

They came, they heard, they documented: the Dresden missionaries as lexicographers

Rob Amery and Mary-Anne Gale
Discipline of Linguistics
University of Adelaide

Abstract

Amongst the earliest observers of Aboriginal languages in South Australia were three German missionaries, Clamor Schürmann, Christian Teichelmann and Eduard Meyer of the Dresden Mission Society. Their work on the Kurna, Barngarla and Ngarrindjeri languages is superior to that of their contemporaries, both in terms of quantity and quality. Despite some obvious shortcomings, especially in relation to their documentation of nature, they succeeded, where others failed, to document in detail some of the complexities of these languages such as kinship systems and the functional properties of words. Their mission to impart the word of God led them to consider the inner world of Aboriginal peoples and to document their ways of thinking and behaving. Without the work of the Dresden missionaries our knowledge of these languages would be greatly diminished. Current language revival efforts in these three languages are considerably enhanced by their records. In fact, little would be possible in Barngarla and Kurna without their work.

Keywords: lexicography, Kurna, Barngarla, Ngarrindjeri, missionary linguists, language revival

1. Introduction

In October 1838, two German graduates of the Dresden Mission Society, Christian Teichelmann and Clamor Schürmann, arrived in Adelaide on an evangelical quest. They were followed by two more Dresden missionaries in August 1840, Heinrich (Eduard) Meyer and Samuel Klose. Teichelmann was the son of a cloth maker from the small town of Dahme, Schürmann was the son of a farmer from the village of Schlederhausen near Osnabrück, Meyer was the son of a lacquer-factory worker in Berlin, and Klose was the son of a mailman from Silesia. Their zealous, Christian ambitions had led them all to train at the Jänecke Seminary in Berlin, where they learnt well from their mentors and teachers. They sailed to the other side of the world to bring the Word of God to the Aboriginal people of SA in their own languages. Within a decade, Schürmann, Teichelmann and Meyer had compiled vocabularies and written grammars and brief ethnographies of three South Australian languages and cultures: Kurna (of the Adelaide region), Barngarla (of the eastern Eyre Peninsula region) and Ramindjeri (of the southern Fleurieu Peninsula and Lower Murray region). See particularly Teichelmann & Schürmann, 1840; Teichelmann, 1841; Teichelmann, 1857; Schürmann, 1844, Schürmann, 1846; Meyer, 1843; and Meyer, 1846.

Despite some obvious shortcomings, the work of these Dresden missionaries was of a high standard for that time and remains the primary documentation for these three languages to this day. Thanks to the missionaries, these three languages are amongst the better documented South Australian Aboriginal languages. Their recorded vocabularies are sizable, with Meyer's over 1,500 Ramindjeri headwords, Schürmann's 2,800 Barngarla headwords, and Schürmann and Teichelmann's 3,000 Kurna words. But it is not just a matter of size. The quality of their work was far superior to their contemporaries in the nineteenth century.

Our paper will analyse the strengths and weaknesses inherent in the lexicographic work of Teichelmann, Schürmann and Meyer and draw comparisons between their work in Kurna, Barngarla and Ngarrindjeri, and make some comparisons with other documentation of these three languages. We argue if it were not for the efforts of the Dresden missionaries, our understanding of these South Australian languages would be very much impoverished today.

It is significant in the year 2013 that we celebrate the work of these missionaries, by taking a closer look at their linguistic output, being 175 years since the arrival of Teichelmann and Schürmann in South Australia (SA). Their combined legacy now underpins three contemporary language revival movements. Kurna language reclamation efforts have been pursued for more than twenty years (beginning in 1990), with aims to “reawaken” a language that had been “sleeping” for over 60 years. The results thus far have exceeded all expectations, including those of the revivalists themselves. Without the work of Teichelmann and Schürmann, and the texts preserved by Klose, little would have been achieved.

By contrast, Ngarrindjeri is a language that never “went to sleep”, with Ngarrindjeri words always being used in people’s speech. However, the Ngarrindjeri contemporary language revival movement, which commenced in the mid-1980s, has been pursued with renewed vigour in the last decade. The Ngarrindjeri themselves now recognise the value and importance of Meyer’s work, and the opportunity it offers to expand their vocabulary, and to make sentences using his recorded grammar. Similarly, a Barngarla revival movement was initiated in the early 1990s, and in 2012 was reinitiated, both times being firmly based on Schürmann’s work. And so these three revival efforts in SA continue to build on the Dresden legacy 175 years on.

2. The Dresden missionaries as lexicographers

Any lexicographer must be judged on their ability to record the form, the meaning and the function of the words of a language. Recording the form depends on their ability to faithfully represent the sounds of the language in a systematic and transparent fashion. Recording the meaning requires the lexicographer to determine a precise definition. With some terms this may be relatively straightforward, but other terms may have a number of senses, with extended meanings and possibly be used in a range of different contexts with meanings that may not align with English or other European languages. Some words will be culturally salient, while others less so. It is also important for the lexicographer to record the relationships between words, to know whether two words are synonyms, antonyms, metonyms or whether one is a superordinate to another. Some words will also be used metaphorically and idiomatically, and these meanings may not be so transparent to a non-native speaker.

With the Aboriginal languages of SA being suffixing languages, it is also important to record the word class to which the lexical item belongs. With such highly inflected languages, that are very rich in productive derivational suffixes, knowing the word class of each lexicon allows the revivalists to know which suffixes can be used on which words. It also helps us understand how each word should function within a phrase or sentence.

For those of us engaged in efforts to relearn and reintroduce ‘sleeping’ languages, using historical documentation, in the absence of native speakers and sound recordings, the past ability of lexicographers to accurately and comprehensively record the form of words is crucial. But for all revival projects, access to written records that accurately relay the meaning(s), as well as the functions of lexemes, is vital for the emergence of a coherent and authentic revived language.

Whilst there are obvious shortcomings in their work, the Dresden missionaries stand out in South Australia for their abilities as lexicographers in mid-19th century. They stand out not just for their thoroughness and pedantic attention to accuracy, but for the volume of their output in such a short time in the infant colony - with the three aforementioned South Australian languages being the key beneficiaries of their efforts.

3. Collecting the lexicon

The Dresden missionaries were prepared for language work. Much of their preparatory study in Germany focussed on learning languages, including Hebrew, classical Greek, Latin and English. Schürmann had even learnt some Chinese, while Meyer (expecting to be sent to India) learnt some Tamil. Teichelmann and Schürmann also studied Threlkeld's Awabakal grammar (of the Lake Macquarie region in New South Wales) on the voyage to South Australia, and Meyer drew from it in his efforts to understand the finer points of Ramindjeri grammar.

Upon their arrival, Teichelmann and Schürmann used every opportunity possible to learn and record the Kurna language, even though their Aboriginal informants had their own lives to lead and were often absent on hunting trips or attending ceremonies. Nevertheless, they did manage to produce a detailed 108 page booklet by 1840 entitled: *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*. They explain in their preface (Teichelmann & Schürmann, 1840: v):

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. These things considered, the reader will be enabled to form some idea of the difficulties which were to be overcome.

