



WARRABARNA KAURNA!*

**Reclaiming Aboriginal Languages from Written Historical
Sources: Kaurna Case Study.**

Rob AMERY

**Submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

**Linguistics
Faculty of Arts
University of Adelaide**

June 1998

Supervisors: Professor Peter Mühlhäusler, Linguistics, University of Adelaide
Dr Jane Simpson, Linguistics, University of Sydney

* *Warrabarna Kaurna!* 'Let Kaurna be spoken!', the title of Snooky Varcoe's poem
written in 1994.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents	i
Abstract	iv
Signed Statement	v
Acknowledgements	vi
Abbreviations	viii
Spelling Conventions and Terminology	x
Index of Maps, Plates and Figures	xii
Index of Tables and Graphs	xiii
Chapter 1: Locating the Study	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 The Scope of the Study	2
1.2 Who are the Kaurna?	4
1.3 A Kaurna Linguistic and Cultural Renaissance	9
1.4 The Relationship Between Kaurna and Nunga English	13
1.5 Prospects for the Revival of Kaurna.....	15
Chapter 2: Review of Literature and Terminological Matters	21
2.0 Introduction	21
2.1 Endangered Languages: The World Scene	22
2.2 Defining 'Dead' or 'Extinct' Languages	25
2.3 Ethnic Revival	29
2.4 Language and Identity	43
2.5 Cultural Pluralism or Multiculturalism	48
2.6 Language Ecology	50
2.7 On the Nature of Language	52
2.8 What is Being Revived?	66
2.9 Summary and Conclusions	69
Chapter 3: Comparative Case Studies	71
3.0 Introduction	71
3.1 Hebrew	71
3.2 Irish.....	74
3.3 Cornish	77
3.4 Maori and Hawai'ian	80
3.5 Ainu	83
3.6 Indigenous Languages of North America	85
3.7 The Languages of Australia	93
3.8 Summary and Conclusions.....	104

Chapter 4: Methodology	107
4.0 Background	107
4.1 Ethical Issues	108
4.2 Kurna Language Reclamation: The Linguistic Exercise	110
4.3 Kurna Language Revival: The Sociolinguistic Study	115
4.4 The Writing Process	125
4.5 Conclusion.....	127
Chapter 5: A Sociolinguistic History of Kurna	129
5.0 Introduction	129
5.1 The Kurna Prior to the Invasion: Relevance for the Present	130
5.2 First Contacts.....	132
5.3 Full-Scale Invasion of Kurna Lands: Colonisation, 1836.	139
5.4 Christianising and Civilising	143
5.5 The Decline of the Kurna and Loss of the Kurna Language	156
5.6 Surviving the 'Dark Ages'.....	163
5.7 Summary and Conclusions	169
Chapter 6: Kurna Sources	171
6.0 Introduction	171
6.1 The Sources	172
6.2 Grammar.....	210
6.3 Kurna Texts	215
6.4 Kurna Dreaming Stories	219
6.5 Kurna Songs	226
6.7 Summary	232
Chapter 7 Restoring and Transforming the Kurna Language	233
7.0 Introduction	233
7.1 The Reclamation of Kurna: Main Principles.....	233
7.2 Phonology.....	234
7.3 Restoring the Lexicon	249
7.4 Grammar and Syntax.....	264
7.5 Variation.....	272
7.6 Recapturing the Genius of the Language	274
7.7 The Reintroduction of Aspects of Traditional Culture.....	276
7.8 Adapting Kurna to the 1990s.....	279
7.9 Authenticity and Integrity	289
7.10 Development of Kurna Language Materials	294
7.11 Summary and Conclusions.....	303

Chapter 8 Kaurna Language Programs	305
8.1 Precursors of Kaurna Programs in the Education Sector	305
8.2 Language Ecology in the Education Sector	308
8.3 Kaurna Language Programs	315
8.4 Teacher Training and Inservice	318
8.5 Curriculum Development	319
8.6 Approaches and Methods	324
8.7 Evaluation.....	335
8.8 Final Remarks.....	345
Chapter 9: Kaurna in Society	347
9.0 Introduction	347
9.1 Names and Naming	347
9.2 The Public Function of Kaurna	359
9.3 Cultural Tourism	373
9.4 Language Use Within the Kaurna Community	384
9.5 A Revival of Kaurna as a Spoken Language?	388
9.6 Summary and Discussion	397
Chapter 10: Socio-political Dimensions of Kaurna Language Revival	401
10.0 Introduction	401
10.1 What Motivates People to Engage in Kaurna Language Revival?	401
10.2 Identity Politics.....	406
10.3 The Struggle for Recognition, Empowerment and Reconciliation	413
10.4 The Sociopolitical Backdrop for Kaurna Language Revival	415
10.5 Whose Language Is It? Ownership and Copyright Issues.....	420
10.6 The Role of Linguistics	427
10.7 Linguistic Rivalries	429
10.8 Concluding Remarks	432
Chapter 11: Summary and Conclusions	433
11.0 Synopsis.....	433
11.1 Lessons From the Literature.....	435
11.2 Factors Contributing to the Success of Kaurna Revival.....	439
11.3 Future Prospects for the Kaurna Language	441
Bibliography	443

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a longitudinal study of the reclamation of the Kurna language (both as a linguistic and social process) which is taking place within the context of a linguistic and cultural renaissance and re-emergence of a distinctive Kurna identity over the last few decades.

It addresses the questions:-

1. Is it possible to revive a language that once ceased to be spoken, on the basis of written records?
2. What is the nature of this language revival?
3. What factors support such a revival?
4. What are the limitations?

Taking an ecological perspective, I trace the history of Kurna drawing on all known sources (mostly from the period 1836-1858) and all known emerging uses for the language in the modern period (1989-1997). In reclaiming Kurna, key leaders and members of the community are working in collaboration with linguists and educators.

Kurna language revival began with the writing of six songs in 1990. Since then, the language has developed considerably; Kurna programs have been established and expanded across several institutions catering for a range of learners; increasingly, the language is being used in public by members of the Kurna community; the range of functions for which the language is being used continues to expand; and there are early signs that the language is beginning to take root within Nunga households.

We are still in the very early stages of Kurna language revival. Will the Kurna language take the "great leap forward" and emerge as an everyday language within the Kurna community? Experience elsewhere tells us that the prospects for this to happen are slender. However, the programs have already been a success in the eyes of the Kurna community and within the education sector.

This study is breaking new ground. In the Kurna case, very little knowledge of the language remained within the Aboriginal community. Yet the Kurna language is becoming a marker of identity and a means by which Kurna people can further the struggle for recognition, reconciliation and liberation. This study challenges widely held beliefs as to what is possible in language revival and notions about the very nature of language and its development.

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

I give consent to this copy (volume 1) of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying. However, permission will need to be sought from the respective authors to photocopy Kaurna language materials (songs, texts etc.) included in the appendices in volume 2.

Rob Amery

23rd June 1998

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been a privilege to work on this topic. I thank the Kaurna community for their enduring support for this work on their language. In particular, Auntie Alice Wallara Rigney, Uncle Lewis O'Brien, Cherie Warrara Watkins, Lester Irabinna Rigney and Georgina Yambo Williams were patient in answering questions, discussing issues and reading drafts of chapters. Their enthusiasm for Kaurna language reclamation has sustained me in the arduous task of compiling this material and grappling with the difficult issues. Numerous others within the Nunga community, including Snooky Varcoe, Auntie Josie Agius, Auntie Veronica Brodie, Paul & Naomi Dixon, Fred Warrior, Vince Branson, Frank Wanganeen, Auntie Pearl Nam, Auntie Phoebe Wanganeen, Katrina Power, David Wilson, Garth Agius, Kath Burgemeister, Cherylynne Catanzaritti, Klynton Wanganeen and Karl Telfer made a direct contribution to this study. I also acknowledge the interest of KACHA in this project and look forward to further collaboration in the future.

Many people including Alice Rigney, Chrissy Hill, Kathryn Gale, Tony Wakefield, Antonio Mercurio, Lea Stevens, Ruth Smiles, Wendy Teasedale-Smith, Sylvain Talbot, Greg Wilson, Mike Gray, Georgina Williams, Tim Goldsmith and Peter Mühlhäusler, were instrumental in establishing the Kaurna programs. I acknowledge especially, fellow members of the Kaurna language teaching teams at Para West Adult Campus and Elizabeth City High School including Snooky Varcoe, Cherie Watkins, Jennifer Simpson, Leigh Hughes, Yvonne Robertson and Cheryl Uren. I thank them all for their cooperation and willingness to be part of the research process. The staff and students of Kaurna Plains School and Kaurna Plains Early Childhood Centre always welcomed my presence, shared information and invited me into their classes. They include Alma Ridgway, Eileen Wanganeen, Pathma Iswaran, Jenny Burford, Kevin Duigan, James Parkin, Nola Davis, Pilawuk White, Maurice Wheatley, Julie Hodgkinson, Vicki Hartman and Liz Loan. Mike Gray, Pat Kartinyeri and Kevin O'Loughlin at Tauondi were always willing to volunteer information and lend support.

I thank the students at Para West Adult Campus, Tauondi and the University of Adelaide for their willingness to share their thoughts and experiences. In particular Jenny Burford and Helen Reilly shared their interview transcripts, with the permission of interviewees. Peter Gale gave me access to unpublished data from a previous study.

Dot Davy and Greg Ryan at the Adelaide City Council, Bill Watt and staff of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, Malcolm Lane of Belair National Park, Mike and Jean Brown of the Blackwood Reconciliation Group and Don Chapman of the Marion City Council invited me to work in collaboration on their projects.

Brian Kirke sparked my initial interest in language revival work by inviting me to participate in workshops and other activities. Since then, my relationship with the Nunga community has developed. I thank them for their acceptance of me, a non-Indigenous linguist, and allowing me to become involved in their languages, regarded by many as an 'insider' domain. I trust that I have reciprocated by imparting linguistic skills and understandings that empower them to reclaim their own languages. My former employers, Batchelor College, the Northern Territory University and the Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia supported my early forays into Kaurna language revival initiatives. They funded my efforts to convene workshops and supported initial work with the school programs.

Many individuals and institutions have been of assistance in locating archival materials. They include staff of the Mortlock Library, in particular Jenny Tonkin, Valmai Henkel & Anthony Laube; the South Australian Museum, especially Kate Allport, Philip Clarke, Philip Jones and Neva Wilson; Andrew Wilson and others at State Records; Lyall Kupke of the Lutheran Archives; Donald Kerr of the Auckland Public Library and Arlene Fanarof of the South African Public Library, Cape Town. I am particularly appreciative of the efforts of Reinhard Wendt who obtained access to the Lutheran Archives in Leipzig, Germany, on my behalf and located precious Kaurna materials which he hand-delivered to me here in Adelaide. Philip Baker also obtained valuable material from the Methodist archives in London.

Margaret Young, Sue Murray and Chris Crothers in the Geography Department at the University of Adelaide assisted in preparing the maps and Bev Thomson supplied and laid out some photographs.

I thank my supervisors, Peter Mühlhäusler and Jane Simpson, who both took a keen interest in this project, providing guidance and comments on earlier drafts. Peter shared his broad knowledge of language planning phenomena and his personal library. His ecological approach to linguistics gave me a firm basis on which to proceed. Jane's critical eye on matters of detail, and her knowledge of Kaurna and related languages, provided an excellent balance.

Chester Schultz, Guy Tunstill, Greg Wilson and others have always lent a listening ear and passed on information and observations. Jonathan Nicholls and Jane Southwood read drafts of some chapters, giving valuable feedback which assisted in the final editing. Most of all I thank my partner Mary-Anne Gale for her support and patience, allowing me to discuss experiences and formulate ideas. She also copy-edited many chapters. Thank you too Jemima and Miriam for being so patient during the final stages.

ABBREVIATIONS

General

AERT	Aboriginal Education Resource Teacher
AEW	Aboriginal Education Worker
AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
AILF	Australian Indigenous Languages Framework
AILFI	Australian Indigenous Languages Framework Implementation
ALL	Australian Language Levels
ASSPA	Aboriginal Student Support and Parental Awareness
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
ATSILIP	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Program
BP	Before Present
CALL	Centre for Australian Languages and Linguistics (Batchelor College)
CASM	Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (University of Adelaide)
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching (methodology)
CSO	Childrens Services Office
DECS	Department for Education and Children's Services ¹
DEET	Department of Employment, Education and Training
DEETYA	Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs (formerly DEET)
DETE	Department of Education Training and Employment
ECHS	Elizabeth City High School
EDSA	Education Department of South Australia.
EWAC	Elizabeth West Adult Campus (now PWAC)
HS	High School
ILOTE	Innovative Languages Other Than English (DEET funding)
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
KACHA	Kaurna Aboriginal Cultural and Heritage Association Incorporated
KL&LE	'Kaurna Language & Language Ecology'
KPECC	Kaurna Plains Early Childhood Centre
KPS	Kaurna Plains School
KWP	Kaurna Warra Patpangga 'Kaurna Language in the South', Warriparinga
LOTE	Languages Other Than English
LOTEMAPP	Languages Other Than English Mapping and Planning Project
NAIDOC	National Aboriginal and Islander Day Observance Committee
NALP	National Aboriginal Languages Program
NTU	Northern Territory University
PDTAL	Professional Development of Teachers of Australian Languages
PWAC	Para West Adult Campus (Inbarendi College, Elizabeth)
PS	Primary School
SACAE	South Australian College of Advanced Education (now the University of South Australia)
SACE	South Australian Certificate of Education
SAL	School of Australian Linguistics
SASSL	South Australian Secondary School of Languages
SSABSA	Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TALC	Teaching Aboriginal Languages Conference
T&S	Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840)
TMs	Teichelmann (1857)
TPR	Total Physical Response (language teaching methodology)
USA	University of South Australia
YWW	Yaitya Warra Wodli, South Australia's Aboriginal Language Centre

¹During the period in which this thesis was written, the South Australian state government department responsible for education changed its name three times as follows:

prior to 1993	Education Department of South Australia (EDSA)
end of 1993	Department for Education and Children's Services (DECS)
Oct. 1997	Department of Education Training and Employment (DETE)

I use the title relevant to the period of discussion and DETE if referring to ongoing activities.

Abbreviations Used in Interlinear Glosses

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
ABL	Ablative
ACC	Accusative
ALL	Allative
CAUS	Causative
ERG	Ergative
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
INCH	Inchoative
INDEF	Indefinite
INST	Instrumental
LOC	Locative
NOM	Nominative
NOML	Nominalizer
PERF	Perfective
Pl ~ PL	Plural
POT	Potential
PRES	Present
PROHIB	Prohibitive
PST	Past
RECIP	Reciprocal
REDUP	Reduplication
Sg ~ SG	Singular
TEMP	Temporal
UNM	Unmarked

SPELLING CONVENTIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

Unless otherwise specified, Kaurna words in this thesis are taken from Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840) or Teichelmann (1857) or formed according to the word-building patterns laid down in these sources. At the time of writing, language materials produced in association with school programs or community events all employ these spellings.

Unless otherwise specified, contemporary Kaurna neologisms, new expressions, translations and other Kaurna language products cited in this thesis were developed by me, typically within a classroom or workshop situation where Kaurna people have been present and have been part of the process. Often the Kaurna texts are negotiated and always open to change and revision, subject to feedback from members of the Kaurna community.

Neologisms not appearing in the historical sources are identified with an asterisk *. Inflected or derived forms, eg *kanggota* 'will look after' or *narnaanna* 'to the door', many of which will not be found as such in the historical sources, have not been identified in any special way as their formation is predictable. Borrowings from other languages have been identified with ° before the word.

Throughout this thesis I use italics for words taken from Indigenous languages as they appear in their original sources. Phonetic and phonemic representations of Kaurna words are written without italicization within square [] and slash / / brackets respectively. Place names, language group names, personal names and names of organisations etc. which are currently in use are written without italicization as they appear in general usage.

Language names, Narungga, Barngarla, Bundjalung etc. are spelt according to local community preferences. Typically a range of spellings of these names are to be found in the literature. The preferred spelling of Narungga has changed recently from Narrunga, which appears in a number of quite recent publications and DETE Aboriginal Studies materials.

Local Aboriginal people from Adelaide and surrounding areas are often referred to as Nungas, their term of self-ascription. The term Nunga covers Aboriginal people belonging to a range of southern South Australian language groups, including Kaurna, Narungga and Ngarrindjeri. Non-Aboriginal people are sometimes referred to as Gunyas (also spelt Goonya) in accordance with local use, a term used in opposition to Nunga. The designation Auntie and Uncle are used at times in this thesis, as a mark of respect for respected senior figures, in accordance with use at KPS and within the Nunga community.

I privilege the use of Indigenous terms within this thesis. I refer to Kaurna individuals by their Kaurna names, where these are known. For instance, I use Mullawirraburka and Kadlitpinna rather than 'King John' and 'Captain Jack' respectively, even though these men are almost always referred to by their English names in the literature. Similarly, I use the terms Piltawodli, Bukkiyana and Raukkan in preference to the English place names 'Native Location', Point Pearce and Point McLeay respectively. This often results in a disparity between the names appearing in my text and names appearing in quotes.

The terms Indigenous, Elder and Dreaming are spelt with an initial capital letter out of respect in accordance with current Indigenous protocol. The Dreaming, originating in Spencer & Gillen (1898), is a problematic term. In most Australian languages the 'Dreaming' bears little relationship to the bodily function 'to dream'. Still the term is well-established, thus I too use it.

It is often difficult to find neutral terms in relation to many concepts discussed in this thesis. Many times I have been forced to use value-laden terms in accordance with the literature. For instance, the term 'Protector' is hardly an appropriate title in the light of the actions of these individuals and subsequent historical events. Still I am forced to use the term.

The terminology associated with 'language death' and 'language revival' are value-laden, often drawing on the wrong metaphors from the perspective of Indigenous peoples. This is an issue discussed at some length in Chapter 2.

Within this thesis the terms 'full-descent' and 'mixed descent' are occasionally used when there is a need to distinguish. These terms are no longer acceptable, being terms imposed by colonial administrations and governments to divide and subjugate Indigenous peoples. Unfortunately, I have not been able to avoid using these terms altogether in relation to historical matters.

List of Maps

Map I: Kurna Territory and Neighbouring Languages	xiv
Map II: Thura-Yura Languages	xv
Map III: Main localities referred to on the Adelaide Plains and Adjoining Regions	xvi
Map IV: Distribution of the Nunga Population in the Adelaide Metropolitan Area	xvii
Map 8.1: Location of Kurna Language Programs (1990-1997)	316
Map 9.1: Prominent Kurna Names Appearing on Current Maps	348
Map 9.2: Kurna Names in the Education Sector	353
Map 9.3: Aboriginal Organisations Bearing Kurna Names	355
Map 9.4: Aboriginal Sports Clubs Bearing Kurna Names	355
Map 9.5: Kurna Sites of Cultural Significance in the Metropolitan Area	376
Map 9.6: National Parks in and around the Metropolitan Area	377

List of Plates

Plate 1: Kurna Language in Situ	xviii
Plate 2: Learners of Kurna Language	xix
Plate 3: Kurna in Use	xx
Plate 4: Some Kurna Identities in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries	xxi
Plate 5: The <i>Kuri</i> and <i>Palti</i>	xxii
Plate 6: Some Kurna Weapons and Accessories (Plate VI in <i>Sth Aust. Illustrated</i>)	xxiii
Plate 7: Kurna Artifacts (Plate XXVII in <i>South Australia Illustrated</i>)	xxiv
Plate 8: Kurna Artifacts (Plate XXX in <i>South Australia Illustrated</i>)	xxv

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Language Regenesi s Hierarchy (after Paulston et al, 1994)	38
---	----

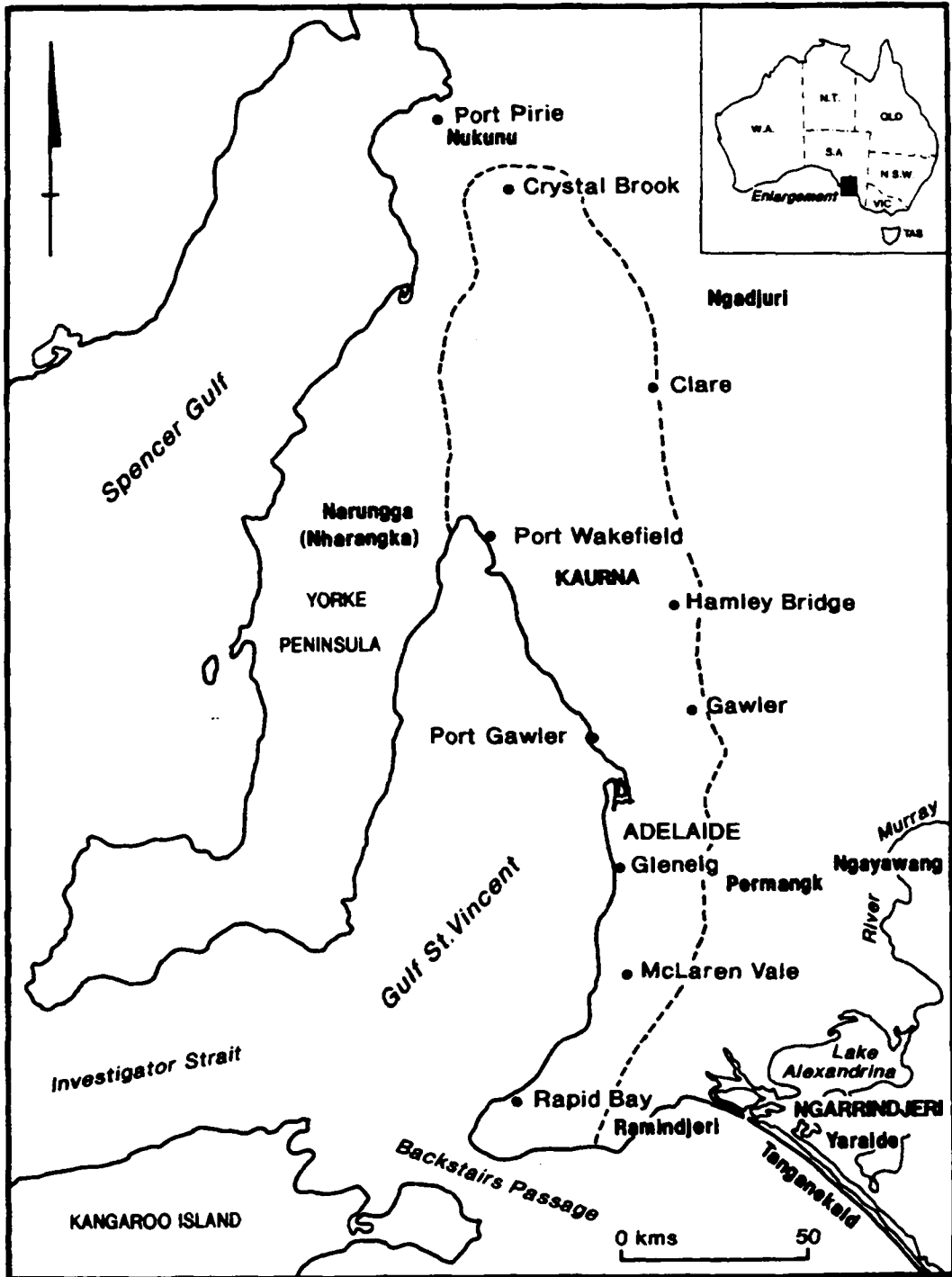
List of Tables

Table 6.1: Stephens' Bird Terms with Counterparts in Other Sources	182
Table 6.2: Williams' (1840) Spellings Compared with T&S and Hercus (1992)	183
Table 6.3: A Comparison of Verb Endings in Piesse (1840); Wyatt (1879) and T&S.....	185
Table 6.4: Wyatt's Spellings compared with Williams' (1840) and T&S	186
Table 6.5: Examples of Ngarrindjeri words misidentified as Kaurna in Wyatt (1879)	186
Table 6.6: A Comparison Between Stephens' (1889) and Williams' (1840) Sentences	190
Table 6.7: Stephens' (1889) Spellings Compared with Other Sources	191
Table 6.8: Words Drawn from Aboriginal Languages in Day (1904)	192
Table 6.9: Kaurna Sources Making an Original Contribution	193
Table 6.10: Secondary Kaurna Sources	196
Table 6.11: Earl's Wordlist Compared with other Kaurna Sources	197
Table 6.12: Black's Spellings Compared with T&S and Hercus (1992).....	199
Table 6.13: Aberrant Spellings in Fitzpatrick (1989)	204
Table 6.14: Examples of Typographical Errors in EDSA (1989) Wordlists	207
Table 6.15: 'Traditional' Kaurna Songlines.....	230
Table 6.16: Kaurna Hymns Written in the Early 1840s.....	232
Table 7.1: Kaurna Consonants (taken from Simpson & Amery, forthcoming)	237
Table 7.2: Nukunu Consonant System (taken from Hercus, 1992: 3)	238
Table 7.3: Some Variant Spellings in T&S.....	243
Table 7.4: Borrowings from Aboriginal Languages	251
Table 7.5: Some Prominent Lexical gaps in Kaurna Fauna Terminology	254
Table 7.6: Gaps in the Fauna Domain Addressed So Far	255
Table 7.7: Kaurna Neologisms Developed in the 1990s.....	282
Table 7.8: Selected Kaurna Texts (1990-1997)	295
Table 7.9: Kaurna Songs in Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga & Kaurna Songs, 1990	297
Table 7.10: Kaurna Songs (Varcoe et al, forthcoming)	298
Table 7.11: Kaurna Songs Produced Since Kaurna Songs, 1995-1997.....	300
Table 8.1: Kaurna Language Programs: A Chronology	317

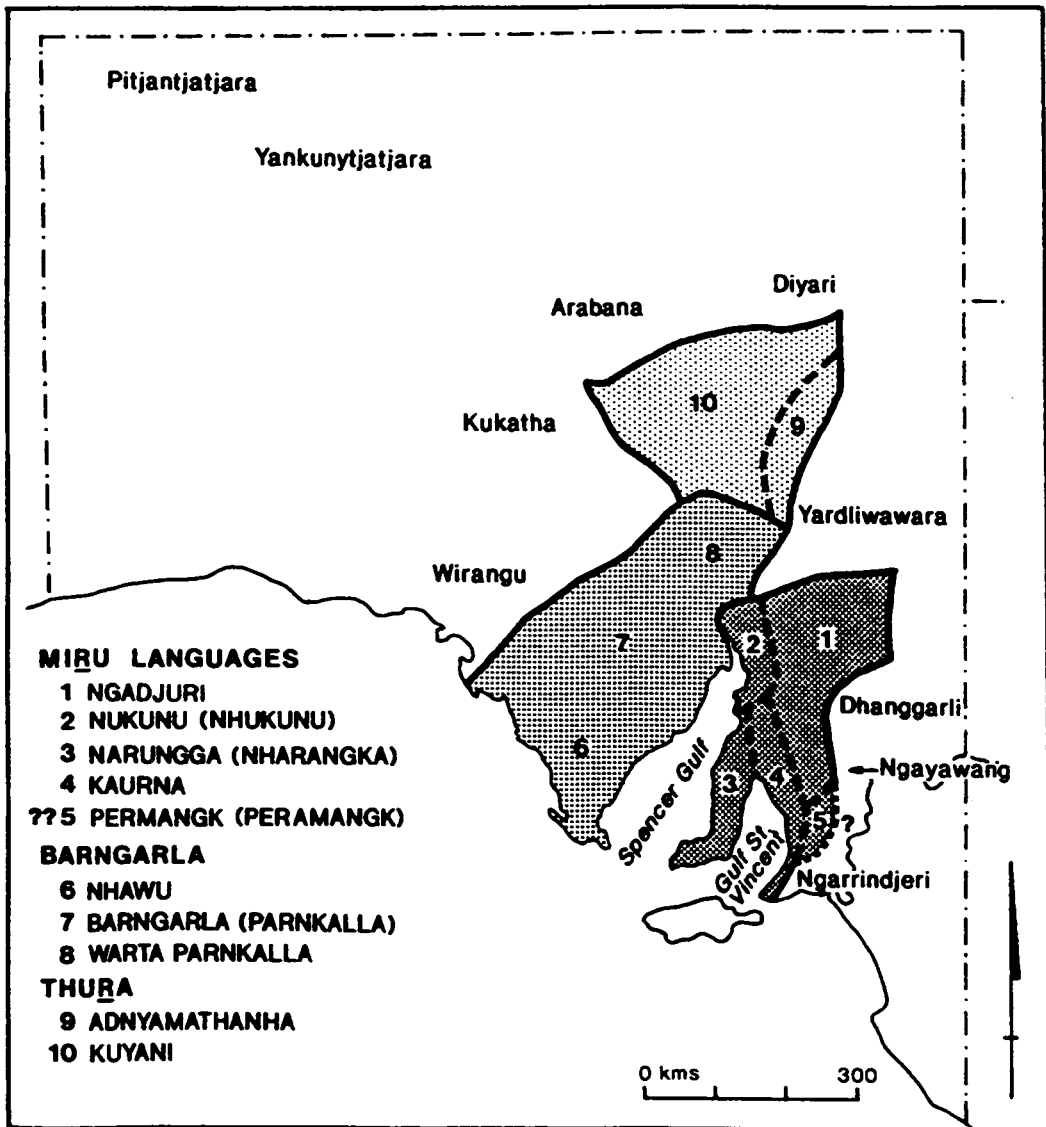
List of Graphs

Graph 8.1: Enrolments and Graduates of Kaurna course at Tauondi, 1993-1997.	340
Graph 8.2: Attendance at Kaurna Warra Patpangga program, Warriparinga.	342
Graph 9.1: Kaurna Specches in Public (1991-1997).....	360
Graph 9.2: Who Delivers Kaurna Speeches?.....	363
Graph 9.3: Number of Individuals Giving Kaurna Speeches in a given year.....	363
Graph 9.4: Singers of Kaurna Songs in Public (1992-1997)	364
Graph 9.5: Performance of Kaurna Songs in Public (1992-1997).....	365

Map I: Kaurna Territory and Neighbouring Languages
 (adapted from EDSA, 1989: 66. Map redrawn by Chris Crothers)



Map II: Thura-Yura Languages
 (map drawn by Chris Crothers)



Map III: Main Localities Referred to on the Adelaide Plains and Adjoining Regions



**Map IV: Distribution of the Nunga Population
in the Adelaide Metropolitan Area**
(taken with permission from F.Gale, 1972: 100-101)

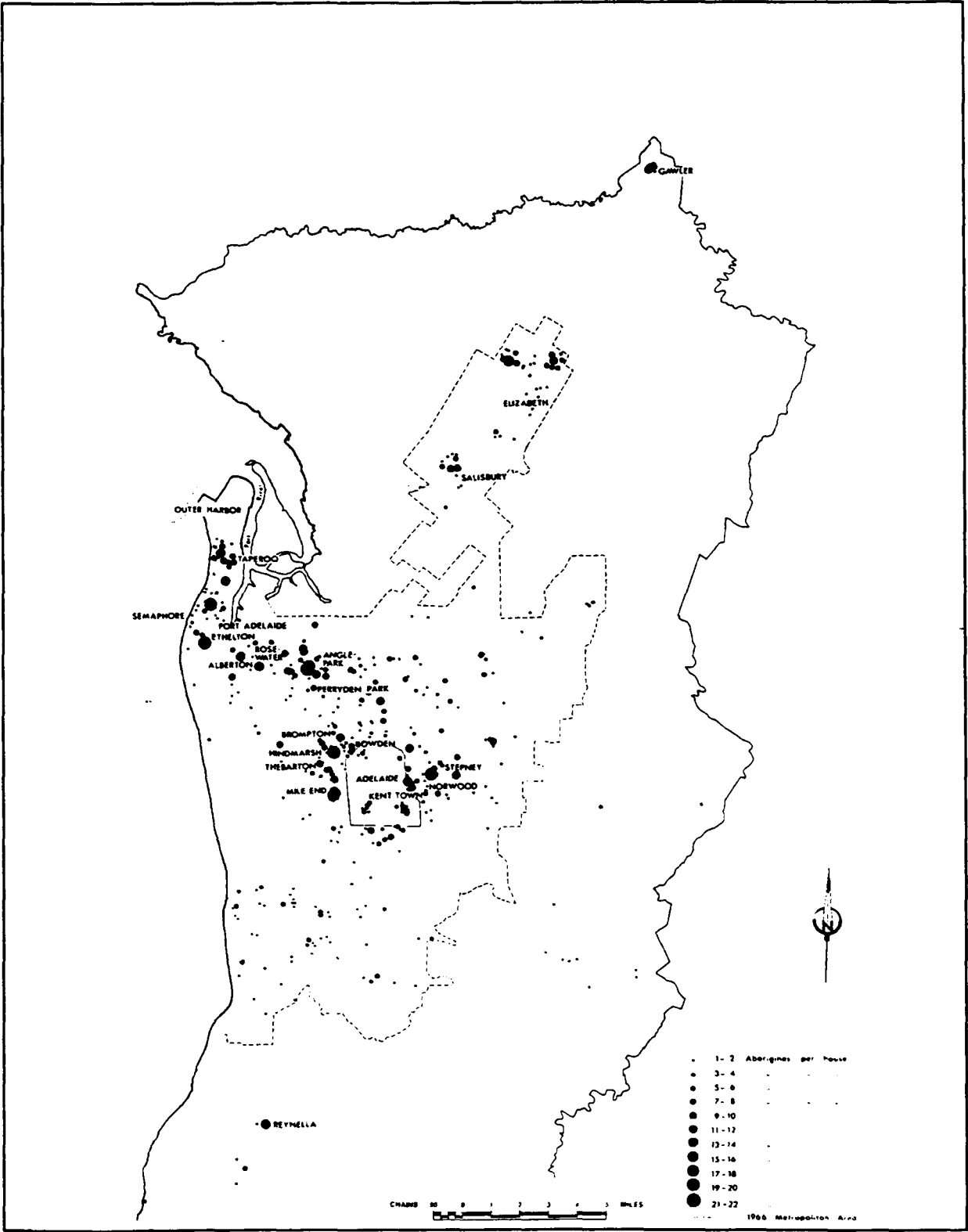


Plate 1 : Kurna Language in Situ (some of the main players)

NOTE:

These figures/tables/images have been removed
to comply with copyright regulations.
They are included in the print copy of the thesis
held by the University of Adelaide Library.

- i) Lewis O'Brien & Georgina Williams launching KL&LE, University of Adelaide, 1997
- ii) Snooky Varcoe teaching Kurna at KPS, 1992.
- iii) Alice Rigney launching KL&LE, University of Adelaide, 1997.
- iv) Cherie Watkins & Lewis O'Brien, smoking ceremony, opening of Nunga room, PWAC, 1996.
- v) Cherie Watkins with Lord Mayor Henry Ninio and Premier Dean Brown, SA Parliament, 1996.
- vi) Alma Ridgway & Vicki Hartman, HyperCard workshop, Technology School of the Future, 1996.

Plate 2 : Learners of Kaurna Language

NOTE:

These figures/tables/images have been removed
to comply with copyright regulations.
They are included in the print copy of the thesis
held by the University of Adelaide Library.

i) Kaurna workshop, KPS, 1990.

iii) Tauondi students on excursion

v) Snooky Varcoe and PWAC singers, 1995

vi) Kevin Duigan, Cherie Watkins & KPS students at farewell to Alice Rigney and Alma Ridgway 1997

ii) Snooky Varcoe and PWAC students, 1994

iv) Julie Hodgkinson, Nola Davis and KPS students

Plate 3: Kaurna in Use

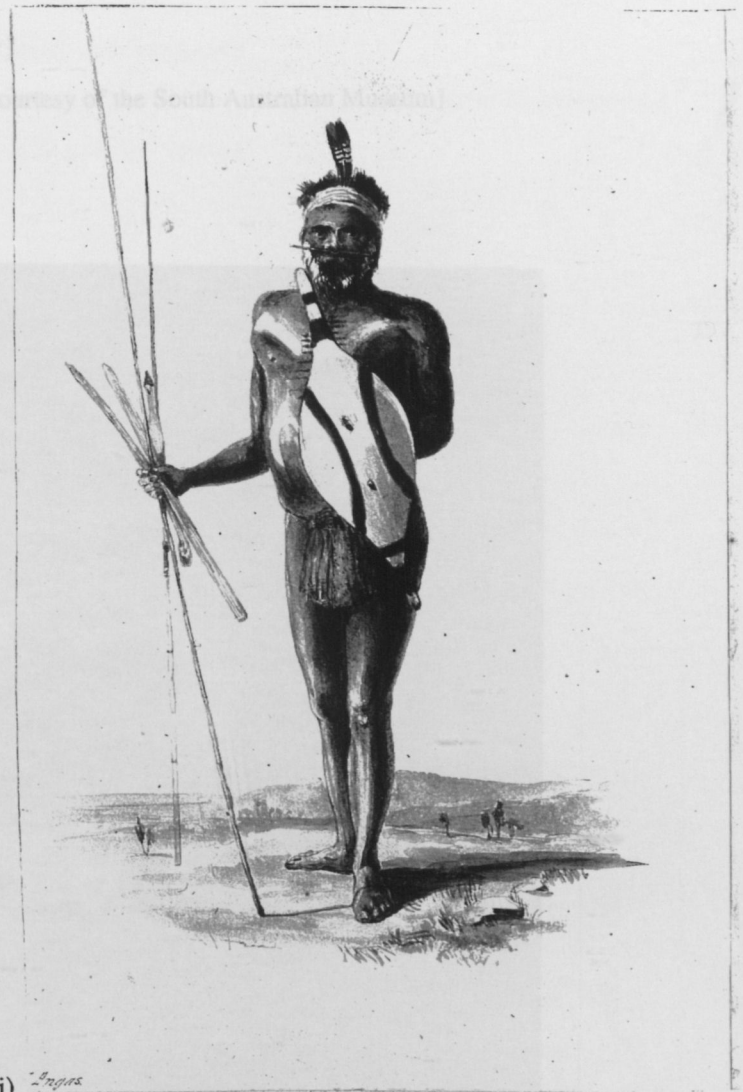
NOTE:

These figures/tables/images have been removed
to comply with copyright regulations.

They are included in the print copy of the thesis
held by the University of Adelaide Library.

- i) Singing Group: (from left to right) Rob Amery, Cherie Watkins, Kath Burgemeister, James Parkin, Kathy Brodie & Moona Nookkenba (Victoria Square, start of the 'Long March' to Hindmarsh Island)
- ii) Tjilbruke Dancers, Williams Family Clan 'Coming Home' ceremony, Warriparinga Open Day 1996.
- iii) Kaurna Plains School: children learning Kaurna numbers.
- iv) Assembly at Kaurna Plains School: KevinDuigan, Cherie Watkins and children.

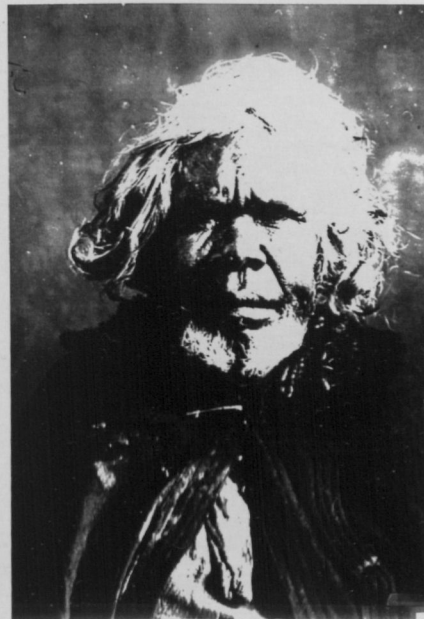
Plate 4: Some Kurna Identities in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries.



i) Angas



ii)



iii)

- i) Kadlitpinna 'Captain Jack', one of Teichelmann & Schürmann's main sources.
Photograph of George French Angas painting, Plate 22 in *South Australia Illustrated* (Angas, 1846).
ii) Ivaritji, possibly the 'last fluent speaker of Kurna', in museum cloak in the 1920s,
iii) Warrette (Emma Pritchard) 'Last of the Gawler Tribe' c1910
[photos supplied by courtesy of South Australian Museum]

Plate 5: The *Kuri* (above) and *Palti* (below)

[Plate 15 in *South Australia Illustrated* (Angas, 1847), courtesy of the South Australian Museum]

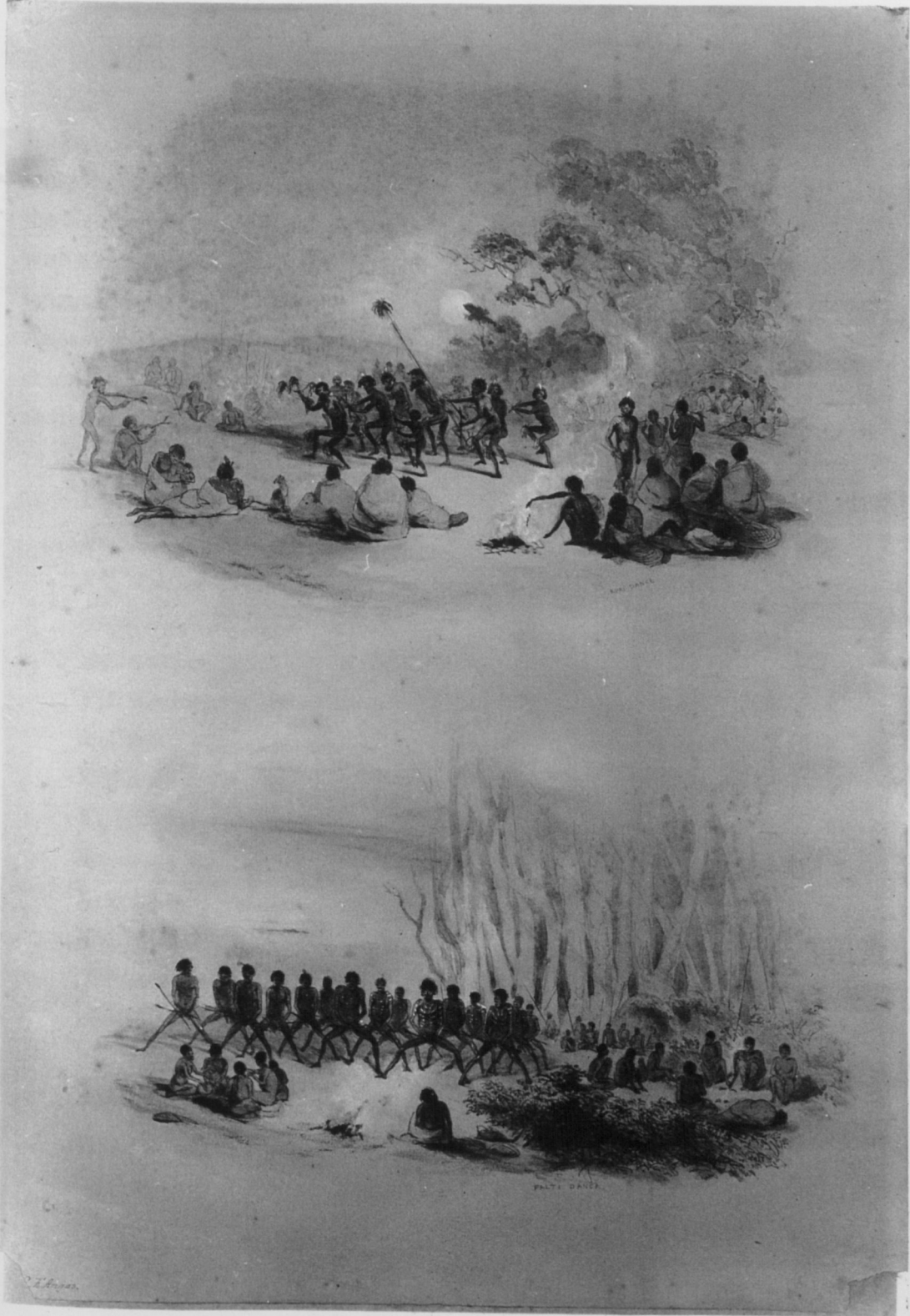


Plate 6: Some Kurna Weapons and Accessories

[photograph of Angas's original paintings for Plate VI 'Native Weapons and Implements' in *South Australia Illustrated* (Angas, 1847), courtesy of the South Australian Museum]

Key:

Only those items which belong to the Kurna people, or were labelled with a word drawn from the Kurna language have been labelled.

Angas's spellings are left intact, but descriptions have been adapted and shortened.

I *Mulabakka* 'shield' (of Mt Barker Tribe)

VII Warrior throwing *kyah* 'grass tree spear' with *midlah* 'throwing stick'

VIII *Kariwoppa* 'tuft of emu feathers'

X *Warpoo* 'dagger'

XI, XII, XIII *Midlah*

'throwing stick or woomera'

XIV *Mulabakka* 'bark shield'

XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII

Different forms of the *wirri* 'club'

XX *Kootpe* 'reed spear'

XXII, XXIII *Uwinda* 'barbed wooden spears'

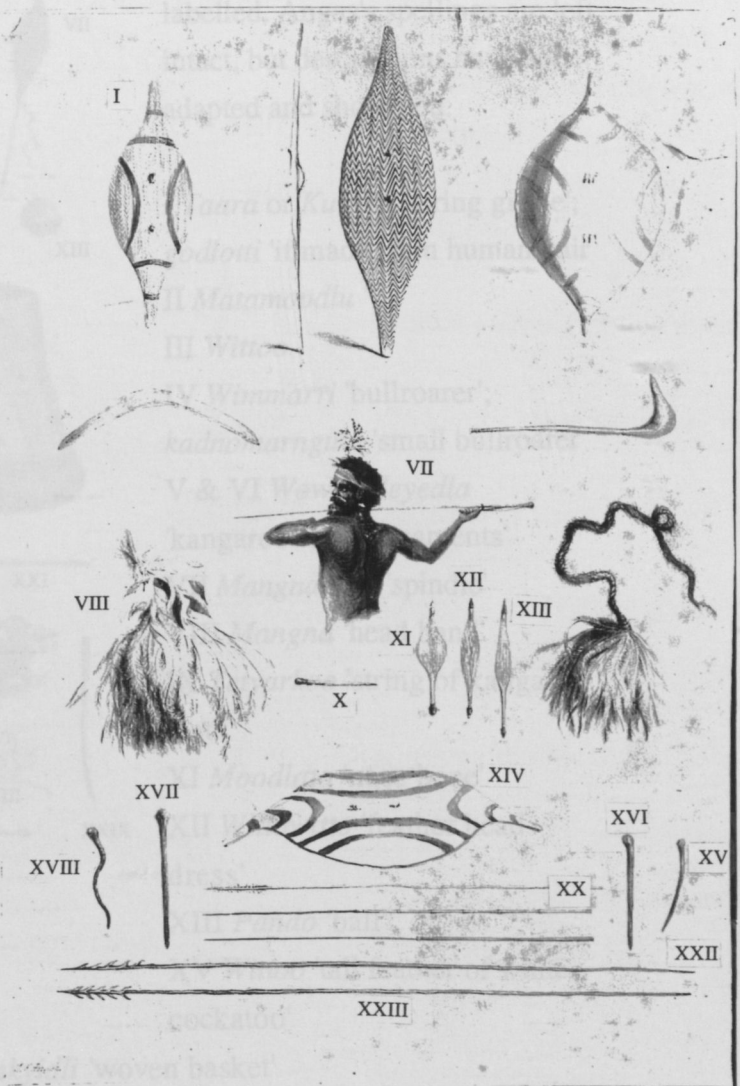
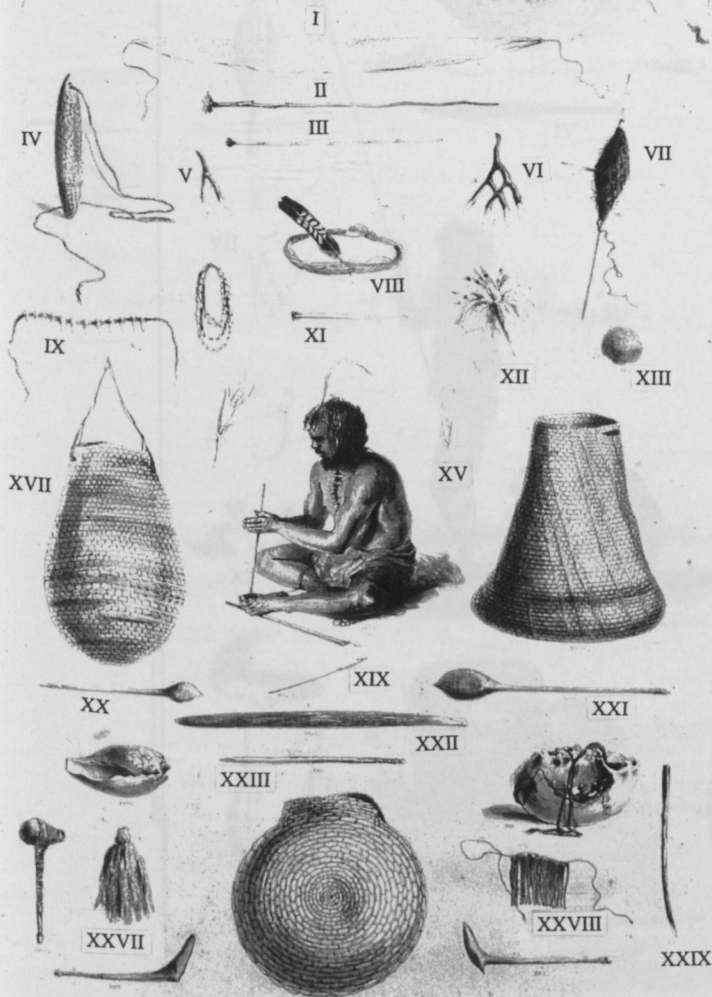


Plate 7: Some Kaurna Artifacts (Implements and Accessories)

[photograph of Angas's original paintings for Plate XXVII 'Ornaments and Utensils' in *South Australia*

Illustrated (Angas, 1847), courtesy of the South Australian Museum]



Key

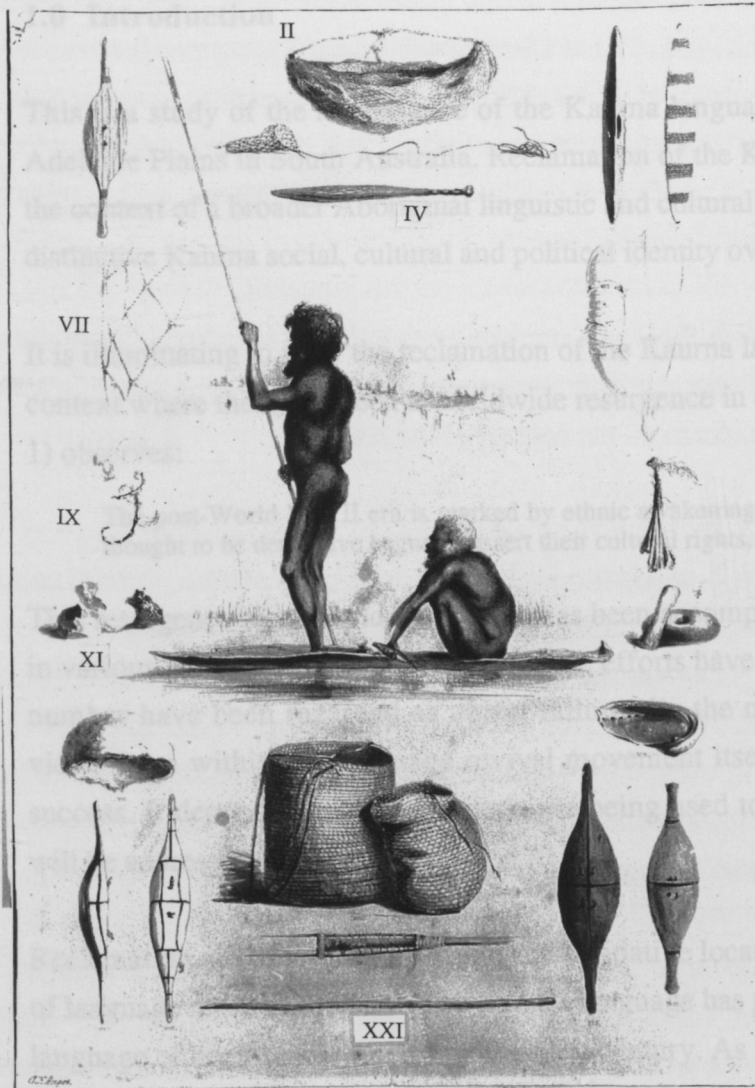
Only those items which belong to the Kaurna people, or were labelled with a word drawn from the Kaurna language have been labelled. Angas's spellings are left intact, but descriptions have been adapted and shortened.

- I *Taara* or *Kuretti* 'string girdle';
godlotti 'if made from human hair'
- II *Matamoodlu*
- III *Wittoo*
- IV *Wimmarri* 'bullroarer';
kadnomarnguta 'small bullroarer'
- V & VI *Wowoodleyedla*
'kangaroo teeth ornaments'
- VII *Mangnatatta* 'spindle'
- VIII *Mangna* 'head band'
- IX *Tetyarkoo* 'string of kangaroo teeth'
- XI *Moodlata* 'nose bone'
- XII *Wittowitto* 'feather head dress'
- XIII *Pando* 'ball'
- XV *Wittoo* 'tail feather of white cockatoo'

- XVII *Tainkyidli* 'woven basket'
- XIX *Pileyah* or *Pirri* 'grub hook'
- XX & XXI *Wirris* 'spears' (Mt Barker)
- XXII *Tundunnakoo* or *Katta wirri* 'fighting sticks'
- XXIII *Katta* 'fighting stick'
- XXVII *Yoodna* 'male pubic covering'
- XXVIII *Koontja* 'female pubic covering'
- XXIX *Wadna* 'climbing stick'

Plate 8: Kaurna Artifacts (Implements and Accessories)

[photograph of Angas's original paintings for Plate XXX 'Implements and Domestic Economy' in *South Australia Illustrated* (Angas, 1847), courtesy of the South Australian Museum]



Key

Only those items which belong to the Kaurna people, or were labelled with a word drawn from the Kaurna language have been labelled. Angas's spellings are left intact, but descriptions have been adapted and shortened.

II *Witkatja* 'net'

IV *Katta wirri* 'fighting stick'

VII *Munto* 'large kangaroo net'

IX *Tiltya* or *widne* 'sinews'

XI *Karku* 'red ochre' (from Onkaparinga)

XXI *Katta* 'female digging stick'

CHAPTER 1: LOCATING THE STUDY

Some people have described Kurna language as a dead language. But Kurna people don't believe this. We believe that our language is a living language and that it has only been sleeping, and that the time to wake it up is now and this is what we're doing.

(Cherie Watkins in *Warranna Purrana - Pa:mpi Tungarar - Living Languages* video DECS, 1997)

1.0 Introduction

This is a study of the renaissance of the Kurna language, the language of Adelaide and the Adelaide Plains in South Australia. Reclamation of the Kurna language is taking place within the context of a broader Aboriginal linguistic and cultural renaissance and the re-emergence of a distinctive Kurna social, cultural and political identity over the last few decades.

It is illuminating to view the reclamation of the Kurna language within a broader international context where there has been a worldwide resurgence in ethnic identification. As Khlif (1980: 1) observes:

The post-World War II era is marked by ethnic awakening in the First World. Groups long dormant or thought to be dead have begun to assert their cultural rights, and community rights.

This resurgence in ethnic identification has been accompanied by language revival movements in various parts of the world. Some of these efforts have met with more success than others. A number have been regarded as abject failures by the majority of outside observers, though views from within the language revival movement itself may well regard the initiative as a success. It depends upon what criteria are being used to judge the programs - a theme which will be addressed in detail later.

Reclamation of the Kurna language is an initiative located towards the far end of a continuum of language revival activities. The Kurna language has probably not been used as an everyday language of communication for well over a century. As far as is known, the last fluent speaker of the Kurna language died in 1929 (Gara, 1990: 100). There are no sound recordings of the language as it was spoken last century, though limited print-based materials do exist. Kurna people are a small minority dispersed across a large metropolitan city and throughout surrounding country towns and Aboriginal communities. On the face of it, reclamation of the Kurna language is undertaken against seemingly insurmountable odds, yet with positive results, at least according to some criteria.

This thesis chronicles and analyses the efforts of the Nunga¹ community, and interested others, to reclaim and relearn a linguistic heritage that has long been considered 'extinct'. In particular

¹Nunga, pronounced [naŋgə], is a term of self-ascription used by Aboriginal persons in the southern parts of South Australia, contrasting with Gunya, pronounced [gəŋə], used to refer to non-Aboriginal persons. Nunga seems to have originated from Wirangu, a language from the west coast of South Australia (Wilson, 1996: 6-7), though some Nungas identify it as a corruption of *nyangga*, a Kukatha word. It is used in the same sense as

the study focuses on a small Aboriginal school in the northern suburbs of Adelaide and the adjoining secondary school, and the work of several committed and hard-working Nunga language specialists.

This study cannot in any sense claim to be a neutral account of the reclamation of the Kaurna language, since the writer, a non-Aboriginal Australian, is one of the main protagonists of the language revival efforts and has been involved with it on a practical level since 1989. However, the study does claim to be an informed one. I have attempted to take differing perspectives into account and to represent the full spectrum of views expressed to me and to other observers, but I admit I am partisan in the views I express. It is essentially a linguistic and sociolinguistic study, but by necessity draws upon a number of disciplines including history, anthropology, language teaching pedagogy and Aboriginal studies.

Below, I locate the study, within both local geographical and cultural space and the broader context of Indigenous rights and the struggle for recognition. I also provide essential background information needed to understand the context of the research.

1.1 The Scope of the Study

The major focus of this thesis is an investigation of the process of reclaiming² the Kaurna language, both in linguistic and social terms. It traces the history of the Kaurna language from the earliest descriptions of the language and its speakers, made by European observers last century, through to current efforts to reclaim and relearn it during the 1990s. Most of the information contributing towards this study comes from two short eras - the first years of the South Australian colony (1836 - 1858) and the contemporary period (1989 - 1997). Very little was recorded or developed in relation to Kaurna in the intervening period.

Although this thesis draws on all known sources, and all known uses to which the language is put within the contemporary period, additional sources, of which I am unaware, may exist. Likely locations for such material, include Captain Grey's collection now held in the South African Public Library, Cape Town and in Auckland, New Zealand; mission archives in Germany; the logs of American sealing and whaling vessels; journals, letters and other papers held in private collections, both in Australia and overseas; or remnants of the language remaining within certain Aboriginal families. It is evident that in many Nunga families there is a body of linguistic and cultural knowledge, some of which is shared with outsiders, but some of which is retained as 'family secrets'. This knowledge is passed down from generation to generation when the recipients are deemed responsible to possess that knowledge and not

Koori or Koorie in NSW and Victoria, Murrie in Queensland, Palawa in Tasmania, Nyungar or Noongah in the south west of Western Australia and Yura in the Flinders Ranges.

²This term is defined as "efforts to relearn a language on the basis of historical documentation and archival material" (SSABSA, 1996a: vii). It is discussed further in Chapter 2 and explicated in detail in Chapter 7.

divulge it. It is possible that certain Kaurna linguistic and cultural knowledge has been retained in this way beyond the knowledge of the writer.

More extensive oral history relating to Kaurna sites and genealogies does remain within the Nunga community, much of which has not been documented. Comparatively few words unique to Kaurna have survived in oral form. Almost all Kaurna words known are place names appearing on maps³ or common words shared by neighbouring languages. A considerable amount of sign language still remains within the Nunga community, but because it was never documented in the early period, it is impossible to say from which language group it originates or if indeed it was shared by Kaurna and neighbouring languages.

Kaurna as spoken in the nineteenth century, like Troy's (1994a; 1994b) study of NSW Pidgin and the Sydney language, can be known only from the records of non-Aboriginal (or Gunya) observers, though contemporary Aboriginal oral history can sometimes provide useful insights. Of course many aspects of Kaurna were never documented and they remain unknown and unknowable.

Developments in relation to the Kaurna language in the modern period began in 1989-90 with a commonwealth-funded language revival project in Ngarrindjeri, Narungga and Kaurna, the three most important languages belonging to Nungas living in Adelaide. Most of the activity generated by that project centred on Ngarrindjeri and Narungga. This reflected the main area of interest of the Nunga community at the time. In fact, little of the work of the 1989-90 Project touched on Kaurna. In a songbook produced at the end of the project, only seven of the 33 songs were devoted to Kaurna. Yet, with the exception of the naming of places, institutions and people with Kaurna names, and the inclusion in some publications of words and phrases taken directly from the historical sources, this was the first work undertaken in Kaurna language reclamation.

From this small beginning, in less than a decade, Kaurna teaching programs have been established and expanded across several institutions catering for a range of learners of different ages. Increasingly, the language is being used by members of the Kaurna community, albeit in limited ways, chiefly in public forums and in cultural tourism. Use of the language in this way draws on the symbolic value of the language. Significantly, the ranges of functions for which the language is being used continues to expand. There are some early signs that the language is beginning to take root within certain Nunga households and extended families.

1.2 Who are the Kaurna?

The Kaurna people are the Indigenous inhabitants of the Adelaide Plains (see Map I), Adelaide being the capital of South Australia. Within the nineteenth century literature they were generally referred to as 'the Adelaide tribe', though a number of other names were employed at times (see

³Consequently, some Kaurna place names are known generally throughout the wider community.

Appendix B). Last century the Kaurna language was known as 'the Adelaide language', though it is now known as 'Kaurna', usually pronounced by Nungas as [ga:na], sometimes [gauna] or [gaurna] and occasionally [k^ha:na] depending on the background and origins of the speaker.

1.2.1 On the name 'Kaurna'

The term 'Kaurna' does not appear within the main sources of the Kaurna language: Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840), hereafter T&S, and Teichelmann (1857), hereafter TMs. Most likely it comes from the Ramindjeri or Ngarrindjeri word *kornar* 'men; people'. It appears to have been used first in the literature by Wyatt (1879) in reference to 'Encounter Bay Bob's Tribe' and was popularised in the 1920s by Norman Tindale of the South Australian Museum. See Appendix B for a full discussion of the possible origins of the name 'Kaurna'.

Perhaps a more suitable name for the Kaurna might be *Meyunna*, a point recognised by Lewis O'Brien (pc 1997), a Kaurna Elder with a long interest in the language. *Meyu* 'man; person' is distinguished from corresponding terms in neighbouring languages Nukunu *miru* ; Ngayawang *meru* (*mera* 'men'); Ngarrindjeri *korni* ; and Narungga *nipu*. *Meyunna* then would define the Kaurna-speaking region⁴. However, the term 'Kaurna' has been widely adopted by Kaurna people themselves and is used universally in twentieth century publications to refer to the people of the Adelaide Plains. I too use the term in accordance with popular usage.

1.2.2 Kaurna Territory

Eighteenth century sources identify the territory of the 'Adelaide Tribe' as a localised tract of country centred on Adelaide. For instance, the Protector of Aborigines, Matthew Moorhouse (1840), identified their territory as extending from "ten miles north of Adelaide to Mount Terrible [Sellick's Hill] near Myponga in the south". Similarly, Cawthorne identified an area of about 100 square miles as follows:

The Adelaide tribe which never exceeded 300 souls had a tract of country, bounded by hills near Willunga in the South, by Cox's Creek in the East and the Gawler River in the North and the Sea in the West, or a tract of country of about 100 square miles, which covered gives 3 souls to one square mile.

(Cawthorne, 1865 quoted in Hemming, 1990: 131)

However, as Hemming (1990) points out, such early references probably referred to the territory of the local group rather than the lands of the Kaurna-speaking peoples as a whole. Tindale defined a territory much more extensive relating to a larger 'nation' sharing a common language and culture.

At first, he defined the extent of Kaurna territory (1940: 179), with its southern boundary at Rapid Head. Later, in *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia* he provides the following lengthy description with the southern boundary moved further south:

⁴*Meeyurna* (= *meyunna* 'people') was in fact applied by Wyatt (1879) to "Onkaparinga Jack's Tribe". This man's Kaurna name was Mullawirraburka, also known as 'King John' to the colonists and was one of the missionaries' main sources of information on the Kaurna language.

Kaurna

Loc.: Cape Jervis to Port Wakefield along eastern shore of Gulf St. Vincent; inland to near Crystal Brook, Snowtown, Blyth, Hoyleton, Hamley Bridge, Clarendon, Gawler, and Myponga; from the east side of the Hummock Range to Red Hill where northern hordes were sometimes known as Nantuwara. Inland the Jultiwira or stringybark forests of the Mount Lofty Ranges marked their boundary. The Kaurna were the southernmost tribe to perform the initiatory rite of circumcision. Their territory was very correctly indicated as 2,800 square miles (7,200 sq. km.) with a population of 650 in the South Australian Register of 30 January 1842. Ivaritji, the last woman survivor⁵, who died in 1931⁶, provided much of our scanty knowledge of the Kaurna. A southern horde spoke a slight dialect at Rapid Bay. Tunkalilla Beach, 12 miles (20 km.) east of Cape Jervis, was given as the actual [keinari] or boundary with the Ramindjeri. East (1889) incorrectly included the related Yorke Peninsula people, the Narangga, under his term Padnayndie. This is in the form Padnaindi, a hordal term for the folk living between Hamley Bridge and Crystal Brook. (Tindale, 1974: 213)

This definition of Kaurna territory, extending from Crystal Brook to Cape Jervis (see Map D), is generally accepted in Museum and Education Department publications⁷ and within the Nunga community. However, Berndt & Berndt (1993) establish a set of very different boundaries for the Kaurna and their neighbours. They claim that the whole of the Fleurieu Peninsula as far north as Noarlunga is Ramindjeri territory. They worked with Ngarrindjeri people, especially Albert Karloan, in the 1930s and 1940s. Their comments about the Ramindjeri and their territories are especially insightful:

Karloan's knowledge was most detailed in relation to his own dialectal unit, Yaraldi

The material is relatively complete for all the Kukabrak [Ngarrindjeri] dialectal units, except for the Wakend and Ramindjeri. As regards the latter two, we considered when we recorded the information that this was a remarkable feat on the part of Karloan and some others, especially since this area was the first to have borne the brunt of European contact. Moreover, the information on this dialectal unit and its clans demonstrates that the area its members occupied was much larger than had previously been suggested. However, the extension towards Willunga, Clarendon, Noarlunga and the surrounding country could have been brought about through the trade routes which linked the Kukabrak to northern peoples. Undoubtedly, that expansion must be seen in the light of the fascination with European settlements.

(Berndt & Berndt, 1993: 312)

Here we have confirmation of a relatively recent eastward and northward expansion of the Ngarrindjeri nation and a warning as to the tentative, secondhand information upon which their analysis and description of Ramindjeri territory is based⁸.

In a recent paper (Amery, forthcoming) I discuss the southern limits of Kaurna territory, on the basis of linguistic and historical evidence, and suggest that Kaurna territory may have extended as far eastward as Encounter Bay and that the occupation of Encounter Bay by the Ramindjeri in the late 1830s may have been a response to the activities of whalers in the area. It would

⁵Ivaritji was a survivor of the 'invasion' and the first dispossession of Kaurna lands. Tindale's views are coloured by the notion that 'traditional' Aboriginal people of 'full descent' are the only 'real' Aboriginal people, a view wholeheartedly rejected by the author and by Kaurna people today.

⁶This date appears to be incorrect. See Gara (1990: 64, 98). It seems that Ivaritji died of pneumonia on Christmas Day 1929.

⁷Interestingly, the map of Kaurna territory drawn in the Kaurna Aboriginal Studies material (EDSA, 1989) differs slightly from that appearing in the Ngarrindjeri materials (EDSA, 1990). Kaurna territory is less extensive in the latter publication. The southern boundary is located well to the north of Cape Jervis.

⁸Recent post-invasion movements of peoples are found elsewhere in the country. It is of interest to note that the Antekerrenye wordlist in Taplin (1879) is of an Arandic language. According to the location given by Taplin the Antekerrenye wordlist was obtained from deep inside current Western-Desert speaking areas. The Antikirinya today, centred around Oodnadatta, speak a language which is a variety of Western Desert. There have been early eastward movements of Western Desert speaking peoples as a result of the presence of the 'doggers' who paid a bounty for dingo scalps. It is unclear whether language shift took place in the Oodnadatta region or whether Arandic speakers were replaced by Western Desert speakers.

appear that the 'Encounter Bay' people referred to by Colonel Light and other members of his party at Rapid Bay in 1836 may have been speakers of Kurna.

1.2.3 Kurna Neighbours

Neighbouring languages are important in the study of Kurna. They contribute to an understanding of the ecology in which Kurna existed in the 1830s and 1840s and in which the Kurna language exists today. Knowledge of neighbouring languages, especially closely related ones, is used to a significant extent in the reclamation of the Kurna language.

The languages to the immediate north and west are the closest relatives of the Kurna language. Writers have long recognised the affinity between the Kurna and Narungga of Yorke Peninsula. East (1889) argued that the peoples of Yorke Peninsula and the Adelaide Plains belonged to one nation. Mathews (1900) who called this nation the *Adjadurah* reasoned:

Owing to the similarity of the dialects of the Yorke Peninsula and Adelaide tribes, the prevalence of circumcision and other customs, together with the fact of their being adjoining neighbours, seems to me to justify the assumption that they were practically the same people. I have therefore included these two tribes in one nation. (R.H. Mathews, 1900: 86 in Hemming, 1990: 129)

This affiliation is also recognised by present day Kurna and Narungga people. Unfortunately little of the Narungga language remains within the conscious memory of Narungga people and little of the language was recorded. Despite this, Narungga identity is strong and is centred on Bukkiyana (Point Pearce)⁹, an Aboriginal Community and previously a mission station located on the central west coast of Yorke Peninsula¹⁰.

Nukunu, to the immediate north and extending to Port Augusta, is the next most closely related language to Kurna. Some Nukunu recordings were made by Luise Hercus between 1955 and 1971, collated with earlier sources and published in a dictionary (Hercus, 1992). This material has proved particularly useful, especially in terms of reconstructing Kurna phonology¹¹.

Ngadjuri, to the north east, is also a closely related language, though, like Narungga, it has been poorly documented (see Berndt & Vogelsang, 1941). In late 1996, an interim Ngadjuri committee was formed by Fred Warrior who was then a leading member of the Kurna Aboriginal Community and Heritage Association (KACHA). A number of people, like Fred, have both Kurna and Ngadjuri ancestry.

⁹Bukkiyana, also written as Bookayana, is the Indigenous name for Point Pearce and is used in this thesis in accordance with Nunga preferences, even though Point Pearce is better known and used more widely.

¹⁰The local Point Pearce School is engaged in the delivery of a Narungga language program. Some schools in Adelaide also teach elements of the Narungga language from time to time.

¹¹Several families living in Port Augusta identify as Nukunu and a Nukunu language awareness program was commenced within Port Germaine Primary School in 1995.

Together, Kaurna, Narungga, Nukunu and Ngadjuri form a subgroup known as the Miru languages. The Miru languages, together with Barnjarla from Eyre Peninsula and Adnyamathanha from Flinders Ranges, form the Thura-Yura subgroup¹² (see Map II).

To the immediate east of Kaurna lay the lands of the Permangk people, previously known as the "Mount Barker Tribe". They were known to the Kaurna as the *Mari Meyunna* 'east people'. So little is known about the Permangk language, that it is impossible to even classify. Most writers, including myself, have assumed that Permangk is closely affiliated with Ngarrindjeri. However, I am now of the opinion that it is more likely that it was mutually intelligible with Kaurna¹³.

Further east, the Ngayawang language extends up the Murray River, according to Moorhouse (1846: title page) "from Wellington on the Murray, as far as the Rufus". The Ngayawang were known to the Kaurna of the 1830s and 1840s as the *Pitta Meyunna* 'goose people'. In contemporary Australia it seems that practically all the Murray River districts in South Australia identify as Ngarrindjeri country, though many people also have Western Desert links as a result of a number of people being shifted from Ooldea to Gerard (Sapinsky, 1997: 24). School-based or community-based language programs choose Ngarrindjeri or Pitjantjatjara, never Ngayawang, despite the existence of reasonably comprehensive Ngayawang materials compiled by Weatherstone (1843) and Moorhouse (1846). Ngayawang, whilst being a very different language, seems to share some features with Kaurna and other features with Ngarrindjeri.

To the south east of Kaurna lay the lands of the Ngarrindjeri nation. The Ngarrindjeri, also known as the Kukabrak (Berndt & Berndt, 1993) comprise a large number of clans including the Ramindjeri from Encounter Bay and the Yaralde from Raukkan (Point McLeay). The Ngarrindjeri clans from the Lower Murray were known to the Kaurna as the *Parnka Meyunna* 'lake people' whilst the Ramindjeri from Encounter Bay were known as the *Wirramu Meyunna* after the Kaurna name for Encounter Bay. The Ngarrindjeri language is very different from Kaurna. Few vocabulary items are shared by the two languages and Ngarrindjeri phonology exhibits some marked deviations from the majority of Pama-Nyungan¹⁴ languages. Linguistic differences notwithstanding, at the time of colonisation, the Ramindjeri people at least were close allies of the Kaurna. It would appear that these strong cultural ties were long-standing. An

¹²These subgroups are labelled after the word for 'person' in the respective languages. Nukunu has *miru* Kuyani has *thura* while Adnyamathanha and Barnjarla have *yura* (Hercus, 1992: 1-2).

¹³The colony of South Australia was centred on Adelaide. In the 1830s and 1840s, the colonial authorities were keen to establish the number of languages needed to communicate with the Indigenous population. Following the publication of grammars of Kaurna (T&S), Ramindjeri (Meyer, 1843) and Barnjarla (Schürmann, 1844), Grey ordered Moorhouse to write a grammar of Ngayawang (Moorhouse, 1846). In the Preface, Moorhouse writes "the Europeans had been several years in contact with Natives speaking four dialects, and Vocabularies of three dialects had been prepared . . . it was thought desirable . . . to have the fourth placed on record". Most likely had Permangk been significantly different to Kaurna, a grammar would have been prepared earlier. Furthermore, we learn from Teichelmann's journals (5 Jan. 1840) that he was able to communicate with "the Marri Mejus", presumably in Kaurna.

¹⁴Pama-Nyungan languages cover 4/5 of mainland Australian and include all South Australian languages. They are grouped together on the basis of typological similarity (strictly suffixing), after the words for 'man; person' in Cape York and Southwest Western Australia.

analysis of place names also shows evidence of linguistic diffusion, with the frequent use of the locative suffix in Kurna place names due to the influence of languages of the Ngarrindjeri nation (Hercus & Potezney, forthcoming).

The Ngarrindjeri are still a strong and powerful people and are perhaps the most numerous Indigenous group in South Australia today. Whilst fluent speakers no longer exist, a significant amount of linguistic and cultural knowledge has been retained within the Ngarrindjeri community, despite its proximity to Adelaide and the effects of colonisation and various government and mission policies. Most Aboriginal people living in districts along the entire length of the Murray River within South Australia and the Coorong identify as Ngarrindjeri, as well as a great number living in Adelaide. Ngarrindjeri language and culture programs have been operating in certain schools in the Murraylands and in Adelaide since the mid-1980s.

1.2.4 Kurna People Today

Until comparatively recently, most Kurna people thought of themselves primarily as a Nunga or Aboriginal person, or perhaps as a Narungga or Ngarrindjeri person. Few thought of themselves as a 'Kurna person', though this is now changing.

Kurna people today, as distinct from other Nunga peoples, define themselves primarily on the basis of genealogical links to the people who formerly inhabited the Adelaide Plains¹⁵ and there is great reliance on the boundaries of Kurna territory as laid down by Tindale. As we shall see, known genealogical links, without exception, are traced back to one of several female ancestors who lived on the Adelaide Plains in the mid-nineteenth century.

It seems that the Kurna, who witnessed the destruction of their most important sites, and whose population base was seriously undermined by the ravages of disease, had largely abandoned Adelaide itself by 1847, having been displaced by Europeans and the more numerous, more powerful Murray River peoples. A number of young Kurna were shipped to Poonindie as the core of Archbishop Hale's 'Native Training Institution' (see Chapter 5). Some Kurna, however, remained in Kurna country at Cleland into the early 1860s and, according to oral tradition, others lived at Port Adelaide until about 1890, though they remain invisible in the official records.

Remaining Kurna people were absorbed into the neighbouring Narungga and Ngarrindjeri peoples living respectively at Bukkiyana and Raukkan though some attempted to maintain some contact with their country. Police records of the 1890s show continual eviction from Adelaide (see Foster, forthcoming).

¹⁵Although genealogy may be the primary criterion that Kurna people use to distinguish themselves from other Nungas, this does not diminish the importance of other aspects of identity, including the relationship with the land, the Dreaming, the Law, the songs, language and other aspects of culture.

Kaurna people began returning to the Adelaide Plains before WWII. After the 1967 referendum, this process accelerated as Aboriginal people were able to move back into Adelaide of their own volition, no longer subject to the 'Act'. Upon arrival in the city, Nungas began to pursue their connections with the Adelaide Plains, their ancestral lands. It seems that some Nungas had always been aware of these links with Adelaide and with the Kaurna people through oral history passed down within the family. Georgina Williams was perhaps the first to actively pursue and voice her Kaurna identity. She had long been aware of her Kaurna ancestry on her mother's side, through Kudnarto, but she had heard little about her father's side and began to question him about it. She began to explore her links with Kaurna country by taking her father by car to places he had been taken as a boy. She learnt that her father had links to Kaurna country south of Adelaide. Lewis O'Brien actively pursued his Kaurna identity by research in the archives, after it was brought to his attention by the late Gladys Elphick when they moved to Adelaide. Lewis, like many other Kaurna people had "grown up with Narungga" as the focus of his identity. The Adams, Goldsmith, Spender and Wilson families were identified by Gladys Elphick as being of "Kaurna descent", contrasting with the Edwards, Hughes and Sansbury families who were said to be of Narungga descent (in Mattingley & Hampton, 1988: 201).

For many older Kaurna people, their primary identity remains Narungga or Ngarrindjeri, depending on whether they grew up at Bukkiyana or Raukkan respectively. For others, especially young people who have grown up in Adelaide, Kaurna identity is all-important. The number of people who identify primarily as Kaurna is growing, as people explore their history and genealogies.

The Kaurna community is dispersed throughout the metropolitan area and beyond. Today, Kaurna people are spread across a broad socio-economic spectrum. Some are tertiary educated with postgraduate qualifications. They fill a range of occupations, though, most Kaurna are located in the lower socio-economic strata with many dependent on social welfare. Unemployment, lifestyle-related illnesses, drug-taking and a loss of hope due to the processes of colonization are taking their toll on the community as reflected in an extraordinarily high death rate over the past few years¹⁶.

Over the past two decades, Kaurna Elders and community leaders have been active in preserving Kaurna heritage and promoting Kaurna culture and history through the development and implementation of Aboriginal Studies curriculum, notably *The Kaurna People* (EDSA, 1989). Their voices are heard through a range of curriculum materials. In addition, some have published life stories, articles, poems and other materials (see, for instance, Graham & Graham, 1987; O'Brien, 1990; 1991; G. Telfer, 1984; Williams, 1986; 1997; K. Telfer, 1997;

¹⁶In July 1997, Georgina Williams (Launch of KL&LE) noted that over the previous few months "43 people [in the Nunga community], 20 of them at least of which are known to me have died".

Brodie, 1991; forthcoming; Agius & Gale, 1994; Agius, 1994; A. Rigney, 1994)¹⁷. They are the driving force behind a cultural revival and have been strong supporters of the Kurna language movement. Accordingly, most are central within this study.

1.2.5 The formation of KACHA

The Kurna Aboriginal Community and Heritage Association Inc., henceforth KACHA, is recognised as the representative body acting on behalf of all Kurna people. Identification and protection of sites has been the main preoccupation of KACHA since its formation. However, its terms of reference are wide, making specific mention of the language. The first two of 16 "objects" of the Association are:

3.1 To provide opportunities for the advancement of the economic, educational, social, artistic, cultural, linguistic, spiritual, psychological, emotional and physical wellbeing of the Kurna community.

3.2 To establish, acquire, maintain and control social, cultural and study centres and other projects to further the economic, educational, social, artistic, cultural, linguistic, spiritual, psychological, emotional and physical wellbeing of the Kurna community.

(Kurna Aboriginal Community and Heritage Association Incorporated Constitution)

KACHA, previously known simply as the Kurna Heritage Committee, grew out of the Tjilbruke Track Committee¹⁸ based at the South Australian Museum. In 1981, after a period of inactivity, the Committee was re-convened by John Moriarty, the Director of the S.A. Department of Aboriginal Affairs. The committee was re-structured, giving Kurna people more power and control over their heritage. They became centrally involved in the day-to-day activities of the committee:

The power of decision making on the committee was given to 'Kurna' descendants and Georgina Williams (a 'Kurna' descendant) was employed along with Suzi Hutchings (an anthropologist) to work, based at the SA Museum, on the research aspect of the project. Other 'Kurna' descendants involved with the committee included Doris Graham and Lewis O'Brien. (Hemming, 1990: 135)

In the 1980s Kurna identity was focussed on the Tjilbruke Dreaming and associated sites through the work of the Committee. KACHA now encompasses much broader issues. Naomi Dixon elaborates:

I suppose then [1986], it was really just the interest in Tjilbruke. And you know, Georgina believed that . . . she told us that she was told to go out and wake the people up. And I think she did that very successfully. . . . Tjilbruke was the main instigator for us too . . . but since then, our interest has grown much bigger than just Tjilbruke. Because we've sort of learnt that too, that Tjilbruke is important to give us a set of guidelines, but it's much bigger than that now. It's about all of the culture, you know.

(Interview transcript, 21 November 1996)

In 1996, there were 22 Kurna extended families represented KACHA. In addition there are other Kurna families outside the committee who are perhaps less politically inclined but nonetheless strongly identify as Kurna people and take an interest in Kurna affairs. Some Kurna extended families are highly organised and are legally incorporated.

¹⁷Several people are working on the life story of the late Gladys Elphick, a prominent Kurna Elder within the cultural revival movement in the 1980s, based on tapes recorded by Betty Fisher.

¹⁸The Tjilbruke Track Committee grew out of the Tjilbruke Monuments Committee, established in 1971 by Robert Edwards of the South Australian Museum, the sculptor John Dowie and staff of the *Sunday Mail*. Hemming (1990) provides details in his discussion of the emergence of Kurna identity.

1.3 A Kurna Linguistic and Cultural Renaissance

Kurna language reclamation is taking place within the context of a cultural renaissance and the rise of a distinctive Kurna identity. Interest in the Kurna language came relatively late in this renaissance, but is emerging as a more important ingredient. Some Kurna people see the language as the key to unlocking the secrets of the past and the means through which they can reconnect, re-discover and re-affirm more of their culture. To contextualise the study, it is worth looking briefly at the origins of this contemporary Kurna linguistic and cultural revival.

Half a century ago, a number of Kurna people, of their own volition and in their own ways, began exploring their roots. One of the first to start lines of enquiry beyond the Nunga community was Lewis O'Brien. Lewis explains:

... that's what I've been fascinated with all along about reviving this [Dreaming of the Kurna], because that's been like a sort of a thought of mine when I was a young lad. I came to the city when I was quite young, leaving the mission when I was about six. And then when I was about 17, I kept going back and forth all the time to the mission. And I kept hearing these numbers all the time - Block number 346. And so we had that property up at Clare around North Auburn in 1848. And here it is 1947, and the family still knew that number orally. So I found it very interesting. They remembered. They never wrote it down. So I went to the library in 1947.

(Guest lecture, KL&LE, University of Adelaide, 21 August, 1997)

The journey of rediscovery of Kurna identity in the modern period probably begins with these enquiries made by Lewis O'Brien in 1947 about this block of land which once belonged to his ancestor Kudnarto, but which had been resumed by the government despite deputations and protests from her husband and descendant (see O'Brien, 1990 and O'Connor, forthcoming for details). Lewis recalls:

I thought for a long time, that I was a Narrunga person but I found out, through tracing history, that there were some survivors of the Kurna - including myself - and now there's probably a thousand of us Kurna descendants who can trace their ancestry back to a number of Aboriginal women who had children. It pleased me to think that we were survivors and that we are still here and still doing things.

(O'Brien, 1990: 117, 119)

In recent times more and more people have been seeking out their roots and connections with the people of the Adelaide Plains.

Concurrently, there was some interest in the Indigenous culture of the Adelaide Plains by non-Aboriginal researchers and antiquarians who regarded the Kurna as 'extinct'. They often had no contact with and made no reference to the Nunga community. Even for those non-Aboriginal researchers, such as Norman Tindale and the Berndts, who did have extensive contact with the Nunga community, their interest was in documenting a 'dying' or 'dead' traditional culture, ignoring much of a more contemporary nature. Tindale certainly had no interest in reviving the culture. On the contrary, much of the motivation for his ethnographic research was to lay scientific parameters for the swift assimilation of Aboriginal people, and he saw little place for people of 'mixed ancestry'. Certainly the work of Tindale, the Berndts and others provided invaluable information, especially for the Ngarrindjeri, on which Nungas can now draw, but their work was quite independent of the current linguistic and cultural renaissance.

However, in the 1970s and 1980s a number of people working within the education sector and institutions such as the South Australian Museum acted as intermediaries and catalysts, making connections between research and the Nunga community. For instance, Meredith Edwards within the Education Department was intrigued by Lewis's story of Tom Adams, Kudnarto and Block No. 346 at Clare and assisted Lewis in his search. A relationship developed between the Kurna community and the education sector, and a number of Nungas were coopted in the development of Aboriginal Studies curriculum. Kurna people, like Lewis O'Brien, the late Gladys Elphick, Georgina Williams and Alice Rigney, had a major impact on the education system, ensuring that Aboriginal perspectives were introduced into this curriculum.

In many ways, Kurna language revival has been a natural progression of these earlier developments. Similarly, with my own situation, my interests as a non-Indigenous researcher have coincided with the directions in which the Kurna community is moving. Members of the Kurna community have inspired my research. In turn, my research has acted as a catalyst for the development of programs in the education sector and stimulates interest in the language within the community. Both feed off each other in a mutually beneficial relationship, though the initial impetus came from the community¹⁹.

1.3.1 Kurna Genealogies

Kurna people had been relocated away from their country. Information about connections to the Adelaide Plains was often not detailed or specific and was eclipsed by other Narungga or Ngarrindjeri connections, in whose territory they lived. Still, on their return to Kurna lands, initial connections to the people of the Adelaide Plains were made through oral traditions transmitted from generation to generation within Nunga families.

Some Nunga families have maintained a keen interest in family history and have kept old photographs and papers. Doreen Kartinyeri is such a person with a keen personal interest. In 1979 she was encouraged by Lewis O'Brien to pursue this interest in a more formal way to record Raukkan and Bukkiyana genealogies (Kartinyeri, 1983: xv). As a result, the family history project at the South Australian Museum was born. Doreen's work, based largely on Tindale's unpublished materials and photographs held in the museum and her own knowledge within the Nunga community, has been particularly influential in shaping the identity of the Kurna people. The Kurna genealogies published for the opening of Tandanya, the national Aboriginal cultural institute located in Adelaide (Kartinyeri, 1989) identify five "full blood" Kurna ancestors from whom a number of large families are descended. They are as follows:

¹⁹It seems that Kurna people and linguists started looking into the Kurna language independently. Jane Simpson was working on Kurna of her own volition in the late 1970s onwards, whilst Kurna people began searching the archives for material. Alice Rigney, for instance, made enquiries at the Lutheran Archives in the mid 1980s (pc April 1998).

- Kaurna woman²⁰ (of Clare region) married to John Armstrong (white man)
- Rebecca Lartelare (Kaurna ? Ngarrindjeri ?) married to George Spender
- Kaurna woman²¹ married to John Wilkins (Russian Finn)
- Kudnarto (Kaurna woman from Crystal Brook) married to Tom Adams
- Rathoola (Kaurna woman from Rapid Bay) married George Solomon
(extracted from Kartinyeri, 1989)

Of these five Kaurna women, four were married to white men, whilst the fifth married a Ngarrindjeri man, George Spender, from the Coorong.

Kartinyeri identified 50 living descendants of these five women who were over the age of 60 in 1989. Whilst she intended this list to be exhaustive, she acknowledged the possibility that she may have "accidentally missed some links and omitted some people" (Kartinyeri, 1989: 3). The extended families identified in these genealogies are large. Kartinyeri (1989: 4) claims that the Wilkins family "has more living descendents than any other South Australian family of Aboriginal descent" and includes such prominent Nunga family names as Milera, Sansbury, Newchurch, Wilson and Rigney.

It is worth noting that none of these five women are connected directly to the Tarndanya clan, or the prominent Kaurna *burka* 'Elders' from whom Schürmann and Teichelmann recorded the Kaurna language. Kudnarto and Armstrong's wife came from the northern extremities of Kaurna territory. Rathoola and Wilkin's wife came from the southern districts (Cape Jervis and Rapid Bay). Lartelare's daughter, Laura Glanville, was born at Port Adelaide. Lartelare is believed to have been the sister of Ivaritji (Brodie & Melvin, 1994: 2), who was the daughter of Tangkaira, from the Clare district, and Ityamaitpinna 'King Rodney' (Gara, 1990: 64). See Brodie (forthcoming) for more details.

Since the publication of the Tandanya Souvenir Program, more information has come to light. For instance, Kath Burgemeister discovered another Kaurna link in her genealogy on her mother's side (pc Kath Burgemeister, March 1998) in addition to a connection on her father's side of the family, made known to her in 1993 through a telephone call from Veronica Brodie (*The Advertiser*, Sat. 19 July 1997: 1).

It is also known that the Kaurna woman, Kalloongoo, who was taken to Kangaroo Island, Portland, Bass Straits and finally Port Phillip, has descendants in the Portland district (see Amery, 1996d). It is likely that Emma or Emue, also living in Bass Straits at the same time, has descendents in Tasmania and Victoria, but to this point in time these are unknown to Kaurna people in Adelaide.

²⁰On the basis of oral history, Kartinyeri (1989: 1) believes that this woman may have been the sister of Ivaritji's mother, though there are conflicts in the available evidence.

²¹In the Wilson family genealogies (Kartinyeri, 1990), Wilkins' wife is identified as Nellie Raminyeramin. However, correspondence from Wilkins (SA State Records GRG 35/1/374/1860) written in about 1860 and other papers relating to Kangaroo Island (Log Books & Early Journals, Trinity Board & Miscellaneous Papers, SA State Records) record his wife's name as Mary Monatto, using the Kaurna birth-order name. According to the Sub-Protector (11 March 1862) she left Kangaroo Island for Yankalilla in March 1861 (SA State Records GRG 35/1/374). Perhaps Wilkins had two wives.

1.3.2 Sites and Dreamings

Perhaps equally important as genealogical connections with the Adelaide Plains are connections with sites of significance and Kaurna Dreamings. The Tjilbruke Dreaming in particular, is a major Dreaming trail which follows the creation of numerous sites within metropolitan Adelaide itself and along the coast to the south as far as Cape Jervis.

Georgina Williams, employed by the South Australian Museum in 1981 to research the trail, had a somewhat different agenda to the pre-existing committee which simply wanted to record the trail for posterity. She explains:

. . . at that time the Kaurna people are an extincted people. This was what was said. The Kaurna people are no more. . . We need to put up the John Dowie sculpture . . . There were good white people who wanted to remember these things. I wanted more than a memory. I wanted an association. I wanted to be able to access the spirit of the place for myself and I wanted also to be able to pass that on to others. This has been my life's work. I don't get paid for it. I just do it. Because Tjilbruke was to me an example of the law of my people and of the law related to the land and the places along the coast.

(Georgina Williams, guest lecture in KL&LE, University of Adelaide, 21 August 1997)

The Tjilbruke Dreaming is more than just a creation story to the Kaurna people. For some Kaurna people, it has the status of a religion. It provides the meaning for life, a set of rules to live by and has a deep spiritual dimension to it. A number of the sites on the Tjilbruke trail are believed to be special sites of deep spiritual significance, with the spirit still living in the earth today. Kaurna Elder, Lewis O'Brien explains:

. . . councils started to . . . wanted to rub out all these sites and that disturbed me. Because how could you rub something out that we know from a lot of different angles is 6,000 years old. It's probably the oldest story in the world and you want to rub it out. It's older than the pyramids and anything you want to name. It's here on our land. It's affected all our people. And it's affected every people that's come here. It's powerful. It shows that because people have gone out of their way to protect these sites.

Because our people had a statement about that. You walk this land and you will be affected the same as what we are. And they have been. . . Because if you've got all these Dreaming spirits are lying in this earth, they're going to affect you, whether you like it or not.

We haven't protected all the sites, but other people have. They know about them. And they sense the strength of the things that are there that's embedded in the earth. You can't rub it out in lots of ways because its real. It exists. And that the power of the Dreaming is at its most powerful here.

(Lewis O'Brien, guest lecture in KL&LE, University of Adelaide, 21 August 1997)

On their return to the Adelaide Plains, many Kaurna people have been deeply affected by the land through a series of spiritual or mystical experiences. For instance, Georgina Williams was 'drawn' to sites of significance, to places of which she had no prior knowledge. She says "in accessing those places, the voices of the past spoke to me and said in that 150th year to "Go wake the people up" - my people, our people" (guest lecture, KL&LE, University of Adelaide, 21 August 1997). Georgina believes that the spirit of Tjilbruke came to her and spoke to her (without words) and instructed her to warn the people that imminent death was at hand. She explained: "and that was why I had to bring Tjilbruke back, because we were being absorbed by the dominant culture" (pc 26 May 1998).

1.3.3 Knowledge, Cultural Practices and Spiritual Dimensions

Whilst Kaurna people were cut off from their ancestral lands and cultural traditions, most grew up at Bukkiyana and Raukkan where they were exposed to varying aspects of Narungga and Ngarrindjeri cultural traditions respectively. A number of Dreaming stories from these places are remembered. Tracking and hunting skills, string games, weaving skill and artefact manufacture are still practised and knowledge of a range of cultural practices and beliefs is maintained to varying degrees, along with a strong sense of Aboriginality. It has been from this base that Kaurna people have been seeking out a unique Kaurna culture.

In recent years there has been a marked increase in the use and display of traditional skills, such as weaving and artefact manufacture. Some of these skills had lain dormant for some time, now rekindled by renewed ethnic pride, the introduction of Aboriginal Studies in schools and a developing Aboriginal cultural tourism industry. Kaurna people too are engaged in these activities. For instance, Paul Dixon, when he was Chair of KACHA and living at Warriparinga, an important site at the start of the Tjilbruke Trail in metropolitan Adelaide, cut several shields from large red gums there.

The situation is complex. Kaurna culture of the nineteenth century is only partially known from the writings of outsiders - missionaries, government officials and other interested observers. This 'traditional' culture is of interest to Kaurna people today who live in an entirely different world to their forebears. There is a strong desire to revitalise aspects of this inheritance, including the dances and ceremonies (pc Lester Rigney, 1997; Georgina Williams, 1996; 1997). Georgina's son, Karl Telfer, who is a dancer and musician, has already begun to draw on Kaurna traditions, incorporating some Kaurna language, including phrases, into his performances.

Several years ago, Lewis O'Brien as chair of KACHA put up a submission for a "reviving the dreaming" project. The committee learnt in mid-1997 that funds had finally been allocated for this purpose (pc Scharlene Iuliano, 1997). In May 1998, a proposal was drafted for a series of workshops to this end (see Appendix E4).

Some Kaurna people are interested in drawing on the knowledge of past funeral practices with a view to incorporating some elements of past rituals into modern practices in an effort to promote healing within the community. Smoking rituals have recently been re-introduced. The 'Kaurna Blessing' as performed by Cherie Watkins is part of a smoking, cleansing ritual which honours the four directions: *kauanda* 'north', *mare* 'east', *patpa* 'south' and *wongga* 'west' by blowing smoke in that direction and uttering the Kaurna words (pc Cherie Watkins, Nov. 1997).

1.3.4 Kurna Language Revival

This then is the cultural context in which Kurna language reclamation and its incipient revival is taking place. Rebuilding the Kurna language goes hand in hand with rebuilding the Kurna culture. The language is seen by some as the means of reviving the culture and unlocking the past.

However, relatively few Kurna are actively involved in the formal language programs themselves. Logistical problems, work commitments, family commitments and other barriers prevent this. Amongst the adults, it tends to be the community leaders, Elders, intellectuals²² and professionals within the Kurna community who are most actively involved in the Kurna language movement. Yet, there is a growing sense of pride in the language and recognition of the Kurna language programs. This pride and recognition is widespread, if not universal, within the Kurna community.

1.4 The Relationship Between Kurna and Nunga English

A distinctive variety (or varieties) of English, generally referred to as Nunga English, is spoken as an in-group language by Aboriginal people in Adelaide and surrounding communities. Whilst major studies have been conducted on Aboriginal English spoken elsewhere in Australia (Kaldor & Malcolm, 1982; Malcolm & Kaldor, 1991; Harkins, 1994; Eades, 1982; 1983; 1988), until recently little attention was given by linguists into researching these varieties in South Australia. The most detailed study to date is that by Wilson (1996) which investigated English used by Nunga children at Alberton Primary School, a school which has recently been engaged in performing Kurna songs in public. Philip Clarke, in the course of his work with the Anthropology Division of the South Australian Museum and as an adjunct to his PhD (Clarke, 1994a), has, over the course of a decade, compiled a reasonably comprehensive database of terms, mostly drawn from local Indigenous languages, which are used in distinctive ways by Aboriginal people in southern South Australia from Port Lincoln to Mount Gambier (see Clarke, 1994b).

The relationship between Kurna and Nunga English is tenuous. The majority of terms of Indigenous origins used in Nunga English come from Ngarrindjeri, though there are many from languages on the west coast and some from Narungga. Comparatively few terms originate from Kurna. Even those that do come from Kurna are seldom recognised as such. Of the 900 or so terms recorded by Clarke (1994b), a proportion of which have their origins in English, approximately 60 bear similarities to Kurna words as recorded in the historical sources. The majority of these 60 words, however, are basic vocabulary such as *marra* 'hand' or *ma:* 'food' shared by a great many languages across Australia. Only four of these 60 words, *bandabri*

²²By the term 'intellectual', I refer not just to those with formal tertiary education qualifications, but also to the 'thinkers' in the community and those who engage in philosophical and intellectual discussion.

'gun', *guna-wadli*²³ 'toilet', *pinyata:wi*²⁴ 'sugar' and *Tandanya* 'a cultural institution' are identified by Clarke as having exclusive Kaurna origins²⁵. There are at least six additional terms with Kaurna counterparts that are frequently used by Nungas, that have been omitted from Clarke's wordlist²⁶.

Clarke also noted the "attributed language", that believed by most informants to be the source of the word. Significantly, only three words, *Kaurna*, *Tandanya* and *Tjilbruke* are attributed to "Adelaide", though as Clarke points out, two of these most likely have Ngarrindjeri origins. Of the four words above, identified by Clarke as having exclusive Kaurna origins, most informants said *bandabri* has Aboriginal English origins, *guna-wadli* is from Yorke Peninsula, *pinyata:wi* is Ngarrindjeri, leaving *Tandanya* as the only word attributed to Adelaide which does in fact have its origins in Kaurna. However, *Tandanya* is known as the name of an institution established in 1989, and as such is quite different to most of the other terms documented by Clarke. It is probably not a retention, but rather has been relearned recently.

Undoubtedly Kaurna is the source of a number of words in Nunga English. *Nantu* 'horse', *kappi* 'tobacco', *bandabri* 'gun', *thulya*²⁷ 'police' and *wodli* ~ *wurley* 'house' almost certainly come from Kaurna, even though they are not recognised as such within the Nunga community. With other words such as *marra* 'hand' or *yuri* 'ear' it is difficult to say which language is the source, since they are shared by so many languages.

Nunga English has served as a language of identity for Nungas. It emerged as the language of Aboriginal peoples from many different language groups who were thrust together on the missions. So it came to represent a larger group identity for Indigenous peoples from right across southern South Australia. Up until the 1980s, the preferred term of self ascription was 'Adelaide Nunga' (pc Howard Groome, Jan. 1998). People hadn't yet 'come out' and publically identified with specific language groups. The term Kaurna wasn't widely used then. Now, there is a process developing whereby these different groups are being disentangled and separated out. As Lester Rigney says "now we're reverting back from using Nunga and going back to individuality. We're going back to language roots" (interview with Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997). Identities are increasingly centred on the ancestral languages, such as Kaurna. Hemming (1990: 134) notes that people growing up in Adelaide:

²³The Kaurna counterpart of this word is recorded as *kudnawodli* 'toilet' with a prestopped nasal. Whilst undoubtedly of Kaurna origins, this term appears to have been assimilated to Ngarrindjeri, Pitjantjatjara or west coast languages which have the word *kuna* 'faeces'.

²⁴*Pinyata:wi* 'sugar' probably has its origins in *pinyatta* 'honey from the grass tree; sugar' + *kauwe* 'water'.

²⁵Numerous other Kaurna place names and institution names not listed by Clarke are known and used within the Nunga community. *Tandanya* seems out of place here in the absence of these other terms.

²⁶These include *barti* 'witchetty grub', *kappi* 'tobacco', *kari* 'emu', *kondolli* 'whale', *yambo* 'dolphin', *parnka* 'lake' (used to refer to Ngarrindjeri people) and *biltamasta* 'spirit bird bringing death' (? < *pilta* 'possum'. Cf *possumaster* ~ *posamaster* 'spirit bird' (Clarke, 1994: 102)).

²⁷*Thulya* ultimately comes from the English word 'soldier', but was documented as *tulya* by T&S. *Thulya* was probably borrowed into neighbouring languages from Kaurna at a very early stage with the expanding frontier.

see themselves as Nungas . . . although there are moves from several areas to encourage knowledge of Aboriginal heritage in younger people and this is producing a new 'Kurna' identity.

Although Nunga English is an important element within the contemporary Kurna language ecology today, it is unclear as to how the languages might coexist. There seem to be a range of differing opinions. Lester Rigney sees the possibility for re-lexification of Nunga English, whereby distinctive Kurna English, Narungga English, Ngarrindjeri English etc. varieties emerge that use only lexemes drawn from the respective heritage languages along with English. These distinct Nunga English varieties would then be spoken by those respective groups within their respective territories (Lester Rigney, interviewed by Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997).

Others, such as Lewis O'Brien and Georgina Williams, would like to see Kurna eventually replace Nunga English, which they consider to be the product of oppression. Lewis is tolerant of Nunga English, but does not want to see it promoted within education. Lewis expressed his views as follows:

Well I think Nunga English is like a second grade step. It doesn't explain to you why you do what you do. To me, I always believe that you've got to go to the source. You've got to learn your Kurna language or whatever Aboriginal language you learn and you'll find out why you speak like you do. It gives you the structure and that's why I think you need to know. And that's why I never like people to learn in a course Nunga English. I don't mind them using Nunga English. But don't do it as a subject. Its like a second grade fall back. And everyone does that, but I think its a bad thing to learn. I'd rather learn Kurna. If you want to learn a language learn your own.

(Lewis O'Brien, interview transcript, 8 December 1997)

These are themes returned to later in section 10.2.

1.4.1 The Emergence of Kurna Culture within Nunga Culture

Contemporary Nunga culture is an amalgam of the traditions of a number of peoples and elements of languages, including Ngarrindjeri, Narungga, Kurna, Kukatha, Wirangu and others, with a heavy overlay of European culture, especially that rooted in the mission experience. It has also been influenced to some extent by notions of pan-Aboriginality, by other 'traditional' Aboriginal cultures such as Pitjantjatjara and to some extent by Indigenous cultures from outside Australia. There are now moves to 'unpack' Nunga culture and to separate out the contributing linguistic and cultural traditions and to reinstate a range of specific cultural practices. With increased awareness of history and heritage and the emergence of a distinctive Kurna identity, a distinctive 'Kurna culture' will probably emerge as a combination of contemporary Nunga culture and 'traditional' Kurna culture.

I do not envisage that this Kurna culture will replace Nunga culture, but rather that Kurna culture will continue to emerge from within it²⁸. Ngarrindjeri people at one level adhere to the same Nunga culture in common with Kurna and Narungga people, but at another level the Ngarrindjeri have their own stories, history and aspects of language that belong to them and

²⁸However, some Kurna people possibly do want to see Kurna culture replace Nunga culture. Georgina Williams sees Nunga culture as a stifling thing, resulting largely from the mission experience (pc Georgina Williams, KL&LE lecture, 11 Sept. 1997)

form a contemporary Ngarrindjeri culture. The same is true of Narungga and to some extent of Kaurna, with research into and promotion of the Tjilbruke story, aspects of Kaurna history and oral traditions. Needless to say, the development of Kaurna culture is something for Kaurna people to work out for themselves. However, there are certain knowledges and certain clues within the language that reinforce continuing traditions and provide foundations to build on or seeds to propagate.

1.5 Prospects for the Revival of Kaurna

One might argue, and many will, that revival of the Kaurna language is a lost cause as it is an impossible task. And perhaps it is, if this question is viewed in terms of reviving Kaurna as a language of everyday communication. But as governments and government agencies such as departments of education are discovering, issues of Indigenous rights and the survival of Indigenous peoples will not go away and sink into oblivion. Rather, Indigenous people are becoming more vocal and making more demands regarding Indigenous rights and issues.

Although the revival of the Kaurna language is just one small element within that larger discourse on Indigenous rights and Indigenous survival, it is not a passing fad with which people will soon lose interest. Already the profile of the Kaurna language has been lifted from that of an obscure 'extinct' language, of which almost nothing was known, to a credible, worthwhile pursuit within the school system. Efforts over the past eight years have already proved to be a success. Nunga students exposed to Kaurna language workshops and courses have reported favourably on their experiences. For some it has provided a new found view of themselves as Nungas, engendering a new found pride and a knowledge and motivation for working with other Aboriginal students and teaching Aboriginal Studies. They have found that language is an important element in their social identity. For some Nungas at least, a knowledge of ancestral languages, such as Kaurna, is filling a gap and contributing to the healing of a people who have been marginalised, oppressed and disenfranchised of their heritage; a people who have often been the butt of racism and ridicule. There are signs that several Kaurna extended families are taking the Kaurna language seriously and are attempting to learn it for communication within the family.

The possibilities for the revival of Kaurna must be viewed within a long-term time frame. We are still in the very early stages of Kaurna language revival. This thesis documents in some detail the nature of revived Kaurna, the situations in which it is being used and the context in which this incipient revival is taking place.

Only time will tell whether or not the Kaurna language will take the 'great leap forward' and be used to any great extent within the community outside of the formal programs. The experience of language revival programs elsewhere tells us that the prospects for this to happen are slender. Nevertheless, already the programs have been a success in the eyes of the Kaurna community, within the formal education sector and on many other social and political levels.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND TERMINOLOGICAL MATTERS

With all the problems involved in language maintenance, the most difficult is that concerned with the control of the passing of a language from parents to children as a 'mother' tongue. . . . If the chain is once broken, to repair it takes not just a major effort but . . . a miracle . . .

(Spolsky, 1995: 178)

2.0 Introduction

Little of substance has been written about attempts to relearn or revive so-called 'dead' or 'extinct' languages. In fact, linguistics has generally ignored, dismissed or discredited such activities, usually in the space of a single sentence. This is because the discipline of linguistics has been constrained by certain assumptions about the nature of language and languages, assumptions which are challenged in this thesis.

This review of literature serves to locate the reclamation of Kaurna within a broader context. Whilst there is little that is directly comparable to the Kaurna situation, there is a wide range of literature which serves to draw attention to the nature of the 'reclaimed' language, the driving forces behind the language revival movement, the purposes for which the language is being used and the ways in which the language is promoted.

My study is located in the context of a growing debate over endangered languages and linguistic rights. In my review of the sociolinguistic literature, I pay particular attention to terminology, which is used in varied and often conflicting ways by different authors. The terms used appeal to metaphors of various kinds, many of which serve to devalue, marginalize or question the authenticity of language revival efforts. An attempt is made to avoid labels which work against the interests of Indigenous peoples and to seek neutral or more positive metaphors which will inspire action rather than dismissal.

The main purpose of this chapter is to contextualise Kaurna language revival within the relevant language planning literature. It seeks to legitimise the reclamation of Kaurna as one phenomenon amongst a range of related phenomena. Individuals and communities have always acted to promote, change and create their languages to reflect and fulfill social needs within their societies. Ultimately all languages are cultural artifacts. All aspects of languages have been created by individuals and groups of individuals. Nevertheless, some languages have been around for so long and are so pervasive that they are viewed as 'God given' or 'natural', whilst newer languages are viewed as 'artificial', and planned changes as 'fabrications'.

2.1 Endangered Languages: The World Scene

The world's languages continue to be 'lost' at an alarming rate. The domains of use in which many minority languages are spoken is rapidly shrinking. Whole generations of younger speakers in many language communities are shifting to English, Spanish, Indonesian or other major languages. The rate of 'extinction' amongst the world's languages far exceeds the rate of extinction of animal or bird species, though much more attention is drawn to the latter. Many Indigenous languages in the Americas, Australia, Siberia, Asia and Africa have been reduced to just one, two or a handful of speakers. The extent of language loss has been worse in Australia than in any other continent (Krauss, 1992: 5). The vast majority of Australian languages spoken at the time of the European invasion have already ceased to be spoken on a regular or fluent basis. Many have disappeared almost without trace.

2.1.1 The Nature of Language Loss

Throughout human history language loss has always occurred (Hale: 1992: 1). In the period prior to the emergence of empires and nation states it was a localised phenomenon, often resulting in "grammatical merger in situations of multilingualism". But Hale stresses that the pattern of contemporary language loss is fundamentally different:

By contrast, language loss in the modern period is of a different character, in its extent and in its implications. It is part of a much larger process of LOSS OF CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL DIVERSITY in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and cultures, placing them in a position which can only be described as embattled.

(Hale, 1992: 1)

Hale's views are echoed by Hans-Jürgen Sasse:

In the last five hundred years about half the known languages of the world have disappeared; . . . Of course, as we know from history, languages have always disappeared: Gothic, Etruscan, Iberian, Sumerian, Hittite, Egyptian, etc., but the world-wide colonization of many small ethnic units by a minute number of large ethnic units, the formation of big national states, the development of transport technology, the spread of supraregional communication media etc. have led to an enormous increase in the extinction of smaller languages which can hardly be stopped.

(Sasse, 1992: 7)

2.1.2 The Endangered Languages and Linguistic Rights Movement

There is a rapidly growing literature on endangered languages and the need to maintain linguistic diversity¹. There is an Endangered Languages e-mail list, and UNESCO through the CIPL² project, launched in 1992, is attempting to establish a register of endangered languages in most need of urgent research. Conferences, seminars and symposia on endangered languages and linguistic diversity are becoming commonplace and bodies such as Terralingua³, which promotes linguistic diversity, have emerged. A little of this discussion has even spilled over into the popular press. Accompanying the endangered languages debate is a focus by some writers (notably Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994) on linguistic rights.

¹Note especially the article in the 1992 issue of *Language* resulting from the Linguistics Society of America symposium on Endangered Languages; Robins & Uhlenbeck (1991); Mühlhäusler (1996a); Bobaljik, Pensalfini & Storto eds. (1996).

²Comité International Permanent de Linguistes (Permanent International Committee of Linguists)

³An e-mail from Ben Lind <blind@ccwf.cc.utexas.edu> to <endangered-languages-l@coombs.anu.edu.au> on 11 Jan 1996 announced the establishment of Terralingua.

2.1.3 Relative Vitality of Languages

The relative vitality of a language can be mapped onto a continuum which I have referred to as 'contemporary status' (SSABSA, 1993: iii, 10). This continuum ranges from well documented languages spoken 'right through'⁴ to languages no longer spoken with little documentation.

Several writers (Dixon, 1989; Schmidt, 1990; Fishman, 1991; Krauss, 1996) have sought to categorize languages on this continuum by means of numbered or lettered stages⁵. Dixon (1989: 28-29) proposes five stages "between the healthy state of a language X and its effective disappearance":

STAGE 1: Language X is used as the first language by a full community of hundreds of people and is used in every aspect of their daily lives. . . . Everyone thinks in language X.

STAGE 2: Some people still have X as their first language (and think in it) but for others it is a second language, with English as the preferred medium . . . At this stage the language is still maintained in its traditional form

STAGE 3: Only a few old people still have X as their first language. For most of the community, English is the dominant language. . . . Some of those with X as a second language may still speak it in a fairly traditional way, but younger people tend to use a simplified form of the language, perhaps by putting together words from X in English word order. The original conceptual system of X may have been replaced by the English system

STAGE 4: Nobody now knows the full, original form of X; no one could fully understand a tape recording made of a traditional speaker one or two generations before. Some members of the community speak a modified version of X, with simplified grammar; at most they will know a few hundred words. Even this is likely to be mixed in amongst English sentences. The younger people speak a variety of English that includes just a few words from X.

STAGE 5: Everyone in the community speaks, and thinks, in English. There may be a few words from X still used but these are treated grammatically as if they were English words (with plural -s, past tense -ed, and so on).
(Dixon, 1989: 28-29)

These five stages were taken up by Schmidt (1990) in the same form in which Dixon presented them. The Kaurna language, until its reclamation, fell neatly into Dixon's Stage 5, corresponding directly to Schmidt's Stage 5 which she describes as follows:

Stage 5

There are no speakers or semi-speakers of language X left. All community members speak the replacing language as their first language. Language X is not heard or spoken in any social activity. At most, just a few words may be recalled by some people, again to symbolise Aboriginal identity with a lost linguistic and cultural heritage.
(Schmidt, 1990: 124-125)⁶

Krauss's (1996) five stages are similar to those proposed by Dixon and Schmidt, with his Stage E "extinct languages" corresponding to Stage 5 above.

Fishman on the other hand chose an eight stage Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) which he likened to the 'Richter Scale' used to measure the intensity of earthquakes.

⁴The term 'right through' comes from certain Aboriginal English varieties. It implies a thorough, complete, fluent knowledge of a language. For my purposes this term is preferable to terms such as 'fluent', 'native speaker' etc. which appear in the literature.

⁵In Australia, Hudson & McConvell (1984: 32-33) were perhaps the first to think about different kinds of language situations. In the context of the Kimberley, they distinguished six kinds of situations on a continuum from ones where children spoke the language to others where the language was only spoken by some old people in the community, the children having no knowledge of it.

⁶This is an apt description of the Kaurna language situation prior to language reclamation activities initiated in 1990.

Like Dixon's stages, the higher the number, the more threatened and more profound the level of disruption. However, Fishman's stages, which focus on the domains of language use, especially within education, the government, media and employment, are not easily aligned with Dixon's stages which focus more on how much of the language itself is known and spoken. Within Fishman's typology, the most severely disrupted language envisaged, Stage 8, probably corresponds to Dixon's Stage 3, or perhaps Stage 4. Most of Fishman's stages relate to Dixon's Stage 2. Admittedly, Dixon's stages were formulated specifically in the context of Australian languages, whereas Fishman's typology relates to a broad typology of the world's endangered languages.

Whilst, Fishman (1991: 12) says "there is no language for which nothing at all can be done" his graded typology of threatened languages seems not to include languages like Kurna. The most advanced stage of social disruption is described as follows:

Stage 8 on the GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale): most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults. (Fishman, 1991: 88)

From his discussion following, it is clear that Fishman has in mind situations where there are at least 'rememberers' or semi-speakers of the language⁷. For instance:

"Stage 8 contexts yield individuals who are well recognized as informants by folklorists and by linguists who are concerned with saving even the last few remnants of language-in-culture already in the most advanced stages of attrition". (Fishman, 1991: 88)

In the Kurna case, there are no vestigial users, semi-speakers or 'rememberers' of the language⁸, though it could be argued that there are still some "last few remnants of language-in-culture already in the most advanced stages of attrition."

2.1.4 Is Kurna an Endangered Language?

Whilst an understanding of the endangered languages situation, language loss and language shift is important to developing an understanding of what happened to the Kurna language, in many ways this discussion is irrelevant to what is happening now. The process of language shift towards English is complete within the Kurna community. Language loss had proceeded as far as it could have. Practically all that remained were written records, many of them forgotten about and some needing to be retrieved from South Africa, Britain and Germany. Kurna was in a sense beyond the scope of endangered languages, though if efforts are successful, it may re-enter the endangered languages league.

⁷Earlier Fishman (1991: 13) notes that: "Some Amerindian languages are already in such disarray, and have been neglected for such a length of time, that it is necessary to piece their grammars and vocabularies together first, from various oral and written sources, before any efforts on behalf of active spoken use, by either adults or children, can be undertaken". Whilst this statement is compatible with the Kurna situation, his later discussion indicates that he has not thought through these issues in terms of languages like Kurna.

⁸To place Kurna at Fishman's Stage 8, one would have to go back in time to the 1920s or earlier, prior to Ivaritji's death.

This thesis concerns a language which, according to the criteria invoked by most linguists, would be described as well and truly 'dead' or 'extinct'. However, the Indigenous people central to this thesis see Kaurna very differently. They see it as having been 'dormant' or 'sleeping' but nonetheless 'surviving'.

2.2 Defining 'Dead' or 'Extinct' Languages

2.2.1 Common Usage: Are Latin and Sanskrit 'Dead' Languages?

According to the concise Oxford Dictionary definition, a **dead language** is "one no longer ordinarily spoken". In Australia, most people think of Latin as the prototypical 'dead' language. Sanskrit is also considered by most people to be 'dead'. Yet these languages did not 'die' in the same sense that many Indigenous languages of Australia, North America and other parts of the world are said to have 'died'. Latin and Sanskrit changed and evolved over the centuries giving rise to a number of 'daughter' languages, such as Italian, French, Spanish and Hindi, Urdu, Marathi etc which are now considered to be different languages. Latin and Sanskrit are referred to as 'dead' languages for two main reasons. Languages descended from Latin and Sanskrit are referred to by quite different names, so they are thought of as completely different entities. Also, Latin and Sanskrit continued to be used in written form or for restricted religious purposes after the everyday language had diverged to a considerable extent. Old English, Old German or proto-Indo-European are not usually referred to as 'dead' languages though they are comparable in all other ways to Latin and Sanskrit.

As it turns out, both Sanskrit and Latin have made a comeback in certain situations. Pandharipande (1996) discusses the increasing role of Sanskrit as a lexical "base for the emergence of Sanskritised registers of Modern Indian languages" in official registers used in government, literature and the media and its continuation of use as a religious register. Pandharipande (1996: 196-198) also discusses new use of Sanskrit as a medium of communication in radio news broadcasts and in creative literature where the language is undergoing structural changes and is being modernised "in order to maintain itself". David (1997: 7) reports that Sanskrit is now used as the everyday language in two Brahmin villages in Karnataka's Shimoga district in western India. The reintroduction of Sanskrit took place following a visit by a head of the Pejavar Math who "exhorted the people to revive the tongue". The challenge was taken up by a group of priests who offered classes in Sanskrit. The response was reportedly overwhelming, the cause being taken up by housewives, farmers and doctors alike.

Latin held a central place within the Catholic Church until the Second Vatican Council in 1962 which extended the use of national languages and vernaculars in church liturgy (Mullarney, 1987: 357). Since then the knowledge and use of Latin has rapidly declined everywhere, except in China "where up to 8 million Catholics cling to Latin" (Mullarney, 1987: 359). The cause of spoken Latin has been promoted by a Finnish Professor, Jukka Ammond, who recently released a compact disk of Latin translations of many of Elvis Presley's most famous songs

including 'Tenere me ama' *Love Me Tender* and 'Nunc hic aut humquaum' *It's Now or Never*. Two years before he recorded Finnish tangos in Latin. Since 1989, the Finnish Broadcasting Company has broadcast weekly Latin news bulletins⁹ (Schwarz, 1995: 67). Contrary to popular belief, Latin, at least for some, is not an unchanging language. Latin has incorporated words for 'helicopter' and other recent inventions. Schwarz discusses the resurgence of spoken Latin in the 1990s and includes excerpts from Latin translations of *Asterix* comics. A phrasebook *Latin for all Occasions* (Beard, 1991) which incorporates a number of neologisms such as *orbem rigidum* 'hard disk' has recently been published.

2.2.2 Language 'Death' Redefined

By contrast to Latin and Sanskrit, many Indigenous languages in Australia have 'died' because all their speakers have died, or because all the speakers have adopted other languages such as English, a creole or another Indigenous language. Most of Australia's Indigenous languages have 'died' as a result of language shift and not as a result of language change as in the case of Latin.

Consequently, for some linguists such as Jean Aitchison, when they speak of 'language death' they are not referring to languages like Latin. Aitchison explains the matter in the following terms:

Note that when we talk about languages dying, we are not referring to languages which gradually alter their form over the centuries, and in so doing possibly change their names. Latin, for example, is sometimes spoken of as a 'dead' language, because nobody speaks it. But it did not really die, it merely changed its appearance and name, since French, Spanish, Italian and Sardinian are all direct descendents of Latin and are in a sense the same language. By language death, then, we do not simply mean this gradual alteration over time. We are referring to a more dramatic and less normal event, the total disappearance of a language. (Aitchison, 1991: 197)

Thomason (1982), cited by Paulston et al (1994: 93), defines a **dead language** is one which: 1) has no native speakers, 2) is not used in everyday communication by a speech community, and 3) does not undergo normal processes of change. Sasse (1992: 18), essentially agreeing with Thomason's definition, provides further illumination:

For the present purpose my proposal is to define the final point of language death as the cessation of regular communication in the language

A dead language may leave residues of various kinds. It may continue as a ritual language, as a secret language, as a professional jargon, etc. It may leave a codified version, which in turn can be used for ritual or other purposes. It may finally leave a substratum influence (especially lexically) in the dialect of T [target language] which the former speech community of A [abandoned language] continues to speak.

This definition is formulated strictly from a linguist's perspective, which is at odds with the perceptions of members of the speech community of the abandoned language¹⁰. Auxiliary

⁹Also discussed in an unidentified newspaper article titled 'Latin lovers flock to Finland'.

¹⁰See for instance, Nunga attitudes recorded by Gale (1991: 194) "We lost the song and the dance . . .the body painting and all that, but I think that other stuff is still strong, the language" and "well it must make them feel more Aboriginal if they've got this language inside them . . . it hasn't died out yet". Both these comments were made in reference to Narungga, a language of which very little is still known within the community and which was poorly documented.

languages¹¹ that are still in use would not normally be regarded as 'dead' and the 'residues' are seen within the Nunga community as 'living' and 'strong'. For Sasse (1992: 21) 'language death' results in a discontinuity¹². Anything that might be attempted after that is artificial and not the same language:

any total interruption of language transmission results in language death; any revitalization after total interruption of language transmission results in the creation of a new language.

From Phase III [following language death] on, only artificial revitalization on the basis of thesaurus-like, codified material is possible. The most conspicuous example of such an event is Ivriṯ, Modern Hebrew, which was created on the basis of the codified holy texts after more than 2000 years of interruption of regular language transmission.

In contrast to writers such as Thomason, Sasse, Dixon and others, Denison, in a paper written two decades ago, at least considers the possibility of a continuum, but notes that it runs counter to the prevailing attitude of linguists:

we might wish to say that a language exists - or, metaphorically, "lives" - as soon as and for as long as it can be considered to be fully or partially codified and described . . . By this criterion, one might well be prepared to issue a death certificate for Etruscan without too much scruple, whereas ancient Egyptian could not be pronounced wholly dead - at best it might be felt that it would be "healthier" if we had a better description of it. However, such a view offends the general feeling that a language must be considered "dead" if it is no longer spoken by anyone (? as a native language). It runs counter to the statement often made by linguists . . . that a language must be regarded as dead as soon as it stops developing (that is, changing; in other words as soon as its performance can be generated on the strength of its codified rules alone). On both of these counts, Hebrew would have been judged at least to have been feigning death before it was restored to life in Israel. (Denison, 1977: 13-14)

This view is closer to my own, though I prefer to use the terms 'no longer spoken' or 'no longer spoken right through'. Use of the terms 'dead' or 'extinct' invoke a certain hopelessness about the situation, implying that nothing can be done. Similarly, I prefer to use the terms 'threatened' or 'endangered' rather than 'dying', 'obsolete' or 'moribund'.

The health or body state metaphor applied to languages in regard to their contemporary status is misleading. Languages are not the same as living organisms, though there are parallels. Do languages really 'die' in the sense that a living thing dies?¹³ In what senses are languages 'alive'? Certainly a 'living' language changes continually. It is dynamic, whereas a 'dead' language is considered static. That is where the analogy ends.

2.2.3 Is the Revival of a 'Dead' Language Really Possible?

On further reflection, perhaps an alternative biological metaphor is more useful. Just as life can exist as relatively inert spores in a bottle, languages too can exist in a static unchanging form as

¹¹An auxiliary language is one used in addition to one's first language to facilitate communication within restricted domains. Esperanto, pidgins, Latin within the Catholic church and English at international conferences are often regarded as auxiliary languages.

¹²Some Nungas claim that the Kaurna language has survived, and most stress continuities with the past. For instance, Katrina Power, Chair of Tandanya, in a radio interview with 5UV on 23rd April 1997 said "It's [Kaurna language] still alive and well . . . it's developing and it's strong and it's growing stronger every day," and further in response to a proposition that the language used today is quite different to what it used to be she said "I don't know that that's entirely correct. It does remain strong and fairly intact . . . The base for it is very much there and very much strong."

¹³Even in the biological world 'death' is an ill-defined notion with advances in medical technology, life-support systems, suspended animation and cryonics. There is the hope of being able to restore life into dead bodies at some time in the future.

words written in a book. Given the right conditions the spores can be activated and burst into life. In fact, a recent publication (Comrie et al, 1996: 214) appeals to the DNA metaphor in a similar fashion:

Just as plants and animal species can be preserved and recreated by preserving their DNA, the sounds, grammar, and vocabulary of languages can be stored on tape and disk for posterity and even for later resuscitation.

A poem by Leanne Hinton¹⁴ employs similar metaphors¹⁵:

To the Lonely Hearts Language Club

At night
when the work is done and the children are in bed
and the roar of the freeway is quieted
and the house cools and darkens and sighs into stillness,

She holds in her hands the pages
on which rest spidery symbols
of sounds whispered by dying grandmothers
and written down by a crazed linguist, long dead too,
of words spoken for the final time generations ago
entombed now in perpetual silence,
the last sound waves decayed into carbon traces in a paper monument to the passing of a language from this earth.

Called each night by a power beyond her understanding
She lifts a page into her circle of light
and begins a ceremony of resurrection.
The pencil scratchings that encase the grandmothers' gifts
fall away and the words reawaken;
Her voice frees them one by one
and they fly into the night,
echoing into and out of corners.
The air vibrates with their saying.
The world resonates with their being.

by Leanne Hinton, for Cindy Alvitre, L. Frank Manriquez,
Ernestine McGovran, and Linda Yamane.

(Hinton, 1994: 220)

Whilst, as noted above, several linguists have considered the 'theoretical' possibility of reviving 'dead' languages, its actualization seems to be regarded, even by these writers, as remote. They envisage the need for vast amounts of archival material before the task is even contemplated:

For each threatened language X that still has not been documented, a team of linguists and anthropologists might need to spend ten years collecting data and processing. After that work is done, if X stops being spoken, there will be a theoretical possibility of reviving it or creating an approximation to it.

(*'The Conservation of Endangered Languages'* advertising seminar at Bristol University Philosophy Department April 21st, 1995. Downloaded from Netscape. p.3)

Ken Hale sees language revival, based on written, audio, video and electronic records, as being an increasingly common and feasible undertaking in the future, further underscoring the need

¹⁴Leanne Hinton is a linguist working with the last remaining speakers and descendants of speakers of California's Indigenous languages.

¹⁵Hinton appeals to several metaphors including fossils, resurrection, metamorphosis of chrysalis, birds and butterflies.

for comprehensive documentation of endangered languages for the benefit of future generations affiliated to them (Endangered Languages discussion, Australian Linguistics Institute, July 1994). In 1996 Hale was quoted as saying that:

The next 35 years of linguistics [will see] the restoration of a significant number of endangered languages to the communities in which they were once fully functional. Investigations of language acquisition have begun in a number of restoration programs. The human and intellectual importance of the movement is unquestionable, because without it as many as 95 percent of the world's existing languages will die out in the next two centuries. (Hale, 1996: 8)

I would argue, that given the right conditions and support systems, it is possible to regenerate languages from written records, even where these records are modest and incomplete.

2.3 Ethnic Revival

In the face of continuing rapid loss of the world's languages and cultures, we are currently witnessing a world-wide ethnic revival. As Fishman (1991: 253) puts it, we are seeing "an upsurge of self-conscious identity explorations among minority ethnics". Whilst Fishman (1991: 187, 260) associates the ethnic revival with the period mid 1960s to mid 1970s, Wardhaugh (1987: 48) places the ethnic resurgence in the two decades following the end of World War II. I suspect that ethnicity has always been a driving force that waxes and wanes. At certain times ethnicity is suppressed as it was within Indonesia while gaining independence in 1945 and in the Soviet Union until its breakup in the 1980s. Ethnic divisions are currently suppressed by the ANC in South Africa in the transition of power from minority white rule to a majority democratic government.

Ethnicity is not a new force in the world. Nor is ethnic revival new. As Edwards (1985: 100) puts it:

The ethnic 'revival' and the 'new ethnicity' refer to a phenomenon which is neither new nor revived: *ethnicity is an enduring fact of life*. It may be that ethnicity is more visible at present than it has been for some time, but this is due to the changing environment; there is now greater tolerance of diversity, coupled with a pervasive cultural relativism which, within academic circles and officialdom (to some degree), has permitted the ethnic factor to surface - albeit primarily via group 'spokesmen' - with less penalty than has been the case previously. (italics in original)

Ethnic revival, and a desire to avoid the pogroms and discrimination in Europe, prompted the move by Jews to reoccupy Palestine at the end of the nineteenth century. Cornwall experienced an ethnic revival during the beginning of the twentieth century. Ethnic revivals swept through the Scandinavian world several centuries ago as the various Scandinavian nations, beginning with Iceland in the eighteenth century, broke away from Danish colonization and domination. More recently an ethnic revival has become patently manifest in Eastern Europe and Asia with the demise of the Soviet Union and European communism. In relation to Australia, discussion of this ethnic revival is focussed on 'Multiculturalism' (see Jakubowicz, 1981; Smolicz, 1983) which is driven largely by immigrant groups who have retained and or are renewing their distinctive ethnic identities.

However, the existence of an ethnic revival has been questioned by a number of sociologists and linguists. P. Hinton (1981: 16) acknowledges the growth of ethnic studies and the establishment of a 'New Ethnicity' literature but rejects the claims of Bennett, Glazer & Moynihan, Banton and others that "there is an increased proclivity for people to seize on traditional cultural symbols as a definition of their identity". Hinton claims that the 'New Ethnicists' are naive in thinking that they are studying an objective phenomenon of an increased tendency to identify along ethnic lines and that they themselves have created the phenomenon by devoting attention to it. Amongst linguists, Edwards (1985: 112), drawing on the work of Gans (1979), acknowledges the new interest in investigating cultural 'roots' and the rise in renewed ethnic symbolism, but argues that this does not constitute a revival. Rather, he sees the path to total absorption and assimilation of minority groups as inevitable:

There is no essential disruption of so-called 'straight-line theory', i.e. that which predicts the gradual absorption of minorities. However, because of upward mobility, ethnic groups have become more visible and have adopted ethnic symbols; this has led to attention from 'journalists and essayists' who have been largely responsible for propounding the idea of an 'ethnic revival'. (Edwards, 1985: 112)

However, Edwards' observations are based primarily on immigrant minorities in America and to a lesser extent on minority groups in Europe. Indigenous peoples have a low profile in the discussion of the ethnic revival and the 'new ethnicity' in the linguistic literature. Perhaps this is because the World Indigenous Peoples' Movement is a relatively new phenomenon, largely a product of the 1990s. However, it is within the ideology of this movement that Kaurna language revival is grounded.

2.3.1 The World Indigenous Peoples' Movement

In 1982, the United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights adopted the following definition, now generally accepted throughout the world (Goehring, 1993; Albuquerque Resource Centre Internet Site, 1996):

Indigenous Populations are composed of the existing descendants of the peoples who inhabited the present territory of a country wholly or partially at the time when persons of a different culture or ethnic origin arrived there from other parts of the world, overcame them and, by conquest, settlement or other means, reduced them to a non-dominant or colonial situation; who today live more in conformity with their particular social, economic and cultural customs and traditions than the institutions of the country of which they now form a part, under a state structure that incorporates mainly the national, social and cultural characteristics of other segments of the population that are predominant.

Although they have not suffered conquest or colonization, isolated or marginal groups existing in the country should be regarded as covered by the notion of "Indigenous Populations" for the following reasons:

- a) they are descendants of groups which were in the territory of the country at the time when other groups of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived there;*
- b) precisely because of their isolation from other segments of the country's population they have preserved almost intact the customs and traditions of their ancestors which are similar to those characterised as Indigenous;*
- c) they are, even if only formally, placed under a State structure which incorporated national, social and cultural characteristics alien to theirs*

(U.N. UNESCO, ref: E/Cn.4./Sub.2/L.566, 1982; italics in original).

The core of the World Indigenous Peoples' Movement are those peoples in first world countries such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand whose countries have been taken over by colonial powers and now find themselves as small minorities within their own lands. But there are many situations where it is unclear about the Indigenous status of various peoples. Are the Celts in the United Kingdom Indigenous peoples? They were certainly there before the majority Anglo-Saxons whose language and culture has largely displaced Celtic languages and cultures. But the Celts themselves, having their origins in the Danube Valley in central Europe, displaced or absorbed other peoples and cultures such as the Picts. Well known writers such as Edwards (1992) do write of the Celts as Indigenous peoples. Verma (1996: 166) claims that "Manx, Cornish, Gaelic, Welsh and Scots are the acknowledged and attested Indigenous minority languages [of Britain]". On the other hand, Burnaby (1996: 27) distinguishes between these "established minorities" and "Indigenous peoples". Whether or not Celtic peoples in the UK can validly claim to be Indigenous, they have not involved themselves centrally in the World Indigenous Peoples' Movement in the same way that the Saami, Ainu or Maori have.

Links have been established between Indigenous peoples in far-flung parts of the globe (Jhappan, 1992). These ties are being strengthened by exchange visits and international conferences where issues can be aired, experiences shared and strategies formulated that work towards the attainment of a range of rights and special provisions for Indigenous peoples. The International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples in 1993 saw many thousands of Indigenous peoples come together in a series of conferences¹⁶. Indigenous peoples worldwide are emerging from their colonial pasts with new voices calling for rights to their stolen lands and rights to their suppressed cultures and languages which were often subjected to bannings and other forms of suppression.

The World Indigenous Peoples' Movement has formulated a number of documents asserting their rights and include clauses relating to Indigenous languages, cultural identity and the role of Indigenous languages in education. Though it does talk of "respect for traditional languages and Indigenous customs" in the Basic Principles section, the Kari-Oca Statement¹⁷ makes only scant mention of languages.

¹⁶A number of Kaurna people attended the World Indigenous Education Conference held in Wollongong.

¹⁷The *Declaration of Kari-Oca* titled *Indigenous Peoples' Earth Charter* (30 May, 1992) (see Center for World Indigenous Studies on the Web - <jburrows@halcyon.com>).

The Coolangatta Statement¹⁸ articulates more clearly the role of Indigenous languages in education in seven separate clauses. For my purposes the following are most relevant:

2.3.1 Indigenous languages *in all forms* are a legitimate, valid means of communication for Indigenous people.

2.3.5 The survival, *and where practicable the revival*, of Indigenous languages is imperative for the protection, transmission, maintenance and preservation of Indigenous knowledge, cultural values, and wisdom.

(The Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Rights in Education, Albuquerque Resource Centre website, University of New Mexico, USA. Last revised on Feb 6, 1996 by Marlene M. Wallace; my italics)

The World Indigenous Peoples' Youth Conference held in Darwin in July 1993 also commented on the importance/centrality of heritage and languages:

- We, Indigenous youth, believe we must maintain our right to self-determination. Our people have the right to decide our own forms of government, the use of our lands, to one day raise and educate our children in our own cultural identities without interference. We, Indigenous youth must have the freedom to learn our true histories. We make a call to our elders to open the way for us to learn about our heritages; to help us *reclaim our past*, so that we may claim our future.

- We, Indigenous youth, recognize our languages as an important link to maintaining our cultures. Indigenous languages must be maintained at a local level.

(embedded within The Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Rights in Education, item 1.6.2, Albuquerque Resource Centre website, University of New Mexico, USA. Last revised on Feb 6, 1996 by Marlene M. Wallace; my italics)

A United Nations draft declaration¹⁹ even more clearly articulates the right of Indigenous Peoples to revive their languages²⁰:

Article 12

Indigenous peoples have the *right to practice <sic> and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs*. This includes the right to *maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations* of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature, as well as the right to the *restitution of cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property* taken without their free and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.

Article 14

Indigenous peoples have the right to *revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons*.

(Intersessional Working Group on the United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Net Warriors International Peoples Global Caucus internet site <http://www.hookele.com/netwarriors/>; my italics)

Over the last decade there has been considerable refinement of the ideology of the World Indigenous Peoples' Movement with a growing recognition of the right for Indigenous peoples to redress the past and reclaim their heritage. Within the area of languages, early statements referred only to recognition of and the right to continued use of Indigenous languages. More recent statements specifically acknowledge the right that Indigenous people have to revitalize their languages, cultural traditions and customs.

¹⁸The *Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Rights in Education* (24 September - 1 October, 1993) statement was drafted by a task force commissioned by the National Organizing Committee of the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education held later that year in Wollongong. Members of the task force were drawn from America, Canada, Aotearoa (New Zealand) and Australia.

¹⁹The *United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (21 Oct. - 1 Nov. 1996)

²⁰Several other clauses are also of relevance. The full document is included in KL&LE Readings Vol.2.

A number of Kaurna people who are directly involved in the reclamation of Kaurna or are staunch supporters of its revival are in touch with the World Indigenous Peoples' Movement and have attended conferences both in Australia and overseas²¹. They draw strength and inspiration from Indigenous peoples in other parts of the world and the statements articulating Indigenous rights.

2.3.2 Language Revival

Language revival is a marginal activity within mainstream linguistics. David Crystal's *Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* makes no mention of language revival within the contents or index, though there is discussion of minority languages and language maintenance. Only occasional reference is made to language revival in the text, for example "In recent years an enthusiastic revivalist campaign has been launched to breathe new life into the Cornish language" (Crystal, 1995: 360). Mathews & Polinsky (1996) prepared a short epilogue 'Language Loss and Revival' for *The Atlas of Languages* (Comrie et al, 1996: 210-215). Perhaps this is a sign that language revival is now being taken more seriously.

The vast majority of language revival movements described in the literature concern languages which are still spoken but have experienced a shrinkage in terms of numbers of speakers or restriction in the domains in which the languages are used. These language revival movements have sought to reverse the decline in the use of the language either by increasing the total number of language speakers or expanding the domains in which the language is used. Usually the two go hand in hand. Prominent within this body of literature are studies of Irish, Welsh, Scots Gaelic, Breton, Catalan, Maori, Hawaiian, French in Quebec and the occasional article on Indigenous north American languages such as Mohawk (Mithun & Chafe, 1979). Almost all the literature concerns languages which still have a body of fluent speakers. In most cases, the number of fluent speakers is relatively large by Australian standards.

The celebrated case of revival of a 'dead' language is Hebrew. Paulston (1994: 96), choosing to dismiss or overlook Cornish, claims that Hebrew is "the only true case of language revival in history as we know it". There is a considerable body of literature concerning this rather special case (see Chapter 3).

²¹In December 1996, Alice Rigney (Principal, KPS) and Pathma Iswaran (Secondary Teacher, KPS) visited Aotearoa (New Zealand) with the express purpose of observing Maori language programs, especially the Kohanga Reo 'language nests'. They were very impressed by what they saw (see Rigney & Iswaran, 1996) and returned with new ideas and enthusiasm for the teaching of Kaurna. Cherie Watkins (Kaurna Teacher at PWAC, Canada and the United States in June 1997. Karl Tauondi and other locations) visited Indigenous communities in Canada and the United States in June 1997. Karl Telfer (Kaurna performer) participated in a Tracking Conference in the United States and an Indigenous Cultural Festival in France in 1997. Kaurna greetings and speeches have been delivered within these cultural exchanges. Lester Irabinna Rigney (Lecturer, Yunggoendi, Flinders University) met up with Indigenous communities on Vancouver Island in April 1998. Members of the Kaurna language movement intend to travel to the next World Indigenous Peoples' Conference in Hawai'i in 1999 to present a paper on Kaurna reclamation.

2.3.2.1 Terminology: Types of Language Revival

In relation to language revival phenomena, a plethora of 're-' words are encountered, including the following:

revival	rejuvenation	retrieval	resurrection
revitalisation	rehabilitation	reintroduction	resuscitation
restoration	renewal	recreation	reconstitution
reclamation	revernacularisation	regensis	reinvention
recovery	restabilisation	reversal	reconstruction

Each of these terms draws attention to a different aspect of the process of language revival or appeals to a different metaphor. Some metaphors are drawn from religion, others from health, biology, engineering etc. As such, each term has a different set of associated connotations and nuances. Some have been used as technical terms, whilst other writers use them, and other terms, in a more general way.

Some of the terms (eg 'revitalisation') relate more to languages which are still spoken fluently, but may be restricted in some of their domains of use. Others, such as 'resuscitation' and 'resurrection', relate more to the so-called 'dead' or 'extinct' languages. Terms such as 'recreation' (and 're-creation') or 'reconstitution' focus more on the methods employed. Still others, such as 'reintroduction' or 'renewal', focus attention on the role the language plays in society. The term 'revernacularisation' is inherently specific in its application, whilst 'rejuvenation' draws attention to the absence of speakers in the younger generation.

In order to shed further light on this rather confusing array of terms, I will provide definitions used by various authors, drawing attention to areas of conflict and areas of general agreement. Finally, I will make clear my usage of terms within this study relative to other writers.

The term **language revival** itself is generally used as a cover term. Most authors have used the term at face value without seeing a need to define it. It is used to describe both situations where a language is undergoing a resurgence following a period of decline, and active measures to increase the usage of a language in a state of decline. Most often the term is used where a relatively small number of fluent speakers still exist, but where most of the population affiliated to that language no longer speak it. Perhaps use of the language is restricted to the older generation. Less often language revival has been applied to languages which no longer have any fluent native speakers. Hebrew and Cornish are notable cases. Paulston et al (1994: 92) uses the term in this restrictive sense:

We intend the literal meaning of language revival; that is, the giving of new life to a dead language, or the act of reviving a language after discontinuance, and making it the normal means of communication in a speech community.

In this respect, Paulston is out of step with most other writers, who use the term in a much more general sense. In order to refer to the majority of cases other writers call language revival, Paulston et al (1993: 1994) have invoked another term, **language regensis**, under which

they also include rebound of an exoglossic language which becomes re-accepted after a period of rejection. They cite English in Singapore as an example.

I use the term **language revival** as most other writers do, as a cover term for both situations in which a language is undergoing a resurgence and for measures taken to extend the domains of usage of a language, increase the number of speakers or indeed to re-introduce a language after it has ceased to be spoken.

Spolsky (1995: 178) uses **language revitalization** as "one kind of language revival" to refer to:

a kind of language restoration . . . where people start again to use a language as the language of the home and in particular to speak it to newborn children after a period where these uses were extinct. . . . It may be defined as the restoration of vitality . . . to a language that had lost or was losing this attribute. . . .

It adds both a new set of speakers and a new function, spreading the language to babies and young children who become its native speakers.

Spolsky (1995) applies the term 'language revitalization' to Hebrew and Maori in preference to 'revival' which he regards as misleading owing to a lack of clarity in its aims.

I use the term 'language revitalization' to refer to language revival in situations where there are still fluent speakers of the language and where it is still spoken in its full form (Amery, 1994: 146-147; SSABSA, 1996a; Mercurio & Amery, 1996: 47). My definition is generally compatible with Spolsky's though I have chosen to focus on the existence of fluent speakers, whilst he stresses the renewed acquisition of native speakers. I would exclude Hebrew from my definition of language revitalization, preferring to use the term **revernacularisation** for this special case. In my usage, the revival of Hebrew is really a mixed program type, combining elements of what I call 'language reclamation' and 'language renewal'. Paulston (1994: 97-100) also excludes Hebrew from her usage of 'revitalisation' reserving the term for languages already in use as the normal means of communication that undergo a renewed vitality through purging foreign elements and extending into domains associated with institutional power.

Some other writers use the term 'language revitalisation' in a very loose way, perhaps as an alternative to revival. Jolly (1995: 1) uses it to refer to "dead or dying languages" for which there are "few if any fluent speakers left". She later refers to Amery (1993; 1994) and Varcoe (1994) who "have described how Aboriginal people of the Adelaide region have revitalised the Kurna language" (Jolly, 1995: 13), though we never once used the term revitalisation. Jolly's use is certainly a departure from Spolsky's tighter definition. The language of the Wampanoag from Massachusetts is 'no longer spoken'. Yet they use 'revitalization' in the title of their language revival movement²² (see Chapter 3).

²²The group named itself 'The Wampanoag Language Revitalization Group' (pc e-mail Philippe Jordi, Tribal Planner, Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah), 24 Aug., 1995).

I use the term **language reclamation** specifically to refer to language revival in situations where the language is no longer spoken and little is known orally within the community (Amery, 1994: 146; SSABSA, 1996a; Mercurio & Amery, 1996: 48). The term refers to attempts to relearn the language from material recorded in another era when the language was spoken. The term reflects the politics of Indigenous rights. Such a revival is associated with the reclaiming of identity and culture from which a people have been dissociated. The term 'language reclamation' was coined by Mary-Anne Gale and myself in 1992. Prior to that I had been using the term **language resurrection** in relation to Kaurna, but rejected this term because of its inherent view of such languages as 'dead' or 'extinct', and its unwelcome religious overtones. Perhaps others have used the term independently of my usage, even before 1992²³. Dick & McCarty (1997) use both "reclaiming" and "renewal" in relation to Navajo²⁴ in the title of their paper. Van Heerden (1991) talks of militant Black writers in South Africa "reclaiming" Afrikaans "as their personal language" and as "the language of Liberation", in a conscious effort to break the stigma of apartheid²⁵.

Thieberger (1988a: 59) uses the term 'language resurrection' in relation to a language which no longer has speakers, but curiously describes the teaching of Bundjalung in Victoria as language resurrection²⁶. Other writers such as Eastman (1979: 219, 221) use the term with the assumption that a small number of fluent speakers of the language still remain. Thieberger (1988a: 54) uses the term **language reintroduction** in reference to this situation.

The term **resuscitation** is sometimes encountered and seems to be used in reference to attempts to revive a language which no longer has speakers. Dixon's (1989: 31) 'resuscitation' seems to be equivalent to Paulston's (1994) use of 'language revival'. Note that Edwards (1984: 285) speaks of the failure "in resuscitating spoken Irish among the population at large" which conflicts with Dixon's usage.

I contrast 'language reclamation' ('resurrection' or 'resuscitation') and 'language revitalization' with **language renewal** (Amery, 1994: 146; SSABSA, 1996a; Mercurio & Amery, 1996: 48) which refers to the revival of a language which is no longer spoken but where a significant amount of the language is known orally in the community. Language renewal draws substantially on this knowledge that remains as opposed to historical documentation of the language. Successful language renewal, in this sense, results in a mixed language which draws its syntax and much of its morphology from the dominant language spoken by all members of

²³Ihimaera (1993) as editor of a volume of Maori writings includes "Reclaiming the Reo [language]" as a section heading. No doubt this usage is quite independent of my own.

²⁴Navajo is a north American language with hundreds of thousands of speakers, though many younger generation Navajo do not speak the language. A number of bilingual and immersion programs operate in Navajo. Thus amongst Indigenous languages, Navajo and Kaurna are at opposite ends of the spectrum.

²⁵Van Heerden's use of "reclaiming" a language is referring to a very different entity, but shares a similar political motive to my use in relation to Kaurna.

²⁶Bundjalung, from the north coast of NSW, is said to have 20 or so remaining speakers (Schmidt, 1990: 5).

the community, whilst much of its lexicon is drawn from the heritage language. Sasse (1992: 21) refers to "language renewal ("language birth"), i.e. the creation of an entirely new language" in reference to creolization. Other writers (such as Johnson, 1987; Sharp & Thieberger, 1992) use 'language renewal' in the same sense that I use 'language revitalization', or they use it in a looser sense. McConvell's (1986: 109-110) use of 'language renewal' is similar to my own though there is probably some overlap with my 'language revitalization' category in more marginal cases.

Language recreation is a more specialized term first used by Thieberger (1988a: 57) in reference to a process instigated by Jay Powell (1973) whereby an artificial 'pidgin' language is created. Language recreation is a kind of grafting process of words from an ancestral language that is little known and seldom spoken onto the root stock of the dominant language spoken in the community, being English in the case of Quileute. Sandefur (1983) discusses this kind of language revival in reference to Ngandi spoken in the Barkley Tablelands in the Northern Territory. Sandefur uses Kriol as the base language into which Ngandi words are to be grafted. Sandefur uses the term '**relexification**' instead of Powell's 'pidginisation' in reference to the process involved. I have used the term **language re-creation**²⁷ for this process, inserting the hyphen to avoid ambiguity.

Language restoration is seldom used in Australia. It seems to be a popular term in North America, where it has been used for a range of languages. Hinton (1994: 237) refers to the Karuk "Language Restoration Committee" which facilitates language classes and immersion camps. Karuk is said to have 40 to 60 speakers remaining. Sioui (1996: 255) uses the term in relation to Huron, a language 'no longer spoken'²⁸. 'Language restoration' appears to be used in North America for situations I would categorise as 'language revitalisation', 'language renewal' and 'language reclamation'. Indeed, some writers seem to use it as a cover term, in the same way that most writers use 'language revival'. Edwards (1985: 86) uses 'restoration' of a language "to its previous standing" in opposition to "resuscitation of a dead language"²⁹. Fishman (1991: 89) uses 'restoration' in relation to recording rememberers of a language. Other writers refer to this as **language retrieval** or **salvage** work. I use 'restoration' within this thesis to refer to efforts to piece a language back together to approximate its former state by filling in lexical gaps etc. (see Chapter 7). In my usage the term contrasts with 'transformation' which refers to efforts to modernize and adapt the language.

Language reconstruction is used in a technical sense within historical linguistics to refer to the process of positing a hypothetical former stage of a language, on the basis of forms found in closely related 'daughter' languages which have descended from a common language. In this

²⁷Brandenstein (1988) uses the term re-creation for phonological changes in Nyungar occurring prior to colonisation (i.e. unrelated to language revival).

²⁸In the same short article, Sioui also uses 'rebirth' and 'resurrection' in relation to Huron.

²⁹It was noted above that in a previous paper, Edwards (1984: 285) uses 'resuscitation' in relation to Irish, a language which still has a considerable number of native speakers.

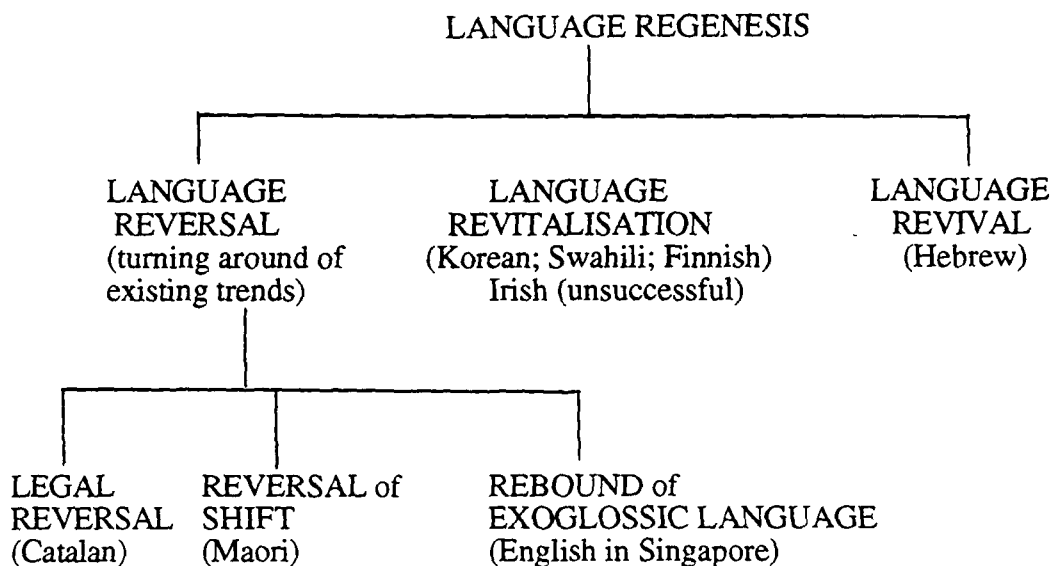
sense, language reconstruction is quite separate from language revival, though, as we shall see, it is an important linguistic technique contributing to language reclamation. However, some writers (Jolly, 1995: 24) use the term in a non-technical sense as in "It [revitalisation] will mean adults taking on the task of linguistic reconstruction and not leaving it to the schools and the kids." Fishman (1991: 89) also uses 'language reconstruction' (along with 'cultural reconstruction' and 'identity reconstruction') seemingly in the same way as he uses 're-assembly' and 'restoration'. That is, the process of piecing the language together from the memories of isolated vestigial users of the language.

The terms 'resurrection' and 'reconstitution', like 'reconstruction' may be used in a way which has nothing to do with language revival as Siebert's (1975) paper shows, titled: 'Resurrecting Virginia Algonquian from the Dead: The Reconstituted and Historical Phonology of Powhatan', and Rudes (1997) 'Resurrecting Wampano (Quiripi) from the Dead: Phonological Preliminaries'. A reading of Siebert and Rudes shows that their "resurrection from the dead" refers purely to historical reconstruction, based on seventeenth and eighteenth century wordlists, performed by linguists and philologists totally divorced from people associated with the language. In other words, this "resurrection" is purely an academic exercise.

Classifications and Hierarchies

It will be obvious by now that a number of writers, including myself, have attempted to set up an hierarchy or classification of language revival situations. Paulston et al (1994) provide the following model:

Figure 2.1: Language Regenesi Hierarchy (after Paulston et al, 1994).



Whilst Paulston et al maintain that the categories in their model are discrete, the distinction between 'Reversal of Shift' and 'Language Revitalisation' is unclear to me. Why should Irish be placed in one category and Maori in another? This thesis rejects their model. Realigning

categories and invoking new terms so as to accommodate the regained dominance of English in Singapore only serves to confuse and subvert a discussion of language revival. Language revival is primarily about the re-assertion of the rights to one's own language, not the re-imposition of majority 'killer languages'³⁰. Languages in revival situations typically belong to minority and often oppressed peoples. Rebound of an exoglossic language, whilst bearing some relation to it, is better considered outside of the field of language revival.

Several writers have tried to apply classifications more readily applicable and useful to Australia's Indigenous languages. McConvell (1986) proposed a number of program types specifically within the context of the Kimberley region of northwest Western Australia as follows:

1. Bilingual Education
2. Language Maintenance
3. Language Renewal

McConvell, like many writing in this field, had education programs in schools in mind in the formulation of his classification. It was taken up by others in the region, notably the Kimberley Language Resource Centre (Richards, 1987: viii-ix) and Catholic Education (Catholic Education Office, Kimberley Region, 1992: 8).

Johnson (1987) proposed a different categorization of programs, which significantly, for the first time includes 'resurrection' in the context of Australian Indigenous languages:

1. Language Continuation
2. Language Renewal
3. Language Revival
4. Language Resurrection

Thieberger in earlier publications (1988a; 1988b) more or less follows Johnson's categories, but elaborated on them in terms of language situations and strategies. Sharpe & Thieberger (1992: 22) merge the categories relating to language revival when they propose four categories of language programs within the context of the Pilbara region:

1. Bilingual Education/ Initial Literacy (with an additional four types of these programs)
2. Language Enrichment
3. Language Renewal/Revival/Learning Programme
4. Language Awareness Programme

³⁰'Killer language' is a term originally used by Anne Pakir and adopted by Mühlhäusler (1996a: 20)

These categories bear more similarity to McConvell's (1986) categories than to Johnson (1987) or Thieberger (1988a; 1988b).

Throughout 1992 and 1993 Greg Wilson and I worked towards the inclusion of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages within the National Statement on Languages Other Than English (LOTE). As a result 'revitalisation', 'reclamation' and 'language awareness' were included in the Statement³¹ as types of 'revival programs'.

In 1993 I proposed a slight extension of this categorization within the context of the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (AILF) Project, a national curriculum project working towards the introduction of Indigenous languages into senior secondary studies:

1. Second Language³²
2. First Language Maintenance
3. Language Revitalization
4. Language Renewal
5. Language Reclamation
6. Language Awareness

In the final published document (SSABSA, 1996: 21-23) the program types were re-arranged with the former categories 3, 4 and 5 included as subtypes of 'Language Revival' as follows:

- 1.0. First Language Maintenance
- 2.0. Second Language Learning
- 3.0. Language Revival
 - 3.1. Language Revitalisation
 - 3.2. Language Renewal
 - 3.3. Language Reclamation
- 4.0. Language Awareness

At the time, I was aware of McConvell's (1986), Johnson's (1987), Thieberger's (1988a) and Sharp & Thieberger's (1992) classifications. Some of these were too narrow for the purposes of AILF. The Sharp & Thieberger (1992) classification above did not provide enough discrimination between different types of language revival programs, which were likely to constitute the majority of AILF programs. Their category 1, Bilingual Education, was outside the scope of what was possible within mainstream senior secondary studies, though category 4, Language Awareness was conceived much in the same terms. I sought a classification which would be maximally useful to program planners in first recognising the particular language

³¹Curriculum & Assessment Committee National Statement on LOTE, Final Draft, June 1993: 14-15.

³²Unlike other program types, in 'Second Language' programs learners are not affiliated with the target language.

situation in which they were dealing, and then to devise a meaningful approach to teaching the language(s) in that context.

The AILF project, and more specifically the terms for types of language revival went through extensive consultation processes with Indigenous language enthusiasts, educators, curriculum specialists and linguists. The AILF categorisation has since been adopted by other education bodies (eg TAFE, Queensland) and by other writers, notably McKay (1996: 18-21) who justified its use as follows:

In this, we will follow the terms used by the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (AILF) in order to avoid confusion, since this set of terms is becoming more widely known through the AILF consultation and piloting process. Furthermore, the AILF is the only classification which recognises learning of the language by outsiders as belonging within the system. (McKay, 1996: 19)

This thesis pursues that same classification as adopted by AILF. At the same time, I recognise the use of other terms, such as 'language restoration' used more prevalently in North American contexts.

2.3.2.1 Language Reclamation (Resurrection or Resuscitation)

Apart from the specific literature on Hebrew and Cornish, the sociolinguistic and, more specifically, language revival literature makes little mention of attempts to reclaim (revive, resurrect or resuscitate) 'dead' languages.

For many linguists, language revival implies the existence of native speakers. The 'dead' languages end of the spectrum is not considered. Even the term 'language resurrection' is used by some with the same assumption, that native speakers still exist. For instance:

Where language resurrection plans are feasible, it is necessary that some persons must be available who still know the language but who rarely, if ever, use it. In Pacific northwestern North America there are a number of older American Indians who know their respective native languages but who seldom have an opportunity to use them. A language resurrection plan is particularly feasible in this context. (Eastman, 1979: 216)

Fishman (1991: 362-363) also discusses 'heritage languages', languages no longer in regular use but are "utilized for specific and delimited ethnicity-encumbered 'special events'." Fishman paints a pessimistic picture of such usage gradually shrinking and becoming less relevant:

it will be little more than a relic of bygone days in societal terms because, like various other recondite subjects, it has no real functional validity outside the school which is entrusted with its instruction. Long-term prospects for intergenerational continuity under such circumstances are not good, precisely because of the extreme attrition of heritage languages *vis-a-vis* most aspects of home and neighbourhood functioning at the very same time that *respect for the memory of such functioning* in the past is their only claim to church (stage 6) or school (stages 5 or 4a) attention. As that memory fades with time, so, inevitably, does that attention. (Fishman, 1991: 363)

The prospect of a 'heritage' language like Kaurna actually being introduced and gaining some of those institutionalised heritage functions in addition to some functions in the home and neighbourhood seems not to have been countenanced by Fishman. As we shall see in Chapter 9, Kaurna is not simply an historical relic, but is beginning to be used in limited ways to address here and now concerns in the 1990s.

Much of the earlier literature is dismissive of the majority of attempts at language revival per se. Edwards (1985: 86-87) whilst briefly considering Cornish and other cases of successful revival cited by Ellis and Mac A'Ghobhainn (1971) ends up supporting Nahir's (1977) view that "all language revival efforts have failed, with the exception of that of Hebrew". According to Edwards, Nahir lists Irish, Welsh, Provençal and Breton amongst his list of unsuccessful attempts at language revival. However, many contemporary observers are more positive towards languages revival efforts, as we shall see, even towards Irish.

As to be expected, the literature is even more dismissive of attempts to revive a language which has ceased to be spoken. Some linguists (e.g. R.M.W. Dixon, 1989: 31; 1991; Cooper, 1989) have argued that it is not possible to 'resuscitate' languages in circumstances such as these. In a recent article, Spolsky (1995) says that:

With all the problems involved in language maintenance, the most difficult is that concerned with control of the passing of a language from parents to children as a 'mother' tongue. This phenomenon, labelled formally as 'intimate' or 'informal intergenerational transmission', is clearly the central feature of maintenance. If the chain is once broken, to repair it takes not just a major effort but, if not a miracle, then

The rare and largely fortuitous co-occurrence of language-and-nationality ideology, disciplined collective will and sufficient societal dislocation from other competing influences to make possible a relatively *rapid and clean break with prior norms of verbal interaction*. (Fishman, 1991: 291; italics in original)

(Spolsky, 1995: 178)

Further, Spolsky (1995: 178) still accepts Cooper's view that the revival of a 'dead' language is impossible and goes on to quote Cooper (1989: 19-20):

... The term Hebrew revival is a misnomer. Hebrew is no exception to the rule that once a language has passed out of all use whatsoever, it remains dead. The 'revival' of Hebrew refers to its resuscitation as a vernacular, as a language of everyday spoken life.

As we shall see, parallels between Hebrew and Kaurna are partial. The two situations are very different. The other case of revival of a 'dead' language frequently referred to in the literature is Cornish, which is considerably closer to the Kaurna situation. Still there are many differences. These two cases, Hebrew and Cornish, will be discussed in some detail later.

Closer parallels are more likely to be found in North America, Central America or South America where the colonial experiences have been similar. Indeed current attempts to revive some Californian languages, (Hinton, 1994) and plans to revive languages such as Wampanoag (also known as Natick or Massachusetts), Naragansett, Paugusett and Pequot on the east coast or Huron in Quebec, Canada (Abley, 1992; Sioui, 1996) have much more in common with the revival of Kaurna. As we shall see, there are also a range of attempts to revive Australian languages, some of which are in a similar position to Kaurna. Several case studies will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Almost all writers view the attainment of "intergenerational transmission" as the main, if not sole criterion for success of language revival efforts³³. I would argue that more modest goals, such as re-introducing formulaic expressions, public speeches, signage etc., are important steps along the way. Even if intergenerational transmission is never achieved, some programs might be judged highly successful and the progress made might be highly significant and meaningful within the context of the language community. Whilst some like Fishman (1991: 397, 408) might devalue or condemn these lesser goals for diverting attention away from the 'main game', in the case of languages 'no longer spoken' they could be viewed as remarkable achievements in their own right.

