In 1982, Howard Groome, then working in the Education Department, produced another facsimile edition of T&S (1840), further increasing its availability.

In 1984, copies of materials held in Leipzig, including correspondence between the Dresden Mission Society and Teichelmann, Schürmann, Klose and Meyer, were obtained by the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide. But it is only in the last few years that much of this material has been made available to researchers and to the Kurna community. Additional Kurna material not sent to Australia in 1984 has since been located in other archives in Germany.

In the 1980s, curriculum writers began to draw on Kurna vocabularies to compile short wordlists of Kurna kinship terms, foods, artifacts, fauna and flora etc. for in-

clusion within Aboriginal Studies materials. A number of such lists appear in *The Kurna People* (EDSA, 1989). The majority of terms appearing in these wordlists are clearly drawn from T&S (1840), though some are also taken from Wyatt (1879) and Cawthorne (1844).

In 1981, Howard Groome published *The Kurna People: The first people in Adelaide* in which he included a double page spread of a scene depicting traditional Kurna life. Speech balloons were filled with utterances taken directly from T&S (1840) as follows:

- *Wanti nimma?*
Where are you going?
- *Karra ngai murrela.*
I’m going up the hill (exchange between a woman and a man who is heading off with a spear).
- *Medo wando wandingai.*
I’m going to sleep (uttered by an old man lying in a wurley).
- *Wadlowarta.*
A lazy person (comment from woman looking on).
- *Mekuamarti*
May the crows pull out your eyes.
- *Mengarramarti*
May your eyes be pushed out with a stick (exchange between two children trading insults).
- *Parna padnendi*
They are going (commentary on a group depicted heading off hunting).

- *Waruyanni mai yungainga.*
Give some food to Waritya (uttered by older boy taking food from younger children).
- *Wadlimarra*
A greedy person (comment from younger child).
- *Ninna buuyli* <sic>
You have eaten well?
- *Ne*
Yes (dialogue between two men).
- *Pa tikkandi.*
He is sitting (label on picture of man sitting).

Whilst Groome was able to reconstruct a plausible dialogue between some of the participants using this method, no attempt was made to construct novel sentences.

A Kurna wordlist of about 700 words drawn entirely from T&S (1840) and TMs (1857) was published by Amery & Simpson (1994) in *Macquarie Aboriginal Words*. A facsimile of T&S (1840) and the vocabulary from TMs (1857) organised into topics or domains have also been published as a resource for Kurna programs.

Yeowarnalitya tondari mangaringa ;
 ngadlukho pinggalinggalla pa; wakinn
 anangko padlo ngadlu tiraappeta.
 Yeowarnalitya tondari mangaringa ;
 ngadlukho pinggalinggalla pa; wakinn
 anangko padlo ngadlu tiraappeta
 Yeowarnalitya tondari mangari.
 Kartanya, in Mission von Leipzig 1840, abw. 11/11/1840.

In November 1840, missionary Klose sent a letter to the Dresden Mission Society, which included a page from the copybook of an eleven-year-old girl, Kartanya, from the school at Piltawodli. The first three lines of this text are as follows (repeated again):

Yeowarnalitya tondari mangaringa
 Ngadlukho pinggalinggalla pa
 Wakinnanangko padlo ngadlu tiraappeta

Always worship Jehova.
 He is our creator.
 He saves [literally protects] us from sin.

Kurna Language Reclamation

The Kurna language could be used creatively to talk about things in the 1990s.

Georgina Williams was probably the first to call for the revival of Kurna as a spoken language in about 1985. She wanted to travel to the School of Australian Linguistics at Batchelor in the Northern Territory to study and learn Kurna, but a minimum of six students were needed. Other Kurna people were not interested or in a position to travel to Batchelor then, so nothing came of her approach at that time.

The 1990s saw the first real attempts to revive Kurna. This began with the writing of songs at a Songwriters' Workshop at Tandanya Aboriginal Cultural Institute in March 1990, culminating in the publication of *Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga & Kurna Songs*. This songbook (*Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga and Kurna Languages Project*, 1990) included seven songs, some wholly Kurna, most in Kurna and English and some in Kurna, Narrunga, Ngarrindjeri and English. See table below.

Table: Kurna Songs in *Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga & Kurna Songs*, 1990

Song	Songwriter	Description
Can You Wiggle	Leigh Newton, Josie Agius, Pearl Nam & Kathryn Gale	An action song in English with Narungga, Kurna and Ngarrindjeri body prts; 7 Kurna words
<i>Ngai Mutandi</i> "I eat..."	Josie Agius, Kathryn Gale & Rob Amery	A repetitive childrens song; half Kurna, half English; 7 distinct words Kurna words + Locative
Show Me Where The Names Go	Leigh Newton	An action song with English chorus; 9 Kurna body parts
<i>Kammami's Lullaby</i> "Grandmothers's Lullaby"	Josie Agius, Kathryn Gale & Leigh Newton	Lullaby with English and Kurna versions; 9 Kurna words
<i>Wanti Ninna Pudnendi</i> "Where are you going?"	Josie Agius, Pearl Nam, Kathryn Gale, Leigh Newton & Rob Amery	Repetitive song entirely in Kurna: 19 distinct Kurna words + Allative suffix
In the Morning	Kenneth Ken, Josie Agius, Kathryn Gale & Leigh Newton	Action & echo song in Kurna & English; 29 distinct Kurna words
He Sends the Rainbow	Chester Schultz & Rob Amery	Folk hymn translated into Ngarrindjeri, Kurna & Narrunga; 12 Kurna words.

Taken from Amery, 1998a Vol.1: 297

These songs, for the first time in the modern period, used the Kurna language to produce novel sentences. The grammatical structures employed were fairly basic and repetitive and these songs were much less complex than many of those written today. In all, less than 80 distinct Kurna words were employed in this songbook. Nonetheless, these songs demonstrated that the Kurna language as recorded by T&S (1840) could be used creatively to talk about things in the 1990s.

The songwriters' workshop was followed by annual Kurna language workshops held for childcare workers, teachers and Nunga parents over the period 1990-1993, each lasting for just one or two weeks. I began the first workshop in 1990 by teaching a linguistics course through drawing comparisons between the three Nunga languages (Kurna, Narungga and Ngarindjeri). This proved to be too confusing for the students, so I focussed exclusively on Kurna, primarily because T&S (1840) was readily available and it was relatively easy to work with. Copies were purchased for each of the students, and at this and future workshops T&S (1840) was used as a textbook.