Three years later in 1843, Meyer published a 111 page publication on the Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri language of the Encounter Bay region, equally demonstrating his skills as a lexicographer. Meyer gave it the long title: *Vocabulary of the Language Spoken by the Aborigines of the Southern and Eastern Portions of the Settled Districts of South Australia, viz., by the tribes in the vicinity of Encounter Bay, and (with slight variation) by those extending along the coast to the eastward around Lake Alexandrina and for some distance up the River Murray: preceded by a grammar showing the constructions of the language as far as at present known*.

In the Preface (Meyer, 1843, pvii) Meyer humbly professes:

Some defects of arrangement may probably be discovered, and upon several points further information is desirable. They, however, contain all that I at present know of the language. The Vocabulary has been carefully compiled, the whole having been twice reviewed with different natives, so that the meaning assigned to the words may be relied upon as correct.

Meyer was a workaholic, which is evident from his large linguistic output in such a short period of time. He had an aversion to laziness, and sought out the Ramindjeri word for such vices in his lexicon. He records (Meyer, 1843, p56):

*blaityingye*¹ Adj. 'idle' and *blaityingyamalde* s. 'idler'

We know from his unpublished letters (sent back to Germany) that Meyer toiled tirelessly, despite suffering from hypertension, and the local Ramindjeri people often suggested he take it easy, and spend more time sitting down and fishing.

¹ All spellings of words from Aboriginal languages in this paper appear exactly as they are in the original sources.

Ghil'ad Zuckermann, Julia Miller and Jasmin Morley (eds) 2014, *Endangered Words, Signs of Revival*, AustralLex, p. 3

Meyer writes in a letter (on 11th December 1840), that in an effort to learn the language, and collect words for his lexicon, and thus become more familiar with the intricacies of the language, he invited Encounter Bay Bob to live with him in his home. But Meyer says Bob could “only tolerate it for nine days” with the inevitable, incessant questions. Meyer then tried accompanying the local Ramindjeri on their regular hunting trips. He wrote back to Germany about one such sojourn:

One day I accompanied them on their wanderings, but soon discovered it was completely in vain. On the way down to the river they were in such a hurry – and perhaps also so hungry – that I had no time to write down a single word, and once they had arrived there they were so busy with filling their bellies that they did not spare me a look, and while eating was underway turning their thoughts to anything else was quite inconceivable.

Meyer concludes: “The best time to speak to them is when they return of an evening with food and are then sitting comfortably around the fire.” (letter dated 11th December 1840)

Later in his time at Encounter Bay, Meyer turned his attention to the children, and opened a school, remembering the old adage “One learns by teaching”. He wrote (also in December in 1840):

If I found the children were tired I induced them to talk, whereby I had good opportunity to collect words. Furthermore, one cannot commence school early enough in this country, as this is the only opportunity of assembling the children all together in order, confidently speaking, not only to instruct them at this early stage but rather more to learn the language from them, since if this is not the case they are busy the entire day searching for food with the old people.

Four years after his first publication on Kurna, Meyer’s good friend and colleague Schürmann published his second work, this time on the Barngarla language, entitled: *Vocabulary of the Parnkalla Language spoken by the Natives inhabiting the western shores of Spencer’s Gulf. To which is prefixed a collection of Grammar Rules, hitherto ascertained.* (Schürmann, 1844)

Schürmann writes in his Preface (1844, v-vi), regarding his work on the Barngarla language of the Port Lincoln region:

Although the vocabulary, and still more the collection of grammatical rules would have gained, both in extent and accuracy, by a farther intercourse with the natives, yet it was deemed advisable to print the collected materials in their present shape.... It would no doubt have answered the purpose better if an English-Aboriginal part had been added to the Vocabulary, but this plan could not be adopted on account of the increased [sic] expense.... On comparing this Vocabulary with the one published at Adelaide in the 1840, a great resemblance will be found to exist between the two.... I have no doubt it will be found, that the grammatical system of the Aboriginal dialects of New Holland is less artificial than novel, and less complex than admirably regular and consequently simple.

But it wasn’t just the rich and culturally loaded information that is valuable in the Dresden missionaries’ lexicons for modern revival programs. It is also the inflected forms that they provide that give us productive suffixes that allow us to construct new terms today. They also provide each word with a word class category and, through their grammars, give guidance on how to decline the nouns, pronouns and kin terms, as well as how to conjugate the verbs.

4. Originality of their work

Teichelmann and Schürmann were not the first to document the Kurna language, but their work appears to be totally independent of their contemporaries and earlier observers. They would not have been aware of Gaimard’s (1833) wordlist collected in 1826, nor Robinson’s (see Amery, 1996)

and Koeler's (1842) wordlists collected in 1837 prior to their arrival in the colony of South Australia. Presumably they might have had access to Williams' (1839) wordlist published locally in Adelaide by McDougall. This wordlist was republished in the *South Australian Colonist* in July 1840, after Teichelmann and Schürmann had provided the Governor with a copy of their vocabulary and grammar manuscript on 14 May 1840, though it was not actually printed until 21 November 1840. Wyatt was collecting Kurna and Ramindjeri words between 1837 and 1839, but did not publish this composite wordlist until many years later (Wyatt, 1879). No doubt they would have seen Wyatt's translation of Governor Gawler's speech published in October 1838 soon after they arrived in Adelaide.

Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840), plus Meyer (1843), used a very different orthography to that of English observers, such as Williams and Wyatt. Furthermore, there are certain words found in Williams (1840), such as *i-e-rah* 'the white part of an egg' and *me-nin-dah* 'yolk of an egg', which do not appear in Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840), henceforth T&S. If they had drawn on Williams' work in any way, they surely would have found counterparts for these terms. *I-e-rah* is perhaps the same word as *ngaiera* 'sky' recorded in T&S, perhaps because it is referring to the clear part of the egg, whilst *me-nin-dah* could well be a compound with *me-* 'eye'². Nevertheless, neither T&S, nor Teichelmann's 1857 manuscript, henceforth TMs, document terms for these parts of the egg.

Notwithstanding Wyatt's earlier work published much later, Meyer's work is the earliest published work on the Ngarrindjeri language, or any of its dialects. Meyer undoubtedly drew from Schürmann's language learning notes, as Schürmann had made efforts to learn Ramindjeri prior to his good friend Meyer's arrival in South Australia, but there is no direct evidence of Schürmann's input in Meyer's work. All future recorders of other dialects of the Ngarrindjeri language drew heavily from Meyer's work. Reverend George Taplin, the founder of the Point McLeay mission on Lake Alexandrina in 1859 (now known as Raukkan), cross checked every word with the Yaraldi dialect of the region, and reformatted Meyer's entire lexicon as an English to Narrinyeri wordlist (see Taplin 1879). The anthropologists Catherine and Ronald Berndt, as well as Norman Tindale, also referred heavily to Meyer and Taplin's work, as they recorded Ngarrindjeri people and their 'remembered' language and culture in the mid nineteenth century (see Berndt & Berndt, 1993; Tindale Ms c. 1938-1990).

