

Original Texts: Collections of language in Central Australia 1890-1910

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Introduction

The Aranda of Central Australian were at the epicenter of scholarly concern in the early decades of the twentieth century. Interest in the Aranda grew as they were reported to be “survivals” of a primitive state that was in line with contemporary theories of social evolutionism. Many questions were posed by European scholars. The need to understand the key terms and concepts of the Aranda led the Central Australian missionary Carl Strehlow (1871-1922) to prioritize the collection and publication of examples of their spoken languages—the transcriptions of which will here be called “texts.”

The *Urtext* (which I translate as “Original text”), that is, the text spoken in the original vernacular language, was the central component of Carl Strehlow’s linguistic research, and generated or was referred to by Strehlow’s subsequent research. Texts are the main focus of philology, a humanist discipline that in its traditional practice is primarily concerned with collecting and reading literatures to understand other peoples through their key stories. Richard Bauman writes of the legacy of Johann Herder and of Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm:

Their unified vision of language, culture, literature and history identified the oral traditions of people as authentic expressions of their culture, they encouraged the collecting of folktales and folk poetry as necessary to the

documentary record for philological investigation, and all the more so where there were no written records. (Bauman 145)

With their wealth of detail, Strehlow's texts go beyond the anthologies of his contemporaries; for example, that of Langloh Parker (1896) in which narratives have been written in English with the exception of a Yuwaalaraay text placed in the appendix. Aboriginal voices were usually recorded in a simplified English rather than the original vernaculars. It is clear from his letters and publications that in compiling his monumental five-volume *Die Aranda-und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien (Die Aranda)*, Strehlow aimed to record texts as part of an integrated collection where each part of the collection would have a place in understanding and interpretation of Central Desert languages and cultures. The audience for the texts was an international scholarly community that sought information about the Aranda culture and needed a guide to the Aranda language, typified by Andrew Lang, who drew attention to (for example): "the story of 'the divine kangaroo,' which Mr. Strehlow gives in Arunta, with an interlineal translation," adding that "All philologists must thank him for what no other man has given us, several Arunta texts" (28).

Over one hundred other texts were published by Carl Strehlow in *Die Aranda*. The first volumes of the work comprise 68 narrative texts from Aranda speakers (the language name is now written "Arrarnta" or "Arrernte"; but I will use Strehlow's spelling, "Aranda"). These oral stories are owned by families from the Arrarnta and Luritja language groups. Many that Strehlow recorded in written form were restricted to initiated men and not publicly performed. I argue that Strehlow's texts are important early records of Central Australian languages and that, moreover, they are unique because they are recorded in their original languages, unlike contemporary anthologies of so-called Aboriginal tales, which were written down in English. Through his collection Strehlow revealed much about Aboriginal languages and cultures, and about the legends themselves.

Outline

I will discuss Strehlow's purpose in collecting texts, and how myths, legends, and tales are classified and distinguished in his collections. I explore the collecting of narratives as part of a tradition that emerged from the German philosophy of language tradition (Moore, "Language Ideologies"), and as part of the history of texts in Australian scholarship. I then examine one of the interlinear texts in more depth, highlighting features that reflect the way in which it was recorded. This paper will focus upon the text that was based on Strehlow's fieldwork and published in *Globus* (Strehlow, "Einige Sagen"). The English translation of this article is my own.

In this paper I am not examining the stories so much as the recording of them by European researchers. I examine the degree to which the texts represent authentic discourse—that is, closeness to the texts as they were spoken in their original languages. For comparison I refer to some more recent texts. In concluding, I indicate the value of the texts for current research. In spite of their importance, Strehlow's texts, with their German interlineations and commentaries, have not been available in English. The publication of the texts is a long story that cannot be recounted here, but the issue is important and will be briefly discussed below.

Background: The purpose of recording texts

The purpose of this section is to trace the history of text collections and how this impacted the Australian field. Texts formed a large part of the German tradition with its philological foundations (Bauman 146). As Anna Kenny (*Aranda's Pepa*, 51) explains, "Strehlow and von Leonhardi shared an intellectual orientation that affirmed the status of language and literature, or oral text, as the key to a culture" (51).

