Rewriting God: Translation Strategies of the United Aborigines Mission

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Submitted to the faculty of the Department of Linguistics
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts

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DATE SUBMITTED
[Revised April 13, 2024]

Abstract

Globally, missionary work, language documentation, and translation go hand in hand; the continent of Australia is no exception. Even in the earliest Christian missions, documentation of and translation into the native languages of Australia was a top priority. This emphasis on language work was primarily motivated by the belief that a person had the best chance of being converted if they received the "Word" in their mother tongue. This attitude towards evangelization persisted throughout nearly 200 years of history, reaching even the most remote parts of the Australian interior. This thesis looks at one slice of this story: mission work among speakers of the Wati languages of Western Australia. The following research focuses on the linguistic activities of the United Aborigines Mission (UAM) and more specifically on the missionary linguist Wilf Douglas and his colleagues. I draw on primary sources located in the archives of the Goldfields Aboriginal Language Center Aboriginal Corporation (GALCAC) and secondary literature to piece together the strategies used by Douglas and his colleagues to translate Christian concepts and stories into the Wati languages. In characterizing the translation strategies used by Douglas and other UAM linguists, I compare their strategies with those used by other missionary groups in Australia, namely German Lutherans who worked with the Arandic and Karnic languages, and the multidenominational team who worked on the Kriol Bible.

Table of contents

Acknowledgments

This thesis represents the culmination of a years worth of research and writing, and there were many people along the way without whom this would not have been possible. I want to first thank my parents, for always encouraging me to pursue the things that I am passionate about, even if it means going on an unorthodox path. I am especially indebted to my advisor Claire Bowern, who spent countless hours this year brainstorming with me, listening to my ideas, and offering sage advice. Claire has not only helped me write my thesis, but has taught me what it means to be a linguist and scholar.

I owe much gratitude to Sue Hanson, Jackie Coffin, and the rest of the team at Goldfields Aboriginal Language Center. Not only were they welcoming and supportive during my time in Australia, but they have allowed me to use the archive that made writing this essay possible. I also want to acknowledge the elders of all of the Wati people, past, present, and future for their continued stewardship of country and culture.

My friends, both here at Yale and elsewhere, have been instrumental in getting me to this point. I want to thank all of my friends in the Linguistics Department, particularly Josephine Holubkov, Jeremiah Jewell, and Ushasi Banerjee. I owe much to my housemates Annie Radillo, Ingrid Ellis, Jack Reed, Will Aarons, and Elder Veliz, who were always willing to listen to me talk about Australian missionaries and the Bible. I want to thank my other friends, John Nash, Marlena Raines, Yasmeen Abed,

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Topic

The system of Christian missions in Australia is inextricably tied to language documentation and translation. For many Australian languages, the first instance of their being documented was in a religious context and for many Bible translations make up a substantial portion of their written corpora. The connection between language work and evangelism is not unique to Australia, and in fact this is a pattern that is seen globally.

Throughout roughly 200 years of history, missions spread to every corner of the Australian continent. These missions were set up by people of diverse Christian backgrounds, from Lutheran priests from Germany, to homegrown Australian evangelicals. In this thesis I will be focusing on the activities of the latter type of mission group, specifically an organization known as the United Aborigines Mission (UAM). The UAM was founded in 1894 in Sydney, NSW by a group of evangelical Christians, with the aim of fostering the growth of Aboriginal Christian communities.

Beginning in the 1920s, the UAM began to assert its presence in Western Australia, particularly among indigenous groups who spoke languages in the Wati subgroup of the larger Pama-Nyungan family. As the UAM's presence continued to grow they attracted more and more missionaries to man their expanding list of missions. One of these young missionaries was a man

named Wilf Douglas, a naturally gifted and self-taught linguist. Douglas would go on to work on many missions in Western Australia and write authoritative publications on the Aboriginal langauges of the state. Douglas was a prolific Bible translator and would go on to found the language department of the UAM. In this position he mentored many other missionary linguists in Western Australia, and set the tone for Bible translation in the area.

In this thesis, I attempt to characterize the translation strategies used by Douglas and his colleagues to translate religious materials into the languages of Western Australia, specifically the languages of the Wati subgroup. A large focus of my analysis is untangling the translation frameworks espoused by UAM missionaries, and how their actions did and did not align with these frameworks. In doing this, I hope to understand the ways in which UAM missionaries used the Bible as a tool for conversion.

