

*Nath & Oldham*

THE NARRINYERI:

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRIBES

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

Inhabiting the Country around the Lakes Alexandrina, Albert,  
and Colong, and the lower part of the River Murray:

THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

ALSO, AN

Account of the Mission at Point Macleay.

BY THE REV. GEORGE TABLIN,

Missionary to the Aborigines, Point Macleay, South Australia.



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## EXPLANATION OF PHOTOGRAPH.

1. WUNTINYERI. A heathen woman of the Mundoo Tribe.
2. NARAMINYERI. A Christian young woman of the Point Malcolm Tribe.
3. POMPANYERIFURITYE. A young woman of the Point Malcolm Tribe. Tattooed.
4. JAMES UNAIPON. Belonging to the Murray Tribe. A native deacon of the Church at Point Macleay.
5. TARKEORN. An aged man of the Goolwa Tribe.

# PREFACE.

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WHEN I came to this colony in 1849, my attention was attracted by the camps of Aborigines on the Adelaide Park Lands, and I felt a desire to try to do something for their spiritual and temporal welfare; but years were to pass away before that desire could be gratified.

Twenty years ago I was led to take up my residence near what is now the town of Port Elliot. The natives came about our house from the neighbouring camps, and I soon found that both men and women were useful and friendly. A severe winter came on, when food was scarce, and I felt it my duty to go to the native wurleys, which were close at hand, and see if I could do anything for their inhabitants. I found that I could do very little indeed; but I think that a bond of sympathy and kindly feeling was created between myself and the natives. Notwithstanding the personal helplessness which I felt, I was constrained from that time to earnestly, and I think prayerfully, consider if anything could be done for their welfare.

In 1858 I heard that an Association for the purpose of befriending the Aborigines had been begun by some good people in Adelaide. I wrote to the Honorary Secretary, stating my views of the steps which ought to be taken if we would do our duty to this people, but nothing came of it at that time. Twelve months after I was led again to write to the Committee of the Aborigines' Friends' Association, and I was soon after appointed to be their Missionary Agent. The results which by the grace of

God flowed from that appointment will be seen in the following pages.

I think it has been *now* proved that the Aborigines of Australia are not altogether in a hopeless case. We may hope that the Gospel of Christ will be the means of saving a remnant from extinction. I am sure that if such a result is likely to be brought about it will rejoice the hearts of many of their kind-hearted friends in these colonies. Weak and insufficient as the instrumentality employed has been—and I *have* often wondered why it was used, and why some abler servant of Christ had not been chosen—yet, feeble as it has been, surely the end proves that the excellency of the power was of God.

The writer would take this opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the generous assistance which he has received during the fourteen years of his missionary work from the various Honorary Officers of the Aborigines' Friends' Association of this colony. He feels that he cannot too highly estimate the value of the aid which their wise counsel and sympathy has afforded him.

Great credit is also due to the Aborigines' Department of the South Australian Government for the humane consideration which it has always shown for the wants of the natives.

The writer would also acknowledge the valuable help which he has received from the Rev. F. W. Cox, who kindly revised the following pages, and to whom it is to be attributed that they contain no greater defects than appear thereon.

GEO. TAPLIN.

*Point Macleay, 31st March, 1873.*

# CONTENTS.



	Page
CHAP. I.—The Narrinyeri, or Tribes of Aborigines Inhabiting the Lakes Alexandrina and Albert and Lower Murray .....	1
CHAP. II.—Social Customs—	
Section 1—Marriage .....	8
Section 2—Infanticide .....	10
Section 3—Initiation to Manhood, called Narumbe .	12
Section 4—Funereal Rites .....	15
CHAP. III.—Sorcery of various kinds—	
Section 1—Ngadhungi .....	18
Section 2—Millin .....	21
Section 3—Neilyeri, or the Poison Revenge .....	23
CHAP. IV.—Tribal Customs—	
Section 1—Chiefs—Ngia-ngiampe .....	25
Section 2—Games and Amusements .....	23
CHAP. V.—Weapons — Manufactures — Taking Game — Cooking — Diseases—Medical Treatment.....	29
CHAP. VI.—Relationships—System of Kinship .....	35
CHAP. VII.—Mythology .....	42
CHAP. VIII.—The History of the Mission at Point Macleay .....	51
CHAP. IX.—The Primitive Condition of Mankind .....	74
CHAP. X.—Language of the Narrinyeri .....	77
CHAP. XI. (Supplementary).—Illustrative Anecdotes, &c. ....	87
CHAP. XII.—The Future of the Aboriginal Races, and Feasibility of Christian Missions to them .....	98
APPENDIX.—The Wreck of the <i>Maria</i> .....	103

## THE POWER OF THE LETTERS USED IN SPELLING NATIVE NAMES.

THE sounds of the letters are adopted from the orthography recommended by the Royal Geographical Society. The consonants are to be sounded as in English, except that *g* is invariably hard. The vowels are to be sounded, for the most part, as in the following English words: *a* as in *father*; *e* as in *there, they*; *ai* has the sound of long *i*; *i* as in *fatigue*; *o* as in *old*; *ow* as in *cow, now*; *u* as in *rude*; and *oo* as in *moon*. *Ng* at the beginning of native words is very common, and the best rule for pronouncing it is that given by Dr. Livingstone, *i.e.*, to say the word as if there was an *i* before the *ng*, but to give as little of the sound of the *i* as possible. *Dl* and *ny* are also found at the beginning of words, as *dlomari* (fog), *nyrippin* (washing), *nyringkin* (warming oneself); in both of these the *y* has a consonantal sound.



# THE NARRINYERI.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE NARRINYERI, OR TRIBES OF ABORIGINES INHABITING THE LAKES ALEXANDRINA AND ALBERT AND LOWER MURRAY.

THE people who are described in the following pages call themselves "Narrinyeri." The name is evidently an abbreviation of Kornarrinyeri (from *kornar*, men, and *inyeri*, belonging to), and means "belonging to men." They take great pride in this designation, and call other nations of Aborigines wild black-fellows, while they say we are *men*. These Narrinyeri occupy a tract of country which would be included within lines drawn from Cape Jervis to a point about thirty miles above the place where the River Murray discharges itself into Lake Alexandrina, and from thence to Lacepede Bay. They are divided into eighteen tribes, and each is regarded by them as a family, every member of which is a blood relation, and therefore between individuals of the same tribe no marriage can take place. Every tribe has its *ngaitye* or tutelary genius or tribal symbol in the shape of some bird, beast, fish, reptile, insect or substance. The reader who is not sufficiently interested may skip the following names of the tribes of an obscure race of savages. Some, however, may like to know them, and for such I write them:—

NAME OF TRIBE.	LOCALITY.	NGAITYE.
1. Welinyeri . . . . .	River Murray . . . . .	{ Black duck, and black snake with red belly.
2. Lathinyeri . . . . .	River Murray . . . . .	{ Black swan, teal, and black snake with grey belly.
3. Wunyakulde . . . . .	River Murray . . . . .	{ Black duck.

NAME OF TRIBE.	LOCALITY.	NGAITYE.
4. Piltinyeri .....	{ North-east shore of Lake Alexandrina..	Leeches, catfish (native pomerey).
5. Korowalle .....	{ North shore of Lake Alexandrina .....	Whip snake.
6. Karatinyeri ....	{ Point Malcolm, en- trance to Lake Al- bert .....	Wild dog, light colour.
7. Rangulinyeri ..	Lake Albert River....	Wild dog, dark colour.
8. Mungulinyeri ..	Lake Albert .....	{ Mountain duck (choco- late sheldrake).
9. Kanmerarorn ..	{ McGrath's Flat, on the Coorong .....	Mullet called Kanmeri.
10. Ngrangatari ....	Lacepede Bay .....	Kangaroo rat.
11. Pankinyeri ....	Lake Coorong .....	{ Butter fish (native Kun- gulde).
12. Turarorn .....	{ Mundoo Island, Lake Alexandrina .....	A kind of coot called Turi.
13. Lungundi .....	{ Sea Mouth of the River Murray, south side .....	Tern, a small kind of gull.
14. Kaikalabinyeri ..	{ Lake Albert, south shore .....	{ Bull ant; a kind of water weed called by the natives Pinggi.
15. Kondolinyeri ..	{ Peninsula on the north-west side of Sea Mouth of the River Murray ....	Whale (native Kondarli).
16. Tanganarin ....	Goolwa .....	Pelican.
17. Raminyeri .....	Encounter Bay .....	Wattle gum.
18. Punguratpular ..	Milang .....	Musk duck.

The Narrinyeri had for their neighbours the Adelaide and Murundee blacks, called "Wakanuwan," and the Tatiara natives, a cannibal tribe, called "Merkani."