The texts in *Die Aranda* represent a further stage in the collection of Aranda language, beyond the first stage of language documentation, which concluded with the departure of the first Hermannsburg missionaries in 1891 (Moore, "Language in the Centre"). It is clear from Strehlow's letters and publications that the collection of original texts, as desired by

Leonhardi, was the initial and possibly even the main purpose of *Die Aranda*. The texts appeared before descriptions of Aranda culture, and were a fieldwork priority, part of an integrated linguistic project where every part of the documentation would have a place in understanding and interpretation (Kenny, *Aranda's Pepa* 356). Strehlow's mentor Moritz von Leonhardi (1856-1910) encouraged him to collect texts. As Leonhardi wrote to R.H. Matthews,

We are lacking good texts in the original language with interlinear translation, of course the texts would have to be recorded with the greatest precision. Such texts, though, would be more pertinent at the moment than grammars and vocabularies, which the scholar in the end—if the texts are only somewhat extensive—could derive from them himself. (von Leonhardi to R.H. Matthews 9 June 1908, in Thomas 247).

Those scholars with significant experience in translating words from one language to another distrusted translations. Original texts were seen as authentic records of what speakers said in their own words. Leonhardi encouraged Strehlow to collect such *Urtexts*, stating that:

Myths in the Aranda language with interlinear translations would be of great value; and a dictionary and a grammar would provide the key to them. A dictionary outlining the meaning of words as well as short explanations of the meaning of individual objects, characters in the myths, etc. is highly valued in science. (Leonhardi to Carl Strehlow 9 September 1905)

Leonhardi further outlined his requirements, in another letter to Strehlow:

In addition, I would ask you to certainly record one or the other myth in its original language and place its German meaning above every word. It is the best, if not the only way, to grasp the Geist (spirit) of a language and views, when one is unable to undertake studies on the spot. Even then it is often necessary to provide a correct German

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translation. (*Gross Karben* 2 April 1906 in Kenny, "From interpretation" 340)

The ethnologist Konrad Theodor Preuss reviewed *Die Aranda* in two issues of the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (1908; 1909). In his first review Preuss (1908) says that the myths, legends, and tales were the first fruit of the collaboration (*Verbindungen*) between Leonhardi and Strehlow, adding that "As far as accuracy is concerned they are like translations from the original text" (1786). Through the interlinear texts the reader has a window into the world of the vernacular literature along with a translation that helps to make sense of the unfamiliar and foreign language.

Texts in the humanist tradition

The priority of texts was established in humanist philology by its strong emphasis upon classical literature. Grammars and dictionaries were compiled to accompany and explain the texts. Philological techniques were later applied to modern European languages and then to "new" languages, those without philologies and written literatures of their own (Stocking) 86. Many researchers who collected texts were interested in language as part of their interest in religion and mythology. For example, Max Müller translated extensive collections of Sanskrit texts. Müller published the *Sacred Books of the East*, an extensive text collection. But in the nineteenth century, "texts" increasingly consisted of spoken languages as the raw data, as linguistic analysis was progressively applied to unwritten languages by schools of missionary linguistics, Humboldtian linguistics, and *Ethnologie*, all of which developed a strong orientation to linguistic fieldwork.

Anthropology appropriated the textual basis from classical philology in order to analyze contemporary cultures. Anthropology in the United States of America was founded on the study of texts. The founding figure in this field, the German-American Franz Boas (1858-1942), had been inspired by the work of philologist and philosopher Heymann Steinthal (1823-1899) and especially by his language description of the Mande language of Africa (*Die Mande-Neger-Sprachen*). Boas included texts at

the end of a grammar, to show the language in use: “each sketch closed with a few pages of text explicated” (Bunzl 68). The collection of texts was part of rich documentation that allowed a clearer understanding of the language and its speakers.