Schürmann's (1844) work documenting Barngarla was the first and remains the primary source of information on the language to this day. As far as we know, there was no prior documentation of Barngarla by any other lexicographers or language enthusiasts. So we can be fairly certain that the Dresden missionaries did not draw on the work of others.

5. An overview of their lexicography

A reasonably detailed linguistic assessment of the quality of Schürmann and Teichelmann's work in Kurna is made in Amery (2004) and of TMs in Simpson (1992), also in Amery (2000: 76-78; 94-95). In this paper, however, we will focus on their documentation of specific areas of the lexicon, particularly insects and birds in the light of recent discoveries in Germany. We will also discuss their documentation of Kurna verbs.

Teichelmann and Schürmann (1840) contains about 2,000 head word entries, far more than any other Kurna source. Teichelmann continued to build upon this body of work compiling a 99-

² In Indonesian, a fried egg is referred to a *telur mata sapi* (Lit. a cow's eye egg).

Ghil'ad Zuckermann, Julia Miller and Jasmin Morley (eds) 2014, *Endangered Words, Signs of Revival*, *AustraLex*, p. 5

page handwritten manuscript (Teichelmann, 1857) that complements T&S (1840). The Teichelmann manuscript (TMs) contains about 1,000 head word entries, with many more subentries of derived forms, but there is some overlap with T&S. TMs, however, does not include many common words, such as *warto* 'wombat' or *karra* 'redgum'. T&S is a general vocabulary with terms from all areas of the lexicon, whereas TMs includes a higher proportion of verbs. All in all there are an estimated 3,000 to 3,500 distinct Kurna lexemes and derivations in T&S and TMs combined.

The structure of entries within T&S is fairly simple. Following each headword is the part of speech, followed by the English translation. Numerous entries provide a detailed explanation, such as:

pappamattanya, s. the person (generally nearest relative) who directs when and where the circumcision of the *pappa* is to take place and performs the rite.

Many entries also provide derivations and example phrases and sentences, whilst some entries cross-reference to other entries or to the grammar section. However, derivations in T&S are usually listed in separate entries. As Simpson (1992: 411-413) points out, the organisation of TMs by contrast is more complex. There is a greater level of sophistication in the dictionary entries in TMs when compared with the flat structure of T&S. TMs entries are hierarchically organised, as can be seen in the following example:

Yitpi, 1. any smal <sic> central single seed
2. heart, soul, will, inclination etc. as *muiyo*

yitpi ngandandi, to feel aversion or antipathy
yitpi manninendi, the reverse of the former; to recover; to reconcile with
yitpi manni, to be friendly, inclined to a person
yitpi wadli, hating, hostile
yitpi burti burtendi, to rejoice, to joy, to be glad
yitpi kabbarendi or *wadli nakkondi* or *kundo punggo punggorendi*
or *muiyo kabbandi*, --
yitpi pammandi, --
yitpi paltarendi kathiurlo or *worltarlo tauarurlo*, to grow weak or dependent;
or exhausted;
yitpi manyarendi or *wirrirarendi manyaurlo*, the heart or inside is trembling,
shaking for cold, or from the rain
yitpi tokutya, soul, spirit; or something like that; the smal <sic> seed of a stone fruit.

TMs includes many more senses of particular lexemes than is found in T&S. T&S list *wirri*, s. 'a short stick for throwing; scapula', even though we know from comparative evidence that *wirri* 'club' has a rolled rr, whilst *wirri* 'scapula' has a glide r and are thus two quite different words.

Meyer recorded in Ramindjeri, according to the latest Toolbox database of lexicon, a total of 1,518 words and suffixes. This number includes some derived or inflected constructions. Meyer's Vocabulary is 60 pages long, and is preceded by a comprehensive 41 page Grammar. The Vocabulary and Grammar contain many sentence examples of natural language, along with interlinear glosses, and a free translation. Meyer's format for his lexical entries are as follows, but only some have the sentence example:

Head word, *word class*, English gloss
Example sentence - with interlinear gloss and English free translation (but not for all entries)

Schürmann's Barngarla vocabulary is, as expected, similar in layout to T&S, though it is less complete with a number of terms, phrases and sentences left unglossed. It is preceded by a 21 page Grammar with example phrases and sentences. The Vocabulary itself is comprehensive and 88 pages long. It is not followed, however, by a Phraseology as found at the end of T&S, with its corpus of useful Kurna expressions.

Even though, as lexicographers, the Dresden missionaries were thorough, in a few areas other observers (eg Wyatt, 1879; Cawthorne, 1844; Taplin, 1879) were better able to pin down the meaning of some words and identify some flora and fauna species more accurately.

6. Word classes

Regarding Kurna, T&S identified a series of word classes in their sketch grammar and these were carried through into their vocabulary. They identified three kinds of nominals: substantives, adjectives and pronouns. Within the pronouns, they identified personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, a reciprocal pronoun, possessive or adjective pronouns, indefinite pronouns and relative pronouns. Verbs are identified as intransitive (v.n.), transitive (v.a.), reflexive/reciprocal (v.r.) and inchoative (v. inch.) and the occasional past participle (p. pass). They also identified adverbs, postpositions (really nominal suffixes) and interjections. The only other observer³ of Kurna language to attempt to identify parts of speech was Koeler (1842) who divided his vocabulary into sections: numbers, pronouns, substantives, verbs and adjectives. However, Koeler's verbs are based on his German translation. A number of words are mistranslated, such as *koboló* 'trinken = to drink' [cf T&S *kopurlo* 'seawater; spirits; intoxicating drinks'] and *nókeh* 'riechen = to smell' [cf T&S *nukke* 'the mucous of the nose']. T&S understood verbal morphology whereas Koeler seems not to understand the difference between nouns and verbs, from the perspective of the Kurna language.

Curiously Teichelmann, in his subsequent manuscript vocabulary (TMs), dispenses with marking parts of speech, and Schürmann (1844) whilst identifying parts of speech in Barngarla, no longer marks the transitivity of the verb within this vocabulary. The inclusion of information on word class membership is very useful in language revival, especially in relation to verbs and transitivity, because it determines the case suffixes required on the nouns within the sentence. Word classes also assist learners to know which endings go on which words.