The Narrinyeri formed a sort of confederacy; and, however the different tribes might quarrel amongst themselves, they always presented a united front to the neighbouring natives. In 1849 I saw a battle where about 500 of the Narrinyeri met some 800 of the Wakanuwan, and it was very evident that if the conflict had not been stopped by the colonial authorities the Narrinyeri would have signally defeated their opponents. They bore a special enmity to the Merkani because these latter had a propensity for stealing fat people and eating them. If a man had a fat wife, he was always particularly careful not to leave her unprotected lest she might be seized by prowling cannibals.

The history of these Aborigines is involved in obscurity. Their traditions make it seem probable that they came down the Murray and Darling Rivers to reach their present place of

abode. The only event which they relate as occurring before the coming of the white people is the prevalence of a terrible epidemic which came down the Murray some fifty or sixty years ago and greatly thinned their numbers.

I know several men who remember the arrival of Captain Sturt; and they tell of the terror which was felt as they beheld his boat crossing the Lake Alexandrina.

A memorable occurrence was the appearance of a couple of stray bullocks from some runs in New South Wales probably. They were first seen in the neighbourhood of Lake Albert. The natives concluded they were *brupar* (or demons), and decamped from their presence in great terror. They named them *wundawityeri*—that is, beings with spears on their heads; and they have called horned cattle by the same name ever since.

The Narrinyeri at the mouth of the Murray were probably the cause of the death of Captain Barker, the discoverer of the plains of Adelaide. He incautiously left his party on one side of the river and swam to the other; he was never after seen or heard of.

The officer, as he lay on his back, tried to kick him off, so as to get a thrust at him with the sabre which he held in his hand, but in doing so stuck the point of the weapon into the toe of his own boot, and could not extricate it. While this was going on, the other trooper, hearing the call of his comrade, clambered over the dense polygonums, and just at this juncture came up behind the native. He shouted at the blackfellow, and he left his first antagonist and turned to meet the other. A horse pistol was presented, the trigger pulled, and off it went, the fire scorching the native's breast; but he did not fall and die as might have been expected, so the troopers seized him and led him to the spot where their horses were tied. There it was found that the bullet which ought to have killed the native had been shaken out of the pistol by the jolting of the horse, and was discovered in the bottom of the holster.

One more story, illustrative not of the fierceness and savagery of the Narrinyeri, but of more attractive traits of character, faithfulness, and love. Many years ago, some white sealers on Kangaroo Island stole from the mainland near Cape Jervis three native women, and took them to the island. When the prisoners had stayed with their captors a few weeks they began to cast about for means to get back to their husbands and friends. At last they found a small dingey belonging to the sealers. It would only hold two. Now, two of the women had no children, but the third had an infant at the breast; so the two childless lubras took the dingey and started for the mainland, and reached it in safety. The poor mother left behind with her babe must have pined sadly for her country and friends; but nothing was heard of her for some time. One day the natives found her body on the beach just above high-water mark, with her baby tied to her back. She had swum Backstairs Passage, and then, in a state of utter exhaustion, crawled up the shore and died!

I have related these anecdotes of the Narrinyeri because I want to enable the reader to have some idea of the people whose customs are described hereafter. I wish to try to make them live in his imagination. Perhaps I have not succeeded very well; but, at any rate, I have used what materials I had in making the attempt.

In appearance the Narrinyeri are by no means such a bad-looking race as some have represented Australian Aborigines to be. It is true you can find ugly old men and women amongst them, and so you can amongst Europeans. Unfortunately for aboriginal ugliness, it has no means of concealing itself such as are found in civilized nations. There are amongst the Narrinyeri many good-looking and well-proportioned specimens of the human form. The cast of countenance is different from the European, but often by no means wanting in regularity and

even beauty. Many of the middle-aged and young men have quite a dignified bearing, with an air of freedom altogether different from low-class Europeans. They are very independent in their manner; and, while they freely ask for what they want, take it, when granted, as from equals. Amongst themselves there is a great deal of a sort of courtesy. They live in their camps without much disagreement. Custom is rigidly observed, and this contributes to maintain peace amongst the members of the tribe. Of course quarrels will arise, and bad men and women try to domineer and act unjustly, but yet not so much as might be expected.

The Aborigines have suffered from the advent of Europeans perhaps more than they have gained. Their country has been occupied, and the game nearly exterminated. The reeds of which they used to build their houses, and the grass on which they used to sleep, have in many cases been made useless to them. The skins with which they used to make rugs, and the bark with which they made canoes, have been almost destroyed. Their present condition, therefore, is not to be taken as a fair representation of what they were in their natural state; and we must not expect to find amongst their broken and scattered tribes many of those good qualities which they used to possess as savages.

There are now three classes of natives—the old blacks, who hold fast all the customs of the tribes; the natives who have imitated the worst vices of Europeans and become drunkards and gamblers (these have neither religion nor morality, and are utterly lawless); and, lastly, the Christian natives, who are every year increasing in numbers, and are the healthiest of their race.

The Narrinyeri exhibit no signs of becoming extinct just yet.\* There are plenty of children amongst them; and the tendency of Christian civilization, when adopted in its entirety, is to make them more vigorous and long-lived.

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\* In 1840 the Narrinyeri, according to the most trustworthy evidence, numbered about 3,000 souls. At the time this is written there are living about 600 of all ages.

## CHAPTER V.

WEAPONS—MANUFACTURES—TAKING GAME—COOKING—  
DISEASES—MEDICAL TREATMENT.

THE productions of a barbarous people are always scanty in quantity and inferior in quality; but they are interesting, and often direct our attention to materials which would probably be otherwise overlooked in our plenitude of resources, but which the necessities of the uncivilized have led them to search out for themselves.

Each tribe of the Narrinyeri has been accustomed to make those articles which their tract of country enabled them to produce most easily. One tribe will make weapons, another mats, and a third nets; and then they barter them one with the other.

## WEAPONS.

They make their weapons from the hard wood which grows in their country. Heavy spears generally come from the Upper Murray natives, and are highly valued. They are made of the hard and elastic miall wood, and are formidable weapons. Some of the spears made by the Narrinyeri are barbed with spicules of flint. They are called meralkaipari, or deadly spears. The commonest spear is the kaike, or reed spear. It is made by fastening a point of hard, heavy wood, about two feet long, to a shaft formed of a stout reed, or else a dried grasstree stick, (*Xanthorrhœa*) called nglaiye. This spear is thrown with the hooked taralye, or throwing stick. I have seen it pierce a dead tree so deeply that it took a very strong pull to extract the point from the wood. Their shields are made of wood or bark of the red gum tree. Their clubs are of wood. The patience exhibited in the cutting of some of them with their rude implements is wonderful.

## MANUFACTURES—TAKING GAME.

They make canoes of the bark of the red gum tree stripped off in large sheets. These sheets are laid on the ground and the sides and ends encouraged to curl up to the proper shape while it is drying by being tied with cords strained from side to side and end to end, and stones are placed in the bottom. But these

bark canoes, although handy when new, soon get sodden and break. They seldom last more than twelve months.

The Narrinyeri make fishing lines and twine from two kinds of fibre. One is a blue rush which grows in the scrub; the other is the root of a flag or bulrush which grows in fresh water, and is called *menungkeri*. The rushes or roots are first of all either boiled or steamed in the native oven, and then chewed by the women. A party of them will sit round the fire and masticate the fibrous material by the hour. While they do so, the masses of fibre which have been chewed are handed to the men who sit by, and they work it up, by twisting it on the thigh, into hanks of twine, either stout or fine, according to the purpose to which it is to be applied. Others receive the twine as fast as it is made, and make it into nets. They wind the twine on a short stick, which is used as the netting needle. The only measure of the size of the mesh is the finger of the netter, and yet their nets are wonderfully regular. The stitch is exactly the same as ours, but it is taken over and towards the netter instead of under as we do. They make lengths of this net about four feet wide, and tie straight sticks of mallee across it to keep it open, then a number of lengths are tied together end to end, and it is used for catching fish or moulting ducks in the usual way. Most of the wild fowl on the lakes are unable to fly in the moulting season; they then betake themselves to the reeds. A net is put by the natives round a clump of reeds, beaters are sent in to drive out the ducks, which rush into the nets and are captured by scores.

The Narrinyeri were not acquainted with fishing by means of hooks before the white man came. They soon learned to appreciate this method, and made native lines to use with European fish hooks. Fish are also caught with the three-pronged fishing spear. This weapon is a slender pole, about fourteen feet long, with three points of sharp bone lashed to its top with twine. Every native carries one in his canoe. The men are very expert in the use of them. They are used in much the same way as our eel spear. A man will stand in a canoe silently watching with uplifted spear until a fish comes beneath, when the weapon is darted down on its back, and it is lifted transfixed from the water.

Wild fowl are caught by means of a long wand with a noose at the end. A native lurks silently amongst the reeds with this in his hand. It looks like a reed. It is slipped over the head of the first unsuspecting duck or other water fowl which comes near enough, and it is dragged to its captor.

The reed spear, before guns were introduced, was employed with considerable effect against the dense flocks of widgeon (native, *punker*) which abound on the lakes. The natives

would send the spear into the flying flock and transfix the birds as they flew crowded together. In this manner they killed many.

