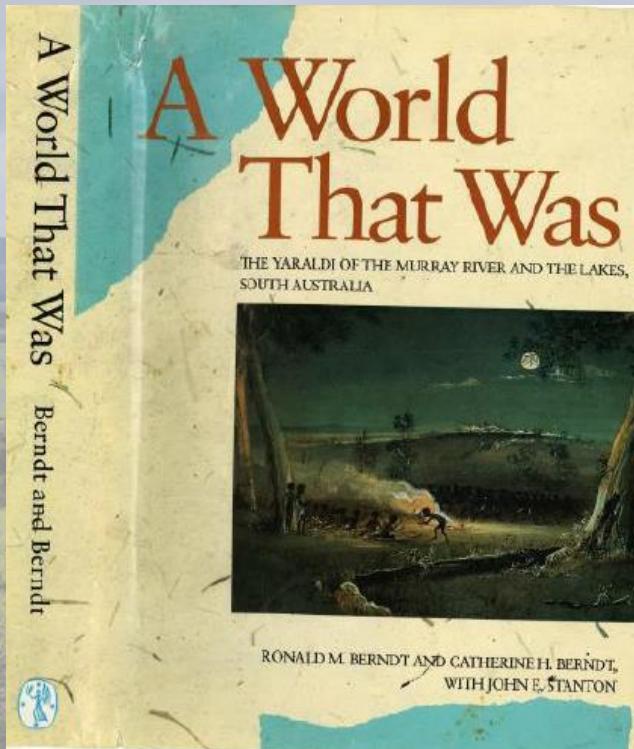


YOU CAN'T SHAKE HANDS WITH A CLENCHED FIST:

Reflections on unfolding the Ngarrindjeri texts in the 1993 book : *A World That Was*

SHLP 5 CONFERENCE

September 5-6th 2016 Potsdam, Germany



Presentation by:
MARY-ANNE GALE
ARC Research Fellow,
University of Adelaide.
Discovery Grant DP150103287

In November 1939 Ronald Berndt made his first field trip to Murray Bridge to work with the Ngarrindjeri man, Albert Karloan, of the Yaraldi clan (of the Ngarrindjeri people).



- From 1942-1943 Ronald returned (now with some training from AP Elkin) along with his new wife, Catherine Berndt, to recommence his first field work
- The result was the collection of 163 texts in Yaraldi including 17 Dreaming narratives, finally published 50 years later in 1993 in the book: *A World That Was*.
.... The details of how these were collected are contained in their field notes:
- Unfortunately: “The Ronald and Catherine Berndt Collection of field notes, personal correspondence, and associated materials will not be available until 2024 due to the Berndt Bequest Embargo.”
[see: Berndt Museum website: <http://www.culturalprecinct.uwa.edu.au/>]

ARC Discovery Grant DP150103287 (for 2015-2017)

“Analysis of Ngarrindjeri texts of the Lower Murray, Lakes & Coorong region, as recorded in the book: *A World That Was* by Ronald & Catherine Berndt.”

Chief Investigators:

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Project aims to:

- Analyse the 163 texts in the Appendix of the 1993 book: *A World That Was*
- Compare these Berndt texts with other Ngarrindjeri texts by HAE Meyer & George Taplin
- Make the (analysed) Berndt & Berndt texts more widely available to the Ngarrindjeri community
- Use the texts to produce a second edition of the Ngarrindjeri dictionary (with Grammar notes), including words from different clan dialects
- Evaluate language variation and change over time, as a result of mission and colonial impact

Project Description:

The aim of this ARC project is to eventually make all of the Berndt ethnographic texts and Dreaming narratives available, in an accessible form, to the Ngarrindjeri community. Ngarrindjeri people have been reclaiming the Ngarrindjeri language over the last 30 years. There are more resources on the Ngarrindjeri language in the archives and in out-of-print books than in most languages being revived in Australia today.

However, these resources have been largely inaccessible to Ngarrindjeri people. This issue is now being addressed by a team of linguists, who (with the support of the Ngarrindjeri community) were awarded a three year Australian Research Council (ARC) Discovery Grant (2015 – 2017) based at the University of Adelaide.

The Research Associate, Dr Mary-Anne Gale, will conduct detailed linguistic research on the 163 texts in the Appendix of the 1993 book *A World That Was* (by Ronald and Catherine Berndt).

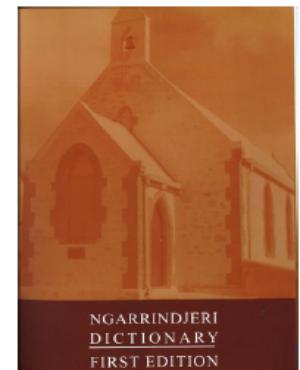
The texts are an enormously valuable resource on Ngarrindjeri words, grammar and culture, but have not been translated into everyday English. They were collected by the Berndts, over the period 1939 to 1943, primarily from Albert Karloan and Pinkie Mack. Soon after the passing of Ronald Berndt in 1990, Catherine Berndt wrote (for her Acknowledgement page, in the 1993 book) of Ronald's 'delight... that he had been able, at last, to fulfil his earlier commitment to Albert and Pinkie by making this material available in its entirety'.

This book has been out-of-print and therefore inaccessible to the Ngarrindjeri community for quite some time. We will collect the extra words from these texts and incorporate them into a second edition of the *Ngarrindjeri Dictionary*,

We aim to gain a linguistic understanding of this large body of texts, and their implications for language and cultural revival.