I also fit the translation theories used by UAM translators into the larger context of translation theory, and relate UAM translation philosophies to other missionary groups in Australia. Furthermore, my work analyzes the residual effects that religious language documentation and translation had on the languages of the area, looking more specifically at the changes to lexical semantics by the coinage of novel words and the repurposing of native words to describe Christian concepts.

1.2 Methodology

The primary mode of investigation in my research is the close reading and critical analysis of primary and secondary literature. This critical analysis is aimed at synthesizing the primary and secondary literature to reconstruct translation theories and strategies used by UAM missionaries. My research also incorporates linguistic analysis of religious materials written in Wati languages; this linguistic analysis focuses on etymologizing religious terms created by translators in order to create an ontology of translation equivalences employed by these translators. Analysis of this sort allows me to compare the strategies translators *said* they were using and the way they

actually behaved.

1.3 Statement of positionality

I acknowledge my position as a white American, which makes me an outsider both of the country of Australia and the indigenous communities that form the main subjects of this paper. I also want to acknowledge the complicated history that many Aboriginal communities share with the mission system and Christianity as a whole. Missions undoubtedly played a part in the subjugation of the indigenous peoples of Australia, however many indigenous people are now hold profound Christian beliefs. I endeavour to conduct this research in the most culturally sensitive way I can.

I also acknowledge that all of the language materials used in this thesis are the intellectual and cultural property of the ethnolinguistic groups from whence they came.

1.4 Primary source material

During my research, I have made extensive use of primary source material. Most of this material comes in the form of letters sent between two missionary linguists, Wilf Douglas and Noel Blyth, during the late 50's and early 60's. Also included are religious materials, such as leaflets and guidebooks distributed by the UAM. All of these materials have been sourced from the archives at the Goldfields Aboriginal Language Center Aboriginal Coporation (GALCAC), known as Ninti (meaning *knowledgeable* in many Wati langauges). Ninti has been compiled over many years by Sue Hanson and other linguists at GALCAC, and is composed of thousands of documents, photographs, audio recordings, and videos relating to the people and languages of the Goldfields region in Australia. Sue and others at GALCAC work tirelessly to maintain and expand Ninti, and without them much of the research that I've done throughout the writing of this thesis would not have been possible.

When reference is made to a primary source from Ninti, it will be cited in text according to its database number, which begins with GALC and is followed by a string of numbers. Primary sources will be cited in full in a separate appendix.

Chapter 2

Missionaries in Australia

2.1 The history of missions in Australia

2.1.1 Previous scholarship

The importance of the Christian religion in shaping Australian history, particularly the interactions between white colonialists and Aboriginal people, is reflected in the depth and variety of literature on the topic. Research from more broad perspectives includes Davison (2013) and O'Brien (2013) which investigate the spread and historical influence of religion through the history of the continent, and Harris (1990)'s seminal work on the interactions of Aboriginal people with Christianity throughout the first 200 years of Australian history. Books targeted at a more broad, less strictly academic audience, such as Reynolds (1972), (1981), and (1998), also make mentions of the interactions that Aboriginal people had with religion in the early phases of colonial history. Within this body of literature one can also find studies that are more targeted at the history of missions such as Woolmington (1979) and Swain and Rose (1988). Woolmington (1979) seeks to characterize the early history of Australian missions, and the factors that contributed to their lack of success, whereas Swain and Rose (1988) contains a large body of anthropological work on the interactions that Aboriginal people had with missions and the effects of these

interactions on Aboriginal society.

Dominating the body of scholarship on this topic are individual accounts of missions. These works are typically shorter in length and smaller in scope. They assume a wide array of perspectives, but tend to be written from the perspective of an outside researcher, such as Stevens (1994) and Rademaker (2018), or from that of a missionary who worked at the mission such as Morgan (1986), Turner (1940), and Guy (2015). Rounding out this group of scholarship are two theses written on the topic of specific missions, Kneebone (2005) on the work of Lutheran missionaries at Killalpanina and Moore (2019) on the work of the Lutherans at Hermannsburg. These two investigations are decidedly linguistic in manner, Kneebone examining the effects of missionization on the Diyari language and Moore investigating the Bible translation strategies used by the missionaries for the Arrernte language.

A final key source for the history of missions in Australia is historical material published by missionary groups themselves. These frequently come in the form of newsletters such as *The United Aborigines Messenger*, short biographical pieces by missionaries and their relatives such as Douglas (2014), or longer narrative histories of specific missionary groups Telfer (1939). While newsletters can be informative and useful, there are barriers to access that present problems, and their contents are oftentimes beyond the scope of this research. Thus, I will draw heavily from the latter two types of mission histories.