2.4 Language and Identity

Identity issues underpin ethnic revival and associated attempts to revive ancestral languages. Identity operates at both an individual and a group level. Jordan (1984: 275) defines it as:

location of the self in a particular world of meaning, both by the self and others. It is a product of interaction between individual and social structures, and individuals and others. Through this location of the self, individuals recognise their self-sameness and continuity in time and perceive that others recognise their self-sameness and continuity.

The relationship between language and ethnic identity has often been assumed to be a simple one. According to Barth, anthropological attempts to define 'ethnic group' have implied that such a group:

1. is largely biologically self-perpetuating;
2. shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms;
3. makes up a field of communication and interaction;
4. has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order.

and that:

This ideal type definition is not so far removed in content from the traditional proposition that a race = a culture = a language and that a society = a unit which rejects or discriminates against others. Yet, in its modified form it is close enough to many empirical ethnographic situations, at least as they appear and have been reported, so that this meaning continues to serve the purposes of most anthropologists.
(Barth, 1969/70, quoted in Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985: 207, 208)

Many writers have claimed that language is the most important defining characteristic of ethnicity, see Anderson (1979: 67). Certainly for some groups, language is regarded as an attribute, without which one would be hard-pressed to claim to be a member of the group. However, for others alternative cultural characteristics, for example religion, ancestry, family ties, customs, folklore, music, dancing or art may be more salient. As Fishman (1991: 16-17) points out, there are numerous examples of ethnic groups who have retained their own distinctive sense of identity, but no longer speak the language traditionally associated with that group:

³³Dorian (1987), whilst still adhering to this view, points to the value of language programs, such as East Sutherland Gaelic, which are unlikely to succeed in these terms.

Jews who do not speak Hebrew have existed for millenia, Irishmen who do not speak Irish have existed for centuries, and Puerto Ricans who do not speak Spanish ... in all cases... they have become powerful examples of the detachability of a traditionally and historically associated language with respect to the continuity of individual and collective ethnocultural identity.

Whilst recognising the reality that maintenance of a language is not necessary for the maintenance of a distinctive ethnicity, Fishman still stresses the importance of language in culture maintenance, referring to language as one of the "main props" and claims that "when any of their main props, such as language, are lost, most other props are seriously weakened and are far more likely to be altered and lost as well" (Fishman, 1991: 17).

Smolicz (1979; 1981; 1983; 1984; 1989) has referred to these 'main props' as "core values" and notes that these may vary from one culture to another and change over time. Smolicz explains his notion of 'core values' as follows:

Core values can be regarded as forming one of the most fundamental components of a group's culture. They generally represent the heartland of the ideological system and act as identifying values which are symbolic of the group and its membership. Rejection of core values carries with it the threat of exclusion from the group. Indeed, the deviant individual may himself feel unable to continue as a member. We single out core values for special attention because, within our theoretical framework, they provide the indispensable link between the group's cultural and social systems; in their absence both systems would suffer eventual disintegration. Indeed, it is through core values that social groups can be identified as distinctive ethnic, religious, scientific or other cultural communities. (Smolicz, 1979: 57)

Smolicz notes that core values are often hierarchically organized and that "cultural groups differ in the extent to which they emphasise their native tongues as core values" (Smolicz, 1984: 26). Further, he observes (Smolicz, 1983: 12) that language is the prime core value within Greek, Polish, French, Latvian and Lithuanian cultures, as he puts it where "the supremacy of language as the rallying call of ethnic identity can hardly be disputed." For other ethnic groups, such as Italian, Irish, Malay and Jewish cultures, language, whilst important, is eclipsed by such core values as family ties, religion or ancestry.

There are numerous definitions of ethnicity in existence which place different emphases on different parameters and vary in their complexity. Thernstrom et al. in 1980 noted this complexity and claimed that ethnicity may be:

characterised by some of the following features, although in combinations that vary considerably:

1. common geographic origins;
2. migratory status;
3. race;
4. language or dialect;
5. religious faith or faiths;
6. ties that transcend kinship, neighbourhood, and community boundaries;
7. shared traditions, values, symbols;
8. literature, folklore and music;
9. food preferences;
10. settlement and employment patterns;
11. special interests in regard to politics in the homeland and in the [host country];
12. institutions that specifically serve and maintain the group;
13. an internal sense of distinctiveness;
14. an external perception of distinctiveness. (Thernstrom et al, quoted in Coughlan, 1990: 4)

Different minority groups respond in different ways to contact or submersion within a dominant culture. Indeed, some groups may assimilate totally and lose their distinctive ethnicity. Other groups, despite the loss of some of their distinctive cultural characteristics, may tenaciously hang on to others.

Certainly in the context of the renaissance of the Maori culture, the Maori language occupies a very central place:

Language is the vehicle by which thoughts, customs, desires, hopes, frustrations, history, mythology, prayers, dreams, and knowledge are communicated from one person to another. It has been said that a people without their own language have no power or unique identity.

According to the Maori, their language is sacred because it was given to their ancestors by the gods and it is by language that Maori are able to know the will and mind and power of the gods. Language has a life-force, a power and a living vitality. (Barlow, 1991: 114)

Fishman (1991: 230) cites Maori proverbs "Without Maori there is no Maoriness" and "Language is the very life force of Maoriness" further reinforcing the centrality of language in Maori identity. These sentiments are expanded by Syd Jackson, one of the founders of Ngā Tamatoa:

Ngā Tamatoa realised that if the language was lost, we have lost our Māoritanga. We would have no knowledge of our history, our legends or our genealogy. It is our link with our ancestors, our past and all its glories and tragedies. In fact, we would have no knowledge of our culture, since it is the language which makes our culture intelligible. We would not be able to dream the dreams of the Māori, for the river of our Māoriness would dry up. The beauty and the soul of our people as expressed in our art, our poetry, our music and our prayers would be lost. We would not know how to live as Māoris if those things die. (in Ihimaera (ed.), 1993: 215-216)

A Maori writer, Merata Mita whilst recognising the contribution that Maori writers have made through the medium of English to "articulate unique cultural perspectives with clarity and depth" and that "the resilience of the Maori people is sustained by the Maori writers who express their peculiarly Maori experience in the language of the oppressor" still maintains that "any true Māori literature must be written in the Māori language" (in Ihimaera (ed.), 1993: 310).

Irihapeti Ramsden discusses Maori identity as a matter of personal choice, to some degree at least, for those people of mixed ancestry. She speaks of a "clear and powerful redefinition of Māoriness" and further explains the present Maori reality in the following terms:

It seems to me that Māoritanga, like all other realities, is personal. That within the outlines of being Māori there exists a horizon of Māoriness which extends from our ancient kaumātua, secure in their world, through the emerging middle class, to our mokopuna with glue bags sleeping under the bridges in the land of nobody. All these Māori realities are legitimate. All have Māori ancestors, all have been subjected to the experience of colonisation, and each has reacted in their own way to the impact of the new culture. (in Ihimaera (ed.), 1993: 349)

But, whilst recognising this reality, Irihapeti Ramsden goes on further to say that:

Major cultural markers such as the language of our ancestors, the marae [Maori villages] and the tangihanga must be retained at all costs, but under pressure of changing time, many more adjustments are likely. These choices are for Māori to make (in Ihimaera (ed.), 1993: 351)

Smolicz (1981: 76f), citing Polish in the nineteenth century, points out that in some circumstances, core values, such as language may be strengthened and increase in importance in the face of repression.

Identities are capable of changing, rapidly, in response to changes in the political and social climate. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) carried out a study of language and identity in Belize, formerly British Honduras, in Central America. They conducted two surveys in 1971 and 1978 during the period leading up to independence and the formation of the new nation of Belize. They witnessed a rapid shift in the way people referred to and thought about themselves and others over this period. Whilst in 1971 only one informant claimed that he and his family were Belizean, in 1978, seven of the 36 former interviewees spontaneously introduced the term and several identified primarily as 'Belizean'. Further, Creole was identified as the Belizean language in the later survey.

Identities may be hidden or suppressed, only to re-emerge in response to changed conditions or in response to interest from outside. At Balgo in 1980, initially when I enquired of Ngardi people as to what language they spoke or what people they were, they all replied "Kukatja", the dominant lingua franca in the community. However, following the visit of Jim Wafer, linguist from the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs who made enquiries about the Ngardi language, a number of people readily identified themselves as Ngardi. Continuing interest from other researchers such as Lee Cataldi (p.c.) has contributed to the maintenance of Ngardi identity³⁴.

Even when an ethnic group loses its traditional mother tongue, the language may still play an important role in the group's sense of identity. In Ireland, despite the 'failure' of language revival, the Irish language is still an enduring emblem of Irish identity. Language may sometimes be relegated to the status of a material artifact as in a grammar book or dictionary, but the knowledge that "this is ours; this is our language, even if we don't know it and can't speak it" may still be a very potent force. Even the knowledge of the language name and knowing that the group once spoke a distinctive language may be an important pillar of identity. Eastman & Reece (1981) and Eastman (1984) refer to this symbolic aspect of language as 'associated language' which they see as a durable aspect of ethnic identity. Eastman argues that ethnic identity has two aspects, the primordial belief component and the social behaviour aspect, which includes language use. According to Eastman (1984: 271):

the language we name as an emblem of our ethnic identity when we associate ourselves with a group of people does not change, as long as it remains an aspect of the belief level of our identity

and that "a change in primordial beliefs can only change over a long period of time" (Eastman, 1984: 272). I question this latter assertion. The situation in Belize and the current developments

³⁴It might be argued that interest from outsiders merely contributes to a willingness to reveal that identity and that the underlying identity is intact.

amongst Aboriginal people of Adelaide demonstrate that not only behavioural aspects of identity but the very belief systems themselves are capable of changing rapidly. Certainly behaviour is more readily suppressed and changed, but beliefs can also change surprisingly quickly.

According to Jordan (1984: 274) "Aboriginal people assert that a crucial contemporary problem for them is the need, after centuries wherein their culture has been destroyed, to build Aboriginal identity". Jordan (1988a: 109) quotes sociologists, Berger & Luckman, who claim that "identity is formed by social processes. Once crystallized, it is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations". Many Aboriginal identities are in a state of flux and are currently being re-defined and transformed in response to new-found rights and freedoms obtained since 1967. As a result the experiences of younger generations of Aboriginal people are radically different from those of the older generation. This theme will be taken up in detail in Chapter 10.

2.4.1 Language and Identity in Aboriginal Australia

The majority of Aboriginal Australians no longer speak their ancestral languages fluently. According to the 1991 national census, 43,499 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people said they spoke a language other than English at home. Yet this is less than 20% of those who identified as Indigenous within the census. Jeanie Bell, an Aboriginal community linguist from southeast Queensland, explains the relationship between language and identity in contemporary Aboriginal Australia:

Most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people would agree that language is an integral part of our identity, and that language is the expression of our unique relationship with the land and the cultural practices that have been handed on down the generations for thousands and thousands of years.

However, for many of us who have lived in situations where our language has deliberately been denied to us for many decades because government policies and practices have prevented it, this part of our identity has been withheld from us.

Therefore, many generations of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have grown up learning to speak a dialect of English and only hearing bits and pieces of language spoken by our Elders. In spite of all this, our languages *have* been passed on, and have never been forgotten by those groups who weren't taught to speak them in a full way. Many words from them are used within our English speech, and these words are markers of our identity and distinctiveness as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people.

(quoted in SSABSA, 1996c: 25)

A great many Aboriginal people actively identify with a specific language or languages even though they may have little or no active knowledge of the language itself. That is, their associated languages are a fundamental aspect of their identities.

Aboriginal societies place a great deal of emphasis on the relationship between language and territory. The bond with the land is extremely strong. Despite the severe social disruption and movement of Aboriginal peoples away from their country, the ties and identification with the territory of their ancestors is profound. This identification with the land carries over to the language associated with that particular territory. Language names have a particular significance and are the primary means used to identify local groups. Aboriginal groups across the country are re-defining themselves, turning to the archives in search of local group names and clan

names³⁵. For instance, some Adnyamathanha people now identify as Wailpi or Kuyani Adnyamathanha.

2.4.2 Multiple Identities

Many Australians hold dual citizenship. At an official level, they can be both Greek and Australian or Indonesian and Australian at the same time. Many more people, whilst they may not hold dual citizenship, may still think of themselves as, for example, Chinese and Australian, even though they may have been born in Australia and their family may have lived in Australia for several generations.

So it should come as no surprise that Aboriginal people generally think of themselves as both Australian and Aboriginal. What's more, they may identify with more than one Aboriginal group, for instance, claiming to be both Kurna and Ngarrindjeri at the same time. They may even simultaneously occupy positions of authority within more than one heritage committee or act as spokespersons for more than one language group.

There are differences of opinion within the Nunga community as to the acceptability of claiming multiple identity. Some are adamant that one must choose one primary identity and act as a spokesperson for that group and no other³⁶. Others maintain the legitimacy of claiming multiple identity, through their parents and grandparents.

2.5 Cultural Pluralism or Multiculturalism

Australia, along with Canada and the United States is one of the most ethnically diverse nations on earth, by virtue of both its Indigenous diversity and the arrival of immigrants of diverse origins (see Smolicz, 1989). This century, Australian government policy has moved from the infamous 'White Australia Policy' in place at the turn of the century with a strong emphasis on Anglo-Saxon migration, to assimilation of increasingly 'different' migrants, to multiculturalism, which the current Howard Liberal government is showing signs of backing away from. Still, the South Australian state government recently endorsed a *Declaration of Principles for a Multicultural South Australia*³⁷. Among other things, this declaration "affirms the right of all individuals to maintain, develop, express and share their cultural heritages within the legal and social framework of our State" and recognises "diverse cultural assets" as a "valuable resource".

Given the reality of cultural pluralism, there are a number of ways in which societies can be organised, ranging from total assimilation to the dominant group or the national 'ideal', to a

³⁵Peter Sutton, summing up the Heritage and Indigenous Land Rights seminar, University of Adelaide, 16 April 1998.

³⁶This attitude, as conveyed to me, seems to be influenced by the perception that claims of multiple identity will not be well-received by the majority white Australian population, though some Indigenous people have also absorbed the ideology of 'one identity'.

³⁷ This declaration was distributed at Multicultural Education Coordinating Committee (SA) Expo and Conference in March 1997 (MECC, 1997).

loose federation of autonomous ethnic groups, each having considerable power over their own affairs. Edwards (1984: 282) advocates a middle course of "participationist" or "liberal" pluralism and claims that this "describes what most ethnic groups do anyway." Participationist pluralism is:

a model which sees government paying particular attention to overall social issues, to aspects of life in which all participate (and/or wish to), while creating a tolerant milieu in which groups are free to maintain and develop private aspects of ethnicity. (Edwards, 1984: 282)

According to Edwards, this model will result in the loss of public ethnicity, with visible markers of ethnicity becoming difficult to maintain, with or without government support. He warns that this may not satisfy some cultural pluralists, who regard it as a way-station to total assimilation. However, Edwards (1984: 283, quoting Drake, 1979: 226) maintains that "ethnic group members are 'more main-stream and assimilationist than generally believed by language planners' ". Edwards (and Eastman, 1984) sees the loss of publically manifested attributes of ethnicity, including the ability to speak a language as inevitable and unproblematic, countered by the relative durability of private aspects of ethnicity including adherence to the symbolic value of the language.

Edwards draws primarily on the experience of immigrant ethnic groups, most of whom are highly motivated to identify with their new home and to fit into the new society to which they have voluntarily (for most) joined. However, there is a fundamental difference between Indigenous minorities and immigrant minorities, which Edwards downplays, though does not totally ignore. On the basis of the Irish experience and European minorities, Edwards (1984: 283) argues that his position holds also for Indigenous peoples.

However, as we saw previously, Irish and 'Indigenous' minorities in Europe are not representative of the world's Indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples of Australia, the Americas, New Zealand etc. have seen their lands forcibly taken, their languages and cultures actively oppressed and have suffered genocide at the hands of the invader. The cultures of these Indigenous peoples are markedly different from that of the newcomers. They believe (and Mabo verifies) that they are the rightful owners of the land. Why should they want to identify with and assimilate to norms imposed from outside?³⁸

At the same time, many Indigenous minorities who have been swamped by a dominant, majority culture realise that the only future for their culture is to carve out niches within the mainstream. This is especially true of the Kaurna, who have no focal community and are dispersed and fragmented. Separatism is not an option for them, though separatist tendencies are sometimes pursued by Indigenous peoples.

³⁸Even the most 'traditional' of Indigenous Australians have willingly adopted many things from the invading culture, especially certain items of material culture such as guns, Toyotas, radios and VCRs. However, they generally insist on their right to choose what aspects they will adopt.

Having to pursue their cultural development through the mainstream poses a major dilemma for Indigenous peoples. How can they ensure that the majority will respect their culture? How can they maintain ownership and control, yet at the same time make it accessible to the society at large? These are issues taken up in Chapter 10.

2.6 Language Ecology

The notion of language ecology, a useful and insightful metaphor, is a major theoretical construct underpinning this research. It not only aids in our understanding of the language as it was spoken in the nineteenth century, but also underpins the task of language reclamation in the 1990s. In order to attempt to maintain or revive a language, an understanding of the wider context in which the language exists is helpful. It is simply not enough to know all there is to know about the language per se.

Haugen (1972: 325) coined the term **ecology of language** in a paper first presented in 1970. He defined it simply "as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment" and defines the environment of a language in the following way:

The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment. Part of its ecology is therefore psychological: its interaction with other languages in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers. Another part of its ecology is sociological: its interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it, and transmit it to others.

(Haugen, 1972: 325)

The language reclamation process brings the language into existence in Haugen's terms, transforming it from purely a written record, a material cultural artifact into a living, dynamic entity in the minds of people. As Haugen aptly points out, the very nature of the language will be shaped by the learners, and in the case of Kaurna, by linguists working with them to reclaim and re-assemble the language. It is worth distinguishing between the psychological and sociological dimensions as Haugen does. The ecological approach, then, unlike 'orthodox' linguistics (see, for instance, Hudson, 1981), focusses on human agency in shaping the language. Haugen further illuminates his concept of 'language ecology' through a series of pertinent questions:

For any given "language", then, we should want to have answers to the following ecological questions:

- 1) What is its *classification* in relation to other languages? This answer would be given by historical and descriptive linguists.
- 2) Who are its *users*? This is a question of *linguistic demography*, locating its users with respect to locale, class, religion or any other relevant grouping;
- 3) What are its *domains* of use? This is a question of *sociolinguistics*, discovering whether its use is unrestricted or limited in specific ways;
- 4) What *concurrent languages* are employed by its users? We may call this a problem of *dialinguistics*, to identify the degree of bilingualism present and the degree of overlap among the languages;
- 5) What *internal varieties* does the language show? This is the task of a *dialectology* that will recognize not only regional, but also social and contactual dialects;
- 6) What is the nature of its *written traditions*? This is the province of *philology*, the study of written texts and their relationship to speech;
- 7) To what degree has its written form been *standardized*, i.e. unified and codified? This is the province of prescriptive linguistics, the traditional grammarians and lexicographers;

- 8) What kind of *institutional support* has it won, either in government, education, or private organizations, either to regulate its form or propagate it? We may call this study *glottopolitics*;
 9) What are the *attitudes* of its users towards the language, in terms of intimacy and status, leading to personal identification? We may call this the field of *ethnolinguistics*;
 10) Finally we may wish to sum up its status in a *typology of ecological* classification, which will tell us something about where the language stands and where it is going in comparison with the other languages of the world. (Haugen, 1972: 336-337)

These questions are all pertinent in relation to the Kaurna language, both in terms of its status in the nineteenth century, and in its incipient revival in the 1990s. Moreover, they stimulate a number of more specific questions in relation to the particular ecology of the Kaurna language.

Especially important to consider in the nineteenth century ecology is the disruption brought about by disease, environmental degradation, population movements, desecration of sacred sites and the undermining of Kaurna social institutions and political structures. In addition, the ecology was shaped by the policies of the colonial administration and the efforts of the German missionaries.

In the 1990s, important elements of Kaurna language ecology include historical documents, neighbouring and related languages, government and education policies, the Kaurna language teaching programs, KACHA, the nature of Kaurna society (especially demography and residence patterns), attitudes to the language within the Kaurna community and within the wider community, public and private domains of language use, the World Indigenous Peoples Movement and the re-assertion of Kaurna rights, current events such as the Native Title debate, Nunga politics, KPS, Tauondi and the role of key individuals. These are just a few facets of contemporary Kaurna language ecology³⁹.

Whilst some of Haugen's concerns have been addressed by sociolinguists, it is only recently that his ecological model has been taken up in a concerted and systematic fashion. The emergence of ecological linguistics as a field of study has been promoted primarily by Peter Mühlhäusler in a series of papers (Mühlhäusler, 1992; 1994) culminating in the publication of the book *Linguistic Ecology: Language Change and Linguistic Imperialism in the Pacific Region* (Mühlhäusler, 1996a).

Both Haugen and Mühlhäusler indicate the proactive nature of an ecological approach to language. Rather than simply being an objective observer of languages, linguists are encouraged to become actively involved:

One may even venture to suggest that ecology is not just the name of a descriptive science, but in its application has become the banner of a movement for environmental sanitation. The term could include also in its application to language some interest in the general concern among laymen over the cultivation and preservation of language. Ecology suggests a dynamic rather than a static science, something beyond the descriptive that one might call predictive and even therapeutic. What will be, or should be, for example, the role of "small" languages; and how can they or any other language be made "better", "richer", and more "fruitful" for mankind? (Haugen, 1972: 329)

³⁹Even though the Kaurna language movement is small and most of the use of Kaurna is known, the ecology is still very complex. There are many more factors than we can control or adequately account for.

Mühlhäusler takes this one step further:

The ecological metaphor in my view is action oriented. It shifts the attention from linguists being players of academic language games to becoming shop stewards⁴⁰ for linguistic diversity, and to addressing moral, economic and other 'non-linguistic' issues. (Mühlhäusler, 1996a: 2)

However, while the role of the linguist in language reclamation is a vital and legitimate one, as Crawford (1996: 64) warns, "language shift cannot be reversed by outsiders, however well-meaning. . . .If language preservation efforts are to succeed, they must be led by indigenous institutions, organizations, and activists". This theme will be taken up in more detail later in the thesis.

A linguist, Mark Fettes (1997; forthcoming) in his work with Indigenous peoples in Canada, has attempted to apply an ecological approach to language revival. Fettes talks of "reweaving the 'triple braid' of language renewal" where three strands "critical literacy", "local knowledges" and "living relationships" are developed concurrently. Language revival involves reshaping the language ecology through a process of consciousness raising and rebuilding relationships. The process advocated by Fettes begins with people. The language itself is a secondary concern. Although Fettes has in mind languages like Inuktitut, Mohawk or Maori which are still spoken, many of the points he raises resonate well with my own experiences of working with Kaurna and other Indigenous languages of South Australia.

An ecological approach to language planning seeks long-term sustainable solutions. In the Kaurna case, this means rebuilding the support systems for the language and carving out niches⁴¹ in which the language performs useful functions and fulfills needs in the lives of those who care to learn it. It means creating situations and establishing networks within which the language can be used. It means changing behaviour.

2.7 On the Nature of Language

In order to further understand the ecological approach, it is important to explore the nature of 'language' itself. Although languages are traditionally viewed as objective, tangible entities, which exist independently of their users (Coulmas, 1997: 42-43), Coulmas and integrational linguists denounce this perspective. As Toolan (1996: 2) observes:

The majority view within linguistics [adheres to] . . . an understanding of languages as coherent and complete systems, essentially autonomous of direct influence from other mental, social or cultural influences, enabled by the arbitrariness of the sign (the sound-meaning nexus), and structured by complex patterns of rules

Toolan goes on to argue that the notion of a 'language' which the majority of linguists appeal to is in fact a second-order construct, though they consistently treat it as a first-order one (see also

⁴⁰ Mühlhäusler notes that the 'shop steward' metaphor is used in contemporary discourse on environment issues.

⁴¹ Fettes (1997: 307) writes of the need to create a "discursive space" within the "invading language" for the use of the Indigenous language.

Grace, 1981: 15). Viewing language as a first-order construct allows linguists and others to regard language as 'natural'. However, the 'natural' characteristics of language are simply a result of it having been fostered long enough within a culture for it to be regarded as 'natural' (Toolan, 1996: 12). Yet there is nothing very 'natural' about any language. All are created by humans. All are cultural constructs. As Coulmas (1997: 43) says:

every language is the result of human language-work . . . every individual word in every language traces back to an individual act of coining.

This view is reiterated by Toolan (1996: 318-319):

Too often, linguistics uncritically attributes "possession" of the language to the community, neglecting the fact that the community is in essence an aggregation of individuals of finite life span. It is the individual who creates language, and it is the individual who, in dying, ceases to do so; it is not, ultimately, in the power of the community either to "give" language to the individual or to take it away.

As Coulmas (1997: 43) points out, the contribution of each individual is "more conspicuous in demographically small languages whose continuation is threatened than in language communities numbering in the millions". In the case of newly invented languages, such as Esperanto, or languages subject to far-reaching intervention in the form of standardization or making it conform to a particular ideology as in Turkish under Ataturk (Landau, 1993) or 'revived' languages such as Hebrew the role of individuals is far-reaching and decisive. The case of Kaurna, too, brings the contributions of individuals sharply into focus. To this point in time practically every user of Kaurna is known, practically everything written in the language is known and the majority of utterances made in the language are known to the writer. The contributions of these individuals are identifiable. Practically every new word and every new usage can be tracked down to specific individuals and to specific events and occasions. In the Kaurna situation the circle of language users, enthusiasts or adherents is much smaller than in most other situations.

In keeping with the view that languages are autonomous and exist independently of their users, linguists have often taken a dim view of the efforts of language planners and language enthusiasts who might 'meddle' with languages, attempting to influence their course of development, labelling languages like Katharevousa, Norwegian, Cornish etc. as 'artificial inventions' or 'fabrications' (see, for example, Hall, 1950). Attempts to create new artificial languages such as Esperanto or Volapük have been damned outright. Linguists have traditionally taken a strict 'hands-off' stance in relation to language, seeing their role as objective observers and analysts, free of any particular ideology or value system. A recent example of this is Ladefoged's (1992) response to the 'endangered languages' issue raised by Hale, Krauss and others.

By contrast, within an ecological approach language is seen as a "dynamic, ever changing set of interrelationships" and an "entire ecological system of communicative strategies rooted in time and place, history, and the land" (Fettes, 1997: 302). In the context of language revival, this

tends to shift attention away from language to people and their society. Ecological approaches are much more in keeping with Nunga perspectives on language.

Indigenous peoples tend to view languages holistically, as an integral part of their culture and way of life. In the Kaurna context, there is extreme reluctance to disassociate the language from issues of land, heritage, the Dreaming etc.⁴² Whilst linguists see a language primarily as an autonomous, coherent and complete system where the grammar is more important or more central than the lexicon (Chomsky, 1982: 14), it is evident that Nungas hold onto a very different notion of what a language is. It is not uncommon to hear Nungas claim that "I speak Ngarrindjeri" or "I speak Narungga", meaning not just that they are a Ngarrindjeri or Narungga person or that they identify with the Ngarrindjeri or Narungga language, but they actually believe that they speak Ngarrindjeri or Narungga⁴³.

In a survey conducted by Peter Gale in 1991, out of 14 Nunga parents who responded to the questionnaire, most with Point Pearce origins or affiliations, ten claimed to speak Narungga, seven claimed to speak Ngarrindjeri, four Pitjantjatjara, two Kaurna and two another Nunga language. However, when asked "Could you write a letter in any of these Nunga languages?" only one respondent claimed to be able to write a letter in Narungga, whilst none claimed to be able to write a letter in any other Indigenous language. Contrary to appearances, this discrepancy is to be accounted for by a lack of language competency rather than a lack of literacy skills.

It is interesting that Gale's Narungga informants claimed the Narungga language as the high point or the strength of Narungga culture, admitting to having lost other aspects of their culture:

we lost the song and the dance . . . the body painting and all that, but I think that other stuff is still strong,
the language (interview in Gale, 1991: 194).

Point Pearce school runs a Narungga language and culture program. They speak in all seriousness, in the context of choosing a program type from amongst the AILF categories, of their program being a language maintenance program. To Nungas, being able to use some words of a language is to be able to speak it. In this respect their views contrast sharply to those of linguists and to a lesser extent with views held by the general public.

Nungas generally do not see their languages as 'dead'. As noted earlier, people now refer to Kaurna as having been 'sleeping' (Cherie Watkins in *Warranna Purruna* video; Alice Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford, 29 Oct. 1997). On a radio interview, a young Kaurna woman claimed that:

⁴²Indeed I have been criticised at times for focussing too much on the language and ignoring or paying insufficient attention to other aspects of culture and identity. Guest lectures delivered by Kaurna Elders typically draw on much broader perspectives than the set topic would seem to warrant from an academic perspective.

⁴³Their use of Ngarrindjeri or Narungga is in fact limited to the use of words within English.

"It's still alive and well and thanks to lots of committed people in terms of retrieving the language program, the basis of the Kaurna language as it was documented by the early German missionaries in South Australia is very strong"
(Katrina Power, interview 5UV, 23/4/97)

2.7.1 Natural vs Artificial languages

The charge that Kaurna is an 'invention' and a 'whitefella creation' must be addressed. Therefore it is necessary to explore the 'natural' vs 'artificial' dichotomy in more detail. In doing so, I draw on three short case studies, Nynorsk, Katharevousa and Esperanto to place Kaurna reclamation in a broader context. Many writers see 'natural' vs 'artificial' and 'dead' vs 'live' as simple oppositions⁴⁴ - if a language is not a natural language, then it is artificial; a language is either dead or alive. However, I prefer to view these parameters as continua.

Most linguists regard 'invented spoken languages' such as Esperanto and computer languages, such as Basic, as 'artificial' languages which contrast with 'natural' languages, for which the following criteria are generally invoked:

- 1) spontaneous creation
- 2) continuous tradition
- 3) existence of native speakers
- 4) existence of a speech community

Most weight is placed on the first criterion, that of spontaneous creation. However, this criterion makes many assumptions about the way in which languages come into being. Jouko Lindstedt⁴⁵ points out that there are problems with all four criteria and concludes that: "'natural language' is a surprisingly ill-defined concept with unclear ideological background."

Relevant to my purposes here is Larry Trask's response⁴⁶ to Lindstedt's discussion of 'natural languages'. Trask supplied the following definition and ensuing discussion which I quote at length because of the detail supplied and clarity of the argument developed:

A natural language is any language which is, or once was, the mother tongue of a group of people. . . .

By this criterion, then, English, Swahili and Isthmus Zapotec are natural languages, because they are mother tongues today. and Latin, Etruscan and Cornish are natural languages, because they were mother tongues once.

American Sign Language is a natural language for the same reason, . . . So is Israeli Hebrew. I can see not the slightest difficulty here in reaching this last decision; what is problematic about Israeli Hebrew is the nature of its relation to Biblical Hebrew, but this question is neither here nor there in the present context. And, by my criterion, the Esperanto spoken by native speakers (if these exist) must also be a natural language. The non-native Esperanto of other people is a different matter, but then, when I declare that Spanish is a natural language, I certainly don't have in mind my own halting Spanish.

On the other hand, pidgins, Volapuk, Glosa, the official written Turkish of the Ottoman Empire, and probably even the stilted and neologistic high Basque used by Basque television newsreaders, all fail to be natural languages by my definition . . . but many of these things would certainly fall under Lindstedt's definition.

⁴⁴Sasse (1992: 21) has extended the 'natural' vs 'artificial' distinction into language revival and makes a sharp distinction between 'natural revitalization' and 'artificial revitalization'.

⁴⁵(e-mail from Jouko Lindstedt to LINGUIST List, 23 Sept. 1996)

⁴⁶(e-mail from Larry Trask to LINGUIST List, 1 Oct. 1996)

I absolutely can't see that either the origin of a natural language or the length or continuity of its tradition is of any significance. Creoles, ASL, Israeli Hebrew, native Esperanto -- all of these have what we might consider unusual origins, but so what? We might like to think that English is directly descended from an unbroken line of ancestors stretching back to the origins of human speech, but we don't *know* that this is true -- for all we know, PIE [proto-Indo-European] itself might have descended from a very ancient creole. Once a natural language exists it is indistinguishable from any other natural language.

Just as plants can be grafted, organs transplanted, prostheses applied and artificial blood products, valves, joints etc introduced into the body, languages too can be grafted and artificial elements can be introduced. New languages can be formed from the amalgamation of a number of different languages or they may be created through the deliberate actions of an individual as in the case of so-called artificial languages like Esperanto which now has a considerable body of speakers and an extensive literature. For Trask, the origins of a language are not important. Rather its current or former status and use decides whether a language should be designated as 'natural' or 'artificial'.

So, the distinction between natural and artificial languages is not as clear cut as it may seem to be at first. All languages are cultural artifacts. They are the collective creation of their speakers. All languages have artificial elements in them. Words are continually being created consciously and introduced deliberately by individuals, be they language planners, writers, politicians or children. People, especially children, play with language thereby introducing new elements. Even in traditionally-oriented Indigenous societies, whole languages appear to have been invented for special purposes. A good case in point is Damin, a speech style formerly used only by initiated Lardil men from Mornington Island in the Gulf of Carpentaria. Damin has an extremely aberrant phonology with several sounds found nowhere else in the world leading the phonetician Catford to 'perhaps hypothesize that [Damin's] sound system is a deliberately invented one' (Dixon, 1980: 67). While some languages, such as English, more readily adopt foreign elements than others, such as Mandarin, all languages are profoundly influenced by languages with which they come into contact.

2.7.1.1 New Norwegian or Nynorsk

Haugen (1972: 334) refers to New Norwegian, the standard language spoken in Norway, as an artificial language. How is this so? During the fifteenth century, the whole of Scandinavia had been dominated by Denmark. In 1397 the previously weak kingdoms united in a "dynastic union with Denmark under the leadership of the Danish Monarch, Queen Margaret" (Haugen, 1972: 268). All printed literature associated with the Reformation, including the Bible, that was introduced into Norway was written in Danish. As was the practice throughout Scandinavia, the ruling class spoke a localized version of the written standard on official occasions. The Norwegian pronunciation of some common everyday words was retained, whilst less familiar words were pronounced as they were spelt. After three centuries of use, Danish became the "standard language that naturally corresponded to their [Norwegians'] folk speech" (Haugen, 1972: 281).

In 1523 Sweden seceded from Denmark and Denmark's domination waned. In 1814, Denmark lost Norway to Sweden, but Norway obtained home rule and eventually full independence in 1905. In all, Norway had been dominated by Denmark for more than four centuries.

With the rise of Norwegian nationalism during the nineteenth century, there was a desire to create a distinctive Norwegian language that reflected a 'glorious past' different from Danish. Haugen (1972: 195) writes:

Between 1832 and 1835, leading Norwegian writers had proposed two possible methods of creating a medium of expression that would reflect the recent restoration of the old kingdom of Norway. One method was to retain the Danish framework, since this was already implanted in the educated classes, and to enrich it chiefly with lexical borrowings from the spoken idioms. The other method was to set up an entirely new language, with the grammatical framework corresponding to that of the rural dialects.

Within this context, Ivar Aasen, from the more conservative western rural districts, experimented with both these approaches. He began by researching his own language, using himself as informant, and produced the first attempted description of any Norwegian dialect. In 1836, he proposed to create a national language as a synthesis of all the 'folk' language varieties spoken in Norway, but especially with reference to more conservative varieties. Haugen (1972: 196) quotes Aasen as writing "It is not my purpose to promote any one of our dialects; no, the chief language (*Hovedsprog*) should not be one of them, but a comparison of, a basis for all of them."

Aasen revised the description of his own dialect in 1841. In so doing he had made comparisons between Swedish, Icelandic, Old Norwegian, Danish, German and Latin. The first version of his grammar was organized in relation to Danish, but significantly, a later version used Old Norse as a point of reference. Aasen showed his material to Jacob Neumann, the learned bishop of Bergen diocese, who recognised the worth of Aasen's work. Aasen was appointed to the Royal Scientific Society in Trondheim to continue his work. From 1842 until his death in 1896, he surveyed and investigated all the dialects spoken throughout Norway. On the basis of this work Aasen created *Landsmål* (Nynorsk). Some linguists have been critical of Aasen's work:

Johan Storm, a distinguished Norwegian linguist, wrote in 1896 that Aasen's *Landsmål* was "an artificial and arbitrarily constructed dialect language." Antoine Meillet, the well-known French linguist, included it among the new, superfluous languages of Europe, which he declared were a result of the takeover of the peasantry, mere calques on the cultured languages. Arnold Toynbee, the English historian, took notice of it only to condemn it as an example of the unfortunate archaizing of modern Europe, the striving of new nations to provide themselves with ancestors. (Haugen, 1972: 193)

However, Haugen (1972) points out that Aasen had essentially reconstructed the Norwegian language by following the principles of comparative linguistics and historical reconstruction:

We may therefore say that his norm was an *archaizing reconstruction*, a kind of starred form of Early Modern Norwegian. (Haugen, 1972: 291)

In some respects the language he created was more conservative and more archaic than any of the varieties spoken at the time, but Aasen was sensitive to popular opinion and rejected suggestions he thought would not be accepted. As Haugen writes:

His academic advisers, Munch and Keyser, urged him to make the language much more like Old Norse than he did. Aasen emphasized above all the importance of establishing correct basic forms of the words, what we might call canonical shapes. He regarded the shape of the grammatical suffixes as secondary in importance, and purely graphic problems as unimportant. On such matters he made many concessions to contemporary Danish, e.g., the use of Gothic type and the capitalization of nouns. He did not wish to frighten away potential adherents by the adoption of orthographic innovations which did not affect the basic structure of the language. (Haugen, 1972: 202)

Aasen, then, had a clear idea of what changes were important and which were superficial. Aasen completed his grammar in 1864 and his dictionary in 1873 of a fully-fledged "Middelform" for Norwegian which he felt would be comparable to Swedish or Danish as a superordinate normative language in relation to the Norwegian dialects. Aasen's language was given official recognition in 1885. Haugen (1972: 208) sums up Aasen's work in the following terms:

Aasen believed that he had found a language, while others said he had made it up. I think we can now identify it as a reconstructed, classical standard for the Norwegian dialects. One critic has written that Aasen's language was "born wrinkled". We may agree that it is archaic in relation to the spoken dialects, though no more so than most written languages.

Another Norwegian writer, Oftedal, strongly rejects the idea that Nynorsk is the result of revival of a 'dead' language:

nynorsk is often translated into English as *New Norse*. This is completely wrong. It suggests a resuscitation of the Old Norse language of the sagas, which is Icelandic rather than Norwegian. Nynorsk is definitely not a language arisen from the dead, like Modern Hebrew for instance. It is a norm based on the living dialects *descended* from Old Norse, dialects that survived four centuries of Danish cultural and political domination. (Oftedal, 1981: 124)

In Norway today, two Norwegian languages, Landsmål or Nynorsk, based on Aasen's work, and Riksmål or Bokmål derived from Norwegian Danish, are in competition as standard languages. Riksmål is based on the prestigious speech of urban, upper-class Norwegians, whereas Landsmål is based on the more conservative rural dialects. Most Norwegian literature (90%) is written in Riksmål and 80% of the school population are educated in Riksmål whilst 20% choose to receive their primary schooling in Nynorsk (Haugen, 1972: 208, 282). Some attempts have been made this century to bring the two languages closer together, but these reforms have met with limited success.

2.7.1.2 Katharevousa

Katharevousa in Greece is another instance where the 'resurrection' of a language variety connects people with their past. Haugen (1972: 332) describes Katharevousa as an example of "an archaic version of one's own language [being] adopted for reasons of cultural continuity, i.e. communication with the past." A Greek language reformer, Adamantios Korais, established norms for the Katharevousa language in 1788. He sought to purify the Greek language, to rid it

of Turkish loanwords and to restore classical Greek grammar and lexicon (Haugen, 1972: 192). According to Moleas (1989: 65):

He [Korias] did not intend that the Greeks should return to speaking ancient Greek but he hoped that they would adopt a form of the language which was corrected in such a way as to restore its purity by the elimination of foreign influences.

Mackridge (1990: 42) elaborates:

Korias, who confined his researches almost exclusively to a study of words and was aware of the lack of demotic vocabulary for modern western European concepts, was not content to introduce new words into demotic; rather, along with the new words, he attempted to revive almost the entire ancient system of declensions and conjugations.

However, this return to ancient Greek roots was superficial. At a deeper level, Katharevousa owed much of its structure to French:

Such a widespread concentration on form at the expense of content in Greece has made it possible for the purists to believe that they would think (and therefore be) like the Ancient Greeks by imitating the formal structures of the latter's language. This has led to the development of *katharevousa* as a dressing-up of western European concepts in ethnic garb, and the disguising of a new language behind an ancient mask; often Ancient Greek words have been revived in modern times with a new meaning . . . Thus the linguistic racism of *katharevousa* is all surface: as long as a word *looks* as if it could be Ancient Greek, one does not question its right of domicile, but if there is a possibility that it could be of non-Greek origin, then it must be expelled as an illegal immigrant. As for concepts and meanings, despite the early demoticists' dissatisfaction that *katharevousa* was literally translated from French (the fact that it was modelled on French was admitted by some purists . . .), a later demoticist such as Andriotis could admit in 1932 that, 'even more than Ancient Greek, the French language has been the *alma mater* of the cultural life of Modern Greece'.
(Mackridge, 1990: 40)

Katharevousa was adopted by Greece as its official language in 1830 and held its status until 1976 (Gardner-Chloros, 1986: 43). During this period Katharevousa and Demotic functioned as High and Low varieties in a diglossia, one of the defining cases used by Ferguson (1959) when he first proposed the term. With the demise of the military junta this diglossia collapsed (Warwick, 1988: 83). Demotic Greek replaced Katharevousa for practically all functions, though elements of Katharevousa still remain, especially in the fields of medicine and law (Gardner-Chloros, 1986: 44). The attempt to 'revive' Ancient Greek elements by way of Katharevousa, though it succeeded for a century and a half, was ultimately a failure for a number of reasons. Katharevousa was promoted by and closely aligned with the ruling elite and an unpopular military junta. It was used as a written language and rarely spoken. As such it was characterised as "sterile and unproductive" (Adamandios Pepelasis in Mackridge, 1990: 48). According to Mackridge "because it is a language that has to be laboriously learned, *katharevousa* has brought about a pedantic literalness and a fear of figurative writing". It was viewed by many as contrived and artificial, a language without a soul. Demotic, on the other hand, was viewed as rich in idioms and full of feeling and life, thus more suited as the language of folk songs.

2.7.1.3 Esperanto

Esperanto is a 'planned' language⁴⁷ invented last century to serve as a world-wide auxiliary language. It does not seek to replace ethnic and national languages currently spoken (Harry, 1992: 25). Rather, it is seen as a second, additional language available to all people for the purpose of cross-cultural communication. According to literature produced by the Esperanto Association, it is now spoken by 10 million people and is studied in over 100 universities.

Esperanto is not the first, or the last, attempt to invent and propagate a language, but it is the best known and most successful of such endeavours. Other attempts include Volapük, Ido, Occidental, Interlingua and Latino Sine Flexione (Golden, 1987: 362). Dulicenko (1989: 51) lists 917 language projects of universal and international languages between the 2nd and 20th centuries, with interest peaking in the early part of the 20th century. However, few ever attain a "sociolinguistic status", as Dulicenko (1989: 58) puts it⁴⁸.

Esperanto was devised in 1887 by Dr L. L. Zamenhof. In its original formulation, it consisted of a two page grammar which included 16 rules and 900 roots from which numerous words could be derived through regular processes⁴⁹. One hundred years later, the grammar had grown to some 600 pages of discussion in the *Complete Analytical Grammar of Esperanto*, whilst the number of roots had multiplied to 16,000 published in the *Complete Illustrated Dictionary of Esperanto*, 1970. Since its original inception as a rarefied linguistic system, Esperanto has developed as a sociolinguistic system. Of late, 'normal' processes of language change have taken over with the lexicon expanding rapidly as Esperantists write and communicate. Dulichenko (1987: 149) claims that:

Esperanto has shown, for example, that the principle of "one word, one meaning" . . . is entirely unrealizable, because the active "living" function of a language requires polysemy, the development of synonyms, heterogenous means of expressing antonymous relations and so on.

In addition to its use as an international auxiliary language, Esperanto is growing as a home language and as a first language. There are now some 350 families in which "Esperanto is spoken between at least two members as the chief language for every kind of communication" (Corsetti, 1996: 265). There are a small number of children who grow up speaking Esperanto as a first language alongside of their own ethnic or national language⁵⁰. Such users speak of a 'dual identity' and of being 'bicultural'⁵¹.

⁴⁷Esperanto is often referred to as an 'artificial' language, though Esperantists prefer to use the term 'planned' language (see Blanke, 1987; 1989)

⁴⁸As Dulicenko observes, planned languages, consisting of an idiolect used only by the inventor, are unfunctional in their project stage.

⁴⁹Esperantists take pride in the fact that it is an easy language to learn because the morphology is transparent and there is no allomorphy. Any word stems may be combined and given any grammatical function. Any combination is permissible provided that it makes sense.

⁵⁰In this respect they are similar to children growing up as Cornish-English bilinguals who exist as more or less isolated first language-speaking individuals in a dominant English-speaking environment.

⁵¹(Jouko Lindstedt, e-mail communication, 1996). See also Fettes (1996).

Although the Esperanto movement claims to be independent of any language, religion, culture or ethnic affiliation, the language draws heavily on European languages for its vocabulary. Zamenhof relied on languages that he knew best. These included Latin, French, English, German, Polish, Russian, Yiddish and Volapük. The Slavic languages had a strong formative influence on the grammar of Esperanto, but are less important as sources of vocabulary. Because of its origins and the location of most of its users, Esperanto has a strong European bias. Indeed, one linguist (Janton, 1977), described it as essentially a modernization of Latin (in Tonkin, 1987: 266).

In contrast to Esperanto, which seems to borrow lexemes freely, Kaurna people have been very reluctant to borrow. The early Kaurna sources document many new derivations but few borrowings for new concepts⁵². Modern Kaurna has resumed this practice.

2.7.1.4 Is Kaurna an 'Artificial' Language?

Certainly Kaurna that is being taught at KPS, Inbarendi College and elsewhere in the 1990's is not identical to the language that was spoken on the Adelaide Plains in the 1830's and 1840's. It does, however, strive to maintain the integrity of the language and be as true as possible to the language as it existed back then. But everybody involved understands that most of the time our utterances are a 'best guess' based on what we know of the Kaurna language in particular and what we know of Australian languages in general. Kaurna, as being learnt in the 1990's, certainly has incorporated some "artificial" elements and perhaps does have an 'artificial' flavour to it. Dulicenko (1989: 59-60) assembles a list of six prerequisites for the successful functioning of any ethnic language which are not shared by planned languages at the initial stage. Like planned languages, Kaurna lacks at least four, if not five of these six prerequisites. So according to Dulicenko's criteria, Kaurna currently has much more in common with 'planned' or 'artificial' languages like Esperanto than it does with ethnic languages.

But it would be unfair to describe Kaurna in the 1990's as an 'artificial' language. In sociological terms Kaurna is far-removed from those entities commonly referred to as 'artificial languages'. Esperanto and Kaurna are at opposite ends of the spectrum. Esperanto seeks to be a universal language, that belongs to no-one. Kaurna is a small language which is closely tied to an ethnic group. Its main reason for being is as an expression of ethnicity and identity and as a vehicle for a specific localised heritage. Esperanto facilitates communication across speakers of many different languages. Yet, communication, in the narrow sense of the word, is a very minor, almost non-existent purpose to which Kaurna is being used. Ideologically, they are indeed poles apart.

⁵²However, this may not reflect the actual situation, as borrowings may have been deliberately purged from materials compiled (see Chapter 7, sections 7.8.1 and 7.8.3).

However in functional terms, both Esperanto and Kaurna are auxiliary languages⁵³, used for a specific set of more limited purposes in addition to another language. The purposes to which the two languages are used are different of course.

There are many similarities too in terms of the ways in which the two languages are being created and developed and the ways in which the languages are introduced and taught. Planned languages, in functional terms, appear first in aesthetic domains (Dulicenko, 1989: 59) because, according to Dulicenko, emotional expressiveness is more essential than transmission of information and because creativity is essentially an individual act. As we shall see, the use of Kaurna too is more frequent in aesthetic domains.

The characterisation of languages as 'natural', 'artificial', 'dead' or 'extinct' is not helpful. Whilst for certain purposes linguists may choose (with good reasons) to study so-called 'living' or 'natural' languages, the summary dismissal or denigration of so-called 'dead', 'extinct' or 'artificial' languages denies a social and political reality. They are the products of legitimate social movements as people strive to re-assert their identities and rebuild their cultures, or to foster a sense of 'internationalism' as the case may be. What is often overlooked is the fact that every standard language, including English, has many artificial elements. As written languages, rarified by a set of prescriptive rules, many are spoken by no-one. Yet they escape the stigma of artificiality.

2.7.2 Esoteric vs Exoteric Languages

Societies differ in the ways in which they regard their own languages and the languages of others. These attitudes may change substantially over time as societies become more open or closed, as the case may be, to outside influences.

Thurston (1987; 1989) first proposed the esoteric-exoteric dichotomy, following work on Anêm, spoken in West New Britain in PNG (Thurston, 1982: 11). Anêm is virtually a secret language, considered too difficult to learn by their neighbours and further complicated by the deliberate creation of 'secret code lexemes' for common items.

Like Anêm, esoteric languages belong solely to insiders. Typically there is a strong sense of ownership. Esoteric languages are regarded as property. The language community may resist outsiders learning or using it, and permission may need to be sought to teach it.

It will be evident from the preceding discussion of language as a cultural artifact that Australia's Indigenous languages are generally located toward the esoteric end of the spectrum. But even

⁵³Many Nungas would view the relegation of Kaurna to the status of auxiliary language as being too restrictive and short-sighted. Many Kaurna people would like very much to see the revival of Kaurna as a full language used for everyday purposes, spoken in the home and the community. They point to the changes in attitudes and behaviour in the past decade. Some have a vision for the future which includes Kaurna as a spoken language.

amongst Australian languages there is a wide range, and within each language community there are different views expressed. Some members of the language community may encourage outsiders to learn the language, others resent this.

Exoteric languages on the other hand are not regarded as belonging to any particular individuals or groups. Anyone is free to learn or speak an exoteric language with impunity. Major world languages are highly exoteric, with English being the exoteric language par excellence⁵⁴. No one minds if people learn English. In fact, there is great pressure on speakers of other languages to do so. Nor is anyone concerned about the ethnicity of those who teach English.

Of course, every language has areas of vocabulary and usage which are relatively esoteric. Within the English language there are professional jargons which are used, sometimes deliberately, to exclude non-members of the profession. There are varieties of English which are associated with certain minority groups or subcultures which are also used to exclude non-members⁵⁵.

Last century, Japanese was a highly esoteric language. To teach Japanese was a capital offence (Mühlhäusler, 1996c: 259). Now, of course, with the opening up of Japan to the West, Japanese lies towards the exoteric end of the spectrum with the Japanese government actually promoting and funding the teaching of Japanese outside of Japan.

The more languages are threatened the further they shift towards the esoteric end of the continuum. The profane becomes sacred and the language tends to be regarded more and more as a tangible cultural artifact. The portion of the language which is accessible only to the initiated may expand when the language is threatened.

Much of the prevailing language planning, language policy and linguistic literature has failed to take this dimension into account. The Draft Declaration on Linguistic Human Rights formulated in Barcelona in 1996 makes no mention of the rights of Indigenous minorities to restrict access to their languages. This is a major failure of the Declaration. Progressive and enlightened authors, such as Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson (1994) have similarly ignored this dimension. The reader is referred to Mühlhäusler's (1996c) review of this otherwise informative and insightful work.

An understanding of the esoteric-exoteric dichotomy helps explain Indigenous peoples' attitudes and behaviours towards their languages. These attitudes are a major component of the

⁵⁴Whilst the roots of English are widely known and its original territory recognised by the general public as the United Kingdom and ultimately Denmark and Northern Germany, it now has many focii with ever increasing numbers of new indigenised varieties, such as Singlish or Singaporean English emerging.

⁵⁵There is a body of literature on 'secret English' relating to some Aboriginal perceptions that they are being denied access to the 'real' English, the language of power (see Martin, 1990).

language ecology and drives Nunga language politics. Language ownership and copyright issues will be addressed in Chapter 10.

2.7.3 Language as Cultural Artifact

In 1968 Einar Haugen wrote an article titled *The Scandinavian Languages as Cultural Artifacts* (Haugen, 1972) in which he noted the role played by language in the social fabric of Scandinavian nations, in forging distinctive political entities within the respective nation states and in embodying separate identities. In the use of the term 'cultural artifact', Haugen was paying attention to the high level of conscious activity that contributed to the development of standard languages in Scandinavia:

By the time a norm has been codified and elaborated by its users, it has become virtually impossible to identify its base. It has become an independent artifact in the culture, one of the devices by means of which a particular group, usually a power elite, manages to maintain or assert its identity and, when possible, its power.

.....
If we adopt the metaphor of the traditional family tree for languages, SLs [Standard Languages] are artifacts that result either from pruning or grafting the tree. The gardeners are a special priesthood of taste and learning, who are entrusted by society with the codification and elaboration of a code that is part of the conscious heritage of the social establishment. (Haugen, 1972: 266)

2.7.3.1 Language as a Cultural Artifact in Australia

Within the context of language revival in Aboriginal Australia, I view language as a cultural artifact in a different, though related way. Australian languages are owned, in the same way that art designs are owned by particular groups or clans. Certain senior individuals are recognised as the owners or custodians of the language. For instance, one generally needs to obtain their permission to teach the language within a language course.

In some parts of Australia, there is strong resistance towards non-Aboriginal people learning Aboriginal languages or even having access to them. In Tasmania, the position of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre, as enunciated by its spokesperson Jim Everett in 1993, is that the "Tasmanian language" should not be taught in schools. The Tasmanian Aboriginal community wishes to keep the language for itself. Only when it is known by, and secure within, their community will consideration be given towards it being taught more widely (Minutes AILF National Steering Committee meeting, 1 April 1993)⁵⁶.

A number of recent dictionaries have been kept in-house. For instance, the Butchulla Dictionary, recently produced with funding from the *Dictionaries for Reconciliation* project has not been released for general consumption. Rather its circulation has been restricted to the Butchulla community in south-east Queensland (Jeanie Bell, p.c. 1995).

⁵⁶There has been much debate within the AILF project as to whether Australian languages should be taught to non-Indigenous Australians or not, and whilst the general consensus has been that they should be open to all, the decision will be made on a local level as to whether a particular language should be taught and to whom it should be offered. In teaching the languages, there are some concerns within the local Nunga community of a subtle takeover by the system, the schools, the government, linguists and the dominant society.

Aboriginal people in Adelaide talk about their languages having been 'stolen' and linguists and anthropologists are sometimes accused of 'stealing' by virtue of having recorded the languages and deposited the wordlists, linguistic descriptions, tapes etc. in a museum or archive. Linguists and anthropologists like Tindale have been blamed for taking the languages away. In the contemporary era of language revival and language retrieval, some people talk of their resentment at having to 'buy back' their linguistic heritage in the same way that they are having to buy back artifacts from museums overseas.

There is a certain uneasiness about borrowing words from other Aboriginal languages into Kurna, for fear of offending the owners and custodians of the source language. Where words are borrowed, there is a felt need to seek permission first. Of course borrowing and diffusion of lexemes is a process that occurs between practically all languages in contact with each other, whether or not those languages are related or not. All Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages spoken today have borrowed large numbers of words from English, and English has borrowed a number of words from these languages (see Dixon et. al. 1990). Furthermore, Australian languages have borrowed a significant number of words from each other. See for instance Heath's (1978) study of *Linguistic Diffusion in Arnhem Land*. People, even within the Arnhemland context, don't normally seek permission to borrow a word from a neighbouring language. It is something that just happens, and people are mostly quite unaware of the process even at the time of borrowing. In a situation like reclaiming the Kurna language, however, language use is highly monitored and all decisions about lexical choice are made consciously during this early phase. In fact, it is highly likely in the climate of language revival and retrieval that Kurna people would indeed be accused of 'stealing' if for instance they borrowed well known Ngarrindjeri icons such as *ponde* 'Murray Cod' or *pilaki* 'callop' and started using them within their Kurna speech and Kurna language materials⁵⁷.

Written language, especially that on signs, in books and elsewhere in the public eye is something tangible. In the language revival context, languages take on qualities similar to other artifacts (eg. woomeras, boomerangs, paintings, carvings etc) and the tangible language products are viewed as cultural artifacts in much the same way as other artifacts.

Language as artifact manifests itself in the purposes to which the Kurna language is being put. Kurna is being used often within a public display of Kurna culture. Songs, speeches of welcome, signs, names (of institutions, organisations, programs, magazines and journals etc.), posters, books and other material language products are particularly important. In fact these are far more important outcomes of the Kurna language program than is communicative competence at this stage in its delivery within Inbarendi College.

⁵⁷It would however be expected for Kurna to borrow such words from Ngarrindjeri were the languages fully viable as *ponde* and *pilaki* are riverine species of fish prominent within the Ngarrindjeri environment, diet and mythology. However, these species were probably not found within Kurna territory itself, hence the motivation to borrow them.

Aboriginal people's attitudes to copyright issues also serve to reinforce the notion of language as cultural artifact. It is not seen as appropriate for non-Aboriginal people to write and produce materials in Aboriginal languages and even less appropriate for non-Aboriginal people to copyright such materials, unless in collaboration with Indigenous authors. Copyrighting the materials is often viewed as copyrighting the language itself⁵⁸. There is also a perception that linguists and anthropologists have made a significant amount of money out of Aboriginal languages, money which is not considered rightfully theirs as the languages do not belong to them.

So within the context of language revival in Aboriginal Australia, I am referring to language as a cultural artifact in a much more direct and literal way than Haugen⁵⁹.

2.8 What is Being Revived?

In cases where attempts are made to revive languages no longer in regular use, it is essential to ask the question "What is it exactly that is being revived?" Having looked at the nature of language by means of several sets of oppositions, we are now able to consider what we are working with in attempting to reclaim and revive Kaurna. Is the 'revived' language the same language as the original language? Certainly the 'revival' metaphor implies that it is. Or is the 'revived' language essentially something new? These are both linguistic questions and socio-political questions, and there are no clear-cut answers. Language enthusiasts and Nungas are likely to stress continuities with the past, whilst linguists are likely to stress discontinuities and draw attention to change.

Bentahila & Davies (1993) address this very question, claiming that whilst the "revivalist dream" is "restoration of the language to its former position", the reality is a process of "transformation" with the promotion of the language into new domains of use. They argue that once the community realises that language revival is not simply a matter of "turning back the clock ... there remain many possible avenues through which a declining language may nevertheless be carried on towards the future" (Bentahila & Davies, 1993: 371). Fettes (1997: 312), writing in regard to Indigenous languages in North America, warns that:

reweaving of the language braid will not produce the old language, as the Elders remember it and speak it. If it is successful, a new language will arise, one with deep roots in its traditional heritage but equally reliant on the urge of its speakers to use the language for everyday purposes and in everyday contexts far removed from the traditional ones. This can be disappointing, even disillusioning, for those who see the old language as something sacred, a rock of stability in a sea of confusion. But the dilemma cannot be escaped. A commitment to primary discourse requires a willingness to accept and foster change.

We shall see in Chapter 7, that in linguistic terms Modern Kaurna draws heavily, almost exclusively, on the original language in terms of its vocabulary and to a large extent in its

⁵⁸Strictly speaking according to Australian law, copyright applies only to the particular arrangement of words, not the language itself, but Aboriginal people do not always see it in these terms.

⁵⁹We have already seen how linguistics has treated language as an 'object' through its approach to linguistic description. Now we see Aboriginal people treat language as an object in quite a different sense, through it being likened to an artifact or relic.

grammar. Its phonology, semantic or conceptual structure and its discourse structure are necessarily less closely aligned, though efforts are made to draw to the maximum extent on remaining records and our knowledge of other Australian languages. Most norms of usage are yet to be established. At present, Kaurna is almost devoid of any form of unmonitored speech. All spoken Kaurna is in the form of interlanguage⁶⁰ used by learners of the language, most of whom are at an elementary stage of language proficiency.

2.8.1 Communicative vs Symbolic Functions of Language

In accordance with Eastman & Reece's 'associated language' discussed earlier, Edwards (1984; 1985) argues that languages have both 'communicative' and 'symbolic' value. These values coexist in majority language situations, though, according to Edwards, in certain minority language contexts, the two are separable and it is possible that the communicative value of a language may be lost whilst its symbolic value persists.

The question should be asked "Are we attempting to revive the 'symbolic value' of the language or are we trying to revive communication functions or both?" Edwards argues that a failure to make this distinction can result in misdirected efforts. He elaborates:

Ignorance of the communicative-symbolic distinction can lead to lack of clarity and misdirected effort. If language revivalists or restorationists conceive of language in communicative terms alone, and if their appeals are directed towards groups in which communicative shift has occurred, then they may (a) be unsuccessful in their attempts to promote language use; (b) reintroduce, under the mantle of pluralism, a sort of *anomie* . . . ; (c) promote a cynical view of any and all efforts on behalf of group identity. (Edwards, 1984: 290)

In the reclamation of Kaurna, the symbolic functions of language are coming back first. The communicative value of Kaurna is a more distant goal, more elusive and more difficult to achieve.

Fettes (1997: 309) too, acknowledges the importance of religious and symbolic functions as key areas for beginning language revival:

Religious or, more broadly, spiritual discourses seem often to hold on to the language longest; they may also be where it can also most readily be brought back. Names can provide another focus of resistance. . . formulaic expressions and ceremonial texts can be deliberately reintroduced in appropriate settings, including everyday acts such as greetings, welcomes, introductions, and so forth.

These observations are confirmed by the Kaurna experience. Bentahila & Davies (1993: 368, 372) also suggest that use of the language in new domains in symbolic ways is a much more achievable goal than immediate intergenerational transmission (Bentahila & Davies, 1993: 366)⁶¹.

2.8.2 What does it Mean to 'Know' or 'Speak' a Language?

Applied linguists such as Corder (1973) have looked at the question "What does it mean to know or speak a language?" within the context of teaching foreign languages or English as a

⁶⁰I use the term 'interlanguage' in relation to learners' attempts to speak Kaurna, though I realize that the situation is quite different to that of, say, second language learners of English.

⁶¹It was noted earlier that Fishman (1991) downplays the importance of the symbolic use of language in the institutional domain.

second language. Traditionally, the answer to this question focussed on grammar and lexicon, ignoring subtler questions of idiomatic usage and 'ways of talking' Grace (1987: 92). This grammar-lexicon model of language, as Pawley (1985: 85) refers to it, whilst accounting for much linguistic behaviour is deficient in a number of ways.

Communicative competence⁶² involves more than the ability to construct grammatical sentences. Rather it entails the ability to use language appropriately. In addition to 'linguistic competence' it includes paralinguistics, cultural knowledge and other more peripheral aspects.

Pawley (1985: 87-88) identifies a range of "ordinary language-users understandings of what it takes to know a language" distilled from anecdotes of what they say about learning and using languages. They are as follows:

- a) grammaticality,
- b) pronunciation of consonants and vowels,
- c) musical conventions: intonation, stress and rhythmic patterns, voice quality, modulations of volume, etc.
- d) productive fluency: conforming to norms of tempo, structure and quantity for chunking utterance elements into fluent units,
- e) hearing fluency: being able to decode fluent speech,
- f) idiomaticity: the selection of familiar, natively like ways of saying things as opposed to things that are merely grammatical,
- g) lexical knowledge: including the ability to distinguish between those expressions that are lexicalised (standard designations) and those that are ad hoc descriptions,
- h) contextual appropriateness: saying the right thing at the right time,
- i) coherence: saying things that make sense in terms of normal understandings of the world shared by a particular speech group, and in terms of standard procedures of inference,
- j) inference: being able to make sense of ordinary discourse: to work out conversational implicatures, to understand the communicative intentions of particular utterances,
- k) creativity, of various kinds, including:
 - i) phonological - making up new word forms, ii) syntactic, iii) semantic,
 - iv) contextual - apt matching of expression with situational context in a non-routine way. A distinction (not sharp) may perhaps be drawn between rule-governed creativity and special kinds of creative use of language in which conventions are broken or manipulated to achieve special effects; as in Pig-Latin, puns, metaphors, etc.

Pawley & Syder (1983) argue that fluency is achieved by learning a vast number of pre-formed 'chunks' of language in the form of "lexicalized sentence stems". As this is a somewhat radical departure from traditional notions of language and language learning I quote them in detail:

fluent and idiomatic control of a language rests to a considerable extent on knowledge of a body of 'sentence stems' which are 'institutionalized' or 'lexicalized'. A lexicalized sentence stem is a unit of clause length or longer whose grammatical form and lexical content is wholly or largely fixed; its fixed elements form a standard label for a culturally recognized concept, a term in the language. Although lexicalized in this sense, most such units are not true idioms but rather are regular form-meaning pairings. The stock of lexicalized sentence stems known to the ordinary mature speaker of English amounts to hundreds of thousands. In addition there are many semi-lexicalised sequences, for just as there is a continuum between fully productive rules of sentence formation and rules of low productivity, so there is a cline between fully lexicalized formations on the one hand and nonce forms on the other.

(Pawley & Syder, 1983: 191-192)

⁶²A fundamental distinction is that between 'linguistic competence' and 'communicative competence', originally conceived by Hymes in 1966 (Hymes, 1972: 269) as a major re-think of Chomsky's 'competence' vs 'performance' dichotomy and Saussure's 'langue' vs 'parole'. According to Saville-Troike, "Hymes repeatedly emphasises that what language is cannot be separated from how and why it is used, and that considerations of use are often prerequisite to recognition and understanding of much of linguistic form" (Saville-Troike, 1989: 3). See also Gumperz (1972).

They go on to provide many examples of these 'lexicalized sentence stems', and in another paper, Pawley (1991) gives a detailed analysis of the complexity involved in being able to 'talk cricket'. Other authors (eg Kuiper & Haggo, 1984) have analysed speech events such as livestock auctions, race calling and oral poetry, where remarkable feats of oral language fluency are required. This fluency is achieved by a good command of speech formulas (see also Pawley, 1992).

Reviving languages from written records then, is more than learning the vocabulary, internalising the rules of grammar and memorising the corpus of sentences contained in the historical sources, even though this is all that is available. Relatively few preformed 'chunks' exist and in most cases we do not have a good sense of the contexts in which the recorded utterances were said. Conversational routines, speech formulae, idioms, ways of talking about things and of expressing ideas need to be developed. In so doing, language conventions are established. This makes acquisition of Kaurna doubly hard because this repertoire of preformed 'chunks' of language has to be built up bit by bit. The Kaurna language learner needs to acquire these pre-formed 'chunks' just as learners of any other language do.

Addressing lexical gaps and developing neologisms is the more obvious end of a wider spectrum of language development, many aspects of which are more subtle and more difficult to pinpoint and describe.

2.9 Summary and Conclusions

The revival of Kaurna is embedded within a larger discourse on endangered languages. The Kaurna are not alone in their attempts to revive their language, in conjunction with other aspects of culture, as a means of strengthening and reasserting identity.

The Kaurna case study is pushing the boundaries of what is possible, feasible and acceptable in relation to the revival of languages no longer spoken. Perhaps the 'impossible dream' could even become reality. The 'miracle' might just take place. In this chapter we have seen that whilst the attempted revival of Kaurna is unusual, it shares many attributes with: a range of language planning activities, so-called 'artificial' languages and classical languages.

Our task is to transform Kaurna from an historical relic, a cultural artifact in a very literal sense, into a dynamic 'living' entity that serves the symbolic and possible future communicative needs of the Kaurna community today. This entails restoring the functional links and support mechanisms that sustain the language. As we shall see, Kaurna reclamation goes hand in hand with a struggle for recognition, self-determination and liberation. It is both a linguistic and a social process.

This literature survey has covered a wide range of diverse linguistic phenomena which provide insights and direction, and enable us to see with greater clarity the nature of the task ahead. In

This literature survey has covered a wide range of diverse linguistic phenomena which provide insights and direction, and enable us to see with greater clarity the nature of the task ahead. In the next chapter I investigate a number of case studies which provide the closest parallels and important lessons for the reclamation of Kaurna.

CHAPTER 3. COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES

It was exciting to discuss issues which are dear to my heart To be able to share with a group of dedicated, committed and strong Maori Educators in both our struggles for language survival was the ultimate experience. This gives me hope that the Indigenous people of Australia can too, be successful in our fight for language and cultural survival.

(Alice Rigney in Rigney & Iswaran, 1996: 14)

What we are doing here is also happening in other countries. For example in New Zealand, Maori are reclaiming their languages, culture and traditional ways. Indigenous Americans are working together to reclaim and revitalize their languages, along with their spiritual beliefs and their traditions.

(Cherie Watkins in SSABSA, 1996c: 201)

3.0 Introduction

Kaurna people at the forefront of the struggle for the Kaurna language are aware of similar struggles of other Indigenous peoples. Some have visited New Zealand and North America to see first hand what other Indigenous peoples are doing.

This chapter examines a number of language revival endeavours, chosen from a much larger corpus on the basis of their similarities with the Kaurna situation and their capacity to help inform the attempted Kaurna language revival.

It is not possible to fully describe any of the language revival movements presented in this brief literature survey. Each of the language situations is complex. The fledgling language reclamation efforts in North America provide closer parallels to the Kaurna situation, but it is exceedingly difficult to obtain detailed information on these programs¹, perhaps because those working at 'the coal face' are too busy or not inclined to research or document their efforts. Some groups wish to keep their programs 'in-house' and are reluctant to disseminate information about them. By necessity I am obliged to focus on specific aspects which help illuminate and provide lessons for the attempted revival of Kaurna. At this stage I can do little more than draw some generalisations, identify some specific points of difference and locate certain programs worth watching and engaging with in fruitful dialogue.

3.1 Hebrew

Efforts to revive Hebrew as a spoken language date back to the 1880s. A large body of literature has been written on various aspects of this revival. Today, within the state of Israel, Hebrew has re-assumed the full range of functions, both as the official language and as the vernacular of the majority of the population. Of course there are many Jewish people, scattered across the globe, who have little or no knowledge of Hebrew.

¹ Searches of library databases and the Internet for information on Huron, Esselen and Wampanoag language revival and similar efforts reveal little. Establishing direct e-mail contact has been more fruitful.

Several critical factors underpinning the successful revival of Hebrew are absent from the Kaurna situation. These include:

- Most Jewish people already had considerable knowledge of Hebrew and its grammar, even though they did not use the language on a daily basis for everyday communication. They refer to Hebrew prior to its revival as a "half-dead" language (Saulson, 1979: 105).
- The Jewish peoples in Palestine, coming from various parts of the world did not share a common language of communication. There was therefore a communicative imperative for the use of Hebrew. It seems that, prior to revival efforts, many Jewish people on their arrival in Palestine were able to communicate with each other using Hebrew as a lingua franca (Fellman, 1973: 13, 37).
- With the establishment of the state of Israel, the Jewish people gained territory, political control and numerical dominance. These are things that the Kaurna can never hope to achieve on the Adelaide Plains.
- Hebrew has a vast body of literature, the main sources being the Bible, the Mishna and the Talmud. According to Fellman (1973: 79), Ben Yehuda, often regarded as the 'father' of Hebrew revival, "went through some 40,000 books and manuscripts during his work on the Dictionary, catalogued 20,000 words, and copied out more than 500,000 citations".
- Hebrew has been the object of serious research by both Jewish and non-Jewish scholars for centuries (see Lloyd-Jones, 1983). Along with Latin, it served as a language of science, medicine, philosophy and poetry in Europe in the Middle Ages.
- Hebrew has been used continuously as a spoken language for religious purposes. Most educated Jewish people knew how to read, write and pronounce Hebrew.
- The Jewish population is enormous (many millions) by comparison with Kaurna (maximally several thousand though effectively several hundred in 1997). This large population allowed Hebrew to gain a critical mass with ease.
- Hebrew, in the state of Israel, enjoys considerable official support and is boosted by concerted language planning efforts (see Fellman 1976; Rabin, 1976).

The great differences between Hebrew and Kaurna render any direct comparison meaningless. The Kaurna cannot hope to copy the Hebrew experience. However, there are still important lessons to be learnt from the Hebrew revival.

- The revival of Hebrew did not happen overnight. In fact, comparatively little progress was made in the first few decades of revivalist efforts.
- Initial efforts to speak Hebrew were faltering. The main proponents of Hebrew revival confessed to the difficulties they had in speaking Hebrew (Spolsky, 1995: 187). The speech of "fanatics" was reportedly "artificial" and "stammering".
- Hebrew was initially taught in schools in Jerusalem in the 1880s. Whilst the teaching of Hebrew in schools spread, its use within the community was limited. Students preferred to

speak Yiddish or other languages amongst themselves and stopped speaking Hebrew altogether once they left school.

- Visionaries, such as Eliezer Ben Yehuda, provided inspiration for others to follow. Ben Yehuda's fanaticism rendered him largely ineffectual with those in his immediate vicinity, but he served as an important symbol and rallying point for the language movement (see Fellman, 1974a).
- Young intellectuals in the 'new territories' who were ideologically committed to the cause played an important role. Despite the fact that they had few materials and were ill-prepared to teach the language, they got on with the job of teaching and using Hebrew. They instilled a strong sense of identity amongst the children in the 'new territories' (see Spolsky, 1995: 187).

There are many similarities between Hebrew and Kaurna in the need to modernize the languages which had been 'sleeping' or were in a state of 'suspended animation'. The temporal gap for Kaurna has been a mere one and a half centuries², whereas Hebrew changed little over a period of 1700 years. Fellman draws attention to the difficulties faced by Ben Yehuda. Vocabulary for even the most common household objects and foodstuffs was absent:

At the time, Hebrew lacked precisely those vital terms necessary for the performance of daily household tasks. Devora [Ben Yehuda's wife] did not speak Hebrew and even Ben Yehuda himself was unable to express himself fluently and with ease. . . when Ben Yehuda wanted Devora to pour him a cup of coffee with sugar, he was at a loss to communicate words such as 'cup', 'saucer', 'pour', 'spoon', and so on, and would say to his wife, in effect: "Take such and such, and do like so, and bring me this and this, and I will drink."
(Fellman, 1973: 37-38)

The Hebrew literature, apparently, lacked vocabulary for natural species as Josef Klausner and Meir Medan note:

In all of the . . . writers of the period, there is no flower but the rose and the lily, no bird but the dove, nightingale, cuckoo, rooster and chicken. There is no individual delineation . . . of colours, there is only red, black, green and blue.
(Klausner quoted in Fellman, 1973: 62)

There was a wealth of words for all matters pertaining to religion, to emotion and to abstract thought, but none for some of the most elementary accessories of modern living: newspaper, dictionary, street pavement, railway, train, airplane, screw-driver, corkscrew, and the like. Numerous animals and plants had no Hebrew names, while certain nouns pertaining to the animal and vegetable kingdoms - and there were many of these - were used with a confusing lack of discrimination. A common term . . . , when a difficulty of this kind was encountered in writing, was a 'kind of bird', 'a kind of vegetable', 'a kind of fowl'. Needless to say, terms for the machines, appliances and forms of organization of the new age were completely wanting.
(Medan quoted in Fellman, 1973: 62-63)

Kaurna language reclamation can be informed by the methods used by Hebrew revivalists to modernize the language. It is wise to take particular note of unsuccessful practices. Hebrew now enjoys considerable official support and is boosted by concerted language planning efforts (see Fellman, 1976; Rabin 1976). There is an extensive literature, much of it written in Hebrew, on efforts to modernise Hebrew (see for instance Alloni-Fainberg, 1974; Fellman, 1973; Saulson, 1979 and Kutscher, 1982).

²Whilst the temporal gap is relatively short, Kaurna culture and lifestyle has undergone massive changes as the result of dispossession and past assimilation policies. This 'cultural gap' is arguably greater for Kaurna than it is for Hebrew, despite the much longer time-span.

3.2 Irish

In contrast to the successful revival of Hebrew, attempts to revive Irish over the past century are viewed by many as dismal failures. These attempts have been the subject of a considerable body of literature. The revival of Irish has not been a resounding success in terms of arresting the attrition of numbers of native speakers of Irish in the Gaeltacht 'Irish speaking region' or in terms of the numbers of children outside the Gaeltacht growing up speaking Irish. That said, revivalist efforts have produced numbers of secondary bilinguals who acquired Irish through education (Ó Laoire, 1995: 223).

On the face of it, circumstances would appear conducive to a full revival of Irish. Perhaps it should have been easier than the revival of Hebrew, as Irish still had many thousands of native speakers and the language was still being acquired by children within the Gaeltacht. After all, the Irish in southern Ireland gained full independence from Britain in 1922 with the establishment of the Irish Free State, renamed Eire in 1937. The Irish language gained the support and backing of the government from the start when in 1922 it was introduced as a compulsory subject in all primary and post-primary schools. A Gaeltacht Commission was established shortly after independence to "investigate ways in which the language could be further maintained in the Gaeltacht" (Ó Laoire, 1995: 229). Since 1922, all successive Irish governments have implemented policies aimed at maintaining the use of Irish within the Gaeltacht and extending the use of Irish outside the Gaeltacht areas. For instance, in the 1920s, the Irish government attempted to transplant Irish outside the Gaeltacht by the establishment of three new villages made up of Irish-speaking families from economically deprived situations relocated to richer agricultural land near Dublin.

3.2.1 What went wrong?

According to Ó Laoire (1995), the main reasons why the Irish revival has not performed well are:

- a lack of clarity of purpose by the founders of the language revival movement. The Gaelic League who promoted the revival failed to formulate any working definition of 'revival'.
- there seems to have been a lack of vision on the part of the Gaelic League. At no time did they articulate the view that Irish should be spoken by all Irish citizens or that it should replace English. The Irish seemed to have been comfortable with the role English played and with the idea of English-speaking Irish people. The League sought to find a niche, whilst not challenging the position of English, which would ensure the survival of Irish. Hyde, a founding member of the Gaelic League, in a speech to the *Cumann Gaelach* (Irish Society) in America said:

I do not for a moment advocate making Irish the language of the country at large or of the National Parliament What I want to see is Irish established as a living language for all time among the million or half-million who still speak it along the west coast, and to ensure that the language will hold a favourable place in teaching institutions and government examinations.

(in *The Irish American* 27 June, 1891, cited in Ó Laoire, 1995: 225)

- a failure to recognise the importance of intergenerational transmission in the revitalisation of languages. In the early phase of language revival little attention was directed at the need to link school programs with the home and community.
- the absence of a strong link between the language and religion. Until the Second Vatican Council (1962), Latin was used for the Catholic mass. In this respect, Irish differed sharply from Hebrew.
- there are few economic advantages associated with Irish. Eire continued to experience high unemployment, especially in the Gaeltacht areas³. Well-paying or high status employment requires English as does employment outside the Gaeltacht regions.
- poor school curriculum design and implementation. Especially in the early stages, Irish was taught using traditional grammar translation methods. The curriculum focussed on literature, particularly old, antiquated texts, and ignored communication. For many children, learning Irish was a distasteful experience.
- a failure to recognize the Irish dialect situation. The Irish spoken in the three discrete and isolated Gaeltacht is marked by pronounced dialect differences. In the Irish government's attempt to transplant Irish, a failure to recognize dialect differences in one case meant that speakers from different Gaeltacht could not communicate with each other and consequently resorted to English.
- difficulties in deciding which variety of Irish should be chosen for use in schools. The 'official' variety of Irish (used in schools) lacked credibility because of the difference between it and varieties spoken in the Gaeltacht.

Despite the general poor picture of Irish revival, there are some positive signs. For instance, new dialects of Irish are emerging such as a distinctive Dublin Irish. This is a sure sign of vitality of the language. Recent developments are putting in place certain strategies designed to remedy former shortcomings. The Irish language curriculum in schools has been reformed and revised with a much greater emphasis on communication and on topics relevant to the learners' interests. Irish language television has recently been established and could prove to have a major impact, depending on whether Irish is presented as a relic from the past or something vital and relevant to the present and future.

Winds of change are blowing through Ireland, associated with an improved economy. The renewed popularity of Celtic traditions promoted internationally by Michael Flattely's Riverdance could mean the beginnings of a new pride and active engagement with a

³Since Ó Laoire was writing, the economy and employment situation in Ireland has improved, though I am unsure about the Gaeltacht. It is unclear what effect this will have on the fortunes of the Irish language.

distinctively Celtic Irish identity, which might include active use of the language. Only the future will tell.

Though there are few direct comparisons to be drawn between Kaurna and Irish, in attempting to revive Kaurna, it is worth bearing in mind the difficulties Irish revivalists have faced in relying too much on school programs and supportive government policies.

3.2.2 The Shaw's Road Initiative (Maguire, 1991)

Of more direct relevance for Kaurna, is the inspiring example of successful language revival taking place, not within Irish-controlled Eire, but in Northern Ireland still under British control. Between 1982 and 1986 Gabrielle Maguire made a study of Shaw's Road Community, a small bilingual enclave in Western Belfast. The results of this research were published in Maguire (1991). In the 1960s a community of eleven families chose to raise their children as speakers of Irish in a "favourable, supportive environment." The remarkable aspect of the Shaw's Road Community is that none of the couples were native speakers of Irish, though "they had all taken steps to become competent speakers as young adults" (Maguire, 1991: 1). The nucleus of the Shaw's Road Community comprised five couples who had attended Gaelic League classes at *Cumann Chluain Ard* and had formed close personal relationships through the Irish language and associated social events. These young couples wanted to raise their children in an unrestricted Irish-speaking environment:

The build-up of personal relationships through Irish rendered the projection of the language into their future homes a most natural desire. They were aware of the gravity of such an undertaking within an English-speaking neighbourhood but they wanted to raise children who could enjoy a natural, happy childhood as Irish-speakers without having to resort to English every time they went out to play or to attend school. (Maguire, 1991: 71)

Accordingly, they pooled their resources, formed a company and established a small housing estate. Against enormous odds, the community not only survived, but founded an Irish medium primary school in 1971, initially with an enrolment of nine students. In 1978, the nursery school affiliated with the Irish-medium school opened its doors to children from English-speaking families. Following participation in the nursery school these children were allowed to enter the Irish-speaking primary school. As a result enrolments grew. In 1988-89 there were 337 enrolled. In 1984, following a long protracted struggle, the education authorities recognised the school and provided state funding. Before this, the community had to raise funds themselves for teacher salaries and the cost of facilities⁴.

The Shaw's Road Community was instrumental in raising the profile of Irish in Belfast, of extending its domains of usage into primary education and the church and facilitating its diffusion into the surrounding English-speaking community.

⁴Whilst the parallels are partial at best, one cannot help drawing comparisons between the Shaw's Road initiative and that of KPS discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. Both initiatives were about creating a supportive space for the teaching and use of their languages. Both have had considerable impact on the surrounding community and their attitudes to languages.

Prior to this grass-roots initiative, a small number of isolated Irish-speaking families had established themselves throughout Belfast. Most of these families had connections with the Donegal Gaeltacht, had learnt Irish in adulthood and chose to raise their children bilingually. Some of these children went through a period of rejection of the Irish language, had been embarrassed at school as the 'odd one out' and experienced other difficulties as a result of acquiring Irish as isolated individuals.

The Shaw's Road Community makes an interesting contrast with the previous state-sponsored attempts in Eire at establishing transplanted Irish-speaking villages. Only one of these villages survived as an Irish-speaking enclave and had little effect on the use of Irish in the surrounding area (Ó Laoire, 1995: 230).

3.3 Cornish

Cornish is probably the best example of the successful revival of a language which had ceased to be spoken⁵. However, as we shall see, Cornish is spoken by a relatively small number of enthusiasts. Prospects for Cornish to become the dominant language of Cornwall seem remote. So success is relative. Unlike Hebrew, Cornish did not maintain a religious function during the period when it went out of everyday use. Its functions were restricted to place names, some mottos and common sayings. A number of Cornish words were still known, some of which were used in English. It would be fair to say that a little more Cornish, the 'embers' as Ellis (1974) refers to it, was retained in the community than in the Kaurna case. Cornish has lain dormant for at least a century, but the current revival draws primarily on older materials, dating back to the 13th and 14th centuries.

Revival of Cornish as a spoken language is a twentieth century phenomenon:

In 1901 a group of Cornishmen formed a movement which aimed at the revival of Cornish as a spoken language, the 're-establishment' of a Gorsedd, along Welsh lines, and the encouragement of Cornish sports such as hurling and wrestling. The movement [was] . . . called Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak (The Celtic-Cornish Society).
(Ellis, 1974: 147).

This movement set about promoting the language and there was soon demand for a textbook, answered by the publication of Jenner (1904). Philological work had been previously carried out in Cornish in the nineteenth century and research of the historical materials was pursued with even greater vigor in the early twentieth century. Revival of Cornish began with the creation of literature and the translation of English poems and songs. Initial attempts to learn the language seem to have been individual efforts by enthusiasts working with the historical materials and Jenner's handbook. It seems that language classes weren't set up until the 1920s. In 1930, A.S.D. Smith taught Cornish to a group of interested boys as an extracurricular subject using Nance's (1929) *Cornish For All* which employed Unified Cornish, a version

⁵Combella (1980: 445) claims it is "perhaps the only example in linguistic history of a wholly defunct vernacular being successfully resuscitated."

based on Middle Cornish literature. Nance promoted a new spelling system and gave instructions for pronunciation (Ellis, 1974: 160). The boys' progress convinced Smith that Cornish could be revived as a generally spoken language and prompted him to produce a set of lessons (Smith, 1831).

An estimated 2,000 people, both within and outside Cornwall, have acquired some knowledge of the Cornish language (Brown, 1988: 6). Almost all of these acquired Cornish through formal learning. Less than 200 people are considered to be fluent Cornish speakers (e-mail from Matthew Spriggs to Cornish Studies list, 22 November 1994). According to Wella Brown (pc 11 May 1995) "there are a number of families which regularly use Cornish at home but they number only half a dozen at most". The first bilingual children in Cornish and English are just starting to emerge within Cornish speaking households in Cornwall. The number of these bilingual children is extremely small, perhaps 5 or 6 in all. In 1996 a fluent 18 year old raised bilingually from birth entered university.

There are a number of points of difference worth noting between Kaurna and Cornish:

- Whilst the Cornish population is small by comparison with the Irish and Jewish peoples, there is still a huge difference in scale by comparison with the Kaurna. The population of Cornwall is approximately 380,000 (Brown, 1988: 6), though the Cornish are now a minority in their own country due to a massive influx of English immigrants. However, in addition there are many Cornish people in various parts of the world including the United States and Australia.
- The Cornish language is supported by a much larger body of literature, principally the 'miracle plays' of Middle Cornish (1300-1600 AD).
- A number of different varieties of Cornish are taught based on later or earlier versions of the documented language and employing different orthographic systems. There has been considerable rivalry between proponents of the different varieties with some potential learners being turned away as a result.
- Whilst Celtic Cornwall was invaded by the English and their language has been supplanted by English, there isn't the same kind of desire to break from English rule that is seen in Ireland, Scotland or even Wales. The Cornish people generally see themselves as belonging to the same broad Anglo-Celtic culture as the English. The Cornish language revival is fundamentally about the reassertion of a distinct Cornish identity, but it is of a different nature to the cause of Indigenous peoples in Australia or North America. There seems to be a 'softly, softly' approach in the promotion of Cornish, so as not to offend the English or English-oriented Cornish people (e-mail from Dr Charles Penglase, University of Newcastle to Cornish Studies, 24 and 25 October, 1997). Perhaps this reflects the degree to which the Cornish have been integrated into English society and the long period of contact between the two groups. Cornish people seem less willing to assert their linguistic rights.

Nevertheless, the Cornish and Kurna language movements, seem to face many similar problems and issues.

- The Cornish have experienced considerable difficulty in having Cornish accepted as a legitimate area of study in school programs (Ellis, 1974: 183-184; Brown, 1988: 3). Cornish programs are taught outside normal school hours, introduced through the patronage of supportive school principals.
- Most teachers of Cornish do not have formal training or teaching qualifications. As of 1988, there was no system in place to identify or allocate teachers with Cornish language skills⁶.

All Cornish and Kurna people speak English as their first language. Therefore the languages are not needed for communication. Rather they are learnt for identity purposes and serve as a means of understanding and promoting their respective cultures. An investigation of the ways in which Cornish is being used provides useful ideas for the promotion of Kurna. Some of these are:

- A Cornish version of the Gorsedd ceremony was written by Henry Jenner by 1907, but there were insufficient speakers and not enough interest to enable its implementation immediately. The ceremony was first introduced two decades later in 1928 and has been held every year since.
- The first all-Cornish magazine, *Kernow*, was launched in 1934. It attracted 100 subscribers and served as an important vehicle for the promotion of Cornish.
- A church service in Cornish was re-introduced in 1934⁷.
- The Church of England order of matrimony was translated into Cornish and was first used in practice at a wedding at Perranwell on 3 October 1964.
- Hymns in Cornish are being re-introduced.
- *Kesva an Tavas Kernewek* 'Cornish Language Board' was established in 1967 to promote the study and revival of Cornish.
- Many poems, songs, short stories and literary works have been written in Cornish. The first commercial LP record of Cornish songs and poems was released in 1973.
- There has been much increased interest in Cornish place names and personal names.
- It is more fashionable for clubs and societies to adopt Cornish mottos than had previously been the case.
- Memorials, tombstones or commemoration stones are inscribed with Cornish.
- Cornish language is used in promoting Cornish culture within the tourist industry. In 1966 bread was sold in wrappers on which was written *Bara an gwekka dyworth Kernow!* 'The best bread from Cornwall' (Ellis, 1974: 197). It often appears on tea towels and other souvenirs aimed at the tourist market.

⁶This seems to be a common complaint. Peter Keegan (e-mail to Endangered Languages list, 24 August 1997) says that in New Zealand there is "no way of determining the Maori language competency of the teachers applying for a job". Identifying and placing teachers and AEWs qualified to teach Aboriginal languages has also been an issue raised frequently here in South Australia (see Aboriginal Languages Standing Committee Terms of Reference and Minutes, 11 Dec. 1997; 2 April 1998). In 1998 a Working Party was established to address these issues.

⁷The last previous sermon preached in Cornish was in 1667, nearly three centuries earlier!

- Cornish has made some inroads into 'official' language functions in Cornwall. Cheques are able to be made out in Cornish (Brown, 1988: 6).

We will see in Chapter 9 that there are obvious parallels between the ways in which Kaurna and Cornish are being used, though some of the Cornish language functions have not yet been considered or implemented in Adelaide. The Cornish have been pursuing language revival for much longer and the purposes for which Cornish is now used evidently took some time to evolve.

Perhaps even more worthwhile to consider, in terms of the Kaurna program, is the more restricted case of Cornish language revival in Australia (James, 1994; Penglase & Spriggs, 1994), undertaken by small bands of enthusiasts in Adelaide⁸, Melbourne, Newcastle⁹, Canberra and Sydney. The Cornish Festivals held at Moonta¹⁰ and in Victoria on alternate years serve as the focus for the use of Cornish. Each year a 'Gathering of the Bards of Cornwall' ceremony, similar to the Gorseth ceremony held in Cornwall, is conducted entirely in Cornish. Introductory lessons are offered in conjunction with the Festival.

A Cornish Studies e-mail group run by Matthew Spriggs at ANU, Canberra, keeps those interested in Cornish in touch with each other world-wide. In 1995 a series of Cornish language lessons were posted on this mailing list, allowing worldwide access to the language.

3.4 Maori and Hawai'ian

By comparison with Indigenous language revival in Australia, a relatively large body of literature reports on efforts to revitalize Maori and somewhat less on Hawai'ian, which has successfully copied Maori initiatives. Maori language programs have gained international attention through the writings of Fishman (1991) and Spolsky (1989; 1995) in addition to a body of research by academics and Indigenous writers in New Zealand. Two major works which include articles written by Indigenous writers are Hirsh (1987) and Ihimaera (1993). Indigenous Australians often look towards New Zealand for inspiration. Thus it is important that this thesis draws upon the Maori experience, highlighting common ground and differences between the Maori and Kaurna programs.

Maori and Hawai'ian have both been promoted by many, though not all, writers as examples of successful language revival initiatives. Maori and Hawai'ian, whilst suffering serious decline and shrinkage of domains of use since colonisation, never ceased to be spoken. In AILF terms

⁸Lillian James teaches Cornish through a correspondence course developed by Ray Edwards in Birmingham. In 1995 she had 12 students, some of whom sit for examinations set by the Cornish Language Board. On completion of Grade 4, a student of Cornish is able to become a bard on the basis of competence and knowledge of the Cornish language. There are currently three bards in Australia who have been recognised because of their language skills.

⁹Charles Penglase offers a course in Modern Cornish at the University of Newcastle attended by 45 students.

¹⁰The Cornish Festival *Kernawek Lowender* is billed as one of South Australia's major tourist attractions and is promoted through the tourist information centre.

they are examples of revitalisation programs. Thus the language situations are far-removed from the Kaurna situation. However, in social terms, Maori and Hawai'ian, as Indigenous languages of minority status and associated cultures far-removed from the dominant English-speaking society, share more with Kaurna than the previous three case studies. Kaurna people are motivated by the same kinds of factors for reviving their language as the Maoris and Hawai'ans. The societies in which these languages exist are very similar.

3.4.1 Maori Language Revitalisation

As the status of Maori is very different to Kaurna, it is of little use in informing the actual process of language reclamation. However, a great deal can be learnt about the ways in which Maori have promoted their language. Whilst Maori is in a relatively strong position, a number of Maori writers (Nicholson & Garland, 1991; Karetu, 1995) point out that the fortunes of the Maori language are very much dependent on decisions taken by government and on attitudes held by the majority Pakeha population.

The motivations for learning Maori are similar to those held by learners of Kaurna (discussed in Chapter 10). Maori is not needed as a language of communication, not even among most Maori. Like Kaurna, it is a language of identity and Maori language revival has been an integral part of a Maori cultural renaissance and an assertion of Maori rights.

Efforts to revitalise Maori started in the 1970s. At the Young Maori Leaders' conference in Auckland in 1970, a motion that "Maori should be in all preschools and schools" was debated and passed. Shortly afterwards the Ngā Tamatoa was formed "to push for Māori rights, for education, land and language" (Te Hemara, 1993: 189). Hana Te Hemara started a 'Petition for the Teaching of Māori Language in Schools'. The petition, bearing 42,000 signatures, was presented to Parliament on 14 September 1972, the day being declared 'Maori Language Day', to become 'Maori Language Week' the following year.

The fight to revitalise Maori has taken place on many fronts including law, politics, education and the media. The issue has been fought at both national and local grassroots levels. One of the early issues pursued was the 'correct' pronunciation of Maori place names (Walker, 1987: 162-163).

Maori language activists have been especially active within the formal education sector. Maori people are acutely aware of the devastating role that schooling has played in the demise of their language (Smith, 1993: 218). Despite this, it is within the education sector that Maori began their struggle to revitalise the language and where most of the effort is still directed. In 1982, the now well-known *Kohanga Reo* 'language nest' movement was initiated, linking the grandparent generation who still spoke Maori with the preschoolers. Between 1981 and 1989, 500 Kohanga Reo were established, catering for about 8,000 children. By 1995, more than 14,000 children were enrolled in these programs (Keegan, 1997: 15). These 'language nests'

have produced hundreds of fluent Maori-speaking children. Despite the success of the Kohanga Reo, in 1990 Richard Benton warned that the language was still on the brink of imminent extinction, even though there are now at least as many fluent speakers of Maori as there were in the 1880s and 1890s with many more New Zealanders having some knowledge of Maori compared with last century. The problem lies in the demographic profile. Half of the fluent Maori speakers were over 60 in 1990. Whilst there are a good number of preschool aged children with demonstrable fluency, only a small proportion of the generations in between are fluent Maori speakers.

Unfortunately few children emerging from the Kohanga Reo have an opportunity to continue their education in Maori and consolidate what they have acquired. The Kohanga Reo have given rise to some bilingual Kaupapa Maori schools, but in 1990 less than 2% of Maori children attended these schools. The situation has improved since (see Keegan, 1997: 18), but still less than 20% of Maori children have access to any form of Maori immersion education. There is an acute shortage of Maori-speaking teachers. The Kohanga Reo have created a demand for adult language classes, giving rise to the Te Atāurangi movement, so that parents can learn and support their children's Maori language development.

The Maori language is being promoted by Maori as a national language in New Zealand, to be of equal status to English at the local level. It was granted official language status in 1987 under the Maori Language Act. In practice, however, the use of Maori is often symbolic, playing an important role in ceremonies and in public display. Despite its official status, there is much resistance from the majority population towards the language (Nicholson & Garland, 1991)¹¹.

The Maori Language Commission and language activists have pursued many avenues to promote the language, including exhibitions (Bennett, 1993; Mead, 1993; Atairangikaahu, 1993), signage, television and radio (Williams, 1987; 1993), literature (Mita, 1993), music and song (Grant, 1992), commodification of the language (Chrisp, 1997) and the 'theme year' concept (Chrisp, 1997).

The Maori Language Commission, established under the 1987 Maori Language Act, has been working to facilitate the use of Maori as an administrative language¹². In 1990 the Commission published a 32 page booklet titled *Maori for the Office*. According to Sissons (1993: 109) it contained lists of specialized vocabulary including many newly coined words, exemplary business letters and job advertisements. A database of new and technical Maori vocabulary is

¹¹Karetu (1995: 210) discusses the case of a newspaper refusing to publish an advertisement for a bilingual, bicultural secretary for the Maori Language Commission in Maori without an accompanying English translation, though a translation was provided to the newspaper for their own edification.

¹²Sissons (1993: 108f) discusses a pamphlet which was distributed in 1990 to explain major administrative reforms within tertiary education. Whilst the title and introduction were written in both Maori and English, the substance of the document appeared only in English.

maintained on the Web¹³. When I tested the site on 22 April 1998, a search for 'computer' yielded 571 entries of computer-related terms, with no evidence of any borrowings from English. As an indication of the level of sophistication of the database, entries for 'nuclear', 'neutron', 'electron' and 'DNA' yielded results, whilst 'quark' did not.

Maori are concerned about the same issues of ownership and control raised by Nungas in Adelaide. Peter Keegan, a Maori linguist, posted a message which equated linguistic fieldwork with cultural theft:

We Maori, here in Aotearoa (New Zealand), like many others have had a long history of Non-Maori trying to describe & tell us how to speak our language. We are at stage were <sic> we insist that all research on Maori (language or otherwise) should be by Maori for the benefit of Maori. If non-Maori are research <sic> on Maori issues then they must abide by Maori terms.

(e-mail from Peter Keegan to Endangered Languages list, 4 Feb. 1997)

This sparked a flurry of responses from linguists around the world. Keegan's views will be raised again in Chapters 4 and 10.

3.4.2 Hawai'ian Language Revival

The Kohanga Reo movement has been successfully copied in Hawai'i (Schütz, 1994: chapter 16; Kamana & Wilson, 1996) with the setting up of Punana Leo in 1983, which in 1996 served 175 children in nine programs (Kamana & Wilson, 1996: 154). Like Kaurna, Hawai'ian has also been introduced into schools and the University of Hawai'i. Much stress is placed on the role of the formal education programs. Kamana and Wilson (1996: 153) were the first to re-establish Hawai'ian as the sole language of the home, again emphasising the decisive role of individuals.

Significantly, interest in the Hawai'ian language began in the 1970s with young Hawai'ians studying the language in order to compose music¹⁴ (Kamana & Wilson, 1996: 155). Space does not permit me to analyze the Hawai'ian situation in detail.

3.5 Ainu

The Ainu are an Indigenous minority from Hokkaido in northern Japan. They have had similar experiences to Indigenous Australians due to the colonization of their lands by Japan and Russia. In the past, Ainu culture has been heavily suppressed and the language was banned. Ainu people were discriminated against in education and employment and Ainu traditional life was severely disrupted. This historical legacy has meant that many Ainu attempt to disguise their Ainu ethnicity.

¹³The site at <<http://www.dia.govt.nz/dia/general/dictionary/maori>> is maintained by a Maori, Peter Keegan. Despite espousing strong views about ownership and control of the Maori language, Keegan invited linguists worldwide to look at this database and give advice on terms which needed to be added. Even though the material is copyright and available only for the purpose of research and private study, posting a similar Kaurna database on the web would probably not be acceptable to many Kaurna people at this stage. See Chapter 10.

¹⁴The first work in Kaurna also began with the Songwriters Workshop in 1990.

The minority Ainu language and culture resides within a dominant majority Japanese culture. The language revival is shaped by virtue of this minority culture residing within an affluent society which in recent times is coming to value Ainu.

The Ainu language has ceased to be used as an everyday language of communication. Today, only a few elderly Ainu who were once members of a "robust multigenerational Ainu speech community" (DeChicchis, 1995: 110) are still alive. DeChicchis refers to them as "archival speakers". However Ainu is gaining increasing acceptance as an auxiliary language. As DeChicchis writes:

Although there is no longer any community where Ainu serves as the primary medium of spoken expression and interaction, and although it may be thus fairly said that there is no present-day vernacular Ainu speech community, it would be misleading to say that Ainu is a dead language. In fact, the current revival of Ainu study and usage has been accompanied by the greatest output ever of Ainu language magazine and book publications; not to mention audio and video recordings and radio and television broadcasts. (DeChicchis, 1995: 109)

DeChicchis likens the function of Ainu to that of Latin:

Like Latin in the Holy See, Ainu is sure to retain its role as a ritual language and as a vehicle for historical study. it continues to be used at folk celebrations. Formerly banned customs are being revived, together with the language of their performance. Recent years bear witness to traditional Ainu bear festivals, ship launchings, and wedding ceremonies. More commonly, Ainu nomi (prayers) are being said in conjunction with activities of the traditional calendar, and once again the Ainu language is being used in the ceremonies which mark the construction and the opening of Ainu houses. With only a few archival speakers still alive, it is a safe bet that Ainu will never again be the language of commerce and casual conversation that it once was in Ainu Moshir. With thousands of Ainu singing and praying and greeting each other, and teaching their children these Ainu songs and prayers and greetings, it is also a safe bet that the Ainu language is not about to die. (DeChicchis, 1995: 118-119)

Perhaps in the light of the Hebrew and Cornish experiences, DeChicchis is being overly pessimistic in concluding that Ainu will never again be an everyday language of communication. Whilst Ainu no longer serves as a regular language of communication, there are still some Ainu who can speak Ainu. There is a considerable amount of language material supporting the revival of Ainu, including audio and video tapes and a body of literature.

In terms of the function of the Ainu language within Japanese society and the shape of the language revival, much can be learned from the Ainu situation. Ainu is closely associated with the struggle to regain basic human rights and recognition of their lands, and distinctive culture. Since the early 1960s the Utari Association has been struggling for "the betterment of their living conditions, restoration of their ethnic identity, and for fundamental human rights" (Miyawaki, 1990: 91). The Ainu Association has actively opposed prohibitions on the use of Ainu language in schools and on state-funded television. DeChicchis has labelled Ainu language as "the badge of a newly empowered ethnic group" (DeChicchis, 1995: 117).

The first Ainu language class was established in about 1985. Miyawaki, in a paper delivered at a conference in 1987 writes:

An Ainu member of a town assembly in Hokkaido had an idea to found a public kindergarten where the Ainu language was to be instructed to Ainu children, and applied to the local government for some funds. But the reply from the government was 'no'. This person finally decided to expend his own funds to build a school and open a private class for teaching the Ainu language close to his home. The Ainu class started two years ago, and every other Saturday afternoon about 10-15 girls still come to his class. They learn the Ainu language, songs, dances, Ainu tales, games and a 'neighbourhood nature' that used to be their own.
(Miyawaki, 1990: 91)

It would appear that Ainu has made remarkable progress in the last decade. The Ainu Association of Hokkaido has set up Ainu language schools in at least 11 locations. Despite a lack of funding and government support, these schools have been very successful (DeChicchis, 1995: 118). The Ainu language is also becoming increasingly popular with young non-Ainu Japanese with an interest in Ainu language and culture. It is now taught in university courses in Tokyo and other large cities and in community based courses where enrolments are increasing.

Ainu, whilst embedded within a non-English speaking majority culture, shows remarkable similarities with the Maori and Hawai'ian situations. The Ainu struggle for recognition is similar to that of the Kaurua and the emerging functions of the languages have much in common. Whilst Ainu is closer to a revitalisation situation, much can be learned from an investigation of their efforts.

3.6 Indigenous Languages of North America

The Indigenous languages of the United States and Canada have suffered in a similar fashion to Australian languages as a result of the invasion and colonisation of their lands. The European invasion of the Americas commenced more than three centuries before the invasion of Kaurua lands, so some groups have had long and sustained contact with Europeans. It is not at all surprising to learn that many Indigenous languages in the Americas have ceased to be spoken. This is true of languages on both the east and west coasts of the United States, and from Newfoundland and the Great Lakes region in Canada.

It is not clear just how many languages were spoken in North America in 1492, at the time of Columbian contact. North America was linguistically diverse, though the full extent of this diversity, especially in the southeast, is not known. Initially, little interest was taken in the Indigenous languages of North America and many languages, perhaps even whole language families, have undoubtedly been lost without trace. As in Australia, some groups were massacred outright, others were struck down by disease, even before face-to-face contact with the European invaders took place. Zepeda & Hill (1991: 136) cite one source which estimates that disease left as few as one in twenty-five of the original populations. The language ecology was severely disrupted as new alliances formed and trading patterns were radically altered. As some tribes gained access to horses and guns others were inevitably pushed aside and sometimes eliminated. Smaller tribes were particularly vulnerable in these new circumstances.

Whilst many languages have disappeared without trace, especially in the southeast (Haas, 1976: 573) and some languages such as Beothuk have been very poorly documented, more

Indigenous languages, both as a percentage and in absolute terms, seem to have been better documented in North America than in Australia. Despite the much longer period of European colonisation of North America, Indigenous languages have fared somewhat better there than in Australia. This may be due in part to the greater number of speakers of many languages in North America than in Australia¹⁵.

As in Australia, early studies of the languages of the Americas were carried out mainly by missionaries. See Hoijer (1976: 3-8) for a survey of missionary linguistic studies. One of the earliest studies (and one especially important in terms of this thesis) was that undertaken by John Eliot in the seventeenth century of the Natick language from Roxbury, Massachusetts, a language belonging to the Algonkian language family. Even earlier was the work carried out by the Spanish missionary, Father Francisco Pareja, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries in the Timucua language of Southern Florida.

Within the context of the Americas, Eliot's and Pareja's work stand out as two major pieces of research of the period, and are comparable to the pioneering missionary linguistic work carried out two centuries later by Threlkeld (1831; 1834) and T&S in the Australian context.

Serious, scientific linguistic research into Indigenous languages commenced earlier in North America than in Australia. Franz Boas, generally regarded as the pioneer of this area of research, "dominated American anthropology and linguistics from about 1899 until his death in 1942" (Hoijer, 1976: 10). Boas worked principally (though not exclusively) on languages of the northwest of the United States. More importantly however was the research tradition Boas's work set in train. Edward Sapir, one of the most productive linguists to work on Indigenous languages in North America was a student of Boas. Sapir not only continued, but greatly expanded this tradition of research and pursued ground-breaking comparative research using his own and other materials. Most importantly, he trained and inspired many linguists to continue working on these languages¹⁶.

In the course of my research I have identified a number of situations in North America where attempts are being made to revive languages no longer spoken, using historical records. Such programs are to be found on both the east and west coast of the United States, in the south and south east and in the Great Lakes Region of Canada. I limit discussion here to three languages, Esselen, Huron and Wampanoag as they offer the closest parallels with the Kurna situation.

¹⁵Within Australia today, the largest languages have only five or six thousand speakers. These languages are typically further broken down into smaller dialectal units. Yolngu Matha from north east Arnhem Land for instance has some five or six thousand speakers, but these speakers are distributed across some 40 distinct but closely related clan languages. By contrast, Navajo, the largest language in the United States today has some 160,000 speakers and even more Navajo people who are unable to speak Navajo. A number of North American languages including Cree, Ojibwa and Inuktitut have over 10,000 (Burnaby, 1996: 24).

¹⁶Probably the first modern linguistic study of Australian languages was carried out by one of Sapir's students, an American linguist Gerhardt Laves. He worked in many locations including southwest Western Australia, northern NSW, La Grange in the Kimberley and Daly River in the NT between August 1929 and August 1931 (Nash, 1993).

3.6.1 Esselen

According to the linguist, David Shaul (pc 10 June 1995) the Esselen live within a small rural community in the Santa Lucia Mountains in central California. Unlike the Kurna, they have never been alienated from their own land. The Esselen community are attempting to revive aspects of their language and culture.

Esselen was last spoken in the 1880s (pc David Shaul, 1995) and "is usually considered the first native language of California to have become extinct". Primary Esselen sources are meagre, even by comparison with Kurna. They are as follows:

- 1786 La Pérouse 20 words (ten of them numerals)
- 1792 Galiano-Malaspina 107 words; catechism (data obtained from Father Lasuén of the founding fathers of the Carmel mission)
- 1812-1814 ethnographic questionnaire from Spanish Govt to Franciscans in California - Interrogative sentence
- 1832 Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta - 58 words; 14 phrases and sentences
- 1840-1842 Duflot first 10 numerals
- Vincente Sarria - fragment of catechism found as a bookmark in a book in the Carmel mission library. This fragment is different in text from that preserved in the Galiano-Malaspina papers.
- 1878 Alphonse Pinart - 140 items including some sentences
- 1888 H.W. Henshaw - 110 words and some 50 phrases and sentences from a Rumsen speaker
- 1902 Kroeber - 6 words remembered by a Rumsen speaker
- 1906 C.H. Merriam - 9 words and phrases
- 1930-1936 Harrington - words remembered by Rumsen speaker (had heard Esselen as a child)¹⁷
(extracted from Shaul, 1995a: 192)

Comparatively little Esselen vocabulary was recorded, though scores of phrases and sentences and an entire catechism with 24 question and answer pairs survives. Shaul, using the work of Kroeber (1904), Harrington (1913) and Beeler (1978) together with his own analysis of original source materials and the catechism, has managed to reconstruct a significant portion of Esselen phonology, morphology and syntax (Shaul, 1995a). The structure of basic clauses, compound sentences and relative clauses is known. The main limitation seems to be vocabulary, as only a few hundred words were ever recorded. Some words have been borrowed from neighbouring languages including Ohlone, Salinan and Chumash (pc David Shaul, June 10, 1995). But Esselen, unlike Kurna, is a linguistic isolate which presents additional difficulties in terms of filling in the gaps in the language.

Although Esselen language revival is a voluntary grassroots movement, the tribe is seeking institutional support. According to Shaul:

There are about thirty people who interact using Esselen on a daily basis. This network uses the language for greeting, leavetaking, naming (direct address), and a daily prayer which they composed in the language. It is very important to the community, and the long term goal is daily and ceremonial use of the language, and spiritual revitalization. Children and elders (and everyone else in between) use the language.
(pc David Shaul, June 10, 1995)

¹⁷These 'last words of Esselen' (Shaul, 1995b) consist primarily of insults and perhaps curses frequently uttered by an old woman to a group of young girls, one of whom was Harrington's informant in later life. Just 14 sentences were remembered yielding 25 morphemes in all. Whilst limited, additional information on Esselen grammar has been obtained from this source.

Revival of Esselen is going hand in hand with revival of cultural practices. Sweat lodge purification ceremonies and dances have been re-introduced, their leader having been trained by a Pomo shaman from a neighbouring tribe (pc David Shaul, 1995).

3.6.2 Huron

Huron is listed by Kinkade (1991: 160) as one of five Canadian languages which has been extinct for well over 100 years, though in the case of Huron it was spoken in Oklahoma up until the 1960s, as evident from Barbara Boseker's brief description:

By the early twentieth century the Huron language was all but extinct since the Hurons collapsed as a nation more than three hundred years ago. The Huron people divided into three fragments in the mid-seventeenth century. One fragment lived outside Quebec City, another was assimilated by the Iroquois, who were victorious over the Huron, and a third fragment settled near Detroit. In the nineteenth century the US government shipped the Detroit group out of Michigan to 'Indian Territory', soon to become Oklahoma. On the Oklahoma reservation Huron continued to be spoken into the 1960s or even later. It is strongly suspected that the language is now dead in the United States (Abley, 1992: 4)

The Canadian branch of the Huron, however, are attempting to revive their language. The 1,500 survivors who speak French as a mother tongue plan to resurrect Huron, using the revivals of Hebrew and Cornish as models (Abley, 1992). Huron is fortunately well documented, thanks to the efforts of early Jesuits. The Huron adults hope to establish an informal club and relearn the language together. They intend setting up an immersion school for their children modelled on that of the Mohawk several hundred miles away. (Boseker, 1994: 148-149)

First contact with Europeans dates back to 1615. A dictionary of the Huron language was published some years later (Sagard-Théodat, 1632) following the visit of the Recollect missionary, Gabriel Sagard-Théodat in 1623-24. Jesuit missionaries began to work intensively with the Huron in 1626 and continued this work up until their defeat by the Iroquois in 1649-50. A significant amount of Huron material relating to the Huron language, notably a grammar prepared by Pierre Joseph Marie Chaumonot, was documented in this period. Following the dispersal of the Huron, another Jesuit, Pierre Potier, working at the Huron mission at Sandwich, Ontario, compiled an extensive grammar and dictionary, based to a large extent on earlier work. Data from another group of Huron which had settled in Oklahoma was also recorded in 1911-12 by the National Museum of Canada and texts collected at that time were later published (Barbeau, 1960). Mark Abley assesses the Huron language resources in the following terms:

From the simple phrasebooks and word lists that they and their predecessors, the Recollect friars, compiled in the first few years of contact, the Jesuits went on to produce hefty dictionaries, to translate large chunks of the Bible and to create original Huron texts. One of Sioui's [Huron Language Project Co-Ordinator] tasks is to assemble and examine this mass of material, much of it scattered in libraries and archives across half the continent. (Abley, 1992: 4)

By comparison with Kaurna, it would appear that Huron has far more language resources to draw upon¹⁸. The Huron language project is working closely with a linguist in developing a plan to "resuscitate" Huron. The revival of Huron draws at least in part on a knowledge of surviving related Iroquoian languages including Mohawk and Seneca (Abley, 1992: 4).

¹⁸In the 17th century Huron was a widely known trade language and the Huron acted as intermediaries between fur traders and other tribes.

The group of 1,500 Huron in Canada who are attempting to revive their language live at Wendake (known as Village des Hurons) on the outskirts of Quebec City. As such they have their own localised community. This group has reportedly intermarried extensively with their neighbours and speak French as a mother tongue.

Renewed interest in the Huron language emerged in the early 1980s, principally from Marguerite Vincent 'Téhariolina' "a Huron who dedicated a great part of her life to research and study of Huron language and customs" (Sioui, 1996: 253). Linda Sioui herself was part of a team in 1983 that worked on the fieldnotes of Quebec ethnologist Marius Barbeau (Huron Wyandot Collection) for the Canadian Museum of Civilization¹⁹. In recent years Huron materials have been studied by a number of linguists. John Steckley (pc e-mail 17 April 1998) has been studying Huron for 25 years. Several years ago he went to the community where he had the opportunity to teach Huron²⁰. According to Sioui (1996: 253) "a keen interest [was] shown by the Huron people in all matters concerning the rediscovery of their language and heritage" .

It seems that the plan to "resuscitate Huron" (referred to by Abley) has "stalled" through a lack of support from the Education Department (pc e-mail from Linda Sioui, 8 September 1997; 9 April 1998). Although Sioui says that she hasn't been working on the Huron Language project for about two years, it has not completely ground to a halt.

A small group of Huron enthusiasts meet each week to relearn old songs in Huron from wax cylinder recordings made at the turn of the century. The songs are sung around a fire in their traditional "Longhouse". The Huron Carol (de Brébeuf, 1990) is still sung each Christmas (e-mail from Linda Sioui, 8 September 1997). Revival efforts to this point in time seem to have focussed on oral language. Decisions have not yet been made about the orthography to be used. Neologisms have not yet been incorporated into the language, though Sioui (1996: 254-255) is certainly aware of the need to modernize the language if it is to become a "living, progressing language". Sioui (1996) seems to have a clear vision for the language, appealing to Hebrew as the main inspiration. However divisions within the community and a lack of support from the Education Director have hampered efforts to realize these plans.

3.6.3 Wampanoag

The Wampanoag language, referred to as Massachusett or Natick in the literature, was originally spoken in the immediate Boston area and the area east of Narragansett Bay, including Cape Cod, the Elizabeth Islands, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket (Goddard & Bragdon, 1988: xv). John Eliot (whom I mentioned earlier) was an Englishman who arrived in Boston in

¹⁹The parallels with the employment of the Kaurna woman Georgina Williams by the South Australian Museum in the early 1980s to work on the Tjilbruke story and materials collected by Tindale are striking. In both cases, these heritage projects preceded calls to revive the respective languages.

²⁰Steckley also teaches Huron at university level using it as a "tool ... for teaching non-Native students in Toronto about other ways of perceiving the world and expressing that perception" (pc e-mail, 17 April 1998). Steckley's role with Huron bears similarities to my own role with Kaurna.

1631 and was appointed Apostle to the Indians in Roxbury shortly afterwards. He learned the Natick language and within a few years was able to preach sermons in the language (Hoijer, 1976). He then proceeded to translate the entire Bible and other religious texts into Natick. Eliot's Natick or Massachusetts Bible was first published in 1663 and revised in 1685 (Cowan, 1990: 587) and comprises the very first Bible translation into an Indigenous language in North America. Eliot also published a grammatical study of Natick (Eliot, 1666).

Eliot worked amongst the Massachusetts people for almost 50 years. He encouraged the establishment of "praying towns" or small self-sufficient and largely self-governing communities:

He encouraged them to form a government based on biblical descriptions of the tribes of Israel into groups of 10, 50, and 100 people each with its own ruler. Waban became a ruler of 50 at Natick.
(Goddard & Bragdon, 1988: 10)

Initially 14 of these "praying towns" were set up but these were reduced to four in 1677 and later to three, probably as a result of King Philip's War in 1675 which had "disrupted the missionary effort and the progress of native schooling" (Goddard & Bragdon, 1988: 14). However, this missionary activity expanded again after the war, so that by 1698 there were more than 50 communities of "Christian Indians" in southeast Massachusetts each with their own Indigenous rulers, magistrates, justices and their own church run by their own minister or elder church officials. Often these communities had their own teacher as well. An Indigenous literary movement, surviving for about a century, accompanied Eliot's work. It is estimated that by the beginning of the eighteenth century, 30 percent of the population could read whilst a lesser number (including the church officials) could write (Goddard and Bragdon, 1988: 14). A corpus of 154 documents, written during the period from the 1660s to the 1750s in Natick by native speakers, have been compiled and analysed by Goddard and Bragdon (1988) (see Cowan, 1990: 587). These documents consist of official records (such as records of births, deaths and marriages), legal documents (such as wills), records of land allotments, petitions (four of which survive), letters and notes scrawled in the margins and blank pages of eight surviving Eliot Bibles. The Natick language continued to be used within the Gay Head community until at least the 1780s (Goddard & Bragdon, 1988: 8).

The existence of this rich source of historical materials, written by both native and non-native speakers, has enabled linguists to write a modern grammatical sketch of the Natick language (Goddard & Bragdon, 1988: Part 2) which is, according to Cowan's assessment, equal in length and quality to other major studies of Algonkian languages published this century within the Bloomfieldian tradition (Cowan, 1990: 590f). There is scope for further work through thorough analysis of Eliot's Bible translation (Goddard & Bragdon, 1988: xxiv). Fortunately, there are several living eastern Algonkian languages that can also help to inform the interpretation of Natick materials and the formulation of a Natick language program.

Though the materials are one to two centuries older than the Kaurna materials, the Wampanoag have much, much more material to work with than the Kaurna²¹. A perusal of Goddard & Bragdon's (1988) bibliography reveals a wealth of additional historical and ethnological sources that could support a language program. In 1995, the Gay Head Wampanoag began formulating a language program, after first conducting a community survey of interest (pc e-mail Ken Hale, 11 Aug 1995). An initial meeting was called on 9 August 1995 to discuss "revitalization of the Wampanoag language" and to prepare a submission to the U.S. Dept. of Education.

Like Huron and Kaurna, it seems that interest in the Wampanoag language began with "an oral history project in the early 1980's with youth and elders" and Wampanoag words had been incorporated into cultural activities within the school curriculum at Mashpee (e-mail Philippe Jordi, 24 August 1995).

At the initial meeting, issues and questions were raised concerning the revival of Wampanoag that bear remarkable similarities to the concerns raised by the Kaurna and the Kaurna teaching programs. I include these in full as recorded in the minutes of the meeting:

Issues that were raised concerning the revitalization of the Wampanoag language included:

- * Ownership, reclaiming and grieving related to language loss and revitalization.
- * Language as a focus for Wampanoag identity (who I am, where do I come from).
- * What is the vision of the language program - to become a living language.

Questions that were raised concerning the revitalization of the Wampanoag language included:

- * Identifying Wampanoag Tribal members that want to work, learn and teach the language.
- * How to revitalize extinct languages?
- * Who would be involved in revitalize <sic> the language?
- * How to approach the reconstruction/ creation of words?
- * How to utilize technical resources outside the community to accomplish work?
- * How to include language in school curriculum?
 - Extra credit, extra curricular activity outside school.
 - Inclusive within school curriculum.
 - Collaboration of resources with the schools.
 - "Living" culture/ language.
- * How to approach pronunciation of words/ making choices regarding linguistic standards?
- * What type of approach to use in recreating and using the language?
 - Traditional
 - Evolved or recreated/ reconstructed
- * Should we study similar languages that might be useful in reconstructing the language?

Suggestions that were shared concerning the revitalization of the Wampanoag language included:

- * Studying existing native writings and developing pronunciation from that period.
- * Involve youth in research of language development.
- * Begin by training teachers/ speakers.
- * Need to hire a "dedicated individual" to coordinate and organize the project.
- * Utilize "right brain approach" when teaching language.
- * Base language curriculum on daily activities within the family setting.
- * Develop curriculum on commonly used words, expressions and phrases.
- * Establish Tribal policy to include Wampanoag language within all public signs.
- * Contact all remaining Wampanoag Tribes when developing the language.
- * Combining language and culture immersion as critical and necessary.

²¹Whilst there are 154 documents written by native speakers in Natick, there are only four similar documents known for Kaurna. Natick has the complete Bible and much other religious literature compared with the ten commandments, six hymns and three "Biblical truths" in Kaurna. Both Natick and Kaurna have missionary grammars.

* Utilizing stories of tribal youth and legends of the Wampanoag as subject matter.

* Form a team of language learners to:

- Develop an initial list of 500 commonly used words;
- Develop standardized grammar and pronunciation guide;
- Develop phrase book for word usage;
- Gather oral history stories;
- Develop "master apprentice program" with speakers.

(Mashpee/Aquinnah Wampanoag Language Meeting, 9 August 1995
minutes prepared by Philippe Jordi, Tribal Planner, 24 August 1995)

The group set high goals for themselves. At their third meeting on 20 January 1996, the group set their goal for "180-200 speakers (10%) within 10 years" (minutes prepared by Philippe Jordi). One of the first practical tasks the group set for themselves was "translating a recording of the Lord's Prayer from Wampanoag". They found this a difficult and frustrating task and sought to enlist the help of an Algonquin speaker and linguists. The group appears to be working with the Natick historical materials recorded by Elliot, Josiah Cotton and others as well as recent linguistic works and materials on related languages.

The Wampanoag language movement also draws upon Hinton's (1994) work with Californian languages, which include some 15 with no speakers. (Hinton's Master-Apprentice approach is discussed in Chapter 9 of this thesis). The importance of linguistic skills seems to be recognised by the committee, though there is clearly a desire to take control of the language restoration efforts and become "Wampanoag linguists, not just speakers within the years to come"²².

At the time of writing it was not known how far the language reclamation efforts had proceeded or whether the goals set are achievable, though clearly there was a great deal of initial enthusiasm for the project.

3.7 The Languages of Australia

Only about 20 of the 250 or so Indigenous languages spoken in Australia at the time of the European invasion in 1788 are still being acquired naturally by children as their first language (Schmidt, 1990: 1; House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, 1992: 24). The nature and extent of the loss of Australia's Indigenous languages is dealt with in some detail in these two publications. McConvell (1991: 143) has pointed out that all of Australia's Indigenous languages are under threat and all are undergoing some form of language loss or functional restriction.

Linguistic work in Australian languages during the 1960s and 1970s was dominated by the urgent need to document and describe remaining languages still spoken, which were predominantly in the north of the country. Much of this work was facilitated by the establishment of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in 1961 which funded a number of linguists conducting field research. The Australian Aborigines Branch of the Summer

²²Wampanoag Language Revitalization Group meeting, 20 January 1996 minutes prepared by Philippe Jordi.

Institute of Linguistics was also established in 1961 supporting the linguistic description of a number of languages in addition to literacy work and Bible translation.

At the same time some work was carried out in languages no longer spoken by the younger generations or in languages that were only partly known, by linguists such as Luise Hercus, Gavan Breen and Bob Dixon. Such linguistic research was usually referred to as 'salvage work' and was carried out with a sense of urgency to preserve the languages, oral histories, Dreamings, songs and place names for future generations. However, the need to obtain data for comparative linguistics and the formulation of linguistic theory was the main driving force behind much of this research. Little thought was given to the possibility of reviving or reintroducing these as spoken languages either then²³ or at a future time.

Aboriginal language programs have been a feature of various missions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see M. Gale, 1997). After the election of the Whitlam government in Dec. 1972, bilingual programs were introduced into schools throughout the Northern Territory, but language maintenance was not a primary goal of these programs, at least not from the perspective of the NT Education Department. Rather, they were transitional bilingual programs and as such were fundamentally assimilationist, their primary aim being to facilitate the acquisition of English. Later on however, especially as Aboriginal peoples gained more control over schools and education in their communities, language maintenance did become a main aim. Writing from a Western Australian perspective, and specifically in relation to independent Aboriginal schools, Gwen and John Bucknall observe:

It would be reasonable to say that it is only in recent years that the focus has started to shift from maintenance to revival and to entirely new ideas for developing Aboriginal language awareness programmes in the schools. (Bucknall & Bucknall, 1994:7)

Language revival, within the context of Australia's Indigenous languages, is a very recent phenomenon. One of the first mentions of a language revival program appearing in the literature is a short report by Heath (1982) on the Awabakal language program instituted by the Awabakal Aboriginal Cooperative in mid-1979. Language revival efforts are now reasonably widespread, sometimes operating within and supported by the school sector, sometimes operating outside the school system. Some programs are supported by Aboriginal language centres with federal funding. In some regions, language centres cooperate with the education system in the delivery of programs. Demand for language revival programs far outstrips available resources and funding.

In Amery (1994) I surveyed language revival activities throughout Australia. Many new language revival initiatives have emerged since then, some of them short-lived, others more enduring. Developments are so rapid that it is difficult to keep abreast of them. Of the many language revival programs now operating in Australia, I discuss just four. The Tasmanian and

²³Dixon did attempt to teach Yidiny at Yarrabah for a time and has given assistance since to groups, such as the Ngadjan, who wish to revive their languages.

Awabakal attempts to revive their languages are useful comparable studies because they draw almost exclusively on historical materials. The neighbouring Ngarrindjeri renewal and Narungga awareness programs, which rely more heavily on remaining knowledge in the community, provide a contrast with Kurna reclamation.

3.7.1 Awabakal

The Awabakal language program instituted in 1979 closely parallels the Kurna reclamation program as it operated in Adelaide in the early 1990s. The history of the Awabakal language is remarkably similar to the history of the Kurna language. Awabakal lands were first colonised in 1804 when a penal settlement was established in Newcastle. Two decades later in 1825, a mission was established by Rev. Lancelot Threlkeld, who set about learning and documenting the Awabakal language. Threlkeld wrote a number of papers and booklets on the Awabakal language including a grammar in 1834 and a translation of the Gospel of St Luke in 1831, the first Bible translation carried out in an Australian language (J. Harris, 1990: 53). Threlkeld also provided a volume of ethnographic material on the Awabakal people and carefully documented many events of the times.

As on the Adelaide Plains, the Awabakal population rapidly declined in the face of the occupation of their lands, the depredations of the colonists and the introduction of diseases and alcohol. In 1841 the closure of the mission was ordered as few Aboriginal people remained in the area. Threlkeld writes in his final report:

It is a melancholy fact, that although much has been done in the way of translation, there are now scarcely any Aborigines left to learn to read, and the few who remain appear determined to go on in the broad road to destruction..... This Mission to the Aborigines has ceased to exist, not for want of support from the British Government, nor from the inclination of the agent, but purely from the Aborigines themselves becoming extinct in these parts. (Threlkeld, 1841 in Gunson (ed), 1974: 169-170)

The last speakers of Awabakal died before 1900 (Heath, 1982: 125), so the Awabakal language has lain dormant in the historical records and materials for a similar length of time to the Kurna materials. In both cases no sound recordings exist. Rather the respective language programs have to rely on written materials documented by these early missionary observers.

Like Kurna, the Awabakal language is now located in the midst of a large urban area. In 1982 there were an estimated 2,000 to 2,500 Aboriginal people living in Awabakal lands, but it would appear that there are no known Awabakal descendents, for John Heath writes:

Our 2,000 - 2,500 people have either moved here from other areas or have been born here but are descended from other tribal areas. (Heath, 1982: 125)

However, Heath describes himself as "An Aboriginal person living in the Awabakal area and involved in the struggle to maintain and preserve our identity, and hence our culture and language" (Heath, 1982: 124). So the revival of Awabakal seems to be based primarily on the association of the language with the land, the language of the place in which a group of Aboriginal people of diverse origins now live.

In 1974 the Awabakal Newcastle Aboriginal Co-operative Ltd was established. Its aims are broad:

Through this organisation we are setting our own priorities to meet our people's needs in health, housing, education, law, culture and welfare. (Heath, 1982: 125)

Heath's description of the Awabakal language program is reminiscent of the early beginnings of the Kaurua language program as conducted in workshops commencing in 1990, a decade after the beginnings of the Awabakal program. Heath writes:

Our language program is unique - none of our people speak Awabakal and very few of them speak any language other than English (in whatever form). Our main teacher is a white man [Perce Haslem] who is the only person who can speak Awabakal. Thus we rely heavily on him and also on works recorded by Threlkeld.

We began our Awabakal language classes in mid 1979 and have had a core of 15 students with a floating student population of perhaps another 20. The ages of students have ranged upwards from 8 years old. Up till this stage learning has been restricted to vocabulary and simple sentence construction. And although we are happy to proceed at our own pace we experience a great number of difficulties of acquiring funding for our program and also the fact that our students attend several different schools, we have been forced to carry out our lessons one night/week at one of the local Aboriginal hostels. This places extra demands on everyone particularly the small children and the success of our program to date has been mainly to their devotion to learning one of their own languages.

The language program itself is only a part of a wider cultural program which includes instruction from our elders and visits and camps to traditional sites.

Currently we are awaiting approval to conduct our program during school hours which will mean release of our students from their "normal" school activities for one afternoon/week. Also let me point out that at this stage we do not wish that our program be taught to non-Aborigines - perhaps one day when our children are fluent enough in Awabakal they in turn will be teachers. (Heath, 1982: 125-126)

In 1984, the Awabakal Cooperative allocated some of its own funding for the publication of a primer which was in the early stages of preparation, but the primer was never completed. A number of songs (five in all) were written entirely in Awabakal.

The Awabakal language program was short lived. It operated up until 1984, that is, for four or five years. Perce Haslem, the non-Aboriginal man involved in the teaching of Awabakal, died in 1984. No doubt his death contributed towards the suspension of the program. Whilst the language program itself was suspended, other aspects of Awabakal cultural revival came to the fore and continued. For instance, the Awabakal have revived some aspects of traditional law (pc John Heath, 1995). The Awabakal language program was always part of a wider Awabakal cultural program. No less than 60 children who were involved in the Awabakal language program have gone on to become professional or semi-professional dancers.

There has been talk within the Aboriginal community of starting up the Awabakal language program again. In 1995, John Heath was involved in the recording of three of the Awabakal songs for use with young children.

3.7.2 Tasmanian

The revival of the languages of Tasmania also offers insights by way of comparisons and contrasts with the Kurna program. The revival of Tasmanian was actually preceded by the teaching of Pitjantjatjara in Tasmania²⁴. However, this proved to be unsatisfactory in terms of establishing and affirming the social identity of Indigenous Tasmanians.

It is unclear as to just how many Tasmanian languages and dialects there are. Crowley & Dixon (1981) believe that there were probably at least 6 and possibly even as many as 12 or 14 distinct languages spoken in Tasmania at the time of the invasion. Their relationship with mainland Australian languages remains unclear. Few possible cognates can be found. However, there is no evidence to suggest that they are not related to languages spoken on the mainland. But the time depth of 10,000 years since separation of Tasmania from the mainland would result in large differences between the respective languages. In any event, mainland languages are of little help in informing the re-creation of Tasmanian languages except for broad typological statements.

Tasmanian languages ceased to be spoken some time in the nineteenth century. However elements survived within a distinctive variety of English spoken on Cape Barren Island. Song fragments and phrases survived even up until the 1970s (Crowley, 1993). The language currently being revived or learnt in Tasmania is a composite language constructed from the remnants of the Tasmanian languages recorded by a range of European observers. As Gaye Brown of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre writes in a promotional brochure *Alive and Deadly*:

Nina tunapri mina karni? 'Do you understand what I'm saying?'

What is Palawa Karni? 'Palawa Karni refers to the composite language spoken by Tasmanian Aborigines incarcerated on Flinders Island in the 1830s. The language allowed members of eight different nations to speak to each other. Palawa Karni is now being successfully revived and taught around Tasmania.

The Benefits: The re-introduction of our language is restoring our people's confidence and identity, which is helping to reverse the devastating effects of assimilation. One of the most important things has been the increasing use of the word 'Palawa'. Before the revival of our languages we adopted the word Koori or Tasmanian Aboriginal and seldom used our own word to identify who we are. The name Palawa is now used statewide with pride and has made our identity even stronger.

The Barriers: There are no traditional language speakers left, due to white invasion and war. Past government policies such as assimilation also contributed to the stifling of our language and culture. White academics fostered our languages for many years, but now is the time for them to recognise ownership by the people who really are the experts.

Hopes For The Future: For white Australia to own up to the fact that Aboriginal people are the true owners of the land, its culture and its languages. And to continue our work at the centre so all Palawa people will have the opportunity to learn and speak our language always.

(Gaye Brown, in DEET, 1995 : 3)

It is unclear precisely what the relationship is between the revived Tasmanian language and the 'traditional' Tasmanian languages contributing to its development. Sally Clark, the program's coordinator writes:

²⁴This issue was raised by Tasmanian delegates at the AIATSIS workshop for languages no longer spoken in March 1993.

We are now building on the main community language that was spoken originally by the Oyster Bay people, one of the largest language groups. The revived Tasmanian language will be a composite of all those six languages, as was already happening when our people were removed from their different homelands and taken to Wybalenna in the early 1830s. (Clark, 1995: 3)

Both Clark and Brown identify the revived Tasmanian language, Palawa Karni, with the mixed language spoken on Flinders Island in the 1830s. It is possible that an Indigenous pidgin was spoken in Bass Strait and on Flinders Island at this time (Davies, 1846; Simpson, 1996). Is the revival of Palawa Karni an attempt to revive this putative Indigenous pidgin? This is unclear. Nor is it clear as to the role played by English in its development. Examples of language usage on Flinders Island provided by Robinson reveal text in which both English and Tasmanian words are used according to English syntactic patterns with little evidence of Tasmanian morphology, somewhat similar to the kind of Kaurna text and sentences provided by Wyatt (1879). Clark goes on to say:

At this early stage the program concentrates on teaching words and phrases. In later stages new words will be developed from the existing vocabularies, and a grammar will be worked out. (Clark, 1995: 3)

It is not clear for instance, how new words will be developed or how a grammar will be worked out when almost nothing is known about Tasmanian morphology or syntax (Crowley & Dixon, 1981: 415-419).

Unfortunately, detailed information is not forthcoming as the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre is wanting to keep information regarding its language heritage within the community at this stage. Sharing the sentiments of John Heath of the Awabakal Aboriginal Cooperative, the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre is totally opposed to non-Indigenous Tasmanians learning Tasmanian languages.

Whites will not be given the opportunity to destroy the progress we have made as a community. It is our language and they will not be able to steal it or learn it - it belongs to us. It is our living link with our old people who suffered so that we can be strong today. (Clark, 1995: 6)

For these reasons Tasmania withdrew from the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework project, a national curriculum project introducing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages into senior secondary studies, and opposes any attempt to introduce Tasmanian languages into school curriculum at this stage²⁵.

3.7.3 Ngarrindjeri

In early colonial times the Ngarrindjeri nation consisted of a cluster of clans and closely related languages including Ramindjeri, Yaralde and Tangani or Tanganekald. Early grammars and vocabularies were produced of Ramindjeri from the Encounter Bay area by Meyer (1843) and Yaralde from Raukkan by Taplin (1878; 1879). Translations of parts of the Bible, hymns and prayers were published last century (Taplin, 1864a; 1864b). Taplin's translations of extracts of the Bible, *Tungarar Jehovald*, have been reprinted twice (1926, 1986) and demand for another

²⁵Minutes First National Steering Committee Meeting, AILF Project, April 1993; Letter from June Sculthorpe, Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre, 9 November 1994.

reprint is steadily increasing (p.c. Bible Society Shop, 1995). This century both Tindale and the Berndts carried out extensive ethnographic work. Tindale compiled vocabularies, including one of Tanganekald from the Coorong. Numerous Ngarrindjeri texts have been published. Berndt & Berndt (1993) contains no less than 163 texts and 32 songs complete with interlinear glosses. Tindale also obtained Ngarrindjeri texts, some of which have been published (eg. Tindale, 1935; 1938). In addition, some tape recordings of the Ngarrindjeri language were made by Cath Ellis and Luise Hercus. Furthermore, some early recordings were made by Tindale on wax cylinders. By comparison with Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri is backed by a vast store of language materials, particularly texts.

These days people from almost the entire length of the Murray River, as it runs through South Australia, identify as Ngarrindjeri. Whilst variation in the known lexicon from one locality to another or from one family to another undoubtedly reflects dialectal distinctions, all such contemporary varieties are simply labelled Ngarrindjeri.

Language revival work in Ngarrindjeri commenced formally in 1985. Brian Kirke and Jillian Sumner at the South Australian College of Advanced Education (now the University of South Australia) worked to produce a language kit *Ngarrindjeri Yanun* (Kirke, 1987) and inserviced AEWs in the use of the kits within the school system. A promotional video *Getting It Back* was also made. Currently, Ngarrindjeri is taught in a number of schools, mostly at primary level, including Mansfield Park PS and Karrendi PS in Adelaide as well as schools along the Murray River, such as Winkie, Glossop and Murray Bridge. It is also taught at Raukkan on Lake Alexandrina. Ngarrindjeri is also taught to adults at Tauondi in Adelaide.

There is a strong reluctance on the part of the Ngarrindjeri to involve non-Aboriginal people in their language programs. Ngarrindjeri language programs are ad hoc, drawing on the knowledge of the individual AEWs and Nunga language teachers. As a result the programs focus mainly on teaching vocabulary and some simple sentences. Unfortunately the teachers of Ngarrindjeri have had little or no access to language teaching methodology or linguistic training.

If the Ngarrindjeri community were to embrace the old written sources and the skills and techniques that linguistics has to offer, there is considerable scope for detailed and far-reaching language reclamation work. Many domains of vocabulary (eg. fish terms) are far better documented than in Kaurna and much, much more is known about Ngarrindjeri religion and ethnography. The considerable body of text material would allow extensive discourse analysis and the creation of new texts with a greater degree of authenticity and reliability than is possible with Kaurna.

There is great distrust of non-Aboriginal people's attempts to write down their language. Individual families attempt to maintain their own oral traditions which in some cases may differ from the majority of Ngarrindjeri. For instance, Rhonda Agius (Kura Yerlo Workshop, 1989) grew up knowing that *prilde* refers to a 'wiggler in a watertank' (ie. 'mosquito larvae'). However, for most Ngarrindjeri *prilde* means 'ant'. Of course it is likely that *prilde* originally referred to both 'mosquito larvae' and 'ant'. Disputes like this over words and their meanings are frequent and vigorously pursued, indicating the importance that Ngarrindjeri retained within the community has in contributing to contemporary Ngarrindjeri identity. It appears that the Ngarrindjeri are striving to maintain Ngarrindjeri as a spoken language. However, the cost of maintaining the purity and integrity of Ngarrindjeri as an unwritten language is a vast reduction in volume, as much of the language has not been transmitted to the younger generations.

Whilst there is much more Ngarrindjeri material to work with than Kaurna, it is harder to get agreement and support from the community to work with those materials. The fierce independence of the Ngarrindjeri, which has worked in the past to ensure the survival of a considerable body of language and cultural traditions, is now working to severely limit the vision of what is possible in the revival of Ngarrindjeri.

3.7.4 Narungga

Narungga, from Yorke Peninsula, is closely related to Kaurna. It was still spoken by a small number of elderly people in the early twentieth century. It seems that in 1900 a group of seven people of "full descent" remained living in the Wadgedin Scrub, shunning the nearby mission at Point Pearce (Mattingley & Hampton, 1988: 185). By comparison with Kaurna, Narungga has been poorly documented. Several short vocabularies have been compiled by Kühn (in Curr, 1886); Johnson (1898-1900); and Black (1920). Tindale revised Johnson's wordlist and published it, together with original material, in an article on the Narungga people (Tindale 1936). Tindale's wordlist was republished in Hill & Hill (1975). In all less than 500 Narungga words and only about 20 short sentences, revealing little about Narungga grammar and syntax, were ever recorded (Amery, 1995: 73).

However, a number of words, identified as Narungga, are still known and actively used. Most of these words (eg *thitna* or *didna* 'foot') are readily identifiable in the Narungga wordlists. However, a few words such as *mimini* 'woman' are clearly Ngarrindjeri in origin, but many people will say they are Narungga because they are words they grew up with at Bukkiyana. By contrast with Ngarrindjeri, where many verbs are widely known and actively used, almost no Narungga verbs seem to be remembered. Most Narungga words still used are common nouns or adjectives.

There is considerable interest in reviving Narungga, in having Narungga taught in schools and in engaging in community language projects. Language revival work formally commenced in 1987 and a Narungga Language Kit was produced by Brian Kirke (see ASTEC Key Centre,

1987). A Narungga language and cultural studies program is taught in the local primary school at Point Pearce. Elements of Narungga language and culture are taught from time to time in a number of Adelaide Metropolitan schools where there are high Nunga enrolments. KPS also incorporates elements of Narungga language and culture within its school plan.

Whilst in the past Narungga people wanted to keep their language to themselves (see O'Brien, 1990: 110; Amery 1995: 70ff) there is a growing willingness and desire to teach it in schools and to allow non-Aboriginal people to share and participate in the learning of their heritage. There is also a willingness to work with non-Aboriginal linguists, teachers and curriculum advisors in the design and delivery of these programs.

The revival of the Narungga language however is severely limited by the available language resources. There has been a strong desire to write songs and stories in Narungga. There are basically two options available in fulfilling these requests. One option is to write these materials essentially in English whilst inserting Narungga words where these are known from oral tradition and the recorded wordlists. This approach was taken in the preparation of several Narungga songs such as *Djintrin Bird* in the songbook prepared in 1990. The kind of language produced is similar to the actual language spoken by Nungas amongst themselves.

The other option is to graft Narungga words where they are known into what is essentially a Kurna text. This approach was taken with the translation of *Tucker's Mob*. A Kurna translation was first undertaken. Then Narungga words and known Narungga grammatical suffixes were substituted for their Kurna counterparts. Spellings of words were also adapted (eg initial voiced stops were substituted for voiceless stops) in order to give the Narungga version a distinctive identity. This was also the practice adopted within the songbook *Narungga, Kurna & Ngarrindjeri Songs*. Whilst I did not consider the approach taken in the Narungga version of *Tucker's Mob* to be entirely satisfactory and felt distinctly uncomfortable about the completion of this task, as the resultant language seemed to owe far more to Kurna than Narungga, the result was well received within the Narungga community.

A third option would be to draw only on the Narungga material known orally or recorded in the literature. Whilst this is very restrictive in a language like Narungga, there is still a surprising amount that can be accomplished, given the right approach, without having to resort to English or compromise the integrity of the language. Songs are a particularly useful strategy in such circumstances. The well-known song *Head, shoulders, knees and toes* requires some body part terms and one line 'We all clap hands together'. Even the last line could be varied so that a coherent song could be written with just a list of words. Traditional style songs can be created through repetition of a single phrase.

3.7.5 The Potential for Language Reclamation in Australia

Many of Australia's languages which are no longer spoken in their full forms have simply vanished, or records of these languages are so scant and impoverished that it would be difficult to do much with them. In fact Kaurna's nearest neighbour, Peramangk, which was spoken immediately to the east of Kaurna, has been all but obliterated. Tindale assembled a short card file of just over 30 putative Peramangk words. However, all of them are place names and all of them came from non-Peramangk sources:

Peramangk place names have chiefly come down to us through members of other tribes who for one reason or another - marital links, mythical stories or other circumstance have been able to tell of them.
(Tindale, n.d. Peramangk Card File)

Some of these words are clearly Kaurna, or at least identical with Kaurna words. Others seem to be more closely allied to Ngarrindjeri, and some were clearly used by Ngarrindjeri as their names for locations in Peramangk territory. There is no convincing evidence that any of the words listed actually belong to the Peramangk language, though some may well do.

It is impossible to do much in terms of reviving Peramangk or teaching a Peramangk language program on the basis of known materials. The most that would be possible is some language awareness based on the putative Peramangk place names and their etymologies provided by Tindale. Little more could be done on a linguistic level.

However there are several other South Australian languages, in addition to Kaurna, where available language resources could support a reclamation program. Diyari, once spoken in the Lake Eyre region, is backed by a large body of mission linguistic materials as well as more recent linguistic research (see Reuther, 1981; Austin, 1986; 1994; Austin & Murray, 1981). However it seems that the social conditions are not ripe for a revival of Diyari. Whilst there are people with links to the language, there is no focal community. The site of the Killalpininna mission is merely a ruin in the desert. Arabana programs have operated on and off in the local school at Marree, the nearest town, which identifies as Arabana country.

Materials in Ngayawang (Moorhouse, 1846; Weatherstone, 1843), comprising a substantial vocabulary and grammar, are certainly adequate to support a reclamation program. However, Nungas in the Riverland identify as Ngarrindjeri and seem not to identify with or take an interest in the Ngayawang materials at this point in time.

Barnarla people at Whyalla are taking an interest in materials compiled by Schürmann (1844). A language committee was formed in 1994 and several workshops have taken place with a view to producing a dictionary and language materials based on Schürmann's work and more recent recordings (pc David Wilson, 29 Aug. 1995).

In Victoria, within the last few years Yorta Yorta from the Murray River, and Ganai from Gippsland are both taught in school programs (Cain & Paton, 1998). A number of NSW

languages are also being reclaimed²⁶. Ten languages have been identified by the NSW Board of Studies as suitable for teaching in school programs, most of which are no longer spoken.

In working with languages no longer spoken, different approaches are employed. I have classified these approaches as language renewal, language reclamation, language re-creation and language awareness (see Chapter 2). Just what is possible depends on many factors including:-

- how much of the language still remains in the community; that is how much is still remembered by Elders in the community.
- the quantity and quality of historical materials
- the existence of related languages that are still spoken or recorded more fully
- the level of community interest and support
- the presence of motivated individuals in the community
- catalysts with skills and expertise to kick-start the program
- demographic profile of the Indigenous community relative to other Indigenous groups in the area and the wider community
- willingness of the community to share the language with the wider community
- willingness of the community to work with historical sources and linguists
- level of training and expertise and availability of such training
- available funding sources and funding criteria
- support from the school sector
- purposes for using the language
- potential for and willingness to engage in cultural tourism
- the location of the language (eg urban, rural or lack of a focus community)

Local language ecologies are complex and much depends on individuals both in and outside the Indigenous community and both in and outside institutions. They also depend on attitudes towards the language and language reviva, as well as the skills and personal qualities of those involved.

3.7.6 Languages No Longer Spoken - some generalisations

A review of languages no longer spoken in Australia reveals that much of the current activity is based in school programs. School programs are being used as the vehicle for re-assembly and possible re-introduction of the languages. In other cases, notably Tasmania, the Indigenous community has specifically rejected using schools for this purpose, instead carrying out these activities in the community based organisation, the Tasmanian Aboriginal Centre. In many cases, the community actively collaborates or cooperates with the school in the delivery of the program.

Activity in these languages usually involves a linguist or linguists working with a school and/or community group. This is true of programs of this kind both in Australia and North America. It

²⁶Assoc. Prof. Chris Illert from the University of Wollongong has been working with Indigenous communities on the south coast of NSW to develop a teaching program and language materials. He is planning a 'Traditional Aboriginal Language Summer School' in January 1999 and the production of a range of resources, including a grammar, dictionary and story books (Fax 6 Feb 1998).

seems that the re-introduction of languages at this end of the spectrum does not simply happen in the family. Rather re-introduction begins with some kind of formal or semi-formal program.

Where linguists are not actively involved, or minimally involved, such as with the Ngarrindjeri or Nyungar language revival movements, the emphasis is much more strongly focussed on oral linguistic heritage retained within the community. The language is much more limited in scope as a result.

The introduction of programs in languages no longer spoken almost invariably piggy-backs in one way or another on 'strong' languages which are still used for everyday purposes, and are supported by a comparatively wider range of written, audio, video and other resources. The language revival movement in South Australia began with the teaching of Pitjantjatjara within the University of South Australia (henceforth USA) and within a number of primary schools in metropolitan Adelaide. The experience gained in mounting these programs has assisted greatly in the introduction of Kurna and other languages. Several teachers and language specialists involved in the Kurna program have some competence in or experience of Pitjantjatjara, either from having taken courses in Pitjantjatjara language or from having worked in the northwest of South Australia or with Pitjantjatjara programs in Adelaide. Pitjantjatjara programs have 'broken the ice' with regard to introducing Aboriginal language programs into South Australian and more particularly, Adelaide schools. Pitjantjatjara has a sufficiently high profile in Adelaide so as to make many people aware of what Aboriginal languages look like. Many Nungas now have some familiarity with orthographies designed for Australian languages, facilitating a greater acceptance of the materials compiled by German missionaries than had been in the past. The Tasmanian language revival movement also began with the teaching of Pitjantjatjara.

Yorta Yorta, as taught at Worawa College, likewise is piggybacking on Gupapuyngu, a language from NE Arnhem Land) which carries the communicative goals of the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) course requirements. The design of the Yorta Yorta program and the reconstitution of the Yorta Yorta language draws on 'strong' languages such as Pitjantjatjara and Yolngu Matha, the linguist involved having previously carried out research in Pitjantjatjara (Bowe, 1990).

Plans for the revival of Barngarla not only rely heavily on comparative work with nearby Adnyamathanha, but also entail the learning of Adnyamathanha prior to or concurrently with the learning of Barngarla from historical sources (Interview with David Wilson, 29 August 1995).

3.8 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen that the one undisputed case of successful language revival, that of Hebrew, bears little relationship to the Kaurna situation. Cornish is much closer in linguistic terms, though it differs markedly in social terms. Maori, Hawai'ian and Ainu language revival movements have made significant gains in recent years. These movements have much more in common with Kaurna on a socio-political level than the former. They teach us important lessons in terms of language functions and language development. But they are not language reclamation programs. Native speakers remain, therefore the linguistic and social processes are radically different.

The language reclamation initiatives in North America, which do have much more in common with Kaurna, are in their infancy. Esselen, Huron and Wampanoag appear to share many common features with Kaurna, but detailed information is generally not forthcoming and it is far too early to tell just how successful these initiatives will be. Like Kaurna, these language movements have their roots in an interest in heritage and oral history. They are grassroots initiatives, aided by linguists and initiated for much the same reasons as Kaurna revival.

Within Australia, Kaurna was not the first attempt to relearn and revive a language no longer spoken. Awabakal probably deserves this honour. However, with the death of Perce Haslem (the non-Aboriginal catalyst), that initiative seems to have ceased or developed into other forms of cultural expression. Other efforts to reclaim and revive languages no longer spoken in Australia, such as Tasmanian, Ganai and Yorta Yorta are in their infancy. Some language communities which have retained more of their languages have shunned input from linguists and largely ignore the historical materials. They prefer to pursue a language renewal approach. Without input from curriculum specialists, language teachers and linguists, such programs tend not to linguistically progress. There is often a preoccupation with the word level, especially body-parts and names of fauna and flora. If sentence and text construction is attempted in the language, it tends to be limited to single clauses or heavily influenced by English syntactic patterns.

Support from the education system, as we shall see in chapter 8, is a vital component of Kaurna language revival, as it is for Maori, Ainu, Hebrew and other successful cases of language revival. Of course schools cannot revive a language by themselves, as the Irish case demonstrates. Community will and support is essential. Failure to obtain support from the education sector seems to be a major limiting factor for some languages including Huron and Cornish.

Whilst attempts to reclaim, relearn and revive so-called 'dead' languages are, as yet, relatively uncommon, a number of languages such as Diyari, Barngarla and Ngayawang in South Australia, or Powhatan, Timucua and Atakapa in the United States, provide much potential for

productive collaborations between linguists and Indigenous communities of a similar nature to that described here.

It seems that Kaurna, whilst not alone, is on the cutting edge of language reclamation activities. More intimate exchange of information between the Kaurna and other fledgling movements such as Esselen, Huron and Wampanoag, and other reclamation programs in Australia could prove to be of mutual benefit.

With the passing of the last speakers of numerous languages in Australia, north America and elsewhere, language reclamation may well come to have a much more important profile. However, language reclamation, based on audio recordings, video footage, linguistic descriptions and volumes of text as is the case with languages whose last speakers have passed on in the latter half of the twentieth century, will be a vastly different enterprise in linguistic terms to the process described here. Indeed, attempts to reclaim languages under these conditions are already underway in languages like Chumash from California (Hinton, 1994). Advances in computer technology allow cutting, pasting and 'cleaning up' of sound recordings. Where sound recordings exist, sound resource files and 'talking dictionaries' can be created using the voices of the last speakers.

Language reclamation based solely on written historical sources will be necessarily limited to a comparatively small number of languages for which vocabularies, grammars and texts survive. However, the existence of good quality written materials is not sufficient, as Ngayawang and Diyari show, for without a community that identifies with the language, favourable support structures and committed individuals, language retrieval remains an academic exercise devoid of social meaning or purpose.

CHAPTER 4 METHODOLOGY

What I think is equally scandalous is whereby non-Indigenous peoples have come in and built their credibility and their careers around specialising and robbing Aboriginal people of their own intellectual property. This is done by not consulting or negotiating with any Kurna people. To avoid this, there needs to be a collaborative effort and, moreso, there needs to be ownership on the part of the Kurna community.

(Lester Irabinna Rigney, interviewed by Jenny Burford, 21 Oct. 1997, edited by Lester 19 Feb. 1998)

Academics must take responsibility for their part in the construction of Aboriginal worlds and for the directions in which their writings and their deliberation unwittingly contribute to Aboriginal identity by the very way in which their research topics are conceptualised.

(Jordan, 1988a: 128)

4.0 Background

This research project, whilst focusing on the reclamation of so-called 'dead' or 'extinct' languages, in particular the Kurna language, is a wide-ranging study which impinges on many disciplines including linguistics, sociolinguistics, history, anthropology, sociology, environmental studies and education.

There are two main aspects to this research. First there is the task of reclaiming and developing the Kurna language. This is primarily a matter of archival research, philology, linguistics and language planning. This task focuses on the content of the Kurna language and is largely a technical matter. The second main aspect focuses on the nature of the language revival and its role in society. This is largely a matter of sociolinguistics. Of course there are strong links between the two and continual feedback from the community and school programs shapes the development of the language. The first task would be meaningless unless it were embedded within the sociolinguistic process.

Consequently, this thesis approaches the study of Kurna and Kurna language revival from several perspectives and employs a variety of research methodologies. In the conclusion of their book *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle*, Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins (1988: 391) point to the need for a combination of different approaches:

We have tried to show that some of the basic questions in minority education are either difficult or impossible to conceptualize in all their subtlety, with the tools that traditional research has developed until now. We must use different types of data and analyses, in order to create a more variegated picture - therefore the link between different approaches.

As discussed in chapter 2, the theoretical framework within which this research is conducted is that of linguistic ecology. This means attempting to establish the nature, not only of the Kurna language itself, but of the language ecology when it was spoken on a regular basis last century. I analyse the disruption of this ecology and current attempts to re-establish the Kurna language

within it, I document and analyse the range of purposes served by the Kaurna language in Adelaide in the 1990s and beyond.

There is a sense in which Kaurna as it existed in T&S and other historical sources was, until recently, a discrete tangible object cut off from its community. Reclaiming the language from an ecological perspective means rebuilding the functional links between Kaurna and surrounding languages, including English, and rebuilding the links between the Kaurna language and the Kaurna community, the Nunga community and the wider community. The language is being re-integrated into its social context.

4.1 Ethical Issues

Ethical issues arise on two fronts in this research project. It goes without saying that ethical issues are paramount in the way in which I conduct my research within the Aboriginal community. There is a need to respect individual rights to privacy and Kaurna communal rights to intellectual and cultural property. Ethical issues of this nature confront all researchers in the social sciences. Perhaps more unusual, however, are the ethical issues arising from my role as a 'language maker' and the implications for "the construction of Aboriginal worlds", as Jordan puts it, and Kaurna identity.

4.1.1 As a 'Language Maker'

As a 'language maker' (to use a term promoted by Roy Harris, 1980) I am in a similar position to Jay Powell in the development of the Quileute 'artificial pidgin', Aasen with Norwegian, Ben Yehuda with Hebrew, Korais with Katharevousa and Mihalic with Tok Pisin to mention just a few individuals who have had a major role in deciding the shape of specific languages. Added to these are the many missionaries over the past few centuries who have had a major influence on the development of many Indigenous languages.

Many of those mentioned above, such as Ben Yehuda, are members of the speech community and ethnic group associated with the language in question. Others, such as Jay Powell and most missionaries, are outsiders like myself. As an outsider, there are added responsibilities. I must recognize the primacy of Indigenous ownership over the language and the right of the group to have the final say as to how the language should develop. I can present various options and offer advice, but in the final analysis I must work at the direction of the Kaurna Elders and Kaurna community.

As a 'language maker', a measure of introspection is appropriate to make explicit my motivations, goals, approach, methods and strategies in rebuilding the Kaurna language. Furthermore, I need to make clear my ideology in relation to Kaurna language revival and my relationship with the Kaurna community and other key players.

The nature of these ethical issues will become clearer through a discussion of the methods of language reclamation in section 4.2 and a detailed analysis of their application to Kaurna in Chapter 7.

4.1.2 Research Within the Nunga Community

Indigenous people are one of the most heavily researched groups in Australian society. There is a legacy of exploitative and inappropriate research and research methodologies which have paid little regard for the value of Aboriginal culture and often worked against the interests of Indigenous peoples. This has resulted in a situation of mistrust of non-Aboriginal researchers on the part of many Indigenous people. These concerns are expressed cogently by Barbara Shaw, an Arrernte-Kaytetye woman from Alice Springs:

White people have destroyed a lot of our culture, they have stolen our land, and stolen our children. They have learnt our languages to use for their own advantage. They will not be allowed to steal our knowledge. Aboriginal people can no longer afford to share the intimacy of their identity.

(quoted in Williams & Stewart, 1992: 1)

There is a long history of research where non-Indigenous researchers have co-opted members of the Aboriginal community to provide assistance. Unfortunately, the contributions made by Aboriginal people have sometimes not even been acknowledged. Note especially the central role played by David Unaipon in the collection of Aboriginal Dreaming stories in the compilation of Ramsay-Smith's (1930) *Myths and Legends of the Australian Aboriginals*, yet he received no mention within the publication itself. This is a case with which Nunga people, especially the Ngarrindjeri, are well aware. At other times, secret sacred material has been published and made openly available on the shelves of bookshops and libraries. Mountford (1976) is a prime example, much to the dismay and anger of the Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara people in the north of the state.

This legacy of exploitative research has led to a situation where the conduct of research within the Indigenous community by non-Aboriginal academics is a very sensitive matter. Standard research techniques are not necessarily welcome, as Williams & Stewart (1992: 2) advise:

Non-Aboriginal researchers need to come to terms with the fact that the handing out of questionnaires and the "Avon" approach of door knocking is not only offensive and a nuisance, but places a question mark on their integrity as academics and ability as researchers.

Within this climate, there is a growing desire to assert Indigenous rights to intellectual and cultural property. See, for instance, West (1991), Williams & Stewart (1992), Brady (nd) and Eggington (1996). Brown (1998) provides a very comprehensive analysis of international perspectives on this issue demonstrating that these concerns are shared by many of the world's Indigenous peoples. Errol West made his position very clear at the First National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Higher Education Conference in 1991:

The battle for power is about not just our right to say what should happen, for that has been delivered to us through the funding programs horticulturalist goals. It is over possession of our intellectual property, contemporary and historical. It is about prising open the fists of white academics who for years have been universally recognised as the experts on anything from cultural to causes. It is about us saying No!!

(quoted in Williams & Stewart, 1992: 3)

Thus there is a need for a research methodology which acknowledges and honours the rights of Indigenous peoples and ensures that the research is carried out in their interests. Indigenous academics have been increasingly concerned in recent years about research ethics with Indigenous communities. The Faculty of Aboriginal and Islander Studies within the University of South Australia drafted an ethics policy (Aboriginal Research Institute, 1993) which drew on Wadsworth's (1991) proposed code of ethics for the Australian Sociological Association. Other institutions engaged in Indigenous studies (Centre for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Participation, Research and Development, 1995; Jumbunna Centre for Australian Indigenous Studies, Education and Research, n.d.) have drawn heavily on the University of South Australia ethics policy.

Lester Rigney, who has made a substantial contribution to my research project, has been critical of the kind of research carried out in the past. He writes:

This is not to say that Indigenous people reject outright, research and its various methodological practices. Indeed some research and their methodologies has benefitted the emancipation of Indigenous communities. However, Indigenous people now want research and its designs to contribute to the self determination and liberation struggles as defined and controlled by their communities.

(Lester Irabinna Rigney, 1997: 1)

Rigney calls for culturally appropriate research. Accordingly, I have sought to engage in a genuine collaboration and to respect the right of veto by the Kaurna over the discussion of culturally sensitive matters.

Further, Rigney, himself an experienced researcher (see Rigney, 1996a), argues for an Indigenist research methodology, research undertaken by Indigenous Australians that gives voice to Indigenous communities and their struggle for "genuine self-determination" (Rigney, 1997: 11). Indigenist research, as defined by Rigney, breaks away from racialised ideologies, epistemologies and research methods in a climate where currently:

Aboriginal researchers who wish to construct, re-discover and/or re-affirm Indigenous knowledges must function in traditions of classical epistemological methods of physical and or the social human sciences.