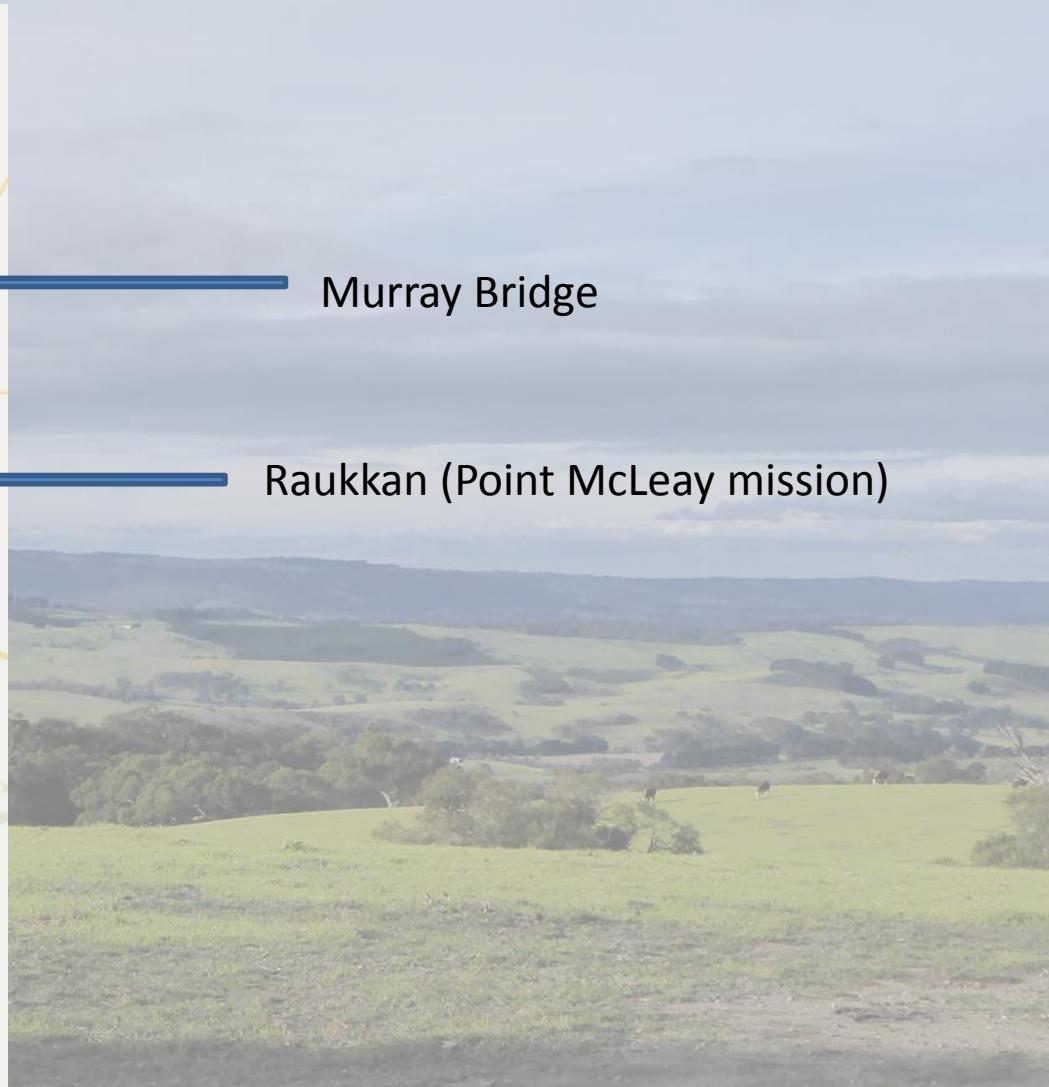
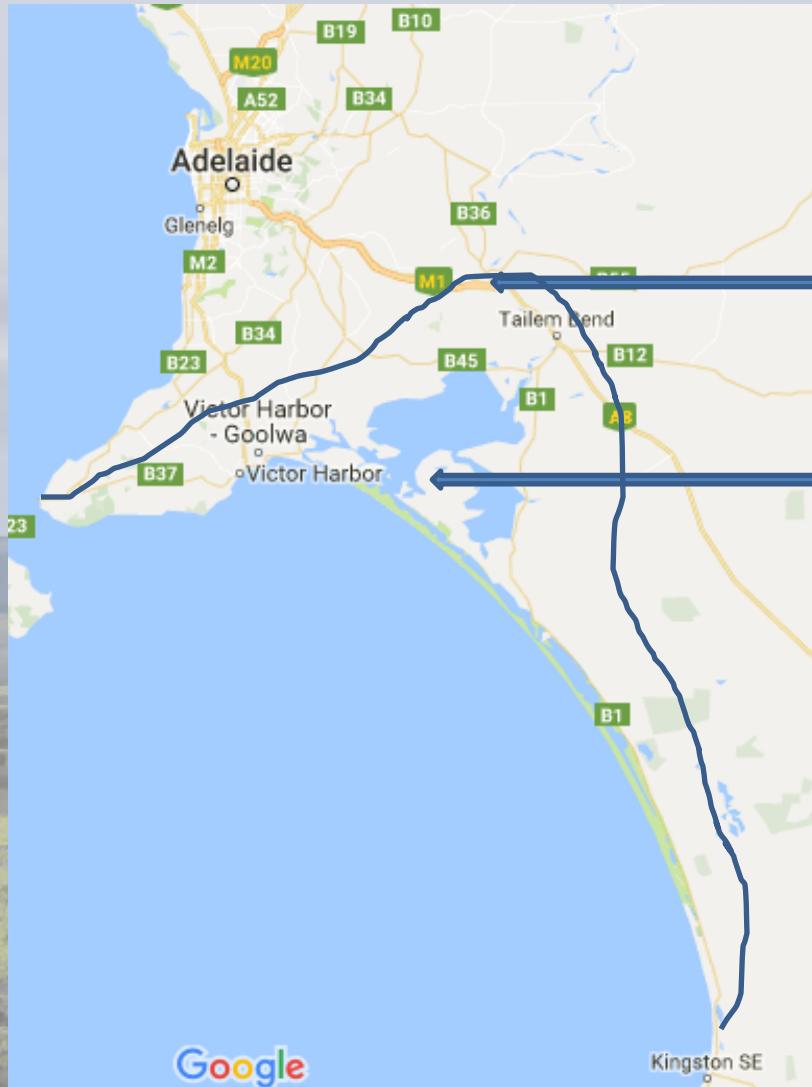
These texts are in demand by the Ngarrindjeri community. Analysing them linguistically will reveal insights about how Ngarrindjeri speakers organise their thoughts in telling stories and recounting events and practices. These insights should help today's Ngarrindjeri people in reclaiming their language beyond the use of words and simple sentences.

A primary outcome of this project will therefore be to assist the community in their efforts to reclaim their language at the text/discourse level. We will continue to collaborate with the Ngarrindjeri people throughout this project with several community meetings over the three year period. Our research findings will be made public through a series of published papers.



Ngarrindjeri country in SA

- covers a triangle of land bounded by Cape Jervis in the west, Murray Bridge in the North, and just north of Kingston SE in the south.
- The Yaraldi clan are the group based on the land of the 1859 mission at Raukkan



Appendix 4

Texts and interlinear translations

Appendix 4.1

Ungu luku wilkin ngera woryanganangk kura-
When thus looking for net then we to them ask
malaul nger. Woryanganangk thun-ga luku, 'Anungum lari
for net. Then we to them talk thus, 'Those bring down
yalkura!' Woryanana ana maramil woryanan an ruwulthan
rushes! Then we put them in an oven then we them tease
lambula ngembalam-banangin. Wonyanan winmil an nungga
for twisting on thighs our. Then we make that twine
thekinir aranan pola winmil anamb wolokaia takan
all of us then too children making from those rushes chewing
ruwultha lambala winmilam nungga lagalam-banangin.
teasing for making string for putting together our.
An ngera ungu ngurawor angan woryanganan mirinmil win
Those nets when a lot of them then they quickly make
lambula ngeilaramb. Wonyanan lagalam mirinmu-anganan
for fish netting. Then we for putting together quickly doing it
winmil ngintian miralk kitjian yam kilinang.
making you [second man] for joining him [third man] one by him [fourth man].
Unguk ngeilenang woryanganan kar mama woryanan loru
When netting then they those fish then up
tjiwa woryanan p'rump ula tepang prengulkangk. Wonyanana
to shore then we smoke down near the water. Then we
ngaku a talwala-anganan. Wonya an pola kaikun luku,
see those talwala them. Then those children calling thus,
'Ngaka kraiwari warai tamun p'rumpun ngunamb!
'See smoke coiling up other side spring up smoke for us!
Nanggeloru naibelu lambuk mananamb? Wonyil il yam poli
Who will pole for fish? Then he one boy
wirinthun luku, 'Ngap-loru'. Wonyil il yande-on wirinthun
answers thus, 'I'll go across'. Then he old man answers
luku, 'Ma mirinmilwora!' Wonitj loru wonyil larand
thus, 'Go quickly!' Then he went up then he from up there
malaul mamb yupuninmangk yukuwol. Womitj loruwon naiba
for fish putting in canoe. Then he up there poling
wonitj wongk. Wonya ngopa a yande-on aranang yanda-iman
then he gets out. Then walks that old man and that old woman



Ronald & Catherine Berndt placed all 163 texts
in Appendix 4 of *A World That Was*

covering 178 pages.

There are NO titles and NO free translations.