2.1.2 Christianity in early colonial Australia

Christianity was among the earliest imports to colonial Australia. The First Fleet brought convicts, and their assigned Anglican chaplain Richard Johnson, to Botany Bay on the 21st of January, 1788 to establish a British penal colony in what is present day New South Wales. Harris (1990) highlights that the initial colonization of Australia was occurring with the protestant missionary movement as its backdrop (41). Thus, Christianity was spreading to a new territory while the Protestant idea of salvation was coming to include being "born again" through conversion. This evangelical ethos sowed the seeds for what would later become a hotbed of missionary activity.

This can be seen in Johnson's stated desire to preach "salvation through personal conversion" over more abstract subjects like good morals (Davison 2013:415).

This early emphasis on conversion did not have its focus on Aboriginal people. In fact, in the religious sense they were more or less ignored for the first two decades of colonial history. In the words of John Marsden, an early Calvinist preacher, Aboriginal people were incapable of being converted (Davison 2013:416). Harris argues that the factors that lead up to the collective decision to not attempt to convert Aboriginal people were multifaceted. One major contributing factor that he cites is the fact that the large European missionary societies, that would come to dominate the Australian religious sphere in the 19th century, did not exist yet (40). This means that there was very little pressure from overseas to engage in missionary work, and that there was no money to fund it.

2.1.3 Early missions and linguists

The 1810's saw the beginning of what could be called missionary work in Australia with the opening of Macquarie's Native Institution in 1814. This institution was not explicitly Christian. As its function was strictly educational, the goal of the institution was to "civilize" Aboriginal people (Harris 1990:45)[1]. This message also included religious undertones, as Macquarie appointed an ex-missionary to serve as headmaster of the institution (44). This institution garnered mild success before its closing in 1828 (46). While the Native Institution was short-lived, it established a precedent that would influence Australian missions for the next 200 years: stationary settlement. Missionaries believed that, in order to accept the Christian god, Aboriginal people needed to abandon their traditional way of living and move in to permanent settlements. During the period that the Native Institution was open two European missionary societies, the Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society, sent over missionaries whose efforts quickly failed (51).

[1]The following paragraphs draw heavily from Harris (1990) and thus all reference refer to that work unless otherwise stated.

The first missionary effort that could be described as successful in Australia was that of Lancelot Threlkeld. Threlkeld was a member of the London Missionary Society who was sent to Australia in 1824 to establish a mission at Lake Macquerie among the Awabakal people (ibid). The mission at Lake Macquerie, called Ebenezer, was revolutionary in that it was the first fixed settlement dedicated to evangelizing to Aboriginal people.

Language work was explicitly included in the instructions that Threlkeld received from the LMS, in addition to starting a school (52). It was Threlkeld's belief that the Gospel could only reach Aboriginal people if it was in their own languages, an idea that crops up again and again in missionary philosophies from all denominations. Threlkeld quickly set about writing a linguistic description of the Awabakal language and translating the Gospel of Luke. The translation, the first of its kind, was finished in 1831 and the grammar in 1834 (53). Threlkeld retired from the mission in 1842 after its closing. His works never garnered much attention during his lifetime, and it wasn't until 1892, roughly 30 years after his death, that either his grammar or Bible translation were published (56).

Threkeld's focus on linguistic description and translation as a means of conversion was not new, but it did mark the first instance of missionary linguistics on the Australian continent. Threkeld unknowingly ignited a trend that would come to define the Australian missionary sphere for the next 200 years. Following Threkeld's Awabakal translation came several partial Bible translations were published including Ngarrindjeri (1864), Diyari (1897), and Western Arrarnta (ca. 1900). As missions began to spread across the Australia and more denominations brought missionaries to the continent, so too did the amount of Bible translation projects increase. This deep association between linguistics and evangelism was eventually transported to the Western Desert by the organization that I concern myself with: the United Aborigines Mission.

2.2 The United Aborigines Mission

2.2.1 Introduction

The United Aborigines Mission, founded in 1894, was one of the largest and most active Australian mission organizations until its formal closure in 2020. E.J. Telfer, an early member of the group, stated that it grew out of a need for a "comprehensive missionary undertaking in which all evangelical Christians could unite" (Telfer 1939:11). This statement underscores two key aspects of the group. The first being its non-denominational or pan-evangelical alignment. The UAM was unique at the time for not adhering to a single doctrine. All of the missionary groups that came before it were associated with single denominations, like the Anglican and Lutheran groups of the early 19th century. In contrast the UAM employed missionaries of various denominations that had evangelical leanings. A second contrasting feature of the UAM is that it was an Australian born organization. Whereas all of the other mission organizations that came before the UAM were branches of larger organizations based in Europe, the UAM had no such connections.