We began by deconstructing the translated Kurna sentences in the back of the book through use of the vocabulary and grammar section. The students were given exercises where they were required to find the right suffixes or word endings to express notions conveyed by prepositions in English, such as *-ngga* 'in', *-anna* 'to; towards' etc. By the end of the 1990 workshop, we had produced several short Kurna stories including *Wai Yerlitta* 'But Dad!' by Nelson Varcoe and *Freddy Kanto* 'Freddy the Frog' by Bonney Wanganeen.

In the 1991 workshop, held specifically for childcare workers, we scoured T&S (1840) for useful expressions, such as *Nganna ninna narri?* 'What is your name?', *Parni kawai!*

'Come here!', *Pari parniappendo!* 'Pass me the rice.' etc.

These phrases were then compiled in a rough booklet and were recorded by myself on tape. A major focus of this workshop was the translation of six well-known nursery rhymes (Twinkle Twinkle Little Star, Baa Baa Black Sheep etc) into Kurna. In future workshops other songs were written and translated, including the well-loved Kookaburra Song. Additional verses about other animals of the Adelaide Plains were added. All these translations were done as a group exercise so that people could see exactly how we were drawing on the material recorded in the historical materials.

The Birth of *Kurna Warra Pintyanthi* (KWP)

In 2000 we held a series of workshops titled *Kurna Warra Pintyanthi*, 'Creating Kurna Language'. We figured that if the Kurna language was going to live again we needed to re-establish intergenerational transmission. To do that we needed to develop terms and expressions that caregivers could use with babies and young children in a range of situations and for a range of different purposes. These expressions had not been documented by the Dresden missionaries.

The need for Kurna expressions suitable for a range of other situations, such as funerals, was raised at these workshops. Over the next few years we began to workshop funeral protocols.

We received numerous requests for Kurna names and translations and would discuss these requests with Kurna people in workshops whenever the opportunity arose. As a group we decided to keep meeting on a monthly basis to discuss these requests and to work on Kurna language projects.

This group came to be known as *Kaurna Warra Pinyandi*, now *Kaurna Warra Pinyanthi* in Revised Kaurna Spelling (since 2010).

Kaurna Programs

A Kaurna program was introduced into Kaurna Plains School in 1992 by Auntie Alice Wallara Rigney and assisted by Nelson Varcoe. Under state government education policy the school was obliged to introduce a LOTE (Languages Other Than English) program. Rather than teach a language from overseas, or a major Indigenous language such as Pitjantjatjara from the north of the state, the school took the plunge and commenced a Kaurna program, even though there was no established curriculum and the teachers had virtually no knowledge of the language themselves.

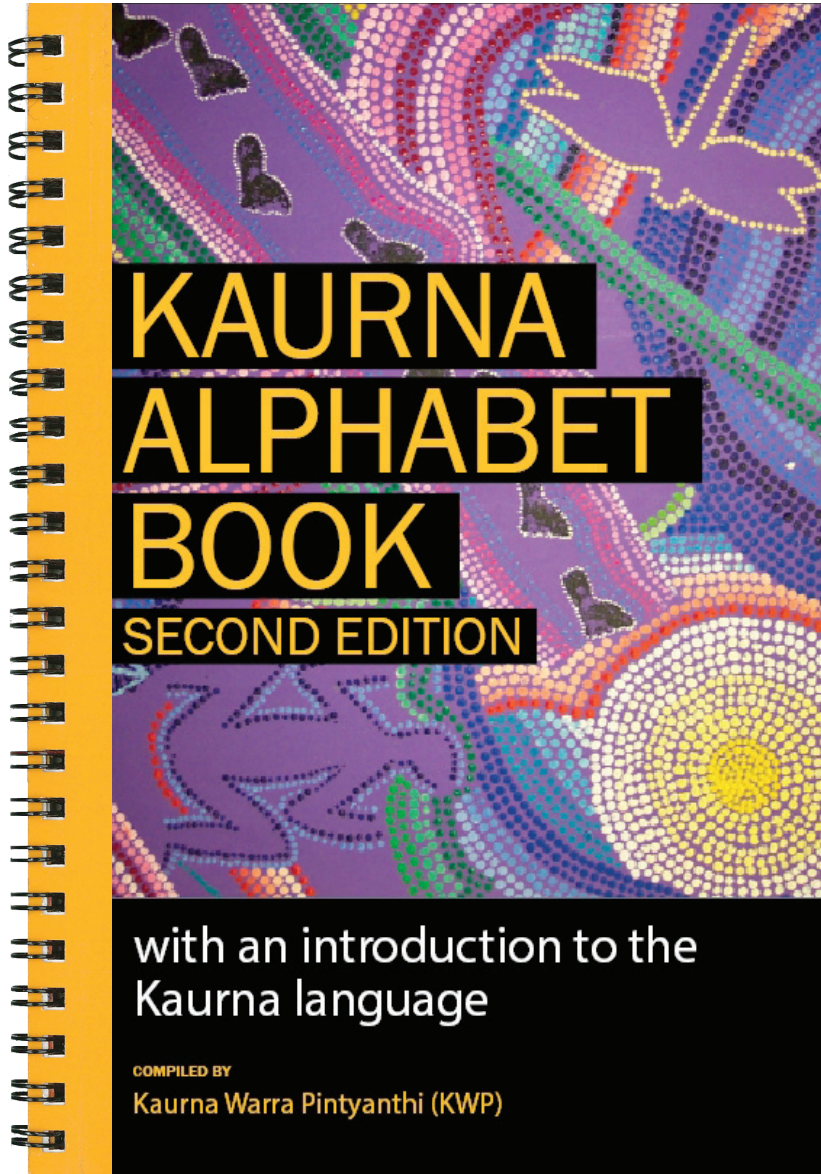
This program, which still runs to this day, has developed and strengthened, despite staff turnover. Some teaching materials have been developed locally and there are now a greater range of songs available than when they began, but there is still an acute shortage of resources relative to other LOTE programs. Jasmin Morley and Jack Buckskin are currently (2011-2013) writing a Kaurna language curriculum document for Kaurna Plains School. The new Kaurna language team based at the University of Adelaide is producing a series of video clips on YouTube to support the learning of Kaurna. Kaurna language programs were introduced at senior secondary level in 1994 at Inbarendi College.