Texts and oral literature are the domains in which the German philosophy of language is most distinguished from the British tradition of Social Anthropology, which became dominant in Australia in the twentieth century. Texts were almost entirely ignored by scholars in the twentieth century. In the wider Australian society, Aboriginal myths came to be regarded as “simple and childish” (Berndt and Berndt, *Speaking Land* 2) and were ignored. British Social anthropologists turned away from any serious study of the oral literature of non-literate people (Finnegan 63). In Bauman’s view, “in British social anthropology, there has been relatively little language-centred interest in texts, with the prominent exception of Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942)” (146). Although “his ethnographic theory of meaning grew to a significant extent out of his attempts to translate Trobriand magical texts,” participant observation was more about “being there.” A kind of reductionism of the functionalist school justified myths in terms of stabilizing the social structure. Finnegan states that “Malinowski’s remarks have been taken up to justify an assumption that the only proper sociological approach to myths was to explain them—or explain them away—in structural-functional terms” (64). Examples of oral literature were singled out as “‘myths’ if they could be closely connected with a continuing social structure, a stable and stabilising force—and otherwise ignored.” The fate of texts was to be abandoned. As a result, readers no longer had access to the textual sources of such descriptions (Tedlock). Malinowski’s colleagues and successors didn’t show much interest in texts, either (Finnegan 64). For that reason, texts were not collected by British or Australian social anthropologists. This reductionist approach permeated social anthropology and linguistics. Luise Hercus and Kim McCaul say researchers were told to elicit social structures, not textual or linguistic materials. In their view “Siebert and Reuther [who collected texts in the Dieri region] were a long way ahead

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of their time" (36). Berndt and Berndt claim that there were very few researchers who took myths seriously, to the extent of recording them:

Whatever the defects of interpretation or rigour in these earlier collections, their authors did realise that these items of verbal art were of importance to the people studied and a significant aspect of the culture as a whole; thus, as a matter of course, they included them as one part, or even the main part, of their accounts of the peoples they wished to describe. (*Speaking Land* 12)

Furthermore, language documentation is incomplete without texts as authentic expressions of what speakers say.

Classification of texts: Distinctive properties of the *Die Aranda* narratives

The study of genre was important for the German philosophy of language and its attempt to arrive at an authentic understanding of literature (see below). One of J.G. Herder's vital contributions to the theory of interpretation is his emphasis on the essential role played in interpreting a work by correct identification of its genre. Herder conceived of a genre as consisting in a general purpose together with certain rules of composition that serve it, but "the task of identifying a genre correctly is complicated by the fact that genres often vary in subtle ways across historical periods and cultures, and even between authors working within a single period and culture" (Forster 2011, 291).

Genre can be distinguished by the structure (form) and function of texts, as the "codification of discursive properties" (Todorov 1999, 18), and genres vary with different cultures and languages. Although the Aranda texts are classified as "narratives," in common with narratives in other languages of the world, they were different from those of Europe and needed to be handled differently, with additional explanations. In classifying the texts, it is important to know what properties are relevant for Aranda discourse. The *Die Aranda* texts are distinctive in several ways, and this requires consideration about how they are labelled and described

(see below). They could in general be described as “prose narratives,” an important category of verbal art that includes myths (Bascom, “Forms” [1965] 3), and similar to most narratives, they “recapitulate experience in the same order as the original events,” beginning with a “setting,” an orienting statement, which introduces the time, location, and characters of the story. The *Die Aranda* texts have an orienting statement followed by a sequence of clauses in which the verbs are in the past tense (Labov and Waletzky 20).

Narratives as myth, legend, and tale

Carl Strehlow uses a classification of myths, legends, and tales in *Die Aranda*. In subcategorizing the narratives there is the issue of whether native or analytic labels are applied. In many languages, myths and legends are not distinguished (Bascom, “Forms” [1984] 17), and Aranda language, like them, does not have “specialised terms” which distinguish between them (T.G.H. Strehlow, *Aranda Traditions* 86).

L.R. Hiatt shows that myths have been understood by different schools to be based upon history, charter, dream, and ontology. In *The World of the First Australians* (1964), the Berndts adopted a system of classification that involved

dividing stories into sacred and ordinary and discussing them respectively under the headings of mythology and oral literature (non-sacred stories). They made a distinction in the Ordinary stories between those which were handed down by tradition and those stories which were based upon contemporary experiences (including dreams). The Berndts’ position was that of “myth as charter”, a conservative socialising force, whose function was to sanctify existing institutions and to foster the values of sociality. (Hiatt 5)

They later state that “ritual is an acting out of events or instructions incorporated in myth, and mythology substantiates or justifies a whole range of rituals” (Berndt and Berndt 1964, 198).