### COOKING.

Before the coming of the whites the natives never had any hot water, because they had nothing to boil it in. Their vessels at that time were the shells of the fresh water tortoise (*emys*), human skulls with the sutures stopped up with a resinous gum called pitchingga, also the skins of small species of kangaroo, such as wallabies, stripped from the animal and made into a skin bottle.

Their method of cooking was either by roasting on the embers, which they do very nicely, and, where they are clean people, very cleanly; and steaming in the native oven. The oven is used in the following manner:—A large fire is made, and into it is thrown lumps of stone about three inches in diameter. Then a hole is made in the ground and a fire kindled in it, which is suffered to burn down to glowing embers. Then the pieces of heated stone are placed on the embers in such a way as to secure a pretty level surface. On the top of this green grass is laid, then upon the grass the animal or meat to be cooked, more grass is heaped on the meat, then more hot stones on top of that, and then over all is placed a quantity of earth or sand. As the cooking goes on a smooth pointed stick will be thrust down through to reach the lowest hot stones without touching the food, and then withdrawn; water is then poured into the hole made by the stick to increase the steam below. When the food is supposed to be cooked, the top earth is carefully taken away, then the stones and grass, and there is the meat. I can assure the reader that the savoury smell of meat cooked thus is most appetizing.

The only sweets which the Narrinyeri knew of, before the advent of Europeans, were the honey of the native honeysuckle or *Banksia*, the honey of the grasstree flowers (*Xanthorrhœa*), and the manna which falls from the peppermint gum (*Eucalyptus*); these they used to gather carefully, and infuse them in water, and drink the infusion with great enjoyment.

The Narrinyeri make a great many mats and baskets of different kinds. Most of them are made of rushes, worked together with a sort of stitch. Baskets and mats of various shapes are thus produced. Another kind of mat is made of the bark of the mallee scrub, dried and beaten into a fibrous mass. This is worked together with meshes, and makes a thick durable mat. Sometimes a quantity of the shaggy sea weed, which is found on the shore, is washed in fresh water and dried, and worked into the mat, forming a sort of shaggy nap. Such a mat would be used as a bed.



The Aboriginés obtain a great many skins of wild animals, and peg them out on the ground until they are dry. Kangaroo and other large skins are used in this state as mats to keep off the damp when camping on damp ground. Opposum skins, after they are dried, are carefully scraped, then scored across the fleshy side with a sharp stone or shell to make them flexible, and, after being cut into squares, sewn together with the small sinews of a kangaroo's tail, and an excellent warm rug is produced. Now-a-days common European thread is used to sew the skins together, but the rugs are not so durable.

#### DISEASES—MEDICAL TREATMENT.

The principal diseases to which these tribes of Aborigines are subject are of a scrofulous nature. The tendency to tuberculosis is seen in childhood in the form of *tabes mesenterica*, and sometimes of hydrocephalus. Towards the age of puberty it is developed as pulmonary consumption. Sometimes it is carried off before the age of puberty by induration and ulceration of the glands of the neck. The above are the most fatal diseases amongst the Narrinyeri; the majority of deaths are caused by them. The other diseases to which they are subject are liver complaint, diarrhoea and dysentery, and, rarely, brain fever. I have never known a case of intermittent fever amongst them. Of course they are subject to inflammation of the bowels, kidneys, liver, lungs, and throat. They have amongst them a skin disease, which they call *wirrullume*; it resembles pustular itch,\* but it is not communicable to Europeans; even half-castes seldom have it, although they may sleep with persons suffering from it. The application of sulphur is a specific against the *wirrullume*. I have never known a native to have the measles. This disease has at different times prevailed amongst the whites, but the blacks, although constantly about the dwellings of those labouring under it, never caught it. This is remarkable when we remember what devastation this disease caused in the Islands of Polynesia. I have never known a case of scarlatina amongst the Aborigines, although it was very prevalent some years ago amongst the whites; and I have reason to believe that a great deal of clothing from houses infected by the disease was given to the natives.

The natives are very subject to epidemic influenza, which they call *nruwi*.

They have a tradition that some sixty years ago a terrible disease came down the River Murray, and carried off the natives by hundreds. This must have been small pox, as many of the

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\* Some medical men have said that it was *impetigo contagiosa*.

old people now have their faces pitted who suffered from the disease in childhood. The destruction of life was so great as to seriously diminish the tribes. The natives always represent that before this scourge arrived they were much more numerous. They say that so many died that they could not perform the usual funereal rites for the dead, but were compelled to bury them at once out of the way. I think that there must have been more than one visitation of this kind, judging from the age of those who are pock marked. The Narrinyeri attribute all diseases to witchcraft; consequently they employ as remedies certain countercharms. A man will mutter a sort of incantation over a diseased person for the purpose of dispelling the malignant influence from which he is suffering. There are amongst the natives certain men who claim to be doctors. Their method of treatment is partly by incantations, mutterings, tappings, and blowings; and partly by vigorous squeezing and kneading of the affected part. The doctor will kneel upon his patient, and squeeze him until he groans with the infliction. This is supposed to press out the *wiwirri* or disease. In cases of rheumatism they employ a sort of vapour bath, which is prepared as follows:—They make a fire, and heat stones, as if for cooking; then they make a sort of stage with sticks, and the patient is put thereon. Under the stage they put some of the hot stones, and, having first covered up the sick person with rugs, all but his head, and closed in the space where the hot stones are in the same way, they put wet water-weed on the stone, and the steam ascends under the rugs and envelopes the body of the patient. This method of cure is often found very effectual.\*

But their methods of treating the sick often appear to us very absurd. I have felt amused and yet sorry when going to the wurley to see a sick youth, perhaps, and to find his grey-bearded old father, stark naked, performing a solemn dance before his son, singing and beating time with the *tartengk*. I have known an old native keep it up for an hour, and, of course, feel convinced that he had done wonders towards restoring his boy to health.

There used to be a class of doctors amongst the natives called *kuldukke* men. They were great impostors; their impositions and lying became notorious amongst the natives. Their method of procedure was by dancing, whistling, incantations, and squeezing the diseased part. They used by sleight of hand to produce extraordinary substances from those parts which were afflicted. I knew of a white man who for a joke submitted

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\* Since I wrote the above I have been informed by one of the surgeons of the Adelaide Hospital that he has good reason to believe that the Aborigines often suffer from *hydatids* in the liver.

himself to the kuldukkes, in order to cure an attack of rheumatism in the shoulder. The doctors muttered charms, and whistled, and blew, and danced, and at last produced a small piece of the leg of an old chair, which had been kicking about in the back yard for weeks before, and solemnly declared that they had extracted it from the diseased shoulder. These kuldukkes soon ceased to exert influence amongst the natives, and their practice has died out. One circumstance which contributed to this result was the following:—There was an intelligent native at Goolwa, named Solomon. He used to be regularly employed by settlers in that neighbourhood. One day Solomon went to work after breakfast, leaving instructions with his wife to make a couple of dampers for their dinner. This was soon accomplished, and two dampers and a small cake awaited the return of their owner to his midday meal. Just then a lot of kuldukke men passed the hut, and looked in rather inquisitively. Presently they told Solomon's wife, who was known to be a superstitious body, that they could see a spirit, the dreadful Melapi, coming across the ocean, and that he would be certain to hurt her husband unless he were driven away. This they offered to do by their enchantments if she would give them one of those dampers. The poor, foolish woman believed their story, and one of the dampers was soon devoured. The kuldukkes then began dancing, whistling, pointing spears, and muttering charms in a very energetic manner. In a quarter of an hour they came and said that their strength was insufficient, and that they must have another damper. With a sigh the wife handed over a second fee. They then danced about still more vigorously, and made demonstrations which might fairly be supposed sufficient to frighten a demon; and then they came and told the woman that the mighty deed was done, her husband was safe, the evil spirit had departed; and then they rapidly followed his example. Just then Solomon appeared in sight, ready for dinner. Extremely long was the face which he pulled when he heard the story, and found there was only a very small cake remaining for his meal. With a deeply injured expression, he said to his wife, "What for you big one stupid? let em kuldukke men cheat you. Him no look out Melapi, him only look out my dinner."

It is remarkable that the Narrinyeri have no idea of poison. Unlike some other Australian tribes they know nothing of any poisonous herbs or plants. They were very much astonished when Europeans shewed them how death could be produced by something taken into the stomach; they had never known any person killed in this way before.

The firm opinion of all natives appears to be that death is not natural to man, but is always produced by sorcery.