A Kaurna language course was also introduced at Tauondi College (Aboriginal Community College, Port Adelaide) within the Cultural Instructors and Tourism course. This course ran for a number of years and taught greetings, introductions and basic communication, focussing mainly on salient vocabulary such as artifacts, kin terms, fauna, flora, ochres, directions

and seasons — words which are most useful in the tour guiding context. Unfortunately, with a push towards mainstreaming of courses, the Cultural Instructors and Tourism course was discontinued.

In 2003 I was asked by the School of Languages to develop a Kaurna language course for Year 11 students. This was introduced as an evening course at Adelaide High School in 2004 and subsequently relocated to Warriparinga, an important Kaurna site in the south of Adelaide. In 2007, Jack *Kanya* Buckskin, a young Kaurna man, enrolled in this course to learn some Kaurna language for use within his cultural performances. In 2008 Jack and I team-taught the course, and in 2009 I handed the course over completely to him. Until 2013 he was teaching two evening classes each week, one at Warriparinga and the other at Salisbury High School, and a regular day class to students at Salisbury High School.

In 1997, a Kaurna linguistics course ‘Kaurna Language and Language Ecology’ was introduced into the University of Adelaide. This course investigated the Kaurna sources, explored the process of language reclamation and looked at the ways in which the Kaurna language is being used today in education, within the public domain and in the Kaurna community. A set of course materials was prepared for this course, including a set of language learning tapes with accompanying transcripts. From 2002 until 2004 this course was transferred to the University of South Australia where it was taught under the title ‘Kaurna Language and Culture’. In 2004 it was brought back to the University of Adelaide where it is now taught as ‘Reclaiming Languages: a Kaurna case study’ on a biannual basis. Kaurna language learning has been dropped from this course.



**KAURNA
ALPHABET
BOOK**

SECOND EDITION

with an introduction to the
Kurna language

COMPILED BY
Kurna Warra Pintyanthi (KWP)

Following the introduction of the Kurna course at Adelaide University, Kurna was then taught at all levels of education, albeit to relatively small numbers of students. The language has been introduced to several additional schools in Adelaide in the last few years and it seems that more schools are interested, though few people are available at this stage to run programs. Kurna Warra Pintyanthi receives many requests for a Kurna language teacher. Throughout 2012 and early 2013, a newly-developed TAFE Certificate III course ‘Learning an Endangered Aboriginal Language (Kurna)’ was taught to Kurna people interested in learning and teaching the language. Eight students completed the course, whilst several others attended some sessions. A TAFE Certificate IV course ‘Teaching an Endangered Aboriginal Language (Kurna)’ will be offered to those already with teaching placements. This will enable Jack to gain formal recognition for the teaching skills he has already developed.

New terms for new things

Of course the world of the 1990s and the 21st century is a vastly different place to the world of the German missionaries and Kurna people of the 1840s. In attempting to revive Kurna it quickly became apparent that many new terms were needed. In the first Kurna workshop in 1990, Auntie Josie Agius noticed the word *tikketiketti* ‘chair’ (T&S, 1840: 46) which is derived from the verb *tikkandi* ‘to sit’. By analogy, terms for car and aeroplane (*padnipadnitti* and *karrikarritti*) were developed during the workshop. *Padnipadnitti* ‘car’ was used in Nelson Varcoe’s story *Wai Yerlitta!* ‘But Dad!’ Since then numerous terms have been developed for a variety of household and classroom objects as needed.

Fortunately the German missionaries documented numerous terms that had been developed for things new to the Kurna people in the mid-nineteenth century. These are collated and analysed in Amery (1993) and provide the template for the development of new terms by analogy.

In fact, T&S (1840) documented more new terms for new things than appear in the recent ‘state of the art’ Eastern and Central Arrernte to English Dictionary (Henderson & Dobson, 1994) and most other contemporary dictionaries. In addition, we take notice of the ways in which other Aboriginal languages and Maori incorporate the concepts, sometimes developing a loan translation on that basis, rather than drawing on English. The following few examples illustrate the process.

- *mukarndo* ‘computer’ (a reduced compound formed from *mukamuka* ‘brain’ + *karndo* ‘lightning’ — ie. ‘lightning brain’)
- *warraiyatti* ‘telephone’ (derived from *warra* ‘voice’ + *kaiyandi* ‘to send’ + *-tti* ‘thing’ — ie. ‘the voice sending thing’)
- *turraiyatti* ‘television’ (derived from *turra* ‘picture’ + *kaiyandi* ‘to send’ + *-tti* ‘thing’ — ie. ‘the picture sending thing’)
- *turra* ‘picture; image; movie’ (derived from *turra* ‘shade; shadow; likeness’)
- *ngudli wanditti* ‘sleeping bag’ (derived from *ngudli* ‘pouch’ + *wandendi* ‘lie’ — ie. ‘the pouch [for] lying’)

A base 10 number system was developed using the roots of the birth-order names recorded by T&S (1840), Moorhouse (in Eyre, 1845) and others. Terms for mathematical operations and terms and expressions for telling the time were also developed, including days of the week, months of the year and smaller units of time. Sports terminology was also developed by Lester Irabinna Rigney and myself.

New terms are developed as the need arises, often in the context of a request for a name or translation, in the process of developing a Kurna language resource or during a Kurna learning/teaching session. Terms such as *murla murla* ‘towel’, *tadlipurdi* ‘soap’ (lit. foam stone) and *larnparrili* ‘anchor’ and some metalinguistic terminology, such as *yilpiwarra* ‘meaning’ (lit. seed word) and *wapiwarrarla karrpa* ‘complex sentence’ (lit. two verb sentence, where *wapiwarra* ‘verb’ is formed from *wapinlhi* ‘to do; perform’ + *warra* ‘word; language’) were developed in association with the development of the *Kurna Learner’s Guide* (Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2013).

New expressions, idioms and ways of speaking need to be developed to address life in the 21st century. For instance, it would appear that the traditional Kurna greeting, as documented by T&S (1840:53) was *Wanti ninna?* ‘Whither you? ie where do you go?’ However, in many present day contexts, this greeting does not make much sense, so the expression *Ninna marni?* ‘Are you good?’ has been developed by analogy with the Pitjantjatjara expression *Nyuntu palya?*, which itself is probably a recent innovation. Furthermore, an expression for ‘welcome’ was not evident in the historical materials so the expression *Marni ninna budni* (lit. ‘it’s good that you came’) was developed. Similarly *nakkota* ‘will see’ (ie see you later) is used as a leavetaking. New expressions are continually needed to be developed in this way.