Myths are regarded as factual by those in the society in which they are (re)told (Bascom, "Forms" [1984] 9). Myths are seen by their intended audiences not only as factual, but also as sacred and bearing cosmological significance. By contrast, tales are usually regarded as fiction (Bascom, "Forms" [1984] 15) and as stories provided for entertainment (Catherine Berndt, "Categorisation" 62). Hiatt settles on a broad definition whereby myth "mean[s] a traditional narrative which in part describes things that do not occur" (3), that is, do not occur in the natural world of the present time; the storyteller is not a witness to the events that are recounted in the myth. Berndt associates words such as *djugurba* (*Tjukurrpa*) with myth, and distinguishes myth from other forms of text. For Strehlow, *Sagen* (legends, myths) appear to be restricted to the initiated men because they are regarded as sacred, whereas the *Märchen* (stories, tales) are secular and have an unrestricted audience. Leonhardi thought that the tales were a distinct category precisely because their audience was not restricted to initiated men:

The difference between these fables and the previous legends consists in that the latter may be told to only those people who have been accepted by the men as members of their society, and who accept the veracity of these stories. The fables, however, may be told to women and children. They serve to either divert those who attempt to penetrate the secrets of the men [see the fable of *Tuanjiraka*] or to instill into the women and children a fear of the pursuits of the evil beings [*bankalanga*]. Other fables, like the one concerning the *arinjamboninja*, are told simply for amusement. (Strehlow *Die Aranda*, 120)

The texts concern not only the land but also social relationships (Klapproth 79). In relating that "the first chief of this place was Eranganteraka," the Rukuta *Sagen* names of one of the participants and presents what appears to be a historical account.

Myths concern ancient times when the earth was in a different form to what it is now. The use of the expression "primeval" (*vor zeiten*), as

with the Rain Men myth (Strehlow, "Eine Sagen" 25), clearly identifies this narrative as a myth. *In der ältesten Zeit*, "in the earliest time," occurs in myth 10 (Strehlow, "Eine Sagen" 28). Another formulation, "at the beginning" (*Am Anfang*) (when emus were blind), is found in Text 12 (Strehlow, *Die Aranda*, 30). Legends report events that happened in more recent times. Of the 64 *Sagen* texts, 25 (40%) include a mention of temporal reference at the beginning of the text, and 18 (28%) begin with "in earlier times," "in the early times," or "at the beginning." As these formulae indicate, many of the *Sagen* are about events from early times; for example, Text 13 begins "In times long ago the people living inside the earth (*rellä ngantja*) knew no fire and had to eat their meat raw" (Strehlow, *Die Aranda* 35).

By contrast, the four *Märchen* (Strehlow *Die Aranda*) begin with indeterminate time reference; as Bascom notes, "the conventional opening formula" *Es lebten einmal* ("they [there] once lived") indicates that the tale is fiction ("Forms" [1984] 11) and it confirms his view that the tales are "timeless" and "placeless." In Australian languages myths involve the movement of ancestors over the landscape and the creation of sites. The myths are highly contextual and convey specific information, mentioning site names and characters and linking the mythical characters and creation with current places and phenomena. As Fred Myers explains, "the social existence of such knowledge is not embodied as an abstract lore, in the form of folktales like those garnered by the Grimm brothers" (38). The myths are attached to the land, that is, *ngurra* in the Luritja language. The land is thus an essential element in a traditional Aboriginal story (Horton 828). The narratives are repositories of geographical and environmental knowledge.

The purpose of the *Sagen* is to explain the origin of a particular landform which came into being as a result of the activities of beings. They mention actual place names and typically conclude with the transformation of characters into landforms and ceremonial objects. For example, in Text No. 15 we are told that Red Kangaroo "then became rock" (*un werde in einen Felsen verwandelt*) (Strehlow, *Die Aranda*, 46).