The interlinear glosses are inconsistent
and often inaccurate.

SUMMARY of 163 texts in *A World That Was...* page 1 only

SUMMARY of "A WORLD THAT WAS: THE YARLADI OF THE MURRAY RIVER & THE LAKES, SOUTH AUSTRALIA" (1993).		TABLE PAGE 1
Berndt & Berndt 1993 'A World That Was' Appendix 4 Number & Appendix Page Number	Topic / Subject matter of Text (E= Ethno, Food, Hunting, Healing; D= Dreamings; M= Marriage & Sex; L= Law, Relationships, Disputes; C = Ceremony, Ritual, Beliefs)	Page cross reference in Main Body of Book
Appendix 4.1 Pages 332-333	E Re Making nets from chewed twine, fishing & cooking	Page 28
Appendix 4.2 Pages 333-335	M Re Widows being passed onto other men	Page 37
Appendix 4.3 Pages 335-336	L Re Death of council member & election of new leader	Page 64
Appendix 4.4 Pages 336-337	L Re Elders speaking up in disputes, eg. about sorcery	Page 67
Appendix 4.5 Pages 337-338	L Re a man being wrongly accused of something	Page 69
Appendix 4.6 Pages 338-339	L Re Sorcery dispute meeting & revealing what is bag	Page 70
Appendix 4.7 Pages 339-340	L Re Dispute resolution and Interpersonal quarrelling	Page 71
Appendix 4.8 Pages 340-341	E Re Abundance of food prior to Europeans	Page 74
Appendix 4.9 Page 341	D Re <i>Waiyungari</i> who became Mars	Page 75
Appendix 4.10 Pages 341-342	E Re Gathering & Cutting up beached whale	Page 81
Appendix 4.11 Pages 342-343	E Re Diver collection mussels	Page 81
Appendix 4.12 Pages 343-344	E Re Catching fish in river and tortoises	Page 82
Appendix 4.13 Page 344	E Re The use of <i>runeri</i> – lasso type trap	Page 89-90
Appendix 4.14 Page 345	E Re Cooking kangaroo	Pages 91 (illus) & Page 104
Appendix 4.15 Page 346	E Re Collecting yams	Page 110
Appendix 4.16 Pages 346-347	E Re Digging for root of reeds	Page 110
Appendix 4.17 Pages 347-348	E Re Smoking fish	Page 112
Appendix 4.18 Pages 348-349	E Re Way of making and wearing skin rugs	Page 113
Appendix 4.19 Pages 349-351	C Re Collecting fat for red ochre and initiation rituals	Page 116
Appendix 4.20 Page 351	L Re Bartering for gums and roots	Page 117
Appendix 4.21 Pages 352-353	C Re Umbilical Cord of new born & subsequent relationship taboo	Page 119-120
Appendix 4.22 Pages 353-354	L Re Sorcery & <i>Ngenempi</i> relationship	Page 120
Appendix 4.23 Pages 354-357	C Re Being a <i>narampi</i> - initiate	Page 126
Appendix 4.24 Pages 357	L Re Giving & receiving & kin obligations	Page 130
Appendix 4.25 Page 358	M Re Coitus	Page 131
Appendix 4.26 Page 358	M Re Conception of child from combining semen & menstrual blood	Page 132
Appendix 4.27 Page 358	M Re <i>Pangari</i> – spirit entering foetus through the mother	Page 133

METHODOLOGY

- Using FLEx (Fieldworks Language Explorer) to analyse the (chosen) B&B texts
- Began by importing the 3,680 word Ngarrindjeri database from Toolbox into FLEx (with Rosie Billington's help)
- Scanned and OCR-ed the 163 B&B texts and imported them into FLEx (with Nick Thieberger's help)
- Began by analysing the 17 Dreaming narratives (at the request of the community) & a few ethnographic texts
- Have been meeting with the community on a regular basis, updating them on progress & distributing DRAFT versions of the texts analysed thus far.

LISTING OF DREAMING NARRATIVES IN: A WORLD THAT WAS, Appendix 4.

Note: Dreaming Narratives told by Albert Karloan, except second version of CROW DREAMING (Appendix 4.111B) told by Pinkie Mack.



There are 17 Dreaming narratives - All told by Albert Karloan except for the Crow Dreaming told by Pinkie Mack, possibly collected by Catherine Berndt, who had a greater interest in language work.

Appendix Page numbers	DREAMING NARRATIVE SUBJECT MATTER	Page cross reference in main book
App. 4.9 Page 341	D About <i>Waiyungari</i> who became Mars	Page 75
App. 4.97 Pages 433-441	D The Ngurunderi Dreaming story according to Karloan	Page 223
App. 4.98 Pages 441-442	D The Ngurunderi story of Ngurunderi having one son called Matamai	Page 227
App. 4.99 Pages 425-427	D The Waiyungari Dreaming as told by Karloan	Page 228
App. 4.100 Page 444	D The Story of the Sun with Sun being a woman	Page 232
App. 4.101 Pages 445	D The story of the Moon & coitus, with the Moon being a woman	Page 232
App. 4.102 Pages 445-447	D The Ramindjeri version of the Tjirbuki story	Page 233
App. 4.103 Pages 448-449	D The Ramindjeri story of Marsupial possum & Jaybird	Page 234
App. 4.104 Pages 450-451	D The Ramindjeri Whale & the stealing of Fire story	Page 235
App. 4.105 Pages 451-452	D The Bird Dreaming & how they got their colours – Magpie & Pelican story	Page 236
App. 4.106 Pages 452-453	D Re Birds like lignum bird (Wa:tji) & people being represented in other forms	Page 237
App. 4.107 Pages 453-454	D Dreaming story about the Tarantula spider – the Wururi woman and getting language	Page 237
App. 4.108 Pages 454-455	D Dreaming story of the Water rat Rekul & the fish	Page 238
App. 4.109 Page 455	D Dreaming story of the Red Bellied black snake & his friend the tortoise	Page 238
App. 4.110 Pages 456-458	D Dreaming story of the Emu and the Native Companion bird (Prolgi the Brolga)	Page 239
App. 4.111A Page 458	D Karloan's Yaraldi version of the Dreaming story of the Crow	Page 240
App. 4.111B Pages 459-462	D Pinkie Mack's Piltindjeri variation on the Crow and Eaglehawk Dreaming	Page 240

VERY PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS on the texts analysed so far in FLEX

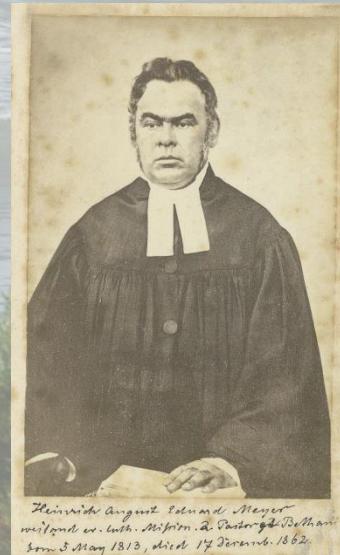
**THERE ARE SEEMINGLY THREE TYPES OF CHANGES
IN THE TEXT LANGUAGE OF KARLOAN:**

- OVER-USE OR MIS-USE OF MORPHOLOGICAL AND/OR TEXT FEATURES, perhaps as a sign of Language Attrition, Eg. seemingly not knowing where or how to use inflected morphemes (especially case marking) so using them randomly
- DOUBLE MARKING of morphological and discourse features with redundancy - often by incorporating extra English-like grammar features
- ENGLISH INFLUENCE and morpheme borrowing & incorporation ... maybe CODE-SWITCHING?