A Kurna Literature

In 1992 I completed a Kurna translation of Christobel Mattingley’s *Tucker’s Mob* at the request of the Aboriginal Education unit. This demonstrated what could be achieved by working with T&S (1840) and TMs (1857). Since then, a number of texts have been prepared for the Kurna

language programs. Each of the lessons on the language learning tapes and transcripts mentioned earlier begin with a short dialogue or text. In December 1999, a number of popular readers used at Kurna Plains School were translated into Kurna, but there is still an urgent need for more literature.

At least two poems written by Kurna people have been translated into Kurna. I translated Georgina Williams’ poem “Coming Home” into Kurna in 1999 and it appeared on one of the plaques installed at Warriparinga. Karl Telfer’s poem “*Wiltaninga – Be Strong*” was published in *Tauondi Speaks from the Heart* (1997)

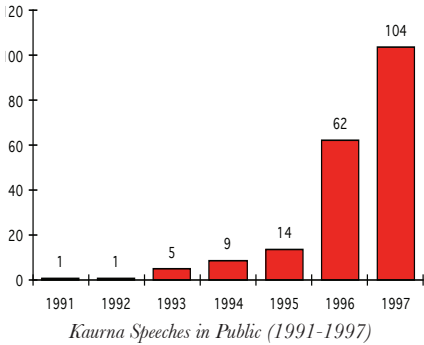
In 1997, a group letter was written in Kurna and sent to Prime Minister John Howard in protest at his refusal to apologise to members of the ‘Stolen Generations’. This letter was modelled to some extent on the 1841 letter, adopting the phrase *Ngadlu kundo punggorendi* ‘our hearts are heavy’.

Kurna in the Public Domain

Kurna individuals led by Uncle Lewis O’Brien started to speak Kurna in public, promote Kurna signage and to draw on Kurna linguistic heritage in a variety of ways. It is now established protocol at Indigenous events, conferences and even large high profile public events such as the Festival of Adelaide to begin with a short speech of welcome in Kurna. During the period 1991 to 1997 inclusive, I documented nearly 200 events at which Kurna welcome speeches were given, with the rate at which they are given rising exponentially.

The number of people engaged in this activity also increased from just one in 1991 to 14 in 1997. The number of people engaged in giving Kurna speeches has risen considerably since then.

There are now too many speeches given to keep track of them all, though I would estimate that several hundred and possibly up to 1,000 Kaurna speeches would now be delivered annually. The speeches draw on the work of Teichelmann & Schürmann and sometimes incorporate expressions that appear in the letters written by Kaurna children in the mid-nineteenth century.



Likewise, Kaurna songs are often sung in public at reconciliation events or celebratory events in education or Aboriginal affairs. Children from Kaurna Plains School and Alberton Primary School are frequently called upon to perform Kaurna songs, but there are also individuals, such as Nelson Varcoe, a talented Aboriginal songwriter, who also perform their own Kaurna songs.

Kaurna performers, such as the “*Paiya Dancers*” led by Karl Winda Telfer, “*Taikurtinna*” (Steve Gadlabarti Goldsmith) and “*Kuma Kaaru*” (Jack Kanya Buckskin) are incorporating more and more Kaurna language into their performances. They typically begin with a short Kaurna welcome, but they also use Kaurna language (with an English translation) to explain aspects of their performance. Kaurna expressions are also incorporated into the performance itself. It was in fact the desire to incorporate Kaurna language into performance that motivated Jack to learn Kaurna, which led to working in Kaurna projects and teaching Kaurna himself.

Kaurna Language and the Church

We have seen that the German missionaries translated six German hymns, the Ten Commandments and some other materials (prayers, Bible stories etc) that have not been located. Over the last few decades, several hymns and Christian songs have been translated, including *Tattayaingkialya* ‘The Old Rugged Cross’, *Warratina* ‘Silent Night’, *Muiyo Nurlitti* ‘Love is the Key’, *Muiyo Mangkorlo* ‘Love Lifted Me’ and *Yeo-wa Tani* ‘He Rose Again’.

Students of Kaurna at Adelaide University have attempted translations of Christmas carols such as *Away in a Manger* and *The First Nowell*. Nelson Varcoe has also written songs on the theme of reconciliation (*Nguyanguya Murradlu* ‘Reconciliation’) and the ‘Stolen Generations’. Suggestions have been made to produce a Kaurna hymnbook at some time in the future.

A Kaurna liturgy could be developed for conducting church services, weddings, baptisms, dedications etc. The ingredients are there. It awaits development and introduction within a Nunga fellowship.

In 2002 workshops were held to develop Kaurna language protocols for the conduct of funerals. This project culminated in the publication of a 68 page booklet with accompanying CD and sympathy cards. The booklet and CD contain liturgy and supporting documentation for the conduct of a funeral in the Kaurna language including translations of the Lord’s Prayer and six favourite hymns.

Plaques, Murals and Installations

Until recently, the only public use of the Kaurna language, apart from names of institutions and established placenames, was in the plaque on North Terrace established in recognition of Charles Witto



Photo: KWP

Mural in the courtyard of a hotel in Adelaide



The first public artwork to incorporate the Kurna Language was this Yerrakartarta mural, which was created in 1995 by the Kulkatha artist Milika Darry Pfitzner. The term *yerrakartarta*, meaning ‘scattered, disorderly, without design, at random’ was taken from the Kurna dictionary by Teichelmann and Schürmann. The sentence immortalized on this bronze plaque has also been taken from this dictionary: *Natta atto nanga; yakko atto bukki nakki*. — ‘Now I know (or understand) it; formerly I did not know’, with the additional reference *Kaurna yerta* ‘This is Kurna Country’.

This piece of art is a tribute to the Kurna people, who have owned this land since time immemorial.

Witto Cawthorne, whose father William Cawthorne had used *witto witto*, the word for the feather headdress worn during ceremonies, as his son's second name. In 1995, the Kukatha artist, Milika or Darryl Pfitzner, created the *Yerrakartarta* mural.

The word *yerrakartarta* 'scattered; disorderly; without design; at random' is taken from T&S. The mural incorporates a number of salient Kurna and Ngarrindjeri words, relating to characters, animals and places in the Tjilbruke and Nurunderi Dreaming stories respectively. In addition, Milika has used a Kurna sentence taken directly from T&S as follows:

Natta atto nanga; yakko atto bukki nakkki. 'Now I know (or understand) it; formerly I did not know.' (T&S, 1840: 67). This sentence, with the addition of the words Kurna *yerta* has been placed on a plaque introducing the installation. The translation has been altered slightly into a more idiomatic contemporary English "I know it now. Before I didn't. This is Kurna country."