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Bascom ("Forms"1[984] 9) notes that place is not important for tales, the *Märchen*, which lack the transformation of characters into landforms and have vague geographical reference, as for example, *Im Nordosten*, "in the north-east" (Strehlow, "Eine Sagen" 4). Strehlow found that these songs are understood by the old men in the audience, and that "They sing about the wandering and deeds of their ancestors and their totems."¹

The narratives in *Die Aranda* often finish with, "and that is the way that it is," offering an explanation of how something came into being. Features of the landscape are explained. For example, in the Rukuta myth (Strehlow, "Eine Sagen" 90), Rubuntja is said to be a wide and treeless plain because of the severe fire that burned up all of the vegetation. The myth also explains the prevalence of the palm trees at Palm Valley and the grass trees at Jibara.

Issues of recording and translation

The myths were dictated to Strehlow, who transcribed them using an orthography that had been developed by the previous missionaries at Hermannsburg. The texts were later translated into German and edited. In this section the difficulty of recording the texts and the differences between spoken and written language will be explored. These can be compared with texts from recent text collections in Eastern Central Arrernte (Wilkins; Henderson) and the large number of Western Arrarnta and Eastern and Central Arrernte texts in the Living Archive of Aboriginal Languages (LAAL). There is limited discussion of the properties of the texts, but there is some discussion of the verb tenses that occur within the texts (Wilkins 227-28). The first three texts are narratives and the final three texts in Wilkins are traditional narratives that can be compared with the texts in the *Die Aranda* collection.

There is a strong classicizing focus in the texts. It is apparent that *Die Aranda* was created as a form of written literature through the processes of dictation, editing, and translation, for which the content of the texts took priority over the form. Certain discourse features of Aranda texts are not apparent in the *Die Aranda* collection. The question is, to what extent were

the texts edited? A further issue is the question of how the texts were translated and to what extent the transcriptions represent the authentic language of his informants.

A similar process occurred with other researchers collecting and transcribing North American narratives. The notion that ideas are incommensurable led the Boasians, whose early work was contemporary with Strehlow's, to favor the exact language given to them by their informants, who were often literate "native" ethnographers (Bunzl 438-39). They gave priority to the source text with "foreignizing tendencies" that could not be rendered into literary English, but that seemed to convey some degree of authenticity, although their treatment perhaps inevitably destroys many of the qualities associated with their performance, which has been criticized in our own times, for instance by Dennis Tedlock: "Boas and his followers, in translating oral narratives, have treated them as though they were equivalent to written prose short stories" (45). These edited versions tend to be "condensations of what a performer would tell in a normal spontaneous fashion" (38). The Boasians failed to understand—or at least to convey—elements of style that were specific to oral texts and how they differed from written texts.

Dictation

The recording of the *Die Aranda* texts relied upon handwritten dictation. The texts changed as they were transformed from oral stories to written texts. Tedlock discusses how the conditions for telling a myth are often at odds with the conditions for recording spontaneous stories. The researcher is part of the recording process and cannot be eliminated. As audio recording equipment was not available in the field, the myths had to be dictated and written on paper which resulted in short finite clauses as a result of the "stops and starts of the dictation process" (Tedlock 38). There is the editing out of verbal conventions and discourse markers such as "you see," and this results in the imposition of what Tedlock calls "monological currents of writing" (288 n.2). In other words, the oral texts were modified according to what, in the absence of audio recording equipment, the

transcriber could manage. The process of dictation evidently distorted the stories. Often, as in the case of collections of Australian Aboriginal languages, the texts were recorded in different versions of what may be described as the "text in abstract." Of the texts collected in the Dieri language (at Lake Killalpaninna near the town of Marree in South Australia) by the Lutheran missionaries J.G. Reuther and O. Siebert (Hercus and McCaul 39), Siebert commented that it was very difficult to transcribe them accurately because every recital of a myth was different and contained different amounts of detail.

Translating and textual interpretation

The texts are not immediately understandable outside their contexts and posed a challenge for Strehlow to translate. Berndt and Berndt (*The Speaking Land* 415) claim that translating such texts "is more than translating a story-line. It is more like translating a culture." This accords with the view that preliterate or non-literate texts are highly contextual, while one of the effects of literacy is to decontextualize. Meanings of words are often understood best in the context of texts. Certain words are rare, culturally specific, and difficult to translate, such as *Nabinbara*, glossed as the "smell of a burnt-out land" (Strehlow, *Dictionary* 278), and reflects a landscape that was regularly burned by its human occupants.