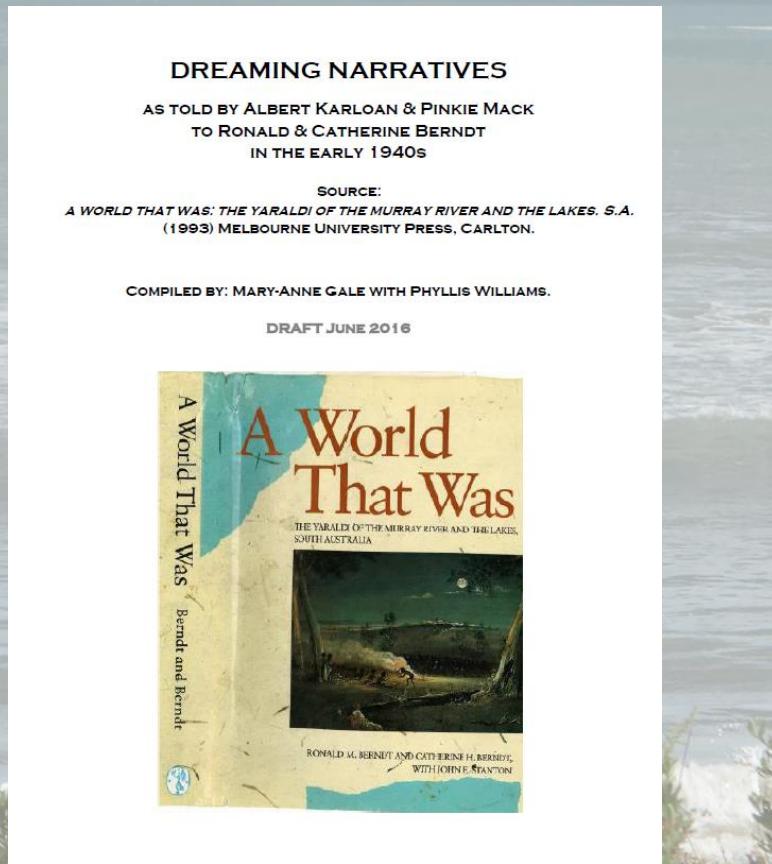
IMPORTANT QUESTIONS THAT HAVE ARISEN FROM THESE INITIAL TEXTUAL OBSERVATIONS

- Is this the irregular form of (“broken-down”) language what the community wants repatriated?.. And is this form of the language adequate for teaching the grammar of the language?
- Is this possible attrition of the Yaraldi language really Karloan’s version of the language, or is it a sign of Ronald Berndt’s inexperience and inadequacy as a language recorder?
- Why is Pinkie Mack’s Crow myth (also collected by the Berndts) seemingly more “authentic” and similar to the morphology of Meyer?

NOTE: HAE Meyer was the first missionary to record the language at Encounter Bay, and to publish a grammar in 1843



In June 2016 a DRAFT of the 17 Dreaming stories were returned to the community



NGURUNDERI CREATION DREAMING

As told by Albert Karloan to Ronald & Catherine Berndt, in the early 1940s
Source: *A World That Was*. by Ronald & Catherine Berndt (1993) Appendix 4.97

The assumption is that Ngurunderi has been poling his raft or canoe down the Murray for some time, chasing the great Cod. There is no initial reference to him searching for his two wives.

1 Kalalal Ngurunderi preldhung pondi lari.

Free Translation: Long ago Ngurunderi chased a Cod fish down [the river]

2 Ungo kerambul wonya-il inangk polapol-ungai muwanthi mempun -angk -itjan prengkuli wonya tainki.

As [he travelled] the sound of his pine wood paddling pole hit into the water and then the swamp.

3 Wonya-il-yan preldhun -kil -un Ngurunderi-il -itjan pondi wonya-il naragi -an -un Mumpeluwong wonya-il naragi-an -un Pomberuk wonya-il -yan preldhun wonya-il kuriyam -itjan prenguki.

So Ngurunderi kept chasing that Cod then turned [at the river bend] at Mypolonga, and then turning to Pomberuk he then chased that [Cod] and frightened him in the water.

4 Wonya-il -yan tainki-ar aki piwinganwon-itji wruk-ung ika aki Polmandang.

Then [the Cod] he swam to the swamps there at the Hawk place then swam here and there to the Polma people's camp.

5 Won-itji le:wun-itji Ngurunderi-itji umu prenguk-angk wruk-al.

Then Ngurunderi sat down by the water edge while [the Cod] kept swimming.

6 Wonya-il kaikul-ur ina ronggi-won ina ronggi-won Nepeli-ald won -itji thaipul-ur -itji Nepeli kin-awi yu:ki-ald wonya-il kaikul-ur kil Ngurunderi -un -yan.

Then he [Ngurunderi] called out to his brother-in-law Nepeli and then he [Nepeli] jumped into his [Nepeli's] canoe and he shouted out to Ngurunderi, calling to him.

7 Nepeli-al ungu lew-embi -itji war retjeri-won Raukkan.

Nepeli was sitting up there on the cliff at Rawukung.

8 Wonya-il kaikul-ur kil Ngurunderi -un neitji-ald pondi wok-al -yan.

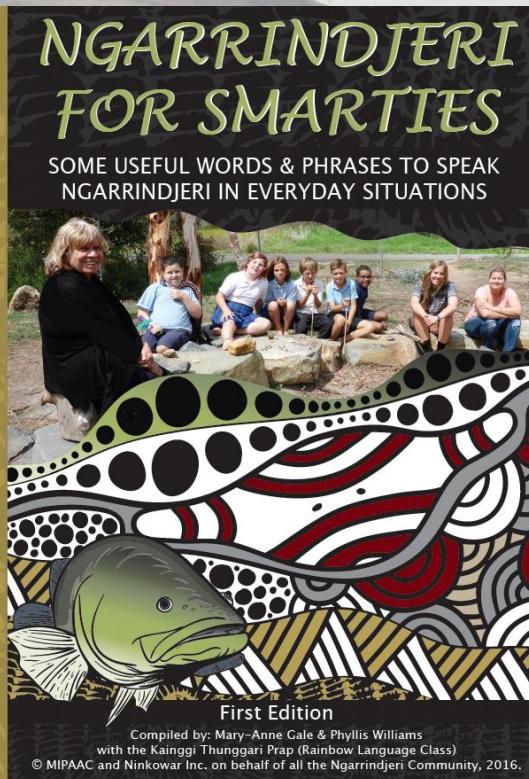
Then he [Nepeli] shouted to Ngurunderi, 'The Cod is near so [you should] spear him'.

9 Kili-anuk ngak-embi-itjan pondi wanyil -ambi -itji -yan yu:ki pinpun wonya-i-yan ngaiber-ur -itjan-an yu:ki ika mang kanak-angk itjuk wruk-ung kitji pondi.

In July 2016 we launched a new resource
NGARRINDJERI FOR SMARTIES... featuring the
“Possum & Jaybird story”
as told by Karloan
... a story from the Bald Hills region.