(Rigney, 1997: 6)

By definition, as a non-Indigenous researcher, I am unable to carry out Indigenist research as conceptualised by Rigney, though I can, to some extent, identify with the struggle. Much of what Rigney proposes is still relevant to my situation. For instance, I am able to privilege Indigenous voices (Rigney, 1997: 11) and maximise the political integrity of the research by involving Kaurna people throughout, and have sought to do just this.

4.2 Kaurna Language Reclamation: The Linguistic Exercise

Language reclamation is both a linguistic process and a social process. It involves collaboration between the linguist and the Kaurna community as well as the teachers and learners of the language.

This study uses Kaurna language materials, primarily in the form of a grammar and vocabularies, obtained from a variety of historical sources, as the basis of a spoken language taught and learnt in the 1990s. Historical sources are analysed according to the principles of philology and comparative linguistics. Each source is analysed for internal consistency, compared with other Kaurna sources and with neighbouring related languages. A knowledge of the typology of Australian languages, especially that of Pama-Nyungan languages, provides further direction for making sense of incomplete historical records.

Historical/comparative linguistics and language typology are facilitating the construction of a modern language of a distinctly Australian type, which still adheres closely to the original sources. The nineteenth century sources remain the ultimate authority at this point in time. Teachers of the Kaurna language continually return to these sources to ensure maximal integrity of the newly constructed spoken language.

Various strategies are pursued to fill in the gaps in the historical sources. Some words are borrowed from closely related languages, whilst many others are rendered as compounds or derivations. A number of new terms for new concepts are being developed from time to time as required. Almost all of these neologisms are constructed using the productive word-forming processes inherent in the language.

Finally the construction of this new spoken Kaurna is tempered by perceptions and attitudes held by the Kaurna community, owners and custodians of the language. Certain words are avoided out of respect of linguistic taboo. A word might sound similar to a known rude word within Nunga English and is thus avoided. See Haas (1951) for a discussion of this phenomenon. Other words are considered sacred or too precious to warrant their use for everyday purposes in a compound or with an extended meaning.

4.2.1 Archival Research

The study of Kaurna sources is based on archival research retrieving published and manuscript materials on the Kaurna language itself and neighbouring languages as well as other sources which provide insights into the language ecology at the time the Kaurna language was recorded and still spoken on a daily basis. In the pursuit of an understanding of this language ecology, a variety of sources have been drawn upon including government records, mission records, personal memoirs and journals, newspapers and various historical and anthropological works relating to this early period in South Australia.

Searches were made primarily within the Mortlock Library, Lutheran Archives, South Australian Museum and the Public Records Office. Some sources were located further afield. The assistance of researchers and librarians in Germany, United Kingdom, New Zealand and South Africa was sought to help track down materials, with some positive results. Various lines of enquiry were pursued, searching under the names of individuals known to have been

associated with Piltawodli or the Office of the Protector of Aborigines, or to have pursued an interest in Aboriginal culture in the early years of the South Australian colony. Leads were followed from one source to the next. Other sources were hit upon more or less by accident. Some sources were so obscure that methodical archival research would have no chance in locating them.

4.2.2 Philology and Comparative/Historical Linguistics

Philology is a dominant methodology underpinning this thesis. The term **philology** derives from the Greek *philo-* 'to love' and *logia* 'learning' and has a broad application to the study of language and literature and is especially concerned with the analysis of texts. However, this study uses philology in a narrower sense as discussed, for instance, by Goddard (1973):

A second branch of philology subjects records to examination and interpretation in order to gain information about the languages in which these records are cast. It is written records that are the principal objects of study, but sound recordings are becoming increasingly important in philological investigations. (Goddard, 1973: 727)

The discipline of comparative philology boomed in the nineteenth century as links between distantly related languages were discovered and pursued. With the advent of modern linguistics and the use of the International Phonetic Alphabet, henceforth IPA, field linguistics largely replaced philology. Philology was abandoned and even disparaged by some linguists as it was felt to be inexact and unscientific in the face of modern linguistic techniques. Goddard cites Michelson writing in 1912 that:

It is simply a waste of time to attempt to unravel the vagaries of the orthography of the older writers in the case of dialects existing today. (quoted in Goddard, 1973: 728)

In the early part of this century, linguistics, as a scientific discipline, was generally seen to have replaced philology. Linguists focused primarily on oral language gathered first hand and transcribed on paper. The first linguistic analyses were severely hampered by the limits of human memory and thus focused on word lists in citation form and on short sentences. The invention of sound recording equipment enabled many of these early limitations to be overcome. With the advent of linguistics, less notice was taken of earlier written records, and languages which ceased to be spoken were written off as 'dead' or 'extinct' and ignored or perhaps only examined for the purposes of comparative linguistics. However, in the last few decades there has been a revival of interest in philology. Koerner (1997) discusses this return of interest in philology on the part of linguists.

Now comparative philology is precisely the methodology required to make sense of historical texts, the prime - almost sole source of information on the Kaurna language. Goddard (1973) and Haas (1975) signalled the return of philological procedures in the study of North American languages as linguists began to take more notice of historical materials. Many linguists in Australia too are drawing increasingly upon historical texts in the production of dictionaries and grammatical sketches of Australian languages. Note Troy's (1994b) description of the Sydney language; Blake's (1991) description of Woiwurrung, the Indigenous language of Melbourne;

Crowley & Dixon's (1981) sketch of Tasmanian and the dictionary of Nyungar compiled from historical sources (Bindon & Chadwick, 1992) etc. Earlier linguistic work on Australian languages tended to draw exclusively on information recorded first-hand, ignoring historical work. Austin's (1981) grammar of Diyari is a good case in point which was written on the basis of limited knowledge possessed by a number of second language speakers and largely ignored voluminous historical materials compiled by German missionaries last century. These German mission Diyari materials are currently under scrutiny by Cynthia Rathjen and Heidi Kneebone in Peter Mühlhäusler's mission linguistics project and by Chris Nobbs of the South Australian Museum.

Philological procedures provide the tools to assess and interpret historical materials. This is the preliminary work which must be done prior to the application of the techniques afforded by comparative and historical linguistics. The philological examinations of documents is concerned with the following questions:

What kind of linguistic information is in them? How can it be gotten out of them? and What use can be made of it? (Goddard, 1973: 729)

An overriding concern is to clarify the orthography and phonetic details of the materials. In some cases the author has provided a key to the orthography. Most Kaurua sources however provide no indication as to how the words should be pronounced.

Crystal's (1992: 297) *Dictionary of Language and Languages* definition of philology explains the relationship between philology and linguistics:

philology Traditionally, the study of language history, sometimes including the historical study of literary texts; also called **comparative philology** when the emphasis is on the comparison of the historical states of different languages. The subject overlaps substantially with **historical linguistics**, but there are several differences of emphasis, both in training and subject matter. The philological tradition is one of painstaking textual analysis, often related to literary history, and using a fairly traditional descriptive framework. The newer linguistic approach tends to study historical data more selectively, as part of the discussion of broader issues in linguistic theory, such as the nature of language change.

Philological procedures include an examination of the written sources for internal consistency. Working with the source alone, the philologist notes whether spellings are consistent and if not notes the variants.

Comparative/Historical linguistics is closely allied to philology, but provides more powerful techniques. Related languages are systematically compared to identify shared inheritances as distinct from borrowings or chance similarity. Of particular importance is the identification of regular sound correspondences between related languages. Historical linguistics is closely allied to comparative linguistics and involves the reconstruction of an earlier stage of a language based on evidence drawn from its 'daughter' languages - languages which are believed to have all descended from an earlier proto-language. The comparative method is explained in detail in

numerous textbooks on comparative/historical linguistics. See for instance Jeffers & Lehiste (1979), Bynon (1977) and Hoenigswald (1960).

The methods afforded by comparative/historical linguistics provide insights into aspects of the Kaurna language as it was recorded. Further, these methods allow some of the gaps in the language to be filled in sound and well-motivated ways, drawing on the available evidence from the Kaurna sources themselves and those on neighbouring languages. Where a lexical gap exists for instance, in some cases a proto form can be reconstructed for the Yura subgroup of languages to which Kaurna belongs and the expected reflex of this proto-form in Kaurna can be reconstructed. This reconstructed Kaurna reflex may or may not have actually existed in the Kaurna language. It may well have been part of the repertoire of speakers in the 1830s and 1840s but for one reason or another, observers simply failed to record it. Of course it is entirely possible that Kaurna had an entirely different word for the particular concept when compared with neighbouring languages, there is simply no way of knowing.

4.2.3 Language Typology and Language Universals

Language typology refers to features of language that are shared by a subset of other languages which may or may not be related. Language universals on the other hand, refer to properties shared by all languages. See Comrie (1981) and Shopen (1985). An understanding of the broad typological features of other Australian languages, particularly those most closely related to Kaurna aids in the interpretation of the historical materials and in the construction of the Kaurna language as it is used in the 1990s. A knowledge of typological features is especially useful in the interpretation and reconstruction of Kaurna grammar and syntax. Dixon (ed.) (1976), Dixon (1980) and Blake (1987) are especially useful sources on the typology of Australian languages. Grammatical descriptions of individual Australian languages also prove to be useful points of reference.

4.2.4 Corpus Planning & Language Modernization

Kaurna, like other Aboriginal languages, was previously unwritten prior to the coming of Europeans. Ironically, until recently, the Kaurna language has existed almost entirely in written form. Much of this record was written in the first few years of contact with the colonists.

The world has changed considerably since the 1840s. If the Kaurna language is to be used to address everyday needs in the 1990s, there is a need for modernization of the language, specifically for the development of terms for modern technology and everyday items which did not exist last century. There are various means for accomplishing this, discussed in Amery (1993).

Other Australian languages provide useful examples which serve as models for Kaurna terminology. Similarly, approaches taken by language planners and language revivalists in similar circumstances are also insightful. Hebrew, Maori, Cornish and some North American languages have proved useful in this regard.

The modern construction of the Kurna language is somewhat similar to the re-assembly of dinosaurs on the basis of remnant and often incomplete fossilized bones found. The dinosaur itself is reconstructed on the basis of the bones themselves and other clues left in the rocks, using a knowledge of anatomy and physiology. The reconstructed dinosaur is the animal that best fits all the known data. The modern 'living' dinosaurs that appear in movies such as *Jurassic Park* are undoubtedly wrong in some details. Indeed, in the past many dinosaurs were reconstructed as quadrupeds that stood on all four limbs. Recently this has been revised and some of these same dinosaurs are now believed to have been bipeds and more like birds in stature. In the same way, the modern construction of a language which is being pieced together from written records will necessarily be different in some details to its predecessor. Various assumptions made about aspects of its grammar will need to be re-thought as new evidence comes to light or as additional information is taken into account.

The reclamation of Kurna will be analysed in detail in Chapter 7.

4.3 Kurna Language Revival: The Sociolinguistic Study

Analysis of the revival of Kurna is fundamentally a sociolinguistic research question. My roles within this revival have been many and varied and include teaching, advising, curriculum writing, preparing resources and Kurna language materials, songwriting, developing new expressions and carrying out translations of various kinds at the request of members of the Kurna community. The main methodology I have employed is best described as 'action research' or 'participatory action research', a research methodology applied extensively within the field of Aboriginal Education.

This research project grew out of a working relationship through prior active involvement in Nunga languages revival programs and Kurna language revival in particular.

4.3.1 A Longitudinal Study

My sociolinguistic research is fundamentally a longitudinal study, or a diary study, over a period of almost nine years, of a community's attempts to reclaim their language. As such, I have targetted key Kurna people who have begun using the language, who have participated in formal language learning programs, who have demonstrated support for the programs or have expressed their opinions. It focuses on a small number of Kurna individuals at the forefront of language revival activities, and on the programs with which they, and I, are associated.

My informants are not, in any sense, chosen at random. I have not attempted to survey the entire Kurna or Nunga population, nor have I attempted to obtain a representative sample¹. Rather, I have focused on those involved with the language in one way or another. Kurna

¹A study of attitudes towards the Kurna language and language programs would make an interesting research project. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is probably best conducted by a researcher who is more distant from the programs than myself to avoid the effects of the 'aggravated observer's paradox'.

people involved in this study have, to a large extent, been self-selecting through their involvement in the language movement. Almost all Kaurna people I accessed were known to me through a working relationship by their participation in workshops and courses, or by their association with Kaurna programs. In addition, a few individuals were sought out on the advice of others or because I had heard they were using the language or had a particular interest in it.

My co-workers and learners of Kaurna were aware of their central role in the research process. They knew why I took notes and willingly took part in the research process, often volunteering information. I have tried to be as "up-front" as possible regarding the nature of my research. On commencement of the PhD I contacted a number of Kaurna Elders to explain what I was doing and also made contact with the Chair of KACHA. With changes to the leadership of the Committee I have made contact with and informed incoming chairpersons of the Kaurna language programs and my research.

I have attempted to observe and document the use of the Kaurna language in all its domains of usage, though I am necessarily restricted in the extent to which I can access private domains within Kaurna community organisations, such as KACHA and within Nunga households. I am forced to rely heavily on secondhand reportage in these domains. However, to this point in time, Kaurna is mostly used within the public domain and within formal language programs which are readily accessible.

4.3.2 Action Research

Action research, sometimes known as 'participatory action research' has its roots in educational sociology going back at least to the 1950s. Shumsky (1956: 182) describes it as follows:

An action research movement is potentially a grass roots approach to the solution of community problems. It means activating the social and spiritual life of the community in a continuous search for self-improvement. It means providing a social setting where people can work together, dream together of a better community, and try to translate their dreams into the language of action and evaluation.

Shumsky was writing many years ago, but his words have a contemporary ring. Whilst the reclamation of Kaurna is not seeking a solution to a community problem as such, Shumsky's words encapsulate the aspirations of those involved. Action research, as a problem-centred research methodology, typically focuses on topics related to increasing participation in programs or improving educational outcomes. 'Action research' was promoted particularly by Deakin University (see McTaggart, 1989; Marika et al 1990) in research carried out in the Northern Territory, especially Yirrkala and is advocated by Williams & Stewart (1992) as an appropriate research methodology for researchers working in Aboriginal communities.

The important point about action research is that the fruits of the research are returned to the community immediately and that the members of the community in which the research is carried out are a part of the research process at all stages. Williams & Stewart (1992) cite Hall's (1978) six criteria for research that "seeks to break "the monopoly of knowledge"" as follows:

1. A research process can be of immediate and direct benefit to a community (as opposed to serving merely as the basis for an academic paper or obscure policy analysis).
2. A research process should involve the community or population from the formulation of the problem to the discussion of how to seek solutions and the interpretation of findings.
3. The research process should be seen as a total educational experience which serves to establish community needs and increase awareness and commitment within the community.
4. The research process should be viewed as a dialectical process, a dialogue over time and not as a static picture from one point in time.
5. The object of the research process, like the object of the educational process, should be the liberation of human creative potential and the mobilisation of human resources for the solution of social problems.
6. A research process has ideological implications. Knowledge is power.

(Hall, 1978: 161-163)

Whilst action research is not traditionally a favoured research methodology in the field of linguistics², which has tended to view linguistic phenomena and languages in isolation from their speakers, it is precisely the kind of research method needed in our attempts to rebuild the Kaurna language. It is vital that Kaurna people are involved at every step of the way and have a measure of "ownership" and "control" over both the research and especially the resultant language.

The six criteria cited above have all been addressed in a direct manner in this project. It will become obvious from the comments of the main proponents, just how empowering this experience has been.

4.3.2.1 The Teaching Programs

This thesis grew out of my prior involvement with language revival activities and the teaching of Kaurna. From the outset, the results of my research has been fed back into the community, primarily through the teaching programs. Historical materials of particular interest have been copied and circulated. I have written several discussion papers for circulation³. The teaching programs and supporting materials and resources have been developed on the basis of my research.

The Kaurna language teaching programs have been set up using a 'team-teaching' approach in their delivery. This 'team-teaching' model for the teaching of Indigenous languages was advocated by Joyce Hudson in a *Handbook for the Teaching of Aboriginal Languages in Primary Schools* (Ministry of Education of Western Australia, 1992) and adopted by the AILF Project⁴. The teaching team in the Kaurna context consists of classroom teacher, language specialist and linguist. Other activities, such as the Kaurna Songbook project, engage the skills of an even larger and more diverse 'team' of people.

There is a sense in which other members of the teaching-team, particularly the language specialists, take ownership not only of the Kaurna program, but of the research underpinning

²In recent years with the establishment of language centres and the employment of linguists within them, much more collaborative linguistic research has been carried out. Much of this research could be described as "action research".

³ For example, in 1996 I prepared a discussion paper titled 'Kaurna Numbers, Maths and the Quantification of Time' which was sent to key Kaurna people for comment.

⁴Most Kaurna programs have been set up directly under the AILF Project or draw heavily from it.

this thesis. On a number of occasions they have volunteered information regarding the use of Kaurna in situations in which I am not present. This is true also of the adult students involved in these programs and of members of the Kaurna community. Some Kaurna Elders will, from time to time, ring me for assistance or simply to volunteer information. The research contributing to this thesis is seen as part and parcel of the reclamation of the Kaurna language, an undertaking to which they are ideologically committed.

4.3.2.2 Requests for Assistance

Throughout the course of this research, I have received a variety of requests for assistance of various kinds from certain members of the Kaurna community, school programs, government agencies and the general public. Often these requests are passed on to me via KACHA, the Aboriginal Education Unit, YWW or some other body. Requests are sometimes for information regarding local Aboriginal history or the meaning of place names. Requests from all quarters for Kaurna names, for various purposes, are very common. As a matter of protocol, I provide advice on appropriate names, but insist that it is not my right as a non-Kaurna person to say whether or not the enquirer should use it. I refer them to KACHA, Lewis O'Brien or another Elder and often check to see if the caller did indeed consult with Kaurna people. These arrangements have worked fairly well until now, but a more formal arrangement may need to be put in place in response to increasing concern within the community about copyright issues. See Chapter 10. Sometimes Kaurna people check with me on the choice of a name they have already made in fulfilling these requests. In all these instances the details have been noted and added to the data base. Names and naming practices are discussed in some detail in section 9.1.

Requests for assistance sometimes involve much more. In 1992, a major request came from the Aboriginal Education unit to translate a children's story book, *Tucker's Mob* (Mattingley, 1992) into Kaurna. I was also asked to assist, at the direction of KACHA, in the preparation of a tape-recording for an architecture installation in the 1996 Adelaide Festival of Arts.

On a number of occasions I have been asked by Kaurna people translate speeches into Kaurna. In the early stages, I have recorded the Kaurna translation on a tape for them to practise in addition to providing a written transcript. On other occasions I have been asked for assistance in translating songs or poems. Some of these requests happen within the context of formal Kaurna courses, but on other occasions requests may come from individuals not directly associated with formal programs.

In 1996 I was approached by Dot Davey, a Kaurna woman within the Adelaide City Council to develop a detailed Kaurna place names proposal for the city parklands and squares. Prior to that, I had been approached by Malcolm Lane, a Nunga Ranger at Belair National Park for assistance in developing a Kaurna walking trail proposal. These, and other requests are discussed in section 9.3.

Dealing with requests for assistance of this nature, generates much of the data upon which this thesis is based.

Of course, many requests for assistance, most of them seeking names, are directed to KACHA and members of the Kaurna community. Probably only a small fraction of these requests are referred on to me. Others are addressed by Kaurna people themselves, or perhaps not addressed at all. I get to hear about some of these requests at a later date, but much of this activity probably escapes my attention altogether. However, instances recorded here in this thesis would be representative of the kinds of purposes for which Kaurna words are being used for naming purposes.

A number of Kaurna people, including Lewis O'Brien, Cherie Watkins and Paul Dixon, former chair of KACHA, have been questioned about requests for assistance that they have fielded. These enquiries reveal numerous instances of which I have been previously unaware.

4.3.3 Monitoring the Use of Kaurna

Throughout this study, I have attempted to monitor and document the use of Kaurna both within the language courses, but more importantly within the public domain and within the home. The use of Kaurna goes hand in hand with requests for assistance discussed in 4.3.2.2. These were documented as they arose. Addressing these requests and following up subsequent developments is a major aspect of my action research.

Monitoring includes the use of Kaurna names, the use of Kaurna in signage, artwork, publications, electronic media and oral usage. The latter has been accomplished primarily by direct observation of the Kaurna programs and of public events, taking note of characteristics of the message, interlocutors, audience, purpose of communication and other parameters. In this, I have been guided by Saville-Troike's (1989: 107-180) framework for the analysis of communicative events and Hymes (1986) ethnography of communication.

Further, I have scanned telephone books for Kaurna names and their users interviewed by phone in an attempt to establish their origins. Not surprisingly, in many cases the origins of names remains obscure. Businesses change hands, the original people involved in the naming process may have moved long ago or died. There are also some surprises illustrating the need for caution, not to take names at face value. For instance, a business Katanya Furniture in Salisbury was noted. Kartanya is a birthorder name referring to the first born child if a female. However, on enquiry it emerged that the business was named after two daughters Katrina and Tanya forming the blend Katanya. The linking of Katanya with a word from a local Indigenous language came as a complete surprise to the proprietors, who were pleased to hear of the coincidental association.

4.3.3.1 Participant Observation

'Participant observation' is a familiar method within sociolinguistics and is defined as follows:

participant observation

a research procedure used in different types of research, including language research, in which the researcher or observer takes part in the situation he or she is studying as a way of collecting data for further study.

It is claimed that an observer who is also a participant can understand a situation more fully than an observer who is merely looking on from the outside. (Richards, Platt & Weber, 1985: 208)

See also the discussion of participant observation by Saville-Troike (1989: 119-121).

Much of the data for this thesis has been obtained through participant observation in Kaurna language programs set up in several locations since 1989. I have been involved in the promotion, design and teaching of most of these programs, which are analysed in detail in Chapter 8.

In researching the use of Kaurna in the public domain, occasions on which Kaurna language has been spoken or Kaurna songs have been sung have been noted. On many of these occasions I have been involved in the writing of the speech prior to its delivery and on some occasions, in the actual singing of the songs, as a member of a singing group. As a non-Aboriginal person I do not deliver Kaurna speeches, except within the context of a workshop or Kaurna language course.

However, there is a certain amount of Kaurna language activity which takes place independently of myself. In these instances I am a mere observer of Kaurna language use. The amount of Kaurna language activity which takes place without my prior knowledge is increasing. Some Kaurna individuals are now more confident in preparing their own speeches, no longer feeling the need to check with or ask for the help of a linguist. Many of these speeches though are based on patterns previously established and developed in workshops which I have run. Sometimes Kaurna is used in public without my knowledge until well after the event. Undoubtedly there are many occasions which escape my notice altogether. It is becoming increasingly difficult to remain fully informed as the number of users increases and the use of Kaurna in public becomes more commonplace.

At times I might be just another member of a large crowd of hundreds or even thousands of people. More often, however, I am more directly involved in the teaching and delivery of Kaurna programs, in meetings, or in projects of one kind or another.

Aggravated Observer's Paradox

In this case, the researcher is not just an observer in the back of the room or at the edge of the circle, trying to make themselves as inconspicuous as possible so as to minimize their influence on the subject matter under research. This was a matter which preoccupied Labov: how to "observe the way people use language when they are not being observed" (Labov, 1972a: 61) and came to be known as the **Observer's Paradox**. It is difficult to know how people feel about using Kaurna in my presence. Undoubtedly it makes some people feel uncomfortable in

the same sense that knowing there is someone in the audience or class who knows much more about the topic than you do as the lecturer or speaker out the front. People probably take less risks in using the language in my presence, than they might otherwise take amongst themselves.

However, the nature of this research is fundamentally different to Labov's sociolinguistic research which focused on phonetic detail and the use of certain linguistic features as markers of group membership or position in society. There would be little point in attempting that kind of research in relation to Kaurna at the present time, though it may yield fruitful results at some point in the future in coming to understand the nature of revernacularisation and the relationship between English, Nunga English, 'modern' Kaurna and 'traditional' Aboriginal languages, should the 'revival' of Kaurna progress that far.

There is added complexity to the nature of participant observation in this case. On the one hand, the researcher is at the very centre of the Kaurna language revivalist efforts, and in many ways is responsible for the ways in which the language is developing and being used. On the other hand, the researcher, as a non-Indigenous person, is an outsider. Unlike the kind of participant research carried out by an anthropologist in Papua and New Guinea, the researcher does not live in a Nunga household. Whilst I am involved to some extent in Nunga social and political activities, I am not a member of the Nunga or Kaurna community. The nature of this research would be quite different if I were a Kaurna person.

My situation leads to a rather extraordinary kind of participant observation. I am simultaneously generating much of the subject matter of the research, whilst at the same time being an outsider. Labov (1972b: 255-292) discusses "The Linguistic Consequences of Being a Lame". A 'lame' is an outsider, an isolated individual, who speaks the vernacular code but not quite in the same way that insiders or full group members do. Labov applies the concept to linguists who often use themselves as 'informant' and use their own intuitions as data and gives us a salutary warning:

To refine the intricate structure of one's own thoughts, to ask oneself what one would say in an imaginary world where one's own dialect is the only reality, to dispute only with those few colleagues who share the greatest part of this private world - these academic pleasures will not easily be abandoned by those who were early detached from secular life. The student of his own intuitions, producing both data and theory in a language abstracted from every social context, is the ultimate lame. (Labov, 1972b: 292)

I am in a position where I am "producing both data and theory in a language abstracted from every social context", though not in the same way that Labov originally intended when he wrote this passage. I am a 'lame' in a double sense, that of a non-Aboriginal outsider and that of a linguist generating and abstracting Kaurna language data in a situation somewhat divorced from its community.

In this role, I bear considerable responsibility for my part in the development of the Kaurna language, which in turn has a considerable impact on the construction of Kaurna identity and

Kaurna culture. This could potentially have far-reaching implications for the future, not only for the Kaurna community, but the role of Indigenous languages in formal education and the relationships between black and white Australians in Adelaide. As Jordan says:

Academics must take responsibility for their part in the construction of Aboriginal worlds and for the directions in which their writings and their deliberation unwittingly contribute to Aboriginal identity by the very way in which their research topics are conceptualised. (Jordan, 1988a: 128)

Under these circumstances, it is imperative that I continually refer back to the Kaurna community. I must be prepared to listen and take direction from them and defer to the Kaurna Elders, particularly in relation to matters of cultural significance.

4.3.3.2 Reported Usage

Whilst monitoring of the use of Kaurna has primarily been accomplished by direct observation, I have also made substantial use of information volunteered or obtained through direct questioning. This information comes principally from the core group of Kaurna users, but also from others who observed the use of Kaurna in situations and events at which I have not been present. Reported use, most often relying on memory, is sometimes imprecise and vague, as will be evident from data compiled in Appendices J1 and J3. Personal diaries and the KPS diary have been useful in jogging memories of events that took place in the recent past. Some information regarding the use of Kaurna has also been reported in questionnaires and interviews discussed in section 4.3.4.

Similarly, the use of Kaurna names is noted whenever they are encountered and attempts have been made to ascertain the circumstances under which they were applied. Particular note is taken of the use of Kaurna names within the Nunga community and by the Nunga community.

4.3.3.3 Collection of Ephemera

An attempt has been made to collect any article, newsletter, brochure, booklet, notice or other materials relating to the use of the Kaurna language. Such materials are currently limited in number. Of course it is quite impossible to collect all such materials as many local events take place without my knowledge and such information is often not widely circulated.

Kaurna programs have received some press coverage in local and national newspapers and via radio and television. Occasionally snippets of a Kaurna speech is heard on evening television news, sometimes without any forewarning. Press clippings have been collected and noted.

4.3.4 Language Attitudes

The sociolinguistic study involves not only monitoring the use of Kaurna, but also documenting attitudes to the language and the community's aspirations for its revival. Attitudes expressed in public have been compiled and the views of the main participants have been actively sought in the course of this study. Insights are gained from reading students' journals as they reflect on their learning of the Kaurna language and their reasons for participating in the Kaurna language courses. Permission has been sought before I use these comments in this

study. Further informal observations are made, jotting things down that students or others say, making observations in the classroom and in the community.

4.3.4.1 Public Statements

The views of several Kaurna people towards their language are available in published sources (O'Brien, 1990; Amery, 1995a; SSABSA, 1996c; DETE, 1998a). In addition, a number of Kaurna people have been interviewed on national and state radio and have made statements to the press. Kaurna language revival has been addressed in several DETE forums or public forums and through guest lectures in various courses of study. Some of these lectures have been recorded on audio or video tape, with the speaker's permission, and transcribed.

For the purpose of this thesis, public statements have been used in preference to interviews as issues of confidentiality and 'insider' information do not arise. Through making public statements, the author or interviewee has chosen to speak to a wide audience. However, I have supplemented this information with interviews and questionnaires, which may be fashioned along direct lines of enquiry.

4.3.4.2 Interviews and Questionnaires

I interviewed on tape a number of Kaurna people and others closely associated with the reclamation of Kaurna. These tapes have been transcribed and excerpts used within the body of this thesis to illuminate the social context in which the language revival is taking place. Interviews were semi-structured. A list of questions were pre-prepared, but the interviews were allowed to flow as freely as possible. See Saville-Troike (1989: 123-129) for a discussion of ethnographic interviewing techniques.

In order to partly circumvent the observer's paradox, I have made use of interviews conducted by others. Prior to the interview, interviewees were informed and consulted about the subsequent use of the data for this PhD project. Jenny Burford, a teacher at KPS, has a long-standing close relationship with Auntie Alice Rigney and other staff. By contrast, Helen Reilly, another student in the KL&LE course at the University of Adelaide is a relative newcomer to Kaurna language. Jenny and Helen conducted interviews with key Kaurna people as far as the Kaurna language is concerned. These interviews perhaps yielded some data that would not have come out in interviews conducted by myself and provide an important balance to my own interviews. Jenny Burford also obtained interviews of students at KPS on video tape that would've been inaccessible to me. In this undertaking she took care to obtain prior parental permission.

Interviewees were asked if they wished to be identified or not, should I quote them in the thesis. All interviewees preferred for their contributions to be identified and were proud of their involvement in the project.

4.3.5 The Balance Between Qualitative and Empirical Data

Both qualitative and quantitative data contribute to the sociolinguistic analysis, though as a longitudinal study, qualitative data dominates. Action research, participant observation, introspection and interviews in the main generate qualitative data. Empirical research techniques have not been employed to any great extent, with the exception of a student evaluation of teaching conducted on the KL&LE course by the University of Adelaide's Advisory Centre for University Education (ACUE).

A certain amount of additional data was also able to be quantified. The frequency of delivery of Kaurna speeches or performance of Kaurna songs in public are important indicators of language activity and revival. This data has been presented in the form of graphs, indicating clear trends. Enrolment and attendance figures have also been collected.

In 1991, Peter Gale distributed questionnaires amongst parents and caregivers of Nunga children attending four urban schools with the highest Aboriginal enrolments in an attempt to survey attitudes towards Nunga languages. Whilst Gale had the support of the schools and Aboriginal Education Workers working within them, the response rate was predictably poor. Only 14 questionnaires were returned from amongst 65 distributed (Gale, 1991: 103). Gale made little use of the survey results because he did not feel they were representative, but has made the raw data available to me. Not surprisingly, the 14 questionnaires returned were strongly in favour of the teaching of Nunga languages and obviously represented enthusiastic and motivated elements within the Nunga parent group.

There would be little point in conducting empirical studies of the nature carried out by Labov (1972a; 1972b), Milroy (1980), Milroy & Milroy (1992) or Eckert (1988). The use of Kaurna is still largely monitored and confined to the formal language programs. Almost all users of Kaurna are known to the author. Most are in regular contact through participation in courses.

Empirical studies of Kaurna phonology as it is spoken in the 1990s would reveal little at this point in time. If and when normative unmonitored usage of the Kaurna language emerges, empirical studies along the lines of Labov could prove to be very useful in demonstrating the extent to which that normative usage is derived from English and Australian phonologies respectively or whether independent innovation is present.

Similarly, if and when Kaurna develops networks of speakers, network analysis along the lines of Milroy or Eckert could prove very useful techniques in monitoring the spread of Kaurna throughout the community and tracking the path of Kaurna language revival.

4.4 The Writing Process

In the writing of this thesis, I have tried to heed the words of Indigenous people, who are demanding control over their own intellectual and cultural property. These demands are expressed clearly by Lester Irabinna Rigney in the preface to this chapter. The Kaurna people at the centre of this study are prepared to enter into a partnership with academics so long as it is in the ultimate interests of the group, as they see it. They recognise my right of intellectual property to the material in this thesis, but, quite rightly, demand ultimate ownership over the Kaurna language. These issues are discussed in more depth in chapter 10. Furthermore, I sought guidance from the Kaurna community in relation to the ways in which their culture and their community is represented. In particular, I recognise their right of veto over the inclusion of culturally sensitive material. This thesis is directly concerned with Kaurna intellectual and cultural property. The research process and the products of the research are not mine alone. In a very real sense, they also belong to the Kaurna community. Indeed, it would have been a wasted and pointless exercise if the Kaurna community decided to disown it.

At a point when research towards this thesis was already well advanced, Lester Rigney offered to read my draft chapters and provide advice, particularly in relation to cultural sensitivities. He emerged as a kind of *de facto* third supervisor of this thesis⁵. Lester, as a participant in the Kaurna language program in 1997, came to recognize the importance of this research for his people, the Kaurna and the Narungga. He was keen to ensure that the research be legitimized within the Nunga community, to promote the continuation of Kaurna language revival activities after completion of the thesis. He was aware how some non-Aboriginal researchers had been discredited because of the ways in which they had portrayed Aboriginal people, or because they had disclosed information they shouldn't have. Because of this, their work had been rejected out of hand and shunned by Nungas, even though they contained much valuable and useful information.

Whilst the writing of this thesis is my own work, a number of Kaurna people, in addition to Lester, and staff at KPS, have taken a keen interest in its preparation. They have commented on earlier drafts and/or volunteered additional information. I acknowledge especially the contribution of Lewis O'Brien with whom I was able to discuss my approach to the writing of various sections and the inclusion of otherwise culturally and politically sensitive information. Lester has expressed a desire to see that this thesis is written in such a way that it will be accepted by the Kaurna community and will work in the long term interests of the Kaurna people and the Kaurna language. Alice Rigney has been a constant source of inspiration and guidance throughout and Cherie Watkins and I are continually grappling with issues together.

⁵If I were to approach this topic again, I would seek to legitimise Lester's supervisory role. Ideally, the need for Indigenous supervision of topics such as this should be given official recognition by tertiary institutions. I was fortunate in that an Indigenous academic took a keen personal interest in my project.

A short summary of my research findings was prepared for wide dissemination within the Kurna community. In addition, a copy of the entire thesis was presented to KACHA, KPS and individuals who assisted most in the research process.

4.4.1 Indigenous Control

Draft chapters were sent, in the first instance, to the core group consisting of Cherie Watkins, Alice Rigney, Lewis O'Brien, Georgina Williams and Lester Rigney for comment. Alice Rigney read draft materials carefully, giving advice on sensitivities and volunteering some additional information of which I had no knowledge. Taking Lester's advice, certain matters deemed problematic were then taken back to the group for further advice and guidance. In the first instance, I wanted to be satisfied that the core group, upon whom I draw heavily, were satisfied by the way I had presented their views. All too easily, comments can be taken out of context and construed in certain ways. They were given the opportunity to reshape comments and provide additional explanatory information according to the context of discussion. The core group were also granted the right to determine, to some extent, how their culture and community were portrayed, to ensure that the research acted in the interests of the community. This right was exercised primarily through the right of veto.

Does this compromise the veracity of the research and the independence of academia? Undoubtedly it does tend to produce a more optimistic scenario by omitting certain negative views and downplaying divisions within the community. However, it should be recognised that all research is ideologically driven, whether these constraints are in place or not. The reality is, that in the late 1990s, this is the context within this research is conducted. Within the constraints imposed upon me, both by the academic research process and by the Indigenous community, I have tried to faithfully represent views expressed to me and to consider a range of perspectives. But fundamentally, this is a proactive piece of research, in which I see myself working together with the Kurna community in the furthering of their interests and in their fight for recognition. There is a close alignment between my interests and those of the Kurna community. As I have already outlined, I am so centrally involved in the Kurna language movement, that any pretense of absolute objectivity is not sustainable.

However, it goes without saying, that tensions arise in a number of areas between the demands of academia and the assertion of Indigenous rights. Lester Rigney, who is himself an Indigenous researcher and academic, comments on the difficulty in balancing the expectations of Nunga elders against academic research requirements which are at times in conflict with each other. He worked with Kurna and Narungga elders and Nunga physical educators in an investigation of racism in sport. Rigney (1996c: 18) calls for a new method of data collection that is less intrusive and interrogative and operates within Indigenous terms of reference.

4.4.2 Sensitive Areas and Deliberate Omissions

Secret sacred material, where its status as such is known, has been deliberately omitted from this thesis, even though it was published in the historical materials and is already in the public domain. Further, there are matters of a sacred nature which I have avoided discussing explicitly or in detail out of respect of cultural values and sensibilities.

I am also obliged to avoid or downplay certain politically sensitive areas. Over the past decade since I have been working with Aboriginal people of South Australia and their languages, I have been privy to a certain amount of 'insider' information and community gossip.

At times community politics has a direct bearing on the revival of the Kurna language. Progress or setbacks are so often dependent on stances taken by individuals or family groups, both within and outside the Kurna community. A portrayal and analysis of the personality politics and group dynamics involved may indeed be revealing of the process of language reclamation and of potential pitfalls, but for me to do so would betray my privileged position. Certain matters should remain strictly "in house" out of respect for Nunga cultural values and personal privacy. Accordingly, there are certain matters that I have chosen not to raise or discuss and other matters about which my discussion has been somewhat superficial and circumspect. Decisions about what to include and what to omit have not been easy. Ultimately, however, I respect the right of veto by the core group of Kurna language activists in relation to these matters, though a somewhat 'rosier' picture may have emerged as a result.

4.5 Conclusion

The research methodology underpinning this thesis involves working on the language itself with standard linguistic techniques and methods and working in collaboration with members of the community to re-establish the functional links between the Kurna language, its community and the wider community within a broad ecological approach. A range of sociolinguistic research methods have been selected to monitor the use of Kurna and its incipient revival.

I carry out this research project on the understanding that the Kurna language is the intellectual and cultural property of the Kurna community and have attempted to faithfully present and represent the views and aspirations of the core language activists within the community.

CHAPTER 5 A SOCIOLOGICAL HISTORY OF KAURNA

Taking the things we need to survive as a race of people with us for our children NOW, we may still have life TOMORROW. Without a Cultural Identity we will be lost, with no sense of place; our spirit will die and we will enter into the Dreaming of the White Man's Nightmare.

(Georgina Williams¹, 1984: 24 in Mattingley & Hampton, 1988: 155)

5.0 Introduction

The story of the Kaurna is a remarkable story of survival, re-emergence and transformation of an identity and a culture that was largely shattered under the impact of European invasion of their lands more than 160 years ago. While the Kaurna population was decimated by disease and the people were forced off their lands, the roots were not completely severed.

In this chapter I trace the history of the Kaurna as a people and the history of the Kaurna language. I focus on aspects of Kaurna history which add to an understanding of the language ecology that existed at the time of the invasion of Kaurna lands by Europeans and the ways in which this ecology was disrupted. I focus particularly on contexts in which the Kaurna language was used and recorded and on government and mission policy which impacted directly on the use of the language. Records in this area are very patchy and inadequate. Still, the writings of the early missionaries, government officials and other settlers provide insights into the nature of this language ecology.

In recent times, the Kaurna have regrouped and are forging a distinctive Kaurna identity which is shaped by their past history. The Kaurna in the 1990s are characterised by both continuities and discontinuities with the past. Elements of the past, including the far-distant past, continue to have significance to Kaurna people today, who are making efforts to understand their past in order to build the future. The attention given to archaeology and prehistory by Kaurna people themselves is testament to this. The Kaurna draw on a long-standing connection with the Adelaide Plains, which has only recently been disrupted by the European invasion.

5.0.1 Nineteenth Century Portrayals of the Kaurna

Early observers of the Kaurna² sometimes wrote glowing reports in the tradition of the 'noble savage'. They were described as 'superior' to other Aboriginal groups. Colonial officials tried to present a picture of peace and harmony and of the Kaurna people welcoming the colonists to their lands. Later reports, however, pointed to the 'degraded' nature of the Indigenous peoples of the Adelaide Plains, after many apparently resorted to begging and prostitution following the theft of their lands. By the late 1840s, the Kaurna were portrayed as a weak remnant of a once

¹In the original article Georgina uses the name Telfer, but is cited under her maiden name, Williams, in Mattingley & Hampton (1988), the name she currently uses.

²The term Kaurna was not used in reference to the people of the Adelaide Plains in the nineteenth century. The Kaurna were usually referred to as the 'Adelaide Tribe', though a number of other terms were also occasionally used.

proud people. As early as 1850, some writers were claiming that the Kaurna were virtually 'extinct'.

From 1850 onwards, only scant passing references to the Kaurna are to be found, typically referring to some surviving remnants of the former 'Adelaide Tribe'. For instance, Cawthorne knew of the existence of just five Kaurna individuals belonging to one family in 1861 (Hemming, 1990: 132). Even Teichelmann, who had spent so much effort in documenting the language, referred in 1858 to the Kaurna as no longer existing³. The few nineteenth century references to the Kaurna after this invariably refer to the 'Adelaide Tribe' as 'extinct' (eg. Woods, 1879: ix; Stephens, 1889).

5.0.2 The Portrayal of the Kaurna in the Twentieth Century

The general belief amongst the European population at the turn of the twentieth century was that the 'Adelaide Tribe' had been extinct for several decades and there were few reminders of their former existence. However, there was a brief re-assertion of the existence of Aboriginal people with links to the Adelaide region with the 'discovery' of Ivaritji in 1919 by Daisy Bates. Ivaritji was then living at Bukkiyana. Little interest was taken in the Kaurna in the years following her death in 1929. The Kaurna or 'Adelaide Tribe' were again said to have ceased to exist.

Throughout the twentieth century there is an evolving change in the discourse on Kaurna people from, the 'last survivor' (eg *Advertiser*, 8 Dec 1927) and an 'extinct people' (eg Howchin, 1934; Edwards, 1972; Brunato, 1973) to a gradual recognition of the continuing existence and survival of the Kaurna people. In the 1980s, those who were aware of their existence generally referred to these survivors as 'Kaurna descendants'⁴. Only recently have the Kaurna now generally been rehabilitated to the status of 'a people'. Of course one still finds numerous references to 'descendants' and occasionally to the 'extinct Kaurna people', but there is a growing recognition of the existence of the Kaurna people, as a people, in their own right⁵.

5.1 The Kaurna Prior to the Invasion: Relevance for the Present

5.1.1 Occupation of the Adelaide Plains

Aboriginal occupation of the Adelaide Plains goes back a long way. According to Campbell (1979: 2) the Fleurieu Peninsula has been occupied for at least 18,000 years and, on the basis of Nullabor sites, archaeologists assume Aboriginal occupation of the region to be much older than that (Campbell, 1981b: 1). Two different types of tool technologies are evident on the Adelaide Plains. Tindale and Cooper named the earlier material 'Kartan' after Karta, the Kaurna

³Teichelmann writes "of the Aborigines who once inhabited the district round about Adelaide; for they have disappeared to a very few . . . the Tribe has ceased to be" in a letter to Grey dated 18 January 1858. This excerpt is found in item 56, section 40. Supplement: - Southern Australian Languages in Bleek's catalogue of the Sir George Grey collection, South African Public Library, Cape Town.

⁴Many Aboriginal people resent being referred to as a 'descendant'. They interpret this as a 'put down', that as a 'descendant' they are not 'real' Aboriginal people.

⁵ It is now commonplace for public events in Adelaide to be opened by Kaurna Elders and for Indigenous visitors to Adelaide to publically acknowledge that they are visiting and standing on Kaurna land.

name for Kangaroo Island, as only Kartan sites are present there, though they are also present on the mainland. Modern culture sites date from 8,000 years ago when present sea levels were stabilised. A number of campsites in the Moana area have been dated to more than 6,000 years BP and evidence of recent use of these sites, consisting of "reworked bottle glass and fragments of a clay pipe" are to be found in the same location (Ross, ed. 1984: 19, 22). The Moana Sub-Committee of the Anthropological Society of South Australia summarizes the situation:

The Aboriginal heritage of the Fleurieu Peninsula has been well established by stories of Ancestors from the Dreamtime, historical accounts and scientific investigations. The Peninsula has a rich and complex ancient history with patterns of economic exploitation and rituals practiced by Aboriginal people, still living today in South Australia, and going back for at least 10,000 years, possibly even beyond this point in time. (Ross, ed. 1984: 39)

Within the last few years, several new burial sites have been located at Greenfields and Gilman within the northern sector of the Adelaide Metropolitan area. These sites have yet to be dated accurately, but are believed to be at least several thousand years old. The *Advertiser* reported the Greenfields find, discovered on March 20 1992:

An Aboriginal burial and occupation site believed to be between 4,000 and 12,000 years old has been accidentally unearthed at Salisbury
. . . [it features] a valuable collection of items showing the area was a seasonal dwelling site used by Kaurna people for thousands of years until the time of white settlement. (Advertiser, 26 June 1992: 13)

Following excavation and investigation, the human bones (estimated at between 600 and 1,000 years old) were reburied by KACHA and archaeologists in June, 1995 (*Advertiser*, 24 June 1995: 10).

Howchin, in his book *Stone Implements of the Adelaide Tribe of Aborigines, Now Extinct*, notes that "the raw materials (as well as the types of implements) used by the Encounter Bay tribes were essentially the same as that used by the Adelaide Tribe, and are mostly quartzite" (Howchin, 1934: 4). Howchin points to the enmity between the Narrinyeri [Ngarrindjeri] and the 'Adelaide Tribe' [Kaurna] to account for "the absence of certain types of implements from the Adelaide groups which are (or were) commonly in use by the aborigines [sic] in other directions" (Howchin, 1934: 4).

Whilst Howchin uses the term 'Adelaide Tribe' in a restricted sense to refer to people belonging to "the coastal region near Adelaide, and southward to the River Onkaparinga" (Howchin, 1934: iv) he does provide archaeological evidence for the cultural unity of the people now known as the Kaurna who occupied the whole of the Adelaide Plains. Howchin explains:

A fraternal relationship existed between the Adelaide section and similar groups that were located along the coast, possessing centres at the mouth of the Onkaparinga, at Willunga and Aldinga, and along the mallee coastal plains to the north of Adelaide. These respective groups may be considered as practically included within the so-called Adelaide Tribe. Their modes of living, as well as their domestic and war implements, were practically the same. (Howchin, 1934: 4)

The archaeological evidence, whilst not conclusive, is consistent with the proposition that the Kaurna previously occupied sites along the southern coast as far as Encounter Bay (p.c. James Knight, June 1997). As mentioned in Chapter 1, I have argued (Amery, forthcoming) that the movement of Ngarrindjeri peoples into the southern Fleurieu Peninsula west of Encounter Bay is a recent, post European contact phenomenon and that these regions belonged to the Kaurna.

5.1.2 The Importance of Archaeology to Kaurna Today

This archaeological past is highly significant to Kaurna people today. Lewis O'Brien, a Kaurna Elder, was quoted by the *Advertiser* in relation to the Greenfields site as saying:

"It's very important that our community is involved with its own history It will be special to us as a sacred site; it will have meaning" (*Advertiser*, 26 June 1992: 13)

The *Advertiser* quoted Fred Warrior, a member of KACHA, in relation to the reburial:

The fact that the bones had been in a university in boxes had "been playing on the minds of a lot of our people", Mr Warrior said.

"We want all Kaurna people to know these bones have been reburied at last at the same site they were discovered in 1992." (*Advertiser*, 24 June 1995: 10)

In fact the formation of KACHA and the regrouping of the Kaurna people is rooted in the identification and protection of Kaurna sites. Interest in the Kaurna language has been a later development. The main pre-occupation of the Committee continues to be site protection in the face of development and its further encroachment on areas which had remained relatively intact until now. Some Kaurna people, such as Paul and Naomi Dixon, have shown a deep interest in archaeology and were engaged in identifying and sorting artifacts unearthed by developments such as Wirrina Cove and the Southern Expressway.

5.2 First Contacts

First contacts between the Kaurna and Europeans occurred rather late in Australia's colonial history. The colony of South Australia wasn't established until 1836, half a century after New South Wales. Exploration of Kaurna waters was also relatively late.

5.2.1 Early Exploration of South Australia

Europeans are known to have entered South Australian waters as early as 1627 in the Dutch ship *Gulde Zeepaert* captained by Pieter Nuyts, though there is no evidence to suggest that they entered Kaurna waters. Other explorers followed. The first documented entry into St Vincents Gulf was made by Mathew Flinders in *HMS Investigator* on 20 March, 1802. He named Kangaroo Island (he spelt it Kanguroo), Cape Jervis, Mt Lofty and other locations. Flinders met with the French expedition under the command of Captain Nicolas Baudin on the *Le Geographe* at Encounter Bay, on the 8 April, 1802. Neither Flinders nor Baudin report seeing any Aboriginal people in the Gulf, though Baudin did report seeing on the mainland "a fiery brilliant light, resembling that usually carried by those who fish on the seashore at night" in the early hours of the morning of 10 April, 1802 and thought that it might have been a signal from the *Investigator's* party that had gone ashore. However, on approaching the shore after sunrise, noone was seen. This sighting was attributed by Cooper (1952: 75) to "natives ..

using torches for fishing" (Cumpston, 1970: 19). The only conclusion to be drawn is that the Kaurna kept their distance during these early European exploratory voyages, but no doubt were observing the movements of the Europeans closely.

In 1829-1830 Charles Sturt explored the Murrumbidgee and Murray River systems, arriving at the Murray Mouth on 9 February, 1830. Sturt never actually ventured into Kaurna country. However, a number of locations within Kaurna country, including a number bearing names from the Kaurna language (Ponkaparringa [= Onkaparinga] Creek, Warcondilla Creek and Cutandilla) appear on his map which was published in his journal (Sturt, 1833). These names were presumably obtained from sealers or from the charts of other explorers⁶.

Shortly afterwards, Captain Collet Barker was instructed by the NSW Government to proceed from King George Sound in the *Isabella* to "examine the coastline, to ascertain whether there was a passage from Lake Alexandrina to St Vincent's Gulf" (Cumpston, 1970: 113). Barker landed at Noarlunga and trekked across to Mount Lofty on 17 April, 1831. He returned to the *Isabella* and sailed north to Port Adelaide, which he examined. Next he sailed south to Rapid Bay and walked overland to the Murray Mouth where he was speared by some Ngarrindjeri men on 30 April, 1831. There are no known records of Kaurna or any other South Australian language made by any of these explorers who entered Kaurna waters in the precolonial phase, though the possibility remains that something may still turn up.

5.2.2 Precolonial contacts - the sealers and whalers

The first European intruders into Kaurna waters were probably American sealers and whalers who may have visited Kangaroo Island and Kaurna lands even before 1800. They were certainly the first Europeans to make contact with the Kaurna.

Sealers and whalers operated in the southern ocean from the late eighteenth century following reports made by vessels returning to England in 1791 of numerous whales in Australian waters. An American whaler, the *Union*, under the command of Captain Pendleton, spent more than four months during the winter of 1803 on Kangaroo Island, where a second ship, the *Independence*, was built from local materials and the spare sails of the *Union* (Cumpston, 1970: 27-28). It is likely that another American ship, the *Elligood* visited Kangaroo Island in 1800, as Dr Leigh reported seeing a tree there in 1834 carved with the date 1800 (Cumpston, 1970: 3). It is even possible that the *Fairy*, from Boston could have visited Kangaroo Island in 1793 as it called in to St Paul island (midway between Western Australia and South Africa in the southern Indian Ocean)⁷.

⁶Sturt's map also includes Sturt River which was named by Capt. Collet Barker between April 21st and 27th 1831 (Royal Geographic Society of Australasia, 1989: 16A).

⁷The British ships, *Lion* and *Hindustan*, had also called in at St Paul island and may have proceeded via Kangaroo Island on their way to China.

Possibly the first long term stay by Europeans on Kangaroo Island was made by a gang of six sealers led by Joseph Murrell based at Harvey's Return in 1806 (Clarke, 1994a: 4). Kangaroo Island became a permanent base for gangs of sealers who were able to hunt the then numerous seals and trade skins with passing ships in return for provisions and women, brought initially from Tasmania. However, it wasn't long before the sealers were raiding the nearby mainland for Indigenous women, who were useful not only for their sexual favours, but also for hunting and skinning seals and processing skins. They were adept at living off the land and provided for the sealers. As Kangaroo Island was unoccupied by Aboriginal people, women could be captured and taken there with impunity. The sealers did not need to worry about reprisals from their husbands or other kin. The sealers and whalers were active in the vicinity of Kangaroo Island up until the establishment of the South Australian colony.

It is generally assumed by several authors (Pope, 1989: 13; Clarke, 1994a: 7) that most of the contact between the sealers and whalers based on Kangaroo Island and Indigenous peoples of the mainland was with the Ngarrindjeri. However, this is not the case. The sealers' main point of entry onto the mainland from Kangaroo Island was the Rapid Bay - Yankalilla region where the seas were calmer. Indeed, two early wordlists obtained from women originating from this region are both Kaurna. The earliest Kaurna wordlist was recorded in 1826 from Harry and Sally, members of a sealing party, then in King George Sound (Dumont d'Urville, 1833; Amery, forthcoming). Another woman, Kalloongoo, abducted from the region probably in the early 1820s also provided a Kaurna wordlist (Amery, 1996d)⁸. Such evidence suggests that it was the Kaurna who bore the brunt of the activities of the sealers and whalers in South Australia. Ngarrindjeri women were indeed involved, but the known cases where identities can be proved beyond doubt involve Tasmanian and Kaurna women. This matter is discussed at length in Amery (1996d).

It is unclear just how many Kaurna people were involved with sealers and whalers prior to 1836. Records are very sketchy indeed. The sealers, or 'straitsmen', as they were known, were mostly illiterate. Some were escaped convicts and fugitives from the law and would not want to write about their exploits. Aboriginal people often joined whaling and sealing ships, but were seldom listed in the ships crews. Hence they were largely invisible in any records that were written. Even so, several reports of Aboriginal women living with sealers on Kangaroo Island were made by passing ships. One of the earliest such reports was made by Captain Sutherland in 1819 when he noted that there were several Europeans living on the island who:

have carried their daring acts to an extreme, venturing on the mainland in their boats and seizing on the natives, particularly the women, and keeping them in a state of slavery, cruelly treating them on every trifling occasion.
(Sutherland, cited in Cumpston, 1970: 51)

The straitsmen were highly mobile and there was a constant passage of passing ships who transported the sealers and their women to various locations between Bass Straits and King George Sound and sometimes even further afield as far as Mauritius. Aboriginal women from

⁸The wordlists themselves will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

the mainland opposite Kangaroo Island, probably Kaurna women, were known to have been taken to New Zealand in the early 1820s. References to two such women are to be found in Cumpston (1970: 63, 66). One report concerns a sealer named Stuart who was encountered by Captain Edwardson of the *Snapper* in search of flax on the southern coast of New Zealand on 12 December, 1822:

The man Stuart had come from Kangaroo Island with a wife of the country and two children to settle in New Zealand, but having with his family been taken prisoner by the natives, he had adopted their customs, and was employed by the Chiefs Paihi, Tapi and To Ouherra as a pilot round all the points of the coast and for finding all the different hiding places of the Americans. (Cumpston, 1970: 63)

These encounters occurred in the Chalky Bay - Preservation Bay area of southwest of the South Island of New Zealand. The other case concerned a woman and her two year old child who had been left on South Cape, Stewart Island to the south of the South Island of New Zealand, by the American ship the *General Gates* in 1822. She was repatriated to Sydney by the *Samuel* on 2 April, 1824. Cumpston quotes a report in the *Sydney Gazette* on 18 April, 1824:

Mr Dawson, commander of the *Samuel*, has brought with him this voyage a black native woman with a child of two years old. She had been taken by the American ship *General Gates* from Kangaroo Island and left on the South Cape of New Zealand with a gang of sealers. After these men had been there some short time, a horde of the savages came upon them and nearly massacred all the party. The poor native, with her little one, took shelter under a rock, till the New Zealanders left the spot. For eight months the mother and child lived, without fire, on birds and seals. They are yet on board the *Samuel*, and were in good health when rescued by Mr Dawson from danger. (cited in Cumpston, 1970: 66)

Presumably, the woman was repatriated to Kangaroo Island, the *Samuel's* next destination.

It is possible that these two accounts refer to the same woman. Both accounts involve sealers named Stuart and Stewart. However, the two accounts don't add up, differing in several points of detail. The locations are different. In the first account, Stuart's family was said to have been taken prisoner, in the second account the South Australian woman escaped the Maoris. In the first account, the woman had two children, in the second she was said to have one child, aged two years. Most likely, the reports refer to two different women. Of course it is possible that there were other Aboriginal women also taken to New Zealand during this period.

The population of Kangaroo Island fluctuated wildly in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. Clarke, citing a report from the *Australian* notes that:

The total population of Kangaroo Island was estimated at about two hundred people in 1826, although this figure probably includes all the men working on boats in the southern coastal region of South Australia. (Clarke, 1994a: 8)

Some years later, the sealer John Jones sailed from Launceston in the *Henry* to Kangaroo Island in July 1833 and reported in 1835 that:

He met a tribe of natives on Cape Jervis, consisting of ten families. Five of the men worked for him occasionally, and two were with him constantly for near five months. To the two who remained with him long he gave pistols, powder, and shot; to the others slop-clothing. He saw their women and children only at a distance, and saw no other natives on the rest of the coast along Gulf St. Vincent; but their fires were very numerous. (Jones, cited in Clarke, 1994a: 13)

This report suggests that by 1833, the Kurna were wise to the activities of the sealers. They were prepared to participate in the sealers' activities in exchange for goods, but kept their women at a distance. It is likely that Ngarrindjeri women were more prominent in these later years of sealing, as the Kurna became more wary. Sealers were known to have walked from Yankalilla to the Murray Mouth in search of women.

Some of the sealers treated their women and their children exceedingly harshly (Clarke, 1996b). The Kurna woman, Kalloongoo was one such case (Amery, 1996d) and she gave evidence of acts of brutality committed on Kangaroo Island. Other women, however, fared somewhat better. Some, such as the Kurna woman Emue, preferred to stay with the sealers rather than accompany George Augustus Robinson to Flinders Island (Plomley, 1966: 327; 1987: 366-7, 416).

Aboriginal women living with the sealers had a high mortality rate. They were made to carry out the dangerous sealing work such as swimming out to wave-lashed rocks to club seals. The children born of liaisons between sealers and Aboriginal women were often killed at birth, sometimes by the sealer and occasionally by the woman herself (Clarke, forthcoming: 10, 36). Children were often regarded as a hindrance, though other sealers recognised their future potential as valued labour. The women were regarded as expendable and easily replaced through direct raids or purchase, especially in the early days of sealing. Some sealers, such as Meredith, engaged in a regular trade of captive women for sale to other sealers, and was responsible for the capture of Emue from Cape Jervis (Plomley, 1987: 366).

It could well be that the activities of the sealers and whalers had a much greater impact on the Kurna nation, particularly the southern Kurna clans who inhabited the Cape Jervis, Rapid Bay and Yankalilla areas, than has previously been acknowledged. Repeated raids over several decades could have reduced the population significantly. This issue is taken up further in section 5.5. In terms of our knowledge of the Kurna language, Harry and Sally (Amery, forthcoming) and Kalloongoo (Amery, 1996d) are important for they provide two totally independent wordlists, the earliest records of the language.

5.2.3 First Encounters with the Colonists

When the colonists arrived in 1836, most Kurna were aloof at first, choosing to observe the strangers from a distance and to get on with their own lives. Most likely they never expected the colonists to stay. After all, they had seen numerous sealers and whalers and several explorers come and go and perhaps thought that the best way of dealing with such intrusions into their country was to avoid them.

The Colonial Secretary, Robert Gouger, reported on early interactions with Aboriginal people in a 13 page letter in 1837, effectively the first year of the colony. He begins:

Though I landed in South Australia without any feeling of fear of the natives, I nevertheless felt great anxiety respecting them. I knew full well that if the first encounter with them should be unfriendly, that the effect might be truly deplorable. (in Gouger, 1838: 46)

Gouger, and other 'founding fathers' of the South Australian colony were well aware of the atrocities committed by colonists in other parts of the continent, especially in Tasmania and New South Wales, and were anxious that "our province would be unstained by native blood" (Gouger, 1838: 46). He comments favourably on the good relationships established by Light's party and Aboriginal people at Rapid Bay⁹.

Some Kaurna, such as Sally who lived with sealers on Kangaroo Island, were exceedingly forward, outgoing and self-confident in the presence of the colonists. By 1836, Sally was already well-travelled. She had spent the best part of two years in Western Australia, living with an abandoned group of sealers, left there by the *Hunter* and the *Governor Brisbane* in 1826. In 1828 she was sent to Sydney by Major Lockyer for the trial of sealers in connection with murders they committed at King George Sound. She had obviously made her way back to Kangaroo Island, as she was noticed there in 1831 by members of Captain Collet Barker's party who had previously been in King George Sound. Following the death of Barker near the Murray Mouth, Sally and some sealers were engaged to ascertain the circumstances in which he died. In 1836, she met up with passengers and crew of the *Africaine* which had pulled in to Kangaroo Island prior to landing at Holdfast Bay on the mainland. Her services were again enlisted to help find six passengers who had become lost when they attempted to walk across Kangaroo Island. See Amery (forthcoming) for details.

In the initial phase of colonisation, sealers often acted as intermediaries and cultural brokers between the Kaurna and the colonists. Colonel Light's survey party engaged three or four sealers from Kangaroo Island, taking them to Rapid Bay in September 1836. One, named Cooper, brought his two wives with him. The identity of Coopers' wives has been disputed. Pope (1989: 13) assumes they were Ngarrindjeri. Other sources (Mollison, 1976; Plomley & Henley, 1990 and Cumpston, 1970: 132-133) say that one of these women was a Tasmanian named Sal. However, it is likely that at least one of these women was Kaurna and that the people Cooper recruited from Encounter Bay to tend Light's vegetable garden at Rapid Bay were Kaurna people (as I argue in Amery, forthcoming). Two Kaurna words, *wongu* 'small opossum' and *welta* 'hot', and an unidentified exclamation *wurra-dourra* were documented by members of Light's party.

Almost a year later, Cooper acted as interpreter for Aborigines at Glenelg whose belongings had been stolen by two white sailors named Hoare and Moon (*South Australian Register*, 8 July 1837: 4). The four male Aboriginal plaintiffs were living at Glenelg and had erected a house in imitation of the European dwellings. It is highly likely that these men were Kaurna, as

⁹See also Gouger (1838: 199-200).

these events occurred well before reports of the movement of Aborigines from other districts into Adelaide. So it seems that Cooper had gained a good working knowledge of Kaurna through his association with Kaurna people on Kangaroo Island and the southern Fleurieu Peninsula. Unfortunately, there are no known records of Cooper's Kaurna.

Whilst many colonists were apprehensive and avoided contact with Aboriginal people, a few such as William Williams and James Cronk, both passengers aboard the *Africaine*, actually sought out Kaurna people and succeeded in establishing friendly relationships with them. According to Mary Thomas, a fellow passenger, Williams met by accident with a man and a boy about five miles inland from Glenelg on 1 December 1836 (Hope, 1968: 115f), a little more than two weeks after their arrival. Gouger's description of the first encounter with Aboriginal people at the new settlement at Holdfast Bay undoubtedly also refers to Williams:

About a fortnight or three weeks after landing at Glenelg, one of the settlers, who was out shooting, saw at a distance a native man and boy employed in making a fire; he prudently withdrew his sporting charge, and put a bullet into each barrel in case of being obliged to defend himself. Having taken this precaution, he advanced silently until within a short distance, and then laughed heartily. The natives immediately seized their spears; but as he continued laughing, and held a biscuit to them, they put down their spears and approached him. They then embraced, and he succeeded in bringing them down to the settlement.

(Gouger, 1838: 47)

However, James Cronk, in a letter written to his mother on 2 November 1837 claimed to be the "first person as ventured over the hills in search of them". Like Williams, Cronk just happened to stumble across a party of four Kaurna men whilst out hunting. The four men were enticed with sugar and biscuits to visit the European settlement. A few days later, Cronk, laden with biscuits and sugar, went out in search of the Kaurna and found a party of 35, about 18 miles from Glenelg, including the four men they had met a few days before. After hunting and camping with them for two days, he persuaded the group to come down to their encampment at Holdfast Bay. His letter, quoted below, portrays the nature of relationships that he had established with the Kaurna:

The next morning I persuaded them to come down to our tents: the women objected to this at first; I then made motions to them that I would give them plenty of sugar and biscuit, then they consented to come; but when the women saw the ships in the bay they stared with astonishment to look at them. They stopped close to my tent that night, the next day they went away: they came down again in about a fortnight afterwards, and had several corroborees; but now they stop about the town, and fetch wood and water for the people for some bread. They now bring me in young cockatoos and opossum-skins for which I give them bread in return. . . The natives, just before I wrote these few lines to you, asked me to go with them about a hundred miles in a north-east direction, and asked me to take two kangaroo dogs with me . . . the natives that way are very frightened of us, for they were a coming to have a look at us, when there was a ship a coming in fired two big guns, which frightened them so they turned back again.

(Cronk, in Gouger, 1838: 100f)

Cronk assessed his own ability to speak Kaurna as follows:

I have been a good deal about the country since I have been here, and had a good deal of intercourse with the natives. I begin to talk their language very fair for considering the short time I have been here.

(Cronk, in Gouger, 1838: 100f)

5.3 Full-Scale Invasion of Kaurna Lands: Colonisation, 1836.

A number of histories of the colonization of South Australia have been written (see Kwan, 1987; Richards ed., 1986; Jaensch ed., 1986; and Gibbs, 1995). Several authors have focussed on the impact of the invasion and relationships between Aborigines and the colonists (see Hassell, 1966). Mattingley & Hampton (1988) in *Survival in Our Own Land* have attempted to provide an Aboriginal perspective on South Australia's history. Pope (1989) in *Resistance and Retaliation* has portrayed the Aboriginal response to invasion, whilst Foster (1993) in a PhD thesis titled *An Imaginary Dominion: the representation and treatment of Aborigines in South Australia*, makes a detailed study of references to Aborigines in historical documents. All these sources focus on the Kaurna in the early phase of colonisation, for it was the Kaurna who bore the brunt of the invasion. However, little attention is given in any of these sources to language issues. It is the language ecology, and policies which impacted on that ecology, that I wish to focus on here.

5.3.1 South Australia - the colony that was to have been different

By the 1830s the British government was painfully aware of the breakdown of relationships between the colonists and the Indigenous inhabitants in New South Wales and Tasmania, and indeed in other colonies throughout the world. The planners of the South Australian colony wished to establish a peaceful settlement in which black and white could live side-by-side as brothers and where Aboriginal people could be 'civilised' and Christianized and partake in the 'benefits' that England had to offer. The original South Australian Act tabled in 1834 was rejected by the House of Commons because it did not make sufficient provision for the Indigenous inhabitants of South Australia.

Indeed, (prior to the hangings of 1839 and 1840 associated with the killing of shepherds and the *Maria* massacre) articles appeared in the press written in glowing terms, claiming that South Australia was the only colony in the world ever established without being tarnished by the blood of the Indigenous inhabitants.

Land rights and compensation for the use of Aboriginal lands were issues that were taken seriously in the early days of the colony. There were frequent letters and articles published in the press in the 1830s. Some colonists tried to force the Governor and the South Australian Company to act in the interests of Aboriginal people. Robert Cock, in a letter written to the Protector, reminded the government of the pledge of the Colonization Commissioners to set aside 20% of the lands "for the support and advancement of the natives". Accordingly he sent the Protector £3 16s 6d, which he calculated as 10% interest on the purchase price of one fifth of his property as rent for the land. A copy of his letter, signed A. Tenant, was later published in the paper. Cock concluded his letter with the statement:

I disclaim this to be either donation, grant, or gift, but a just claim the natives of this district have on me as an occupier of those lands.

(excerpt from letter by A. Tenant [Robert Cock] in *Southern Australian*, 15 Sept. 1838: 3)

Prompted by Cock's actions, on 5 May 1838 Wyatt, as interim Protector, wrote to the Colonial Secretary and the Governor pointing out the need for some permanent support for Aborigines "whose future means of existence is . . . seriously threatened by the tide of Emigration" (quoted in Kwan, 1987: 23). The matter was taken up with Lord Glenelg by the Acting Governor, George Stephen, on 5 October 1838 when he suggested that the rental from a certain portion of land in each district would provide a continual source of support (Kwan, 1987: 23). Governor Gawler, did in fact allocate several parcels of land¹⁰ in the Encounter Bay and Adelaide districts, though these were soon leased out to colonists when Aborigines failed to settle permanently on their 80 acre blocks and cultivate them.

George French Angas argued passionately at the Select Committee enquiry into South Australia, in March 1841, in favour of Indigenous rights to the land. He vehemently attacked the notion of *terra nullius* and attempted to point out the flaws in the South Australian Act of the British Parliament which established the colony. The Minutes of Evidence Taken at the Select Committee enquiry shows the strength of Angas' argument:

2408. From whence is your information regarding their [Aborigines] legal position derived?

- It is derived from an examination of those parts of the Act of Parliament which affect the position of the aborigines. This I hold to be a point of very great importance, because it is owing to a deficiency of the Act that no measures for their amelioration have been adopted. With respect to the Act, I conceive that those words in the preamble, which declare that South Australia consists of waste and unoccupied lands, clearly exclude the aborigines from any advantage whatever arising from the land; it does not even recognise their existence. They have no existence in a legal point of view, therefore no provision could be made for them by the commissioners. The natives cannot purchase and hold land. The commissioners are to declare, according to the Act, that all the lands of the said province are public lands, open to purchase by British subjects; consequently the natives can hold no property. In the next place, no grant of land can be legally made to the aborigines, because in the sixth section of the Act it is stated, that all lands are public lands open to purchase, and that the said public lands shall be sold in public for ready money.

(G.F. Angas evidence given at the Select Committee on South Australia, British Parliamentary Papers, Vol.2, 1841: 210)

Angas argued further that some of the best land, up to 10% of all unsold land, should be set aside in perpetuity for the benefit of Aboriginal people (British Parliamentary Papers, 1841: 217-218). However, the interests of business and white landholders won the day.

5.3.2 The Policy of Protection

The official instructions given to William Wyatt on his appointment to the position of interim Protector of Aborigines were aimed at 'civilising' and encouraging European habits of work and fixed residence through offering rewards and incentives. Any form of compulsion was specifically rejected. These instructions include a number of points which demonstrate the centrality of Indigenous languages in the role of Protector:

With a view to the attainment of the first of these objects [ascertaining the number, strength, and disposition of the various tribes, especially those in the vicinity of the settled districts], and to facilitate intercourse between yourself and the Aborigines generally, you are authorised to engage an interpreter, who will take instructions solely from yourself, and whose whole time will be considered at your disposal. . . You are recommended to endeavour to attach one or two of the most docile and intelligent of the natives particularly to your person, who should habitually accompany you in your excursions. . .

¹⁰Angas argued that these allocations of land were illegal under the South Australian Act (British Parliamentary Papers, 1841: 211).

. . . Your interpreter will explain to them that the laws protecting the whites extend also to them, and he should make it his business to assist you, who are appointed to be their guardian, in preventing any aggression or outrage being committed by the settlers upon their persons, property or rights, and when committed, in bringing the perpetrators to justice. . .

No time should be lost in acquiring a knowledge of their native tongue, and it appears also desirable that the Aborigines, and especially their youth, should learn the English language. By communicating with them in their own tongue, and by giving them a knowledge of our language, you will readily enable them to appreciate our modes and habits, our moral and political laws, and our intentions towards themselves. .

(Robert Gouger, Colonial Secretary in *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, Aug. 12 1837: 1)

It is clear from the above that language policy was central to government policy in relation to the Indigenous inhabitants of South Australia. Both Indigenous languages and English were seen as tools for achieving assimilation and spreading English civilization. Wyatt and Moorhouse both had an interest in Kaurna and other Indigenous languages, in part, because it was one of their official duties.

In the early years of the colony, Kaurna people were taken seriously and treated with a certain amount of respect. Efforts were made by some to learn about Kaurna culture and to learn the Kaurna language because they were genuinely interested. Cawthorne is a good case in point, as we shall see in Chapter 6. Aboriginal people were initially tolerated within the city of Adelaide. In fact, they were even encouraged by the Protector to come to Adelaide from outlying districts to see for themselves that Aborigines and colonists could live side by side in peace. South Australia's second Governor, George Gawler, was favourably disposed towards the Indigenous inhabitants. On the day Gawler was instituted as Governor he addressed a crowd of Kaurna people through an interpreter and continued this practice throughout his period of governorship.

The Kaurna soon realised that the colonists were there to stay. Game, such as possums and kangaroos, soon became scarce within Adelaide and surrounding areas and the Kaurna expected food and blankets from the colonists in return, as their right, to compensate for the losses incurred. Many Kaurna became dependent on handouts. Some tried to adapt their lives to the colony. Many sought employment and proved themselves to be diligent and hard-working. According to Teichelmann (Diary, 24 April 1840) one of the first Kaurna to embrace employment in the European world was Milte-widlo. Teichelmann's observations are insightful:

On 24th April in the evening a young native came to me selling brooms. The first example of an Aborigine copying the industry of a European. Milte-widlo has already been working for Snooke and Co. for more than a month, . . . (this man stayed with that merchant for 18 months, was fully civilised and then returned completely to his naked life-style. Then he made several journeys as a sailor on a ship, came back, divided the wealth he had gained amongst his countrymen, went around completely naked on the third day and was worse than before. In Singapore he had seen black people who were slaves, living on atrocious food-stuffs and now says: "Would not I be a fool to take on a life like that! These people are half-starved and at the end of the week they get 1/2 crown, about 20 while I live here in comfort and can eat meat whenever I like. And what have I earned after all that? Nothing!")

(translation of Teichelmann Diary, 24 April 1840¹¹)

¹¹The additional information in brackets in this entry appears to have been added at a later date.

One young Kurna woman gained employment within Government House:

[the girl] was taken into Government House in March 1841 and is still there fulfilling her duties as punctually and effectively as any European could [and has] not been absent a single day.

(Protector's Report, Second Quarter 1843, July 8 1843 cited in Pope, 1989: 30)

Another young Kurna man went to Tasmania 1841 where he worked in various occupations for five years:

[The Aboriginal youth] named Bappa Monaitya arrived in Adelaide from Portland Bay having walked overland with some Europeans. He left this colony five years ago, and went to Van Dieman's Land, where he was occupied two years in a Corn Mill; since then he has been at sea, in whaling and coasting vessels...

(Protector's Report, Second Quarter 1846, April 15 1846 cited in Pope, 1989: 29)

The government was also in the practice of taking Kurna men and boys as guides and intermediaries in their efforts to explore the surrounding districts.

Initially the colonists seemed ready and willing to give food and money to Aboriginal people as a small measure of compensation for the use of their lands. However it wasn't long before vices, such as begging, prostitution and drunkenness were widespread and a strong resentment of the very existence of the Aboriginal population emerged. Violence resulting from conflict over land, women and labour characterised relations on the frontier, though few acts of open violence between the colonists and Aborigines in Adelaide are recorded. The position of Protector of Aborigines was soon seen by the colonists as being responsible for protecting their own interests from Aboriginal people. The Protector was held responsible for any crimes committed by Aboriginal people or for vices such as begging, prostitution, drunkenness, indolence or laziness.

5.3.3 Early Recognition of the Kurna and their Language

In the initial phase of colonisation, the ability to speak Kurna was valued and admired by other colonists. As we have seen, the government made use of sealers with a command of the language, and their women, as guides, interpreters and intermediaries. They also engaged those colonists who had shown an aptitude and interest in acquiring Kurna. The Kurna language played a pivotal role in the colonisation of South Australia.

Cronk and Williams were engaged as interpreters on the basis of the language skills they had acquired. On 10 March 1838, they were sworn in as interpreters to assist the questioning of Mullawirraburka at the coroner's inquest into the killing of a European named Pegler near the Torrens River (*South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* Saturday 17 March 1838: 3). On 1 November 1838 they both assisted Wyatt during Governor Gawler's inauguration and initial meeting with Indigenous peoples:

Mr Wyatt, the Protector, also attended, and was assisted on the occasion by James Cronk, the interpreter, and William Williams, the deputy storekeeper, both great favorites <sic> of the natives, and tolerably versed in their language and customs.

(*South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* Saturday 3 November 1838: 4)

5.3.4 Kaurna Leaders Coopted by the Colonists

A number of Kaurna leaders, such as Kadlitpinna (Captain Jack) and Mullawirraburka (King John) developed friendly and lasting relationships with several colonists. Their stories are told in detail by Gara (forthcoming). They assisted the European newcomers in various ways¹² - by maintaining law and order within their own community, and by teaching interested colonists various aspects of their culture and the Kaurna language. Kadlitpinna, Mullawirraburka and several others were co-opted by the colonial authorities and appointed as police constables in early 1838 (Gara, forthcoming: 12). Wyatt reported that:

"Onkaparinga Jack" and "Captain Jack", to whom His Excellency the governor has been pleased to present constables' staves and marks of authority, have shown, on several occasions, that they comprehend the intention of these distinctions and attach very great importance to the possession of them.

(Protector of Aborigines Quarterly Report, 1 April 1838)

Later in that year, a newspaper commented on the value of Mullawirraburka's contribution to the maintenance of law and order:

[he] was lately entrusted with a constable's staff, and he is fully aware of the duties and importance of his office. Not long ago he aided in apprehending and carrying before a magistrate another native who had committed a theft, and we believe, he has been of service to the police on other occasions.

(*South Australian Gazette*, 8 September 1838)

Another observer, Captain Hahn, who visited Adelaide in late 1838 wrote:

The former king of the savages on the Onkaparinga, commonly called King John, has been appointed by the present Governor Gawler¹³ as police officer for natives. In this special branch he is rendering excellent services to Adelaide. If the savages have committed a theft or other misdemeanour and the Governor just gives King John a hint, the latter seeks out the doer and does not return to town until he brings the criminal with him.

(Hahn, 1964: 132)

Mullawirraburka and Kadlitpinna attended public meetings in a more or less official capacity, as indicated by the letter of an early colonist:

The tribe belonging to this place (Adelaide) are our friends and they have constant skirmishes with the others. It is ludicrous to see one called King John, with his Aide-de-Camp, Captain Jack, dressed in a white shirt each, a hat, and perhaps a pair of gloves, attending all public meetings as a constable. The rest of the tribe pay him great respect.

(Letter published in the *Derry Journal*, (Northern Ireland) 26 Nov. 1839; cited by Gara, forthcoming: 13)

5.4 Christianising and 'Civilising'

From the outset, the colonial authorities had planned for schools, as an integral part of the reserve system and policy of 'protection'. The government was keen to promote a sedentary existence and develop skills useful to the colonists in a captive labour force. A school was one of the first buildings erected at the 'Native Location'. However, serious delays were encountered in finding a teacher¹⁴. These delays were in the interests of the Kaurna language. The school did not in fact get underway until the Lutheran missionaries arrived and had spent

¹²The government was also in the practice of taking Kaurna men and boys as guides and intermediaries in their efforts to explore the surrounding districts, and in tracking down suspected criminals.

¹³Gawler did not arrive in Adelaide until October 1838. The initial appointment would have been made by Governor Hindmarsh and continued by Gawler.

¹⁴Bromley, was engaged as teacher, but soon after his appointment was found drowned in a pool near his hut on the Torrens. William Oldham was then appointed as schoolmaster, but just as the schoolhouse was nearing completion he took up a position with the new British School.

over a year acquiring Kaurna. Thus the first school for Aboriginal children in South Australia was taught using Kaurna as the medium of instruction.

5.4.1 Piltawodli - the 'Native Location'

Piltawodli, literally 'possum home' was chosen as the site of the 'Native Location' by Kaurna people themselves in April 1837. It was established by Captain Walter Bromley, South Australia's second interim Protector who moved his tent about a mile down river from the allocated area to "a place chosen by the natives". Bromley built himself a hut and supervised the Kaurna in "the construction of half a dozen 'commodious wigwams' as he called them" (Foster, 1990: 12).

Piltawodli was the first in a planned system of reserves designed to settle Aboriginal people in a confined space in order to open up the land for systematic colonisation. This system is outlined in the first report of the South Australian Colonization Commission, released in June 1836 before the establishment of the colony. The report proposed the establishment of "asylums" in the settled districts where Aboriginal people could be cared for and trained in "habits of useful industry" and perhaps form a useful labour force. The first interim Protector elaborated on these ideas:

At a distance of a few miles from the Capital and near every other town a section of land (640 acres) ought to be reserved - not only for a farm and gardens, but eventually for the creation of dwelling places for such of the natives as choose to make the neighbourhood of the station their permanent place of residence. (Stevenson, 9 Dec. 1837, quoted in Foster, 1990: 12)

Little happened at Piltawodli for some time due to Bromley's incompetence and reported "physical and mental imbecility" (see Foster, 1990: 12). The government encouraged Aboriginal people to settle at Piltawodli, though they were never granted title to the land. A dozen huts to accommodate Kaurna families, a garden, schoolhouse, storehouse and residence for the interpreter were established by 1838. The German missionaries lived at Piltawodli, as did Matthew Moorhouse, the first full-time Protector. In the 1840s the 'Native Location' at Piltawodli consisted of 14 acres.

Piltawodli is highly significant in a study of the Kaurna language. Almost all sources and especially the main ones, were recorded from Kaurna people, who resided at or frequented the site, by Europeans who lived there or were closely involved with the establishment. Williams, Wyatt, Teichelmann, Schürmann, Klose, Moorhouse and Cawthorne all come into this category. All known letters written in Kaurna by Kaurna people had their origins there. The only substantial material that is not associated with Piltawodli are three short wordlists compiled by Gaimard, Robinson and Piesse, all recorded from southern Kaurna sources. These Kaurna sources will be investigated in detail in Chapter 6.

5.4.2 The German Missionaries

Missionary activity amongst the Kaurna commenced with the arrival of Clamor Wilhelm Schürmann and Christian Gottlieb Teichelmann in Adelaide on October 14, 1838 aboard the

Pestonjee Bomanjee. Teichelmann and Schürmann were sent to South Australia by the Dresden Missionary Society under the patronage of the wealthy philanthropist, George Fife Angas. Fortunately, South Australia's second governor-elect, Lieutenant Colonel George Gawler, was aboard the same ship. A good relationship developed between Gawler and the missionaries during the five months at sea. Gawler requested the missionaries to tutor his 14 year old daughter in the German language. He invited the missionaries to his table and lent them books (Schurmann, 1987: 21), including Threlkeld's grammar of Awabakal¹⁵. Amongst other things, they discussed issues relating to mission and government policy towards the Indigenous inhabitants of South Australia. Gawler informed them that their activities in relation to Indigenous people would be controlled by the Protector of Aborigines. Schürmann's journals record revealing conversations about his early attitudes to Indigenous languages:

Surprisingly, His Excellency 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.

(translation of entry from Schürmann's Journal, June 1838; quoted in Schurmann, 1987: 21)

Evidently, Gawler pursued this topic further:

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 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."

(Schurmann, 1987: 26)

So, both the missionaries and Gawler had thought about the issue of language preservation. Perhaps the missionaries were instrumental in cultivating a more positive attitude towards Indigenous languages on the part of the Governor. In any event, Gawler did demonstrate his willingness to make use of Kaurna through having a number of his speeches translated, and encouraging the retention and use of Indigenous place names.

Teichelmann and Schürmann were prepared and eager to begin learning the Kaurna language. In fact, on the very day they arrived in Adelaide, they were eliciting Kaurna material whilst staying with another German colonist, Mr Schreivogel, who was an overseer of the SA Company Store:

I asked some of them their words for the sun, and different parts of their bodies, etc, and they were very willing to answer.

(translation of excerpt from Schürmann's journal, 14 October 1838; in Schurmann, 1987: 30)

The following day, Schürmann records that he had "some hours' conversation with the Blacks" (Schurmann, 1987: 31).

¹⁵In a letter to Dresden (10 December 1838) Schürmann writes: "Although we had in London copied the grammar compiled by Threlkeld at the Wellington School, New South Wales, it was most gratifying to be offered by the Governor [Gawler] a copy of his printed version to study."

Late in October 1838, the missionaries moved, with the assistance of Wyatt, to a building erected for 'native education purposes' (Schurmann, 1987: 33). At Piltawodli, Teichelmann and Schürmann had been occupying a crude, draughty shelter with a leaking roof. As a result Teichelmann became ill following a change in the weather, so Gawler ordered the construction of two cottages for the missionaries on the banks of the Torrens which were completed by May 1839.

T&S (1840: v) in their introduction provide some insights into the circumstances under which they learnt and recorded the Kaurna language:

Eighteen months is but a short period for the study of an unwritten language, where no means of instruction exist, and where all information must be gleaned from casual and trivial conversation. To this must be added, the uncommon rapidity, abbreviation, and carelessness with which the Aborigines speak; their extreme reluctance, for a long time to inform the inquirer; their natural inability to answer grammatical questions; together with their situation for the study of the language. These things considered, the reader will be enabled to form some idea of the difficulties which were to be overcome.

Many Kaurna used Piltawodli as a base, whilst in Adelaide, but there was a high level of mobility with people coming and going all the time. For instance, Schürmann noted that on June 10, 1839, "not a single soul of them remains" (Schurmann, 1987: 42) as people had gone hunting or north for a funeral. Teichelmann and Schürmann did establish close relationships with a number of Kaurna men. On 7 December 1839 Schürmann wrote:

It seems that the natives realize that we want only the best for them, and they are becoming attached to us. They appreciate the fact that we are learning their language. (in Schurmann, 1987: 76)

5.4.2.1 Clamor Schürmann

Schürmann's journals provide some indication of his progress in establishing relationships with Kaurna people and in his attempts to learn the Kaurna language and culture. There are just a few references to Aboriginal people in his journal entries during the first month since his arrival in Adelaide. The only names of Kaurna people mentioned in this period are that of "King John" and "Captain Jack", attending the dinner given by Governor Gawler on 1 November, but there is no indication that Schürmann actually spoke with these men at the time. The journals indicate that Schürmann was no more than a spectator at this event. Unfortunately, there is a long gap in Schürmann's journal after 17 November, 1838, with no further entries made until 30 May, 1839. Schürmann ceased writing his journal during this early period of intensive language learning.

The first named Kaurna source in Schürmann's journal is that of Munaitya Wattiwattipinna, who told Schürmann certain information about Kaurna mythology and 'men's business', information that was not privy to women or children. Wattiwattipinna preferred to accompany Schürmann home so that he could tell him "in secrecy and on my promise not to tell it to any native" (from the translation of Schürmann's Journal, 5 June, 1839). Schürmann regarded this event as a major breakthrough, as the next day he wrote "Yesterday evening I had great pleasure in getting important insight into the religious imaginings of the natives" (translation of Schürmann's Journal, 6 June, 1839) and proceeded to teach them about the Creation and the

"main principles of the Christian religion", using the word *Munaintyerlo*¹⁶ for Jehovah. He had learnt about this word on the previous evening. Schürmann told them of how he proposed to build a church, which he referred to as a "Munaintyerlo house"¹⁷.

On 17 June 1839, Wattiwattipinna commenced building a house next to Schürmann's giving some further indication of the depth of their relationship. Wattiwattipinna is mentioned on a number of occasions in the ensuing weeks and months, having conversations with Schürmann late at night about aspects of Kurna religion. He is last mentioned in Schürmann's journals on 23 January, 1840.

Schürmann indicates in his journal that he engaged Kurna boys to help around the house and share his lodgings. The first indication of this is given in his journal on 10 July 1839:

Today, after two failures, I made a third attempt to win over a native boy named Nanto Munaitya. He is younger than Warritya, the first, and Munaitya, the second, whom I had with me.

Later, on 29 October 1839 he notes also:

The native Nanto Kartammeru, Kariru <sic>¹⁸ Warinya decided today to live with me. He is a young man of 22 to 24 years, very lively, sometimes wild and obstinate, but I hope to keep him as he is useful around the house.

Schürmann made rapid progress in learning Kurna for he wrote in a letter to the Aborigines' Protection Society in London, dated 12 June 1839:

yet I can say without pride or praise of myself, that I now know more, if not of the language, at least of the notions and manners of the natives, than any person in the colony. . . .

. . . Although my knowledge of the native language is increasing slowly and as yet very limited, the number of words (not including compound words, which are very frequent) in my possession not being upwards of a thousand, yet I can make myself understood on many subjects.

Schürmann wrote these remarks a mere eight months after arriving in South Australia. By that time, according to this letter, Schürmann had developed close relationships with the Kurna, some of whom referred to him as "brother".

One of the high points in Schürmann's attempts to learn Kurna was a five day hunting trip from 9 to 13 September 1839, when he and Teichelmann accompanied a group of 30 to 40 Kurna. The two missionaries had been invited by two young men Tuitpurro and Kudnaipiti, to journey about 25 miles from Adelaide to the foothills where the main hunt took place. Schürmann records valuable information about Kurna hunting and food preparation practices and their camping arrangements. He also refers to collecting some "rhymes they used in their

¹⁶ Schürmann later had second thoughts about the use of this term for 'God' and resorted to the borrowing Yeowa or Yowa which is used in translations of hymns, Gawler's 1840 speech and the Ten Commandments.

¹⁷ Church was later encoded as "Sunday worli" (TMs) as recorded in the sentence *Tappanggandaii sunday worli kurtarra*. 'I went close by the church.'

¹⁸ "Kariru" in the English translation should read "Karnu" (lit. 'mountain'). See original journal entry. In the published version, this name is given as "Nanto Kartammera" <sic> (Schurmann, 1987: 72). "Nanto" referred to on 10 July is no doubt a different person to the "Nanto" referred to on 29 October, as they are given different birth order names.

own language" (quoted in Schurmann, 1987: 64). On the first night it was dark when they arrived at their camping spot so, to the delight of the missionaries, they shared the fire and hut of a Kaurna person. On the second evening, Schürmann built his own hut, but found that the young people decided to camp very close to him. On the third and fourth nights Schürmann mentions sharing a hut with "his brother Tuitpurro". Schürmann was obviously very pleased with the outcome of this hunting expedition:

I couldn't close this account of these five days in the bush without some added remarks. My anticipated hopes from this journey - a better knowledge of their way of life and language - were entirely fulfilled. There was progress in learning new words in their language and in the more fluent use of ones I already knew, and especially the discovery of a *modus conjunctivus*. I have also enjoyed the gracefulness and decency evident among the natives, and particularly the obedience of the young men toward the older ones.
(quoted in Schurmann, 1987: 66-67)

Schürmann's language learning progressed to a point where he was able to open a school on 23 December 1839¹⁹. By 29 January 1840 he remarks that:

The natives beg me not to go to Encounter Bay as they would grieve. From day to day their attachment grows stronger, not because of my generosity but because of my knowledge of their language.
(Schürmann's Journal p.222)

Schürmann first mentions being engaged as an interpreter in April 1840 at the trial of a "Northman" who was accused of taking part in the murder of Mr Horrock's shepherd. On 25 May 1840, Schürmann acted as interpreter for Governor Gawler at the Queen's Birthday celebrations, where he translated the Governor's speech address to the Indigenous inhabitants and read the Ten Commandments.

Just when Schürmann's facility in the Kaurna language was beginning to flower and he was beginning to make use of it in public forums, his attention was directed further afield to Encounter Bay, where he expected to take up a post in the near future. Schürmann first visited Encounter Bay on 23 July 1839 in the company of Moorhouse. Even as he made this initial journey to Encounter Bay, Schürmann had thoughts of settling there, for he observes: "I noticed a woman among the Wirramumeyunna who spoke the language of the Adelaide natives, which could be very useful in the case of me settling down here" (Schürmann's Journal, 26 July, 1839, see also Schurmann, 1987: 55).

Over the next year, Schürmann makes references in his journal to conversations with Gawler, Moorhouse and Kavel, the German pastor in Adelaide, about arrangements for his relocation there. He visited Encounter Bay again in the company of Moorhouse, on 10 October 1839 where the building of a house for Schürmann had already commenced (Schurmann, 1987: 69). In November 1839 Schürmann was gaining instruction in the Ramindjeri language from Tammuruwe Nankanere (Encounter Bay Bob), who was staying at Kadlitpinna's house, in

¹⁹It seems that Teichelmann doubted the possibility for success of the school at this stage for he writes: "I have always considered this step premature because the parents, on whom the children are totally dependent, still lead their old nomadic life. If it succeeds, however, not a little will have been won. Schürmann's undertaking crowned and my view totally disproved; which would really please me" (English translation of Teichelmann Diary, 26-27 December 1839). Despite his misgivings, Teichelmann assisted in the venture by preparing a set of alphabet cards.

exchange for English lessons (Schürmann, 1987: 74). These were short lived, as less than two weeks later the police took Tammuruwe with them to the Murray River²⁰, just as Schürmann thought he was beginning to make some progress. There were increasingly frequent visits to Adelaide by more and more people from the Murray River and Encounter Bay, and Schürmann must have spent considerable time in learning their languages because two months later he observes that the "Natives from the Murray were astonished and delighted when I spoke to them in their own language." (translation of Schürmann Journal, 10 February 1840) As it turned out, Schürmann was sent to Port Lincoln in September 1840, where he was offered the post of Deputy Protector. There Schürmann learnt and documented Parnkalla, a related language (now known as Barnjarla), publishing a sketch grammar and vocabulary in 1844. Schürmann's knowledge of Kaurna proved very useful in learning and analysing the language of Port Lincoln (Schürmann Journal, 8 October 1840).

It is evident from his journals, that Schürmann made use of every opportunity to Christianize and 'civilize'. Even during the hunting trip, he records telling the young Kaurna camping nearby about "the creation, heaven, hell, and the future judgement" (quoted in Schurmann, 1987: 65). Although the missionaries succeeded in learning Kaurna and using it within the church and the school, they did not succeed in their goal of translating the Bible. However, they did translate the Ten Commandments and German hymns into Kaurna, and composed a school prayer (see Chapter 6).

The journals also provide important insights into the attitudes of Schürmann's contemporaries. For instance, Schürmann (Journal, 16 December 1839) regarded Moorhouse unfit for the position of Protector since he had abandoned all hope of educating Aboriginal people.

5.4.2.2 Teichelmann

Christian Gottlieb Teichelmann was some years older than Schürmann and tried to exert his authority over the latter, resulting in some tension and a falling-out between the two, even as they journeyed by ship from England to South Australia. He seems to have had a far more rigid personality, a man whose "outlook was dominated by his religious views of what ought to be" (Kennedy, 1989: v). As a result he often 'rubbed people up the wrong way'. This may have contributed in large part to Schürmann's willingness to relocate to Encounter Bay and eventually to Port Lincoln.

Teichelmann's diary (1839-1846) written in German, has recently surfaced, and has just been translated into English. By comparison with Schürmann's journal it contains few Kaurna personal names or other Kaurna words. In addition to the journal, some correspondence between Teichelmann and Angas, other official correspondence and articles prepared by Teichelmann that were published in the newspapers at the time have survived. Much of this

²⁰Tammuruwe, had a good knowledge of several languages, including Kaurna, Ramindjeri and English (through contact with sealers and whalers). He was useful as an intermediary and interpreter with the Murray River people.

material has been compiled and published by one of Teichelmann's descendents, who notes that records of Teichelmann's work and interactions with Aboriginal people are scarce²¹ and that "he does not seem to have made the lasting friendships that had aborigines calling on the Schürmann and Meyer families for many years after their missionary work ended" (Kennedy, 1989: 14).

Teichelmann in his diary (24 November 1839; 5 January 1840) refers to the Kurna deliberately withholding the language from them and (29 July 1844) avoiding his efforts to minister to them. Teichelmann remained in Adelaide after Schürmann departed for Port Lincoln. For a while he continued his association with Piltawodli. However, the day to day running of the school was left in the hands of missionary Klose, who had arrived in Adelaide on 9 August 1840.

Teichelmann seemed to have made a habit of visiting the Kurna in their dwellings each Sunday and had attempted to assemble them in order to preach "God's Word". Sometimes they were able to gather together "quite a number" (24 May 1840), though on other occasions they were unable to persuade any to come. On the previous Sunday (17 May) for instance, Kurna ceremonial activity took a higher priority as they prepared the *Ngultas* 'a man who has undergone the last tattooing' for their final stage of initiation.

Teichelmann was forthright in his efforts to Christianize the Kurna and challenge their beliefs to the point of inducing an angry reaction. His diaries record a number of occasions when he deliberately set out to undermine the Kurna culture.

Whilst he may not have valued many aspects of Kurna culture, Teichelmann did have a deep respect for the Kurna language. He writes:

His Excellency [Governor Grey] ... expressed his favourite idea, to speak to the natives only in English. Br Meyer agreed and said to my no small amazement that the language is so lacking in abstract concepts that it would be more advisable to use the English language, even in religious instruction because one could never express anything in their language. In order not to start an argument I simply said that our Adelaide language had enough abstract concepts for them to be instructed in christendom; that in no way was I opposed to teaching the children in the English language in everything except religion. It saddened me that Br Meyer expressed his opinion during this evening when I had no opportunity to counter it in this situation, an opinion however false in itself, agreed to only because it fits into the Governor's plan, is siezed upon by him and used as authoritative but which must strike to the disadvantage of our Mission. Mr Meyer's reasoning goes like this: because I have not the necessary abstract concepts ergo they are not in the language ergo it is better to give up using the language altogether. Later I gave him a host of important expressions for the teaching of the reconciliation in our dialect and outlined on them how the natives apply them. (translation of Teichelmann Diary, Wed. 18 December, 1844)

Teichelmann used his knowledge of Kurna at every opportunity, even amongst speakers of other languages. He observes that the Kurna language served as a passport²² and was an

²¹Kennedy was not aware of the existence of Teichelmann's diary however.

²²On a trip to the Murray River, Teichelmann observes "All of them are very trusting, and so much more so when I gave them to understand that I spoke a language of the natives, even though they spoke a different one." (Teichelmann Diary, 22 October 1840).

instrument of power²³. However, he was aware of his limitations and lack of knowledge, often admitting to his inability to understand²⁴, especially when people spoke quickly.

In November 1842, Teichelmann moved to Happy Valley, where he attempted, with the support of Governor Grey, to set up a mission called *Ebenezer*. Teichelmann hoped that a number of Kaurna would follow him there. Several Kaurna were with him for short periods but Teichelmann had limited means to provide for them in addition to his own family. The *South Australian Register* reported on 17 May 1843 that:

It is not we think generally known that a section of land has been procured by the German missionaries at Happy Valley and that a Mission Station has been established with a view to the benefit of the aborigines. Mr Teichelmann has been residing there and preparing the section for cultivation for some time past; principally by the aid of the natives. At the date of our last information from Happy Valley, one of the natives had been industriously employed by Mr Teichelmann for the last eight weeks, and another for three. Of course an attempt is made to instruct them, not only in the arts of civilisation but also in the doctrines of Divine Truth. All that prevents a permanent and continued effort, is the difficulty of providing the natives with food, the whole onus of which, as far as we can learn, falls in the meantime on the missionaries. (quoted in Kennedy, 1989: 10)

Kennedy goes on to say:

This newspaper article might as well have been an obituary for the Ebenezer experiment. Small and disappointing as the native participation had been at Piltawodli their recruitment and retention at Happy Valley was even more so, due to their wandering habits and the ease with which food could be scrounged in Adelaide without having to work. (Kennedy, 1989: 10)

Teichelmann finally moved back to Adelaide in early 1846, but this move was shortlived for he moved back to a farm in Morphett Vale in 1847 where he lived in poverty with his wife and family. In 1856, Teichelmann moved to Salem on the Bremer River near Callington where he ministered to a group of German settlers newly arrived in the district. Whilst there he finished his Kaurna vocabulary (TMs) and grammatical notes (Teichelmann, 1858) which he sent to Grey, then living in Cape Town, South Africa. This is the last mention of any connection between Teichelmann and the Kaurna language.

5.4.2.3 Klose

Samuel Klose arrived in Adelaide on 9 August 1840²⁵, whereupon he immediately assumed his duties at Piltawodli, engaged principally in running the school. A body of correspondence between Klose and the Dresden Mission Society has recently been made accessible by the Lutheran Archives and translated into English. It reveals there was little interaction between Klose and Kaurna adults, though he did visit the gaol regularly. Klose seems to have been particularly focussed on the children with whom he developed close relationships.

²³Teichelmann writes "Our influence on them appears to be growing . . . once we have their language in our power, the Lord will through his word perform signs and wonders on these natives however low they have sunk." (Teichelmann Diary, 18 January 1840).

²⁴For instance, after more than six years in Adelaide, Teichelmann says "I assembled the old natives (men only) to talk to them and to find out what they really thought about our work amongst them and what opinions they had about the truths we had presented to them. But I could reach no conclusion, partly because they spoke evasively, partly because I could not understand them." (Teichelmann Diary, 2 March 1845).

²⁵The two missionaries Klose and H.A.E. Meyer arrived together. Meyer immediately proceeded to Encounter Bay whilst Klose remained at Piltawodli.

Klose immediately commenced learning Kaurna and working in the school. He describes his initial activities in a letter written four months after his arrival in Adelaide:

As regards my activity, you will understand that it will be learning the language of the natives. The means to this are: the school established by the Brothers and then the grammar and dictionary which came from the press soon after our arrival. I attended the school for about 14 days after my arrival. I soon learnt the essential words, so that I could keep the children quiet and attentive. In the mornings we both go to the schoolhouse at 9 o'clock and call the children with a handbell. At this call 8 to 10 come regularly, at times 20 and more. The first thing that is done with them is that they clean themselves. You would have no idea how dirty they can at times be, even though they bathe often and gladly. But they leave the water and into dust and sand and then to school. Just by the way:- on one occasion the governor visited the school. As I became aware of this before-hand, I took a piece of soap, went to the river and washed them. That really suited the children and they would gladly have accepted this each day. But to remain clean is something to which they are not accustomed. Once the cleaning has been completed, we commence with the singing (I believe Br. Teichelmann has written to you about this) which they enjoy very much. After that the ten commandments which they have learnt are spoken. This Br. Teichelmann follows with a story from the old or new Testament - this insofar as the language enables this to be done. To this they are very attentive. At about 11 o'clock Br. T. leaves the school and I myself take charge of the children. The bigger ones I give reading instruction and the smaller learn the alphabet. For this I have the help of one of the older children. Several weeks ago on Wednesdays and Saturdays I began giving instruction in arithmetic.

(translation of letter from Klose, 29 December 1840)

Klose continued to report on developments within the school. He had a high opinion of his students and their ability to learn:

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. As a matter of fact, their faces appear so familiar, as if I had seen them as whites in Europe.

(translation of letter from Klose, 29 December 1840)

After 12 months learning Kaurna, Klose was beginning to feel more confident in his ability to communicate the gospel in Kaurna, though he was aware that his ability to speak Kaurna was still limited:

In school the children are on the whole attentive. Up to the present Br. Teichelmann continues to give the religious instruction. I hope, God willing, to tell you in my next letter that I have completely taken over the school; but up to now this has not been possible for me because I still have not enough knowledge of the language even though I have tried to recapitulate what Br. T. has told, but it does not work because the children do not understand me. Now must be added to this that in the lessons on religion the children answer neither Teichelmann nor me so that I do not know whether they understand the subject or the language. But as far as reading, writing and arithmetic are concerned, that is worldly, then they understand me even if I say something badly. If the children are in a good mood they reprove my language and say: "You must say so and so, that is how black men say it," and in this way mostly I learn the language. I sent you a specimen of their writing in my last letter. For a few weeks I have begun dictating words and have in so doing observed with amazement how they often silently and slowly repeat the words and then write it letter by letter. Most of all I am delighted that they prefer to write Jehovah's Word whether it is a Bible text or a commandment, or a section of a hymn or a prayer which they also count as Jehovah's Word, than their own language. I believe that in this way we are making a pathway into their language because in this way they are learning to write down their own thoughts. I have also often noticed that when, for example, children have offended one another and one begins to cry, another will soon write the cause on the slate and show it to me, asking if it is written correctly. Similarly in arithmetic the children are progressing beyond my expectations. You will observe that this is in English because they have no numbers in their own language.

(English translation of Letter from Klose, 20 August, 1841)

After nearly three years, Klose reports preaching in Kaurna and successfully communicating his message, despite inadequacies in his language ability:

On the second Sunday after Trinity I told them the story of the great banquet: Luke 14,16, explained to them what God wanted to be understood by it and made as an application that we too had come to invite them to this great feast. Br. Schürmann sat among the adults and gathered from them that they understood me clearly. Even though my language was still broken, so I was delighted, and was encouraged to continue. The children would have understood me better, because they are better acquainted with the story of the Old Testament. The bible pictures you sent me are very helpful . . .
(excerpt from letter to Dresden Mission Society from Klose, Adelaide, 7 July 1843)

Like his fellow missionaries, Klose used every opportunity to attempt to Christianize the Kaurna. He provides an anecdote which reveals how the missionaries were working to break down the traditional belief systems:

The children saw a small lizard (Tarrutarru) about 4 inches long come out of a mousehole and crawled to the fireplace. They immediately called me and said that the grown-ups say that that is the creator who made man and woman. I asked, "What do you believe?" They all laughed; one boy named Mannara said, "It cannot possibly be the creator because it has a mother who is probably still in the hole." These examples are very valuable because the answers are not merely formalities from the lessons but rather convictions. From these you can see that God's word has found an opening into their hearts, which in its own good time will flourish.

(excerpt from letter to Dresden Mission Society from Klose, Adelaide, 3 Sept. 1844)

Klose believed that the adults also needed daily religious instruction and that a sermon delivered by Teichelmann once each Sunday was insufficient (letter by Klose to Dresden Mission Society, 1 Feb. 1845). But Klose found running the school at Piltawodli frustrating because of the irregular attendance of the children and was dismayed at the ease with which they abandoned 'civilised' habits when they returned to the bush. Children were 'bribed' to attend school with the provision of food, and blankets were distributed to adults whose children attended. Klose had a genuine affection for the Kaurna, especially the children and was particularly concerned at the prostitution and abuse of the girls which took place at Piltawodli. In June 1843, the government instituted a kind of dormitory system at Piltawodli largely as a measure to counteract prostitution. A woman was employed to care for the girls and to instruct them in cooking and washing. Soon after, the boys slept in the schoolhouse. These measures did in fact result in more regular attendance.

Early in 1844, Klose introduced English, alongside of Kaurna:

For the past three months I have started teaching in English because later on they will have to make their living among the English, and it is therefore unavoidably necessary.

(excerpt from letter to Dresden Mission Society from Klose, Adelaide, 3 Sept. 1844)

Klose remained at Piltawodli until March 1846 when he was dismissed by the Governor because he, and the Lutheran Missionary Society in Dresden, insisted that they maintain control over religious education in the school (Klose letter, Feb.6th, 1846), terms which were unacceptable to Governor Robe (see Kennedy, 1989: A3-11).

Whilst the activities of the German missionaries gained considerable government support and goodwill in the early phase, in the mid-1840s their activities were increasingly restricted and monitored. The government intervened to assume direct responsibility for Aboriginal education in 1844 with the establishment of the Walkerville School for the Murray River children. In July 1845 the Native School Establishment on Kintore Avenue opened, amalgamating the

Walkerville and Piltawodli schools. This was the end of the Kaurna language for educational purposes in the nineteenth century. Its use as the medium of instruction was brief, lasting from Dec. 1839 to July 1845.

5.4.3 The Native School Establishment, Kintore Avenue

The Native School Establishment, Kintore Avenue, operated until 1852 when it was closed due to a lack of Aboriginal children remaining in Adelaide. Throughout its operation, the Kaurna were a minority at the school, which included a dormitory run by Mr Smith. The children from the Murray districts, who were the majority, had separate dormitories to the Kaurna from the Piltawodli school. The dormitory system has been identified as a "major factor contributing to the demise of numerous Aboriginal languages" (Schmidt, 1990: 12) and along with the English only education introduced at the Native School Establishment, it was undoubtedly a powerful force leading to the rapid loss of Kaurna.

Kudnarto, the ancestor of many contemporary Kaurna people, was amongst the ranks of those educated at the Native School Establishment. Her story is told in *The Kaurna People* (EDSA, 1989: 185-205) and in more detail by O'Connor (1995; forthcoming).

5.4.4 Poonindie

In 1850, the Anglican Archdeacon Horatio Hale established a total training institution for Aboriginal youth at Poonindie, near Port Lincoln in Barnjarla country. This institution, like the Kintore Avenue establishment, was strictly English only and totally assimilationist in orientation. Initially, the majority of recruits came from the Native School Establishment in Adelaide. During its first two years of operation, Hale had a strict policy of taking only young people "who had been to a European school and had a knowledge of reading, writing and Christianity" (Brock & Kartinyeri, 1989: 15). There were three major intakes from the Adelaide school, a group of 11 consisting of five couples and a single boy early in 1850, a second group in October 1850 and a third group in June 1851. Brock & Kartinyeri note further that:

After his last large intake of children from the Adelaide school in 1852, the seven children remaining there absconded from the school to return to their people on Yorke Peninsula. As a result the school was temporarily closed for lack of children and in the ensuing months there were so few children in Adelaide it was never reopened. (Brock & Kartinyeri, 1989: 15)

Whilst most of the initial recruits to Poonindie were sent from Adelaide, few of these were actually Kaurna people. It seems that most originated from the upper Murray River districts. Brock and Kartinyeri write:

Hale claimed that of sixty-seven Aborigines sent to him from Adelaide only six were from the Adelaide tribe. Most people sent from Adelaide had originally come from the upper Murray. (Brock & Kartinyeri, 1989: 24)

Brock & Kartinyeri refer to three Kaurna people amongst these early recruits by name:

- Pitpowie referred to in Hale's diary entry on 14 July 1852 (Brock & Kartinyeri, 1989: 22). This is undoubtedly the same as Pitpauwe, a signatory to the 1841 letter to Gawler and author of one of the Kaurna letters sent to Dresden in 1843 (see section 6.3.4).

- Maria, who spent just four months at Poonindie when she was dismissed for "disreputable habits of life". Her baby son Charlie of "mixed descent" remained at Poonindie, but died in a boating accident in 1872 (Brock & Kartinyeri, 1989: 20). Maria had worked many years at Government House and was most likely the girl referred to in Moorhouse's 8 July 1843 report (cited in Pope, 1989: 29-30)
- Monaitya, who had spent five years at the Adelaide school, was said to have been a "disruptive influence on the mission" and was dismissed in April 1851. He returned to Adelaide and then to the bush. (Brock & Kartinyeri, 1989: 19-20)

By 1854, only four of the 53 Aboriginal people resident at Poonindie were said to come from Adelaide (Brock & Kartinyeri, 1989: 25). The mortality rate at Poonindie was very high in the first ten years of its operation, with most deaths resulting from tuberculosis. It is not clear whether any of the young Kurna sent to Poonindie who had attended school in Adelaide have any living descendents. However, two Aboriginal women married to white men, whose children were sent to Poonindie, do have numerous descendents. These two women, the aforementioned Kudnarto from the Clare district and Rathoola from Rapid Bay, are both identified as Kurna women (Kartinyeri, 1989). These were the first two legal marriages between Aboriginal women and white men in South Australia, permission having been granted by the Protector.

Following Kudnarto's death in 1855, her husband, Tom Adams, was no longer in a position to care for their two sons, Tom and Tim, and applied to send them to Poonindie. George Solomon, whose wife Rathoola died in 1858, was left in a similar position. His sons George, John and Emanuel were sent to Poonindie in 1858, 1860 and 1870 respectively. It is also possible that other Kurna were sent to Poonindie at a later date. Early white residents of the Aldinga area report that Bishop Short sent some Aboriginal people from Aldinga scrub to Poonindie, apparently ending Kurna occupation of the area²⁶.

With the closure of Poonindie, most residents were relocated to Bukkiyana (Point Pearce) in Narungga country and a smaller number were sent to Raukkan (Point McLeay) in Ngarrindjeri country. A few, including John Solomon, remained in the Port Lincoln district to apply for leases and take up farming. A strong Poonindie identity had developed by the 1890s, but following the move to Bukkiyana and Raukkan, these latter mission identities came to the fore. Brock & Kartinyeri (1989: 77) explain:

Poonindie lands did not survive as Aboriginal lands. The institution did not survive after its closure in 1894 but Poonindie people survived, although they did not retain their identity. Most of them became Point Pearce or Point McLeay people.

²⁶Campbell (1981a: 4) writes "Yet some small family groups of Aborigines continued to live in the more isolated areas, such as the Aldinga Scrub. It was here that the presence of a few wurlies worried Bishop <sic> Short sufficiently for him to organise the removal of their owners to Poonindie . . . This appears to have marked the end of the local Kurna people, for recollections of early residents interviewed in 1979 indicate that whilst Aborigines were present in the vicinity of the Scrub until late in the nineteenth century, these people were from Goolwa."

5.5 The Decline of the Kaurna and Loss of the Kaurna Language

The Kaurna language declined in use and status in an incredibly short time. The major contributing factor in the demise of Kaurna must have been the demise of the people themselves and the rapid destruction of their culture and the breakup of family structures. Within ten years of the establishment of the colony of South Australia, Kaurna lands had been totally occupied and the Kaurna were considered by the colonists as a defeated people. They were regarded by many as a minor nuisance factor. By 1850, some writers were claiming that the Kaurna were virtually 'extinct'. Oates & Oates (1970: 93), in their survey of Australian languages, wrote under the Kaurna entry that "this tribe was extinct by 1850" (quoted in J. Harris, 1990: 328). As the Commissioners of Belair National Park wrote in 1909:

A Lost Tribe -

The Adelaide Tribe of natives disappeared with incredible rapidity. In 1860 - not twenty five years after the first white settlement - they were all gone.

(from the booklet *The National Parks of South Australia*, quoted in Cordes, 1983: 2)

Whilst these pronouncements were premature, certainly by the 1850s the Kaurna were small in numbers, scattered and no longer recognised by the majority population. As Harris puts it:

By that date [1850] the Adelaide population was declining very rapidly. When the majority of the remaining young people were taken to Poonindie late in the same year, the Kaurna as a social group effectively disappeared. (J. Harris, 1990: 328)

Yet there was no war, and by comparison with other colonies both in Australia and overseas, there was little violence between the colonizers and the colonized within Kaurna lands, though there was considerably more violence in outlying districts such as the Rufus River and Eyre Peninsula. So how did this situation come about?

In the following sections I attempt to outline what happened to the Kaurna people, culture and language in the latter half of the nineteenth century. However, we are unable to provide satisfactory answers to this question for want of adequate records²⁷.

5.5.1 Kaurna Population

The Kaurna were never a large group, compared with neighbouring Aboriginal groups such as the Ngarrindjeri. A report prepared by Teichelmann & Moorhouse that was read to the Statistical Society in December 1841 noted that:

In an area of 2,800 square miles, that is a distance of 80 miles to the north, and 60 to the south of Adelaide, running parallel with the coast 20 miles, there are 650 natives; or one in every 4 1/2 square miles. (in Foster, 1990: 46)

The area specified by Teichelmann & Moorhouse above corresponds roughly to Kaurna territory as mapped out by Tindale (1974), the area generally acknowledged as Kaurna country today. The figure of 650 quoted above is perhaps a reasonably accurate figure for the Kaurna

²⁷Reports about the Kaurna or 'Adelaide' people in the historical record after 1845 are fragmentary and sketchy. Few articles appeared in the newspapers of the period. A number of colonists made observations about their dealings with Aboriginal people in their journals. Some observers just made a passing comment, perhaps relating to a single event. Information can also be gained from official letters and reports, especially to and from the Protector of Aborigines.

population in 1841. By that time the population was already in decline. Over the previous two years, Teichelmann & Moorhouse (1841) recorded 14 births and 36 deaths.

The Kurna population is likely to have been considerably higher prior to the European invasion and prior to the introduction of European diseases. Shortly after the establishment of the First Settlement at Sydney Cove, a smallpox epidemic broke out in 1789 killing vast numbers of Indigenous people in the Sydney region. This first epidemic possibly reached the Kurna by being communicated from one group to the next down the river systems into South Australia. Opinion is divided, however, as to whether or not this smallpox epidemic actually reached the Kurna. Pope (1989: 36) is of the opinion that "the 1789 Sydney out-break probably did not affect South Australia", whilst Clarke (1994a: 391) admits the possibility.

What is certain, however, is that the second smallpox epidemic of 1829-1830 did affect the Kurna and the Ngarrindjeri, as well as other groups along the Murray in South Australia, with disastrous consequences. Sturt in his exploration of the Murray River in 1830 observed a massive gravesite. Later archaeological evidence showed that the deaths could be attributed to smallpox (Pope, 1989: 36). Pope also notes that :

"In 1911 mass graves containing over 160 skeletons were discovered when an irrigation channel was being cut near Swanport, providing evidence of the high death toll of the 1829-30 smallpox plague along the Murray. (Pope, 1989: 36-37)

T&S provide an illuminating entry on the subject in their 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 from the Murray tribes, so that 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* [smallpox song]. (T&S, 1840: 34)

The Kurna population prior to the smallpox epidemics may well have numbered several thousand people. Whatever the case, by the time the colony was established in South Australia in 1836, the population probably numbered no more than 700. The colonists brought with them additional diseases, notably syphilis, gonorrhoea and tuberculosis, typhoid, measles, whooping cough, typhus and influenza. These diseases are known to have resulted in high mortality rates in Indigenous populations worldwide because of their lack of resistance to them.

The rapidly growing township of Adelaide put much stress on the local environment. Within a short period of time, the Torrens became heavily polluted, especially through the activities of tanneries upstream pouring their effluent directly into the river. Pope (1989: 40) writes that "Pollution of the Torrens from sewerage and tanning works effluent probably contributed to an outbreak of typhoid fever in 1843". The effects of this typhoid outbreak on the Kurna would have been especially severe. Those living at Piltawodli were totally dependent on water from the Torrens, in contrast to colonists who were able to turn to wells that had been sunk. Accurate

figures on the effects of these diseases are not available, but disease is probably the biggest single factor in the massive and rapid decline of the Kaurna population.

Curiously, several observers note an under-representation of females in the Kaurna population, as in a report prepared by Teichelmann & Moorhouse (1841):

The proportions of the sexes gives a peculiar predominance to the males; out of the number 650 there are 280 males, 182 females, and 188 children - it may be observed that there is about one child to each female. (in Foster, 1990: 46)

Pope (1989: 25) notes that "Among about 3,000 Europeans in 1840, there lived almost 100 Aborigines - 47 men, 20 women and 26 children." These figures relate to the immediate Adelaide township, but reflect the same pattern. An article in the *Register* (17 January, 1844) noted that "respects the Adelaide tribe, the proportion of men is nearly as seventy per cent in excess of the women and children" in contrast to neighbouring groups to the north and east where there were equal proportions of men, women and children. This disparity may have been due in part to single men drifting into Adelaide from outlying areas. However, it could well be an indication of the activities of the sealers in the preceding few decades²⁸. It is unlikely to have been the result of diseases such as smallpox or influenza which would be expected to affect the population more uniformly, though sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhoea introduced by the sealers, whalers and colonists may have contributed to this pattern. Whatever the cause, a population profile which included few women of child-bearing age was disastrous for the Kaurna.

Whilst disease was undoubtedly the major cause of the population decline, it was not the only cause. The historical record frequently points to the peaceful coexistence and friendly relations between the colonists and the local Adelaide Aboriginal people. However, the possibility that numbers of Kaurna were secretly killed by colonists, especially in the northern areas of Kaurna territory should not be ruled out. Following the hanging of four members of the 'Kapunda Tribe' in June 1861 for their alleged carrying out of the Rainbird Murders it appears that a large-scale massacre of the 'Kapunda Tribe' took place because the local white population were incensed that the four had been hung in private behind the walls of the Adelaide Gaol and not in public at Kapunda. Peter Liddy, a criminologist and lawyer, who has recently researched the Rainbird Murders comments in a postscript that:

The remaining members of the Kapunda tribe were later reported to have moved near Clare and Penwortham in the Mid-North of the colony. On 31st August, 1915, when a railway line was being constructed between Riverton and Spalding, workers ploughed up a dozen skulls and numerous bones on a hill three miles north of Auburn and one mile south of Leasingham. They were the remains of the Kapunda tribe, some of the skeletons having been buried in a sitting position, arms folded and with the head bent forward. (Liddy, 1993: 85-86)

²⁸Plomley attributes the gross disparity in the sexes amongst some northeastern Tasmanian Aboriginal groups which George Augustus Robinson observed to the capturing of women by the sealers. Amongst one group of about 80 people, Robinson found just three women compared with 72 men and made no mention of any children (Plomley, 1966: 439).

Incidentally, it now appears that the murder of the settler Rainbird's wife and children was in fact carried out by the settler himself, but made to look like they were the work of Aboriginal killers (Liddy, 1993). The members of the 'Kapunda Tribe' may well have been Kaurna people or at least a closely allied group, perhaps Ngadjuri. Kapunda lies on the eastern border of the territory mapped out as Kaurna by Tindale (1974). The birth order names of the accused, recorded as Warritya and Monnitya, are identical with Kaurna birth order names and the personal names Pilti Miltinda and Tankawortya (Liddy, 1993: 29) also appear to be plausible Kaurna names on phonotactic grounds.

Little notice was taken of violence occurring between Aboriginal people as indicated by Liddy. It would appear that if it were not for the coincidence of violence within the Aboriginal community occurring at the same time as the Rainbird murders, the killing of both the Aboriginal boy and the woman would have gone unreported:

On Friday, 8th March [1861], a fight amongst Aborigines took place in the 'back part' of Kapunda, in the course of which an Aboriginal boy died from a blow to the head. One of the participants, an 18 year old named Pilti Miltinda . . . was reasonably well known in the district and it was reported that he had been seen to kill an Aboriginal woman a short time before but the matter had not been reported to the police as it did not involve any white person. After the fight the group set out from Kapunda to bury the boy at the burial ground near the Rainbird property. (Liddy, 1993: 29)

The prevailing view was that the Aboriginal population should be left alone²⁹, as they would soon disappear. The missionaries, whilst gaining some official support in the early years, were heavily criticized by many colonists:

The cry was raised "Leave the blacks alone. You are only wasting your time, and money, and talent. They are doomed to extinction, and the sooner they are extinct, the better. With their loitering in the parklands, and their 'beastly corroborees', and their petty theiving, they are nothing but a nuisance." (Brauer, 1956: 155)

Teichelmann and Klose responded saying:

Who is responsible for their acquisition of the white man's vices and diseases? Is it not the depraved whites who infect them morally and physically? Why are they doomed to extinction? Is it not largely because of the bad habits some white people teach them, and because of the diseases they transmit to them? Who must take the greater blame for their degradation and acquired corrupt practices, the bemighted blackfellow himself, or the vicious white men upon whom the light of reason and the blessings of civilization have been shed in vain? Why are many of the natives not taking kindly to the teachings of the white man? Among other reasons also because they lose confidence in the white man, when they see some of their number abused and ill treated by white men, and their wives and sisters and relatives becoming the victims of the most loathesome diseases which formerly were utterly unknown to them. (quoted in Brauer, 1956: 155)

The Kaurna were quickly outnumbered by Aboriginal people from the Murray River who remained for extended periods in Adelaide. Fights broke out between the two groups and the Kaurna leaders resented the uninvited presence of the Murray peoples on their land. They correctly attributed their presence to the Europeans and appealed to the government to prevent them from coming. It could be that numbers of Kaurna women were taken off by men from the Murray who had perhaps come to Adelaide unaccompanied, leaving their own women behind.

²⁹For instance, a Aboriginal man fell from a tree on North Terrace breaking his thigh. There is no indication that the police or other colonists attempted to lend assistance in any way. He was taken to his wurley by his countrymen (Police Parade Book 1843 to 1844 GRG 5/120/3/1).

We can only assume that with different language groups coming into unprecedented long and sustained contact with each other, and with the breakdown in Aboriginal family groups and accompanying alcohol abuse and prostitution, there must have been high rates of black on black violence, resulting in a considerable number of deaths. This view is supported by an article in a newspaper in 1847:

it is commonly said that the whites have driven away the Cowandilla or Adelaide natives from the city. No such thing. This now small tribe have been driven away, their wives and daughters seized on, and their men killed almost before our eyes, by hordes of wild Murray and even Darling natives, who at this moment infest our streets, and who were never seen on this side of the mountains before the whites came. (Southern Australian, 15 June, 1847: 2)

Some Kaurna may have merged with neighbouring groups and their Kaurna identities lost. There is a suggestion that Kadlitpinna ('Captain Jack') was living at Raukkan with the Ngarrindjeri people in the later part of his life (Simpson, forthcoming: 8)³⁰. A few Kaurna, such as Kalloongoo and Emma or Emue (see Amery, 1996d), were known to have remained elsewhere in the pre-colonial sealing era. Kalloongoo was last reported at Port Philip in 1842 and it seems that Emue remained in Bass Strait. Other Aboriginal people who left the colony through employment on ships or with overlanders may have remained in other colonies or even overseas, though attrition of the population in this way since 1836 is not likely to have been high.

In 1850, there were reported to be 300 Aboriginal people in the Adelaide district and a further 300 in the Encounter Bay to Yankalilla district. Many of these people were undoubtedly Ngarrindjeri or Ngayawang from the Murray River districts, but nonetheless, the figures indicate that there was still a significant Aboriginal presence in the Adelaide district.

5.5.2 Cultural Genocide

As we have seen, there was little direct violence meted out to the Kaurna, at least in the vicinity of Adelaide, but government policies were clearly directed towards imposing English 'civilisation' and obliterating Indigenous cultures as quickly as possible. Whilst they tried to preserve the language, the missionaries also contributed in a major way to this cultural genocide. We have seen how they attempted to challenge and breakdown the Kaurna belief systems and to set the young against their Elders. Both the missionaries and the government were responsible for instituting a dormitory system, cutting children off from their families. Finally, government policies served to remove Kaurna peoples from their lands and to institute forced marriages at Poonindie in disregard of kinship prohibitions and family alliances, the backbone of Kaurna culture.

³⁰Taplin refers to a man called 'Captain Jack' with a Ngarrindjeri name "Tooreetparne" which translates as 'wild dog', as does *kadli* the root of Kadlitpinna.

Important Kaurna sites were violated. It appears that the *Tarnda Kanya*³¹ 'red kangaroo rock' site was quarried to provide stone to build many of the substantial early buildings on North Terrace. Portatangga 'Ochre Cove', a sacred men's site to the south, was mined to supply hundreds of tons of red ochre to the paint industry in England up until the 1940s (Campbell, 1983: 6). Graves were desecrated and bodies and skeletons were deposited in museums both here and overseas³².

Game quickly became scarce as the colonists occupied Kaurna lands and set up agricultural and pastoral industries and the Kaurna were reduced to a state of dependency. As a consequence, the Kaurna were soon treated with contempt.

Kaurna leaders died in the prime of life. According to the *Register* (6 January 1845) Mullawirraburka was just 35 years when he died, probably as a result of tuberculosis (Gara, forthcoming: 29). According to this report he was survived by only two of his four wives and three of at least nine children. This, no doubt, further contributed to loss of hope and cohesion within the group. Some Kaurna people refer to this period as the 'holocaust' or the 'initial holocaust' (pc Georgina Williams, March 1998).

5.5.3 Language shift

It would appear that language shift from Kaurna to English took place in an exceedingly short period of time following colonisation. In the early years colonists made efforts to learn Kaurna and there is some evidence that a jargon or pidgin Kaurna developed briefly (Simpson, 1996). Soon after Schürmann arrived in South Australia he reported that Aboriginal people from other districts quickly learnt and used Kaurna when they came to Adelaide (Schürmann, report titled 'The Natives of South Australia' [S55 in Lutheran Archives holdings] accompanied letter dated 21 June 1839). So it appeared that Kaurna was to some extent a prestigious language. However, this pattern probably did not persist for long as the population balance changed.

After the closure of the school at Piltawodli in July 1845 there is no evidence that Kaurna continued to play any role whatsoever in public life. Grey, as Governor, forbade Teichelmann to preach in Kaurna and there are no further references to singing and praying in Kaurna, which were previously a frequent occurrence. All the newly developed language functions, the speeches, hymns, sermons, prayers and literacy had been abandoned or prohibited. The services of Kaurna-English interpreters were no longer needed. The status of the language had plummeted.

³¹Tandanya, the name for the land upon which Adelaide was built, appears to be a contraction of *tarnda* 'red kangaroo' and *kanya* 'rock'. Numerous quarries were located on the southern bank of the Torrens, and it is likely that *Tarnda Kanya* referred to one or more rock formations which no longer exist.

³²There is a reference in the Tindale papers concerning two bodies sent from Adelaide to the Royal College of Surgeons in England by Governor Grey in 1845. Photos of the embalmed bodies are to be found in Tindale's box of ephemera relating to the 'Adelaide Tribe'. Tindale also believed that the smoked body of Ityamaitpinna 'King Rodney' is held in the Berlin Museum (Kaurna or Adelaide Tribe Data, Tindale Collection, SA Museum) though enquiries by museum staff revealed that the body in question probably originated from Queensland (Gara, 1990: 73).

The dislocation of Kurna peoples from their lands, the population collapse and subsequent minority status, the dormitory system and English only education must have been instrumental in promoting shift to English. On 4 August 1845, just after the relocation of the school from Piltawodli to Kintore Avenue, Klose remarked³³ "The language which has been introduced into the school is English, which the children also use amongst themselves" (Letter from Klose, 29 August 1845). When the Kurna children went to the Kintore Avenue school, they were a minority mixing in with children who spoke a language that was not mutually intelligible³⁴. A lingua franca was needed and in the context of an all-English school, it seems that English came to serve that function. Of course the Murray River children had been previously schooled in English in the Walkerville school.

Kurna children, it appears, had also acquired a considerable knowledge of English informally from their interactions with the colonists and by 1845 were well versed in singing hymns and reciting prayers in English. However, the children's understanding of English was probably limited. A few months earlier, Teichelmann had tried to test their understanding by asking the children to translate passages from an English reader into Kurna:

... in an English reader that contained moral and biblical sections and [I] had the bigger ones read a few of the short sections which they were then to translate into their own language. Apart from the remarkable fact that those who were most advanced in their own language read worst as opposed to the young ones who read well. I was again shown that the children while they read well do not understand it since none could translate what was read into their own language.

(English translation of Teichelmann Diary, 27 April 1845)

The children's apparent inability to translate the English passages may well have been due to resistance to Christianity or an unwillingness to try to render unfamiliar and foreign concepts into their own language, rather than evidence of not understanding English.

The English colonists strongly disfavoured the use of Indigenous languages in education. Klose's introduction of some English into his program early in 1844 was probably partly an accommodation to the colonists' wishes, though Klose himself saw the need for English if the Kurna were to survive within colonial society. He reported that "for about the past 3 months I have started teaching in English because later on they will have to make their living among the English, and it is therefore unavoidably necessary" (Klose letter to Dresden, 3 September 1844):

Certainly the shift in government policies which imposed English-only education and forbade the missionaries to preach in Kurna, together with plans to relocate the Kurna away from their lands and settle them in a mixed community at Poonindie, with a pervading all-English ethos sealed the fate of Kurna.

³³Klose made this remark, just five years after his earlier observations that people from other districts quickly acquired Kurna, and less than ten years following the arrival of the colonists.

³⁴ Three years earlier Klose reported that the Murray children "understand neither English nor the local native language" (letter 26 April 1842).

Survival for the Kaurna meant life in this all-English environment, merging with neighbouring language groups at Raukkan and Bukkiyana or eeking out a living on the fringes of small country towns. The support systems for the language had been destroyed. The remaining Kaurna had been thrust into new situations requiring the use of other languages, and into situations which were hostile to Kaurna.

5.6 Surviving the 'Dark Ages'

5.6.1 Kaurna Lands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century

Claims of 'extinction', made in the 1850s and 1860s, were indeed premature. It seems for instance, that a group of Kaurna maintained a continual presence in the Port Adelaide area up until 1890 (Brodie & Melvin, 1994: 25). A group camped near the western end of the Jervois Bridge were moved in about 1890 to make way for the CSR sugar factory. Port Adelaide was probably one of the last refuges for the remaining Kaurna. There were still Aboriginal people living in the Port Adelaide area into the twentieth century. A white resident, Fred Miller recalls from his father's time:

They [Aboriginal people] lived along Hawker's Creek in wurlies, round the path of Hawkers Creek. There were quite a few of them. When I was a boy [1907-1912] there were still some old Aboriginals living round the swamp at Buck's Flat near where the Le Fevre Boys High School is now. They were the very old Aboriginals, the sort that was dying off. In those early days women used to do a lot of working to keep house and they used to get the blacks to come and do their housework to save them the hard labour of it. Hart owned right to the river. He owned practically everything. It was all absolutely open in those days, there was nothing here at all and the Aboriginals did live around the rim of the swamp.

(quoted in Brodie & Melvin, 1994: 30)

One old "full-blood" man is remembered by a number of people as living in the Glanville area up until about 1930. Other historical sources say that the last Kaurna male of 'full descent', James Phillips, died in 1897 (Hemming, 1990: 80).

Nevertheless, the number of Kaurna persons alive in the latter part of the nineteenth century must have been few indeed. Certainly, by contrast with the early days of the colony, the Kaurna were practically invisible. Those that remained were probably scattered over a wide area. Some lived at Port Adelaide, aloof perhaps from the troublesome Murray peoples who outnumbered them in Adelaide. Others seem to have lived in nearby small country towns such as Clarendon and Kangarilla, and some drifted to Bukkiyana³⁵, as Brock & Kartinyeri indicate above. And of course there were the Kaurna youth who were sent to Poonindie.

It would seem that a Kaurna woman from Gawler was amongst a small group of Aborigines rounded up in the city and sent to Raukkan in 1912. She was known as "Warrette³⁶ (Emma Pritchard). 'Last of the Gawler Tribe.'" (Mattingley & Hampton, 1988: 155). Under the 'Aborigines Act' of 1911, the Protector was granted powers to remove the few Aboriginal

³⁵Bukkiyana was the destination for these children absconding from the Adelaide school, presumably because their families had already moved there.

³⁶ The caption appears on a photo held in the South Australian Museum. Warrette is probably the same as the birth-order name Warruato 'second-born + female'.

people remaining in the city. On the 10 January 1912 he issued the following order to the Commissioner of Police:

I have the honor to request that the following Aborigines who are a nuisance in and around the City must be mustered up and conveyed by a Police Officer to Point McLeay, on Friday next; George Donnelly, Wilson Hack, Jennie Hack, Emma Pritchard and Susan Campbell.

(in Mattingley & Hampton, 1988: 7)

These people were indeed removed to Raukkan where they were not permitted to leave without a permit, punishable by six months imprisonment. Hack and Donnelly did in fact attempt to return to Adelaide to collect their belongings at Glenelg, only to be arrested in Goolwa.

As a result of these measures, in 1913 the Chief Protector reported that "The aborigines who used to infest the city and suburbs have all been removed and placed on Point Mcleay, where they are kept and provided for under the Act. They are quite happy there and behave themselves well" (in Mattingley & Hampton, 1988: 6). This would appear to be the end of an Aboriginal presence in Adelaide.

5.6.2 The 'Diaspora': Bukkiyana (Point Pearce) and Raukkan (Point McLeay)

Having been so removed to the missions, Kaurna people grew up with those mission identities, though some still retained a knowledge of their ties with Kaurna country. On the missions the Kaurna intermarried with the Ngarrindjeri, Narungga and other groups and took on 'Point Pearce' and 'Point McLeay' mission identities. They tended to identify closely with the place and the lifestyle in which they grew up.

Some Kaurna people may have been on the missions at the time of their establishment, Point McLeay in 1859 and Point Pearce in 1868 respectively. It is likely that in the face of the expansion of the colony and the threat of being removed to Poonindie the few remaining Kaurna people merged with the neighbouring Ngarrindjeri and Narungga peoples at Raukkan and Bukkiyana by drawing on their kin ties and in-laws.

Gara (1990) has traced the life story of one important Kaurna identity in this period, namely Ivaritji. She is believed to have been the last Kaurna person of 'full Aboriginal descent' and possibly the last fluent speaker of Kaurna. She moved with her family to the Clarendon area in the 1850s. After the death of her parents in the early 1860s she was adopted by a white family in the district. However, she later lived for some time at both Raukkan and at Bukkiyana, where she was living in 1919 when Daisy Bates visited. In the intervening period she may also have lived for a while at Poonindie. Ivaritji was Ityamaitpinna's ('King Rodney's) daughter³⁷. Ivaritji died in 1929, though she seemed to remember only a little of her language in the last years of her life.

³⁷Ivaritji's childhood name was possibly Itya Mau (Gara, 1990: 64) or more likely Itya Maii. Itya Maii was the writer of several Kaurna letters (see Appendices D3.2 and D3.5).

Throughout this period, at least some people it seems, tried to keep in touch with Kaurna country by visiting places whenever possible. However, life on the missions was strictly controlled and movement in and out was at the discretion of the Superintendent and the Protector of Aborigines.

Life on the mission was highly institutionalised but the mission offered a sense of community and a sense of security. A number of Nunga people comment that it wasn't until they left the mission environment that they realized they 'were different' and experienced the direct effect of personalized racism. See Rigney (1995).

It needs to be pointed out that Aboriginal people in South Australia were subject to 'The Aborigines Act' of 1911, which remained in place with some minor alterations until 1962. Under 'The Act', as it was known, their lives were subject to severe restrictions. They were a captive workforce as movement was controlled and other civil liberties curtailed:

The Act gave the Chief 'Protector of Aborigines' wide powers over families, children, property, rights of movement and freedom of access. Under the Act the Chief 'Protector' became the 'legal guardian of every aboriginal and every half-caste child' until we reached the age of twenty-one, regardless of parents or relatives. He could 'undertake the general care, protection, and management of the property of any aboriginal or half-caste'.

He had the power to 'cause any aboriginal or half-caste to be kept within the boundaries of any reserve or . . . institution', or to be removed or transferred to another. Our people could be ordered to move their camps from any municipality, town or township. Such places could be proclaimed 'prohibited areas'. Any one of us could be arrested for loitering. Entry to reserves was restricted and any person 'who removes an aboriginal, or causes, assists, entices or persuades an aboriginal to remove, from a reserve' was guilty of an offence. (Mattingley & Hampton, 1988: 45)

Mattingley & Hampton (1988) provide ample graphic description of life under 'The Act' from a Nunga perspective.

On the missions a strong Aboriginal identity developed in the relative isolation from mainstream society. Ceremonial life was suppressed and as a result most 'traditional' cultural practices were lost. However many aspects of kinship did survive, notably the centrality of the extended family.

5.6.3 The 'Homecoming'

Prior to the 1960s and the granting of full citizenship rights, there were very few Aboriginal people resident in Adelaide. According to the Commonwealth census figures there were just 30 "half-castes" in Adelaide in 1921, 95 in 1933, 241 in 1944 and 241 in 1954 (in Inglis, 1961: 201), though it appears that many of these were transient³⁸. No doubt these figures under-represent the true situation to some degree and probably exclude numbers of people whose appearance allowed them to merge with the general population, even though some may have continued to associate with and identify with the Nunga population. Prior to 1954 growth of Adelaide's Indigenous population was slow. According to F. Gale (1972: 74), most resident in

³⁸ F. Gale's (1972) figures reveal that between 150 and 200 Aboriginal people were resident in Adelaide between 1950 and 1954 (see Map IV).

Adelaide at that time had come to Adelaide during World War II and had remained. Aboriginal people from the Northern Territory and northern South Australia made up the bulk of this population. In the 1950s, there were only a dozen or so people drawn from Bukkiyana and Raukkan.

However, Kaurna people were amongst the first Aboriginal people to return to Adelaide. Lewis O'Brien for instance, came to Adelaide with his mother, grandmother and family in 1936. Gladys Elphick came to Adelaide in 1939, after being issued with an exemption certificate under the 'Act'. She worked in a munitions factory in Islington during the war.

After 1954 the South Australian government adopted a policy of assimilation, which intentionally moved people away from the crowded missions and reserves, where the population was increasing, into mainstream Australia. More people were issued with exemption certificates and were thereby forced to cut their ties and move to the city³⁹. It was usually those whom it was thought would more easily blend with the European population, either because of their appearance or their lifestyle and propensity to obtain employment, who were issued with the exemptions. As a result of this policy, many people were moved from Bukkiyana and Raukkan into Adelaide, actively encouraged and assisted to migrate by the Department of Aboriginal Affairs.

The relaxation of laws in the 1960s and the granting of full citizenship with the 1967 Referendum resulted in a full-scale migration to the city. The reasons why people moved to Adelaide were many and varied. Important amongst these was the desire to escape the restrictions imposed on them by the mission, and to experience their new-found freedom. No doubt many moved to Adelaide to join relatives. Others moved to Adelaide for health reasons or for their children's education. Mattingley & Hampton (1988, chapter 6) provide numerous excerpts from interviews with Aboriginal people, including Mary Cooper, mother of Georgina Williams.

A sociological study of Adelaide's Aboriginal population was carried out by Inglis (1961). Fay Gale, at the University of Adelaide, conducted detailed investigations into the Adelaide Aboriginal population from the late 1950s through to the 1980s, coinciding with the drift to Adelaide of significant numbers of Aboriginal people. Her study from a geographer's perspective (Gale, 1970; 1972; Gale & Wundersitz, 1982) examines the period 1950 to 1965.

Gale (1970: 305) notes that "Australian Aborigines, until the last decade, were almost exclusively rural dwellers." She identified 2,039 Aborigines who lived in Adelaide for at least six consecutive months between January 1963 and January 1966 (Gale, 1972: 20). These figures included only those people who actively identified as Aboriginal people, though she

³⁹Under the Act those issued with exemption certificates were no longer able to remain on the missions and reserves. Nor were they able to visit their family on the missions without permission.

acknowledges that other people of Aboriginal ancestry had been "totally absorbed into the general community". In discussing this distinction she observes:

Those excluded do not consider themselves to be Aboriginal and do not participate in any Aboriginal group activities in the city. Indeed it would have been impossible to include such people because they have completely or almost completely merged with the general Australian community.

When one is working with Aborigines in the city it is not hard to draw the line between Aborigines and non-Aborigines on this basis. The distinction is not made on the basis of skin colour or economic independence although these are quite significant factors influencing the absorption of Aborigines into the community. The distinction is made by the people themselves. For example an Aboriginal informant said on one occasion: 'Now, there's my niece. You ought to have her down on your list. I've got another niece too, but you can't include her; she's married a white man and we never see them now.'

(Gale, 1970: 306)

Up until about 1961, people from Bukkiyana were the largest single Aboriginal group resident in Adelaide, though the Aboriginal population was diverse. It included people from Raukkan, Koonibba and other places on the West Coast, from northern South Australia and the Northern Territory. This latter group were displaced from their kin, having been raised in institutions or foster homes.

People with ties to Raukkan have become numerically dominant, since 1961, with the Ngarrindjeri emerging as the biggest Indigenous group in Adelaide. Of the married Aboriginal people resident in Adelaide between 1963 and 1966, 29 per cent originated from Raukkan (Ngarrindjeri country) and 22 per cent from Bukkiyana (Narungga country). Only 9.5 per cent of the married Aborigines living in Adelaide were born in the city, though 24 per cent of the total resident population were born there, most to parents who had recently migrated.

Both Inglis and Gale draw attention to the strength and resilience of family ties and Aboriginal culture amongst Nungas from Bukkiyana and Raukkan living in Adelaide, in contrast to the peoples now generally referred to as the 'stolen generation' living in institutions and foster homes. Inglis (1961) refers to these Bukkiyana and Raukkan people as the 'insiders'. Those at the forefront in promotion of the Kaurna language are generally secure in their Aboriginality and feel comfortable about who they are and where they are from. However they demonstrate a strong commitment to developing this sense of Aboriginal identity amongst the younger generation. A strong identity is seen as an inner strength, a protection for a minority people growing up within a dominant, and sometimes openly negative and racist majority culture.

Gale discusses identity issues at a time when a distinctive Nunga community was just beginning to form within Adelaide. Her discussion, grounded in detailed demographic data, is invaluable in understanding the roots of a modern Kaurna identity. Accordingly, I quote Gale at length on the topic:

Aborigines born in Adelaide have little group or kinship identity. Those now old enough to be married, grew up in a period when there were few other Aborigines in the city and they were forced to become assimilated into the general community. Therefore most of the adult Aborigines who were born in Adelaide have now married Europeans. Whether this will happen in the next generation is not so certain. It may well be that in the future there will be sufficient numbers of Aborigines living in strong enough social groupings to enable marriage to take place within the Aboriginal community rather than outside of it. The Aboriginal population is growing rapidly both in numbers and in group solidarity. Aborigines in

the city are becoming increasingly conscious of an identity separate from that of the white community. Aborigines who once considered themselves to be completely assimilated are now beginning to identify with other Aborigines. Now that it has become socially acceptable to be known as an Aboriginal and there is a sufficiently large community to identify with, people who once 'passed' as European are now referring to themselves as Aborigines. If this process of group identification continues it is likely that the amount of intermarriage with Europeans will diminish and more Aborigines will marry within their own community in the future. It also means that new Aboriginal social groups are forming which are no longer based on kin affiliation. Furthermore, the population in Adelaide is increasing, not just because of the increasing rate of immigration to the city but also because of the people who were once 'white' but now call themselves Aboriginal. There is thus a social as well as a natural increase in population taking place in the city. (F. Gale, 1970: 323)

Aboriginal people living in Adelaide in the 1960s identified very strongly with their community of origin. According to Jordan:

Aboriginal people interviewed in the city saw the reserve they were brought up on as 'home' and, while having a comprehensive knowledge of their own relations, often had no knowledge of other Aboriginal families outside these groupings. They saw themselves as Point McLeay people or Point Pearce people. (Jordan, 1984: 281)

Peter Gale (1991) on the basis of interviews conducted with Nungas, who had all migrated to Adelaide in the 1960s, concludes that for some members of the older generation, this 'mission' identity is still important:

For some older Nunga people who had lived most of their lives on the missions the land continued to have a higher level of cultural significance, and there remained strong feelings for the land associated with the mission. This was most clearly expressed in the desire to be buried on the mission land, and they would defend that 'right' of burial. (P. Gale, 1991: 154)

These observations accord with my own made over the last decade. The identification with Bukkiyana or Raukkan is still paramount for most older Nungas, despite the fact that they have been living in Adelaide for three decades or more. All Kaurna people today relate to these two missions, either because they grew up there themselves or because their parents or grandparents were raised there. Most Kaurna people still make frequent visits to one or other (perhaps both) of these missions and refer to these visits as "going home station".

However, there is also a re-awakening and a yearning for knowledge of culture and language that go beyond childhood memories. To some extent the forging of new identities is focussed on languages which ceased to be used on a regular basis many years ago. These matters are taken up in Chapters 10.

5.7 Summary and Conclusions

At first the colonists trod warily and treated the Kaurna with a measure of respect. Kaurna leaders were co-opted by the colonial administration almost from the beginning. Initially the Kaurna language was a valued commodity and the early Protectors were expected to rapidly gain a knowledge of the language. The early governors and colonial officials requested that their speeches and directives to Aborigines be translated into Kaurna. Gawler in particular supported the use of Kaurna and endorsed the use of Kaurna as the medium of instruction by German missionaries at Piltawodli. These missionaries, from the outset, were keen to preserve the language and to use it as a tool for Christianising and 'civilising'. However, this recognition of the language was shortlived.

With the death of Mullawirraburka in 1845, it seems that the Kaurna ceased to be taken seriously by the colonists. Within ten years of the establishment of the colony of South Australia, Kaurna lands had been totally occupied and the Kaurna were considered by the colonists as a defeated people. The few that remained were regarded by many as a minor nuisance factor. Those that were not sent to Poonindie drifted to fringe camps, small country towns and missions. It seems that practically all Kaurna people eventually ended up at Bukkiyana or Raukkan, where they intermarried with the Narungga, Ngarrindjeri and other peoples. Despite pessimistic early predictions, Kaurna people have survived.

This chapter has described the circumstances surrounding the demise of the Kaurna language. It has provided the context in which the language sources were recorded. The next chapter analyses in detail all the known nineteenth and early twentieth century primary Kaurna sources.

CHAPTER 6: KAURNA SOURCES

As far as regards the work itself, it is hoped that the reader will not expect a complete specimen of the language. Eighteen months is but a short period for the study of an unwritten language, where no means of instruction exist, and where all information must be gleaned from casual and trivial conversation. To this must be added, the uncommon rapidity, abbreviation, and carelessness with which the Aborigines speak; their extreme reluctance for a long time, to inform the inquirer; their natural inability to answer grammatical questions; together with their unfavourable situation for the study of the language.

(T&S, 1840: v)

Now I don't see it as something that has been written by goonyas, therefore we shouldn't embrace it. It is there. Its ours. It has been recorded for us and indeed in some of those recordings our people are talking to us. But we need to decode it.

(Lester Irabinna Rigney, interviewed by Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997)

6.0 Introduction

The vast bulk of documentation of the Kaurna language was recorded in the early years of the colonisation of South Australia, from 1836 to 1845, by a number of different observers, themselves of differing linguistic background including German, English and French. A short wordlist was even recorded a decade earlier in Western Australia.

Almost no new Kaurna material was recorded in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Some material was published or compiled in that period, notably Teichelmann (1857; 1858) and Wyatt (1879) but most, if not all, of this material was probably collected prior to 1845. No further original work seems to have been undertaken, post Teichelmann, until the twentieth century, when Daisy Bates (1919), John McConnell Black (1920) and Norman Tindale worked with Ivaritji, who was said to be the last remaining speaker of the Kaurna language (see Gara, 1990: 82). Tindale also recorded a few words from Alf Spender. This more recent material is indeed valuable, but it is not nearly as extensive as the work carried out last century. In addition, both Tindale and the Berndts recorded information about the Adelaide Plains and Kaurna traditions from Ngarrindjeri and Ngadjuri informants.

Tapes made more recently by the late Gladys Elphick and late Auntie Kumai (Rebecca Harris) could possibly reveal additional information on and about the Kaurna language. Gladys Elphick's life story is currently being written on the basis of these interviews, but the tapes and transcripts are not available to the writer at this point in time. As mentioned earlier, there is always the possibility that some residual Kaurna language might be handed down orally from one generation to the next within certain Nunga families, who may not wish to make this information publically available.

This chapter introduces the Kaurna sources, the material we have to work with in the reclamation of the language. Section 6.1 introduces the respective researchers and observers

and their records of the language, focussing on vocabulary. Many observers simply recorded a wordlist and nothing else. Other aspects of the language - grammar, texts, Dreaming stories and songs are addressed in separate sections. Sources on these aspects of Kaurna are limited and are best drawn together and discussed relative to each other than with the author or compiler.

6.1 The Sources

For the purposes of this study, historical sources include both primary sources, recorded from the lips of Kaurna speakers, and secondary sources, where one author has taken material recorded by another observer and re-shaped that material in his¹ own publication, often introducing errors in the process. A number of sources include both primary and secondary material and are hard to classify. Cawthorne (1844; journals) seems to be a mixture of original material and other material he gained from elsewhere. Historical sources include several writers from the early twentieth century who recorded some material from Ivaritji.

As will be already apparent, the Kaurna sources vary greatly in their accuracy, reliability and depth. Several are based entirely on independent research. Some, for example Piesse (1840), have adopted the writing systems of others, but still make an original contribution. The German mission sources, T&S and TMs, comprise by far the best and most comprehensive sources on the Kaurna language. T&S also provide the only grammar of the language. These two sources are the foundation upon which the teaching of Kaurna and its attempted revival in the 1990s is based.

6.1.1 The 'Adelaide School'

The German missionaries 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 publication². 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 spellings and used their materials.

¹I use the masculine pronoun 'his' since all known secondary sources in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are male.

²Moorhouse may well have based his Ngayawang vocabulary on previous work completed by Weatherstone (1843). The two vocabularies are almost identical, but Weatherstone's material was sent to England three years before Moorhouse published. Weatherstone writes "I trust this will show to the committee I've not been idle for this has been collected" (letter, June 1843). Presumably Weatherstone did indeed collect the material.

6.1.1.1 Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840)

Upon their arrival in Adelaide, Schürmann and Teichelmann set out immediately to learn the Kaurna language for the purpose of Christianising and 'civilizing' the Indigenous inhabitants. They had been instructed to translate the Bible as soon as practicable. For the period, they were reasonably well-prepared to research Aboriginal languages. They had been instructed in Latin, Greek, English, Hebrew and even a little Chinese in seminaries in Germany prior to their departure for South Australia. Whilst they were frustrated in their attempts to learn Kaurna, they made good progress.

Schürmann's journals (Schurmann, 1987: 101) reveal that the manuscript for T&S was completed early in April of that year, just eighteen months since their arrival in the colony. This was an outstanding feat. However, the authors were well aware of its shortcomings and deficiencies made explicit in the introduction and in a letter written by Schürmann to George French Angas, dated April 3, 1840:

we ourselves do not think it to contain one half of the riches of forms and ideas which may probably be hidden in the language. (in Schurmann, 1987: 91)

T&S consists of a 24 page sketch grammar, a vocabulary of some 1816 head entries, a phraseology of 141 entries, two short passages illustrating dialect differences and five short song lines. The major deficiency lies in the absence of any substantial texts.

The missionaries had access to Threlkeld's (1834) grammar and studied it on the ship on their journey to Australia³. Whilst they were undoubtedly influenced by it, they did not simply copy the same format. There are some similarities evident. Both sources include the same kind of material and introduce them in roughly the same order. However, Threlkeld's vocabulary is organised by part of speech and domains, whilst his sentences are organised in sections to illustrate points of grammar. T&S's vocabulary and sentences are simply ordered alphabetically.

The vocabulary section of T&S is more than a list of words and their meanings. Many entries demonstrate a level of sophistication, including different senses in which the word is used plus illustrative examples. Consider, for instance, the entry for *yaitya* :

Yaitya, *adj.* proper; own; native; fresh; as *yaitya warra*, one's own language; *yaitya meyu*, countryman; *yaitya kauwe*, proper (i.e. fresh) water. The reverse is *kuma*, or *pindi*.

Other entries provide ethnographic or historical information as in the entries below:

Nguya, *s.* pustule; the disease of smallpox, 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 is <sic> 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,

³Schürmann (letter to Dresden 5 November 1839) refers to meeting an Aboriginal man from NSW, attempting to communicate with him but finding that "his language is different from that contained in Threlkeld's Grammar". This indicates some familiarity with Threlkeld's work.

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*.

Pangkarra, s. a district or tract of country belonging to an individual, which he inherits from his father. *Ngarraitya paru aityo pangkarrila*, there is an abundance of game in my country. As each *pankarra* has a 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), *Mullawirraburka* (King John), *Kalyoburka*, *Karkulyaburka*, *Tindoburka*, &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.

The Phraseology section contains a range of sentences, some of which are useful for everyday communication, including simple question and response routines. Several entries provide connected sentences, the longest being the following:

Wortanna ngaityo nungngurroandi manyaurlyo, wodlingga be waienetti. Yakko ba budnetti manya, burro ai wodlingga tikkaninyidla; madlanna manya budnetti, worltangga ai tikketti wodlingga. Manti ai ingametti manyarna wodlingga - nammu ai warrunna, ba budninda manya.*

'All my moveables become wet by the rain, which could enter into the house. Did it not rain, I should still be sitting in the house; had no rain come, I was sitting warm in the house. I could not foresee the coming rain whilst in the house - now I am outside, the rain just comes.'

* Thus a native was speaking, after he had moved all his luggage out of the house, in order to finish it, when he was lying outside, and rain came unexpectedly.

This text illustrates considerable grammatical complexity. A range of verbal and nominal affixes are employed.

The sentence examples given, like the one cited above, are illustrative of utterances T&S heard Kurna people produce, as opposed to elicited material or utterances that the missionaries themselves would have constructed. These sentences thus contrast sharply with religious texts such as the Ten Commandments or the translations of Gawler's speeches, which are probably far-removed from native speaker utterances.

T&S have attempted to represent Kurna speech sounds in a regular and consistent fashion, though they do not entirely achieve this objective. Unlike most other observers in the nineteenth century, they attempted to explain their orthography. These matters are taken up in Chapter 7.

6.1.1.2 Teichelmann (1857) or TMs

After the publication of T&S, Teichelmann continued working on the Kurna language. In 1857 he sent his handwritten manuscript titled *Dictionary of the Adelaide Dialect* to Captain George Grey, South Australia's third Governor, who was at that time resident in Cape Town, South Africa. Shortly afterwards he sent an annotated copy of T&S and additional grammatical notes (Teichelmann, 1858), discussed in section 6.2.

TMs contains almost 2,500 words, somewhat more than T&S. However, Teichelmann compiled his dictionary, to some degree, as a compendium to T&S. Some of the most common words such as *kuya* 'fish', *warto* 'wombat', *kurraki* 'white cockatoo' and *ngungana* 'kookaburra' are not included in TMs, though they are in T&S. Simpson (1992: 411) notes that "of the 278 words listed under the letter M in T&S, 63 are not contained in TM". Conversely,

of the 500 or so entries⁴ listed under the letter M in TMs, over 100 are not included in T&S, though only about 15 of the 120 head words commencing with M in TMs are not included in T&S.

Simpson (1992: 412-413) also observes that the semantic content of TMs entries show a greater level of sophistication and more hierarchical organisation. Many terms are elucidated more fully in terms of their various senses and many more example phrases and sentences are provided. As an indication, approximately 75 sentence examples are included under the letter M.

The spelling system adopted in TMs is essentially the same as in T&S, though minor changes, such as the addition of some diacritics, are evident. One of the most noticeable differences is that *e* occurring after *y* in T&S is often spelt as *ä* in TMs. Teichelmann realised there were deficiencies in the spelling system, for he writes in the letter accompanying his manuscript:

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.

(Teichelmann letter, 18 January, 1858)

The two sources, T&S and TMs complement each other. They employ essentially the same spelling system and there are few areas of conflict between them. These two sources have been integrated into a combined 'Kaurna Wordlist organised by topic or subject area' in Amery (1995c; 1997), about 2,700 words in total.

6.1.1.3 Journal and Letters Written by the German missionaries

In addition to their major works and papers on the Kaurna language, the German missionaries include some Kaurna in correspondence to the Dresden Mission Society. Both Teichelmann and Schürmann kept journals. These are more useful in terms of developing an understanding of the language ecology at the time than as a source on the language per se. In fact surprisingly few Kaurna terms are included, though their journals and letters do include occasional useful snippets.

Schürmann's journals contain about 40 vocabulary items⁵, most of them culture-specific and associated with a discussion of Kaurna religious concepts. All of this vocabulary is known from T&S, though the journals provide invaluable contextual information. In addition, about 30 Kaurna personal names, a number of group names for neighbouring clans and language groups, and some place names are also included. Several short Kaurna sentences appear in Schürmann's journal, plus two Kaurna songlines, one of which is recoverable only from this source. The journals were published by Schürmann's great grandson (Schurmann, 1987). Unfortunately a Kaurna songline and several other snippets of Kaurna language, including

⁴I have counted *mai* 'food', *maidli* 'supplied with food', *maiitinna* 'without food', *mai munto* 'full belly, satiated', *mai munto tikkandi* 'to live in abundance' etc. as separate entries in this figure of 500.

⁵In the entry for 16 October 1839, Schürmann refers to "benerie" a native disease, though he was on a visit to Encounter Bay at the time, and by contrast to other Kaurna words "benerie" is placed between inverted commas. This word is probably not Kaurna. Perhaps it was even the English word 'venereal', unfamiliar to Schürmann at the time.

several sentences, were omitted in this publication. It should be noted that the typescript version of Schürmann's journals contains numerous errors, no doubt arising from misreading Schürmann's handwriting. These errors are perpetuated in the published version (Schürmann, 1987). For instance, *Parnka Meyunna* 'lakes people' (ie Ngarrindjeri people) has become *Parakameyunna*; *Yura* 'rainbow serpent' has become *Tura*; *kakirra* 'moon' has become *kakirro* etc.

In a letter dated 19 January 1839⁶, Schürmann includes almost 20 Kaurna words, again mostly associated with Kaurna religion. He also refers to the hangings which took place on the north parklands in May 1839 and the manner in which the Kaurna wept for the deceased by saying "*ngaitjarli ngaitjarli* (my father my father) or *ngaityo panjapi ngaitjo panjapi* (my brother, my brother)"⁷.

In 1840 Schürmann transferred to Port Lincoln, where he began researching the Barnjarla language, publishing *A Vocabulary of the Parnkalla Language* in 1844. His journals reveal that he used his knowledge of Kaurna in his initial interactions with the Barnjarla (Schürmann Journal, 8 October 1840) and drew comparisons between the two languages. Interestingly, Schürmann (1844: 23) documents a Barnjarla word "Kurru midlanta, national name for the Adelaide natives"⁸.

Teichelmann's diary (1839-1846) has only just surfaced and has recently been translated. In 65 typescript pages, just seven personal names are given, about 15 words, mostly concerning Aboriginal religion, several place names and the phrase "*Kartammeru, ngadluko yunga ninna*. 'Kartammeru, you are our older brother'" (Teichelmann Diary, 2 August 1844).

6.1.1.4 Klose Letters (1840-1845)

Samuel Klose arrived in Adelaide in August 1840, replacing Schürmann at the Piltawodli school. Klose's letters contain several Kaurna names, words and phrases. More importantly, however, they contain two Kaurna letters, several pages from the children's copybooks and six Kaurna hymns discussed in section 6.3 and 6.5 respectively. He also makes brief references to aspects of Kaurna grammar, discussed in section 6.2.

Klose's *mannara* 'a crow', given as a boy's name is at variance with Eyre's *mannara* 'crow's nest'. Klose also clarifies the meaning of several other words and introduces several previously unknown phrases or usages. For instance, he identifies *Tarrutarru* as "a small lizard about 4 inches long". T&S (1840: 45) refer to "Tarrotarro, a species of lizard; a fabulous person said to have made male and female, or divided the sexes". Despite the slight difference in spelling, the

⁶Whilst this letter is dated 19 January 1839, events, such as the hangings, took place months later. Either the letter was commenced then, but not completed until months later or the date is wrong.

⁷Note that Schürmann uses *j* instead of T&S *y* in these examples.

⁸Schürmann (1844) also lists *kurru* 'stick', *midla* 'woomera' and *-nta* 'with' (Instrumental Case). Perhaps the expression meant <'that mob having the word *midla* (like us)'>. *Midla* is shared by both Barnjarla and Kaurna.

two sources are obviously referring to the same entity, for Klose continues "They [the children] immediately called me and said that the grown-ups say that this is the creator who made man and woman" (Klose letter to Dresden, 3 September 1844). He also mentions that a group of Kaurna told him that "they were going to the *Kuiya yertanna* (fish country)⁹" (Klose letter to Dresden, 7 July 1843). As noted in Chapter 1 he recorded various group names including *Tarralye Meyunna* 'Stockade Men' and *Wito Meyunna* 'Reed Men' (Klose letter to Dresden, 3 September 1844). These terms were unknown prior to the discovery of Klose's letters.