## CHAPTER VII.

## MYTHOLOGY.

THE Narrinyeri call the Supreme Being by two names, Nurundere and Martummere. He is said to have made all things on the earth, and to have given to men the weapons of war and hunting. Nurundere instituted all the rights and ceremonies which are practised by the Aborigines, whether connected with life or death. On enquiring why they adhere to any custom, the reply is, because Nurundere commanded it. On one occasion I had an instance of this. I was out with the tribe on a great kangaroo hunt, at which about 150 natives were present. On reaching the hunting-ground, a wallaby, which had been killed on the road thither, was produced, and a fire kindled by the women. Then the men, standing round, struck up a sort of chant, at the same time stamping with their feet. The wallaby was put on the fire, and as the smoke from it ascended, the hunters, at a concerted signal, rushed towards it, lifting their weapons towards heaven, and making a loud shout in chorus. I afterwards learned that this ceremony was instituted by Nurundere, and it appeared to me very much like a sacrifice to the god of hunting. I have several times seen it performed since.

Although the natives say that Nurundere made all things, and that he now lives in Wyrrewarre, yet they tell many ridiculous traditions about his doings when he inhabited the earth, as he is at one time said to have done.

He is represented to have been a great hunter, and there were contemporary with him two other remarkable hunters named Nepelle and Wyungare. According to the natives they must have been a mighty race, and the game which they pursued gigantic, for the salt lagoons are the places where Wyungare and Neppelle used to peg out the skins of the immense kangaroos which they killed, and thus denuded them of grass. A mound on the Peninsula is still pointed out as the remains of the hut of Wyungare.

Once upon a time, it is said, that Nurundere and Nepelle together pursued an enormous fish in Lake Alexandrina, near Tipping. Neppelle caught it, then Nurundere tore it in pieces, and threw the fragments into the water, and each piece became a

fish, and thus ponde, tarke, tukkeri, and pommere, different kinds of fish, had their origin. But another sort of fish, tinuwarre (called bream by the whites), was produced in a different manner. Nurundere went to Tulurrug, and there finding some flat stones, he threw them into the Lake, and they became tinuwarre.

Wyungare was a personage who had no father but only a mother. He resided at Rauwoke with his parent, and was narumbe from his infancy, that is, he was made a red man, or kaingani, and was a mighty hunter of kangaroos. Once he was amongst the reeds at Oulawar, drinking water by drawing it up with a reed from the Lake, and Nepelle's two wives passing by saw him, admired his handsome form, and fell in love with him. So they seized the first opportunity to visit his hut, and finding that he was asleep, they made a noise with their feet outside, like two emus running past, and awoke the hunter, who jumped up and ran out expecting to see some game. The two women met him with a shout of laughter, and throwing their arms round him, begged him to take them for his wives, to which he willingly consented. Of course Nepelle was very angry with all parties concerned at being treated so scandalously, and sought them at the hut of Wyungare;\* but they were all absent, so he put fire in the hut, and told it to wait until Wyungare and the two women slept, and then to get up and burn them. In the evening they returned from hunting, and laid down and slept. They were soon awakened by the flames of the burning hut, and rushed out of it, but the fire pursued them. For miles they ran along the shore of the Lake, chased by the vengeful element, until they reached Lowanyeri, plunged themselves in the mud of the swamp there, and the fire was unable to reach them. Afraid of the implacable hatred displayed by Neppelle, Wyungare sought a means of escape. He determined to effect this by going up to Wyrrewarre to live there. So he tied a line to a spear, and hurled it at the heavens. It stuck in, and he proceeded to haul upon it for the purpose of raising himself, but found it would not hold, for it was unbarbed. Then he took a barbed spear and repeated the experiment, this time with success, for it held firmly in the sky, and by means of the line attached to it, he pulled himself up, and afterwards the two women. Three stars are still pointed out as Wyungare and his wives. He is said to sit up there and fish for men with a fishing-spear, and when people start in their sleep it is thought to be because he touches them with the point of his weapon. Before his

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\* The hut of Wyungare is still pointed out by the natives, in the shape of a mound of limestone, at a place called Pulluwewal, near Point Macleay.

ascent it is related that he took a gigantic kangaroo and tore it in pieces, and scattered the fragments through the scrub, and they became the comparatively small kangaroos which exist now.

To return to the adventures of Nurundere. He had four children by his two wives. Once when he dwelt at Tulurrug two of his children strayed away into the scrub to the eastward, and were lost. Soon afterwards his two wives ran away from him. He pursued them, in company with his remaining children, to Encounter Bay, and there, seeing them at a distance, he exclaimed in anger, "Let the waters arise and drown them." So the waters arose in a terrible flood, and swept over the hills with fury, and, overtaking the fugitives, they were overwhelmed and drowned. At this time Nepelle lived at Rauwoke, and the flood was so great that he was obliged to pull his canoe to the top of the hill (that is Point Macleay); from thence it was transported to Wyrrewarre; and the dense part of the milky way is said to be the canoe of Neppelle floating in the heavens. Then its owner, by using the same means as Wyungare had done, ascended thither also.

Then Nurundere went up the Coorong in search of his two lost children. At Salt Creek he met with a blackfellow sitting by a fire. This man by some kind of sorcery endeavoured to detain Nurundere from proceeding on his way, at which Nurundere was angry, and they fought. He speared Nurundere in the thigh; but he laughed at the wound, and said it would not hurt him, and in return speared the blackfellow through the body and killed him. Afterwards Nurundere heard a noise in the bush which was near, and upon searching it, found his two lost children, who had been hidden there by the blackfellow whom he had slain.

After these things Nurundere went to Wyrrewarre, taking his children with him. The Narrinyeri always mention his name with reverence. I never heard them use it lightly or with levity; and if he invented such clever weapons as the taralye or throwing-stick, and the panketye or boomerang, and the curved club called marpangye, I think he deserves their respectful recollection. My own opinion is that he is a deified chief, who has lived at some remote period. The natives regard thunder as the angry voice of Nurundere, and the rainbow as also a production of his.

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.

The following are some legends related by the Rev. H. E. A. Meyer, in a pamphlet on the manners and customs of the

Encounter Bay Tribe of Narrinyeri, (the Raminyerar), published in 1846. These traditions were much better remembered amongst the natives then than now, and consequently this account is very trustworthy. The above legends were collected by myself fourteen years ago.

Meyer says of the Narrinyeri—

“They do not appear to have any story of the origin of the world; but nearly all animals they suppose anciently to have been men who performed great prodigies, and at last transformed themselves into different kinds of animals and stones! Thus the Raminjerar point out several large stones or points of rock along the beach whose sex and name they distinguish. One rock, they say, is an old man named Lime, upon which women and children are not allowed to tread; but old people venture to do so from their long acquaintance with him. They point out his head, feet, hands, and also his hut and fire. For my part, I could see no resemblance to any of these things except the hut. The occasion upon which he transformed himself was as follows:—A friend of his, Palpangye, paid him a visit, and brought him some tinwarrar (a kind of fish). Lime enjoyed them very much, and regretted that there were no rivers in the neighbourhood that he might catch them himself, as they are a river fish. Palpangye went into the bush and fetched a large tree, and, thrusting it into the ground in different places, water immediately began to flow and formed the Inman and Hindmarsh rivers. Lime, out of gratitude, gave him some kanmari (small sea fish), and transformed himself into rock, the neighbourhood of which has ever since abounded in this kind of fish. Palpangye became a bird, and is frequently near the rivers. The steep hill and large ponds at Mootabarringar were produced by the dancing of their forefathers at that place. At the present time it is customary for two hundred or three hundred natives to meet together at their dances (or corrobories, as they are called by the whites). At sunset a fire is made to give light. The women sit apart, with skins rolled up and held between the knees, upon which they beat time. The young men are ornamented after their fashion with a tuft of emu feathers in the hair; and those who are not painted red ornament themselves with chalk by making circles round the eyes, a stroke along the nose, and dots upon the forehead and cheeks, while the rest of the body is covered with fanciful figures. One commences singing, and if all cannot join (for the songs are frequently in a different language, taken from some distant tribe) he commences another song. If the song is known to all, the women scream or yell out at the top of their voices, and the men commence a grotesque kind of dance, which to us appears sufficiently ridiculous and amusing. It is upon an occasion like this that they represent their ancestors to have been assembled at Mootabarringar. Having no fire, this dance was held in the daytime, and the weather being very hot the perspiration flowed copiously from them and formed the large ponds, and the beating of their feet upon the ground produced the irregularities of surface in the form of the hills and valleys. They sent messengers, Kuratje and Kanmari, towards the east to Kondole to invite him to the feast, as they knew that he possessed fire. Kondole, who was a large, powerful man, came, but hid his fire, on account of which alone he had been invited. The men, displeased at this, determined to obtain the fire by force, but no one ventured to approach him. At length one named Rilballe determined to wound him with a spear and then take the fire from him. He threw the spear and wounded him in the neck. This caused a great laughing and shouting, and nearly all were transformed into different animals. Kondole ran to the sea and became a whale, and ever after blew the water out of the wound which he received in his neck. Kuratje and Kanmari became small fish. The latter

was dressed in a good kangaroo skin, and the former only a mat made of seaweed, which is the reason, they say, that the kanmari contains a great deal of oil under the skin, while the kuratje is dry and without fat. Others became opossums, and went up trees. The young men who were ornamented with tufts of feathers became cockatoos, the tuft of feathers being the crest. Rilballe took Kondole's fire and placed it in the grass-tree, where it still remains, and can be brought out by rubbing.\*

"They tell a number of other stories concerning the origin of the sea, heat, &c., &c., but it will suffice to mention the cause of the rain and the origin of languages.