NGARRINDJERI FOR SMARTIES: First Edition



THIS STORY RENDITION FROM B&B IS QUESTIONABLE AND ALSO SEEMS INFLUENCED BY ENGLISH

Appendix 4.103

Ungu kalalal pintamba itjan poli ila Mulapi
When long ago snatched him child this Mulapi spirit
wonitji inangk nantung ik ural nawandang ina.
then he with him flew there up to the 'camp' to that.
Wonyili-an yupung ura ina nawandald lambula takuramba
Then he put up into that camp for eating
itja poli nalwuri inalwuli yikwon (nangai) nangkwon.
him child the son belonging to his father [and] mother.
Ila polil ngalamandang an tura ana wongyumang lambin
He that boy wore those teeth of the kangaroo for (since)
itjura elina karalwuri pol karian narindjera ngakamb anangin.
he was being big boy those people saw them.
Wonya ar intera wongkamb. Wonya yolamb pekalitj
Then they those tried to climb. Then they got down too difficult
itji wurangi wirl lamba wongkurbamb. Wonya ngopung ar
it no good gum tree for climbing. Then they walked those
narindjera larandin. Wonya wilkung malaul narindjera
people from up there. Then they looked for some persons
lamba wongkurbamb itjan wiril manda wurangi lambun
for climbing it that gum tree because no good for
wongkurbamb. Wonya nganamulin in wongk inangura
climbing. Then they looked around for climbing on account of
itji wiril krungar inangk thulkeli won ilin
it that gum tree grown with a rounded butt then having
thulkil pintpangk an wuremald. Wonya yanang luku,
butt pushed [them back] those climbers. Then they talked thus,
'Yandangan malaul wuremald inamb wongkurbamb inang wirild?'
'Where will we find a climber for climbing that gum tree?'
Wonya ngopung loru wonya ngopu Wati-erianggel
Then they walked up then they walked to Wati-erilanggel
wonya ngakund anggung narindjeriang. Wonya anggund kurung.
then they saw those two men. Then they those two asked,
'Ungil wonggi an wiril?' Won anggel wurinthin, 'I!',
'Will you climb that gum tree?' Then those two replied, 'Yes!',
anggulin Lepuldali ilinan Wati-eri-on. 'Lambuk poli neiwar
those two Lepuldali and that one Wati-eri man. 'For child up that
wirangk ar narindjeri wonggi-an itjanan wiril lamba
gum tree those people climbed that gum tree for
polaldamb ian laranda morukang? Lepuldali
that child whether from up there bring him down? Lepuldali
wurinthin, 'Yika!' Ilinang Wati-eri-on kilimang wurintin
replied, 'All right!' And so Wati-eri man also answered

See below examples of words put into
FLEX database from the Possum & Jaybird
story in Berndt & Berndt (1993)... but this
is typically cluttering the database with
'questionable' variants

4.103 MARSUPIAL POSSUM & JAYBIRD

il! = yes!

ilinan = that one

karalwuri = big

ki = ok

Kilimang = Jaybird man (= kilim kilim mang) (? mang from English man?)

krungar = grown (?Needs analysis)

lambin = since

lun = thus

manakulin = twisted around (the buttress)

nalwuri = son

nangkwon = his mother

nantung = flew

nganamulin = looking around

thulkuri = rounded buttress of a tree

Watier-on = Jaybird man (in the Dreaming time)

wuremald = climbers (?Needs analysis) (cf. wuri = gumtree; wangkun =

yiengal = whether

yik-ural & yil-ural = where

yikwon = his father

LEPULDALI (MARSUPIAL POSSUM) & WATIYERI (JAYBIRD) DREAMING

(As told by Albert Karloan to Ronald & Catherine Berndt, in the early 1940s)

(Source: *A World That Was: the Yaraldi of the Murray River and the Lakes, SA*. 1993. App 4.103)

1 Ungu kalalal pintamelun-itjan po:rl kil Mulapi, wony-itji kin-angk nantung ikai
uruwal kinawi ngawand-angk.

Free Translation: When it was long ago this Mulapi spirit snatched this boy child, then straight away took him and flew there up into his camp (in the top of a tree).

2 Wonya-il-an yup-ung kinawi ngawandi-ald ambi thak-urambi, kitji po:rl nalwuri
inalwuli yikwon nangai nangkwon.

Then he put (the child) up into his camp for eating, and that child was the son belonging to his father and mother.

3 Kil po:rl-il ngolamind-ung-an tur-ar-an wanggami lambin kitji elun karalwuri
po:rl, kar narrindjerar ngak-urambi-an.

That boy (who was snatched) had worn kangaroo teeth since he became a young boy, for all those people to see.

4 Wonya-ar intera wongk-emb.

Then they (the people) tried to climb (to retrieve him).

5 Wonya yol-ung pekal-itji kitji wurangi wirl-ambi wongk-urambi.

Then they got down because it was too difficult and the gum tree was no good for climbing.

6 Wonya ngop-ung kar narrindjerar larand.

Then those people walked around there (to get help).

7 Wonya wilk-ung malaul Ngarrindjerar-ambi wongk-urambi itjan wirl mandian
wurangi lambul wongk-urambi.

Then they looked around among the people for someone to climb because that gum tree was no good for climbing.

8 Wonya nganamulin in wongk inangura-itji wirl krungar inangk thulkeri won, kil-in
thulker-il pinpun-angk kan wur-amaldar.

Then they looked around for a (good) climber on account of that gum tree having grown a very big rounded butt (thulkeri), as the large butt was pushing back those climbers.

9 Wonya yan-ung luku 'Yandurli-angan malaul wur-amaldi kitjan ambi wongk-urambi inangk wirl?'

Then they talked thus, 'From where will we find a climber for climbing that gum tree?'

This Possum & Jaybird story was completely lost and has now become a favourite for the Elder Phyllis Williams ... BUT IS THIS REPATRIATED VERSION THE BEST WE CAN DO?



SO WHAT TO DO?

- So after much thought and discussion... with the community and other linguists (David Wilkins, Jane Simpson, Clara Stockigt & Rob Amery...)
- I have tried to read up on the Berndt & Berndt field methodology, and to find comparative texts that can shed light on what's going on
- Points of Comparison:
 1. **Missionary H.A.E. Meyer's 1843 sentence examples**
 2. **Recordings by Norman B. Tindale of Albert Karloan**
 3. **Pinkie Mack's Crow Dreaming narrative (from Catherine Berndt?)**
 4. **Taplin's 1864 Bible translations**

For the purposes of this presentation I will briefly consider one narrative: the Ngurunderi story....which was told by Albert Karloan on two separate occasions to: Norman Tindale and Ronald Berndt.

WHAT DID THE MISSIONARIES RECORD?

According to Meyer (1846):

“As, with Nurunderi, a new epoch commenced, as much of his history as can be told with decency here follows: He was a tall and powerful man, and lived in the East with his two wives and had several children. Upon one occasion his two wives ran away from him, and he went in search of them. Where ever he arrived he spread terror amongst the people, who were dwarfs compared with him.” (page 14)....
At length he found his two wives at Toppong. After beating them they endeavoured again to escape. Now tired of pursuing them, he ordered the sea to flow and drown them.” (page 15)

According to Taplin (1879):

“The legends of Nurundere are fast fading from the memory of the Aborigines. The young people know very little about them, and it is only from the old people that the particulars of them can be obtained.” (page 58)
[Taplin then quotes Meyer’s English retelling verbatim.]

NGURUNDERI DREAMING: the most important creation narrative for the Ngarrindjeri

- Ronald Berndt first recorded the Ngurunderi story from Albert Karloan in 1939 in English (but with Yaraldi placenames). He then recorded it in Yaraldi on his return in 1942... But how did he ask Karloan to retell this narrative?

Appendix 4 Texts and interlinear translations (4.97) 433

Appendix 4.97

The assumption is that Ngurunderi has been poling his raft or canoe down the Murray for some time, chasing the great Cod. There is no initial reference to him searching for his two wives.