Meyer identifies seven different word classes in Ramindjeri for his lexicon (with sub-classes), and labelled each word in his published Vocabulary with one of these categories. His word classes are as follows:

NOUNS, which he calls "Substantives" = s.	
	Tu:nge 'small animal something like a cat; cat'
	Tungge 'bone of the wrist'
	Tu:ri 'kind of sea fowl'
	Ro:puli 'person who stays at home'
	Kalbauukuri 'one uninvited one'
with dual	To:r-engk 'the upper and lower jaw'
or plural	Tungkurar 'skin, peelings, parings'

³ Stephens (1889) which is largely based without acknowledgement on Williams (1840) divides his wordlist into Animals, Birds etc, Actions etc., Time, Number etc, Things Various and Parts of the Human Body, but these are very approximate with *moorlane* 'dead and buried' amongst the body parts and pronouns whilst interjections, nouns and adjectives are included with the Actions. This wordlist is especially unreliable with many errors introduced (see Amery, 2000: 86-87)

ADJECTIVE, = *adj.*

Merate 'free, unburdened'
Matturi 'separated, holy, sacred'
Munpulluki 'sitting'

VERB, which he put into two sub-classes

Verbal substantive = *v.s.* (*Transitive verbs*)

Korpund-un 'cutting the hair'
Moinpund-un 'kissing, caressing'
Pett-in 'stealing'
Yurt-un 'drawing together'
Werk-un 'seizing and carrying away a fish, like a sea fowl'
Tolk-un 'stamping, beating time with the feet'

Predicate = *p.* (*Intransitive verbs*)

Ko:wul-un 'calling, calling out'
Molottul-un 'advancing & retreating as the waves of the sea'
Ti:lpul-un 'sparkling, as fire'
Yanggul-un 'weeping bitterly'
Ruwalk-in 'walking lame, tired'
Trentara:l-in 'being torn to pieces' (cf. trentara:m-in 'tearing to pieces')

ADVERB = *adv.*

Ngo: 'up'
Ku:nye 'already'

with sub-classes:

Adverb of Place Yau:o 'where?, whither?'
Adverb of time Ya:ral 'when' (also listed as conjunction, non-interrogative)

PRONOUN = *pro.*

Ngan:-auwe 1pers. Gen. 'of me, my, mine'
Ngu:m-angk 2pers. Dat. 'to thee'

with sub-class: Interrogative pronoun:

Yarru 'what?', which?'
Ya:re 'when?'

PARTICLE = *part.*

-angk 'to' forming the dative case singular; 'in; at; motion towards'
Ka 'expressive of doubt or interrogation; whether'

CONJUNCTION = *conj.* Inyin 'also'

For Barngarla, Schürmann marks the following (lesser number) of word classes: Verb (v.); Active verb (v.a.); Nouns/Substantive (s.); Adjective (adj.); Adverb (adv.); Interjection (interj.); Affix; and Pronoun (pron.).

A final grammatical category we will briefly mention here, which were also a rich area of contribution by Meyer, is the derivational suffixes in Ramindjeri that can be used in the language to form new words. Meyer provides many examples of derived forms in his Vocabulary as well as in his Grammar. These suffixes are highly productive, and have been embraced by the Ngarrindjeri community today in their efforts to revive the Ngarrindjeri language, and bring it into the twenty first century. This is true also of Kurna where T&S documented more than 100 new terms for new things (see Amery, 1993). Numerous analogous terms have been formed for 20th and 21st century technologies.

7. Verbs as a word class of particular interest

Where Schürmann and Teichelmann demonstrate their skills as lexicographers is in their documentation of Kurna verbs. By contrast to the nominals, other sources (Wyatt, 1879 and Williams, 1840), contribute very few additional verbs that were not recorded in T&S and TMs, though on a few occasions their glosses do provide useful additional perspectives on some terms. For instance, Wyatt (1879: 18) and Williams (1840) tell us that *peenjáne* and *pin-charn-ney* (= T&S *pingyandi* ‘to raise; make; construct; form etc.’ and TMs *pintyandi* ‘to make; produce; create’) is the verb used for ‘to write’⁴. We would not know this without Wyatt’s or Williams’ documentation.

There are 530 verbs out of 1897 headwords in T&S (that is nearly 28% verbs). This compares with Wyatt’s 104 verbs out of 650 entries or 16%. There is a significantly higher proportion of verbs in TMs, up from 28% to around 46%, or nearly half the vocabulary recorded.

Table: Verbs as a Percentage of Total Vocabulary in Kurna Sources

Source	Total Vocabulary	Number of Verbs	Verbs as a Percentage
Gaimard (1826)	168	22	13%
Robinson (1837)	80	16	20%
Koeler (1836-37)	147	26	18%
Williams (1836-40)	375	84	22%
Piesse (1840)	75	9	15%
Cawthorne (1844)	51	0	0%
Wyatt (1837-39)	650	104	16%
T&S (1838-40)	1897	530	28%
TMs (1840-57)	(437 under T)	(202 under T)	46%

The contemporary digital Ngarrindjeri dictionary (in the Toolbox database of 3,853 lexemes) contains a total of 1,111 verbs. Of these verbs, 614 were recorded by Meyer in his 1843 Ramindjeri Vocabulary, which is 40.4% of his total lexicon. Meyer had a particular interest in the different forms of related verbs, and the finer differences in their semantics. See for example his sophisticated analysis of the verb forms of *lakkin* versus *laggelin* both meaning ‘spearing’, but with a different shade of meaning (Meyer, 1843, pp. 38-41).

Schürmann’s (1844) Barngarla vocabulary lists at least 852 verbs out of 3,119 entries. This means that verbs constitute more than 27% of the vocabulary, a figure similar to T&S.

⁴ Pintupi uses the verb *wakani* ‘to spear’ for ‘to write’.

A focus on abstraction

Teichelmann demonstrates a definite shift in his document of Kaurna from concrete concepts to the abstract in his TMs. The proportion of verbs in the corpus is one indicator of the recorder's ability to document more abstract notions and we see above the proportion of verbs in TMs has almost doubled.

Teichelmann was more interested in the cerebral world of the Kaurna people rather than the natural world in which they lived. He was much more interested in documenting what people do, think and say. Note the following examples, rich in concepts relating to speech, and in fact derived from the term *warra* 'windpipe; word, speech, language':

<i>warratti</i>	'be silent'
<i>warrattinna</i>	'dumb; speechless'
<i>warra bandi</i>	'to speak to, to address, converse'
<i>warra kattendi</i>	'to inform, promulgate, to report etc.'
<i>warra inggarnendi</i>	'to listen, to hear when one is speaking'; litterally <sic> 'to expect the word' or 'wait for it'
<i>warra mailyandi</i>	'to immitate <sic> the speech, etc.'
<i>warra mankondi</i>	'to answer, reply'
<i>Warra nindo ngannaitya yakko manki?</i>	'Why did you not answer?'
<i>warra paiandi</i>	'to understand' (from <i>paiandi</i> 'to bite, chew; to understand')
<i>warra wordnendi</i>	'it is said', or 'they say'; 'they report; it is rumoured'
<i>warra yappanna ninna</i>	'you are secret, reserved etc.'
<i>warra marnгутта</i>	'you are secret, reserved etc.'
<i>warra yungkondi</i>	'to tell, communicate etc.'
<i>warra imbandi</i>	'to reply, to meet one's word etc.'
<i>warra pulyo</i>	'silent, tacit; quiet etc.'
<i>warra kumbandi</i>	'to be silent, to cease speaking'.
<i>warra kumbi</i>	'he is silent'.
<i>warra padnetti</i>	'the windpipe'.