Furthermore, customs that are no longer practiced and their associated vocabulary appear throughout the texts. For example, the making of fire by traditional methods (Strehlow, "Eine Sagen"). Another example is *tuturilama*, to "tie up (hair)" (Strehlow, *Dictionary* 354). Dialectal variants also appear in the texts, such as the use of the Southern Aranda *matja* "fire" along with Western Aranda *ura*. In an attempt to fill in many of the cultural gaps left by translation, Strehlow's footnotes explain many aspects of Aranda and Luritja culture. The Rukuta text and footnotes contain detailed information about animals and plants. The *tnungka* was initially identified as a bandicoot but translated "rat kangaroo" in *Die Aranda*. It is now a severely endangered animal, a rufous hare-wallaby *Lagorchestes hirsutus* (Strahan 316) better known by its

Luritja name *mala* (Hansen and Hansen 504). The text explains the presence of rare plant communities, too. For example, the *rrangkia* (*Livistonia Mariae*) is “a rare relict plant,” restricted to an area south of Hermannsburg (Latz 222); referring to this “Aboriginal myth”), Bowman, Gibson, and Kondo (2015, 33) showed how it travelled from the north and, perhaps, was planted by humans.²

Showing a similar concern and with a related (if confined) sensitivity, American text collectors were careful to analyze American languages in terms of categories that they found in the languages themselves. Tedlock finds that Boas’s translations are “literal,” following the source language too closely (40); in fact, Boas would compile a running guide to the original text, not a true translation into English, and even that guide was “written in an English that was decidedly awkward and foreign” (31). Sometimes “the neglect of translation is undoubtedly related to the belief that style is untranslatable” (40). This could have been to facilitate the “foreignizing” approach rather than “domesticating” his materials, that is, to show the foreignness of the source text by replicating it in the target text. Boas and Kroeber, for example, “held that style (or ‘literary form’) was so bound up with the peculiarities of particular languages that it was unlikely to survive translation” (40). According to Tedlock this was to get away from the opposite tendency of those who told the stories in English, the “versions” and “retellers.” In spite of these measures, the Boasian tradition did not recognize the distinctive characteristics of American oral literature and the loss that occurred when that literature was transferred to print. The same appears to have happened with Strehlow’s *Die Aranda* texts.

Interlinear texts reveal language structure

Strehlow used interlinear texts to gain an understanding of the grammar and lexicon minutely and accurately, and his grammar and dictionary are built up from the interlineated texts. Due to the interlinear literal texts in the *Die Aranda* text corpus it is possible to see how Strehlow translates each word and grammatical marker. In the opinion of Berndt and

Berndt "such documents [...] are of great value linguistically" ("Preliminary Report" 313). The texts provide a better guide to language uses that are not so visible through his grammars and dictionary, which follow a word and paradigm approach and lack the context provided by example sentences (Moore, "Developments"). The language can best be understood through naturalistic sentences in the interlinear texts. In working out a system of categories for the grammatical analysis of any language it is good practice to work from "texts," actual pieces of discourse, recorded or transcribed, uttered in authentic contexts of language use. From these, classes of words exhibiting the same or similar "formal scatters" (Robins 94) can be discovered. Just as the texts are repositories of ecological knowledge, so they are also repositories of rare lexical and grammatical forms. The *-alakala* suffix indicates "downward motion" (Wilkins 284; Henderson and Dobson 564), for instance, and Strehlow's work contains *renal-alakala-riraka*, "lie itself down" (Moore, "Alyawarr" 237).

Repetition, deletion and restatement

The *Die Aranda* texts appear to have been edited, as shown by the high number of subordinate clauses instead of repeated main verbs. Repetition is a storytelling device and a strong feature of oral texts; but researchers often considered repetitions or parallelisms of texts as redundant, monotonous, and tiresome (T.G.H. Strehlow, *Songs* 164) and as not worthy of preserving in print, and so they were edited out.³ T.G.H. Strehlow says that "short, asyndetic sentences are much favoured by Aranda story-tellers" (*Aranda Phonetics* 198). Furthermore, Australian languages can depart from the usual preferred word order with "no loss of communicative intent or chance of ambiguity" (Dixon 441). Evidence that the clauses in Strehlow's texts have been elicited rather than recorded as performed is that they follow the conventional AOV (agent-object-verb) word order for Aranda transitive clauses. Similarly, the deletion of arguments from clauses is a common feature of speech and transcribed narratives (Shopen; Dixon 497) in human languages but is not evident in the *Die Aranda* texts.