Kalalal Ngurunderi p'reldid Pondi lari. Ungu
Long ago Ngurunderi chased Cod down [this way]. When
kerambul wonyil inangk polapolngai muwantji mempangk
sound of pole then he into [pole] putting pole hitting
itjan prenguki wonyi tainki. Wonyilian p'reldan ilin
that water then swamp. Then he chasing him

Ngurunderil itjan Pondi wonyil naragian
Ngurunderi that Cod then turning [the River's bend]

Mumpeluwong wonyil naragian Pomberuk wonyilian
[to] Mypolonga and then turning [to] Pomberuk then he

p'reldan wonyil kurieam itjan prenguki. Wonyilian
chased that [Cod] frightened [with] that water. Then those
tainka aka piwingan wonitj wirukung ika aka
swamps there Hawk place then it swam right there here

Polmandang. Wonitj lewun itji Ngurunderi itjuk umu
Polma people's camp. Then he sat that Ngurunderi he did down

prengukangk wirikal. Wonyil kaikunu ina rongkuwon
by the water swimming. Then he calling out to his ronggi

Nepelald wonitj daipelong itji Nepeli inan yukald wonyil
Nepeli then he jumped into that Nepeli his canoe and he
kaikunu il Ngurunderun ina. Nepelal ungu lewambitj war
shouted him Ngurunderi to him. Nepeli where sitting up there
retjerewon Rawukung. Wonyil kaikunu il Ngurunderun,
on the cliff at Rawukung. Then he shouted him Ngurunderi,
'Netjald Pondi wokalian'. Ili-anuk ngakamb itjan Pondi
'Coming Cod spear him'. He could see that Cod
wonyilamb itjanin yuki pinpun wonyilian ngaiberu itjanan
and then he that canoe pushed off then he poled that
yuki ika manggu kanak-kangk itjuk wirukung itja
canoe right in there at sand shoal while it swimming that
Pondi. Wonyilian wokung itjan Pondi mangga kanak-kangk
Cod. Then he speared that Cod there at sand shoal
tura Poltuwar. Wonyil ngaiberamb il Ngurunderun ika
out from Poltuwar. Then he poled him Ngurunderi right
mangk neiyum Nepeli. Wonyil morokung itjanan
in there where he was Nepeli. Then he took hold of that
makilamb muruperamb itjan Pondi wonyil murupung
stone knife for cutting up that Cod then he cut

Norman B Tindale's 1935 recording of the Ngurunderi story, also from Albert Karloan, provides an invaluable comparison

See Tindale's page one below:

THE STORY OF NGURUNDERI BY TINDALE

Pf'eldi:1 itjarn a 'kera:wi pond ia:ri a
Chased he-did that big cod down from

Warlkandey wanjiliern pf'eld(p)g [s] 'ik:oldau
the Murray River and-he-it chased right-down

(2) wanak:ri:ng wanjitz jarn(e)g inang 'nep:ulufai
shallow water place then he spoke to Nepelle

luk:i netjau 'kra:wi 'poni. 'mu:punel
like this there goes large cod. Look out for him

Wanjil 'te:r(u)g inang juk:unqin
Then he pushed out with ~~cancel~~ belonging to him
te:frg

Wanjil 'nak:n itjarn 'pondi wanjitz
Then he saw the cod then he

tep:ra:ul(u)g in 'pontalg. Lan'buk wanjiliern
close came to cod. so then he [cod]

wak:en. wanjiliern p'rep:(a)g in juk:algin
spared. Then he the cod lifted into ~~into~~ ~~the~~ canoe. ~~the~~

wanjiliern jarniminden i:1 qufundufil
long-to him. Then he [Nepelle] spoke to did Ngurunderi

luk:i merum:eruern 'arnen qal'dar Wanjiliern
like-this cut up [cod] his flesh. Then [flesh]

q(n)angpm (3) Wanjarn kuru:rup 'uk:arind
scattered Then [flesh] name Bonny Brambe you be

pam:arind 'tji:rind 'nak:ind
Cat fish you be Perch you be Callop you be.

Wanjitz 'ki:sleg (4) itj ngurunderi 'loru
Then he turned back did Ngurunderi up to

I have analysed both versions of Ngurunderi in FLEX

See the Berndt 1942 version below:

Ngarrindjeri - FieldWorks Language Explorer

File Send/Receive Edit View Data Insert Format Tools Parser Window Help

Texts & Words Texts

Text

Title Nga B&B Appendix 4.97 NGURUNDERI Story ANALYSIS
Eng Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi Story with English Free gloss

Info Baseline Gloss Analyze Tagging Print View Text Chart

1 Word

Word	Ngurunderi	p'reldid	Pondi	lari
Morphemes	kalalal	preld	-id	pondi
Lex. Entries	kalalal	preldhun+Variant	-ur ₁ +Variant	lari
Lex. Gloss	a long time ago	chasing	PAST	Murray cod down
Word Gloss	a long time ago	chased		Murray cod down
Word Cat.	Adverb	Noun	Verb (trans)	Noun

Lit. Long ago Ngurunderi chased Cod down [this way].

Free Long ago Ngurunderi chased a Cod fish down [the river]

2 Word

Word	Ungu	kerambul	wonyil	inangk	polapolngai	muwantji	mempangk
Morphemes	ungu	kerambul	wony	-il	inangk	polapol	-ngai
Lex. Entries	ungu	kerambul	wonya ₁ +Variant	-il ₁	inangk ₁	polapol	-ungai ₁ +Variant
Lex. Gloss	when	sound of pole	then	he (Ergative); he/she (agent)	into	pole to, towards; with (Instrument)	muwanthi+Variant
Word Gloss	when	sound of pole	then he		into	with the pole	pine wood
Word Cat.	Adverb	Adverb	Adverb + Suffix		Adverb	Noun	hitting

itjan

itjan	prengkuli	wonyi	tainki
-itjan	prengkuli	wonyi	tainki
-itjan	prengkuli	wonya ₁ +Variant	tainki
him, her, it, that (Object)	water	then	swamp; salt; lagoon
it	water	then	swamp
Pronoun	Noun	Adverb	Noun

Lit. When sound of pole then he into [pole] putting pole hitting that water then swamp.

Free As the sound of his pine wood padding pole hit into the water and then the swamp.

3 Word

Word	Wonyilian	p'reldan	ilin	Ngurunderil					
Morphemes	wony	-il	-ian	preld	-an	-il	-in	Ngurunder	-il
Lex. Entries	wonya ₁ +Variant	-il ₁	-yan ₁ +Variant	preldhun+Variant	-un ₁ +Variant	kil+Variant	-un ₁	Ngurunderi+Variant	-il ₁
Lex. Gloss	then	he (Ergative); he/she (agent)	him/her/it	chasing	PRES.	by him/her/it	PRES.	Ngurunderi	he (Ergative); he/she (agent)
Word Gloss	then he			chased		by him/her/it		Ngurunderi	
Word Cat.	conn			Verb (trans)		Pronoun		Noun	

itjan

itjan	Pondi	wonyil	naragian	Mumpeluwong	wonyil
-itjan	pondi	wony	-il	naragi-an	-an
-itjan	pondi	wonya ₁ +Variant	-il ₁	naragi-an	-un ₁ +Variant

Lit. As the sound of his pine wood padding pole hit into the water and then the swamp.

Free As the sound of his pine wood padding pole hit into the water and then the swamp.