The glosses given in TMs are often detailed with a range of different senses captured, sometimes giving a very clear idea of at least some contexts in which the verbs are used. Amery (in 2004: 13-14) used the verb *paltandi* 'to knock, push; throw; beat; pluck off; pull out; split; wear out etc.' by way of illustration. Here some further observations are made using the example verb *mankondi* 'to make'. T&S document several meanings for *mankondi*, several compounds and provide simple sentence examples, some of which are in the imperative mood:

<i>mankondi</i> v.a.	'to touch; take; lay hold on' (T&S, 1840: 19)
<i>mankurrendi</i> v.a.	the same as <i>mankondi</i>
<i>muiyo mangkondi</i> ,	'to love' (T&S, 1840: 24)
<i>tirramangkondi</i>	'to interfere in a fight, which is done by throwing the arms round the waist of the aggressing party so as to prevent him from doing any outrage'
<i>warramankondi</i>	'to repeat what another person has said' (T&S, 1840: 53)
<i>Warra manmandoninko yunga</i>	'answer your brother' (T&S, 1840: 71)
<i>Wilta manmando</i>	'tie it closer; tighter' (T&S, 1840: 71)
<i>Yakko nindo muiyo manki aityo wodli?</i>	Don't you like my house (T&S, 1840: 71)
<i>Parni manmando parna (manmandurna) gadlanna</i>	'Fetch it hither, the wood' (T&S, 1840: G24)

TMs provides many more compounds, derivations and sentences as seen in some of his examples below:

mankondi 'to take hold of, touch; take'

manya mankondi 'to cause or produce rain'
makko mankondi 'to produce clouds'
midla mankondi 'to take a wife by force'
midli mankondi 'to crush something'
warra mankondi 'to answer, reply'
tira mankolankola 'Saviour, deliverer, mediator'
birko mankolankola 'messenger; angel'
mankorendi 'to take hold of something (for himself); medias. to keep fast to'
tangka mankorendi 'to have compassion, or to be, feel attached to, to be friendly towards'
Yakko parnu mankourninarna, kudnunnarna (or kudlarnanna) padlo manki 'Not those who are in habit of taking (sheep) but an innocent one he has taken (& imprisoned)'
Yakko ngaii padlo warra mankondi 'He does not answer me'
Kartakka mankaringgutti 'Do not take hold of my shoulder'
Ngadli narta mankori; Mr. Meyer, ngadli tappangga manko manorette 'Mr. M. & I have assisted (or kept together) each other on the road (by riding alternately on horseback)'

A final example is the reduplicated form: *Manko mankondi* 'to make short drafts with the glass knife when sharpening or pointing a spear'. Now *manko mankondi*, being a reduplicated form of the verb *mankondi* 'to take hold of; touch; take; grasp' surely does not **mean** 'to make short drafts with the glass knife when sharpening or pointing a spear', but this 'gloss' certainly provides a very specific context for the use of this verb, which here means something more than simply holding or grasping. Amongst other things, reduplication is used to produce iterative verbs. Certainly the action described is iterative.

At times, some senses of words not given in the definition or gloss, are recoverable from example phrases and sentences. For example, we needed a word for 'help' in the modern context, yet no instance of 'help' is seen in the glosses of all the head words. However, consider the sentence below:

ngatto parna ngaityo yungarna mankota, yakko bia parna bilyoneota, woingbata ngaii parna ngaityo yungarna
 'I shall help them, they are my brethren, they will perhaps not be content, they will challenge me, or demand of me (to assist them) my brethren'.

Teichelmann believed that the Kurna people could express abstract thought, it was just that these abstract concepts hadn't been found yet. Perhaps Teichelmann was pursuing this line of enquiry in compiling TMs.

Teichelmann was also clearly concerned with issues of morality as the following entries show:

tappa 'path, road in a moral sense; walk, conversation'
nguiya nguiya 'seems to express a moral pustule between two parties, a difference, a sore between them'
nguiya nguiya wondandi 'to give up the difference, give up the quarrel etc.'
turla bär,ko wondandi 'to give up the difference, give up the quarrel etc.'
painingga purlakko nguiya nguiya tikketti, narta purla bia turla warte worltu wonda 'formerly there was a difference, enmity, between both, but now it seems they both have given it up the anger of the difference, or the cause of the anger'
nguiya nguyattarla 'two enemies, adversaries'
wakkinna 'morally & physically bad. dual: *wakkinarla*'
ngadlukko wakkinilla madliba 'on account of our sins he died'
wakkinna warraintyia 'this is a bad, immoral etc. word or term'
maingkitti wakkinnurti 'do not laugh & do not behave improperly!'
wakkinnardendi 'to grow, become bad, etc. wicked'
wakkinardiappendi <sic> 'to make a thing grow, etc. bad, wicked, to act wickedly, etc.'

munto warra wappendi 'to speak unchaste language'

And from T&S *ngangkiwādli* 'not fond of females; chaste'. Of course this fits with their mission to convert the Kurna people to Christianity.

8. Semantic domains that engaged the Dresdeners

It is no surprise that observers record the kinds of words that interest them, just as Teichelmann sought out verbs to assist him in his evangelism (as outlined above). By contrast Cawthorne (1844) was especially interested in the semantic domain of artefacts and was intending to produce an illustrated book of Kurna artefacts. Almost all the Kurna terms he records refer to artefacts, with no verb in sight. Piesse (1840), the assistant surveyor, records a high proportion of placenames, with precise block number locations and many terms for fauna. Out of 75 words, Piesse lists just 11 verbs (nearly 15% of the vocabulary). Anthropologists typically record many kin terms, terms associated with ceremonies and social practices. This is evident in Berndt & Vogelsang's (1940) and Mountford's (1940) documentation of nearby Ngadjuri, and their very apparent lack of verbs (see Waria-Read et al, 2009).

T&S, Meyer (1843) and Schürmann (1844) cover a wide range of semantic domains. Understandably, concrete terms and easily observable actions and states are prevalent. Their coverage of some domains, however, such as fauna and flora, is surpassed by other observers. This is the case for Ramindjeri/Ngarrindjeri, with Ronald and Catherine Berndt (from 1938-1943), and Wyatt (1879) recording more species names for flora, fauna and fish. Similarly, some other observers of Kurna, such as Wyatt (1879), provide more detailed and specific glosses on species than T&S. But overall, the semantic detail of the Dresden missionaries' work exceeds that of others who worked on these languages. This is especially evident in their recording of verbs, pronouns, locationals, temporals, interjections and kinship terms, whereby more extensive and detailed glosses and fine-grained differentiation between related terms are given within a semantic set.

The four Dresden missionaries were primarily interested in spreading the word of God and communicating this message in the first language of the Aboriginal people with whom they worked. Some of their lexical entries reflect this preoccupation. Consider the entry below, needed for talking about the resurrection of Christ, from TMs:

tanendi (& *tanandi*) come forth, appear; used of the sun, of seeds; to rise from the dead; - *mena warrungga taningko* & *tananingko*, the eye will come forth, i.e. to stare at.