Doing accurate historical research on the UAM is a challenge. This is because when the organization shut down in 2020 a majority of their historical archives were lost. Apart from official information on UAM missions in South Australia, the rest of their archives have not been able to be located (Find & Connect Web Resource Project). Because of this, a large source of objective information on UAM missions, including dates of opening and closing, exact locations, number of residents, and staff, is not available to me. Therefore, I rely on publications made by the UAM for a general audience such as Telfer (1939) and *Challenging the Almighty* (1994), which frequently do not present information in a chronological order or include dates. These publications also tend to gloss over things that would be of little importance to the general reader, but are invaluable for the reconstruction of the organization's history or a more empirical analysis of mission activity.

2.2.2 Early history

The group has its roots in meetings organized by members of the Christian Endeavour Society from two Sydney churches in 1893. These meetings were convened with the goal of ministering to Aboriginal people in the La Perouse, a suburb of Sydney (*Challenging the Almighty* 1994: 3). The work was originally funded by the Aborigines Protection Society (ABS), A early Quaker Aboriginal rights group, but after two years the ABS withdrew funding. This prompted the still dedicated members to conglomerate into the La Perouse Aborigines Mission Committee, and hence the UAM was born (Telfer 1939:7).

Within the following 15 years, the mission society continued to expand and open new missions and churches in the area around Sydney, at locations such as Illawarra Lake, Plumpton, and Sackville ReachĖ.J. Telfer started the first of his many pioneering missions in 1906, wherein he traveled through less populous locations by bicycle, in an attempt to find new locations to establish Churches and Missions (*CTA* 1994: 8). As a result of Telfer's "pioneering", the group had purportedly opened 13 or more mission stations and employed more than 15 missionaries by 1907 (*CTA* 1994: 11).

2.2.3 Moving west

The UAM's important decision to expand westward came in late 1907. It was decided that Telfer would travel to Western Australia in order to scout more desirable locations to establish missions (14). The foundations for the first UAM mission outside of eastern Australia, Oodnadatta, were laid during Telfer's journey eastward. Arriving in Perth via Adelaide, Telfer again began to explore the western coast of Australia by bicycle (16). Telfer's journey along the coast eventually brought him to Sunday Island, where a preexisting mission amongst the Bardi people was taken over by the UAM in 1912 (17).

The 1920's and 30's saw the founding of three missions that are of central importance to my research: Mount Margaret (1921), Ooldea (1933) and the Warburton Ranges Mission (1933). These

missions were located in the Western Desert and preached to communities of Wati language speakers. They also played pivotal roles in the history of the UAM translation department. It is at these locations where Wilf Douglas was first exposed to the Wati languages and began to do research on them. The mission in the Warburton Ranges, located in Ngaanyatjarra country, became the site for the beginning of the UAM Bible translation project.

2.2.4 Later years of the UAM

After the establishment of these three missions in Western Australia, the organization continued to grow in size and in influence. The renewed interest in missionary work post-WWII and an increase in government funding contributed to this rapid growth (CTA: 40). Harris (1990) also notes a trend in mission popularity during the mid 20th century. He notes a shift in popularity away from missions associated with specific denominations, such as Catholicism or Lutheranism, and towards non-denominational organizations like the UAM (784). The 50s and 60s saw the opening of several Bible institutes, notably at Gnowangerup, that were aimed at educating Aboriginal people to become ministers in their own right, reflecting the organizations pivot towards the creation of self-governing communities (CTA: 43). The Ngaanyatjarra Bible translation project, the subject of this study, was started by Amee Glass and Dorothy Hackett in 1973 (65).

In the 1980s, the organization began an aircraft ministy program in order to reach even more remote communities (73). During this time it also saw a shift towards an evangelization program that focused more on conventions and public revivals (75). The 90s saw a sharp decline in the influence and power of the UAM. As a result of Aboriginal communities newfound abilities to regain control of their traditional lands, the organization lost possession of many of its missions, forcing the majority of them to close. The organization continued to atrophy until its eventual dissolution in 2020.