During the 1996 Adelaide Festival, two West Australian architecture students created a Ruins of the Future installation which included a sign explaining their installation. A Kurna text, prepared by myself in conjunction with Kurna Plains School and members of the Kurna community, appeared on this sign. It read as follows:

BULTO TARKARIKO
*Martuityangga Kurna meyunna
 ngadlu wanggandi "Marni na
 budni pangkarra Kurnaanna."*
*Yurringgarninga warranna
 bukkiumungko, birko Kurna
 pintyandi. Warranna
 bukkiumungko warranendi
 tarkarirlo.*

RUINS OF THE FUTURE
**The Kurna people welcome
 you to their country. Listen to the
 voices of the past as they rebuild
 the Kurna nation. The words of
 the past are being transformed
 into the future.**

The sign together with a six-minute loop tape of Kurna songs and a short text recorded by Cherie Watkins and myself remained in situ for the duration of the Festival.

On 26 May 2000, a plaque was erected at Piltawodli, which begins with a line from a Kurna protest song *Wanti nindo ai kabba kabba? Ningkoandi kuma yerta.* 'Where do you push me to? Yours (exclusively) is another country.' Whilst this song was recorded by Moorhouse (not the German missionaries) it does employ T&S spelling conventions. Another plaque installed at the site features the letter written by Pitpauwe in 1843.

In July 2000, extensive Kurna signage was installed at Warriparinga, an important Kurna site on the Sturt River, Marion in Adelaide. There are a total of eighteen signs placed at different entry points, and features of interest include a scar tree from which a shield has been cut, an installation commemorating prior occupation of the site by Kurna people and the Tjilbruki story, the wetland development, and European heritage of the site. Some signs feature extended Kurna text, though for European heritage features only a prominent Kurna heading is shown. This work was sponsored by the Marion City Council.

An installation, designed by Bryan Tingey has been placed in the Unley area using Kurna words and expressions such as *Warpunna wiltaninga, meyunna nganta makkatitya* 'Men, let your bones be strong so as to shake well' (T&S, 1840: 71) and *Parnu tia wortanga tarkaringa.* 'Sing according to his tooth (ie imitate the singer)' (T&S, 1840: 58) on tiles.



Festival Theatre Adelaide

When the main entrance of the Festival Theatre in Adelaide was redesigned, an artist was commissioned to present the Kaurua Culture. This artwork was inaugurated in 2002.

The artists collaborated with members of the Kaurua community and Dr Rob Amery to include the Kaurua language in their art. Thus, the following phrase from Kauwanu Lewis O'Brien was included:



Photos: Gerhard Rüdiger

*Yertarra padnima
taingiwiltanendadlu*

'If we walk the land
then we become strong.'

[In Revised Spelling:
*Yarta-arra padnima
taingiwiltarninth'adlu*].

A major work of art was incorporated into the redevelopment of the concourse at the main entrance of the Festival Theatre in 2002. The artists worked with members of the Kurna community and myself to incorporate Kurna language in the installation, including the reproduction of letters written by Kurna children in the 1840s and key words and phrases such as *Yer-tarra padnima taingiwiltanendadlu* 'If we walk across the land we gain our strength'.

More and more of this kind of activity is now happening in recognition of Kurna people, their culture and their prior occupation of the Adelaide Plains. Kurna language in public artworks now appears in a number of locations down North Terrace, the cultural heart of Adelaide, including the entrance to the State Library and the Central Railway Station. Welcome signs in Kurna have been proposed for the Adelaide Airport and the main arterial roads entering the city. A "talking totem" multimedia presentation has also been suggested for the Festival Theatre concourse to enable people to hear the language spoken and to give information about Kurna lands, people, culture and history.

Names and naming activity.

Interest in Kurna linguistic heritage by members of the Kurna community began with a search for a name some years prior to the establishment of Kurna programs and other language revival activity. To my knowledge, the first use of Kurna materials was in 1980 when Auntie Leila Rankine, of Ngarrindjeri and Kurna descent, sent Peter Buckskin to the archives in search of a name for a new alternative school. Peter returned with the word *warriappendi* 'to seek; pick up; find' and it is obvious from the spelling that it was obtained from T&S (1840). Warriappendi Alternative School was duly named and the name remains to this day.

Since then, many Kurna names, almost all of them drawn from T&S, have been bestowed on other education programs, Aboriginal organisations, sporting clubs, youth groups, government agencies, businesses, products and a range of other entities. A representative selection of names used by Kurna people themselves illustrates this activity. All of them draw on T&S or TMs (1857):

- *Kura Yerlo* 'near the sea', an Aboriginal community centre at Largs Bay named by Lewis O'Brien in 1986.
- *Lartelare Kudlyo* Coalition, Kurna land-owners and their supporters working for the return and rehabilitation of the Lartelare site, Kurna land at Glanville. Named by Veronica Brodie and the Coalition in early 1995, kudlyo 'black swan' being the totem of the Port Adelaide area.
- *Yaiya Warra Wodli* 'Indigenous language place', the South Australian Aboriginal Language Centre opened in 1993. Initially based at Tauondi, Port Adelaide, it is now located in Kilkenny. Named by Snooky Varcoe who sought my advice.
- *Narna Tarkendi* 'the door is open', Australian Indigenous Performing Arts Coalition based at Tandanya launched in Feb. 1995. Named by Katrina Power who sought my advice.
- *Paruparruappendi* 'to place oneself in an attitude of challenge', Northern Metropolitan Basketball team. Named by Pearl Nam who sought my advice in 1995.
- *Tarni Burkanna* 'people belonging to the surf', Nunga Boardriders Association, Moana. Named in July 1996 by Georgina Williams who sought my advice.
- *Tappa Inbandi* 'pathway to meet', youth program similar to Blue Light discos. Named with advice from Alice Rigney, 1991.

- *Warri Yellanna Wanggandi* ‘the wind blows fresh’, youth group based at Kura Yerlo. Named by Lewis O’Brien who sought my advice for an expression for ‘the winds have changed’.
- *Yerliko Taikurringga* ‘belonging to males’ or ‘(what) males have in common’, a new Kaurna men’s group. Named by Karl Telfer who sought my advice.

Kaurna naming activity has continued unabated. Many requests are now considered by Kaurna Warra Pintyanthi at the regular meetings which, on average, deal with about ten such requests each month. In 2006-2007, KWP obtained a commonwealth grant to establish an on-line database to monitor the use of the Kaurna language in the public domain. This database allows us to upload sound files, multiple images and documents of various kinds (eg brochures, completed KWP Kaurna Requests Questionnaires etc.). There are now well over 800 entries in this incomplete database. The actual number is probably in the vicinity of 1,000 (though this also includes the use of Kaurna in public artworks discussed above). Names within this database are mapped onto GoogleEarth maps and can be sorted according to the type of name and type of agency making the request.