"Near the Goolwa lived an old man named Kortuwe with his two friends, Munkari and Waingilbe. The latter, who were considerably younger than Kortuwe, went out fishing, and as they caught kuratje and kanmari they put the kuratje, which are not so good as the kanmari, aside for Kortuwe. The old man, perceiving this, commenced a song, *Annaitjeranangk rotjer tampatjeranangk* (in the Encounter Bay dialect it would be *Ngannangk kuratje tampin*—'for me they put aside the kuratje'), upon which rain began to fall. Kortuwe then went into his hut, and closed it with bushes, and Munkari and Waingilbe were obliged to remain outside and got wet as a punishment. The three were transformed into birds, and as often as Kortuwe makes a noise it is a sign that rain will soon follow.

"Languages originated from an ill-tempered old woman. In remote time an old woman named Wurruri lived towards the east, and generally walked with a large stick in her hand to scatter the fires round which others were sleeping. Wurruri at length died. Greatly delighted at this circumstance, they sent messengers in all directions to give notice of her death. Men, women, and children came, not to lament, but to show their joy. The Raminjerar were the first, who fell upon the corpse and began eating the flesh, and immediately began to speak intelligibly. The other tribes to the eastward, arriving later, ate the contents of the intestines, which caused them to speak a language slightly different. The northern tribes came last, and devoured the intestines and all that remained, and immediately spoke a language differing still more from that of the Raminjerar.

"All this happened before the time of Nurunduri, with whose departure from the earth the power of transforming themselves, and making rivers, hills, &c., ceased. As with Nurunduri, 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 two wives, and had several children. Upon one occasion his two wives ran away from him, and he went in search of them. Wherever he arrived he spread terror amongst the people, who were dwarfs compared with him. Continuing his pursuit, he arrived at Freeman's Nob. Disappointed at not finding his wives, he threw two small nets, called witti, into the sea, and immediately two small rocky islands arose, which ever since have been called Wittunggungul. He went on to Ramong, where, by stamping with his feet, he created Kungkengguwar (Rosetta Head). From hence he threw spears in different directions, and wherever they fell small rocky islands arose. At length he found his two wives at Toppong. After beating them they again endeavoured to escape. Now tired of pursuing them, he ordered the sea to flow and drown them. They were transformed into rock, and are still to be

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\* The operation for obtaining fire is as follows:—A split piece of the flower-stem is placed upon the ground, the flat side uppermost, and the lower end of a thinner piece pressed upon it, while the upper part is held between the palms of the hands, and an alternate revolving motion given to it by rubbing the hands backwards and forwards till it ignites.



seen at low water. Discontented and unhappy, he removed with his children to a great distance towards the West, where he still lives, a very old man, scarcely able to move. When he went away, one of his children was asleep, and, in consequence, left behind. Nurunduri, when he arrived at the place where he intended to remain, missed him, and making fast one end of a string to his maralengk, he threw the other end towards where he supposed his son to be, who, catching hold of it, helped himself along to his father. This line is still the guide by which the dead find their way to Nurunduri. When a man dies, Nurunduri's son, who first found the way to his father by means of the line, throws it to the dead man, who catching hold of it, is conducted in like manner. When he comes near, the old man, feeling the motion of the line, asks his son who is coming. If it is a man, the son calls all the men together, who by a great shouting, arouse the half stupefied man. When come to himself, he silently and sadly approaches Nurunduri, who points out to him where he is to reside. If he belongs to the Encounter Bay, or one of the Goolwa tribes, he is allowed to live in Nurunduri's hut; but if of one of the more distant tribes, at a distance off. Before he goes away to the place pointed out to him Nurunduri carefully observes his eyes. If tears are flowing from one eye only, it is a sign that he has left only one wife; if from both, two; if they cease to flow from one eye while they continue to flow from the other, he has left three wives; and according to the number he has left, Nurunduri provides him with others. Old people become young, and the infirm sound in the company of Nurunduri. This is what the poor uninstructed people believe; therefore no fears about the future, or concerning punishments and rewards are entertained by them."

Thus far Meyer's account of the legends which he found amongst the natives. I have omitted one or two which were too indecent for general readers.

It is now the opinion of intelligent natives with whom I have conversed that Nurunderi was the great chief who led the Narrinyeri down the Darling to the country which they now inhabit. They say that there is a tradition that two young men returned back on the track of the tribe, and were never more heard of. Nurunderi is represented as having led his sons, *i.e.*, his tribe, down the southern shore of the lakes and then turned up the Coorong. There he appears to have met another tribe, coming from the south-east. A battle was fought, and, of course, the Narrinyeri say that they were conquerors. But yet, afterwards, Nurunderi led his people towards Encounter Bay, and there appears to have resided until his death. There is also a tradition that two warriors afterwards led a party up the Coorong, and established themselves near Mount Gambier.

In addition to the legends before related, the Narrinyeri tell some curious but absurd stories about the animals. For instance, they say that originally the turtle possessed venomous fangs and the snake had none; so the latter begged the former to make an exchange, offering to barter his own head for the turtle's fangs, alleging as a reason, that he lived on the shore exposed to the attacks of the blackfellows, while the turtle occupied a secure position in the Lake. So the turtle

consented to the bargain, and ever since then the snake has had venomous fangs, and the turtle a snake-like head and neck.

It is also said that once the pelicans were fishing in the Lake, and caught a great quantity of tukkeri. They carried them to Tipping, and there the magpies (muldurar) said they would find fire and cook the tukkeri for a share of them. The pelicans consented, but soon found that the magpies were taking advantage of their culinary operations to steal the fish. This led to a struggle, and a fight over the dinner, in which the magpies got rolled in the ashes, which gave them their black coats, and the pelicans got besmeared with the silvery scales of the tukkeri, which caused them to have white breasts.

The Narrinyeri are terribly afraid of two wood demons, called Melapi and Pepe. They say that the former assumes any shape he pleases; sometimes he is like an old man, at other times he will take the form of a bird, or a burnt stump, and always for the purpose of luring individuals within his reach, so that he may destroy them. I have several times heard blacks declare that they have seen him.

The natives also dread a water spirit, called Mulgewanke. The booming sound which is heard frequently in Lake Alexandrina is ascribed to him, and they think it causes rheumatism to those who hear it. He is represented as a curious being, half man, half fish, and instead of hair, a matted crop of reeds. I have often wondered myself what the noise is really caused by which they ascribe to Mulgewanke. I have heard it dozens of times, and so have many other persons. It resembles the boom of a distant cannon, or the explosion of a blast. Sometimes, however, it is more like the sound made by the fall of a huge body into deep water. It cannot be the peculiar sound made by the Murray bittern, as I have often heard that too, and it is not at all like the noise in the Lake. At first I ascribed it to people blasting wood on the opposite side, but since then I have been convinced that this cannot be the case. One peculiarity of the sound ascribed to the Mulgewanke is, that although it is sometimes louder than at others, yet it is never near, always distant. I have no doubt but that some time or other the natural cause of it will be discovered, but I have never yet heard the phenomenon explained.

There is another superstition believed in by the Narrinyeri. Every tribe has its ngaitye; that is, some animal which they regard as a sort of good genius, who takes an interest in their welfare—something like the North American Indian totem. Some will have a snake, some a wild dog, some a bird, and some an insect. No man or woman will kill their ngaitye, except it happens to be an animal which is good for food, when they have no objection to eating him. Nevertheless, they will be very

careful to destroy all the remains, lest an enemy might get hold of them, and by his sorcery cause the ngaitye to grow in the inside of the eater, and cause his death. I know several persons whose ngaityar are different kinds of snakes, consequently they do not like to kill them; but when they meet with them they catch them, pull out their teeth, or else sew up their mouths, and keep them in a basket as pets. Once I knew of a man catching his ngaitye in the person of a large female tiger snake, and, after pulling out the teeth, he put it in a basket, and hung it up in his wurley. The next morning they found that she had brought forth sixteen young ones. This increase of family was too much for those blacks to whom she did not stand in the relation of ngaitye, so they killed them all; and on cutting the mother open afterwards found seven more young snakes inside of her, making twenty-three, in all, produced at one litter.

One day a couple of wild dogs came on a predatory expedition into my neighbourhood, so I shot one of them; and immediately after was reproached very much for hurting the ngaitye of two or three blacks residing here. People are sometimes named from their ngaitye; as, for instance, Taowinyeri, the person whose ngaitye is Taow, the native name of the guana.

It appears to me that the ngaitye of the Narrinyeri is the same as the aitu of the Samoans, but it is not regarded with so much veneration by the former as by the latter. The names are evidently derived from the same original, ngaitye being the same word as aitu, only with the addition of consonants.