6.1.1.5 H.A.E. Meyer (1843)

H.A.E. Meyer also arrived in Adelaide in August 1840. He immediately proceeded to Encounter Bay where he learnt and recorded the Ramindjeri language, a variety of Ngarrindjeri, publishing a grammar and vocabulary. Meyer lists a number of place names, noting that:

Several of these names, especially of those in the vicinity of Adelaide, belong to the Adelaide language, as their terminations show; and, indeed, are known only to a few individuals who have been in the habit of visiting the Adelaide tribe, and who can speak both languages.

(Meyer, 1843: 50)

At least one entry is identified as an Adelaide word as follows:

pappauwe, s (Adelaide word) same as *kainyani*¹⁰ (Meyer, 1843: 90)

Pappauwe appears to be the Kaurna word *pappa* 'youth who has undergone the ceremony of circumcision' (T&S, 1840: 36) with the Ramindjeri genitive suffix *-auwe*.

Some other words seem to refer specifically to Kaurna artifacts. For example:

Mateñgauwe, s., song used by the Adelaide natives. (Meyer, 1843: 78)

Mulle, s., thin stick used by the Adelaide natives to charm (Meyer, 1843: 82)

Taiyärke, s., small shield used by the Adelaide natives. (Meyer, 1843: 97)

Several other words in this Ramindjeri wordlist are identical to Kaurna words and at least some of them appear to be borrowings from Kaurna. For instance, *kape* 'tobacco' (Meyer, 1843: 69) is said to be derived from *kappendi* 'to vomit' (T&S, 1840: 9) which suggests that when Meyer encountered the word at Encounter Bay it was recently borrowed.

A bundle of Meyer's letters have been returned to the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide and await translation. It is possible that they may contain further insights into Kaurna.

6.1.1.6 J.P. Gell, 1841-1842

John Philip Gell, Principal of Queen's School, Hobart was a leading member of the *Tasmanian Society*, of which William Wyatt was also a corresponding member. Gell was greatly impressed by the work of Schürmann and Teichelmann and prepared a paper titled *South*

⁹This expression, *kuya yerta* 'fish country' is reminiscent of the Yolngu expression *guya wāṅa* 'fish country' used in North East Arnhemland, which differs from the English way of expressing this notion. 'Fishing grounds' or 'fishing spot' would be the closest expressions in English.

¹⁰*kainyani* 'young man arrived at the age of puberty, at which they are painted red, and the beard first plucked out' (Meyer, 1843: 67).

Australian Aborigines: The Vocabulary of the Adelaide Tribe based almost entirely on T&S. Teichelmann read Gell's initial paper and made a number of comments which Gell inserted as footnotes attributed to Teichelmann. These notes provide additional ethnographic notes and further elucidation of certain culture-laden Kaurna terms. For instance, Teichelmann provides the following explanation:

Ngulta - properly a tattoo mark; *yellambambatti*, a fresh cut healing; *tarkanye* - from the blood poured on him; *mangkawitya* - (literally thin cuts), the traces of the tattoo marks disappearing; *burtonna* - worn out.
(Teichelmann in Gell, 1842: 115)

All these five terms are given in T&S, and the entry "*ngulta* 'the cuts on the back & chest of the *Wilyuru*. *ngulta bakkondi* 'to make such incisions;' - the word is frequently used for the person himself" appears in TMs. However, the explanation of the remaining four terms can only be gained from Teichelmann's comments contained in Gell's paper. For these reasons, Gell's paper is best regarded as an additional Teichelmann source.

There are several versions of Gell's paper in existence (1841; 1842; 1904), each exhibiting typographical errors, some of which are repeated in several versions or limited to one or other version. Gell's paper was translated into German by Schayer (1844).

6.1.1.7 Sir George Grey

Sir George Grey served as South Australia's third governor from 1841 to 1845. However, he took an interest in Kaurna before that when he was in Western Australia, where he carried out explorations and wrote a grammar and vocabulary of Nyungar. Grey was keen to look for similarities between the two languages. In an appendix to his grammar (1840a: 143-144) he published 9 Kaurna nouns and 12 verbs which showed similarities with the Swan River and King George Sound dialects of Nyungar. These same words, together with *tin-dee* 'sun' and *kauw-ee* 'water' are published in his journals of exploration (Grey, 1841: 211, 212, 214). Grey's spellings of Kaurna words are mixed. Most verbs appear to be spelt according to T&S conventions. However, two verbs, *poomandi* 'to strike'¹¹ and *boontondi* 'to blow', some pronouns and most of the nouns appear to have come from other sources. It is not clear who sent the Kaurna words to Grey. Perhaps he recorded some himself on a visit to Adelaide in early 1840. Wyatt (1840; 1879) and Williams (1840) do not account for all of the spellings. This material points to the possible existence of another Kaurna wordlist, as yet undiscovered.

6.1.1.8 Matthew Moorhouse

Matthew Moorhouse was a medical doctor by training. On arrival in the colony, he was immediately appointed as South Australia's first full-time Protector of Aborigines from June 1839 until 1857. Moorhouse lived at Piltawodli and worked closely with Schürmann and Teichelmann. Moorhouse's letters and other sources indicate that he often travelled in the company of Schürmann or Teichelmann to outlying districts.

¹¹*Poomandi* 'to strike' appears to belong to a different dialect. T&S document *punggondi* 'to strike'.

According to Schürmann's journals (August 2nd 1839), Moorhouse opposed the Governor's view, and that of the missionaries, that "English writing could not be used in the native language, because the fluctuation in the pronunciation may confuse the natives as well as the Europeans". However, it appears that despite this initial opposition, Moorhouse was won over to the 'Adelaide School' and their consistent representation of vowels. Kaurna words recorded by Moorhouse in his letters, consistently employ T&S spellings.

Teichelmann & Moorhouse (1841) published a joint report which includes a brief sketch of Kaurna grammar, discussed in section 6.2.1.4. At the request of Captain Grey, Moorhouse (1846) also published on the Ngayawang language from Moorundie on the Murray River, near present day Blanchetown, using T&S as a model. However, works of any substance on the Kaurna language have not been found. Moorhouse's journal has not been located, though a snippet of it appears within a photograph of a page from Cawthorne's sketchbook. Moorhouse's journal, should it be located, may well be a plentiful source of Kaurna language material, for the snippet that has been discovered contains two Kaurna songlines which are not referred to in other Kaurna sources (see section 6.5). Letters written by Moorhouse, housed in the Public Records Office of South Australia, contain the names of a number of Kaurna people, some of whom are unknown from other sources.

One letter written by Moorhouse draws comparisons between pronouns, number suffixes (dual and plural) and numbers in Kaurna and several other languages. Whilst most Kaurna material in this chart is known from T&S and other sources¹², Moorhouse does give the term *purlaitye purlaitye* 'four', being a reduplication of the number 'two' compared with T&S's *yerrabula* 'four' based on the word *yerra* 'expressing the notions of individuality and reciprocity; distinct; different; one another; both' and *bula* 'dual'. The form *purlaitye purlaitye* is also given in a letter written by Klose (29 Dec. 1840).

Also of note is the term *pepa meyu* 'judge' in the following excerpt:

we hope the 'pepa meyu' (the judge) will hang him [in reference to a woman shot on a station on the Hutt River owned by G.C. Hawker]

Matthew Moorhouse Feb 8th 1843

(in Letterbook Aborigines Office Adelaide, May 1840 to Jan 1857)

This term has not been sighted in any other source, though the individual words *pepa* 'paper, letter, book' and *meyu* 'man, person' are well attested¹³.

In a letter written on June 30 1841¹⁴, Moorhouse refers to the land in the vicinity of Lake Bonney as *Mettilittela Yerta* 'Thief Land'. This phrase obviously originated from one of the

¹² In fact Moorhouse repeats the typographical error in *makarta* 'head' where *a* has been inadvertently written instead of *u* in the first syllable. This error has been corrected in the Errata page in T&S.

¹³ T&S list *ngaingko* 'an adept; judge; connoisseur; a person knowing anything well'. This term may or may not have been used for a judge in a court of law.

¹⁴ Letterbook Aborigines Office Adelaide, May 1840 to Jan 1857.

Kaurna guides accompanying the expedition. Similarly, in a report on a visit to the northernmost settled districts, Moorhouse, who was accompanied by a Kaurna interpreter, reported that Aborigines from the Mount Bryan district said they "*shipi paru padlotti* (longed for sheep's flesh)" when questioned about sheep-stealing (*The South Australian Government Gazette*, 26 May 1842: 1).

There are also valuable observations in Moorhouse's correspondence about the various languages spoken in the southern regions of South Australia and the use of interpreters and guides, principally Kaurna people from the Adelaide region.

6.1.1.9 Edward John Eyre (1845)

Edward John Eyre is well known in the annals of Australian history as an explorer. He first came to Australia in 1833 as a pastoralist, arriving in Adelaide as an overlander in 1838 and again in 1839 bringing stock from NSW. In 1839 he decided to become an explorer. From Sept. 1841 to Dec. 1846 he served as the Resident Magistrate and Protector at Moorundie on the Murray River. A full autobiographical account is published in Eyre (1984).

As a source of Kaurna language, Eyre (1845) is essentially a secondary source drawing on materials supplied to him and published by the 'Adelaide School'. His journals include a treatise on Aborigines titled 'An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Aborigines and the State of Their Relations with Europeans' (Eyre, 1845: 147-508). It contains some Kaurna language material, most of which is attributed to Moorhouse as follows:

- a complete listing of the birth-order names
- a short 45 item wordlist in a chart of comparative vocabulary¹⁵.
- additional Kaurna words related to culture-specific themes smattered through the text;
- the songs published by T&S. These are discussed in section 6.5.

The birth-order names published by Eyre (1845: 324) are especially significant because T&S omitted recording the second born and eighth born children. The complete set of birth-order names published by Eyre now serves as the basis for the development of a base-10 number system outlined in Chapter 7¹⁶.

6.1.2 Other Nineteenth Century Primary Sources

In addition to materials compiled by the 'Adelaide School', there are a number of lesser sources, mostly short wordlists. Several of these are completely independent of the work of any other observer. Others draw substantially on the work of others. This section includes only those sources which make an original contribution. A brief description of each follows:

¹⁵Eyre draws comparisons between a number of South Australian languages, Nyungar from Western Australia, and several NSW languages (Eyre, 1845: 395-397).

¹⁶The Kaurna birth-order names, with the exception of the ninth born, are published in South Africa by Bleek (1871: 97). He acknowledges Moorhouse's Report in Sir George Grey's library as the source, though he also includes forms taken from T&S in brackets where the spellings used in the two sources are at variance.

6.1.2.1 M. Gaimard, 1826

Gaimard's wordlist was collected in October 1826, but was not published until some years later in a volume on Philology (D'Urville, 1833) along with numerous other languages contacted during the voyage of the *Astrolabe* from 1826 to 1829¹⁷.

Gaimard's wordlist consists of 168 items in all. Several items are misidentified and glaring errors were introduced when Gaimard tried to elicit numbers up to 20. Still, most items can readily be identified, and several terms, such as *mandoout* 'queue d'oiseau' (= 'bird tail'), were not recorded by other observers. Gaimard's wordlist is analysed in detail in Amery (forthcoming).

The importance of this wordlist lies in its historical value, as the first known recording of the Kurna language. Its very existence is testament to the travels of some Kurna people in the pre-colonial period, and establishes without doubt the linguistic identity of its source.

6.1.2.2 G.A. & Charles Robinson, 1837 - 1839

The Robinson Kurna source of some 80 entries has only recently been recognised for what it is (see Amery, 1996d). Charles Robinson's Kurna wordlist was undoubtedly recorded from a Kurna woman named Kalloongoo (alias Sarah, Charlotte, Windeerer and Cowwerpiteyer) who was kidnapped from the Yankalilla-Rapid Bay area, south of Adelaide. The wordlist was recorded sometime between June 1837 and February 1839, the period when Kalloongoo was resident on Flinders Island, working as a domestic servant within Robinson's household.

The Robinson source, like the Gaimard wordlist, is testament to the early pre-colonial relationships between the Kurna and newcomers to their lands. The wordlist and accompanying journal entries establish beyond doubt the identity of Kalloongoo and provide important evidence regarding the linguistic affiliation of the Yankalilla - Rapid Bay region, an area contested in the literature with the publication of Berndt & Berndt (1993).

Most of the words compiled by Robinson are common words attested in other Kurna sources. However, it does contain several words not found elsewhere and provides a new slant on several other words. Robinson's wordlist corroborates other evidence pointing to a southern dialect of Kurna. The reader is referred to my detailed analysis in Amery (1996d).

6.1.2.3 Edward Stephens, 1838

Amongst the Tindale papers are some 36 words referring to a variety of bird species. According to Tindale (1935b: 163) these were "native names accompanying birds sent to London 27 October 1838 (copied from letter by Edward Stephens to E.G. Wheeler, Manager S. Australian Co. London." It is likely that these words were recorded by the Edward Stephens who

¹⁷A short wordlist of the languages from Port Dalrymple in Tasmania and Jervis Bay in NSW, Maori and numerous languages from the Pacific regions are also included within the same volume.

managed the South Australian Company bank, as he was in the colony early in 1837 (*South Australian Gazette & Colonial Register*, 3 January 1837: 4).

Tindale observes that "these names are all probably Adelaide tribe". Indeed, counterparts for 13 of the words are readily identified within T&S, Wyatt (1879) and Piesse (1840), despite Stephens' poor transcriptions or errors arising from misreading his handwriting. The terms with counterparts are as follows:

Table 6.1: Stephens' Bird Terms with Counterparts in Other Sources

Stephens	T&S	Other source
<i>cool-you</i> 'swan'	<i>kudbyo</i> 'black swan'	
<i>monner-monner</i> 'golden hawk'	<i>männimanni</i> 'sm. species of hawk'	
<i>cowone</i> 'bald coot'	<i>kauanna</i> 'a species of bird'	
<i>monpie</i> 'bronzewing pigeon'		<i>marnpi</i> 'wild pigeon' TMs
<i>willow-pa</i>	<i>wiruppa</i> 'a species of small cockatoo'	
<i>tow-an-da</i> 'duck'	<i>tauanda</i> 'a species of duck'	
<i>cor coworo ya</i> 'hawk'	<i>karkanya</i> 'a species of hawk'	
<i>na-kale-yu</i> 'rosella parrot'	<i>ngakalla</i> 'a species of paroquet (blue mountain)'	
<i>michow-michow</i> 'bat'	<i>maityomaityo</i> 'bat'	
<i>to-to-widi</i> 'kingfisher'		<i>teen-deen-de</i> 'kingfisher' (Piesse, 1840)
<i>youngora</i> (unidentified)		<i>yungura</i> 'crested pigeon' (Wyatt, 1879)
<i>trown you</i> (unidentified)	<i>trunggu</i> 'a species of bird'	

Apparently the English names were not known for nine of the bird species. Should these bird specimens still survive with the Kaurna names still linked to them, this would serve as an invaluable source of Kaurna bird terms. Note that both T&S and Stephens fail to identify the bird known as *trunggu*.

6.1.2.4 William Williams, 1839

William Williams, of the Colonial Store Department, sailed to Adelaide aboard the *Africaine* arriving at Holdfast Bay on 13 November 1836. Within three weeks of his arrival, Williams met up with a party of Kaurna, whom he invited back to the settlement at Holdfast Bay. This same group visited repeatedly and Williams succeeded in establishing friendly relations with the Kaurna people (Hope, 1968: 116). Williams, along with James Cronk (also a passenger on the *Africaine*) were the first colonists to acquire a working knowledge of the Kaurna language. Williams prepared a wordlist of 377 items with an additional 28 sentences which he hoped to publish early in 1839, but due to delays it was finally published in Adelaide on 1 August 1839 by A. McDougall. There was a strong demand for Kaurna language materials amongst the colonists in the early years of Adelaide. A list of subscribers who had ordered in excess of 600 copies of Williams' work was published in the *Southern Australian* on 15 May 1839. Williams' wordlist was re-published in the *South Australian Colonist* in July 1840 with a few minor typographical variations. Years later, Williams' wordlist was reprinted in Parkhouse (1923: 59-70) with substantial changes in spelling. For instance, the letter *c* has been regularly replaced by

k when it represents a velar stop and *oo* has been re-written as *u*. Williams' wordlist employs spellings based on English intuitions, thus importing many uncertainties which are not present in T&S. The following examples, with counterparts from T&S and Hercus (1992) illustrate:

Table 6.2: Williams' (1840) Spellings Compared with T&S and Hercus (1992)

Williams (1840)	Williams (1923)	T&S	Nukunu (Hercus)	Gloss
<i>cud-le</i>	<i>kudle</i>	<i>kadli</i>	<i>katli</i>	'dog'
<i>cur-ree</i>	<i>kurri</i>	<i>kari</i>	<i>kari</i>	'emu'
<i>ci-arr</i>	<i>kiarr</i>	<i>kaya</i>	<i>kaga</i>	'spear'
<i>cun-doo</i>	<i>kundu</i>	<i>kundo</i>	<i>kuntu</i>	'chest'
<i>con-da-ne</i>	<i>kondane</i>	<i>kundandi</i>	<i>kurnatya</i>	'to hit'
<i>cow-e</i>	<i>kaue</i>	<i>kauwe</i>	<i>kawi</i>	'water'
<i>mar-coo</i>	<i>markku</i>	<i>makko</i>	<i>maku</i>	'cloud'
<i>mon-ney</i>	<i>monnei</i>	<i>marni</i>	<i>marni</i>	'good'
<i>poo-you</i>	<i>puyu</i>	<i>puiyo</i>	<i>puyu</i>	'smoke'
<i>yoo-coo</i>	<i>yoku</i>	<i>yoko</i>	<i>yuku</i>	'ship'
<i>hun-nah</i>	<i>ng'unna</i>	<i>nganna</i>	<i>ngana</i>	'who'
<i>oi-chou</i>	<i>ng'oichau</i>	<i>ngaityo</i>	<i>ngatyu</i>	'my'
<i>war-ree</i>	<i>wari</i>	<i>wari</i>	<i>wari</i>	'wind'
<i>war-rah</i>	<i>warra</i>	<i>warra</i>	<i>warra</i>	'lge'
<i>pap-pah</i>	<i>pappa</i>	<i>pappa</i>	<i>papa</i>	'youth'

Williams (1839; 1840) either does not hear the initial velar nasal or does not know how to transcribe it, for it is missing from many words or transcribed as *h* on some occasions. In the Parkhouse (1923) version, the initial *ng* has been inserted (e.g. *hoo-yer* has become *ng'uyer* = *nguya* 'smallpox'). Some of the spelling inconsistencies in Williams (1840) are:

- vowels belonging to the phoneme /a/ are written variously as *u*, *a*, *o*, *er* and *ah*;
- vowels belonging to the phoneme /u/ are written variously as *oo*, *u*, *ou*, *o* and *eu*;
- vowels belonging to the phoneme /i/ are written variously as *i*, *ee*, *e*, *ie* and *ey*;
- sounds belonging to the phoneme /k/ are transcribed variously as *k*, *c*, *ch*, *ck*, *ck-c*, *c-k*;
- sounds belonging to the phoneme /ty/ are transcribed as *ch* and *tch*.

Without another point of reference it is difficult to know how to pronounce many words in Williams' wordlists.

Some of the meanings given by Williams are at variance with T&S as in:

Williams (1840)	Williams (1923)	gloss	T&S or TM
<i>mee-re</i>	<i>mire</i>	'thunderbolt'	<i>meri</i> 'hail'
<i>tool-tah</i>	<i>tulta</i>	'sister-in-law'	<i>turlta</i> 'sweetheart; girlfriend'

Despite these shortcomings, Williams does include several items not available from T&S or TMs, including:

Williams (1840)	Williams (1923)	gloss
<i>ker-kah</i>	<i>kerka</i>	'bream - name of a fish'
<i>pin-charn-ney</i>	<i>pincharnei</i>	'to write' (? = TM <i>pintyandi</i> 'to make, produce, create.) (cf. T&S <i>pingyandi</i> 'to raise; make; construct; form &c.)
<i>ta-min-ga</i>	<i>taminga</i>	'gum (white)'
<i>we-nee</i>	<i>weni</i>	'snapper (fish)'
<i>yoo-coo cat-ta</i>	<i>yoku katta</i>	'ship's mast' (cf T&S <i>yoko</i> 'ship'; <i>katta</i> 'club')

Williams' sentence material is highly unreliable, being more reminiscent of a kind of Pidgin Kaurna or interlanguage variety. See Simpson (1996) for a full analysis. There is no evidence of any Kaurna case marking whatsoever. The first and second person pronouns appear invariably in their possessive case forms *oichou* (= T&S *ngaityo*) 'my' and *ninco* (= T&S *ninko*) 'your' irrespective of their case roles which include nominative, accusative, possessive, dative and comitative. Williams' sentences also include the English plural -s, and possessive -'s and English words 'by' and 'the'. Consider the last sentence given:

*Pindemeau titapin wackkinna meau by the caundne*¹⁸.
white men hang bad men by the neck

There is an absence of ergative case marking on the transitive subject and an absence of case marking on the word for 'neck', using the English preposition 'by' instead. Word order is precisely that of English.

6.1.2.5 Louis Piesse, 1839

Another French observer, Louis Piesse based at Camp Coortandillah, Aldinga, in a letter to the *Adelaide Guardian* dated 18 October 1839, provides a short, but nonetheless important, wordlist. Piesse's contribution consists of just 75 items, including a number of terms for birds, ants and marine life which do not appear in other sources. Piesse's work was published on the same page as Williams' (1840) wordlist and must be viewed as an addendum to it as indicated in his letter:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ADELAIDE GUARDIAN

Camp, Coortandillah, Aldinga, Oct. 18, 1839.

Sir, - The public are much indebted for your notice of the Vocabulary of the Aborigines, by Mr Williams.

... Without further encroaching on your valuable columns, allow me to add a few names, as they may be interesting to many of your readers. (Louis Piesse, 1840: 296)

Whilst a few terms are duplicated in both lists, the majority of items in Piesse's wordlist are not to be found there. The following do not appear to have counterparts in any known Kaurna sources. Other observers have simply failed to record a word at all for most of these birds etc.:

<i>ay-cut-tah</i>	'Lowry Parrot'
<i>cut-par-mar-to</i>	'wattle bird'
<i>can-de-out-do</i>	'mawpawk'
<i>paltee-paltee</i>	'species of grass parrot' ¹⁹
<i>buck-o buck-o</i>	'butcher bird'
<i>teen-deen-de</i>	'kingfisher'
<i>bo-ro-tee</i>	'winged ant'
<i>coo-lo-tonne-me</i>	'periwinkle'
<i>cut-tee</i>	'small crab'
<i>ky-chie-ter</i>	'guana'

Like Williams, Piesse failed to transcribe the initial velar nasal. It was often omitted as in *ichi* 'mother' (cf T&S *ngaityaa* 'my mother'). Just once it was written *h* in *ha-ree* 'blue mountain parrot' (cf Wyatt *ngerre* 'blue mountain parrakeet').

¹⁸It is likely that *caundne* contains a typographical error; Williams probably intended *eaundne* = *yurne* 'throat'.

¹⁹Wyatt (1879: 49) gives *balte balte* 'parrakeet (melopsittacus)' as an Encounter Bay (i.e. Ramindjeri) word, but there is no evidence of other Ngarrindjeri-like features in Piesse's wordlist.

Within the few verbs provided, there is considerable variation in the verb endings. Note:

Table 6.3: A Comparison of Verb Endings in Piesse (1840); Wyatt (1879) and T&S

Piesse	Gloss	Wyatt	T&S
<i>co-chun</i>	'to dig'	<i>kokán</i>	<i>kokandi</i>
<i>te-kan</i>	'to reside or live, to sit down'	<i>tikkán</i>	<i>tikkandi</i>
<i>yar-ta-in-de</i>	'to break or fracture'	<i>yettarane</i>	<i>yertarendi</i>
<i>nock-warne</i>	'to see'	<i>nokkone</i>	<i>nakkondi</i>
<i>pi-arn-de</i>	'to bite'	<i>paiyáne</i>	<i>paiandi</i>
<i>wap-peen</i>	'to sew'	<i>wappeene</i>	<i>wappendi</i>
<i>tin-du you-lu-rin-de</i>	'sun-rise'	<i>tindo atpán</i>	<i>tindo yurlorendi</i>
<i>tin-du-ut-purn-de</i>	'sun-set'	<i>~ tindo atpánde</i>	<i>tindo ngatpandi</i>

T&S regularly cite their verbs with a *-ndi* 'Present Tense' affix, whilst Wyatt, like Piesse, is somewhat irregular, with some verbs ending in *-n*, some ending in *-ne* and others ending in *-nde* corresponding to T&S's usage. In this small body of data, there appears to be some correlation between Piesse's and Wyatt's verb endings which causes one to wonder whether T&S regularised their data. Perhaps verb classes existed, defined by the allomorphs.

6.1.2.6 William Wyatt (1840; 1879)

Dr William Wyatt arrived in South Australia on 14 February 1837, travelling as a surgeon aboard the *John Renwick*. Wyatt served as South Australia's third part-time Protector of Aborigines from 1837 until 1839. Unlike his successor and the German missionaries, Wyatt did not live at Piltawodli. According to Foster (1990b: 39) he was "criticised for not 'going among' the Aborigines and for failing to provide information to the public about their culture." Nonetheless, Wyatt does provide valuable information on the Kaurna language. After the German mission sources, it remains the next most important source and includes a sizable number of terms not recorded elsewhere.

A manuscript copy of Wyatt's early wordlist titled *Vocabulary of the Adelaide Dialect* is held in the Library of Sir George Grey in the South African Public Library, Cape Town. Following the title is the note "copied from Mr Wyatt's Vocabulary at Adelaide, April, 1840" and signed "G. Grey" in handwriting different to the list itself²⁰. This wordlist (Wyatt, 1840) consists of just 67 words. Was this the entirety of Wyatt's wordlist as at April 1840?

A more comprehensive paper Wyatt (1879) lists approximately 900 Kaurna and Ramindjeri words. The copy held by the University of Adelaide Library was donated by the author and contains three corrections in Wyatt's own hand, where *n* has inadvertently been typed instead of *u*. This wordlist was also published in J.D. Woods ed. (1879) without correction of the three typographical errors. Wyatt identifies certain vocabulary items with a subscript *e* or *r* as Encounter Bay or Rapid Bay words respectively. In 1923, Parkhouse republished Wyatt's paper, but has re-organised Wyatt's vocabulary into three separate wordlists designating them 'Vocabulary of the Adelaide Tribe'; 'Vocabulary of the Encounter Bay Tribe'; and 'Words of

²⁰Interestingly, some of the annotations on the paper are written in Arabic script, and the Malay word *orang* 'person' is given correctly as the equivalent of the Ramindjeri word *korne*.

the Rapid Bay Tribe'. The Parkhouse (1923) reprint has also changed Wyatt's spellings, substituting *u* for Wyatt's *oo*.

Though Wyatt's wordlists were not published until 1879, they were clearly compiled in the early days of the colony. The cover page notes that the material was "principally extracted from his official reports" most of which would have been written when Wyatt served as Protector from 1837 to 1839. Assuming Wyatt's (1840) wordlist in the Grey collection is complete, presumably Wyatt went through his papers and extracted words he had recorded in the course of his duties in the early days of the colony. Unfortunately Wyatt's personal papers were dispersed following his death²¹.

Wyatt must have been aware of the existence of the work of Williams (1840) and T&S when his work was published in 1879, yet his wordlist appears to be an independent source. The spellings employed by Wyatt depart from both T&S and Williams (1840). The following examples illustrate:

Table 6.4: Wyatt's Spellings compared with Williams' (1840) and T&S

<u>Wyatt (1879)</u>	<u>Williams (1840)</u>	<u>T&S</u>	<u>gloss</u>
<i>mayu</i>	<i>meau</i>	<i>meyu</i>	'man'
<i>ai chu</i> 'I, my'	<i>oi-chou</i> 'me'	<i>ngaityo</i>	'my'
<i>kadle</i>	<i>cud-le</i>	<i>kadli</i>	'dog'
<i>kerla</i> 'firewood'	<i>cur-la</i> 'fire'	<i>gadla</i>	'fire, firewood'
<i>tikkán</i>	<i>te-carn-ne</i>	<i>tikkandi</i>	'to sit'

Wyatt's (1879) 'Vocabulary of the Adelaide Tribe' comprises 651 items. However, several items in this wordlist belong to Ngarrindjeri (or Ramindjeri). For instance, Wyatt gives three words for 'I':

<i>ai chu</i>	'I, my'
<i>aié</i>	'I (affix only)'
<i>anawe</i>	'I'

The first two forms correspond with T&S *ngaityo* 'my' and *ngai* 'I'. The latter often appears as the clitic *ai*. However, the third form closely resembles Meyer's (1843: 86) Ramindjeri *ngañ-auwe* 'of me, my, mine' and Taplin's (1879: 131) Narrinyeri "Mine - *Nganauwe, Anauwe, Anauwurle*". In addition, Wyatt lists the following words within his 'Adelaide Tribe' wordlist, though they belong to Ngarrindjeri:

Table 6.5: Examples of Ngarrindjeri words misidentified as Kaurna in Wyatt (1879)

<u>Wyatt (Adelaide Tr.)</u>	<u>Meyer (Ramindjeri)</u>	<u>Taplin (Yarralde)</u>	<u>T&S (Kaurna)</u>
<i>ngurle</i> 'hill'	<i>ngurle</i> 'hill, mountain'	<i>ngurli</i> 'hill'	<i>mukurta</i> 'hill'
<i>burnowe</i> 'aunt'	<i>barno</i> 'aunt'	<i>barno</i> 'aunt'	<i>ngarpadla</i> 'aunt'
<i>munumbi</i> 'chin'	<i>numbe</i> 'point of chin'	<i>numbe</i> 'chin'	<i>nguttoworta</i> 'chin'
<i>ngérnawe</i> 'you pl.'	<i>ngunauwe</i> 'of you pl.'	<i>ngune</i> 'ye' (Nom.)	<i>naako</i> 'of you pl.'
	<i>ngune</i> 'you pl.'		<i>na</i> 'you pl.'
<i>trakin</i> 'to saw or cut'	<i>drek-in</i> 'cutting'	<i>drekin</i> 'cutting'	<i>bakkandi</i> 'to cut'

²¹One of Wyatt's notebooks found its way back to the Wyatt Benevolent Society, but the pages that Wyatt had written on were ripped out and destroyed, leaving only the cover and blank pages (pc Philip Whittington, 4 Feb 1998).

Several place names appended to the 'Adelaide' list also appear to be of Ngarrindjeri origins and refer to locations in the Encounter Bay region, within Ramindjeri territory.

Wyatt's 'Encounter Bay' wordlist is much shorter than his 'Adelaide Tribe' vocabulary with some 240 items. Whilst most of these 'Encounter Bay' words coincide with Meyer's (1843) Ramindjeri and other Ngarrindjeri sources, at least 20 of these 'Encounter Bay' items (including several personal names) are Kurna words. Whilst some of these, notably *kondolle* 'whale; blubber' are shared by Kurna and Ramindjeri, several other words are most unlikely to be Ramindjeri and once again appear to have been mis-placed by Wyatt. A particularly telling example concerns the words associated with the 'rainbow'. The three terms listed below are included in the 'Encounter Bay' list by Parkhouse (Wyatt, 1923):

<i>kombo</i>	'the rainbow'
<i>mayu kombu</i>	'the outer or man rainbow'
<i>ummaiche kombo</i>	'the inner or woman rainbow'

However, in Wyatt (1879) only the first two, *kombo* and *mayoo kombo* are identified as belonging to Encounter Bay. Wyatt (1879) also correctly lists *korunye* 'rainbow' (= T&S *kuranyi*), *mayu* 'man' (= T&S *meyu*), and *ummaiche* 'wife' (= T&S *ngammaitya*) within the Adelaide wordlist. T&S give *kumbo* 'urine'. So all these terms associated with the rainbow are without doubt Kurna words. The Ramindjeri words for 'urine', 'man' and 'woman', *kainyar*, *korni* and *mimini* respectively, bear no relationship to their Kurna counterparts. Meyer (1843: 68) gives *kainge* 'rainbow; so called from their supposing it to be caused by the Supreme Being in making water' thus recognising the connection with urine, being conceptually similar to the terms supplied by Wyatt. Of course, it is possible that these expressions for 'rainbow' were borrowed into Ramindjeri at that time, perhaps in response to a linguistic taboo, then in operation.

Wyatt gives both *purle* 'star' and *waiere* 'stars' as 'Encounter Bay' words. Yet *purle* 'star' is widely attested in other northern languages, including Kurna (T&S). Finally, Wyatt also attaches a list of just seven items which he designates as 'Words of the Rapid Bay Tribe' where at least some of the items are clearly Kurna, having counterparts in T&S.

In summary, there appears to be a significant level of mis-identification within Wyatt's wordlists, with a number of items being wrongly assigned in both directions between Kurna and Ramindjeri. There are also instances of this kind of confusion in Wyatt's (1840) handwritten wordlist, where *karkunyu* 'a <?> hawk, size of kestrel' is wrongly identified as 'Encounter Bay', whilst *nangge* 'sun', clearly a Ramindjeri word, is not identified as such.

Wyatt (1879: 25) also lists 17 sentences and a short text at the conclusion of his paper. These sentences are largely devoid of case marking and employ genitive form pronouns *aichoo* (= T&S *ngaityo* 'my') and *ningko* (= T&S *ninko* 'your') irrespective of their case function. See

Simpson (1996) for a full discussion. Wyatt's translation of Gawler's speech delivered to the Indigenous people of Adelaide in 1838 (discussed in section 6.3) also survives.

6.1.2.7 W.A. Cawthorne, 1842-1846

William Anderson Cawthorne was born in London in 1824 and arrived in Adelaide with his family in May 1841 (see Foster, 1991: iv). The young Cawthorne developed friendships with a number of Kaurna people, including Kadlitpinna or Captain Jack and took a keen interest in Aboriginal culture. Cawthorne was also an artist and painted a number of portraits of Aboriginal people and aspects of their material culture. He hoped to publish a book on 'Native Implements' but this never eventuated. Twenty eight years after his death, a paper titled *Rough Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Natives*, prepared by Cawthorne in 1844 was published in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch* in 1926.

In this paper, Cawthorne includes 51 Kaurna terms and part of the hunting charm which appears in T&S. The latter was probably copied (imperfectly) by Cawthorne from that source. Cawthorne's 51 Kaurna terms in his published paper mostly refer to items of Kaurna material culture, and include several not documented in other sources. Valuable descriptions and ethnographic notes are included.

Cawthorne compiled 26 volumes of diaries and journals between 1842 and 1859. References to Aborigines, most from the period 1842 and 1846 when Cawthorne had an active interest in Aboriginal culture, have been compiled by Robert Foster (1991). The journals contain nearly 30 additional Kaurna terms, mostly personal names, a few well-known place names and several other words. Most of these are found in other sources. Of note are the following:

Wadhillo	personal name, meaning unknown
Nhudlo	personal name, meaning unknown
Wira Maldira	personal name (male), ? = T&S wirra maltarra 'forest of eucalypts resembling the stringybark'
Tekatta	personal name (female), meaning unknown
Willa Willa	personal name (male) 'alias Jim Crow the Black' identical to T&S <i>Willawilla</i> 'Brownhill Creek'
Goorongnabeer ~ Groongnabeer	personal name ?? of Kaurna origin

Cawthorne's main contribution has been his rich ethnographic and historical notes, particularly the description of Kaurna material culture, complete with illustrations. He includes a number of terms for Kaurna artifacts that other observers failed to record:

<i>wocaltee</i>	'shield made from green bark'
<i>kooroo</i>	'fire-making apparatus'
<i>pileyali</i>	'grub hook'
<i>wowoodteyedlu</i>	'string of kangaroo teeth worn around the head' ? = <i>wauwe</i> 'female kangaroo' + <i>tialla</i> 'teeth'
<i>teyarkoo</i>	'string of kangaroo teeth worn around the head' (from <i>tia</i> 'tooth' + ?)
<i>tookoo</i>	'wooden spade'
<i>willo</i>	'spear'
<i>wirhalli</i>	'bier'
<i>wirkilta</i>	'bier'

Unfortunately, Cawthorne's spellings are particularly unreliable. There is a high level of variability for the spelling of the same word. For example, 'digging stick' is spelt as *katta* (Cawthorne, 1926: 11,15) ~ *cutta* (Cawthorne, 1926: 7, 24) ~ *gutta* (Cawthorne, 1926: 9) ~ *cuttar* (Foster, 1991: 5) ~ *kutta* (Foster, 1991: 9) ~ *cuttai* (Foster, 1991: 50); 'possum skin drum' is spelt variously as *taparoo* (Cawthorne, 1926: 11) ~ *tapurio* (Cawthorne, 1926: 11) ~ *tarpuro* (Cawthorne, 1926: 13) and 'bag or net used to carry food and possessions' is spelt *wilkatja* (Cawthorne, 1926: 17) ~ *witkalja* (Cawthorne, 1926: 19). Many errors seem to have been introduced into material copied from other sources. Whilst some of Cawthorne's terms for artifacts etc. are genuinely new (ie. not attested in other sources), it is difficult to decide in some cases whether they are simply atrocious mis-transcriptions or genuine alternate forms for items known by other similar names. In Cawthorne (1926: 27) *wirhalli* 'bier' appears, yet in his journal (Foster, 1991: 81) we find *wirkilta* 'bier'. Are these simply different spellings of the same word, perhaps including typographical errors, or are there in fact two variant forms, perhaps dialectal variants, within Kaurna? Is *magulla* 'stage of initiation' the same as T&S *ngulta* 'a man that has undergone the last tattooing'? Is *warri* 'heavy club' a mistranscription of *wirri* 'club'? Is *tanjalu* 'basket' in fact the same as T&S *taingyedli* 'rush bag; rush'?

Some of Cawthorne's material is clearly original and there is a preference to use *c* instead of *k*, *oo* instead of *u*, *ee* instead of *i*, *u* for /a/ and *n* for the initial velar nasal etc. in these original forms. However, Cawthorne copied words and sentences from other sources, leaving the spellings essentially intact as they are in the originals, though many typographical errors have been introduced. In addition to the hunting charm from T&S (1840: 73) incorporated into his published paper, Cawthorne copied six of Williams (1840) sentences in his journals (see Foster, 1991: 82). He has introduced several typographical errors in the process, including *n* substituted for *u* and vice versa, *nn* rewritten as *m* and *t* rewritten as *l*. These are all expected errors arising from mis-reading the original manuscript in the process of copying.

In summary, Cawthorne is a particularly valuable ethnographic source, especially with regard to Kaurna material culture, but his transcriptions need to be treated with much caution, being aware of introduced typographical errors. Cawthorne is the source for a number of Kaurna vocabulary items appearing in George French Angas's *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*. Angas (1847: 102-107) provides a description of the *Kuri* dance (see Plate 5) "thus described by a friend who has frequently witnessed its performance". His friend was in fact William Cawthorne. In *South Australia Illustrated*, Angas (1846) also provides illustrations of Kaurna artifacts complete with Kaurna labels (see Plates 6, 7 & 8). The spellings indicate that Cawthorne was again the source. Whilst Angas's illustrations are superb, he adds nothing more to our knowledge of the Kaurna language.

6.1.2.8 Edward Stephens (1889)

This Edward Stephens is evidently a different person to the foregoing discussed in section 6.1.2.3, as he accompanied his parents to South Australia, arriving in Adelaide in 1839 or soon

after²². Stephens' (1889) wordlist comprises 282 entries, mostly single words and a few phrases and sentences which are listed below together with counterparts from Williams (1840):

Table 6.6: A Comparison Between Stephens' (1889) and Williams' (1840) Sentences

Stephens (1889)	<i>Mootanitchee-wangarne</i>	'cock-crowing'
Williams (1840)	<i>Mut-ta-ni-chie wan-garn-e</i>	'cock crowing'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Caanyanee terca</i>	'bake a kangaroo'
Williams (1840)	<i>Kyne-ya-ney tur-kah</i>	'to bake a kangaroo'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Coombanee curree</i>	'cook an emu'
Williams (1840)	<i>Kyne-ya-ne cur-ree</i>	'to bake an emu'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Hoonanincootourn</i>	'what's the row about'
Williams (1840)	<i>Hun nah nin-co-tow-arn</i>	'What are you quarrelling about?'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Mittareenemeteen</i>	'to catch a thief'
Williams (1840)	<i>Mit-ta reen-e-me-teen</i>	'to take a thief'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Moondetercoonee.</i>	'I have asked'
Williams (1840)	<i>Mun-die-ter-coo-ne</i>	'I have asked'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Moorlanawaranacoon</i>	'I don't understand'
Williams (1840)	<i>Mur-lan-a-war-ra-na-coon</i>	'I don't understand'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Myimbiwa</i>	'where is the food'
Williams (1840)	<i>My-im-bey-wah</i>	'Where is some food?'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Natta padneadloo.</i>	'let us go quickly.'
Williams (1840)	<i>Nat-tah-pad-ne-ad-loo</i>	'let us go now'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Ootpandee nincootandoo.</i>	'put it in you <sic> net.'
Williams (1840)	<i>Ot-pan-dy nin-co tan-doo</i>	'put it in your knapsack'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Oodloonalaineenee.</i>	'where are you going'
Williams (1840)	<i>Ud-lu-na la-win-ne-n-ey</i>	'where are you going?'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Pandeeparinga.</i>	'to go away'
Williams (1840)	<i>Pan-de-pan-ing-ga</i>	'to go away or hasten'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Tyeenwurlie</i>	'to build a hut'
Williams (1840)	<i>Ty-eeen wer-lie</i>	'to build a house'
Stephens (1889)	<i>Tidnatitapin</i>	'tie by the leg'
Williams (1840)	<i>Tid-na-tit-ta-pin</i>	'to fasten by the leg'

Even though the English glosses are sometimes slightly different, every phrase or sentence in Stephens' work has a direct counterpart in Williams (1840). Furthermore, almost all of the vocabulary items in Stephens' list have a counterpart in Williams (1840). One of the few differences evident is Stephens' *Ichertamaroo* 'first male child' vs Williams' *Cer-tam-a-roo* '(first child) male' and Stephens' *Pooleearta* 'second daughter' vs Williams' *War re-er-too* 'second daughter'. Stephens' term for 'second daughter' is not attested in other Kaurna sources and seems to be based on *purlaitye* 'two'. Stephens also introduces the term *werta werta* 'privates' (cf T&S *worta* 'behind' and *worti* 'tail; penis').

²²In the introduction to his paper, read on 2 October 1889, Stephens (1889: 476) says "it will soon be half a century since I, as a lad with my parents, landed in the infant colony of South Australia."

Stephens has organised his wordlist into sections: 'Animals and Birds, &c.'; 'Actions &c.'; 'Time, Number &c', 'Things Various' and 'Parts of the Human Body'. Perhaps Stephens was taking Piesse's advice in relation to Williams' wordlist:

I think also if the names of animals, birds, trees, and of particular places were arranged separately under each head, they would be much easier committed to memory, and render the remainder much easier for reference. (Piesse, 1840: 296)

Stephens does not acknowledge Williams as the source. On the contrary, in his preface he claims:

I have done my best to spell the words so as to convey to the minds of others those sounds which, after the lapse of many years, my memory recalls with so vivid a distinctness, that for a time I again live over the scenes and circumstances of my early life. (Stephens, 1889: 497)

However, Stephen's memory could not have been as vivid as he claims, for in changing Williams' spellings he has introduced errors. Whereas Williams' spellings were ambiguous with respect to his usage of the letter *u*, Stephens has often replaced them with *oo*. In some instances the result has been satisfactory according to Stephens' system, but in other cases it causes an /a/ vowel to be read as an /u/ vowel. A few examples of Stephens' spelling changes will illustrate, again using T&S and Hercus (1992) as points of reference:

Table 6.7: Stephens' (1889) Spellings Compared with Other Sources

<u>Williams</u> (1840)	<u>Stephens</u> (1889)	<u>T&S</u>	<u>Nukunu</u> (Hercus)	<u>Gloss</u>
<i>cud-le</i>	<i>kudle</i>	<i>kadli</i>	<i>katli</i>	'dog'
<i>cur-ree</i>	<i>kurri</i>	<i>kari</i>	<i>kari</i>	'emu'
<i>cun-doo</i>	<i>coodoo</i>	<i>kundo</i>	<i>kuntu</i>	'chest'
<i>cum-ba-ne</i>	<i>coombanee</i>	<i>kambandi</i>	<i>kampatya</i>	'to cook'
<i>mut-tah</i>	<i>moota</i>	<i>matta</i>	<i>matha</i>	'knee'
<i>mar-rah</i>	<i>moora</i>	<i>mara</i>	<i>mara</i>	'hand'
<i>mun-yah</i>	<i>moonya</i>	<i>manya</i>	<i>manya</i>	'cold'
<i>tun-dah</i>	<i>toonda</i>	<i>tamda</i>	<i>tharnta</i>	'red kangaroo'
<i>hun-nah</i>	<i>hoona ~ oona</i>	<i>nganna</i>	<i>ngana</i>	'who, what'

The first two examples show that Stephens did not always re-write Williams' *u* as *oo*. *Kari* 'emu' and *kadli* 'dog', of course are well-known words and presumably Stephens did in fact remember these correctly. The last six words contain errors that Stephens introduced, even though most of these words are basic vocabulary items.

In summary then, Stephens (1889) does not appear to be a credible source on the Kurna language per se, though the two birth order variants he introduces are interesting. Its linguistic contribution is almost wholly subsumed by Williams (1840). The real value of Stephens' work is in the twenty or so pages of ethnographic notes and reminiscences preceding the vocabulary list itself, providing important insights into Aboriginal society during the early years of the colony of South Australia.

6.1.2.9 Thomas Day (1902)

In the Tindale Collection, held at the South Australian Museum is a brief handwritten manuscript titled 'Memoirs of the Extinct tribe of Cowandilla' by Thomas Day of Bay Road, Keswick. Whilst it is dated 1902, I have included it here with the nineteenth century sources

because the Kaurna material comes from an earlier period, in contrast to the sources discussed in section 6.1.4. Day includes a number of Kaurna place names and common vocabulary, and uses spellings which are often quite different to other sources. He also includes several terms from South Australian pidgin and *walebil* 'grease of unknown origins. The words drawn from Aboriginal languages include:

Table 6.8: Words Drawn from Aboriginal Languages in Day (1904)

Day	T & S	Other sources	English
river parra	<i>parri</i>		Para River
Noarlunga	Ngurlo-ngga		Noarlunga
Unkaparinga	Ngangkiparringga		Onkaparinga
<i>Muldarby</i>	(<i>kuinyo; nokunna</i>)	Ngarrindjeri <i>melape</i> ²³	devil; sorcerer
<i>waddy</i>	(<i>katta</i>)	Dharuk <i>wadi</i> ²⁴	waddy
<i>lubra</i>	(<i>ngangki; ngammaitya</i>)	Tasmanian ²⁵	Aboriginal woman
<i>cadelcoo</i>	<i>karko</i>		red ochre
<i>walebil</i>	(<i>paüpurla; marni</i>)		grease
<i>wadna</i>	<i>wadna</i>		stick used for climbing trees
<i>cudley</i>	<i>kadli</i>		dingo
<i>wurley</i>	<i>wodli ~ worli</i>		house
<i>wamara</i>	(<i>midla</i>)	Dharuk (<i>wamara</i>) ²⁶	woomera
<i>curla</i>	<i>gadla</i>		fire
<i>cowie</i>	<i>kauwe</i>		water
<i>pinde</i>	<i>pinde</i>		white
Wirraparinga	<i>wirra</i> 'forest' <i>parri</i> 'river'		place name, near Goodwood
Midlunga	<i>midla</i> 'woomera'		place name
Tandania	Tandanya		place name for Adelaide
Cowendilla	<i>kawandilla</i> 'in the north'		Cowandilla

Table 6.9 (opposite) summarises the main primary Kaurna Sources which contribute to our knowledge of the language as it was spoken in the nineteenth century into the early part of the twentieth century.

²³Note *melape* (Taplin, 1879); *melāpe* (Meyer, 1843) and numerous other Ngarrindjeri sources. This word is still known within Nunga English. Note also *mu:lthapi* (Clarke, 1994b: 73).

²⁴Dixon et al (1990: 181)

²⁵Dixon et al (1990: 170)

²⁶Dixon et al (1990: 184)

Table 6.9: Kaurna Sources Making an Original Contribution

Source	Date ²⁷	No. of words	Domains	Orthography	Glosses	Addit. Vocab ²⁸	Sentences
Gaimard	1826	168	various	'French' spell. <i>eg iouk = yoko</i>	minimal	5 words	no
Robinson	?1837	80	various	'English' spell. <i>you.co = yoko</i>	minimal	5 words	2
Williams (1840)	1836-1839	377	all	'English' sp. <i>yoo-coo = yoko</i>	minimal	ca 30 words	28
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 ²⁹	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 ³⁰	1841	ca 150	religion	T&S	rich ethno. descript.	enriched glosses	no
Moorhouse correspondence; Journal ³¹ ;	1839-?1845	> 50	birth-order names, nouns pronouns	T&S	in context	few birth-order names; <i>ngurpo</i>	2 songlines
Cawthorne (1844); diary	1842 - 1846	51	artifacts	inconsistent <i>mangno=manga</i>	good descript.	ca 12	no
Stephens (1889) ³²	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

²⁷Date here refers to likely date of collection of Kaurna language material, rather than publication date

²⁸Kaurna sources are assessed relative to the main sources, T&S.

²⁹The original Earl source has not been located but a wordlist in Lhotsky (1839) is attributed to him.

³⁰Teichelmann's contribution appears in footnotes to Gell's (1841) paper.

³¹Moorhouse's journal has not been located, except for the snippet including two Kaurna songlines in Cawthorne materials. Eyre (1845) publishes birth-order names and vocabulary attributed to Moorhouse. Presumably the material was taken from Moorhouse's diary.

³²Most words in Stephen's (1889) list were taken from Williams (1840), re-ordered and spelling adapted.

6.1.2.10 Miscellaneous Sources

In addition to the sources outlined above, Kaurna words are sometimes found in newspaper articles, official reports, letters, journals and memoirs.

Two members of Colonel Light's surveying party, the surgeon Dr John Woodforde and surveyor William Jacob, recorded the Kaurna words *wango* 'a small species of possum', *welta* 'hot' and an exclamation *wurra-dourra* used to express surprise at Woodford's shooting of a bird on the wing (Woodforde Journal, 13 January 1837; Jacob Journal, 14 January 1837). See Amery (forthcoming) for discussion of these sources.

Another early source, Captain Hahn of the *Zebra* bringing German colonists to South Australia, records in his journal, Feb. 1839³², just one Kaurna word *wirra* 'club' (cf T&S *wirri*).

Alexander Tolmer, Inspector of Police, 1840 to 1856, recorded the name of a Kaurna man, Pangki Pangki, employed as a guide in 1841. In addition one of the three 'Adelaide natives' employed by Tolmer (one of whom was Pangki Pangki), was recorded as uttering the words *turla butto* 'full of wrath' (Tolmer, 1882: 235). However, it would appear that these references have been taken directly from Moorhouse's report of 4 September 1841³³ as Tolmer's spellings and glosses are identical. Unfortunately, these and some well-known place names are the only words recoverable from Tolmer's *Reminiscences* even though he employed Kaurna guides on a number of occasions and obviously had prolonged and close contact with numbers of Kaurna people. Tolmer recounts for instance how he intervened in a major battle between the Kaurna and Murray River 'tribes' on the hill at North Adelaide, on this occasion recording a Pidgin utterance spoken repeatedly to him by Aboriginal men "No hurt em Mutter Tolmer" (Tolmer, 1882: 273) who were in the act of placing Tolmer behind a cottage on top of the hill out of harms way.

Bull (1884: 33-34) mentions the word *cowie* (= *kauwe*) 'water' in an encounter with a party of Kaurna people in early 1837. Later he also refers to "turla butta <sic> (full of wrath)" and "Pangi Pangi <sic>, our Adelaide black" (Bull, 1884: 233) quoting from the Protector's Report, Lake Bonney, September 4, 1841" though his spellings are at variance with those in the original report.

John Stephens (1839) wrote about the 'Adelaide Tribes'. Amongst some useful historical and ethnographic information are the words *cowie* 'water', *tindook* 'sun' and a number of Kaurna "family names" *Atala*, *Ateon*, *Ataie*, *Melanie* and a personal name *Ootinai* said to have been recorded by Gouger, the Colonial Secretary.

³²Extracts of Hahn's (1838-39) reminiscences were translated and published in *South Australiana* (1964: 99-134). *Wirra* appears on page 131.

³³Moorhouse's original report also records these words as *turla butto* 'full of wrath' and *Pangki Pangki*. (Moorhouse letter, 4 Sept. 1841). This letter is found on pp.21-23 in the Protector of Aborigines Out Letter Book May 21, 1840 to Jan. 6, 1857 held by State Records.

Kaurna words found in miscellaneous sources are mostly place names, common words such as *wurley* that were adopted into South Australian Pidgin and South Australian English, and culture-specific words such as words referring to artefacts or ceremonies. Previously unknown words are rarely encountered.

Gaol records and police records are a useful source of Kaurna personal names. Place names and property names, especially those recorded on early maps, serve as a memory of the language. These are discussed further in Chapter 9.

6.1.3 Kaurna Inclusions in Comparative Wordlists

From the time of the earliest records of Australian languages, people have been drawing comparisons between languages. Kaurna, as the first South Australian language to be described, features prominently in these analyses and still features in the work of comparative linguists today. Grey (1841) published some Kaurna material in his comparison with the languages of the south west of Western Australia. Comparative vocabularies compiled by Eyre (1845) have already been discussed in section 6.1.1.8.

In the latter quarter of the nineteenth century, comparative studies took on renewed vigor. In 1874 Dr Bleek of Cape Town wrote urging that enquiries be mounted into the manners and customs of the Aborigines of South Australia (Taplin, 1879: 1). Accordingly a questionnaire was drawn up and sent out to locations throughout South Australia. Embedded within the questionnaire was a wordlist of 70 items (Taplin, 1879: 6). Since the 1870s, Kaurna words have frequently been included in comparative wordlists prepared to illustrate similarities and differences between the languages of Australia and even beyond with the inclusion of Malay and Kanak from New Caledonia.

With the exception of Earl's short wordlist discussed below all material in comparative wordlists is drawn from other sources which are available in their original form. As these are of little consequence in terms of the revival of Kaurna, they will not be discussed further here. For the purposes of language reclamation, secondary sources should be avoided at all costs. Wherever possible primary sources should be utilized to minimize introduced errors. The secondary Kaurna sources are summarised in the table following:

Table 6.10: Secondary Kurna Sources

Source	Based on	No. of words	Domains	Sentences	Orthography	Errors
Lhotsky (1839)	Earl 1838	14	body parts	no	'English' spellings	simple
Grey (1840; 1841)	T&S + others	33	nouns, verbs, prns	no	mixed: T&S + 'Eng.' spellings	one typo
Gell (1842)	T&S (1840)	ca 150	religion	2 songs 1 sentence	T&S	typos
Cawthorne (1844); diary	T&S (1840) Williams	nil	songs	songs 6 sentences	T&S; Williams	many bad typos
Eyre (1845)	Moorhouse T&S (1840)	ca 50	birth order; pronouns; basic vocab.	4 songs from T&S	T&S	no ³⁵
Angas (1846;1847)	Cawthorne	45 wds 7 places	culture-specific	no	Cawthorne spellings	one typo
EIM Barry (1887)	? T&S; ? Cawthorne	ca 300	basic vocabulary	no	T&S with minor changes	many typos; bad glosses
Jung (1876)	T&S	65	basic vocabulary	no	minor changes to T&S	typos
Taplin (1879)	Teichelmann	69	basic vocabulary	no	various; mostly T&S	many typos
Curr (1886)	T&S (1840) Wyatt (1879)	ca 180	various	no	T&S and Wyatt	few typos
Stephens (1889)	Williams (1840)	282	various	8	adapted Williams' spellings	typos; wrong subst. of oo for u
Fraser (1892)	Probably Moorhouse	17	pronouns, numbers	no	adapted T&S ($\dot{g} = ng$)	two typos
Schmidt (1919)	T&S + others	ca 70	nouns, pronouns	no	adapted T&S's spellings	some typos
Tindale	T&S (1840) Wyatt (1879) + others	many	various; place names	few phrases	modified IPA	some errors introduced with orthog.
Fitzpatrick (1989)	Gell (1904); Piesse (1840); Stephens (1889); T&S (1840); Wyatt (1879)	ca 700	all	no	various. Said to be T&S but has mixed systems. Inconsistent.	typos; reduc. glosses; misleading English finder list
<i>The Kurna People</i> Aboriginal Studies Curriculum (EDSA, 1989)	T&S (1840); Cawthorne (1844); Wyatt (1879) Browne (1897) + ????	> 200	environ., artifacts; kinship; food sources.	no	various. Guide not consistent with spellings.	numerous typos; changed glosses
Amery & Simpson (1994)	Teichelmann (1857); T&S (1840)	500	all	no	T&S	nil known
Amery (1995c)	T&S (1840); TMs (1857)	ca 3000	all	no	T&S	3 typos
Amery (1997)	T&S (1840); TMs (1857); Cawthorne; Wyatt (1879); Williams (1840); Piesse (1840); Robinson; Gaimard	ca 3000 (50 wds from other sources + ca 80 neolog. + prns.)	all	few phrases (sporting domain and time domain)	T&S. Words adopted from other sources adapted to T&S spellings with original spelling given in brackets.	nil known

³⁵Eyre has perpetuated the typographical error in T&S *makarta* 'head' which was corrected in their errata page. However, Eyre seems not to have introduced any additional errors.

6.1.3.1 Earl in Lhotsky (1839)

Dr J. Lhotsky (1839) listed 14 Kaurna body parts alongside of their counterparts from Menero Downs and Tasmanian vocabulary. According to Lhotsky, these "were obtained in 1838 at Adelaide, South Australia, by Mr G Windsor Earl." The spellings indicate that this wordlist is probably independent to Williams, Wyatt and T&S³⁶, who were present in the colony in 1838. A search for the primary source has proved fruitless. Perhaps these words were communicated to Lhotsky orally or the written communication has since been destroyed or lost. Note the following comparisons with Earl's wordlist:

Table 6.11: Earl's Wordlist Compared with other Kaurna Sources

English	Earl	Williams	Wyatt	T&S
arm	<i>turruti</i>	<i>too-tee</i>	<i>toorte</i>	<i>turti</i>
beard	<i>multa</i>	<i>mul-tah</i>	<i>multa</i>	<i>malta</i>
ear	<i>iri?</i>	<i>eu-rie</i>	<i>yure</i>	<i>yurre</i>
elbow	<i>tiringi</i>	<i>ting-ne</i>	<i>tinye; tinnge</i>	<i>tidngi</i>
eye	<i>mina</i>	<i>mee-na</i>	<i>meena</i>	<i>mena</i>
foot	<i>tinna</i>	<i>tid-nah</i>	<i>tinna; tinne</i>	<i>tidna</i>
hair	<i>yuka</i>	<i>yo-cha</i>	<i>yuka</i>	<i>yoka</i>
hand	<i>murra</i>	<i>mur-rah</i>	<i>murra</i>	<i>marra</i>
knee	<i>multa?</i> ³⁷	<i>mut-tah</i>	<i>màta</i>	<i>matta</i>
leg	<i>irako</i>	<i>yer-coo</i>	<i>yerko; yeerko</i>	<i>yerko</i>
nose	<i>mula</i>	<i>mood-lah</i>	<i>moola</i>	<i>mudla</i>
teeth	<i>tial</i>	<i>tie-year-la</i>	<i>teerar</i>	<i>tialla</i>
tongue	<i>taling</i>	<i>ter-lan-ya</i>	<i>teelàna; talànye</i>	<i>tadlanya</i>
thigh	<i>kundi</i>	<i>cun-die</i>	<i>kunde</i>	<i>kanti</i>

Whilst Earl's wordlist adds nothing to our knowledge of Kaurna vocabulary, as an additional independent early source it is useful in terms of comparing spellings between different observers. Note that, like Wyatt, in this selection of words prestopping is absent, contrasting with Williams and T&S.

6.1.4 Twentieth Century Primary Sources

After a long period in which the Kaurna people were ignored, an era of renewed interest emerged with the 'discovery' of Ivaritji. She seems to have been first noticed by Daisy Bates as a source of information on the 'Adelaide Tribe'.

6.1.4.1 Daisy Bates (1919)

Daisy Bates visited Point Pearce in 1919 and talked with Ivaritji, whom she referred to as *Iberita*. She recorded a number of Kaurna words including:

Kainka wira	'name of lake in the Botanic Gardens'
Dhamda anya	'Tandanya' (place name in the Adelaide area)
Ngamaji	place name. Refers to where the GPO now stands.
<i>nanthu burrka</i>	'kangaroo totem group' (belonging to the Adelaide area)
<i>miyu</i>	'man'
<i>nganki</i>	'mother' (or woman?)
<i>ngatcheli</i>	'father'
<i>ngatchai-i</i>	'mother'
<i>yakkani</i>	'sister'

³⁶Teichelmann & Schürmann had only just arrived in Adelaide in October 1838.

³⁷This was probably a mistranscription by Lhotsky for *mutta*, *l* having been substituted for *t*.

<i>yunga</i>	'brother'	
<i>yarlini</i>	'husband'	
<i>ngaitch</i>	'mine'	
<i>ninku</i>	'yours'	
<i>ngaitchu panja</i>	'that is mine'	
<i>malala</i>	'father's father'	
<i>ngappubi</i>	'father's mother'	
<i>thammumu</i>	'mother's father'	
<i>ngangaji</i>	'mother's mother'	
<i>gauawa</i>	'mother's brother'	
<i>yunki</i>	'betrothed' (? = T&S <i>yunggi</i> 'given')	
<i>ngandara</i>	'proper marriage'	
<i>ngaitchu yimgara</i>	'my woman' or 'wife'	
<i>nyurgarda</i>	'when they marry <i>tharbuda</i> ' (wrong marriage)	
<i>tharbuda</i>	'relations' (cf Johnson <i>thar-burra</i> 'mouth' in Narrunga)	
<i>wurlyi ~ wurli</i>	'hut or camp'	Bates (Notebook 5c: 76)

All except the last entry of this short wordlist is published in an appendix to Gara's (1990: 101) article on Ivaritji. The wordlist corresponds closely to other sources, though *ngangaji* 'mother's mother' corresponds to T&S *ngangaitye* 'mother-in-law' (cf *kammammi* 'mother's mother'). It also introduces several new terms in relation to marriage, which are not found in other sources.

6.1.4.2 J.M. Black (1920)

John McConnell Black, a language enthusiast and member of the Royal Society of South Australia, visited Point Pearce Aboriginal Mission Station in October 1919. He compiled four short vocabularies from the 'Adelaide Language', Narrunga, Kukatha and Narrinyeri (Ngarrindjeri). Ivaritji, otherwise known as Mrs Amelia Taylor, "who claims to be the last survivor of the Adelaide tribe" (Black, 1920: 81) was the source for the Kaurna material. Black often corresponded with Daisy Bates and it is likely that he came to know of the existence of Ivaritji through her (see Gara, 1990: 82).

Black's Kaurna wordlist is just 66 entries, including some 8 phrases and about 20 short sentences. Black used a modified form of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) for his transcriptions and made an attempt to explain his system in the introduction to his paper. There is a high level of correspondence between items in Black's wordlist and their counterparts in T&S, though there are some important differences.

Black's phonetic transcriptions seem to be reasonably accurate. He correctly identifies a series of retroflex consonants, transcribing them with italics [*t*], [*d*], [*n*] and [*l*]. He transcribes two rhotics, "[*r*] is the rolled or trilled *r*" and "[*r*] is the Somersetshire (reflexed or inverted) *r*, and is a marked peculiarity of Australian native speech" (Black, 1920: 77). However, modern linguists have identified three rhotics within the Thura-Yura languages³⁸. It appears that Black has transcribed the third rhotic, a tap, as [*t*] as in "majkata"³⁹ 'girl', transcribed as *mankarra* by T&S and as *mankarra* with a rolled 'r' by Hercus (1992) in Nukunu.

³⁸Thura-Yura languages include Kaurna, Narungga, Nukunu, Ngadjuri, Barngarla and Adnyamathanha (see Map II).

³⁹Because Black uses italics in his transcription system, I have deviated from my usual practice of using italics for the spelling of non-English words.

Black does not transcribe interdental consonants, except in the word *waḏaŋko* 'whence' where he has transcribed a voiced interdental fricative. Hercus, however, transcribes every instance of 'n' and 't' word initially as an interdental /nh/ and /th/ respectively and there are also many instances of interdentals in medial position. A few examples will serve to illustrate:

Table 6.12: Black's Spellings Compared with T&S and Hercus (1992)

<u>Black</u>	<u>T&S</u>	<u>Hercus (Nukunu)</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
buljuna ~ puljuna	<i>pulyonna</i>	(<i>maru</i>)	'black'
bulatji	<i>purlaitye</i>	<i>pulanha</i>	'two'
juri	<i>yurre</i>	<i>yurɪ</i>	'ear'
juriila	<i>yurridla</i>	<i>yurɪ-pila</i>	'ears' (dual)
di:kanti ~ dikanti	<i>tikkandi</i>	<i>thikatya</i>	'to sit'
jalaka 'yesterday'	<i>yellaka</i> 'at present; now; today'		
jaŋara	<i>yangarra</i>	(<i>kartu</i>)	'wife'
je /ina	<i>yerlina</i>	<i>yartli</i>	'male'
ka'vaiji	<i>kawai</i>		'come'
waŋkadli	<i>wanggadli</i>	<i>wangkadli</i>	'lets talk' (us two)
kadli	<i>kadli</i>	<i>katli</i>	'dog'
kala	<i>gadla</i>	<i>karla</i>	'fire; firewood'
kapi	<i>kappi</i>		'tobacco'
mara	<i>marra</i>	<i>marra</i>	'hand'
miju	<i>meyu</i>	<i>miru</i>	'man'
ŋaiji	<i>ngai</i>	<i>ngayi</i>	'I'
tidna	<i>tidna</i>	<i>thitna</i>	'foot'
wara	<i>warra</i>	<i>warra</i>	'language'

Black's transcriptions are a vast improvement over those of other English observers such as Williams and Wyatt and somewhat of an improvement over T&S, with his transcription of retroflex consonants, the distinction between rolled 'r's and glide 'r's, vowel length and transcription of the velar nasal as [ŋ]. The major shortcoming is his failure to transcribe interdentals which were most likely contrastive in Ivaritji's speech. The brevity of Black's wordlist does not allow adequate evaluation of T&S. Several words, including some common vocabulary, place names and personal names, are not attested in other sources. They are:

ivariti	'misty rain'; personal name
kantara	'basket made of reeds for carrying a baby' cf T&S <i>taingyedli</i> ~ <i>tainkyedli</i> 'rush bag'; <i>kandara</i> 'veg. resembling radish'
maŋkiti	'finger' cf T&S <i>marra</i> 'hand, finger'; <i>marraangki</i> 'thumb' (from <i>marra</i> 'finger' + <i>ngangki</i> 'woman'); <i>marrayerli</i> 'forefinger' (from <i>marra</i> 'finger' + <i>yerli</i> 'father')
ŋanpu	'Port Adelaide' cf T&S Yertabulti 'Port Adelaide'
par' natatja	personal name
pu:liti	'country towards Semaphore' cf T&S Yertabulti 'Port Adelaide' (from <i>yerta</i> 'country' + <i>bulti</i> 'asleep')

6.1.4.3 Tindale

Norman Tindale was employed in the South Australian Museum from 1917 until 1965. During his lifetime, Tindale made far-reaching contributions to Australian anthropology and archaeology. Initially, Tindale's primary interest was in entomology, but later shifted to ethnography. From 1928 to 1955 he worked in the position of Ethnologist and from 1955 to 1965 was appointed as Curator of Anthropology (Norman B. Tindale Symposium Brochure, September 30, 1995). Tindale was essentially a scientist. In 1921 he accompanied a Church Missionary Society expedition to Groote Eylandt as naturalist. In preparation, Tindale

undertook a crash course in ethnography in 1920 under Baldwin Spencer from whom he learned the rudiments of linguistic transcription.

On his return to the Museum, Tindale began to take an interest in Aboriginal languages and cultures, including those in the immediate vicinity of Adelaide. He collected previously published papers, letters and old newspaper articles and many of these were pasted into his journals. He also worked first hand with a number of local Aboriginal people, including Ivaritji just prior to her death in 1929. Tindale also recorded a little information from Alf Spender, a Kurna man of 'mixed ancestry'. According to Tindale, Alf Spender, son of Lartelare, referred to Ivaritji as *ngammi* 'mother', whilst she called him *kunga* 'son'⁴⁰.

Tindale also questioned Ngarrindjeri men including Milerum (Clarence Long) of the Tangani clan, Albert Karloan (or Karlowan) a Yaralde man, Reuben Walker and Sustie Wilson of the Ramindjeri clan. According to Tindale (1987: 5) Sustie Wilson's mother was a Kurna woman. He also obtained information from Robert Mason from Mannum on the Murray River, whose mother belonged to the Peramangk language group of Mount Barker and a Ngadjuri man named Barney Warri. All of these sources provided some information about Kurna people, Kurna country, Kurna placenames and the Kurna language.

Tindale compiled several card files on Kurna which are still located in the South Australian Museum. Much of this material has been re-transcribed from previous publications including T&S; Williams (1839); Piesse (1840); Gell (1841); Wyatt (1879); Stephens (1889) and Black (1920). Amongst this re-transcribed material, however, are some additional vocabulary items obtained from local Aboriginal sources, principally Milerum and Karloan (his Ngarrindjeri informants) though some comes from Ivaritji.

Tindale employed IPA or a modified phonetic system as outlined in Tindale (1935: 262-265). Like Black, Tindale did not usually transcribe interdental consonants, though he did occasionally record interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð]. Tindale was careful to distinguish between [ng] or [nk], [ŋ] and [ŋg] or [ŋk]. Unfortunately, in re-transcribing previously published material, he introduced some errors. For instance, within the same card file, Tindale has:

kangariburka 'a prolific woman' retranscribed from T&S *kangariburka*.

and on another card:

kangandi 'to lead; conduct; accompany; to bear a child; bring forth...' from T&S *kangandi*.

Both these words have the same root and undoubtedly the *ng* in *kangariburka* should have been transcribed as *ŋg*. The following examples provide further evidence of this:

juŋondi, *juŋorendi*, *juŋoriap:endi* 'to give; impart; communicate' from T&S *yungondi*, *yungorendi*, *yungoriappendi*.

⁴⁰The word *kunga* 'son' is not known from other sources. It is now used in modern Kurna materials.

However on another card we find:

juŋgul:uŋgul:a 'giver; giving' from T&S *yunggullunggulla*.

Again, these words have the same root, which probably should be transcribed [yũŋgu]. Hercus (1992: 34) transcribed *yungkatya*, the Nukunu cognate of T&S *yungondi*, with a nasal + stop cluster. Note that Tindale has also re-transcribed T&S's double consonants as long [:], though it is unlikely that this is the case. Tindale also perpetuated errors introduced by Stephens' re-transcriptions of Williams' material. Unfortunately, Tindale's phonetic transcriptions give the appearance that he knows what the pronunciation should be. These examples point to the danger of reforming the spelling system too early. It is preferable to maintain the ambiguity in written form, than to remove it and find out later that it should have been something else.

There appears to be a significant level of Ngarrindjeri material introduced into Tindale's Kaurna cardfile. This is not surprising, given the fact that his main informants were Ngarrindjeri people and major movements of people and extensive cultural change had occurred.

Tindale's Kaurna placenames card file includes names from a wide variety of sources, that refer to locations within Tindale's defined Kaurna territory. Many names have been taken directly from maps and historical sources. Tindale provides etymologies for many of these placenames. Whilst many appear sound, several are totally fanciful. The most telling example concerns Yatala or Dry Creek. Yatala appears on the earliest maps of Adelaide and a government vessel was named *Yatala* back in 1850. Yatala appears as a suburb in between Alberton and Rosewater on an 1889 Military Map. However, Tindale gives the following entry:

Yatala

Yatala: Dry Creek, 10 Km north of Adelaide. Probably post-contact name arising from the presence of a white man's prison. The name seems to be linked with the verb [ˈjat:un] 'to steal'.

Moorhouse 1846: 63
Tindale ms. from Mason 1964.

Now [ˈjat:un] 'to steal' is a Ngarrindjeri word. Meyer (1843: 65) gives "Yart-in, v.s., stretching out the hand to receive" and Taplin (1879: 136) gives "Reaching out the hand to receive - Yartin, Yartamin." *Yatala* itself is attested in Kaurna sources as 'flooded'. For example, T&S (1840: 61) give "Yertalla, s. water running by the side of a river; inundation; cascade." Yatala Labour Prison at Dry Creek was not established until 1854. Tindale's Ngarrindjeri origins for Yatala then are absolutely without basis.

On other occasions, Tindale provides several cards for the same place name. As many as three or four different etymologies might be given for the same name, often including an etymology based on a Ngarrindjeri word or perhaps even a combination of Ngarrindjeri and Kaurna words. For instance, he has two cards for Noarlunga. On the first, no attempt has been made to provide a phonetic transcription. The entry appears as follows:

Noarlunga (Kaurna Tribe Adelaide, South Australia)
Camp on Horseshoe curve of the Onkaparinga.
Lit: 'Fishing Place'
Noarlunga: Day 1915: 21

However, on another card a phonetic transcription is given:

Nurlennga (Kaurna Tribe Adelaide, South Australia)
Noarlunga on Onkaparinga River. (needs study)

Noarlunga: Barker C. 1840
Observer 13 Apr 1844 gives as Nurlo-ngga-nurlo
Tindale's interpretation 'Hill place'
Cockburn, 1984: 160 'fishing place'

Tindale's interpretation is based on the Ngarrindjeri word *ngurle* 'hill, mountain' (Meyer, 1843: 88), *ngurli* 'hill, hillock' (Taplin, 1879: 132). However, a third etymology is more likely based on the Kaurna *nurlo* 'curvature; corner' (T&S, 1840: 29). Note from Tindale's entry above, that Noarlunga was identified as a "camp on Horseshoe curve of the Onkaparinga".

Tindale's Kaurna card file appears to appeal to a Ngarrindjeri etymology for Yankalilla, based on Ramindjer *yangaiāke* 'hill' Meyer (1843: 65). Kaurna sources have totally unrelated words *mukurta* 'hill, mountain' or *karnu* 'mountain'. Note the following:

Jangkaljil:a (Kaurna Tribe Adelaide, South Australia)
Yankalilla

Jangkaljil:a 'Yankalilla' Lit. 'Upon the hill' Deriv. ['jangkalja] 'hill' + [l:a] 'at or upon'
Jangkaljawangk 'Yankalilla' Deriv: ['jangkalja] 'hill' + ['wangk] 'upon'
(Tindale, n.d. Kaurna Card File)

Yet Manning (1986: 237), also citing Tindale as his source, provides a different, but more palusible etymology:

A difference of opinion regarding the origin of the name [Yankalilla] prompted a spate of letters to the Register, each writer giving different versions. (See 10, 13, 16, 17, 20 & 25 Feb 1928). Professor N.B. Tindale says 'it is derived from the Aboriginal word *jankalan*, meaning falling' from an incident in the myth of Tjilbruke, whose sister's [sic] mummified body began to fall into pieces here, as he was carrying it from Brighton to Cape Jervis for burial.

These examples lead one to be very wary of Tindale's materials as being representative of the language that was spoken on the Adelaide Plains prior to colonisation. Tindale's Kaurna card files include several words commencing with *r*, *l* and *tj* and ending in consonants, which break the phonotactic rules of Kaurna as described by T&S and others. These words can be invariably traced back to Milerum or other Ngarrindjeri sources.

More important than the words themselves are Tindale's ethnographic notes, though it is important to always bear in mind where his information is coming from. Tindale carried out reasonably extensive work in Ngarrindjeri and has recorded and analysed a number of Dreaming stories, some of which are known to have had Kaurna versions belonging to the Adelaide Plains. This aspect will be covered in section 6.4.

6.1.5 Language Contact & Contact Languages

6.1.5.3 Neighbouring Languages

A number of Kurna words have entered the lexicons of other Indigenous languages. A few words, such as *nantu* 'horse' and *wodli* 'house' have been borrowing into a surprising number of Australian languages, stretching up as far as Bathurst Island on the other side of the continent (Walsh, 1992). In addition, Pitjantjatjara has borrowed the Kurna word *mukarta* 'head' in the form *mukata* ~ *mukaṯi* as the word for 'hat'.

Other Kurna words are shared by neighbouring languages. Some of these are clearly due to diffusion, though it is often difficult to say which language has borrowed a particular word. *Kondolli* 'whale'; *mantiri* 'bush apple'; *karkalla* 'pigface' and *kappi* 'tobacco' are examples of words shared by Ngarrindjeri and Kurna. The latter has undoubtedly been borrowed by Ngarrindjeri from Kurna, as the word originates from the Kurna word *kappendi* 'to vomit'. Other words like Tjilbruke and the name Kurna itself appear to have been borrowed from Ngarrindjeri in more recent times (see Chapter 1 and Appendix B).

6.1.5.2 South Australian Pidgin English

Kurna words are sometimes found in sources on South Australian Pidgin English. Pidgin examples recorded in the latter part of the nineteenth century in locations far-removed from the Adelaide Plains reveal that some Kurna words continued to be used after the language ceased to be used on a regular basis. A particularly striking example is the Pidgin word *malanne* (cf T&S *madlanna* 'no; none; not') recorded by Smith at Rivoli Bay in the southeast of the state in 1864 in the following quote:

Me think 'em no more blackfellow grow, only soon die - no more brother - poor fellow me! Brother Jerry and "malanne" (wife) dead - Bobby soon die. (Smith, 1880: 107)

It appears from this example that Smith misunderstood *malanne* to mean 'wife'.

In the South Australian Pidgin Data Base being compiled from historical sources by Peter Mühlhäusler and Robert Foster, surprisingly few words of Indigenous origins occur and few of these have Kurna origins. The use of *nanto* 'horse' and *wurley* 'house' is of course widespread, but the use of other Kurna words is rare. Still this remains an area to explore more fully as additional sources come to light.

6.1.5.3 Nunga English

As discussed in Chapter 1, words from Aboriginal languages continue to be used today within Nunga English. However, it would appear that relatively few Kurna words are used in the English spoken by Nungas today. Most surviving vocabulary drawn from Indigenous languages appears to come from Ngarrindjeri, Narungga, languages of the West Coast and Western Desert.

6.1.6 Recent Compilations

In 1982, Howard Groome produced a facsimile edition of T&S making the Kurna language much more accessible. This had the effect of raising the profile of the language and provided a ready source for the Kurna language project to work with. In this section I discuss recent compilations of Kurna material used as resource materials for Aboriginal Studies, language reclamation activities and teaching programs.

6.1.6.1 Fitzpatrick (1989)

In 1989, Phil Fitzpatrick at the Aboriginal Heritage Branch of the Department of Environment and Planning produced a booklet titled *Warra'Kurna: A selected wordlist from the language of the Kurna People of the Adelaide Plains*. The wordlist cites Gell (1904), Piesse (1840), Stephens (1889), T&S and Wyatt (1879) as sources and contains almost 700 entries. The compiler claims that:

Because many of the words in the list are taken from Teichelmann & Schürmann their orthography or system of spelling has been adopted. Words from other sources have been adapted to fit into that system. (Fitzpatrick, 1989: 3)

Despite this claim, in a number of cases spellings occur which are aberrant within T&S's system. Note the following:

Table 6.13: Aberrant Spellings in Fitzpatrick (1989)

<u>Fitzpatrick (1989)</u>	<u>T&S</u>
bokkayoko 'bark canoe'	bakka 'dry bark yoko 'ship'
itja 'flesh'	itya 'flesh'
kodni 'white ant'	
kadngi 'species of ant'	kadngi 'a species of ant, a favourite repast of the natives. The large heaps raised by this ant consist of a hard gummy substance, and are intersected by innumerable small cells' ⁴¹
kuyunda 'unclean animal, animal not to be eaten'	kuinyunda 'bringing death; lethal; dangerous of one's totem forbidden; sacred; as <i>kuinyunda mai</i> 'food that one must not eat.'
minnokoora 'root of bulrush'	
peendi tubura 'drone bee'	pindi 'European'
	tuburra 'species of large fly'
perromba 'wattle blossom'	purumba 'flower; blossom'
tuno paitja 'brown snake'	tudno 'a species of snake'
	paitya 'vermin; reptile; dangerous etc.'
jutika 'black cockatoo'	yutika 'black cockatoo'
turlunjaru 'water beetle'	
telleelya 'Acacia salinga'	

Some of these deviations are impossible within T&S's orthography, who never use the letter *j* or the double *oo* or *ee*. Some typographical errors have also been introduced, including:

Fitzpatrick (1989)	T & S
karlammeru 'first born son'	kartammeru 'the name of the first born child, if a son'
karlanya 'first born daughter'	kartanya 'the name of the first born child, if a daughter'
nanwe 'how many?'	nauwe 'how many?'
kakliadli 'corpse'	kadliadli 'corpse'
kurrvango 'corroboree Murray R.'	kuruangko 'a play of the Murray tribes'
tulta 'grass'	tutta 'grass'

⁴¹This insect is indeed the 'white ant' as confirmed by Tindale's Kurna card file. Fitzpatrick has failed to notice the affinity between *kadngi* and *kodni* in Wyatt (1879).

Often Fitzpatrick has simplified the English gloss resulting in a wrong interpretation of T&S's more complete gloss, as in *Karlammeru* <sic> and *Karlanya* <sic> above. In other cases Fitzpatrick's simplifications have resulted in increased imprecision. For example, Fitzpatrick lists *kammilya* 'grandchild' but omits the other three Kaurna terms also translated by the English 'grandchild' leaving the reader with the impression that *kammilya* is identical to its English translation. *Kammilya* refers only to the grandchild of *kammammi* 'mother's mother'.

Fitzpatrick (1989)
kammilya 'grandchild'

T&S
kammilya 'grandchild' [of *kammammi*]
ngapitya 'grandchild of the *ngapappi*
madlanta 'grandchild' [of *madlalla*]
tammu 'grandson of the *tamammu*'

Some errors identified in T&S have been perpetuated in Fitzpatrick's wordlist, even though they were corrected in the Errata page prefacing the former publication. *Makarta* 'head', written in error for *mukarta* is one case in point. Other glaring errors have been introduced including *maityo maityo* glossed as 'cat' when it should have been 'bat'.

Fitzpatrick's wordlist was useful in the early 1990s, because for the first time, a Kaurna vocabulary was listed by Kaurna headword and English headword. T&S and most other wordlists were organised by Kaurna headword. Gaimard's wordlist is organised alphabetically by the French headword and Stephens is ordered alphabetically by Kaurna headword within semantic domains. During the early stages of Kaurna revival, people found Fitzpatrick's wordlist very useful as it is very hard to look up a word in a wordlist ordered alphabetically in the vernacular, when the vernacular is not known⁴². However, the level of errors, arising in various ways, means that Fitzpatrick (1989) is not an ideal source. If used, care should be taken to check back to the original sources.

6.1.6.2 *The Kaurna People* (EDSA, 1989)

The Kaurna People: Aboriginal People of the Adelaide Plains (EDSA, 1989) is a substantial publication of 266 pages and includes a number of short wordlists on various topics such as features of the environment (pp.64-65), kinship and birth order names (pp.86-87), artifacts (pp.123-125), plant foods (pp.130-131), animal foods (p.139) and food resources (pp.140-141). The vast majority of Kaurna words in this publication are drawn from T&S. However, several words from other sources, notably Cawthorne (1844) and Wyatt (1879) are mixed in without identification. The source of some words is apparent from the surrounding text, but this is not always the case. In addition, for some unknown reason, several words from other languages, including Diyari and Adnyamathanha have been slipped into these wordlists. For example "*kopara-mara* ⁴³ '(Dieri word) a place: as the fingers come together in the hand, so do different groups come to this place' " (p.124) and "*bookartoo* '(Adnyamathanha word) a place

⁴²Learners of Kaurna now have access to electronic vocabulary files which allow one to easily search for an English or Kaurna word.

⁴³ This is the origin of the place name Kopperamanna, after which the mission in the Lake Eyre region was named. It is written by Austin (1994: 140) as Kaparrhamaranha.

in the Flinders Ranges' " (p.123). The word *bokra* 'also marti: rabbit-eared bandicoot' is included in a list titled 'More Kurna Words Connected with Food Resources' (p.140). The Kurna word, *marti* is supplied in the gloss and as a separate entry. It is apparent from the text (p.137-138) that *bokra* comes from an article by J. H. Browne (1897)⁴⁴ on Aborigines of the lower north of South Australia. It is unclear as to which language *bokra* belongs, though it is unlikely to have been Kurna. *Bokra* does not appear in Tunbridge (1991) comprehensive study of mammals of the Flinders Ranges, which includes material from Adnyamathanha and surrounding languages, including Kurna.

It is impossible to find the source of some vocabulary items included within the wordlists. For instance:

kuti 'bivalve' (probably Goolwa cockle or band cockle)⁴⁵
kurti 'shark' (p.139) - no known source⁴⁶
ngaul 'yabbie' (p.139) - no known source
tarna 'duck' (p.141) - no known source
karka 'freshwater mussel' (p.139) - ? source. Cf *kakirra* 'small black river mussel' (TMs).
kad 'jew lizard' (p.139) - ? source

Yet these words appear in a column in a table specifically labelled "Kurna name".

A short section appears on pages 60 and 61 titled 'Pronouncing Aboriginal Words'. A rather imprecise guide to pronunciation is given which more or less accommodates T&S spellings. Yet Tindale's, Cawthorne's and other spellings are employed throughout the book with no explanation of their orthographic conventions, or lack of them, as the case may be. Tindale for instance uses *j* as in IPA for the palatal glide, yet the discussion on p.60 says to "Use English pronunciation unless otherwise indicated".

In addition, some Kurna words have been supplied with a more specific gloss than is to be found in the original source, though it is unclear on what basis this was done. The following examples illustrate:

- *kuya* 'fish (general term)' is correctly given as the generic on p.139. Compare with T&S *kuya* 'fish'. However, earlier on p.65 *kuya* is glossed as 'mulloway'. Lewis O'Brien (pc 20 Feb. 1996) feels that this is definitely wrong. They grew up at Bukkiyana knowing the mulloway as *danggara*, a fish they were not allowed to eat, whereas *kuya* was a well known word for any fish.
- *paitya* 'eastern brown snake' cf T&S *paitya* 'vermin; reptile; monster; any dangerous or disliked animal'. Thus *paitya* appears to be a generic rather than a specific species name.
- *tuparra* 'blue-tongued lizard' cf T&S *tuparra* 'a small species of lizard'

⁴⁴The date is given incorrectly as 1987 in *The Kurna People*.

⁴⁵*Kuti* probably comes from Taplin (1879) *kuti* 'cockle' implying that *kuti* is a Ngarrindjeri word. It has not been located in Kurna sources.

⁴⁶Lewis O'Brien feels that this word is wrong. He grew up knowing *kurti* or *gurti* as 'quandong' and other words for 'shark'.

Typographical errors have been introduced, including those listed in the table below:

Table 6.14: Examples of Typographical Errors in EDSA (1989) Wordlists

<u>Page</u>	<u>Error</u>	<u>T&S</u>
p.64	<i>kurra</i> 'grass tree' (any vessel, pot, kettle)	<i>kurru</i> 'grass tree; any vessel as pot, kettle, &c'
p.64	<i>worta</i> 'tail'	<i>worti</i> 'tail'
p.64	<i>tinkyaldla</i> 'quail'	<i>tinkyadla</i> 'a species of quail'
p.65	<i>wirralitya</i> 'willy willy'	<i>wirraitya</i> 'dust; dust pillar caused by a whirlwind'
p.86	<i>Yerti</i> 'father'	<i>yerli</i> 'male'
p.87	<i>yungala</i> 'younger brother'	<i>yungalya</i> 'brother (perhaps elder brother)'
p.87	<i>Kartamaru</i>	<i>Kartammeru</i> 'the name of the firstborn child, if a son'
p.87	<i>Kudnitya</i>	<i>Kudnuitya</i> 'name of the third child, if a son'
p.113	<i>idanti</i> 'bed formed of grass and skins'	<i>idarti</i> 'anything to lie or sleep upon as dry grass, a skin, applied to a mattress, bed'
p.123	<i>idanti</i> 'bed'	<i>idarti</i> (as above)
p.120	<i>taldamari</i> 'strong shelter'	<i>tadlta wodli</i> 'a substantial hut; to protect one against hailstones'
p.130	<i>karkal</i> 'pig-face'	<i>karkalla</i> 'a species of plant, the fruit of which is eaten by Europeans and natives'
p.140	<i>bundi</i> 'mallee fowl'	<i>budni</i> 'a large black bird' cf <i>budni</i> 'mallee fowl' (Tindale - Narrunga)
p.140	<i>kabbaburrutti</i> 'peeled'	<i>bakkaburrutti</i> 'without peel; peeled'
p.140	<i>pangkarri</i> 'the inherited territory of a man or a family head'	<i>pangkarra</i> 'a district or tract of country belonging to an individual, which he inherits from his father'
p.141	<i>peelta</i> 'black-tailed possum'	<i>pilta</i> 'opossum'
p.141	<i>tamartongarburendi</i> 'to taste'	<i>tamarto ngarkurendi</i> 'to taste'
p.141	<i>wirrappi</i> 'possum'	<i>wirappi</i> 'a species of animal living in hollow trees'
p.141	<i>wolta wolta</i> 'wild turkey'	<i>wolta</i> 'wild turkey'
Cawthorne		
p.119	<i>teryarkoo</i> 'string of kangaroo or other teeth worn round the head'	<i>teyarkoo</i>
p.124	<i>panjalu</i> 'large loose basket'	<i>tanjalu</i>
p.125	<i>wolcaltee</i> 'bark shield'	<i>wocaltee</i>
Tindale		
p.89	<i>Araru</i>	<i>Kararu</i>
p.124	<i>wanngkodanangko</i>	<i>Wanngkondanangko ~ Wanngkondanangko</i>

On pages 97 to 101 the story of Tjilbruke is presented based primarily on Milerum's account (Tindale, 1987) though unfortunately the specific references are not provided. Tindale provides phonetic transcriptions of vernacular words appearing within his paper. These are mostly place names and personal names. Unfortunately in *The Kurna People* the velar nasal has usually been transcribed as *n* rather than *ng*. Less seriously, schwa has been transcribed as *a* and diacritics and stress has simply been omitted. Ignoring the absence of diacritics and the replacement of [ŋ] by *ng*, the following typographical errors have been noted:

<u>Page</u>	<u>Error</u>	<u>Tindale</u>
p.97ff	Putpunga ⁴⁷ 'Rapid Bay local group'	Patpangga 'clan living at ['Tankul'rawun] near Rapid Bay'
p.98	Jurawi	['Jurawi] ~ Jurawi
p.98	Witjarlun 'clan near Carrickalinga'	['Witjarluŋ] ~ Witjarlung
p.98	Wituwatank 'Brighton'	['Wituwa'ta:ŋk] ~ Wituwatank
p.98f	Tulukudank 'Kingston Park'	['Tulukudaŋk]
p.98	Latang 'Victor Harbor'	['Lat:arŋ]
p.99	Lonkowar 'Rosetta Head'	['Loŋkowar]
p.99	Wiotawatank 'Marion'	Witawatank
p.99	Kareledum 'Hallett Cove'	[Ka'reilduŋ]
p.99	Tainbaran 'Port Noarlunga'	['Tainba'raŋ] ~ ['Tainba'ra:ŋ]
p.99	Potartan 'Red Ochre Cove'	['Potarta:ŋ]
p.99	Ruwarun 'Port Willunga'	['Ruwaruŋ] ~ ['Ru:waruŋ]
p.100	Karikalinga 'Carrickalinga'	['Karika:liŋga]
p.100	Konaratinga 'Kongarati cave'	['Koŋarati'ŋ ga]
p.100	Ranindjeri	Ramindjeri
p.100	Barunkungga	Barukungga ~ [Bε'ruk:uŋga]
p.97ff	Tjilbruke	Tjirbruki ~ ['Tji:rbruki]
p.101	Tjilbrujke	Tjirbruki ~ ['Tji:rbruki]

In addition there are a number of misreadings or typographical errors relating to the letter written to Governor Gawler in Kaurna by children at Piltawodli on 15 May 1841 (p.166). The original copy is a handwritten manuscript held by the Mortlock Library (see appendix D3.2), so it is to be expected that some of these forms should be misread. *L* and *t* are easily confused and there has been some difficulty in establishing where the spaces between words occur. On one occasion *m* has been misread as *rn* and *k* has been misread as *h*.

One curious feature of this publication concerns the re-assignment of glosses to a number of kinship terms on p.87. In the original source (T&S: 59, 62) three terms are given as apparent synonyms for each of 'sister' and 'brother' respectively. *The Kaurna People* has assigned the following glosses to these terms:

Yakana	sister
Yakkanilya	younger sister
Yakanata	older sister
Yunga	brother
Yungala (sic)	younger brother
Yungata	older brother

On what basis the above glosses were assigned is unclear⁴⁸ and appears to be without foundation. T&S cite another word *panyappi* 'younger brother or sister' which is the expected pattern in an Aboriginal language. There is undoubtedly some subtle difference between the three terms above. *Yakkanilya* and *Yungalya* for instance look like they have the *-alya* clitic

⁴⁷ It is unclear where this spelling has come from. One can only assume that it is an ethnospelling variant of a known place name where *u* represents the low vowel as an 'but'. Yet according to the 'Pronunciation Guidelines' *u* should be pronounced [ɔ] as in 'put' producing the incorrect pronunciation [pɔtpɔŋga].

⁴⁸ George Woolmer (pc Feb 20th 1996) suggested that the differentiation between the three terms on the basis of age may have come by way of analogy with Adnyamathanha as Cliff Coulthard, an Adnyamathanha man, was involved in the writing of the book. However it was so long ago that he really couldn't remember.

attached which may indicate closeness or endearment. *Yakanata* and *yungata* may be some kind of reciprocal terms. Compare these with the two terms for 'brother-in-law'. *Tarro* 'brother-in-law, having the sister of the *tarrutta*' and *tarrutta* 'brother-in-law of the *tarro*'.

For someone interested in the Kaurna language, tracing sources and being sure that the material is as accurate and reliable as possible, *The Kaurna People* is a frustrating source to work with. Specific sources on the Kaurna language are not listed amongst the resources on pages 19 to 22. Some acknowledgement is given to T&S and Cawthorne (1844) within the text, but this does not account for all of the putative Kaurna vocabulary. Attempts have been made to track down these words and meanings of unknown origin. All the compilers of *The Kaurna People* have been contacted individually, but because it is so long since the book was prepared they are unable to remember how the wordlists came to be in their final form. Meredith Edwards seems to have had most to do with the preparation of the wordlists. She thought that all the Kaurna words appearing in *The Kaurna People* would have been drawn from existing wordlists, rather than surviving oral heritage. However I have checked all the references that she says she used which include T&S, Teichelmann (1841), Cawthorne (1844), Wyatt (1879) and Ellis & Houston (1976). This latter publication does include 20 pages of vocabulary in tables, most of which refer to food resources. However, Ellis & Houston (1976) is a secondary source of Kaurna vocabulary, drawing on Wyatt (1879), T&S, Gell (1841), Piesse (1840), *The Southern Australian* 11 Jan. 1842, and Browne (1897). The sources listed here still do not account for all the putative Kaurna words and meanings included in the wordlists in *The Kaurna People*.

It may still be possible that some of them have come to us through the oral tradition, handed down from one generation to the next. Some of these words may have come from Auntie Gladys Elphick who read through the draft materials for the book in late 1987 before she died in January 1988 (p.23). Gladys Elphick grew up remembering Ivaritji, who she called "Grannie Amelia". Ivaritji taught Gladys about her Kaurna culture and traditions (p.211). Gladys may have learnt words from Ivaritji and remembered the meanings of other words which do not appear in documented sources. If this is the case, it is a pity that no indication is given within the text. It is also unfortunate that words from other languages are included in the Kaurna wordlists, even though the source language is sometimes acknowledged. It appears that some Ngarrindjeri words have crept into the wordlists without acknowledgement, in addition to a number of words of unknown origin that appear to come from a language other than Kaurna. This source leaves the serious reader questioning the authenticity of the language material included.

6.1.6.3 Amery and Simpson (1994)

In 1994, Jane Simpson and I published a wordlist, together with a brief introduction to the Kaurna language in Thieberger & McGregor (eds) *Macquarie Aboriginal Words*. This publication made a significant portion of the Kaurna language readily available to the nation at large through Macquarie's wide distribution network. The book has also drawn some

international attention. The Kaurna chapter in *Macquarie Aboriginal Words* includes about 500 items drawn predominantly from TMs, supplemented by some items from T&S. Narungga counterparts, where known, have also been provided. Thieberger & McGregor also include both an English and vernacular findex, facilitating comparison across the 17 languages included and assists in finding particular Kaurna words.

6.1.6.4 Amery (1995c; 1997)

In 1995, I compiled *Warra Kaurna: A Resource for Kaurna Language Programs*. It included a reprint of T&S together with a 'Kaurna Wordlist Organised by Topic or Subject' prepared by Jane Simpson and brief 'Notes on Spelling and Pronunciation'. I further revised and expanded the wordlist in 1997. To my knowledge, after I and students of Kaurna have worked intensively with the materials for some time, there are very few introduced errors in these publications. This wordlist is the most comprehensive Kaurna wordlist published to date and will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

6.2 Grammar

6.2.1 Historical Sources

There is just one main historical source on Kaurna grammar, T&S. Other sources, TMs and Teichelmann (1858) have been written to add to information contained in T&S, whilst Watson, Teichelmann & Moorhouse (1841) and Moorhouse (1843) are papers based on T&S. This single orientation to the description of Kaurna grammar is in many ways fortunate for us in our attempts to reclaim the language. Whilst there are undoubtedly some problems with their analysis, the near-absence of competing analyses and conflicting information makes our job much easier.

Fortunately, the analytical skills of the German missionaries were of a high standard. They were trained in philology and the classics. The grammar they produced in the space of 18 months under trying conditions was a remarkable feat. They were aware of certain limitations of their publication, but encouraged by Gawler and in response to a perceived need for such a work, they published perhaps earlier than they would've liked:

6.2.1.1 Teichelmann & Schürmann (1840)

The 24 page sketch grammar in T&S appears more or less 'complete' with pronoun paradigms, charts of nominal affixes and discussion of verb inflections with examples of their usage. There are indications that Teichelmann and Schürmann tried as best they could to base their analysis entirely on what they actually heard and recorded. They write (T&S, 1840: 12):

It may strike the reader to see so many cases wanting in these examples [of possessive or adjective pronouns]. [Only Nominative, Genitive and Dative case forms are supplied]. The accusative case has been omitted, because they are like the nominative. The active [Ergative] cases of some occur, but not frequently, for they can be supplied by the substantive to which they are referred; as *Ngaityo wakwakurlo ngaiinni yüngki* - My child gave it to me. But *Nganko wakwakurlo ninnanni yüngki? Ngaityurlo* - Whose child gave it to you? Mine. All the other cases could have been easily formed according to analogy of the declensions 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.

T&S is the only historical source which provides a grammatical analysis of the language. Other sources provide, at most, only brief generalisations about grammatical structure.

Teichelmann continued working on the language after publication of this source and in 1858 supplied Grey with an annotated copy of their original publication. Here Teichelmann made a number of corrections, most prominent of which is his retraction of the Dative case. He writes "There is no Dative in these <sic> language, because the verbs do not require one". The putative Dative case suffix *-ni* has been deleted throughout, within nominal, pronoun and demonstrative paradigms. What then is the status of the suffix *-ni* as the sentences embedded in the quote from T&S above? Perhaps it is a reduction of the directional *parni* 'towards'. Indeed this is a plausible historical source for a dative case marker. He has also made several other minor revisions and contributed some additional explanation in places, but it would appear that in the eyes of Teichelmann 18 years on, their original grammar was still largely intact and accurate.

6.2.1.2 Teichelmann (1857)

TMs is essentially a vocabulary, as discussed previously. However, listed within the vocabulary are a number of suffixes and clitics with accompanying explanations, some of which are not found in T&S. The following two examples are typical:

- namalya, -

This termination is used in forming the modus of a verb, which expresses the continuity of the action.

-anda & -nda, 1. affixed to a personal pronoun it signifies self ngattunda, I myself (am the acting person) excluding other agency. Nindunda thou thyself etc. 2. affixed to possess. pron. ngaityoanda, my own; ninkoanda, thy own etc. 3. yakkoanda, not at all; numtianda, entirely away.

Some of the other lexical entries also contain a considerable amount of grammatical information. Many lexical entries are embellished with example phrases and sentences, from which additional insights into Kaurna grammar may be gained. The following example is indicative of the level of grammatical material recorded:

Padlondi,

1. to desire, wish, long, covet;

mai padlond'aii, I long for food,

padlonintyerla, a desire, one who longs for; - munto p. a voluptuous, wanton fellow.

2. to die, perish, starve.

maiitidla kudla padloingko, he is in want of food & will die by himself;

padlo padlunya, on the road to the grave, going to die; stricken with age'.

padlunyanna, (a) perishing, dying'. Note from this & other instances it appears that the termination *-nya* is like the participle in *-ing*, *dying*, *eating* etc. that is the partic. praesens, as *boka bokanya*, I have rendered, a person who is fond of swimming, a swimmer.

padli, dead; imperf.

padletti, having died, he has died,

padlettianangko, it comes from having died;

garla padlondi, the fire is dying

padlo paltandi, to throw to death, to beat out the fire;

padlo kundandi, to strick <sic>, beat to death;

padlo appendi, to caus <sic> to die, - perish.

Under the entry for *na* 'you (plural)', for instance, some of Teichelmann's grammatical reasoning is evident as follows:

Na, 2nd pers. plur. of the personal pronoun you, ye; affixed to verbs the letter N is dropped & only A. remains, as in *parni kawaiinga*, come ye hither.

Na wa wandi! where are you encamping <one line crossed out> *naalitya*, to you; for you on account of you; *naalityangga*, with you, at you, in your b.<?>; *naandi*, only you; none but you. *Naako*, Gen. & pron. poss. *naakoandi*, only yours, yours alone; *naakulla worlingga*, in your house; from this instance it is evident <sic> that the particles expressing locality, time or other relations may also be affixed to pronouns. Here --lla, because *naako* is a three syllable, whereas -ngga on two syllables; *yakko ngaityo yunga kamaritti wort.<?> naako tikkata*, my (elder) brother shall not be your cook.

An excerpt from the entry for the demonstrative *ngu*, which runs for one and a half pages in entirety, similarly demonstrates his analytical processes:

Ngu, as adverb of time & place. there; then; *ngu urnti*, away there; *nguamo*, in answer to *wamo?* -- *nguarra*, there along; *ngu nindo kokatti ngu*, there, where you have been just now digging. From this and similar instances you will learn that the verbal termination -tti expresses the present perfect, whereas -nanna expresses the past but perfect finished action, the plusquamperfect.

TMs remains a rich source of additional grammatical information which has not yet been fully utilized. The sentence examples are particularly useful.

6.2.1.3 Teichelmann (1858)

Teichelmann (1858) consists of three pages of handwritten notes on Kurna verbs in which he posits seven "genera of the verb" and a possible eighth. Most of the information in this paper is already published in T&S though his discussion of "continuative verbs" is new and he has collected together some instances of previously undiscussed morphology.

Teichelmann again impresses upon the reader that the material he has collected is all original, authentic data in the aside "Observe instances in my phrases, all of which are written down from the mouth of the Aborigines, none formed by myself."

Teichelmann leaves us with the impression that he feels the analysis of Kurna verbs is still incomplete for in discussing his possible eight genus "verba spontania" he says "however, all these instances will have to be collected and then compared and examined" and further, "in fact, the most attention must be paid to the terminations of the words".

6.2.1.4 Teichelmann & Moorhouse (1841)⁴⁹

In a paper titled 'A Report on the Aborigines of South Australia' presented to the Statistical Society in December 1841, a short 5 page sketch of the Kurna language is given, including pronoun paradigms, the means of deriving adjectives and verbs from nouns and illustration of a range of verb and noun morphology. We may safely assume that this aspect of the paper was the work of Teichelmann as the spellings and information supplied is consistent with his other publications and materials. Having just given no less than 27 distinct verbal forms, Teichelmann remarks "It must be remembered that the verb is as yet not fully ascertained,

⁴⁹This report was actually signed W. Watson (Chairman), C.G. Teichelmann & M. Moorhouse. Following Foster's (1990b: 38, 63) lead, I refer to the paper by its likely authors, Teichelmann & Moorhouse (1841).

therefore the preceeding will have an imperfect appearance" (reproduced in Foster, 1990b: 52). This paper includes some of the corrections to T&S, which coincide with Teichelmann's annotations on the copy of the publication sent to Grey in 1858. It also contains some additional derivations and verbal forms not included in T&S. Most of these additions, but not all, are picked up in TMs. Teichelmann & Moorhouse (1841) is a useful adjunct to the other sources. Some aspects of the grammar are set out with greater clarity in this publication.

6.2.1.5 Moorhouse (1843)

In a letter dated 1 May 1843, Moorhouse outlined similarities and differences between the "Adelaide dialect", ie Kurna, and the "Swan dialect", ie Nyungar, spoken in the southwest of Western Australia. He made reference to 18 grammatical rules as laid down in *The Grammar of Western Australia*⁵⁰ with the intent of questioning the accuracy of certain aspects and alerting observers of Nyungar of things to look out for. In so doing Moorhouse discusses a number of aspects of Kurna grammar. Several points made are not included in T&S or are not made as explicit as in the Moorhouse letter. Governor Hutt replied to Moorhouse in relation to several points, pointing out differences between Kurna and Nyungar.

6.2.1.6 Other Sources

A limited number of sentences were recorded by Williams (1840) and Wyatt (1879), from which some grammatical information is recoverable, and a certain amount of morphology is evident in these and other wordlists. These sources are more revealing of the English observers' understandings of Kurna grammar than they are of the grammar itself. Grammatical structure recoverable from Williams and Wyatt is often at odds with T&S, demonstrating features of a pidgin. These sources do not add to our understanding of Kurna grammar.

Some 19th century observers outside of the 'Adelaide School' made some fallacious and uninformed comments on Kurna grammar. Piesse for instance says:

The public do not know instinctively that the verbs are spoken only in the present tense; that almost all nouns are the same in the plural and singular numbers, and that there is no pronoun expressing the third person. It is the want of information on these points that deters many from studying the language.
(Piesse, 1840: 296)

Cawthorne echoes these views in an early draft of his published paper:

It is doubtful whether the native language could be rendered to a grammatical form, we would recommend that the English Tongue be more extensively taught among the Natives as the best means of promoting their civilisation. Their verbs are spoken in the present tense only and nearly all nouns are the same in the singular and plural with no pronoun to express the third person. (Cawthorne in Foster, 1991: 81)

Black (1920), a more reliable twentieth century source, includes eight phrases and 20 short sentences which provide some useful points of confirmation and contrast with Kurna morphology and syntax as recorded by T&S. Black shows that numerals could be used in addition to the dual suffix as in the following:

⁵⁰I am unsure of the author of this grammar. On inspection, it appears not to be Grey (1840).

bulatji, two. (T. and S., purlaitye) This word may be placed before the dual (at least this was done by Amelia), so that a double dual was produced: bulatji kadlila, two dogs; bulatji tappula, two flies; pulatji mijula, two men; bulatji ngangkiila 'two women' (Black, 1920: 82)

This was a point of some uncertainty from the German sources, for want of examples. It is also possible that the double marking recorded by Black is due to the advanced stage of attrition of the language.

Grammatical descriptions of neighbouring Thura-Yura languages are very limited. Nonetheless material compiled by Hercus (1992) on Nukunu and by Black (1920) on Narungga are useful points of comparison. Descriptions of Barngarla grammar (Schürmann, 1844) and Adnyamathanha (Schebeck, 1974; 1976) are more extensive.

6.2.2 Modern Sources

In 1965, the linguist Carl von Brandenstein published a paper titled *Ein Abessive im Gemein-Australischen* on the privative suffix in Australian languages. In this paper (Brandenstein, 1965) drew heavily on Kurna examples taken from T&S. Note that von Brandenstein does not use the term Kurna, but uses 'Meiu' (= *meyu* 'man') instead.

Since Brandenstein's paper, it is not uncommon for linguists to draw on Kurna materials in the discussion of certain grammatical or typological phenomena. Jane Simpson, for instance, has been working on Kurna for many years. When she was a student at ANU in the 1970s she wrote several essays on Kurna, including a comparison between Adnyamathanha, Kurna and Barngarla phonology, case endings and pronoun forms (Simpson, 1976). She has continued to work on Kurna. The results of this work over two decades, together with insights from my own work will be published shortly (Simpson & Amery, forthcoming). This work will contain a detailed analysis of Kurna phonology, morphology and syntax, and analysis of Kurna dialectology supplemented with historical and sociolinguistic contextual information. Much of this grammar has been reasonably easy to write, but there are a number of difficult, unresolved issues to tie up, where the information required to complete the description is lacking.

It is my intention to also write a pedagogical grammar of Kurna, along the lines of *A Learners Guide to Eastern and Central Arrernte* (Green, 1994), *A Learners Guide to Yankunytjatjara* (Goddard, 1980) and *Wangka Wiru A Handbook for the Pitjantjatjara language learner* (Eckert & Hudson, 1988). Such a publication would support the teaching of Kurna. For now though, T&S remains the primary point of reference.

6.3 Kaurna Texts

The virtual absence of texts is the major shortcoming of T&S and TMs. However, all known Kaurna texts, except two were written, transcribed or translated by members of the 'Adelaide School' or their pupils.

6.3.1 Texts Associated with the Vocabulary Sources

The German sources do include a number of instances of connected sentences or question and answer routines, such as the following:

Wadangko padlourlaintya turteanula? Metti biri nindo purla. - Yungki ai padlo - yakko atto metti.
'Whence is that jacket? you most likely stole it. - He gave it to me - I did not steal it.'

(T&S, 1840: 70)

The longest connected text provided in the phraseology is the following:

Wortanna ngaityo nungngurruandi manyaurlyo, wodlingga ba waienetti. Yakko ba budnetti manya, burro ai wodlingga tikkaninyidla; madlanna manya budnetti, wortangga ai tikketti wodlingga. Manti ai ingarnetti manyarna wodlingga - nammu ai warrunna, ba budninda manya⁵¹

'All my moveables become wet by the rain, which could enter into the house. Did it not rain, I should still be sitting in the house; had no rain come, I was sitting warm in the house. I could not foresee the coming rain whilst in the house - now I am outside, the rain just comes.'

(T&S, 1840: 70)

T&S also provide several songlines (discussed in section 6.5) and two versions of two short texts, spoken by Mullawirraburka and Kadlitpinna, in order to illustrate dialect differences as follows:

KING JOHN

Natta murriendi adlu; paini paininga adlu yaintya tikki; kutyonillanda tikkaneadlu paru paintyingga, kudyonilla yertangga. Yaintya atto natta kundo puma yerta.

CAPTAIN JACK

Natta Padnend' adlu; bukki bukki adlu yentya tikki; kumarnilla yertangga tikkaningadlu paru paintyingga. Yentya atto kundo puma yerta.

'Now let us go further; formerly we lived here for some time; otherwere <sic> we will live, upon another district, where meat is at hand. Here I feel now anxious for another district.'

KING JOHN

Yakko ninna yernta budnaninditta; nurnti murrendi; kudla tikkandingai, bappa yuwettoai ai.

CAPTAIN JACK

Yakko ninna yernta budnaningutta ; nurnti padni; kudla tikka ningai, bappa ngai yiwettoai.

'You shall not come hither; go off; I will be alone, else I cannot be circumcised. (T&S, 1840: 72)

TMs also includes a number of examples of connected sentences, though none are more extensive than examples already cited from T&S. There are no texts as such.

Wyatt (1879) provides a short text of a Kaurna Dreaming story, just 34 words in all. This text will be discussed in detail in section 6.4. Several other short texts have come to light in the course of researching this thesis. They are discussed briefly below.

⁵¹T&S provide footnote for the text "Thus a native was speaking, after he had moved all his luggage out of the home, in order to finish it, when he was lying outside, and rain come on unexpectedly."

6.3.2 Translated Speeches

Translation of Governor Gawler's speech to Aboriginal people in Adelaide on 1st November 1838. This speech was translated by the Protector of Aborigines, Dr William Wyatt and published in the *South Australian Gazette & Colonial Register* 3 November, 1838. The entire newspaper article, including the speech, was published in Mann (1839: 287-291). The first few lines of this speech were republished in an article titled 'Our Early History' by the Rev. John Blackett in the *Advertiser* on 19 September, 1903: 8.

Wyatt's 88 word translation has features indicative of a jargon Kaurna. It is at odds with T&S's grammar on a number of points as discussed by Simpson (1996: 189-194).

Schürmann's translation of Governor Gawler's address to the assembled Aboriginal people for the Queen's Birthday celebrations in May 1840 was published in the *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 20 May 1840. This translation, of about 150 words, is a more sophisticated text, employing a greater range of verb morphology and complex sentence constructions. Both these speeches, and the circumstances in which they were translated, are discussed by Foster & Mühlhäusler (1996). The speeches themselves appear in Appendix D2.

6.3.3 Religious Texts

A Kaurna translation of the Ten Commandments by Clamor Schürmann, was published in the *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 20 May 1840. They are included in Appendix D2. Some commandments were rendered very succinctly into Kaurna. For instance, 'Thou shalt not steal!' was translated as *Metteûrti* using the root for 'steal' with the Prohibitive suffix *-ûrti* attached. Others are longer. According to Klose's and Schürmann's correspondence, the ten commandments were recited regularly within the school program and sometimes in public at official gatherings attended by the Governor and other officials.

In November 1840, Klose sent pages from copybooks belonging to Kaurna children at Piltawodli. These include examples of the children's handwriting, practising their letters and, more significantly, a page from Kartanya's copybook, which consists of three lines as follows, repeated several times on the page (see Appendix D3.1 for a copy of the original handwritten text):

Yeowarnalitya tondari mangaringa;
<Jehova-to always worship-IMP(Pl)>
<'Always worship Jehova.'>

ngadluکو pinggalinggala pa;
<our creator 3Sg>
<'He is our creator'>

wakinnaanangko padlu ngadlu tiraappeta.
<bad-from 3Sg+ERG we protect-FUT>
<'He protects us from evil.'>⁵²

⁵²These lines were left untranslated. I have supplied interlinear glosses and free translations in brackets <....>.

It would appear that the missionaries did produce more Kaurna religious texts, though these have not yet been located. A school prayer written in Kaurna was regularly recited. Klose refers to Bible topics covered in the school program :

only those who had consistently attended school were soon able to recall what they had learned e.g. the hymns, prayer, a few Bible history stories such as the creation, the fall, the flood, the giving of the Commandments; in the New Testament: the birth of Christ, the prodigal son, the resurrection of the young man at Nain and the daughter of Jairus, the suffering and death of the Lord, his resurrection and ascension, and that he would come again for the judgement. With all of these they are acquainted so far as their language permits, 16 - 18 children came each day. (Klose's letter to Dresden, 26 April 1842)

It is not altogether clear whether these topics were taught in Kaurna, but I assume it was because this was before Klose writes of introducing English. In the same letter, Klose elaborates on religious instruction and refers to sending examples of the children's handwriting of Biblical texts:

With reference to my methods I must apply myself strongly to the language and to the children. The school day begins with singing and prayer. On the first days of the week I repeat what Br Teichelmann has said to the adults and children on the Sunday before. On the rest of the days I tell them a Bible story, repeat and ask about it, but it remains difficult to get answers from the children. After the first hour they have a quarter hour break. In the second they practise arithmetic or I dictate a Bible story or biblical truths which they enjoy writing more than using their own language. With that the morning lessons end

Were the biblical texts in Kaurna or in German or Latin? I cannot tell.

6.3.4 Letters Written by Kaurna Children

The earliest known text written by Kaurna authors is a letter written to Governor Gawler by Kaurna children at *Piltawodli*, The Native Location, dated 15 May 1841⁵³ (see Appendix D3.2). This letter is a plea to Gawler to stay on in his position as Governor and is signed by nine children, five boys and four girls. Comprising 61 words, it is the longest surviving Kaurna letter.

Two short letters, 25 words and 31 words, written in 1843 by two Kaurna boys, Pitpauwe and Wailtye, both signatories of the 1841 letter, are amongst missionary Klose's papers⁵⁴, Klose writes:

Two of the oldest school-boys, about 12 or 14 years old, send you some of their writing as a token of their gratitude for the play-things they received. They contain their own thoughts. I told them that I was again sending letters to my friends in Europe, would they also like to write something; whereupon these boys decided to write. (Klose, letter to Dresden, 7 July 1843)

⁵³According to Teichelmann's Diary (15 May 1841) the letter was "written in their own language by the native girls and signed by those who could write". O'Connor (1995: 9) has erroneously assumed that Teichelmann wrote the letter.

⁵⁴I am indebted to Reinhard Wendt for locating these letters for me in Leipzig, and to the Lutheran Archives for allowing access to the records.

The two letters are very similar in form. I analyse Wailtye's text below:

Ngaityo taruanna
my brother-in-law-ALL
'To my friends.'

Ngatto naalityangga paper kaitya. Na ngattaitya ngaityo ngunya waiettinna kaityaninga.
I+ERG you(pl)-with letter sent you(pl) me-to my toy-PL send-IMP
'I am sending you a letter. You have sent me toys.'
<I have sent you a letter. You send me my toys.>⁵⁵

ngai ngunya waietta ngaityo worlingga tauatta tindurna.
I+NOM play-FUT my house-in many day-PL
'I will play in my room for many days.'

Ngaii ngunya waieta ngaityo mudli worlinna parni kaityaninga.
I+NOM play-FUT my thing house-PL towards send-IMP
'I will play, send more here.'
<I will play [with] my household things send here (ie please send more)>

Wailtyidlo naako paper kaitya.
Wailtyi-ERG you(pl)-GEN letter sent.
Wailtyi sends you the letter.
<Wailtyi has sent you the letter>

There are several interesting features in this letter. Note the use of the kin term in the salutation 'to my brother-in-law', which Klose translates as 'to my friends'. Also Wailtyi uses *ngunya waiettinna* 'toys', yet *ngunyawaietti* is known only as 'play; dance; corroboree' in T&S. The affinity is evident through morphological analysis of the word, *ngunya* 'joy' + *waiendi* 'to move' + *-tti* 'NOML'. So 'toy' is encoded as the 'joy-moving-thing', whereas 'corroboree' is encoded as the 'joy-moving-event'. This is a very important example, adding to our understanding of the use of the nominalizer *-tti*.

A fourth letter written by Itya Maii, the principal signatory of the 1841 letter was sent to Governor Grey and his wife in 1845 (see Appendix D3.5). It was located amongst Grey's collection in the South African Public Library, Cape Town and was included in Henderson's (1907: 49) biography of Grey. This letter appears to be a short note attached to some watermelons that the children had grown in their garden. I analyse it below:

Kambandoanna parnu Yangaroanna
<governor-ALL his wife-ALL>
The Governor & his Lady

Pulyonna Ngartunna kairiyatti melonilla. Parnako yertaunangko manketti purlaityi.
<black child-PL sent-Past melon-DUAL their ground-ABL get-Past two>
The black children have sent two melons. Their garden from (they) have taken these two.

ngaii
<I(NOM)>
I am

ninko panyappi
<your younger sibling>
your friend

⁵⁵I have provided a translation in brackets < > because the translation of the German translation in the line above appears to deviate from the original Kaurna. *Kaityaninga* is an imperative, and is translated as such later, but in this sentence it has been wrongly interpreted as past tense. The error appears to be due to Klose's limited understanding of the grammar rather than a problem in translation by the archivists.

6.3.5 Kaurna Texts: A Summary

These are the only extant historical Kaurna texts known. Little can be said about original Kaurna discourse structure from these texts. The speeches, Ten Commandments and hymns are all translations of English or German, and as such reveal little about Kaurna discourse. The few letters known to survive are short. However, they do span a range of purposes. The 1841 letter is basically a protest letter and a plea. Wailtyi's and Pitpauwe's letters are requests, whilst Itya Maii's 1845 letter is a note, though importantly it includes rather formal opening and closing salutations. The texts do, however, contain some additional senses of words not otherwise recorded and Itya Maii's note uses the word *Kambando* 'Governor', probably a borrowing from English 'governor', or more likely 'government'. We have used this word in contemporary materials for 'government'.

6.4 Kaurna Dreaming Stories

The 'Dreaming' is a fundamental part of Aboriginal culture and still holds an important place in the minds of Nungas who might have spent all their lives growing up in an urban area. Dreaming stories are seen as a very important part of Kaurna heritage and, in the context of Aboriginal Studies in schools, are highly sought after, almost to the exclusion of everything else.

Unfortunately, few Kaurna Dreaming stories were ever recorded. Most of what is known comes to us from Ngarrindjeri people as recorded by Tindale, the Berndts and others. Very little was actually recorded from the mouths of Kaurna people themselves. The German missionaries appear not to have recorded any Kaurna Dreaming stories, as such, in the Kaurna language, though they were clearly in a position to do so. Teichelmann indicated in a letter written to George French Angas in April 1840 that he had some knowledge of a number of Kaurna dreaming stories. This letter was published with some minor changes in the *South Australian Colonist* and contained the following remarks:

"Another opinion is that all the animals have been formerly men and are their ancestors, who by the operation of certain circumstances, turned animals. They personify the celestials' bodies as having formerly lived upon earth and the metamorphosis of which is closely connected with that of their ancestors.

When the lark and the whale were men, they fought against each other. The lark speared the whale twice in the neck. The whale, finding itself sorely wounded, made its escape, jumped from pain into the sea, became a whale and spouted through the two wounds water to heal them; but in vain, till this very day. The parrot, which has a red belly and yellow-red chest, got in a similar fight, a blow upon his nose, the blood ran down upon chest and belly, and he turning bird, the blood coloured both parts for ever. The emu lost in a fight, if I mistake not, with the eagle, his two arms, therefore in turning bird he got such short wings. Of this sort they have numberless tales of all the animals and also of the celestial bodies."

(Teichelmann in the *South Australian Colonist*, 1840: Vol.1, No.18 July 7, 1840: 277)

Unfortunately, these accounts are in English and are very brief, making no attempt to tell the full story, though they were presumably related to him in the Kaurna language. Teichelmann may well have recorded these stories in Kaurna, though we have no record of his having done so. If he did they have either been lost or remain hidden in some archive or private collection of

papers. Versions of these particular stories have not been found in neighbouring languages, though they are familiar themes across Australia (Gale, forthcoming).

Schürmann also refers to other Kaurna beliefs in his letters and journals. T&S and TMs also reveal the nature of Kaurna spirituality. The following entries give an indication of the kind of insights to be gained through the vocabulary:

Yura, s. a large snake, or other monstrous and imaginary being. *Yura* is believed to be the author of circumcision, who first taught it to their ancestors, and who punishes the neglect of it.

Philip Clarke (1990; 1991) has brought much of this material together in articles titled 'Adelaide Aboriginal Cosmology' and 'Adelaide as an Aboriginal Landscape' respectively. He further discusses Kaurna cosmology in the context of neighbouring groups in southern South Australia in Clarke (1996).

6.4.1 Tjilbruke

The story of Tjilbruke, recognised as a Kaurna creator ancestor, is known principally from Ngarrindjeri people who worked with both Tindale and the Berndts. The Tjilbruke story was first published in English by W. Ramsay Smith (1930: 331-341). This version was provided by another Ngarrindjeri man, David Unaipon, without acknowledgement. Berndt & Berndt (1993: 445-447) and Tindale recorded the story in varieties of the Ngarrindjeri language and have provided us with English translations. Campbell (1985), noting the Ngarrindjeri sources, questions the status of the story in a paper titled 'Is the Legend of Tjilbruke a Kaurna Legend?'. Clarke (1991) also notes Ngarrindjeri influences in the Tjilbruke story. However, despite its Ngarrindjeri sources, the Tjilbruke story concerns the creation of sites deep inside Kaurna country and is now a 'core value' for Kaurna people and is central to the very existence of KACHA. The Tjilbruke story has been given publicity through the marking of sites in the early 1980s and through its inclusion in Aboriginal Studies materials (EDSA, 1989: 97-101) and the cultural instruction program offered by Tauondi.

A number of different versions of the Tjilbruke story are to be found. In Tindale (1987), Tjilbruke or Tjirbruki is equated with the glossy ibis. However in the versions coming to us from Unaipon in Ramsay-Smith (1930) and as compiled by Berndt and Berndt (1993), Tjilbruke is identified as the blue crane. Tindale has served as the main source of information on the Tjilbruke story for educational and promotional materials. His write-up of the Tjirbruki⁵⁶ (Tjilbruke) story (Tindale, 1987), one of the last papers Tindale ever published, contains a number of Indigenous place names, other vocabulary and snippets of text. Unfortunately, as with the card file, Tindale makes little attempt to distinguish between Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri and other languages or indeed between different varieties of Ngarrindjeri. This is not surprising since Tindale's sources for the Tjirbruki story were many and varied having links to the

⁵⁶The name of this Dreaming ancestor is spelt several different ways in the literature. Tindale (1987) uses Tjirbruke. Both Tjirbruke and Tjilbruke have currency within the Kaurna community and within educational materials.

Ngarrindjeri (including Tanganekald, Yaralde and Ramindjeri dialects), Peramangk and Kaurna languages. The acknowledged sources included Milerum (Clarence Long), Albert Karlowan, Reuben Walker, Sustie Wilson, Robert Mason and Ivaritji (Tindale, 1987: 5).

Tindale gives the following background information:

Our record of the man Tjirbruki is not complete but gives some insight into the ways of the earlier inhabitants as remembered by present day Aborigines. The account is based, not on direct text material, but has been brought together from conversations with men of four of the tribes over a long period between 1928 and 1964. At first the full import of the Tjirbruki story was not evident to this writer; thus the notes are widely scattered in his journals and in part therefore have been linked together from personal recollections. A firm basis for the story as given here, is the one told to the late H. Kenneth Fry and me on the evening of 14 February 1934 during an extensive field trip on which we had been taken by Milerum of the Karagari clan of the Tanganekald tribe in a survey of his country along the Coorong. Having worked with me for several years, Milerum was a skilled informant. . . It was a long story he had heard at Yankalilla when he was quite young in the early 1880s. The narrators then were using Rapid Bay talk and Milerum attempted to use terms he had heard at that time. There were supplementary discussions thereafter on more than one occasion. (Tindale, 1987: 5)

So, Tindale's main informant for the story was Milerum whose territory is located along the Coorong, some distance from Kaurna country (not adjoining). By the time Tindale heard the Tjirbruki story from Milerum, Ivaritji had already passed away some years earlier, so the account of this Kaurna story necessarily comes entirely from non-Kaurna people. In 1929, Ivaritji had spoken of "her father's and her own totem, the emu" (Tindale, 1987: 5) though not actually about the story itself.

Milerum first heard the story in "Rapid Bay talk", presumably a variety of Kaurna as some of the Rapid Bay words identified by Wyatt (1879) are distinctly Kaurna in form. Indeed there are a number of key Kaurna words and place names to be found within Tindale's compilation. However, a great many terms and place names mentioned are of Ngarrindjeri origin, though they are sprinkled throughout the text without identification. Only occasionally when a full sentence or short text is given does Tindale identify it as Tanganani or Jaralde (Tindale, 1987: 9) and the songline recorded in 1937 by Milerum (Tindale, 1987: 12) is certainly Ngarrindjeri. On one occasion Tindale (1987: 11) tries to draw a distinction between "[ru:we] (lands) and [paŋkara] (hunting areas)". However, I would suggest that *ruwe* and *pangkarra* are in fact equivalent, *ruwe* being the Ngarrindjeri translation of the Kaurna term *pangkarra*. Note the following definitions from historical sources:

<i>pangkarra</i>	a district or tract of country belonging to an individual, which he inherits from his father. (T&S, 1840: 36)	
<i>reerwe</i> ~ <i>ruwe</i>	'earth' (Wyatt, 1879: 19) Identified by Wyatt as an Encounter Bay word.	
<i>ruwe</i>	'land' (Taplin, 1879:	
<i>ruwe</i>	'land, country, birth-place' (Meyer, 1843: 97)	
<i>ruwi</i>	'land, firm earth, country or territory'	(Berndt & Berndt, 1993: 358)

There is no suggestion in any source, except Tindale, that *ruwe* is a Kaurna word. Likewise, *pangkarra* does not appear in any Ngarrindjeri sources. It seems that both the Kaurna words *yerta* 'earth; land; soil; country' and *pangkarra* are rendered as *ruwe* in Ngarrindjeri. T&S are quite clear about an ownership dimension in their definition of *pangkarra*. *Ruwe* and *yerta* are

given as the respective Ngarrindjeri and Kaurna equivalent terms for 'land' in Taplin's (1879: 143) comparative wordlist.

Vocabulary Items in Tindale (1987) Drawn from Aboriginal Languages:

Tjirbruki	name of Kaurna ancestor
Ngurunduri	name of Ngarrindjeri ancestor
Kulultuwi	Tjirbruki's sister's son
Jurawi	Tjirbruki's sister's son; Kulultuwi's cousin
Tetjawi	Tjirbruki's sister's son; Kulultuwi's cousin
Witjarlung	clan belonging to the Carrickalinga area
Jatabiling	clan belonging to the Brighton area
Patpangga	'Rapid Bay'
Karika:lingga	'Carrickalinga'
Mikawom:a	'Adelaide Plain'
Tandanja	'Adelaide'
Medaindi	'Medindie'
Kongarati cave	
Tankulrawun	near Rapid Bay (means 'granite place')
Witawatang	'Rapid Head'
Wituwata:ngk	'Brighton'
Patawilyangk	'Glenelg'
Tulukudangk	'Kingston Park'
Tainbarang	'Port Noarlunga'
wita	'peppermint gum'
pangkara	'territory'
kari	'emu'
kawanu	'mother's brother'
ru:we	'clan lands'
ngaitji	'totem'
nangari	'sister's son'
wanu	'mother's brother'
kurari	'beaked salmon'
dar:awe	'beaked salmon'
nge:re	'net'
dar:awenjeri nge:re	'salmon net'
tarlja	'female emu'

Some of the place names (such as Karika:lingga) are straightforward Kaurna names, attested in T&S and transparent in their meaning. Several names (such as Patawilyangk) are clearly Kaurna names, but appear in Tindale (1987) with a Ngarrindjeri locative suffix. Other place names appear to be Ngarrindjeri featuring initial r's and l's or ending in a consonant, thus breaking the phonotactic patterns of Kaurna as we know it from the more reliable sources. Still other place names are difficult to classify as they are not attested elsewhere and could conceivably fit the phonotactic patterns of either language. The same could be said of the common nouns. Some words like *kari* 'emu', *wita* 'peppermint gum', *wirra* 'forest' and *kuri* 'dance' are indisputably Kaurna. They are not attested in the Ngarrindjeri sources and Ngarrindjeri has other unrelated words for these items. Other words listed by Tindale such as *luki* 'tears' are clearly Ngarrindjeri. *Luki* is still used today (SAL, 1985). It is unfortunate that Tindale did not make an effort to distinguish between the origins of the words.

6.4.2 Munana

The Munana story told by Kadlitpinna to Wyatt is the only extant Kaurna Dreaming story to have been recorded in the Kaurna language. It is just 33 words including repetitious phrases, originally published in the following form:

Aichoo ngaicherle erleeta wangan "Monána aráche kaia pemane, ea pamáne, ea pamáne, boora kaia kurra pemáne, kaia kurra yewáne, kotinne kaia yewáne, kotinne kaia yewáne, boora yerta yewane; Monana kaia tatteene kurra winneen."

My father's great-grandfather (or ancestor) said - "Monana threw many spears, here threw, here threw, by and by a spear upwards threw, the spear above stuck fast, again spear stuck fast, again spear stuck fast, by and by in the ground stuck fast; Monana (by the) spears climbed, above went." This statement is in the words of Monaicha wonweetpeena⁵⁷ konoocha⁵⁸, or "Captain Jack." (Wyatt, 1879: 25)

Wyatt's paper was re-published in Woods (1879) and again in Parkhouse (1923) in a revised orthography as follows:

Aichu ngaicherle erlita wangan "Monána aráche kaia pemane, ea pemáne, ea pemáne, bura kaia kurra pemáne, kaia kurra yewáne, kotinne kaia yewáne, kotinne kaia yewáne, bura yerta yewáne; Monana kaia tattine kurra winnin." (Wyatt in Parkhouse, 1923: 46)

Schürmann makes reference to this same story in a letter written to Angas on June 12 1839 as follows:

Strange and interesting is the tale of the ascension of *Munaina*, beings that lived long before them. They threw spears (*Kaya*) in all directions of the sky, but they fell down to the ground; at last they threw one to the zenith right upwards, which fell not down but remained above, then they threw a second which joined the former, sticking with its point in the soft butt end of the other, so a third and so forth, till the pillar reached to the ground and the *Munaina* climbed upwards. (in Schurmann, 1987: 48)

Versions were also published in English last century by Meyer (1846) and Taplin (1879) who were working with Ramindjeri and Yaralde people respectively. Unfortunately the missionaries never saw fit to record the story in Indigenous languages. However, more lengthy versions of this same story have been recorded this century in Ngarrindjeri in which the ancestor is identified as Waiyungari who became the planet Mars. In 1934, Tindale worked with Frank Blackmoor an elderly Ngarrindjeri man, publishing his version of the Waiyungari story in Yaralde and English (Tindale, 1935). The Berndts worked with Albert Karloan publishing his version in Ngarrindjeri and English (Berndt & Berndt, 1993: 228-230; 442-444). The Ngarrindjeri versions are considerably longer and more detailed than Kadlitpinna's Kaurna version published by Wyatt. In fact Wyatt's version corresponds to nine lines of a 38 line story recorded by the Berndts.

6.4.3 The Seven Sisters and Orion

Unfortunately almost nothing by way of women's stories were ever recorded. The main sources of information for Teichelmann, Schürmann and others who recorded the Kaurna language were men. Tindale and the Berndts too worked mainly with Ngarrindjeri men, so it is not surprising that little should have been recorded. There is little doubt that the *Seven Sisters*

⁵⁷Wonweetpeena is likely to be a typographical error where *n* has been substituted for *u*, perhaps originally Wouweetpinna = Wauwitpinna 'father of Wauwe 'female kangaroo'. Wyatt corrected three instances of this type of error in his paper but perhaps overlooked this one. However the error, if it is indeed an error, is repeated in the wordlist itself where Wonweetpeena is again cited. Paradoxically, Kadlitpinna's wife was known as Wahwey = ? Wauwe (Southern Australian 17 Sept. 1847; cited in Gara, forthcoming: 29)

⁵⁸Wyatt seems to have recorded two birth order names here - Monaicha = Munaitya 'fourth born (masculine)' and konoocha = Kudnuitya 'third born (masculine)'. This appears to be a contradiction as presumably the three names all apply to 'Captain Jack'. Konoocha is listed by Wyatt with identical spelling in the wordlist, though Monaicha is not. Schürmann gives 'Captain Jack's' full name as Minno Gudnuitya Kadlitpinna, adding weight to the proposition that he was most likely the third born.

story belonged to the Kurna. Versions of this story still survive amongst some Ngarrindjeri women, having been handed down orally from one generation to the next. The story is also widespread within Western Desert cultures and the Thura-Yura subgroup. An Adnyamathanha version was recorded by Mountford (in Tindale, 1935: 142-145) and a brief version was related by the Nukunu man, Harry Bramfield (Hercus, 1992: 16). The Kurna vocabulary itself indicates the existence of the *Seven Sisters* story. The Pleiades or Seven Sisters were referred to as *Mankamankarranna* 'the girls' whilst Orion was called *Tinniinyaranna* 'the boys'. In the latter entry T&S provide a little information as follows:

Tinniinyaranna, s. the Orion, considered by the natives as a group of youths. They are said to hunt kangaroos, emus, and other game, on the great celestial plain (*womma*), while the *mankamankarranna* dig roots, &c., which are around them.

6.4.4 The Lark and the Whale

It is unfortunate that Teichelmann appears never to have recorded this story in Kurna, though it was undoubtedly related to him (*SA Colonist*, 7 July, 1840: 277) in the vernacular. Fortunately, versions of this story are known in Ngarrindjeri, having been recorded by Meyer (1846), Tindale (journals) and Berndt & Berndt (1993: 235-236; 450-451). The version recorded by Tindale was told by Frank Blackmoor in Yaralde and English (Journals 20 May 1934) and is clearly the same story that Teichelmann was referring to in 1840. Berndt & Berndt's (1993: 450-451) version of 29 lines was told by Karloan⁵⁹.

6.4.5 Pootpobberrie

EDSA (1989) includes an account of the Pootpobberrie story, first published in *The Public Service Review* of February 1913, which states that:

The outline of this story was told to the writer many years ago by the late James Cronk of Modbury, who came out with Colonel Light and acted as native interpreter to Government officials in early days.
(signed C.H.H., *The Public Service Review* of February 1913: 36)

This secondhand account seems to be the only surviving record of Cronk's knowledge of the Kurna language and Kurna traditions, which must have been considerable. As the introduction to this material in the Aboriginal Studies resource states:

This account is probably not a strict 'Dreaming' story. It seems to be a collection of several stories put together by a Kurna narrator and passed on through the memory of James Cronk . . . Included within the story are many interesting pieces of information on Kurna beliefs. (EDSA, 1989: 78)

The story appears in English, but includes a number of vernacular words. Spellings of many words have been changed in *The Kurna People* as follows:

⁵⁹In 1996 Cherylyne Catanzaritti and Buck McKenzie produced a Kurna song titled *Kondolli* based on this story. In 1997 I wrote and recorded a Kurna version of the story for the language learning tapes produced for the KL&LE course at the University of Adelaide.

<u>Public Service Review</u>	<u>The Kurna People</u>	<u>T&S or other source</u>	<u>English</u>
Pootpobberrie	Pootpobberrie	? putpa parri 'fertile river'	In the story, P is the name of an ancestor and a local group
Muldarbie (Dlarbie)	Muldarpi ⁶⁰	(kuinyo)	name of spirit
	Warra Warra	Warra Warra	'doctor'
Wirwirri-Maldie	Warra Warra Maldie ⁶¹	Ram. <i>wiwiri-malde</i> (Meyer)	name of doctor
Mayu	Meyu	meyu	'man'
Miminnie	Miminnie ⁶²	ngangki	'woman'
Moolalar	Moolalar		'child'
Weera	Wirra	Wirra	'forest'
	mindie munta	minde; munta	'long nets'
Poot-poota	(omitted)	Ngungana	'kookaburra'
Coeyanna	Goeyanna		
Kerkoarta	Kerkoarta		
Mayoona marte	Meyuru Marti	meyunna madli	'people disappeared' referred to place where Mayu was transformed into a kookaburra.
Ngulta	Ngulta	ngulta	stage of initiation

This story uses a number of common vocabulary items as names of the main characters in the story, in the same way that Wyatt's (1879) story appears to use *munana* 'ancestor' as the name of a specific ancestor. In the Pootpobberrie story, several vocabulary items are drawn from Ngarrindjeri, whilst others clearly have Kurna origins, as discussed by Clarke (1991: 68).

6.4.6 Dreaming Stories in Closely Related Languages

A number of Dreaming stories, known only in English with key Narungga words, have been passed down within Narungga families. However, many of these stories concern localised sites on Yorke Peninsula and thus were probably not shared with Kurna. Much the same applies within the Nukunu and Ngadjuri. A number of Dreaming stories were recorded from Nukunu people and from other groups about sites in Nukunu country (Hercus, 1992: 13-17). These stories and songs were recorded in English or in Arrernte. Only the key words referring mainly to places and participants in the stories are drawn from Nukunu.

It appears that a number of the most important Nukunu stories did not extend south to Adelaide. For instance, Port Augusta in Nukunu country marks the start of "the longest known continuous song-line", the *Urumbula* which extends north-east to the Gulf of Carpentaria (Hercus, 1992: 13). Songs relating to the Port Augusta section of the song-line have been recorded in Arrernte, though they are about Nukunu country. According to Moonie Davis, a Barngarla man, the *Urumbula* ceremonies "came right down from the north but not through Adelaide way" (in Hercus, 1992: 16). Numerous Dreaming stories from the Flinders Ranges have been recorded in Adnyamathanha and English (Tunbridge, 1988; Schebeck, 1974). Many

⁶⁰For Lewis O'Brien the word *muldarpi* means 'of nonsense'. However this word is known by most speakers of Nunga English as 'devil; sorcerer'. It derives from Ngarrindjeri (see footnote 20).

⁶¹-*maldi* or -*amaldi* is a Ngarrindjeri habitual suffix (Clarke, 1994b: 1).

⁶²*Mi:mini* 'woman' is found in all major Ngarrindjeri sources (Clarke, 1994b: 66) and is well-known in the Ngarrindjeri community and by Nunga English speakers.

are specific to localised sites, though some, such as the 'Seven Sisters' Dreaming, are more general.

6.5 Kurna Songs

A number of short Kurna songlines survive in written form, both in published sources and in letters and journals. Several observers also record graphic descriptions of Kurna *Kuri*, *Palti* and *Ngunyawaietti*, terms which refer to song and dance performances otherwise known in English as 'corroboree'. Furthermore, several paintings depicting Kurna ceremonies are found in art galleries and various publications and manuscripts. Unfortunately, apart from an undecipherable recording held in the South Australian Public Library which is said to belong to Adelaide, there are no sound recordings of traditional Kurna songs. In addition to traditional Kurna songlines, a number of Kurna hymns have been discovered in the Lutheran Archives.

6.5.1. 'Traditional' Kurna Songlines

T&S (1840: 73) record several short songlines. These include two hunting songs, one for hunting wild dog and the other for hunting possums, and an initiation song though there is no information about the accompanying music or ways in which they were sung. These songs are not reproduced or discussed in detail here out of respect for the sacred material they contain. T&S (1840: 73) in fact note in reference to one of the hunting songs that "the first word in each line denoted things sacred or secret, which the females and children are never allowed to see."

Cawthorne (1844: 22) reproduces the English version of T&S's wild dog hunting song practically word for word without acknowledging the source. Further, in his book of verse titled *The Legend of Kuperree or the Red Kangaroo: An Aboriginal Legend of the Port Lincoln Tribe*, Cawthorne (1858) uses this song as the basis of verse 113. Cawthorne has misinterpreted verbs *paltando* 'strike' and *kundando* 'strike' as nouns probably 'girdle' and 'tuft of eagle feathers' respectively⁶³. Cawthorne seems to be interpreting the Kurna sentences according to English word order, yet the original song consistently places the verb last in accordance with preferred word order in Kurna.

Moorhouse also appears to have recorded Kurna initiation songs. In a snippet from a page of his journal⁶⁴, Moorhouse records *Ngurpo Willo's Palti*. It is just two lines, seven words in all, left untranslated, but the vocabulary leads me to believe that it is an initiation song and thus will not be discussed further here. The word *ngurpo* is not recorded in Kurna vocabularies, but appears to be a title as it is also used in reference to *Ngurpo Williamsie's* song recorded directly underneath. *Ngurpo* seems to bear some similarity with T&S's *ngarparpo* 'father-in-law', so perhaps it is a relationship term.

⁶³Unfortunately I am not able to provide the full example to illustrate Cawthorne's mis-understanding, as the material is culturally sensitive.

⁶⁴ Moorhouse's journals themselves have not been located, though these two songs appear to be written in Matthew Moorhouse's handwriting on the segment of a page removed from his journals. The bottom of the page is annotated in a different handwriting *Journal by M. Moorhouse*.

In addition to the traditional hunting and initiation songs which were probably handed down essentially unchanged over many generations, there are four additional songlines laid down in a similar format which concern recently introduced entities: peas, cattle, roads and Europeans. These appear to belong to a kind of protest song genre, most potently expressed in *Ngurpo Williamsie's Palti* recorded in Moorhouse's journal. I also refer to these songs as 'traditional' Kaurna songs as they appear to have been sung in the traditional style, in contrast to hymns etc. sung to Western tunes.

6.5.1.1 Ngurpo Williamsie's Song

As noted above, Ngurpo Williamsie's song was evidently recorded by Matthew Moorhouse in his journal, along with Ngurpo Willo's Palti. The songs were found by accident within Cawthorne's sketches located in the Mitchell Library in Sydney⁶⁵. Ngurpo Williamsie's song is as follows:

Wanti nindo ai kabba kabba	}	Ngurpo
where you I drive - out	}	Williamsie
Ningkoandi kuma yerta	}	
your only another countries	}	

(PX*D70 f.12 photograph of sketch by W.A. Cawthorne in John Tragenza's Historic Pictures Index held in the Mortlock Library, State Library of South Australia. Original held by the Mitchell Library, Sydney)

This song warrants further analysis. T&S provide the following entries which shed further light on the translation provided:

kabbakabbandi, v.a. to treat harshly or unkindly
 kabbandi, v.a. to press as little stones when lying upon them, to send away, to cast out; *muiyo*
kabbandi to hate, to have spite against (T&S, 1840: 6)

TMs has the following entries:

kabbandi to project, having the tendency to project; to force off, assunder <sic>, as a wedge in splitting; to guard off as in fighting; to hold forth
 kabba kabbandi to send off (a beggar); cast out, etc.

Ngurpo Williamsie's song may be analysed as follows:

Wanti	nindo	ai	kabba kabba
where-to	2SgERG	1SgACC	drive out/ send off/ cast out PST PERF
Ningkoandi	kuma	yerta	
2SgPOSS- only	another	land/country	

It might be more freely translated as 'Where have you pushed me to? You belong to another country.' The use of the suffix or clitic *-andi* is significant. It signals a notion of exclusivity. In this sentence it implies that "another country is yours and yours alone". That is, "we make no claim on it", the implication being "why do you make a claim on our land?" This song then is clearly a protest against incursions by Europeans or Murray River peoples into Kaurna lands. It is interesting that several other songs recorded by the German missionaries seem to fit this same genre.

⁶⁵Cawthorne had a close association with the Protector and mentions in his journal (1 November 1844) reading Moorhouses's diary and reports.

6.5.1.2 Kadlitpiko Palti 'Captain Jack's Song'

Kadlitpiko Palti consists of a single line:

KADLITPIKO PALT Pindi mai birkibirki parrato, parrato.	CAPTAIN JACK'S SONG 'The European food, the pease, I wished to eat, I wished to eat.'	(T&S, 1840: 73)
---	---	-----------------

This songline might be analysed as follows:

Pindi mai birkibirki parrato, parrato ⁶⁶ . European food peas chew-I chew-I 'The European food, the peas, I wished to eat, I wished to eat.'

This song was collected during a five day hunting trip in September 1839, for Schürmann notes in his journal:

On this occasion I collected some of the rhymes they used in their own language. The first in the way they told me, is as follows: Waiené numa Burlokka witte (fear the great oxen). Another one - Pinde mai birki-birki (a strange meal are the peas). (Schürmann Journal, 9 September 1839)

Interestingly, a little more of the song appears in the published version (T&S, 1840: 73) than in Schürmann's journal. Whilst the song is identified as "Captain Jack's song" in the published version, it seems that Kadlitpinna was not present on the hunting trip when Schürmann made the initial entry in his journal. Rather Teichelmann and Schürmann were invited on the hunting trip by two youths, Tuitpurro and Kudnaipiti, who are frequently referred to in the account in the journal. There is also a reference to an older man, Tidlaitpinna "the most respected among them and in some ways their leader" (Schürmann Journal p.88, 12 September, 1839). Kadlitpinna was already well known to the missionaries, and had he accompanied the hunting expedition he would certainly have been mentioned by name.

Recently this song has been set to music and recorded as part of the Kaurna reclamation project. In so doing the song has been interpreted as a statement of rights to adequate compensation by Kadlitpinna.

6.5.1.3 Mullawirraburkarna⁶⁷ Palti 'King John's Song'

Mullawirraburkarna Palti is similarly a short song of two lines duration:

MULLAWIRRABURKARNA PALT Natta ngai padlo ngaityarniappi; watteyernaurlo tappandi ngaityo parni tatti. (<i>Da capo</i>)	KING JOHN'S SONG Now it (viz. the road or track) has tired me; throughout <i>Yerna</i> there is here unto me a continuous road.	(T&S, 1840: 73)
---	--	-----------------

This is a somewhat complex and puzzling construction. Interlinear glosses might be assigned as follows:

⁶⁶The verbal form *parrato* is referred to as the "Optative Mood" by T&S (1840: 18) and is a reduction of *parra-* 'to kindle; light; as *gadla parrandi*, to kindle a fire; to chew; to marry' + *ngatto* '1Sg ERG', the first singular ergative pronoun.

⁶⁷Note the use of a different possessive suffix *-rna* than in the previous song, which used the regular *-ko* 'POSS' suffix.

Natta ngai padlo ngaityarniappi
 now me it (ERG) weak-INCH-CAUS+PERF
 'Now it (viz. the road or track) has tired me';

watte-yerna-urlo tappandi ngaityo parni tatti.
 middle-Yerna-that/yon+ERG road-PRES my toward climb+PERF
 'throughout Yerna there is here unto me a continuous road.'

Wyatt (1879) gives *yerna yerna* 'undulating ground', but here it seems to serve as the name of a tract of country. Perhaps the sentence means that 'the road passing through Yerna is climbing towards (ie encroaching upon) my [country]'. The road is a further intrusion into Kurna country, bringing with it Europeans and their animals which destroy traditional food sources. Cawthorne (1858) draws upon this song in verse 49 of *The Legend of Kuperree* :

"Now behold the hills before me,
 O, beautiful land of Yerna.
Wateyernorlo Tappande
Miny-el-ity an-ambe."

Interestingly, the last line of Cawthorne's verse is Ngarrindjeri, a possible translation being "What is it to me?"

In 1995 Mullawirraburkarna Palti was also set to music and recorded by Chester Schultz working together with students of Kurna language at Inbarendi College (see Appendix G3).

6.5.1.4 Great Ox song

As noted above, Schürmann's journal entries⁶⁸ contain a short songline which does not appear elsewhere. This song, referring to the ox, may be analysed as follows:

Waiené numa burlokka witte
 fear+IMP emotion ox big
 'fear the great oxen'

Waiene is the imperative form of the verb *waienendi* 'to fear; be afraid'. *Numa* is glossed as 'right; correct; skillfull; well' but occurs in conjunction with the verb *nakkondi* 'to see' to form the compound *numma nakkondi* 'to like; love'. This latter emotion contrasts with *wadli nakkondi* 'to dislike; hate; detest' where *wadli* is given as 'imperfect; incorrect; bad'. Thus *waieni nume* 'fear!' is the imperative form of the emotion term. *Burlokka* 'ox' is simply borrowed from English 'bullock'. Note that the adjective, *witte* 'large', occurs after the noun to which it refers in contrast to the more common pattern with the adjective preceding the noun as in English. It is possible that the Great Ox Song also fits the protest song genre, referring to a large threatening animal which has intruded upon Kurna lands.

⁶⁸Unfortunately, reference to the recording of songs, both this and the 'peas' song later attributed to Kadlitpinna, was omitted from the published version of Schürmann's journals (Schurmann, 1987) and can only be obtained by going back to the originals.

Table 6.15: 'Traditional' Kurna Songlines

Song	Source	Length	Topic	Status
Kadlitpiko Palti 'Capt. Jack's Song'	T&S	1 line 5 words	Introduction of European foods - compensation.	? protest song
Mullawirraburkarna Palti 'King John's Song'	T&S	2 lines 9 words	Road from Adelaide to Encounter Bay	? protest song
Great Ox Song	Schürmann Journal	1 line 4 words	Introduction of cattle	? protest song
Ngurpo Williamsie's Palti	Moorhouse Journal	2 lines 7 words	Protest at invasion of Kurna land	Protest song
Ngurpo Willo's Palti	Moorhouse Journal	2 lines 7 words	Possibly an initiation song	? sacred
Initiation Song	T&S	5 lines 14 words	Initiation song	Sacred
Wild Dog Hunting Song	T&S	9 lines 19 words	Sorcery	Sacred
Possum Hunting Song	T&S	7 lines 14 words	Sorcery	Sacred

6.5.2 Recorded Songs that Relate to Kurna Country

Tindale recorded the 'Song of Njengari' sung by Milerum or Clarence Long, a Ngarrindjeri man, in 1937. Tindale refers to Njengari as a "kinsman" of Tjirbruksi and claims that this song "may well be the only *matenggauwe* song of the Kurna that has survived" (Tindale, 1987: 12), noting Meyer's (1843) translation of the term *matenggauwe* as a 'song used by the Adelaide Aborigines'. However the language of the songline, as recorded by Tindale is certainly not Kurna:

'Min'arta:ngalau 'nareilkundarjal 'kundaraŋalilau jingaraŋal
glad (start dancing) dance make a level place dust rises

'neitambara 'ŋalau Watbardok ŋandei wat (h)elda:nji 'wa:waŋk 'jan 'a:wij
set the nets around Watbardok tide rising go up go up go back

Rejoice, clear the place for dancing; make a level place - see the dust fly!
We set the nets around at Watbardok; tide rises - we climb the cliff again.

The word for 'dance' (= *ngrilkulun* in Taplin, 1879: 128) indicates that the songline belongs to a Ngarrindjeri language, most likely Tangani. None of the words resemble Kurna in the slightest. Once again, Tindale seems to draw little distinction between Kurna and Ngarrindjeri. Whilst the song may be about Kurna country and Kurna ancestral beings, it seems to be stretching it to call the 'Song of Njengari' a Kurna song.

Another song attributed to the people of the Adelaide Plains is in the Mountford collection amongst Adnyamthanha and Arabana songs from the mid-north. Unfortunately the sound recording is indistinct and there is no transcription of the song. However, none of the words are identifiable as Kurna words and some words at least do not seem to fit expected Kurna phonological patterns. The recording appears to be of Milerum (Clarence Long) judging by the voice quality (pc Chester Schultz). I strongly suspect that this song too was sung in a language other than Kurna, probably Ngarrindjeri, even though it may relate to Kurna country.

6.5.3 Ethnography of Kaurna Music

There are also some interesting and useful ethnographic descriptions of Kaurna *kuri*, *palti* or *ngunyawaietti* 'play; corroboree'. The German missionaries wrote several accounts of Kaurna ceremonies and include illuminating entries in their vocabularies. Cawthorne took a particular interest in the *palti* and found attending these ceremonies to be a highly exhilarating experience (Cawthorne journals, 30 Mar. 1844). Cawthorne (1844: 8-15) published on Kaurna music and dance in his ethnographic work and also prepared an article for the newspaper titled 'The Native Corroboree' (*SA Register*, 16 March 1844). George French Angas (1846; 1847) also published vivid accounts based on Cawthorne's work and produced a number of fine paintings. Stephens (1889: 493-495) also provides graphic descriptions.

Chester Schultz has collated and analyzed these and other historical accounts in the development of contemporary songs and music in collaboration with members of the Kaurna community. Detailed background notes, including a comprehensive bibliography, will be published (Schultz, forthcoming) to accompany modern interpretations of *palti*, based on these accounts recorded in the historical sources.

6.5.4 Kaurna Hymns

A number of Kaurna hymns were written to the tune of German hymns. Perhaps they were translations of the German hymns. Six of these hymns were included in a letter written by Klose and sent to the Dresden Missionary Society in Germany on the 4 January 1843. Fortunately, Klose made reference to the German melodies to which the Kaurna hymns were sung, enabling the music to be retrieved from German hymnbooks. Klose's letter indicates that two of these hymns were written by Schürmann, no doubt early in 1840 after the school commenced and before Schürmann relocated to Port Lincoln. Certainly the first hymn, *Ngartunna padni adlu*, was referred to by Schürmann in May 1840 in his journal⁶⁹:

The Governor, the Judge B. Bernard, the Postmaster, H. Mattys, Jell and Miss Gawler, all visited our school today. We were singing *Ngartunna padne adlu*. (Schürmann Journal, 20 May 1840)

According to Klose, the remaining four hymns, which are considerably longer, were written by Teichelmann. The journals and letters of the German missionaries make a number of references to children singing the hymns at the school, in prayer meetings, public performances and even at a funeral at Encounter Bay⁷⁰.

At the grave some English people were gathered. Here I had my children sing 2 verses of the hymn *Burti burlinga* <sic> etc. Then the preacher Newland spoke to those present and consoled Br Meyer on his loss after which the body was consigned to the earth and finally my children sang another verse of the same hymn: *Kutteni Kristus budnata* etc. and we went back home. The English people in Encounter Bay had never had an opportunity to hear the aboriginal children sing. They were delighted and it encouraged them to support Br. Meyer in everything he undertook with the natives.
(Klose, letter to Dresden 3 September 1844. K58 English Translation)

⁶⁹Unfortunately, the reference to this song was not included within the published version of Schürmann's journals (Schürmann, 1987).

⁷⁰Missionary Meyer's baby died at the time Klose visited with seven Kaurna children.

These hymns were evidently popular amongst the children at *Piltawodli*. Klose records:

Sometimes we hear the children singing a hymn they have learned in school as they leave our houses on the way to their huts, or when they are sitting together on the grass playing.

(Klose writing to the Dresden Missionary Society, 29 December 1841: K 28 - English translation)

Similarly, in a letter written to Angas on 27 April 1841, Teichelmann observes:

very much are the children pleased with the little hymns we have made for them in their own language, and which they frequently sing when they are playing together, chiefly the girls.

(reproduced in Kennedy, 1989: A4-10)

A summary of the hymns is given in the following table:

Table 6.16: Kaurna Hymns Written in the Early 1840s

No.	Author	Verses	Length	Subject
1.	Schürmann	2	19 words	Obedience to God
2.	Schürmann	3	32 words	Before the throne of Jesus
3.	Teichelmann	4	68 words	Redemption
4.	Teichelmann	4	41 words	Christmas carol
5.	Teichelmann	5	88 words	Easter hymn
6.	Teichelmann	3	63 words	Following Christ

6.7 Summary

Whilst there are no sound recordings amongst the historical Kaurna language materials, we have been left with a valuable record of the language, especially that provided by the German missionaries and others in the 'Adelaide School' who shared the same orthography and approach to description of the language. Outside the 'Adelaide School', Wyatt (1879) makes the next most valuable contribution through a short Kaurna Dreaming story, translated speech and sizable vocabulary, including many terms not recorded by others. Williams (1840), Piesse (1840), Cawthorne (1844) and others make valuable contributions through recording several vocabulary items missed by other observers. Some Kaurna materials continue to be discovered within the archives, both here and overseas. Hopefully, additional material known to exist, such as Moorhouse's journal, may turn up one day. Even without new discoveries, available materials provide a solid base for reclamation and development of the Kaurna language, the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: RESTORING AND TRANSFORMING THE KAURNA LANGUAGE

This is the seed from which this language grows. Let's make it grow. Language is evolving too . . . So I've got no problems about that [developing neologisms/language engineering]. But I still want to know that the guts of those originated from here [Adelaide]. . . for the future survival of our language then these are the things we need to do if we're going to revive the language. But I've got to know where it comes from.

(Katrina Power, interview 9 December 1996)

7.0 Introduction

The seeds of the language that Katrina refers to above are the Kaurna sources described in the last chapter, comprising perhaps 3,000 vocabulary items in total, several hundred translated sentences and a limited selection of hymns and short texts. Our task is to utilize these materials to develop a language that meets the needs and aspirations of the contemporary Kaurna community and one that can be taught in formal language programs. The reclamation of Kaurna involves both efforts to 'restore' the language to its former state and to 'transform' the language to meet the needs of the 1990s¹. Of course restoration and transformation go hand in hand, but they are the primary organising principles underpinning this chapter.

The Kaurna language is still in the early stages of reclamation. It is too early to provide a comprehensive description of the Kaurna language as it is used today. Norms of usage of 'Modern Kaurna', are only just beginning to emerge. In this chapter I intend to demonstrate and elaborate on the language reclamation method introduced in Chapter 4, as it is applied to Kaurna, through an exploration of certain areas of the language and an analysis of current efforts to restore and transform the language. To date, most effort has been applied to phonology and lexicon, the basic building blocks of the language. Higher levels such as discourse phenomena remain largely unexplored territory.

The Kaurna language will evolve slowly. It must develop at a pace which is acceptable to the Kaurna community and in a way that involves Kaurna people centrally. Kaurna language development cannot be rushed. To do so risks the possibility of alienating the language from the community. This chapter focusses primarily on the linguistic task, whilst remaining chapters direct more attention to sociolinguistic aspects. However, the two go hand in hand.

7.1 The Reclamation of Kaurna: Main Principles

Fortunately, as we saw in Chapter 6, there is one main set of Kaurna resources compiled by the German missionaries and others who followed their methods. These sources, especially T&S and TMs constitute the backbone of the Kaurna language. In the main, other sources are

¹In Chapter 2 I referred to a number of writers (Bentahila & Davies, 1993; Fettes, 1997) who note that language revival necessarily entails a process of transformation.

appealed to only when these main sources are found wanting. Information from other sources which contradicts the German sources rarely takes precedence, though there are a few cases where it appears that T&S may have got it wrong, and many other instances where the lesser sources provide additional information.

The primary Kurna sources themselves are interpreted in the light of what we know of closely related languages, and what we know of Australian languages in general. That is, to some extent we read the Kurna sources with a set of expectations formed by a knowledge of other Thura-Yura languages, neighbouring languages and more distant Pama-Nyungan languages. Related languages are utilised in varying ways, seldom directly, to fill gaps and as models or inspiration for modernisation of the language. Indeed, quite unrelated languages, such as Maori, Hebrew, Cornish, Latin or Esperanto also provide inspiration, as their promoters have been grappling with the issues for much longer.

7.2 Phonology

Sound recordings of the Kurna language, as it was spoken last century, do not exist. Any Kurna sound recordings are either of remnant words still known within the Nunga community, or of reconstituted Kurna post-1990. One of the tasks of language reclamation is to transform the written records into a spoken form. In order to do that we need to discover what we can about the Kurna sound system. We need to look carefully at the relationship between it and the written records compiled by the different observers, each of whom brought their own language background, linguistic training, ability to hear the language and their own idiosyncratic spelling conventions to bear in rendering Kurna into a written form.

7.2.1 Reading and Interpreting the Old Sources

Fortunately a number of Kurna sources, including T&S, were published. As they are in typescript they are easy to read. Still, one needs to be wary of typographical errors². T&S (1840: ii) included a page of "errata" in which they picked up more than 40 typographical errors. These need to be constantly borne in mind when working with the materials.

One should be especially wary of secondary sources. Often these have been typed from handwritten manuscripts by people having no knowledge of Kurna. As a result, errors are frequently introduced. This is certainly the case with Schurmann (1987) and the typescript letters and journals of the Lutheran missionaries held by the Lutheran Archives, typed from originals held in Leipzig. Wherever possible typescript materials should be checked against the originals³. Some other Kurna sources have been handed down in handwritten form, notably Teichelmann (1857; 1858) and the letters. Kurna words are also scattered in journals, letters

²Austin & Crowley (1995) identify and describe common printing errors. Confusion between 'u' and 'n', where the printing block has been inadvertently flipped upside down by the print setter, is often encountered in older sources.