Personal names

To my knowledge, the first use of a Kaurna personal name within the context of the Kaurna renaissance was that given to Kudnarto Watson, born in 1986. Traditionally Kudnarto is a birth-order name applied to the third born if a female. Kudnarto Watson was in fact the first born, but was named in memory of a famous Kaurna ancestor whose Indigenous name was recorded simply as Kudnarto. Other Nunga children born during the 1990s have been given Kaurna names.

I know of at least five other cases, and many other parents who would have named their children with Kaurna names if they had their time over again. A number of Kaurna adults have adopted Kaurna names for use alongside of their existing English names and make frequent use of them. Not surprisingly I suppose, several Kaurna people have named their pets with Kaurna names (eg *Kurraka* ‘magpie’ for a pet magpie, *Marni Kadli* ‘good dog’ and *Ngaityo Kadli* ‘my dog’ for dogs and *Milte* ‘red’ for a cat).

Placenames

Some Kaurna placenames have been reinstated in recent times. One of the most prominent of these is Warriparinga, discussed earlier. The name Warriparinga was brought back in 1992 by Kaurna people (Paul Dixon and others) who promoted the name amongst environment groups and the Marion Council. The name was adopted officially for the wetlands established there in 1998. The site itself (known previously as Laffers Triangle) is now known universally as Warriparinga.

Piltawodli is another important site where the name has been reinstated. The Piltawodli site was known to the colonial authorities in the 1830s and 1840s as ‘The Native Location’. In living memory it has simply been a golf course, with no trace of its Indigenous heritage until the placement of a plaque and installation in May 2000. It appears on the maps as Park 01. Piltawodli was officially reinstated in March 2000, but was used for several years prior to this within the reconciliation movement, by students of Kaurna language and to some extent within the Kaurna community.

Several previously un-named creeks have been given Kaurna names in recent years, such as Taltarni Creek, Kuranye Creek and Kudlilla Creek in the Willunga area. Negotiations are currently proceeding to name a

creek running at the back of the Colebrook Home in Eden Hills as Ipti Parri (lit. 'orphan creek') in recognition of the Tjitji Tjuta children of the 'Stolen Generation' who were removed from their families and raised there.

In 1991, the South Australian state parliament adopted Dual Naming legislation which allows for the official use of Indigenous names alongside of existing placenames. On the 13 March 2000, the Adelaide City Council passed a motion to officially adopt five Kurna names, including *Karrawirra-parri* (Lit. 'redgum forest river') the Kurna name for the Torrens River. As of November 2001, Karrawirra Parri was officially adopted under the Dual Naming policy following consultation with relevant stakeholders. Tarndanyangga was first used unofficially for Victoria Square during the Journey of Healing event in May 2001 and gained some currency during the Adelaide Festival of Arts in March 2002. It was officially adopted as the dual name by the Adelaide City Council in May 2002. We can expect to see much more of this activity in future years.

A number of local government authorities (for instance City of Port Adelaide-Enfield and City of Campbelltown) have initiated the naming of streets in new subdivisions with Kurna names in consultation with KWP. All of these names draw on the work of Teichelmann & Schürmann.

In July 2006, the Kurna Placenames website (www.kurnaplacenames.com) was launched. It was the result of collaboration between the Geographical Names Unit (South Australian State Government), the four southern councils (City of Onkaparinga, City of Marion, City of Holdfast Bay and the District Council of Yankalilla), the Kurna Heritage Board and Kurna Warra Pintyanthi. Placenames are mapped on GoogleEarth with pop-up boxes providing information (pronunciation, meaning, etymology etc), sound files and images. Additional information about the Kurna language is also provided on this site.

Spelling Reform

In mid-2010 at the request of Jack Kanya Buckskin, supported by several linguists, KWP accepted the need to revise Kurna spelling making it easier for teachers and learners of Kurna. Various conventions were trialled such that a reasonably phonemic system has been adopted. The *Kurna Learner's Guide*, the second edition of the *Kurna Alphabet Book* and the *Kurna Dictionary* adopt the revised spellings, and revised editions of some other existing resources will be needed.

As an historical analysis, most spellings in this paper appear as they did in the original sources.

Kurna and New Media

In 2008, James McElvenny and Aiden Wilson developed a Kurna dictionary application for the mobile phone, allowing users to look up Kurna words and hear their pronunciation with a sound file recorded by Jack Buckskin. This has been a very useful tool for the teaching and learning of Kurna. E-mails and SMS messages are frequently sent in Kurna between a number of key Kurna language enthusiasts. New media allows a disparate community to readily use the language with each other. Two hour-long radio shows in and about the Kurna language are nearing completion. These shows include conversations and jokes in Kurna, as well as Kurna songs and Kurna language learning segments. As mentioned earlier, a series of video clips is being produced with 15 already on-line at the YouTube Kurna Channel with several clips produced especially for children (Kurna for Kids). An animation is also planned.

Summary and Conclusions

“At present, the Kaurna language is gaining recognition among the general public”

As we move into the 21st century, the Kaurna language is gaining recognition among the general public, especially those involved in the reconciliation movement and education, but also within government departments and elsewhere. Many Kaurna people see an investigation of the language as adding another dimension to their identity. The late Paul Dixon describes it as “the cream on the top”.

Kaurna language reclamation is based fairly and squarely on the materials compiled by the Lutheran missionaries. Until mid-2010 we continued to use their spelling conventions, even though they were not entirely systematic and there were other shortcomings. However, by continuing to spell Kaurna words as they are spelt in T&S, people could find the words in the original materials themselves. It has been very important to establish the Kaurna language as an authentic entity grounded in the historical record, and the continued use of original spellings helped to do this. It seems that the Kaurna language has now taken root sufficiently for us to afford to move away from the original spellings in the source material.

The German mission recordings of the Kaurna language are far from complete, but they do provide a good basis to work creatively with the language. The grammar and vocabulary provides the prime ingredients needed to produce novel sentences and text. The translated sentences provide many useful examples that we can use to produce new sentences by analogy.