The following is Dr. G. Turner's account of the Samoan aitu:—"These gods were supposed to appear in some visible incarnation, and the particular thing in which his god was in the habit of appearing was to the Samoan an object of veneration. It was, in fact, his idol, and he was careful never to injure it or treat it with contempt. One, for instance, saw his god in the eel, another in the shark, another in the turtle, another in the dog, another in the owl, another in the lizard; and so on throughout all the fish of the sea, and birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. In some of the shellfish, even, gods were supposed to be present. A man would eat freely of the incarnation of the god of another man, but the incarnation of his own particular god he would consider it death to injure or eat. The god was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body, and causing to generate there the very thing which he had eaten, until it produced death. These gods they called aitu feile, or gods of the house."

The Narrinyeri believe in the power of the dead to influence the elements, of which I once had a proof. A short time after the execution of the murderers of Mrs. Rainberd, we had a gale of wind for several days successively. Upon my remarking

upon the violence of the weather to some natives, they said it was occasioned by the blacks who had been hanged, who had sent the wind in revenge to try to injure and annoy the white-fellows "You see," they said, "it blows from their country."

The blacks also have their rainmakers. One old fellow, named Pepeorn, professed to be able to change the weather by his incantations; and I have heard him in summer time lay claim to the merit of having caused a welcome shower.

## CHAPTER X.

## LANGUAGE.

I do not intend in this chapter to endeavour to make the reader acquainted with native grammar, but merely to speak of those points of interest in the languages of the Aborigines which are worthy of notice.

The Narrinyeri have a language, and do not, as an English farmer once told me he supposed they did, only make noises like beasts of the field. They have a language, and a highly organized one too, possessing inflections which ours does not.

Their nouns and pronouns have three numbers—singular, dual, and plural. They not only have the cases which ours have, but several others in addition.

The following is the declension of the noun *korni*, “a man”:

## SINGULAR.

Nom.	<i>korni</i> ,	a man
Gen.	<i>kornald</i> ,	of a man
Da.	<i>kornangk</i> ,	to a man
Ac.	<i>korn</i> ,	a man
Voc.	<i>korninda</i> ,	O man
Ab.	<i>kornil</i> ,	by a man
Exative	<i>kornanmant</i>	from a man
Ergative	<i>kornanyir</i> or <i>kornald</i> ,	with a man

## DUAL.

Nom.	<i>kornengk</i> ,	two men.
Gen.	<i>kornengal</i> ,	of two men
Da.	<i>kornungengun</i> ,	to two men.
Ac.	<i>kornengk</i> ,	two men.
Voc.	<i>kornula</i> ,	O two men.
Ab.	<i>kornenggul</i> ,	by two men.
Exative.	<i>kornungengun</i> ,	from two men.
Ergative.	<i>kornungengun</i> ,	with two men.

## PLURAL.

Nom.	<i>kornar</i> ,	men.
Gen.	<i>kornan</i> ,	of men.
Da.	<i>kornungar</i> ,	to men.
Ac.	<i>kornar</i> ,	men.
Voc.	<i>kornuna</i> ,	O men.
Ab.	<i>kornar</i> ,	by men.
Exative.	<i>kornungar</i> ,	from men.
Ergative.	<i>kornan</i> ,	with men.

The following is the declension of the personal pronouns :—

## FIRST PERSON.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
Nom.,	<i>ngape</i> , I.	<i>ngel</i> ,	we two.	<i>ngurn</i> ,	we.
Ac.,	<i>ngan</i> , me.	<i>lam</i> ,	us two.	<i>nam</i> ,	us.
Caus.,	<i>ngati</i> , by me.	<i>ngel</i> ,	by us two.	<i>ngurn</i> ,	by us.

## SECOND PERSON.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
Nom.,	<i>nginte</i> , thou.	<i>ngurl</i> ,	you two.	<i>ngun</i> ,	you.
Ac.,	<i>ngum</i> , thee.	<i>lom</i> ,	you two.	<i>nom</i> ,	you.
Voc.,	<i>nginta</i> , O thou.	<i>ngurla</i> ,	O you two.	<i>nguna</i> ,	O you.
Caus.,	<i>nginte</i> , by thee.	<i>ngurl</i> ,	by you two.	<i>ngun</i> ,	by you.

## THIRD PERSON.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
Nom.,	<i>kitye</i> , he, she, it.	<i>kengk</i> ,	they two.	<i>kar</i> ,	they.
Ac.,	<i>kin</i> , him.	<i>kenggun</i> ,	they two.	<i>kan</i> ,	them.
Caus.,	<i>kil</i> , by him.	<i>kengk</i> ,	by them two.	<i>kar</i> ,	by them.

Personal pronouns are also used in an abbreviated form for the sake of euphony as affixes to nouns. The following is the commonly-used short and euphonised form :—

## FIRST PERSON.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
Nom.,	<i>ap p</i> , I.	<i>angal</i> ,	we two.	<i>arn</i> ,	we.
Ac.,	<i>an</i> , me.	<i>alam</i> ,	us two.	<i>anam</i> ,	us.
Caus.,	<i>atte</i> , by me.	<i>angal</i> ,	by us two.	<i>arn</i> ,	by us.

## SECOND PERSON

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
Nom.,	<i>ind</i> , <i>inde</i> , thou.	<i>ungul</i> ,	you two.	<i>ungune</i> ,	you.
Ac.,	<i>um</i> , thee.	<i>olom</i> ,	you two.	<i>onom</i> ,	you.
Voc.,	<i>inda</i> , O thou.	<i>ula</i> ,	O you two.	<i>una</i> ,	O you.
Caus.,	<i>inde</i> , by thee.	<i>ungul</i> ,	by you two.	<i>ungune</i> ,	by you.

## THIRD PERSON.

SINGULAR.		DUAL.		PLURAL.	
Nom.,	<i>itye atye</i> , he, she it.	<i>engk</i> ,	they two,	<i>ar</i> ,	they.
Ac.,	<i>in ityanian</i> , him.	<i>enggun</i> ,	they two.	<i>an</i> ,	them.
Caus.,	<i>il</i> , <i>ile</i> , by him.	<i>engk</i> ,	by them two.	<i>ar</i> ,	by them.

The genitives, datives, and ablatives of pronouns are framed by adding the following words to their respective accusatives :—

Genitives, *auwe auwurle*.  
 Datives, *angh*, *ungai*, *anyir*.  
 Ablatives, *anyir*.

The following is the declension of the pronominal adjective *kinauwe*, "of him" or "his" :—

## SINGULAR.

Nom.,	<i>kinauwe,</i>	his
Gen.,	<i>kinanyerald,</i>	of his.
Da.,	<i>kinanyerangh,</i>	to his.
Ac.,	<i>kinauwe,</i>	his.
Ab.,	<i>kinanyiril,</i>	by his (Causative.)

## DUAL.

Nom.,	<i>kenggunawurle,</i>	theirs, two.
Gen.,	<i>kenggunanyirald,</i>	of theirs.
Da.,	<i>kenggunanyirangh,</i>	to theirs.
Ac.,	<i>kenggunauwe,</i>	theirs.
Ab.,	<i>kenggunanyiril,</i>	by their.

## PLURAL.

Nom.,	<i>kanauwe,</i>	theirs.
Gen.,	<i>kananyirald,</i>	of their.
Da.,	<i>kananyirenggun</i>	to their.
Ac.,	<i>kanauwe,</i>	their.
Ab.,	<i>kananyiril,</i>	by their. (causative.)

The use of this causative form will be seen in the following sentence :—

Lakkir atte ityan wundi anyiril. I speared him with my spear.

Here the literal rendering is, Was speared by me, him, spear by my.

The declension of other pronouns will be best illustrated by the words *ngangge*, who; *minye*, what.

The interrogatives "who" and "what" are thus declined :—

<i>ngangge,</i>	who.
<i>nak,</i>	to whom.
<i>nak an angh,</i>	to whom (plural).
<i>nauwe,</i>	} whose, or of whom.
<i>nauwurle,</i>	
<i>ngande,</i>	by whom.
<i>nambe,</i>	for whom.

*minye*, "what."

<i>minye,</i>	what.
<i>mek,</i>	to what.
<i>mek,</i>	of what.
<i>mengye,</i>	by what (how).
<i>mekimbe,</i>	for what (what for).
<i>minyandai,</i>	what times (how often).
<i>minyurti,</i>	what sort.
<i>minyai, munyarai,</i>	what number
<i>minde,</i>	what reason, why.
<i>murel.</i>	with what intention.

The verbs are always formed from roots, which consist invariably of one or two vowel sounds, and two or three consonantal sounds. The tenses are made by participles joined to the roots. For example, let us take the word *lakkin*, spearing :—

Root,	<i>lak,</i>	to spear or pierce.
Present,	<i>lakkin,</i>	spearing.
Imperative,	<i>lakour,</i>	must spear.
Past,	<i>lakemb,</i>	speared a long time ago.
Past,	<i>lakkir,</i>	speared recently.
Future,	<i>lakkani,</i>	will spear.
Past Participle,	<i>laggetin,</i>	speared.
	<i>lakuramb,</i>	for the purpose of spearing.
	<i>lakiide,</i>	ought to spear.
	<i>lahai,</i>	spear not.