³In March 1998, Reinhard Wendt brought copies of the handwritten letters by Pitpauwe and Wailtyi and copies of Klose's handwritten Kurna hymns from Germany. I used them to confirm the presence of typographical errors in typescript copies I had obtained earlier from the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide.

and government records. Handwriting in the gaol records is notoriously difficult to decipher. In recording names, contextual clues are minimal or absent.

Troy (1995) alerts the reader to some of the problems encountered in reading old sources and the use of symbols, such as \int for 'ss' and certain handwriting styles which are not normally employed today. In Schürmann's handwritten journals, for instance, it is virtually impossible for the reader unfamiliar with the script (a mixture of Roman and Gothic) to tell the difference between capital 'I', 'Y' and 'T'. At first glance 'W' and 'M' are also difficult though after sufficient exposure and careful study of known words beginning with these letters it is possible to distinguish them. Lower case 'u' and 'n' can be impossible to tell apart. Depending on the style of handwriting and the level of care with which it has been produced, there can be a fair amount of guesswork involved.

7.2.2 Recovering the Original Sounds of Kaurna

In coming to an understanding of the Kaurna sound system there are four main sources of information and inspiration:

1. Descriptions of the sounds by the observers themselves. Most observers simply compiled a wordlist and gave no explanation of their orthography. However, T&S, Black (1920) and Tindale did at least attempt to explain their methods of transcription.
2. Comparison of different transcriptions of the same word made by both the same observer and different observers⁴. Often the existence of different transcriptions helps us narrow down the possibilities of the original sound. For instance, if one observer writes a vowel *u* and other observers write the same vowel as *er* or *a* it is likely that the vowel is actually [ʌ] as in English 'but' or [a] as in 'Bart'. However, if other observers wrote *oo* or *ou* for this vowel, it is likely to be pronounced [ɔ] as in 'put'⁵.

Donaldson (1995) demonstrated in a workshop exercise the range of ways in which different observers attempt to transcribe a foreign word, in this case the Guugu Yimithirr word *galgaranggurr*. Seventeen different versions of the word were written by 18 participants at an AIATSIS History workshop, illustrating both the different ways in which different observers heard the word (perceived differences) and the different ways in which different people tried to write the same sounds (orthographic differences).

⁴Austin & Crowley (1995) employ this method to posit underlying forms for Tasmanian, Gamilaraay and Bundjalung words working with a range of poor quality transcriptions. In the case of Gamilaraay and Bundjalung they were sometimes able to check their results against words still spoken today. In Tasmanian, however, only poor quality written transcriptions remain and there are no closely related languages with which to check the accuracy of the transcriptions.

⁵I have used a modified IPA, a system which mirrors Hercus' phonemic analysis of Nukunu. In my phonetic transcriptions I use [ɹ] for IPA [ɹ], [r] for [ʃ] and [r] instead of IPA [r]. I transcribe interdental and retroflex consonants with digraphs [th], [nh], [lh] and [rt], [rn] and [rl] respectively. Most of the time I have used broad phonetic transcriptions, writing just three vowel symbols [a], [i] and [u] in line with the phonemic analysis. Occasionally I use a narrower transcription for vowels, writing [ʌ], [ɔ], [ə] etc. when necessary.

3. Recordings of neighbouring closely related languages. There is a high likelihood, though not guaranteed, that if a word is recorded in two closely related languages sharing a common sound system (as is the case in Nukunu and Kaurna), the word will be pronounced the same in these two languages.

4. Remnant phonological patterns observable within the Nunga community. Lewis O'Brien's pronunciation [ga:di] of *kari* 'emu' makes it likely that the *r* is a tap as transcribed by Hercus in the corresponding Nukunu word /kari/. Similarly, the Nunga pronunciation [ba:du] ~ [bardu] confirms the status of the 'r' in *paru* 'meat' as a tap, confirmed by Nukunu /paru/ ~ /partu/ 'meat'. Georgina Williams' pronunciation of [barnka] of *parnka* 'Lake Alexandrina' includes a distinctive retroflex nasal supporting its likely phonemic representation as /parnka/⁶.

Whilst this remains a line of further enquiry, it appears there is little present in Nunga English or Nunga speech patterns that assists in knowing how to pronounce the majority of Kaurna words. The few words of Kaurna origins that are known are common words, often shared with Nukunu or transcribed phonetically by Black, thus their pronunciation is recoverable by other means. However the confirmation of these transcriptions is useful.

Sometimes the Nunga English pronunciation is at variance with historical sources. For instance, Nungas say [gunya] 'white person', whereas T&S's transcription *kuinyo* indicates a final [u] vowel. Nukunu *kutnyu* indicates that the Nunga English pronunciation has probably diverged⁷. Many Indigenous words have been assimilated to English through the replacement of retroflex and interdental consonants by alveolars, the replacement of a rolled 'rr' by an Australian English rhotic, the replacement of the tap 'r' by a voiced stop [d] and the frequent loss of initial velar nasals.

⁶In 1987, a group of Kaurna and Narungga Elders, Gladys Elphick, Doris Graham, Eileen Jovic, Phoebe Wanganeen and others, contributed a list of Narungga words (ASTEK Key Centre, 1987: 13-18) which were recorded on tape by Doris Graham. Interdental and retroflex consonants are evident in some words. Occasionally the initial velar nasal has been retained as in *ngummy* 'breast', (= *ngammi*), though it is also given as *nyummy* and *nummy*. Often the velar nasal has been dropped, as in *angki* 'woman' (= *ngangki*).

⁷There are several instances of the replacement of the final vowel by [a] in Nunga English. Note [nanta] = *nanto* 'horse', [tungka] = *tungki* 'rotten' and [kumba] = *kumbo* 'urine'.

7.2.3 A Phonemic Analysis of Kaurna

Employing these methods, Jane Simpson has carried out detailed investigations of Kaurna phonology over a number of years. She posits the Kaurna sound system below:

Table 7.1: Kaurna Consonants (taken from Simpson & Amery, forthcoming)

	bilabial	lamino-dental	alveolar	retroflex	lamino-palatal	velar
stop	p	th	t	rt	ty	k
nasal	m	nh	n	m	ny	ng
prestopped nasal		dnh	dn	rhn	dny	
lateral		lh	l	rl	ly	
prestopped lateral		dlh	dl	rhl	dly	
semivowel	w				y	
r-sounds tap			r			
trill			rr			
glide				R		

Kaurna vowels are analysed as a three vowel system, /a/, /i/ and /u/ which themselves are further distinguished for length⁸. That is, there are six phonemic vowels in all.

The six places of articulation for Kaurna consonants are justified by language internal evidence alone. Whilst there is evidence from the Kaurna sources for two rhotics, Simpson is forced to appeal to comparative data for the existence of the third rhotic. However, she uses the comparative data sparingly, in the main to support rather than posit the above system. Narungga and Adnyamathanha are the languages used most often to support these findings. It is not my intention to carry out a detailed phonological analysis of Kaurna here and reduplicate Simpson's meticulous work, to which the reader is referred (in Simpson & Amery, forthcoming). However, I do wish to investigate Kaurna phonology to the extent that this is needed in reclaiming Kaurna and making use of the historical materials.

7.2.4 Recordings of Nukunu⁹, a closely related language.

Fragments of Nukunu survived into the era of modern linguistics and were tape-recorded by Geoffrey O'Grady, Luise Hercus and Catherine Ellis between 1955 and 1971. These fragments were however sufficient for Luise Hercus to analyse the sound system of Nukunu. See below:

⁸Whilst length appears to have been phonemic in Kaurna, long vowels were probably marginal within the system, occurring relatively infrequently and only in initial syllables.

⁹Unfortunately early records of Nukunu are extremely scant. We know far less of the Nukunu language though than we do of Kaurna. It is evident that Nukunu and Kaurna are very closely related, sharing many common words, a common sound system and similar grammars.

Table 7.2: Nukunu Consonant System (taken from Hercus, 1992: 3)
 [Hercus notes that "Only the consonants enclosed within boxes can begin a word."]

	labial	velar	dental	palatal	alveolar	retroflex
stop voiceless						rt
stop voiced						rd
stop	p	k	th	ty	t	
nasal	m	ng	nh	nh	n	rn
lateral			lh	ly	l	rl
semivowel	w			y		
r-sounds, tap					r	
trill					rr	
glide						r

However, the Nukunu data itself is limited and was compiled mostly when the language was in an advanced state of attrition. Just 428 entries appear in her main Nukunu vocabulary (Hercus, 1992: 19-34). Most of these were recorded by Hercus or O'Grady from 'rememberers' of Nukunu. Others are known only from earlier sources such as Tindale or Mountford. Just how much we can rely upon this Nukunu source, especially when it comes to phonotactics and statements about the frequency of occurrence of sounds in particular environments is an open question.

I have appealed to Nukunu for two reasons. Firstly, the Nukunu data confirms Simpson's analysis¹⁰. More importantly for my purposes, is the use I make of the Nukunu materials to teach Kurna phonology¹¹, which I discuss later in section 7.2.7. Throughout this thesis I use Hercus' conventions for my phonemic transcriptions, rather than Simpson's, where her use of R for the glide (= IPA ɹ) is in conflict with the use of capitals to represent ambiguity (see section 7.2.7.1).

Modern linguistic studies have also been conducted in Adnyamathanha, spoken further to the north of Kurna, by Schebeck (1974; 1976), Tunbridge (1985a; 1988; 1991) and McEntee(1992). Whilst Adnyamathanha is more distantly related, it does serve to provide important insights into Kurna phonology.

¹⁰ There are in fact some slight differences between the phonemic inventory posited by Hercus (1992: 3) and that proposed by Simpson. Hercus distinguishes between voiced and voiceless retroflex stops, which she writes /rd/ and /rt/ respectively. But /rd/ occurs in just one word *kurdi* 'phlegm' in Hercus's data, contrasting with *kurti* 'quandong'. Nukunu *kurdi* corresponds to T&S's *gurlte* 'cough, catarrh; expectorated matter' whilst Wyatt (1879: 15) has *koortee* 'pittosporum pod' which probably corresponds to *kurti*. The voiced retroflex stop is so marginal and has so little bearing on pronunciation that I ignore it. Simpson has included prestopped nasals and laterals in her chart of Kurna consonants, whereas Hercus has omitted them, but still notes that they occur, often in free variation without prestopping in a more casual pronunciation style (Hercus, 1992: 6). In Nukunu, /m/ can also be prestopped. So whilst Simpson's chart may look different to Hercus' their underlying Kurna and Nukunu phonologies are almost identical.

¹¹ In relying on the Nukunu materials so heavily, I have assumed that the Kurna and Nukunu sound systems are identical, an assumption that is perhaps not totally warranted. At the most there could only be very minor differences.

7.2.5 Representations of Kaurna sounds in T&S and TMs.

T&S attempted to explain the articulation and perception of Kaurna sounds as follows:

1. CONSONANTS.

b, d, g, k, l, m, n, p, r, t, w, y.

With the exception of *g* and *r*, they are pronounced exactly as in the English language; *g* invariably sounds as the same letter in the English words, *good, give, &c.*; *r* sometimes sounds as *r* in English, sometimes rather softer, as in *birri, marra, gurltendi, &c.*¹². The nasal *ng* sounds as the same letters in the English words, *king, living, &c.*; and the only difference is, that it frequently commences, while in English it only terminates, syllables.

2. VOWELS

a, e, i, o, u.

<i>a</i>	sounds as the same letter in		<i>harp, hard</i>
<i>â</i>	"	"	<i>wall, ball</i>
<i>e</i>	"	"	<i>tell, spell</i>
<i>i</i>	"	"	<i>fish, dish</i>
<i>o</i>	"	"	<i>come, some</i>
<i>u</i>	"	"	<i>full, pull</i>

From this it will be seen that each vowel has one sound merely, except *a*; the quality of it is the same, but it may be long or short, ie. its quantity may vary.

3. DIPHTHONGS <sic>

ai, au, oi, ui.

<i>ai</i>	sounds nearly as	<i>i</i>	in	<i>wine, or I</i>
<i>au</i>	sounds as	<i>ow</i>	"	<i>now</i>
<i>oi</i>	"	<i>oi</i>	"	<i>oil</i>

ui corresponds with no English diphthong <sic>; but when *u*, as it sounds in *full*, and *i*, as in *fish*, are produced rapidly together, the reader will then pronounce this diphthong <sic> correctly.

(T&S, 1840: 1-2)

This description of Kaurna sounds and their representation is not complete and does not altogether fit with what we know about the sound systems of Australian languages, though some of their comments do allude to expected phonological patterns. Nor do T&S adhere 100% to their stated orthographic conventions.

A comparison with Simpson's phonemic analysis of Kaurna and Hercus's analysis of Nukunu¹³ reveals a number of points of variance. The problematic areas are discussed below:

¹²The examples given here are curious. The way this sentence reads, one would expect that the rhotics in these three words would all be pronounced "softer". A "soft" rhotic conjures up an image of a glide [ɾ] as in English, rather than a tap or trill. However, *birri* 'fingernail' and *marra* 'hand' are widespread common Australian vocabulary. The rhotic in *birri* is rolled, in *marra* it is a glide whilst in *gurltendi* 'to cough' presumably its presence indicates a retroflex lateral.

¹³Because there are so many words shared by Kaurna and Nukunu, I have used the Nukunu cognates as my main method of calibration of the Kaurna materials, rather than T&S's own description of the sounds. By lining up the Kaurna-Nukunu cognates (see Appendix E1) we can test the accuracy and consistency of their transcriptions to a far greater extent than by relying on internal evidence alone.

7.2.5.1 Kaurna Consonants

Voicing

T&S write both voiced (*b, d, g*) and voiceless (*p, t, k*) stops and note on p.3 that "*b* is confounded with *p*; *d* with *t*; and *g* with *k*." So they had noticed that a sound they wrote as *b* sometimes sounded like *b* and sometimes it sounded like *p*. Some common words are written with both voiceless and voiced consonants, for example *ba ~ pa* 'he; she; it'. We can deduce from this inconsistency that there is no voicing distinction, just as we would expect. Most Pama-Nyungan languages do not make this distinction.

Double Consonants

T&S frequently write double consonants between vowels, as in *kammami* 'maternal grandmother', but do not provide any explanation for this. In German this tends to indicate a preceding short vowel (pc Peter Mühlhäusler). However, this is contradicted by *ninna* 'you'(sg) which in Nukunu is /*nhiiina*/ with a preceding long vowel. In the available comparative data *tt* is only used to write interdental, though *nn* is used for alveolars and retroflex nasals and *ll* is used to write a retroflex lateral in both cognates found. However, the number of cognates is not large, thus firm conclusions cannot be drawn. Double consonants, whilst written, are ignored in learning Kaurna.

Retroflex Sounds

Whilst T&S did not analyse a series of retroflex consonants, they sometimes wrote them as a sequence of two sounds (*r* followed by the alveolar *n, t* or *l*). Sometimes they heard an *r* sound there and sometimes not. They note:

R is changed with *l* or *d*; as, *kurlana, kullana; garla, gadla; murla, mulla*.

R is omitted before *n*; as, *marnkutye, mankutye; mangandi, mangandi; nurnti, nunti*.

R before *t* changed into *t*; as, *ngartendi, ngattendi; narta, natta*. (T&S, 1840: 3)

In most cases cited by T&S, the digraphs *rt, rn* and *rl* always indicate retroflexion.

Interdentals

T&S, and all other observers of Kaurna, simply missed the interdental consonants, writing them the same as alveolars, with both single and double consonants. According to Hercus, Nukunu words never commence with alveolar or retroflex consonants. Thus if a word commences with *t* or *n*, there is a high likelihood that these are interdentals. In teaching Kaurna we have made this assumption, though this may not be fully justified, as the Nukunu data is limited.

Rhotics

T&S use both *r* and *rr*, but fail to indicate how they differ or how they relate to the variation in the pronunciation of the *r* sounds. Comparison with Nukunu reveals that both *r* and *rr* correspond to all three rhotics in Nukunu /*r̥*/, /*r*/ and /*rr̥*/. However T&S's *r* most often corresponds to a tap, whilst *rr* most often corresponds to Nukunu /*r̥*/ and /*rr̥*/. Single *r* before *p* or *k* corresponds to a lateral or a tap. Furthermore, *r* preceding *t, n* or *l* usually indicates

retroflexion. Clusters involving a rhotic followed by an alveolar consonant seem not to be permissible, though this possibility cannot be ruled out.

Where a rhotic in one source has been spelt *t* or *d* in another it is almost certainly a tap or trill. Further, a comparison between rhotics in words recorded by T&S and those recorded by Gaimard reveals an interesting pattern. On several occasions *rr* in T&S corresponds to *ll* in Gaimard. In all cases except one where these words have a Nukunu counterpart it is a glide /ɾ/. So T&S's *rr* corresponding to Gaimard's *ll* is likely to have been pronounced [ɾ]. Thus the phonemic representation of *yurro* 'species of small lizard; skink', transcribed as *iouullo* by Gaimard, is likely to be /yurɾ/.

Velar Nasal

Unlike many other observers, T&S always write velar nasals. However, they fail to consistently distinguish between the intervocalic nasal [ŋ] and the nasal + stop cluster [ŋg]. In fact, on several occasions they write [ŋg] in the same word inconsistently as *ng*, *ngk* and *ngg* as in *pungi* ~ *pungki* ~ *punggi* 'killed'. That is, when T&S write *ng* it could be either [ŋ] or [ŋg] or potentially even the heterorganic cluster [nk].

7.2.5.2 Kaurna Vowels

T&S's description of the pronunciations of the vowels is unclear¹⁴. They claim that "*a* sounds as the same letter in *harp*, *hard* ... *â* as the same letter in *wall*, *ball* [and] *o* sounds as the same letter in *come*, *some*." (p.2). However, in Australian English at least, the vowel written as *a* in 'hard' (phonetically [a]) is already long, whilst the vowel in 'wall' (phonetically [ɔ]) is made further back in the mouth and is not simply a long version of [a:]. In fact, in Australian English, the vowel written as *o* in 'come' and 'some' is phonetically [ʌ] and has much the same quality as the vowel [a] in 'hard' but is shorter.

According to Simpson's analysis, Kaurna most likely has three short vowel phonemes /i/, /a/ and /u/ with long counterparts /ii/, /aa/ and /uu/. Why then do T&S write the additional vowels *e* and *o*? T&S noticed that these vowels were often interchangeable with *i* and *u* respectively for they make the observation that "If a word end (sic) in *o*, and an affix or termination is added, then *o* regularly is changed into *u*; if in *e*, then *e* is changed into *i*" (p.3). This is in fact just what we would expect. However, this explanation of *o* does not gel with their explanation above (*o* as in 'come' and 'some'), at least not in terms of Australian English.

¹⁴In trying to interpret T&S's explanations, we must bear in mind that they were second language speakers of English. Which dialect of English were they drawing on? The precise pronunciation of the vowels in the words provided is likely to have changed since 1840.

A comparison of the Kaurna and Nukunu cognates (Appendix E1) reveals a number of inconsistencies:

- T&S *i* corresponds to the Nukunu phonemes /i/ and /ii/.
- T&S *e* corresponds to the phonemes /i/, /ii/, /a/ and potentially /aa/.
- T&S *o* corresponds to the phonemes /a/, /aa/, /u/ and potentially /uu/.
- Both *a* and *â* are written for sounds belonging to the phonemes /a/ and /aa/.
- T&S *u* corresponds to /u/ and potentially also /uu/.

Thus, on the basis of T&S spelling, we are simply unable to make any predictions regarding vowel length. However, we can draw some conclusions about the use of the letters *e* and *o*. When *e* is written for a sound belonging to the phoneme /a/ it always follows a palatal *y* and potentially also *ny* and *ty*. Sounds belonging to /i/ following palatals are never written as *e*. Similarly *o* is written for sounds belonging to /a/ when it follows *w* but belongs to /u/ elsewhere. In fact, /u/ is almost always written as *o* at the end of words.

Certainly /a/ following *w* is rounded by the preceding labial consonant so that its pronunciation is possibly [ɔ] in this environment hence the frequent use of *o* after *w*. In the Nukunu data, there are no words commencing with the sequence #/wu-/. McEntee & McKenzie's (1992) Adnyamathanha dictionary, which includes a much larger corpus, confirms this pattern.

Similarly /a/ is phonetically raised by the preceding palatal, perhaps to [æ]. Several words written with an *e* by T&S are later written with *ä* in TMs as follows:

T & S (1840)	TMs	
<i>yera</i>	<i>yärra</i>	'ground, earth'
<i>yerli</i>	<i>yärli</i>	'male'
<i>yerra</i>	<i>yärra</i>	'distinct'

If we consider the environments in which the letters *e* and *o* are used relative to *i*, *u* and *a*, some interesting patterns emerge. In word final position *i* is used hundreds of times, much more often than *e*, which occurs on just 39 occasions in the data provided by T&S, though they always correspond to sounds belonging to /i/. In almost every case (15 occasions) where a palatal (*ty*, *ny* or *ly*) precedes the front vowel in word final position, it is transcribed as *e*. Only once is *i* written following a palatal word finally. Why should this be? According to their pronunciation guide *i* is the high vowel as in 'fish' and 'dish', whilst *e* is lower as in 'tell' and 'spell'. Yet we would expect a preceding palatal to raise the following vowel, not lower it as appears to be the case. Final *e* is also written several times following *w* and occasionally following a range of other consonants. For instance, a final *e* is written just twice following *k* and once following *g* compared with 27 instances of *i* following *k* in final position. So there appears to be some pattern to the distribution of final *e*, though plausible conditioning factors have not been identified.

The back vowel is written most often as *o*, though there are 33 instances where a final *u* is written. This final *u* never appears after bilabial or velar stops. There are 13 instances of final *u*

occurring after a rhotic (both *r* and *rr*) and several following *rn* and *lt*. But *o* and *u* seemingly contrast as in *marngu* 'jealous' vs *marngo* 'button'¹⁵ and *ku* 'shelter' vs *ko* 'OK'. In the latter case there is probably a length contrast [ku:] vs [ku]. It is quite likely that the back vowel was often lowered slightly in word final position, perhaps heard as [o] or even [ɔ] and was thus transcribed as *o* by the Germans.

7.2.5.3 Inconsistencies in Transcription

We have seen that spellings of some words in T&S and TMs are not totally consistent:

Table 7.3: Some Variant Spellings in T&S

Gloss	Variant 1	Variant 2	Explanation
'very well'	<i>ko</i>	<i>gō</i>	absence of phonemic voicing distinction.
'my'	<i>ngaityo</i>	<i>ngaidyo</i>	absence of phonemic voicing distinction
'he; she; it'	<i>pa</i>	<i>ba</i>	absence of phonemic voicing distinction.
'already'	<i>piri</i>	<i>biri</i>	absence of phonemic voicing distinction.
'I; me'	<i>ngai</i>	<i>ai</i> ¹⁶	'ng' dropped in allegro speech; cliticized
'T (agent)'	<i>ngatto</i>	<i>atto</i>	'ng' dropped in allegro speech; cliticized
'we; us'(pl)'	<i>ngadlu</i>	<i>adlu</i>	'ng' dropped in allegro speech; cliticized
'good'	<i>marni</i>	<i>manni</i>	retroflexion not always heard
'now'	<i>narta</i>	<i>natta</i>	retroflexion not always heard
'to name'	<i>tarka-</i>	<i>takka</i>	rhotic not always heard before a consonant
'broken'	<i>yartari-</i>	<i>yertari</i>	inconsistent transcription of low vowel after y.
'give'	<i>yungorendi</i>	<i>yunggorendi</i>	inconsistent transcription of [ŋ g]
'westerly'	<i>wonggarta</i>	<i>wongarta</i>	inconsistent transcription of [ŋ g]
2nd born +male	<i>Warritya</i>	<i>Waritya</i>	rhotics written inconsistently
'table'	<i>taralye</i>	<i>tarralyilla</i>	rhotics written inconsistently
'fire'	<i>gadla</i>	<i>garla</i>	pre-stopped and non pre-stopped variants; retroflexion not always heard
'house'	<i>wodli</i>	<i>worli</i>	pre-stopped and non pre-stopped variants; retroflexion not always heard
'not to stand'	<i>yuwettoai</i>	<i>yiwettoai</i>	dialectal difference
'here'	<i>yaintya</i>	<i>yentya</i>	dialectal difference
'these two'	<i>idurla</i>	<i>idurla</i>	typographical error in <i>idurla</i> (see Errata page)
'head'	<i>mukarta</i>	<i>makarta</i>	typographical error in <i>makarta</i> (see Errata page)

Some inconsistencies are due to introduced typographical errors, which can be identified and eliminated. On other occasions, variation in spelling represents an inconsistent usage of their orthographic system in representing the same sound. In some cases the variation in spelling captures actual variation in pronunciation due to dialectal difference, allegro speech or other intralinguistic variation. I offer the following examples by way of illustration of the kinds of variation encountered within the German mission sources.

¹⁵Whilst *marngu* and *marngo* look identical except for the final vowel, the pronunciation may not be. T&S are inconsistent in their use of *ng*. Perhaps these words contrast along the lines of /marnku/ vs /marnŋu/ or there may even be a vowel length contrast in the first syllable. However, we would not expect the final *o* to contrast with the final *u* in this environment.

¹⁶These often function as clitic pronouns, even when they are written as separate words, though it is not clear if the reduced forms were always clitics.

7.2.6 The Lesser Sources

There is even greater uncertainty as to the pronunciation of words drawn from the majority of the lesser sources. Still, we can attempt to follow the same methods. That is:

- Step 1: assemble other observers' recordings, if any, of the target word.
- Step 2: assemble corresponding words and their known counterparts in T&S, Hercus (1992) and other sources, to establish the orthographic preferences employed.
- Step 3: look at existing words in the language with a similar underlying representation.

A few examples will serve to illustrate the process. Wyatt (1879) recorded *kerta* 'a forest', though T&S never recorded this word¹⁷. A number of phonemic representations might possibly give rise to Wyatt's spelling, including /kata/, /katha/, /karta/, /ka:ta/, /ka:tha/, /ka:rtɑ/. Nor should we necessarily rule out a high vowel as in /kuta/ etc. or /kita/ etc. at this stage. Fortunately the word was also recorded by Piesse (1840) and Robinson (nd).

Step 1:

Wyatt (1879)		Piesse (1840)		Robinson (nd)	
<i>kerta</i>	'a forest'	<i>cur-tah</i>	'scrub, brush, underwood'	<i>cut.ter</i>	'shrub'

Knowing these other variant spellings allows us to rule out a high front vowel /i/ in the first syllable. Next we need to ascertain their preferences for writing vowels and T sounds¹⁸.

Step 2:

Wyatt	Piesse	Robinson	T&S	Hercus	Gloss
<i>kerta</i>	<i>cur-tah</i>	<i>cut.ter</i>			'scrub etc.'
<i>kertukka</i>			<i>kartakka</i>		'shoulder'
<i>Kertányo</i>			<i>kartanya</i>	<i>kartinya</i>	'1st born+fem'
<i>kerkanya</i>			<i>karkanya</i>		'hawk'
<i>kerla</i>		<i>cull.ar</i>	<i>gadla</i>	<i>kartla</i>	'fire'
<i>koora</i>		<i>cu-rer</i>	<i>kura</i>		'near'
<i>koortukka</i>	<i>coor-tur-kah</i>		<i>kurtakka</i>		'yg. kangaroo'
<i>kutta</i>			<i>katta</i>	<i>katha</i>	'digging stick'
<i>Kuttámero</i>			<i>Kartammeru</i>		'1st born+male'

More correspondences could be given, but this gives the picture. Every known instance of Wyatt's *er* after *k* transcribes a low vowel, though Wyatt also uses *u* for this same vowel. The known instances where Wyatt writes *rt* correspond to a retroflex stop in T&S and Hercus (1992). So most likely the phonemic representation of the word is /karta/ or /ka:rtɑ/.

Step 3:

T&S list both *karta* 'lap' and Karta 'Kangaroo Island' which probably also share the same underlying form. That is, we have three lexemes that seemingly can only differ phonologically on the basis of vowel length in the first syllable, pointing to homophony.

In the majority of cases where the lesser sources contribute words not recorded by T&S there are no corresponding forms recorded by other observers. So we have to do the best we can

¹⁷Perhaps *kerta* is a southern dialectal alternative to T&S *wirra* 'wood, forest, bush'.

¹⁸I use upper case T, following Simpson, Hercus & McEntee (see section 7.2.8.1), when the status of the underlying phoneme is uncertain. It might be /th/, /t/ or /rt/.

using step 2. Sometimes there are other clues to pursue. For example, Williams (1840) lists *me-nin-dah* 'yolk of egg' and *i-e-rah* 'white of egg'.

Williams	T&S	Hercus	Gloss
<i>me-nin-dah</i>			'yolk of egg'
<i>me-no</i>	<i>minno</i>	<i>mirnu</i>	'wattle'
<i>mee-na</i>	<i>mena</i>	<i>miina</i>	'eye'
<i>me-poot-tie</i>	<i>mebutti</i>	<i>miina</i> 'eye'; <i>puthi</i> 'hair'	'eyelash'
<i>i-e-rah</i>			'white of egg'
<i>i-char-lie</i> 'friend'	<i>ngaityerli</i> 'my father'	<i>ngatyu</i> 'my'; <i>yartli</i> 'man'	
	<i>ngaiera</i>		'air; sky' cf Wyatt's <i>naiara</i> 'cloud'

In this case, my hunch is that *me-nin-dah* is a compound based on *me-* or *mena* 'eye'¹⁹, perhaps combined with the root of *tindandi* 'to be narrow; fast; immoveable; to stick fast' (T&S: 46) or *pindapinda* 'bald; sleek' (T&S: 39). We would opt to write the words as *meninda* using T&S conventions. *I-e-rah* undoubtedly commences with a velar nasal as Williams never transcribes them. My guess is that *i-e-rah* is the same as T&S *ngaiera*, the 'sky' or 'cloud' of the egg²⁰.

7.2.7 Orthography Issues

As the vast bulk of Kaurna words available to use today, and almost all sentences and texts, were recorded using T&S's spelling system, we have continued to write Kaurna according to these conventions. We recognize that there are deficiencies in this orthography, a fact also acknowledged by Teichelmann (1858), though he did not elaborate. Retaining the T&S orthography allows people to access material directly from the original source and to check their material against it. Constant contact with the main original sources is very important at this early stage, where issues of integrity and authenticity are foremost in peoples' minds.

7.2.7.1 Alternative Spelling Conventions

Alternatives to using T&S spelling conventions could include the following:

1. We could simply adopt a standard Australian orthography based on IPA conventions, such as that employed by Hercus in writing Nukunu. Such an orthography would eliminate the redundant double consonants and eliminate the uncertainty in how one should attempt to pronounce the word. Having adopted Simpson's and Hercus's analysis, we could easily rewrite some Kaurna words phonemically with reasonable certainty. However, for many other words we would simply have to guess at the kind of rhotic, kind of coronal consonant or the length of the vowel. Adopting such an orthography would entail committing these guesses to writing. Of course we make the same guesses in the pronunciation of Kaurna words, but there is less chance of errors becoming entrenched orally than in written form²¹.

¹⁹Note that 'fried egg' is *telur mata sapi* (Lit. 'egg [like a] cow's eye').

²⁰Kaurna people have reacted favourably to this etymology (pc Lewis O'Brien, Georgina Williams & Cherie Watkins, 8 May 1998).

²¹In Chapter 6 we saw that Tindale introduced errors through re-writing T&S spellings in a modified IPA.

2. Simpson, Hercus & McEntee have adopted an orthography which uses capital letters to transcribe consonants where there is some uncertainty about the status of the underlying phonemes. In this system T could be an interdental, alveolar or retroflex stop, /th/, /t/ or /ṭ/ respectively. Similarly N could be /nh/, /n/ or /ṇ/, L could be /lh/, /l/ or /ḷ/ and R could be /rr/, /r/ or /ṛ/. For example, using this system we would write the word *tirendi* 'to squat' as thiRiNTi.

This orthography is ideal for purposes of linguistic analysis, as it accurately transcribes areas of certainty and flags areas of uncertainty. However it would be unwieldy to use as a practical orthography for writing stories and creating language materials where familiar punctuation conventions are needed.

3. A third possibility might be to ignore vowel length, interdental and retroflex consonants and distinctions between the rhotics. The sound system would then be much more like English, but would reflect pronunciations of most learners and users of Kaurna. Many more homophones and the loss of a distinction between *munto* /munthu/ 'belly' and *munto* /murntu/ 'anus', for instance, would result.

Eventually there may come a time when the orthography is reformed and a set standard form is decided upon. Adoption of Alternative 1 would require prior exhaustive comparative work and estimation of the expected frequency of occurrence of various phonemes in particular phonological environments. For instance, rr between vowels in the absence of other data, might be expected to be a glide /ṛ/ 35% of the time and a rolled /rr/ 50% of the time, based on comparisons with Nukunu²². Assignment of the phonemes /ṛ/, /r/ and /rr/ could be made at random according to this distribution.

For now though, we have decided to use T&S conventions, including the retention of the redundant double consonants and additional vowel symbols *e* and *o*. It seems preferable to teach people how to interpret the original sources, and to make intelligent guesses about pronunciation, than to change the orthography at this stage.

7.2.7.2 Layout of Songs

Songs are often the first contact many people have with Kaurna and they play a central role. When words are set to music, it is customary to write the words underneath the notes. How should we break up the words? Should we split the double consonants? Should we adhere strictly to maintaining the integrity of the digraphs. Whilst this is more correct linguistically, will it place an added barrier for language learners? A few examples will illustrate the dilemma:

²²There are 26 instances where rr between vowels in T&S has a corresponding word recorded in Nukunu. 13 of these correspond to /rr/, 9 to /ṛ/ and 4 to /r/.

Alternative 1 (Linguistically correct)	Alternative 2 (English speaker intuitions)	
<i>ka-mma-mmi</i>	<i>kam-mam-mi</i>	'mother's mother'
<i>pa-rna</i>	<i>par-na</i>	'they'
<i>nga-rto</i>	<i>ngar-to</i>	'child'
<i>nga-pi-tya</i>	<i>nga-pit-ya</i>	'grandchild of father's mother'
<i>ngai-tyo</i>	<i>ngait-yo</i>	'my'
<i>i-lya</i>	<i>il-ya</i>	'black snake'
<i>ma-rra</i>	<i>mar-ra</i>	'hand'
<i>wi-rra</i>	<i>wir-ra</i>	'bush'
<i>bu-rro</i>	<i>bur-ro</i>	'still'
<i>mu-dla</i>	<i>mud-la</i>	'nose'
<i>wa-tte-ya-rna-u-rlo</i>	<i>wat-te-yar-na-ur-lo</i>	'throughout Yerna'
<i>ku-rlo</i>	<i>kur-lo</i>	'female red kangaroo'
<i>yu-nga</i>	<i>yun-ga</i>	'brother'

In some cases (eg *il-ya*), hyphenation of the words according to English intuitions may assist in producing a closer approximation to the desired pronunciation. In other cases, (eg *kur-lo* and *yun-ga*), it will encourage spelling pronunciations. To date we have adhered fairly closely to the first alternative. But to follow it requires an understanding of the phonology of the language.

7.2.8 Pronunciation of Kaurna words

We noted that T&S and TMs were relatively consistent in their transcriptions. They attempted to write the sounds of the language as they heard them. But, a phonemic analysis tells us the distinctive sounds and more or less how they should be pronounced. It helps us understand T&S spelling conventions, the influence of their mother tongue and other languages they knew, and their idiosyncrasies. However, because of imprecision and inconsistencies in the Kaurna sources, often we simply have to guess at the likely underlying phonemic representation, and hence pronunciation, of a given word.

In attempting to teach the pronunciation of Kaurna, I have relied heavily on the Nukunu data and less on language internal evidence and comparisons with Narungga, as Simpson has done. Since the publication of the *Nukunu Dictionary* (Hercus, 1992) the Nukunu materials have been readily available. I find it easier to explain Kaurna phonology to a group of learners by means of direct comparison between Kaurna and Nukunu cognates rather than relying on difficult explanations from language internal evidence. This is not to say that I ignore language internal evidence or relationships with other languages, such as Narungga and Adnyamathanha. Nor does it imply any dispute between Simpson and myself. It is more a question of the purposes for appealing to a phonemic analysis and the audience, which determines the emphasis placed on certain materials over others. My main concern is with pronunciation of Kaurna words, whilst Simpson is more concerned with the analysis of the underlying phonological system.

In 1994, I prepared a HyperCard stack on which I orally recorded a number of Kaurna words, that had known Nukunu counterparts, which illustrated the sounds of Kaurna. I linked separate cards to the sounds, one listing the phonemes and the other listing the orthographic symbols

employed by T&S (see Appendix E2). This proved useful for students as they were able to hear the sound and see it written at the same time.

7.2.8.1 Teaching Kaurna Consonants

The initial velar nasal, alveopalatal stop, retroflex and interdental consonants are unfamiliar to English speakers, but are acquired without too much difficulty with practice and a little explanation using diagrams of tongue position etc. Within Kaurna classes, Nungas seem to have little difficulty in producing initial velar nasals and some have no difficulty in producing rolled r's, which typically cause much difficulty for non-Aboriginal learners. This, no doubt, indicates some residual use of these sounds in the community.

The main problem, as we have seen, lies in the uncertain status of *t*, *tt*, *d*, *n*, *nn*, *l*, *ll*, *r*, *rr* and *ng* in medial position. Each of these letters or digraphs have been used to write sounds belonging to two and often three distinct phonemes (or sequences of phonemes). Unless there is a direct cognate in Nukunu, or other source, there is no way of knowing which it should be. Attempts are made to teach the correct pronunciation of retroflex and interdental consonants, where this is known, though most of the time they tend to be pronounced as alveolars, as they are in English. All rhotics tend to be pronounced as glides and medial *ng* as a nasal + stop cluster [ŋg].

7.2.8.2 Teaching Kaurna Vowels

Fortunately the pronunciation of Kaurna vowels is, to a large extent, recoverable from T&S. If they write *a*, *i* or *u* we can be reasonably confident as to the vowel quality. By working back from the Nukunu cognates we were able to posit two simple rules for learners of Kaurna for the pronunciation of *e* and *o* as follows:

1. If you see *e*, think [i] except after *y* when it is pronounced [a].
2. If you see *o*, think [u] except after *w* when it is pronounced [a].

T&S's description of the diphthongs is unproblematic, though they do not explain the occasional use of a final *ii*, as in *ngaii* 'T'. Perhaps *aii* was pronounced more like a VCV sequence /ayi/ than as a true diphthong.

Vowel length is more problematic. Unless we have a cognate in Nukunu or some other language analysed by modern linguists, there seems to be no way of recovering the length distinction. Vowel length is taught in known cases. Fortunately the status of long vowels is marginal, occurring infrequently, and only in the first syllable.

7.2.9 'Spelling Pronunciations'

Learners of Kaurna are warned against 'spelling pronunciations' but the tendency to "say them the way they look" is strong.²³

²³This is the major drawback in the continued use of T&S spelling conventions.

Spelling pronunciations are particularly noticeable in the interpretation of the sequences of letters *er* and *ur* which tend to be pronounced as [ə:] as is often the case in English. However, an understanding of the underlying sound system will help to reduce this. For instance, it informs us that the target pronunciation of *kurlo* 'female red kangaroo' should be somewhere in the vicinity of [kurlu] or [gurlu]. The final vowel may have been lowered a little as the spelling *kurlo* indicates, but the pronunciation is unlikely to have been [kə:lou] or [kʰə:lou] as an English speaker might be tempted to pronounce it.

Carry over of English stress patterns is also a noticeable tendency. For instance, the Kaurna name *Medika* (drawn from *medika* 'flower') is heard pronounced [mədəkɪkʌ] rather than [mídɪkʌ] as expected²⁴. Spelling pronunciations and stress placement on the second syllable are more noticeable amongst those who have had little or no contact with the Kaurna language programs, and have accessed the words themselves from T&S. But I have noticed a continuing improvement in pronunciation, and a reduction in the frequency of spelling pronunciations amongst learners of Kaurna following further exposure and explanation of the sound system. Learners are generally willing to be guided and corrected in their pronunciation. Indeed often they seek out correction.

7.3 Restoring the Lexicon

Lexical resources are being recovered from historical sources and made available to the community and Kaurna programs in Amery (1995c; 1997). It is envisaged that this lexicon will be continually updated with each successive printing of the source. It is based primarily on the vocabularies compiled by T&S and TMs. Words from other Kaurna sources have been incorporated where a counterpart does not exist in the German sources. Spellings of words from other sources have been adapted according to T&S's spelling system. That is, *c* is replaced by *k*, *j* is replaced by *y* or *ty* (depending on the conventions used by the original author); *oo* by *u*; *ee* by *i* etc. For instance Cawthorne's (1844) *wocaltee* 'shield' has been rewritten *wakalti*.

In some cases, T&S and TMs glosses have been refined in the light of other Kaurna sources, related languages or a knowledge of Australian languages generally. For instance, T&S *kangarlta* 'surname' has been reglossed as 'totem' in the light of Tindale's more recent work.

7.3.1 Lexical Gaps

The Kaurna lexicon as drawn from historical sources is probably less than 3,000 items. We would expect to find many more vocabulary items than this in the language as it was spoken in 1840. A quick perusal of the vocabulary reveals many gaps; words which we would expect to find but were simply not recorded. On the basis of our knowledge of more fully documented Australian languages, such as Arrernte (Henderson & Dobson, 1994), Warlpiri (Laughren &

²⁴It is almost certain that Kaurna, like Nukunu, Adnyamathanha etc. regularly stressed the first syllable.

Hoogenraad, 1997), Pitjantjatjara (Goddard, 1987) or Walmatjarri (Hudson, 1990) we would expect to find a comprehensive inventory of terms for features of the local environment and words relating to the traditional lifestyle of the Kaurna people.

In terms of relearning Kaurna in the 1990s, there is probably no purpose in trying to restore the entirety of the lexical complexity that we would have expected to find in 1840. There is probably little need for Kaurna words for every species of animal and plant or even for every species of edible animal and plant found on the Adelaide Plains at the time of the invasion. Probably the words *kanto* 'bullfrog', *yulto* 'frog' and *warrati* 'tadpole', as documented in the sources, are sufficient in relation to frogs, even though we would've expected more terms than this relating to different species.

The approach we take is to fill the lexical gaps as the need arises during the production of Kaurna materials and through the teaching of the Kaurna language. Lexical gaps, such as 'echidna', clearly need filling immediately. Other gaps, where a generic is available, are less pressing. For instance, *barti* 'grub' will probably suffice in the absence of a detailed inventory of grubs and caterpillars.

7.3.2 Strategies for Filling the Gaps.

There are a number of ways to fill gaps in the lexicon. Perhaps the most obvious solution is to simply borrow words from other languages. In discussions with Lewis O'Brien (6 June 1995) he felt it was most appropriate to incorporate Narungga words directly into Kaurna because the languages were so close. There is some likelihood that many of the Narungga terms would have also been shared by Kaurna. He also thought it appropriate to incorporate Nukunu, Ngadjuri and Bamgarla terms as needed in that order, once the Narungga resources had been exhausted. However, he felt it was not appropriate to borrow Ngarrindjeri terms, as the languages were quite different.

Whilst borrowing is a process used frequently by most languages, in the present circumstances it is not a favoured strategy amongst the Kaurna who are striving to establish their own identity. Borrowings from English, apart from Indigenous words borrowed into English from other Australian languages, have not been used to fill lexical gaps.

7.3.2.1 Borrowing from other Aboriginal languages

Whilst borrowing from neighbouring closely related languages seems to be an acceptable practice, Narungga, Ngadjuri and Nukunu sources are even more limited than the Kaurna sources. It would therefore be reasonable to turn to other South Australian languages such as, Adnyamathanha, Pitjantjatjara and perhaps Ngarrindjeri as lexical resources, taking care to assimilate borrowings into the Kaurna sound system. As yet it is unclear as to how acceptable the practice is to the Kaurna community and to speakers of the source languages.

To date very few words have actually been borrowed from other Aboriginal languages and used within Kurna materials. Over the seven years in which Kurna has been taught and used to write songs and other materials, just eight words have been incorporated from other Aboriginal languages. They are as follows:

Table 7.4: Borrowings from Aboriginal Languages

Borrowing	Source Language	Comments
° <i>tjintrin</i> ²⁵ 'willy wagtail'	Narungga <i>tjintrin</i>	Used in the writing of a song and materials associated with the Tjilbruke Dreaming, EWAC class 1994.
° <i>watteparu</i> 'seal' (lit. 'meat in the middle')	Narungga <i>wadiparu</i>	Used in the preparation of materials associated with the <i>Fire from Whale</i> story, PWAC class 1996.
° <i>nhaalha</i> 'echidna'	Nukunu <i>nhaalha</i>	PWAC class; preparation of materials for KPS and KPECC
° <i>nyaani</i> 'sheep'	Nukunu <i>nyaani</i> ? from English 'nanny'	Used in the Kurna translation of <i>Baa Baa Black Sheep</i> , 1991 ²⁶ .
° <i>ga</i> 'and'	Pitjantjatjara <i>ka</i> , Yolngu Matha <i>ga</i>	EWAC and ECHS programs in 1994.
° <i>way</i> 'hey'	Pitjantjatjara <i>wai</i>	Used in the translation of Snooky Varcoe's (1990) story <i>But Dad!</i> (= <i>Way Yerlitta!</i>).
° <i>kuula</i> 'koala'	Dharuk English 'koala'	Used in the preparation of materials for KPS and KPECC.
° <i>Marege</i> ²⁷ 'Australia'	Yolngu Matha (orig. from Macassan)	Used in the easter song <i>Pingkoalya</i> Mar. 1997 and in a letter to John Howard, May 1997.

We would expect that Kurna would have had terms for all but °*nyaani* 'sheep' and °*Marege* 'Australia' in the table above. It is not expected that the Kurna should have a name for 'Australia', as such, though they may conceivably have had ways of talking about a larger land mass beyond their own territories. However there are means available, apart from borrowing, to address the gaps.

7.3.2.2 Using the Language's Own Resources

Compounding is a simple means of generating new terms from within the language itself. In fact, a number of compounds were documented by T&S, including terms for natural species such as *karndoworti* 'scorpion' (lit. 'lightning tail') and *tarnipaitya* 'crab' (lit. 'surf vermin'). Rather than borrow the term *rippuri* 'garfish' from Ngarrindjeri, for instance, it was felt more appropriate to engineer a term based on the appearance of the fish, such as **ta towinna* 'garfish' < *ta* 'mouth' + *towinna* 'long, stretched, extended'. Compare Narungga *ta:jukuli* ~ *ta:jukuli* 'flounder' (*Rhombosolea flesoides*) lit., 'crooked mouth'.

There are several useful suffixes in Kurna which can be used to derive terms. Some of those recorded by T&S are *-butto* 'full of' as in *yertabutto* 'dirty' (lit. 'full of earth'), *-tidli* 'having' as

²⁵I have identified borrowings with ° and neologisms with * inserted before the word as in Amery (1997). * is also used in section 7.3.2.4 to identify hypothetical earlier Adnyamathanha forms in accordance with established usage in identifying proto-language forms.

²⁶The English borrowing *sheepi* is used within T&S (1840: 8) and *sheepe* is used within Wyatt's translation of Gawler's speech in 1838 though we were not aware of this at the time.

²⁷In creating a Kurna song about the 'Easter Bilby' a term was needed for Australia. I used *Marege*, a word used by the Macassans to refer to the Australian continent during their annual visits to the northern coastline. Yolngu in north east Arnhemland are familiar with the word, though its status within Yolngu Matha is marginal (see Macknight, 1976; Cooke, 1987: 4, 13).

in *yangarratidli* 'married' (lit. 'wife-having'), *-tina* 'without' as in *warratinna* 'speechless; dumb' (lit. 'speech without'), *-binna* 'inclined to' as in *mengkibinna* 'laugher' (lit. 'laugh-inclined to') and *-rli* 'to resemble; -like' are perhaps the most useful to fill gaps in Indigenous domains such as fauna and flora.

For instance, instead of borrowing the Nukunu word *°nhaalha* 'echidna', another possibility would be to derive the word **pitpabutto* Lit. 'full of thorns'. The derivation **tamandi tauandarli* 'duck-like beak/lower lip' was used initially in the PWAC class in 1995, but has since been replaced by the shorter and more efficient compound **kauwilta* 'platypus' (lit. 'water possum').

7.3.2.3 Loan Translations

The possibility also exists for the translation of words, compounds or phrases from English and Aboriginal languages, to fill lexical gaps. It would seem that the German missionaries themselves, used this method to devise a term for 'hell' as it appears as *gadla pinde*, a literal translation of 'fire pit'. Loan translation from English is a method that is appealed to by Kaurna people and learners of Kaurna. Some examples are given below.

Loan Translation	Source	Comments
<i>wilto yerlo</i> 'sea eagle'	English 'sea eagle' <i>wilto</i> 'eagle' + <i>yerlo</i> 'sea'	Used by Lewis O'Brien, in consultation with myself, to name <i>Wilto Yerlo</i> , the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander unit within the University of Adelaide, 1995.
<i>parriyerta</i> 'Riverland'	English 'Riverland' <i>parr</i> 'river' + <i>yerta</i> 'land'	Used spontaneously by a Nunga student at KPS in talking about where he and his family came from (Sept. 1997).
<i>marrawitte</i> 'octopus' (lit. 'many hands')	Narungga <i>mar:awitji</i> <i>marra</i> 'hand' + <i>witji</i> = <i>witte</i> 'much'	Proposed by me.
<i>ta yokunna</i> 'flounder' (lit. 'crooked mouth')	Narungga <i>ta:jukuli</i> <i>ta</i> 'mouth' (N=K) <i>jukuli</i> = <i>yokunna</i> 'crooked'	Proposed by me.
<i>murrobotto</i> 'bony bream' (lit. 'full of ashes')	Narungga <i>buda-buto</i> N <i>buda</i> = K <i>murro</i> 'ashes' + <i>buto</i> = <i>butto</i> 'full of'	Proposed by me.

7.3.2.4 Historical/Comparative Linguistics

Rather than borrow a word directly from neighbouring languages, as discussed above, historical/comparative linguistics can be used to incorporate it into the language in a form in which we would expect it to have occurred, should the particular word have existed in Kaurna. By taking into account the sound changes that have occurred between the languages, in many cases the form of the word incorporated into Kaurna may well be different to that attested in the source language. This serves a useful purpose, as the word can develop its own Kaurna identity, distinct from the source language which inspired its incorporation, thus downplaying the potential accusation that Kaurna is 'stealing' words from other languages.

The principles of comparative linguistics allows the reconstruction of the proto-form of the word, based on the words recorded for the other members of the subgroup and from that

determine the shape of the expected reflex in the language being reclaimed. For example Adnyamathanha has a number of words to do with hunting methods and implements. Several are identical or cognate with recorded Kaurna words. However there are several words which do not seem to have been recorded in Kaurna as follows (taken from Tunbridge, 1991: 32):

Adnyamathanha		earlier Adnyamathanha ²⁸	Expected Kaurna Reflex
<i>yarru</i>	'wingtrap'	*tharru or *yarru	tharru or yarru
<i>vata</i>	'pitfall'	*pata	pata
<i>yadhi</i> ~ <i>yadhi warla</i>	'hide'	*thathi	thathi
<i>akitha</i>	'yard'	*kakitha	kakitha

Initial y- in Adnyamathanha often corresponds to th- in Kaurna and v corresponds to p. Vowel initial words in Adnyamathanha correspond to k in Kaurna. So rather than borrow these words directly from Adnyamathanha, it would make more sense to incorporate them in their earlier forms **tharru* 'wingtrap'; **pata* 'pitfall', **thathi* 'hide' and **kakitha* 'yard' occurring prior to the operation of sound changes which occurred in Adnyamathanha. In doing this, we end up with a set of words which are related to, but quite distinct from their modern Adnyamathanha counterparts. In this case, the Kaurna reflex always ends up being the same as the earlier Adnyamathanha form. Of course with another set of languages this will not necessarily follow.

7.3.2.5 Onomatopoeia

The use of onomatopoeia, or developing words based on the characteristic sound that an object makes, is used frequently by Aboriginal languages. Indeed the form of several Kaurna words indicates onomatopoeic origins. Consider *kua* 'crow', *baku baku* 'butcher bird', *tetetitya* 'a species of parrot', *warruwarrukka* 'barking', *warruwarrukandi* 'to bark', *bithabitharniappendi* 'to iron linen', *bitha bitha* 'smooth like ironed linen'. However, onomatopoeia as yet has seldom been used to develop contemporary Kaurna words and fill lexical gaps. The only example that comes to mind is °*yiityi* 'hiss' which might be regarded as both onomatopoeia and borrowing from English, as the English word 'hiss' is itself onomatopoeic.

Onomatopoeia could be used more in the future to address lexical gaps, especially for objects or processes which emit a characteristic and distinctive sound. Birds are particularly good candidates for developing onomatopoeic words.

7.3.3 Case Studies

In the subsections below, I explore two prominent lexical domains, chosen for their ability to illustrate the principles discussed above. I discuss difficulties which have arisen and how they have been overcome or how they might be addressed.

7.3.3.1 Fauna Terms

A reasonable number of Kaurna terms for fauna have been documented. T&S and TMs make a good start with more than 30 terms for mammals, 15 terms for reptiles and about 50 bird terms,

²⁸Barngarla and Nukunu counterparts have not been identified. As these words were only recorded in Adnyamathanha, there is no way of knowing whether they were part of proto-Thura-Yura.

though some of the glosses are deficient. Other sources also make an important contribution. Williams (1840) and Wyatt (1879) both provide the names of a number of species not recorded elsewhere and their glosses for certain fauna species help to narrow down the possibilities where T&S's glosses are especially vague. For instance, Wyatt has *tooporra* 'black banded lizard' compared with T&S's *tuparra* 'a small species of lizard'. Wyatt is especially useful in relation to insects and birds. Piesse (1840) has provided no less than seven terms for bird species not recorded elsewhere, including *teen-deen-de* 'kingfisher', a very useful word. Robinson (n.d.) and Gaimard (1833) both provide several words not recorded elsewhere. In addition to the recognised Kaurna sources, Edward Stephens sent 36 bird names accompanying specimens to London in 1838 (see section 6.1.2.3.) Several of these words are clearly Kaurna, though others²⁹ bear no relationship to Kaurna words documented in other sources. It is possible that all these words are Kaurna, having been recorded so early. However, they have not yet been included in the Kaurna lexicon (Amery, 1997) and as they are somewhat dubious, some thought needs to be given to this matter. This remains an interesting sideline to pursue at some time in the future. No English equivalent is given for nine of the terms. If the specimens still remain in England and the names can be linked with the specimens it could prove to be a valuable source of terms for species which may even be extinct.

After compiling all the known Kaurna terms referring to fauna and flora, it is evident that there are several glaring lexical gaps. The table below sets out the prominent lexical gaps in this domain, together with known counterparts in the most closely related languages.

Table 7.5: Some Prominent Lexical gaps in Kaurna Fauna Terminology³⁰

gloss	Narungga	Nukunu	Barngarla	Adnyamathanha
echidna		<i>nhaalha</i>	³¹	<i>vakirri</i> (= porcupine grass)
koala				
platypus				
seal	<i>wadibaru</i>		<i>nengki</i>	
brilga				<i>vurrarka</i>
willy wagtail ³²	<i>tjintrin</i>			
sea eagle	<i>dit:i</i>			
ibis				
penguin	<i>indala</i>		<i>tolai</i>	
gecko	<i>mungka; wit:a</i>		³³	<i>murnga; waka; wakamilanha</i>
worm				<i>vurkarli</i> (clearworms); <i>wityakuru</i> (tapeworms)

These lexical gaps have surfaced in various ways. 'Echidna', 'koala' and 'platypus' were needed for picture cards and flash cards being prepared to teach young children the names of

²⁹A good example of this is *cia-cow kutu* 'laughing jackass', a distinctive bird species difficult to confuse with others. *Cia-cow kutu* is totally dissimilar to *ngungana* documented by T&S.

³⁰The terms included in this table have been chosen primarily in response to needs that have already arisen in the preparation of materials associated with the Kaurna language programs.

³¹Barngarla has *kantya* 'porcupine grass'.

³²Ngadjuri has '*witjililki* 'Willy Wagtail' according to Berndt & Vogelsang (1941: 10), whilst Diyari has '*tindri'tindri* which shows a closer relationship with the known Narungga word *tjintrin*.

³³Five lizard species terms were recorded by Schürmann (1844), though none can be identified as 'gecko'.

Australian fauna and flora. 'Seal', 'willy wagtail' and 'ibis' were used in the preparation of Kaurna Dreaming stories. 'Brolga' was needed in the translation of *Tucker's Mob* in 1991. 'Sea eagle' was requested as the name of the Aboriginal programs unit within the University of Adelaide, named in memory of Gladys Elphick, a prominent Kaurna activist and educationist, 'sea eagle' being her totem. Other terms, such as 'penguin' and 'worm', have not yet been requested, though I envisage that they will be needed, as these items are not easily subsumed under existing Kaurna lexemes.

Presumably Kaurna had terms for all the items listed in the table above. The koala and platypus were known to have inhabited the Adelaide Plains (pc Mike Gemmell, South Australian Museum, Sept. 1997). Some of these lexical gaps have already been addressed by either borrowing the word from another Aboriginal language or by developing a descriptive term.

Table 7.6: Gaps in the Fauna Domain Addressed So Far:

Animal/bird	Adopted term	Etymology
echidna	<i>ᵐnhaalha</i>	borrowed from Nukunu <i>nhaalha</i> 'echidna'
koala	<i>ᵐkaula</i>	incorporated in its original Dharuk form (Dixon et al, 1990: 72)
platypus	<i>*kauwilta</i>	from <i>kauwe</i> 'water' + <i>pilta</i> 'possum'
seal	<i>ᵐwatteparu</i>	from <i>watte</i> 'middle' + <i>paru</i> 'meat'; adapted from Narungga <i>wadibaru</i> 'seal' which itself perhaps means "meat in the middle"
brolga	<i>ᵐbrolga</i> ³⁴	borrowed directly from English; would have been better to incorporate as <i>purralka</i> .
willy wagtail	<i>ᵐjintrin</i>	borrowed from Narungga <i>jintrin</i> 'willy wagtail'
sea eagle	<i>*wilto yerlo</i>	from <i>wilto</i> 'eagle' + <i>yerlo</i> 'sea', a loan translation of English 'sea eagle'.
ibis	<i>*tamandi nurloni</i>	from <i>tamandi</i> 'beak' + <i>nurloni</i> 'curved' referring to the distinctive feature of this species.

7.3.3.2 Marine Life - a case study of a lexical domain

By contrast with terrestrial fauna, marine life was very poorly recorded and serves as a particularly striking example of gaps in the lexicon, gaps of course which are not inherent in the language itself. Other coastal languages still spoken, such as Djambarrpuynu (Galpagalpa et al, 1984) or Ndjébbana (Coleman, 1991), show that the lexicon of Australian languages is highly elaborated in this domain. The Djambarrpuynu wordlist includes, for example, 64 head entries for sharks and rays alone. Some of these terms are synonyms, but there are at least 30 terms referring to different species. The majority of terms are monomorphemic and unrelated to other words in the Djambarrpuynu lexicon. Within Nunga contemporary society, fish still continue to play an important role and terms are needed for the main edible species.

³⁴In the translation of *Tucker's Mob*, I borrowed 'brolga' directly from English. In retrospect it would've been better to adopt the word close to its original form. The English word 'brolga' was borrowed from Kamilaroi *burralga* (Dixon et.al., 1990: 87), but is shared by languages across to Lake Eyre. Clearly the Adnyamathanha term *vurralka* is a cognate. It makes sense to incorporate the term in Kaurna as *purralka* knowing that there is some possibility that Kaurna had this term, though observers failed to record it.

The following dozen are the only terms for marine mammals, fish, shellfish and other marine life recorded by T&S and TMs:

<i>kondolli</i>	'whale'
<i>yambo</i>	'a large species of fish'
<i>nakkudla</i>	'shark'
<i>kuya</i>	'fish generally'
<i>parndo</i>	'a large fish in the Lake and Murray'
<i>marilanna</i>	'a small species of sea fish'
<i>waitko</i>	'a species of fish'
<i>tarnipaitya</i>	'sea crab'
<i>kunggurla</i>	'crawfish'
<i>ngaltaitya</i>	'a small species of crawfish, river crawfish'
<i>kakirra</i>	'a small black river muscle <sic>'
<i>tindomatta</i>	'a small shell'

Some of the glosses are vague. From these sources alone, it is uncertain as to what species the terms *yambo*, *marilanna*, *waitko* etc. refer. It would seem that T&S had little interest in fish and spent little time with Kurna people camping on the coast when they worked on Kurna between 1838 and 1840. In fact Schürmann's journals indicate that apart from visits to Encounter Bay, they spent most of their time in Adelaide at Piltawodli or in Klemzig. They did, however, accompany Kurna people on kangaroo and possum hunting expeditions and this is reflected in the recording of animal terms, hunting implements and hunting practices (Schurmann, 1987), but there is no indication that they spent much time, if any, with the Kurna engaged in fishing activities³⁵.

Williams (1839) and Wyatt (1879) reduce some of this uncertainty. They provide:

Williams (1839)		Wyatt (1879)	
<i>yaumbo</i>	'porpoise'	<i>yombo</i>	'porpoise'
<i>nerkundar</i>	'shark'		
<i>kuyar</i>	'fish'	<i>kuya, kuye, kuyu</i>	'fish'
<i>weni</i>	'snapper'		
<i>kerka</i>	'bream'	<i>kerka</i>	'bream'
<i>marila</i>	'mullet'		
		<i>miburle</i>	'river fish (trout)'
<i>waiku</i>	'small fish in R. Torrens'		
<i>kongula</i>	'crawfish'	<i>kongula</i>	'crawfish'
		<i>ngaltaitye</i>	'river crawfish'
		<i>karkara</i>	'unio' (river bivalve)
		<i>kurlutumme</i>	'univalve shell' (meleager)
		<i>tindo, tindomatta</i>	'river univalve' (lymneus)

Thus T&S's *yambo* refers to 'dolphin' or 'porpoise', whilst *marilanna* appears to be the plural of 'mullet'. In addition we have a little more information regarding *waitko* and *tindomatta* and several additional terms not recorded by T&S.

Piesse (1840) also recorded *coo-la-toin-me* 'periwinkle' and *cut-tee* 'small crab'. *Coo-la-toin-me* is probably the same as Wyatt's *kurlutumme*, whilst *cut-tee* bears some similarity to Wyatt's (1879) *kóote* 'a bivalve shell (?)' which he lists as an Encounter Bay (ie Ramindjeri) word and

³⁵By contrast Schürmann's (1844) Barngarla vocabulary contains many more terms referring to marine life than does his work on Kurna.

accords well with other Ngarrindjeri sources with the word *kuti* 'cockle'. Piesse uses the letter *u* for [a] as in English 'but' and thus his word for 'small crab' is probably [kathi] or something similar, and is thus quite distinct to the Ngarrindjeri word for 'cockle'.

However, if we look to Narrunga (Tindale, 1935b), many other terms for marine life were recorded, including useful terms like *awatji* 'estuary catfish', *gulalja* 'Australian salmon' and *kainbara* 'butterfish' (see Appendix E3). Some of these Narungga fish terms are still known and used within the Nunga community (pc Lewis O'Brien).

Only four terms were documented in Nukunu in this domain. Further north, Schürmann (1844) lists about 50 terms for marine life in Barnagarla, including 30 fish species. This list includes a number of important species, such as *ngaltai* 'barracouta', which were not recorded in more closely related languages such as Narungga.

Meyer (1843) includes a number of terms for marine life in his vocabulary of neighbouring, but more distantly related Ramindjeri, including the terms *pl'iyē* 'shrimp' and *rippuri* 'gar-fish', which seem not to have been recorded in more closely related languages to the north. Berndt & Berndt (1993: 562-567) also provide a detailed inventory of Ngarrindjeri terms for marine life (see Appendix E3).

7.3.3.2.1 A Proposal for Filling Gaps in the Marine Life Domain

Lexical gaps within the marine life domain are yet to be addressed and there are good reasons why we shouldn't rush into these matters. However, by way of illustration, a possible inventory of Kaurna terms for the marine life domain might be as follows:

<i>kondolli</i>	'whale' (T&S, 1840)
<i>yambo</i>	'porpoise, dolphin' (T&S, 1840; Williams; Wyatt)
<i>nakkudla</i>	'shark' (T&S, 1840)
<i>kuya</i>	'fish generally' (T&S, 1840)
<i>parndo</i>	'Murray cod' (T&S, 1840)
<i>marilanna</i>	'mullet' (T&S, 1840; Williams, 1839)
<i>waitko</i>	'small freshwater species (eg gudgeons, galaxis etc)' (from T&S; Williams, 1839 'a small fish in the River Torrens')
<i>tarnipaitya</i>	'sea crab' (T&S, 1840)
<i>kunggurla</i>	'crayfish or lobster' (T&S, 1840)
<i>ngaltaitya</i>	'freshwater crayfish' (T&S, 1840)
<i>kakirra</i>	'a small black river mussle' (T&S, 1840; Wyatt, 1879)
<i>tindomatta</i>	'a small river univalve, <i>lymneus</i> ' (T&S, 1840; Wyatt, 1879)
<i>weni</i>	'snapper' (Williams, 1839)
<i>kerka</i>	'bream' (Williams, 1839; Wyatt, 1879)
<i>miburle</i>	'trout' (Wyatt, 1879)
<i>kurlutumme</i>	'periwinkle' (Piesse, 1840); (Wyatt, 1879)
<i>ʔawatyi</i>	'estuary catfish' [from Narrunga]
<i>ʔainbara</i>	'strongfish' [from Narrunga]
<i>ʔnudli</i>	'mulloway' [from Narrunga]
<i>ʔatankala</i>	'blue swimming crab' [from Narrunga]
<i>ʔatanpitparti</i>	'groper' [from Narrunga]
<i>ʔadara</i>	'stingray' [from Narrunga]
<i>ʔulalya</i>	'Australian salmon' [from Narrunga]
<i>*marrawitte</i>	'octopus' <i>lit.</i> , "many hands" [loan translation of Narrunga term]
<i>ʔpirra</i>	'oyster' [from Nukunu]
<i>*murro-butto</i>	'bony bream' [loan translation of Narungga term]

* <i>ta-yokunna</i>	'flounder' <i>lit.</i> , crooked mouth [loan translation of Narrunga term]
* <i>arni-mudlu</i>	'toad fish' [from Narrunga]
* <i>watteparu</i>	'seal' [adapted from Narrunga]
* <i>yardli</i>	'whiting' [from Narrunga]
* <i>wallilli</i>	'cod' [from Barngarla]
* <i>yayardlu</i>	'cuttlefish' [from Barngarla]
* <i>pulbala</i>	'sponge' [from Barngarla]
* <i>munu</i>	'bluebottle' [from Barngarla <i>munu</i> 'venomous sea animal, often found dead on the sea beach']
* <i>pilaki</i>	'callop' [from Ngarrindjeri]
* <i>kuti</i>	'cockle' [from Ngarrindjeri]
* <i>piliyi</i>	'shrimp' [from Ramindjeri, Meyer, 1843]
* <i>yuwal</i>	'Tommy ruff' [adapted from Yaralde, Berndt]
* <i>ta towinna</i>	'garfish' [from <i>ta</i> 'mouth' + <i>towinna</i> 'long; stretched']
* <i>tia tiarka</i>	'barracouta' [from <i>tia</i> 'tooth' + <i>tiarka</i> 'sharp']
* <i>towinna</i>	'fresh/saltwater sprat' [from <i>towinna</i> 'long; stretched']
* <i>tokabinna</i>	'carp' [from <i>toka</i> 'mud' + <i>-binna</i> 'inclined to']

This possible inventory draws upon all of the existing Kurna terms, but also incorporates several terms from neighbouring Narungga, several from Barngarla and several from Ngarrindjeri in that order. It also incorporates a number of compounds, derived terms and loan translations of Narungga terms. Kurna people may wish to find alternatives to the terms borrowed from other languages though. This remains a point for further discussion and language development.

7.3.4 Lexical Semantics

A great deal of attention had obviously been given to body parts, body products, bodily states and actions. In excess of 160 terms referring to body parts and body products were recorded by T&S including terms such as *nepa ~ neparra* 'membrane which keeps the skin to the flesh', *meya* 'anterior fontanelle' and *pillapillunna* 'ensiform cartilage'. Words relating to speech, mental processes and feelings were also well documented, no doubt because these terms were especially useful in their mission to 'Christianize' and 'civilize'. The coverage of many other areas of the lexicon, however, is not so detailed.

7.3.4.1 A Lexical Puzzle: Munaintyia 'The Dreaming'

The contemporary purposes to which the Kurna language is being used includes public display of Kurna culture. Kurna Dreaming stories are sought out and highly valued. They constitute a major focus of the teaching of Aboriginal Studies in school curriculum. One of the most sought after words is a term for 'The Dreaming'. A number of possibilities have been explored.

Munaintyerlo

Schürmann often refers to the religious beliefs and practices of the Kurna. In early 1839 he had come across the word *munaintyerlo*, which at the time he assumed referred to a creator being. Schürmann was obviously seeking terms and expressions in Kurna that he could use to talk about God and Christianity. In a letter he refers to *munaintyerlo* in the following terms:

Munaintyerlo, who of old lived on earth, but who sits now above, has made the sun, moon and stars, the earth and the visible world in general. As soon as I got this name, I substituted it for the hitherto used Jehova, which they could scarcely pronounce. . . . If further discoveries do not show that they combine too pagan and absurd ideas with the name *Munaintyerlo*, I mean to retain it for the name of God.

(Letter from Schürmann to Dresden, 12 June 1839 in Schurmann, 1987: 46-47)

Later however, in a letter dated 3 April 1840 he refers again to *Munaintyerlo*:

The *Munaintyerlo* is not a Noun proper of a person, as I was then led to believe, but meant only a very ancient being, so that it can be justly said, that the Aborigines have an idea of creation, or that the universe has in very remote times been made by some being, but that they have no distinct notions of that being. (Schürmann, 1987: 91)

Philip Clarke (1990: 3) in his article on Adelaide Aboriginal cosmology discusses *Munaintyerlo* in the following terms:

Monaincherloo: Sun-father man

Monaincherloo or *Munaintyerlo* was described as the "highest creature" <Schürmann, Journal 5 June 1839>. He created all things in the visible world. No-one made or created him and he was believed to have power over life and death. According to one account he had always been in the Heavens above, although others state that he did live on the lower landscape once <Schürmann>. An alternative name for *Monaincherloo* was *Teendo Yerle*, literally "Sun-father" or *Tindojerlimejo*, literally "Sun-father man", suggesting a father/son relationship between *Monaincherloo* and the Sun. *Monaincherloo* has several wives, probably planets, who were considered to be benevolent. However, he also had a pair of evil sisters who were described as being "long"; Schürmann believed that the latter were probably comets <Schürmann, 1839; 1840> (Clark, 1990: 3)

Note that Clarke equates *Munaintyerlo* with *Tindoyerlimeyu* 'sunfather man', but Schürmann appears to distinguish between them, for he describes the latter in the following terms:

Tindoyerlimeyu, <literally, the sunfather man> is the personified and deified sun. Of him it is believed that he had many wives <sic>, who are very good, but also some long sisters, who are very bad, probable that by the two latter the planets and comets is referred to. *Tindoyerlimeyu* has power over life and death. (Schürmann, 1987: 48)

Morphologically, the word *munaintyerlo* is complex. The root of the word is:

muna Adverb 'before, first' (T&S 1840: 25)
muna 'before or the front' (TMs)

Muna was documented as being used in the following expressions:

muna padni 'go before' (T&S 1840: 25)
muna padni 'go before, foremost' (TMs)

Muna also occurs in the compound

muna meyu 'ancestor' (T&S 1840: 25)

There are several other related forms based on the root *muna* as follows:

munangka 'before; first; relative to time' (T&S 1840: 25)
munana Adj. 'former; later; ancient' (T&S 1840: 25)
munana Adj. 'former, ancestor'
munanarna 'plural of *munana*' (TMs)
munara Adv. 'before'; *munara padni* 'go before' (T&S 1840: 25)
munambi not glossed
munaintya not glossed
munaintyerlo Adj. comp. 'of a very remote time; ancient' (T&S 1840: 25)
munaintyerlo 'sooner than; comparative' (TMs) [i.e. 'earlier']
munaintyerlintya 'superlative to *muna*' (TMs) [i.e. 'earliest']

Wyatt (1879: 33) has *monaincherlo* 'name of a creator' and *monána* 'a man who climbed up to the sky'.

The word *munaintyerlo* is best considered as a time word. *-intya* is a suffix which occurs on many demonstratives and temporals. In relation to the use of *-intya* on demonstratives, T&S (1840: 9) indicate an indefinite function:

These pronouns seem to become indefinite when *intya* is added; as *nguintya* (or *nguntya*) some person; *ngurluntya*, some person (was the agent); *iaintya*, this, perhaps; *idluntya*, this perhaps (was the agent).

The suffix *-rlo* is the Ergative and Instrumental case suffix, but it is also used on temporals, just as the Ergative/instrumental case suffix is used on temporals in Yolngu Matha. Note the following usage in Kaurna:

Tindourlo adli nakkoreuta.
sun-TEMP we(2) see-RECIP-FUT
'Tomorrow we shall see ourselves again'

Yangadlindi, tindo wongarta tikkaitaurlo ngai budnaota.
later-only sun west sit-FUT-TEMP I come-FUT
'By and by, when the sun will be in the west, I shall come'

In the second sentence *-rlo* (appearing as *-urlo*) is marking the temporal phrase and is translated by 'when'.

Probably the best translation of *munaintyerlo* would be 'in the beginning' and for *munaintyerlintya* 'at the very beginning'. This is shown by comparison with other time words as follows:

<i>paininggaintyarlo</i>	'comparative of <i>painingga</i> 'formerly, in past time'
<i>kurlaintyarlo</i>	'seems comparative form to <i>kurlanna</i> 'the last, hindermost, the present generation, posterity' [i.e. 'more recent, modern; more up-to-date']
<i>Wortaintyarlo Sunday budnata.</i>	'At the close of the Sunday I shall come'
(<i>wortaintyarlo</i>)	'at the close of' < <i>worta</i> 'last; behind' + <i>-intya</i> 'INDEF+' + <i>-rlo</i> 'TEMP'

The 'Dreaming' in Neighbouring Languages

Turning attention to neighbouring languages, we find *wipma* 'history time; Dreamtime' in Nukunu. *Wipma* does not seem to be related to any other words recorded in Nukunu, nor is it related to anything recorded in Kaurna, though Barngarla has *wibma* 'already'. Adnyamathanha has *muda* 'history' which best represents the Australian English concept of 'The Dreaming' (Tunbridge, 1988: xxviii). It refers specifically to 'Dreaming stories'

The Kaurna word for 'dream' *tangkuinya* appears to be a compound formed from *tangka* 'liver; the seat of emotions; desire, longing' + ?³⁶ and is completely unrelated to Kaurna time words. It is worth noting that few Australian languages associate 'The Dreaming' with the noun

³⁶It is unclear what the second element of this compound might be, though *tuinya* 'widow' (TMs) and *kuinyo* 'death; evil spirit' are possible candidates.

'a dream' or the verb 'to dream'³⁷. Neighbouring languages such as Ngarrindjeri, Nukunu and Adnyamathanha certainly do not associate the two.

Neighbouring languages do, however, appear to associate 'The Dreaming' with time words:

Ngarrindjeri	<i>kulal</i> <i>kalalw</i>	'The Dreaming' [p.c. Philip Clark] 'long ago' (Berndt & Berndt, 1993)
Nukunu Barnjarla	<i>wipma</i> <i>wibma</i>	'history time; Dreamtime' 'already'
Adnyamathanha	<i>muda</i>	'history; The Dreaming'

It would seem reasonable then to associate the concept of 'The Dreaming' with a time word in Kaurna.

Two possibilities were discussed with Lewis O'Brien (6 June 1995), whether it would be preferable to borrow °*wipma* from Nukunu or to use one of the Kaurna time words. No gloss is provided for *munaintya*, but a likely gloss for it would be 'the beginning; the creation' and would thus be a plausible candidate for the contemporary English term 'The Dreaming'. Lewis chose to adopt the latter, drawing on the linguistic resources of Kaurna itself, in preference to borrowing from Nukunu.

7.3.4.2 Inadequate Glosses and the Arbitrary Assignment of Meaning.

Fungi - A Case Study

Five terms are recorded by T&S for fungi. Four of these, *pilge*, *taulta*, *tangkaiira* and *wornkawornka*, are all glossed simply as 'a species of fungus' by T&S, and contrast with *parnappi* 'mushroom'. *Pilge* and *taulta* are completely unrelated to any other recorded Kaurna lexeme or referent. *Tangkaiira* was used as a female personal name, referring to one of the signatories of the letter sent to Gawler in 1841, and was the name of the wife of Ityamaitpinna 'King Rodney'. *Wornkawornka* appears to be related morphologically to *wornka* 'venereal disease'. It is unclear what this resemblance implies, though perhaps *wornka* also relates to 'thrush', a fungal disease affecting the genitals. Perhaps *wornkawornka* had medicinal properties and was used in the treatment of venereal disease³⁸. However, this is a matter of conjecture and doesn't really help in identifying the particular fungus involved. In addition, Piesse records *co-mer-run-kee* 'a large species of fungus' which may be a compound where the second element could be a reduction of *ngangki* 'female; woman'. The first element bears some resemblance to *kuma* 'one; another'. Other than noting these resemblances, little more can be said.

Of the six terms recorded within the semantic domain of fungi, only *parnappi* 'mushroom' is useful in the absence of more information. Unless additional meaning is assigned to the

³⁷Pitjantjatjara, Arrernte, Warlpiri and other Central Australian languages are exceptions.

³⁸Peter Mühlhäusler (Sept. 1997) made this suggestion.

remaining terms they are effectively wasted. Within the domain of fungi, a generic would be useful. Terms for 'toadstool', 'puffball' and 'tree fungi' are probably the most useful in this domain. It was also suggested that it might be useful to have a word for 'thrush' and other fungal diseases. There may also be other edible fungi from the Adelaide Plains that are known within the Nunga community, though initial investigations seem to indicate that this knowledge has not survived.

Before one arbitrarily assigns additional meaning to terms, it would be advisable to carry out exhaustive comparative research looking for related terms in neighbouring and genetically related languages which may provide further clues. Whilst the semantic domain of fungi depicts this problem clearly, some terms in other semantic domains are also ill-defined in the same way and beg further definition to make them useful.

Of course, assignment of meaning in this way is fundamentally a matter for the Kaurna community to decide. My role is merely to point out ways in which the Kaurna lexicon might be refined and made more useful. To date there are no instances in which meaning has been arbitrarily assigned on this basis, though there are instances in which species terms have been used as generics. For instance, *tauanda* 'a species of duck' has been used as a generic 'duck' in the absence of one documented. In fact there are three different Kaurna words documented simply as 'a species of duck' and a fourth given as 'a large species of duck'. In this case, there is probably no functional need to differentiate between a 'black duck', 'wood duck', 'teal' and other species, though the potential is there to assign more specific meaning in this way.

7.3.4.3 Extended Meanings, Nuances, Collocations and Metaphor

Dictionaries never fully represent the range of meanings, nuances and collocations of the words of a language. For instance, Crystal (1995: 100) lists sentences to illustrate seven different meanings of 'mean/meaning', though he notes that Ogden & Richards (1923) identified 16 different meanings. Yet most dictionaries list many fewer meanings than this. The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* for instance lists only five meanings.

Whilst there are gaps and deficiencies in T&S and TMs, the glosses supplied for some lexical items demonstrate much thought and care. Additional information, glossed phrases etc, serve to indicate the range of meanings of some terms and idiomatic expressions which include the term. Some areas of the lexicon were very well documented.

Establishing the denotative meaning of many terms, especially animals or concrete objects, is reasonably straightforward. But even here, animal terms are also used metaphorically. Certain physical features, behaviours or character traits are siezed upon to develop metaphors applied to people, machines and ways of doing things. Many languages, typified by English, tend to use these metaphors in a pejorative sense. Whilst the use of metaphors based on animal terms is probably a universal phenomenon, these were not documented in Kaurna, though they certainly

do exist in other Australian languages better documented. For instance in Pitjantjatjara, Goddard (1992) includes *papa* 'dog'; *liru* 'snake' and *kaangka* 'crow' used metaphorically in reference to people. *Wunggan* 'dog' is used in Yolngu Matha in a metaphorical sense as 'playboy' (Zorc, 1986: 269).

Nor is it surprising that such metaphorical usage was not documented in Kurna. The German missionaries had limited exposure to the language. They did however note a relationship between *kadliadli* 'a deceased person; corpse; dead' and *kadli* 'dog' as indicated in TMs. Several other words seem to have obvious links to animal terms. For example, *kadnomarngutta* 'bullroarer', seems to be a compound formed by *kadno* 'a species of large lizard which the natives eat in the summer season' and *marngutta* 'desirous of getting something; generally used as an affix. *Paru marngutta*, desirous of getting meat'.

Not surprisingly, most glosses of concrete nouns give only the primary meaning, though many also give secondary meanings (eg. *pari* 'maggot; rice'). We can safely assume that T&S recorded failed to record the full range of senses in which most verbs were used, though some glosses reveal a surprising number of meanings for some verbs. For instance:

kaityandi 'to send; to lay eggs; to furnish a spear with quartz'
paltandi 'to knock; push; throw; beat; pluck off; pull out'
ngatpandi 'to go down; walk in; sink, to put into'³⁹ <ie both transitive and intransitive>

Sentence examples provide some additional senses in which words were used that were not documented in the vocabulary, but these are few in number, owing to the limited number of sentences and texts recorded. TMs provides the following insightful entry:

ngatparendi, ngatparingaii? 'Shall I put me on (the trousers?)' or 'shall I enter (the room?)' from which translation you will easily infer what made the form in *-rendi* represent.

Ngatparingaii consists of the root *ngatpa*, the reciprocal/reflexive morpheme *-ri* and the first person pronoun *ngaii*. This example provides two quite different contexts in which the utterance is appropriate. In essence *Ngatparingaii?* with rising question intonation might mean 'Shall I put myself into (it)?' A range of other contexts in which this utterance might be appropriate come to mind. It might mean, for instance, 'Shall I participate (in this venture)?' or 'Will I hop in (to bed)?' or 'Will I get in (the car)?' Exploitation of recorded utterances like *Ngatparingaii?* begin to capture the true essence of the Kurna language as it was spoken last century, and how it can be used in the next.

Language reclamation then, entails the assignment of additional meanings to documented words. Assumptions need to be made about the range of application of a particular term and the semantic space it occupies relative to other words in the language. Of course, there is a strong defacto pressure from the semantics of English, in the absence of information to the contrary, to

³⁹It is evident from *teendo atpan* or *atpande* 'sunset or the sun is set' in Wyatt's wordlist that *ngatpandi* was used for the sun 'setting'.

assume a similar range of meanings apply to the Kaurna term as it does for its English counterpart. For instance, *tappingyandi* is given as the transitive verb 'to open'. It is obviously a compound formed from *ta* 'mouth' + *pingyandi* 'to raise; make; construct; form etc'. T&S (1840: 41) note that *ta* "is frequently used as a prefix in compound words, implying an opening or aperture or having reference to the mouth". We used the verb *tappingyandi* in one of the first workshops to translate the children's song *Open, Shut Them* at a time when we were unaware that it was a compound. *Tartandi* 'to cover' was used for 'shut'. In retrospect, it is unlikely that *tappingyandi* and *tartandi* would be applied to 'opening' and 'closing' the hand. In fact, there is another word *marrawakka* 'double hand' and a verb *marrawakkandi* 'to hold the double hand'. So, 'shut them (hands)' is probably best realised as *marrawakkarla!* whilst 'open them!' may be based on an analogous, but unrecorded form. One can imagine that *tappingyandi* (lit. 'creating a mouth') might well be applied to 'opening a tin' or 'opening a letter', 'opening a purse' etc. but whether or not it applies to 'opening the hand', 'opening one's mind', 'opening one's heart', 'opening a bank account', 'opening a new centre' or 'opening up the land' and other more figurative uses is an open question.

As in this example, the typical scenario is as follows: A verb is needed to translate an English verb 'to X'. A search is made of the materials and a Kaurna verb is found which contains within its gloss 'to X', perhaps embedded amongst a range of other glosses 'to Y; to Z etc.' or a verb is found with the gloss 'to Y' where Y is similar to or approximates 'to X'. The Kaurna verb so located is used whenever the English verb 'to X' is used. In the example above, *tappingyandi* 'to open' and *tartandi* 'to shut' tend to be used in the same range of contexts and situations in which the English verbs 'open' and 'shut' are used.

7.4 Grammar and Syntax

A contemporary grammar of Kaurna is currently being written by Simpson (in Simpson & Amery, forthcoming). Simpson (1995) explains some aspects of the process. The reconstituted grammar of Kaurna is fundamentally an interpretation of T&S, TMs and Teichelmann (1858) in the light of a knowledge of related languages and understandings of Australian linguistics, notably Dixon (1976; 1980), Blake (1987), Walsh & Yallop (1993).

There is a close alignment between the grammar of Kaurna as outlined by T&S and what we would expect based on modern grammars of related languages. The missionaries document a fairly typical Pama-Nyungan case system with the expected Ergative (marking both Agent and Instrumental case relations), Dative (marking both Genitive and Dative roles), Locative, Allative, Ablative and Perlative cases. In common with some other Pama-Nyungan languages, both the Nominative and Accusative cases are unmarked. Human nouns appear to take a different Allative and Ablative case suffix to other nouns, a situation paralleled by the Yolngu languages of Northeast Arnhemland (Morphy, 1983: 33). Somewhat unusual, however, is the absence of Ergative case marking on non-singular pronouns and possibly also absent on non-singular nouns, in addition to the absence of a distinctive Accusative case suffix.

It is not my intention here to provide a complete analysis and description of Kaurna grammar. That is beyond the scope of this thesis and is being done elsewhere (Simpson & Amery, forthcoming). Rather, I intend to explore some areas of the grammar that have presented particular problems to us, as learners and teachers of Kaurna. My concern is with the method of language reclamation, rather than grammatical description and analysis, though the latter is needed of course to undertake the former.

7.4.1 Number

Kaurna is somewhat unusual amongst Pama-Nyungan languages in the extent and frequency by which number is marked on both pronouns and nouns. According to Blake (1977: 4), in those languages which mark number by suffixes, their use is often restricted to certain classes of nominals, perhaps to animate nouns or nouns referring to humans. It would appear that such restrictions do not apply in Kaurna as there are instances of use of the dual and plural suffixes on human, animate and inanimate nouns alike. Note, for instance, the following sentence:

Ngando parnukko bukkitidla kateota kauwidla? 'Who will fetch her two buckets of water?'
 who her bucket-DUAL fetch-will water-DUAL

Note that dual number is marked on both the noun *bukketi* 'bucket' and *kauwe* 'water' in the discontinuous noun phrase. Here Kaurna makes more use of number marking than English, which does not mark 'water' with a plural suffix as it is a mass noun. Similarly, there is an instance of plural number marking on the word *mai* 'food' as in:

Itto, ngangkurna⁴⁰ maiinna? 'Those, whose provisions are they?'
 those whose-PL food-PL

On other occasions Kaurna does not employ number marking in situations where the English translation implies that a plural entity is involved. Note:

Parndarlo ngatto wodli taieta. 'I shall build the house with bricks'
Kurrakitya padni adli. 'Let us (two) go for cockatoos.'
Pulyunna meyurlo yakko yailtya pindi meyu budnitina.
 'The black man did not think that the white man would come.'

The main problem for us then, is when to morphologically mark nouns for dual and plural. In preparing materials for schools, this is an issue which frequently confronts us. Counting books are amongst the first materials requested. In an expression like 'I see four emus', is the plural marking required on *kari* 'emu'? There is just one example of a numeral used in a sentence with

⁴⁰*Ngangkurna* does not appear in the pronoun paradigms or the vocabulary. However, it appears that the plural marking *-na* refers to the possessed *maiinna* 'provisions' rather than the possessor. In the paradigm provided by T&S, *nganko* is listed as the Singular Genitive Interrogative Pronoun 'whose', whilst *ngandoannanko* is given as the Plural Genitive Interrogative Pronoun 'whose'. In another table titled "Possessive or Adjective Pronouns", T&S (1840: 11) list forms similar to *ngangkurna*. For instance, *ngaiturna* is given as the First Person Singular Nominative Plural Possessive or Adjective Pronoun. From the examples on p.24 such as *Ngangkurna mudlinna? Ngaiturna*. 'Whose are these things? They are mine?', clearly the plural marking in *ngangkurna* and *ngaiturna* is referring to the possessed *mudlinna* 'things'.

a nominal. In this case plural marking is used on the nominal and the preceding numeral, in *Purlaitye purlaitye madlurtanna*. 'Four young ones' (T&S: 66)

In the expression 'I see two kangaroos', is the numeral *purlaitye* 'two' acceptable in addition to the dual *nanturla* 'kangaroo-DUAL'? Which of the following are acceptable?

purlaitye nanturla
purlaitye nantu
nanturla
nantu purlaitye
nanturla purlaitye

In the historical materials there is just one sentence example employing the numeral *purlaitye* 'two', as in:

Painingga purlaityendi meyurla tittappe. Formerly, only two men have been hanged.
formerly two-only man-DUAL hanged

Dual forms alone are predominantly used, though it is likely that *purlaitye nanturla* is grammatical and the preferred form in the context of a counting book with sentences of the frame *Ngatto ___X_ ___Y_-nna nakkondi* 'I see X Ys.' even though *Ngatto nanturla nakkondi* 'I see two kangaroos' is probably the more idiomatic or casual way of speaking.

To make things more complex, it appears that a more natural way of expressing this would be *Nanturla nakkoatturla* as in the sentence *Tidnarla nguuyuatturla* 'I will warm my feet (dual)' where dual marking appears both on the noun and the verb. *Nakkuatturla* 'Let me see them' is probably the preferred way of expressing these notions, in a situation where the object is known to both interlocutors. That is, the object is expressed by a third person dual pronominal clitic.

When words like *ngarraitya* 'many' or *tauatta* 'many; much' are used, the noun appears both with and without the plural suffix, as in:

Pinde meyunna ngarraitye padlota nurrutulo. (T&S: 69)
European man-PL many die-FUT charm-ERG
'Plenty of Europeans will die of the charm.'

Mikawommangga ngarraitya tikketti burkanna. (T&S: 16)
Mika-plain-LOC many sit-PAST old man-PL
'On Mika plain, lived many old men.'

meyu tauatturlo kokatti (TMs)
man many-ERG dig-PAST
'many men have been digging'

ngarraitya paru aityo pangkarrila (TMs)
many game my territory-LOC
'there is an abundance of game in my country'

The main problem is that there are just so few examples that we are simply unable to draw any firm conclusions.

Within noun phrases it would appear that much freedom of word order is also tolerated. Some Australian languages allow considerable flexibility within the noun phrase. Pintupi, for instance, allows discontinuous constituents, a feature seemingly shared by Kurna. Arabana (Hercus, 1994) shows much flexibility within possessive noun phrases. Other languages however are more constrained.

Note the following pairs of examples from T&S (1840: 24).

vs *Meyu pulyunnanna* 'coloured men'
 Pulyunna meyorlo 'A black man (is) the agent'

vs *Wortanna ngaityo* 'My moveables'
 Ngaityo mudlinna 'My implements'

Tauere marni 'Very good' (T&S, 1840: V20)
Gadla tauarikanna 'To the large fire'
Gadla ngarnda parrando. 'Make a large fire!'

It seems that an intensifier can either precede or follow the adjective as in:

	<i>paityari marni</i>	'very good'	
and	<i>paityari tauara</i>	'very much, great'	
vs	<i>manni paityari</i> ⁴¹	'monstrous(?) good, morally good'	(TMs: under <i>marni</i>)

In the preparation of materials we have used both Noun + Adj and Adj + Noun word orders. In early workshops I tended to follow Pitjantjatjara word order in the noun phrase: Noun + Adjective. More recently I have often used the opposite word order as it seems that more examples in the historical sources use this order. Whether or not word order in the noun phrase is really free or not is an open question⁴². Perhaps the early observers were influenced by word order constraints in English or German some of the time. Remember that they were working in the days before sound recording devices, so they would have to rely on memory in transcribing sentences.

7.4.3 Tense and Aspect

There is considerable confusion regarding the status of some verb affixes. Australian languages typically make a number of tense and aspect distinctions, though in some languages present and past may fall together. Some languages make two or more distinctions between different past tense inflections, often distinguishing between perfect and imperfect aspects (Dixon, 1980: 380). Some languages have a distinctive historical past affix.

In Kurna, several past tense affixes are documented by T&S. They refer to *-tti* as the "Preterite or Aorist" and the final vowel change *a, u* -> *i* ~ \emptyset as the "Perfect". Eighteen years later Teichelmann (1858) swapped these around. The example sentences are inconclusive, at least in as far as the English glosses provided. The contexts in which the sentences were uttered are not

⁴¹The variations in spelling are not typographical errors, but occur within TMs.

⁴²Mühlhäusler (1986) investigates word order of noun phrases in Tok Pisin, noting that it and a number of other pidgins and creoles have mixed systems (Adj - N and N - Adj) which defy any simple explanation.

recoverable. The situation is further complicated by the existence of dialectal variants which are poorly understood. T&S (1840: 16f) identify dialectal variants in certain verbal affixes. For instance, their statement "The Future, *ta* (and, according to the dialects, in *ita*, *ota*, *ngutta*) throughout all person and numbers" seems to imply that these variants are purely dialectal. Dialectal variation is discussed in more detail below.

In the case of tense and aspect, a somewhat arbitrary decision will probably need to be made. This issue is yet to be satisfactorily resolved. For now, the so-called "Perfect" is used in situations in which the event is complete, finished or definite. The "Preterite" *-tti* is used for indefinite past notions such as "used to X" or "would X" etc.

7.4.4 Verb Conjugations?

Pama-Nyungan languages typically have a number of verb conjugations, though some languages, both in the centre and the south-east are known to have just one (Dixon, 1980: 280). Diyari (Austin, 1981: 66) and Adnyamathanha (Schebeck, 1976: 542) are said not to have verb conjugations. Further north, Pitjantjatjara has four conjugations. Many languages have just two conjugations while some may have as many as seven. In addition there are often a handful of irregular verbs.

It appears that there were at least two verb conjugations in Kurna on the basis of the "perfect" inflection, as the vowel alternation a,u ->i occurs in some verbs and not in others. The replacement of the final vowel of the root with /i/ is also attested in several languages. Hercus (1976: 598) reports a transitive/causative stem-final vowel *i* in Arabana-Wangganguru and Bägandji verbs. Djapu, a Yolngu language from North East Arnhemland, with four major conjugations, demonstrates similar vowel alternations within one of its sub-conjugation classes (a closed class of 13 monomorphemic roots). In this case the vowel change a -> i encodes a potential verb inflection (Morphy, 1983: 63). Morphy points out that "The potential inflection is semantically complex, being partly aspectual and partly modal. In terms of aspect it refers to events or actions which have not begun to occur or to states which have not as yet been achieved" (Morphy, 1983: 69). Two of these verbs are clearly cognate with Kurna verbs which demonstrate these same vowel alternations. Warumungu also has cognate verbs which undergo the same vowel alternation:

Djapu		Warumungu ⁴³		Kurna	
<i>buna</i>	'arrive-UNM'	<i>apan</i>	'go-PRES'	<i>budnandi</i>	'arrive-PRES'
<i>buni</i>	'arrive-POT'	<i>api</i>	'go-FUT'	<i>budni</i>	'arrive-PERF'
<i>wanga</i>	'talk/say-UNM'	<i>wangkan</i>	'say-PRES'	<i>wanggandi</i>	'to speak'
<i>wangi</i>	'talk/say-POT'	<i>wangki</i>	'say-FUT'	<i>wanggi</i>	'speak-PERF'

In Kurna, verbs are listed in their present tense form with the suffix *-ndi*. Unless a verb is used in the past "perfect" tense in an example sentence, there is no way of knowing whether the final vowel remains as is, or is replaced by *i*. Because of the limited sentence material in the

⁴³I am indebted to Jane Simpson for providing the Warumungu data.

corpus this is the case for many verbs. How then should we form the past "perfect"? This is another unresolved matter. With some verbs I have left the final vowel unchanged. With other verbs I have changed it to *i* arbitrarily, in the absence of data to guide us.

7.4.5 Allomorphy and Dialectal Variants

The existence of numerous variant forms of some grammatical affixes presents a major headache to the learner or teacher of Kaurna. Some affixes, such as *-ndi* ⁴⁴'Present Tense' are given in a single invariant form by T&S. Most affixes however have several variants, some of which are shown in the paradigm charts, whilst others are only recoverable from the sentence examples.

Some of the variation appears to be phonologically conditioned allomorphy. For instance, the Ergative and Dual suffixes appear to have a pre-stopped allomorph *-dlo* 'ERG' and *-dla* 'DUAL' respectively, when attached to words ending in final *i*#, a fact noticed by T&S (1840: 5). However there are several exceptions. Another allomorph *-urlo* 'ERG' and *-urla* 'DUAL' respectively seems to occur mostly on *-a* final morphemes of more than two syllables. Again there are exceptions. The full range of recorded variants in T&S and TMs are as follows:

ERGATIVE	<i>-lo</i>	
	<i>-rlo</i>	
	<i>-dlo</i>	
	<i>-urlo</i>	
DUAL	<i>-la</i>	
	<i>-lla</i>	in <i>tialla</i> 'teeth' (dual); probably the under and upper row of teeth in <i>narrilla</i> 'names' (dual)
	<i>-rla</i>	most widely used
	<i>-dla</i> ⁴⁵	words ending in <i>/i/</i> ;
	<i>-urla</i>	<i>/a/</i> -final words of more than two syllables
	<i>-ulla</i>	in <i>menulla</i> 'eyes' (from <i>mena</i> + <i>-ulla</i>)

Some of these variants are probably purely typographical. *-la* ~ *-lla* ~ *-rla* may simply be different transcriptions of the same form. *Menulla* may simply be an irregular form. Note that the root *me* appears in numerous analysable compounds, such as *memakki* 'spectacles' (from *me-* 'eye' + *makki* 'glass'). However the word for eye itself is *mena* not **me*. We are left with three phonologically conditioned allomorphs with a number of exceptions or counter-examples.

In teaching Kaurna, we have tended to use a single invariant form of these suffixes. For instance, in a text written by myself and recorded by Lester Rigney we find:

Ngaityerlirlo ngaityo kauwawurlo kuma ngai nguttoatpi yerlobirra.
'My father and uncle were teaching me about the sea.' (KL&LE Tape Transcripts, p.32)

In hindsight it would've been better to use the forms *ngaityerlidlo* 'my father' (agent) and *kauwawurlo* 'uncle' (agent) in line with the allomorphs discussed above.

⁴⁴Other variant forms of this affix are recorded by other authors however. Wyatt (1879), for instance, uses *-nde* ~ *-ne* ~ *-n* and sometimes recording more than one variant with the same verb root.

⁴⁵This allomorph appears to be attached to *piko* 'eyebrow' as in the place name *pikodla* 'Piccadilly'.

The prohibitive suffix presents a bewildering array of variants. Within their grammar, T&S (1840: 17) discuss this suffix as follows:

THE PROHIBITIVE MOOD

This terminates in *urti*, *rti*, *ngutti*, *oti*, or *tti*, in all persons and numbers the same. The general termination is *ti*, which appears again in its adjectival form and privative signification, *tinna*; as, *warratinna*, dumb, deprived of speech; but *warratti* (viz., *tikkainga*,) be silent; hold your tongue. All other variations in it belong partly to the dialects, or depend upon the part of speech to which this termination is affixed, as it may be joined to nouns - in which case Europeans must supply an auxiliary verb, of which the language appears destitute; as *ngunyarizingutti*, be not naughty; *billyabillyatti* (viz., *tikkaingwa*,) make a less noise; *punggourti*, do not kill, stab; *waietti*, do not move, sit still; *metteurti*, do not steal. What refers to the tenses of this mood, the same applies here that has been said of the imperative.

Whilst there are five variants listed within the grammar, a perusal of the sentence examples in T&S and TMs reveals no less than 13 variant forms of this suffix as follows:

Prohibitive Suffix

-tti ~ -rti ~ -ti ~ -tte ~ -oti ~ -otti ~ utti ~ -urti ~ -ngutti ~ -nggutti ~ -nggutte ~ -nguti ~ -ngkutti

The forms *-ngutti* etc. which include a velar nasal seem to only occur after *-ri* 'Reciprocal; Reflexive' or *-ni* 'Inchoative'. Thus it is likely that *-ngutti ~ -nggutti ~ -nggutte ~ -nguti ~ -ngkutti* are variants of an allomorph having the phonemic representation /-ngkuti/⁴⁶. However, these forms do not always occur after *-ri* and *-ni*. The following variants are recorded:

<i>Ngunyarizingutti</i>	'Be not naughty'
<i>Nyunyareutti</i>	'do not be naughty'
<i>Nunyareurti</i>	'Don't be naughty!'
<i>Nunyarizinguttingu</i>	'now you shall not be untoward' or 'you shall not spoil or destroy it'

The final syllable *ngu* of the last form *nunyarizinguttingu* is probably the demonstrative *ngu* 'that', thus the suffix is identical to that on the first word. The use of these two forms then could well be due to a dialect difference, but there is no way of determining this for sure.

As for the remaining variants, it is likely that there are at least two different forms, phonemically /-Ti/ and /-uTi/ where it is unclear as to the place of articulation of the stop. On the basis of the historical materials, we cannot tell whether the variants indicate actual differences in pronunciation, that is [-thi] vs [-rti] vs [-ti] or whether they are simply spelling variants of the one sound, say [-rti]. The variants may be accounted for by allomorphs associated with verb conjugations discussed earlier. After all, Pitjantjatjara has allomorphs determined by membership of verb conjugation classes which differ in a similar way. Pitjantjatjara present tense affixes are *-nganyi ~ -nyi ~ -ni ~ ni* not unlike a possible /-ngkuti/ ~ /-thi/ ~ /-ti/ ~ /-rti/.

The variation in forms recorded for nominal and verbal affixes probably has multiple causes including phonologically conditioned allomorphy, possible irregular allomorphs, dialectal variation, mishearing, transcription errors and possible stylistic or free variation.

⁴⁶We saw in section 7.2 that T&S were inconsistent in their representation of /ngk/ as *ng ~ ngg ~ ngk*.

7.4.6 Homophony

The nominal derivational affix *-tti* appears to be homophonous with the prohibitive suffix *-tti* discussed above and the "preterite" past tense *-tti*.⁴⁷ Whilst there are variant forms of these suffixes, the dominant form in every case is spelt the same way *-tti*. It is not clear whether these suffixes are truly homophonous. It could be that one is in fact */-thi/*, whilst another is */-ti/* and the third */-rti/*.

It was noted in section 7.2 that there is a certain amount of pressure to reduce the Kurna sound system to a single rhotic */r/* and for the alveolar lateral */l/*, stop */t/* and nasal */n/* to replace the interdental and retroflex consonants. However, if the sound system were reduced in this way, a considerable amount of homophony would result. The alternative, however, is to make a series of largely arbitrary decisions to allocate different consonants to the apparently homophonous suffixes.

7.5 Variation

One of the signs of vitality of a language is the presence of variation in language use within the speech community. Some of this variation within 19th century Kurna morphology has just been discussed above. There is some evidence in the historical sources of the existence of a number of dialects, though little by way of description of these dialects exists. Dialects appear to be differentiated through lexical and morphological differences. Some of these variants are known but it is seldom clear which variants belong to which dialects. For all intents and purposes, the Kurna language as we know it from the sources is in the form of something akin to a "standard" as described by T&S, rarified in the same way that English or French might be represented in a school grammar text.

There are also formal versus casual speech style differences evident within the source materials. Whilst there is little by way of information about the context in which utterances were produced, reduced cliticized pronouns, used in numerous sentence examples in T&S and TMs, are no doubt a feature of a more casual style.

7.5.2 Cultivating and Reintroducing Variation

One of the tasks involved in the language reclamation approach is to rebuild the functional links between the language as it is known in the sources with the people who identify with it. As the language develops new functions to address needs identified by its users, distinctive registers and speech styles will emerge, and can be nurtured.

As with other Aboriginal languages, direct equivalents for 'please' and 'thank you' do not exist, a point noted by Klose (letter, 7 July 1843). However T&S noted that the expression

⁴⁷Of course, in English the plural *-s* (*/-s/* ~ */-z/* ~ */-əz/*) is homophonous with the possessive *-s* and the verbal suffix *-s*. Note "too many cooks" vs "the cook's trousers" vs "he cooks".

Ngaityo yungandalya! 'Oh my dear brother!'⁴⁸ was used in situations where it would be appropriate to express thanks in English. Additional expressions *Ngaityo yakkanandalya!* 'Oh my dear sister!', *Ngaityaialya!* 'oh my dear mum! (i.e. 'Thanks mum'), *Ngaityerlialya!* 'Oh my dear dad!' (i.e. 'Thanks dad') etc. have since been developed. These expressions have also been used in situations where 'please' is appropriate in English.

Shorter forms have more recently been sought in the development of a casual speech style. *Ngaityalya* was developed as a term equivalent to English 'thanks' as opposed to the more formal *ngaityo yungandalya* used in situations where English might employ 'thank you'. *Ngaityalya* was actually developed in response to a situation where learners of Kaurna persistently mis-analysed the longer expression *ngaityo yungandalya*:

<i>ngaityo yungandalya</i>	misanalysed as	<i>ngaityo yungandalya</i>
my brother-dear		thankyou brother-dear
'Thank you'		'Thankyou brother'

As a result of this misanalysis, they shortened the expression to *ngaityo* thinking that *ngaityo* by itself meant 'thank you'. *Ngaityo* in fact simply means 'my'. After considering this situation for some time I developed the expression *ngaityalya* which might translate literally as 'my dear' and could be addressed to any person, irrespective of the relationship. In one sense this represents a simplification, but it is a new expression very much in keeping with the existing patterns documented in Kaurna and quite alien to English. Note other expressions in Kaurna such as *nattadlu* 'now lets' (from *natta* 'now' + *ngadlu* 'us'), an expression difficult to translate directly into English, but one no doubt used in contexts where we might say "now let's begin", "let's get on with it", "let's start", "let's do it" etc.

In these early stages of Kaurna language revival, learners seek one way of expressing some notion and resist the introduction of variant forms. For instance, they look for a set response to the greeting *Ninna marni?* In the initial dialogue I had developed in 1991, I had used the response *Ne, marniai. Ninna?* 'Yes I'm good. And you?' This greeting dialogue has been used in teaching programs since then and has caused a considerable amount of confusion. *Ne, marniai. Ninna?* is often understood as a simple response to the greeting (as opposed to a response + question) and accordingly, is uttered with a falling intonation contour. In retrospect I should have used something a little simpler and more transparent, perhaps just *Marniai* 'I'm good', a casual but well-formed response. When people ask me what the "correct" response should be to *Ninna marni?* I respond that a variety of utterances would be appropriate, including *Marni* 'Good'; *Marniai* 'I'm good'; *Yakko marni* 'No good'; *Ne, marni* 'Yes, good'; *Ne marniai* 'Yes, I'm good'; *Ngarambulandai* 'I'm tired' or any number of things. Of course, as beginning language learners, they want to fix on just one, or at the most two simple utterances.

⁴⁸ Yolngu speakers in North East Arnhemland employ similar expressions *gumurr-djararrk* 'My dear!' and *marrkapmirri* 'dear; beloved' (Zorc, 1986) in similar circumstances.

It will take some time before speech styles develop to any extent, but this variation is sought and is considered by many as a goal of Kaurna language revival.

7.6 Recapturing the Genius of the Language

The Kaurna language is being developed in the context of teaching Kaurna in formal language programs, writing speeches, developing language materials such as stories, songs, poems etc, creating signs, finding names and developing expressions for use in the classroom. At this stage, this almost always involves translating from English. Speeches are usually written in English first, then translated into Kaurna.

But this translation process imposes restrictions on the style of language adopted. We can seek out more idiomatic ways of expressing thoughts in keeping with the Kaurna language as we know it from the sources and in keeping with what we know of other Australian languages.

7.6.1 Idiomatic Expressions and Ways of Talking

Ways of expressing thanks was discussed above. However, relatively few idiomatic expressions were recorded. Where they do exist, strenuous attempts are made to use them and to construct new idiomatic expressions by analogy. Some examples include:

parnu tia wortangga tarkaringa 'sing according to his mouth (tooth)'; ie imitate the singer.
(T&S, 1840: 58)

Yellara tadli budna budnai 'Just now it began to boil' <lit. 'already spit has arrived'>
(T&S, 1840: 72)

However *kambandi* 'to cook' is used for the transitive 'boil' as in:

Wa adli kauwe kambata? 'Where will we boil the water?'
where we(2) water cook-FUT
(T&S, 1840: 70)

It seems that the appropriate thing to say on taking one's leave following a visit was:

Yainty wandinga; ngai narta padneota. 'You remain here; I shall now go' (ie good night)
(T&S, 1840: 71)

Whilst recognising the documented expression, I developed a shorter expression *nakkota* Lit. 'will see'. *Nakkota*, adopted at first in the form *nakkiota*, is now well known, even beyond those who have participated in Kaurna programs.

Restoration of the Kaurna language entails constructing or creating a stock of lexicalized stems or pre-formed 'chunks' of language. Many of the most basic expressions, such as 'Welcome!' or 'How many brothers and sisters do you have?' have to be formulated after much searching for parallel expressions and thinking of a way to express these notions. A seemingly simple expression in English may take hours, days or even weeks before it is rendered in an efficient, appropriate and acceptable way in Kaurna.

By default, most expressions are developed as fairly literal translations of English expressions, English being the first language of all Kaurna people and most learners of Kaurna. Reconstituted Kaurna is inevitably heavily influenced by English at the level of idiomatic expression and discourse structure. But efforts are being made to break from English and develop ways of saying things that are compatible with Indigenous Australian languages.

7.6.2 Case Study: Bultuniappendo! 'Empty the Rubbish Bin'

In July 1997 I was approached by teachers at KPS for useful expressions they could use in the context of the school. One of the expressions they wanted was 'Empty the rubbish bin!' This was a puzzle. I really wasn't sure how to encode this notion in an idiomatic way. I thought of various expressions like *Mappa irkangga paltando!* 'Throw the rubbish on the heap!' or *Mappatinanindo!* 'Make (it) become without rubbish!' I rang friends with a good knowledge of Pitjantjatjara to see how these notions were encoded. I discovered that in Pitjantjatjara it would be encoded by a simple imperative *Uldula!* 'Empty (it)!' where the verb *ulduni* 'to empty' is derived from *uldu* 'hollow; empty' as in a hollow tree. I searched further through TMs and came across the following entry:

bulto, seems to signify the mere traces or marks/signs of former existence, of a <sic> formerly having been there. [NOTE: the meaning of this word must not be confounded with tracks, of anything, this is *tappa* which see.] *kurla bulto*, the mere marks or traces of; *kurla bulto ninna wonggandi*, you speak in the air, i.e. no body is there, or listens to you; *maii bulturna*, (they are) empty or without food; *tea kurla bulto*, empty of tea; *worli bulto*, a forsaken place, where a hut has been; *parnu worli bultungga*, upon his former place, in his forsaken house; *ningko bultungga*, after you (following), or in place of you; *ningko bulto*, after you, behind; *buki bitti pa padni, bulto burro*. Long since he is/has gone, the mere signs (of his having been here). *meyu bulto*, perhaps the traces of once human existence.
bulto purrunna, the fresh mark (of his etc.); *bultounungko* or *bultounangko*, from the place (coming); *ningko - ngaityo tidna bultoarra*, in thy or my footsteps; (going), follow after.
bultarrappendi, to draw along a mark e.g. with a lead pencil, which an other has prescribed.
bulturnendi, 2. 'to disappear <sic>', 1. to be absent, away, gone; *kutteni ba bulturni*, she was gone again, had again absconded;
bulturnendai tauaninyanna, I shall go away, because they have chided, scolded (me).
 [NOTE Observe the way in which the because is given in the termination of the verb, as also to express the tense. This you will have to deduce in all the phrases;]
bulturniappendi, 'to cause to - to permit to abscond'; the idea of secretly in this and the preceding must be kept in view.'

It seems that the notion of 'empty' is encoded by this word *bulto* which focusses on the "traces" or "signs" of something having been there before. When the tea cup is empty, the focus is on the last drops in the bottom. When the rubbish bin is empty, presumably the focus is on the signs of rubbish having been there previously, an apple core left in the bottom or gum stuck to the side for example. It is likely then that the means of saying something equivalent to 'Empty the rubbish bin!' would've been *Bulturniappendo!*, literally 'make the contents become traces!' Note, however, that according to the entry above, the verb *bulturniappendi* means "to cause ... permit (someone) to abscond" (in secret). So Teichelmann encountered this word in a very different context to the one in which we intend to use it. But if we understand its morphology and semantics, the two situational usages are compatible. It probably has a more general meaning "cause to disappear" which may be applied to a person or a thing.

I present *bulturniappendo!* 'Empty (it)!' by way of example of the process by which we can begin to recapture the genius of the Kaurna language and learn to express ourselves in a way that is closer to the original idiom than is achieved by literal translation of English expressions. There is scope for much more work of this kind as we, as learners and researchers of Kaurna, become more familiar with the grammar, vocabulary and expressions recorded.

7.6.3 Discourse Features

Very little is known about Kaurna discourse structure because of the paucity of texts. Nor have the few texts available been fully exploited. Wyatt's (1879) short text telling of a Dreaming ancestor throwing spears into the sky is illustrative of a reiterative discourse structure found commonly in similar texts in other Australian languages.

There is great potential in modelling Kaurna texts, especially Dreaming texts such as Tjilbruke, Kondolli and Tiritpa, Waiyungari etc. on Dreaming stories told in languages such as Pitjantjatjara or Warlpiri etc. Unfortunately texts in Adnyamathanha, a more closely related language, are not readily available though they certainly exist in unpublished form. At least 20 of the Dreaming stories included within *Flinders Ranges Dreaming* (Tunbridge, 1988) were told originally in Yura Ngawarla (or Adnyamathanha), though only the English versions have been published. However, there is a series of 13 short texts available on the Adnyamathanha social system (Schebeck, 1974) and other recent texts also exist.

To date, almost all contemporary Kaurna texts (see section 7.10) have been developed as translations of English texts. Letters have been modelled to some extent on those written by Kaurna children in the 1840s. The group letter written to Prime Minister Howard in June 1997 used a phrase taken directly from the 1841 letter to Governor Gawler. Other letters use the same format for signing off as employed in Itya Mau's 1845 letter to Governor Grey. However, the development of a truly Indigenous Kaurna discourse remains largely unexplored territory. It could be that as Kaurna discourse develops, discourse patterns present in Nunga English might be drawn on, or alternatively, texts in other Australian languages might be more closely examined.

7.7 The Reintroduction of Aspects of Traditional Culture

We saw in Chapter 6 that very little material relating to Kaurna Dreamings was actually recorded in the Kaurna language, though snippets of stories relating to Kaurna country were recorded in English and Ngarrindjeri. Despite the paucity of materials, the Dreaming has occupied a central place in Kaurna language revival, as evidenced by songs and projects completed.

As discussed in section 1.3, Kaurna language revival activities operate hand in hand with attempts to reintroduce other aspects of traditional culture⁴⁹, though many of these attempts also take place independent of language-related activities and pre-date language revival activities. The Kaurna word *parrandi* according to T&S (1840: 38) means "to kindle; light; as *gadla parrandi*, to kindle a fire; to chew; to marry; as *yangara parrandi*". Nunga people tell me that the use of *parrandi* for both lighting a fire and marrying is because of the use of fire in marriage which they talk about as "firestick weddings"⁵⁰. In contemporary Nunga culture, defacto relationships not formalized with a marriage ceremony are sometimes referred to as "firestick weddings", a marriage without legal status under Australian law.

There are indications in the Kaurna lexicon, that smoke was an important part of Kaurna rituals, including funerals, 'weddings' and initiations. Note the following entries:

T&S (1840: 32) list:

Ngarrakuinyo, a man carrying in both his hands a piece of burnt wood at a native funeral; he holds it close to his ears, walking in a stooping posture. Perhaps it means the piece of wood itself.

Tuttakuinyo, s. a woman carrying a tuft of grass at a native funeral⁵¹

Ngarrakupa and *burltulto-kuinyo* are also given as synonyms of *ngarrakuinyo*. TMs lists:

Ngarra kupa, the burning firesticks used as tapers at burials and circumcision
ngarra kuinyo, the same at a burial

The KACHA-sponsored 'Reviving the Dreaming' project (see Appendix E4) will investigate these matters in depth in the near future.

7.7.1 Kinship

Kinship occupies a central place in Nunga society. Whilst the terms used in Nunga English are derived from English, they are used in different ways to standard English. 'Auntie' and 'Uncle' are terms of high respect. 'Gran' or 'Granny' is used for both grandparents and grandchildren, reflecting the affinity between *kammammi* 'mother's mother' and *kamilya* 'daughter's daughter' in Kaurna. The terms 'brother' and 'sister' are frequently used far beyond the nuclear family in Nunga society. It is not surprising then that kinship terms, such as *ngarpadla* 'auntie', *kauwawa* 'uncle', *yunga* 'brother', *yakkana* 'sister' and *kammammi* 'mother's mother' were amongst the first Kaurna words to be re-learned and are used often by members of the Kaurna

⁴⁹Similarly, Indigenous peoples in North America are also reviving old traditions and cultural practices in conjunction with their languages. For instance, the Esselen in California have revived sweat lodge ceremonies in conjunction with a daily prayer in the Esselen language (pc David Shaul, 1995). The Huron too, are engaged in re-learning old Huron songs in their 'long house' (pc, e-mail Linda Sioui, 8 September 1997).

⁵⁰Veronica Brodie's grandfather, Jacob Harris, is said to be the last married in a "fire-stick" wedding amongst the Ngarrindjeri at Raukkan (pc Steve Hemming, Sept. 1997; see Brodie, forthcoming). The ceremony involves crossed fire-sticks and the wife carries her fire sticks to the husband's camp. In 1991 a version of the "fire-stick" wedding was reinstated at the wedding of Kym and Cindy Poole (in Proctor & Gale, 1997: 46).

⁵¹This may or may not have involved smoke. It is not clear whether the grass was alight or not.

community, gaining currency beyond the small group of active language learners in the formal programs.

Modules on Kaurna kinship were amongst the first to be developed and taught within Kaurna programs, both at Tauondi and Inbarendi College. This kinship module was published in SSABSA (1996b: 36-46) and in course booklets for 'Teaching Australian Indigenous Languages' and KL&LE taught at Northern Territory University and the University of Adelaide respectively. Language learners have been encouraged to research their family trees and to apply the Kaurna kin terms and birth order names to their relatives. Feedback reveals that students found this to be a highly meaningful task through which they not only learnt Kaurna language but also discovered things about their families that had been previously unknown to them.

T&S and TMs did a reasonably good job in documenting Kaurna kinship, given their limited exposure to the language and the virtual absence of anthropological materials available to them. They correctly identified the four distinct grandparent terms and reciprocal grandchild terms. They also recorded some terms for in-laws, step-relations, persons whose close relatives had died and terms for 'my mother' and 'your mother' as distinct to the general term for 'mother'. Thus their documentation of this area begins to reveal the complexity of Kaurna kinship. However, there are gaps and uncertainties. They were unable to provide specific glosses to several terms they collected and they failed to document several terms, for example cousins and great grandparents, sought by Kaurna people today. Whilst there are terms for brothers-in-law, no terms were documented for sisters-in-law. These gaps and uncertainties are yet to be addressed.

There are contemporary needs to develop expressions for talking about kinship. Fortunately the expression *Ngai nindo kuma panyapi pinggandi*. 'You make me, too, your brother' was documented (T&S: 67). I developed other expressions, such as *Nganna ngai ninnanni?* 'What am I to you?', *Ngaityo taikurtinna yerrabula* 'There are four in my family', *Ngadli purlaitye ngarturla kanggandi* 'We have two children' and *Ngai marnkutye yakkanatidli* 'I have three older sisters.'

Interest in reviving the terms and ways of talking about kinship is accompanied by a desire to reinstitute the kinship roles and responsibilities through which discipline and social order is maintained. Again, the language is seen as but one part of a wider cultural phenomenon.

7.7.3 Restoring the Link - re-establishing intergenerational transmission.

If intergenerational transmission of Kaurna is to be restored (see Chapter 9), there is a need to develop a set of expressions and ways of speaking to enable interaction between parents, caregivers, relatives and friends with babies, infants and children. It is most important that expressions be available for adults to use in addressing babies from the time of birth so that

they hear the language as they grow up. Unfortunately there are virtually no instances of recorded use of Kaurna by children or by adults addressed to children. Almost every utterance recorded was uttered by men and addressed to men.

However, much of the vocabulary needed for adult-child interaction has been recorded. The task then is to develop a set of expressions that are likely to be useful within the child-rearing context. This issue was addressed to some degree, as an exercise within the KL&LE course on 18 Sept. 1997. Expressions suggested in the brief session included:

<i>Ninko wornubalta kudnabutto?</i>	'Is your nappy dirty?'
<i>Wa kammammi?</i>	'Where's grandmother (mother's mother)?'
<i>Waminna?</i>	'What's the matter?'
<i>Maiimpi?</i>	'Are you hungry? (Lit: 'desirous of food');
<i>Tangkallurumpi</i>	'Have you got wind?' (Lit: 'desirous of belching');
<i>Ngartoalya!</i>	'dear child' (ie 'You're a beautiful baby');
<i>Yaintyā ngaintyā?</i>	'What's this?'

It might be useful in the future to produce a small booklet on the place of Kaurna language within childrearing, including a list of useful expressions, accompanied by a tape.

7.8 Adapting Kaurna to the 1990s

To this point I have discussed questions of interpreting the historical sources and efforts to restore Kaurna to how we might imagine it to have been when it was spoken on a daily basis last century. To this end I have looked at ways of filling gaps in the materials. However, restoration of the language alone, even if that were possible, is not sufficient to meet the needs of Kaurna people today. There is also a sense in which the language must be transformed if it is to function in the 1990s. Up until 1989, the Kaurna language stood still for well over a century, preserved in the written records. There is now a need to bridge that temporal gap (see Amery, 1998) and bring the language 'up to date' by developing words and expressions for talking about life in the 1990s⁵². We noted in Chapter 2, that language revival necessarily entails transformation (see Fettes, 1997; Dorian, 1994 and Bentahila & Davies, 1993).

It is probably not necessary that Kaurna be equipped to talk about "anything under the sun". It does not need, and probably never will need, terminology for talking about the inner workings of a rocket engine or a set of expressions and protocol used by air-traffic controllers for guiding aircraft in to land. However, words are needed to talk about aeroplanes, helicopters and probably rockets because they are a part of everyday life in the 1990s⁵³. More importantly, we

⁵²Harlow (1993) addresses efforts to transform Maori noting that "there is . . . widespread acceptance of the position that there needs to be such expansion of the domains of use of Maori if it is to survive. For people to want to speak Maori, especially children for whom it is at least a first equal language, they must be able to use it to speak about what interests them, not just topics which are seen as uniquely Maori."

⁵³It is interesting to see the extent to which language modernization has been taken in Maori. A database of new and technical terms is maintained on the Web, which includes terms for 'DNA', 'electron', 'proton', 'neutron' and nearly 600 terms in the computing domain (<http://www.nzcer.org.nz/kimikupu/>, accessed April 1998). Harlow (1993) notes that Maori now has extensive scientific terminology, including elements in the periodic table. Hebrew, as the national language of Israel, has undergone extensive lexical development this century in many

need to be able to talk about everyday objects within the home, the classroom and meeting venues as these are the main locations in which the language is being used. In addition, Kaurna people are wanting to talk about notions like 'identity', 'culture', 'reconciliation' and a 'vision for the future' in the Kaurna language⁵⁴. Whilst these are not strictly 'new' as Kaurna people have always had a culture and an identity, and no doubt people have been reconciled with each other following disputes and were able to talk about a vision for the future, the sense in which these words are being used today is new. There are no ready-made terms for these concepts within the historical materials and there probably never were terms for them as such, at least not as nominals as they are encoded in English. The term 'reconciliation', for instance, within the context of Aboriginal Affairs in the 1990s has an associated political agenda, and a burgeoning literature and press coverage. It is concerned with a specific political and social movement working towards bringing Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians together, developing mutual understanding of our history, making reparation for past injustices, respecting and resolving our differences and working towards a common future.

7.8.1 Neologisms

The German missionary, Klose, observed:

To create or coin new words is for us not possible as we do not have sufficient command of the language. This could well be possible, because they will give any and everything a name even though they may never have seen it. (letter sent to Dresden, dated 29 December 1840)

These new terms constructed some 150 years ago, were most likely created by Kaurna people themselves. They provide us with the basis for creating neologisms for talking about life in the 1990s. With the exception of some religious terms such as *gadlapindi* 'hell' (lit, 'firepit') and Schürmann's attempt to use *Munaintyerlo* for 'God', the missionaries appear to have taken a "hands-off" approach to the Kaurna language. By contrast with Klose's reticence and lack of confidence, coinage of new words is possible for us, indeed it is a necessity.

Fortunately, T&S and TMs documented scores of new terms for introduced material culture and introduced concepts. I have discussed the processes by which new concepts were incorporated into Kaurna in the nineteenth century in some detail in Amery (1993). At the time, we had added only a few new terms to the language. Since then, scores of neologisms, a base-10 number system, terms for the quantification of time, some mathematical terminology and sporting terminology have been developed. This section documents and analyses these neologisms incorporated into Kaurna with its current revival.

In section 7.3 a range of processes by which lexical gaps can be filled were discussed. These same strategies can be employed to develop neologisms, though some processes seldom or never used to fill gaps referring to indigenous features come to the fore with neologisms. We

domains. Alloni-Fainberg (1974) discusses Hebrew terms for 'Parts of the Car'. See also Fellman (1873; 1974; 1976), Kutscher (1982) and Saulson (1979) for a detailed discussion of the modernization of Hebrew.

⁵⁴There are few abstract nouns recorded in the Kaurna sources. As in other Australian languages, these notions were probably expressed in different ways. A two day workshop is planned to devise Kaurna terminology for these terms (see Appendix E4).

saw that other Aboriginal languages play a central role in addressing lexical gaps in pre-existing concepts. However neologisms are scarcely found in neighbouring languages. Comparatively few are recorded in published Adnyamathanha sources (McEntee & McKenzie, 1992). Perusal of recent dictionaries of Australian languages, for example, Zorc (1986); Goddard (1987); Henderson & Dobson (1994); Hudson (1990); Lee (1993) demonstrate ways in which languages that are still spoken on a daily basis incorporate some new concepts though they do not take a central place in these sources. Often no word appears for common everyday objects such as 'table' or 'fork' let alone 'computer' or 'telephone'. Typically such 'strong' or 'viable' languages as Yolngu Matha, Tiwi, Arrernte or Pitjantjatjara borrow words for most new concepts directly from English, sometimes assimilating them into the sound system of the language. But more and more these borrowings are unassimilated or only partly assimilated, and whilst these borrowings are actually frequently used by speakers of these languages they have been ignored, by and large, in the compilation of dictionaries. This is probably because they are foreign and not thought of as part of the language, and the majority of speakers of these languages are now bilingual. Neologisms in these languages developed from within the resources of the language itself tend to be older words incorporated at a period when there were more monolingual speakers.

Several articles have been written on neologisms in a number of Australian languages: O'Grady (1960) discusses new concepts in Nyangumarta, a language from the Pilbara; Simpson (1985) in Warumungu from Tennant Creek in Central Australia and Amery (1986b) in Pintupi, a Western Desert language. Dixon et al (1990) drawing mainly on the sources just mentioned and Black (1993) in an insightful article titled 'New Uses for Old Languages' address the issue in a broader context. Black points to the importance of language change:

As a culture or language stops keeping up with the changes in daily life it becomes increasingly less useful and less likely to survive. To 'maintain' a culture or language it seems that you often have to let it change or even help it to change. (Black, 1993: 218)

In my capacity as a trainer of Aboriginal Health Workers in Arnhemland I produced a booklet titled *Yolngu-Matha for use by Members of the Health Profession in North East Arnhemland* (Amery, 1986a). It included vocabulary and expressions for diagnosis and treatment, medical procedures and a range of medical equipment as used by Yolngu healthworkers. The wordlists include many borrowings from English together with derivations, compounds and extended meanings. By contrast with my Kurna work, in Arnhemland I simply recorded terms already in use. I was not involved in the coining of any of the terms compiled in that source⁵⁵. Granites & Shopen (1987) developed new expressions in Warlpiri in the domain of motor car maintenance. The Aboriginal Resource and Development Services Inc. (ARDS) team, consisting of both Yolngu and Balanda (non-Aboriginal) workers, has been engaged in researching areas such as systems of government, law and native title (ARDS, 1993a; 1993b;

⁵⁵At a later date I was directly involved in the development of one Yolngu term however, *gulang djakamiriw reri* 'AIDS' (lit. 'defenceless blood disease'). This term emerged from my discussions with Yolngu healthworkers in my attempts to begin some AIDS awareness and AIDS education.

1993c; 1993d; 1995; 1996a; 1996b). They draw on traditional concepts encoded within Yolngu Matha and extend those concepts to new situations that have arisen in the modern world. That is, they are applying traditional concepts of government, law and land tenure to commonwealth and state laws and systems of government now imposed upon Yolngu. However, the means by which Aboriginal languages change, develop and adapt to the modern world is a much under-researched area in Australian linguistics.

The following table documents neologisms incorporated into Kaurua, together with their etymologies. All were developed by me (usually in the context of a workshop or class) except for **ku* 'room' (Lewis O'Brien) and **warri* 'airconditioner' (PWAC students, 1996). This table is by no means complete, but serves to illustrate the processes.

Table 7.7: Kaurua Neologisms Developed in the 1990s.

Neologism	Gloss	Etymology	Process
* <i>ku</i>	'room'	<i>ku</i> 'shelter'	semantic extension
* <i>warri</i>	'airconditioner'	<i>warri</i> 'wind'	semantic extension
* <i>turra</i> * <i>turranna</i>	'photo; picture' 'movies'	<i>turra</i> 'shadow' <i>turra</i> 'shadow' + <i>-nna</i> 'pl'	semantic extension; analogy with Yolngu Matha
* <i>wādnawādna</i>	'law'	<i>wādnawādna</i> 'inquest'	semantic extension
* <i>mukarndo</i>	'computer'	<i>mukamuka</i> 'brain' + <i>karndo</i> 'lightning'	reduced compound
* <i>tammianda</i>	'card'	<i>tammi</i> 'flat; plate-like' + <i>tanda</i> 'exchange'	reduced compound
* <i>tipomarngo</i>	'switch'	<i>tipo</i> 'spark' + <i>marngo</i> 'anything round and hard, as a button'	compound
* <i>tampitirkandi</i>	'to read'	<i>tampendi</i> 'to know; recognise; be acquainted with' + <i>tirkandi</i> 'to know; understand; learn'	compound verb
* <i>kanggabirkiappendi</i>	'to manage'	<i>kanggandi</i> 'to lead; conduct; accompany; bear a child; bring forth' + <i>birkiappendi</i> 'to divide; distribute' (TMs)	compound verb
* <i>markatti</i>	'pencil'	<i>markandi</i> 'to trace; guess'	nominalization; addition of nominalizer <i>-tti</i> to verb root.
* <i>kumbappetti</i>	'eraser'	<i>kumbandi</i> 'to leave; disappear'	nominalization; addition of causitive <i>-ppi</i> + nominalizer <i>-tti</i> to verb root.
* <i>nayatti</i>	'glue'	<i>nayandi</i> 'to fasten one thing to another; to sew' (TMs)	nominalization; addition of nominalizer <i>-tti</i> to verb root.
* <i>karrikarritti</i>	'aeroplane'	<i>karrendi</i> 'to fly'	nominalization + reduplication
* <i>padnipadnitti</i>	'car'	<i>padnendi</i> 'to go; travel'	nominalization + reduplication
* <i>tirkallirkalla</i>	'student'	<i>tirkandi</i> 'to learn'	Agentive nominalizer <i>-lla</i> ⁵⁶ + reduplication.
* <i>paru bakkillakkilla</i>	'butcher'	<i>paru</i> 'meat' + <i>bakkendi</i> 'to cut'	as above
* <i>wornubalta</i>	'nappy'	<i>wornu</i> 'buttocks' + <i>-balta</i> 'covering'	Derivation. Addition of suffix <i>-balta</i> derives items of clothing.
* <i>ngammibalta</i>	'bra'	<i>ngammi</i> 'breast' + <i>-balta</i> 'covering'	as above
* <i>yurreana</i>	' earmuffs'	<i>yurre</i> 'ear' + <i>-ana</i> 'to'	Derivation. Addition of suffix <i>-ana</i> derives items of clothing.
* <i>yailtya</i>	'concept; belief'	<i>yailtyandi</i> 'to believe; think'	Backformation
* <i>ngutto</i>	'knowledge'	<i>nguttoatpandi</i> ⁵⁷ 'to teach'	Backformation
* <i>banbabanbalya</i>	'meeting; conference'	<i>banba-banbalyarnendi</i> 'to hold a conference, or a meeting'	Backformation

⁵⁶The nominalizer *-lla* can be used productively to derive terms for most occupations.

⁵⁷*Nguttoatpandi* 'to teach' is itself a compound where the second element is *ngatpandi* 'to put into'.

In the context in which Kaurna is being used, borrowings, especially from English, are strongly resisted. Rather, there is a strong preference to develop neologisms in keeping with the word-forming processes documented in the historical sources (see Amery, 1993). Semantic extension, compounding and derivations are mostly employed. In addition to word-forming processes listed in this table, there are other devices, such as reduplication⁵⁸, which have not yet been exploited. Other useful suffixes for deriving neologisms include:

- butto* 'full of'
- tidli* 'having'
- tina* 'without'
- pulyo* 'without'
- itya* 'for' (as in **turraitya* 'screen' < **turra* 'image' + *-itya* 'for')
- rli* '-like; to resemble'

These suffixes have seldom been used in contemporary Kaurna in a lexicalized way, though they are often used productively. Still they remain a useful resource for the development of neologisms.

7.8.2 Abstract Nouns

In our early efforts, the nominalizer *-tti* was used to derive abstract nouns such as **tabaretti* 'opening' from *tabarendi* 'to open' (opening of Yaitya Warra Wodli, 26 Feb. 1993) and **nakkotti* 'vision' from *nakkondi* 'to see' (in Nakkotti Yangadlitya 'Vision for the Future' conference theme, 7 April 1995). However, it is more likely that **nakkotti* would translate as a thing used for looking with, such as 'binoculars' and **tabaretti* might be better applied to a 'can opener'⁵⁹. Backformation, using the bare root of the verb **nakko* may be a better way of encoding concepts such as 'vision', and is now the preferred means of forming abstract nouns.

7.8.3 Borrowings from English

Few English borrowings, only about 20 in all, are recorded in the Kaurna sources. These are discussed in Amery (1993). It could be, however, that more loans than these were used but were deliberately purged from the vocabularies compiled in the nineteenth century, as is the case in most modern dictionaries of Australian languages which seldom reflect the actual level of usage of English loanwords.

⁵⁸Reduplication, by itself, has not yet been used to develop neologisms in the 1990s. However, it remains a potentially useful mechanism. The semantics of reduplication in Kaurna is poorly understood.

⁵⁹The semantics of *-tti* are broad. Most often it derives a concrete object or instrument which performs the action specified by the verb, though this is not always the case. The word *ngunyawaietti* formed from *ngunya* 'joy; pleasure' + *waiendi* 'to move; flow; turn; do' + the nominalizer *-tti* is an interesting example. In T&S *ngunyawaietti* is given as 'play; dance; *corrobberie* <sic>', confirmed by Wyatt (1879: 18), Cawthorne and others. However, in letters sent to Germany in 1843, the two Kaurna boys, Pitpauwe and Wailtyi used the word in its plural form, spelt *ngunyawaietinna* and *ngunya waietinna* respectively, for 'toys' (Klose's papers: K47-K50). In *yarruritti* 'rent; tear' formed from *yarrurendi* 'to tear', *-tti* derives a noun which is the result of the action. On the basis of the majority of examples, one might predict that it should mean 'ripper' or something that tears things. *Marnitti* 'grease; a boy greased and painted with red ochre' derived from *marnirendi* 'to grease' and *marni* 'fat' is another useful example. Here *-tti* derives the substance used to perform the action, as well as the stage of initiation resulting from the application of the substance. In some instances there seems to be no difference in meaning between the nominal with and without the *-tti* suffix as in *wampi* ~ *wampitti* 'wing of a large bird; for instance an eagle'. Whilst the nominalizer *-tti* seems to perform a range of functions, its use for post-invasion phenomena consistently derives concrete objects closely associated with the verb.

In modern times a mere handful of terms have been borrowed from English. They are preferably assimilated into the Kurna sound system, being more acceptable if they are not easily recognised as borrowings. Assimilated loans are as follows:

Borrowing ⁶⁰	Source Word	Comments
^o yiityi	hiss	Used in the writing of a song, 1995.
^o yiitya	Easter	Used in the preparation of terms for public holidays (Amery, 1996c); used in the song <i>Pingkoalya</i> , 1997.
^o yimitpi	MFP	Request for Kurna name
^o Kityamitya	Christmas	Used in the Kurna translation of <i>The Twelve Days of Christmas</i> , 1996. The term <i>Yeowa wornindo</i> (lit. 'Jehova's Birthday') was not used in the song as it didn't fit to the music.
^o Yinggilityi	English	Used in Kurna teaching programs.

In addition, the phrase *marni weekender* 'have a good weekend' was used by students at PWAC during 1995 and 1996 prior to the development of the Kurna names for days of the week and the expression *Marni milindo worta!* 'Have a good weekend!' (Amery, 1996c: 14). However, it is now no longer used.

Place names and English personal names are of course used in Kurna conversation and Kurna translation exercises. In my translation of *Tucker's Mob* (Amery, 1992a) I used four new borrowings from English, 'marble', 'lily', 'brolga' and 'read'. The latter has since been replaced with **tampitirkandi* 'to read'. 'Pizza' and 'chops' were used as they are pronounced in English by James Parkin in Kurna songs written in 1995. Students of Kurna also use English borrowings in writing texts in the absence of available Kurna terms (see Punkeri Jackson's story in Appendix F). None of the English borrowings could yet be described as being widely known and integrated into the Kurna language.

7.8.4 The Role of Other Australian Languages

Almost all new terms have been formed using the resources of the Kurna language itself. However, other languages do play a role. For instance, the term **turra* 'photo; picture; movie', an extension of *turra* 'shadow' was developed knowing that Yolngu Matha uses *wungili* 'shade; shadow; picture; image etc' in this way.

Whilst we have not yet developed a term for 'bicycle', Adnyamathanha provides a useful model in *mika wiri*, literally 'bat wing'. By analogy we could develop the term **maityu wampi*, a reduction of *maityo maityo* 'bat' + *wampi* 'wing'. Tiwi uses *pipirriwini* 'dragonfly' for 'helicopter' (Lee, 1993: 113). **Pundondo* 'helicopter' (from Wyatt's *pondo ondo* 'large dragonfly') is the Kurna counterpart. Few of these calques have actually been adopted into Kurna, but obviously other Australian languages provide a good source of inspiration for the development of neologisms that involve using existing Kurna words in new ways.

⁶⁰All of these English borrowings, except for *yiityi* 'hiss' are introduced concepts quite foreign to Kurna of the early nineteenth century.

7.8.5 Incorporating Neologisms into Kaurna: an evolutionary process

Like Ben Yehuda's early neologisms in Hebrew and the adoption of new terms in Maori, contemporary Kaurna neologisms are created on an ad hoc basis in response to requests, a specific task at hand such as translating a song, or on the spur of the moment when a word is needed. They have not been created in a planned systematic way. Following is a chronological analysis of neologisms introduced over a period of seven years.

The first neologisms were created in June 1990 in the context of a Kaurna language workshop held at KPS. Josie Agius, a workshop participant, noticed the word *tikketikketti* 'chair' in the vocabulary and its relationship to *tikkandi* 'to sit'. We used the word *tikketikketti* as a teaching point in the workshop, breaking it down into its component parts and noting similarities with other words such as *bakkebakketi* 'knife' derived from *bakkendi* 'to cut'. It was a natural progression within the workshop context to derive **padnipadnitti* 'car' from *padnendi* 'to travel' and **karrikarritti* 'aeroplane' from *karrendi* 'to fly'. These then were the first two neologisms created in the Kaurna language in modern times. **Padnipadnitti* was taken up immediately and used in Snooky Varcoe's story *Wai Yerlitta!* 'But Dad!' (Varcoe, 1990).

In 1991, Lewis O'Brien, a Kaurna Elder working at the University of South Australia, posted Kaurna signs, some of which use old words in new ways (eg *ku* 'shelter' for 'room'). Early in 1993 the Aboriginal Education Unit in DECS requested the Kaurna text for a number of signs. Some incorporated neologisms including:

<i>*mukamuka karndo</i>	'computer'	< <i>mukamuka</i> 'brain' + <i>karndo</i> 'lightning'
<i>*inbaretti</i>	'meeting'	< <i>inbare-</i> 'meet' + <i>-tti</i> 'NOML'
<i>*banbabanbalya</i>	'conference'	backformation from <i>banba-banbalyarnendi</i> 'to hold a conference or a meeting'
<i>*pepa kumartapetti</i>	'library'	< <i>pepa</i> 'book' + <i>kumarta</i> 'separate' + <i>-ppi</i> 'CAUS' + <i>-tti</i> 'NOML' ⁶¹
<i>*turratturrarnadiappetti</i>	'photocopier'	< <i>turra</i> 'shadow' -> 'image' + REDUP + <i>-rndia</i> 'VERB' + <i>-ppi</i> 'CAUS' + <i>-tti</i> 'NOML' ie. 'the thing that repeatedly makes images'
<i>*kaltikaltinya</i>	'Director'	< <i>kaltikaltinya</i> 'commander'

With the implementation of the Year 11 Kaurna course in 1994, a number of new terms, associated with classroom use, have been implemented. These terms include:

<i>*yammaiamma</i>	'teacher'	< <i>yammaiamma</i> 'native doctor, sorcerer'
<i>*tirkallirkalla</i>	'student'	< <i>tirka-</i> 'know, understand, learn' + <i>-lla</i> 'AGENT' + REDUP
<i>*kumbappetti</i>	'eraser'	< <i>kumba-</i> 'leave, disappear' + <i>-ppi</i> 'CAUS' + <i>-tti</i> 'NOML'
<i>*taralye pulyonna</i>	'blackboard'	< <i>taralye</i> 'board' + <i>pulyonna</i> 'black'
<i>*taralye perkanna</i>	'whiteboard'	< <i>taralye</i> 'board' + <i>perkanna</i> 'white'
<i>*yerta</i>	'floor'	< <i>yerta</i> 'earth; land; soil; country'
<i>*mukabatti</i>	'certificate'	< <i>mukaba-</i> 'remember' + <i>-tti</i> 'NOML'
<i>*nayatti</i>	'glue'	< <i>naya-</i> 'to fasten one thing to another' + <i>-tti</i> 'NOML'
<i>*taralye</i>	'ruler'	< <i>taralye</i> 'splinter, table'
<i>*ngattetti</i>	'question'	< <i>ngatte-</i> 'ask' + <i>-tti</i> 'NOML'
<i>*tampitirkandi</i>	'to read'	< <i>tampendi</i> 'to recognise' + <i>tirkandi</i> 'to know, understand, learn'
<i>*ngudli wanditti</i>	'sleeping bag'	< <i>ngudli</i> 'pouch' + <i>wandendi</i> 'to lie' + <i>-tti</i> 'NOML'
<i>*puiyotti</i>	'no smoking'	< <i>puiyo</i> 'smoke' + <i>-tti</i> 'PROHIB'

⁶¹This term literally means 'book keeping separate thing'. *Pepa wodli* 'book house' would have been the most obvious way to express 'library', but was avoided because it is used in the historical materials for 'school'. Perhaps **pepa ku* 'book room' would suffice.

Throughout 1995 and 1996, more neologisms were added through student projects and during the development of teaching materials for the PWAC program. They include:

*warri	'airconditioner'	< warri 'wind'
*ku manyappetti	'fridge'	< ku 'shelter' + manya 'cold' + -ppi 'CAUS' + -tti 'NOML'
*paru murromurro trukkungga	'hamburger'	< paru 'meat' + murromurro 'bread' + trukkungga 'in between'
*turranna	'movies'	< turra 'shadow' -> 'image' + -nna 'PL'
*nakkotti	'vision'	< nakko- 'see' + -tti 'NOML'
*tammiana	'card'	< tammi 'flat; plate-like' + tanda 'exchange, barter'
*yaitya bulto	'Nunga flag'	< yaitya 'indigenous' + bulto 'trace'

In May 1996 we translated a well-known and loved hymn within the Nunga community, *The Old Rugged Cross*. *Tattayaingki⁶² 'cross' was developed from words for the parts of the spindle used to spin thread. *Mangatatta* is given as 'the long piece of the cross used for spinning native string' whilst *mangayaingki* is 'the transverse piece fixed to the cross used for spinning native string'. *Manga* itself refers to 'thread made of the fur of opossum or other animal; a string worn round the head', and was thus dropped from these compounds in developing the word for cross.

In the revised edition of the *Warra Kurna* textbook printed in early 1997, neologisms were identified with an asterisk *. These included numerous number, maths and sporting terms (discussed later), and an additional 18 neologisms, mostly concrete objects.

Throughout 1997 additional neologisms were created. I prepared a list of 28 classroom objects in response to a request from teachers at KPS, specifically for the Year 8 Program at Fremont-ECHS. Whilst some had been in use for some time and some were revisions of terms previously used, I also developed a significant number of new terms in fulfilling the request as follows:

*wodlirra	'wall'	< wodli 'house' + tirra 'obstacle; hindrance'
*tirarra	'ceiling'	< tirra 'obstacle; hindrance' + karra 'above'
*wiltiappetti	'cupboard'	< wiltappendi 'lay aside; preserve; keep; conceal' + -tti 'NOML'
*kumartappetti	'filing cabinet'	< kumartappendi 'keep; reserve; retain for oneself' + -tti 'NOML'
*mukarndo	'computer'	(previously *mukamuka karndo)
*perkamarra	'whiteboard'	< perkanna 'white' + marka 'slate' (previously *taralye perkanna)
*pulyomarka	'blackboard'	< pulyonna 'black' + marka 'slate' (previously *taralye pulyonna)
*warraitayatti	'telephone'	< warra 'voice' + kaityandi 'to send' + -tti 'NOML' (ie 'voice sending thing')
*turraitayatti	'television'	< turra 'picture' + kaityandi 'to send' + -tti 'NOML'
*turramankotti	'video'	< turra 'picture' + mankondi 'to get' + -tti 'NOML'
*warramankotti	'tape recorder'	< warra 'voice' + mankondi 'to get' + -tti 'NOML'
*turrabatti ⁶³	'OHP'	< turra 'picture' + bandi 'to shine' + -tti 'NOML'
*turraitya	'screen'	< 'picture' + -itya 'for'
*tipomarngo	'switch'	< tipo 'spark' + marngo 'anything round and hard, as a button'
*gadlabatti	'heater'	< gadla 'fire' + bandi 'to shine' + -tti 'NOML' (ie 'fire shining thing')
*karltakarltanya	'bell'	< karltakarltanya 'crying; calling; as the church bell'

⁶²Some time after we developed *tattayaingki 'cross', the Kurna translation of six German hymns were located in which *taralye* 'chip; splinter; board; timber' was used for 'cross'. Had we known of this, we probably would not have developed the term *tattayaingki. *Tattayaingki is far preferable though, given the exceptionally wide scope of the term *taralye* which is used in the historical materials to refer to 'table', 'box', 'fence', 'stockade' and 'cross' and seemingly any item made of sawn timber.

⁶³This was originally encoded as *karra turra 'overhead projector' < karra 'above' + turra 'picture' but on further reflection *turrabatti seemed preferable.

* <i>markatti</i>	'pencil'	< <i>markandi</i> 'to trace; guess' + <i>-tti</i> 'NOML'
* <i>mararlti</i>	'text'	< <i>maro</i> 'smell' + <i>arlti</i> 'pen'
* <i>tukkaralye</i>	'ruler'	< <i>tukkutya</i> 'small' + <i>taralye</i>
* <i>tammingarri</i>	'tape'	< <i>tammi</i> 'flat' + <i>ngarri</i> 'string; rope'
* <i>pepa ngudli</i>	'folder'	< <i>pepa</i> 'letter; paper' + <i>ngudli</i> 'pouch'
* <i>turrawirka</i>	'paint'	< * <i>turra</i> 'picture' + <i>wirka</i> 'liquid'
* <i>wādnawādna</i>	'law'	< <i>wādnawādna</i> 'inquest'
* <i>wādnawādna wodli</i>	'court; courthouse'	< * <i>wādnawādna</i> 'law' + <i>wodli</i> 'house'
* <i>yailtya</i>	'concept; belief'	< <i>yaiityandi</i> 'to believe; think; suppose'
* <i>kanggabirkiappendi</i>	'to manage'	< <i>kanggandi</i> 'to lead; conduct; accompany; bear a child; bring forth' + <i>birkiappendi</i> 'to divide; to distribute' (TMs)

The pace by which neologisms are developed and adopted is gathering momentum, as demand for terms increases with expanding uses of the language (see Chapter 9), and in response to the needs of the formal teaching programs as they address more domains.

7.8.6 Kurna Numbers, Maths and Quantification of Time

Kurna, like the majority of Australian languages, has a minimal number system as follows:

T&S (1840)		Teichelmann & Moorhouse (1841)	
<i>kuma</i>	'one'	<i>kumandi</i>	'one'
<i>kumandi</i>	'only one'	<i>purlaitya</i>	'two'
<i>purlaitye</i>	'two'	<i>marnkutye</i>	'a few; some'
<i>marnkutye</i>	'three'		
<i>kutyō</i>	'little; few; the rest'	<i>tauata</i>	'many'
<i>tauata</i>	'many, much'		
<i>ngarraitya</i>	'plenty; abundance'		
<i>wiwurra</i>	'multitude; very many'		

In addition, T&S provide several constructed numerals as combinations of these as follows:

<i>purlaitye purlaitye</i>	'four'	< <i>purlaitye</i> 'two' + <i>purlaitye</i> 'two'
<i>yerrabula</i>	'four'	< <i>yerra</i> 'reciprocal' + <i>bula</i> 'dual'
<i>yerrabula kuma</i>	'five'	< <i>yerrabula</i> 'four' + <i>kuma</i> 'one'
<i>yerrabula purlaitye</i>	'six'	< <i>yerrabula</i> 'four' + <i>purlaitye</i> 'two'

Klose further elaborates on this ad hoc formation of numbers in the context of teaching arithmetic at Piltawodli. According to Klose, Kurna had just two numerals:

Several weeks ago on Wednesdays and Saturdays I began giving instruction in arithmetic. But here I encountered considerable difficulty, as they have no words for figures, apart from one and two. KUMA is the word for one and PURLAITYE for two. Three they express as PURLAITYEKUMA, four PURLAITYE PURLAITYE and so on to 7 or at the most 8. Then it is: TANATA TANATA⁶⁴ <sic> which means: a large number. (letter sent to Dresden, dated 29 December 1840)

This base two number system however, whilst it is quite logical, would become unwieldy very quickly if it were extended for larger numbers. As Klose noted, its use was limited. In response to new circumstances, many Australian languages, such as Yolngu Matha, have borrowed the English number system wholesale⁶⁵. Occasionally numbers have been engineered⁶⁶.

⁶⁴ *Tanata tanata* is undoubtedly a misreading of *tauata tauata* by the Leipzig Mission archivists who provided the Lutheran Archives in Adelaide with a typescript version of Klose's handwritten letters. I have not yet been able to view the originals which remain in Germany.

⁶⁵ Walker & Ross (n.d.) list numerals 1 to 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 1000 all of which are direct borrowings from English assimilated into the Yolngu sound system (eg *dhirri* 'three'; *dwalp* 'twelve'; *djikti* 'sixty'; *dhawutjin* 'one thousand'). This base-10 system exists alongside a more restricted traditional base-5 counting system based on the *rulu*, a group of five turtle eggs, four of which are arranged in a compact square

Kaurna, like a number of other South Australian languages, is fortunate in that it has distinctive birth order names, which fortuitously count progeny up to the ninth born.

I used the roots of the birth order names, *irka* 'heap', *parto irka* 'big heap', *tauatta* 'many' and *wiwurra* 'a multitude' as raw materials to develop a base-10 number system in 1996 (see Appendix E5).

In addition, new terms were devised for basic mathematical operations, including addition, subtraction, multiplication and division using the words *yerra* 'distinct; different; one another; both'; **murma*, the root of the verb *murmarnendi* 'to decrease; grow less'; *tauattandendi* 'to multiply; increase in number' and *wirromandi* 'to divide; part in two' respectively. Fractions were encoded as X/Y-LOC using the locative suffix attached to the denominator following the iconic principle, for example **purlaitye marnkutiyilla* 'two thirds'. See Appendix E5 for a more complete discussion and further examples. Finally, a series of terms for the quantification of time, days of the week, months of the year, public holidays and expressions for 'Happy Birthday' etc were developed.

7.8.7 Sports Terminology

In early 1997 Lester Rigney, also a sports educator, worked with me to develop a range of expressions for use in sports. Sport is a core aspect of Nunga life, there being several Nunga sporting teams, some of which now bear Kaurna names (see section 9.3.). Lester looked specifically at Australian Rules football, netball and basketball, with a view to introducing these expressions first into KPS. We developed terms for the sports themselves, player positions, scoring terms and frequently used commands and expressions specific to these sports (see Appendix E6).

Most terms developed for the sports and sporting positions are simply loan translations of the English terms. The term for cricket was also adopted as a loan translation of the 'cricket' insect *yertabiritti*. In addition, several terms for animals were extended to football positions as follows:

<i>*tarka</i> 'ruck'	< <i>tarka</i> 'a large species of kangaroo'
<i>*wirappi</i> '1st ruck rover'	< <i>wirappi</i> 'native squirrel' (possibly pygmy possum)
<i>*wangko</i> '2nd ruck rover'	< <i>wangko</i> 'a sm. possum' (possibly feathertail glider)

with an additional one placed on top. In this system, 9 for example is encoded as *wanggany rulu ga dāmbumiriw baythinyara* (Lit. 'one group of turtle eggs and four [= head without] on its own').

⁶⁶Warlpiri from Central Australia, having a traditional number system with a similar number of terms to Kaurna, has adopted new number terms engineered by Ken Hale as follows:

<i>mirdi</i>	'four'	< <i>mirdi</i> 'knee' (? shape of the body formed when kneeling)
<i>rdaka</i>	'five'	< <i>rdaka</i> 'hand' (five fingers on the hand)
<i>jika</i>	'six'	< English 'six'
<i>wirliki</i>	'seven'	< <i>wilyki</i> 'hooked or number seven boomerang' (similar shape)
<i>milpa</i>	'eight'	< <i>milpa</i> 'eyes' (similar shape)
<i>narntirnki</i>	'nine'	< <i>narntirnki</i> 'bent, curved' (similar shape)

Interestingly, these engineered terms have been borrowed into neighbouring Pintupi, but used only in the closed domain of card playing (personal observation at Kintore, NT, 1983).

Other interesting terms include:

* <i>murtpamanko</i> 'mark'	< <i>murtpandi</i> 'to leap; jump' + <i>mankondi</i> 'to touch; take; lay hold on'
* <i>nguiyanguiya</i> 'opponent'	< <i>nguiya nguiyattarla</i> 'two enemies; adversaries'
* <i>wadli</i> 'foul'	< <i>wadli</i> 'imperfect; incorrect; bad'
* <i>ngatpa</i> 'goal'	< Backformation from <i>ngatpandi</i> 'to enter; sink; put into'
* <i>ningkatpa</i> 'point'	< <i>ningka</i> 'nearly' + <i>*ngatpa</i> 'goal'

Some of this terminology has been used already within the KPS program.

7.9 Authenticity and Integrity

There is a strong desire expressed by Kurna language enthusiasts, that the Kurna language spoken today should be in accord with the language traditionally spoken by Kurna people as we know it from the historical sources. There is a strong desire for authenticity and integrity. But what is an authentic 'modern' Kurna? We have seen that the current practice in producing Kurna texts, by and large, has been to begin with an English text and attempt to translate this text into Kurna. This method necessarily incorporates many literal translations of English expressions. In this way Kurna is rapidly converging towards English. With greater knowledge of Kurna grammar and increased familiarity with the few existing Kurna texts, however, we are able to resist English influence to some extent.

Is an authentic Kurna language one that draws upon Nunga English, the variety of English that currently embodies contemporary Nunga cultural values and serves as the vehicle of Nunga identity? Or is an authentic Kurna one that is modelled on idioms, metaphors and ways of speaking encountered in other Australian languages? The latter is a difficult undertaking that requires an in-depth knowledge of other Australian languages, above and beyond the knowledge of those involved in the reclamation of Kurna, including myself. One possibility that remains largely untried and untapped would be to work intensively with a native speaker of an Australian language, such as Pitjantjatjara or Warlpiri, to tap distinctively Australian ways of expressing certain notions that involve a range of different metaphors, idioms and ways of thinking about the world to that found within English. Of course there is no guarantee that Kurna would've expressed these notions in the same way as Pitjantjatjara, but there is a somewhat greater likelihood because of the greater affinity between the languages.

7.9.1 Attitudes Towards the Creation of Neologisms

So far, the reaction towards newly created neologisms has been overwhelmingly positive. A number of Kurna people seem ready and willing to invent and use new terms. Their comments demonstrate an awareness of language change as a process occurring in all languages.

However, some early reservations were encountered. One Kurna person, when confronted with recently engineered terms in an initial session of exposure to Kurna and the historical sources, commented:

I know I'm being silly. I just need time to think about it. I don't feel right about changing the language. I understand the process. You don't have to say any more. I just need time. (Field Notes 4 March 1994)

Snooky Varcoe, a Nunga language specialist who has been teaching Kaurna since 1990, responded:

I used to feel like that a couple of years ago. It's not the problem with the language. It's the problem with us. We've been brought up to think that our languages are rubbish and simple. We've been brought up to think how our languages should be, just a leftover from the past. (Field Notes 4 March 1994)

In developing the base 10 Kaurna number system, I drafted a 14 page discussion paper (see Appendix E5) which I sent out in September 1996 to a number of Kaurna individuals, to staff at KPS and to KACHA. It was not feasible or timely to bring people together to discuss the issues, so this seemed the best way to go about it. I had been sitting on the proposal for a year or so and had discussed the matter informally with several Kaurna people over that period. I was aware that this was a rather 'brazen' act for a non-Aboriginal linguist. Instituting a base 10 number system was far more intrusive than suggesting a few neologisms or suggesting how a word might have been pronounced. This was a matter of deliberately altering the underlying conceptual system underpinning the language.

But the Kaurna numbers and maths proposal was warmly received. Two Kaurna elders, Phoebe Wanganeen, and Lewis O'Brien rang me the same day they received the proposal (Field Notes, 24 Sept. 1996). Auntie Phoebe commented "It's the best thing that I ever seen happened. I just had to ring and tell you". She was very keen to see the numbers taught immediately and encouraged me to make a tape so that people could learn them in their own homes. Lewis was also very happy with the proposal, but wanted to discuss certain concepts further and raised a few minor concerns. In particular, he did not like my use of the word *kuinyunda* 'bringing death; lethal; dangerous; forbidden; sacred' with *tindo* 'day' in the neologism **kuinyunda tindo* 'holiday'. He felt this just wasn't right as holidays were not sacred, thus the use of *kuinyunda* here was inappropriate. He felt that the word *kuinyunda* should be reserved for other things of a sacred nature. I promptly dropped **kuinyunda tindo* from the proposal, using instead **ngunyindo* 'holiday' from *ngunya* 'joy; pleasure' + *tindo* 'day' and **ngunyindunna* 'holidays'.

The Kaurna base-10 number system, maths terminology and other new terms are currently taught within the KPS program. By all accounts the system works well. Teachers at KPS also see that it is important for their students to develop some understanding of the process of lexical expansion. Older students especially have an awareness of themselves as participants in an innovative process where both they and their teachers are learners together and are at times searching for new words together⁶⁷.

Lewis O'Brien is generally recognised by the Kaurna community as one of the main authorities in language matters. He is keen to use the Kaurna language's own resources in the creation of new terms where these are needed. Transformation is an underlying philosophy, a central

⁶⁷These issues were discussed by KPS staff at the Scope and Sequence Project workshop, 8 May 1998.

Kaurna concept, that is appealed to by Lewis, Georgina Williams and others. In lectures and public addresses Lewis refers to the suffix *-nendi*⁶⁸, citing examples of its use in transforming one thing into another, for example *nantonendi* becoming a kangaroo'. Georgina Williams sees herself as one who actively promotes drawing on linguistic and cultural heritage, and transforming and adapting it for use in the present (pc 8 May 1998). So the creation of neologisms sits comfortably within their personal philosophy.

In Lewis's view using Kaurna roots is far preferable to borrowing words from other languages, even closely related languages such as Nukunu. This view is also strongly espoused by Maori, who avoid loans from English, though calquing on foreign languages is frequent. Maori lexical expansion draws primarily on Maori roots, precisely because of its status and position vis-a-vis English. Harlow (1993: 103-104) points out that for Maori to borrow English terminology is tantamount to an "admission of defeat":

that borrowing of terminology especially from English is not an option, follows directly from the reason for the whole enterprise of education in Maori. To preserve the language as a living means of communication entails preserving it in opposition to, and distinct from, English. If, in order to fit Maori for the modern world, borrowing from English occurs, it looks like a sort of admission of defeat, an admission that, in fact, Maori is incapable of handling new areas and topics within its own resources.
(Harlow, 1993: 104)

The same motivations that drive Maori linguistic purism are also present in the Kaurna situation. The whole reason for pursuing Kaurna language reclamation is in support of the establishment and recognition of a distinct Kaurna identity. For that reason Kaurna must appear quite distinct from English. It would, however, be unwise to go overboard with the creation of neologisms in a language such as Kaurna. Whilst one could theoretically invent an inventory of terms for the inner workings of a rocket engine, there would be little point in doing so. Rather the policy has been to introduce neologisms only where they are needed. Creating too many neologisms too fast has the potential of alienating the custodians of the language.

Opposition to introduced changes has been expressed by a prominent Ngarrindjeri woman, Val Power (Aboriginal Languages Standing Committee meeting, 11 December 1997), who was herself reflecting community concerns. Narungga elders have also expressed the opinion that efforts to use their language in new ways should be discouraged for fear of jeopardising native title claims (pc Peter Gale, 1998). However, to this point in time, little opposition has been encountered from within the Kaurna community itself.