The Dresden missionaries were also interested in tapping into the thought processes of the Kurna, Ramindjeri and Barngarla people respectively. They took particular interest in words for emotions and feelings and verbs of vocalisation and thought. Consider, for example, the entries by Meyer for Ramindjeri:

ran:gaiy-in 'desiring exceedingly', and *ge:lpulun* 'deceiving' and its derivation *ge:lpul-amalde* 'deceiver'.

Flora and fauna

T&S list a reasonable number of terms for flora and fauna, though their glosses often lack specificity. But what is surprising is the small proportion of terms for birds and insects in TMs, which was compiled between 1840 and 1857. Yet the early 1840s is precisely the time when Teichelmann was busy collecting hundreds of birds and a thousand insects to send to the Duke of Altenburg for his collection in Germany (Pluntke, 2013). Of the sixteen terms for birds recorded in TMs, almost all were already published in T&S. Only *maingibinna*, *kukatka* ‘kookaburra’ (though T&S record the term *ngungana* ‘kookaburra’), *marnpi* ‘wild pigeon’ and *ngakirra* ‘a species of duck’ are new. There are no terms for birds smaller than the Murray magpie in TMs, yet there are many small birds amongst those that Teichelmann collected, which are now held in the museum collections in Altenburg and Waldenburg. These include New Holland honeyeaters, emu wrens, blue wrens, mistletoe birds and many more. However, some of these small birds were identified by Wyatt (1879). Wyatt includes *kurlto altukko* ‘pardalotus (small bird)’ and *werndo* ‘black and white honeysucker’ (perhaps a New Holland honeyeater). Altogether Wyatt lists some 35 Kurna terms for bird species, including a number not recorded by T&S or TMs. Within Wyatt’s corpus birds comprise more than 5% of his lexicon, whilst for Teichelmann they are considerably less than 1% of the corpus.

A similar story holds for the insects. Whilst TMs includes 15 terms for insects, almost all of these terms had already been published in T&S (1840), some with slightly different spellings. Only *turto arto* ‘a large scorpion’ and *wakongarri* ~ *wakoarri* ‘spider’s webb <sic>’ (lit. spider thread) are new. Wyatt (1879) records 23 terms for insects, somewhat less than the 34 recorded in T&S, but 12 of Wyatt’s insects are not included in T&S or TMs: *eere* ‘cicada’, *kanno aiya* ‘green wingless grasshopper’, *kerlto* ‘large black ant’, *kodne o ya* ‘a species of gryllus’, *koonyoo* ‘leaf insect (phyllium)’, *korre berte* ‘longicorn beetle’, *nokunna* ‘an evil being; also, a small wingless locust’, *pokoole* ‘mantis (insect)’, *pondo ondo* ‘large dragon fly’, *toomboola* ‘a gadfly’, *toorla yirra* ‘a lamellicorn beetle’, *toorloonjãroo* ‘water beetle (gyrinus)’ and *winnána* ‘native cockroach’. Whilst the form of Wyatt’s recordings are inferior he does bring more specificity to his glosses.

It should be noted that there are further gaps and imprecisions in T&S and TMs for fauna, flora and artefacts. For instance, they never recorded terms for echidna, seal, octopus, squid, albatross or sea eagle. Between them, they recorded four terms for ducks, *ngakirra*, *taranna*, *tauanda* and *yerndoko* glossed simply as ‘a species of duck’ and *taranna* ‘a large species of duck’. The last three are found in T&S, whilst TMs lists only *ngakirra* ‘a species of duck’ and *tuanda*⁵ ‘the common wild duck’. Thus they failed to identify a single duck species of the 12 known to frequent the Adelaide Plains⁶. Many other fauna and flora terms are glossed similarly: ‘a species of fungus’, ‘a kind of shrub’, ‘a kind of berry eaten by the natives’ etc., which are not much help in identifying the animal, bird or plant to which the term applies. It is in these domains that other sources, especially Wyatt (1879), Williams (1840), Piesse (1840) and Cawthorne (1844) make a contribution, because they record a number of words that were missed by Schürmann and Teichelmann, and in many cases they provide a more precise gloss that helps to identify the particular species. For instance, Wyatt records *pondo ondo* ‘large dragonfly’, *toorla yirra* ‘lamellicorn beetle’ and several other insects which have no counterpart in T&S. Williams records

⁵ *tuanda* is likely to be a mistranscription for *tauanda*, as it is listed in between *tattondi* and *tauondi* in TMs.

⁶ These are the Pacific Black Duck (common and larger), Wood (Maned) Duck (common), Hardhead (common), Australian Grey Teal (common), Musk Duck (common and larger), Pink-eared Duck (common), Chestnut Teal (uncommon), Blue-billed Duck (uncommon), Australasian Shoveler (uncommon), Freckled Duck (rare and larger), Garganey (rare), Australian Shelduck (vagrant and larger).

yaum-boo 'porpoise (fish)', whereas T&S have *yambo* 'large species of fish'. *Yampu* is known as 'dolphin' in Narungga. So in this case Williams' gloss is more accurate than T&S.

Although Meyer's Ramindjeri Vocabulary is overall very rich, like T&S's Kurna, the semantic field of natural species seems a little depleted, particularly knowing Meyer was living with a people who lived by the sea and rivers, with a plentiful food source of many fish species and water birds. There are not many words for specific fish species names, for example. Many are just given general labels, such as: *tu:lari*, s., 'kind of fish' (which is a 'black bream'); and *parti*, s., 'small species of fish'. Of the 214 entries in the Toolbox database under the semantic field of 'Fish and seafood' only 28 entries are from Meyer. He does list, however, body parts of fish, for example *pitterengk* 'crayfish horns or feelers'. Similarly, there are not many specific plant species names. Of the 184 entries in the current Toolbox database under the semantic domain of 'Plants', only 24 entries are from Meyer.

Regarding birds in Ngarrindjeri, in the contemporary Toolbox data base there are 226 words within the semantic field of 'Birds'. Of these, only 17 bird species are from Meyer, and for these 17 words he is not the only recorder. Meyer records words for: pigeon, swan, crow, quail, kind of sea-fowl, hawk, species of hawk, crane, sea-bird, black cockatoo, turkey, bustard, cockatoo, emu, male emu and parrot. In addition he provides several words for bird body parts or products, such as: *tyerle* 'wing, arm'; *nan:are* 'egg shell'; and *mi:nindauwe* 'egg yolk'. Interestingly, Meyer does not have a word for 'the white of an egg', but Taplin (1879) and Berndt & Berndt (1993) provide the word *wyirre* and *wayiri*, respectively, which also means 'sky, heavens' (as in Kurna). As with Kurna, Wyatt (1879) is more detailed and prolific in his recording of bird species names in Ramindjeri than Meyer.

Artefacts

In contrast to his recording of natural species, Meyer's Ramindjeri lexicon contains some rich cultural information, particularly explaining cultural activities through the verbs. Two example entries that demonstrate this are *Yambalin*, explaining playing string games, and *merammin*, explaining the process of cooking in a steam oven. See the entries below (from Meyer, 1843):

Yamabal-in, p., 'playing with a piece of string stretched between the fingers. One person stretches a piece of string between the fingers of both hands, so as to form some fanciful figure, which another then takes off, altering the figure; the first then takes it again, and so alternatively. It is a game common among European children'.