Their documentation of new words created by Kaurna people in the 1830s and 1840s show us clearly how new things were incorporated into the language, enabling us now to generate a range of new terms for new things in the 21st century. Using their materials as a base we have been able to create a range of new texts to meet contemporary needs. Many of these new usages can be seen in the *Kaurna Learner’s Guide* (Amery and Simpson, 2013).

The German missionaries would have had little thought of their materials ever being used in this way.

Kaurna linguistic heritage constitutes an important means of asserting Kaurna identity and promoting reconciliation between various factions within the Kaurna community itself, and between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians. Study of the language reveals the existence of a complex culture. The language provides a key to understanding the place in which we live and its fauna and flora. The more we work with the Kaurna language materials, the more we discover. The Dresden missionaries have indeed left us a valuable legacy. They have greatly enriched the identity of a dispossessed and marginalised people in Adelaide. Whilst they have no land to call their own, they do have a language!

Warraparna Kaurna!

‘Let Kaurna be spoken!’



Photo: KWP

Members of Kurna Warra Pintyanthi (2012).

From left to right:

Stephen Gadlatbarti Goldsmith, Rob Amery, Jamie Ngungana Goldsmith, Christine Brown, Vincent (Jack) Kanya Buckskin, Katrina Karlapina Power, Lewis Warritya Yerloburka O'Brien, Rod O'Brien.

Appendix 1



Dresdener meyunnabirra Die Dresdner betreffend

30th April 2010

Ngadlu yaitya meyunna, pinde meyunna kuma Kurna Warra tirkandi, Clamor Schürmannko, Christian Teichelmannko, Samuel Kloseko warpulaiunangko. Parnako warpulai marni tauere. Tindurluitya parnako warpulai marnintyerla. Parna, naa kuma Kurna Warra ngadlulitya wiliapi.

Natta ngadlu parnako warpulai markondi. Ngadlu paltinna, perkonna, narrinna kuma pintyandi. Ngadlulitya Kurna Warra tauara warra. Parnako warpulaiitina, ngadluko warpulai murmaningutta.

Itto warra, ngadlu natta wanggandi, parna Dresdener meyunnarlo topa pintyatti. Ngadlu wanggandi “ngaityalya!” parnako warpulaiitya, naako warpulaiitya wiliappendingga parnako pepanna.

We Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people are learning the Kurna language from Clamor Schürmann’s, Christian Teichelmann’s and Samuel Klose’s work. Their work is very good. For the time it was the best.

Now we are using their work. We have created many songs, stories and names. For us the Kurna language is a great language. Without their work our efforts would be diminished.

These words we write now were all words recorded by the Dresdeners. We say “thank you” for their work and for your efforts to preserve their letters and papers.

Appendix 2

Kaurna Sources Making an Original Contribution.

Source	Date collected	No. of words	Domains	Orthography	Glosses	Addit. Vocab	Sentences
Gaimard	1826	168	various	'French' spell. eg <i>iouk = yoko</i>	minimal	5 words	no
Robinson	?1837	80	various	'English' spell. <i>you.</i> <i>co = yoko</i>	minimal	5 words	2
Hack	1837			'English' sp. Ichu = <i>ngaityo</i>		1 place name	1 (Pidgin Kaurna)
Koeler	1837-1838	150	various body parts	'German' spell <i>jukka = yoka</i>	minimal; some rich	few words	8 (Pidgin Kaurna)
Williams (1840)	1836-1839	377	all	'English' sp. <i>yoo-coo = yoko</i>	minimal	ca 30 words	28 (Pidgin Kaurna)
Piesse (1840)	1839	75	fauna; pl. names	followed Williams	varying; spec. locns	26 words	no
Wyatt (1840; 1879)	1837-1839	651	all	'English' sp. <i>olte = ngulti</i>	varying	>100 wds 15 places	17 + short text
Earl	1838	14	body parts	'English' sp. <i>kundi = kanti</i>	simple	none	no
Stephens	1838	36	birds	'English' sp.	some untransl.	> 20	no
T&S (1840)	1838-1840	ca 2,000	all	reasonably consistent	extensive	main source	ca 200 + short texts
Schürmann Journal	1838-1840	ca 40 + 30 names	culture-specific; religion	similar to T&S; used <i>j</i> instead of <i>y</i>	rich contextual info.	none	several + 2 songlines
Teichelmann Diary	1839-1846	15 wds; 7 names	religion	T&S at times used <i>j</i> for <i>y</i>	in context	none	no
Klose letters	1840-1845	ca 40 7 names 7 grps	numbers, grp names, religion	T&S	rich ethnog. info.	one	6 hymns 2 letters
Teichelmann (1857)	1840-1857	ca 2,500	all	slight modific. of T&S	extensive	?? 600-700 wds	numerous
Teichelmann footnotes	1841	ca 150	religion	T&S	rich ethno. descript.	enriched glosses	no
Moorhouse correspondence; Journal	1839-?1845	> 50	birth-order names, nouns pronouns	T&S	in context	few birth-order names; <i>ngurjo</i>	2 songlines
Cawthorne (1844); diary	1842 - 1846	51	artifacts	inconsistent <i>mango = manga</i>	good descript.	ca 12	no
Stephens (1889).	1840s	few	various	poor <i>coondee = kanti</i>	minimal;	two words	no
Day (1902)	?1840s	8 words 7 place names	basic vocab. + pl. names	poor 'English' spellings <i>cadelcoo = karko</i>	in context	one word	no
Bates	1919	26	kinship	good 'Eng.' sp. <i>ngappubi = ngappappi</i>	brief	8	no
Black	1920	66	various	modified IPA <i>miju = meyu</i>	sometimes rich	several pl names	8 phrases 20 sent.
Tindale	1920s	few	various, pl. names	modified IPA <i>julti = yulti</i>	rich	few wds, pl. names	few phrases