7.9.2 Authenticity vs Simplicity

Pitted against a desire to develop a language with the full range of complexity that we would expect to encounter in a Pama-Nyungan Australian language, is the desirability of developing a language which is not overly difficult for learners to acquire.

⁶⁸The suffix *-nendi* consists of *-ni* 'inchoative' + *-ndi* 'present'.

Should we indeed forget about the distinction between the rhotics, forget about the distinction between interdental, alveolar and retroflex consonants and ignore vowel length? In reconstituting Kaurna grammar, we could invoke verb classes and complex aspectual distinctions within the verbal affixes, as this is the kind of complexity we would expect in a Pama-Nyungan language. However, it may be preferable to ignore this complexity and opt for a simple and regular distinction between past, present and future tense. This would certainly enable easier acquisition of Kaurna.

Hebrew language revivalists were faced with a similar dilemma of a number over vague tense and aspect distinctions. Modern Hebrew is now characterised by a simpler past vs present vs future tense system as indicated below:

And once and for all, they almost entirely abandoned the BH [Biblical Hebrew] tense system with its "hazy" notions of time which made it so difficult to use. Instead, a clear-cut system of three tenses, past, present participle and future was adopted, apparently under the (mistaken) notion that this was MH [Mishnaic Hebrew] usage The cohortative and the jussive were eliminated, and as to the infinitive, there is a sort of compromise so that its use is quite fluid" (Kutscher, 1982: 190)

However, suggestions of simplifying Kaurna grammar received a luke-warm response (PWAC session, August 1997), though its inevitability was acknowledged by Lewis and others (Scope & Sequence Project workshop, May 1998). It seems at this stage anyway, that learners of Kaurna would rather grapple with the full range of complexity evident in the sources, than knowingly learn a simplified grammar. The phonology issue has been raised but no clear direction has yet emerged.

7.9.3 Language Reforms

Over the last seven years a number of early mistakes have been corrected⁶⁹ and improvements made to earlier forms and expressions. Some of these have already been discussed. The uncertainty and confusion in some areas leads to a degree of equivocation. In the process of translating songs, stories, speeches etc, I often introduce corrections and changes, much to the annoyance and frustration of language learners. Most often the corrections and changes are accepted and the replacement forms and expressions are learnt and used without too much trouble.

However, sometimes the 'errors' remain. I have pointed out to several groups of Kaurna learners (eg PWAC class, Semester 1 1997) that T&S probably got it wrong when they used *kauwawa* for 'uncle' (see earlier section on kinship). However, *kauwawa* 'uncle' is a term which already has wide currency within KPS, families of children attending the school and beyond. The general consensus seems to be to continue to use the term *kauwawa* 'uncle' even though we now know that *kauwanu* would probably have been better. To change it now would cause too much confusion and may possibly serve to turn people off the language. The

⁶⁹For instance, in Snooky Varcoe's speech at the opening of YWW (Appendix J2.2) we used the suffix *-ityarnungko* 'from' in Snooky Varcoityarnungko 'by Snooky Varcoe'. Since then, letters written by Kaurna boys have emerged (Appendix D3.6) which use the Ergative/Instrumental suffix as in Pitpauwidlo 'by Pitpauwe' and Wailtyidlo 'by Wailtyi'. This has now been reformed.

language teacher Cherie Watkins, and others, rationalize this situation with the observation that "all languages change anyway" so it is not really of any consequence that this word may originally have meant something else.

In the adoption of new names, neologisms, expressions etc. Lewis O'Brien (pc August 1997) suggested that we should research all the available information and then make a decision and stick to it, for better or for worse, even if it proves not to have been the best decision. For my own part, I welcome corrections and continual refinements as we come to understand the materials better. In view of this, for some time I resisted pressure to produce a set of language learning tapes. It is much easier to correct pronunciation whilst the delivery is oral and written work is limited to ephemeral handouts. Once the language is recorded and published, as in the set of tapes produced for the KL&LE course, it becomes fixed. If these tapes are actually used to learn the language, it will be more difficult to introduce corrections and reforms. But this view must be tempered against the needs of language learners and early users of the language who have already learnt words and expressions.

By contrast, I tend not to worry about pronunciation too much. It is more important to encourage people to use the language. I am fearful that too much correction could be counterproductive and discourage people from 'having a go'. Every now and then I might have a session about 'spelling pronunciations', but spelling pronunciations are an enduring fact of life in a situation where the language is being learnt primarily from written records and where there is little opportunity to hear the language spoken.

For the present, the pronunciation of users of the Kurna language is continuing to improve. It has not fossilized and people are generally willing to embrace a certain amount of correction and review. There is a perception among sections of the wider community though, that the language is spoken with a pronounced 'Australian English accent' and that to be 'authentic', strenuous efforts should be made to acquire distinctive retroflex and interdental consonants, to pronounce words with Australian vowels (not English vowels such as [æ]) and to ensure that stress is placed regularly on the first syllable. Guy Tunstill, a non-Indigenous teacher of Pitjantjatjara) suggested that we should seriously consider working intensively with a native speaker of an Australian language (eg Pitjantjatjara or Warlpiri etc.), so that Kurna people can acquire a truly Indigenous pronunciation of their language. Should we do this, Adnyamathanha would be a better choice because its phonology is more similar to that of Kurna.

In this early phase of Kurna language revival, practically all Kurna language spoken is highly monitored. Thought is put into the construction of each utterance. Speeches, songs and a variety of language materials are carefully translated to the best of our ability. Whilst this situation persists, there is room for corrections. However, once the expressions become

internalized and are produced as a more automatic response, there will be less room for revision.

Should the situation ever eventuate, where Nunga children grow up speaking the language from birth or from an early age, it is to be expected that the language will expand⁷⁰ and develop many features which are not in accord with the grammar of nineteenth century Kaurna as we know it from the historical sources. It is likely that reanalyses of grammatical categories, changes in word order constraints and perhaps considerable lexical and semantic borrowing from English will occur⁷¹. If and when that time comes, it is entirely possible that there might be fierce resistance by adults who had learned more conservative forms from the historical materials and formal Kaurna courses. This is an issue we can only speculate on.

Notions of what is 'authentic' are likely to change over time and differ from one generation to the next. It is already apparent that there are some differences of opinion within the Nunga community as to what constitutes an 'authentic' Kaurna. For some there is a considerable level of faith and trust placed in the German mission sources and on their interpretation by linguists such as myself and Jane Simpson. For others, however, there is considerable suspicion of the involvement of non-Aboriginal people to the point where the language is stigmatized as a "white creation". The politics of Kaurna language revival are discussed further in Chapter 10.

7.10 Development of Kaurna Language Materials

7.10.1 Modern Texts

An Aboriginal Studies booklet incorporated a double page spread of a scene depicting traditional Kaurna life (Groome & Irvine, 1981: 6-7). It included speech balloons filled with well-chosen sentences taken directly from T&S to create dialogue appropriate in this context. However, there was no attempt to construct new sentences.

A number of new Kaurna texts have been written since 1990 in conjunction with Kaurna workshops and teaching programs. The first texts written, apart from songs, came out of a workshop held in 1990. They include *Wai Yerlitta*, a Kaurna translation of Snooky Varcoe's story *But Dad!* and Bonny Wanganeen's *Freddy Kanto* 'Freddy Bullfrog' (see Appendix F).

⁷⁰This expansion would be similar to creolization, except that the process starts with interlanguage varieties, rather than a pidgin.

⁷¹Changes are evident in the speech of Warlpiri children (Bavin & Shopen, 1991) under the influence of English. We would expect that even more far-reaching changes would occur within the Kaurna spoken by Nunga children who are growing up in an entirely English-speaking environment.

Table 7.8: Selected Kurna Texts (1990-1997)

Text	When Produced	Writer	Description
<i>Freddy Kanto</i> <i>Freddy Bullfrog</i>	KPS Workshop 1990	Bonney Wanganeen	Children's story. Laminated big book with well-presented illustrations. 10 pages, 81 words.
<i>Wai Yerlitta</i> <i>'But Dad!'</i>	KPS Workshop 1990	Snooky Varcoe	One-off production with photocopies made; 10 pages, ca 60 words; 3 English words.
<i>Mukabando Itto!</i> <i>'Remember These'</i>	KPS Workshop 1990	Debra Walker	One-off production with photocopies made; A book of rules in Kurna for the preschool. 14 pages, ca 30 words.
<i>Parni Kawai!</i> <i>Nakkondo!</i> <i>'Come and see!'</i>	CSO Workshops 1991	Buster Turner	One-off production with photocopies made.
<i>Maikoko Birko</i> <i>'Tucker's Mob'</i>	1992	translation by Rob Amery	Children's story by Christobel Mattingley, published by Omnibus Books.
<i>Warrabarna</i> <i>Kurna</i> <i>'Let It Be Spoken'</i>	1994	Snooky Varcoe	Poem of 31 words, published in SSABSA (1996c: 195)
<i>Kari 'Emu'</i>	EWAC, S2 1994	Emma Sumner	Poem of 57 words.
<i>Tjilbruke</i>	EWAC, S2 1994	Christine Wilkinson	Prose. 52 words.
<i>Kurru 'Yakka'</i>	EWAC, S2 1994	Christine Wilkinson	72 words
<i>Tjilbruke Story</i>	ECHS, S2 1994	KPS students	approx. 150 words. Tjilbruke story associated with 5 sites (Warriparri, Kingston, Ngangkiparri, Moana & Portatangga). Text appears inset in 5 boxes on map.
<i>Tukkuangki</i> <i>Yerta</i> <i>'Mother Earth'</i>	Tauondi, May 1996	Donna Abdulla	Poem, 66 words.
<i>Yerthoappendi</i> <i>Kurangknnga</i> <i>'My Early Life on the Coorong'</i>	Tauondi, May 1996	Punker Jackson	2 pages (260 words). 15 short paragraphs describing different aspects of life on the Coorong organised around headings such as <i>kurti</i> 'cockles', <i>Willutti</i> 'Spring', <i>yeltuwooppa</i> 'pelican feathers'. This text incorporates 10 or so new borrowings, including 'fox', 'pudding', 'threepenny', 'wheat bags' and 'kalsomine' ⁷² .
Video Script	June 1996	Cherie Watkins & Rob Amery	4 short segments of Kurna voiceover for <i>Warranna Purruna - Pa:mpi Tungarar - Living Languages</i> , spoken by Cherie Watkins. Approx. 100 words.
<i>Kuinyo Wodli</i>	PWAC, S1 1997	Klynton Wanganeen	Story written for older children about Klynton's exploits as a boy.
<i>Johnalya</i> <i>'Dear John'</i>	PWAC, S1 1997	PWAC class	Letter of protest to Prime Minister John Howard for refusing to apologise to the 'Stolen Generations'. Modelled on letter written to Gawler by Kurna children at Piltawodli.
<i>Na marni, oh sisters on this sacred Earth!</i>	1997	Moona Nooknba	Short text of introduction (20 words) accompanying article in <i>Earthwise Women</i> #7 (Sept./Nov. 1997: 8).
<i>Wiltarninga!</i> 'Be Strong'	1997	Karl Telfer	Poem of 57 words. Also introduced self in Kurna in personal profile. Published in Procter & Gale (1997: 50-51).

A more extensive project (Amery, 1992a) involved the translation of the children's book *Tucker's Mob*, by Christobel Mattingley (1992), raised earlier in the discussion of English borrowings. I was approached by the Aboriginal Education Unit to produce a Kurna translation of this book. In the Kurna version, the Kurna language completely replaces the

⁷²These are all introduced items central to Nunga experience which have not yet been addressed within the Kurna lexicon.

English text⁷³. This book includes about 20 pages of text, complemented by attractive colour pictures. The Kurna text is a fairly literal translation of the English and includes a number of complex sentence constructions. The Kurna version of this book is not for sale, but has been distributed to interested schools.

To date, all texts created by students of Kurna are written first in English, then translated into Kurna. Students are encouraged to translate their text as far as they can by themselves. They search for the required vocabulary and attempt to structure their own sentences. Then Cherie and/or I assist by correcting the grammar and making suggestions for restructuring the text. To date no Kurna narratives have been published commercially, though several show promise. This is an important area to pursue in the future, in terms of providing good quality materials for the Kurna programs and in terms of increasing the profile of the language.

In addition to the above, a number of short texts have been produced as resource material for the Kurna programs. In 1997 I prepared dialogues and four short texts about contemporary and historical Kurna people for the Fremont-ECHS Year 8 program run by SASL (see Appendices H7.7 and H7.8). A series of 13 lessons were also prepared for the KL&LE course at the University of Adelaide, each based around a short text. Other texts have been generated from time to time within the teaching programs.

7.10.2 Contemporary Kurna Songs

The current revival of Kurna began with a 'Songwriters Workshop' in early 1990. Since then Kurna songs continue to be produced at a steady rate.

7.10.2.1 Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga & Kurna Songs, 1990.

At the Songwriter's workshop at Tandanya, seven of the 23 songs written made use of Kurna words. It is believed to be the first creative use of the language since its demise with the death of Ivaritji in 1929. These songs were written primarily for children and employ various combinations of English, Kurna and other Nunga languages. The songs range from *Can You Wiggle*, an action song requiring the insertion of body parts from either Narrunga, Kurna or Ngarrindjeri into a song which is otherwise English, to *Wanti Ninna Padnendi*, a song written entirely in Kurna, employing both present and future tense forms, allative case and a variety of kinship terms. All of the songs are new compositions except for *He Sends the Rainbow*, a folk hymn of unknown origin which was known to many older Nunga people. This hymn was translated into, Ngarrindjeri, Kurna and Narungga.

⁷³One complaint voiced about the Kurna version of the book is that no English translation is provided, apart from a brief introduction to the story on the inside front cover. This was not so much an oversight as the result of a lack of space. The inside back cover is taken up with brief notes about the Kurna language, orthography and pronunciation. However, the English version is available for purchase.

Table 7.9: Kaurna Songs in Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga & Kaurna Songs ⁷⁴, 1990

Song	Songwriter	Description
<i>Can You Wiggle</i>	Leigh Newton, Josie Agius, Pearl Nam & Kathryn Gale	An action song in English with Narungga, Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri body parts; 7 Kaurna words
<i>Ngai Mutandi</i> 'I eat ...'	Josie Agius, Kathryn Gale & Rob Amery	A repetitive children's song; half Kaurna, half English; 7 distinct Kaurna words +Locative
<i>Show Me Where the Names Go</i>	Leigh Newton	An action song with English chorus; 12 Kaurna body parts.
<i>Kammammi's Lullaby</i> 'Grandmother's lullaby'	Josie Agius, Kathryn Gale & Leigh Newton	Lullaby with English and Kaurna versions; 9 Kaurna words.
<i>Wanti Ninna Padnendi</i> 'Where are you going?'	Josie Agius, Pearl Nam, Kathryn Gale, Leigh Newton & Rob Amery	Repetitive song entirely in Kaurna; 18 distinct Kaurna words + Allative suffix.
<i>In the Morning</i>	Kenneth Ken, Josie Agius, Kathryn Gale & Leigh Newton	Action & echo song in Kaurna & English; 29 distinct Kaurna words.
<i>He Sends the Rainbow</i>	Chester Schultz & Rob Amery	Folk hymn translated into Ngarrindjeri, Kaurna & Narungga; 12 Kaurna words.

During the period 1991-1994, several Kaurna songs were written in workshops, including a Kaurna version of the *Kookaburra* song, titled *Ngungana*. It incorporated an additional nine verses to the same tune about a range of other animals indigenous to the Adelaide Plains. Several well known nursery rhymes and children's songs have been translated, which have proved very popular amongst the children at KPECC and KPS. A non-Indigenous teacher, James Parkin, also wrote several songs with his students at KPS.

7.10.2.2 Kaurna Songs (Varcoe et al, forthcoming)

In the latter half of 1995, Chester Schultz, Snooky Varcoe, Cherie Watkins, myself and students from the Kaurna program at PWAC and KPS worked on a collection of 25 Kaurna songs. They are as follows:

⁷⁴See (Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga and Kaurna Languages Project, 1990).

Table 7.10: Kurna Songs (Varcoe et al, forthcoming)

	Title	Singer	Description
1.	<i>Taikurtinna</i> 'Family Song'	Snooky Varcoe	A song designed to teach the meaning of Kurna kinship terms. In English and Kurna.
2.	<i>Ngangkitta</i> 'Mother'	James Parkin	Repetitive song; 2 verses; 14 distinct K. words
3.	<i>Madlalla</i> 'Grandfather'	Snooky Varcoe	Original song written in English by the late Ruby Hammond. Translated into Kurna in 1995.
4.	<i>Kammammiko Ngaia</i> 'Grandmother's Lullaby'	Nan Mohi Cherie Watkins	Re-recording of song previously recorded in <i>Narrunga, Kurna & Ngarrindjeri Songs</i> 1990. Slightly modified line 2.
5.	<i>Ipila Tjilbruke</i> 'Tjilbruke's Song'	Cherylynn Catanzaritti	Rap song with both Kurna and English versions
6.	<i>Kuranye</i> 'The Colours of the Rainbow'	James Parkin & KPS students	Kurna colour terms within an English song
7.	<i>Munaintya Winko Battiringa</i> 'Open up Your Hearts'	Cherie Watkins	Kurna and English versions 13 lines
8.	<i>Kuma Purlaitye</i> 'Kurna Number Rock'	James Parkin & KPS students	Short song entirely in Kurna; 8 distinct Kurna words
9.	<i>Tangka Waiendi</i> 'My Changing Sorrow'	Lesia Dorniak- Wall	A song in English with Kurna words about the Tjilbruke Dreaming story
10.	<i>Marnkutye Ngarpa Idlanna</i> 'Three Little Mice'	Veronica Brodie	Original song handed down in English within Veronica's family. Translated into Kurna in 1995 by Amery & Schultz. 22 Kurna words
11.	<i>Barti</i> 'Witchetty Grub'	Snooky Varcoe	A clever song written in English with a Kurna chorus; some Kurna words inserted in verses.
12.	<i>Yarna Tappa: Mullawirraburkarna</i> Palti 'King John's Song'	Chester Schultz	Interpretation and embellishment of King John's song published in T&S
13.	<i>Yurringarninga</i> 'Listen to This'	Snooky Varcoe	Song written entirely in Kurna in 1992 workshop
14.	<i>Birkibirki: Kadlitpiko Palti</i> 'Captain Jack's Song'	Chester Schultz Snooky Varcoe	Interpretation and embellishment of Captain Jack's song published in T&S
15.	<i>Baa Baa Nyaani</i> 'Baa Baa Black Sheep'	Group	Translation of well-known nursery rhyme
16.	<i>Tappingyando</i> 'Open Shut Them'	Cherie Watkins	Translation of well-known nursery rhyme
17.	<i>Tikkapi Tikkapi Tuka</i> 'Hickory Dickory Dock'	Group	Translation of well-known nursery rhyme
18.	<i>Ngadluko Palti</i> 'Our Corroboree'	Snooky Varcoe & Group	Kurna version of <i>Ringbalin</i> , a Ngarrindjeri song in <i>Narrunga, Kurna & Ngarrindjeri Songs</i> .
19.	<i>Bandi Bandi Wilto Tukkutya</i> 'Twinkle Twinkle Little Star'	Group	Translation of well-known nursery rhyme
20.	<i>Yokomattanya</i> 'A Sailor Went to Sea'	Group	Translation of well-known nursery rhyme
21.	<i>Palti Tjilbruke</i> 'Tjilbruke's Dance'	Snooky Varcoe Julie Hodgkinson & Rob Amery	Four Kurna verses with Kurna chorus plus three English verses with English chorus about the Tjilbruke Dreaming.
22.	<i>Warratinna</i> 'Silent Night'	Cherie Watkins	Translation of well-known Christmas carol
23.	<i>Palti Makkandi</i> 'Thigh Shaking Dance'	Chester Schultz & PWAC group	A corroboree written and arranged by Chester Schultz, but based on sentence in T&S (1840)
24.	<i>Ipila Wirra</i> 'Song of the Bush' ⁷⁵	Group	Adaptation of Marion Sinclair's song with 9 additional verses about other animals.
25.	<i>Karrawirraparri</i> 'The Torrens Song'	Snooky Varcoe	Song written in English and Kurna for the 'Clean up the Torrens' campaign.

It will be evident from the tables above that a wide spectrum of song types is covered. Many are written entirely in Kurna, though some are written in English, with varying amounts of Kurna incorporated. The songs range from nursery rhymes to re-enactments and

⁷⁵A copyright problem, discussed in more detail in Chapter 9, emerged with *Ngungana* (referred to above). The first verse was re-written so that it was no longer a translation of the Kookaburra Song and the entire song was re-recorded to a rap tune in September 1996. It was re-named *Ipila Wirra* 'Song of the Bush'.

embellishments of traditional songlines and re-creations of Kaurna *palti* 'dance; ceremony; coroboree'. Three of the songs included on the 1995 recording were in fact Kaurna versions of songs previously written or translated into Ngarrindjeri in 1990.

7.10.2.2 *Karrauwirraparri - The Torrens Song*

Karrauwirraparri - The Torrens Song deserves special mention here. In 1995, the *Year of the Torrens*, Snooky Varcoe was approached to write a song for *The Watermusic Project* CD⁷⁶ which promoted the cleanup of the Torrens. *Karrauwirraparri*, recorded professionally, was produced specifically for the Project, but the contract allowed use of the song for other purposes such as its inclusion in *Kaurna Songs* (see section 7.10.2.3 below).

Much of *The Torrens Song* is in English. However it does include an eight line refrain in Kaurna as follows:

Kaurna Refrain

Karrawirraparri
Bukki yellakkiana
Natta parri trunga
Kudna mappabutto
Pindi meyu budni
Yaitya meyu kumbetti
Parna yakko parri kanggandi
Parri purruttiappendadlu kumangka

Translation

The Torrens River
Was pure and clean before
Now the river is filthy
Full of excrement and rubbish
When the whitefellas came
Indigenous people were forced away
They were no longer able to care for the river
Lets get together and make the river live again

7.10.2.4 Songs Written Since 1995

Kaurna songs continue to be written at a steady rate, often in response to contemporary events or expressed needs of the Kaurna teaching programs. Additional songs written or translated since the recording of *Kaurna Songs*, from mid-1995 to the end of 1997 are summarised in the table below:

⁷⁶The CD featured eight songs by well-known bands and musicians, one of whom was Phil Salter, the Project Supervisor.

Table 7.11: Kaurna Songs Produced Since *Kaurna Songs*, 1995-1997.

Title	Date	Songwriter/Translator	Description
'Love is the Key'	1995	Nan Mohi, assisted by Rob Amery	Translation of English hymn
'He Rose Again	1995	Nan Mohi, assisted by Rob Amery	Translation of English hymn
<i>Tiritpa ga Kondolli</i> 'Skylark and Whale'	1995	Cherylyne Catanzaritti & Buck McKenzie	Children's song about the 'Fire & Whale' Dreaming
<i>Ngaityo Purki-purnki Ngarto</i> 'My Brown-Skin Baby'	1995	Cherie Watkins & Rob Amery	Song commemorating the 'stolen generation'. 4 verses; ca 50 distinct Kaurna words
<i>Warranna Munaintya</i> 'Voices of Our Dreaming'	Dec. 1995	Snooky Varcoe in assoc. with PDTAL workshop; Kaurna translation by Rob Amery	Song celebrating linguistic diversity; 12 distinct Kaurna words + repetition; 21 names of Aust. Iges.
<i>Tattayaingkialya</i> 'The Old Rugged Cross'	May 1996	Cherie Watkins & Rob Amery	Kaurna translation
<i>Kumirka Purla Tindunna Yeowa</i> <i>Wornindoanna</i> '12 Days of Christmas'	Dec. 1996	Rob Amery, Cherie Watkins & PWAC Warra Kaurna class.	Translation of English song; ca 40 distinct Kaurna words + repetition.
<i>Pingkoalya</i> 'Dear Bilby'	Mar. 1997	Rob Amery & PWAC Warra Kaurna class	Easter song entirely in Kaurna; 40 words.
<i>Ngaityo Wodli</i> 'My Home'	June 1997	Lester Rigney with assistance from Rob Amery	Song written first in English, then translated into Kaurna; 3 verses + chorus; 58 words.
<i>Kaurna Plains School Song</i>	June 1997	Staff & students at KPS; translated into Kaurna by Rob Amery & PWAC class	Song written first in English, then translated into Kaurna; 3 verses + chorus; 39 words.
<i>Wailtyi Parto Nanto</i> 'Wailtyi the big kangaroo'	1997	PWAC Warra Kaurna class	Inspired by 'Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer'; ca 50 words including interjections
<i>Makkandi Wappendo</i> 'Do the Makkandi (thigh shaking dance)'	1997	Staff & students at KPS	Kaurna version of 'Hokey Pokey'; 6 verses + chorus; ca 20 distinct Kaurna words + repetition
<i>Yertabulti</i> 'Port Adelaide'	Nov. 1997	Snooky Varcoe with assistance from Guy Tunstill & Rob Amery	Song mostly in Kaurna, but includes 4 lines in English; 5 verses + chorus + interjections; ca 30 distinct Kaurna words + repetition.
<i>Nguyanguya Murradlu</i> 'Reconciliation'	Nov. 1997	Snooky Varcoe with assistance from Guy Tunstill & Rob Amery	3 verses, 2 in English and 1 in Kaurna; ca 30 Kaurna words
<i>Ground Zero</i>	Nov. 1997	Jez Lowe & Jen Lindon; Kaurna translation by Rob Amery & PWAC class	Kaurna translation, 15 words
<i>Keep Walking Forward</i>	Nov. 1997	Kaurna translation by Rob Amery & PWAC class	Kaurna translation, 11 words
<i>Ngarpadlarla</i> 'Two Aunties'	Dec. 1997	Cherie Watkins; Kaurna translation by Rob Amery	Song written and sung for farewell of Auntie Alice Rigney & Auntie Alma Ridgway from KPS; 2 verses, 26 words.

7.10.2.5 Modern Kaurna Translations of Hymns

The table above includes Kaurna translations of four English hymns. Nan Mohi, a Maori student in the Warra Kaurna program at PWAC, Inbarendi College chose to translate two hymns into Kaurna as her major project. Her family already sang several hymns in Yolngu Matha, taught to them by a visiting Arnhemlander, and she wanted to be able to sing hymns in Kaurna as well, as it was the local language. She brought the Yolngu hymns along to class

where I worked with her to translate two hymns, *Love is the Key* and *He Rose Again*, which were well-known and loved within the Nunga church she attended.

Late in 1995 Cherie Watkins produced a Kurna version of *Silent Night* to sing at Christmas Church services and end-of-year gatherings. This has proved to be a very popular song, especially during the festive season, as may be seen from Appendix J3.

On 31 May 1996, at Cherie Watkins' suggestion, we produced a translation *Tattayaingkialya* of *The Old Rugged Cross*, a hymn well-known and loved amongst older Nungas⁷⁷. It was sung shortly after at the funeral service for Dr. Catherine Ellis, an ethnomusicologist who had pioneered the field of research into Aboriginal music in Australia. She was interested in both 'traditional' and contemporary Aboriginal music, setting up the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM) at the University of Adelaide. She documented and recorded songs, both English and vernacular, known and sung by Nungas and Koories across South Australia and Victoria. The singing of *Tattayaingkialya*, by Veronica Brodie and Cherie Watkins, who had both worked with Cath in the setting up of Aboriginal music programs in South Australia, was a fitting tribute to the life's work of Dr Ellis. Chester Schultz accompanied the singers on the organ. Even though Veronica and Cherie had little opportunity to learn and practise the Kurna hymn prior to the funeral, it was a particularly moving contribution, appreciated by all who attended the event, held in St Peters Cathedral, North Adelaide.

The six Kurna hymns which only just came to light in September 1996 provide additional material to work with. Fortunately, Klose noted the German melodies to which the hymns were sung. These melodies were located easily from various German hymnbooks. When asked what we should do with the six Kurna hymns, Veronica Brodie suggested that we produce a Kurna hymnbook, putting them together with hymns like *Tattayainkialya* and others yet to be translated, a task which both Snooky Varcoe and Chester Schultz are keen to pursue. The translation of hymns into Kurna has re-ignited a tradition laid down in the 1840s. Perhaps Kurna hymns will play an important role in Nunga Christianity in Adelaide in the future⁷⁸. Snooky Varcoe is an ordained pastor within his Nunga church and is completing theological training at Nungalinya College in Darwin. Sid Graham, a Kurna man, was ordained as an Anglican priest in a ceremony at St Peters Cathedral on 7 February 1998 (*Advertiser*, 9 Feb. 1998: 9).

⁷⁷For instance, when the Ngarrindjeri people started gathering at Camp Coorong at the end of our camp in March 1996, *The Old Rugged Cross* was a song they sang with relish and with great emotion. Note however, that the Ngarrindjeri gathering was not a religious one. Rather they had gathered to discuss land tenure and native title issues.

⁷⁸Jane Simpson (pc 17 June 1998) notes that in Warumungu, spoken around Tennant Creek, the only material spontaneously translated has been hymns, hence their importance for language maintenance.

7.10.3 Language Learning Materials

In the last decade some attempts have been made to devise appropriate language learning materials for the contemporary context. Kaurna language learning materials have usually been created on the spot in conjunction with a workshop or course of instruction. In 1991, nursery rhymes and worksheets were collated into a photocopied booklet and the expressions recorded on tape. Modules of work have been developed in association with the teaching programs. Two of these have been published with the AILF materials (SSABSA, 1996b: 31-46) together with outlines of teaching programs and resources. The Kaurna language programs themselves and associated curriculum and materials will be investigated in section 8.6.

As mentioned earlier, in 1994 I developed several HyperCard stacks, one designed to teach Kaurna sounds and spellings, others to teach Kaurna vocabulary and aspects of grammar through multiple choice exercises and games involving the manipulation of objects on the computer screen.

However, the most serious attempt yet to develop Kaurna language learning materials are a series of Kaurna lessons with accompanying tapes which we developed in conjunction with the KL&LE course at the University of Adelaide. As the most comprehensive materials available, they warrant some discussion here.

7.10.3.1 KL&LE Tapes and Transcripts (Amery, Watkins & Rigney)

The taped Kaurna lessons (Amery et al, 1997) are designed to run over 13 weeks, the duration of the KL&LE course. Each lesson is based on a theme, beginning with a text and followed with a series of exercises. These exercises are mostly substitution exercises, but cloze exercises, comprehension questions, open-ended questions and vocabulary matching exercises are also included.

The themes span a range of topics. The course is designed partly to promote some basic linguistic and communicative competence focussing on frequently used functions as greetings and leavetakings, introductions, talking about coming and going, commands and requests within the home and within the classroom. But the development of communicative competence is not the only aim of the package. Other themes, such as "A Kaurna 'Dreaming' Story: Tiritpa and Kondolli", "Kaurna country" and "Kaurna foods" were included to give students insight into Kaurna heritage and Kaurna culture.

Trial of these tapes has shown that the level of language is sometimes beyond the reach of a beginning language learner. But it is not intended that all the material in this package be immediately accessible to the learner. Rather some texts are designed for listening, rather than the acquisition of active competence in the structures and forms introduced. These texts tend to be longer, with some in excess of 100 words. Other texts are reasonably short. Lesson 1, for instance, has just 33 words, mostly short utterances.

7.11 Summary and Conclusions

Over the last few years the Kurna sources have been assembled and a composite lexicon compiled. In the absence of sound recordings, pronunciation is modelled on neighbouring Nukunu. Gaps in the lexicon have been dealt with on an ad hoc basis as the need arises, mostly by means of semantic extensions, derivations or compounds using productive word-forming processes inherent in the early sources. Only occasionally have words been borrowed from other Aboriginal languages or from English. The Kurna language has been transformed to some extent into a modern language capable of talking about everyday life in the 1990s. Many items, not even dreamt of when the original Kurna sources were compiled last century, now have Kurna names.

The lexicon, together with the German missionary grammar, has been used to create a range of Kurna language materials, including stories, songs, speeches, games etc. and to develop language teaching programs. Most of the materials written at the time of writing have been produced as translations of English materials, as English is the first language of all Kurna people. Whilst few English words have been borrowed, there has been a strong, but more subtle influence of English as a result of this translation process.

Although a Kurna language planning authority is yet to be established, contemporary Kurna is a highly planned language. This planning revolves around our interpretation of the historical sources. Whilst teachers, students and 'speakers' of Kurna go off and use their initiative and 'do their own thing' with the language to some extent, they often check back with me, as the consultant linguist, or ask for advice or assistance in structuring their Kurna. Almost all usage of Kurna is highly monitored. No learner or 'speaker' of Kurna can yet be considered fluent in the sense of being able to conduct a conversation about everyday matters as they do in English. Kurna is still in the early stages of development. Expressions for talking about many aspects of everyday life have yet to be developed.

At the present time there is a strong desire amongst learners of Kurna to maintain the full range of grammatical complexity gleaned from the Kurna sources. The Kurna language is beginning to evolve slowly as our understanding of the sources increases. Earlier errors are sometimes identified and corrected. If Kurna ever gains native speakers, far-reaching changes might result from creolization. For the present, however, conservative norms of usage, as understood from T&S, remain the main model or ideal.

CHAPTER 8: KAURNA LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

This project is really important for everybody because it is renewal. And reclaiming our language is also reclaiming our heritage. I actually thought that we'd lost our language. I can't speak a word of Kaurna at all. But I heard Cherie and Rob one day speaking it and I was over the moon about it. I was so proud to think that these people are bringing our language back to us and I think it will be a great thing in the future.

(Fred Warrior, Payneham Youth Centre, 27 March 1996¹)

8.0 Introduction

In the absence of much knowledge of the language within the community, formal language programs serve as the powerhouse for Kaurna language revival. This is recognised by KACHA and the Kaurna community. Most of the activity that takes place in relation to the Kaurna language emanates from, or is closely associated with, formal language learning programs. The Kaurna programs serve as a focus of activity and venue for use of the language. In themselves they give the Kaurna language a role and a purpose. Most importantly, the language programs serve to develop the language skills of the teachers, which over the space of a few years have developed significantly.

In this chapter I trace the origins of Kaurna language programs, focusing on Kaurna language ecology within the education sector. I also raise and discuss issues critical to the delivery and success of programs. Profiles of the programs themselves appear in a series of appendices. My primary motivation in discussing Kaurna language programs is to investigate its place within, and its relationship to, the revival of Kaurna.

8.1 Precursors of Kaurna Programs in the Education Sector

As in the community, Kaurna language programs followed interest in and teaching of other aspects of Kaurna culture. Most important was the introduction of aspects of Kaurna culture within Aboriginal Studies offerings and the teaching of other Indigenous languages within Kaurna country. The introduction of the Languages Other Than English (LOTE) program also gave a significant boost to interest in local languages.

8.1.1 Aboriginal Studies

A number of Kaurna people, including the late Gladys Elphick, as well as Lewis O'Brien, Alice Rigney and Georgina Williams, were intimately involved in the development of the innovative Aboriginal Studies curriculum now offered widely within South Australian schools, thus ensuring that Kaurna perspectives were included.

¹Fred, vice-chair at the time, made these comments on behalf of KACHA at the consultation session for the Language Renewal and Language Reclamation project, which had a major focus on Kaurna language programs in schools.

Ellis & Houston (1976) carried out much research into Kurna culture and history with a view to producing resources for school programs. Their research fed into the development of later publications. In 1988, the Education Department of South Australia (EDSA) produced a series of eleven units published as short booklets to resource Reception to Year 7 (R-7) Aboriginal Studies courses in primary schools. Kurna culture, Dreaming stories and history have an important place within these booklets, along with that of Pitjantjatjara, Adnyamathanha, Ngarrindjeri, Narungga and some other South Australian groups. However, apart from the inclusion of a few salient words, languages are given little coverage. Soon after, a more substantial resource aimed at secondary programs (years 8-10) was published (EDSA, 1989). More Kurna language is included within this book, but as we saw in Chapter 6, it is still restricted to a number of short specialised wordlists. However, the Tjilbruke and Pootpobberrie Kurna Dreaming stories had already gained currency within the school system, as a result of the Aboriginal Studies curriculum, prior to the Kurna language programs.

8.1.2 Aboriginal Language Programs in Kurna country

Aboriginal language programs in Adelaide schools were re-introduced in 1986 for the first time since 1845² with the introduction of Pitjantjatjara from the far northwest of South Australia, far removed from Kurna territory. It was chosen for a number of reasons including:

- a) the fact that Pitjantjatjara is a viable language spoken by several thousand people including children;
- b) Pitjantjatjara is easily the 'strongest' Aboriginal language in South Australia;
- c) Pitjantjatjara is perhaps the best known Aboriginal language within Australia;
- d) Pitjantjatjara was taught at the South Australian College of Advanced Education (SACAE), having been introduced into the tertiary sector in 1968³;
- e) several teachers with the knowledge and skills to teach Pitjantjatjara were available;
- f) Pitjantjatjara language teaching materials were available.

Prior to the mid-1980s, languages no longer spoken were not taken seriously by education providers in South Australia. Some Kurna elders, who are now staunch supporters of Kurna language programs, viewed Kurna as a lost cause and actually promoted the introduction of Pitjantjatjara programs in Adelaide within the school system (pc Greg Wilson)⁴. At that stage, many Kurna people were not aware of the existence of Kurna language resources such as T&S. If they were aware of T&S, they did not realize its potential as a resource for the teaching of Kurna. Many ignored it on first inspection because they did not understand the spelling conventions employed. Even common words seemed unfamiliar or looked like they were wrong.

²In July 1845, the Kurna language ceased to be used in schools with the closure of Piltawodli.

³In 1968 Pitjantjatjara was offered through the Department of Continuing Education at the University of Adelaide (Edwards, 1995: 6). Pitjantjatjara has been offered continuously within the tertiary sector from 1968 up to the present.

⁴In a tutorial session on 13 October 1997, Lewis O'Brien stated that he and Greg Wilson had toured around schools. "We told them all to speak Pitjantjatjara." The Nunga response was "Why can't we learn our own?" In Lewis's view, the direction has come from the community and that is what is important.

The Pitjantjatjara programs in the Port Adelaide region, offered first at Kalaya kindergarten, Alberton PS and Pennington PS in 1986, and at Taperoo PS and Cowandilla PS in the following year, were offered only to Nunga students on a withdrawal basis. They proved to be very popular classes. Importantly, in terms of language revival, the Pitjantjatjara language classes served as the vehicle or the trigger for the use of the Nunga students' own languages. Students began to use words drawn from Ngarrindjeri and Narungga openly in the classroom and playground (pc Greg Wilson 24 Sept. 1996). The Pitjantjatjara programs served to legitimize the use of Nunga languages, the use of which had previously been discouraged within the school system.⁵ Thus the Pitjantjatjara programs paved the way for language revival programs.

8.1.3 The Origins of Language Revival Activity in the Adelaide Region

The first language revival activity in the Adelaide region involved Ngarrindjeri and Narungga. Little thought was given to Kaurna, though Georgina Williams expressed an interest at a very early stage. In about 1985, she approached the School of Australian Linguistics (SAL), located at Batchelor near Darwin in the Northern Territory, for assistance in reviving her language, Kaurna. Nick Evans, a SAL lecturer, did make a visit to assess the situation. However, a minimum of six students were required. Unfortunately other Kaurna people were not interested or able to travel to Batchelor at that stage and SAL was not able to offer a course for one student (pc Georgina Williams 3 June 1996). Georgina seemed to be a lone Kaurna voice at the time.

However, Ngarrindjeri was pursued by a group of Ngarrindjeri students who travelled to Batchelor to undertake linguistics courses at SAL in 1985. A list of Ngarrindjeri words still actively known within the community was compiled and a practical orthography was devised with the late Steve Johnson. Two years later Brian Kirke⁶, working at the SACAE, produced a Ngarrindjeri language kit (Kirke, 1987) aimed at Aboriginal Education Workers (AEWs) using the orthography devised at SAL. This kit was produced to assist the teaching of Ngarrindjeri within kindergarten and school programs.

The following year Brian Kirke produced a Narungga Language Kit. He also conducted a number of Language Teaching Methodology workshops for AEWs and others intending to utilize the language kits. However Brian did not pursue the Kaurna language and little interest was shown in it at that stage. My involvement with language revival in South Australia actually

⁵There are many reports from the 1950s and 1960s of Nunga students having been punished by teachers for using their languages at school (Tom Trevorrow, talk at Camp Coorong 19 Sept. 1996). One still occasionally hears reports that the use of vernacular words and Nunga English, as a non-standard English variety, is discouraged in school contexts.

⁶In 1985, Brian was teaching Pitjantjatjara at the SACAE. He wondered why so few Nunga students were enrolling in the subject. He made enquiries and was told that Pitjantjatjara was not their language, it was from the north of the state. Nunga students expressed an interest in having access to their own languages which prompted Brian to pursue language revival activities (pc Brian Kirke, 1989).

began in 1988 with an invitation from Brian Kirke to participate in several workshops held at the Underdale campus of the SACAE, Raukkan and the Ngurlongga⁷ Nunga Centre.

8.2 Language Ecology in the Education Sector

The teaching of languages in the education sector in Australian schools has traditionally been the preserve of classical languages and European languages, which were offered to a minority of students, especially within the private schooling sector (Mercurio & Amery, 1996). In the 1980s the education sector embraced languages education for all students and broadened the focus of language teaching to include Asian languages, especially Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian. In the early 1990s minority languages were increasingly given a place in the school system through the NAFLaSSL (National Assessment Framework for Languages at Senior Secondary Level) project. By 1993, 34 languages⁸ were accredited at senior secondary level in South Australia, including 19, such as Farsi, Armenian and Thai, through NAFLaSSL (Mercurio & Amery, 1996: 37). At the same time that languages in schools were diversifying, Aboriginal Studies was introduced. Also the plight of Aboriginal students in schools was taken more seriously through the introduction of AEWs and Aboriginal Education Resource Teachers (AERTs), and Indigenous teachers were entering the workforce in greater numbers. These changes to education policy had important indirect effects on Indigenous languages.

8.2.1 The Introduction of Languages Other Than English (LOTE)

During 1986 Joseph Lo Bianco prepared a report for the federal Minister for Education titled *National Policy on Languages*. In that report, Lo Bianco (1987) argued that:

the study of at least one language in addition to English ought to be an expected part of the educational experience of all Australian students, ideally continuously throughout the years of compulsory education. In addition the policy advocates strongly that all educational planners embrace this objective and aim for students in every Australian school to be offered soundly-based, continuous and serious programs for learning a second language. (Lo Bianco, 1987: 120)

This recommendation became official national language policy in the 'White Paper':

Goal 2

The learning of languages other than English must be substantially expanded and improved to enhance educational outcomes and communication within both the Australian and the international community. (DEET, 1991: 61)

In addition, specific targets were proposed:

1. By the year 2000, the proportion of Year 12 students studying a language other than English will increase to 25%
2. By the year 2000, all Australians will have the opportunity to learn a language other than English **appropriate to their needs**. [my emphasis] (DEET, 1991: 62)

⁷The Ngurlongga Nunga Centre used the spelling Ngurlongga, in accordance with Tindale's questionable etymology of the word, based on the Ngarrindjeri word *ngurle* 'hill'. It is more likely that Noarlunga is derived from the Kaurna *nurlo* 'curvature, corner' in reference to Horseshoe Bend, a prominent landmark on the Onkaparinga River in the vicinity of the Old Noarlunga as it is known today.

⁸Indigenous Australian languages were completely left out and were not accredited until 1994, through the AILF project.

Prior to the release of the official commonwealth government policy, South Australia had already prepared a state languages policy in which it stated that "all students [will] have the opportunity to study a LOTE by 1995" (EDSA, 1986) and Lynn Arnold, as premier, had embraced the notion of LOTE for all. In 1989 EDSA embarked on the Languages Other Than English Mapping and Planning Project (LOTEMAPP) to prepare for the introduction and resourcing of LOTES in all South Australian schools by 1995.

The planned introduction of compulsory LOTES into South Australian schools actually gave Aboriginal languages a significant psychological boost, even though Aboriginal languages were barely present within the LOTEMAPP proposals. Rather, it was the fact that Nunga students were being forced to learn a LOTE that stimulated many Nunga parents to question the policy and assert their right to their own languages. I know of one Nunga woman who, in 1989, would go up to the school whenever the Indonesian class was offered and remove her child from the program saying that "If he can't have his own language, he's not going to learn that foreign language". Many Nungas were heard to voice similar concerns at the time. These objections raised by Nungas were not directed so much at children learning a foreign language per se. Rather they were pushing for access to their own languages.

Initially, there was some resistance and even antipathy from within the LOTE sector to the participation of Indigenous languages within it. There is a sense in which Indigenous language activists have had to push their way in. Indigenous languages were regarded as the responsibility of Aboriginal Education and outside the scope of LOTE.

While this attitude is still encountered from time to time, fortunately it is no longer the prevailing view. Indigenous languages are gaining increasing recognition and support within the Education Department. There is a genuine commitment on the part of a number of individuals in positions of power and authority on both sides of politics to begin to address Indigenous issues. In the 1998 allocation of the top-up Mother Tongue Development salaries, 5.0 salaries out of 15 or 20 salaries were allocated to Indigenous languages. A total of 0.4 salaries were allocated to Kaurna programs, 0.2 for Kaurna Plains School (KPS); 0.1 to Salisbury North PS and 0.1 to a Narungga/Kaurna program at Maitland Area School (pc Greg Wilson, Oct. 1997). In addition, some funds are now allocated for the training and development of teachers of Indigenous languages. Whilst these funds are still insufficient to address the needs of Indigenous languages, this represents a vast improvement on the previous situation and does enable meaningful programs to be established.

8.2.2 The National Aboriginal Languages Program (NALP)

NALP was the first national initiative to support language maintenance activities for Australia's Indigenous languages⁹. It was established by the Commonwealth as a result of Lo Bianco's

⁹NALP was replaced by the Aboriginal Languages Initiatives Program (ALIP), later known as ATSLIP (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Program) which no longer supports language

(1987: 118) recommendations¹⁰. Prior to this, language programs were run on goodwill and supplemented by monies obtained from other sources such as the South Australian Jubilee, the Schools Commission, Bicentenary funding or other one-off grants.

8.2.2.1 The NALP/LOTE Local Languages Program 1989-90

In 1989, KPS and the Adelaide Area, an administrative district within the EDSA, both obtained funds from NALP for programs in local languages¹¹. As the funds were limited, KPS and the Adelaide Area combined them to create a larger, more feasible project. They employed Josie Agius, a senior, respected and experienced AEW of Kaurna descent, and Kathryn Gale, a qualified teacher with experience in bilingual Aboriginal schools, as a teacher at Milingimbi and teacher linguist at Bamyili in the Northern Territory and at Ernabella in South Australia. Two other Nungas, Snooky Varcoe with Ngarrindjeri and Narungga connections and Liz Rigney, a Ngarrindjeri woman, were recruited by Greg Wilson through his contact with them as parents of Nunga students involved in the Pitjantjatjara programs. They had a strong interest in teaching Aboriginal languages in schools and were employed part-time with LOTE Mother Tongue funding allocated to the Adelaide Area. At the same time, the Southern Area, based at Noarlunga, also obtained a LOTE Mother Tongue salary for Aboriginal language programs which was used to employ myself as Teacher Linguist¹². Personnel employed under these various funding arrangements all banded together to create a meaningful project, knowing they had no means of continuing beyond the end of the financial year.¹³

The NALP/LOTE funded Aboriginal language project worked across three languages, Ngarrindjeri, Narungga and Kaurna. Relatively little attention was paid to Kaurna in 1989, but it was included, at the insistence of Josie Agius, herself a Kaurna woman, as it was the language belonging to Adelaide itself¹⁴. Consultations with Nungas in the Southern Region (as recorded in my diary) favoured the introduction of Pitjantjatjara or Ngarrindjeri programs, though a number did not mind which language, so long as it was an Aboriginal language. I had

programs in schools. A small proportion (25%) of NALP funds had been granted to schools, as in the Adelaide programs.

¹⁰Lo Bianco recommended the allocation of \$6 million over three years, though in reality only \$2.5 million was actually forthcoming over the period 1987-1990 (House of Representatives . . . , 1992: 77).

¹¹The Adelaide Area submission was written by Greg Wilson and others who had previously established and taught the Pitjantjatjara programs in the Port Adelaide area. The KPS submission was prepared by Tony Wakefield.

¹²The LOTE salaries from the SA Education Department unexpectedly dried up at the end of 1989, having been in effect for just one semester. I had commenced work (0.8 time) on 24th July 1989.

¹³The federal NALP program was drawing to a close. KPS and the Adelaide Area had successfully tapped into the final year of funding. The LOTE Mother Tongue salaries had also dried up, as far as Aboriginal languages in the metropolitan area were concerned. Under the Curriculum Guarantee agreement negotiated with the teachers union, languages were offered using non-instructional time (NIT). This meant Mother Tongue salaries were effectively put under the control of individual schools and because Nunga students are a small minority in every school in Adelaide, with the exception of KPS, it would be difficult for a Principal to justify allocating these salaries to Aboriginal languages in preference to Greek or some other language group which was better represented in the school population. Prior to 1989, EDSA had 20 salaries which it could allocate on a centralised basis where it saw fit.

¹⁴Josie approached Georgina Williams in 1989, inviting her participation in the project. However Georgina declined as she had misgivings about teaching Kaurna within the school system, because in her view the language should remain within the community (pc Georgina Williams 3 June 1996). Josie herself had expressed these reservations to me back in 1989, perhaps reflecting Georgina's views.

gone, accompanied by an AEW, to visit at least a dozen Nunga parents identified by the AEWs and school principals. Interestingly the LOTE officer within the Southern Region viewed the Aboriginal Languages Project within the Southern Region as a Kaurna project. In answer to my question regarding his perception of the project:

He [LOTE officer] thought it was looking at the language of the local Adelaide Plains people, i.e. Kaurna. Had no idea of Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga aspect. (Amery, diary 22 Aug. 1989)

However, there was no mention of Kaurna within the Job and Person Specification which mentioned "proficiency in an Aboriginal language, preferably Ngarrindjeri and/or Pitjantjatjara".

The project ran workshops and consulted with the local Aboriginal community and with schools regarding the feasibility of introducing Aboriginal language programs. I ran a series of training and in-service sessions for AEWs and Aboriginal language workers. Within these sessions I included Ngarrindjeri, Narungga and Kaurna, though my main focus was on Ngarrindjeri at that time. The NALP project culminated in the Songwriters Workshop held early in 1990 (see section 7.10.2.1). In retrospect, the production of the songbook and tape was a very good move. It created a tangible stand-alone product that could be utilized in the absence of further funding for a language program.

A considerable amount was achieved in a short time through the NALP project. Consultation with the community and general awareness-raising was documented within the Project's Final Report and a number of interviews were conducted on camera and documented on video. There was a demonstrable grassroots interest in local Nunga languages within the Nunga community. The NALP project had touched a chord within the Nunga community.

8.2.3 The Role of the Aboriginal Education Unit

In August 1989 a working party was set up by the Aboriginal Education unit to draft a South Australian Aboriginal Languages Policy. It met over a period of three and a half months, culminating in a 23 page draft proposal written principally by myself. Kaurna is given only scant attention within the document. In fact, in reference to the NALP/LOTE funded project, Kaurna was not mentioned:

More recently (1989) work commenced training personnel and developing curriculum for the eventual implementation of Ngarrindjeri and Narrunga programs within Metropolitan Adelaide. A high level of interest has been shown in these programs by Aboriginal children, parents and schools.

(Williams et al, 1989: 3)

However, Kaurna was placed on a continuum of South Australian Aboriginal languages (Williams et al, 1989: 4) and was one of nine languages listed with language specific references (Simpson, n.d. and T&S). Many more references were cited for Pitjantjatjara, Yankunytjatjara, Adnyamathanha, Arabana, Ngarrindjeri and Narungga, which were the main languages focused

upon within the document. In fact it urges that statistics¹⁵ be compiled in relation to Pitjantjatjara, Kukatha, Adnyamathanha, Arabana, Ngarrindjeri and Narungga. Significantly, Kaurna and Barnjarla are not mentioned in this context. Certainly in my mind, Kaurna was not a serious contender for the establishment of language programs. My views were based largely on consultations conducted with Nunga parents, AEWs and school principals in mid-1989.

A state-wide Aboriginal Languages Reference Committee was established which met at the Aboriginal Education Unit. People attended from Port Augusta, Nepabunna, Murray Bridge and other rural locations in addition to Adelaide-based programs. Despite the commitment and enthusiasm displayed by the participants, this committee was never re-convened¹⁶.

When it became evident that nothing was able to be achieved in the Southern Region because of the unwillingness of the Director to employ Nungas to work with me to set up language programs, I was transferred to the Aboriginal Education Unit. For the remaining few months of my contract I continued to work with the NALP project, but also began to work on strategies to continue and consolidate Aboriginal languages within the education system. I continued to work on the draft Aboriginal languages policy and to begin negotiations with the LOTE sector, based at Newton, regarding the funding of Aboriginal language programs. A formal submission was prepared at this time. Attempts to establish Aboriginal language programs within the school sector at this time are described and analysed in more detail in Amery (1989).

This work did not bear immediate fruit, though it could be argued that it did prepare the ground for future developments. The submission for funds from the LOTE sector was not successful. Nor was Aboriginal Education willing to allocate any funds to continue work with Aboriginal language revival. A fundamental problem existed. There were two areas which were seen to have a stake in or jurisdiction over the teaching of Aboriginal languages. On the one hand, the Newton Curriculum Centre had responsibility for LOTEs within EDSA. The Aboriginal Education section saw Aboriginal languages as being primarily a LOTE responsibility. Accordingly, they were unwilling to commit Aboriginal Education funds for Aboriginal language programs and any move in that direction was perceived as letting the LOTE sector 'off the hook'. On the other hand, the LOTE sector saw Aboriginal languages as an Aboriginal issue and part of the responsibility of Aboriginal Education. There was, and still is, a reluctance on the part of the LOTE sector to move on Aboriginal languages for fear of 'treading on toes' politically within the Nunga community.

¹⁵The document states that "It would be useful to compile data on students' and community Aboriginal language background in regard to:-

- * Total number of people who identify with that language group
- * Number of children who identify with that language group
- * Number of fluent speakers (adults and children)" (Williams et al., 1989: 21)

¹⁶The terms of reference of this committee were never clearly established, though it was demonstrably an attempt to establish a network of Aboriginal language programs across the state. The lost impetus following the completion of the NALP-funded projects, and my departure from the Aboriginal Education office at the end of 1989 probably contributed to the cessation of this committee.

There was a gulf between the two sectors, with each side expecting the other side to take responsibility for the area and provide the funding. Consequently, nothing much happened. Many of the initiatives, such as the NALP program, were funded by Commonwealth sources and were thus able to operate independently of this standoff. I have long argued that Aboriginal languages should be able to draw from both sectors (Amery, 1992b: 46). After all, many other languages draw from both the LOTE sector and the government of the home country in the funding of advisory and curriculum development positions, exchange visits and provision of materials and resources. Why shouldn't Aboriginal languages be able to draw on Aboriginal Education funding in the same way?

This gulf between the two sectors is still there, though they are beginning to work together. There is still an understanding that Aboriginal Education has responsibility for the politics of Aboriginal languages, while the LOTE sector has primary responsibility for the implementation of programs. However, there is a growing commitment within the LOTE sector to support the implementation of Aboriginal language programs, following the physical relocation and appointment of Greg Wilson to the Languages and Multiculturalism Team as Project Officer for Aboriginal Languages.

8.2.4 The Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (AILF)

The AILF project, commencing in 1992, worked towards the introduction of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages into senior secondary studies. AILF was a federally funded national curriculum project and I was its first project officer based at the Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia (SSABSA) during 1993-1994. The AILF project developed a framework that actively promoted diversity and attempted to include all Australian Indigenous languages irrespective of the extent to which they were spoken or had been documented (see Mercurio and Amery, 1993). In order to accommodate this vast range of languages and language situations, a number of distinct program types were developed. AILF programs consist of two components: the Australian Languages component which looks at the broad picture of Australian languages in general and the Target Languages component which focuses on a particular target language. Within the Target Languages component, programs are required to consider not only the specific target language but also the languages of the region (see SSABSA, 1996a). In this way AILF takes an ecological perspective.

In the course of the development of the AILF project, I developed a rough Kurna program for Years 11 and 12 for discussion by the National Steering Committee¹⁷ during 1993 (see Appendix H5.5). In that year discussions were held with several high schools and Aboriginal Student Support and Parental Awareness (ASSPA) groups in Adelaide about the possibility of introducing a Year 11 AILF program. Port Adelaide Girls HS was interested, but was not in a position to resource a program themselves. Inbarendi College, being an umbrella organisation

¹⁷Several Kurna people were represented on the AILF National Steering Committee including Alice Rigney, Principal of KPS, Josie Agius who had worked with the NALP-funded Ngarrindjeri Narungga and Kurna local languages project in 1989-90, and Paul Hughes, then Coordinator of Aboriginal Education in South Australia.

for six high schools was in a better position to pool resources and support the introduction of a new program. Lea Stevens, then Principal of Elizabeth City High School (ECHS), was very supportive of the program, and Len Altman, the Aboriginal Studies teacher at Elizabeth West Adult Campus (EWAC), was keen to see a Kurna program introduced. Through the AILF project, additional federal funds were obtained to mount a senior secondary Kurna program through the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework Implementation (AILFI) project, and to provide training and in-service for the Kurna teaching teams through the Professional Development of Teachers of Australian Languages (PDTAL) project.

In 1994 the AILF Year 11 program at Inbarendi College was launched. The first semester was spent in recruiting staff, assembling resources, formulating the Year 11 program and the learning of Kurna by the teachers themselves. Snooky Varcoe was employed to teach Kurna at EWAC. Initially Ros Weetra, a Kurna woman, was appointed to teach the program at Elizabeth City High School (ECHS), but a few weeks later she obtained another position and was no longer available. Cherie Watkins was eventually appointed and joined the team in Term 2. Jennifer Simpson, a student in the Graduate Diploma of Applied Linguistics offered by Northern Territory University, and who had previously taught Pitjantjatjara, took the position of classroom teacher supporting both programs. I worked as consultant linguist in assembling resources, offering advice, checking Kurna language materials and teaching some aspects of the course such as phonology and Kurna grammar. The teaching programs at EWAC and ECHS did not actually commence until Semester 2, July 1994.

Kurna occupies a central place within the AILF project. It was amongst the first Australian Indigenous languages to be taught in accredited courses at senior secondary level (along with Gupapuyngu, Yorta Yorta, Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara, Antikirinya and Eastern Arrernte). The reclamation of Kurna is described in some detail in Chapter 9 of the AILF textbook (SSABSA, 1996c) and additional Kurna examples are included in other chapters. Interviews with members of the Birko Warra Kurna teaching team, including greetings in Kurna, are included on the accompanying CD-ROM. Further, a 35 page description of the Kurna program, including modules of work and resource material, was published (see SSABSA, 1996b). This publication includes additional Kurna examples within the Specimen Assessment Instruments (SSABSA, 1996b: 198-201), while comments from students of the Kurna program appear on pages 9-10.

8.2.5 South Australian Secondary School of Languages (SASSL)

SASSL, as the name suggests, is a specialist secondary school engaged in the delivery of languages. It has special responsibility for languages, such as Vietnamese, that fall beyond the list of priority languages promoted by DETE. It offers many courses on-site, at nearby Adelaide High School, but increasingly, SASSL is a service provider, supplying teachers and resources to mount specialist language programs in a range of high schools across the state.

In 1996 Sylvain Talbot, Principal of SASSL, agreed to allocate one full salary to the teaching of Aboriginal languages in South Australia. SASSL consulted with various schools, communities and language groups across South Australia to devise a plan for SASSL involvement in teaching Indigenous languages. Following a series of meetings in 1996 between representatives from PWAC, Fremont-ECHS, KPS, Newton Curriculum Centre and Linguistics at the University of Adelaide, SASSL decided to support the teaching of Kaurna at PWAC (Year 11) and at Fremont-ECHS as a 10 week language module within the existing Aboriginal Studies course at Year 8 level from 1997 onwards. Within DETE, SASSL, as a complementary provider, is increasingly seen as the body through which Aboriginal language programs will be taught in secondary schools.

8.2.6 Aboriginal Languages Standing Committee

A number of matters were raised at the Inbarendi Warra Kaurna Reference Committee meetings in 1996, which could not be addressed at the school level, so an Aboriginal Languages Standing Committee was established in late 1997. This committee includes senior DETE departmental officers and representatives from other stakeholders within Aboriginal affairs and the tertiary sector. The proposed terms of reference of the Aboriginal Languages Standing Committee are as follows:

the Standing Committee will monitor and advise on:

- the development and delivery of Aboriginal languages in the context of the implementation of the Languages Plan 1998-2007
- teacher recruitment and placement issues
- issues related to the participation of Aboriginal language and cultural specialists in programs
- the operation of Aboriginal languages teaching teams
- the development of curriculum materials to support the different program types
- teacher training/retraining pathways
- other matters determined in the course of its operation

The Working Party would expect to achieve the following outcomes:

- the identification and documentation of needs for Aboriginal languages across the State
- an audit of current programs
- the medium to long term resources implications for staffing, curriculum development and professional development
- the setting of realistic time frames for implementation

(Attachment 1, letter of invitation to participants from Jim Dellit, Executive Director Curriculum Services, DETE, 12 November 1997)

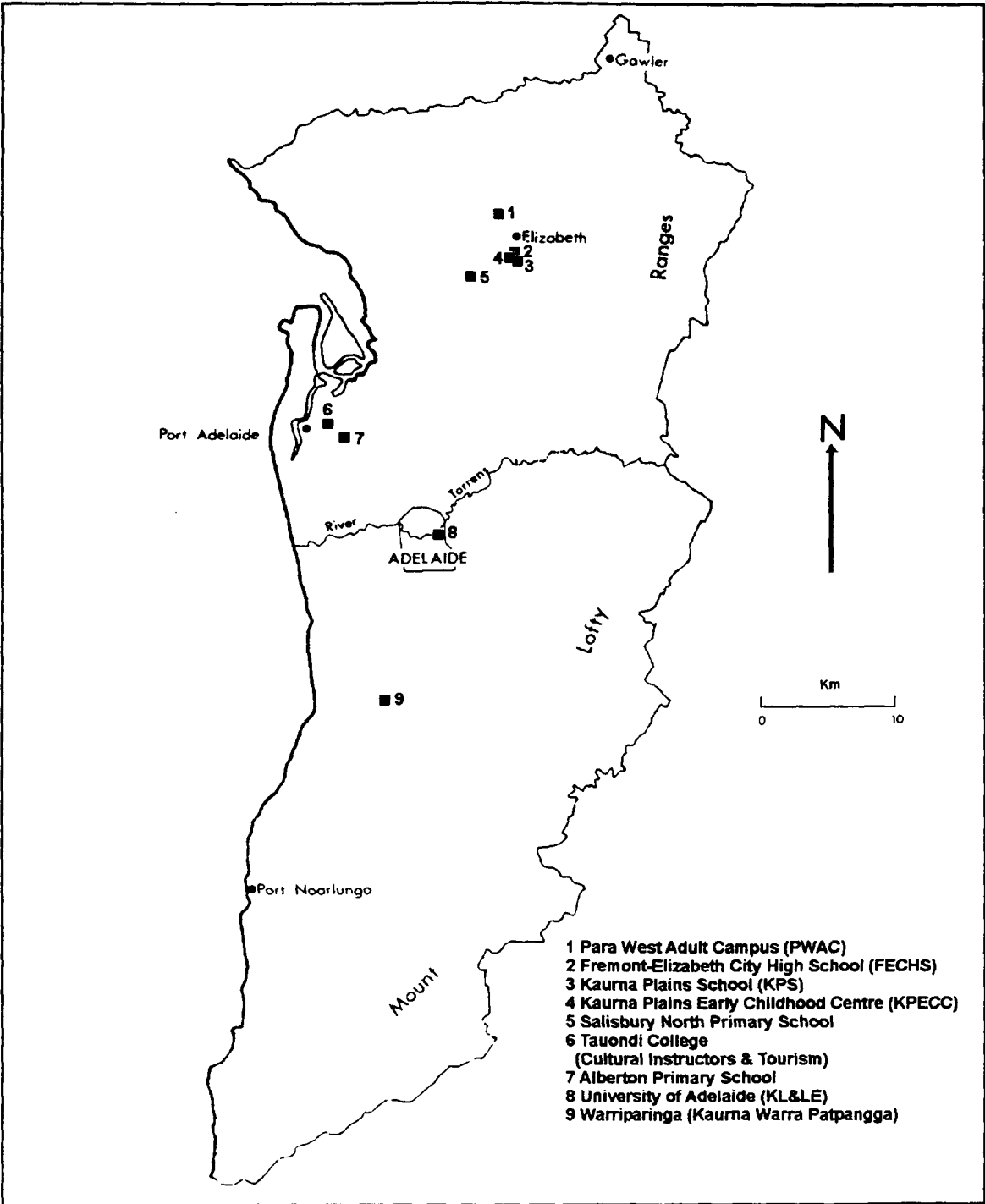
The establishment of the Committee marks a growing recognition within DETE of the existence of Indigenous languages programs, and their special requirements which need to be addressed at the highest levels. Its membership will ensure that the Committee has the power to address these matters.

8.3 Kaurna Language Programs

Kaurna language activities within the education sector began slowly, with little financial support and with no guarantee of ongoing funding. However, the first workshops held provided a vision for what might be possible working with the historical Kaurna sources. It also inspired the establishment of a Kaurna LOTE program within KPS in 1992, which was introduced despite the system.

Five years later, Kaurna language programs had been established at all levels of education, including early childhood, primary, junior secondary, senior secondary, adult, TAFE and tertiary level programs. Despite this wide range of activity, the actual number of students of Kaurna is still relatively small, perhaps 250 in all in 1997 (see Appendix H). However, the programs have gained a certain level of status and respectability, and subsequent financial support which was previously denied. More recently, DETE has been more forthcoming with funding and support for Kaurna programs. However, the major initiatives in schools were established by means of external funding.

Map 8.1: Location of Kaurna Language Programs (1990-1997)



Given the centrality of education programs in Kaurna language reclamation, a more detailed description and analysis is warranted.

Table 8.1: Kaurna Language Programs: A Chronology (major developments in bold)

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. Requests assistance from SAL.
1988	Alice Rigney (KPS) met with David Tassell (Aboriginal Education Unit) about Kaurna language programs ¹⁸
1988	Introduction of Aboriginal Studies materials containing some Kaurna words
1989	Publication of <i>The Kaurna People</i> , Aboriginal Studies curriculum resource
1989	NALP/LOTE funded local languages program (awareness raising activities)
Dec. 1989	Kura Yerlo workshop included display of Kaurna materials
1990 -	Kaurna Plains Early Childhood Centre (KPECC) (introduced Kaurna songs, visual aides, words and expressions)
Mar.1990	Songwriters workshop , Tandanya (incl. 5 Kaurna songs)
June 1990	Workshop, Kaurna Plains School (K, N & Ng --> K)
1991	2 week CSO Workshop, Aboriginal TAFE. Video produced.
June 1991-Dec 1991	Monthly workshops run by Snooky Varcoe (CSO sponsored) (worked on development of Kaurna language materials)
Jan 1992 -	Kaurna LOTE introduced, Kaurna Plains School
1992	1 week workshop, KPS
1993	1 week workshop, KPS
1993 - 1996	AILF project. (Kaurna included in exemplar materials and resources)
1993 -	Kaurna course at Tauondi (Aboriginal Community College)
Jul 1994 - Dec 1995	Year 11 program ECHS (accredited under AILF)
July 1994 -	Year 11 program EWAC -> PWAC (accredited under AILF)
1994 - 1995	Series of seven PDTAL workshops
1995	TAFE Accreditation of Aboriginal Language unit based on Kaurna course, Tauondi
1996	Kaurna sessions at Smithfield Plains PS (Cherylyne Catanzaritti)
Apr 1996 - Oct 1996	Kaurna Warra Patpangga TAFE course at Warriparinga
May 1996	Half day Workshop with KPECC
1996	QW Language Revival project (production of video & book)
Aug 1996	Teaching Aboriginal Languages Conference (2 days)
Oct. 1996	Teachers from KPS released to participate in PWAC program (professional development as Kaurna language teachers)
Jan 1997 -	SASSL takes over delivery of PWAC program
Jan 1997 -	SASSL assists in development of Yr 8 program, Fremont-ECHS
1997 -	Yr 8 program, Fremont-ECHS (compulsory module for all students within Aboriginal Studies program)
12 Feb. 1997	Programming for Aboriginal Language Renewal and Reclamation Conference (1 day)
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' Linguistics Unit introduced, University of Adelaide

There are numerous links between programs in the early childhood, primary, secondary, TAFE and tertiary sectors. Teachers delivering programs in one sector are themselves students in other programs. Those involved in the delivery of Kaurna programs typically work across a range of

¹⁸I was unaware of this development until Alice Rigney drew it to my attention in February 1998.

programs. Cherie Watkins, for instance, teaches or has input into programs across the entire spectrum, in many different locations.

The Kaurna programs themselves are described in Appendix H. Taking the background information provided in the appendix as given, I now discuss the programs by identifying common themes emerging and differences between the programs. I am interested particularly in investigating the relationship between the programs and the broader Kaurna language movement.

By necessity, all programs depend on the adult programs because teachers of Kaurna have to learn the language themselves prior to, and concurrent with, the delivery of programs to children. Thus, programs aimed at adults are absolutely crucial in the revival of Kaurna. Adult programs have been delivered by a range of education providers and funding bodies. Whilst initial activities in 1989 focused on awareness raising and songwriting, subsequent workshops over the next two or three years tried to develop basic linguistic skills and some vision of what might be possible. From these uncertain beginnings, Kaurna gained a firmer footing with the introduction of the Kaurna LOTE program at KPS. Since 1994, Kaurna programs for adults have been institutionalised within Inbarendi College and Tauondi as an on-going offering. At Inbarendi college it is embedded within the senior secondary SACE (South Australian Certificate of Education), whilst at Tauondi it is an integral part of the TAFE accredited Cultural Instructors and Tourism course. Kaurna was further institutionalised at the tertiary level in 1997 with the introduction of the 'Kaurna Language & Language Ecology' (KL&LE) course within Linguistics at the University of Adelaide¹⁹. So the Kaurna language has made rapid gains in status over this eight-year period.

Adult programs have always focused, not only on gaining linguistic and language skills for the students themselves, but also on developing materials for use with children in other programs²⁰. Initial language programs focused on phonology, pronunciation and orthography issues. These have since receded into the background as learners become more familiar with T&S's orthographic conventions. Initial workshops also aimed at developing linguistic understandings. This aspect has been maintained in subsequent courses through overt teaching, worksheets and exercises. However, with the exception of the KL&LE course, Kaurna linguistics has also become less of a priority. Increasingly, attention has been directed towards developing competence in the language.

8.4 Teacher Training and In-service

Kaurna programs themselves provide training for practising and would-be teachers of Kaurna. Many of the participants in Kaurna programs are themselves teachers delivering Kaurna

¹⁹This course was funded by 'soft' money generated from overseas students and was established, again, despite the system, through the support of Prof. Peter Mühlhäusler. An ongoing funding source is still being sought.

²⁰Many adult students are themselves teachers, AEWs, parents or otherwise involved in school programs.

programs in their own schools and teaching situations. DETE has released teachers to participate in the course at PWAC and the University of Adelaide with the express purpose of preparing them as teachers of the Kaurna language. In addition to the Kaurna programs and workshops, there have also been a number of workshops and in-service programs focusing on language teaching methodology in which the Kaurna teaching teams have participated.

8.4.1 Professional Development of Teachers of Australian Languages (PDTAL)

The PDTAL project was of short duration, set up as a spin-off from the AILF project, to support the teaching of AILF programs. The Project, funded during 1994 and 1995, convened a series of seven workshops which brought together teaching teams from schools participating in the AILF project to share experiences, to reflect on their teaching practice and to develop their knowledge and skills for the teaching of AILF programs²¹. The *Birko Warra Kaurna* 'Kaurna Language Team' attended all PDTAL workshops and had an opportunity to present and trial materials and teaching modules and to report and reflect on the Kaurna language programs.

8.4.2 DETE Professional Development Activities

Through the curriculum officer position for Aboriginal languages created in 1995, Greg Wilson worked to establish a network of Aboriginal language programs and to develop a set of resources and in-service activities that would support the teaching of Indigenous languages. To a certain extent DETE has, through this position, picked up where PDTAL left off, through the establishment of the Teaching Aboriginal Languages Conferences (TALC). The first a two-day workshop in August 1996, followed by a similar two day conference in June 1997. It will probably be an ongoing annual activity.

These workshops involved some of the same people who participated in PDTAL workshops, though they also included primary school programs and are now primarily a South Australia-centric activity. Like the PDTAL workshops, Greg has involved other language advisors in presenting hands-on language teaching activities and syllabus planning activities, as well as providing an opportunity for teaching teams from different programs to share their ideas and experiences. Professional development activities have played an important role in giving members of the teaching team a view of themselves as part of a wider movement. They can draw inspiration from other programs, whilst at the same time gain useful skills.

8.5 Curriculum Development

When we began teaching Kaurna in schools, there was a complete absence of any Kaurna curriculum. T&S was the only Kaurna resource available for the first activities and workshops. There were, however, curriculum documents of a more general nature relating to the teaching of languages in schools. I was aware of the Australian Language Levels (ALL) Project (Scarino et.al 1988) but did not find it particularly useful.

²¹Details of these workshops are included in the May 1995 Progress Report (pp.15-18) in the AILF Sixth National Steering Committee Briefing Papers, 12 May 1995.

In mounting Kaurna language programs we were pioneering new areas, both in terms of the language itself and in terms of the type of program. In the absence of suitable curriculum, we had to create our own resources and develop our own programs. Existing curriculum resources for the teaching of languages, while of some use, ignore crucial parameters, such as identity issues and the special relationship between language, land and place. Emphasis is placed on communication in the narrow sense; a skill not central to Kaurna programs.

The early 1990s saw the development of the LOTE Statement and Profile, a national curriculum project designed to guide the teaching of languages in R-10 programs. Whilst the LOTE Statement did recognise the existence of Indigenous languages, including language revival programs as a part of the LOTE area of learning, the special needs of these languages and language situations were not taken into account by the LOTE Profile. The Profiles are said to "describe the progression of learning typically achieved by students during the compulsory years of schooling" and were developed in order "to help teaching and learning and to provide a common framework for reporting student achievement" (Curriculum Corporation, 1994: 1). The LOTE Profile recognises three strands:

Communicating in LOTE: Oral interaction
Communicating in LOTE: Reading and responding
Communicating in LOTE: Writing (Curriculum Corporation, 1994: 2)

The Profile document further makes it very clear that "the outcomes of all LOTE learning focus on communicating in LOTE" (Curriculum Corporation, 1994: 2) but further contradicts this statement by observing that "as the content of the strands is based on communicating in LOTE, it will not apply to classical languages or to some Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander reclamation and language-awareness programs" (Curriculum Corporation, 1994: 3). Consequently the LOTE Profile document, whilst it is supposed to be the document guiding all languages teaching, has been largely ignored in the development of Kaurna programs. However DETE has made several subsequent attempts to try to interpret language revival programs in terms of the Statement and Profile through the Language Renewal and Reclamation Project in 1995-1996 and the Scope and Sequence Project in 1997-1998, discussed later in 8.6.4.3.

8.5.1 Development of Kaurna curriculum at Kaurna Plains School

Like many Aboriginal language programs taught in schools, there was little opportunity for extensive preparation prior to the implementation of the Kaurna program at KPS. It was initially implemented in 1992²² through sheer determination by Auntie Alice Rigney, and assisted by Snooky Varcoe. In subsequent years the program was implemented by the Kaurna focus teacher, Pilawuk White, followed by James Parkin, with little input from outside. Staff at KPS in 1996 described their programming as follows:

²²Alice Rigney had, however, given thought to introducing Kaurna language years earlier. In 1988 she held discussions with David Tassell at the Aboriginal Education Unit to this end.

The Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara LOTE syllabus frameworks and adapted outcomes from the Western Australian *Framework for the teaching of Aboriginal languages in primary schools* guide teaching and learning and form a basis on which planning, programming, record-keeping, assessing and reporting can take place.

...

There is no specific syllabus framework to guide the program on matters of content, teaching approaches and the like, but a range of themes are used to cover the seven years of learning. Guiding the choice of themes are: vocabulary available for each theme, as well as basic vocabulary needed for conversation and planned cultural activities. (DECS, 1996: 63)

In 1997, individual classroom teachers took increasing responsibility for implementation of the Kurna program. Teachers pursued themes, such as number, kinship, fauna etc. that fitted in with, and complemented, their overall teaching program. They were assisted by input from Cherie Watkins. The Kurna language is integrated with other activities, such as art, music and sport, and taught in conjunction with other areas of the curriculum, especially cultural studies and society and environment. Teachers strive for an integrated holistic approach to curriculum.

There is still no Kurna curriculum as such at KPS, but there is a much larger range of resources available for teachers to construct their own programs. Many of these resources have been created by the teachers themselves. Songs have always been a major component within the KPS program. Some songs have been written within the school by teachers with input from students. Others have been written in workshops or within the adult programs. A Kurna songbook and tape will soon be published (Varcoe et al, forthcoming). Other songs are 'floating around' on handouts. The creation of the KPS school song in mid-1997 has added another boost to the program.

8.5.2 Senior Secondary Kurna Curriculum

In contrast to the programs at primary level, considerable thought and planning went into the implementation of Kurna programs at senior secondary level, through the AILF Framework document (SSABSA, 1993), prior to the introduction of the Kurna program at EWAC. In the development of the AILF project some thought was given to the teaching of Kurna in particular, through the development of a sketched exemplar program (SSABSA, 1993: 52-60) and the drafting of a weekly planner for Year 11 and 12. The actual program implemented was much more task-oriented than this draft planner, which was largely grammar-driven. Still it served a useful purpose in sketching out a range of topics and tasks, some of which were used. The program implemented in July 1994 followed the AILF Framework, especially the Assessment Plan. After trialling the program in 1994 and 1995, the 'Warra Kurna Detailed Program', as it was taught in 1994, was published along with two modules of work which had worked well (see SSABSA, 1996b: 22-55).

I have prepared numerous worksheets and translation exercises for Kurna workshops and for the PWAC program. Many of these worksheets are also used within the Tauondi program and other programs. One of the complaints heard from students from time to time concerns the

numerous sheets of paper floating around. It would certainly be valuable to collate these worksheets together in a workbook and to sequence them in order of difficulty.

8.5.3 DETE Support for the Development of Kurna Curriculum

Kurna school programs, like most other revival programs in Australian Indigenous languages, arose within the context of a specific school in a specific community, with little departmental support. In the early 1990s, EDSA funded the development of Pitjantjatjara/ Yankunytjatjara second language curriculum to support the programs offered in metropolitan schools. As noted earlier, these documents have been of some use to teachers of Kurna. However, it was not until the establishment of the Indigenous languages advisory position, that any support was forthcoming for the development of Kurna curriculum, or indeed, language revival curriculum.

Systemic support of language revival programs began sensibly with attempts to document the current situation and to draw this information together in the form of an Aboriginal Languages Handbook. This document is still under development, though an early draft was printed in 1996. It included brief program descriptions, including that of the Kurna programs at KPS, PWAC and Fremont-ECHS. Kurna teaching teams were involved in a handbook writing workshop on 27 June 1995, in which programs were described in a proforma, which encouraged teams to evaluate their programs in terms of the LOTE Statement and Profile.

In 1996, a Language Renewal and Reclamation project was launched to investigate the relationship between the LOTE Statement and Profile and these kinds of programs, focusing on Kurna and Ngarrindjeri²³. A preliminary draft identifies the following reasons for the establishment of the Project:

The need for a document of this kind was identified through:

- the Review Report of the Languages other than English Statement and Profile. A number of recommendations related to Aboriginal languages was made, particularly regarding the need to address the gap which exists between the profile and Aboriginal language revival and awareness programs. The profile was seen to focus almost exclusively on second language learning programs and on communication as the central goal of all LOTE learning, and the review noted that this was not appropriate for all languages in the Indigenous Australian context.
- advice from teaching teams in renewal and reclamation programs, who want to share and to network but who are plagued by distance from one another, by lack of on-site expertise in many cases, and because of the complexities of the situations of the languages which they are offering.
- advice from the participants of the Australian Indigenous Languages Seminar: Language Revival in School Programs: Issues and Directions, and from general discussion
- the need to strengthen existing DECS documents, including the generic Indigenous Languages in South Australian Preschools and Schools and the 1994 Languages other than English guidelines
- before the appearance of this document, there has [sic] been no similar materials to which teaching teams can look to for support
- the need was fully endorsed by the 27 March conference
- the DECS requirement is that by 1997 all R-10 language programs will be assessing and reporting in terms of the LOTE statement and profile.

(DECS, 3/7/96: 11; modified slightly in the final publication DETE, 1998: 4-5)

²³Despite repeated representations from Greg Wilson, myself and others, the drafting of the National LOTE Profile failed to accommodate the Indigenous Australian languages in revival situations.

The project got underway in 1996 and produced a video (DECS, 1997) and a print-based product (DETE, 1998a). This publication included a unit planner proforma specifically developed for language renewal and reclamation programs and an example of a completed proforma for the Year 8 Kurna program at Fremont-ECHS (see DETE, 1998a: 46-48). In relation to the Kurna language, the project filmed interviews with a number of teachers and obtained film footage within the classroom at KPECC, KPS and Tauondi. Cherie and I were engaged as consultants to the Project. The production of the video and print product served to focus critical reflection on the programs. As a follow-up to the project, Greg Wilson coordinated a one-day Programming for Aboriginal Language Renewal and Reclamation conference on the 12 February 1997 in which participants, including the Kurna teaching team, were instructed in the use of unit planning proformas and program planning.

In late 1997 Indigenous languages programs were obliged to participate in the Scope and Sequence project, initiated by a directive from DETE. The intent, apparently, was to develop a resource on the World Wide Web, that language teachers could use to organise and plan their teaching programs. DETE required curriculum officers to draft documents (at short notice) which specified the scope of the programs and the progression of learning throughout the years of schooling for each individual language. Curriculum in each language was to be specified relative to the LOTE Profile (Curriculum Corporation, 1994). The linguistic dimensions of the scope was specified in terms of language awareness, functions and notions, grammar and text types for each band level according to the four main skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. Whilst this is a relatively straightforward task for most languages offered in South Australian schools, it was not so self-evident for Indigenous languages programs. Two one-day workshops, involving representatives from Indigenous languages programs were held to investigate the issues. As a result the Sociocultural Understandings and Linguistic Dimensions for Kurna - Band A were drawn up (See Appendices H3.1 and H3.2).

Centralised language planning, epitomised in the LOTE Profile, is driven by the needs of second language programs and does not take into account the special needs of revival programs and, more particularly, the Kurna situation. Fortunately, the Language Renewal and Reclamation project and the Scope and Sequence project have provided the opportunity for those involved in the teaching of Kurna in schools to reflect on their programs and on the need for planning. This has been very useful in identifying and articulating the special needs of these programs and in raising awareness of them within DETE.

There will be a need to produce a Kurna curriculum document, comparable to the Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara curriculum documents some time in the future, but it is perhaps wise not to rush into such a venture. The curriculum needs to be workable in terms of the situation at KPS and the available Kurna resources. It is thus perhaps better that it be written with the hindsight afforded by a decade of language teaching.

8.6 Approaches and Methods

All Kaurna language programs operating in the 1990s draw on the same set of resource materials, though the programs are modified according to the particular group of learners. The spelling system adopted is that devised by T&S along with its inconsistencies and inadequacies. Because the language is being re-learned from historical sources, literacy is a major focus. In this regard, language reclamation programs, such as Kaurna, differ from most other language programs, where oral language skills are primary. Revitalization programs stress listening, speaking, reading and writing in that order²⁴. Reclamation programs, by necessity, more or less reverse this order. In the absence of anything much to listen to, or read, production skills are emphasised over reception skills.

In mounting Kaurna programs we have been 'sailing in uncharted waters', both in terms of the Kaurna language itself and the type of program being offered. We have had to make do with the limited resources at our disposal and do the best we can, within the limitations of our own skills and knowledge. Few teachers of Kaurna are well-prepared for the task. Teachers with a background in Aboriginal Studies seldom have had specialised training in the teaching of languages. Teachers who have had such specialised training generally have little knowledge of Aboriginal languages or of the special requirements of language revival programs. Language specialists, such as Cherie Watkins, are not qualified teachers and as such, do not have a background in program planning and teaching methods. Nor am I a trained teacher, though I have completed a graduate diploma in continuing education, which included some English as a Second Language teaching methodology.

8.6.1 Community Involvement

Involvement of the Kaurna community in Kaurna programs is crucial and occurs in a number of ways:

- Community involvement is sought to oversee the programs and to provide advice and direction. The AILF project advocates the setting up of a program reference committee on which local Indigenous representation is maximised. The Inbarendi College AILF programs have had such a reference committee, but it has proved difficult to attract Kaurna people from outside the school sector to meetings²⁵. Within the school sector, Alice Rigney, Principal of KPS (1987-1997), has been the mainstay for the programs. A significant amount of consultation and negotiation with key members of the Kaurna community also took place prior to the introduction of Kaurna into the university.
- Kaurna community members are involved in the delivery of programs. Workshops and courses are generally taught by a team, which is discussed below. In addition Kaurna elders and representatives of KACHA have been engaged as guest speakers on issues of Kaurna identity, epistemology, Dreamings, culture and heritage. Speakers have included Lewis

²⁴Some revitalization programs, such as the Kungarrakany and Larrakiya program taught in Darwin in 1995 are restricted to listening and speaking, as their communities are ideologically opposed to committing them to writing.

²⁵KACHA has repeatedly been invited to send a representative and local Kaurna Elders have also been invited.

O'Brien, Veronica Brodie, Alice Rigney, Paul and Naomi Dixon, Georgina Williams and Josie Agius.

- Members of the Kurna community are encouraged to participate as students in the programs, though attempts to involve them have met with limited success. It remains the case that only a very small number of Kurna people have been actively involved in the programs. In all, probably no more than 40 Kurna adults have been involved as students in the various programs and workshops offered between 1989 and 1997. Significantly, **all** Kurna language programs have, however, involved some Kurna people as students. The majority of students in some programs, such as the PWAC course run in semester 1, 1997 and the KWP course at Warriparinga were Kurna people. In other courses, such as the KL&LE course at the University of Adelaide, input from the relatively small number of Kurna people auditing the course has been significant and extremely valuable. Non-Aboriginal students are left in no doubt about the attachment Kurna people have to the language and the authority they exercise over it. Students valued the input from Kurna people. A number pinpointed this as the highlight of the course and most indicated that they would like to see even more input from the Kurna community into the course (see Appendix H10.4).

Some Kurna people, whilst having a keen interest in the language and a desire to revive it, have no interest in participating in a formal language program. They would prefer to keep it within their own family association and within their own organisations. Some would prefer to learn the language in the privacy of their own homes, no doubt in an attempt to avoid 'loss of face'. Kurna people who have learnt Kurna in the formal programs have employed the language in various ways for their own private purposes and in their own work situations. Whilst we have been moderately successful in involving Kurna people in the courses, there is room for more input and involvement. The success not only of the Kurna programs, but of the revival of Kurna itself hinges on this. These are matters taken up again in Chapters 9 and 10.

8.6.2 A Team Approach

A team approach is vital in the teaching of a language reclamation program, at least within the early stages of the program until there are trained Nunga teachers with an in-depth knowledge of Kurna. The introduction of senior secondary Kurna programs was enabled through the teaming of language specialists, Snooky Varcoe and Cherie Watkins, with a trained teacher, Jennifer Simpson, who took legal responsibility for the class, plus myself as linguist.

Ideally, much of the up-front teaching of the program is performed by the Nunga language specialist. They should be the ones who 'call the shots' and bear the primary responsibility for what is taught and the way in which it is taught within the class. The classroom teacher's role is to attend to administrative requirements, organise excursions etc. and to plan the lesson beforehand with the language specialist. The teacher should provide support and training to the language specialist by way of good teaching practice. The role of the linguist is to assemble the language materials, to evaluate and interpret the materials, and put them into a more useable and

accessible form where appropriate, to assist in the preparation of resources for the language programs and to support the acquisition of Kaurna by the language specialists.

It is actually very hard to live up to this ideal of role differentiation. In practice I have been involved in a significant amount of up-front teaching in the programs, particularly on aspects of phonology and grammar, but also in aspects of Kaurna history and geography. The bulk of the content of the adult program, as it is currently taught at PWAC, has been generated by me, including almost all of the written worksheets and documentation. These worksheets have been used effectively by Cherie within the Tauondi program.

These programs have been asking a lot of the language specialists, who are themselves learning Kaurna. Often they are just one step ahead of the students, as Cherie Watkins explains:

I answered an ad in the local newspaper which was an advert for a Kaurna language worker. And I thought "Oh, maybe I can do this" because I knew a few words. And I answered the ad and won the position and started teaching within four weeks, which was a little bit intimidating because I didn't have a lot of confidence.

However, I found that I was one step ahead of the students, which was really good at that stage. However, now of course, it has improved and I've been doing a lot of learning myself. So the progression sort of really ... is not just about learner development, but also teacher development, language development, culture development.

(Cherie Watkins in *Warranna Purruna - Pa:mpi Tungarar - Living Languages* video, DECS 1997)

However, viewed in another way, the team approach in this situation is also another form of on-the-job training for the language specialist. One of the best ways of ensuring one learns a language is through having to teach it.

8.6.3 Teaching Methodology

An eclectic approach is taken to the use of language teaching methodologies in the teaching of Kaurna. Elements of many well-known methods are evident in the programs.

8.6.3.1 Grammar-Translation

The Grammar-Translation method dominated language teaching from the 1840s to the 1940s and aspects of it are still widely practised today (Richards & Rodgers, 1986: 3-5) even though it is generally regarded as a poor and outmoded method. But the Grammar-Translation method in the case of Kaurna is actually very useful. Kaurna sources consist of a vocabulary, a set of translated sentences and a sketch grammar. In fact, the layout of T&S reflects a conception of 'language' that is totally compatible with the Grammar-Translation approach, as if a knowledge of grammar rules, a vocabulary and translated sentences were all that one needed in order to know or describe the language. As the grammar translation method focuses on the sentence, the method is easy to apply to the available Kaurna materials.

Initial work in the revival of Kaurna involved the writing of songs in 1990. As the writers knew virtually no Kaurna at all, the method employed was to write the song first in English, then to attempt to translate the song into Kaurna. In the 1991 workshops a number of well-

known nursery rhymes were translated as a group exercise. This is still the method employed most in the writing of songs, stories and speeches.

The first Kaurna workshops employed translation exercises. When the Year 11 programs commenced at Inbarendi College in 1994, some translation exercises were employed, but they were not a major feature of the program. They were even less of a feature within the programs in 1995 but were re-introduced in 1996 by popular demand from the students. During 1996 a worksheet was used in most sessions, at both Inbarendi College and Warriparinga, to teach an aspect of grammar. Typically it consisted of some example sentences taken from T&S or TMs, a short vocabulary list and five or six sentences to translate from Kaurna into English and another five or six sentences to translate from English into Kaurna (see Appendix H5.3). These worksheets have proved popular with students who have opted for some of their assessment to be carried out in this form. Some students like to have something they can take home and work on in between the weekly sessions.

Grammar-Translation has also been a major feature of the KL&LE course at the University of Adelaide where students are required to parse sentences and provide a grammatical analysis on the basis of T&S's grammar and the translation provided (see Appendix H10.3.1).

8.6.3.2 Audiolingual Method

The audiolingual method was popular in the 1960s and 1970s. It consists of drills of various kinds typically practised in the context of a language laboratory. Language laboratories have not been used within Kaurna programs. However useful expressions, repeated several times, have been recorded on tape (see Appendix H1.2.1). Lengthy pauses were left between utterances so that the student could practice repeating the expression. Similar repetition of words, phrases and sentences is a frequently employed method within the language classes. The Kaurna Sounds and Spellings HyperCard stack (see Appendix E2) records words to illustrate each sound, leaving space in between for the user to practise the word.

In 1997 a set of tapes and accompanying transcripts were prepared. These tapes may be borrowed for use in the language laboratory, though teaching sessions have not made use of the labs. Numerous simple and mixed substitution drills, typical of the audiolingual method have been included. One university student found these tapes to be the best aspect of the KL&LE course and noted that "the language tapes and transcripts really brought it to life" (Student Evaluation of Teaching, 6 November, 1997, see Appendix H10.4).

8.6.3.3 Total Physical Response (TPR)

Elements of TPR methodology have been employed in Kaurna language programs from the first workshop held at KPS in 1990. TPR is employed to teach imperatives and serves as a useful method to introduce an oral component. Imperatives are useful within the context of language use in the classroom and were amongst the first expressions requested by teachers and childcare workers within KPS and the KPECC.

8.6.3.4 Communicative Language Teaching (CLT)

In the CLT approach focus is on communication. As a result meaning is paramount and less attention is given to grammatical accuracy and pronunciation. Richards & Rodgers (1986: 67-68) provides a useful comparison between the Audio-lingual and CLT approach. CLT is generally accepted as the preferable approach to language teaching as is evidenced in current DETE language policy and curriculum documents.

However, CLT is much less important than some other approaches and methods in the context of language reclamation. Communication is not the overriding purpose for learning a language such as Kaurna, as it is in the teaching of many other languages. Still, CLT teaches us that too much error correction and attention to phonological and grammatical detail is counterproductive in the development of fluency and communicative competence. These principles are borne in mind in the development of Kaurna programs and in their implementation. Attempts are made to develop meaningful communication, primarily within the classroom context. Sometimes attempts are made to use Kaurna only, aided by realia, movement, body language and facial expressions so that the meaning is evident from the context. However in these early stages of Kaurna language revival, communication is limited and restricted. At this stage monologues play a much more important role than dialogues, apart from formulaic greetings and responses.

8.6.3.5 The Direct Method

The Direct Method aims to model second language acquisition on that of mother tongue child language acquisition. As such the target language is used exclusively and is employed directly through demonstration and action. I have tried to employ these methods aided by realia. I have found this method useful in short demonstrations to show that Kaurna is capable of being used to talk about everyday things and to show that it can be used fluently. However, to date it has proved difficult to employ this method as the teachers themselves, including myself, do not have a high level of Kaurna competence or fluency and we are often at a loss as to what we should say next. We are hampered to some extent by a lack of vocabulary to refer to everyday items in the classroom context, by a lack of pre-formed ways of talking about everyday events and an absence of established norms of phatic communion, which are essential in maintaining conversation.

We tried introducing a half-hour session during the evening at Camp Kursa in 1994 in which only Kaurna was to be used. This did not prove to be very successful. The students simply did not know enough to sustain much conversation or interaction. However, while on camps and excursions I continue to make an effort to use Kaurna commands and questions or simply to comment on things we encounter. But often I find that I am talking to myself.

8.6.3.6 Suggestopedia

Less mainstream methodologies such as Suggestopedia, which involves meditation and music therapy, have not been used in the teaching of Kaurna. However, in the hands of the right

teacher, and if such non-conventional methods were acceptable to students, there may well be merit in this methodology.

8.6.4 Content and Materials

When we commenced the first Kurna language programs we were of course totally dependent on the historical materials. T&S remains the mainstay of all Kurna programs. We prefer to maintain a direct link with the historical materials, in the interests of maintaining the integrity and authenticity of the language. Exercises devised are based directly on words, sentences, songs or texts recorded in the historical materials. The linguistics practicals I set for the KL&LE course in 1997 all drew directly on the historical materials (see Appendix H10.3.1).

The choice of content in Kurna programs is an important, and sometimes contentious issue. From the outset of the AILF project, questions have been raised as to whether Aboriginal languages are best located in Aboriginal Studies, in the Society and Environment curriculum area, or whether they should come under LOTE. Questions are continually raised about the focus on teaching about languages at the expense of teaching the language. Aboriginal languages, especially revival programs such as Kurna, are misfits within LOTE with its preoccupation on communication. One often hears the comment that these programs "really belong in Society and Environment, not LOTE".

Our aim, however, is more than just teaching the language, though this is an important element in most programs. We have always tried to allow identity issues and developments within the community to determine the choice of content. In teaching Kurna, the language is not taught in isolation, but rather is taught hand in hand with aspects of Kurna culture and heritage. Identity of Kurna students is reinforced. Cherie Watkins explains:

So the progression ... is not just about learner development, but also teacher development, language development, culture development. And there are issues of identity and heritage that come into the whole thing.

(Cherie Watkins in *Warranna Purrana - Pa:mpi Tungarar - Living Languages* video, DECS, 1997)

8.6.4.1 Kurna Studies

We try to use the language as a key to understanding the history, the environment, the Kurna culture and the Kurna people²⁶. We try to choose themes accordingly, and themes which will be of interest to the students. Thus, kinship, local place names, Dreaming stories, contact history, naming practices and historical texts have been prominent topics²⁷, along with some communicative language teaching.

The selection of vocabulary items early in the Year 11 and TAFE course is heavily weighted towards items related to Kurna country and heritage. *Yaitya* 'indigenous; proper; own; fresh',

²⁶Aird (1991) describes the importance of the Yugambah language in reconstructing cultural heritage in South East Queensland.

²⁷This is also true of the Ganai program at KODE campus, Gippsland, which is also centred on a Dreaming trail, Dreaming stories and other aspects of Koorie culture (pc e-mail Lynetter Dent 17 June 1998).

yerta 'earth, land; soil; country' and *pangkarra* 'territory' are key concepts introduced early in the courses and constantly reinforced.

Students learn about the geography and history of the Adelaide Plains and they learn about neighbouring Indigenous languages and cultures and their links to Kaurna. Of course Kaurna is not unique in teaching language and culture together. In the Kaurna context, the importance of this approach is heightened by the need to appeal to cultural understandings in order to make sense of the historical records themselves and conversely, the linguistic records provide important insights into understanding Kaurna culture. The same can be said of the history and geography of the Adelaide Plains. On the one hand the Kaurna language provides important insights into early contact history and into the nature of the physical environment of the Adelaide Plains in the middle of the nineteenth century. The lexicon and some place names afford insights into the dominant fauna, flora and topography of the Adelaide plains. Conversely, a knowledge of early South Australian colonial history and geography from other sources aids in the interpretation of the early language records. Much of the Kaurna course at senior secondary level involves developing these understandings; mostly through the medium of English.

In addition, some effort is made to teach history through the language itself, both by looking directly at extant Kaurna texts (for example the letters written by Kaurna children) and in the translation exercises. For example, in the PWAC worksheet for Week 2 of Semester 1 1996, sentences such as *1850rlo, Moorhouserlo Kaurna meyunna Poonindieanna kaitya*. 'In 1850, Moorhouse sent Kaurna people to Poonindie.' were given by way of example to illustrate case marking. Students were then asked to translate into Kaurna a series of English sentences such as "In the 1820s George Bates and John Anderson took Kallongoo from Rapid Bay to Kangaroo Island" telling of the movements of a Kaurna woman kidnapped by sealers. Conversely, students were asked to translate a series of Kaurna sentences telling of the movements of Sally and Harry, Kaurna people who accompanied sealers to King George Sound, WA in 1825. This worksheet is included as Appendix H5.3.

A number of Kaurna songs recently written and recorded are actually based on texts from the historical materials. For instance *Birkibirki* 'Peas' is an embellishment of *Kadlitpiko Palti* 'Captain Jack's Song' (T&S, 1840: 73) and *Yerna Tappa* is similarly based on *Mullawirraburkarna Palti* 'King John's Song' (T&S, 1840: 73). *Palti Makkandi* 'Thigh Shaking Dance' is based on the sentence *Warpunna wiltarninga, meyunna, nganta makketitya*. 'Men, let your bones be strong so as to shake well (as at the native dance)' (T&S, 1840: 71). The PWAC students were actively involved in the performance and recording of this song, a process which took the best part of a day with practice runs and a number of 'takes' before a satisfactory final product was obtained.

Whilst the Kaurna language courses, especially those aimed at adults, include much material which could best be described as Kaurna Studies, the focus of these courses is still always language (Warra Kaurna). The Kaurna language is used as the key to provide insights into aspects of Kaurna history and culture, whereas other disciplines such as history and anthropology are used to contextualise and make sense of the Kaurna language materials themselves. It is a constant two-way process. Kaurna Studies are inseparable from the Kaurna language. The students recognize the value of this approach as indicated in feedback and course evaluations, which I will discuss later.

However, this approach to the choice of content is in conflict with centralised education planning. Through the LOTE Statement and Profile, ALL Guidelines and the Scope and Sequence project, there is a certain pressure to choose content that conforms to a LOTE formula or template that applies across all languages, ignoring the unique aspects of the language that links it with the place, people and their culture. This was certainly the case with the content for the Year 8 Kaurna programs as requested by SASSL. The themes specified, 'me and my world' from the student's perspective, numbers, days of the week, months of the year and colours, simply replicate a formula applied to any LOTE that makes no effort to draw on the unique aspects which will give students an understanding of the Kaurna people or culture.

8.6.4.2 Songs

As mentioned earlier, Kaurna language reclamation began with the Songwriters Workshop in 1990. The songs written then (see Appendix G1) made use of the very first new Kaurna sentences generated in the modern period. Songs have continued to play a very important role in all Kaurna programs. Songs are an especially important medium through which to introduce the language to children of preschool and primary school age. They also work well with adults who are keen to learn them, both for themselves and in order to teach their children and grandchildren. However, songs do not work so well with adolescent students who are more self-conscious. Perhaps this reluctance is partly due to the kind of songs that have been produced. Conceivably songs could work well with adolescents in the right circumstances, within the context of a rock-band or singing group. However, within the classroom it has proved difficult to engage adolescent students in singing.

A highlight of the 1991 workshop was the translation of a number of popular nursery rhymes and children's songs chosen by the workshop participants²⁸. These included *Twinkle Twinkle Little Star*, *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, *Open Shut Them*, *A Sailor Went to Sea*, *Hickory Dickory Dock* and *I Wiggle My Fingers*. All the translations of these rhymes and songs were done with the group in the workshop. Aspects of Kaurna grammar were explained as we went. We used a book of Malay songs and nursery rhymes for inspiration, looking to see how they had translated culturally-loaded verse of this kind. The workshop participants enjoyed translating

²⁸According to the program, songwriting was to have been a minor aspect of the program (see Appendix H1.2). The nursery rhymes were introduced by popular demand.

and singing the songs and took them back to their centres. The songs also proved to be very popular at KPECC.

In 1995, a singing group led by Snooky Varcoe and Nan Mohi, was formed at PWAC. This group performed at a number of public events and served to motivate students beyond the language course itself. It brought students together and developed a sense of camaraderie. In semester 2, at the direction of Snooky Varcoe, the group became heavily involved in the recording of the tape *Kaurna Songs* produced by Chester Schultz (Varcoe et al, forthcoming). Several sessions were held at PWAC practising and recording songs as well as after hours or on weekends at Chester's home²⁹.

At KPS, the entire school always sings the school song in Kaurna to welcome visitors and at the conclusion of the assembly, the host class sings the *Ninna marni* song to the classes leaving who respond accordingly. When I attended the school assembly on 28 November 1997, the children sang no fewer than eight Kaurna songs³⁰. Most impressive was their performance of *Makkandi Wappendo!*, a Kaurna adaptation of *Hokey Pokey*. Instead of 'Do the hokey pokey' the Kaurna song says *makkandi wappendo!* 'Do the *makkandi*'³¹. The children were totally involved in the performance, singing the song at the top of their voices and gave a lively and skillful performance of the *makkandi*. They clearly loved it.

The Alberton School Choir³² sings Pitjantjatjara songs, but recently, in recognition of the Kaurna people and Kaurna lands, they also sing Kaurna songs in public. In March 1997, Alberton PS engaged Snooky Varcoe to teach the choir his song *Munaintya Warranna* 'I Can Hear the Voices of the Dreaming', which they sang at the Multicultural Education Coordinating Committee (MECC) Expo. Snooky has since accompanied the Alberton School Choir on several occasions, singing this same song at the NAIDOC Week Nunga Flag Raising ceremony at Hendon PS in June 1997 and at the International Children's Week Art Competition in the Myer Centre in October 1997. At this latter event they also sang *Mengki Tindo Worni* 'Happy Birthday' in Kaurna to Peter Coombe, a well-known children's musician who was the guest of honour. In November, Snooky accompanied the choir singing two new songs, *Yertabulti* 'Port Adelaide' and *Nguyanguya Murradlu* 'Reconciliation' on the themes of unity and working together for the official opening of the Port Adelaide Visitor Information Centre on 9 November

²⁹Practice and recording sessions, sometimes amounting to a dozen or more 'takes' was very effective in developing some Kaurna competence through sheer repetition.

³⁰Songs sung included *Pepawodli Palti* 'KPS School Song', *Wailtyi Parto Nanto* 'Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer', *Warratina* 'Silent Night', *Makkandi Wappendo!* 'Hokey Pokey', *Mukarta*, *Kartakka*, *Mamba*, *Tidna* 'Heads Shoulders Knees and Toes', body parts song, *Marni Tindo Worni* 'Happy Birthday' and *Ninna Marni* 'Greetings'.

³¹The *makkandi* is a distinctive dance movement, described in the literature and painted by Cawthorne, where the dancer stands with legs apart and rhythmically shake the thighs.

³²Alberton PS in the Port Adelaide area has a high proportion of Aboriginal enrolments. In 1993 they adopted Pitjantjatjara as the school LOTE program, offered to all children regardless of their linguistic and cultural background. Previous to this, Pitjantjatjara had only been offered to Nunga students at Alberton on a withdrawal basis.

1997. Snooky wrote these songs especially for the occasion, teaching the songs to the school choir in the week prior to the event.

Songs are also a useful means of promoting the language through one-off activities. Snooky Varcoe, Josie Agius, Cherie Watkins, Jamie Parkin, myself and others have used songs in one-off activities in schools, as parents or special guests. For instance, in 1995 Snooky Varcoe and I ran a session at Highgate PS for the combined Year 3 classes of which my daughter was a member. We introduced ourselves in Kurna, sang a number of Kurna songs and taught the children several Kurna expressions. Later that year I attended the Year 3 school camp as a parent helper and ran a series of elective Kurna sessions in which I taught some Kurna songs, vocabulary and expressions. The children were exceptionally receptive and keen and volunteered to sing the songs at the camp concert.

New songs and new Kurna translations of songs are still appearing at a steady rate. Over the period 1990-1997, more than 50 Kurna songs (see section 7.10.2) have been written or translated from English, usually as a group exercise in class. Several Kurna hymns have also been revived.

8.6.4.3 Production of Kurna language materials

A key strategy employed in Kurna language programs has been to engage students in the production of Kurna language materials to promote the language and to feed into other programs. This is also a good way of motivating adult learners. Adult students have been encouraged to produce simple story books for the programs at the KPECC and KPS. They have also produced board games, card games, posters and a variety of other material. These are checked for grammatical accuracy prior to their release for use as Kurna language resources.

Cherie Watkins has produced a series of booklets for KPS designed to teach vocabulary in specific domains such as body parts, numbers, colours, kinship etc. Other language materials are under development. Other teachers and childcare workers also produce their own resources. As mentioned earlier, some language learning tapes have also been recorded. There are now a fair number of unpublished Kurna language materials in circulation. At the time of writing, the only materials available for purchase are the 1990 songbook, the *Warra Kurna* textbook (Amery, 1997) and the readings prepared for the KL&LE course.

8.6.4.4 Use of Electronic Resources and Computers

In 1989 Jane Simpson began creating electronic files of the Kurna sources and immediately made these files available to myself and to the Kurna language projects. Her motivation for creating these files was firstly to expedite comparative linguistic research into the languages of South Australia, but also to provide a resource for the fledgling Kurna language project in Adelaide. She began by keyboarding TMs, which at that time existed only in the form of a handwritten manuscript.

As mentioned earlier, during 1994 I created several HyperCard multimedia stacks which combine sound, text and graphics. The Kurna Sounds and Spellings stack was modelled on the orthography section of Nick Thieberger's Australian Languages Stacks produced by AIATSIS. I also created a stack based around 10 sentences taken from T&S. I recorded these sentences together with a question and a set of multiple choice answers. Snooky Varcoe drew an illustration for each sentence which was scanned into the stack (See Appendix F3). With the commencement of the Year 11 Warra Kurna program within Inbarendi College in 1994, ten Macintosh laptop computers were purchased by the school. The Kurna vocabulary files were loaded onto these computers. In 1994 and 1995 the laptops were used across both Inbarendi programs and were physically transported to and fro between ECHS and PWAC.

It has been our intention to engage students in the preparation of additional Kurna language stacks using the HyperCard program. This was attempted in one session with Year 11 adolescent students in 1995 with promising results. Unfortunately, when I had just got the students interested and engaged in the creation of a language stack, time limitations imposed by the timetable meant we could not continue. Some HyperCard sessions with adult students at PWAC have fallen flat, though sessions taught by computing professionals at the Technology School of the Future have been more successful. Multimedia technology remains a potentially useful and largely untapped technology that could work well with a group of computer-literate language learners. If the language learners are not already computer-literate, much time and effort needs to be spent in teaching basic computer functions, which detracts from language learning.

8.6.5 Assessment

Assessment of student performance within KPS is conducted informally. This can be done as classes are small in size. Oral skills are observed through children's use of requests such as *Marniai kudnawodlianna padnota?* 'May I go to the toilet' or spontaneous utterances, such as *Warratti!* 'Be quiet!' or *Tikka!* 'Sit down!' Children are often heard using expressions such as these to other children in the class. Listening and comprehension skills are likewise assessed through observation of behavioural responses to commands (pc Kevin Duigan, December 1997).

The assessment of Kurna language proficiency in the senior secondary programs is conducted more formally with an increased emphasis on written work. Written assessment has revolved around the creation of Kurna language materials or translation exercises from Kurna to English or vice versa. There is a strong practical focus in the assessment tasks, in line with the assessment schema written into the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework:

Target Language(s), year 11	Target Language(s), year 12
<p>Unit 1</p> <p><u>Task type 1 (5-40%)</u> Oral/written proficiency tasks in the target language eg Roleplay or drama Prepared Talk Writing and performing a song or poem</p> <p><u>Task type 2 (40-80%)</u> Collection and analysis of primary data eg Language survey Field trip report Research project</p> <p><u>Task type 3 (20%)</u> Information presentation tasks eg Preparing a brochure Prepared talk Video presentation Written report</p>	<p>Unit 3</p> <p><u>Task type 1 (5-70%)</u> Oral/written proficiency tasks in the target language eg Interview of conversation Prepared speech Writing and children's story</p> <p><u>Task type 2 (10-80%)</u> Collection and analysis of primary data eg Place names study Linguistic fieldwork Research Project</p> <p><u>Task type 3 (20%)</u> Information presentation tasks eg Project report Prepared talk Video presentation</p>

(SSABSA, 1996a: 33)

Initially, the oral assessment consisted of one-on-one oral tests of vocabulary items, question and response or pre-prepared dialogue. This proved to be extremely time-consuming for the teacher and somewhat stressful for the students. Since then, assessment of the oral component has been done in-situ. For instance, recording of songs, performance of songs in public, delivery of speeches, giving a Kurna lesson within a primary school or early childhood centre or running a session within a Kurna language workshop have all counted towards the assessment of the oral component.

Assessment of the KL&LE course at the University of Adelaide has been based primarily on a set of practical linguistic exercises which give students hands on experience with the historical materials, as well as an essay, video review and a tutorial presentation. Kurna oral/aural language skills are not assessed, at least not in the course as it was taught in 1997 (see Appendix H10.3). Assessment tasks for this course are similar to the kinds of tasks set for other linguistics courses, such as 'Foundations in Linguistics' taught at the University of Adelaide.

8.7 Evaluation

Thorough evaluation of Kurna language programs in schools has not yet been undertaken. The usual means of evaluating LOTE programs in schools is by measuring student performance, which is assessed in three strands, all of which focus exclusively on communication. They are as follows:

Communicating in LOTE: Oral interaction
Communicating in LOTE: Reading and responding
Communicating in LOTE: Writing

(Curriculum Corporation, 1994: 2)

All language programs in schools, K - 10, are supposed to be assessed in the same way and be comparable with each other. However, as we have seen, Kaurna programs differ in a number of respects from the usual LOTE offerings in schools.

Teachers of Kaurna programs need to be concerned, not only with learner development, but with their own development and with the development of the language itself, something which other mainstream programs do not need to bother with. In fact, I would argue that teacher development and language development are far more important than learner development at this stage, as long as learners' interest and enthusiasm is maintained and cultivated. Communicative competence in Kaurna should be judged relative to the context in which the Kaurna language is being used. At the moment, it is more important to expand and develop this wider context and the language itself, than worrying too much about student performance, which otherwise operates in a vacuum.

Having said this, it will be apparent that the relationship between the programs and the Kaurna community, and the broader Nunga community, are fundamental to the long term success of the programs. I believe that the school programs should be judged primarily by the attitudes of the students themselves, and the attitudes of teachers, as well as the degree to which the programs are accepted and supported by the parents, the community and the education system. According to these criteria, the Kaurna programs have been successful.

8.7.1 Evaluation of KPS Program

In September 1992, the Education Review Unit (ERU) conducted a review of KPS which stressed the importance of the teaching of Aboriginal languages and cultures in the school program:

For parents, students and staff the highlight of the school was the focus on Aboriginal cultures and languages. This was seen as developing pride, self-esteem and a sense of identity in the students. As one parent said:

"This school has helped my children identify who they are and what they are, and as an Aboriginal parent that makes me feel proud".

A number of parents commented on how their understanding of the cultures and languages had improved by being involved with their children and this had improved communication and relationships within the family. (Wilmshurst, 1992: 4)

Further it reported favourably on the Kaurna program introduced earlier in the year as follows:

. . . There was a great deal of excitement from staff, parents and students about the Kaurna language project and the opportunity to re-discover this language.

. . .

All students in the primary section of the school are involved in the language program but the secondary students are not involved. These secondary students were disappointed that they were not learning Kaurna because the younger students could use the language and they did not understand what was being said.

. . .

Staff said that training and development was critical to their teaching Aboriginal cultures and languages. They said that an excellent program had been developed which included documenting lessons, sharing ideas and trialling and evaluating course content. The Kaurna language program was cited as an example of the way the school was being supported by outside resource people. (Wilmshurst, 1992: 12)

According to this review, the Kaurna program received universal support from students, parents and staff at the school. In social and cultural terms, the program has been extremely successful. Educational outcomes such as the development of communicative competence is something of an unknown entity. The programs probably do not measure up to other LOTE programs in these terms at this stage. Certainly James Parkin, teacher of Kaurna language at KPS from 1993 to 1996, was not overly impressed by language proficiency outcomes:

. . . in terms of language proficiency, it's a grind. It's not much fun at all. . . . I do lots of themes and lots of contexts and things like that. And kids use the language while we're using it. But I reckon I've still got, after four years, kids who can say "Um I think *Ngai wodlianna padnendi* <hesitant> means "I'm going to school". That would be their level of proficiency and they've been doing it ... That's being a bit unfair. A few kids know more than that, but not many. And few of them would volunteer. You know, it's a bit of a shame job really to use Kaurna amongst themselves. They use the language that's asked of them in terms of greetings and being quiet and all that, but that's all.

(transcript of interview with James Parkin, 28 November 1996)

At the same time, however, he acknowledged the value of the program in terms of identity, culture and developing a sense of history amongst the children.

8.7.2 Evaluation of Senior Secondary Kaurna Programs

A comprehensive report was compiled following the completion of the initial Kaurna courses at Inbarendi College in 1994 as an AILF pilot project (Smiles & Simpson, 1995). This report also included evaluations completed by myself and Jennifer Simpson, the coordinating teacher. This was not an independent evaluation, but more a product of critical reflection on the part of two non-Aboriginal members of the team identifying strengths and weaknesses of the program. (See Appendix H5.4). The teacher's report noted for instance that "students were finding the 'pace' of the lessons too fast. New language was introduced before they felt confident with the work they had already covered" and that "the students found the section on the Kaurna Sound/Spelling System and Grammar difficult" (Simpson, 1995: 1). For this reason, in 1995 I downplayed the formal teaching of grammar and phonology only to find that students subsequently demanded that more attention be given to these areas.

Informal evaluation of the course has been ongoing through discussion at the program's reference committee meetings and amongst members of the teaching team. Informal feedback sessions have been held at the conclusion of most workshops and courses directed at adults. For instance, feedback from the PWAC course in Semester 1 1997, revealed that all students had gained substantially from the course and felt it to be a very positive and constructive undertaking overall. However, students repeatedly requested that more structure be built into the sessions. They wanted to know exactly what was going to be covered in each session and requested that course expectations be outlined not only at the start of the course, but again mid-semester. Students felt frustrated by the inactivity and silences that sometimes characterised sessions. They wanted more grammar, verb paradigms, case suffixes, grammar translation, rote learning and more overt teaching of sounds and spellings.

Klynton Wanganeen, a student in this course, wrote a 1,000 word critique of the course as part of his adult education course at the University of South Australia. Klynton was generally favourable in his assessment of the course as he writes in his conclusion:

It can be seen from the description of the sessions and assessment strategies that the Kaurna 1 language course does enable the students participating to meet the Aims and Learning Outcomes as stated in the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework and Language reclamation strategy.

The classroom sessions were structured in such a manner that there was flexibility in the delivery of subject matter, opportunities for students to practice what they learnt, each session was an extension of the previous session and students had the opportunity to reflect on the sessions through their journal.

. . . The bottom line is that the Kaurna language course is delivered in a highly effective and efficient manner. (Wanganeen, 1997: 6)

Klynton went on to make four recommendations to improve the course:

- There needs to be more oral interaction in Kaurna Language introduced into the classroom activities to expand on the introductions that already take place. Some basic oral questioning and answering in Kaurna Language introduced in the second term would improve the ability of the students to speak the language better.
- The journals be written in English first and translated into Kaurna as homework would overcome current problems of students doing homework instead of participating in group discussions and would probably make the journal more meaningful.
- Journal to be handed in and assessed on a fortnightly basis.
- Students should submit a project proposal for confirmation to avoid having students completing similar projects. (Wanganeen, 1997: 5-6)

Klynton's recommendations are generally sound, though students at this level would probably be ill-equipped to translate their journals into Kaurna. Insistence on this could stifle their capacity to engage in critical reflection in the journal and they might feel overwhelmed and burdened. However, there is certainly scope to use more Kaurna language in their journals than takes place at present.

8.7.3 Formal Evaluation of 'Kaurna Language & Language Ecology'

A formal evaluation of the KL&LE course at the University of Adelaide was conducted by the Advisory Centre for University Education (ACUE) using a slightly modified Extended Standard Questionnaire from the Student Evaluation of Teaching Version 5.0. Over two thirds of the students returned the questionnaires. The response rate might have been higher had it not been for absences on the day of the final lecture.

This formal evaluation produced a very favourable result, students seeing the unit as challenging and relevant. None of the students evaluated the subject or the teaching negatively and most gave a resounding endorsement for the subject. Data generated from the evaluation is included in Appendix H10.4. Many students commented on the value of taking an ecological approach to language revival. The comments written by six of these students in relation to Question 23 "What were the best aspects of this subject, and why?" are cited below:

Gave excellent insights into Kaurna culture past and present. It was wonderful having Lewis, Georgina & Cherie in the class giving their observations, opinions and sharing their stories. This subject has been a real eye opener and this is a very positive thing. The best subject I have done in my university career. A very relevant subject for our times.

Very challenging and particularly that the written work is very relevant - proper 'hands on' development of skills rather than artificial exercises.

I gained a lot of knowledge about things I would never have known - all of it of local knowledge & issues. The input from the Kaurna community was also good. The excursion to Piltawodli was excellent.

The subject matter, especially the focus on the people and their opinions. It was in this that the language came to life. Here that we could see its importance to the people.

The fact that you are dealing with subject matter that is happening now - therefore a sense of dynamism. Also the access the subject provides to non-Indigenous students to learn about Kaurna, and more generally, Aboriginal culture.

1. Listening to the Kaurna people.
2. Learning the relationship between the language and the land.
3. Learning about the cultural significances embedden <sic> in the language.
4. the other students - their interest & enthusiasm.

By all accounts the KL&LE course was considered an outstanding success, though the course could benefit from a little 'fine tuning'. Several students made useful suggestions for minor improvements. One major issue that needs clarification concerns the place of language learning in the course. In order to better cater for the needs of students in 1998, I intend on splitting the two tutorial groups with one tutorial focusing on learning the language while the other focuses on language issues. The former will be aimed at people from the Kaurna community and those involved with the teaching of Kaurna. Each student will be required to develop a module of work and to teach it to the students within the tutorial group. The other tutorial group will be assessed by presentation of a tutorial paper.

Formal evaluations and direct feedback are one means of judging the success or otherwise of a course. However there are many other avenues for assessing programs. Attendance, participation, involvement in extracurricular language-related activities, work produced by students, all give an indication of the effectiveness of the program.

8.7.4 Enrolments and Student Retention

The Kaurna course at EWAC, as it was then known, commenced with a healthy 14 students, nine of whom completed the SACE requirements. Almost all students were retained in the program, though some did not complete all of the assessable tasks. Few students have ever enrolled in the Warra Kaurna program at PWAC in order to obtain a SACE certificate. Typically they enrol specifically for the Kaurna language.

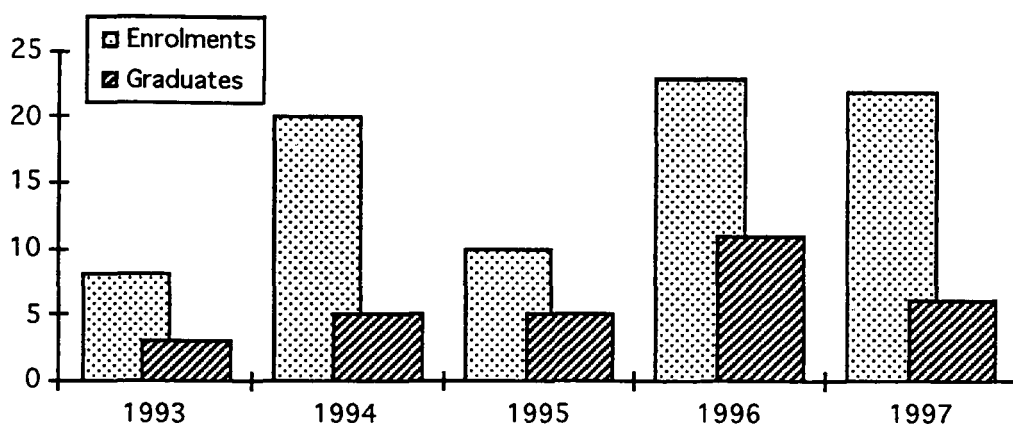
Enrolments in the adult program at Inbarendi College have fluctuated over the three and a half years up until the end of 1997, ranging from a healthy 18 to a marginal 5 or 6. The most exciting, vibrant groups in semester 2, 1994 and semester 1, 1997 were boosted by certain Kaurna extended families, that of Auntie Josie Agius and Auntie Alice Rigney respectively. Student retention within this program has generally been good, far exceeding retention rates found in most other courses at PWAC. Significantly, a number of students have returned year after year to continue doing the course. Whilst we have been reasonably good at retaining

students in the PWAC course, we have not been very good at recruiting new students. This has been a major shortcoming of the program.

However, DETE is increasingly taking notice of the Kaurna programs and has put in place certain measures which may well prove to be crucial in ensuring the long-term survival and development of these programs. DETE has supported the attendance of KPS teachers in the PWAC program, thereby improving the quality of the KPS program itself, through the development of Kaurna language skills and by facilitating the development of Kaurna language materials and teaching resources by the teachers themselves. At the same time, their attendance at the PWAC program has bolstered numbers in the program, thus improving its viability. I have suggested that AEWs and AERTs working in Adelaide Metropolitan schools, and elsewhere in Kaurna country, should be encouraged, even required, to study some Kaurna language. This would greatly enhance their performance in their work roles, whilst at the same time guaranteeing a solid student base for the PWAC program now run by SASSL. These are the kinds of measures needed to ensure the re-establishment of a viable Kaurna language ecology.

The Inbarendi program failed to pick up any new students in Semester 1 1996 with 9 enrolling. Several of those students withdrew during the semester leaving 5 active students at the end of the semester. Only one new student attended in Semester 2 1996. Several others enrolled, but did not make an appearance. We have experienced flagging student numbers within the Inbarendi program and within the Kaurna Warra Patpangga program at Warriparinga, though student numbers at Tauondi have remained at an acceptable level (see graph below).

Graph 8.1: Enrolments and Graduates of Kaurna course at Tauondi, 1993-1997.



By August 1996, the Warriparinga course had been reduced to one Nunga student, together with a non-Aboriginal student not enrolled. This drastic reduction in student numbers had been due largely to internal conflicts within the Kaurna community. On 19 August the course was suspended until it could be discussed at the Annual General Meeting of KACHA held on 11 October, though the issue was never raised.

In terms of student numbers the Inbarendi and Warriparinga courses could be judged to be a failure. Indeed, the KWP course at Warriparinga was short-lived. However, even running for that short time with a small number of participants, the course served a very useful purpose. It allowed me to develop a closer relationship with KACHA and with a number of Kaurna individuals such that they now feel more comfortable in approaching me for assistance with language matters. For instance, Karl Telfer approached me at the KACHA AGM held on 11 October 1996, seeking assistance in developing useful Kaurna expressions for introducing performances given by the male Kaurna dance troupe *Tjilbruke Dreaming* and has contacted me on a number of occasions since to assist in the drafting and translating of Kaurna speeches. Both Karl and his mother Georgina became involved in the KL&LE course taught within the University of Adelaide in 1997.

8.7.5 Attendance, Participation and Student Motivation

Kaurna is offered to all students within KPECC and KPS. Students have generally participated eagerly in the programs and, significantly, their enthusiasm for the language has grown. Young children especially relate well to the programs. As Vicki Hartman, a long-serving teacher at KPECC, explains:

And our children in particular really love learning an Aboriginal language. They're so proud of their identity. And Aboriginal songs and words are the first things they'll often use. And our parents are really pleased that their children are learning an Aboriginal language.
(Vicki Hartman, teacher KPECC on *Warranna Purruna* video, DECS, 1997)

Children at KPS have always related well to songs in local languages. Some children, especially those of Kaurna descent and those whose parents and grandparents give encouragement and reinforce their efforts to speak Kaurna, have related well to the program. In recent times the children as a whole seem to have taken much greater ownership of the program there, especially with the introduction of the school song which the children helped to write in mid-1997. In contrast to previous years, Kaurna songs are now sung with great gusto, with the Kaurna versions sung louder than the English version. *Makkandi Wappendo!* has been a real hit with the children who love to perform it in public.

The Kaurna program is compulsory for all students, most of whom are non-Indigenous, in Year 8 at Fremont-ECHS. Some students fail to see the relevance or importance of learning Kaurna. This is due in part to a disenchantment with the learning of languages per se, rather than learning Kaurna in particular. However, most students are willing to participate in these programs and even become quite involved in the courses.

The Kaurna program offered at Salisbury North PS is offered on a withdrawal basis and attendance is strictly according to parental desire and approval. Parents of Nunga children may choose for their child to participate in the Kaurna or Ngarrindjeri program or neither. Almost all Nunga children at the school choose to participate in these programs and some parents wish their children to have access to both languages, which is difficult logistically (pc Cherie

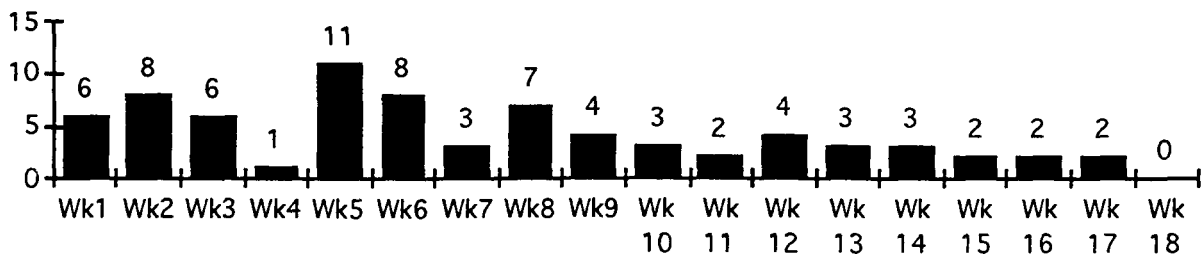
Watkins, December 1997). This reflects the genuine level of desire for Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri programs by Nungas within the school.

Of course there is a fundamental difference between non-compulsory adult programs, where the students are there because they want to be there, and many primary and junior secondary programs where students are there because they have to be there. The Tauondi program falls somewhere in between as the Kaurna language course is a compulsory component of the Cultural Instructors and Tourism course. As to be expected, where there is an element of compulsion, not all students readily accept having to learn Kaurna. At Tauondi, this is mainly because it is not their language, as many students in the program come from other areas, including interstate. However, these concerns, once addressed, are usually put aside.

In the strictly voluntary program at PWAC, most students have attended regularly, though attendance has fluctuated at times due to illness or other commitments. Many of the students in this program work full-time and have family commitments. Despite this, they have demonstrated a high level of dedication and perseverance.

Attendance at the Warriparinga course, while it lasted, was poor by comparison with other programs. Several students did attend regularly, but others attended sporadically at best. This poor attendance record is due primarily to the high level of conflict and underlying tensions within the Kaurna community and a preoccupation with other more pressing concerns.

Graph 8.2: Attendance at Kaurna Warra Patpangga program, Warriparinga.



8.7.6 Feedback

Students' comments in the younger years of schooling indicate a high degree of engagement with the subject matter. They articulate their feelings as follows:

My name's Travis and I'm 9 years old and I talk Kaurna and I reckon it's great talking Kaurna. And in the classroom when you go to the toilet you've got to say *Marni kudnawodlianna padniai*³³. And I come from Ngarrindjeri.

(Travis Varcoe, student KPS interviewed on video by Jenny Burford, August 1997)

We learn [Kaurna] here at school. It's important because when we go down to Kaurna country they can show us around and we know exactly what they're saying. What it is and where it is. And when we do it here with Cherie, Cherie makes it fun for us.

(male student, *Australia's Indigenous Languages* CD-ROM, SSABSA, 1996c)

³³On the video tape this Kaurna utterance was spoken fast and fluently; faster than his English.

Trisha Agius, who has been learning Kaurna since it was first introduced into KPS, has clearly maintained her interest and engagement with the language as indicated below:

My name's Trisha Agius. And I've been learning Kaurna language for six years. It's really good that I'm learning it and I feel good that I'm learning my culture and that I can teach my kids when I grow up.
(Trisha Agius, student KPS interviewed on video by Jenny Burford, August 1997)

Even children at KPECC are able to articulate to some extent how they relate to the Kaurna program. The following excerpt from an interview conducted by Jenny Burford illustrates:

JB: And do you like learning Kaurna language?

Amy: Yes!

JB: What's so good about it?

Amy: We learn lots of songs.

(Amy, aged 4 years attending KPECC, interviewed on video by Jenny Burford, August 1997)

My interview with James Parkin, at the end of 1996 was also insightful of how the program was received by the students at KPS. He assessed student reaction to the program as follows:

Yeh, kids are bored with it really. The kids are bored with learning it. There's a difference between what they understand as being the reasons for learning it. They see the point in learning Kaurna, the importance for cultural business and their heritage. I think in the context of this school that gets reinforced really strongly. They understand that. But there's a difference in saying "Yes, I reckon it's really important that we learn Kaurna language" and sitting down and learning Kaurna language. The kids say, like groan "Oh, not Kaurna now" which might be more a comment on my teaching more than on Kaurna. But they do it and they learn it and they like the trips and they like the songs and games and participate in all those things pretty happily. Every now and then they'll say, you know, "What's the use of learning Kaurna?" But at the same time people like Trisha Agius will very proudly display her Kaurna speech and read it out and take all the accolades that come with that. And other kids look on enviously. You know, if they see that some kudos comes with being able to speak. The little kids are especially keen. Some kids, like Kahlia Power, who is Alma's granddaughter, Katrina's daughter, she is especially, but all little kids are really proud of how much they know, what they're learning and the significance of it. Kahlia came back from Alberton. She was there briefly. She says "They don't teach Kaurna down there. They're just learning Pitjantjatjara." So the kids aren't ... The kids, it's like another school subject for them. But it has an extra weight for them, because, you know, it's an Aboriginal language. But they still think it's not the best, the most fun that they could be doing. So that's what I hear from the kids.

(Transcript of interview with James Parkin, 28 November 1996)

James had had a difficult period at the school and was probably somewhat 'burnt out' when I spoke with him just prior to his departure. He prefaced his interview with "Oh, it's the wrong time to ask". Nonetheless, his views provide an important balance to other perhaps over-optimistic views expressed.

Older students and adults, of course, are able to provide much more comprehensive feedback. This has been obtained through informal conversation and questioning students, questionnaires and students' journal entries. In addition there has been a certain amount of spontaneous comment volunteered. Feedback related to the value of the course has been extremely positive. Students find the content areas covered highly relevant. Areas noted in particular include kinship, Kaurna place names, Kaurna Dreaming stories and aspects of Kaurna history, especially the excursion to Piltawodli. Auntie Alice writes:

This was the most fascinating visit to Piltawodli to actually "feel" where our people began this journey into the invader's world.

...
To be able to walk the paths of the ancestors in this land of the Kaurna was very significant for me because I felt so much pain in my soul/spirit.
(Alice Rigney, journal entry 25 February 1997)

In a questionnaire I circulated, students have generally praised the approach taken in the teaching of Kurna. The following are typical of responses received:

I don't have any problems with the teaching approach. (Kath Burgemeister, PWAC 1996)

It is taught quite well, but it is hard having only one lesson a week because you tend to forget how to pronounce words after short lessons. (male student at Tauondi, 1996)

Fine - as a student of French many eons previous I can say I hated the regimented drills and I don't think I learnt much. Things in context are obviously better. (Cheryl Uren, (Acting) Coordinator SOSE, PWAC, 1996)

Some participants in the PWAC course in 1997, however, were more critical of the teaching methods. At times the sessions were not well prepared and some felt that the course was not sufficiently challenging.

8.7.7 Growth of Programs

It was only a few years ago that the Kurna language was dismissed out of hand by those working in the Education Department and also to a large extent within the Nunga community itself. It was largely unknown. Those who had heard of Kurna generally dismissed it as 'dead' or 'extinct' or simply too far gone to do anything with. Indeed, my own involvement with Aboriginal languages in South Australia was initially oriented towards languages where more had survived within the community.

The steady growth of Kurna programs, from one-off workshops in 1990-1991 to established LOTE programs is in itself a strong indicator of success. These programs have also gained recognition from within DETE, even though they were initially dismissed. For instance, the Kurna LOTE program did not qualify for Mother Tongue Development (MTD) funding when it was first established in 1992. Now, the program is at the forefront of the Department's efforts to break new ground in the development of curriculum supporting the revival of Indigenous languages and has received a significant level of support of various kinds.

Mark Williams, Coordinator of Aboriginal Education, recognised the growth of Aboriginal language programs "with minimal resources" (Aboriginal Languages Standing Committee meeting, 10 December 1997). Kurna programs, along with Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara and Ngarrindjeri programs, have been at the centre of these developments. Accompanying the growth in the number of programs, there has been a steady growth in the number and range of resources, including songs, games, story books and other teaching aids.

The growth and expansion of Kurna programs within the education sector is one major indicator of success. The programs have gone a long way towards raising the profile of the Kurna language to a point where it is now taken seriously in many quarters, and has gained some local and national media attention. The language programs have afforded much greater recognition of the Kurna people and their culture.

8.7.8 Kurna Programs Pioneering Language Reclamation

The teaching of Aboriginal languages in Adelaide was pioneered by the introduction of Pitjantjatjara programs, followed by Ngarrindjeri and Narungga programs. Currently, however, Kurna programs are leading the way in some sectors. For instance, the Kurna programs pioneered the way for the introduction of Aboriginal languages into Tauondi. Kurna, along with Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara were the first languages to be introduced into senior secondary studies.

The Year 11 Kurna program, using AILF as a vehicle, is seen as a model for language reclamation and, as such, is sought after in a number of current publications including the AILF textbook and supporting materials, a DEET (1995) promotional brochure, the Australian Indigenous Languages Strand of the Graduate Diploma of Applied Linguistics offered through the Faculty of Education at the Northern Territory University (Amery, 1996b), the DECS (1996) handbook *Indigenous Languages in South Australian Preschools and Schools*, and the DETE (1998) research project which looked at the relationship between Aboriginal Language Renewal and Reclamation Programs and the LOTE Statement and Profile (see also DECS, 1997). Descriptions of the Kurna program and language teaching methodology have also been published in current publications on the teaching of Aboriginal languages (see Varcoe, 1994; Amery, 1994) and Aboriginal sociolinguistics (Amery, 1995a). Kurna language programs and language reclamation have been promoted at conferences including the Modern Language Teachers Association (Amery, 1992b), the Australian Linguistics Institute, the Australian Linguistics Society (Amery, 1996a) and the South Australian Anthropological Society as well as within various courses and programs offered at the University of Adelaide, Flinders University, the University of South Australia and Northern Territory University.

8.8 Final Remarks

A full analysis of the Kurna programs themselves is beyond the scope of this thesis. Much work remains in terms of developing comprehensive Kurna curriculum and resource materials for use in schools, assessing the levels of language proficiency attained by students in the Kurna programs and evaluating the programs. These concerns lie outside the scope of this thesis. I am concerned, rather, with investigating the role of formal language programs within the emerging Kurna language ecology.

The Kurna programs in the education sector have made remarkable progress over the last eight years, increasing in number and type. Programs have been institutionalised to a certain extent, and are gaining more support. However, the programs remain vulnerable, particularly because they are dependent on a small number of individuals.

Whilst schools can play a role, they cannot revive the language by themselves. Successful language revival ultimately depends on the community and building links with the formal

programs, which are the powerhouse for reclamation at the present time. However, the reader should be reminded that the renaissance of Kaurna language and culture has its roots within the Kaurna community. The current re-emergence of Kaurna identity is essentially independent from what happens in schools, though it is strongly reinforced by the programs. The implementation of the Kaurna programs in schools was timely, picking up on trends already occurring within the community. A certain amount of naming activity and symbolic use of Kaurna language was evident prior to the introduction of Kaurna language programs and continues to take place quite independently of school programs. The next chapter investigates the use of Kaurna within the Nunga community and within wider society.

CHAPTER 9: KAURNA IN SOCIETY

As long as you see steps all the time, you see time doesn't matter. . . . if you're extending all the time, if we're starting to greet each other, then we start running meetings with it, then we've openings at your conferences, that's starting. All those things are fitting in. Every year you find extensions, and they're starting to multiply.

(Lewis O'Brien, interview transcript 28 October, 1997)¹

9.0 Introduction

Chapter 7 analysed the linguistic aspects of Kaurna language reclamation and the means by which the language is being restored and transformed for use in the 1990s. This chapter focusses on the social aspects of this language revival. Specifically, I document the situations in which Kaurna is being used and the underlying purposes for its use.

All aspects of Kaurna society and Kaurna language revival are embedded within a dominant English-speaking culture. Kaurna people are currently establishing niches within this monolithic English-speaking society within which the Kaurna language has a place. There has been a growing recognition of the value of multiculturalism within Australia, though multicultural Australia has been dominated by migrant groups. On this level too, it has been necessary to seek out niches and fight for recognition. When people think about using Aboriginal languages, there is still strong pressure to turn to Pitjantjatjara, which is comparatively well-known. The Kaurna are actually heavily outnumbered by the Ngarrindjeri and other groups in their own country, so the Kaurna have to fight for recognition on so many fronts and on so many levels.

Within this context, the Kaurna people and Kaurna language enthusiasts have made significant gains. In Chapter 8 we saw that the Kaurna language is now taught within accredited programs at all levels of the education system, from early childhood to university studies. In this chapter, we shall see that it is gaining a higher profile in public domains and there is significant interest in its role within cultural tourism. Within the broader scheme of things, however, it still plays a small role. The majority of Adelaideans would probably still claim that they had never heard of the Kaurna people or language, let alone heard the Kaurna language spoken.

9.1 Names and Naming

Names may seem a trivial and insignificant aspect of the use of a language. However, Kaurna names remain one of the few areas of continuity in use of the language. A cursory glance at the map of the Adelaide plains reveals a number of Indigenous names, many of which are indeed Kaurna. Kaurna names featured on maps of the Adelaide Plains even prior to colonisation. Some have been retained, though others have fallen into disuse. Recent proposals are working towards the reinstatement of some of these original names.

¹Lewis gave the above response in answer to a question from Jenny Burford asking where he thought the Kaurna language will be in another five years time.

Map 9.1: Prominent Kaurna Names Appearing on Current Maps



In addition to the use of original Kaurna names, there has been a long-standing practice of adopting Kaurna words to name new entities. There has always been a demand for 'Aboriginal words' within the non-Aboriginal community to name suburbs, streets, railway sidings, properties, houses, boats, businesses, clubs and occasionally even personal names. For most of this century little notice was taken of the source language and so Kaurna words were sometimes employed well outside Kaurna country. Conversely, numerous words from other parts of Australia came to be used within Adelaide and other locations throughout Kaurna country. Since the 1990s, however, there has been a new awareness of the need to employ words from the appropriate language and of the need to consult and negotiate with the Kaurna community for rights to use them, though there are still numerous violations of this Indigenous protocol.

Toponyms, or place names, and the use of Kurna names within the non-Indigenous community since the early part of the nineteenth century is an interesting and complex topic in itself, but is beyond the scope of this thesis². Rather, this section is more concerned with the use of Kurna names within the Indigenous community and the relationship between the use of Kurna names and the revival of the language.

The application of new Kurna names by members of the Kurna community heralded a renewed interest and activity in the language, predating Kurna language courses and language revival programs by some years. In the modern period the naming of Warriappendi Alternative School³ in 1980 was perhaps the earliest use of a Kurna name, for a public institution, that was instigated and promoted by Aboriginal people. Leila Rankine, herself a Kurna descendant, proposed the name on the basis of research conducted in the archives by Peter Buckskin, another Aboriginal person (pc Greg Winner, 14 May 1996). The Kurna Plains Football Club and Tukatja⁴ (later changed to KPECC) were also established in the early 1980s. There has been a renewed interest within the Nunga community in drawing on their linguistic heritage for names of Aboriginal organisations, educational institutions and government bodies dealing with Aboriginal people or Aboriginal issues. A few individuals are also turning to their ancestral languages for personal names and for other private purposes, such as computer passwords. Within the Kurna community, Lewis O'Brien has been especially active and influential in promoting the use of Kurna names. This practice represents the earliest stage of the current linguistic and cultural revival. There is widespread support within the Kurna community for the use of Kurna names by Kurna people and Kurna organisations, indeed by any Aboriginal organisation located within Kurna territory.

Whilst the use of Kurna names is indeed a superficial aspect of language use, and might rightly be branded 'window-dressing', it is nonetheless very important. The use of Kurna names, especially when combined with other language use and awareness-raising activity, does much to promote recognition of the existence of the Kurna people and the Kurna language.

9.1.1 A Renewed Interest in Kurna Names

Although Kurna names have always been used, in recent times there has been a renewed interest in various sectors of the non-Indigenous community and in government, in using Kurna names, not just because they sound nice, but because there is a genuine desire to recognise the Kurna people as prior occupants and owners (*mattanya*⁵) of the Adelaide Plains.

²I have done extensive research on this topic and intend publishing my findings in a future paper.

³Manning lists "Warriappendi the name of a school at Glandore. Aboriginal for 'to seek' or 'to find' " (1986: 223), obviously drawing on T&S, without acknowledgement.

⁴The name Tukatja was probably identified as Narungga. The word is shared by both Kurna and Narungga and is still known and used within Nunga English. Note that the spelling Tukatja has not been taken from T&S who list *tukkutya* 'small; little; child; infant'. Tindale (Tindale, 1936: 31) cites the word as *duk:utja* 'small' in Narungga, whilst Johnson has *doog-idge*.

⁵*Mattanya* 'owner; proprietor, master' (T&S: 21). Territory, or *pangkarra* is defined as 'a district or tract of country belonging to an individual, which he inherits from his father' (T&S: 36).

There is a growing recognition of the central place of Indigenous peoples and their cultures in the fabric of the nation. Accordingly, the state government instituted a Dual Naming policy in 1991⁶, whereby Indigenous communities can put forward proposals for the use of Indigenous names alongside of existing names. It has been suggested, for instance, that Port Adelaide should be known as both Port Adelaide and Yertabulti. This may well be officially adopted at some point in the near future.

At first, Kurna names were applied in recognition of the Kurna people, with good intentions, but without consulting Indigenous communities. With increased awareness and respect of Indigenous protocol, KACHA, Kurna Elders, Tandanya, the Museum, the Aboriginal Education unit, KPS, Tauondi and other organisations receive numerous requests from members of the public, government agencies, even large corporations requesting suitable names for specific purposes and/or permission to use these names. Most requests come from the Indigenous community. Over the period 1993-1997, I have made note of more than 60 requests directed my way for suggestions, advice or confirmation of a proposal already put forward⁷. Of course, many other requests are directed to and addressed by a range of Elders without reference to me. No doubt there are many requests I never hear about. Some requests come to me directly, though most are referred by the aforementioned organisations and Kurna individuals. I provide advice but encourage the enquirer to check back with KACHA or Kurna Elders for permission to use the name. A representative selection of the kinds of requests made are included in Appendix I 1.

In the 1990s, the pace of adoption of Kurna names within the public sector has accelerated. This is largely due to their promotion by Kurna people working within the public sector with the support of the community.

9.1.2 Kurna Names in the Public Sector

Local government authorities are increasingly paying attention to local Aboriginal history and to the reconciliation process. Several parks have been named with Kurna names, including Kurna Park, by the Salisbury Council and Kuri Park (*kuri* 'circular dance') by the Kensington Council, both in 1994. In April 1997 a new wetlands reserve was named Tartonendi by the Marion City Council and a placque erected reading "Tartonendi. This Reserve is named Tartonendi which is a Kurna word meaning 'transforming the land into wetlands'. The Kurna people are the original inhabitants of the Adelaide Plains." A known Kurna camping spot in Gawler received official recognition with the erection of a sign in 1997 with text in Kurna prepared by Cherie Watkins and myself.

In December 1996 I was approached by the Adelaide City Council to research original names and the history of the Kurna people within the Adelaide city and North Adelaide areas under

⁶Geographical Names Act, Section 8, Subsection 5.

⁷Many of my suggestions have been taken up. Others, such as the proposed names for amalgamated councils, have fallen by the wayside.

the jurisdiction of the Council. As part of the reconciliation process, a naming proposal was developed which suggested Kurna names for the 29 parks within the parklands and for the seven city squares. A set of naming principles was developed which promoted the use of original names. Where names were not recorded in the historical records, most names proposed related to a particular plant species found in the area or known to have existed there. Several names suggested related to current use of the park. For instance, I proposed to name Park 02 as Padipadinyilla 'swimming place' because of the presence of the Aquatic Centre there. Furthermore I proposed that the squares and four high profile parks be named after prominent nineteenth century Kurna individuals, such as Mullawirraburka 'King John'. I also suggested that the golf course greens at Piltawodli on Park 01 could be named after Kurna children and adults who were known to have lived there. The full proposal is included in Appendix I 3. These names have yet to be officially adopted, though the Council passed an in-principle motion to name any new street or park with Kurna names, and to proceed with the naming of existing parks and the dual naming of squares in due course⁸.

The restructuring of local councils, whereby smaller councils are being forced to amalgamate, has provided the opportunity for the introduction of new names. A number of Kurna names have been put forward by councillors or local residents with an active interest in Aboriginal issues in a number of metropolitan and rural councils. Despite intense lobbying and promotion by certain individuals, it seems that in every case the Kurna name proposed has lost out against more conventional English labels, often on the grounds that the Kurna word is "too difficult to pronounce". This charge was levelled at the Adelaide City Council place naming proposal in *The Advertiser* (10 Feb. 1997) in an editorial opinion titled "Unsayable Adelaide" (Appendix I 3.2).

Kurna names are also being adopted for a range of government agencies which deal with Indigenous peoples, including health, welfare⁹ and community services (see Appendix I 2).

9.1.3 Kurna Names in the Education Sector

As mentioned earlier, Warriappendi Alternative School was perhaps the first time in the modern period that Kurna people have turned to their ancestral language as a source of names. However, Warriappendi was not the first school to gain a Kurna name. A number of schools are named after towns, suburbs or streets in which they are located or, in the case of Wirreanda HS which was named in 1977¹⁰, after a nearby property. Karrendi Primary School was named

⁸It is not clear why the naming proposal is taking so long. The motion was passed in early 1997. More than 12 months has passed without progress.

⁹For instance, in March 1998 I was approached by the Aboriginal Child Care Agency (ACCA) for suggestions for a new name that more accurately reflected the operations of the agency and acknowledged Indigenous peoples and Indigenous protocol. I suggested Martuitya 'on behalf of' and a theme *Martuitya taikurtinnako: wadowadlondi kumangka* 'On behalf of families: sharing the load'.

¹⁰Like Karrendi PS, Wirreanda HS, previously known as Morphett Vale East HS was re-named to avoid confusion with other schools bearing similar names. Wirreanda, however, is not necessarily a Kurna name, even though it looks like it is analysable as *wirra* 'forest' + *yernda* 'large, wide'. Cooper (1962: 37) lists a meaning 'place of big trees' compatible with this analysis. However, Manning (1986: 232) refers to Wirreanda in the Hawker district, established in 1877 as being derived from *wirra* 'gum tree' and *ando* 'rock wallaby', an etymology

in 1979 after *karrendi* 'to fly', probably because of its proximity to Parafield Airport. The school was established in 1969 when it was known as Parafield Gardens East PS. Because there were a number of other schools in the area with similar names, such as Parafield Gardens PS, there was much confusion so the school sought a new name. The name was supplied and approved by the Geographical Names Board in 1978, seemingly without any Aboriginal involvement in the decision (pc John Simmons; Liz Blinko, 14 May 1996) The name was checked with Graeme Pretty at the South Australian Museum in accordance with the unofficial procedure in operation at the time (pc Bill Watt 22 May 1996).

In 1986, in the year of South Australia's Jubilee celebrations, Gary Hildebrand, then Principal of Highgate PS looked for local Aboriginal names for the school's sporting teams, to replace longstanding names of early explorers, Flinders, Sturt, Light etc. Unable to find local place names pertaining to the Highgate area, he came across the words for directions, *conanda* 'north', *patpa* 'south', *maree* 'east', *wongarta* 'west' in a wordlist¹¹ held by the State Library of South Australia (pc Gary Hildebrand, 11 October 1996). At the time, several hundred T-shirts were screen-printed, so that each child had a shirt bearing the name of their sporting team. Interestingly, the meanings of the words had been lost in the minds of staff and children at Highgate PS less than a decade after. Many of the children had associated the words with the embossed animals adorning the banners. Thus *conanda* was thought to mean 'swan'; *patpa* was equated with 'platypus'; *maree* with 'kangaroo' and *wongarta* with 'frill-neck lizard'. It is amazing how quickly the meaning of names is lost, as this example demonstrates. The current staff and students had no idea of the source language for their team names.

A number of educational institutions within Adelaide now bear Kaurna names. Inbarendi College was a new entity established in about 1987. It is an umbrella organisation resulting from cooperation between a number of schools in the area. Tauondi¹² resulted from a deliberate name change, from the Aboriginal Community College, in 1995 in recognition of the Kaurna people.

A few educational institutions bearing Kaurna names, such as Tauondi or KPS, were established exclusively for Aboriginal students. In most, however, Aboriginal students are a small minority. Organisations, such as Inbarendi College, adopt Kaurna names because they actively promote Aboriginal Studies programs, the teaching of Aboriginal languages and specialist programs for Aboriginal students. Several educational institutions use Kaurna names

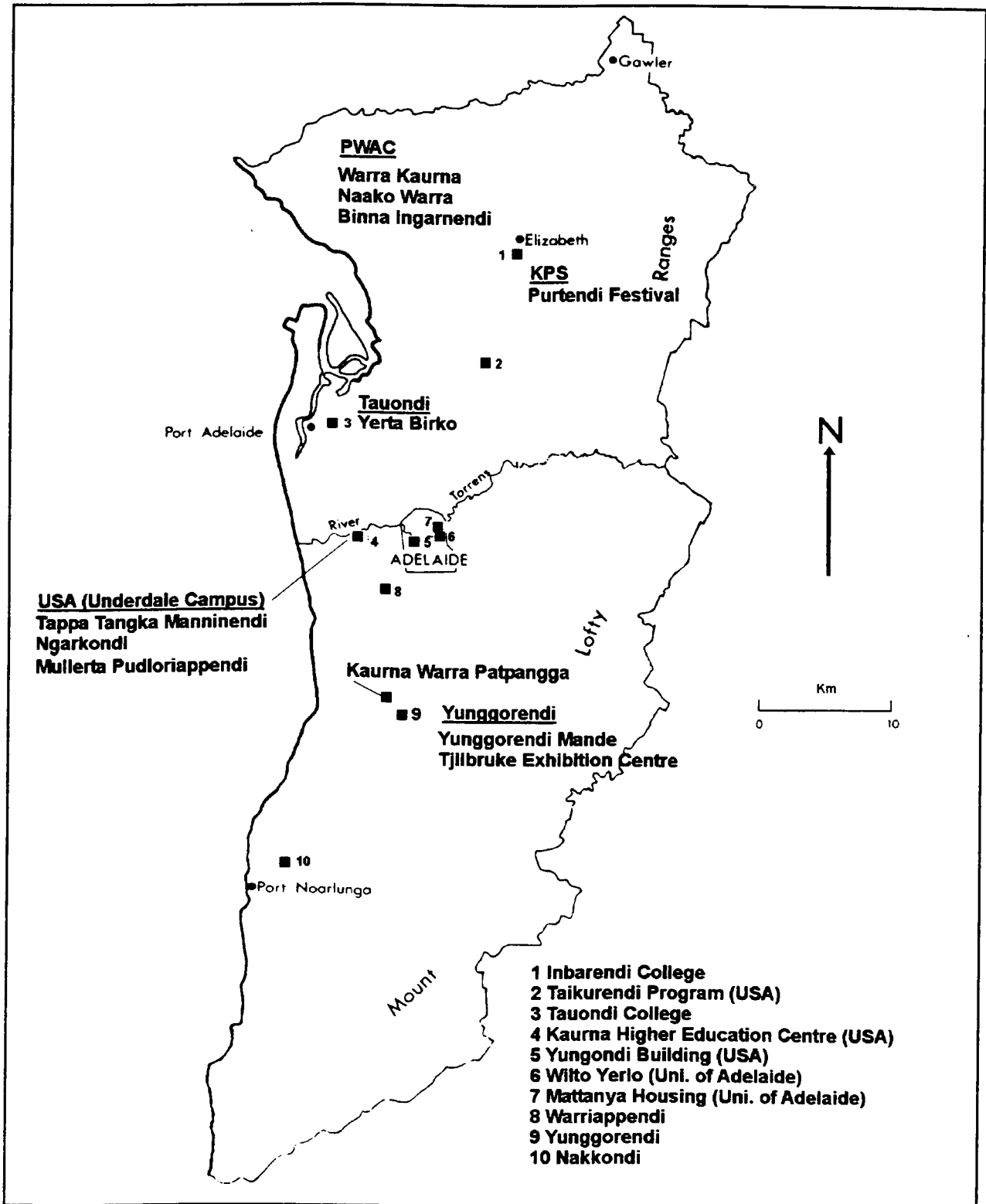
consistent with Adnyamathanha (Tunbridge, 1991: 61). Perhaps the old property in the Morphett Vale area could have been named after this place in the Flinders Ranges. Perhaps the names are quite independent, and it does have Kaurna origins.

¹¹Whilst these terms are readily identifiable as Kaurna direction terms, the identity of the wordlist Hildebrand referred to remains obscure. He thought the list might have been Wyatt's. However, Wyatt's wordlists in their various forms (Wyatt, 1840; 1879; 1923) all use k-initial spellings. Yet the word *conanda* for 'north' perpetuates Wyatt's typographical error corrected by him (*konanda* -> *kouanda* 'north') in the copy of his paper (Wyatt, 1879) lodged in the Barr-Smith Library. Further, the word for 'west' seems to have been omitted by Wyatt (1879). Maybe there is yet another wordlist in the State Library with which I am unfamiliar.

¹²*Tauondi* 'to penetrate; break through'; *tau* 'hole'.

extensively to refer to specific courses, programs or events. All three universities in South Australia make use of Kaurna names. The USA led the way within its Faculty for Aboriginal and Islander Studies, prompted by Lewis O'Brien who was employed at the university from 1991 until 1993. The use of many names and signage (discussed later) can be traced back to Lewis. Kaurna names in the education sector appear in Appendix I 4. The map below locates a number of these names.

Map 9.2: Kaurna Names in the Education Sector



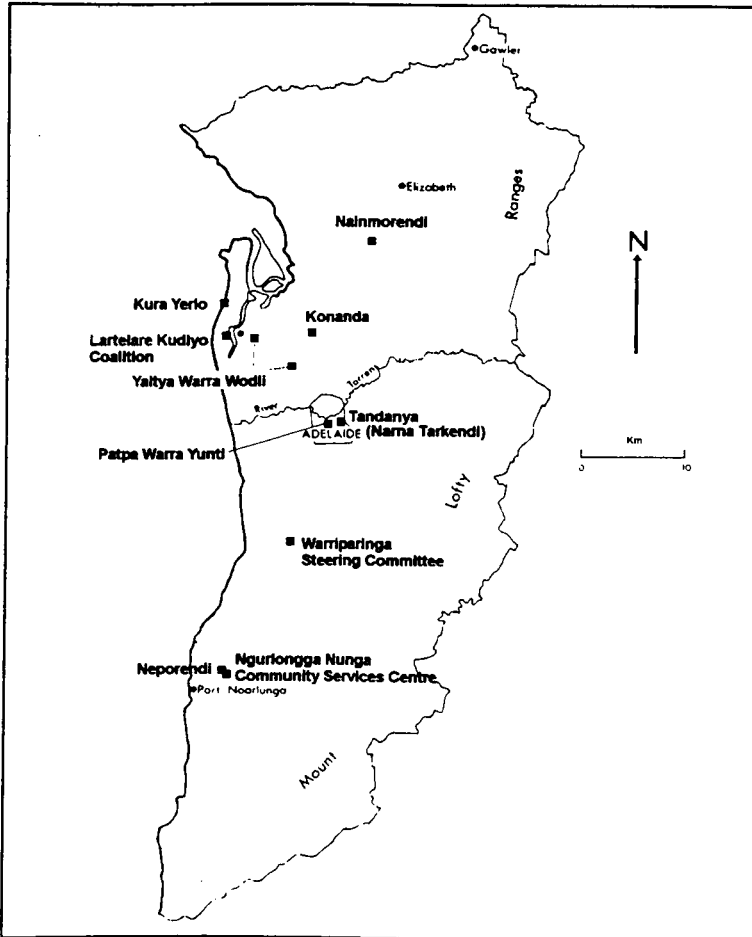
9.1.4 Aboriginal Organisations and Clubs

Since the early 1980s, many Aboriginal organisations based in Adelaide have been named with Kurna names. These organisations include bodies concerned with land, politics, heritage and culture, community centres, sporting clubs, youth groups and businesses. Most have been named with Kurna names upon their establishment, but some older pre-existing organisations have actually been re-named out of respect for the land-owning group. In the last 15 years, scores of Aboriginal organisations in Adelaide have been given Kurna names by Kurna people, often, though not always, seeking my advice for a particular Kurna expression. A representative selection¹³ includes:

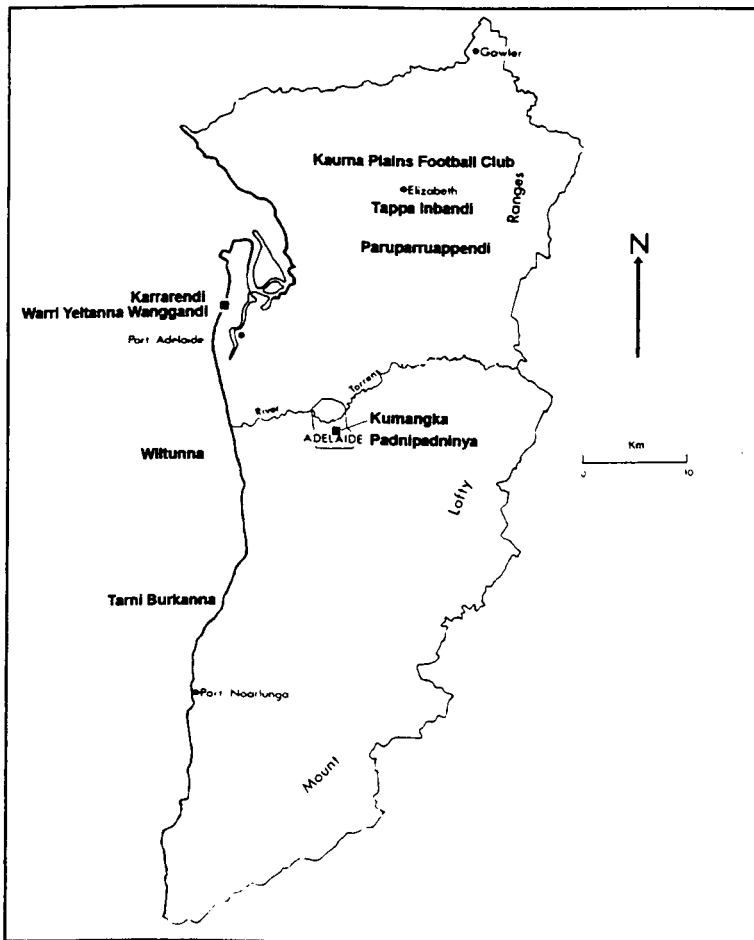
- Kura Yerlo 'near the sea', an Aboriginal community centre at Largs Bay named by Lewis O'Brien in 1986.
- Lartelare Kudlyo Coalition, Kurna landowners and their supporters working for the return and rehabilitation of the Lartelare site on Kurna land at Glanville. Named by Veronica Brodie and the Coalition in early 1995, with *kudlyo* 'black swan' being the totem of Veronica's great grandmother.
- Yaitya Warra Wodli 'Indigenous language place', the South Australian Aboriginal Language Centre opened in 1993. Initially based at Tauondi, 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 Yeltanna 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 Kurna men's group. Named by Karl Telfer who sought my advice.

¹³A more complete listing appears in Appendices I 5 to I 8.

Map 9.3: Aboriginal Organisations Bearing Kurna Names



Map 9.4: Aboriginal Sports Clubs Bearing Kurna Names



Currently there is a strong tendency to name Aboriginal organisations located within Adelaide with Kaurna names, though this practice is by no means universal. When the Aboriginal Health Service shifted premises in 1993, it was re-named Nunkuwarnin Yunti, the name being drawn from Ngarrindjeri. Occasionally names incorporate both Kaurna and Ngarrindjeri words in an effort to include both groups. This happened in the case of Patpa Warra Yunti¹⁴, the ATSIC regional council named in February 1994 and a new building, the Yunggorendi Mande¹⁵, at Flinders University opened in September 1996.