2.3 Wilf Douglas and his colleagues

Wilf Douglas, an Irish immigrant to Australia and missionary was one of the most influential linguists of the languages of western Austalia. A UAM affiliate, Douglas would discover his aptitude for linguistics early in his career. He then came to the realization that he was to use his talent to deliver the Word to Aboriginal people in their own language. Douglas went on to author seminal works on western Australian languages, particularly on the Wati and Nyulnyulan languages. Douglas would later go on to become the head of the UAM langauge department. In this position he commanded great influence over all translation activity happening in Western Australia.

2.3.1 Early life

Wilfrid H. Douglas was born in Belfast, Northern Ireland in 1917. At eleven years old, Douglas was sent by his parents to work at Fairbridge Farm School in Pinjarra, Western Australia (Douglas 2014:28).After spending two years of schooling at Fairbridge, Douglas graduated and went to work as a farmhand at a poultry farm in Perth (50). At the age of 21, Douglas attended the Perth Bible Institute (68). After graduating, he moved to the UAM mission at Badjaling, where he taught English at the associated school (72). Douglas had a short stint in the army from 1941-1945 and, upon returning, rejoined the UAM (75). He is stationed at the Gnowangerup Mission, before being moved to Sunday Island (99).

2.3.2 Work as a linguist

It is on Sunday Island that Douglas discovers his interest in linguistics and begins documenting the Bardi language(109). Douglas is then moved from Sunday Island to Oooldea (110). Prior to his leaving, Douglas writes a brief, unpublished description of the Bardi Language (Douglas 1950). It was at Oooldea that he was first began doing research on the Wati languages, specifically the Ngalia dialect that was spoken there, publishing a phonological description in Douglas (1955) (Douglas 2014:116). Douglas then moved to the Warburton Ranges, and published two of

the first attempts at a comprehensive linguistic description of the Wati languages, a grammar (Douglas 1957) and a dictionary (Douglas 1959) (Douglas 2014:122). It is shortly after the writing of these two publications that Douglas' convinces the UAM adminstration of the importance of language documentation to religious conversion that he opens the translation department of the organization (132). After the beginning of the Ngaanyatjarra Bible Project, Douglas informally retires from the UAM (CTA: 65). He continued to conduct independent linguistic research on the languages of the Western Desert until his death in 2004.

2.3.3 Colleagues

Douglas worked very closely with fellow UAM missionary Noel Blyth, who was stationed primarily at Mount Margaret Mission. The two were in frequent communication with one another by letter during the 1950s. Their letters consist largely of personal communications, in which they recount the general goings on of either of their lives (GALC 5042, 5048, 5049,). Douglas and Blyth also write frequently to one another on the subject of translation, discussing how best to render important Biblical concepts in Ngaanyajtarra and it's closely related dialects (GALC 491, 591). These letters form the core of the primary source documents explored in this paper, and the terms that Douglas and Blyth focused on inform the terms that are explored in greater detail in Chapter 4.

At the founding of the Ngaanyatjarra Bible Project in 1973, spearheaded by UAM missionaries Amee Glass and Dorothy Hackett, Douglas begins to take more of a supervisory role in the translation branch of the UAM (CTA: 65). The two begin their project in the Warburton Ranges, studying and writing a linguistic description of the Ngaanyatjarra language for roughly four years. They then move to Alice Springs, where they continue to work on the project under Douglas' advisement until its original publication in 1990 (ibid.). Much of the data for my study comes from the Bible translation made by Glass and Hackett. In comparing their work with the letters of Douglas and Blyth, it is clear to me that Glass and Hackett were heavily influenced by Douglas' ideas.

Chapter 3

Bible Translation and its Theories in Australia

3.1 Introduction

In order to better contextualize the translation strategies used by missionaries in the UAM I compare them with strategies of other unrelated groups of translators in Australia. All of the current literature on translation theory and the history of Bible translation in Australia focuses on the activities of German Lutheran missionaries in Central Australia. These missionaries are often referred to as the Hermannsburg missionaries, after the first mission that they established near the Finke River in 1877. These missionaries were all affiliated with the Neuendettelsau Mission Society in Middle Franconia, Germany that was established in 1841 year.

Bible translation by these missionaries and its effects were primarily treated in two publications: Kneebone (2005) and Moore (2019). Each examined the work of Hermannsburg missionaries among two different Aboriginal groups; Kneebone deals with the translation and language documentation work done by Reuther and other missionaries at Lake Killalpaninna among the Diyari people beginning in 1876. Kneebone's thesis primarily concerns itself with the effects of Bible translation on the Diyari language. She examines the methods by which the missionaries

gathered language data to introduce literacy into the community with the end goal of Christianization. She looks specifically at how the missionaries manipulated the language on a grammatical level to fit a Latin model and the language shift that resulted from this manipulation.