Appendix 3

Kaurna Language Programs and Initiatives: A Chronology

1980	Warriappendi Alternative School named. First known use of a Kaurna word by Kaurna people for public naming purposes
1985	Georgina Williams calls for revival of Kaurna as a spoken language. Assistance sought from SAL
1988	Alice Rigney (KPS) met with David Tassell (Aboriginal Education Unit) about Kaurna language programs
1988	Introduction of Aboriginal Studies materials with some Kaurna words
1989	Publication of <i>The Kaurna People</i> (EDSA, 1989)
1989	NALP/LOTE funded local languages program (awareness raising activities)
Dec. 1989	Kura Yerlo workshop (display of Kaurna materials)
1990 -	Kaurna Plains Early Childhood Centre (Kaurna songs, visual aides, words and expressions)
Mar.1990	Songwriters workshop , Tandanya (5 Kaurna songs)
June 1990	Workshop, Kaurna Plains School (Kaurna Narrunga & Ngarrinderji)
1991	Two-week CSO Workshop, Aboriginal TAFE
June 1991-Dec 1991	Monthly CSO workshops run by Snooky Varcoe (worked on development of Kaurna language materials)
Jan 1992 -	Kaurna LOTE began, Kaurna Plains School
1992	One-week workshop, KPS
1993	One-week workshop, KPS
1993 - 1996	AILF project (Kaurna exemplar materials and resources)
1993 -	Kaurna course at Tauondi (Community College)
Jul 1994 - Dec 1995	Year 11 program ECHS (accredited under AILF)
July 1994 -	Year 11 program EWAC -> PWAC (AILF program)
1994 - 1995	Series of seven PDTAL workshops
1995	TAFE Accreditation of Aboriginal Language unit based on Kaurna, Tauondi
1996	Kaurna at Smithfield Plains PS (Cherylynnne Catanzaritti)
Apr 1996 - Oct 1996	Kaurna Warra Patpangga course at Warriparinga
May 1996	Half day Workshop with KPECC
1996	QW Language Revival project. Video (DECS, 1997) & book (DETE, 1998)
Aug 1996	Teaching Aboriginal Languages Conference (2 days)
Oct. 1996	Teachers from KPS released to participate in PWAC program (training as Kaurna language teachers)
Jan 1997 -	SASSL takes over delivery of PWAC program
Jan 1997 -	SASSL assists in Yr 8 program, Fremont-ECHS
1997 -	Year 8 program, Fremont-ECHS (compulsory for all students within Aboriginal Studies program)
12 Feb. 1997	Programming for Aboriginal Language Renewal and Reclamation Conference
1997-	Alberton PS Choir sing Kaurna songs (Snooky Varcoe)
June 1997	Teaching Aboriginal Languages Conference (2 days)
July 1997 -	Kaurna sessions at Salisbury North PS (Cherie Watkins)
July 1997 -	'Kaurna Language and Language Ecology'
1998	Linguistics Unit introduced, University of Adelaide
26 May 1999	Kaurna program at Karrendi PS
25 Feb 2000	Journey of Healing
26 May 2000	Launch of <i>Kaurna Paltinna — Kaurna Songs</i> songbook
July 2000	Unveiling of plaques at Piltawodli , Journey of Healing
	Kaurna Signage installed at Warriparinga

Nov. 2000	Kaurna Warra Yellakaitya – Developing the Kaurna Language for Contemporary Situations Workshops
Nov. 2001	Dual naming of Karrawirra Parri – Torrens River
Feb. 2002	'Kaurna Language and Culture' taught at UniSA
May 2002	Dual naming of Tardanyangga – Victoria Square
Sept. – Dec. 2002	Kaurna Protocols – Cultural Renewal through Language Development and Enrichment. (AIATSIS Grant)
Sept. 2002 - May 2003	Establishment of KaurnaWarra Pintyandi (KWP) Memorandum of Understanding signed with UniSA recognising KWP ownership over Kaurna language resources and materials
2003	Kaurna Language in the City of Adelaide
2004	Senior Secondary Kaurna program taught with School of Languages (DECD)
2005	Cost-Benefit Analysis of Kaurna Language Reclamation (Rob Amery & Peter Mühlhäusler)
2005	Songs with Nungas (Chester Schultz)
2005	Mentoring of young Kaurna language workers
Jul 2005	Dennis O'Brien attends Linguistics Society of America (LSA) Linguistics Institute in Harvard to present on the Kaurna language movement
May 2006	Launch of Kaurna Palti Wonga (Kaurna Funeral Protocols) book, CD and sympathy cards at Warriparinga
2006	Kaurna Placenames website: < www.kaurnaplacenames.com >
2006 - 2007	Establishment of Kaurna Requests Database and website (DCITA funded)
August 2007	Prototype of Kulluru Marni Ngattaitya – A Kaurna Learner's Guide
2008	Launch of 6 Kaurna postcards – Turra Womma Tardanyako 'Images of the Adelaide Plains' (funded by DCITA)
2008-2009	Kaurna Dictionary on the Mobile Phone (James McElvenny & Aiden Wilson) Jack Kanya Buckskin takes on the teaching of the School of Languages Kaurna course
2010	Adoption of Revised Kaurna Spellings
2010-2011	Kaurna Warra Ngaiera Wingkurilla (Kaurna language on the airwaves) – Kaurna Radio and Downloads project. (DEWHA funding)
Nov. 2010	Rob Amery invited as keynote speaker to talk on Kaurna Language Reclamation at the Manx Language Week, Isle of Man, UK
2011-2013	Writing of Kaurna language curriculum for Kaurna Plains School (Jasmin Morley & Jack Kanya Buckskin with DECS ALPI funding)
2011-2013	Kaurna Dictionary Project (Commonwealth ILS funding)
2012-April 2013	TAFE Certificate III 'Learning an Endangered Aboriginal Language (Kaurna)' course
Aug. 2012	Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri delegation invited to 175 year celebration since the formation of the Dresden Mission Society in Dresden, Germany
2012-2015	Consolidating Kaurna Language Revival Project (Commonwealth ILS funding) and formation of the Kaurna Warra Pirku (Kaurna Language Team)
June 2013	The film <i>Buckskin</i> which portrays Jack Kanya Buckskin's efforts to relearn and re-introduce Kaurna wins the Foxtel Australian Documentary Prize at the Sydney Film Festival
July 2013	Broadcast of Kaurna language radio show, Radio Adelaide
November 2013	Publication of Kulurdu Marni Ngathaitya! Sounds Good to Me! Kaurna Learner's Guide
December 2013	Publication of Second Edition of Kaurna Alphabet Book
December 2013	Launch of Tirkanthi (Learning) Kaurna Youtube Channel
September 2014	Repatriation of Kaurna Letters (see pages 54 ff)
October 2014	First Kaurna Language Week

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Internet Resources

Kaurna Warra Pintyanthi Website < www.adelaide.edu.au/kwp >

Kaurna Language Learning Series (YouTube Channel)
< www.youtube.com/channel/UChOOYOnJuEeydJK0QjN_Fpw >

Kaurna Placenames Website < www.karnaplacenames.com >

Kaurna in the Public Arena post-1980
< www.karnaplacenames.com/kaurna_public_arena >

Other Internet resources related to the Kaurna Language
< www.adelaide.edu.au/kwp/links >

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