Meramm-in, v.s., 'stewing, or cooking by steam. A hole is made in the ground, a fire kindled, and a quantity of stones added. As soon as these are sufficiently heated, the larger portions of the fire are removed, a layer of grass and green leaves placed upon the heated stones and then the substance to be cooked, upon which another layer of grass and leaves is placed, and the whole then covered up with earth. Holes are made and water poured in from time to time to increase the quantity of steam. The whole operation takes about half-an-hour'.⁷

Another rich area of value in Meyer's vocabulary are the many cultural artefacts that Meyer describes in his wordlist, particularly among the 66 nouns he provides in the semantic field of 'artefacts'. A few examples are:

Kaiki, s., upper part, or part towards the sharp end of a spear

Kalduke, s., ornament worn on the head consisting of a tuft of feathers

⁷ T&S have a similarly detailed entry for the Kurna counterpart *kanyandi*.

Ka:rute bro:ke, s., basket composed of two circular mats
Katteri, s., long stick with noose for catching fish

Two more detailed examples are *mo:kani* ‘stone axe’ and *nglaiye* ‘fire lighting apparatus’:

Mo:kani, s., ‘black stone, something like a hatchet, the head fastened between two sticks, which are bound together, and form a handle. There is a sharp edge, which is used to charm men, while the other end of the stone is blunt and rough, and is used to charm women. It is used for the same purpose and in the same manner as the *plongge*’.

Ng laiye, s., ‘apparatus for obtaining fire, consisting of two pieces of the flower-stalk of the grass tree. A semi-cylindrical piece is placed with the flat side uppermost, and the end of another piece of the same pressed upon it and made to turn rapidly backwards and forwards by rubbing between the palms of the hands. The friction produces fire in the course of a few minutes’.

Placenames

Regarding Placenames, both T&S and Meyer provide separate listings for places of significance at the time. T&S (1840:75-76) provide a list of 32 placenames at the back of their Vocabulary, while Meyer (1843:49-50) includes a short list of 22 placenames (with some of these acknowledged as being Kaurna placenames). Meyer also records an extra 16 Ramindjeri placenames at the end of the Grammar section, all declined with alternative locational suffixes (to, at, from). Note that outlining the grammar, especially the declining of nouns as well as analysing and conjugating the verbs, is Meyer’s strength.

Schürmann (1844) includes a sprinkling of placenames throughout his *Barngarla Vocabulary*. However, very few placenames are included in TMs. Only *Barngka* ~ *Parnka* ~ *Pangka* (Lake Alexandrina), *Mudleakki* (the great Para [river]), *Ngalta* (a name for the River Murray) and *ngangkiparri* ‘the Ladies River’ (Onkaparinga River) are listed, yet all of these are also listed in T&S. Whilst not listed as a headword, *Nortumbo* appears in an example sentence:

wanti-dlo na nurtidlo padni? nguntarluntya Nortumbotarra
where.to-up 2PL away-up went there-up-ALL Nortumbo-PERL
'whither are you gone away? thither in the direction of Nortumbo' (TMs *nguntarlo*)

There is no other record anywhere of *Nortumbo*, hence we have no idea of where it is. So it appears that Teichelmann paid little attention to placenames in this later manuscript.

Kin terms

One semantic domain that Meyer sheds particular light on is Kinship terms, which he also recognised as a separate grammatical category for Ramindjeri. Perhaps Meyer was acknowledging the rich importance of relationship terms to the Ramindjeri people, who were a part of the much larger Ngarrindjeri nation, with many clan groups. But Meyer would have also recognised the importance of relationship terms in any Bible translation work he was to undertake, with the ‘father - son relationship’, as well as the expression ‘brothers in Christ’ being key to the Christian message. Ngarrindjeri Kin terms behave differently to other nouns in both their shape and inflections, and for this reason, Meyer deals with this class of words in a chapter of their own in his Grammar under the heading: “The Pronominal Substantives” (Meyer, 1843, p34 – 36). Meyer writes (1843, p34):

There is a class of words which have the force both of a substantive and an adjective pronoun in connexion therewith, which we shall distinguish by the name of pronominal substantive. They are probably contracted forms of compound words, formed by joining together a substantive and

pronoun, but of which the etymology cannot for the most part, be at present traced. They are all, as far as hitherto known, words expressing relationship of consanguinity. They differ from other substantives in the formation of the cases.

Even today, the remembered words of Ngarrindjeri Elders include fused forms of kin terms:

ki:lawi 'brother' (from root of 'brother' + *nganawi* 'my')
ningkuwi 'mother' (from root of 'mother' + *nganawi* 'my')

Meyer (1843, pages 26-27, 35) goes to great lengths to reproduce the Declensions for several kin terms, particularly for the exceptional term: *tarte (tarti)* 'younger brother', which is cited in the Vocabulary as a free form, and acts more as a substantive in its inflected forms (pages 26-27). Then he compares this to the fused kinship forms: *nangaiy* 'my father', and *naink-owe* 'my mother' and *ge:l-auwe* 'thy brother', which behave similarly to personal pronouns, with case-allomorph inflections, and always with the accusative as the root-form (pages 34-36). However, unlike most personal pronouns, these fused kin terms take the Ergative case (while most personal pronouns are Nominative-Accusative). These kin terms adopt a completely different Ergative allomorph to all other word classes: *-de*.

See the Declension below for the sample kin terms 'younger brother, my father, my mother, his mother and thy brother':

CASE	- 'MY YOUNGER BROTHER'	'MY FATHER'	'MY MOTHER'	'HIS/HER MOTHER'	'THY BROTHER'
NOM.	tarte-an	nangai-ye	naink-owe	narko-owalle	ge:l-auwe
ACC.	tarte-an	nangai-yin	naink-in	narko-owan	ge:l-an
GEN.	tart-ald-an	nangai-yin	naink-in	narko-owan	ge:l-an
ALL.	tart-ungai-an	nangai-yin-angk	naink-in-angk	nark-owan-angk	ge:l-an-angk
ERG.	tart-il-an	nangai-yin-de	naink-in:-de	nark-owan:-de	ge:l-an:-de
ABL.	tarte-nend-an	nangai-yin-an:yir	naink-in-an:yir	nark-owan-an:yir	ge:l-an-anyir
DAT.	tart-amb-an	nangai-yin-ambe	naink-in-ambe	nark-owan-ambe	ge:l-an-ambe

Kaurna has similar fused forms in *ngaityaii* 'my mother', *ninkaii* 'your mother', *ngaityerli* 'my father' and *ninkerli* 'your father', as documented by T&S. Presumably they have different case endings similar to the Ramindjeri forms above.