Moore examines the work of missionaries among the Arrernte people, particularly the activities of missionaries at the Ntaria mission. Instead of focusing on the ramifications of Bible translation like Kneebone does, Moore's focus aligns more closely with those of this paper. He investigates the translation philosophy of the missionaries who were working on the Arandic languages, specifically Carl Strehlow. He also situates these translation strategies within the Lutheran tradition, connecting the actions of these translators to the European academic sphere in which they were trained. The core of Moore's thesis is that Lutheran missionaries were not linguists or anthropologists but cultural translators who came from a strong culture of linguistic and anthropological description (40). The following sections draw on Moore and Kneebone's descriptions of Hermannsburg translation practices to situate the practices of the UAM within the greater context of Australian missionary linguistic work.

3.2 The theories in question

As a starting point for discussing each groups respective translation theories I start by looking at the figures who form the primary influence for each tradition. The Lutheran tradition of translation traces its roots back to the ideas of the reformer Martin Luther of the 16th century. The philosophy of translation upheld by the missionaries of the UAM primarily stems from the work of Eugene Nida, a Bible translator and linguist who was active during the 20th century. Below I introduce the two translators, highlighting the similarities and differences in their approaches to translating the Bible.

3.2.1 Luther

Born in 1483, Martin Luther is considered to be seminal figure in the first wave of protestant reformations during the 16th century. Luther was educated in the Catholic monastic context and went on to become a Franciscan friar. Sometime during his tenure as a friar Luther began to draw issue with many central doctrines of the Catholic Church; this inspired his authoring the *Ninety-Five Theses*, in which he critiqued many aspects of the Catholic Church which focused heavily on indulgences. Luther's critiques ultimately inspired a schism in the Catholic Church and the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. Luther's doctrine emphasized a salvation through a personal connection and faith in God, as opposed to the Catholic belief of salvation through good works (Mullett 2004:72). He also emphasized that the only source of divine knowledge was the Bible, as opposed to being held by an educated elite. These two facts resulted in translation being placed at the core of Lutheran religious activity.

Luther sought to translate the Latin Vulgate Bible into a colloquial German Bible. In doing so, he hoped to democratize access to the text and decentralize the authority of its interpretation away from the educated elite (Haemig 2011:256). Luther's system broke the scriptures into two separate parts, the original letter of the text and the spirit that it conveys. His belief was that one had to master the letter in order to access the spirit of the text or the part of the text that held divine inspiration (257). After gaining access to the spirit of the text, the translator can then convey that spirit in the target language. He still recognized the source text as the source of divine inspiration however, believing that the final product of any translation must uphold the integrity of the source text above all (258).

3.2.2 Luther in Australia

Lutheran missionaries were some of the first people to establish missions in the central and western parts of the Australian continent and therefore were some of the first people to attempt large scale translation projects into Australian languages. The two pioneering groups in this respect

were the missionaries at the Bethesda Mission in Diyari country and those at the Ntaria Mission who worked with the Western Arrarnta people.

In their respective works, Moore (2019) and (Kneebone 2005) characterize the language work done by these two groups of missionaries. Moore focuses closely on the behaviors of the missionaries at Ntaria themselves, relating their actions to the Lutheran framework of translation and to the larger academic trends in Germany at the time. He chooses to view these missionaries not as linguists but as cultural translators. He likens them to the Catholic priests of early Spanish Mexico, who not only engaged in linguistic work in order to proselytize to indigenous people but also wrote extensive ethnographies of the cultures in which they were operating.

Moore pays particular attention to the work of Carl Strehlow, who was not only involved in the Arrarnta translation of the Bible but also the earlier Diyari translation that forms the subject of Kneebone (2005). Moore characterizes Strehlow as one of these cultural translators; he points towards Strehlow's seminal work *Die Aranda-und-Loritja Stämme in Zentral-Australien*, published in 1920, which is an ethnography of the groups that he spent his latter years with (58). This work looked at the cultures and languages of Central Australia through a purely academic lens. This attention to ethnography and anthropology shows through in the translation work of the Lutheran missionaries and in particular Strehlow. His approach to translation was a novel one on the Australian continent; he espoused the remapping of traditional cultural terms on to new Christian concepts. Strehlow drew on Luther's principal of translating into "the people's *Aranda*". A prime example of Strehlow's unorthodox method of translation is his translation of GOD as *Altjira*, "Dreaming, Dreamtime" (Moore 2019:64). The choice of this translation, while stemming from Strehlow's misunderstanding of the cultural concept, drew on preexisting belief structures of the community that he worked in. The effects of this were twofold: bridging the gap in belief systems, but also opening the doors for syncretism. Strehlow's ultimate desire for understanding of the source text, which he achieved through deliberate syncretic translation, underscores the emphasis the Luther himself put on Bible literacy as a pathway to salvation.