9.1.5 Personal Names

W.A. Cawthorne was probably the first European to make use of Indigenous personal names in South Australia. Cawthorne's journal entry of 5 July 1854 gives some insight into attitudes of the times regarding the use of Kaurna names as follows:

. . . A very fine baby, a boy. We are going to give him a native name, Witto Witto, or Mullewirra, or Woowoodteyedloo. Some laugh, some scorn and some commended, but I intend having my own way. Charles Mullewirra Cawthorne. Mullewirra being the name of King John, the chief of Adelaide.
(in Foster, 1991: 59)

In the end he settled on Charles Witto Witto¹⁶, from Kaurnawito wito 'a tuft of feathers worn as an ornament by young men on the fore part of the head'. Cawthorne named two other children Florence Wadhillo and Nhudlo (see Foster, 1991: v, vi), though I can't be certain as to which languages the other names are taken. Perhaps Cawthorne is the only European to ever use Kaurna names as personal names on an official basis. I know of no other case. However, a student of KL&LE reported that she was approached by a non-Indigenous expectant mother for a Kaurna name. The mother was advised against it and subsequently dropped the idea after a bad dream (pc Beverley Mitchell, August 1997).

More significantly, there are a number of cases where Nunga children have been named officially with Kaurna names. Perhaps one of the first cases was Kudnarto Watson, daughter of Aboriginal lawyer and activist Irene Watson. Kudnarto Watson was born in 1986, thus the bestowal of the name Kudnarto predates any of the formal Kaurna language courses. In this case, the name Kudnarto was suggested by Georgina Williams in memory of her Kaurna ancestor. At that time, neither Georgina nor Irene were aware that Kudnarto referred to the third born female child. The girl to which the name was applied was in fact second born.

More recently, twins within the Agius family were named Mattanya 'owner' and Minkarra 'in the presence of' in the early 1990s. Garth Agius, active in KACHA and his partner, Jenny an ex-student of the PWAC Kaurna program named their newborn child Kaiya 'spear' in June 1996. Lester Rigney's daughter, also born in 1996, is named Tikarri, after the Narungga word for 'the future'. This word is no doubt cognate with T&S *tarkarri* 'future'. Medika 'flower'

¹⁴Patpa Warra Yunti is formed from the Kaurna words *patpa* 'south' and *warra* 'language' and the Ngarrindjeri word *yunti* 'together', and was conceived as 'talking together in the south'.

¹⁵Yunggorendi Mande is formed from the Kaurna word *yunggorendi* 'to give to each other' and the Ngarrindjeri word *mande* 'house', in reference to a place of learning.

¹⁶A plaque in memory of Charles Witto Witto Cawthorne is embedded in the North Terrace pavement.

was also given to a new born within the Kurna community in early 1997 (pc Pearl Nam, April 1998). A number of Kurna people with older children have indicated to me that if they were to have children now, they would definitely name them with Kurna names. Perhaps these are the beginnings of the re-introduction of Kurna names within the Kurna community.

One prominent Nunga family, descendants of the Ngadjuri man Barney Warrior, still retain the Warrior surname. Everyone assumes that the word has come from English. However, it is now almost certain that the name Warrior is an anglicization of the birth-order name *Warriya* 'second born + male'. Barney's second name was spelt *Waria* by Berndt & Berndt (1993). With newfound awareness of the etymology of this name, serious consideration is being given by Josie Agius and other descendants to changing the spelling by deed poll so that it is clearly Nunga in appearance (pc Cherie Watkins, Oct. 1997). Kurna birth-order names are now promoted and used within the Agius family association (pc Garth Agius, 1996).

Students engaged in the Kurna language courses are encouraged to take Kurna personal names in addition to birth order names, at least for use within the language course. For the Year 8 Fremont-ECHS program a list of names, which were felt appropriate for students to choose from, was provided. Participants in the adult programs have been free to choose their names from the available Kurna sources. Whilst this practice was introduced for pedagogical reasons, Kurna people have found it an especially meaningful aspect of the programs. Nunga students have often adopted the name of their totem where this is known, probably in line with traditional practices. It is likely that personal names, being drawn from nature, signified a totemic affiliation. Where the totem is not known, names are often chosen because the person feels a particular affinity with that animal, or maybe they just like the sound of the name. Others have chosen names based on character traits or occupations. One Kurna student in the first class held at Inbarendi in 1994 gave herself four Kurna names: *Karro* 'blood', being the translation of her English name Emma; *Kari* 'emu' as that was her totem; *Wartoitpinna*¹⁷ 'parent of *warto* 'wombat' ', her son's totem; and *Manmarra* 'moonshine' because she liked its sound and meaning.

I am not aware of any Kurna adults officially changing their names to Kurna names by deed poll, though a number have expressed their intention to do so. A number of Kurna people have used their adopted Kurna names beyond the language learning situation, using their Kurna names to introduce themselves in a Kurna speech or public performance. Lester Rigney, for instance, uses his Kurna name, *Irabinna* 'warrior', on his calling card, answering machine, conference papers and in a variety of other forums. For him, and a number of others, adopted Kurna names have become an integral part of personal identity, much more than a tag for the purposes of language learning. Lester is one who has expressed an intention to officially adopt his Kurna name.

¹⁷In retrospect this probably should have been *Wartonganki* 'mother of *Warto*'. However, we were not aware then that the *-itpinna* suffix referred only to the father.

Non-Aboriginal learners of Kaurna are sensibly less forthcoming in the use of their Kaurna names beyond the language learning context. Indeed, in the current climate, use of Kaurna names outside of Kaurna programs by non-Kaurna people could be construed as misappropriation of the language and most learners are sensitive to this. As a result of these sensitivities, I have had second thoughts about promoting the adoption of Kaurna names by non-Aboriginal learners. Perhaps the use of birth-order names, without the adoption of personal names or totems would be more acceptable. I have begun to voice my concerns to some members of the Kaurna community. However, Georgina Williams (pc 22 Nov. 1997) responded that she favours the adoption of animal names by non-Indigenous learners together with a willingness to take a special interest in and responsibility for that animal species to ensure its preservation. This is a modern extension of traditional practices associated with totems. I am aware of one instance where a poet has adopted a Kaurna pseudonym, Kurraki Munato 'white cockatoo; third born+female' (O'Connor, 1995: 122). Oddly, this female birth-order name was adopted by a male. The use of this Kaurna pseudonym was quite independent to the Kaurna programs and only came to my attention in March 1998.

9.1.6 Names for Pets

I am aware of several instances where Kaurna people have named their pets with Kaurna names. Auntie Pearl Nam named her dog *Ngaityo kadli* 'my dog'. In 1996 Katrina Power named her kitten *Milte* 'red', Paul and Naomi Dixon named their pet magpie *Kurraka* 'magpie'¹⁸, whilst Georgina Williams named her dog *Marni* 'good'. There could well be much more of this kind of naming activity of which I am unaware, both among Kaurna people and others.

In 1996, a request from the Adelaide Zoo was directed to Paul Dixon, then Chair of KACHA, for Kaurna names for newly born native animals at the zoo. Whilst this overture was welcomed by Paul, it seems that with turnover of personnel, both at the zoo and within KACHA, the request has not been acted upon.

9.1.7 Concluding Remarks on Kaurna Names

The use of Kaurna names is widespread and has been the enduring aspect of Kaurna language use, providing continuity between the past and the present. Kaurna people are increasingly taking control of the use of their language for naming purposes. Some demand exclusive rights to the use of Kaurna names, others are keen to share the language, promote it within the wider community and to use it as a means of fostering reconciliation, a theme taken up in the next chapter. Controlling the naming process, is a powerful means by which the Kaurna community can exercise their authority, re-assert their presence and strengthen their culture, especially if this is done in combination with other activities.

¹⁸Paul & Naomi remark "We just happen to have a pet magpie. And that's a classic how language got in that. If we hadn't had any inputs in the language, I don't think we would've taken the effort. We wouldn't have even thought about naming it a Kaurna name. It would've been some, you know, Harry or something." (Paul Dixon & Naomi Pole, Interview Transcript, 21 November 1996)

9.2 The Public Function of Kurna

Since the early 1990s, Kurna is increasingly gaining a public profile. Prior to that, public exposure to the Kurna language was limited to archival materials, place names and mention in some publications, mainly academic papers, on archeology and Aboriginal Studies materials. Reference to the Kurna language was minimal. Few members of the general public had even heard of the Kurna language or the Kurna people. Since 1990, the Kurna language has been used in a wide variety of ways and is now much more accessible to the general public, especially those interested in Aboriginal affairs and Indigenous issues. Increasingly, Kurna language is used as a political tool in the struggle for justice. It is also being used in the reconciliation process through the delivery of speeches, singing of songs and through other forms of cultural expression.

Much of this activity is directly associated with the formal Kurna language programs. Significantly, however, the use of oral Kurna in public and the first posting of Kurna signage was commenced by in 1991 Lewis O'Brien, independently of these programs. Furthermore, individuals who have not been directly associated with the programs, and who use Kurna language in public, continue to emerge.

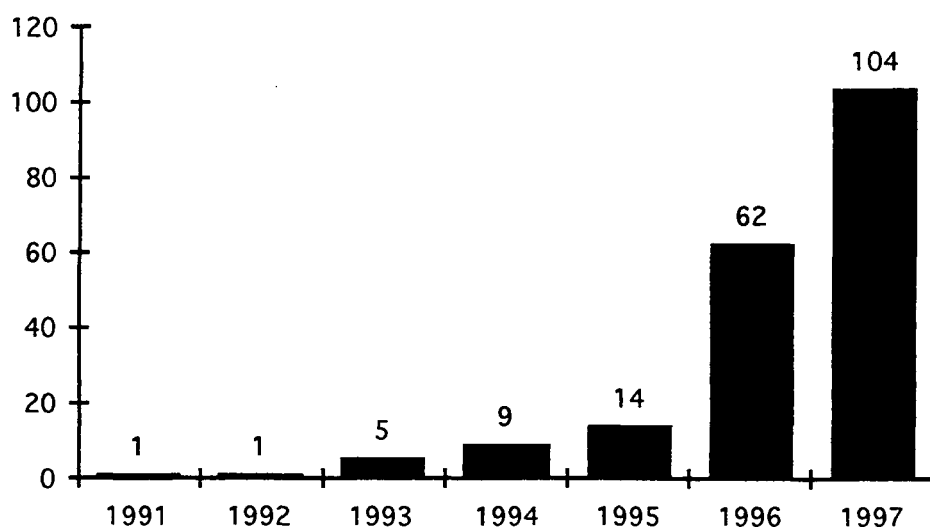
9.2.1 Kurna Speeches

The delivery of speeches of welcome to Kurna country are now commonplace, almost established protocol at the openings of public events in Adelaide, particularly events which are related in some way to Aboriginal affairs. Major events such as the Adelaide Festival of Arts, which has wide public appeal, have given recognition to the Kurna people through their inclusion in *Flamma Flamma* at the opening of the Festival in February 1998¹⁹. Lewis O'Brien, Kurna Elder, and Georgina Williams, Kurna senior woman, both gave Kurna speeches to a capacity audience of 30,000 in Elder Park. The text of Georgina's speech appears in Appendix J2.9.

Events at which Kurna speeches are given range from these large public festivals and international conferences to smaller, more localised gatherings such as events occurring within KPS or Inbarendi College which are open to the public. A full list of speeches given over the period 1991-1997 appears in Appendix J1.

¹⁹The opening ceremony also included a Kurna float and Kurna dancers. A photograph of Karl Telfer at the event appeared in the press (*The Advertiser*, 28 February: 1, 14), although he wasn't named.

Graph 9.1: Kurna Speeches in Public (1991-1997)



Public contemporary Kurna speeches began in 1991 when Lewis O'Brien delivered a short speech introducing the Unaipon Lecture held under the auspices of USA. In 1992 he extended a Kurna welcome to world renowned environmentalist David Suzuki at a public lecture in the Entertainment Centre, Hindmarsh. I was not present in Adelaide on these two occasions and I only became aware of these two events several years later.

However concurrently, at the Kurna workshops held in June 1991, June 1992 and June 1993, I had devised dialogues and speeches in order to demonstrate that the language could be used in extended ways to express a range of ideas. During the workshop held at KPS in June 1993, I was asked by the Principal, Alice Rigney, if I could develop a short welcome speech in Kurna that staff and students could use when visitors came to the school. This was done as follows:

Welcome to Kurna Country

23/6/93

Ngangkinna, meyunna!

Na marni purrutye?

Ngai narri _____. Ngai yaitya meyu, _____ birkounungko. Martuitya wakwakunnadlu ngai wanggandi.

Pangkarra ia, Kurnako yerta, maiyerta. Kurna pangkarra Crystal Brookunungko kauwandilla, Cape Jervisanna patpangga, karnunna paintyilla marrekurlo.

Marni na (ninna) budni iangga, ngadluko yertangga, inbaritya ngadluityangga. Karromarraningga!

Natta ngadlu palti tarkaota, kuri ngunyawaiota nanni (ninnanni).

Ngaityo yungandalya, yakkanandalya.

Ladies and gentlemen.

Welcome! (ie how are you all)

My name is _____. I'm an indigenous person from the _____ group. I'm speaking on behalf of all of us students here.

This is Kurna country, good country. Kurna country extends from Crystal Brook in the north to Cape Jervis in the south and this side (to the east) of the hills.

Its good that you are able to come here to meet with us. We hope you enjoy yourselves.

We are now going to sing some songs and perform some dances for you.

Thank you.

Some of the elements of this speech had already been developed in previous workshops. Greetings, leave-takings and introductions were explored and developed during the 1991

workshop, where Snooky Varcoe and I performed a short dialogue we had developed and rehearsed beforehand:

R: Snooky, *ninna marni?*
Snooky you good
'Snooky, how are you?'

S: *Ne! Marniai. Ninna?*
yes good-I you
'Yeh, I'm OK. And you?'

R: *Ne! Ngai marni tikkandi.*
yes I good sit/be-PRES
'Yes, I'm fine.'

Ngai natta padnetti kawandaunungko Adelaideanna. Yellakinyanda ngai budni Darwinunangko.
I now came north-from Adelaide-to just now I arrived Darwin-from
'I've just come south to Adelaide. I've just come down from Darwin.'

Manya paianna iangga.
cold very here-at
'Its very cold down here.'

S: *Ne! Tiati wanggandi. Ninna yakko nikonendi.*
yes true speaking you not joking
'Yes! That's for sure. You're not joking.'

Similarly at the commencement of the 1992 and 1993 workshops, both Snooky and I delivered short speeches of introduction in Kurna (Appendix J2.1). In all workshops and courses since 1991, I deliberately included an element of extended oral language delivery, either as a monologue or dialogue in order to convey the message that Kurna could be used to convey information, and that it could perform many of the same functions as other languages.

One of the first lengthy speeches delivered in public, outside the context of a workshop or seminar, was that given by Snooky Varcoe at the opening of Yaitya Warra Wodli (YWW) in February 1993 (see Appendix J2.2). This speech was written in English by Snooky, then translated by myself into Kurna. In that speech, Snooky welcomed the then Premier of South Australia, Lyn Arnold, Minister of Aboriginal Affairs, Kym Mayes and the federal member for the seat of Port Adelaide, Rod Sawford. The speech included a particularly moving paragraph as follows:

Gadla Kurna meyunna Mikawommangga paininggianna yakko ngadlendi. Warlto ngadluko muinmonendi medarnendi. Ngadlu wingko palta paltarendi ngadluko warra. Ngadlu tatlanyanna padlondi warra wanggandi. Ngadlu yurrenna padlondi warra yurringgarnendi. Ngadlu muka mukanna wingko takkandi muka Kurnarli. Ngadlu padlondi mukabandi warra Kurnako.

Ngadlu kundo punggorendi. Ngadlu tudno bidnandi iako. Ngadluko tangkuinya tanendi.

The campfires of the Kurna people on the plains around Port Adelaide have long since gone out, but we can still feel the warmth in our hearts. We long for our languages again. Our tongues long to say the words. Our ears want to hear the words. Our brains still think as Kurna brains. We want to remember the Kurna language.

Our hearts are heavy, we have long been waiting for this occasion. Our dreams are becoming a reality.

The final line of this speech includes the words *Ngadlu kundo punggorendi* 'Our hearts are heavy', an expression taken directly from the 1841 letter written by Kurna children to

Governor Gawler. Elements of Snooky's YWW speech have been used on a number of occasions since. The paragraph quoted above was included on a six minute loop tape recorded for the *Ruins of the Future* installation built for the Festival of Adelaide in 1996.

Most contemporary speeches have been delivered by people closely associated with the Kurna language courses. Many speeches have been given by Snooky Varcoe and Cherie Watkins, both language specialists employed to teach Kurna at Inbarendi College, KPS and Tauondi Incorporated. Lewis O'Brien, consults me by phone on the formulation of many speeches to tailor the content to the specific event. Another Kurna Elder, Josie Agius, uses what she learnt as a language worker and student in the Inbarendi Year 11 program to deliver several well-received speeches. Georgina Williams, a senior Kurna woman, has emerged as another frequent user of Kurna language in public since her involvement in the Kurna courses at Warriparinga and the University of Adelaide. I have worked with all the aforementioned, and others, in the early stages to assist in the translation of their speeches into Kurna. However, they soon grasp the skills to construct their own speeches for future events based on elements previously learned. Significantly, some speeches are delivered by students of KPS. Two such students, Nathan Kite and Trisha Agius²⁰, have delivered speeches at large public events with considerable eloquence and fluency. A selection of Kurna speeches is included in Appendix J2.

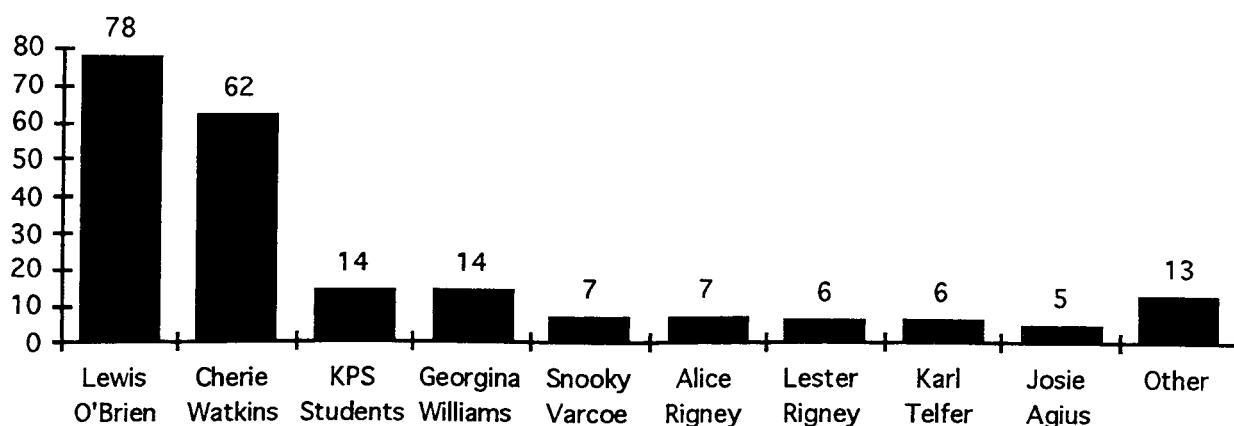
Finally and importantly, several people who have had no direct contact with the formal Kurna programs, have used certain elements of Kurna speeches developed in those programs to address gatherings. Typically they are tutored beforehand by other Nungas who are skilled in the delivery of Kurna speeches. Lester Rigney began giving Kurna introductions in all his introductory and guest lectures at Flinders University in 1996²¹, having learnt the expressions from Lewis O'Brien and members of his own family. Both Katrina Power and Simon Lampard greeted people in public speeches in 1995 with the phrase *Ninna marni*, a neologism first developed in the 1991 workshop. In September 1993, Muriel Van Der Byl used phrases including *marni ninna budni* (Lit. 'Its good that you came'), a neologism developed in previous Kurna workshops for 'welcome' and *ngaityo yakkanandalya* Lit. 'Oh my dear sister' for 'Thank you', developed by analogy with the phrase *ngaityo yungandalya* 'my brother! (ie I thank you)' (T&S: 23). On 30 March 1997, Edmund Wanganeen appeared on ABC TV news delivering a Kurna speech at a reconciliation march. At the time, Edmund was unknown to me. It seems that he had 'picked up' some Kurna from Lewis O'Brien and others and had been using Kurna words, such as *banbabanbalya* 'conference', in the Northern Metropolitan Aboriginal Council (NMAC) newsletter for some time previous to this. This is early evidence that the revival of Kurna is beginning to have a life of its own, independent of the formal school-based language programs.

²⁰I have not worked directly with these KPS students, though I have been consulted by their teachers on occasion for advice. One of Trisha's speeches appears in Appendix J2.3.

²¹In 1997, Lester enrolled in the PWAC Kurna program. As a result he has extended his Kurna introductions and they become more complex.

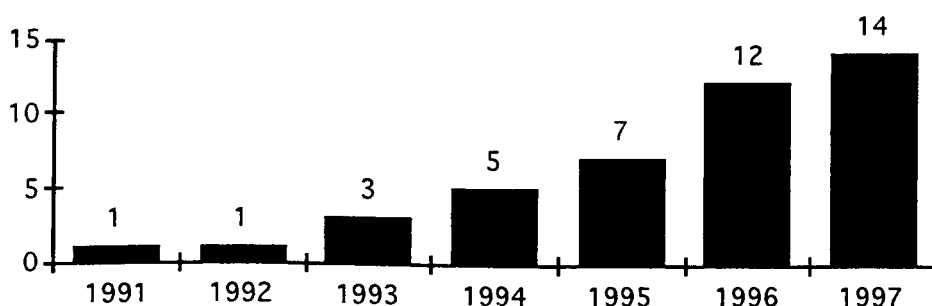
Over the period 1991-1997 I have noted 18 adults and 5 children (students from KPS) deliver Kaurna speeches in public:

Graph 9.2: Who Delivers Kaurna Speeches?



The number of individuals making Kaurna speeches is gradually increasing year by year. Once started, most, but not all, continue with the practice:

Graph 9.3: Number of Individuals Giving Kaurna Speeches in a given year



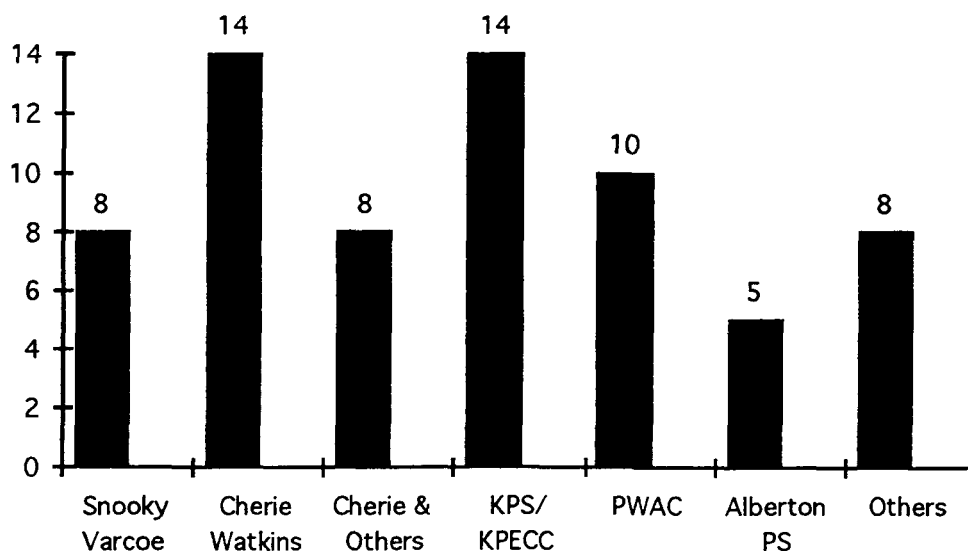
Kaurna speeches are being delivered more and more often. The speeches themselves have also been getting longer. While many speeches are still read, the more experienced speakers are less dependent on the written word. Some speeches are now given without reference to notes. With more and more practice the delivery of speeches is becoming fluent. Many of the phrases and expressions are becoming well known, so that it is possible for someone like Cherie Watkins to prepare a speech appropriate for the particular event with the minimum of notice. On several occasions she has been approached minutes before the event to deliver a speech of welcome. Several Kaurna people report that giving Kaurna speeches is an excellent way to learn and develop fluency in the language (pc Georgina Williams, Cherie Watkins; Eileen Wanganeen).

9.2.2 Public Performance of Kaurna Songs

The performance of Kaurna songs in public has been a major strategy in the promotion of Kaurna. Possibly the first time a Kaurna song was sung in public in the modern era was on 11 June 1992, when Alice Rigney appeared on *The Bookplace* show on Channel 7 and sang *Kammammi's Lullaby*, a song written in the Songwriters Workshop in 1990. Kaurna songs are

usually sung in public by children from KPS or by adult learners from PWAC and their teachers. Mostly, they are sung at celebratory in-house events, such as those associated with NAIDOC week, though sometimes they reach a much wider audience.

Graph 9.4: Singers of Kaurna Songs in Public (1992-1997)



Kaurna songs are often sung simply as a celebration of Aboriginality, Kaurna culture and the Kaurna language. Snooky Varcoe, Cherie Watkins, Kathy Burgemeister and Veronica Brodie have sung songs for the enjoyment of residents at the Nunga Elders Village, Davoren Park. They are also sung as part of the struggle for recognition of Aboriginal rights at conferences, rallies, marches and other gatherings. Sometimes these performances are impromptu, at other times they are pre-arranged. The subject matter of some recently written songs reflects this function, in particular *Nguyanguya murrendi* 'Reconciliation'²². In November 1997, Jen Lindon from the United Trade Union Choir visited the PWAC program and taught the group two marching songs *Keep on Walking Forward* and *Ground Zero*, which were subsequently translated into Kaurna. These songs were sung on the short march from Currency Creek to Goolwa in support of the Kumarangk Coalition campaign to stop the building of the Hindmarsh Island Bridge. *Keep on Walking* was also sung in Kaurna by the trade union choir at the Indigenous Rights conference at Flinders University on 21 March, 1998.

Kaurna songs and hymns are also gaining some currency within church circles. In a very moving memorial service for the late Dr Catherine Ellis, Cherie Watkins and Veronica Brodie sang *Tattayaingkialya* 'The Old Rugged Cross' in St Peter's Cathedral, North Adelaide. Dr Ellis was an ethnomusicologist who had a long association with Aboriginal people, and with these two women in particular. She was instrumental in setting up the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM), so this was a most fitting tribute to her life.

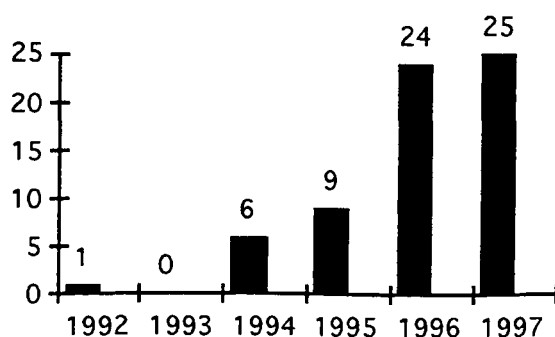
²²This song was included in the choir program in 1998 (SAPSMS, 1998) and will thus be learnt and sung by approximately 15,000 schoolchildren to sizable audiences and potentially TV coverage (pc Guy Tunstill, Feb. 1998).

A number of Christmas carols and Christmas songs have also been translated into Kaurna. Two songs were sung to a large gathering at the Carols by Candlelight in Braemore Park, Davoren Park in 1996. The three women, Cherie Watkins, Veronica Brodie and Kathy Burgemeister, have been particularly active in promoting Kaurna songs and are sometimes joined by others. They have sung them at Women's Spirit Camps, church events and numerous rallies and political events.

Snooky Varcoe, formerly involved in teaching Kaurna language at KPS and PWAC has continued to write Kaurna songs and perform in public. As mentioned in Chapter 8, in the latter half of 1997, he worked with the Alberton School choir, accompanying them in their performances. KPS students are also called upon to sing Kaurna songs at large public gatherings, such as the LOTE promotion event, 22 November 1995.

Since 1992, Kaurna songs have been sung in public on at least 50 occasions. Like the speeches, there has been a marked increase in the frequency with which Kaurna songs are sung in public as demonstrated in the graph below. A full listing of the public performance of Kaurna songs is provided in Appendix J3.

Graph 9.5: Performance of Kaurna Songs in Public (1992-1997)²³



9.2.3 Drama, Dance and Ceremonial Uses

There is enormous potential for the use of Kaurna in the performing arts. Although little has been done in this area to date, there is a strong desire to develop this area more fully.

9.2.3.1 Dance

In 1995 two pieces, *Ngadluko Palti* 'Our Song and Dance' and *Palti Makkandi* 'Thigh Shaking Dance' were written as part of the Kaurna songbook project. These songs, which were intended to accompany dance routines, have been recorded on tape, including introductions, exclamations and interjections in Kaurna to be sung out during the performance (see Appendix G3). However, the dances themselves have never been choreographed or performed. Kaurna people (pc Lester Rigney; Karl Telfer) have expressed a desire for this kind of performance.

²³There may well have been more occasions than this. It is likely that I am unaware of some events at which Kaurna songs were performed in public, though I suspect that most are included in this graph.

A young Kurna man, Joseph Williams, was one of the founding members of the Bapu National Indigenous Dance Company. After being with Bapu in Canberra for four and a half years, Joseph returned home to Adelaide and formed a group of young Kurna male dancers, the Tjilbruki Dance Group. They first performed at the Warriparinga Open Day in January 1996, when several Kurna words, including *kari 'emu'*, were uttered. In the introduction of their performances, Joseph is up-front about where the dances come from and about the level of loss of Kurna heritage. He explains in the script of a short documentary:

Now we the **Tjilbruki Dancers** are continuing his efforts to learn back Kurna Culture and Tradition. This is done with the contemporary interpretation of Kurna Dreaming boosted by our Traditional Knowledge of the areas within Kurna Country and mixed with Kuku Yalangi style Dreaming ...

We always acknowledge other Traditions that don't come from Kurna Country and pay OUR respect toward thoughts <sic> Traditions, and this, in the light that we will be treated the same respect ... This is an intricate and useful part in the future Survival of OUR Cultural Industry and will show Tjilbruki Dancers' <sic> as prominent leaders in the understanding of Aboriginal Traditions within OUR Country by focusing on Kurna Culture Tradition ...

(in draft submission prepared by Joseph Williams, August 1996)

The Tjilbruki dance group has performed at numerous events including the Victor Harbor Folk Festival in September 1996, where they proved to be very popular. The composition of Kurna dance troupes seems to be very fluid. Sometimes Joseph and his brother Karl Telfer perform alone. Other times they involve other young Kurna boys and sometimes girls. Karl also joins up with accomplished dancers including: Steve and Brian Goldsmith, formerly of the Ngarrindjeri Narungga Dreaming dance troupe who performed in the 1995 Festival of Adelaide; Andrew Lindsay, a Ngarrindjeri man who has been involved in the delivery of the Cultural Instructors and Tourism course at Tauondi for many years; and Yäpuma, a Yolngu man from Northeast Arnhemland. Karl, however, is the one who carries the Kurna language input, by way of introductions, Kurna songlines and interjections.

Joseph and Karl have both expressed a desire to include much more Kurna language in their performances by way of introduction, and Karl in particular is making increasing efforts to include more Kurna language within his performances. He has worked with me on developing Kurna songlines and is keen to pursue a career in the performing arts through study at CASM, and through a more detailed study of the Kurna language at the University of Adelaide. There is considerable demand for professional Aboriginal dance troupes at major cultural events and conferences²⁴. Dance serves as a useful vehicle for the promotion and use of Kurna. There is room for considerable growth and development in this area.

9.2.3.2 Ceremonial Functions

The Kurna community is also beginning to develop ceremonial functions drawing on elements of Kurna traditions as recorded in the writings of missionaries, anthropologists and other observers. Smoking ceremonies have been performed in several locations to ritually cleanse premises following untoward events, deaths or on the occasion of opening a building (eg the establishment of a Nunga room in a building that had previously been used as a gym at

²⁴In 1997 Karl attended an Indigenous Cultural Festival in France where he performed Kurna dances.

PWAC). These smoking ceremonies are accompanied by oral Kurna usage with key phrases being uttered, such as *Wakkina towilla nurnti padni!* 'Bad spirits be gone!'.

Interest has also been expressed in drawing on some elements of traditional funeral practices and reviving other aspects of Kurna culture. There is clearly potential for the Kurna language to play an important role in the development of Kurna ceremony and ritual in the future. It will be interesting to see how this area develops as people take hold of their heritage and traditions and forge a new culture which addresses contemporary needs.

9.2.3.3 Drama & Film

There is great potential for the use of Kurna in drama and film. To date, these plans have not been realized, however, role plays have been used within school programs. In Semester 2 1997, the Warra Kurna class worked at developing a script for a short play²⁵, which traced the history of the Kurna language, as follows:

- Scene 1 Traditional *palti* performed in pre-contact times (song *Ngadluko Palti*)
- Scene 2 Abduction of Kurna women by sealers
- Scene 3 First contacts with colonists - Williams & Cronk meet the Kurna
- Scene 4 Governor Gawler's speech translated into Kurna for the benefit of assembled Kurna people.
- Scene 5 German missionaries attempts to learn Kurna
- Scene 6 The school at Piltawodli
- Scene 7 Dismantling of Piltawodli and removal to the school on Kintore Avenue
- Scene 8 Kudnarto marries Tom Adams
- Scene 9 Poonindie
- Scene 10 Removal to Point Pearce and Raukkan
- Scene 11 The Homecoming
- Scene 12 Kurna Plains School - song *Ngadluko Palti*

This play relies on the languages that the various parties would have naturally spoken. Aboriginal characters primarily use Kurna, Europeans primarily use English, though there is also the use of Kurna by sealers, missionaries and Protectors when they act as interpreters, translators and intermediaries. The use of English in this way has the added advantage of keeping the audience informed about the events unfolding. However, there is plenty of scope for the inclusion of Kurna utterances in situations where the meaning of these utterances are fairly evident from the context.

²⁵Initially it was intended to perform this play at the end of year graduation, but this proved to be beyond the resources of the group. In particular, more Nunga male characters were needed. Still this play is a real possibility in the future.

For some years now, I have wanted to see the production of a film based on the publications and journals of the Lutheran missionaries, on much the same lines as the script outlined above. This would be a long-term project. To be done properly, it would need to unfold over a period of years. Production of a film of this kind could serve as an additional, external motivation for Kurna people to learn and use the language in the same way that *Dances With Wolves* performed that function for the Sioux. There are a number of Kurna people who are interested in these ideas, and who are quite capable of performing major roles in such a film, provided they are given sufficient time and support to come to terms with these roles and the Kurna language requirements.

9.2.4 Kurna Language in Published Materials

The preparation of Kurna stories and other texts was discussed in Chapter 7. In addition to these texts, a number of publications now bear Kurna titles. This thesis also follows that pattern. In November 1992 Sheridah Melvin was commissioned by the Aboriginal Community College to produce a report on the learning needs of the local Aboriginal population (Gray, 1993: 57). Melvin titled her report *Tauondi - Breakthrough* and Gray himself adopted *Tauondi* in the title of his publication. Two years later *Tauondi* was officially adopted as the new name of the College.

At least nine contemporary newsletters from various institutions or groups in South Australia bear Kurna names, often the same name as the organisation or program distributing them. The earliest publication, *Tarndanya*, the newsletter of Adelaide Bushwalkers, dates back to 1948. The remaining newsletters, with which I am familiar, are more recent and are all associated with Aboriginal organisations or Aboriginal programs (see Appendix I 9). Some elements of Kurna language are beginning to be used within these and other newsletters and ephemera.

Wadu, the newsletter of KPS, typically begins with a letter from the Principal or her representative, which begins "Na marni ..." (Greetings) and ends with "Nakkota"²⁶ (See you later) and is signed by "Ngarpadla Alitja" (Auntie Alice). The Christmas issue in 1992 began "Mengki Christmas!" (Happy Christmas). The Kurna language content in *Wadu* is not extensive, but the editor, Julie Hodgkinson, herself a student in the EWAC Kurna course in Semester 2 1994, attempts to include what she can including Find A Word puzzles in Kurna, and a page titled "Wakwakko wappendi - Child performing", which introduces student work.

Similarly, on page 12 of the November 1995 issue of *Nunga Community News*, an article reporting on the Aboriginal Focus Day held at PWAC on 6 September 1995 began "Ninna marni everybody". In the same issue, one of the students participating in the Kurna program wrote a short article in English about the same event and signed it "Kari-Woppa" using his adopted Kurna name meaning 'tuft of emu feathers', whilst another signed his article "Karra

²⁶In early editions of *Wadu* this word is spelt *Nakkiota*, but in later editions is spelt *Nakkota* in line with reforms introduced, at the prompting of Lewis O'Brien in early 1995.

Ray Moxon" using his Kurna name meaning 'red gum'. These articles were re-published in the December 1995 issue of *PWAC News*. Another student of the PWAC Community Studies course, reporting on her course, discusses a number of Kurna names, place names and a Kurna song "Wanti Ninna Padmendi <sic>" that she had been learning in the course (Amanda B. in *Nunga Community News*, Nov 1995: 15).

9.2.5 Kurna Letters

On 3 June 1997, the Warra Kurna class at PWAC drafted a group letter to Prime Minister John Howard in response to his failure to apologize on behalf of the nation to the 'stolen generations'. As mentioned earlier, this letter was written in Kurna and English and was modelled on the letter written by children attending the Piltawodli school to Governor Gawler in 1841. The phrase *ngadlu kundo punggorendi* 'Our hearts are heavy' was drawn from the earlier letter. The letter to John Howard is included in Appendix F3. A copy of the 1841 letter was faxed to John Howard along with the newly written letter. The PWAC letter was later read to the Teaching Australian Languages in Schools conference at which Rob Lucas, then state Minister for Education, attended on 5 June 1997.

9.2.6 Placards

During a PDTAL workshop held in Port Augusta during NAIDOC week in 1994, participants prepared placards in various languages including Kurna, Yolngu Matha, Ngangiwumerrri and Western Desert for the annual NAIDOC Day march. The Kurna placards featured phrases such as:

Kurna Slogan	Translation
<i>Tampendo Yaitya Warranna!</i>	Recognize Indigenous Languages!
<i>Warrabarna Kurna</i>	Speak Kurna
<i>Warra Kurna tauere marni</i>	Kurna language is really good
<i>Ngutto atpando Yaitya Warranna!</i>	Teach Indigenous Languages

During the march itself, some slogans were chanted and recorded for Umewarra Radio, the local Aboriginal broadcaster in Port Augusta. The following year, these same placards and slogans were used within the Aboriginal Focus Week march in Adelaide.

9.2.7 Signage

The posting of Kurna signage ranges from permanent official signage to ephemeral signs posted at events of short duration, such as open days. Some of the first Kurna signs to appear were *Ninna Marni* 'Welcome' on the outside of the front door and *Nakkiota* 'See you later' on the rear of the front door at KPS, together with signage on the toilets, following the Kurna language workshop in 1990.

In 1992 Lewis O'Brien, then working at USA, organised the placing of Kurna signs within the Faculty of Aboriginal and Islander Studies at the Underdale Campus. Signage includes one major sign with all words and their meanings placed in a prominent position in the front foyer, supplemented by individual signs on the doors of various rooms (see Appendix J4). The following year (April 1993), Paul Hughes, the Aboriginal Education Coordinator, himself a

Kaurna descendant, instructed Greg Wilson to look into the posting of Kaurna signage within the Aboriginal Education Unit. Paul made a number of specific requests for the naming of rooms within the unit. Greg contacted me and I made a number of suggestions which were adopted (see Appendix J4). In the course of preparing these signs I consulted with Lewis O'Brien who was delighted to see that others were following his lead.

Many Kaurna signs were prepared for the EWAC Open Day held on 6 September 1995 at the request of Auntie Edie Carter, AEW at the school. Signs were needed for various booths and displays assembled for the open day and included many proper names not easily translated. As a result not all of the requests were addressed. Signs prepared are listed in Appendix J4.

At the Warriparringga Open Day held at Fairford House, Laffers Triangle, on 27 January 1996, a number of Kaurna signs were posted. Cherie Watkins provided advice, but the signs themselves were prepared by KACHA. The signs included:

Kundanye	cordial
Murki Turra	face painting
Meyu	Gents
Ngangkki	Ladies
Palti	Dances

In schools signs are posted in the teaching areas where Kaurna courses are held, to reinforce language learning and in an attempt to create a language-rich environment. Signs posted in the Nunga Room at PWAC appear in Appendix J4. Some students have reported that they have posted signs all around their house in an effort to reinforce learning common expressions and the names of everyday objects.

9.2.8 Murals and Installations

Several murals and installations have incorporated elements of the Kaurna language. Murals including Kaurna text have been proposed for the Echo Tunnel within Belair National Park and installations for the South Australian Museum and Adelaide City precincts. We can expect to see much more use of Kaurna in this way in the future.

9.2.8.1 Yerrakartarta

A mural titled *Yerrakartarta*²⁷ was created by Milika or Darryl Pfitzner, a Kukatha artist from the Gawler Ranges on the Eyre Peninsula, and located within the Adelaide Plaza, North Terrace. The mural, which incorporates a number of Kaurna words, was unveiled on 1 February, 1995 (*Advertiser*, 7 February 1995: 14; see Appendix K1).

Pfitzner includes a sentence taken directly from T&S (1840: 67) in his introductory text:

Natta atto nanga; yakko atto bukki nakki
'Now I know (or understand) it; formerly I did not know'

²⁷ T&S (1840: 61) translate *Yerrakartarta* as 'scattered; disorderly; without design; at random'

Pfitzner has altered the translation slightly to more idiomatic English for the 1990s "I know it now. Before I didn't" and simply added the phrase "Kaurna yerta 'This is Kaurna country'". On the four main ceramic mural panels a number of Kaurna words and several Ngarrindjeri words appear. They are used to label figures and features within the mural. They are included in Appendix K1. Note that all the words used on Panel 4 are drawn from the Ngarrindjeri language, whilst those on panels 1, 2 and 3 are drawn from Kaurna²⁸.

Pfitzner's work is an important aspect of the public face of the Kaurna language. It is a large mural in a location frequented by visitors to Adelaide. This mural has been in place now for over three years, and, no doubt, will remain in situ for many years to come. It is one of the few instances where Kaurna text beyond single words is displayed in public outside of educational institutions. Pfiztner consulted Kaurna Elders regarding the Kaurna language content of his mural (pc Lewis O'Brien, May 1996).

9.2.8.2 Ruins of the Future Installation, Adelaide Festival, 1996.

Two West Australian architecture students, David Havercroft and Eleanor Suisse, entered the *Ruins of the Future* competition under the aegis of the Adelaide Festival. Having won third prize in the competition, they were invited to establish their installation on the banks of the Torrens as part of the 1996 Festival of Arts. David e-mailed me at the end of 1995, initially about the possibilities of including Aboriginal Dreaming stories belonging to the area on a sound recording as part of the installation. I explained what was available, what was possible and what was not possible, as I saw it, in relation to the Kaurna language. I referred him on to Kaurna people, Lewis O'Brien and Fred Warrior, with whom he should discuss his ideas.

Consultation and discussion with representatives of the Kaurna community and myself resulted in the production of a six minute loop tape (mentioned earlier) which incorporated some Kaurna songs and spoken Kaurna. This loop tape was designed to play continuously throughout the Festival. The tape was recorded by Cherie Watkins and myself, though Fred Warrior, as Deputy Chair of KACHA was present during the recording session giving his approval and support to the way in which the project was carried out. It was felt that there should be both male and female voices on the tape.

A written text was also prepared and incorporated into the sign explaining the installation. This text read as follows:

BULTO TARKARIKO

Martuityangga Kaurna meyunna ngadlu wanggandi "Marni na budni pangkarra Kaurnaanna."

Yurringarninga warranna bukkiunungko, birko Kaurna pintyandi. Warranna bukkiunungko warranendi tarkarilo.

RUINS OF THE FUTURE

The Kaurna people welcome you to their country. Listen to the voices of the past as they rebuild the Kaurna nation. The words of the past are being transformed into the future.

²⁸The names of characters within the Tjirbruki story, including the name Tjirbruki itself, may in fact have their origins in Ngarrindjeri also, but are universally accepted as Kaurna ancestral beings.

9.2.9 Ephemera

In 1996 KPS produced a postcard with a Kurna greeting *Ninna Marni?* 'Greetings'. They also produced a Xmas card at the end of 1997. In 1995 a student of the Kurna program at PWAC produced a T-shirt design for his project in the course. It featured a picture of the ibis with the word *Tjilbruke* above and *Tamandi nurloni* 'curved beak' below. The artwork was signed *Kari-woppa* 'tuft of emu feathers', which was his newly adopted Kurna name. Other T-shirts bearing the names of Aboriginal organisations are also to be found. In October 1993 a T-shirt promoting Taikurendi - University High School was observed. Yaitya Warra Wodli also produced a T-shirt in 1994 on the occasion of its first anniversary. In the latter half of 1996, the Tjilbruke Dance Group produced a T-shirt showing the Tjilbruke Trail, including a number of Kurna place names on the back and Tjilbruke - Williams - Kudnarto - Kurna on the front, drawing attention to the family descent lines and affiliations of the creators. In 1998 Karl Telfer produced another T-shirt with the words Paitya Dance Group accompanying a logo.

In 1994, Vicki Paterson, a student at EWAC made several badges with Kurna names. For the Aboriginal Focus Week celebrations held at PWAC in September 1996 numerous Kurna badges were made and given away. They included birth order names; common animals, birds, plants and other words used as names; common or catchy expressions such as *Ninna Marni?* 'Hello', *Paitya* 'Deadly!', *Ngai Taityo* 'I'm hungry', *Ngai Purle* 'I'm a star' and slogans or messages such as *Tampendo Yaitya Warranna!* 'Recognise Indigenous Languages', *Warrabarna Kurna!* 'Speak Kurna!' and *Ngatto Warra Kurna Muiyo-mankondi*. 'I love the Kurna language'. These badges proved to be popular amongst children and adults alike and were also distributed at the Tauondi Open Day on 5 September 1996.

9.2.10 Media Coverage

Kurna language programs have received some coverage in the media, initially on the 7.30 Report on ABC TV in 1992 in a program addressing Aboriginal education issues and KPS. The introduction of the KL&LE course at the University of Adelaide received coverage, not only in the *Adelaidean*, but also in the *Advertiser* and the *Australian* national newspapers and *DECS Press*. Radio interviews were also conducted by Radio 5UV and ABC radio with Cherie Watkins, Lewis O'Brien and myself. Media coverage of local events have occasionally broadcast snippets of Kurna speeches of welcome, such as that given by Edmund Wanganeen on 30 March 1997 and Lewis O'Brien on the inauguration of Inggarnendi Tours for the duration of the 1998 Adelaide Festival of Arts (26 Feb 1998, 5AN with Tim Noonan). *Lateline* (7 May 1998) on ABC TV included a short segment on Kurna revival in its program on World English. The Kurna letters returned from Germany (discussed in Chapter 6) gained considerable coverage on local and national ABC TV and radio news, and current affairs programs in May 1998.

Radio and TV broadcast transmissions in Kaurna language are probably a long way off at this stage, though judging by the experience of other language movements, they could prove to be a powerful positive force for increasing the vitality of the language.

9.2.11 Telephone Answering Machines

A number of Kaurna individuals (Cherie Watkins, Lester Rigney and Karl Telfer) and institutions (KPS and YWW) have recorded Kaurna greetings and leavetakings on telephone answering machines. This is another good way of increasing awareness of the language through public exposure.

9.2.12 Internet

In the early 1990s Nick Thieberger, then working at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) posted information on the Internet concerning the Aboriginal Studies Electronic Data Archive (ASEDA) which contains several files on Kaurna including T&S, TMs and other Kaurna sources. In 1996, the Kaurna community was approached by Thieberger's successor Dave Nathan, regarding the posting of a Kaurna dictionary and Kaurna language materials directly on the Internet, as opposed to the ASEDA posting which only provided information about the materials, not the materials themselves.

Discussion with the Kaurna community (Warriparinga, 29 April 1996) formed the opinion that it would be a good idea to establish a Kaurna Home Page which provided information about the Kaurna community and its cultural and heritage programs and maybe some short modules in the Kaurna language. But it was decided it would be a mistake to put the dictionary or comprehensive Kaurna materials on the Internet. If people wanted that material then they should have to pay for it. The Kaurna community wants to maintain some form of control over their linguistic and cultural heritage, whilst at the same time letting other people know that they exist.

As research for this thesis draws to a close, messages in Kaurna are beginning to be posted on the Web. The KPS website posted a message from Alice Rigney on her retirement at the end of 1997, with an introduction in Kaurna. It also uses Kaurna instructions, for example *kawai* 'come in' and *muinmonendi* 'to continue' to move around the site²⁹. A Kaurna welcome appears on USA's website, dated 7 April 1998. I think we can confidently predict that more Kaurna will appear on the Web in the near future.

9.3 Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism offers a marvellous avenue for the use of Kaurna language. Excursions to sites of cultural significance have been an important adjunct to Kaurna language programs and provide a very different kind of venue for the use of Kaurna to that offered by the classroom.

²⁹I was not aware of the use of Kaurna on these websites until I undertook a netsearch for 'Kaurna' on 17 May 1998, which gained 57 hits. A similar search six months earlier resulted in far fewer hits. When I first gained access to the Internet in 1995, references to ASEDA were the only result of a netsearch on 'Kaurna'.

Cultural tourism, and the vocational opportunities it presents, provides an important reason for learning Kaurna.

Aboriginal cultural tourism is a rapidly expanding industry in the 1990s due particularly to demand from overseas tourists to see something uniquely Australian. Aboriginal culture serves as a major attraction at a number of well-known international tourist destinations, such as Uluru, Kakadu, Bathurst Island and Injinoo (Cape York). Some airport shops, in locations such as Alice Springs and Darwin, now deal exclusively in Aboriginal artifacts, art, music and literature (including literature written in or about Aboriginal languages).

9.3.1 Cultural Tourism in South Australia

There is a growing domestic interest, especially in the cities, in the cultures Indigenous to Australia. Adelaide is no exception. A visit to the South Australian Museum or Tandanya and to various Aboriginal art galleries in Adelaide will quickly confirm this. A body of literature has emerged which is directed primarily at the tourist industry. A good example is Phillip Jones' (1996) recent book *Boomerang: Behind an Australian Icon*. The South Australian Tourist Commission distributes a glossy 16 page booklet with the support of ATSIC and the Department of State Aboriginal Affairs titled *The South Australian Aboriginal Tourism Experience* which includes two pages on "Adelaide and The Plains" in which the Kaurna people are acknowledged. While this booklet begins with a short text in Pitjantjatjara, apart from the place names Tandanya and Para Wirra, the Kaurna language is entirely absent. Cultural tourism has tended to focus on 'remote' and 'exotic' locations.

Before investigating Kaurna cultural tourism, I will look briefly at two highly successful cultural tourism ventures in and near Adelaide.

9.3.1.1 Ngurunderi: An Aboriginal Dreaming

In 1982 the South Australian Museum started work planning a major exhibition of Ngarrindjeri culture (Hemming et al 1989: 1). The exhibition, *Ngurunderi: An Aboriginal Dreaming*, as the title suggests, is centred on the Ngurunderi Dreaming story. It re-creates aspects of traditional Ngarrindjeri life and provides information about contemporary Ngarrindjeri culture. In addition to domestic and international tourism, it has been visited by numerous school groups to such an extent that the exhibition is now rather tatty (some of the displays allow hands-on experiences). However, rather than scrap the exhibition, the Museum is planning to renovate, revamp and expand its presentation of Aboriginal culture to the general public.

The Ngurunderi exhibition features recordings of Ngarrindjeri songs sung by Clarence Long and the use of Ngarrindjeri words as labels on artifacts and foods etc. A major feature of the exhibition is the Ngurunderi video which includes Ngarrindjeri utterances, as spoken by Ngurunderi in the story, in addition to Ngarrindjeri place names, personal names and words for fauna and flora.

9.3.1.2 Camp Coorong

Camp Coorong near Meningie, is a popular destination for school camps and groups eager to learn something of local Indigenous cultures. Camp Coorong Race Relations Cultural, Education and Recreation Centre, established in 1987 by the Ngarrindjeri Land and Progress Association Inc., has proved to be a very successful operation. With a fully-equipped kitchen, dining room, conference centre, museum, dormitories and cabins, Camp Coorong staff run tours and weaving workshops. They advertise the following activities:

Things to do, see and learn:

Listen to dreaming stories about traditional lifestyle and hear Ngarrindjeri people tell of feelings for the land and culture.

View midden site and talk about burial grounds.

Watch and make mats or baskets woven from rushes.

View arts, craft and general history within Camp Coorong Museum.

Bush walking, learn about the environment, the animals, medicine and food plants of the Coorong.

Talk to Ngarrindjeri Aboriginals about present day Ngarrindjeri Culture.

View videos and attend field trips by vehicle.

Whilst Tom Trevor, Camp Coorong's Ngarrindjeri guide makes frequent reference to Ngarrindjeri names of fauna and flora during the tours, the Ngarrindjeri language does not play a major role within the operation of Camp Coorong, at least not in 1996. There is no Ngarrindjeri signage in evidence, apart from some small labels or captions on some artefacts within the museum. Camp Coorong offers great potential for an increased visibility and use of the Ngarrindjeri language in various ways.

9.3.2 Kurna Cultural Tourism

Kurna cultural tourism has its roots in the efforts of Robert Edwards of the South Australian Museum and other members of the Tjilbruke Track Committee to promote public recognition of the Indigenous heritage of the Adelaide plains. A series of articles appeared in the *Sunday Mail* in 1971 and a public appeal for funds was established. The article launching the appeal began:

Now we have a dream.

In conjunction with the SA Museum, local councils - and with the blessing of the State Government - we want to signpost Tjilbruke's Track with a series of sculptures and plaques.

We want it to become a permanent memorial to the proud people who lived on the Adelaide Plains before white man usurped his land.

We want it to be a monument to the culture of the Kurna tribe of Aborigines.

We want it to be a fascinating tourist attraction - an ideal one day outing along some of the State's most magnificent coastline for overseas and interstate visitors - and for ourselves.

(*Sunday Mail*, 13 Feb. 1971)

The article concludes: "It will add romance and fascination to a well-blazed tourist route."

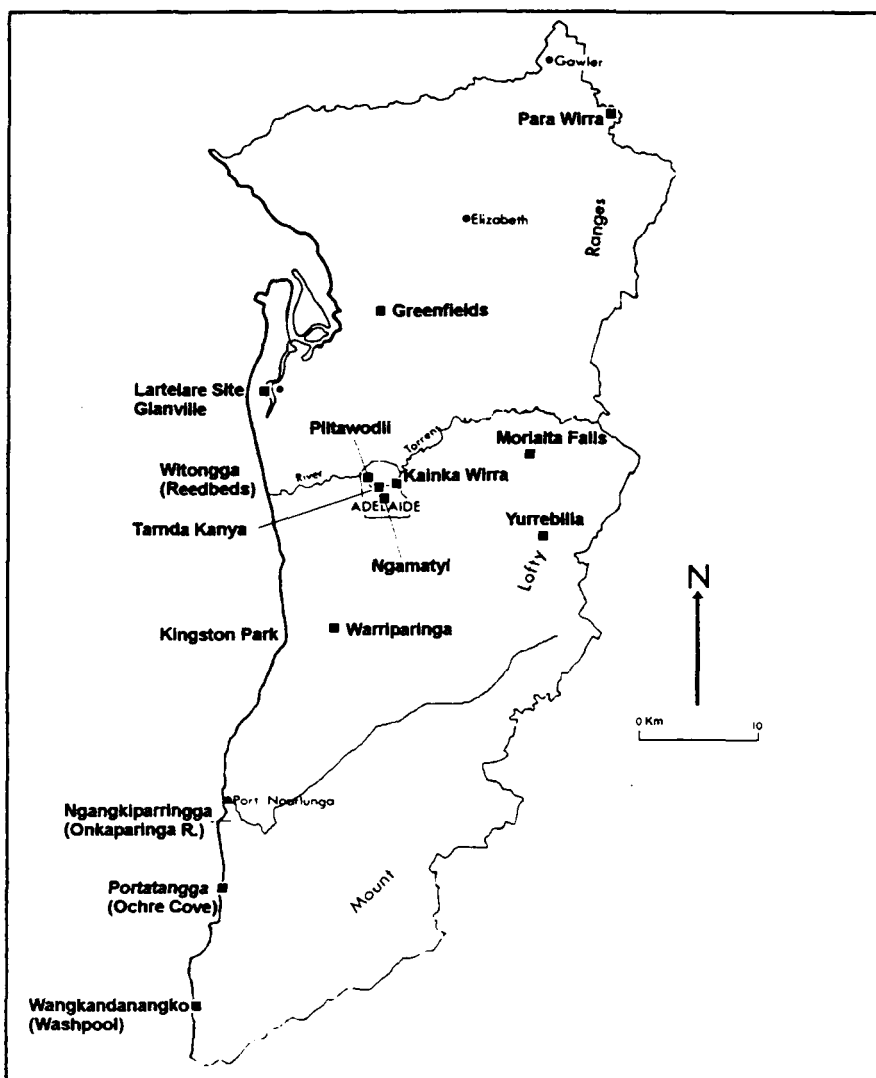
At that stage, Kurna cultural tourism was a non-Aboriginal venture by well-meaning people in the days when Aboriginal people had little control over their own affairs. From these beginnings, Kurna people have, to a large extent, taken control of Kurna cultural tourism, even though some of the activity takes place within institutions, such as the museum, national parks and local councils. Aboriginal organizations, such as Tauondi College and Tandanya are centrally involved in many of the initiatives, both within and outside of their own organisations. Some activity is organised within the Kurna community itself and almost all players in Kurna

cultural tourism at the time of writing acknowledge the custodial role of KACHA, and actively seek to involve members of the Kaurna community.

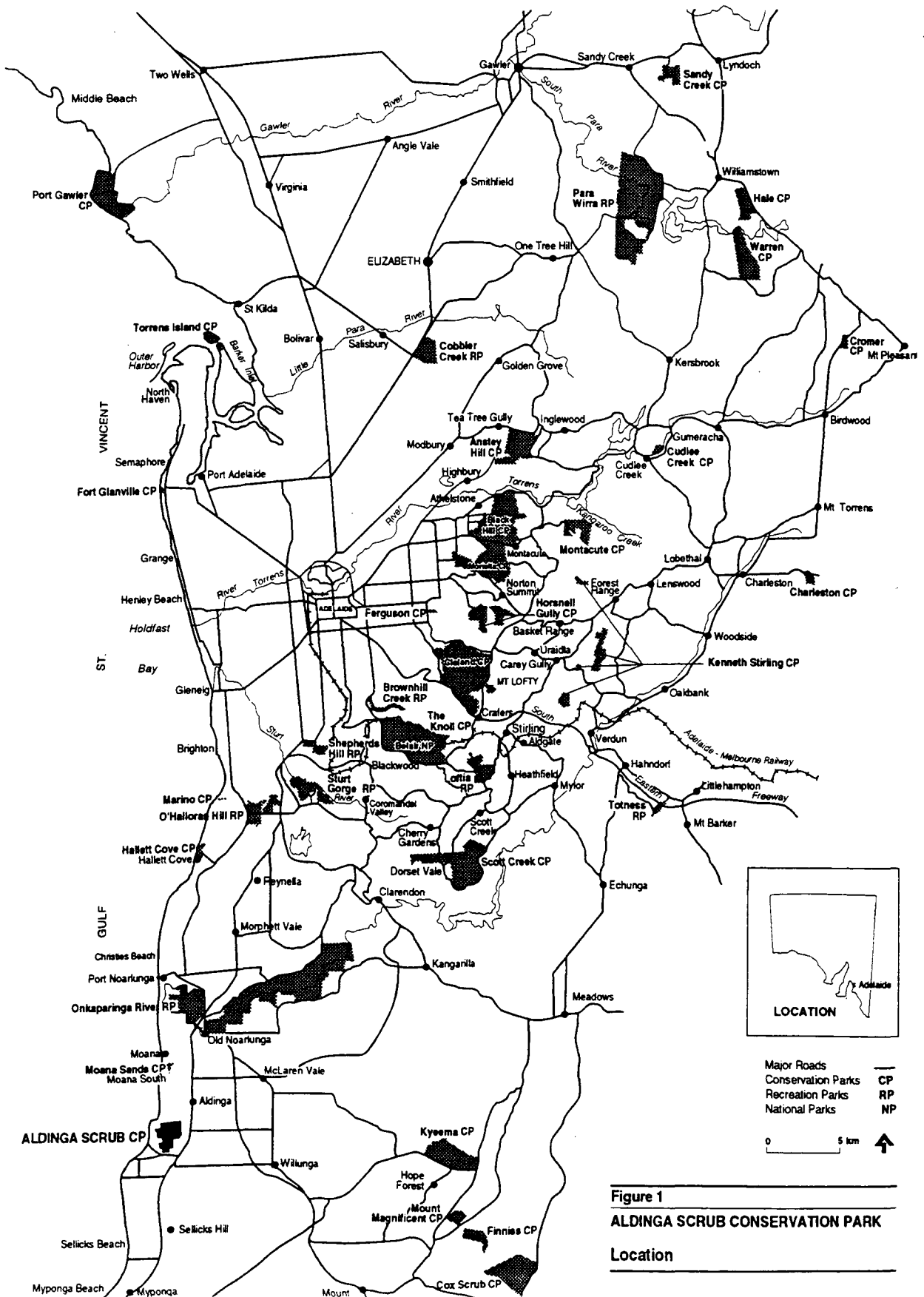
KACHA is aware of the potential for cultural tourism. At a meeting of the Blackwood Reconciliation Group at Belair National Park held on 14 October 1996, Ricky Poole spoke of an offer made by an Asian developer to embark on a joint venture with KACHA to the tune of \$10 million to develop a major cultural tourist venture. However, KACHA, whilst not rejecting such proposals outright, is not wanting to rush into these ventures. They are taking their time to consider the proposals. There is a fear that their cultural integrity could be compromised in the process. Pressure from developers has caused or exacerbated divisions within the Kaurna community.

Other sites of major cultural significance include a range of archaeological sites, such as the Greenfields site, an ancient burial site unearthed on March 20, 1992 (see *Advertiser*, 24 June 1995: 10) and sites of known occupation in colonial times, such as the Lartelare site at Glanville (see Brodie & Melvin, 1995). Interpretive centres have been proposed for both the Greenfields site and the Lartelare site, and they are to be included in heritage tours.

Map 9.5: Kaurna Sites of Cultural Significance in the Metropolitan Area.



Map 9.6: National Parks in and around the Metropolitan Area (taken with permission from Aldinga Scrub Conservation Park Management Plan, Dept. of Environment & Planning, 1992: 7-8)



Many sites are located in the last remaining relatively untouched areas of bush along the coast and the national parks dotted around Adelaide (see Map 9.6 previous page). Some are located on private property, such as Wirrina Cove, a tourist resort south of Adelaide. Other sites, such as Piltawodli, located in the city itself, are altered beyond recognition, but nonetheless are still important sites to visit. The Botanic Gardens; the South Australian Museum and Tandanya are also main venues for Kaurna cultural tourism.

The national parks, especially Belair National Park, are popular destinations for local, interstate and overseas visitors. To date, Kaurna cultural tourism within these national parks has been limited. Recognition of the Kaurna people, whilst minimal, is paid in most, though not all, of the management plans of the various parks. Cultural tours have not yet been instituted by the National Parks and Wildlife Service, though a number of employees, supported by community groups, are attempting to develop the cultural tourism dimensions of some parks in consultation with KACHA. The parks are an important venue for excursions organised by the Kaurna language programs.

The remainder of section 9.3 documents developments in Kaurna cultural tourism, with particular reference to the role played by the Kaurna language. There are numerous inter-relationships amongst cultural tourism activities. Plans for the development of Kaurna trails are often made in conjunction with proposals for the establishment of interpretive centres. Tours typically make use of existing trails and interpretive centres and may involve a number of agencies.

9.3.3 Kaurna Trails and Kaurna Sites

The Tjilbruke Trail was laid out in an era before there was much interest in the Kaurna language and before Kaurna language programs had been established. Documentation of the Tjilbruke Trail includes place names and personal names of characters in the story, but that is the limit of Kaurna language input. There is no Kaurna language signage on the trail itself. Other proposals do, however, plan to incorporate the Kaurna language in more significant ways, through the placement of signage and interpretive panels. The Piradli Trail, proposed for Belair National Park, is one such significant proposal.

The Tjilbruke Trail, which marked the beginnings of Kaurna cultural tourism, was marked out with a series of cairns, and a sculpture by John Dowie, a non-Aboriginal sculptor, was erected at Kingston in 1972. Articles and booklets were published, including *Notes on the Tjilbruke Trail* prepared and published by Tauondi Inc. The Anthropological Society published a 44 page booklet (Ross, 1984) and the Tjilbruke Trail became a major component of Aboriginal Studies programs in schools (see EDSA, 1989: 97-101).

Malcolm Lane, a Nunga ranger of Ngarrindjeri and Kaurna descent, recognised the untapped potential of Aboriginal heritage within Belair National Park as a resource to promote

reconciliation and understanding of Aboriginal culture and Aboriginal issues. He began working on a proposal to develop a Kaurna walking trail within the park, obtaining the name Piradli from staff at the South Australian Museum, who drew on Tindale's materials. Malcolm's proposal was already well-formed when he gave me a copy for comment in mid-1995. It included a plan to erect 17 interpretive signs on the trail, each with about half a page of text. Malcolm had sought out more than 50 salient Kaurna words for inclusion within the text to appear on each sign (see Appendix K2). I made a number of suggestions for ways in which the Kaurna language content might be increased and drafted up a possible short 10 line Kaurna text with English translation for consideration (see Appendix K2) that might be placed on one major diglot sign at the start of the trail. I also made suggestions regarding spelling conventions. A number of meetings have been held with the Blackwood Reconciliation Group, the National Parks and Wildlife Service and Representatives of KACHA to discuss the proposal, but no progress has been made. Three years on, the project is now 'on-hold'.

More modest, 'in-house' trails, such as the PWAC Tirkandi Food and Medicine Garden, established by the 1994 Community Studies class, have been more successful. Signage and an accompanying booklet titled *Tirkandi Food and Medicine Plants* were produced, which included 15 or so Kaurna words. A number of different Kaurna sources have been used. Most appear to have been taken from T&S, though *wocalti* 'shield' most likely came from Cawthorne (1844). The source for *coora* 'South Australian Blue Gum' and *minnokorra* 'bulrush', *minnokoora* 'cat-tail bulrush roots' is unknown. Signage also included the Tjilbruke story, a map of Kaurna territory and a brief history of the Kaurna people in addition to hunting and gathering practices. The booklet incorporated Snooky Varcoe's poem *Warrabarna Kaurna* 'Let it be Spoken' together with an English translation.

Kaurna trails have also been proposed through various local government initiatives. A Kaurna employee of the Adelaide City Council, Dot Davey (pc December 1996), has spoken of her vision to establish a Kaurna trail through the city of Adelaide, especially along the Torrens River, that identifies places that were special to Aboriginal people. She was keen to inform the general public about the Kaurna heritage of the area, about the early contact history and about Kaurna individuals. This could be achieved by a series of markers, signage, commemorative plaques and 'talking totems' or listening posts. She also wants to place signs of welcome, in the Kaurna language, on all the major arterial entrances to the city. Dot is keen to inform not only the general public, but also her own people. "Our kids need this history" she told me. She is acutely aware that the youth needed to feel good about themselves and their people, and one way of achieving this was to make Kaurna heritage more visible in this way.

9.3.4 Interpretive Centres and Displays

To date there is comparatively little Kaurna language on public display. The *Yerrakartarta* mural and other art works were discussed in section 9.2.8. In addition to these, there is a little signage in Stage 1 of the Warriparinga Interpretive Centre project opened in October 1997, and some

place names, personal names and other salient vocabulary in a number of other displays. There have been a number of other proposals to make much more extensive use of the Kurna language to include words, phrases, texts and sound recordings. To date, few of these plans have been realised.

9.3.4.1 South Australian Museum

Following the establishment of the Ngarrindjeri *Ngurunderi* exhibition in the late 1980s, the South Australian Museum established a small exhibition of Kurna material culture, featuring almost all Kurna material held by the museum³⁰. As mentioned previously, there are plans to expand the exhibition of Aboriginal cultures in a way that might include a major exhibition of Kurna language. Early in 1995 a preliminary discussion took place between Philip Jones and myself about such a proposal, though these ideas are yet to be pursued. At the time, Philip was keen on the idea of setting up listening posts with tape-recordings of the language and was amenable to the idea of presenting contemporary Kurna culture, with information about the current Kurna language revival. As a central, high profile location, the South Australian Museum offers considerable potential for the use and promotion of the Kurna language.

9.3.4.2 Warriparinga Interpretive Centre

The Warriparinga site, on the Sturt River opposite Flinders University was leased to KACHA by the Marion City council. KACHA has plans to develop the site as a centre for promoting an understanding of Kurna heritage issues and Kurna culture. The City of Marion, with input from KACHA, prepared a Conservation and Management Plan Preliminary Proposal in December 1994 for a Warriparinga Interpretive Centre. The design for the proposed interpretive centre included a number of key Kurna symbols. The roof represented "tjirbruki spirit - glossy ibis in flight" whilst other aspects of the architecture represented "brukunga - tjirbruki's body - pyrites - fire; lu:ki³¹ - tjirbruki's tears - rainwater cascade; warra pere - gully winds river - earth wall; rocky outcrop - river - catchment hills". A year later, a further plan for the Warriparinga site (see Playfair, 1996) included a Landscape Concept Plan in the form of a map, which features "Karra Wirra ['redgum forest']; Kurna Cultural Centre; Kurna Cultural Walks; Kurna Food Trail Walks and Fire Stones".

Stage 1 of the Warriparinga Project, *Tjirbruki narna arra' ngatpandi* 'Entering through the Tjilbruki Gateway', was opened on 30 October 1997 by Garth Agius and Vince Copley representing KACHA and the Kurna people, Colin Haines, the Mayor of Marion City Council, Lois O'Donoghue and the Governor General, Sir William Deane. The event received good coverage on ABC television news that night, and reportage in the newspaper included a photo of the Kurna text "*Tjirbruki narna arra' ngatpandi* " as it appeared on the commemorative board (see *Advertiser*, 31 October 1997: 11, in Appendix K3). An information

³⁰Unfortunately, very few Kurna artefacts remain, so the exhibition of Kurna culture is very small by comparison with the Ngarrindjeri exhibition. This display includes some salient vocabulary.

³¹*lu:ki* 'tear' is a Ngarrindjeri word known both from contemporary usage (see SAL Wordlist, 1985) and historical sources (Meyer, 1843; Taplin, 1879). Compare with *mekauwe* 'tear' in Kurna. Kurna words never commence with a lateral according to nineteenth century sources.

kit, consisting of a series of five tastefully produced brochures, was distributed at the launch. These brochures include words such as *Karra Wirra* 'Red gum forest', *Warri-pari* 'windy river' (name of Sturt River) and *wodli* 'house; shelter'. Stage 2 is yet to commence.

An interpretive centre with touchscreen displays and backlit panels was established in January 1997 at Mt Lofty Summit overlooking Adelaide. Panels include information on the Urebilla and Tjilbruke Dreamings as well as Ivaritji (spelt Iveritji on the panel). Few Kaurna words are included. The Urebilla story talks of "*Jureidla*, the two ears of the great ancestral giant Urebilla (pronounced Yura-billa)". It is unfortunate that Tindale's spelling, *Jureidla*, is used without explanation. Will visitors link the word with the town in the Adelaide hills which appears on the maps as Uraidla?³² People will be inclined to pronounce the word incorrectly, sounding the j as in 'judge', whereas Tindale used it according to IPA conventions. The level of awareness of the Kaurna language in a new display such as this leaves a lot to be desired.

9.3.5 Tours and Excursions

Some Kaurna people have promoted a vision whereby cultural tourism might play a major role in their community through the provision of employment opportunities and self-sufficiency. The Salisbury, Elizabeth, Gawler *Messenger* of October 19, 1994 published a major article on page 5 titled *Aboriginal Heritage: Guided tours planned for three major Aboriginal heritage sites*. The article spoke in detail of plans put forward by Paul and Naomi Dixon³³ to develop three Kaurna tours, a Kaurna Heritage Tour, Warriparinga Tour and Tjilbruke Tour:

Three major Aboriginal heritage sites, one in the northern suburbs and the other two covering the southern suburbs and down Fleurieu Peninsula, will become the tourism centrepieces of a network of guided Kaurna tours.

The operation will be run by Kaurna Tourism Enterprises, which expects to offer jobs to 150 Aborigines including bus drivers, tour guides and rangers, art and craft makers, gardeners and administrative personnel.

According to the article, the Kaurna Heritage Tour was said to include the Greenfields burial site, Para Wirra Conservation Park and St Kilda mangroves and would extend north as far as Crystal Brook. The Tjilbruke Tour, starting at Laffers Triangle (Warriparinga) would include sites along the south coast as far as Cape Jervis while the Warriparinga Tour would focus on Laffers Triangle itself. The article quotes Paul Dixon:

Cultural tourism is one of the largest growing industries and we have the only Dreaming trail intact so close to a major city in the world...The only reasons we are going into tourism is to help preserve our heritage and to create employment for Kaurna people.

The article predicted that:

Work on the Warriparinga area is expected to start within three months and be completed by mid-1995 while both the Tjilbruke and Kaurna Heritage tours are likely to start around Christmas 1995.

(Salisbury, Elizabeth, Gawler *Messenger*, 19 October 1994: 5)

³²Certainly the visitor information desk was not aware of the connection when I rang on 4 November 1997.

³³Paul Dixon was, at that stage, Chair of KACHA.

Two years later, despite little progress, Paul and Naomi were still enthusiastic about cultural tourism. Naomi Dixon commented to me that "tourism is obviously the way that Aboriginal people are going to fit into mainstream Australia" (Transcript of Interview, 21 November 1996). In fact, Stage 1 of the Warriparinga project was not opened until 30 October 1997, and the tours are yet to commence in an organised way.

Cultural tourism remains firmly on the agenda of KACHA, as their ongoing participation in the Warriparinga project and other initiatives demonstrates. Paul Dixon explains:

So the tours are very much the way to go. . . . I think we've got the message through that tourism is really important. Especially when we start going with mainstream tourists [what's important] is the site protection. Because that's our only income for site protection, because obviously you can't take millions of tourists down to a site without putting something back in.

That's why it has taken the time it has taken, because its that line between site protection and showing the sites off. . . . Once those sites are looked after and being maintained, then you can run tours to them. I suppose that's something that has held us up.

(Paul & Naomi Dixon, Transcript of Interview 21 November 1996)

Local family groups are being encouraged within the Kaurna community to take responsibility for sites within their area. But there are strong pressures from government to run cultural tourism in a more centralised fashion. Georgina Williams (KL&LE lecture, 11 September 1997) expressed disquiet about recent moves by the South Australian government to put \$11 million into an Aboriginal cultural museum in a centralised location in Adelaide at the expense of ignoring local initiatives.

9.3.5.1 Tauondi - Cultural Instructors and Tourism Course

Tauondi, formerly the Aboriginal Community College Inc., is the main player in the provision of organised Kaurna cultural tourism. They have long recognised the importance of promoting Aboriginal culture and Aboriginal heritage, both within schools, and in the community generally. The college grew from a submission put forward by John Morley in 1969 proposing "the establishment of a more formal educational programme for Aboriginal adults" (Gray, 1993: 5). His proposal was directed at providing some training for teacher aides who would be "an affirmation that Aborigines are a unique people with a unique and important contribution to make to Australian society" (Gray, 1993: 5). His submission stated that at the time he was "unaware of any educational situation in which Aboriginal children are taught their own heritage, rich though it is in custom, thought, music, art and craft" (in Gray, 1993: 5).

The Aboriginal Studies Teaching Resource Unit (ASTRU) was established in 1975, just two years after the College, to "promote a more positive understanding of the diversity of Aboriginal people and their culture by visiting schools and community groups. It was an area of race relationships which the College pioneered and which has probably reached over 100,000 people." (Gray, 1993: 9) ASTRU published a 66 page booklet *The Kaurna Seasonal Trail Excursion Teacher's Handbook* in 1985 complete with maps, diagrams and worksheets.

In 1988 the Cultural Instructor's Course was set up to prepare Aboriginal people to participate in the teaching of the Aboriginal Studies curriculum in schools which had been published in 1986. In 1994 Snooky Varcoe commenced teaching the Kaurna language at Tauondi, as part of this course. In 1995, the Cultural Instructor's Course became the TAFE accredited Certificate in Aboriginal Cultural Instruction and Tour Guiding and included a unit titled Aboriginal Language, in which Kaurna is taught (see Appendix H8 for more details). Tauondi Inc. has recognised the importance and centrality of Aboriginal languages in Aboriginal cultural tourism by establishing the language unit as one of the core units of the course.

The Kaurna language taught within the Cultural Instruction and Tour Guiding course has been oriented towards specific needs of Kaurna tour guides. As such, little attention is given to teaching grammar. Rather, emphasis is placed on introductions, leave-takings and other basic expressions, and naturally there is a strong focus on vocabulary in the domains of fauna, flora, artifacts, ochres and other terms related to the natural environment. There is also emphasis placed on Kaurna Dreaming stories and songs. The course is practical in orientation, and students have been required to demonstrate their language skills through running tours in a variety of venues, including the Tjilbruke Trail, Para Wirra, St Kilda Mangroves, Botanic Gardens, Adelaide Zoo, the Grand Prix (when it was held in Adelaide) and Cleland Wildlife Park.

Whilst Tauondi's role is primarily that of an education provider, the college has recently established a tour-guiding business, the Tauondi Cultural Agency, set up in 1998 to provide employment for graduates of the course. The Agency runs tours within Cleland Wildlife Park, the Adelaide Zoo and the Botanical Gardens, but plans to extend tours to Tandanya, the South Australian Museum and St Kilda Mangroves. Interest has also been expressed by other locations such as Predator Park. On the tours in Kaurna country, tour guides introduce themselves in Kaurna, and use salient vocabulary within their explanations of Kaurna culture and history.

9.3.3.2 Other Tours

Kaurna cultural tours are also run by individuals or small groups which utilize varying amounts of Kaurna language. The Nendi³⁴ cross-cultural awareness program was established by Lester Rigney in 1993 as a part of Accompany Outdoors. Lester works with Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal kids deemed to be 'at risk', who are needing a direction in life. He facilitates camping trips along the Tjilbruke Trail which include Kaurna songs and some use of the Kaurna language.

Christine Wilkinson³⁵, a former student of the Kaurna language program at EWAC in 1994, began working as a tour guide in the Botanical Garden. In 1996, she registered her own tour-

³⁴The name, Nendi comes from the inchoative suffix, *-ni* 'to become; be transformed into', and present tense suffix, *-ndi*. The name was chosen by Lester in consultation with Lewis O'Brien.

³⁵In 1994, Christine worked as an AEW at Enfield High School.

guiding business with the Kaurna name *Wirra Mai* 'bush food'. Christine incorporates a certain amount of Kaurna in her tours, including a greeting and the names of various plants and foods.

Since 1988, a non-Aboriginal naturalist, Waldo Bushmen, has been running regular bush walks through the Mt Lofty foothills, commencing at Glenunga in the eastern suburbs. He chose the name *Pilyabilya* 'butterfly' from William's (1840) wordlist for these walks. Waldo has taken a particular interest in Kaurna bush foods and gives a slide show presentation on the topic in which he uses the Kaurna names of a number of plant species.

9.4 Language Use Within the Kaurna Community

A number of Kaurna people have participated actively in formal language learning activities, delivering speeches in public, using Kaurna words for naming purposes, singing Kaurna songs and, to some extent, using the language with each other in social interaction. This section discusses the latter of these cases.

The spontaneous use of Kaurna language within the Kaurna community is still fairly minimal, though people are beginning to use elements of the language in various ways for their own purposes. Importantly, there are some signs that use of some words, expressions and speech forms are beginning to spread within the Kaurna community beyond those who have participated in formal language learning programs. The use of the greeting *Ninna marni?* and leave-taking *Nakkota!* is most widespread. These are now used between a number of Kaurna people on a regular basis, both on the telephone and face to face. A typical conversation between myself and Kaurna people who have participated in Kaurna programs begins with:

A: *Ninna marni?* 'Are you good?' (ie Hello!)

B: *Ne marniai.* 'Yes, I'm fine.'

and is often followed up with:

B: *Waminna?* 'What's up?; What's the matter?'

The body of the conversation normally proceeds in English, but ends in Kaurna as follows:

A: *Ngaityalya.* 'Thanks'

B: *Nakkota.* 'will see' (ie See you later)

A: *Nakkota.*

Often kinship terms, such as *yunga* 'older brother'; *yakkana* 'older sister' or *ngarpadla* 'auntie' and Kaurna personal names are a part of the conversation. This conversational routine is still fairly minimal, but the Kaurna elements are gradually expanding. Lester Rigney uses the greeting and leavetaking on a recorded message on his telephone answering service. I regularly correspond with Lester via e-mail in which we use varying amounts of Kaurna. This is a typical e-mail message:

Date: Wed, 9 Apr 1997 09:46:28 +0930
To: ramery@arts.adelaide.edu.au (Rob Amery)
From: Lester.Rigney@flinders.edu.au (Lester Rigney)
Subject: NGAI TIAKURTINNA <sic>

Yungalya Pilta

Ninna marni yunga. Waminna?
Could you please review my project for any errors.
Naityalya <sic>

Ngai Irabinna, ninko yunga.

The limiting factor is time. The salutation, greetings, leavetakings, kinship terms etc. as above are automatic, but the rest takes time, both to formulate and decipher at the other end. As we are both busy people, often the use of Kaurna in the main message falls by the wayside. On occasion I have formulated the majority or even entire e-mail messages in Kaurna, for some of which I provide an English translation and other sentences I leave for Lester to work out. Below is one such e-mail exchange:

From: ramery@arts.adelaide.edu.au (Rob Amery)
Subject: Re: *Ngadlu ko pepa Karl towiltaitya*

Yungalya Irabinna Kudnuitya,

Ngatto ninnanni ngadlu ko pepa kaityandi. Unfortunately our printer is on the blink, so I might have to do it on our inkjet printer at home. *Ngatto yakko yaintyapa pepa nurnti kaityota natta. Marni ninkaii, yakkana, Ngarpadla Cherie kuma piri nakkondi munangka.* (I won't send it until Auntie Alice, Cherie and Eileen have seen it) *Tarkariyelo ngadlu inbarendi Balyanilla.* (We'll meet each other tomorrow at Balyana.)

I'm sending the letter to you in two ways - formatted in columns and one with the Kaurna version first followed by the English translation. I'll send off the column formatted version to "*Karltowilta*".

It's a great idea of yours to send the letter around the network. Thanks for offering to do this. Do you want to hold off though till we actually get it in the mail, or doesn't it matter?

Sorry we didn't get time to write the song, but at least we got the letter done.

Nakkota
Ngai Pilta Kudnuitya

Date: Wed, 4 Jun 1997 12:12:22 +0930
To: ramery@arts.adelaide.edu.au (Rob Amery)
From: Lester.Rigney@flinders.edu.au (Lester Rigney)
Subject: Re: NGAI TIAKURTINNA <sic>

Yungalya Pilta,

I have sent your email around to the mob. Yes, your attachment Document worked. I agree, the letter to Gawler by our mob would benefit our point of view and locate our struggle in the context of a long history of activism.

Paitya!

Nakkota!

Ngai Irabinna Kudnuitya, ninko yunga.

E-mail is a useful medium with which to begin to use the language. There is more time to formulate a response than is the case with face-to-face interaction and to look up the books if

need be, yet the response is, or can be, almost immediate, unlike letters or 'snail mail' as they are referred to these days. For those who are not confident in using the language in face-to-face interaction, e-mail provides a useful means of gaining some facility in the language in a non-threatening and face-saving way³⁶. E-mail offers another way by which the dispersed Kaurna community can unite³⁷. At present though, few Kaurna people have access to e-mail. However, this medium could have great potential for the future.

Early in 1997, two Nunga learners of Kaurna engaged in a friendly exchange in Kaurna by fax regarding the football match on the previous weekend. The two protagonists supported opposite teams and expressed their rivalry in the following terms³⁸:

Narungga inggani Raukkan tidnaparndo ngunyawaiendi.

<'Narungga asked Raukkan [to] play football'>³⁹

*Narungga wormdandi, Narunggarlo Raukkan wormiworninya*⁴⁰.

<'Narungga is soaring, Narungga beat Raukkan/ Raukkan is easily beaten'>

Narungga purtendi, Raukkan murka kopaiendi.

<'Narungga is rejoicing; Raukkan is crying.'>

Score: Narungga 23 goals 12 points; Raukkan 11 goals 9 points.

(FAX message 1 April 1997 from Klynton Wanganeen to Vicki Hartman)

The text above was produced unassisted by Klynton who had only participated in a formal Kaurna program for several weeks. Much of the grammar is correct, though two different verbal suffixes are needed.

There are reports that parents of children at KPS are learning and using Kaurna words and Kaurna expressions from their children. Greetings, leavetakings and kinship terms are spreading within the Kaurna community beyond the formal language programs. Katrina Power, a parent whose children attend KPS reflects on this in her interview:

[I know more Kaurna] since my child has been going to the Nunga school [KPS] than I knew in my whole life. So I encourage her. We all speak as much as we can. We always refer to Kaurna words or Narungga words. We try to apply it as much as possible . . . We've just got a little kitten. It's *Milte*, means 'red'. . . . I know colours. But these are all from the kids. And *Ngungana* [the Kookaburra Song] . . . I know songs and stuff like that. But they're all from my kids. My kids are teaching me. . . .

R: Have you learnt some of your Kaurna from a book or is it all directly from the kids?

K: Yeh, mum and the kids, mum and the kids. I've never learnt anything Kaurna from a book. And Uncle Lewis. Uncle Lewis has been great. I love learning like that. . . .

R: So you use a bit of the language at home. At work here [Tandanya]?

³⁶A number of Kaurna people have told me that they would prefer to learn the language themselves at home, rather than in a formal course. Perhaps e-mail between kin or close family members or friends would suit some of these people.

³⁷The dispersed Huron nation, now located in Quebec, Oklahoma, Detroit and Kansas, maintains contact through the Internet, forming a "Cyber Nation" (pc Linda Sioui, e-mail 23 May 1998).

³⁸Both sides sought my help to decipher messages received and to formulate replies.

³⁹The glosses provided in < > brackets are mine. They were not included in the original fax.

⁴⁰This line does not really make sense as *wormiworninya* 'easily beaten in a fight' is not a verb. *Narunggarlo* should be omitted.

K: Yeh. With other fullas here. Just words. Just general words. I'm not saying anything fluently. But if we want to be discreet, you know, talking about someone we talk in language [LAUGH] so that the person referred to can't understand. [LAUGH] But there's no Board minutes in Kaurna yet, but we'll work on that.
(Katrina Power, Interview Transcript 9 Dec. 1996)

Likewise, Lester Rigney, prior to participating in a formal Kaurna course⁴¹ learnt and used some Kaurna words, expressions and songs from other members of his immediate and extended family:

So that's how I know these words, through mum, just talking generally and through singing in my family and my nieces and nephews speaking the language from the Kaurna school.

.....
Even my own sister comes home and you can't stop her from repeating Kaurna language all the time and talking and trying to get her kids to listen and talk. Powerful stuff. And the songs, as we drive over to Point Pearce we sing the songs because mum and Eileen start singing and the kids start singing and so we're singing in the bus. And you can't help but be marinated in the language.

(Lester Rigney, Interview Transcript, 20 November 1996)

As indicated in these interviews, songs are used extensively within some Kaurna families. The spiralbound songbook we produced in 1990, which included six Kaurna songs, has reportedly fallen apart through use in some families. Kathy Burgemeister, a Kaurna person who has been involved continuously in Kaurna programs at Inbarendi College and Tauondi since mid 1995 responded to the question 3.b. *What Kaurna words/phrases/songs do you use outside of the Kaurna classes?* as follows:

All the songs we have learnt so far. The greetings. The Kaurna relationship terms. I have Kaurna names stuck on most things in my home and everyone now uses the Kaurna words. I find I am more confident about sharing the language and history as each week goes by.

(Kath Burgemeister's response to questionnaire, PWAC Inbarendi College 10 August 1996)

Others have confirmed that members of Kath's family use many Kaurna words and expressions (pc Cherie Watkins, 1996). Since then, Kath Burgemeister reports a further increase in the use of Kaurna in her household, to the point where she claims it is becoming a "second language", with many words, phrases, questions and replies in Kaurna being used. The children are no longer satisfied with words any more and want to know how to express various notions using longer phrases. If Kath doesn't know, they expect her to find out from Cherie. The use of Kaurna in the home is reinforced by attendance at KPS. Roxanne, in Year 1 uses Kaurna to ask questions like *Wanti ngadlu padnendi?* 'Where are we going?' Often the Kaurna expressions are untranslated as she feels no need to translate into English. Brendon, one year old in 1997, listens and mimics Kaurna expressions and responds to Kaurna words and commands. As to be expected, he is growing up pronouncing Kaurna words without any apparent difficulty. As Kath puts it "the kids are so natural with the language now. Its just like second nature" (pc Kath Burgemeister, 4 November 1997).

Some other Kaurna families use known Kaurna words within English, particularly within the context of child-rearing (Paul & Naomi Dixon Interview 21 Nov. 1996). Some of these words, such as *tidna* 'foot'; *marra* 'hand' and *kudna* 'poo' are original retentions, having been handed

⁴¹The following year, Lester enrolled in the Warra Kaurna course at PWAC along with four other members of his immediate and extended family.

down within the Nunga community. Other terms including some words for animals, birds and plants however, have been acquired more recently and have been incorporated into their speech, particularly in caregiver-child interactions. There could be much more informal use of Kaurna within some Kaurna households and between different members of the community of which I am unaware.

Whilst there is not too much to report on, by way of usage of Kaurna within the community, there is considerable enthusiasm, at least on the part of some individuals and within some families. Developments on this front must be viewed from the perspective of a long time frame.

9.5 A Revival of Kaurna as a Spoken Language?

There is a hope and a desire on the part of many Kaurna people to see Kaurna reinstated as a spoken language in the home and in the community alongside of English. This is a desire, clearly articulated by a number of Kaurna people at the centre of the revival movement. Jenny Burford questioned Auntie Alice Rigney on this point at length:

JB: So do you think that Kaurna language will be spoken as a first language by future generations of Kaurna people?

AR: Well, that would be the ideal, eh. That's what I would dearly love to see.

JB: So you see it as an ideal. Do you see it as a realistic ideal? What's your feeling about ..?

AR: I would like to say yes to that, because there's enough information around, and there's enough ... and there's enough good resources, human resources, when you look at the linguist we teach, work with and I think it could be a reality.

(Alice Rigney, transcript of interview with Jenny Burford, 29 October 1997)

Lewis O'Brien answers the question even more confidently:

LO'B: Well I want everyone to be able to talk and greet each other in the language and hold conversations and developing it right to its fullest extent. That may take time, but its worth a go at. . . . And I think people are seeing that it's worth it, to have a go at, for lots of reasons.

JB: So do you see it as your hope that it will eventually be spoken as a first language?

LO'B: Yep, I do. And I think it's important to do that. Because otherwise if you don't, well you may as well go with the flow, and then just be an Australian in the general term.

(Lewis O'Brien, transcript of interview with Jenny Burford, 28 October 1997)

Note that both Auntie Alice and Uncle Lewis have worked with the Kaurna language intensively over a number of years and have both participated in formal Kaurna language programs. So they are talking from considerable personal experience of the language reclamation process.

Paul Dixon, former Chair of KACHA, explains his vision for the future as follows:

I reckon it could go a hell of a long way. Ideally, I suppose our dream would be to see it a bit of a bilingual language, I mean a dual language, where a lot of Kaurna people actually speak English and Kaurna as well. Now that's the ideal, where I'd like to see Kaurna is actually used as an everyday language not just for tourism or for heritage matters, but for day to day life. That's where I'd like to see it end up anyway.

(Paul Dixon, Interview Transcript, 21 November 1996)

In the context of a long time frame, in a world in which he envisages that the basic necessities of life will be taken care of, Lester Rigney too is optimistic:

So in a hundred years time, if we can quell some of those things, I think Kaurna will boom. It will boom far more than I think linguists and our people give it credit.

(Lester Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997)

In the short term, however, Lester is a little more cautious and guarded in his predictions for the future. He sees its use restricted to a limited number of fixed expressions, such as greetings and frequently used questions, used within English:

So do I think Kaurna language will be spoken as a first language of future generations? Sadly I don't think so, because there's been too much open wounds and damage done. I think that its only avenue is that it becomes a command use type of language, whereby we use it in a similar vein to Aboriginal English in simple commands interspersed with English. You know, "*Ninna marni* sister, how are you? What are you up to?" Because I think that's the only way that it can, that it will eventuate.

(Lester Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997)

To see Kaurna spoken again on a regular basis is probably a universal desire on the part of Kaurna people. However people are under no illusion that the task will be easy, or will happen overnight. But is it really possible for Kaurna to be revived in this way? Or is it, as Dixon (1989; 1997) says, "an impossible dream"? I believe that in theory it would be possible. There is no linguistic reason preventing Kaurna from developing to a point where it can be used for whatever purposes Kaurna people wish to use it. However, there are many obstacles of a social kind to be overcome. Much will depend on the will of the Kaurna community in the long term and the support structures that can be put in place.

In terms of achieving this ultimate goal, or even the lesser goal of establishing Kaurna as an auxiliary language, it is worth considering a range of approaches to language revival. While it is worth contemplating the long term future, it is probably of more use to focus on more immediate goals that are achievable.

9.5.1 Approaches to Language Revival

A number of approaches to language revival have important lessons for the Kaurna situation. None of these approaches, however, fully meet the needs and aspirations of the Kaurna community and the situation in which the Kaurna language is now located. Drawing on the approaches taken in similar situations and on our own experiences, I propose a new method, the 'Formulaic Method', for the re-introduction of a language in a situation where little of the language is remembered or known within the community.

9.5.1.1 Language Immersion: Kohanga Reo 'Language Nests'

It is generally accepted that the ideal way in which languages are learned, particularly in early childhood, is through language immersion. French immersion programs in Canadian schools have proved very successful (Cummins & Swain, 1986: 55-56). In the context of language revival, the Kohanga Reo 'Language Nest' approach pioneered in New Zealand has been hailed as an outstanding success and this approach has been successfully replicated in Hawai'i where it is known as Punana Leo 'Language Nest' (Schütz, 1994: 365-369). In 1992 there were 131 children between the ages of three and five enrolled in Punana Leo programs. They hear and speak only Hawaiian for ten hours a day, five days a week.

Whilst language immersion might be the ideal, it is not feasible in the Kaurua situation now or in the foreseeable future. Still, there are lessons to be learnt. We can strive to create immersion-like experiences, but until the teachers of Kaurua programs gain more fluency in the language and there are more situations in which learners can hear, see and use Kaurua, immersion is simply not achievable.

9.5.1.2 The 'Master-Apprentice' Method (Hinton, 1994)

Hinton (1994) whilst recognizing the outstanding success of the Maori and Hawaiian language nests also questions their applicability to the languages of California:

Despite the inspiring nature of the Hawaiian program, the number of speakers and even of people who might ever be interested in speaking a given language is so small for each of the California languages that the idea of training hundreds or thousands of children to speak one seems unthinkable. In California, teaching even *one* child to speak is a great feat. (Hinton, 1994: 229)

Instead, she proposes a Master-Apprentice method which she claims is more suited to the Californian situation where the languages are no longer used on a daily basis. In the Master-Apprentice method, an older fluent speaker is paired with a motivated young adult keen to learn the language on a full-time basis. The pair spends about four months together with their living expenses funded so that they can devote all their time to language learning. The apprentice accompanies the master participating in a range of activities including traditional pursuits such as hunting, the making of traditional crafts or participating in ceremonies and non-traditional activities such as fixing a car, going to the store etc. At least 20 hours per week are spent actively learning the language.

In the Kaurua situation, neither the 'Language Nest' or 'Master-Apprentice' methods will work, at least not in the early stages of language reclamation. Both approaches are based on the principles of language immersion. Language immersion is impossible for us to achieve, even though we might try to maximize exposure to Kaurua in various ways. Both the 'Language Nest' and 'Master-Apprentice' models advocate the total exclusion of English, for certain periods of the day or week, or even more extended periods of withdrawal from English.

By contrast, I have recommended that Kaurua be re-introduced in small chunks within English conversation or within English discourse. It is simply too difficult for beginning learners of Kaurua to engage each other in Kaurua only, even for half an hour. Further, it is difficult for us as teachers to continue to use Kaurua in an animated impromptu manner responding to the situation at hand. Often we have to stop and think how to say something, or worse still, stop to devise new expressions.

I was asked by Paul Dixon, Chair of KACHA, at a meeting of the committee held at the end of 1995 if I thought it would be possible for them to conduct their meetings in Kaurua. I responded to this expressed interest in using Kaurua by preparing a short tape with an accompanying transcript of a number of Kaurua expressions that I believed would be useful

within a meeting context (see Appendix E7). Expressions were chosen that were not too difficult to learn. I advocated the use of short utterances such as *Wadu!* 'Agreed', *Ngana wanggi?* 'Who said?', *Warratti!* 'Be quiet!' etc. which could be dropped into what was otherwise English conversation. In the earliest stages, I don't think it matters if people learn just one expression. If everyone learns it then it will become established as a habit, an accepted normative use within KACHA or within the community.

There is a clear difference, however, between dropping vernacular words into an English sentence as happens in Nunga English (eg "Go and wash your *marras!*" or "*Nakkun* that *kathari korni* over there!") and dropping well-formed Kaurna expressions into English conversation. For the language to develop with integrity, only well-formed expressions, I believe, should be promoted in conjunction with English. Question words, commands and interjections are well suited for this purpose because they are typically short utterances that can stand alone. It is not important that the other interlocutor be able to respond in Kaurna at this stage.

Having argued against the use of Kaurna words within English sentences, I should note that a number of songs produced by staff and students at KPS and by students at PWAC have introduced Kaurna words in this way. Whilst I do not encourage this practice, I do see some merit in doing it. At least children learn the words and their meanings in this way, whereas with a song written entirely in Kaurna, they might learn it off by heart but not fully appreciate its meaning, or indeed be able to associate individual words with specific meanings.

The use of two languages is discouraged by some proponents of language maintenance. Hinton (1994: 243) in her 'Eight Points of Language Learning' urges both teachers and apprentices not to use English:

Teachers
2. Don't use English,
not even to translate

Apprentices
2. Don't use English, not even when you can't say it in the
language. Find other ways to communicate what you want to say.

However, in the context of language reclamation, code-switching can be viewed in a more positive light as a deliberate strategy to re-introduce a language in an easier and less-threatening way than having to know a lot of language before one is able to use it. Steven Harris (1990: 80) makes a distinction between 'code-switching' which "involves the conscious changing between two languages within a discourse for stylistic, humorous or authority-seeking purposes [which are] neither random nor of roughly equal proportions" and 'code-mixing' "the unconscious use of two languages within the same phrase or sentence on what appears to be a random basis". Harris regards 'code-switching' as legitimate whilst 'code-mixing' is viewed as an indicator of "pidginisation" and the ultimate death of a traditional language" (S. Harris, 1990: 80). Whilst I do not agree with Harris's characterisation of 'code-switching' being conscious and 'code-mixing' being unconscious, his distinction between 'code-mixing' as the use of two languages within the same phrase or sentence as opposed to 'code-switching' where the switch in

language occurs at a more clearly defined juncture, is useful for our purposes. The latter characterised as 'code-switching' by Harris is preferable to 'code-mixing' in terms of modelling patterns of language use.

As Hinton (1994: 242) says "the single biggest challenge" facing the Master-Apprentice teams is "leaving English behind while developing the habit of speaking in the language". If vernacular words are dropped into a sentence or discourse structure that is otherwise English, people may learn new individual lexical items, but they will gain little appreciation of a distinctive grammar that is organised on different principles to English.

9.5.1.3 Artificial Pidgins (Powell, 1973)

Jay Powell, working with Quileute in the north-west of the United States, advocates the development of what he refers to as an artificial pidgin formed by the incorporation of Quileute words, one by one, into English sentence structure. Whilst Powell's approach is a deliberate strategy in the revival of Quileute, a somewhat similar result is occurring in an ad hoc fashion within the context of Ngarrindjeri language revival. Within that community, some people claim to speak Ngarrindjeri, but the language they speak is in fact a kind of re-lexified English. Ngarrindjeri programs taught at Murray Bridge High School and other locations also seem to be heavily dependent on English grammar. Word order is strictly SVO (Subject Verb Object), following English word order. English sentences tend to be translated word for word, even to the extent of using Ngarrindjeri case suffixes as separate words in translating English prepositions. English expressions tend to be translated literally, even when it is apparent from the sources that Ngarrindjeri used a different idiom. And there is a concerted rejection of involvement of linguists in the development of the language.

In the production of the video *Warranna Purruna: Pa:mpi Tungarar: Living Languages* a Ngarrindjeri text was written by Rhonda Agius which was published in the booklet accompanying the video (DETE, 1998: Preface). That text is a substantially a one-to-one, isomorphic translation of the English version, where nominal case suffixes are used as independent words, functioning as prepositions. A variety of means are used to cope with words like 'the', 'a', 'an', 'or' and 'and', which are typically absent in Australian languages. Verbs always appear in their present tense citation form and the interrogative *yange* 'where?' appears to have been used for 'were'. A poem titled *Ikay Ruwe - This Land* was also published by Rhonda Agius in *Tauondi Speaks from the Heart* (Procter & Gale, 1997: 6) which demonstrates the same features.

The strength of Agius' approach is the ease by which the language can be constructed and used. It allows individuals and communities to revive their languages themselves, without having to first acquire an in-depth knowledge of linguistics and the grammar of Aboriginal languages. Unlike language reclamation, there is no need to engage the services of a linguist or outsiders. This is a great plus for some communities. It means that it is much easier to maintain control

over the process. So long as people feel happy with the resultant language, which seems to be the case with Ngarrindjeri, then this appears to be a useful approach in these circumstances.

However, this 'language renewal' (see Chapter 2) is a fundamentally different approach to that taken in language reclamation in the Kurna situation, which seeks to draw on the grammar of the language as it was spoken at the time of colonisation, and to capture the essence of the language in its original form. It should be recognised though, that both Modern Ngarrindjeri and Modern Kurna are major departures from the traditional languages. Both are undoubtedly heavily influenced by English. In Modern Kurna, this influence is primarily at the level of discourse and idiom whereas in Modern Ngarrindjeri, the influence of English extends down into the syntax and grammar.

9.5.1.4 The Formulaic Method

In the Kurna context, I am proposing a new method of language re-introduction which I will refer to as the 'Formulaic Method'. It entails the staged introduction of well-formed utterances. By contrast with language immersion, or Hinton's 'Master-Apprentice' method, this method, particularly in the early stages, involves the use of vast amounts of English with just a little Kurna. In this respect it is similar to Powell's 'artificial pidginization'. However, by contrast with Powell's method, I propose to introduce only grammatically well-formed and complete utterances which draw to a maximal extent on Kurna grammar as we know it from the nineteenth century sources.

Initially, I propose that minimal one-word utterances that can stand alone as questions, responses, commands, greetings, leavetakings and the like should predominate in the repertoire taught and used. Words which are short, easy to pronounce, easy to remember and most importantly, those that carry a high functional load are introduced first. In Kurna, these include:

<i>Ne.</i>	'Yes.'	<i>Wa?</i>	'Where?'
<i>Yakko.</i>	'No.'	<i>Ngaintya?</i>	'What?'
<i>Wointye.</i>	'Maybe.'	<i>Waminna?</i>	'What's the matter?'
<i>Paiya!</i>	'Deadly!'	<i>Nganna?</i>	'Who?'
<i>Warratti!</i>	'Be quiet!'	<i>Ngannaitya?</i>	'Why?'
<i>Nakkota.</i>	'will see' (ie Goodbye)		

In addition to these one-words, the greeting *Ninna marni?*, response *Marniai* and welcome *Marni ninna budni* should be introduced first because of their high functional load, even though they are longer expressions.

I encourage people to use these expressions in preference to English whenever and wherever appropriate within the conversation, and to use them as often as possible. Initially, the interlocuter should feel under no pressure to respond in Kurna, nor should the speaker expect a response in Kurna. The expressions need to be incorporated into the conversation as natural and automatic elements of the speech event.

Once these basic one-word expressions are known and used confidently, longer and longer expressions can be introduced in succession. Useful examples are as follows:

<i>Padniadlu!</i>	'Let's go!'
<i>Parni ngatpa!</i>	'Come in!'
<i>Wanti ninna?</i>	'Where are you going?'
<i>Warruanna padni!</i>	'Go outside!'
<i>Nganna wanggi?</i>	'Who said?'
<i>Ngai kuma.</i>	'Me too.'
<i>Nauwe X?</i>	'How many X?' (eg <i>Nauwe meyunna?</i> 'How many people?')
<i>Ngai taityo!</i>	'I'm hungry!'
<i>Ninna burli?</i>	'Are you satiated?' (ie 'Have you had enough?')
<i>Maiimpi?</i>	'Do you want something to eat?'

Even longer expressions that could usefully be introduced fairly early include:

<i>Ngai wodlianna padnendi.</i>	'I'm going home.'
<i>Ngai tittawodlianna padnendi.</i>	'I'm going to the shops.'
<i>Marni milindo worta!</i>	'Have a good weekend.'
<i>Bakkadla parniappendo!</i>	'Pass the salt!'
<i>Nallaallatti ngadlu padnendi?</i>	'When are we going?'

Of course the usefulness of particular expressions will depend somewhat on the individual's situation, whether they intend to use the language at home, within KACHA meetings, at school, Nunga social gatherings or on the football field etc.

The Formulaic Method entails gradually building up a stockpile of speech formulas of increasing complexity that will gradually replace English within conversation. This method sits well with the ways in which Kaurna is currently being used. Most Kaurna language, including longer pieces like speeches, are learnt and used as speech formulas. Within speeches, certain phrases such as *Martuityangga Kaurna meyunna ngai wanggandi* 'I am speaking on behalf of the Kaurna people' are frequently used.

9.5.2 Introducing the Language into the Kaurna Community

Perhaps the greatest failure of the formal Kaurna language programs has been an inability to attract many Kaurna people as active learners and participants in the programs. Over the eight year period, 1990-1997, only about 40⁴² Kaurna adults have ever accessed any of the formal language learning courses. This is despite very positive and supportive comments made by Kaurna Elders and members of KACHA

The desire to introduce the language into the Kaurna community is an issue which concerns Kaurna language enthusiasts, such as Lester Rigney, who observed:

. . . if we are going to reclaim Kaurna language, it must not just go with the school, right?, like the goonyas have done. We've got to have a mechanism in our structures whereby there is a whole group learning. Let's dream for a possibility. Why isn't language taking place in the community? . . . Why isn't there a community aspect of trying to get these things up and running? Why aren't Aboriginal organisations taking on the language acquisition . . . it's only done at schools and universities.

(Lester Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997)

⁴²Though small, 40 is a significant number within the context of the Kaurna population. The number of adults who actively identify as Kaurna probably numbers several hundred.

Fishman (1991: 408) points to the relative difficulty of establishing the language at the grass roots level:

It is obviously harder to build Xish families, neighbourhoods and communities than to establish Xish schools, publications or non-print media. However, the former immediately provides a base for intergenerational continuity and a point of departure for stages that come after it and can be supported by it, whereas the latter do not because they are too restricted in time and place and have no daily, intimate, socialization foundation underlying them. At best they can contribute to the 'spirit' necessary for such a foundation to be laid, but they do not lay it themselves.

The specific difficulties in actively involving Kaurna people is due, I believe, to a multiplicity of reasons. There are some obvious logistical problems which may account for why many Kaurna people are not actively involved in the programs. Kaurna people are dispersed widely across Adelaide and may live some distance away from the venues where Kaurna language is offered. Many do not own motor vehicles, relying on public transport. The Kaurna course at PWAC is run of an evening and is located on the northern fringe of the metropolitan area. It is simply inaccessible for most Kaurna people. Some students rely on others for transport. One student's non-attendance may result in several not attending. Also, a number of Kaurna people, who might otherwise be involved in programs, work full-time and have family commitments after hours.

However, there are more subtle reasons why many people are not involved, many of which reflect the relatively poor participation rate of Aboriginal people in the education process (see SSABSA, 1998). Some older members of the Kaurna community have expressed a wish to be able to learn and speak Kaurna, but consider themselves too old to be able to learn. There is perhaps an unwillingness to participate in language classes for fear of being 'shown up' by younger learners. Age, of course, is not a barrier in itself. It is simply perceived to be so by some. Some people feel insecure about the fact that they are not able to speak their own language. This is highlighted by the fact that some non-Aboriginal people, such as myself, have a much greater knowledge of their language than they do. Coupled with this is a reluctance to learn from a non-Aboriginal person. This is a factor which has been mentioned to me on a number of occasions, (see discussion on the role of linguistics in Chapter 10), and one which is probably very important in explaining the relatively low rates of participation. Those Kaurna people who do actively participate are often those operating within the education system or who have experience in working alongside non-Aboriginal people.

Kaurna language activities tend to revolve around a handful of people, as noted by Lester Rigney:

I think that the Kaurna reclamation is almost personality driven. And if tomorrow Ngarpadla Cherie, Mum and Rob were to go, touch wood, I think that the whole process would fall. So we're not good at training new ones to come through. (Lester Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997)

The credibility of the teachers⁴³, and their own personal networks and associations with the community, are often pivotal in determining who is attracted to the courses. Kaurna people tend to get involved in activities or issues as families, not individuals. The involvement of family members may encourage others to attend. On the other hand, the presence of some families may inhibit or preclude the attendance of others.

There is perhaps a strong reluctance to learn the language in public. A number of Kaurna people have requested tape recordings. It seems that many would like to learn the language 'by themselves' in the privacy of their own homes without embarrassing themselves in public. Some do in fact spend considerable time perusing the Kaurna materials in private. Perhaps it would be a good idea to produce a 'Teach Yourself Kaurna' kit using a multimedia computer program, video tapes or cassette tapes. In this way people might be able to gain at least some familiarity with Kaurna, thus raising their confidence levels to a point whereby they might be willing to participate actively in a course of study. Part of my motivation for producing the language learning tapes for the KL&LE course was to be able to make this material available, at low cost, to members of the Kaurna community. These tapes have not yet been widely disseminated due to non-resolution of the copyright issue⁴⁴.

Whilst many Kaurna people acknowledge the importance of learning the language, it is not the highest priority for most. KACHA itself has been more concerned with material culture and non-linguistic aspects of cultural heritage. KACHA is a small organisation which is concerned with Kaurna heritage issues, representing Kaurna interests across the entire Kaurna region, from Crystal Brook to Cape Jervis. The committee has had to deal with pressing concerns, such as the Southern Expressway, which have been forced upon them. In October 1996, KACHA was dealing with no fewer than 31 developers (Ricky Poole, Blackwood Reconciliation Group Meeting 14 October 1996). In this atmosphere of rapid change language issues are a much lower priority.

Of all the Kaurna programs ever run, attendance has been poorest within the course actually set up at the request of Kaurna people, for Kaurna people. The Kaurna Warra Patpangga program at Warriparinga was located on the Kaurna people's 'home turf' at the then location of the KACHA office. Despite the availability of funding with support from TAFE, this course ceased, because of non-attendance, within just five months of its establishment. The course was never re-started. This non-attendance was primarily due to internal conflicts and division within the Kaurna community⁴⁵. The program was placed 'on-hold' until matters could be

⁴³Cherie Watkins, who does much of the teaching of Kaurna across a variety of programs, has gained considerable respect from all Kaurna people for her language abilities, gained through persistence and hard work since 1994.

⁴⁴It has proved difficult to bring the parties together to discuss the issues. We need to establish who owns the tapes and how these ownership rights should be exercised before the tapes are sold.

⁴⁵This conflict was in no way due to dispute over the language. Rather it concerned the leadership of KACHA and differences over management of Kaurna heritage. The conflict resulted in one section of the community preferring to stay away.

resolved at the KACHA Annual General Meeting. Unfortunately language matters were never raised at the AGM, being eclipsed by constitutional issues and other matters. Again, it is largely a matter of priorities.

There is a big gap at times between an individual's expressed intention to become actively involved in learning the language on the one hand and actually following it through on the other. In addition to the 40 or so Kurna people who have formally involved themselves at one time or another, there are others who have said that they would come along or would like to come along. I can only assume that other things have come up or that they don't 'get their act together', or that when it comes down to it, it is just too hard and potentially too much loss of face. As Dixon (1997: 111) rightly points out "a language is a difficult thing to learn, other than as a young child, and requires application and concentration". Most Kurna people have had only limited exposure to other languages and many have had limited success with formal education processes.

The Kurna language movement is not yet a mass movement with widespread appeal to the general Kurna population. It is restricted to a small, but growing body of language enthusiasts. Only time will tell if it will ever gain the critical mass required for its use on an everyday basis alongside of English in a truly bilingual community.

9.6 Summary and Discussion

In this chapter I have made a thorough attempt to document all the situations in which the Kurna language is being used, the media through which it is conveyed and the purposes for which it is being used. Whilst it is not possible to be aware of every instance of usage of the language, I can confidently say that I have documented the majority of instances of usage of the language, both oral and written, over the period 1990-1997⁴⁶. There are few other spoken languages for which this would be possible.

Prior to the 1990s, use of Kurna was restricted to the written mode, predominantly place names, wordlists and occasional inclusion of Kurna words in published materials. Oral usage was minimal and probably restricted to place names and Kurna words in Nunga English, most of which are shared by neighbouring languages to the north.

Throughout the period of study, there has been a phenomenal growth in the use of Kurna in public life. The number of Kurna people using the language is steadily growing, and the purposes for which it is being used is steadily expanding. There is still room for expansion but we are not able to predict whether this will continue indefinitely or whether it will be like a passing fad that will decline.

⁴⁶If current trends continue, it will become increasingly difficult to make this claim. In 1998 I hear of many occasions and find many uses of the Kurna language of which I had no prior knowledge and there must be many more instances of which I am unaware.

The Kaurna language is 'awakening'⁴⁷ as Cherie Watkins, Alice Rigney and other Kaurna people would say. During the 1990s, the Kaurna language has developed from a language that was known only from historical sources and some place names to one which is being used to express an increasing range of notions relevant to Kaurna life today. In so doing, it is gaining a range of new words and expressions.

Over the period 1990-1997 there has been strong growth in many areas. The frequency with which Kaurna speeches are being delivered is increasingly exponentially, from just one in 1991 and 1992 to more than 100 in 1997. The frequency with which songs are sung in public has also shown strong growth from just one in 1992 to 25 in 1997, and new songs continue to be generated at a steady rate. There has also been strong growth in the use of Kaurna names by Aboriginal organisations, sustained interest and a new sensitivity amongst government agencies and the non-Aboriginal population. A limited number of Kaurna language publications such as song books and story books have also appeared. Other publications have included salient Kaurna words and acknowledged the source language. However, much remains to be done in this area.

Not only has there been a strong increase in the level of use of spoken Kaurna, but the number of Kaurna people actively involved in the language movement has been steadily growing. More and more Kaurna people are engaging in learning the language and are beginning to use the language in public. Importantly, there are early signs that the language is starting to infiltrate into the Kaurna community and Kaurna homes, though the spontaneous use of Kaurna is still fairly minimal. But there are still many avenues, especially within cultural tourism, in which the language could be promoted and used more. In this area there are many unrealised plans.

The present indications are that the Kaurna language is still at the beginning of a period of growth and development. The language movement continues to gather activists, adherents and supporters. Kaurna is being taken more seriously in many quarters, both within Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal society. Viewed in another way, however, Kaurna still has a long way to go. Most residents of Adelaide are still totally unaware of the Kaurna people, let alone the language. If questioned, most would plead ignorance of ever having heard the name and if faced with the written word, Kaurna, would have no idea how to pronounce it. Perhaps in ten years time this situation will have changed.

The greatest challenge, however, is to extend the domains of use of the language away from the formal Kaurna programs and staged usage in public, where it is reasonably well established, back into the Kaurna community. It is the desire of many people in the Kaurna community to see the language used once again within the home and in the community. Despite this desire,

⁴⁷This metaphor has some international currency as the title of Collis ed. (1990) shows: *Arctic Languages. An Awakening*.

not too much progress has been made on this front yet. There is something of a gap between intentions and actions. Identity politics and internal factional politics within the Nunga community, and the paths taken by particular individuals and families in response, are likely to be the major factors in determining the extent to which the Kaurna community replaces English with Kaurna for instrumental and communicative purposes. These are themes taken up in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 10: SOCIO-POLITICAL DIMENSIONS OF KAURNA LANGUAGE REVIVAL.

Language is power. If we don't have that power base we are continually going to become Anglicised.

(Alice Rigney, in *Warranna Purrana - Pa:mpi Tungarar - Living Languages* video, DECS, 1997)

language reclamation is a part of the Aboriginal decolonisation of Australia . . . Decolonisation and resisting the tentacles of colonialism is to form our own identities again and reclamation of language is about this whole process. Now, in the past the only tool for decolonisation of society was Aboriginal English for the Kurna and the Narungga peoples. Now reclamation of language has come about, and it gives a whole new meaning and gives a whole new identity to Aboriginal people. Kurna language reclamation allows our people to reclaim the past and step out of the colonial masters' systems and communicate on our own terms in our own language. So that's why I position Kurna language reclamation in that whole decolonisation of Australia and particularly of Adelaide.

(Lester Irabinna Rigney, Transcript of Interview with Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997, adapted by Lester on 6 March 1998)

10.0 Introduction

Chapters 8 and 9 discussed the ways in which the Kurna language is being used in teaching programs within the Kurna community, and within the public domain. This chapter attempts to look behind the scenes to discover what drives this activity. As a first step, I take a closer look at why some people are investing so much time and energy in the language movement.

10.1 What Motivates Nungas to Engage in Kurna Language Revival?

Typically, an individual is motivated by a constellation of factors, some of which are more important than others. Their relative importance may shift over time. A person may be attracted to learning and using the language for one reason, which may lead into others later coming to the fore. A number of common themes emerge. Participation in Kurna programs and use of the Kurna language is fundamentally an 'act of identity' for Kurna people. Questions of personal and group identity underpin the need to make a public statement to the world about the survival of the Kurna people. Identity issues underpin the struggle for empowerment and the need to understand Kurna history and Kurna culture. These are central concerns for most, if not all, who are actively involved.

10.1.1 A Personal Quest

For a number of Kurna people, their engagement with the Kurna language is intensely personal with its own inbuilt rewards. As Lewis O'Brien says:

Its all those things you find out, see it's those extensions you're building on, and that's what I see is so beautiful about this. Because I've gained pleasure out of that myself . . . and it's knowing that you'll get these rewards and that's what keeps you going I think. You get rewarded. See it's a personal reward. A lot of people don't know about that, 'cause you see, that's where I think other people fail in something. They got to get rewarded by someone else giving them a medal or . . . , but ours is a reward in itself. So that you feel better in yourself. And once you come to that, that's a certain striving then. You think "Gee! That's incredible!" It's all that sort of mix of things. But that takes a long time and that doesn't matter. That's irrelevant.

(Lewis O'Brien, interview 28 October, 1997)

For Lewis, study of the Kurna language is primarily an intellectual pursuit as, according to Lewis, the language reveals much in relation to the way Kurna people thought and viewed the world. These conceptual understandings often resonate with Lewis' childhood memories of stories he heard from the old people, such as Dasher Edwards and others, when he was growing up at Bukkiyana.

Lewis has been poring through the Kurna sources for many years¹, trying to match up the records compiled by the missionaries with his childhood memories. Lewis's engagement seems to parallel the actions of several Indigenous Californians who are working with notes recorded by the linguist, J.P. Harrington. Ernestine McGovran, for instance, is pursuing Chumash through the records of her grandmother's speech recorded by Harrington (Hinton, 1994: 227). One gets the impression that for both Lewis and Ernestine, pursuit of their languages is a very personal quest. The Kurna language has become so much a part of him that it seems certain that Lewis will continue to learn and use it for the rest of his life, irrespective of the fortunes of the language amongst the rest of the Kurna community or within the wider community.

Whilst Lewis is to some extent "off doing his own thing", as some others in the Kurna community would say, at the same time he works tirelessly to promote the language both within his own community and within the wider community, as evidenced by the number of speeches he has delivered and his active engagement in Kurna courses, even though he is retired.

He frequently delivers lectures within tertiary level courses or in public forums on Kurna epistemology, in which he is intensely interested. He makes a point of discussing certain Kurna words and concepts such as the Inchoative suffix *-nendi*, *yerra* 'expressing the notions of individuality and reciprocity', *yerrakartarta* 'scattered; disorderly; without design; at random', *banbabanbalyanendi* 'to hold a conference or a meeting' *kumangka* 'together' and *taikurrendi* 'to be mixed; together'.

For Kath Burgemeister (see section 1.3.1), the language has been a means of finding her roots and reconnecting with her heritage. The Kurna language has become a major part of her life and that of her family (see section 9.4: 387).

10.1.2 As a Key to Understanding and Reclaiming Kurna Culture and History

A study of the Kurna language, and language ecology, affords numerous insights into aspects of Kurna culture and early contact history on the Adelaide Plains. This is recognised by learners of Kurna and by those who promote its revival. A focus on place names, culture-specific lexemes and the few remaining snippets of text, which have survived from the nineteenth century, resonates well with Kurna people.

¹Note that Lewis began poring over T&S even prior to the implementation of Kurna programs.

As Auntie Alice says:

Our language is linked to our land. It is intrinsic to culture. The two are very strongly connected. Our language gives us the clues that tell us about our environment, the meaning for our existence.
(Alice Rigney in *Warranna Purruna - Pa:mpi Tungarar - Living Languages* video, DECS, 1997)

Lewis, and others, see the Kurna language not only as a means of understanding aspects of Kurna culture, but as a means of retrieving the culture:

To me the overall aim is to get the people speaking. Get their self esteem back and get the culture back through language.
(Lewis O'Brien, interview transcript 8 December, 1997)

For some the language has become important only after a long period of searching and learning about Kurna history and other aspects of Kurna culture. The language offers the possibility of extending and deepening this knowledge. Paul Dixon, a former chairperson of KACHA, explains:

Now that we've been involved in heritage for quite a while now, we can see that the language component of it is a vital bit of it. You can only grow so far without the language. You need the language to kind of complete the fullness of it. We feel now especially with the heritage involvement that we've got, that the language bit is so vital to completing the whole . . . putting it all together, I should say.

Years ago it wasn't so important I suppose. We were more into just the general history of the Kurna people, and cultural stuff and aspects. But now the language is in the forefront, I believe, to kind of fulfilling a Kurna identity I suppose. We feel that without the language, there's no real way of filling that Kurna identity, I suppose. It'd be really really nice to see that it goes in leaps and bounds from now on. I'd like to see a lot more Kurna descendants getting involved in the language. Because they're brought up speaking English as their first language. Which is nothing wrong with that, but I mean to be able to speak both languages would be ideal. You know, we've all got a bit of mix of both. I think we can speak English OK. Now we've just got to get the Kurna business right. It'll just make the cream on the top, if I can put it that way.
(Paul Dixon, Interview Transcript, 21 November 1996)

10.1.3 A Celebration of Kurna Survival

As Kurna begins to be used in combination with other aspects of Kurna culture, such as song and dance, the language is increasingly used to celebrate the survival of the Kurna people. It is patently obvious to any observer of the children at KPS, either in public or in the classroom, as to just how much enjoyment they derive from singing songs in their own language, the language of the country in which they live (see section 8.6.4.2).

The considerable pride in the language and its use in public, described in section 9.2, is to a large extent a celebratory activity. Kurna speeches are now given at most large Nunga events in Adelaide, both in recognition and celebration of the survival of Kurna people and culture. This excitement generated by the reclamation of Kurna is obvious in a number of interviews, such as when Katrina Power, Chairperson of Tandanya, spoke on radio in early 1997 about the rebirth of the Kurna language:

. . . there's a new spirit involved here. Its a great period of reclamation. And you know, I don't want to give off the idea that there's any kind of fabrication or anything like that in this context, because the fact is that we know the basic stuff. Now we're building on it and we're growing. It's like we're learning to talk again. I can't say enough how exciting that is.

(Katrina Power interviewed by Anna Gillen, Radio 5UV, 23 April 1997)

Lester Rigney also talks with feeling and passion about the use of Kaurna language within his family:

... I see my own family who just love Kaurna language. you can see the pride in their faces when they speak this. The sense of identity. The sense of ownership. The sense that this is the part that I've always been longing for. The part that's been missing that I've been looking for, that I've found. Even my own sister comes home. You can't stop her from repeating Kaurna language all the time and talking and trying to get her kids to listen and talk. Powerful stuff. And the songs, as we drive over to Point Pearce we sing the songs because mum and Eileen start singing and the kids start singing and so we're singing in the bus. And you can't help but be marinated in language. (Lester Rigney, interview, 20 November 1996)

10.1.4 For the Next Generation

Some, such as Alice Rigney, became involved with the language, not only to strengthen their own identity, but to be able to hand it on to the next generation. For Auntie Alice, the Kaurna language has become a means of nurturing future generations in their personal and cultural identity. She expresses her motivations as follows:

Well, I reckon it's really important for me, particularly, because when I listen to Kaurna language I believe that I can feel myself being deeply involved in part of my past. Because, you see, I didn't really believe that there was a language as such around. And when I listen to it, it just gives me so much power within myself and, because it's something that belongs to me and my group from my mother's side, from the Kaurna people, and I just think it's absolutely wonderful. Because it is part of me that I never knew existed and although I heard bits and pieces, you know, when I lived on Point Pearce, but nothing as concrete as this. So it's really important to me to be able to reclaim part of that history, that belongs to me and my future kids and the future generation of my group.

I believe that this is something that we have to hand on to our children, and their children, because every bit of every part of culture and language that we can reclaim, we have to do that. Because in order to be able to be strong in our identity, we have to be able to come to terms with reclaiming what was, so that what we can ensure for the future is going to be around. Because I would like my great grandchildren to be able to speak fluently in the language. You know, because there's some potential for tourism, for job opportunities, but just for themselves, to be able to reaffirm culture and language for ourselves.

(Alice Rigney, interview, 29 October 1997)

All of the Kaurna adults actively involved in the language movement have a strong desire to pass the language on to their children and to their "grannies"². Many of them work within the education sector and use the knowledge gained through formal courses in their own workplace or schools attended by their own children. Others attempt to pass on some of the language within their own nuclear family and family networks. The desire to pass the language on to younger siblings and the next generation is even a reason cited by children at KPS:

My name's Trisha Agius. And I've been learning Kaurna language for six years. It's really good that I'm learning it and I feel good that I'm learning my culture and that I can teach my kids when I grow up.

(Trish Agius, video shot by Jenny Burford, KPS, August 1997)

I can speak to my nanna and pappa and I want to teach my kids when I grow up.

(girl from KPS, voiceover on *Warranna Purruna* . . . video, DECS, 1997)

10.1.5 Reaching Out to the Wider Community - the Liberation Struggle

Whilst most, if not all, Kaurna people learn Kaurna primarily for themselves and for their own people, there is also a sense in which they learn and use the language to reach out to the wider community. In this regard the Kaurna language movement is intensely political, not in a partisan or party political sense, but in the sense of fighting for Indigenous rights and changing the balance of power within society. The language is used to challenge and change

²Grannies is a Nunga English term referring to one's grandchildren.

preconceived notions (about the Kurna language and people being 'extinct'), to promote understanding of the Kurna people and their culture, to fight for recognition and promote reconciliation.

For Lester Rigney, perhaps the primary motivation for engaging in the reclamation of Kurna language is in the liberation struggle for his people and as a tool for decolonisation. Georgina Williams describes herself as a "warrior woman" with a lifelong mission to "wake up the people" and reinstate traditional cultural values (see video of the launch of KL&LE, University of Adelaide, 1997).

Kurna people have a long history of struggle against oppression and racism and many, such as the late Gladys Elphick, the late Mary Williams and her daughter Georgina Williams, were at the forefront of the Aboriginal Rights movement of the 1960s and the 'Tent Embassy' in the early 1970s. Kurna people have worked both within and outside the system in this struggle. Kurna language reclamation has become an integral part of this longstanding fight for justice and recognition and it is the community leaders and activists at the centre of this struggle for justice who are most active in the language movement. These themes are taken up in more detail in section 10.3.

10.1.6 Vocational Reasons

Some Kurna people learning Kurna do so, at least in part, for more practical reasons. It provides them with skills useful in the area of cultural tourism or the means to pursue a job teaching the language. Cherie Watkins began learning the language on the job as a Kurna language teacher. She explains:

I answered an ad in the local newspaper which was an advert. for a Kurna language worker. And I thought, "Oh, maybe I can do this" because I knew a few words. And I answered the ad. and won the position and started teaching within four weeks, which was a little bit intimidating because I didn't have a lot of confidence. However I found that I was one step ahead of the students which was really good at that stage. However, now of course it's improved and I've been doing a lot of learning myself.

(Cherie Watkins, *Warranna Purrana - Pa:mpi Tungarar - Living Languages* video, DECS, 1997)

Whilst Cherie commenced her involvement with Kurna for predominantly vocational reasons, it has now become a very personal quest, giving her a new direction in life. She explains in the AILF textbook:

Being involved in teaching Kurna language has given me a new lease of life - in fact it has turned my life around - at the age of 55 I have developed a voracious appetite to learn more of this language that has been lost to me for so long. My culture is being returned to me via the language. My horizons have been widened.

(Cherie Warrara Watkins, in SSABSA, 1996c: 201)

Her daughter Cherylynn, one of the first adult students in the program at Inbarendi College, has used her language skills to obtain work at KPECC and at Smithfield Plains PS.

Others have become involved in learning the language primarily through music and dance performances as we saw in the case of Karl Telfer (see section 9.2.3.1). The Kurna language

is already a strong element in Karl's performances, though he wants to build on it and develop it over a long period to strengthen a career in the performing arts (pc Karl Telfer, 1997; 1998).

Snooky Varcoe originally became involved in learning and teaching Kaurna as a language worker within school programs. His continuing involvement with the Kaurna language is now primarily through music and songs, rather than teaching the language per se.

Whilst the actual number of Kaurna people actively engaged in learning Kaurna is small, their level of commitment is high. Most have continued to use the language for their own personal purposes, and to use the Kaurna language in the public arena. A number are engaged in teaching the Kaurna language. Many have developed an intense, enduring relationship with the language.

10.1.7 Non-Aboriginal Involvement

Almost all use of the Kaurna language in public is carried out by Kaurna people themselves. However, a number of non-Aboriginal people, in addition to myself, are also engaged in language revival activities, learning Kaurna and teaching Kaurna. They do so primarily in a supporting role at the direction of Kaurna people. Some do so as part of their work roles as teachers at KPS. A few learn and use the language at home as spouses or partners of Kaurna people. Others engage in learning the language out of interest and a desire to understand the local Indigenous language and culture and local history. Some students may have begun learning Kaurna purely out of curiosity and self-interest, but in so doing have come to understand and support the Kaurna people's struggle for recognition.

However, there is some concern and difference of opinion regarding access to the language by non-Aboriginal people. These issues will be discussed in more detail in section 10.5.

10.2 Identity Politics

I will now look beyond the motivations of individual participants in the Kaurna language movement to specific issues and events which help to illuminate the contemporary language ecology in which Kaurna is embedded. First I will investigate Kaurna identity more fully. I focus specifically on the role that the Kaurna language is now playing in shaping and giving voice to that identity.

10.2.1 The Construction and Reconstruction of Kaurna Identity

Since the 1967 referendum and the Self-Determination policy of the 1970s, Aboriginal society has been re-grouping and re-defining itself. Initially this re-definition took the form of forging a new positive Aboriginality in the face of negative stereotypes and categories forced onto Aboriginal people by mainstream society. Indigenous peoples had internalized these stereotypes to varying degrees. Previously, many individuals were forcibly removed from their families at a young age, cut off from their people, their culture, their land, their way of life and their language. Some Aboriginal people even grew up believing that they were something else. For

instance, the well-known Aboriginal writer, Sally Morgan, from Western Australia, grew up thinking that she was Indian only to 'discover' her Aboriginality as an adult (Morgan, 1987)³. Some Kurna people, and others involved in the Kurna language revival efforts, were amongst the 'stolen generations'. For them, it was a matter of getting back in touch with their own Aboriginality. For instance, Naomi Dixon⁴, whilst always aware of her Aboriginality, only became aware of her Kurna ancestry in about 1990, through the South Australian Museum's Family History Project coordinated by Dr. Doreen Kartinyeri.

As the Aboriginal rights movement has matured, Aboriginal peoples have moved beyond simply forging a new Aboriginality, though this is still an on-going concern. People have moved to reclaim their individual and group identities and their associated cultures⁵. Attempts are being made to re-establish links with the land and to re-connect with the past in meaningful ways for the present and for the future. Kurna identity is not so much an identity of resistance, as Aboriginality is often portrayed (see Hollinsworth, 1992). Rather, it is a proactive, creative resurgence of identity, rooted in the past, but very much a reality of the present. Kurna people are defining themselves and transforming their society into the way they want to be. No longer are they willing to be defined by others or satisfied in defining themselves predominantly in opposition to the mainstream. Increasingly they are in control of who they are and their own destiny.

Jordan, writing in the 1980s, downplays the role of anthropological writings and Nunga languages in the construction of identity. Note that she is specifically referring to Adelaide Aboriginal people:

For most Aboriginal people, however, the writings of anthropologists have little immediate impact. Rather, it is enough to adhere to a somewhat vague, unspecific knowledge of the remote past that is a form of sedimentation of knowledge passed on from generation to generation. Thus the older urban Aborigines may refer to 'secrets' that they possess (though they do not possess the language). They may stand in awe of tradition-oriented people and, in an inchoate way, they may appreciate the coherence of the culture of that group. Nevertheless, the tradition-oriented culture does not provide urban dwellers a model with which they can readily identify in their daily lives, although they ally themselves with causes (such as land rights) which pertain to tradition-oriented people. (Jordan, 1988a: 118)

This observation may well have been correct at the time and it could well be still true for many Aboriginal people living in Adelaide. However, it is my experience that numbers of Nungas in Adelaide are searching for a detailed knowledge of the past, of 'forgotten' culture and language, and are prepared to turn to the writings of anthropologists, missionaries, explorers, pastoralists and colonial officials in pursuit of this knowledge. Some decades ago, Berndt (1970: 6) observed that "even in a highly industrialized city like Adelaide, the survival of the past is significant to the present."

³Sally Morgan was not one of the 'stolen generation'. Rather 'Aboriginality' was suppressed within her family in that era when she was growing up.

⁴Naomi was a central figure in KACHA affairs and the Warriparinga site in the mid-1990s.

⁵Typically, the reclamation of individual and group identities is centred on language groups. For many who have been totally cut off from their past, boundaries of the language group they identify with are simply those defined by Tindale (1974).

Jordan ignores the role of language in the construction of Aboriginal identities in Adelaide, though, in the same paper, she does acknowledge its centrality for the Sami (Jordan, 1988a: 127). Yet Jordan was writing at a time when concern for ancestral languages was beginning to be voiced amongst Adelaide Nungas. Three years before, a group of Ngarrindjeri students had travelled to Batchelor in the NT and interest had been expressed in reviving Kaurna. By 1988, the SACAE (now USA) was engaged in Ngarrindjeri and Narungga language revival activities.

10.2.2 Parameters of Kaurna Identity

Membership of KACHA is based on the following criteria laid down in the constitution⁶:

5. MEMBERSHIP

- 5.1 Membership of the association is based on a traditionalist model; members must be Kaurna Aboriginal people belonging to Kaurna family clan groups.
- 5.2 Those persons who are recognised as Kaurna Aboriginal people will be one⁷ or all of the following:
 - a) descendants of Kaurna Aboriginal people
 - b) members of a Kaurna family clan group
 - c) a person who acknowledges himself or herself as a Kaurna person
 - d) a person who is recognised and accepted by the Kaurna community as such;
- 5.3 Each family will be responsible for maintaining their own family records, a copy of which will be held by the association.
- 5.4 It will be the responsibility of the association to ensure that each family clan group will be helped where necessary in the development and maintenance of its own family clan group records.
- 5.5 K.A.C.H.A. Inc. will keep a registry or data base of all family clan records.

(KACHA, 1994: 4-5)

At the Annual General Meeting held in October 1996, 22 extended family groups, or 'family clan groups' as they are referred to in the Constitution, were represented at the meeting. However, KACHA does not represent everybody who claims to be Kaurna. In early 1996, a small but vocal minority made an unsuccessful attempt to establish a rival Kaurna heritage committee. In addition, there are a number of Kaurna people, secure in their own Kaurna identity, who prefer to remain aloof from KACHA politics. Probably other Kaurna families remain unrepresented in this way.

The re-emergence of Kaurna identity is focused primarily on genealogies and family ties; sites and territory, and aspects of material culture associated with these sites. Those who have links to the people of the Adelaide Plains are coming together to forge the new Kaurna nation. Genealogy or 'blood lines' remains the primary criterion for establishing ones Kaurna identity. There is some dispute within the community about the accuracy of published and unpublished genealogies assembled by the Family History Project (Kartinyeri, 1989; 1990) at the SA Museum and by anthropologists (Berndt & Berndt, 1993; Tindale papers) which sometimes

⁶The criteria laid down by KACHA for recognition as a Kaurna person mirror the Commonwealth definition "An Aboriginal person is defined as a person who is a descendant of an indigenous inhabitant of Australia, identifies as an Aboriginal, and is recognised as Aboriginal by members of the community in which she or he lives" (Jonas et al 1993: 2)

⁷There has been criticism of the drafting of this constitution by some members of the committee who have called for a tightening up of this clause so that all criteria are required. If it is only required that "a person acknowledges himself or herself as a Kaurna person" there is a concern that it leaves the way open for anyone to claim membership.

conflict with oral tradition. Added to this are questions about the identity of various 'Kaurna' ancestors and their place of origin. As a result claims of Kaurna identity are often disputed, though seldom is their Aboriginality brought into question. People are still in the process of sorting out who they are in terms of affiliation to language group, land and cultural traditions.

Within the Kaurna community there is a major line of cleavage between those who have strong ties to Raukkan and the main body of people who relate more to Bukkiyana. Those with ties to Raukkan are often seen by others to belong to the Ngarrindjeri. Added to this, there is a more recently developed Northern Kaurna and Southern Kaurna split, based primarily on modern residence patterns according to whether one lives in the northern suburbs or the southern suburbs. At one stage the Northern and Southern Kaurna were having separate meetings about heritage matters, though they still remained under the umbrella of KACHA.

Despite the passage of more than 150 years of post-colonial history, Nunga kinship networks are still surprisingly strong and resilient. Extended family networks can be extensive. Allegiance to the extended family is a powerful force for cohesion within the network, but may also exacerbate divisions within the developing Kaurna community.

The Kaurna renaissance is taking place in the wake of the destructive government policies of the past where Aboriginal people were second class citizens and there was active suppression of their languages and cultures. It is not surprising that there should be factions and conflict arising from the process of undoing the acts of racism and oppression.

In an era when the Kaurna are increasingly being recognised, governments and private companies are paying consulting fees and paying for site surveys in the process of gaining approval from KACHA, manoeuvring to ensure they get what they want. These consultations are putting considerable pressure on a small and relatively inexperienced community, by comparison with the large corporate interests they are forced to deal with. Pressure from developers is diverting the energy and attention of the Kaurna community away from language and cultural revival, which some Kaurna do regard as more important.

10.2.3 Kaurna Identity vs Nunga Identity

Many Kaurna people, perhaps the majority, have always had an intact sense of Aboriginal or Nunga identity, in contrast to the 'stolen generations' who often came from more remote areas in the north of the state. Alice Rigney says:

When I first went to school, and I went to an all girls school in town, and one of the students that came down from the country. I'm not sure where she fitted in the scheme of things in relation to identity as an Indigenous person. And I remember talking to this student and saying "Where I come from I feel really strong about who I am" because I knew my mother was an excellent teacher for me. And I had strong black female role models like Kath's mother and Georgina's mother and they were strong women. And I gained strength from that. So my identity was strong.

(Alice Rigney, Discussion Panel at launch of KL&LE, University of Adelaide, 31 July 1997)

During the mission era, many Nungas who are now Elders and leaders in their communities tried to hang on to what remained of their languages and cultures, though in many cases they were denied access to it by mission and government authorities and by their Elders. A few, especially those whose appearance allowed them to pass as Europeans or some other nationality, denied their Aboriginality in the face of strong pressure by the dominant society. Some Kurna people were fostered out to white homes and cut off from their people and their culture. In the main, however, Kurna people grew up with a history and certain traditions which separated them from mainstream society. Along with their history and culture, a deep sense of injustice, hurt and pain has been inherited by Nunga people. The descendants of Kudnarto, for instance, have known of the wrongful dispossession by the government of the block of land granted to her at Skillogolee near Clare following her death. People have felt aggrieved at the way they have been pushed around and moved from place to place, robbed of their successful farming ventures at Poonindie and Bukkiyana. And they are ever mindful of the loss of their lands, cultures, traditions and languages as the result of colonisation. All this they know first hand from oral tradition. The historical record merely confirms these basic facts and fleshes out the details.

Nunga identity has been an identity of resistance. It was an identity forged in a situation where people from many different countries and cultures were forced together on the missions. Lester Irabinna Rigney gives his view of the development of Nunga English in this context:

...Aboriginal people and particularly Kurna people and Narungga have resisted using English as a form of colonisation. The way that they have resisted is using Aboriginal English which was a combination of the many different language groups that were forced together on the missions. So to give them a sense of power and control they use this Aboriginal English to decode messages, to speak without the dominant culture hearing or listening, as a way to power and control.

(Lester Irabinna Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford 21 October 1997)

Nunga English gave voice to Nunga identity and could be described in Smolicz's terms as a core value. Whilst some Nungas attached an element of shame to Nunga English as a non-standard variety, certainly by the 1980s most Nungas used Nunga English with pride.

With the emergence of Kurna identity, Narungga identity and Ngarrindjeri identity etc., there is a new resistance to Nunga English, not because it is thought to be a "bastardized English", but because it mixes words from a number of different Aboriginal languages. Some would like to see a 'purification' of Nunga English and the formation of distinctive 'Kurna English', 'Narungga English' and 'Ngarrindjeri English' varieties. Lester Irabinna Rigney explains:

...Aboriginal English, as far as I know and my use of it, is a whole interspersed of Ngarrindjeri, Narungga, Adnyamathanha you see . . . Kurna doesn't belong there. Kurna belongs as a whole new entity so when you use those Kurna words you know you're using Kurna, although it might be Kurna English OK. But you're using Kurna words. You're not using Aboriginal English. You're using pure Kurna with English.

[JB: So in a sense you'll actually be getting more specialised forms of Aboriginal English so that Ngarrindjeri will be speaking Ngarrindjeri Aboriginal English and the Kurna people will be speaking Kurna Aboriginal English.]

Ne! <yes> . . . and those languages should only be spoken in those countries, which will give you a whole new presence because when you are reviving customary law you will revive it according to your language rules, so you can use Ngarrindjeri English, Kaurma English and then start to recreate that sort of stuff.

(Lester Irabinna Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford 21 October 1997)

For some Nungas, it seems that the possession of a distinctive variety of Nunga English, whilst valued, is not sufficient for the development of a complete sense of identity. Snooky Varcoe, for instance, talks of the Kaurma language 'filling a gap':

I find doing this language revival and teaching very challenging and rewarding in so many ways. It brings back fond memories of my child-hood. It also gives me a sense of fulfillment, a gap in my personality that has not been fulfilled, a sense of identity complete. I've wasted so many years of my life doing nothing, but now I want to do something useful for my people, my children, and future generations. This program is creating so much interest among the Aboriginal community and settlements. I wonder why it has not been started years ago. My people want to stand up and be counted, it gives them pride and a sense of direction.

(Nelson Varcoe, 1989 quoted in Amery, 1995: 74)

An increasing number of Nungas are searching for their roots and exploring their heritage in an attempt to "fill the gap". However, for most Kaurma people, a knowledge or even an interest in the Kaurma language is not necessary for the establishment or maintenance of Kaurma identity. For some, a knowledge of the Kaurma language is like an added bonus. It wasn't as though they didn't feel any less of an Aboriginal person or a Kaurma person without the language. They may well have felt quite sufficient, but the possibility of knowing the language adds that bit extra, the "cream on the top" as Paul Dixon puts it (Interview, 21 November 1996).

A transitional stage has emerged where there are two competing views. On the one hand, many Nungas are still very attached to Nunga English⁸. For some, Nunga English is felt to be 'their language', whilst Kaurma is something 'new' and 'foreign' to them. Some have voiced the opinion that Kaurma is something imposed from outside via their children attending a school program or as something created and promoted by white linguists⁹. This view contrasts sharply with that of the Kaurma language activists who portray Nunga English as the product of colonisation and a hangover from the mission era in contrast to Kaurma which is their 'own' language, possession of which is empowering and liberating.

10.2.4 Kaurma Language as a Marker of Kaurma Identity

We have seen that during the 1980s, Kaurma people began to make use of Kaurma words to name Aboriginal organisations and events located in Kaurma country. More recently, some people have begun to make use of Kaurma personal names to officially name their children. Since the initiation of Kaurma language programs within the education sector in the 1990s, the Kaurma language has a much higher profile.

⁸In the recent Constitutional Convention, we saw a prominent Aboriginal statesman, Neville Bonner, argued for retention of the monarchy as a resistance to change and painted the Republican cause as a paternalistic one: "You told my people that your system was best. We have to accept that . . . Now you say that you were wrong . . . I cannot see the need for change. I cannot see how it will help my people" (*Weekend Australian*, 7-8 February 1998: 34).

⁹Lester Rigney has observed something of a backlash within the community whereby disparaging comments have been directed at the Kaurma language (interview with Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997)

KACHA recognised the Kaurna language within its constitution (1994: 2) as follows:

3. OBJECTS AND PURPOSE

The objects of the association shall be:

- 3.1 To provide opportunities for the advancement of the economic, educational, social, artistic, cultural, linguistic, spiritual, psychological, emotional and physical wellbeing of the Kaurna community.
- 3.2 To establish, acquire, maintain and control social, cultural and study centres and other projects to further the economic, educational, social, artistic, cultural, linguistic, spiritual, psychological, emotional and physical wellbeing of the Kaurna community.
- 3.6 To monitor and influence the use of Kaurna historical elements, culture and language and prevent any inappropriate use of such information.

Within the constitution, however, the language clearly is of a lower priority than the identification and protection of sites and other aspects of material culture which are addressed by a number of additional more specific clauses. Even until comparatively recently, the leadership of KACHA had not really taken the language seriously, as the Acting Chairperson in early 1996, Fred Warrior, explains at a DECS public consultation meeting:

I'm not much into education and all that. I'm more into heritage. But this project is really important for everybody because it is renewal and reclaiming our language. And reclaiming our language is also reclaiming our heritage. I actually thought that we'd lost our language. I can't speak a word of Kaurna at all. But I heard Cherie and Rob one day speaking it¹⁰ and I was over the moon about it. I was so proud to think these people are bringing our language back to us and I think it will be a great thing in the future.

(Fred Warrior, QW Project consultation, 27 March 1996)

Later in 1996, a suggestion was put forward by Paul Dixon, that several subcommittees should be formed, including "a) Heritage; b) Music, Dance, Art; c) Language; d) Community Issues" under the auspices of KACHA in recognition of the need to carry out more detailed work in these areas (proposal drafted and circulated by Paul Dixon, 1 December 1996).

There has been more talk recently of the need to hold meetings and workshops to work out directions for the development of the language. It is clear that the language is becoming more important in the minds of more Kaurna people and that it is becoming a somewhat higher priority within KACHA.

The Kaurna language is increasingly serving as a focus of Kaurna pride, even though most Kaurna may have little knowledge of the language themselves. The Kaurna community is keen to promote the language visibly through signage and audibly through the public performance of song and the delivery of speeches. Increasingly, it seems, Kaurna language is becoming one of the 'main props' or 'pillars' of Kaurna identity. Within the context of KPS, children take pride in being able to use Kaurna, albeit in limited ways. The school song, written in Kaurna and English in May 1997 is now a focus for this pride. The children reportedly sing the Kaurna version of the song with more feeling and greater volume than they do its English version (pc Kevin Duigan; Cherie Watkins, Sept. 1997). KPS staff claim that the Kaurna version of the song is more meaningful and powerful than its English counterpart.

¹⁰Fred is referring here to the recording of a tape, in his presence, for David Havercroft and Eleanor Suisse's *Ruins of the Future* installation in the 1996 Festival of Adelaide.

The Kaurna language is slowly emerging as a more central aspect of Kaurna identity. For many, it is still little more than identifying with the name and knowing that the language exists. We have seen that a few, however, are attempting to grapple with the language and invest much time and energy in learning the language themselves, teaching it to their children and promoting it within the Kaurna community.

Lester Irabinna Rigney conveys something of the strength and depth of feeling about the contribution of the language for his identity in the following excerpts:

Kaurna language means to me an opportunity to start to dialogue between my people in a language that is our own. I find it frustrating talking and communicating in English which is a language that is foreign to this country. And I'm really frustrated in using the language of the oppressor because it does not espouse my world view.

...
I also feel powerless without Kaurna language. I feel that my identity is not fulfilled. So Kaurna language to me fulfills and re-affirms my identity. Re-connecting Kaurna makes me whole and affirms in me who I am.

...
And so to re-discover language is then to re-discover, re-affirm and celebrate Kaurna and Narungga culture. But, for me, it will also give me an ability to communicate in my own language, which for me is paramount.

...
I see my own family who just love Kaurna language, you can see the pride in their faces when they speak this. The sense of identity, The sense of ownership, The sense that this is the part that I've always been longing for. The part that's been missing that I've been looking for that I've found.

(Lester Irabinna Rigney, interview, 20 November, 1996)

There is little doubt that for Lester, Alice, Lewis and others, Kaurna language is a main pillar of their identity, though it probably cannot yet be described as a 'core value' for Kaurna society as a whole.

10.3 The Struggle for Recognition, Empowerment and Reconciliation

We have just seen that the Kaurna language has value and significance to individuals and to the Kaurna people as a distinctive group. But Kaurna language is much more than this. It is also used as a means of re-negotiating power relations outside the group. Underpinning the vast majority of current use of Kaurna, both within school programs and the public domain is its use as a medium of cultural expression. Use of the Kaurna language is not primarily for communication. English and Nunga English already perform those functions within the Kaurna community. Rather, use of Kaurna language is another means alongside of dance, art and other forms of cultural expression, that Kaurna people are using to bring their existence to the notice of the education sector and the general public.

The Adelaide City Council placenames proposal is also seen to further the cause of recognition of the Kaurna people. As Auntie Doris Graham said, when questioned about the importance of using Kaurna names, "Well they're the owners of the soil. They never have anything, no-one's been recognised from the Kaurna Plains people of those days, and I think it's nice" (Doris Graham interviewed by Jenny Burford, 27 October 1997).

Different Kurna people use and promote the language in different ways to this end. Some, like Lewis O'Brien, wish to see a proliferation of Kurna names and to see the language used more and more, both by Kurna people and others. Lewis is happy for interstate businesses to use Kurna words, for instance, so long as the Kurna people are consulted about this. Others, like Georgina Williams, prefer to use the language in more sparing and challenging ways. When Georgina constructs a Kurna speech, it is to express ideas from the heart, that will challenge people's preconceived ideas (see Appendix J2.6, J2.8). She is not content to give people what they want to hear.

Not only is the Kurna language being used in the struggle for recognition of the Kurna people, but it is also being used in a much broader struggle for recognition of Indigenous peoples' rights. As I write, Australia is embroiled in a heated political debate about Native Title. Most of those actively using, teaching and learning Kurna are also actively involved in this wider struggle. Kurna speeches have been given and Kurna songs sung at a number of public meetings and rallies held in support of the Mabo and Wik decisions and in support of the Kumarangk Coalition's stand on the Hindmarsh Island Bridge issue. An impassioned Kurna speech was delivered by Cherie Watkins at the South Australian opening of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal Children from their Families (Appendix J2.4). A letter was written in Kurna and English, which was sent to the Prime Minister John Howard in protest at his refusal to apologise to the 'Stolen Generations' (Appendix F6). So there is a sharp political edge to the Kurna language movement.

The Kurna language is seen as a means of bringing about reconciliation, not only between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, but also between Kurna people themselves. This was clearly articulated on 31 January 1997 by Veronica Brodie at a meeting of Kurna Elders who attended the briefing session in relation to the Adelaide City Council's proposal to apply Kurna names to the parks and squares within its jurisdiction. Veronica made the point that, as Kurna people, they came mainly from two different areas, Raukkan and Bukkiyana. Raukkan is the heart of the Ngarrindjeri nation, while Bukkiyana is the centre of the Narungga nation. People from these two centres have a somewhat different history and different allegiances, whilst also having links with Kurna people and Kurna country through the ancestors. The Kurna language is seen by Veronica as something that all these people have in common, something that can help to build bridges between the two groups and forge one Kurna people and one Kurna nation.

In the broader picture, the Kurna language, by means of its use in school-based and tertiary language programs, and by means of its use in renaming the landscape and institutions, is seen as a tool to bring about reconciliation between the Indigenous and non-Indigenous community. This is something that Auntie Alice Rigney promotes strongly as the following quote shows:

I believe that anyone who is involved in a process of language is a wonderful person. Because I believe that if you can understand through language, culture, I believe that we are going a long way to making reconciliation happen. Because understanding between cultures is just so important. And the people who are in tertiary training institutions can help in the reconciliation process. Because its just so important that people who are involved in learning such as that can actually help towards making our world a better place for all of us to live in. (Alice Rigney, video shot by Jenny Burford, August 1997)

This message also comes through in the video:

In reclamation programs there is a sharing of power. Access by all to language is reconciliation. This sharing I believe helps to overcome racism because of the understanding this brings. (Alice Rigney in *Warranna Purruna - Pa:mpi Tungarar - Living Languages* video, 1997).

The Kurna language serves as a key to gaining insights into local history, the local environment and the local culture of the people of the Adelaide plains. It is difficult, if not impossible, to teach reconciliation head on. By means of insights gained through the language, however, people can gain an appreciation and respect for Aboriginal culture and Aboriginal people.

This holds true, not just for Kurna of course, but for all of Australia's Indigenous languages, as articulated in the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework:

It is hoped that the study of and about Australian languages will contribute to a breaking down of barriers between Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-Aboriginal societies by encouraging respect for Australian languages and the cultures in which they are embedded. A knowledge of and about Australian languages could contribute to the emergence of a unique Australian identity (SSABSA, 1996a: 3)

So there is a very personal identity agenda and a wider cultural agenda operating within the Kurna community, a still wider educational agenda aimed primarily at Nunga children and adults but extending out into sympathetic sections of the non-Aboriginal community and a more far-reaching political agenda reaching out to the wider community, which underpin the use and social functions of Kurna in the 1990s.

10.4 The Sociopolitical Backdrop for Kurna Language Revival

The Kurna are a dispossessed people. As Georgina Williams pointed out in her address at the Colebrook reunion¹¹, the Colebrook site in Eden Hills is currently the only piece of Kurna land which is under Aboriginal control, though even that is not directly under the control of the Kurna¹².

The Kurna have, however, achieved a measure of recognition and are consulted by government departments and developers in relation to sites of significance threatened by development. The Southern Expressway and Wirrina Cove, for instance, are major developments over which protracted negotiations have taken place through which the Kurna have gained some concessions. Because Kurna land includes the Adelaide metropolitan area,

¹¹ The Tjitji Tjuta - "Colebrook Kids" re-gathering and reconciliation event was held on the site of the Colebrook Training Home, Eden Hills on June 1 1997.

¹² The site of the Colebrook Training Home, Eden Hills is owned by the Aboriginal Lands Trust of SA who have plans to develop the site for recreational and cultural purposes.

the surrounding fertile plains and adjoining coastline the Kurna gain more recognition than they otherwise would. The special relationship of the Kurna to the Adelaide Plains is increasingly given public recognition, especially by other Aboriginal people. It is accepted protocol now, for interstate visitors such as Mick Dodson or Marcia Langton, to begin their speeches with an acknowledgement of the Kurna people as the original landowners.

More attention has been directed towards Aboriginal languages by governments of all persuasions in recent times. In 1987 the Federal Government allocated \$3 million dollars towards language maintenance activities under the National Aboriginal Languages Program (NALP). This funding has been continued under the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Program (ATSILIP). Under the previous South Australian Labor Government, Mike Rann, as Minister for Technical and Further Education and Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, spoke at the national Aboriginal Languages Conference held at Tandanya in December 1991 of the need "to save and revive Aboriginal languages in South Australia" (Rann, 1992: 71) and of the relevance of this linguistic heritage to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. In line with the Minister's recommendations, a language centre, Yaitya Warra Wodli, was established in 1993.

DETE now supports about 20 language programs in ten languages in South Australian schools. This includes the Kurna programs operating within Inbarendi College. Governments are certainly more receptive and sensitive to the needs of Indigenous peoples like the Kurna than they were, even just a few years ago.

However, despite these positive developments, recent events (discussed in the remainder of section 10.4) have created an atmosphere in which Aboriginal people perceive their basic human rights are being denied. They are being marginalised and at times villified. Australian society is becoming more polarised on these issues with an accompanying increasing hostility towards Aboriginal people and Aboriginal affairs.

Paradoxically, these events have served to strengthen Aboriginal identity and to harden the resolve of Kurna people to rebuild their nation and their culture, including the language. The hardline stance of the federal government on matters related to land may in fact be traded off with a softer approach to language and culture. Part of the compromise may in fact mean some additional resources in these directions which do not pose a direct threat to the economic interests of the rich and powerful.

10.4.1 The Hindmarsh Island Bridge Saga

The Hindmarsh Island Bridge affair has been a long running battle, fought in Commonwealth and State Parliaments, the High Court and the media¹³. It has divided the Ngarrindjeri community (see Varcoe in Hart, 1997: 241). The issue is still unresolved at the time of writing.

Whilst Hindmarsh Island is within Ngarrindjeri lands, some Kurna people, having both Ngarrindjeri and Kurna ancestry, are directly involved in the dispute. Two women in particular are at the forefront in both the movement to stop the bridge and the struggle for recognition of Kurna language and heritage. Veronica Brodie was the only Ngarrindjeri woman to give evidence for the existence of 'women's business' on Hindmarsh Island during the course of the Royal Commission. Veronica is also an Elder on the Executive of KACHA and has been fighting for recognition and access to the site of the former CSR factory at Glanville, Port Adelaide where her great grandmother, Lartelare, was born in 1851. A research report was prepared for the Lartelare Homeland Association by Sheridah Melvin (Brodie & Melvin, 1994). Cherie Watkins, working as Kurna language specialist since 1994, has also been prominent within the Kumarangk Coalition (an anti-bridge collective).

One of the themes that emerged from the Hindmarsh Island Royal Commission and associated media coverage was the denial of the right of the Ngarrindjeri to a dynamic, changing culture. Much weight was placed on verification of beliefs that aligned with writings of anthropologists and missionaries. If the culture had not been documented by anthropologists and missionaries then it was as if it did not exist. The only culture Ngarrindjeri people were entitled to was some static, unchanging, rarified account appearing in the historical record. Any deviation from this was deemed to be a "fabrication".

Now, for the Kurna who are attempting to rebuild their society, by recreating their Dreamings and reviving their language on the basis of very limited oral history and limited documentation, the implications are obvious. As Hemming (1996: 25) observes:

This allegation of fabrication has seriously undermined the position of Aboriginal people in 'settled' Australia as inauthentic, weakening potential native title claims.

As we saw in Chapter 7, in reclaiming Kurna we are changing the language, both deliberately and unintentionally. Some of these changes that have been introduced, such as the base-10 number system, are a radical departure from the language as it was spoken last century. We must be prepared then to address the charge that Kurna of the 1990s is a 'fabrication'. These issues of authenticity and integrity of the language are constantly in our minds as we rebuild the language. The charge that "Kurna is a whitefella creation", referring both to the role of the

¹³For details see the findings of the Royal Commission (Stevens, 1995) and an alternative report based on the same transcripts prepared by Greg Mead (1995). A special edition of the *Journal of Australian Studies* (Number 48, 1996) titled *Secret Women's Business: Hindmarsh Island Bridge Affair* publishes a series of essays which cast doubt on the Royal Commission's findings.

German missionaries and myself has been raised on several occasions from individuals outside the language movement.

10.4.2 The 'Stolen Generations'

Most Kurna families have emerged from the hard but relatively stable life on the missions of Point Pearce and Point McLeay. But families were disrupted by government policies. With the granting of Exemption Certificates, holders were not allowed back on the missions and reserves without a permit. Men were often forced to leave the missions for extended periods in the pursuit of work.

However, some Kurna people were amongst the ranks of the 'stolen generations' having been forcibly removed from their families and fostered out with non-Aboriginal families or placed in institutions. Some of these people who had previously lost contact with their people have since linked up with their families and now strongly identify as Kurna people. Government policy is blamed for the loss of identity, culture and language.

A National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families was established by the then Federal Attorney General in 1995. The findings of this inquiry were published under the title *Bringing Them Home* (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997). Fortuitously, the report was tabled in Federal Parliament concurrently with the national convention in Melbourne by the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation. The report was the topic of vigorous and emotional debate in parliament, with the Prime Minister steadfastly refusing to apologise on behalf of the nation for the misguided policies of the past. The issue gained significant publicity in the Australian media and also drew some international attention.

The report also addressed the issue of linguistic and cultural loss and restitution. Two recommendations are of relevance:

Language, culture and history centres

Recommendation 12a: That the Commonwealth expand the funding of Indigenous language, culture and history centres to ensure national coverage at regional level.

Recommendation 12b: That where the Indigenous community so determines, the regional language, culture and history centre be funded to record and maintain local Indigenous languages and to teach those languages, especially to people whose forcible removal deprived them of opportunities to learn and maintain their language, and to their descendants. (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997: 300)

10.4.3 The Reconciliation Movement

The Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation was established in 1991 by an Act of federal parliament which received unanimous support by both houses of parliament. The vision adopted by the Council is of:

A united Australia which respects this land of ours; values the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander heritage; and provides justice and equity for all.

(Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation brochure *Reconciliation and its Key Issues*)

The 1990s were designated the Decade for Reconciliation. Following extensive consultation with Indigenous peoples throughout Australia, the Council prepared a submission to the

Government in early 1995. A summary version was subsequently published (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 1996).

We have seen in Chapters 8 and 9 that the Kaurna language revival movement is seen to be operating very much in the interests of reconciliation. It provides insights into Kaurna culture, Kaurna people and their history. As we have seen, many, if not all, involved in the Kaurna language movement have participated in reconciliation events.