Many gaps in the lexicon of Berndt version of the Ngurunderi story before analysis in FLEXsee all the gaps in the text:

Text

Title Nga
Eng Appendix 4.097

Info Baseline Gloss Analyze Tagging Print View Text Chart

1.1 Word **Morphemes** Ungu§ **Lex. Entries** ungu§ **Lex. Gloss** *** **Lex. Gram. Info.** *** **Word Gloss** ***

Free

1.2 Word Ngurunderi p'reldid Pondi lari .
Morphemes Ngurunderi *** *** lari
Lex. Entries Ngurunderi *** *** lari
Lex. Gloss Ngurunderi *** *** down
Lex. Gram. Info. Noun *** *** Adverb
Word Gloss Ngurunderi *** *** down

Free

1.3 Word Ungu§
Morphemes ***
Lex. Entries ***
Lex. Gloss ***
Lex. Gram. Info. ***
Word Gloss ***

Free Long ago Ngurunderi chased Cod down [this way]. When

1.4 Word kerambul wonyil inangk polapolngai muwantji mempangk §
Morphemes kerambul wonyil inangk *** muwantji ***
Lex. Entries kerambul wanyil₁+Variant inangk *** muwanthi+Variant ***
Lex. Gloss sound of pole then he into *** pine wood ***
Lex. Gram. Info. Adverb Adverb + Suffix Adverb *** Noun ***
Word Gloss sound of pole then he into *** pine wood ***

Free sound of pole then he into [pole] putting pole hitting

1.5 Word Wonyi lian p'r eldan ilin§
Morphemes *** *** *** ***
Lex. Entries *** *** *** ***
Lex. Gloss *** *** *** ***
Lex. Gram. Info. *** *** *** ***
Word Gloss *** *** *** ***

Free

1.6 Word . Wonyilian p'reldan ilin §

See the Tindale 1935 version by Karloan in FLEX below:

Text

SO WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES? Example 1 (from the first sentence of the Ngurunderi story)

KARLOAN (according to TINDALE 1935) with V-S-O word order:

Preld-il	itjarn	a	keraw	pond	a	Warlkandeng
chase-he.ERG	it.ACC	a	big	cod	?	Murray.River

= *He (Ngurunderi) chased a big Cod down the Murray River*

Compared to SVO word order and use of English PAST tense marker:

KARLOAN (according to BERNDT & BERNDT) 1942-1943

Kalalal	Ngurunderi	preld-id	pondi	lari
long.ago	Ngurunderi	chase-PAST	cod	down

= *Long ago Ngurunderi chased a Cod down (the Murray River)*

SO WHAT ARE THE DIFFERENCES? Example 2

KARLOAN (according to TINDALE) 1935

Wonj-il then-he.ERG	werint-ung answer-PAST	il he.ERG	Ngurundur-il Ngurunder-he.ERG	luki thus
"Ij-nd anggun hey-you them.two.ACC.	nak-ung see-PAST		mimin-anggun?" woman-them.two.ACC.	

= *Then Ngurunderi he answered thus "Have you seen my two women?"*

Compared to broader use of bound pronouns as free form pronouns:

In KARLOAN (according to BERNDT & BERNDT) 1942-1943

Wony-il then-he.ERG	kur-ung il ask-PAST he.ERG	Ngurunder-un Ngurunder-?	luka, thus
"I-ind-anggun hey-you-them.two.ACC	ngak-ung anggun see-PAST them two.ACC		nap-anggun an?" wife-them.two.ACC my

= *Then he asked did Ngurunderi like this "Have you seen them two wives of mine?"*

... COMPARED TO MORE RECENT TIMES:

HENRY RANKINE snr. (2001 Education Dept. publication)

“Eh! Nand nak-un my two mimini-s ngop-in?”
hey you see-ing my two woman-PL walk-ing

= *Have you seen my two wives walking?*



PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS OF FEATURES OF THE BERNDT RECORDED TEXTS

1. Creation of new Prepositions & Double marking with suffixes AND Prepositions

Eg. lamba, lamb, lambuk 'for' (used in addition to DATIVE case marking suffix -ambi)

- Eg. Line 13 Appendix 4.104 *Kondoli the Whale*

Won-itj ngei Kondoli **lamb** ngurilkul-ur-**amb** wonyil ngurilkunu tep-ang
Then-he the whale for dance-NOM-for then-he.ERG dance-PAST close-LOC.
= *Then he (Skylark) was dancing for the whale then he danced close up.*

- Note: Pinkie Mack only once uses 'lambin' in her single Crow text recorded by B&B Appendix 4.111B Line 46
Tanel aldja narindjera **lambin** wongkian
= *Not one person here was able to climb*

2. Code-switching and English borrowing of Prepositions Eg. use of 'in'

- Eg. Line 17 Appendix 4.110 *Prolgı & Pindjali: Brolga & Emu*

Wony-anggul anggun kol-ang yupund-un **in** **kein-al**
then-they.two.ERG them.two.ACC head-two put-PRES in fire-in
= *Then those two (baby emu chicks) two put their heads in the fire*

- Note: Tindale's version of Ngurunderi told by Karloan also uses 'in' & double marking, Line 9

Wanj –ili-ern perep-ang **in** juk-**ald-in**
then-he.ERG-it ACC lift-PAST? In canoe-in-in
= *Then he him lifted into his canoe*

FEATURES OF BERNDT RECORDED TEXTS (Cont.)

3. Some use of English word order, particularly SVO

- Eg. Line 1 Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi story

Wony-il-ian preld-an il-in Ngurunder-il itjan Pondi
then-he.ERG-it.ACC chase-? he.ERG-? Ngurunderi-ERG it.ACC cod
= *So Ngurunderi kept chasing that Cod (down the river)*

- Note: Meyer has no apparent fixed word order (see Meyer, 1843 Pages 44-45)

4. Prolific use of pronouns as free and bound forms, often before the referent nouns (as a demonstrative), indicating person and number.

- Eg. Line 6 Appendix 4.1

Wony-anan lagalam mirinmu-anganan winm-il
then-we we quickly-we make-?
= *Then we quickly make (the nets)*

5. Loss or misuse or overuse of ERGATIVE forms

eg. Wonyil 'then he.ERG' as a fused form used with both intransitive and transitive verbs

- Eg. Line 14 Appendix 4.104 on Kondoli the Whale (this eg. also for Point 2, 3 above)

Wonyil il yulup-in itjan kaik-in il Retjurukuru
then-he.ERG put-PRES it.ACC spear-in he.ERG willy.wagtail
= *Then that Willy wagtail inserted the peg of the spear*

- Eg. Line 8 Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi story

Wonyil kaikun-u il Ngurunder-un
Then-he.ERG call-PAST? he.ERG Ngurunder-ACC?
= *Then he (Nepeli) called out to Ngurunderi*

FEATURES OF BERNDT RECORDED TEXTS (Cont.)

6. Use of English PAST tense Verbal endings eg. -id rather than -ur or -ung

- Eg. Line 1 Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi story

Kalalal Ngurunderi **preld-id** Pondi lari
long.ago Ngurunderi chase-PAST cod down
= *Long ago Ngurunderi chased Cod down (the river).*

7. Loss of Interrogative meaning for the PAST tense suffix -ung

- Eg. Line 10 Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi story

Wony-il-ian **wok-ung** itjan pondi mangga kanak-kangk tura Poltuwar
then-he-him spear-ed him.ACC cod into sand-shoal out.from Poltuwar
= *Then he speared the cod there on the sand shoal just out from Poltuwar*

- Note: Meyer 1843 Page 42 has Verb conjugation -ing / -ung 'PAST' cf. -ir / -ur 'PAST'
Example in Meyer 1843 Page 110
Mekimb-inti-yan memp-ing? = Why have you beaten him?