Kneebone (2005) explores Lutheran translation philosophy from the other side, looking at

how the language work done by the missionaries affected the language itself. Kneebone's study centers on the activities at the Bethesda Mission at Lake Killalpanina and pays particular attention to the missionary-linguists Johann Georg Reuther and Philip Scherer. Kneebone highlights another Lutheran principle in action on the Australian continent: source text originality.

Kneebone demonstrates the language shift that occurred amongst Diyari speakers as a result of mission activity. After establishing the mission at Lake Killalpanina the missionaries quickly set to work documenting the predominating language of the area which was Diyari. After several years, they also established a school. Children at this school were instructed in Diyari, however it was a very different than what was spoken in the rest of the community (Kneebone 2005:105). Through her analysis of the grammars written by the Lutherans at Lake Killalpanina Kneebone shows that they attempted to cast the language in a European mold. They approached Diyari through the lens of Latin grammar and European phonology, introducing grammatical categories that did not exist in the language, leveling phonological contrasts, and creating new lexical items (195). The result was a language that was ostensibly very different from the language spoken in the surrounding community. One could view this phenomenon as stemming from pure ignorance on the part of the missionaries, however it is more insightful to view this as intentional. By intentionally disrupting the natural chain of language transmission and attempting to shoehorn the language into a European model, the translators were in essence readying the language for Bible translation. By making the target language, Diyari, more like the source languages Greek and Latin, they tightened the gap between the old text and the new text. In a vacuum this choice would be anti-Lutheran as the new text would be incomprehensible to the audience for which it was made. But the missionaries use of their new Diyari in the controlled educational environment circumvented this problem.

3.2.3 Nida

Eugene Nida (1914) was an American linguist and translation theorist, whose work focused primarily on Bible translation into indigenous languages. Nida was a prolific writer, authoring nu-

merous works both in the field of linguistics and in the field of Bible translation. Nida invented and popularized the concept of dynamic equivalence. Dynamic equivalence theory focused on creating translations that were culturally appropriate and would be received well by readers (Stine 2004:470). This is not unlike the beliefs of Martin Luther, whose philosophy also emphasized the texts reception by its audience. Nida differs from Luther in that he did not believe the translator should be beholden to the form of the source text (ibid.). Nida believed that in order to communicate the message of the text most effectively, the translator had to change the form of the text, and should not be restricted by it (Nida and Taber 2003:4). He also opposed the altering of the target language in order to preserve some feature of the source language (3). Nida ultimately views the Bible in translation as a tool for conversion (Nida 1952:11). Nida's principles dictate that this tool needs to be able to change in order to best work in the intended context. The most crucial of Nida's principles to my research was his idea that metaphors and imagery in the source text should be adapted for the target audience. The following vignette from Nida (1952) illustrates the importance of cultural awareness in translation:

> "Lexical mistakes generally occur because inadequate attention has been paid to the local culture. For example one cannot say in the Zanaki language of Tanganyika, 'Behold, I stand at the door and knock.' Among the Zanaki people only thieves knock on doors… Hence in the Zanaki translation of Revelation 3:20 it is necessary to say, 'Behold, I stand at the door and call.'" (7)

In order for this verse to be well received, the translator had to completely change the original form of the text. Had they not, the intended message of the text would not have been communicated. While Nida states that no true equivalences can exist in translation, it is by following this principle that translators can get as close as possible (Nida and Taber 2003:12). The end goal of any missionary, as conceived of in Nida's framework, is the creation of a self-sustaining indigenous church, in essence to "work himself out of a job" (Nida 1952:21)

3.2.4 Nida's influence on the UAM

Nida was particularly influential for Wilf Douglas and his fellow UAM translators. He is mentioned several times by name in Douglas' biography.

> "Wilf thought back on the amazing growth he had experienced as a result of his involvement with SIL/WBT(Wycliffe Bible Translators)…through these experiences he had been introduced to the writings of **Dr. Eugene Nida**…" (Douglas 2014:133)

He is also mentioned in letters between Wilf Douglas and Noel Blyth on the subject of translation.