Let us take a further example, and give some sentences in which is the word *pettin*, stealing :—

Stealing by him it. }  
 Pettin ile ityan. } He steals it.

Steal with it. }  
 Pet al yan. } Let him steal it.

Steal with thee it. }  
 Pet al um ityan. } Let you steal it (permissive).

Thou steal must it. }  
 Nginte pet our ityan. } Thou must steal it.

By him it was stolen. }  
 Kile yan petemb } He stole it a long time ago.

Steal did by him it nearly. }  
 Pet emb ile ityan ngak. } He nearly stole it.

By him it was stolen. }  
 Kil ityan pettir. } He stole it recently.

Thou it stealing. }  
 Nginte yan pettin. } You are stealing.

Pet our ityan. Steal it.

I will now give two or three sentences in the language :—

When I must at Tip ? }  
 Yaral ap our Tipald ? } When must I go to Point Sturt ?

Here to me sugar rice with for. }  
 Ak anangk pinyatowe tyilye aldamb. } Give me some sugar for my rice.

Now by me thee sending. }  
 Hik atte um taiyin. } I send thee.

I to me cutting. }  
 Ngap anangk merildin. } I cut myself.



So I it did. }  
Luk ap atye ellir. } I did so.

Enough he has been. }  
Kunyitye ellir. } He has died.

Up will I to the wurley. }  
Loru el ap mantangk. } I will go the wurley.

I when they me will lift up, then will by me drawing to me all  
Ngape ungunuk ar an preppani wunyel atte yultun anangk ngruwar  
men.  
narrinyeri.  
*i.e.*, I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me.

The principal characteristics of the language are ellipsis, and the abbreviation of words. A native speaks of going and coming, continually, without using those words, but short expressions equivalent. Instead of saying, I will go, he says, Up will I—Loru el ap; and instead of Come, Moru or Mare el ap—Down will I. A word is often expressed in the language by a single letter of it being sounded. Hence the word ngum (thee) becomes um, and often merely m, as Yare matye mitye?—What is thy name? Here the whole word ngumauwe (of thee) is expressed by the addition of m to the word atye. Narrinyeri can always express themselves in such an elliptical style as to puzzle a foreigner, however well he may know their language.

Proper names of places change their terminations according as the going to, coming from, or being at the place is spoken of; as Tipald, to Tip; Tip angk, at Tip; Tip anmant, from Tip. Tip is the name for Point Sturt.

I once made a collection of those words of the native language which most resemble English words, or words of languages from which English is derived. I now present it to the reader, not so much for its value, but as a curiosity. The native words are *pure* native, that is, Yarildewallin.

NATIVE WORDS.	MEANINGS.	ENGLISH OR OTHER WORD WHICH THEY RESEMBLE.
Yun	soon	soon
Kurrin	enquiring	enquiring; Lat., <i>quærens</i>
Multawarrin	becoming many or much	<i>multus</i> , multiplying
Poke	a small hole	pock
Wirrangi	bad	wrong
Trippin	drenching	dripping
Throkkun	putting	throwing
El	will	will
Merippin Lippin	cutting	ripping
Nowaiy, Tarno	negative	no
Itye	{ 3rd personal pronoun—he, } { she, it }	it

NATIVE WORDS.	MEANINGS.	ENGLISH OR OTHER WORD WHICH THEY RESEMBLE.
Ngo	go	go
Ngia	here! (imperative)	nigher
Ngai	here	nigh
Luk	so, thus	like
Trentin	tearing	rending
Tampin	walking	stamping
Keli	a dog	<i>canis</i> , or <i>kelev</i> (Hebrew)
Tori	the mouth	<i>os</i> , <i>oris</i>
Ruwi	a country	<i>rus</i>
Keni	a burning coal	<i>cinis</i> , <i>cineris</i>
Takkin	eating	take in
Yarnin	talking	yarning
Dlomari	fog	gloaming; Saxon, <i>glomung</i>
Tuni	sand	stone
Marti	limestone	mortar
Grauwun	burying in the earth	ground
Brati	second son	brat
Tallanggi	{ the tongue	} tongue
Tingowun	{ telling	
Tungare	{ a word	
Napi	a spouse	<i>nupta</i> , a wife; nuptial
Wurti	wet	wet
Krewi	blood	<i>caro</i> , <i>carnis</i> ; flesh
Ennin	doing, being	<i>ens</i> , being
Turi	tooth	tooth
Prildin	driving	<i>pello</i> , I drive
Poti	a horse	{ <i>'ippos</i> , Greek; South { Seas, <i>hipoti</i>
Pityingga	{ resin of the native cypress } { ( <i>exocarpus</i> ) }	pitch
Wiillii	a proper name	Willie
Wullamme	a proper name	William

Now, it is remarkable to find some of the words of an obscure, barbarous tongue so like our own—perhaps not more remarkable than to find on an isolated island of Polynesia that they call a man “man.” Whether the resemblances be of any value I do not know; the reader must take them for what they are worth.

The languages of the nations of Australian Aborigines differ very much. The language of the Narrinyeri is as different from the language spoken by the Adelaide tribe as English is from German. The words of the various languages of Australia which most resemble each other are those for the hand, mouth, tongue, and eye:—

LANGUAGE.	HAND.	MOUTH.	TONGUE.	EYE.
Narrinyeri ... ..	Mari	Tore	Tallanggi	Pili
Adelaide ... ..	Marra	Ta	Tadlanya	Mena
Port Lincoln ... ..	Marra	Narparta	Yarli	Mena
Swan River ... ..	Marhra	Dta	Dtallang	Mel
New South Wales, near Sydney	Mutturra		Tullun	Ngaikung
Melbourne ... ..	{ Munung Myrongatha	Warongatha } kundernir }	Tallan	Myng
Echuca ... ..	Pecan	Warru	Saleng	Maa
Murundi, River Murray ... ..	Mannuruko	Taako munno	Ngantudli	Korllo
Moreton Bay ... ..	Yamma	Tambur	Tallaim	Millo
Wimmera, Victoria ... ..	Mannanyuk	Tyarbuk	Tyalli	Mirr
Blanchewater, South Australia...	Murra	Tiya	Yarley	Minna
Wentworth, Darling ... ..	{ Muna mam- bunya }	Yelka	Tarlina	Makie
Kamilaroi, Barwon, Liverpool } Plains ... ..	Murra		Tulle	Mil
Dippil, Queensland, Wide Bay ...	Dwruin	Tunka	Dunnum	Mi

As might be expected, the Australian dialects are almost destitute of abstract terms and generic words. I cannot discover in any of the languages which I have examined any traces of figurative expressions. Among the Narrinyeri the poetical kind of speech so much admired by the Maori is not to be found. I do not know a single phrase worthy to be called a metaphor.

The languages of the Aborigines of this continent divide themselves into two classes. These are distinguished from each other principally by their pronouns. One class has monosyllabic or dissyllabic pronouns, while those of the other are polysyllabic. The following are specimens of the two classes:—

	I.	Thou.	He, She, It.
1. Narrinyeri ... ..	ngape	nginte	kitye
2. Adelaide ... ..	ngai	ninna	pa
3. Port Lincoln ... ..	ngai	ninna	panna
4. Western Australia (Swan } River) ... .. }	ngadjo	ninni	bal
5. Moorundee (River Murray)	ngape	ngwiru	ninni
6. Moreton Bay (Queensland)	atta; ngai (Dippil)	inta	ningda
7. Kamilaroi (Liverpool Plains)	ngaia	nginda	ngenna
8. Melbourne ... ..	murrumbek	murrumbinner	munniger
9. Wimmera ... ..	tyurnik	tyurmin	kinga

Here we observe that the root of the first personal pronoun in the first seven languages is *nga*; but in the eighth and ninth we have totally different roots. This indication of there being *two* races of Aborigines is supported by other facts. A kind of caste distinction has been found to exist among some which does not exist in others. The Kamilaroi and Dippil tribes, on the Upper Darling and its tributaries, were the Aborigines amongst whom this was discovered. The Rev. W. Ridley was the first to make this known.

Amongst the nations of Aborigines a system of relationship prevails similar to the Tamilian; but it is not universal, and it appears that it is modified by some tribes having originally had a different system. Again, there is a remarkable difference in colour and cast of features. Sir George Grey noticed this in Western Australia. Some natives have light complexions, straight hair, and a Malay countenance; while others have curly hair, are very black, and have the features of the Papuan or Melanesian. It is therefore probable that there are two races of Aborigines; and, most likely, while some tribes are purely of one race or the other, there are tribes consisting of a mixture of both races.

Before closing this chapter on native languages I should like to say that I do not think it would be possible to translate the whole Bible into the Aboriginal tongue without importing into it a great number of foreign words. At the same time, the simple truths of the gospel can be expressed in it. We can say "Pornir an amb itye, Jesuse ngurn ambe;" that is, "Jesus died instead of us."