10.4.4 The Polarisation of Australian Society

Since the establishment of the Reconciliation Council, a number of events have occurred that have polarised Australian society. In early 1996 a Liberal/National Party government was elected, as was the controversial and outspoken Member for Oxley, who was expelled from the Liberal Party just prior to the election for her extreme views. On being elected, the Prime Minister and the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs failed¹⁴ to adequately counter the extreme views of the Member for Oxley under the guise of freedom of speech and the end of 'political correctness'. This failure on the part of the Prime Minister has allowed the media to catapult this little-known bigot into centre stage. She has since become the focus of increased racist activity. The extreme right has attempted to capitalise on her fame to gain additional support and legitimisation of their position.

The Prime Minister, himself, frequently talks of rejecting a "black arm-band" version of history and would like to deny that the present government or the present generation bears any responsibility for the past, yet at the same time he promotes taking pride in Australia's history and the efforts of the 'Australian pioneers', including the squatters who siezed the land illegally.

In the wake of the historic Mabo decision handed down in June 1992 when the High Court of Australia finally overturned the doctrine of *Terra Nullius* and recognized the sovereign right held by Indigenous Australians to their lands, the mining and pastoral industry lobbies have swung into action. The Wik decision which affirmed the rights of the Wik peoples to an interest in leasehold land has further fuelled this opposition. See Bachelard (1997) for an excellent discussion of Wik, Mabo and the Ten-Point Plan (a set of proposed amendments to the Native Title Act).

Whilst these matters do not have a direct impact on the Kaurna, for it is unlikely that the Kaurna would be able to satisfy the criteria for a successful land claim, repercussions from the Wik and Mabo decisions have a major influence in defining the political climate in which the Kaurna programs operate in the late 1990s. Attitudes are hardening and views on Aboriginal affairs are becoming increasingly polarized (see Johnson, 1996). This polarization of Australian society is

¹⁴The Prime Minister has belatedly moved with more direct criticism of Hanson in 1998 after the electoral interests of the Liberal Party in Queensland were threatened.

serving to galvanise the Indigenous community together. These topics are a frequent focus of informal conversation and discussion amongst adult participants of Kurna language courses and is clearly one of the factors motivating them to pursue a knowledge of their ancestral language and culture. Many students talk of gaining an increased inner strength through an in-depth knowledge of their language.

10.5 Whose Language Is It? Ownership and Copyright Issues

One of the major issues impinging on the future of Kurna is the issue of ownership and copyright. There is a tension between wanting to see the language used and gaining recognition on the one hand and maintaining control over it and keeping it 'in-house' within the Kurna community on the other. As to be expected, there are major differences of opinion between different members of the Kurna community on this question. And there is a measure of ambivalence on this issue within individuals, where the position taken changes from day to day in response to specific events and developments.

On the part of the non-Indigenous community, the majority are quite ignorant of and indifferent to the Kurna language. However, an increasing number of non-Indigenous Australians recognize Indigenous languages, such as Kurna, as Australia's unique heritage and in this sense feel that these languages are a part of their heritage too. Then there is the 'new age' fringe within the non-Indigenous community who would wish to appropriate Indigenous knowledges and those who appropriate Aboriginal identities as their own¹⁵, though not necessarily intending to be exploitative. Finally there are those, such as Leon Carmen (alias 'Wanda Koolmatric'), who have willingly and shamelessly exploited and falsely created an Aboriginal identity for commercial gain (see Koolmatric, 1994; Hosking, 1997; *The Advertiser*, 13 Mar. 1997: 1; *The Advertiser*, 15 Mar. 1997: 10, 29).

Certainly concerns over ownership and copyright issues, and the lack of clear direction resulting from an inability to resolve these issues, is one of the main limiting factors on the promotion and use of the Kurna language in the public arena, and ultimately on the revival of the Kurna language itself.

10.5.1 Copyright Issues

On the one hand there is the issue of who should own the historical materials and who should be able to use them, for what purposes, and with whose consent. According to Australian law, the situation is clear. The materials are in the public domain and there are no legal restrictions as to what people can do with them. Despite this, the Kurna community believes that the language belongs to them and that they have moral rights to it as Indigenous cultural property.

¹⁵Indeed, one of the PWAC students who has been learning Kurna since 1995, is an artist, born in Germany but has adopted an Aboriginal name, Moona Nookenhah. Whilst this name is not Kurna, it is immediately recognisable as being derived from an Aboriginal language. According to a newspaper report she "considers herself part of the Aboriginal community and uses elements of Aboriginal mythology in her work" (*Eastern Courier*, 15 October 1997: 19). Not everyone in the Kurna community is happy with her use of Kurna words and phrases in her works of art. This issue needs to be resolved by the Kurna community.

The Kurna community is totally united on this point. There is a growing movement within Indigenous communities, to assert their rights over these materials and to insist on certain protocol in relation to their use. Brown, drawing on cases from around the world, identifies the differing perspectives on cultural information taken by Indigenous societies relative to Western legal systems. According to Brown:

The assumptions that inform this emerging [Indigenous] perspective can be summarised as follows:

1. An ethnic nation- a people, in other words - can be said to have enduring, comprehensive rights in its own cultural productions and ideas. These include the right to exercise total control over the representation of such productions and ideas by outsiders, even in the latter's personal memoirs, drawings, and fictional creations.

2. A group's relationship to its cultural productions constitutes a form of ownership. This ownership may be literal - that is, based on some comprehensive definition of cultural or intellectual property - or metaphorical, reflecting universal recognition that in moral terms a group "owns" the ideas and practices that it holds dear.

3. Cultural information pertaining to ethnic minorities that was gathered in the past by anthropologists, missionaries, government administrators, filmmakers, and novelists is by definition so contaminated by the realities of colonial power that it cannot meet (today's) standards of informed consent. This information may therefore be quarantined or subjected to severe access restrictions when and if its subjects deem its presence in the public domain offensive. (Brown, 1998: 194-195)

In Australia, Indigenous cultural and intellectual property copyright issues have begun to be addressed in an ATSIIC-funded, AIATSIS-commissioned discussion paper (Janke, 1997) which puts forward a series of proposals for the reform of Australian copyright laws. Language issues are not addressed in detail within this paper, though they certainly are included within the definition of "Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property" (Janke, 1997: 7) and the report advocates the recognition of "the right to control the use of . . . the particular language which may be intrinsic to cultural identity" (Janke, 1997: 8). The only specific reference to language use regards the use of Indigenous words and names by non-Indigenous businesses as trade marks and brand names (Janke, 1997: 28; 34). So, should these reforms be accepted, the general public would no longer be at liberty to do what they liked with the Kurna historical materials.

A submission prepared in 1994 by Fourmile, for an inquiry on Indigenous intellectual and cultural property rights, makes a distinction between "cultural property" and "cultural resources", where the latter are "the product of interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people (most notably explorers, researchers, missionaries, and administrators)" (Fourmile, 1994: 11-12). In this sense the Kurna language consists almost entirely of "cultural resources", not only in relation to the historical resources, but also in relation to new language materials generated. According to Fourmile's categories, the Kurna language is very much a "shared heritage" for which she argues "neither party should enjoy exclusive rights to it" (Fourmile, 1994: 12).

As we have seen in Chapter 7, new materials, such as songs, story books, HyperCard stacks and language learning tapes, contain recently developed words, phrases and expressions not found in the historical materials. Who should own or hold copyright over these materials? As it stands at the moment, according to copyright law, the author of the materials or the author's

employer, in the case of curriculum materials, owns these materials. The right of the Kaurna community is simply not recognised. In the case of Kaurna language materials, many are currently generated by myself, often in conjunction with others, colleagues or students of Kaurna.

Ownership and copyright issues have been raised with KACHA, with members of the Kaurna community, with education providers and with students of the Kaurna language. The issues are yet to be resolved satisfactorily, mainly because the copyright laws are found wanting in protecting the rights demanded by Indigenous peoples. In the meantime, I have placed on record with KACHA an undertaking "to pay all royalties resulting from the publication and sale of Kaurna language materials back into the Kaurna language programs"¹⁶ (letter from R. Amery to David Branson, Chair KACHA 8 August 1995).

A discussion on these issues was held with the 1997 KL&LE class and, as a result, a submission was prepared for the ATSIC inquiry (Janke, 1997) in which we urged the writers to take into account a wider range of language-related issues and activities. We raised two problematic case studies for consideration: the Kaurna language learning tapes and transcripts produced for the KL&LE course, and the Kaurna translation of *The Kookaburra Song*. We recommended that rights over language materials be recognized at several levels, so that group rights over the language itself were recognized concurrently with the rights of institutions over specific language materials prepared under their auspices, together with the recognition of individual intellectual property rights in their creation. We also urged that "the process of translation be given due recognition as a creative endeavour which involves intellectual property rights". The full text of this submission is included in Appendix L.

A number of requests have been received from the Kaurna community for taped language learning materials and I am keen to sell the materials produced at the University of Adelaide for a nominal fee near cost of production. However, I am reluctant to do so until the copyright issues are resolved and we work out some arrangement as to who owns the tapes. The ambiguities in this area are a considerable stumbling block.

Indeed, some Kaurna people (pc Georgina Williams & Karl Telfer, November 1997) have called for the copyrighting of the entire Kaurna language, word by word, as contained in the historical sources, under the Heritage Act. Even if copyrighting of the language in this way were possible, what of the status of neologisms, songs and Kaurna language materials created since 1990?

¹⁶Royalties from *Macquarie Aboriginal Words* are paid to KPS and used to support Kaurna language programs through the production of materials and the hiring of language instructors. Proceeds from the sale of songbooks, textbooks and course materials are returned to help fund some courses and to fund further print runs of materials.

10.5.2 Who Should Have Access to What?

We have seen that there is some sensitivity within the Kaurna community as to whether non-Aboriginal and non-Kaurna people should have access to the Kaurna language¹⁷. Questions are often raised as to how much of the language should be made available and what restrictions should be placed on its use, at least until adequate protection and safeguards are put in place (Georgina Williams in Reilly, 1997: 2). Karl Telfer does not believe that non-Aboriginal people should be allowed to learn the language, because in his view, the language itself is sacred (in Reilly, 1997: Appendix 1: 2). There is a feeling in some quarters that too much has been given away already. There is also a belief, held by many, that teaching the Kaurna language to non-Kaurna people somehow takes it away from the Kaurna people. This belief stems from a view of the language as a 'cultural artifact', as discussed in Chapter 2, as if it were the same as a wooden artefact that can't be in two places at the same time.

In 1996, when Kaurna was taught at Warriparinga within the Kaurna community, the Kaurna community was aware that they could've opened the course up to the broader community, as interest was being expressed by some local residents (Paul Dixon, Interview Transcript, 1996). However, they chose not to, preferring to keep the language within their own community.

Others, however, would like to share the language with the non-Aboriginal community and see the language as a means of achieving reconciliation and increasing understanding of Aboriginal history and culture amongst the wider population. They view themselves as a 'sharing' society. At the same time, they would like to see their own children have access to it first and do not wish to see it taught to non-Aboriginal students at the expense of their own. Both Lewis O'Brien and Alice Rigney acknowledge that the Kaurna community, and the number of learners of Kaurna emerging from within that community, is not sufficient to sustain Kaurna programs which are strictly in-house. They recognize that co-opting non-Aboriginal people into the Kaurna programs, both as learners and in the delivery of programs, is a necessary step. Auntie Alice explains in her interview with Jenny Burford:

JB: So that would suggest that you have quite a positive impression of non-Indigenous people learning the language? You don't have any problems with that?

AR: No, no I don't. But in the beginning, you know, I thought that it would have been just for the group who the language belongs to. At the beginning. But again it comes down to numbers and monies and all those other things that go with it, whether that's the way it's going to be taught.

JB: So it's a pragmatic choice that non-Indigenous people are involved, like in the sense of you're faced with a choice of, because you don't have the numbers, well if we don't let other people in to boost the numbers, then we don't have the language?

AR: That's right.

JB: It's better to have the language, than it is . . .

AR: Yes. That's right. Yeah, because I reckon its, you know .. If we're on about this coming together, working together, and there are lots of people who are as passionate about this as I am. You are too. And if we work together we can show people that it can happen, and it can be successful. But we need to all get in and do it together, you know, because the world is just getting smaller and smaller and we need to do our bit, eh, to make it a good world to live in for the next generation who comes through.

¹⁷Some Kaurna people would like to restrict the language to the Kaurna community in much the same way that some Pueblo Indian communities have done in New Mexico and Arizona. However, these same people realize the reality of their current situation and recognize that a sharing of the language is the only way forward.

In the same way, Lester Irabinna Rigney sees alliances created with non-Indigenous people as a crucial part of the liberation struggle for Kaurna reclamation. At the same time, Lester, Lewis, Alice and others are absolutely certain about who should be in control of the process, the Kaurna community.

In the mounting of the KL&LE course, I was aware that the majority of students would be non-Aboriginal. I had some misgivings about attempting to teach the Kaurna language itself with an emphasis on communication. There seemed to be little point in emphasising these aspects. Who would the students use the language with? What would they gain from it? However, I did prepare a set of language learning tapes with both Kaurna and non-Aboriginal students in mind. I deliberately chose topics which I thought would provide useful insights and a broad appreciation of the language and the contexts in which it is being used. While the tapes were made available for students to pursue if they wished, the course did not revolve around them. Nor was this aspect of the course assessed. Rather, I have emphasised developing some understanding of Kaurna linguistics through practical exercises and developing understandings of the process of language reclamation and Kaurna language ecology, both historical and contemporary. I have made a point of drawing attention to issues of protocol and etiquette, beginning the course with a panel discussion of Kaurna Elders on the topic.

As it turned out less and less emphasis was given to actual language learning than had originally been planned, in response to concerns raised by Georgina Williams about non-Aboriginal people having access to the language. According to Helen Reilly who interviewed Georgina in the final weeks of the course:

She (Georgina) doesn't believe that the Kaurna Language & Language Ecology course is the right thing to do at present and believes that any such course should be subject to the direct control of KACHA. Georgina regarded my suggestion that the course could teach about language reclamation with reference to Kaurna language materials but without the language learning component as being worth consideration.
(Reilly, 1997: 7)

On the other hand, others in the Kaurna community (pc Alice Rigney, Nov. 1997), have expressed some disappointment that more language learning was not included in the course.

10.5.3 Transportability of Programs

We saw in Chapter 8 that education providers like to have programs neatly packaged and well-resourced so that anyone is able to pick them up and teach them anywhere. They do not like the programs to depend on a particular individual. While this is sound thinking on the part of the education provider who wants to be able to resource programs and ensure continuity, it runs contrary to the way things run in Nunga society and might actually be counterproductive.

Mainstream society institutes checks and balances through regulations and documentation. Nunga society, on the other hand, maintains its authority and control to a large extent through relationships. The way the Kaurna people deal with ownership and copyright issues is through establishing a relationship with the people who deliver the programs and entrusting them to

deliver the program with respect. This also ensures they know where the programs are taught and to whom.

Some Aboriginal individuals and communities maintain their control and ownership over the language by refusing to write anything down and by insisting that programs are absolutely dependent on the individual. This was certainly the case with Kungarakany and Larrakiya taught in Darwin by Janama Robbie Mills. According to Mills (speaking at the PDTAL workshop, 5-7 December, 1995), when he departed the program would stop by design.

10.5.4 Losing or Gaining the Language?

Does the Kaurna community lose or gain the language through its promotion within the wider society and through non-Aboriginal people learning it? This is in fact a difficult question to answer and not one to be passed over lightly.

On the one hand, having more people using the language, irrespective of whether they are Kaurna or not, helps to build up a momentum and extend its spheres of influence, which in turn provides more feedback and reinforcement for the learners of the language. More interest and more learners generally means more resources devoted to the enterprise. This is the rationale that Lewis O'Brien appeals to when he promotes the use of Kaurna names within the wider community :

People objected in the beginning when I was doing it [giving permission to non-Aboriginal people to use Kaurna words] and then they suddenly see the sense of it because it's really bringing the language into the fore and it's making people use it and then they have to address it and then indirectly you are bringing the language into use, which is a good thing. Because then everyone's using it and they know the reason for using that word. They've learned that word and that's useful in itself.

(Lewis O'Brien, interview with Helen Reilly, 10 November 1997)

On the other hand, it is easy to see in the context of Adelaide, how the language could be appropriated by the non-Aboriginal community and be taught and used without reference to the Kaurna community. This is especially true if the language were packaged according to a predetermined LOTE formula that was 'tried and true' for other languages, such as was the expressed desire of SASSL in early 1997. Such a program might consist of modules on 'My World' from the perspective of the student, 'Numbers', 'Colours' and other favoured topics within school programs. Such topics could easily be taught without reference to the Aboriginal community and without reference to anything that led students to recognize the Kaurna people or the links between the language they were learning and the country in which they lived. The program could be packaged with a set of accompanying print, audio, video and multimedia resources that could indeed be picked up and taught by anyone with a language teaching background. Given a favourable political climate, they could even be distributed and implemented in every primary school and high school in Adelaide. But that would not necessarily further the interests of the Kaurna community.

However, if the modules were developed in such a way that involved the Kurna community in the production of audio, video and multimedia resources and the content was chosen to highlight the links between the language, the Kurna people, the Adelaide Plains and local environment, early contact history and Kurna culture (both 'traditional' and contemporary) then it may indeed be a good thing if it were taught in every school in Adelaide and even if, by necessity, it was taught in some schools by non-Aboriginal teachers.

If too many non-Aboriginal people gain a knowledge of the language before the Kurna people do, potentially it could cause a negative, defeatist reaction in much the same way that younger siblings often reject or turn away from activities or interests in which their older siblings excel. Certainly there is a fear that non-Aboriginal students could perform better in Aboriginal language programs than Aboriginal students owing to previously acquired study skills and home situations that are more conducive and supportive of learning¹⁸.

There is probably a lot to be gained by providing the wider community with access to the Kurna language and Kurna language programs, so long as this is done in the right way. If the language is out there in the public it is a constant reminder to people of the survival of the Kurna people. However links need to be constantly made back to the Kurna community.

10.5.5 Maintaining Control

The 1992 South Australian Aboriginal Languages Workshop leading up to the establishment of Yaitya Warra Wodli, the South Australian Aboriginal Language Centre, took a strong position on asserting Indigenous ownership and control over Indigenous languages. This is reflected in the press release formulated at the conclusion of the two-day workshop, at which Kurna people were present:

Aboriginal people want

- what has been taken away, is to be given back to the rightful owners, and
- to re-establish both the ownership and control of our languages and cultures (SAAETAC, 1992: 24)

Kurna people, are united in their desire to maintain ownership and control of their language. As Auntie Alice Rigney states:

Permission must always be given to others to use our language. We must own this process. In reclamation programs there is a sharing of power. Access by all to language is reconciliation. This sharing I believe helps to overcome racism because of the understanding this brings.

(Alice Rigney in *Warranna Purrana - Pa:mpi Tungarar - Living Languages* video, DECS, 1997).

Whilst Auntie Alice and a number of other Kurna people are keen to share the language and allow non-Aboriginal people access to it, Georgina Williams has expressed the view that:

Kurna shouldn't be taught to non-Kurna people mainly because of unresolved problems of potential exploitation and commodification of the language. 'Copyright protection of the language is essential, and not giving things away that can become the copyright of other people'

... She [Georgina] thinks the language should be protected before it is shared.

(Interview with Georgina Williams paraphrased by Helen Reilly, 12 November 1997)

¹⁸These concerns were raised by a number of respondents to the AILF consultation (Report of the National Consultation on the AILF, November 1993 - February 1994: 15).

This view is being echoed by some others in the community. A number of Kaurna people are now calling for a broad round of discussions about the future of the language and the associated ownership and copyright issues.

I view the expression of concern about ownership and copyright issues as a very positive development. Kaurna people are demonstrating a preparedness to work together with linguists whilst at the same time taking ownership and control of the process. There are potential dangers however. Legalistic approaches have the potential to stifle Kaurna language activity and could turn away useful allies. In the final analysis, these are issues which the Kaurna people must work out for themselves.

Some Kaurna people have expressed concerns that the revival is moving too fast. They are concerned at perhaps an over-emphasis on the formal sector through the delivery of Kaurna programs within schools, or in the tertiary sector, and the possible divisions that this may cause within the community. But, there is recognition of the need for the involvement of a linguist, though some would prefer Kaurna people themselves acquire these skills rather than rely on non-Indigenous input (Reilly, 1997: 8).

10.6 The Role of Linguistics

We have seen in chapter 7, that language reclamation is essentially a linguistic approach to language revival. It brings a range of linguistic skills and analyses to bear on the remaining materials in order to create a language which is maximally in-keeping with the language, as we know it from the sources, and in keeping with what we know and would expect from a study of related languages and Australian languages generally.

Assistance from linguists in the Kaurna program is generally well-received and acknowledged by some as essential in this enterprise. Kaurna Elder Lewis O'Brien, when questioned about the role of linguists and linguistics, explains:

Well, at this time it's very important to us, because if we're going to revive we can't do it without that [linguists and linguistics]. You've got to have, like I mentioned before, that basic structure. You know like we were talking before, you know verbs and nouns. You've got to know all that grammatical thing, you've got to know all the ins and outs of those sorts of things to be able to do it. It'll take us years to be able to do that and in the meantime we'll lose this impetus. I reckon that at this stage in our revival . . . it's always important to work with someone else. We always get extensions from that - what they do, what you do. And then you build on that. And I think that's marvellous to do it that way.

(Lewis O'Brien, interview 8 December 1997)

Or as Lester Rigney explains:

Aboriginal people must draw on Indigenous and non-Indigenous movements. Non-Indigenous specialists must be included in the Kaurna struggle for language. Now this might mean that linguists jump on board, and anthropologists and archaeologists. Whether they be white is OK in its infancy, but the most important thing is that Kaurna peoples must own the language. So, yes, non-Indigenous peoples can be involved with it, as long as they're guided by the Kaurna people.

(Lester Irabinna Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997)

Cherie Watkins, who commenced working in Kaurna programs in 1994, was at the time of writing, engaged the most in the up-front teaching of Kaurna across a variety of programs. She explains the relationship in the following terms:

Much of my work is done together with Rob Amery who is a linguist. And his input is very important in the grammatical structure of the language and explanations of some of those things that I don't quite understand. So the relationship there is very important so that we can work on the language together.

(Cherie Watkins on *Warranna Purruna: Pa:mpi Tungarar: Living Languages* video, DECS 1997)

As the revival of Kaurna proceeds, the contribution that linguists can make, including specific techniques, such as comparative linguistics, is increasingly being recognised. Auntie Alice expresses her feelings about this in the following excerpt:

. . . and the linguists look at, you know Rob will look at Nukunu and see how they can, they have a look at words and then they change them to suit a particular nation. I reckon that's really great.

(Alice Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford, 29 October 1997)

It is evident that there is support for the role of linguistics in Kaurna reclamation by those directly involved, as the quotes above illustrate. However, we have seen that the number of Kaurna people involved in learning Kaurna through the formal programs is not large. What of the attitudes of the bulk of the Kaurna population towards the central involvement of non-Aboriginal linguists in the teaching and development of their language? This is a hard question to address. Undoubtedly there is an element of suspicion and unease on the part of some who choose to keep their distance and not get involved. Indeed, as observed earlier, comments have been made to me that some Nungas in the community regard the language to be "a whitefella creation" and that it is very hard for some people to learn their language from a non-Aboriginal person. Lester Irabinna Rigney, who is himself very supportive of my involvement, notes these feelings:

Where you learn these languages are only at institutions where our mob have to pay. . . our language is taught in institutions that are driven by non-Indigenous personalities and white linguists. Now that's a real difficult concept for Indigenous peoples to swallow.

(Lester Irabinna Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997)

However, these attitudes are seldom voiced openly, at least not to me. It is difficult to assess just how widespread or how deeply these sentiments are held by members of the Kaurna community.

Recognition of input from linguists is evident in a number of ways. Some people will openly acknowledge the value of this approach as in the quotes above. Kaurna people frequently contact me for assistance in the construction of speeches, the translation of songs and the preparation of other forms of expression in the Kaurna language. Those most proficient in using Kaurna, such as Cherie Watkins, are now able to develop their own speeches and other forms and will use their own initiative to express themselves in Kaurna. However, Cherie and others still like to check these texts with me for correct grammar. Kaurna people involved in the programs generally accept correction from me and often actively seek correction and present their materials for checking. This has become an accepted part of the Kaurna programs and of the language movement itself within the community.

Language engineering or modernisation, such as the base-10 number system and the use of neologisms have been warmly received within the school programs and within the community. Some Kurna people direct naming enquiries my way or ask for assistance in addressing such enquiries. On the other hand, Kurna people are ready to volunteer information about specific words we should avoid because of interlinguistic taboo, or advise on dealing with sensitive issues, such as men's or women's business. I try to address these concerns and incorporate suggestions made.

This all points to a fairly healthy, constructive relationship between myself, as linguist, and the Kurna community. Their willingness to embrace linguistics contrasts with attitudes held by the neighbouring Ngarrindjeri community, who generally seem to distrust linguists or any advice offered about the linguistic structure of Ngarrindjeri. These differences in attitudes on the part of the two communities is reflected in the report of the Aboriginal Languages Workshop, which I did not attend, in which the "Kurna-Narrunga" were the only group to mention linguists in the development of their five year plan (SAAETAC, 1992: 15). They spoke of "defin[ing] the role of linguists", "develop[ing] criteria for linguists" and recommended that "linguists <sic> activities [were] to be under the control of Kurna and Narrunga groups". Mention of any role for linguists or non-Aboriginal resource people was conspicuously absent from the plans put forward by the Ngarrindjeri group (SAAETAC, 1992: 17).

The rise of Kurna to some prominence within Adelaide has shifted the locus of power within Nunga politics to some extent. Prior to the 1990s, other groups had dominated Nunga politics in Adelaide due to their numerical superiority, and strong spokespeople. With the return of aspects of customary law and respect accorded to traditional landowners, the position of the Kurna has improved relative to other groups. Understandably there is some resentment directed towards the Kurna as a result. Linguistic rivalries, therefore, are an important ingredient in the contemporary language ecology and could have far-reaching effects on the shape of things to come. Thus they warrant further discussion here.

10.7 Linguistic Rivalries

Competition with neighbouring Ngarrindjeri and more distant, but well-known Pitjantjatjara is a motivating factor for learning and using Kurna. The Kurna people are aware that other groups tend to dismiss them or 'write them off', because they don't speak their own language, as Frank Wanganeen (a Kurna man) explains:

Traditional people view Kurna people as meaningless because they're not able to speak their language. They don't know any of the culture or their Dreaming or their environment. They're out of touch with themselves. I think it's important that you always have at the back of your mind that you know within yourself, yeh, I can speak it. That's it who I am as a Kurna person that I can speak it - I can speak the language fluently. It's just a matter for your own personal self because so much has been taken away. It's good to maintain something, I mean you know it's always there. It's part of a rich culture that Aboriginal people have. It's part of the jigsaw that needs to be put back.

(Frank Wanganeen, interview 17 October 1996)

This is a view echoed by many others. Kurna people are constantly reminded by the Pitjantjatjara, Ngarrindjeri and other groups of the extent of their loss of language and culture. But this constant reminder has the effect of generating interest in Kurna. Katrina Power explains:

Kurna and Narungga have a sense of envy over Ngarrindjeri, you know, because there is that idea that so much has been retained already, you know. Not envy, respect. You know what I mean? Like, we see a real passion about Ngarrindjeri that's living, that's real, you know. That you can see, that you can feel, that you can hear, you know. I think Ngarrindjeri is very strong, very strong. Obviously, we all have the potential to be stronger, but I mean as far as the seeds go, there's good seeds there.

(Interview with Katrina Power, 9 December, 1996)

Vince Branson, another Kurna man, also cited this as a major factor stimulating his interest in learning Kurna:

I get sick of jumping on buses and you hear all these Vietnamese people and all these Greeks and . . . Wherever they come from, they're all talking in the languages. And if I was sitting down and if I had four or five fellas that speak Kurna, we'd be rattling it off like crazy, you know. Shut 'em right up. They'd think "Hey! What these fellas talking about?" you know. . . .

You hear the same thing like when you travel on the bus from Alice Springs down to Adelaide, right? We jumped on there with a couple of watis [initiated men] heading down to Coober Pedy there. And they was just rattling off. Everyone on the bus, everyone was just looking at them. They knew they were the centre of attention. They was just giggling away, laughing. I'm sure they was talking about everyone on the bus there you know. Every time I looked around they were going for it. They started rattling you know. Oh, deadly!

(Vince Branson, interview, 15 November 1996)

On the one hand, awareness of other languages stimulate interest and provide a living model of what it would be like for the Kurna to be able to speak their own language. Kurna people, like Vince, are clearly envious of other groups. Possession of one's own language and an ability to speak it in public is clearly seen as a desirable thing. On the other hand, local linguistic rivalries pose a serious threat to developments in the Kurna language. They need to be carefully managed so that one language is not privileged at the expense of others and so that individuals are strengthened and empowered.

Increasingly the assertion is made, that only Kurna should be taught in Kurna country¹⁹. In the same breath, it is often pointed out that it would be quite unacceptable to teach Kurna in Pitjantjatjara country or Ngarrindjeri country. NSW Koories have implemented a policy to that effect, that only local languages should be taught in NSW schools. That is, Indigenous languages should not be transported away from their place of origin. Accordingly, there is considerable disquiet that Bundjalung from northern NSW is being taught in Victoria at Monash University.

However, the Aboriginal population in Adelaide is diverse. This diversity is reflected in the student population at KPS and Tauondi. The allegiance to ancestral linguistic identities is strong and becoming stronger. Just as there has been some resistance to Pitjantjatjara programs and the use of Pitjantjatjara names in the metropolitan area by Kurna people, so too there has been some resistance to the development of Kurna programs by other groups. Concerns have been

¹⁹It is still commonplace for people to think of only Pitjantjatjara when it comes to Indigenous languages, without giving any thought to the possibility of teaching Kurna.

raised by language groups to the north and west, where a perception has developed that Kaurna has cornered DETE funds and is "getting everything" (pc Chris Warren; Greg Wilson, 1997). It seems that the success of the Kaurna programs is generating jealousies amongst other language groups. Some adult students at Tauondi who do not have direct links with the Kaurna community have resented having to learn the language in order to become cultural instructors and tourism operators (pc Cherie Watkins, 1997).

Whilst children of varying linguistic backgrounds at KPS seem happy to be learning Kaurna, and to date parents have been supportive of the Kaurna program²⁰, concerns have been raised by Lester Irabinna Rigney as to the possibility that it might create schisms within the Nunga community. Lester expresses this in the following terms:

Kaurna language strengthens Aboriginal identity, well that's coming from the old model of identity. If a person is learning Kaurna and that child is Narungga/Adnyamathanha descent, how really does it strengthen their identity? In actual fact it is doing the reverse. You see? Because you're instilling a whole new value and ideological system, because with language comes values and customs and beliefs. Even if you don't acknowledge it, it's in the language. So if you're teaching all of these separate communities the Kaurna language, then in fact you're overriding Narungga/Adnyamathanha culture and belief through the language.

.....
Let's look at six years down the track. Will we eventually have a group of students who have graduated with Kaurna that can speak some Kaurna. Well, what will that do to their parents? What will it do to their identity, particularly if they're from another group.

(Lester Irabinna Rigney, interview with Jenny Burford, 21 October 1997)

These are very real concerns. With rising ethnic consciousness, we can expect that there will be greater resistance to compulsory Kaurna programs by students affiliated to other language groups. This resistance is likely to rise in proportion to the success of the programs. Thus it is important to find ways of including elements of these other languages within the program, through drawing comparisons between languages and setting work that enables students to draw on their own languages.

It is important therefore, within an ecological model, to ensure that Kaurna programs are implemented in a way that also includes other languages. Cherie Watkins makes an effort to draw on the students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds and encourages students with a knowledge of another Aboriginal language to draw comparisons between their own language and Kaurna (personal observation; pc Cherie Watkins, December 1997).

Languages can exist side by side. One language need not be a threat to another. Indeed programs in one language can support programs and development in another, and vice versa. We saw earlier, however, how rivalry or envy of other languages has served as an important motivating factor and inspiration for Kaurna.

²⁰Many Nunga parents are keen to see that their children have access to an Indigenous language, even if it is not their own language. This is true not only of Nunga parents at KPS, but also of the Nunga parent body at Alberton PS where Pitjantjatjara is offered, at Mansfield Park PS where a Ngarrindjeri program operates, at Salisbury North PS which offers both Ngarrindjeri and Kaurna and elsewhere throughout the Metropolitan area.

10.8 Concluding Remarks

Following initial approval from the Nunga community, our main preoccupation in the early 1990s, in mounting Kaurna programs, was with resources and access to funds. Nunga politics was in the background. Whilst resources and access to funding sources remain a concern, the impact of Nunga politics is now a much more important consideration.

In our enthusiasm for the language, we went ahead and did things, such as the adoption of Kaurna names by students or the screenprinting of a Tjilbruke T-shirt, where now we would be much more careful to consult more widely beforehand. Little thought was given to copyright issues when we produced the songbook in 1990. Now, copyright has become a major issue whenever we produce Kaurna materials, an issue that has not yet been adequately addressed. Much more serious consideration is now given in relation to who should have access to the language and to protocol and etiquette in relation to use of Kaurna. It is now time for a series of round table discussions on future directions for the language as a matter of urgency.

As the language becomes politicized, we might expect to see some people withdraw or distance themselves from it. Whilst some people thrive on conflict, others withdraw totally. We see that some Cornish people, otherwise enthusiastic about all manner of things Cornish, distance themselves from involvement in the language movement because of disagreements over orthography and the varieties of Cornish promoted by different factions.

Mühlhäusler warns against the politicization of languages and language movements:

In a lot of societies there is [a connection between politics and language]. And the general impression I've gained is that if you package language with party political issues, it's a deadly recipe. You'll lose the language because people feel excluded. Any language in any society should include people of different opinions, different religious beliefs, different aims, different ambitions, different age groups. Languages should be there to unite, not to divide.

(Peter Mühlhäusler interview with Margaret Meadows, 2NF Radio, Norfolk Is., 6 October 1997)

These sentiments are echoed by others, for example in the North American context McCarty et al (1997: 101) suggest that "internal politics are best set aside for the benefit of the language restoration work at hand".

Factionalism and in-fighting is common in language revival movements around the world, or as Fishman (1991: 406) more obtusely puts it "beliefs, resources and actions do not always come together in unproblematic ways". So far, divisions within the Kaurna language movement have not been major, but the potential is there. Despite their differences, Kaurna people have been generally united in their support for the language reclamation efforts and do see the language as a means of uniting people across the various factions and family alliances within the Kaurna community.

CHAPTER 11: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

We need to promote whatever is left of language for our kids, because that strengthens them in relation to the job they have to do in the future. I can't stress enough, that identity is crucial for Indigenous survival in this country. If we let it lapse in one form or another we will not survive as whole people. So its crucial that we marry the culture, the language and the identity to become the strength of the future.

(Alice Rigney, Discussion Panel at Launch of KL&LE unit, University of Adelaide 31 July 1997 recorded on video)

11.0 Synopsis

This thesis has traced the fortunes of the Kaurna language from its historical roots to its current incipient revival. There are two main periods in the development of Kaurna as we know it, the mid-nineteenth century and the 1990s onwards. In between these two periods little was documented and the language was scarcely used. In the words of Kaurna people themselves, the language was 'sleeping'.

Initially, the Kaurna language was valued and Kaurna language skills acquired by sealers and some colonists were envied by others. The colonists and missionaries used the language for certain official and religious purposes and a school program operated between 1840 and mid-1845. The initial positive embracing of Kaurna was exceedingly short-lived. The Kaurna language was soon 'written off', even by those who had recorded the language and invested considerable time and energy promoting it. Within two or three decades following colonization, the Kaurna people were said to be 'extinct' or to 'no longer exist'.

However, the Kaurna people are regrouping and rising again as a distinctive people and a social and political force within Adelaide, and within South Australian Aboriginal affairs. The location of Adelaide, the heart of the colony of South Australia, once produced the rapid demise of the Kaurna language. Now, paradoxically, the fact that the seat of government and the urban and commercial heartland of the state is embedded within Kaurna territory provides a political forum and a purpose for the use of Kaurna within the public domain that otherwise would either be absent or have far less impact. The Kaurna language is a powerful tool, amongst others, that the Kaurna people can use to fight for recognition and to celebrate their survival. The Kaurna programs are a means by which we can forge a genuine reconciliation between Kaurna people and the majority population within which they live.

Because of my role in the Kaurna language movement, and my relationship with the Kaurna language enthusiasts, I have taken a partisan stance in this thesis. I make no apology for this. I believe it is important for linguists to be able to actively engage with a social movement they believe in. This thesis shows how the language reclamation approach, that has been adopted in the revival of Kaurna in the 1990s, draws heavily on the discipline of linguistics. A range of linguistic techniques are brought to bear on the language data recorded in historical sources to

build a clearer picture of the language as it was spoken in the mid-nineteenth century. The Kurna sources themselves are analysed and compared with each other and with neighbouring languages, both closely and more distantly related.

The historical sources, especially the German mission sources T&S and TMs, are the foundation of the Kurna language as it is being revived today. However, a knowledge of related languages and understandings of Australian languages in general enable us to fill gaps in the historical record and to adapt the language to cope with life in the 1990s. Neologisms are created as the need arises in the development of language materials, or in the writing of speeches or other forms of expression in the language. Kurna language revival goes hand in hand with the revival and re-creation of other aspects of Kurna culture, such as smoking ceremonies, 'traditional' dance forms, Dreaming stories and the manufacture of artifacts such as shields and woven baskets.

Kurna language revival is, to a large extent, driven by formal language programs in the education sector, especially KPS, and is heavily reliant on a few key individuals. However, there are also indicators that this language revival is not wholly dependent on the formal programs. An expressed desire to revive Kurna as a spoken language by members of the Kurna community predates the language programs in schools. The commitment to the language by certain Kurna people transcends these programs or what others might do with the language.

This thesis challenges linguists to re-think widely held ideas as to what is possible in language revival. Whilst it is exceedingly difficult to revive so-called 'dead' or 'extinct' languages, the Kurna case shows that this may not be such an 'impossible dream' as many linguists believe. Nor is the Kurna case a total aberration or enigma, as we can see by the many cases of language revival, 'constructed' languages and other deliberate language planning measures discussed in Chapter 2. These varied entities, most of which do not closely parallel the Kurna situation, nonetheless do share common elements with Kurna.

This study also challenges commonly held notions about the very nature of language itself as a 'natural' phenomenon. Linguistic orthodoxy has often disregarded, ignored or disparaged linguistic entities that fail to measure up to their criteria of 'natural' language. However, the very notion of language as 'natural' is based on a myth, a misconception about the ways in which languages are formed, are maintained and change. This myth ignores or downplays deliberate measures speakers use to create, change and transform their languages.

This thesis has viewed language from an ecological perspective. The Kurna language is a microcosm in which to view the development of a language. Until recently, the Kurna language was almost completely restricted to the status of an historical artifact, a language without a speech community. Its revival involves the rebuilding of this speech community and

the development of functional links between the language and those who identify with it. The Kurna language, at this stage of its development, operates on such a small scale relative to other languages that we can see more clearly ecological principles at work. This study has documented the situations in which Kurna is being used in the 1990s, and analysed the purposes for its use. In the Kurna study, we can view the very earliest stages of the formation of a speech community and the shaping of a language ecology that supports a reclaimed language belonging to a small Indigenous minority dispersed within a dominant English-speaking society.

Whilst we can measure and identify certain parameters, there are many more that operate in realms beyond our powers of perception and observation. Even in such a reduced microcosm, where virtually all the language users are known and much of the use of the language is known and describable, we simply cannot accurately predict the outcomes of revival efforts. We can, however, identify certain trends in its development and crucial factors likely to have a major bearing on eventual outcomes.

11.1 Lessons From the Literature

Chapters 2 and 3 reviewed the wide-ranging literature that has some bearing on the Kurna situation. At this juncture, it is worth considering the major themes coming through this literature that are likely to aid our assessment of the Kurna situation, and future prospects for the Kurna language.

11.1.1 Time

The language revival cases investigated reveal that a considerable amount of time is usually required before a language, which has ceased to be spoken for regular communicative purposes, again takes root within the speech community as the vernacular. In the Cornish case it took almost a century before the first bilingual Cornish-English speaking children emerged. And still Cornish is largely restricted to a relatively small number of language enthusiasts scattered around the globe. In the case of Hebrew, where there was widespread knowledge of the language which continued to be used in restricted domains, efforts to revive the language as a spoken tongue bore little fruit during the first few decades of activity in Palestine. It is now of course a regular everyday language within the state of Israel.

Relative to these revival movements, Kurna is in its infancy. Against this time frame, much has been achieved in less than a decade since the initiation of Kurna language revival activities and programs. Kurna people are generally aware that Kurna will not be revived overnight and the key individuals involved are in it "for the long haul", having taken note of the Hebrew and Cornish experience (pc Alice Rigney, March 1998).

11.1.2 The Role of Outsiders

As Robinson (1997: 109) observes:

Those who would develop the language in some way or work against its disappearance are most often outsiders. Their actions are interventions in a community to which they do not belong; they may bring with them useful skills and resources, and in doing so introduce new dynamics of power and culture.

Whilst Robinson is referring primarily to previously unwritten languages in 'traditionally-oriented' societies in the Pacific or Latin America, where the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) is especially active, his observations are nonetheless pertinent to the Kaurna situation.

We have seen the catalyst role played by Steve Hemming, Meredith Edwards, Howard Groome and others in the development of Aboriginal Studies curriculum and the inclusion of Kaurna perspectives. These professionals brought with them research skills and writing skills. The very act of engaging with the Kaurna community in research has focussed attention on particular areas and provided impetus for developments within the community.

So too in Kaurna reclamation, I as a non-Aboriginal linguist, have been a catalyst for the establishment of Kaurna programs and for much of the use of Kaurna within public forums and within the Kaurna community. I do not control or own these processes, but nonetheless this linguistic input is a central element within the language ecology, without which the Kaurna language simply would not have developed in the ways in which it has, or be used to the extent that it is. However, the Kaurna language is developing a life of its own¹.

Successful language revival efforts with which I am familiar, almost invariably have this catalyst element of bringing skills from outside the community. This can be seen in the Esselen case, and in the work done by Leanne Hinton with other Californian languages. Here in Australia, time and again we see this catalyst effect in the case of Djabugay, Nyungar, Yorta Yorta, Awabakal, Gumbaynggir and Wiradjuri, to name but a few. The most dynamic and successful Aboriginal Language Centres have seen fit to employ linguists, who are almost always non-Indigenous, in recognition of the skills they offer.

In cases where language revival movements have rejected input from outsiders, developments have not been so impressive and often plans have not been put into practice, through a want of expertise and not knowing where to start. This is perhaps the case with Wampanoag in Massachusetts, where after a series of committee meetings over several years, little seems to have happened. Linguists, such as Ken Hale, have been willing to assist but until invited there is little they can do. Closer to home, the slow pace of development of the Ngarrindjeri language is due largely to a reluctance to engage with linguists. Revival activities in Ngarrindjeri commenced some years before those in Kaurna. Furthermore, Ngarrindjeri has far more

¹Whilst I have worked intensively with a number of Kaurna people in translating, recording and practising their first Kaurna speeches, these same people are now in a position to construct their own speeches and feel no need to seek assistance. Similarly, once 'off the ground', the school programs operate with little outside input from myself.

historical resources and remaining knowledge within the community. Thus there is great potential for in-depth language revival work. However, by ignoring what linguistics has to offer, the level of grammatical complexity in revived Ngarrindjeri is compromised, as they are forced to calque the language onto English structures in the absence of linguistic skills and understandings.

11.1.3 Success Comes From Within

Successful language revival comes from within the language community. In language reclamation, so much depends on the relationship between linguists and the language community, and on the successful transfer of linguistic skills and understandings. Acceptable 'power sharing' arrangements must be developed. Key individuals within the Kurna community have embraced specialists, such as myself. Over the last decade, my relationship with the Kurna community and language enthusiasts has grown and matured, so that we all have a much greater understanding of what we can expect from each other in terms of knowledge, skills and expertise. I believe that considerable mutual respect has resulted.

No matter how sound the approaches of linguists and language planners are, successful language revival can only be achieved if these 'resonate' with the community and their desires and aspirations. Catalysts are important, but the substance of revival comes from within. On many occasions I have picked up on trends, or events, occurring within the community and have sought to tailor Kurna language development accordingly. Neologisms in the historical sources were first brought to my attention by Auntie Josie Agius. A reduced form for expressing 'thanks' was introduced by Eileen Wanganeen. Focus on particular domains and topics has come from schools and community members. I have attempted to reinforce and expand these trends.

In the case of a language 'no longer spoken', there must be a desire to relearn and revive it. Often this desire is only kindled after the individual has had direct experience with the language itself. This is one of the reasons why the process takes so long. Language revival is a social process which must take its place alongside other things happening in the community which may be viewed as more important. It would appear that the revival of Huron, as envisaged by Lynda Sioui, has not progressed far due to a lack of widespread community support, and because of a lack of support from the education sector.

The role of Kurna Elders, especially Lewis O'Brien, Alice Rigney and Josie Agius, in initiating the use and teaching of Kurna, should not be underestimated. The working relationship forged between these Elders and the education system has developed and grown. Their commitment and perseverance has inspired non-Aboriginal people at various levels within the system. It is through the personal support and patronage of those in decision-making positions, who have caught something of the 'vision', that has allowed many developments to

occur. A genuine collaboration has emerged, to the extent that others in the Kaurna community, more skeptical and suspicious of the system, have seen fit to join in.

11.1.4 Language and Culture

Successful language revival goes hand in hand with cultural revival. We saw in Chapter 3, that Cornish language revival was accompanied by the revival of the Gorsed, the re-instatement of the bards and a renewed interest in things Cornish. The nearest parallels in North America point to the centrality of cultural revival within language revival efforts, as in the case of Esselen and Huron, where sweat lodge ceremonies and long house traditions (respectively) have been re-instated. In California, attempts being made to revernacularize Classical Nahuatl² (as described by Tezozomoc et al, 1997) have grown from the performance of Danza ceremonies. Groups of Mexicans in California are turning to Nahuatl, one of the original languages in which Danza was performed, as a means of "recovering an original culture" (Tezozomoc et al, 1997: 69). It is being revernacularized through the Danza ceremonies, accompanied by overt teaching in a series of lectures on:

- Nahua history from an indigenous perspective
- A deeper understanding of Danza steps
- Creation myths
- Making and playing indigenous instruments, and
- Classical Nahuatl

(Tezozomoc et al, 1997: 71)

All this is based on archival research. In this case, the teaching of the language appears to be totally embedded in the teaching and performance of other cultural practices. Tezozomoc et al (1997: 73) see "spirituality and language" as the "requirements . . . for reacquiring a lost culture". Noting that "most language reversal projects have met with the problem of not being able to reach enough people and then stagnating", the Danza movement addresses the issue by travel on a circuit from California to Texas to Mexico, disseminating songs, grammar books and exercises as they go. The Danza for some has become a total way of life. There seem to be parallels between the Danza and what the Williams family, especially Karl Telfer, are trying to accomplish.

Even in the case of Esperanto, which was instituted to transcend cultures and nations, its success has been due, in large part, to the development of an 'Esperanto culture' which shares many of the trappings of other cultures. Esperantists have their own flag, songs and a set of shared norms, values and beliefs. It even sees itself as an "ethnic" movement (Carlevaro, 1989: 185). Children growing up as first speakers of Esperanto, grow up with a dual identity, an international 'Esperanto identity' and the local national or ethnic identity.

The development of language and culture in tandem, and adopting a holistic approach, is an important aspect of shaping the language ecology. We have seen that Kaurna people view the language as just one component of a much larger package. But significantly, the Kaurna

²Classical Nahuatl, the language of the Aztecs, was said to have been "extinct" by 1833 (Grimes, cited in Tezozomoc et al, 1997: 57), though many related languages are still spoken in Mexico.

language is seen as the key to understanding and reclaiming an array of knowledges and cultural practices.

11.2 Factors Contributing to the Success of Kaurna Revival

Timing has undoubtedly been a crucial factor in the success of Kaurna programs. In the late 1980s and 1990s a particular set of circumstances and individuals came together. Expressions of Kaurna identity and interest in Kaurna heritage were already developing in the community. Furthermore, Nungas had recently gained some control and influence over education processes for their children, especially with the establishment of KPS in 1986. The Songwriters Workshop in 1990 fortuitously brought together a range of talented individuals who succeeded in establishing a 'vision' of what might be possible. The importance of the 1990s as the National Decade for Reconciliation and 1993 as the International Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples in changing attitudes within the broader community, and possibly also in the allocation of funds to projects such as AILF should not be overlooked. The wider community became more aware of Indigenous issues and protocols as a result, providing openings for expressions of Kaurna identity and survival through the use of the Kaurna language in public.

One of the main reasons why the reclamation of Kaurna has been so successful in these early stages is because we got on with the job of writing songs, setting up Kaurna programs, developing the language and using the language in a relative state of naivety and unpreparedness. A consultation process was conducted in 1989, prior to the initiation of language revival activities, and Kaurna people were involved from the very beginning. But we did not wait until every problem had been sorted out or until we had every Kaurna person enthusiastically behind the undertaking. If we had waited for that, undoubtedly Kaurna language revival activities would never have commenced.

To a large extent we felt our way. We had to look up even the most basic of words. The construction of the first Kaurna sentences and the writing of the first Kaurna songs back in 1990 was a slow laborious process. The important thing though, was that we got on and did it together. When the language specialists, Snooky Varcoe and Cherie Watkins commenced teaching Kaurna they had little knowledge of the language and little preparation. Yet they took the plunge and applied themselves to the job.

It is the same with the delivery of Kaurna speeches in public. Kaurna people have not waited until they could speak the language fluently, or could even read the speech smoothly, before they used the language in public. For some, their initiation into learning and using the language has been to read a prepared speech in public with only minimal opportunity to practise beforehand. For sure, these first speeches have been stilted and the delivery has been faltering. But the secret of success is that the people have had the conviction and the confidence to 'have a

go' and not to be discouraged. It is remarkable how quickly they gain confidence and develop fluency and familiarity with established patterns after delivery of just a few speeches.

Persistence is another major factor ensuring success. The language specialists, Cherie and Snooky have persevered in grappling with the grammar and developing their Kurna language skills. Cherie has given 101% to the programs, always ready to contribute, even when called upon at the last moment. She has maintained her involvement despite criticisms. For Cherie, involvement is far more than a job in the programs. Whilst Snooky no longer teaches Kurna language per se, he has continued his involvement in Kurna language revival through his main love, music, songwriting and performing. Snooky's creative skills and talents have made an enormous contribution. The students, too, have persisted. Some have re-enrolled semester after semester. Others have continued to use the Kurna they learnt in their own work situations, local schools and in their local networks.

The existence of KPS under the direction of Alice Rigney, who is a Kurna Elder of considerable stature within the community and is very committed to the Kurna language, has been extremely important in the Kurna language movement. KPS has provided a focus for the language, an enclave within which the language can be nurtured. It appears that elements of the language are taking root within the homes of at least some children attending KPS. The existence of this program has provided an additional reason for the establishment of senior secondary and junior secondary programs within Inbarendi College. Auntie Alice's strong character and vision for the language has inspired many, within her own family, within education circles and within the community, to embrace Kurna.

Also crucial to the success of efforts to date has been the level of support from the Kurna community for the language programs, and for the use of the Kurna language in public forums. Many Kurna people, including the Elders, those working within the school system and those active within KACHA, are very supportive and speak of the use of Kurna with admiration and pride. For instance, Veronica Brodie, speaking at the inaugural meeting of the newly formed combined Port Adelaide Enfield Council, remarked:

It's a beautiful language and we, through the help of one of our linguists, that's Rob Amery, has taken up the very hard task of teaching the Kurna language. And it's being taught at a special school at Elizabeth. And so we're breaking out everywhere. We're coming to life. We're bringing it to life. It's great! It's fantastic! What it means to have something of your own culture. And hopefully it will be made, it already has, the curriculum in schools where not only French, German, Japanese will be learnt but...Kurna language. Because we believe that one day it will be the number one language.

(Veronica Brodie speaking at the Port Adelaide Enfield Council Meeting 7 August 1996)

Similarly, Phoebe Wanganeen, another Kurna Elder, voices her support:

And I'd like myself, to see the Kurna language taught in every school wherever there are Aboriginal children. Because it's most important. We've lost so much in the past and it's about time that our kids be given the chance to speak their own language.

(Phoebe Wanganeen, speaking at the consultation session for the DECS Project looking at Language Renewal and Language Reclamation Programs in terms of the LOTE Statement and Profile, 27 March 1996 Payneham Youth Centre)

The Kaurna language programs are putting the Kaurna language back on the agenda. DETE, the tertiary education sector and the community at large are increasingly taking notice of Kaurna and are beginning to take the language seriously. In fact, descriptions of the Kaurna programs are in demand for a variety of tertiary level course materials and school-based curricula.

11.3 Future Prospects for the Kaurna Language

Kaurna is clearly emerging as an auxiliary language, used in addition to English, for a range of specific purposes that promote Kaurna identity and celebrate Kaurna survival. Its role in public speeches of welcome, and in the performance of songs, appears to be already well-established and its future in cultural tourism on the Adelaide Plains is promising. School programs, whilst vulnerable, are steadily growing in number and strength. There is every likelihood that Kaurna will again be used in association with the performance of ritual and ceremonies which draw upon what is known of traditional ceremonies. Indeed, there has already been some use of the language for these purposes.

Will Kaurna emerge as a fully functional language spoken in the home for everyday purposes? The prospects of this happening seem unlikely, though, as we have seen, there are signs that in some families Kaurna is beginning to be used to express a range of notions through phrases and sentences, not just words. However, as Lewis O'Brien points out, pre-occupation with this question is not necessarily helpful. For him it is the journey that is important, rather than the endpoint. Clearly there is a deep commitment to the language, on the part of a number of individuals, which will ensure its place in the future in some form or another.

The fortunes of the Kaurna language will increasingly depend on Nunga politics rather than perhaps more obvious parameters such as demography, pedagogical issues, availability of language resources, funding constraints and so on. When we commenced with the reclamation of Kaurna in 1989-90, political considerations were not such an issue, precisely because few Nungas took very much notice of or actively identified with the Kaurna language as it is known in the historical sources. The politics of Kaurna language revival are now much hotter, and that in itself is probably a measure of its success. The outcomes will be highly dependent on the actions and positions taken by key individuals.

There are concerns being expressed by some Kaurna people, that the revival of Kaurna is going too fast, without people really having a chance to reflect on the progress made and the changes implemented. An increasing number of people are now calling for discussions on the issues of ownership and on the current direction of the language movement. Whilst Georgina Williams and others are almost asking for a cessation of Kaurna language activities, until the ownership and copyright issues can be resolved and until protections and safeguards are built in, others such as Lewis O'Brien see this as backward step that would result in the loss of momentum. It is hoped that these issues will soon be addressed in a series of workshops that Lewis O'Brien and I will run together for KACHA, planned to begin in August 1998.

It seems that the Kaurna language is approaching a defining moment in its revival where a number of contentious issues are coming to a head within the community. With the retirement of Alice Rigney from Kaurna Plains School at the end of 1997, the formal programs could be increasingly vulnerable to community politics. Still, as I have pointed out, the Kaurna language has become such an important aspect in the lives of some Kaurna people, that I believe the language movement will be able to resist negative developments. There may be temporary setbacks, but fundamentally I believe that the language has a bright future, at least within the parameters laid down for it as an auxiliary language. This includes its use in formal language programs, in cultural tourism, at public forums and for naming purposes. It remains to be seen to what extent the language becomes part of the everyday speech repertoire of members of the Kaurna community, though there are some very early positive signs.

Warrabarna Kaurna!
'Let Kaurna be Spoken'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abley, Mark (1992) 'The Prospects for the Huron Language.' *Times Literary Supplement*, August 7: 4.
- Aboriginal Research Institute (1993) *Ethics in Aboriginal Research*. Kurna Higher Education Centre, Faculty of Aboriginal and Island Studies, University of South Australia, Underdale.
- Agius, Josie & Peter Gale (1994) *Narrunga and Proud of It*. Published by the authors, Adelaide.
- AILF Project (1993; 1996) [See entry under SSABSA]
- Aird, Michael (1991) 'The Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage.' *Ngoonjook, Batchelor Journal of Aboriginal Education* 6: 61-62.
- Aitchison, Jean (1991) *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* 2nd Edition. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Alloni-Fainberg, Yafa (1974) 'Official Hebrew Terms for Parts of the Car: a study of knowledge, usage and attitudes.' in Joshua A. Fishman (ed.) *Advances in Language Planning*. Mouton: The Hague, Paris, 493-517.
- Amery, Rob (1986a) *Yolngu-Matha for Use by Members of the Health Profession in North East Arnhemland. (Gumatj Dialect)* NT Health. Nhulunbuy.
- Amery, Rob (1986b) 'Languages in Contact: The case of Kintore and Papunya.' *Language in Aboriginal Australia* 1: 13-38.
- Amery, Rob (1989) 'A Case Study of the Establishment of a Language Revival Program Within the Formal Education System.' Continuing Education 998-1 Special Study FINAL REPORT, University of New England, Armidale NSW.
- Amery, Rob (1992) Kurna Translation of *Tucker's Mob*. See Mattingley (1992).
- Amery, Rob (1992) 'Retrieving Cultural and Linguistic Heritage: Revival and Resurrection of Aboriginal Languages' in *9th National Languages Conference Conference Proceedings*. Modern Languages Teachers Association, Darwin.
- Amery, Rob (1993) 'Encoding New Concepts in Old Languages: a case study of Kurna, the language of the Adelaide Plains' *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 1: 33-47.
- Amery, Rob (1994) 'Heritage and Second Language Programs.' in Deborah Hartman & John Henderson (eds.) *Aboriginal Languages in Education*. IAD Press, Alice Springs, 140-162.
- Amery, Rob (1995a) 'Its Ours to Keep and Call Our Own: reclamation of the Nunga languages in the Adelaide region, South Australia.' *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 113: 63-82.

- Amery, Rob (1995b) 'Making use of historical language materials' in Nicholas Thieberger (ed.) *Paper and Talk: A manual for reconstituting materials in Australian indigenous languages from historical sources*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Amery, Rob ed. (1995c) *Warra Kurna: A Resource for Kurna Language Programs*. Inbarendi College, Adelaide.
- Amery, Rob (1996a) 'Language Reclamation: the interaction between linguistic and social processes in the restoration of languages no longer spoken.' paper given at the Australian Linguistics Society Conference, Canberra, July 1996.
- Amery, Rob (1996b) Topic 5 'Language Reclamation' & Topic 6 'Language Awareness in South Australia' in EAL551 'Teaching Australian Indigenous Languages' STUDY GUIDE, Northern Territory University Darwin, 145-192.
- Amery, Rob (1996c) 'Kurna Numbers, Maths and the Quantification of Time.' (unpublished paper, in KL&LE Readings Vol. 1).
- Amery, Rob (1996d) 'Kurna in Tasmania: a case of mistaken identity' *Aboriginal History* 20: 24-50.
- Amery, Rob ed. (1997) *Warra Kurna: A Resource for Kurna Language Programs*. Revised and expanded. Inbarendi College, Adelaide.
- Amery, Rob (1998) 'Case Study 3.1' in DETE (1998) *Towards Successful Language Learning in Schools: A Collection of Case Studies*, Department of Education Training & Employment, South Australia, Adelaide, 85-90.
- Amery, Rob (forthcoming) 'Sally and Harry: Insights into early Kurna contact history.' to appear in Luise Hercus & Jane Simpson (eds.) *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*. Aboriginal History monograph, Canberra.
- Amery, Rob & Jane Simpson (1994) 'Kurna.' in Nicholas Thieberger & William McGregor (eds.) *Macquarie Aboriginal Words*. Macquarie Library Pty Ltd, Sydney, 144-172.
- Amery, Rob, Cherie Watkins & Lester Rigney (1997) *Tape Transcripts. A Series of Weekly Lessons with Accompanying Tape for Self-Instruction*. Prepared for the Kurna Language & Language Ecology course, University of Adelaide.
- Anderson, A.B. (1979) 'The Survival of Ethnolinguistic Minorities: Canadian and comparative research.' in Howard Giles & Bernard Saint-Jacques. (eds) *Language and Ethnic Relations*. Pergamon Press, Oxford, 67-85.
- Angas, George French (1846) *South Australia Illustrated*. Thomas McLean, London.
- Angas, George French (1847) *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*. Smith, Elder & Co., London.

- ARDS (1993a) 'Confusion Between Cultures' Information Paper No.1 Aboriginal Resource and Development Services Inc. Nhulunbuy NT. Revised February 1998.
- ARDS (1993b) 'Mägayamirr - A System of Government.' Information Paper No.2. Aboriginal Resource and Development Services Inc. Nhulunbuy NT. Revised March 1998.
- ARDS (1993c) 'Political Structures of Government.' Information Paper No.3. Aboriginal Resource and Development Services Inc. Nhulunbuy NT.
- ARDS (1993d) 'Native Title - The Basis of Land Ownership.' Information Paper No.5. Aboriginal Resource and Development Services Inc. Nhulunbuy NT. Revised February 1998.
- ARDS (1995) 'It's Not a Curse, But a Proclamation.' Information Paper No.6. Aboriginal Resource and Development Services Inc. Nhulunbuy NT.
- ARDS (1996a) 'The Madayin.' Information Paper No.7. Aboriginal Resource and Development Services Inc. Nhulunbuy NT. Revised March 1998.
- ARDS (1996b) 'Yolŋu Law and Euthanasia.' Information Paper No.8. Aboriginal Resource and Development Services Inc. Nhulunbuy NT.
- ASTEC Key Centre (1987) *Narrunga Language Word Lists*. S.A. College of Advanced Education, Underdale.
- Atairangikaahu, Te Arikinui Te (1993) 'The Closing of Te Maori.' in Witi Ihimaera (ed.) *Te Ao Mārama - Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out*. Volume 2 *He Whakaatanga o Te Ao - The Reality*. Reed Books, Auckland, 212-214.
- Austin, Peter (1981) *A Grammar of the Diyari Language of North-East South Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Austin, Peter (1986) 'Diyari Language Postcards and Diyari Literacy.' *Aboriginal History* 10 (2): 175-167.
- Austin, Peter (1994) 'Diyari' in Nicholas Thieberger & William McGregor (eds.) *Macquarie Aboriginal Words*. Macquarie Dictionary, Sydney, 125-143.
- Austin, Peter & Crowley, Terry (1995) 'Interpreting Old Spelling' in Nicholas Thieberger (ed.) *Paper & Talk: A manual for reconstituting materials in Australian indigenous languages from historical sources*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 53-102.
- Austin, Peter & Ben Murray (1981) 'Afghans and Aborigines: Diyari texts.' *Aboriginal History* 5: 71-79.

- Bachelard, Michael (1997) *The Great Land Grab: What every Australian should know about Wik, Mabo and the Ten-Point Plan*. Hyland House, South Melbourne.
- Baldauf, Richard ed. (1995) *Backing Australian Languages: Review of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Program*. National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Limited, Deakin, ACT.
- Barbeau, C. M. (1960) *Huron-Wyandot Traditional Narratives. Translations and Native Texts*. National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.
- Barlow, Cleve (1991) *Tikanga Whakaaro Key Concepts in Māori Culture*. Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Barry, Sir Redmond ed. (1887) *Exposition Internationale Melbourne: vocabulaire des dialects des Aborigenes de l'Australie, 1886-7*. (EIM wordlist) Melbourne.
- Bates, Daisy (1919) *Typescripts, correspondence, photographs etc. (11 vols.), Folio 6/III/5k*. Held in Barr-Smith Library, University of Adelaide. Kaurua wordlist is Appendix 1 to Gara (1990: 101)
- Bavin, Edith & Shopen, Tim (1991) 'Warlpiri in the 80s: An overview of research into language variation and child language.' in Romaine ed. *Language in Australia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 104-117.
- Beard, H. (1991) *Latin for all Occasions: Lingua Latina Occasionibus*. Angus & Robertson, U.K.
- Beeler, Madison S. (1978) 'Esselen' *Journal of California Anthropology, Papers in Linguistics* 1: 3-38.
- Bennett, Manu (1993) 'Quo Vadis?' in Witi Ihimaera (ed.) *Te Ao Mārama - Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out*. Volume 2 *He Whakaatanga o Te Ao - The Reality*. Reed Books, Auckland, 195-197.
- Bentahila, Abdelâli & Eirlys E. Davies (1993) 'Language Revival: Restoration or Transformation.' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 14 (5): 355-374.
- Benton, Nena (1989) 'Education, Language Decline and Language Revitalisation: The case of Maori in New Zealand.' *Language, Culture & Curriculum* 3 (2): 65-82.
- Benton, Richard (1986) 'Schools as Agents for Language Revival in Ireland and New Zealand.' in Spolsky (ed.) *Language and Education in Multilingual Settings*. College-Hill Press, San Diego, California, 53-76.
- Benton, Richard (1987) 'From the Treaty of Waitangi to the Waitangi Tribunal' in Walter Hirsh (ed.) *Living Languages: Bilingualism & Community Languages in New Zealand*, Heinemann, Auckland, 63-74.

- Bernard, H. Russell (1992) 'Preserving Language Diversity: Computers can be a tool for making the survival of languages possible.' *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Fall 1992: 15-18.
- Bernard, H. Russell (1997) 'Language Preservation and Publishing.' in Nancy H. Hornberger (ed.) *Indigenous Literacies in the Americas: Language Planning from the Bottom up*. [Contributions to the Sociology of Language 75], Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 139-156.
- Berndt, Ronald & Catherine Berndt with John Stanton (1993) *A World That Was: The Yaraldi of the Murray River and the Lakes, South Australia*. Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, Carlton, Vic.
- Berndt, Ronald M. (1970) 'Introduction.' in Berndt (ed.) *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology*. Published for AIAS by the University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, Perth, 1-18.
- Berndt, Ronald M. (1989) 'Aboriginal Fieldwork in South Australia in the 1940s and Implications for the Present.' *Records of the South Australian Museum* 23 (1): 59-68.
- Berndt, R.M. & T. Vogelsang (1941) 'Comparative Vocabularies of the Ngadjuri and Dieri Tribes, South Australia.' *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 65 (1): 3-10.
- Bindon, Peter & Ross Chadwick (1992) *A Nyoongar Wordlist from the South West of Western Australia*. West Australian Museum, Perth.
- Black, J.M. (1920) Vocabularies of four South Australian languages, Adelaide, Narrunga, Kukata, and Narrinyeri with special reference to their speech sounds. *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Aust.* 44: 76-93.
- Black, Paul (1993) 'New Uses for Old Languages.' in Walsh & Yallop (eds.) *Language and Culture in Aboriginal Australia*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 207-223.
- Blake, Barry (1977) *Case Marking in Australian Languages*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Blake, Barry (1987) *Australian Aboriginal Grammar*. Croom Helm, London.
- Blake, Barry (1991) 'Woiwurrung, the Melbourne Language.' in R.M.W. Dixon & Barry J. Blake (eds.) *The Handbook of Australian Languages, Volume 4*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 30-122.
- Blanke, Detlev (1987) 'The Term "Planned Language".' *Language Problems & Language Planning* 11 (3): 335-249.
- Blanke, Detlev (1989) 'Planned Languages - a Survey of some of the Main Problems.' in Klaus Schubert (ed.) *Interlinguistics. Aspects of the Science of Planned Languages*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 63-87.

- Bleek, W. H. I. (n.d.) *Catalogue of Sir George Grey's Library*, South African Library, Cape Town.
- Bleek, W. H. I. (1872) 'On the Position of the Australian Languages.' *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* I: 89-104.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan David, Rob Pensalfini & Luciana Storto (eds.) (1996) *Papers on Language Endangerment and the Maintenance of Linguistic Diversity*. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 28.
- Boseker, Barbara J. (1994) 'The Disappearance of American Indian Languages.' *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development* 15 (2 & 3): 147- 160.
- Bowe, Heather J. (1990) *Categories, Constituents, and Constituent Order in Pitjantjatjara an Aboriginal Language of Australia*. Routledge, London.
- Brady, Wendy (n.d.) 'What is a Culturally Appropriate Context for Teaching Aboriginal Studies in Higher Education?' Unpublished manuscript.
- Bradshaw, Joel (1995) 'How and Why do People Change Their Languages?' Review Article *Oceanic Linguistics* 34 (1): 191-201.
- Brandenstein, Von C. G. (1965) 'Ein Abessiv im Gemein-Australischen' *Anthropos* 60: 646-660.
- Brandenstein, Von C. G. (1988) *Nyungar Anew: Phonology, Text Samples and Etymological and Historical 1500-Word Vocabulary of an Artificially Re-Created Aboriginal Language in the South-West of Australia*. Pacific Linguistics, Series C - No.99, Canberra.
- Brauer, Alfred (1956) *Under the Southern Cross: History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia*. Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide. Facsimile edition 1985.
- Brice, Ian (1997) 'Reluctant Schoolmaster in a Voluntarist Colony: William Cawthorne's Diary, 1842-44.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia* 25: 80-93.
- British Parliamentary Papers (1841) *First and Second Reports from the Select Committee on South Australia together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index*. Colonies, Australia Vol.2. 1968 Facsimile, Irish University Press, Shannon, Ireland.
- Broadribb, Donald (ed) (1992) *Presenting Esperanto*. The Australian Esperanto Association, Sunnybank, Qld.
- Brock, Peggy & Doreen Kartinyeri (1989) *Poonindie, The Rise and Destruction of an Aboriginal Agricultural Community*. Aboriginal Heritage Branch, Department of Environment and Planning and South Australian Government Printer, Netley, SA.

- Brodie, Veronica (1991) 'Veronica Brodie.' in Catherine Murphy (ed.) *Of Ships, Strikes and Summer Nights. Oral Histories from the Port Adelaide Community*. Port Adelaide Community Arts Centre, 114-118.
- Brodie, Veronica (forthcoming) *My Side of the Bridge: The Life Story of Veronica Brodie (as told to Mary-Anne Gale)*. Wakefield Press, Adelaide.
- Brodie, Veronica & Sheridah Melvin (1994) *Kudlyo the Black Swan Dreaming: Veronica Brodie and the Continuity of Kaurna History at Glanville and Le Fevre Peninsula*. Research report prepared for the Lartelare Homeland Association. Ms.
- Brown, Michael F. (1998) 'Can Culture be Copyrighted?' *Current Anthropology* 39(2): 193-222.
- Brown, Wella (1988) *The Cornish Language in Primary Education in Cornwall, Great Britain*. Fryske Akademy European Languages in Primary Education EMU-Projekt 26/27, Ljouwert/Leeuwarden.
- Browne, J.H. (1897) 'Anthropological Notes Relating to the Aborigines of the Lower North of South Australia.' *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 21: 72-73.
- Brunato, Madeleine (1973) *Worra and the Jilbruke Legend*. Frederick Muller Ltd., London.
- Brush, Stephen B. (1993) 'Indigenous Knowledge of Biological Resources and Intellectual Property Rights: The Role of Anthropology.' *American Anthropologist* 95 (3): 653-686.
- Bucknall, Gwen & John Bucknall (1994) ' "We want to keep that language ...": What is happening to Aboriginal languages in the Aboriginal Independent Community Schools in Western Australia.' Unpublished manuscript.
- Bull, J.W. (1884) *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia*. Sampson, Law, Marston & Co., Adelaide.
- Burnaby, Barbara (1996) 'Aboriginal Language Maintenance, Development and Enhancement: A Review of Literature.' in Gina Cantoni (ed.) *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*, 22-40.
- Bushman, Waldo (1986) *Wirra - The Bush That was Adelaide*. Nature Conservation Society of South Australia, Adelaide.
- Bynon, T (1977) *Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Cain, Karen & Doris Paton (1998) 'Teaching an Indigenous Language as a Part of a LOTE Program.' *Australian Language Matters* 6 (1): 10, 13.
- Campbell, Valerie (1979) 'Archaeological Reconstruction of Coastal Sites South of Adelaide.' *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 17 (1): 1-10.

- Campbell, Valerie (1981a) 'Archaeology of the Southern Adelaide Region: Introduction.' *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 19 (7): 1-5.
- Campbell, Valerie (1981b) 'Archaeology of the Southern Adelaide Region: Part 2 - Sites and Sequences.' *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 19 (8): 1-9.
- Campbell, Val. (1983) 'Moana Revisited' *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 21 (8): 5-6.
- Campbell, V. M. (1985) 'Is the Legend of Tjilbruke a Kurna Legend?' *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 23 (7): 3-9.
- Cantoni, Gina (Ed.) (1996) *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*. Centre for Excellence in Education Monograph, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.
- Carlevaro, Tazio (1989) 'Planned Auxiliary Language and Communicative Competence.' in Klaus Schubert (ed.) *Interlinguistics. Aspects of the Science of Planned Languages*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 173-187.
- Catholic Education Office, Kimberley Region (1992) *Two-Way Learning: A Guide to Policy for Kimberley Catholic Schools*. (Original published 1986, Revised edition 1992). Jawa Curriculum Support Centre, Catholic Education Office, Kimberley Region, Broome.
- Cawthorne, W.A. (1842-1859) *Literarium Diarium* (Journals). held by Mitchell Library, Sydney.
- Cawthorne, W.A. (1844) *Rough Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Natives* [Archives Department]. Published in Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society of Australia, S.A. Br., Sess. 1925-6 (1927)
- Cawthorne, W.A. (1858) *The Legend of Kuperree or, The Red Kangaroo. An Aboriginal Tradition of the Port Lincoln Tribe*. Published by Alfred N. Cawthorne, Stationer, Adelaide.
- Centre for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Participation, Research and Development (1995) *Guidelines on Research Ethics Regarding Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Cultural, Social, Intellectual and Spiritual Property*. Draft Consultation Paper. April, 1995.
- Chomsky, Noam (1982) *Some Concepts and Consequences of the Theory of Government and Binding*. MIT Press, Cambridge Massachusetts.
- Chrisp, Steven (1997) 'He Taonga Te Reo: The use of a theme year to promote a minority language.' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 18 (2): 100-106.
- Clark, Sally (1995) [article in] *NAIDOC News*, 1995: 7.

- Clarke, Philip A. (1990) 'Adelaide Aboriginal Cosmology.' in Tom Gara (ed) *Aboriginal Adelaide, Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28 (1): 1-10.
- Clarke, Philip (1991a) 'Adelaide as an Aboriginal Landscape.' *Aboriginal History* 15 (1): 54-72.
- Clarke, Philip (1991b) 'Penney as Ethnographer' *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 29 (1): 88-107.
- Clarke, Philip A. (1994a) *Contact, Conflict and Regeneration: Aboriginal Cultural Geography of the Lower Murray, South Australia*. PhD thesis, Geography and Anthropology, University of Adelaide.
- Clarke, Philip A. (1994b) *The Historical Origins of Contemporary Aboriginal Language in Southern South Australia*. (DRAFT manuscript 15 August 1994)
- Clarke, Philip A. (1995) 'Myth as History? The Ngurunderi Dreaming of the Lower Murray, South Australia.' *Records of the South Australian Museum* 28 (2): 143-157.
- Clarke, Philip A. (1996a) 'The Aboriginal Cosmic Landscape of Southern South Australia.' submitted to *Records of the South Australian Museum*.
- Clarke, Philip A. (1996b) 'Early European Interaction with Aboriginal Hunters and Gatherers on Kangaroo Island, South Australia.' to appear in *Aboriginal History* 20: 51-81.
- Clarke, Philip A. (forthcoming) 'The Aboriginal Presence on Kangaroo Island, South Australia.' to appear in Luise Hercus & Jane Simpson (eds.) *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*. Aboriginal History monograph, Canberra.
- Cockburn, Rodney (1990) *South Australia. What's in a Name?* Axiom Publishing, Adelaide. Revised edition. First published 1908.
- Coleman, Carolyn (1991) 'Progress Report: The Production of Encyclopaedic "Resource Packages" at Maningrida CEC.' *NT Bilingual Education Newsletter* 91(2): 46-54.
- Collis, Dirmid R. F. ed. (1990) *Arctic Languages: An Awakening*. UNESCO, Paris.
- Combella, Myrna (1980) 'Cornish Reconjured: or, The Language that Wouldn't Stay Dead.' *Pacific Moana Quarterly* 5 (4): 445-450.
- Commonwealth of Australia (1997) *Bringing Them Home. Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families*. Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. Printed by Sterling Press.
- Comrie, Bernard (1981) *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

- Comrie, Bernard, Stephen Matthews & Maria Polinsky (eds.) (1996) *The Atlas of Languages: The Origin and Development of Languages Throughout the World*. New Burlington Books, London.
- Cooke, Michael (1987) *Makassar & North East Arnhemland: Missing Links & Living Bridges*. Educational Media Unit, Batchelor College, NT.
- Cooper, H. M. (1952) *French Exploration in South Australia 1802-1803*. Macdougalls, Adelaide.
- Cooper, H.M. (1962) *Australian Aboriginal Words and Their Meanings*. South Australian Museum, Adelaide. (4th Edition)
- Cooper, Robert L. (1989) *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Corder, S.P. (1973) 'Applied Linguistics and Language Teaching.' in *The Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics: Volume 2*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Cordes, Dean (1983) *The Park at Belair: A social history of the people whose struggles and visions gave South Australia the National Parks and Wildlife Service we cherish today. Vol.1 The Pioneering Decades*. Published by the author, Adelaide.
- Corsetti, Renato (1996) 'A Mother Tongue Spoken Mainly by Fathers.' *Language Problems & Language Planning* 20 (3): 263-273.
- Corson, David (1990) 'Three Curriculum and Organisational Responses to Cultural Pluralism in New Zealand Schooling.' *Language, Culture & Curriculum* 3 (3): 213-225.
- Coughlan, James E. (1990) *A Comparative Analysis of the Ethnicity, English Proficiency and Religion of Australia's three Indochinese-born Communities: 1976-86*. Australia-Asia Papers No. 54, Centre for the Study of Australia-Asia Relations, Griffith University, Brisbane.
- Coulmas, Florian (1996) 'The Inequality of Languages: Economic Aspects of Language Estimation.' in Marlis Hellinger & Ulrich Ammon (eds.) *Contrastive Sociolinguistics*. [Contributions to the Sociology of Language 71], Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 213-227.
- Coulmas, Florian (1997) 'A Matter of Choice.' in Martin Pütz (ed.) *Language Choices: Conditions, constraints, and consequences*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, 31-44.
- Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (1996) *Going Forward. Social Justice for the First Australians*. Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra.
- Cowan, William (1990) 'Review of *Native Writings in Massachusetts* by Ives Goddard and Kathleen J. Bragdon.' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 56 (4): 586-592.

- Crawford, James (1996) 'Seven Hypotheses on Language Loss: Causes and Cures' in Gina Cantoni (ed.) *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages* Centre for Excellence in Education Monograph, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, 51-68.
- Crawford, James M. (1975) 'Southeastern Indian Languages.' in Crawford (ed) *Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages*. The University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1-120.
- Crowley, Terry (1993) 'Tasmanian Aboriginal Language: old and new identities.' in Walsh & Yallop (eds.) *Language and Culture in Aboriginal Australia*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 51-71.
- Crowley, Terry & R.M.W. Dixon (1981) 'Tasmanian' in R.M.W. Dixon & Barry J. Blake (eds.) *Handbook of Australian Languages, Volume 2*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 394-421.
- Crystal, David (1994) *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Language and Languages*. Penguin Books, London. [First published by Blackwell 1992].
- Crystal, David (1995) *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. First published 1988. Reprinted 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995.
- Cummins, Jim & Merrill Swain (1986) *Bilingualism in Education*. Longman, London.
- Cumpston, J.S. (1970) *Kangaroo Island 1800 - 1836*. Roebuck Society, Canberra.
- Curriculum Corporation (1994) *Languages Other Than English - A Curriculum Profile for Australian Schools*. A Joint Project of the States, Territories and the Commonwealth of Australia initiated by the Australian Education Council. Curriculum Corporation, Carlton Victoria.
- Curr, E.M. (1886) *The Australian Race: Its Origin, Languages, Customs, Place of Landing in Australia and the Routes by which it Spread Itself over that Continent*. 4 Volumes. Government Printer, Melbourne.
- Dasgupta, Probal (1987) 'Toward a Dialogue between the Sociolinguistic Sciences and Esperanto Culture.' *Language Problems & Language Planning* 11 (3): 305-334.
- David, Stephen (1997) 'The Living Word. Who said Sanskrit is a dead language? Not the people of this Karnataka village.' in *India Today*. March 15, 1997: 7.
- Davies, R.H. (1846) 'On the Aboriginal Languages of Tasmanian.' *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Sciences*: 409-420.
- Day, Thomas (1902) 'Memories of the Extinct Tribe of Cowandilla Natives.' Handwritten manuscript within the Tindale Collection held by the SA Museum Anthropology Archives, Adelaide.

- de Brébeuf, Fr. Jean (1990) *The Huron Carol*. Illustrated by Frances Tyrrell. English translation by J.E. Middleton. Andre Deutsch, London.
- DeChicchis, Joseph (1995) 'The Current State of the Ainu Language.' *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development* 16 (1 & 2): 103-124.
- Denison, Norman (1977) 'Language Death or Language Suicide?' *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 12: 13-22.
- DECS (1994) *Yankunytjatjara Stage A - Years R-2* Syllabus for second language learners at junior primary level. Department for Education and Children's Services, South Australia.
- DECS (1996) *Indigenous Languages in South Australian Preschools and Schools*. Department for Education and Children's Services, South Australia. [Incomplete Draft - see DETE (forthcoming)]
- DECS (1997) *Warranna Purruna - Pa:mpi Tungarar - Living Languages*. video. Department for Education and Children's Services, South Australia.
- DEET (1991) *Australia's Language: The Australian Language and Literacy Policy*. (The 'White Paper') Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- DEET (1995) *Alive and Deadly. Reviving and Maintaining Australian Indigenous Languages*. Social Change Media, Leichardt. (A project funded by the Commonwealth Department of Employment Education and Training and produced by Social Change Media.)
- DETE (1998) *Warranna Purruttiappendi - Reviving Languages - Living Languages: Renewal and Reclamation Programs for Indigenous Languages in Schools*, Department of Education Training and Employment, South Australia.
- DETE (forthcoming) *Talkin Language. Indigenous Languages in School and Preschool Programs*. Department of Education Training & Employment, South Australia.
- Dick, Galena Sells & Teresa L. McCarty (1997) 'Reclaiming Navajo: Language renewal in an American Indian community school.' in Nancy H. Hornberger (ed.) (1997) *Indigenous Literacies in the Americas: Language Planning from the Bottom up*. [Contributions to the Sociology of Language 75], Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 69-94.
- Dixon, R.M.W. ed. (1976) *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Dixon, R.M.W. (1980) *The Languages of Australia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Dixon, R.M.W. (1989) 'The Original Languages of Australia.' *VOX* 3: 26-33.

- Dixon, R.M.W. (1991) 'The Endangered Languages of Australia, Indonesia and Oceania.' in Robert H. Robins & Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck (eds.) *Endangered Languages*. Berg, Oxford.
- Dixon, R.M.W. (1997) *The Rise and Fall of Languages*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Dixon, R.M.W., W.S. Ransom & Mandy Thomas (1990) *Australian Aboriginal Words in English: Their Origin and Meaning*. Oxford University Press, Melbourne, Oxford, Auckland & New York.
- Donaldson, Tamsin (1995) 'What Word is That?' in Nicholas Thieberger (ed.) *Paper and Talk: A manual for reconstituting materials in Australian indigenous languages from historical sources*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 43-52.
- Dorian, Nancy, C. (1987) 'The Value of Language-maintenance Efforts which are Unlikely to Succeed.' *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 68: 57-67.
- Dorian, Nancy, C. (1994) 'Purism vs. Compromise in Language Revitalization and Language Revival.' *Language in Society* 23: 479-494.
- Douglas, Edward Te Kohu (1992) 'Maori Language Nests (Kohanga Reo) - Their impact on New Zealand communities.' *Journal of Indigenous Studies* 3 (1): 13-31.
- Dulicenko, Aleksandr D. (1989) 'Ethnic Language and Planned Language.' in Klaus Schubert (ed.) *Interlinguistics: Aspects of the Science of Planned Languages*. [Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 42], Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 47-61.
- Dulichenko, Aleksandr D. (1987) 'Esperanto: A Unique Model for General Linguistics.' *Language Problems and Language Planning* 11 (1): 148-151.
- Eades, Diana (1982) 'You Gotta Know How to Talk: information seeking in South-East Queensland Aboriginal Society' *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 2 (1): 61-82.
- Eades, Diana (1983) *English as an Aboriginal Language in South East Queensland*. PhD thesis, University of Queensland.
- Eades, Diana (1988) 'They Don't Speak and Aboriginal Language, Or Do They?' in Ian Keen (ed.) *Being Black: Aboriginal cultures in settled Australia*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 97-115.
- East, J.J. (1889) *The Aborigines of South and Central Australia*. Paper read before the Field Naturalists' Section of the Royal Society, Tues. July 16, 1889.
- Eastman, Carol M. (1979) 'Language Resurrection: A Language Plan for Ethnic Interaction.' in Howard Giles & Bernard Saint-Jacques. (eds) *Language and Ethnic Relations*. Pergamon Press, Oxford, 215-222.

- Eastman, Carol M. (1984) 'Language, Ethnic Identity and Change.' in J. Edwards (ed.) *Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism*, Academic Press, London, 259-276.
- Eastman, Carol M. & T.C. Reece (1981) 'Associated Language: How language and ethnic identity are related.' in *General Linguistics* 21 (2): 109-116.
- Eastman, Carol M. & Roberta F. Stein (1993) 'Language Display: Authenticating claims to social identity.' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 14 (3): 187-202.
- Eckert, Paul & Joyce Hudson (1988) *Wangka Wiru: A Handbook for the Pitjantjatjara Language Learner*. South Australian College of Advanced Education, Underdale.
- Eckert, Penelope (1988) 'Sound Change and Adolescent Social Structure.' *Language in Society* 17: 183-207.
- EDSA (1986) *Languages Policy*. Education Department of South Australia.
- EDSA (1989) *The Kurna People: Aboriginal People of the Adelaide Plains*. Education Department of South Australia, Publications Branch, Adelaide.
- EDSA (1990) *The Ngarrindjeri People: Aboriginal People of the River Murray, Lakes and Coorong*. Education Department of South Australia, Publications Branch, Adelaide.
- Edwards, Bill (1995) 'Teaching an Aboriginal Language at University Level.' *Babel* 30 (2): 4-11, 38.
- Edwards, John (1984) 'Language, Diversity and Identity' in J. Edwards (ed.) *Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism*, Academic Press, London, 277-310.
- Edwards, John (1985) *Language, Society and Identity*. Basil Blackwell in association with André Deutsch, Oxford.
- Edwards, John (1992) 'Sociopolitical Aspects of Language Maintenance and Loss.' in W. Fase, K. Jaspaert & S. Kroon (eds.) *Maintenance & Loss of Minority Languages*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 37-54.
- Edwards, John & Lynn MacPherson (1987) 'Views of Constructed Languages, with Special Reference to Esperanto: An Experimental Study.' *Language Problems & Language Planning* 11 (3): 283-304.
- Edwards, Robert (1972) *The Kurna People of the Adelaide Plains*. South Australian Museum, Adelaide.
- Eggington, Robert (1996) 'Intellectual Property Rights: The question of cultural ownership. A Noongar perspective.' *Noongar Karnadjil*, August 1996: 14.

- Elder, David & William Light (1984) *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries with an Introduction and Notes by David Elder*. Wakefield Press, Adelaide.
- Eliot, John (1666) *The Indian Grammar Begun, or an Essay to Bring the Indian Language into Rules*. Cambridge.
- Ellis, P. Beresford & S. Mac A'Ghobhainn (1971) *The Problem of Language Revival*. Club Leabhar, Inverness.
- Ellis, P. Beresford (1974) *The Cornish Language and its Literature*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London & Boston.
- Ellis, R.W. (1978) *Aboriginal Culture in South Australia*. Extract from *S.A. Year Book, 1978*. D.J. Woolman, Government Printer, South Australia.
- Ellis, R.W. & Houston, C. (1976) *The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Adelaide Plains: a resource series in Aboriginal studies*. Aboriginal and Historic Relics Advisory Board, Adelaide.
- Eyre, Edward John (1845) *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia, and Overland from Adelaide to King George's Sound, in the years 1840-1841*. T. & W. Boone, London.
- Eyre, Edward John (1984) *Autobiographical Narrative of Residence and Exploration in Australia 1832-1839*. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Jill Waterhouse. Caliban Books, London.
- Fellman, Jack (1973) *The Revival of a Classical Tongue: Eliezer Ben Yehuda and the Modern Hebrew Language*. Mouton: The Hague, Paris. [Contributions to the Sociology of Language No.6].
- Fellman, Jack (1974a) 'The Role of Eliezer Ben Yehuda in the Revival of the Hebrew Language: An assessment.' in Joshua A. Fishman (ed.) *Advances in Language Planning* Mouton: The Hague, Paris. [Contributions to the Sociology of Language No.5], 427-455.
- Fellman, Jack (1974b) 'The Academy of the Hebrew Language: Its history, structure and function.' *The International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1: 95-103.
- Fellman, Jack (1976) 'Language Planning in Israel: The Academy of the Hebrew Language.' *Language Planning Newsletter* 2 (2): 1 & 6 .
- Ferguson, Charles A. (1959) 'Diglossia.' *Word* 15: 429-439.
- Fettes, Mark (1996) 'The Esperanto Community: A Quasi-Ethnic Linguistic Minority?' *Language Problems & Language Planning* 20 (1): 53-59.
- Fettes, Mark (1997) 'Stabilizing What? An Ecological Approach to Language Renewal.' in Jon Reyhner (ed.) *Teaching Indigenous Languages*, Centre for Excellence in Education, Northern Arizona University, 301-318.

(Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium)

- Fettes, Mark (forthcoming) *The Linguistic Ecology of Education*. PhD dissertation, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Canada.
- Fishman, Joshua (1991) *Reversing Language Shift*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (ed.) (1993) *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning: The "First Congress" Phenomenon*. [Contributions to the Sociology of Language 65], Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin & New York.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (1993) 'Introduction: Exploring an Overlooked Sociolinguistic Phenomenon.' in Fishman (ed) *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning: The "First Congress" Phenomenon*. Contributions to the Sociology of Language 65, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 1-9.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (1997) *In Praise of the Beloved Language: A Comparative View of Positive Ethnolinguistic Consciousness*. Contributions to the Sociology of Language 76, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Fitzpatrick, Phil (1989) *Warra 'Kurna: A selected wordlist from the language of the Kurna People of the Adelaide Plains*. Aboriginal Heritage Branch, Department of Environment and Planning, Adelaide.
- Forster, Peter G. (1982) *The Esperanto Movement*. [Contributions to the Sociology of Language, No. 32], Mouton, The Hague.
- Foster, Robert (1990a) 'The Aborigines Location in Adelaide: South Australia's first 'Mission' to the Aborigines.' in Tom Gara (ed) *Aboriginal Adelaide, Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28 (1): 11-37.
- Foster, Robert (1990b) 'Two Early Reports on the Aborigines of South Australia.' in Tom Gara (ed) *Aboriginal Adelaide, Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28 (1): 38-63.
- Foster, Robert ed. (1991) *Sketch of the Aborigines of South Australia: References in the Cawthorne Papers*. Aboriginal Heritage Branch, S.A. Department of Environment and Planning, Adelaide.
- Foster, Robert (1993) *An Imaginary Dominion: the representation and treatment of Aborigines in South Australia*. PhD Thesis, Department of History, University of Adelaide.
- Foster, Robert (forthcoming) 'Tommy Walker' to appear in Hercus & Simpson (eds.) *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*. Aboriginal History monograph, Canberra.
- Foster, Robert & Peter Mühlhäusler (1996) 'Native Tongue, Captive Voice. The Representation of the Aboriginal 'Voice' in Colonial South Australia.' *Language & Communication* 16 (1): 1-16 .

- Fourmile, Henrietta (1994) *Submission to the Inquiry into Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Culture and Heritage*, House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs, Canberra. [submission prepared on behalf of the Office of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner]
- Fraser, John ed. (1892) *An Australian Language as spoken by the Awabakal, the people of Awaba or Lake Macquarie (near Newcastle, NSW). Being an account of their language, traditions, and customs: by L.E. Threlkeld (1834).* Rearranged, condensed and edited with an appendix by John Fraser. Charles Potter, Govt. Printer, Sydney.
- Gaimard, M. (1833) 'Vocabulaire de la langue des Habitans du Golfe Saint-Vincent.' in De M.J. Dumont D'Urville *Voyage de Découvertes de L'Astrolabe 1826-1827-1828-1829: Philologie* Publié par Le Ministère de la Marine, Paris.
- Gale, Fay & Joy Wundersitz (1982) *Adelaide Aborigines: A case study of urban life 1966-1981*. Development Studies Centre, ANU, Canberra.
- Gale, Fay (1959) 'The Role of Employment in the Assimilation of Part Aborigines.' *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, South Australian Branch*, Session 1958-59: 49-58.
- Gale, Fay (1962) 'Aborigines of South Australia.' *Pacific Viewpoints* 3 (2): 103-104.
- Gale, Fay (1970) 'The Impact of Urbanization on Aboriginal Marriage Patterns.' in R. M. Berndt (ed.) *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology*. Published for AIAS by the University of Western Australia Press, Perth: 305-325.
- Gale, Fay (1972) *Urban Aborigines*. ANU Press, Canberra.
- Gale, Kathryn (1994) *Aboriginal Studies: A Primary School Cultural-Exchange Program Between Non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal South Australians*. M.Ed. Thesis, LaTrobe University, Melbourne.
- Gale, Mary-Anne (1997) *Dhanguṃ Djorra'wuy Dhäwu: A History of Writing in Aboriginal Languages*. Aboriginal Research Institute, University of South Australia, Underdale.
- Gale, Mary-Anne (forthcoming) *Poor Bugger Whitefellas Got No Dreaming: The Appropriation and Representation of Dreaming Narratives as Published Texts*. [working title] PhD Thesis, University of Adelaide.
- Gale, Peter (1991) 'Nunga and Proud of It' *Aboriginal Languages in Adelaide: From the Loss of 'Mother-Tongue' to Language Revival*. BA Honours thesis, School of Social Science, Flinders University.
- Galiano-Malaspina Expedition (1792a) *Diccionarios de los Idiomas Runsién y Eslem*. Museo Naval Ms. no. 567, Madrid.

- Galiano-Malaspina Expedition (1792b) *Continuación de las Noticias que Adquiremos en Monterey, Género de Vida, Usos y Costumbres de la Naciones Eslen y Rumsien*. Museo Naval Ms. no. 1060, Madrid.
- Galpagalpa, J., D. Wanymulu, L. de Veer & M. Wilkinson (1984) *Dhuwal Djambarrpuyngu Dhäruk Mala ga Mayali'- Djambarrpuyngu Wordlist*. Literature Production Centre, Yirrkala NT.
- Gans, Hernert J. (1979) 'Symbolic Ethnicity: the Future of Ethnic Groups and Cultures in America.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1): 1-20.
- Gara, Tom (1986) 'Burial Customs of the Kaurna.' *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 24 (8): 6-9.
- Gara, Tom. (1990) 'The life of Ivaritji ('Princess Amelia') of the Adelaide tribe.' in Tom Gara (ed) *Aboriginal Adelaide, Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28 (1): 64-104.
- Gara, Tom (forthcoming) 'The Life and Times of Mullawirraburka ('King John') of the Adelaide Tribe' in Hercus & Simpson (eds.) *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*. Aboriginal History monograph, Canberra.
- Gardner-Chloros, Penelope (1986) 'Standardization of Modern Greek.' in Abstract of the proceedings of the Workshop of the *International Group for the Study of Language Standardization and the Vernacularization of Literacy*. Department of Language, University of York. April 18-20 1986: 43-48.
- Gargett, Kathryn & Susan Marsden (1996) *Adelaide: A Brief History*. State History Centre, Adelaide.
- Gell, John Philip (1842) *The Vocabulary of the Adelaide Tribe*. Typescript held by South Australian Museum, as published in the *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science, Agriculture, Statistics, &c.* 1: 109-124.
- Gell, John Philip (1904) 'South Australian Aborigines - the vocabulary of the Adelaide Tribe' *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch* 61: 61-78.
- Gibbs, R.M. (1995) *A History of South Australia*. Revised Edition. First published 1969. Southern Heritage, Blackwood.
- Glinert, Lewis (1993) 'The First Congress for Hebrew, or When is a Congress not a Congress' in Fishman, Joshua A. (ed.) *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning: The "First Congress" Phenomenon*. [Contributions to the Sociology of Language 65], Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin: 85-115.
- Goddard, Cliff (1980) *A Learners Guide to Yankunytjatjara*. Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs.
- Goddard, Cliff (1987) *A Basic Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara to English Dictionary*. Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs.

- Goddard, Cliff (1992) *Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara to English Dictionary*. Second Edition. Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs.
- Goddard, Ives (1973) 'Philological Approaches to the Study of North American Indian Languages: Documents and Documentation.' in Thomas A. Sebeok, William Bright, Dell Hymes, John Lotz, Albert H. Marckwardt & Jean Paul Vinay (eds.) *Linguistics in North America*. Current Trends in Linguistics X. Mouton, The Hague.
- Goddard, Ives & Bragdon, Kathleen (1988) *Native Writings in Massachusetts*. Parts 1 and 2, American Philosophical Society, Independence Square, Philadelphia.
- Goehring, Brian (1993) *Indigenous Peoples of the World: An Introduction to Their Past, Present and Future*. Purich Publishing, Saskatoon, Canada.
- Golden, Bernard (1987) 'Conservation of the Heritage Volapük.' *Language Problems & Language Planning* 11(3): 361-367.
- Görlach, Manfred (1992) 'Language Death and the History of English.' Paper presented at the 7th International Conference on European Historical Linguistics, Valencia, 5-8 October, 1992.
- Gouger, Robert (1838) *South Australia in 1837 in a Series of Letters with a Postscript as to 1838*. 2nd Edition. Harvey & Darton, London.
- Gouger, Robert (1898) *The Founding of South Australia as recorded in the journals of Mr Robert Gouger, First Colonial Secretary*. Edited by Edwin Hodder Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London.
- Grace, George (1981) *An Essay on Language*. Hornbill Press, Columbia, South Carolina.
- Grace, George (1987) *The Linguistic Construction of Reality*. Croom Helm, London.
- Graetz, Joyce (1988) *An Open Book: The Story of the Distribution and Production of Christian Literature by Lutherans in Australia*. Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide.
- Granites, Kurt Japanangka & Tim Shopen (1987) 'Jitirninjakurlangupinki Pina-jarrinjakurlangu' Sections 1-34 of *Simple Method of Locating Faults in the Ignition System*, Vocational Training Branch, ILO, translated into Warlpiri, Lajamanu.
- Grant, Agnes (1992) 'Contemporary Maori Music.' *Journal of Indigenous Studies* 3(1): 33-41.
- Gray, Mike (1993) *Tauondi: A Record of the Aboriginal Community College's First 20 Years*. Aboriginal Community College. Printed by Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide.

- Green, Jenny (1994) *A Learner's Guide to Eastern and Central Arrernte*. IAD Press, Alice Springs.
- Gregor, D. (1980) *Celtic: A Comparative Study*. Oleander, New York.
- Grey, George (1840a) *A Vocabulary of the Dialects of South Western Australia*. T. & W. Boone, London.
- Grey, George (1840b) *Philology in the library of His Excellency Sir George Grey, held in the South African Library, Cape Town*.
- Grey, George (1841) *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia, during the years 1837, 38, and 39*. Vol.II. T. & W. Boone, London.
- Griffin, Trevor & Mc Caskill, Murray eds. (1986) *Atlas of South Australia*. South Australian Government Printing Division, Adelaide.
- Groome, Howard & Jan Irvine (1981) *The Kurna, First People in Adelaide*. Tjintu Books, Largs Bay.
- Gumperz, John (1972) 'Sociolinguistics and Communication in Small Groups.' in J.B. Pride & Janet Holmes (eds.) *Sociolinguistics*. Penguin Education, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: 203-224.
- Gunson, Niel ed. (1974) *Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld, Missionary to the Aborigines 1824-1859*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Haas, Mary R. (1951) 'Interlingual Word Taboo.' *American Anthropologist* 53: 338-344.
- Haas, Mary (1975) 'Problems of American Indian Philology.' in Herbert H. Paper (ed.) *Language and Texts: The Nature of Linguistic Evidence*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 89-106.
- Haas, Mary (1976) 'The Southeast' in Sebeok (ed.) *Native Languages of the Americas*. Vol. 1. Plenum Press, New York and London, 573-612.
- Hahn, Capt. Dirk Meinertz (1838-1839) *Reminiscences*. Extract translated by Dr. F.J.H. Blaess & Dr. L.A. Triebel. in *South Australiana* 3 (2) Sept. 1964: 97-134.
- Hale, Ken (1992) 'On Endangered Languages and the Safeguarding of Diversity.' *Language* 68 (1): 1-3.
- Hale, Ken (1996) 'The Next 35 Years in Linguistics' *The Sciences* Nov./Dec.: 8.
- Hall, Budd L. (1978) 'Breaking the Monopoly of Knowledge: Research methods, participation and development' in Budd L. Hall & J. Roby Kidd (eds.) *Adult Learning: A Design for Action*. Pergamon Press, Toronto, 155-168.

- Hall, Robert A. Jr. (1950) *Leave Your Language Alone*. Doubleday Anchor, Ithaca, New York.
- Harkins, Jean (1994) *Bridging Two Worlds: Aboriginal English and Crosscultural Understanding*. University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.
- Harlow, Ray (1993) 'Lexical Expansion in Maori.' *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 102 (1): 99-107.
- Harrington, John Peabody (1913) *The Excelen Language*. Ms., Harrington Collection, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.
- Harris, John (1990) *One Blood. 200 Years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: A Story of Hope*. Albatross Books Pty. Ltd., Sutherland.
- Harris, Roy (1980) *The Language Makers*. Duckworth, London.
- Harris, Stephen (1990) *Two Way Aboriginal Schooling: Education and Cultural Survival*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Harry, Ralph (1992) 'Esperanto After 100 Years.' in Broadribb (ed) *Presenting Esperanto*, 6-9.
- Hart, Max (1997) *A Story of Fire, Continued: Aboriginal Christianity*. New Creation Publications Inc., Blackwood, SA.
- Hartman, Deborah & John Henderson (eds.) (1994) *Aboriginal Languages in Education*. IAD Press, Alice Springs.
- Hassell, K.L. *The Relations Between the Settlers and the Aborigines in South Australia, 1836-1860*. Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide.
- Haugen, Einar (1972) *The Ecology of Language*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Haugen, Einar (1976) *The Scandinavian Languages: An Introduction to their History*. Faber & Faber Limited, London.
- Haugen, Einar, J. Derrick McClure & Derick Thomson (1981) *Minority Languages Today*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- Hawker, James Collins (1899) *Early Experiences in South Australia*. E.S. Wigg & Son, Adelaide, Perth & London.
- Heath, Jeffrey (1978) *Linguistic Diffusion in Arnhem Land*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Heath, John (1982) 'The Awabakal Aboriginal Cooperative.' in Jeanie Bell ed. *Language Planning for Australian Aboriginal Languages*. Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs, 124-126.
- Hemming, Steve (1989) 'The South Australian Museum's Aboriginal Family History Project.' *Records of the South Australian Museum* 23 (2): 147-152.

- Hemming, Steve (1990) 'Kaurna' Identity: a brief history.' in Tom Gara (ed) *Aboriginal Adelaide, Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28 (2) 126-142.
- Hemming, Steve (1996) 'Inventing Ethnography.' *Journal of Australian Studies* 48: 25-39.
- Hemming, S. J., P.G. Jones with P.A. Clarke (1989) 'Ngurunderi. An Aboriginal Dreaming'. South Australian Museum, Adelaide.
- Hemming, Steve & Philip A. Clarke (1992) *Aboriginal People of South Australia*. Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, Canberra.
- Henderson, George (1907) *Sir George Grey, Pioneer of Empire in Southern Lands*. J.M, Dent & Co., London; E.P. Dutton & Co., New York.
- Henderson, John & Dobson, Veronica (1994) *Eastern and Central Arrernte to English Dictionary*. IAD Press, Alice Springs.
- Henshaw, H.W. (1888) [Esselen vocabulary materials] Ms. 382, National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.
- Hercus, Luise (1976) 'Arabana-Wangganguru and Bagandji.' in R.M.W. Dixon (ed.) *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 398.
- Hercus, Luise (1992) *A Nukunu Dictionary*. Published by the author, Canberra.
- Hercus, Luise (1994) *A Grammar of the Arabana-Wangkangurru Language Lake Eyre Basin, South Australia*. Pacific Linguistics, Series C-128, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Hercus, L.A. & V. Potezny (forthcoming) 'Finches' versus 'Finch-water': a study of some South Australian place-names. To appear in *Records of the South Australian Museum*.
- Hill, D.L. & S.J. Hill (1975) *Notes on the Narangga Tribe of Yorke Peninsula*. Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide.
- Hindley, Reg (1990) *The Death of the Irish Language: a qualified obituary*. Routledge, London.
- Hinton, Leanne (1994) *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages*. Heyday Books, Berkeley, California.
- Hinton, Leanne (1996) 'Breath of Life -- Silent No More: The Native California Language Restoration Workshop.' *News from Native California* 10 (1).
- Hinton, Peter (1981) 'Where Have the New Ethnicians Gone Wrong?' *The Australian & New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 17 (3): 14-19.

- Hirsh, Walter Ed. (1987) *Living Languages: Bilingualism & Community Languages in New Zealand*. Heinemann, Auckland.
- Hoenigswald, Henry M. (1960) *Language Change and Linguistic Reconstruction*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London.
- Hoijer, Harry (1976) 'History of American Indian Linguistics.' in Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.) *Native Languages of the Americas*. Vol. 1. Plenum Press, New York and London, 3-22.
- Hollinsworth, David (1992) 'Discourses on Aboriginality and the Politics of Identity in Urban Australia.' *Oceania* 63 (2): 137-155.
- Hope, Penelope (1968) *The Voyage of the Africaine: A collection of journals, letters and extracts from contemporary publications*. Heinemann Educational Australia, River House, South Yarra, Victoria.
- Hosking, Sue (1997) 'The Wanda Koolmatrie Hoax: Who Cares? Does it Matter? Of Course it Does!' *Adelaidean*, 21 April 1997: 2, 6.
- House of Representatives Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs (1992) *Language and Culture - A Matter of Survival. Report of the Inquiry into Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Language Maintenance*. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- Howchin, Walter (1934) *The Stone Implements of the Adelaide Tribe of Aborigines Now Extinct*. Gillingham & Co. Ltd., Adelaide.
- Howitt, A.W. (1904) *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*. Macmillan & Co. Ltd London. Facsimile edition 1996, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Hudson, Joyce (1990) *Walmajarri - English Dictionary*. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Darwin.
- Hudson, Joyce & Patrick McConvell (1984) *Keeping Language Strong: Report of the Pilot Study for the Kimberley Language Resource Centre* (short version), Kimberley Language Resource Centre, Broome.
- Hudson, Richard (1981) 'Some Issues on which Linguists can Agree.' *Journal of Linguistics*, 17(2): 333-343.
- Hymes, Dell (1972) 'On Communicative Competence.' in J.B. Pride & Janet Holmes (eds.) *Sociolinguistics*. Penguin Education, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 269-293.
- Hymes, Dell (1986) 'Models of the Interaction of Language and Social Life' in John Gumperz & Dell Hymes (eds.) *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 35-71. (earlier edition published by Holt, Rinehart & Winston in 1972 in the US)

- Ihimaera, Witi (ed.) (1993) *Te Ao Mārama - Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out. Volume 2 He Whakaatanga o Te Ao - The Reality*. Reed Books, Auckland.
- Inglis, Judy (1961) 'Aborigines in Adelaide.' *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 70 (2): 200-218.
- The Invasion Diary Collective (1986) *The White Invasion Booklet*. The White Invasion Diary Collective, Torrensville, South Australia.
- Jacob William (1837-1838) Journal held in Mortlock Library, Adelaide.
- Jaensch, Dean ed. (1986) *The Flinders History of South Australia. Political History*. Wakefield Press, Netley.
- Jakubowicz, A. (1981) 'State and Ethnicity: Multiculturalism as Ideology.' *The Australian & New Zealand Journal of Sociology* 17 (3): 4-13.
- James, Lillian (1994) 'The Cornish Language in Australia.' *Cornish Worldwide*, Vol.11. (reproduced by Matthew Spriggs in 'The Cornish Language Revival in Australia: Two Views' and posted on the web, URL: http://artalpha.anu.edu.au/web/arc/resources/papers/cornish/cornishin_austr.htm)
- Janke, Terri (1997) *Our Culture, Our Future: Proposals for the Recognition and Protection of Indigenous Cultural and Intellectual Property*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra.
- Janton, Pierre (1977) *L'espéranto. Que sais-je?* Presses Universitaires de France, Paris. 2nd Edition.
- Jeffers, Robert J. & Ilse Lehiste (1979) *Principles and Methods for Historical Linguistics*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts & London, England.
- Jenner, Henry (1904) *A Handbook of the Cornish Language*. Nutt, London.
- Jhappan, C Radha (1992) 'Global Community?: Supranational Strategies of Canada's Aboriginal Peoples.' *Journal of Indigenous Studies* 3 (1): 59-97.
- Johnson, Jeanette (1996) *Unfinished Business. Australians and Reconciliation*. Brian Sweeney & Associates, South Melbourne.
- Johnson, Howard (1898-1900) [Narungga Vocabulary]. Published in a series of articles appearing in *The Pioneer of Southern Yorke Peninsula*, 26 Dec. 1930; 9 Jan 1931; 16 Jan 1931. Reprinted by Tindale (1936).
- Johnson, Steve (1987) 'The Philosophy and Politics of Aboriginal Language Maintenance.' *Australian Aboriginal Studies* 2: 54-58.
- Jolly, Lesley (1995) 'Waving a Tattered Banner? Aboriginal Language Revitalisation.' *Ngulaig* 13: 1-29.
- Jonas, Bill, Marcia Langton & AIATSIS staff (1993) *The Little Red, Yellow & Black (and green and blue and white) Book. A short guide to indigenous*

Australia. Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies on behalf of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation. Printing by Lane Brothers Printing, Adelaide.

Jones G. Lloyd (1983) *The Discovery of Hebrew in Tudor England: a third language*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Jones, Philip G. (1987) 'South Australian Anthropological History: The Board for Anthropological Research and its Early Expeditions.' *Records of the South Australian Museum* 20: 71-92.

Jones, Philip G. (1995) 'Obituary: Norman B. Tindale 12 October 1900 - 19 November 1993.' *Records of the South Australian Museum* 28 (2): 159-176.

Jones, Philip G. (1996) *Boomerang: Behind an Australian Icon*. Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Jordan, Deidre F. (1984) 'The Social Construction of Identity: The Aboriginal Problem.' *The Australian Journal of Education* 28 (3): 274-290.

Jordan, Deidre F. (1988a) 'Aboriginal Identity: uses of the past, problems for the future.' in Jeremy Beckett (Ed.) *Past and Present: The Construction of Aboriginality*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 109-130. Reprinted in Jordan (1989: 41-58).

Jordan, Deidre F. (1988b) 'Rights and Claims of Indigenous People: Education and the Reclaiming of Identity. The Case of the Canadian Natives, Sami and Australian Aborigines.' in Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Jim Cummins (eds.) *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon & Philadelphia, 189-222.

Jordan, Deidre F. (1989) *Aboriginal Peoples: Autonomy, Education and Identity*. Educational Media Unit, Batchelor College, Batchelor, NT.

Jumbunna Centre for Australian Indigenous Studies, Education and Research (n.d.) *Policy and Guidelines for Community-based Research*, University of Technology Sydney.

Jung, C.E. (1876) 'Zur Kenntnis südaustralischer Dialekte' *Mitteilung des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Leipzig*. 4: 68-75.

KACHA (1994) Kurna Aboriginal Community and Heritage Association Incorporated Rules. Ms.

Kaldor, S. & Malcolm, I.G. (1982) 'Aboriginal English in country and remote areas - a Western Australian perspective.' In R.D. Eagleson, S. Kaldor & I.G. Malcolm (eds.) *English and the Aboriginal Child*. Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra.

Kamana, Kauanoë & William H. Wilson (1996) 'Hawaiian Language Programs.' in Gina Cantoni, (ed.) *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*. Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, 153-156.

- Karetu, Timoti S. (1995) 'Maori Language Rights in New Zealand.' in Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Robert Phillipson (eds.) *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 209-218.
- Kartinyeri, Doreen (1983) *Rigney Family Genealogy, Point McLeay*. Aboriginal Research Centre, University of Adelaide.
- Kartinyeri, Doreen (1989) *Perna Adjunda Rudkee ('King James Rodney')* Tandanya Opening Day Souvenir Program, October 1 1989, Tandanya, Adelaide.
- Kartinyeri, Doreen (1990) *The Wilson Family Genealogies*. Volumes One, Two & Three. South Australian Museum, Adelaide.
- Kaurna Plains School (1995) *Kaurna Plains School R-12: Introducing Our School*. Aboriginal Research Institute, University of South Australia, Underdale.
- Keegan, Peter (1996) *The Benefits of Immersion Education. A Review of the New Zealand and Overseas Literature*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington.
- Keegan, Peter (1997) *1996 Survey of the Provision of Te Reo Maori*. New Zealand Council for Educational Research & Ministry of Maori Development, Wellington.
- Kennedy, William Bruce (1989) *Lutheran Missionary to the Aborigines: Pastor Christian Gottlob Teichelmann 1807-1888, His Family, Life & Times*. Published by the author, Coolangatta.
- Kerr, Donald (1997) 'Sir George Grey and Australia.' Unpublished manuscript - talk hosted by the State Library of South Australia 7th April 1997.
- Khleif, Bud, B. (1980) *Language, Ethnicity, and Education in Wales*. Contributions to the Sociology of Language, No.28 Mouton Publishers, The Hague.
- Kinkade, M. Dale (1991) 'The Decline of Native Languages in Canada' in Robert H. Robins & Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck (eds.) *Endangered Languages*. Berg, Oxford, 157-176.
- Kirke, Brian (1987) *Ngarrindjeri Yanun*. [Language kit], South Australian College of Advanced Education, Underdale.
- Klose, Samuel Correspondence 1840 - 1845. Original handwritten manuscripts in German held by the Lutheran Archives, Leipzig. Typescript copies and English translations held by the Lutheran Archives, Adelaide.
- Koerner, Konrad (1997) 'Linguistics vs Philology: Self-definition of a field or rhetorical stance?' *Language Sciences* 19 (2): 167-175.
- Koolmatrie, Wanda (1994) *My Own Sweet Time*. Magabala Books, Broome, W.A.
- Krauss, Michael (1992) 'The World's Languages in Crisis.' *Language*, 68 (1): 4-10.

- Krauss, Michael (1996) 'Status of Native American Language Endangerment.' in Gina Cantoni (ed.) *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages* Centre for Excellence in Education Monograph, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, 16-21.
- Kroeber, Alfred L. (1904) 'The Languages of the Coast of California South of San Francisco.' *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* 2: 28-80.
- Kühn, Wilhelm (c1880) Narungga Vocabulary 'No. 67 - Yorke's Peninsula' in E.M. Curr (1886) *The Australian Race*, Melbourne. (Reprinted in Narrunga Language Kit, SACAE, Underdale, 1987)
- Kuiper, Koenraad & Douglas Haggio (1984) 'Livestock Auctions, Oral Poetry and Ordinary Language.' *Language in Society* 13: 203-234.
- Kutscher, Eduard Yechezkel (1982) *A History of the Hebrew Language*. The Magnus Press, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
- Kwan, Elizabeth (1987) *Living in South Australia: A Social History. Vol.1 From Before 1836 to 1914*. South Australian Government Printer, Adelaide.
- Labov, William (1972a) *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Labov, William (1972b) *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.
- Ladefoged, Peter (1992) 'Another View of Endangered Languages.' *Language* 68 (4): 809-811.
- Landau, Jacob M. (1993) 'The First Turkish Language Congress.' in Joshua Fishman (ed.) *The Earliest Stage of Language Planning; The "First Congress" Phenomenon*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin & New York, 271-292.
- Large, Andrew (1985) *The Artificial Language Movement*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Laughren, Mary & Robert Hoogenraad eds. (1997) *Warlpiri Wordlist. Warlpiri - English*. (unpublished manuscript and electronic datafile for limited distribution)
- Le Page, R.B. & Andrée Tabouret-Keller (1985) *Acts of Identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Lee, Jenny (1993) *Ngawurranungurumagi Nginingawila Ngapangiraga: Tiwi-English Dictionary*. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Darwin.
- Lenfer, Anouchka (1993) *Aboriginal Heritage Sites in Urban Environments: A Study of Issues Relating to Kaurna Heritage Sites in Metropolitan Adelaide*. Master in Environmental Studies dissertation, University of Adelaide.

- Lhotsky, John (1839) 'Some Remarks on a Short Vocabulary of the Natives of Van Diemen Land; and also of the Menero Downs in Australia.' *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 9: 157-162.
- Liddy, Peter (1993) *The Rainbird Murders 1861*. Peacock Publications, Adelaide.
- Linn, Rob (1991) *Cradle of Adversity: A History of the Willunga District*. Historical Consultants, Blackwood, S.A.
- Lo Bianco (1987) *National Policy on Languages*. Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.
- McCarty, Teresa L, Akira Y Yamamoto, Lucille J. Watahomigie & Ofelia Zepeda (1997) 'School-Community-University Collaborations: The American Indian Language Development Institute' in Reyhner, Jon (ed.) *Teaching Indigenous Languages*. Centre for Excellence in Education Monograph, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, 85-104.
- McConvell, Patrick (1986) 'Aboriginal Languages and Language Maintenance in the Kimberley.' *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, Series S, 2: 108-122.
- McConvell, Patrick (1991) 'Understanding Language Shift: a step towards language maintenance.' in S. Romaine (ed.) *Language in Australia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 143-155.
- McEntee, John & McKenzie, Pearl (1992) *Aḏña-mat-ña English Dictionary*. M.F. Nobbs, Adelaide.
- McKay, Graham (1996) *The Land Still Speaks: Review of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Language Maintenance and Development Needs and Activities*. Commissioned Report No. 44, National Board of Employment, Education and Training, AGPS, Canberra.
- Macknight, C. C. (1976) *The Voyage to Marege': Macassan Trepangers in Northern Australia*. Melbourne University Press, Carlton.
- Mackridge, Peter (1990) 'Katharevousa (c. 1800-1974) An Obituary for an Official Language.' in Marion Sarafis & Martin Eve (eds.) *Background to Contemporary Greece*. Merlin Press, London, 25-51.
- McTaggart, R. (1989) 'Principles for Participatory Action Research.' Paper presented at the International Council for Adult Education Participatory Research Conference, Managua, Nicaragua, Sept. 1989.
- Maguire, Gabrielle (1991) *Our Own Language: An Irish Initiative*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Malcolm, Ian G. & Susan Kaldor (1991) 'Aboriginal English - an overview', in Romaine (ed.) *Language in Australia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 67-83.

- Mann, W (1839) *Six Years' Residence in the Australian Provinces, Ending in 1839*. Smith, Elder & Co. Cornhill, London.
- Manning, Geoffry H. (1986) *The Romance of Place Names of South Australia*. Published by the Author. Gillingham Printers Pty. Ltd., Adelaide.
- Marika, Raymattja, Dayngawa Ngurruwutthun & Leon White (1990) *Always Together, Yaka Gana: Participatory Research at Yirrkala as part of the Development of a Yolngu Education*. Yirrkala Literature Production Centre, Yirrkala. (paper presented at the Participatory Research Conference, University of Calgary, Canada, July 1989.)
- Markey, T. L. (1987) 'When Minor is Minor and Major is Major: Language Expansion, Contraction and Death.' in Gearóid Mac Eoin, Anders Ahlqvist & Donncha ÓhAodha (eds.) *Third International Conference on Minority Languages. General Papers*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 3-22.
- Martin, Jim (1990) 'Language and Control: Fighting with Words.' in C. Walton & W. Eggington (eds.) *Language: Maintenance, Power and Education in Australian Aboriginal Contexts*. Northern Territory University Press, Darwin, 12-43.
- Mathews, R.H. (1900) 'Divisions of the South Australian Aborigines' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 39: 78-93.
- Matthews, Stephen & Maria Polinsky (1996) 'Epilogue: Language Loss and Revival' in Bernard Comrie, Stephen Matthews & Maria Polinsky (eds.) *The Atlas of Languages*. New Burlington Books, London, 210-215.
- Mattingley, Christobel (1992) *Tucker's Mob*. Omnibus Books, Norwood, S.A.
- Mattingley, Christobel & Ken Hampton (eds.) (1988) *Survival in our Own Land: 'Aboriginal' Experiences in 'South Australia' since 1836*. Wakefield Press, Adelaide.
- (authors names beginning with Mc and Mac are treated as though the prefix is spelt Mac)
- Mead, Greg (1995) *A Royal Omission: A critical summary of the evidence given to the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Royal Commission with an alternative Report*. Published by the author, Adelaide.
- Mead, Hirini Moko (1993) 'Te Maori in New York.' in Witi Ihimaera (ed.) *Te Ao Mārama - Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out*. Volume 2 *He Whakaatanga o Te Ao - The Reality*. Reed Books, Auckland, 197-199.
- Mercurio, Antonio & Rob Amery (1996) 'Can Senior Secondary Studies Help to Maintain and Strengthen Australia's Indigenous Languages?' in Bobaljik, Pensalfini & Storto (Eds) *Papers on Language Endangerment and the Maintenance of Linguistic Diversity* MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 28, 25-57. (Paper originally presented at the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education, Wollongong, December, 1993)

- Meyer, H.A.E. (1843) *Vocabulary of the Language Spoken by the Aborigines of the Southern and Eastern Portions of the Settled Districts of South Australia*. James Allen, Adelaide.
- Meyer, H.A.E. (1846) *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe: South Australia*. George Dehane Printer, Adelaide. (xerographic facsimile, S.A. Public Library)
- Milroy, L. (1980) *Language and Social Networks*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Milroy, L. & J. Milroy (1992) 'Social Network and Social Class: Toward an Integrated Sociolinguistic Model.' *Language in Society* 21: 1-26.
- Ministry of Education Western Australia (1992) *Framework for the Teaching of Aboriginal Languages in Primary Schools*. Ministry of Education, Perth.
- Mita, Merata (1993) 'Indigenous Literature in a Colonial Society.' in Witi Ihimaera (ed.) *Te Ao Mārama - Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out*. Volume 2 *He Whakaatanga o Te Ao - The Reality*. Reed Books, Auckland, 310-314.
- Mithun, Marianne & Wallace Chafe (1979) 'Recapturing the Mohawk Language.' in Timothy Shopen (ed.) *Languages and their Status*. Winthrop, Cambridge, MA, 3-33.
- Miyawaki, Hiroyuki (1990) 'Aboriginal Ainu in Japan - Past and Present - with Special Reference to a Socio-Political Linguistic Perspective.' in Walton, C. & Eggington, W. (eds.) *Language: Maintenance, power and education in Australian Aboriginal contexts*. (Proceedings of the Cross Cultural Issues in Educational Linguistics Conference held at Batchelor College, 1987.) Northern Territory University, Darwin, NT, 88-95.
- Moleas, Wendy (1989) *The Development of the Greek Language*. Bristol Classical Press, U.K.
- Mollison, B.C. (1976) *The Tasmanian Aborigines: Tasmanian Aboriginal Genealogies with an Appendix on Kangaroo Island*. Vol.3, Part 1. University of Tasmania, Hobart.
- Moorhouse, M. (1840) 'Protector's Report, 14 January, 1840', in 'Report of the Colonisation Commissioners for South Australia, 1842' *British Parliamentary Papers, Papers Relating to Australia 1842-44, Vol.7 Colonies Australia*. Facsimile edition, 1969, Irish University Press, Shannon, Ireland, 322-324.
- Moorhouse, M. (1840-1857) *Protector of Aborigines Out Letter Book, May 21, 1840 to Jan. 6 1857*. Held by State Records, Adelaide.
- Moorhouse, M. (1843) Letter to Sir George Grey sent from Adelaide May 1st, 1843 and replies to Moorhouse's Inquiries from J. Hutt, Governor of Western Australia. Original held in Sir George Grey's Collection, Auckland Public Library.

- Moorhouse, M. (1846) *A Vocabulary and Outline of the Grammatical Structure of the Murray River Language spoken by the Natives of South Australia from Wellington on the Murray, as far as the Rufus*. Printed by Andrew Murray, Adelaide. Facsimile edition 1962 published by the Public Library of South Australia, Adelaide.
- Morgan, Sally (1987) *My Place*. Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle.
- Morphy, Frances (1983) 'Djapu, A Yolngu Dialect.' in R.M.W. Dixon & Barry Blake (eds.) *Handbook of Australian Languages*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1-188.
- Mountford, Charles P. (1976) *Nomads of the Australian Desert*. Rigby, Adelaide.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter (1986) 'Bonnet Blanc et Blanc Bonnet: Adjective-Noun Order, Substratum and Language Universals.' in Pieter Muysken & Norval Smith eds. *Substrata Versus Universals in Creole Genesis*. John Benjamins Publishing Co., 41-55.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter (1992) 'Preserving Languages or Language Ecologies? A Top-down Approach to Language Survival.' *Oceanic Linguistics* 31 (2): 163-180.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter (1994) 'Babel Revisited.' *UNESCO Courier* 16-21.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter (1996a) *Linguistic Ecology: Language Change and Linguistic Imperialism in the Pacific Region*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter (1996b) 'On the Effectiveness of Language Maintenance Programs' in R. Baldauf (ed.) *Backing Australia's Languages: Review of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Languages Initiatives Program*, National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia, Deakin, ACT.
- Mühlhäusler, Peter (1996c) 'Review of Tove Skuttnab-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (eds.), *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*.' *Lingua* 99: 253-267.
- Mullarney, Maire (1987) 'The Departure of Latin.' *Language Problems & Language Planning* 11 (3): 356-360.
- Multicultural Education Coordinating Committee (1997) *Education for Multicultural Australia: A Resource Guide*. Produced jointly by the Multicultural Education Coordinating Committee (SA) and the Cultural Diversity Services of the State Library of South Australia.
- Nahir, Moshe (1977) 'The Five Aspects of Language Planning.' *Language Problems and Language Planning* 1: 107-123.
- Nahir, Moshe (1988) 'Language Planning and Language Acquisition: The 'Great Leap' in the Hebrew Revival.' in Christina Bratt Paulston (ed.) *International Handbook of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Greenwood Press, New York, 275-295.

- Nance, Robert Morton (1929) *Cornish for All*. James Lanham, St Ives, Cornwall.
- Nash, David (1993) 'Obituary of Gerhardt Laves' *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 1: 101-102.
- Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga and Kurna Languages Project (1990) *Narrunga, Kurna & Ngarrindjeri Songs*, c/- Kurna Plains School, Elizabeth, S.A.
- Nicholson, Rangi & Ron Garland (1991) 'New Zealanders' Attitudes to the Revitalisation of the Maori Language.' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 12 (5): 393-410.
- Ó Laoire Muiris (1995) 'An Historical Perspective of the Revival of Irish Outside the Gaeltacht, 1880-1930, With Reference to the Revitalization of Hebrew.' *Current Issues in Language and Society* 2 (3): 223-225.
- Ó Riagáin, Pádraig (1992) *Language Maintenance and Language Shift as Strategies of Social Reproduction: Irish in the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht. 1926-86*. Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann - The Linguistics Institute of Ireland, Baile Átha Cliath 2.
- Oates, W.J. & L.F. Oates (1970) *A Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- O'Brien, Lewis (1990) 'My Education.' in Gara (ed) *Aboriginal Adelaide, Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* 28 (2): 105-125.
- O'Brien, Lewis (1991) 'Lewis O'Brien' in Catherine Murphy (ed.) *Of Ships, Strikes and Summer Nights. Oral Histories from the Port Adelaide Community*. Port Adelaide Community Arts Centre, 104-107.
- O'Brien, Lewis & Georgina Williams (1992) 'The Cultural Significance of the Onkaparinga River.' *Kurna Higher Education Journal* 2: 67-70.
- O'Connor, Luisa (1995) 'Kudnarto.' unpublished typescript, 130 pages.
- O'Connor, Luisa (forthcoming) 'Kudnarto.' to appear in Luise Hercus & Jane Simpson (eds.) *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*. Aboriginal History monograph, Canberra.
- Oftedal (1981) 'Is Nynorsk a Minority Language?' in E. Haugen, J.D. McClure & D. Thomson (eds.) *Minority Languages Today*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 120-129.
- O'Grady, Geoffrey (1960) 'New Concepts in Nyangumada: Some Data On Linguistic Acculturation.' *Anthropological Linguistics* 2 (1): 1-6.
- Pandharipande, Rajeshwari (1996) 'Language shift with Maintenance: The Case of Sanskrit in India.' in Shivendra K. Verma & Dilip Singh (eds.) *Perspectives on Language in Society*. Kalinga Publications, Delhi, 182-205.

- Parkhouse, T.A. (1923) *Reprints and Papers Relating to the Autochthones of Australia*. Parkhouse, Woodville.
- Parkhouse, T.A. (1936) 'Some Words of the Australian Autochthone: An Experiment in Australian Etymology.' *Mankind* 2 (1): 16-19.
- Paulston, Christina B. (1994) *Linguistic Minorities in Multilingual Settings: Implications for Language Policies*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Paulston, C.B., Pow Chee Chen & Mary C. Connerty (1993) 'Language Regenesi: a Conceptual Overview of Language Revival, Revitalization and Reversal.' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 14 (4): 275-286.
- Paulston, C.B., Pow Chee Chen & M.C. Connerty (1994) 'Language Regenesi: Language Revival, Revitalization and Reversal.' Chapter 7 in Paulston, C.B. *Linguistic Minorities in Multilingual Settings: Implications for Language Policies*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 91-106.
- Pawley, Andrew (1985) 'On Speech Formulas and Linguistic Competence.' *Lenguas Modernas* 12: 84-104.
- Pawley, Andrew (1991) 'How to Talk Cricket: Linguistic Competence in a Subject Matter Code.' in R. Blust (ed.) *Currents in Pacific Linguistics: Papers on Austronesian Languages and Ethnolinguistics in Honour of George Grace*. Pacific Linguistics C-117, Canberra, 339-368.
- Pawley, Andrew (1992) 'Formulaic Speech.' in W. Bright (ed) *Oxford International Encyclopaedia of Linguistics*, Vol. 4, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 22-25.
- Pawley, Andrew & Frances Hodgetts Syder (1983) 'Two Puzzles for Linguistic Theory: Nativelike Selection and Nativelike Competence.' in Jack C. Richards & Richard W. Schmidt (eds.) *Language and Communication*. Longman, London & New York, 191-226.
- Penglase, Charles & Matthew Spriggs (1994) 'More Cornish Language in Australia.' (in 'The Cornish Language Revival in Australia: Two Views' posted on the web by Matthew Spriggs, URL: http://artalpha.anu.edu.au/web/arc/resources/papers/cornish/cornishin_austr.htm)
- Piesse, Louis. (1840) Letter to the Editor of the *Adelaide Guardian* dated 18 October 1839. *The South Australian Colonist* 1 (19): 296.
- Playfair, Roger (1996) *Some Ecological Suggestions for the Development of the Warriparinga Site*, Resource Monitoring and Planning, Marion City Council, Adelaide, Feb. 1996.
- Plomley, N.J.B. ed. (1966) *Friendly Mission: The Tasmanian Journals and Papers of George Augustus Robinson 1829-1834*. Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Hobart.

- Plomley, N.J.B. (1976) *A Word-list of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Languages*. The Author, Launceston.
- Plomley, N.J.B. ed. (1987) *Weep in Silence: A History of the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement*. Blubber Head Press, Hobart.
- Plomley, N.J.B. & K.A. Henley (1990) *The Sealers of Bass Strait and the Cape Barren Island Community*. Blubber Head Press, Hobart.
- Pope, Alan (1989) *Resistance and Retaliation: Aboriginal-European Relations in Early Colonial South Australia*. Heritage Action, Bridgewater.
- Powell, Jay V. (1973) 'Raising pidgins for fun and profit: A new departure in language teaching' *Proceedings of the Pacific Northwest Conference on Foreign Languages*, XVII, 40-43.
- Powell, Jay V. (1976) 'Preparing a second language program for teaching a Washington Indian language', *Lecture to Language Learning Colloquium, University of Washington* (February, 1976)
- Praite, R. & J.C. Tolley (1970) *Place Names of South Australia*. Rigby Ltd, Adelaide, Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane & Perth.
- Procter, Jo & Mary-Anne Gale eds. (1997) *Tauondi Speaks from the Heart: Aboriginal poems from Tauondi College*. Tauondi College, Port Adelaide.
- Public Records of South Australia *Police Parade Book 1843 to 1844*. GRG 5/120/3/1.
- Rabin, Chaim (1976) 'Language Treatment in Israel: Especially the development and spread of Hebrew.' *Language Planning Newsletter* 2 (4): 1, 3-4, 6.
- Ramsay-Smith, W. (1930) *Myths and Legends of the Australian Aboriginals*. George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London.
- Rann, Mike (1992) 'South Australian Aboriginal Languages.' *Kaurna Higher Education Journal* 2: 71-73.
- Reed, A.W. (1965) *Aboriginal Words of Australia*. A.H. & A.W. Reed Pty. Ltd., Sydney.
- Reed, A.W. (1967) *Aboriginal Place Names*. A.H. & A.W. Reed Pty. Ltd., Sydney.
- Reilly, Helen (1997) untitled Final Essay [on issues of control and ownership of the Kaurna language], KL&LE course, University of Adelaide.
- Reuther, J.G. (1981) *The Diari*. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Richards, E. ed. (1986) *The Flinders History of South Australia: social history*. Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

- Richards, Eyrlis (1987) *Pinarri: Introducing Languages in Kimberley Schools*. Kimberley Language Resource Centre/ Summer Institute of Linguistics, Berrimah.
- Richards, Jack; John Platt & Heidi Weber (1985) *Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*. Longman, Essex.
- Richards, Jack C. & Theodore S. Rodgers (1986) *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching: A Description and Analysis*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Rigney, Alice & Pathma Iswaran (1996) *Te Reo Maori Visit to Aotearoa*. Kaurua Plains School, Elizabeth.
- Rigney, Lester (1994) *Nendi, Goal Setting for Vision*. Accompany Outdoors, Adelaide.
- Rigney, Lester (1995) 'Indigenous Australians: Addressing Racism in Education. A conversation with Lester Rigney.' *Dulwich Centre Newsletter* 2: 5-15.
- Rigney, Lester (1996a) *Racism and Physical Education: A critical Indigenist analysis of the Senate Standing Committee's Report on Physical and Sport Education*. M.Ed. thesis, University of South Australia.
- Rigney, Lester (1996b) 'A Narungga Future: Our Past is Our Strength to Our Future.' Opening address at the historical Narungga Nation Ceremony, Saturday 10 February 1996.
- Rigney, Lester (1996c) 'Tools for an Indigenist Research Methodology: A Narungga Perspective.' Paper presented at the World Indigenous Peoples' Conference: Education, 15-23 June 1996, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- Rigney, Lester Irabinna (1997) 'Internationalisation of an Indigenous Anti-Colonial Culture Critique of Research Methodologies: A Guide to Indigenist Research Methodology and its Principles'. Paper delivered at HERDSA Annual International Conference, 8-11 July 1997, Adelaide.
- Robins, R.H. & Uhlenbeck, E.M. eds. (1991) *Endangered Languages*. Berg Publishers, Oxford and New York.
- Robinson, Clinton D.W. (1997) 'Developing or Destroying Languages? What Does Intervention do to Linguistic Vitality?' *Notes on Sociolinguistics* 2 (3): 109-126.
- Robinson, George Augustus. Papers held in Mitchell Library, Sydney. A7085(6).
- Ross, Betty ed. (1984) *Aboriginal and Historic Places Around Metropolitan Adelaide and the South Coast*. Anthropological Society of South Australia, Adelaide.

- Ross, Jeffrey A. (1979) 'Language and the Mobilization of Ethnic Identity' in Howard Giles & Bernard Saint-Jacques. (eds) *Language and Ethnic Relations*. Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1-13.
- Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (S.A. Branch) Inc. (1989) *Captain Collet Barker Field Day*, Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (S.A. Branch) Inc., Adelaide.
- Rudes, Blair A. (1997) 'Resurrecting Wampano (Quiripi) from the Dead: Phonological Preliminaries.' *Anthropological Linguistics* 39 (1): 1-59.
- SAAETAC (1992) *Proceedings of the South Australian Two Day Aboriginal Languages Workshop, Adelaide 2nd and 3rd June 1992*, South Australian Aboriginal Education and Training Advisory Committee, Adelaide.
- Sagard-Théodat, G. (1632) *Dictionnaire de la langue huronne* (2nd ed. in Gabriel Sagard-Theodat, *Historie du Canada* Vol.4. Librairie Tross, Paris, 1966). Denys Moreau, Paris.
- SAL (1985) Ngarrindjeri Wordlist. Unpublished typescript, School of Australian Linguistics, Batchelor, NT.
- Sandefur, John (1983) 'The Quileute Approach to Language Revival Programs.' *The Aboriginal Child at School* 11 (5): 3-16.
- Sapinsky, Tania H. (1997) *Language Use and Language Attitudes in a Rural South Australian Community*. M.A. Thesis, University of Adelaide.
- SAPSMS (1998) *Festival of Music 1998*. South Australian Public Schools Music Society, Adelaide.
- Sasse, Hans-Jürgen (1992) 'Theory of Language Death.' in Matthias Brenzinger (ed.) *Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa*. [Contributions to the Sociology of Language No.64], Mouton de Gruyter.
- Saulson, Scott B. (1979) *Institutionalized Language Planning: Documents and Analysis of the Revival of Hebrew*. [Contributions to the Sociology of Language No.23], Mouton: The Hague, Paris.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel (1989) *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction*. Second Edition. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Scarino, A., Vale, D. McKay, P. and J. Clark (1988) *Australian Language Levels Guidelines, Books 1-4*. Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra.
- Schayer, Herrn (1844) 'Über Sprache, Sitten und Gebräuche der Urbewohner von Süd-Australien' [On the language, customs and practices of the original inhabitants of South Australia] in Gesellschaft für Erkdkunde zu Berlin. Monatsberichte über die Verhandlungen, 189-195.

- Schebeck, Bernhard (1974) *Texts on the Social System of the AtYnYamatana People with Grammatical Notes*. Pacific Linguistics, Series D - No. 21, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Schebeck, Bernhard (1976) 'Thangu and Atjnjamathanha.' in R.M.W. Dixon (ed.) *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages*. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 516-550.
- Schmidt, Annette (1990) *The Loss of Australia's Aboriginal Language Heritage*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Schmidt, P.W. (1919) *Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen: Geographische, bibliographische, linguistische Grundzüge der Erforschung der aüstralischen Sprachen*. Druck und Verlag der Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerel, Wien (Austria).
- Schultz, Chester (forthcoming) 'Kurna Music and Dance in General' to appear in Nelson Varcoe, Chester Schultz & Rob Amery (eds.) *Kurna Songs*, Warra Kurna Program, Inbarendi College, Adelaide.
- Schürmann, Clamor W. (1838-1853) Journals. Copies of originals in German held by Lutheran Archives Adelaide. English translation held by Anthropology section, South Australian Museum, Adelaide.
- Schürmann, Clamor W. (1844) *A Vocabulary of the Parnkalla Language. Spoken by the Natives Inhabiting the Western Shores of Spencer's Gulf. To which is prefixed a collection of grammatical rules, hitherto ascertained*. George Dehane, Adelaide.
- Schurmann, Edwin A. (1987) *I'd Rather Dig Potatoes: Clamor Schurmann and the Aborigines of South Australia 1838-1853*. Lutheran Publishing House, Adelaide.
- Schütz, Albert J. (1994) *The Voices of Eden: A History of Hawaiian Language Studies*. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.
- Schwab, Jerry (1988) 'Ambiguity, Style and Kinship in Adelaide Aboriginal Identity.' in Ian Keen (ed.) *Being Black: Aboriginal Cultures in 'Settled' Australia*. Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 77-95.
- Schwarz, Silvia (1995) *Sociolinguistic Aspects of the Latin Language*. B.A. Honors Thesis in Latin and Linguistics, University of Adelaide.
- Sebeok, Thomas A. (ed.) (1976) *Native Languages of the Americas*. Vol. 1. Plenum Press, New York and London.
- Sharp, Janet & Nicholas Thieberger (1992) *Bilybara: Aboriginal Languages of the Pilbara Region*. Wangka Maya, The Pilbara Aboriginal Language Centre, Port Hedland.
- Shaul, David Leedom (1995a) 'The Huelel (Esselen) Language.' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 61 (2): 191-239.

- Shaul, David Leedom (1995b) 'The Last Words of Esselen.' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 61 (2): 245-249.
- Shopen, Timothy ed. (1985) *Language Typology and Syntactic Description., Volume III, Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Shumsky, Abraham (1956) 'Cooperation in Action Research: A Rationale.' *The Journal of Educational Sociology* 30: 180-185.
- Siebert, Frank T. Jr. (1975) 'Resurrecting Virginia Algonquian from the Dead: The Reconstituted and Historical Phonology of Powhatan.' in Crawford, James M. (ed.) *Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages,* The University of Georgia Press, Athens, 285-453.
- Simpson, Jane (nd) 'A Grammar of Kurna' (incomplete unpublished manuscript made available to Kurna programs in 1989)
- Simpson, Jane & Rob Amery (forthcoming) *A Grammar of Kurna.* ? to be published by Pacific Linguistics.
- Simpson, Jane (1985) 'How Warumungu People Express New Concepts.' *Language in Central Australia* 4: 12-25.
- Simpson, Jane (1992) 'Notes on a Manuscript Dictionary of Kurna.' in Dutton, Ross & Tryon (eds.) *The Language Game: Papers in Memory of Donald C. Laycock.* [Pacific Linguistics Series C- 110]: 409-415.
- Simpson, Jane (1995) 'Making Sense of the Words in Old Wordlists.' in Nicholas Thieberger (ed.), *Paper and Talk: A manual for reconstituting materials in Australian indigenous languages from historical sources.* Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 121-145.
- Simpson, Jane (1996) 'Early language contact varieties in South Australia.' *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 16 (2): 169-207.
- Simpson, Jane (forthcoming) 'Aboriginal personal names on the Fleurieu Peninsula at the time of the invasion.' to appear in Luise Hercus & Jane Simpson (eds.) *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People.* Aboriginal History monograph, Canberra.
- Simpson, Jennifer (1995) 'Evaluation of the Year 11 Warra Kurna Program Developed under the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework (AILFI) Project. Teachers Report' in Smiles & Simpson (1995).
- Sioui, Linda (1996) 'Is There a Future for the Huron Language?' in Jacques Maurais (ed.) *Quebec's Aboriginal Languages: History, Planning, Development.* Multilingual Matters Ltd., Clevedon, 250-255.

- Sissons, Jeffrey (1993) 'The Systematisation of Tradition: Maori Culture as a Strategic Resource.' *Oceania* 64 (2): 97-116.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove & Jim Cummins (1988) 'Concluding Remarks: Language for Empowerment.' in Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Jim Cummins, *Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 390-394.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove & Robert Phillipson eds. (1994) *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin. (paperback version 1995)
- Smiles, Ruth & Jennifer Simpson (1995) *Inbarendi College, Kaurua Language Program, 1994 Final Report*. submitted to DEET who funded the Australian Indigenous Languages Framework Trial, Inbarendi/Augusta Park Pilot Project, March 1995.
- Smith, Arthur Saxon Dennett (1931) *Lessons in Spoken Cornish*. Lanham, St Ives, Cornwall.
- Smith, Christina (1880) *The Booandik Tribe of South Australian: A sketch of their habits, customs, legends, and language*. E. Spiller, Govt. Printer, Adelaide. Libraries Board of South Australia Facsimile, 1965.
- Smith, Linda (1993) 'From Maori Education - A Reassertion.' in Witi Ihimaera (ed.) *Te Ao Mārama - Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out*. Volume 2 *He Whakaatanga o Te Ao - The Reality*. Reed Books, Auckland, 218-222.
- Smolicz, J. J. (1979) *Culture and Education in a Plural Society*. Curriculum Development Centre, Canberra.
- Smolicz, J. J. (1983) 'Multiculturalism and an Overarching Framework of Values: Educational Responses to Assimilation, Interaction, and Separatism in Ethnically Plural Societies.' Discussion paper delivered at *Comparative Education Society of Europe*, 11th Conference - Würzburg, Germany July 3-8, 1983.
- Smolicz, J. J. (1984) 'Minority Languages and the Core Values of Culture: Changing Policies and Ethnic Response in Australia.' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 5 (1): 23-41.
- Smolicz, J. J. (1989) *Who is an Australian? Identity, Core Values and Resilience of Culture*. Substance of the "Yungaba" lecture delivered at the Parliamentary Annexe, Queensland, Sept. 30, 1988 and the Inaugural Lecture given at the University of Adelaide, Nov. 18, 1988. Multicultural Education Coordinating Committee, July 1989.
- Smolicz, Jerzy (1981) 'Core Values and Cultural Identity' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4 (1): 75-90.

- Spolsky, Bernard (1989) 'Maori Bilingual Education and Language Revitalisation.' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 10 (2) 89-106.
- Spolsky, Bernard (1995) 'Conditions for Language Revitalization: A Comparison of the Cases of Hebrew and Maori.' *Current Issues in Language & Society* 2 (3): 177-201.
- SSABSA (1993) *Australian Indigenous Languages Framework National Consultation Document, November 1993*. Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia, Wayville.
- SSABSA (1996a) *Australia's Indigenous Languages Framework*. Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia, Wayville.
- SSABSA (1996b) *Australia's Indigenous Languages in Practice*. Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia, Wayville.
- SSABSA (1996c) *Australia's Indigenous Languages*. Senior Secondary Assessment Board of South Australia, Wayville. (edited by David Nathan. Produced by the AILF Project with Commonwealth DEETYA funding. Production Management by Wakefield Press. Printed by Hyde Park Press.) Accompanied by CD-ROM.
- SSABSA (1998) *Report of Aboriginal Students and the SACE*. Report on research conducted for SSABSA by Yunggoorendi First Nations Centre for Higher Education and Research, Flinders University, January 1998. (soon to be published)
- Stephens, Edward (1838) Letter to E.G. Wheeler, Manager, South Australian Co. London, dated 27 October 1838, in Norman B. Tindale. (1935b) *Notes on the Kaurna or Adelaide Tribe and the natives of Yorke Peninsula and the Middle North of South Australia*, Unpublished journal held in the Tindale Collection, South Australian Museum, Adelaide, 163-4.
- Stephens, Edward (1889) 'The Aborigines of Australia. Being Personal Recollections of those Tribes which once inhabited the Adelaide Plains of South Australia.' Read before the *Royal Society of NSW*, October 2, 1889.
- Stephens, John (1839) *Land of Promise*. Smith, Elder & Co. London.
- Stevens, Iris (1995) *Report of the Hindmarsh Island Bridge Royal Commission*. Adelaide.
- Streib, Gordon F. (1974) 'The Restoration of the Irish Language: Behavioural and Symbolic Aspects.' *Ethnicity* 1 (1): 73-89.
- Sturt, Capt. Charles (1833) *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia during the years 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831: with observations on the soil, climate, and general resources of the colony of New South Wales*. Volumes I and II. Smith, Elder & Co. Cornhill, London. Australian Facsimile Edition No. 4, Public Library of South Australia, Adelaide, 1963.

- Sutton, Peter (1988) 'Myth as History, History as Myth.' in Ian Keen (ed.) *Being Black: Aboriginal Cultures in 'Settled' Australia*. Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 251-268.
- Taplin, Rev. George (1864a) *Lessons, Hymns & Prayers for the Native School at Point MacLeay*. Aboriginal Friends Association, Adelaide.
- Taplin, Rev. George (1864b) *Lessons, Hymns & Prayers for the Native School at Point MacLeay*. Aboriginal Friends Association, Adelaide.
- Taplin, Rev. George (1873) *The Narrinyeri*. Reprinted in J.D. Woods ed. (1879) *The Native Tribes of South Australia*. E.S. Wigg, Adelaide.
- Taplin, Rev George (1879) *The Folklore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*. E. Spiller, Acting Government Printer, Adelaide.
- Te Hemara, Hana Jackson (1993) 'Interview' with Donna Awatere-Huata in Witi Ihimaera (ed.) *Te Ao Mārama - Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out*. Volume 2 *He Whakaatanga o Te Ao - The Reality*. Reed Books, Auckland, 188-190.
- Teichelmann, C.G. (1839-1846) *Christian G. Teichelmann Diary 1839-1846 and Letters from and to him 1838-1853*. Original handwritten manuscripts in German held by the Lutheran Archives, Leipzig. Typescript copies and English translations held by the Lutheran Archives, Adelaide.
- Teichelmann, C.G. (1841) *Aboriginals of South Australia: Illustrative and explanatory note of the manners, customs, habits and superstitions of the natives of South Australia*, Adelaide.
- Teichelmann, C.G. (1857) *Dictionary of the Adelaide Dialect*. ms. 4vo. Pp. 99 (with double columns). No. 59 Bleek's Catalogue of Sir George Grey's Library dealing with Australian languages, South African Public Library.
- Teichelmann, C.G. (1858) *Of the Verb*. ms. 8vo. Pp. 3. No. 57 Bleek's Catalogue of Sir George Grey's Library dealing with Australian languages, South African Public Library)
- Teichelmann C.G. & Moorhouse, M. (1841) 'Report on the Aborigines of South Australia.' presented to the Statistical Society in Adelaide. Published in the *Register*, 8 January 1842. Reprinted by Foster (1990b).
- Teichelmann, C.G. and C.W. Schürmann (1840) *Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary, and phraseology, of the aboriginal language of South Australia, spoken by the natives in and for some distance around Adelaide*. Adelaide. Published by the authors at the native location. Facsimile edition 1962 State Library of South Australia. Facsimile edition 1982 Tjintu Books, Adelaide. A copy annotated by Teichelmann was sent to Grey in 1858 and is held in the Sir George Grey Collection, South African Public Library, Cape Town.

- Telfer, Georgina¹ (1984) 'Elderly, Disadvantaged, Disabled: I' *The Aboriginal Health Worker*, South Australian Edition 8 (3): 22-24.
- Telfer, Karl (1997) 'Wiltarninga' in Procter & Gale (eds.) *Tauondi Speaks From the Heart: Aboriginal Poems from Tauondi College*. Tauondi College, Port Adelaide.
- Tezozomoc, Danza Azteca Huehuetotl, & Danza Azteca Tenochtitlan (1997) 'Revernacularizing Classical Náhuatl Through Danza (Dance) Azteca-Chichimeca' in Reyhner, Jon (ed.) *Teaching Indigenous Languages*. Centre for Excellence in Education Monograph, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, 56-76.
- Thieberger, Nicholas (1988a) *Aboriginal Language Maintenance: Some Issues and Strategies*. MA Thesis, Latrobe University, Melbourne.
- Thieberger, Nicholas (1988b) 'Language Programmes for Tradition or for Today' in Harvey & McGinty (eds.) *Learning My Way*, 81-90.
- Thieberger, Nicholas (1993) *Handbook of Western Australian Languages South of the Kimberley Region*. Pacific Linguistics, [Series C-124]. Australian National University, Canberra.
- Thieberger, Nicholas ed. (1995) *Paper and Talk: A manual for reconstituting materials in Australian indigenous languages from historical sources*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Thomason, S. G. (1982) 'Historical Linguistics.' Unpublished manuscript.
- Threlkeld, L. E. (1834) *An Australian Grammar, Comprehending the Principles and Natural Rules of the Language, as Spoken by the Aborigines, in the vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarie, &c.* New South Wales. Printed by Stephens & Stokes, "Herald Office", Sydney. Republished in Fraser (ed.) *An Australian Language*, 1892.
- Thurston, William R. (1982) *A Comparative Study in Anêm and Lusi*. Pacific Linguistics Series B - No. 83. Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Thurston, William R. (1987) *Processes of Change in the Languages of North-Western New Britain*. Pacific Linguistics B-99. ANU, Canberra.
- Thurston, William R. (1989) 'How Esoteric Languages Build a Lexicon: Esoterogeny in West New Britain.' in Ray Harlow & Robin Hooper (eds.) *VICAL 1: Oceanic Languages, Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, Linguistic Society of New Zealand, Auckland, 555-579.
- Tindale, Norman B. [ASSORTED PAPERS] held in the Tindale Collection, Anthropology Section, South Australian Museum, Adelaide.

¹Georgina now uses her maiden name, Georgina Williams.

- Tindale, Norman B. Kaurna Place Names Card File held in the Anthropology Section, South Australian Museum, Adelaide.
- Tindale, Norman B. Kaurna Vocabulary Card File held in the Anthropology Section, South Australian Museum, Adelaide.
- Tindale, Norman B. Permangk Vocabulary Card File held in the Anthropology Section, South Australian Museum, Adelaide.
- Tindale, Norman B. (1935a) 'Legend of Waijungari, Jaralde Tribe, Lake Alexandrina, South Australia and the phonetic system employed in its transcription.' *Records of the South Australian Museum* 5 (3): 261-274.
- Tindale, Norman B. (1935b) *Notes on the Kaurna or Adelaide Tribe and the natives of Yorke Peninsula and the Middle North of South Australia*, Unpublished journal held in the Tindale Collection, South Australian Museum.
- Tindale, Norman B. (1936) 'Notes on the natives of the southern portion of Yorke Peninsula, South Australia.' *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Aust* 60: 55-69.
- Tindale, Norman B. (1940) 'Results of the Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition, 1938-39. Distribution of Australian Aboriginal Tribes: a field survey.' *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Aust.* 64 (1): 140-232.
- Tindale, Norman B. (1974) *Aboriginal tribes of Australia: their terrain, environmental controls, distribution, limits and proper names*. University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
- Tindale, Norman B. (1987) 'The Wanderings of Tjirbruksi: A Tale of the Kaurna People of Adelaide.' *Records of the South Australian Museum*. Vol. 20, May 1987: 5-13.
- Tolmer, Alexander (1882) *Reminiscences of an Adventurous and chequered Career at Home and at the Antipodes*. Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, London.
- Tonkin, Humphrey (1987) 'One Hundred Years of Esperanto: A Survey.' *Language Problems & Language Planning* 11 (3): 264-282.
- Toolan, Michael (1996) *Total Speech: An Integrational Linguistic Approach to Language*. Duke University Press, Durham & London.
- Towler, David J. & Trevor J. Porter (n.d.) *The Hempen Collar: Executions in South Australia, 1838-1964. A Collection of Eyewitness Accounts*. The Wednesday Press, Norwood.
- Troy, Jakelin (1994a) *Melaleuka: a history and description of New South Wales Pidgin*. PhD thesis, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, ANU Canberra.

- Troy, Jakelin (1994b) *The Sydney Language*. Produced with the assistance of the Australian Dictionaries Project and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra.
- Troy, Jaki (1995) 'Reading Old Sources.' in Nicholas Thieberger (ed.), *Paper and Talk: A manual for reconstituting materials in Australian indigenous languages from historical sources*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 35-42.
- Tunbridge, Dorothy with Annie Coulthard (1985) *Artefacts of the Flinders Ranges* Pipa Wangka, Port Augusta.
- Tunbridge, Dorothy (1985a) 'Language as Heritage - Artefacts of the Flinders Ranges,' *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia Inc.* 23 (4): 7-13.
- Tunbridge, Dorothy (1985b) 'Language as Heritage: Vityurna (dried meat) and other stored food among the Adnyamathanha.' *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia Inc.* 23 (7): 10-15.
- Tunbridge, Dorothy (1985c) 'Language as Heritage: Flora in Place Names, A record of survival in the Gammon Ranges.' *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia Inc.* 23 (8): 3-15.
- Tunbridge, Dorothy (1988) *Flinders Ranges Dreaming*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Tunbridge, Dorothy (1991) *The Story of the Flinders Ranges Mammals*. Kangaroo Press, Kenthurst, NSW.
- Van Heerden, Etienne (1991) 'Reclaiming Language' *The Iowa Review* 21 (2): 9-14.
- Varcoe, Nelson (1990) *Wai Yerlitta! But Dad!* Unpublished manuscript, Adelaide.
- Varcoe, Nelson (1994) 'Nunga Languages at Kurna Plains School.' in Deborah Hartman & John Henderson (eds.) *Aboriginal Languages in Education*. IAD Press, Alice Springs, 33-39.
- Varcoe, Nelson (1998) 'Reconciliation.' in *Festival of Music 1998*. South Australian Public Schools Music Society, Adelaide.
- Varcoe, Nelson, Chester Schultz & Rob Amery eds. (forthcoming) *Kurna Songs*. Warra Kurna Program, Inbarendi College, Adelaide.
- Verma, Mahendra K. (1996) 'Language Endangerment & the Non-indigenous Minority Languages in the UK' in Bobaljik, Jonathan David, Rob Pensalfini & Luciana Storto (eds.) *Papers on Language Endangerment and the Maintenance of Linguistic Diversity*. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 28, 163-179.

- Wadsworth, Yoland (1991) 'A Proposed Code of Ethics for the Australian Sociological Association.' Discussion paper presented to TASA, Perth.
- Walker, Alan & Joyce Ross (n.d.) 'Gumatj Wordlist: Part Two' unpublished typescript, Yirrkala NT.
- Walker, Ranginui (1987) *Nga Tau Tohetohe Years of Anger*. A selection of 'Korero' columns from the *New Zealand Listener* edited by Jacqueline Amoamo. Penguin Books, Auckland.
- Walsh, Michael (1992) 'A Nagging Problem in Australian Lexical History.' in Tom Dutton, Malcolm Ross & Darrell Tryon (eds.) *The Language Game: Papers in Memory of Donald C. Laycock*. Pacific Linguistics, ANU, Canberra, 507-519.
- Walsh, Michael & Yallop, Colin eds. (1993) *Language and Culture in Aboriginal Australia*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Wanganeen, Eileen (1987) *Point Pearce: Past and Present*. Researched by Narrunga Community College. Aboriginal Studies and Teacher Education Centre, South Australian College of Advanced Education.
- Wanganeen, Klynton (1997) A Critique of the Warra Kurna Course Taught at PWAC, Semester 1 1997. UFU 039 Negotiated Studies assignment, University of South Australia, Underdale.
- Wardhaugh, Ronald (1987) *Languages in Competition*. Basil Blackwell in association with André Deutsch, Oxford.
- Warriparinga Consultant Team (1995) *Warriparinga Interpretive Centre Conservation & Management Plan*, City of Marion, Adelaide.
- Warwick, Janet (1986) 'The Demise of Greek Diglossia.' in Abstract of the proceedings of the Workshop of the *International Group for the Study of Language Standardization and the Vernacularization of Literacy*. Department of Language, University of York. April 18-20 1986: 41-42.
- Warwick, Janet (1988) untitled paper on Katharevousa followed by discussion in Abstract of the proceedings of the Workshop of the *International Group for the Study of Language Standardization and the Vernacularization of Literacy*. Department of Language, University of York, 79-85.
- Weatherstone, John (1843) *Vocabulary of Native Dialect Spoken by Natives of the <illeg> Tribes of Natives on the Murray River, South Australia*. Manuscript held in Methodist missionary archives, School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
- Webb, Noel Augustin (1936-7) 'Place Names of the Adelaide Tribe.' in *Municipal Year Book*, City of Adelaide: Printed at *The Advertiser* office, Adelaide, 302-310.

- West, Errol (1991) 'I Wonder Why - The More Things Seem to Change, The More They Stay the Same?' A paper presented at the 1991 National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Higher Education Conference, Jamberoo, New South Wales, December 1991.
- Williams, Georgina (1986) 'Wailing Spirit' and 'Coming Home' in The Invasion Diary Collective (1986) *The White Invasion Booklet*. The White Invasion Diary Collective, Torrensville, South Australia, 21 and 26.
- Williams, Haare (1987) 'Broadcasting and the Maori Language.' in Hirsh, Walter (ed.) *Living Languages: Bilingualism & Community Languages in New Zealand*. Heinemann, Auckland, 99-105.
- Williams, Haare (1993) 'From Broadcasting and the Maori Language.' extract from Williams (1987) reprinted in Witi Ihimaera (ed.) (1993) *Te Ao Mārama - Regaining Aotearoa: Māori Writers Speak Out*. Volume 2 *He Whakaatanga o Te Ao - The Reality*. Reed Books, Auckland, 230-232.
- Williams, Mark, Greg Wilson, Kathryn Gale & Rob Amery (1989) *Draft Proposal for an Aboriginal Languages Policy*. S.A. Aboriginal Education Curriculum Unit, Enfield. (manuscript dated 14 Dec. 1989)
- Williams, R. F. (circa 1986) *To Find the Way: Yankalilla and District 1836-1986*. Published by the Yankalilla and District Historical Society Inc., South Australia.
- Williams, Shayne & Ian Stewart (1992) 'Community Control and Self Determination in Aboriginal Education Research: The Changed Roles, Relationships and Responsibilities of Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Researchers and Aboriginal Communities.' Paper presented at the National Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Higher Education Conference, Hervey Bay, 6-11 December 1992.
- Williams, W. (1839) *A vocabulary of the languages of the Aborigines of the Adelaide district, and other friendly tribes, of the Province of South Australia*, A McDougall, Adelaide.
- Williams, W. (1840) 'The Language of the Natives of South Australia.' *The South Australian Colonist* 1 (19): 295-296.
- Wilmshurst, John (1992) *Report of the Review of Kaurna Plains School*. Education Review Unit, Education Department of South Australia.
- Wilson, Greg (1996) "*Only Nungas Talk Nunga Way*": A Preliminary Description of Aboriginal Children's English at Alberton, South Australia. Master of Letters in Linguistics Thesis, University of New England, Armidale.
- Woodforde, Dr John (1836-1837) Journals held in Mortlock Library, Adelaide.
- Woods, J.D. ed. (1879) *The Native Tribes of South Australia*. Government Printer, Adelaide.

- Wyatt, W. (1840) *Vocabulary of the Adelaide Dialect*. Copied from Mr Wyatt's Vocabulary at Adelaide, April, 1840. in Sir George Grey's collection, South African Public Library, Cape Town.
- Wyatt, W. (1879) 'Some Account of the Manners and Superstitions of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes'. in Woods, ed. *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, Government Printer, Adelaide, 157-181. (Original manuscript with corrections in BSL Special Collection)
- Wyatt, William (1923) 'Some account of the Manners and Superstitions of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes with a Vocabulary of their Languages, Names of Persons and Places etc.' reprint from J.D. Woods ed. (1879) *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, E.S. Wigg & Son, Adelaide in Parkhouse (ed.) *Reprints and Papers relating to the Autochthones of Australia*, Parkhouse, Woodville, South Australia.
- Zepeda, Ofelia & Jane H. Hill (1991) 'The Condition of Native American Languages in the United States.' in Robert H. Robins & Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck (eds.) *Endangered Languages*. Berg, Oxford, 135-155.
- Zilm, H.A. (n.d.) *The Narrindjeri Tribe*. Unpublished manuscript held by the Mortlock Library, South Australia.
- Zorc, David (1986) *Yolngu-Matha Dictionary*. School of Australian Linguistics, Batchelor, N.T.