George Taplin, the founder of Point McLeay mission in 1879, who drew very heavily from Meyer's earlier linguistic work and analysis, comments in the Introduction to his own 1878 Ngarrindjeri (Narrinyeri) Grammar:

.... In the language of the Narrinyeri, ellipsis and abbreviations abound. The Rev. H.A.E. Meyer, a Lutheran Missionary, made a brave attempt to master the grammar of this language in 1843, and with some success; but yet his attempt presents a great number of ludicrous mistakes to one better acquainted with it. (Taplin, 1878, page 5)

It is impossible to now know whether Meyer's analysis of the Kin terms is correct, or whether he has over-analysed the complexity of their declensions, and the allomorphy in their fused bound pronouns. But it seems he has understood, at least, that the kin terms do deserve to be treated as a separate word class to pronouns and substantives in Ngarrindjeri. Pronouns in Ngarrindjeri

adopt a Nominative-Accusative system of case-marking (with three exceptions for 'I, they two, and he/she/it), while the Nouns follow an Ergative system (which he called Ablative). Kin terms in Ngarrindjeri seem to lie as a class between these two, with many fused forms and unusual allomorphy. Understanding them is not easy, and learning to use them in the modern day context is even harder.

9. Conclusion

As three young missionary linguists, hailing from different parts of their native Germany, Teichelmann, Schürmann and Meyer have left their mark as lexicographers on three Aboriginal languages of SA. They collected detailed linguistic, ethnographic and cultural information into their lexicons, and grammars. They worked out how best to categorise the words they collected, and therefore how to decline or conjugate them. Their evangelical vocation also led them to document the inner world of the Kurna, Ramindjeri and Barngarla people as they searched for expressions of their abstract thinking. In this quest they recorded a considerable array of sentence examples from natural conversations, as they chased after their co-workers Kadlitpinna (Captain Jack), Mullawirraburka (King John), Ityamaitpinna (King Rodney), Encounter Bay Bob and others. They also learned from the school children in their care as a result of the strong bonds they formed. All of their linguistic work is being used today. So for all Teichelmann's, Schürmann's and Meyer's efforts to record these remarkably complex, yet logically simple Kurna, Barngarla and Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri languages, we can only pay tribute to them, albeit 175 years since their first arrival in Adelaide.

10. Bibliography

Amery, R 1993, 'Encoding new concepts in old languages: A case study of Kurna, the language of the Adelaide Plains', *Australian Aboriginal Studies* no. 1, pp. 33-47.

Amery, R 1996, 'Kurna in Tasmania: A Case of Mistaken Identity', *Aboriginal History*, vol.20, pp. 24-50.

Amery, R 2000, *Warrabarna Kurna: Reclaiming an Australian Language*. Swets & Zeitlinger, Lisse, The Netherlands.

Amery, R 2004, 'Beyond their expectations: Teichelmann and Schürmann's efforts to preserve the Kurna language continue to bear fruit'⁸ In Walter F Veit (ed), *The Struggle for Souls and Science. Constructing the Fifth Continent: German Missionaries and Scientists in Australia*. Strehlow Research Centre, Alice Springs. Occasional paper no. 3, pp. 9-28.

Berndt, RM & Berndt, C with Stanton, J 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, RM & Vogelsang, T 1941, 'Comparative vocabularies of the Ngadjuri and Dieri Tribes, South Australia', *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, vol. 65, no. 1, pp. 3-10.

Cawthorne, WA 1844, Rough notes on the manners and customs of the natives. MS notes, SA Archives Department.

⁸ This paper is based on an earlier paper entitled 'The First Lutheran Missionaries in South Australia: Their contribution to Kurna language reclamation and the reconciliation movement' which was published in the *Journal of Lutheran Archives* No. 10, October 2000: 30-58.

Ghil'ad Zuckermann, Julia Miller and Jasmin Morley (eds) 2014, *Endangered Words, Signs of Revival*, Australex, p. 17

Gaimard, M 1833, 'Vocabulaire de la langue des habitans du Golfe Saint-Vincent' in MJ Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage de découvertes de L'Astrolabe 1826-1827-1828-1829: Philologie*. Ministère de la Marine, Paris.

Koeler, Dr H 1842. 'Einige Notizen über die Eingebornen an der Ostküste des St Vincent-Golfs in Süd-Australien: 1837 und 1838', *Monatsberichte über die Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*.

Meyer, HAE 1843, *Vocabulary of the Language Spoken by the Aborigines of the Southern and Eastern Portions of the Settled Districts of South Australia, viz., by the tribes in the vicinity of Encounter Bay, and (with slight variation) by those extending along the coast to the eastward around Lake Alexandrina and for some distance up the River Murray: preceded by a grammar showing the constructions of the language as far as at present known*. James Allen, Adelaide.

Meyer, HAE 1846, *Manners and customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe*. State Library of South Australia, Adelaide.

Mountford, C 1940, The Ngadjuri tribe, northern South Australia, 1940, manuscript field notes from Barney Waria [Gunaia]. Mountford-Sheard collection, Journals, volume 24. State Library of South Australia.

Piesse, Louis 1840, Letter to the Editor of the *Adelaide Guardian* dated 18 October 1839. *The South Australian Colonist* vol. 1, no. 19, p. 296.

Pluntke, M 2013, 'Australier im Mauritium? Sprachwissenschaftler machte Entdeckung', *Altenburger Geschichts- und Hauskalendaer: für den Kreis Altenburger Land*, pp. 137-141.

Schürmann, CW, 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.

Schürmann, CW, 1846, *The Aboriginal tribes of Port Lincoln in South Australia, their mode of life, manners, customs etc.*, George Dehane, Adelaide.

Simpson, J 1992, 'Notes on a manuscript dictionary of Kurna', in Dutton, Ross & Tryon (eds.), pp. 409-415.

Stephens, E 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.

Taplin, Rev G 1879, *The folklore, manners, customs, and languages of the South Australian Aborigines*. Government Printer, Adelaide.

Teichelmann, CG 1841, *Aboriginals of South Australia: Illustrative and explanatory note of the manners, customs, habits and superstitions of the natives of South Australia*. Committee of the SA Wesleyan Methodist Auxiliary Missionary Society, Adelaide.

Teichelmann, CG 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, CG 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.

Ghil'ad Zuckermann, Julia Miller and Jasmin Morley (eds) 2014, *Endangered Words, Signs of Revival*, Australex, p. 18

Teichelmann, CG and Schürmann, CW 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. (Facs. ed. 1962.) Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia. (Facs. ed. 1982.) Adelaide: Tjintu Books. A copy annotated by Teichelmann sent to Grey in 1858, held in the Sir George Grey Collection, South African Public Library, Cape Town.

Tindale, NB c. 1938 – 1960 Word Card Indexes: Ramindjeri, Ngarrindjeri, Yaraldi, Tanganekald. Series AA38/1.

Waria-Read, P, Amery, R, Gale, M & Tunstill, G 2009, *Ngadjuri Wordlist*. Ngadjuri Walpa Juri Lands and Heritage Association, Adelaide.

Williams, William (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, William (1840). The language of the natives of South Australia. *South Australian Colonist* 1, 19, 295-296.

Wyatt, William 1879, 'Some account of the manners and superstitions of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay tribes', in JD Woods (ed), pp. 157-181. Original MS with corrections in Barr Smith Library Special Collections, University of Adelaide.