A few chapters containing the most essential truths of the Bible—such as Creation, the Decalogue, the New Birth, and the Death and Resurrection of the Lord Jesus—have been translated; but the natives are rapidly learning English, and any other means of communicating truth will soon be unnecessary.

In translating Scripture into a barbarous language, we find it almost impossible to render those words ending with *ation*—such as regeneration, sanctification, justification; but we discover that the truths wrapped up in these terms can be translated by means of the figurative expressions through which the Bible sets them forth. The natives readily grasp the meaning as applied to spiritual and moral truth. A washing of the soul is illustrated by speaking of washing the body. Substitution is set forth by various figures; and we are led to see that the metaphorical style of Holy Scripture renders it the better vehicle for the setting forth of truth in the poorest languages.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE WORDS OF FOUR SOUTH AUSTRALIAN TRIBES OF ABORIGINES.

ENGLISH.	NARRINYERI TRIBES, LAKE ALEX- ANDRINA, SOUTH AUSTRALIA.	ADELAIDE TRIBE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA.	MOORUNDER, RIVER MURRAY, SOUTH AUSTRALIA	PARNKALLA, PORT LINCOLN, S. AUSTRALIA.
1. Sun	Nungge	Tindo	Nangke	Yurno
2. Moon	Markeri	Kakina-Piki	Kakur Kagur	Pirra
3. Star	Tulde	Purle	Pedli	—
4. Cloud	Tuppathauwe	Makko	Ngernke	Mabingi Malko
5. Heavens	Wyirrewarre	Karro	—	Pandari, Ilkari
6. Rain	Parnar	Kuntoro	Bukatarru	Wirra
7. Heat	Walde	Gadlagadlando	Woutte	Pai alla
8. Cold	Murunkun	Manya	Taako	Minyara
9. Hill	Ngurle	Karnu	Tepko	Purri
10. Land	Ruwe	Yerta	Ruo	Yerta Yurra
11. Sand	Toone	Worra	Pudlpo	Walba
12. Stone	Marte	Pure	Parlko	Kanya
13. Water	Nguk, Barekar	Kauwe	Ngukko	Kapi, Kano
14. Sea	Yarlumar	Yerlo	Terlungo	Wortanna
15. Tree	Lamatyeri	Wirra	Perru	Idla
16. Canoe	Meralte	—	Manno	Karnkurtu
17. Fish	Mami	Parndo	Kuyongo	Kuya
18. Dog	Wanbi, Keli	Kadli	Kellu	Kurdninni
19. Kangaroo	Wangami	Nante	Purroilko	Warru
20. Fire	Keni	Gadla	Kappangko	Gadla
21. House	Manti	Wodli	Rap	Karnko
22. Spear	Yarndi Kaiki	Kaya	Kaiyur	Kaya
23. Club	Kanaki	Katta	Nakko	Katta
24. Wommera	Taralye	Midla	Ngoweangko	Midla
25. Boomerang	Panketye	—	—	—
26. Day	Nunggi	Tindo	Nort	Wallira Marka
27. Night	Yonguldyi	Ngulti	Nimmi	Malti
28. Great	Grauw	Parto	Yernko, Wor- pippi	Manna
29. Small	Muralappi	Kutyo	Poilyongko	Perru
30. Good	Nunkeri	Marni	Midlalyo, Men- dilpa	Marniti
31. Bad	Wirrangi, Brupi	Wakkina	Payu	Milla, Nangka
32. Man	Korni	Meyu	Meru	Yura
33. Woman	Mimine	Tukkupurka	Ngammaityu	Ngammaityu
34. Boy	Ngauwire Tyinyeri	Ngammamitya	[pireyu	Mambams Mar- ralye
35. Girl	Bami	Tinyarra Kur- kurra	Wityarrong, Pi- [guilpo	Kardni
36. Father	Bami	Mankarra	Warkarran, N- Ngukkuwar, Pe- tuwurra	Pappi
37. Mother	Ngaiyeri	Yorlimeyir	Ngakur, Ngau- war	Ngammi
38. Husband	Ninkowe	Ngankimeyir	Pewi	Yerdl
39. Wife	Napi	Yerlina	Loangko	Karteti
40. Head	Napi	Karto	Pertpukko	Kakka
41. Mouth	Kurli	Mukarta	Munno Taako	Narparta
42. Hand	Tori	Ta	Mannuruko	Marra
43. Eye	Mari	Marra	Korilo	Mena
44. Tongue	Pijli	Mena	Ngantudli	Yarli
45. Teeth	Tallangi	Tadlanya	Ngentka	—
46. Ear	Turur	—	Marlo	—
47. Foot	Plombi	—	Tudnai	—
48. Nose	Turni	—	Roonko	—
49. Hair	Kopi	—	Yengku	—
50. Blood	Kuri	—	Kantur	Kartintye
	Kruwi	Karro		

ENGLISH.	NARRINYERI TRIBES, LAKE ALEX- ANDRINA. SOUTH AUSTRALIA.	ADELAIDE TRIBE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA.	MOORUNDEE, RIVER MURRAY, SOUTH AUSTRALIA	PARNKALLA. PORT LINCOLN, S. AUSTRALIA.
51. Living	Tumbewallin	Purrutendi	Ngengin, Man- gunko	Warririti
52. Dying	Pornun	Madlendi	Puintyun	Madlennitti Ma- karnitti
53. Hearing	Kungun	Yurrekeityandai	Tammun	Yurrukkutu Yarriti
54. Seeing	Nakkin	Nakkondi	Noan	Nakkutu
55. Sitting	Lewin	Tinkandi	Woimangko	Ikkata
56. Making	Winmin	Pingyandi	Kawun	Wappiti Milliti
57. Giving	Pempin	Yunggondi	Ngun	Nungkutu
58. I	Ngap	Ngai	Ngape	Ngai
59. Thou	Nginte	Ninna	Ngurrei	Ninna
60. He, she, it	Kitye	Pa	Ninni	Panna
61. We	Ngurn	Ngadlu	Ngennu	Ngarrinyelbo
62. Ye	Ngun	Na	Ngunnu	Nuralli
63. They	Kar	Parna	Naua	Yardna
64. This	Hikkai	Inna	Tii	Inna
65. Who	Ngangge	Nganna	Merke	Nganna
66. One	Yammalaitye	Kuma	Metatta	Kubmanna Ku- ma
67. Two	Ninkaiengk	Purlaitye	Tangkul	Kalbelli, Kat- tara
68. Three	Neppaldar	Marnkutye	Tangul meto	Kulbarri
69. Four	Kuk Kuk	Yerra bula	Nailko	—
70. Dual	Engk	Idla urla	Akul	Welli
71. Plural	Ar	Nna	A	Ari
<b>AUTHORITIES FROM WHENCE OBTAINED.</b>	George Taplin, Point Macleay, South Australia.	Vocabulary of Rev. Mr. Teichellman.	Mr. M. Moorhouse, South Australia.	Rev. M. Schurman's Vocabulary.

## NARRINYERI NAMES OF PLACES.

NATIVE NAME.	MEANING.	ENGLISH NAME OF PLACE.
Ngarrarrar ..	{ The place of large shea-oaks }	{ A point at the entrance of Lake Albert.
Ngiakkung ..	{ The armpit; the bend of the arm }	The head of Loveday Bay.
Yauoitpiri ..	The place of where	{ A point at the entrance to Lake Albert.
Terenberti ..	{ A place belonging to a bird of that name }	{ A place on the Peninsula.
Tenaityeri ..	The lagoon of gulls	Point Macleay Lagoon.
Kurangk ..	The neck	The Coorong.
Millungar ..	Whirling water	{ A bay at the head of Lake Albert.
Murundi ..	.....	The River Murray.
Rupari ..	Round hills	Some Coorong sandhills.
Yitanduwar ..	The current	The Murray Mouth.
Gutungald ..	The place of cockles	Goolwa.
Multungengun ..	Of many shea-oak boughs	Mundoo Island.
Kumarangk ..	The points	Hindmarsh Island.
Rauukki ..	The ancient way	Point Macleay.
Pulluwewal ..	At the house	{ The spot where Point Macleay post-office stands.
Lowanyeri ..	The place of gray geese	{ A spot near Lake Albert River.
Ngoingho ..	The going place	{ The crossing-place, entrance of Lake Albert.
Tauadjeri ..	The place of red ochre	An island near the Coorong.
Millangk ..	The place of millin (sorcery)	Milang.
Tipping ..	The lips	The end of Point Sturt.
Warrindyi ..	The steep hill	Warringer, Lake Albert.
Meningie ..	Mud	Meningie.
Mungkuli, Yarli ..	.....	Lakes Alexandrina and Albert.
Piltangk ..	The place of bull-ants	A point in Lake Alexandrina.
Ngouluwar ..	The claws of crayfish	{ A hill on the shore of Lake Alexandrina.