Another oral device is “paraphrasing” (Strehlow, *Songs* 166), and yet another is the repetition of part of a clause in a succeeding clause (Tedlock 52). This is tail-head linkage, in which “something mentioned in the last sentence of the preceding paragraph is referred to by means of back-reference in an adverbial clause in the following paragraph” (Thompson and Longacre 209). Tail-head linkages provide cohesion among the paragraphs of the text. They, too, are typically edited out of written texts (Dooley and Levinsohn 16).

Further evidence of the de-authenticizing transcriptions of the *Die Aranda* texts is that, unlike the more carefully transcribed/recorded Pitjantjatjara texts, they do not use direct speech with a perception verb as an orienter, something that occurs numerous times in traditional narratives. In addition, the texts lack “evaluation” statements that could be expected (Klapproth 222). The texts lack evidential particles, which are found in traditional stories where the speaker wants to convey that they have learned the text by tradition. The ‘Quotative’ *kwele* occurs in Arremte texts (Wilkins 521). The evidential particle *kunyu* is used in Pitjantjatjara texts (Klapproth 240).

Conclusion

Strehlow wrote to von Leonhardi (19 September 1906) that the recording of the texts was very time-consuming. There were long discussions about semantics (Kenny, “From missionary” 107). Although Preuss thought that Strehlow should record more *Urtext*, probably the constraints of time kept Strehlow from making more interlinear translations. Furthermore, publication tended to distort the original language since the high valuation of native languages in German scholarship operated alongside a classicizing view of literature which placed a high priority on the editing of texts and their presentation as written documents, eliminating many of their oral features. After Leonhardi’s death, no further work was carried out on the project of data collection for *Die Aranda*. Leonhardi’s humanistic approach to understanding Aboriginal societies was overtaken by positivism in

Germany, with an increasing interest in visual observation and collections of objects in museums rather than the collection and interpretation of texts. The grammars and dictionary remained unpublished. In Australia, the *Die Aranda* texts have been and remain unavailable to those who are interested in Central Australian myths and legends. In 1991 Pastor Hans Oberscheidt made an English translation of *Die Aranda*. Oberscheidt was resident at Hermannsburg in the 1980s and was able to speak Western Arrarnta. He made his translation because he felt that *Die Aranda* was of "historical and ethnological interest" (i). Copies were kept at the Strehlow Research Centre and made available to researchers on a limited basis. Meetings were held concerning the publication of the English translation, but it was decided that, because of the restricted material that could only be viewed by initiated males, the book should not be published (Stoll 2012).

The strength of the Neuendettelsau missionaries and their training in translation ensured that, despite the limitations of handwritten dictation and limitations of recording texts, their translations are accurate on the lexical and grammatical levels and provide a rich understanding of Aranda language and life. Enriched by developing the capacity to listen and record Aranda myths accurately, Strehlow contributed to future research and publication and a more adequate and respectful understanding of Central Australian peoples and their languages. Current projects such as the *Western Arrarnta to English Dictionary* (Moore and Roennfeldt) are dependent upon large collections of data that were gathered over many decades, and Strehlow's efforts contributed significantly to these modern forms of language collecting.

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¹ *Sie besingen nämlich die Wanderungen und die Taten ihrer Vorfahren, ihrer Totems.*

² DNA analysis of the Australian outback's only palm tree, *Livistona mariae*, indicates that it originated from seeds brought from the north of the country—a finding supported by a recently

unearthed Aboriginal myth. This neatly illustrates how traditional ecological knowledge might inform modern research.

³ Boas and his followers followed a similar practice, with the result that Tedlock (39), who claims his own recordings were truer to the oral performances, has texts that average twice the length of those prepared by Ruth Benedict (a student of Boas).

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