8. Use of English identifiers eg. ronggi-**won** = brother-in-law

- Eg. Line 6 Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi story

Wonyil kaikun-u ina **rongkuwon** Nepelald
then-he.ERG called.out-? his brother-in-law-one Nepel-to
= *Then he called out to his brother-in-law Nepeli*

FEATURES OF BERNDT RECORDED TEXTS (Cont.)

9. Double marking or confused marking of Possession

- Eg. Line 6 Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi story

Wonitj daipel-ong itji Nepeli **inan** yuk-ald
then-he.NOM jump-PAST he.NOM his canoe-of

= *Then that Nepeli jumped into his canoe (and shouted to Ngurunderi)*

10. Overuse or misuse or odd use of –ambi (cf. –ambi DATIVE ‘for’; –embi REMOTE PAST)

- Eg. Line 7 Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi

Nepelal ungu lew-**amb**-itj war retjerew-on Rawukung
Nepeli-? then sit-?-he.NOM upon cliff-on Raukkan

= *Nepeli was then sitting up there on the cliff at Raukkan*

- Eg. Line 9 Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi

Ili-anuk ngak-**amb** itjan Pondi
he.ERG-could? see-? It.ACC cod

= *He could see that Cod*



FEATURES OF BERNDT RECORDED TEXTS (Cont.)

11. Use of Accusative case pronoun (as demonstrative) with unmarked Absolutive Object-nouns

- Eg. Line 17 Appendix 4.110 Prolgi & Pindjali (Brolga & Emu story)

Wony-anggul nem-ung **itjan** **keini** wony-ang ngatin loru waiyuru-war
then-they.two.ERG leave-PAST it.ACC fire then=they.two fly-PRES up sky-upon
= *then those two left that fire then they fly up into the sky.*

- Eg. Line 9 Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi story

... wony-il-amb **itjanan** yuki pinpun
then-he.ERG-? it.ACC-POSS canoe push-PRES
= *... so he pushed off his canoe (then he poled that canoe right ...)*

- Eg. Line 25 Appendix 4.97 Ngurunderi story

Wony-a ngak-ung **itjan** Ngurunderi
then-? see-PAST him.ACC Ngurunderi
= *Then they saw Ngurunderi*

I ARGUE THAT THE BERNDTS RECORDING OF THE YARALDI TEXTS (AT TIMES)
SEEM LIKE A RELEXIFICATION OF THE ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE SAME TEXTS...

“During his first period of fieldwork with Karloan RMB was told this myth” (in English)
Later. In 1942, he recorded it (the Ngurunderi story) in Yaraldi”. (B&B 1993, P223)

**NOTE: RELEXIFICATION of English
is promoted
by VACL**
(Victorian Aboriginal Languages Corporation)
as having “some advantages...”
in Language Revival programs.

LANGUAGE REVIVAL METHODS

WORDS IN ENGLISH



In the early stages of language reclamation, people usually like to start from English, and substitute words of their own language.

This approach has some advantages:

- You can produce early resources quite quickly, without a lot of time needed for language research and checking. One way is to start with words that are already known in your community.
- You can focus on some of the cultural knowledge, traditional stories and so on that give the language its life and meaning
- You can introduce words without translating them, using the English context, pictures, and knowledge of the story to help people work out what the words mean
- You can focus on words around a theme to support a school program, such as ‘families’ or ‘weather’.



They swam in Dungula, the Murray River, with Daniels the fish. (Bartja and Mayila - Yorta Yorta - S. Atkinson, illustration by A. Sax)

IDEAS

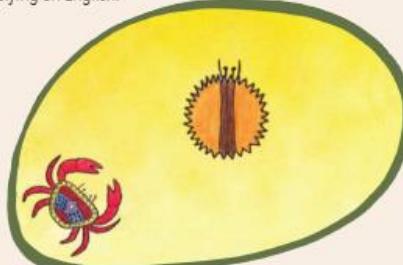
For writing stories, or translating traditional stories, people usually like to use the Language name for all their animal or Ancestor characters.

Other people add sets of words, like colours, or a range of important basic words for Country or parts of Country, sun and moon, girl/boy and man/woman, and so on.

If these are well known, or if you have good clear pictures, there is no need to give the English name as well.

Sometimes people use the English word just once, and after that the Language word. This helps readers to gradually stop relying on English.

Some people like to replace every English word with a Language word. This approach still uses English language patterns, so it's just a matter of finding all the words! Sometimes you might have to be a bit creative about how to look up words. For example, if you can't find 'tall', try 'big' or 'high'. Also, remember that an Aboriginal language does not need the little 'grammar words' that English has, like 'the' and 'an'.



maranga
this one

yaami
said

nhaa
look

walalbai
small

mundai mundai
pretty

nalwar.
crab

galangoor,
good

QUESTION: DO WE CARRY THESE (REFLEXIFIED ENGLISH) DISCOURSE FEATURES INTO TODAY'S REVIVED LANGUAGE?

- When I asked the Elder, Phyllis Williams, if she wants the Berndts' (broken down?) version OR Meyer's more complex and regular morphology, she responded....

“NO WAY, WE WANT MEYER’S WAY!!”

- When I asked Phyllis Williams if she wanted Berndt's or Tindale's recorded version of the Ngurunderi story, she responded adamantly:

“Yes, we want Tindale’s version ... definitely.”

- When I asked Syd Sparrow who is going to “tidy up” the many texts as recorded by the Berndts, and preserve the original case system, he responded:

**“You are MAGS...
but in consultation with the community.”**



CONCLUSION...LESSONS LEARNT

1. When analysing text material from other researchers, **we must question the methodology used and the veracity/authenticity of the recorded text material** (cf. Corin Bannister & Mark Cerin theses on Ngarrindjeri using the Berndt texts)
2. When reviving a language, and filling the gaps in the grammar, its better to **“Borrow from a neighbour than a stranger”** ... to quote Corey Theatre
 - Corey is a Gunditjmara song-writer and Adelaide Uni. linguistics post grad who questions the method of RELEXIFICATION of English promoted by VACL for his own language... He asks: Why borrow from English when there are other ‘better’ options?
3. Barry Blake tells us in his delightfully written 2001 book simply titled: *Case...* “Case has aesthetic properties ... this is probably most evident in text, where an author successfully exploits the succinct means of relating words that an inflectional case system provides and the freedom of word order usually attendant on the presence of case. But there is also beauty in the system. This is nowhere more apparent than in Kalkatungu” (Blake’s first Australian language encounter). (see Blake, 2001, pxvi)
 - I wonder if Ngarrindjeri’s case system was once like Kalkatungu... “more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin”

**....BUT IF WE RELY ON THE BERNDT & BERNDT TEXTS OF YARALDI,
AS OUR PRIMARY SOURCE, THIS BEAUTY SEEMS TO BE LOST!!!**

A FINAL COMMENT

- Time to explain the title of my presentation.....

Indira Ghandi once said:

“You can’t shake hands with a clenched fist”

- My advice to those working with communities in Language Revival programs is to seek out the Elders, and people who want to collaborate, and can see the possibilities in bringing back their language for the next generation.

....And my advice to Aboriginal communities is to open your hands to those who want to help, because your languages have beauty and there are huge benefits if we can bring them back!!

A large, gnarled tree with a wide canopy, standing in a grassy field with rolling hills in the background.

Anu nguni kung-urambi
Thank you all for listening