> "**Nida** prefers the Nestle(-Aland) form 10c. 'upon him' εις αντον…"
>
> –Noel Blyth to Wilf Douglas, discussing Greek-Ngaanyatjarra verb equivalences (GALC 5092)

Nida's beliefs about the creation of self-governing indigenous churches line up directly with the UAM's goals that are stated in several of its publications. In *Challenging the Almighty* the author, looking back on the organization's development, says that it pivoted towards prioritizing independent communities during the 1940s (40). Church leaflets, mention that the goal of the organizations language work was to create literate indigenous churches that could be self sustaining (GALC 3692). In the 1971 UAM missionary handbook, the creation of self-governing indigenous churches is listed as one of the foremost policies of the mission:

> "Train the Aboriginal people to become independent in each realm of their need - i.e., in regard to their social, physical and economic welfare and as regards **the government, support, and outreach, of their own churches**." (GALC 4979)

As I demonstrate, the core principles of Nida's philosophy guide the work done by Douglas and his colleagues and are reflected in the translations that they produce.

3.3 Bible editions

The core of this thesis relies on a comparative study of Bible translations. Below I introduce the various Bible translations and versions that I will use in this thesis.

3.3.1 Ngaanyatjarra Bible

The Ngaanyatjarra Bible received its first publication in 1976, when UAM translators Amee Glass and Dorothy Hackett published the complete New Testament (Mama Kuurrrku Wangka Marlangkatjanya). This publication was born out of decades of work by both Glass and Hackett. A version with a complete New Testament and abridged Old Testament was published in 2008, which is where it stands today.[1]The Ngaanyatjarra Bible represents a culmination of the theories established by Douglas, Blyth, Glass, Hackett, and their contemporaries through their work on Wati languages.

Using the data from the Ngaanyatjarra bible allows me to investigate the translation choices and theories discussed by Douglas and Blyth in their correspondence. It also serves to fill in many of the gaps not answered in these letters, as Douglas and Blyth rarely made any definitive decisions with respect to the translations that they discussed.

3.3.2 English Bible

For all English Biblical references, I use the New International Version (NIV). The NIV is easily understood and widely recognized while still being grounded in the philological study of the original text (cite). my choice is motivated by a desire to present comparative data that is as uncomplicated as possible. All of the different religious groups in Australia were all working from different translations of the Bible and therefore I believe the NIV represents are neutral midpoint between all of these versions.

[1]Any quotes taken from the Ngaanyatjarra Bible are from this version of the text: (Glass and Hackett 2008)

3.3.3 Greek and Hebrew Bibles

For the purposes of my research, I cite words from the original Greek text of the New Testament, Greek translations of the Old Testament, and the Hebrew Old Testament. This thesis does not center itself around an analysis of the Greek or Hebrew source text, and as such the selection of any specific Greek or Hebrew Biblical recension is not critical to my research. Thus I cite the Greek and Hebrew words as they appear in Strong (1890), as most online tools for searching the Greek and Hebrew text rely on Strong.

3.3.4 Diyari Bible

Because I am comparing the UAM missionaries to the German Lutheran missionaries, who worked at Hermannsburg and Killalpaninna, I am choosing to use the Diyari Bible, translated by J. G Reuther and Carl Strehlow.[2] The Diyari Bible is the earliest complete New Testament written in an Australian language.

I choose to use the Diyari Bible over the Aranda Bible for reasons of practicality. Reuther's Diyari orthography has been described by Austin (2021) as orthographically poor, as it fails to mark certain phonemic contrasts (7). However, it is fully digitized along with the dictionary authored by Reuther and his colleague Scherer. Having these two texts allows me to more easily analyze the strategies employed in the Diyari text.

3.3.5 Kriol Bible

Australian Kriol is a primarily English-lexified creole resulting from the contact of English with several different Aboriginal languages. Spoken by some 20,000 people primarily in the Northern Territory, Kriol is the most widely spoken Aboriginal language in Australia (Dickson 2023:667). The Kriol Bible was completed in 2007 and remains, to date, the only complete Bible in an Australian language.

[2]Any references to the Diyari Bible are taken from (Reuther and Strehlow 1897)

The project of translating the Bible into Kriol was a joint effort, undertaken by individuals from many different denominations, including Anglican, Lutheran, and non-denominational evangelical. This collaborative nature is the very reason why I have chosen it as a basis of comparison. Because denominations with very different doctrinal views were a part of this translation, it is free from many of the doctrine specific differences that are manifested in Bibles translated by a singular specific group. In my view, The Kriol Bible represents are very standardized and prescriptive way of creating a Bible translation into an Australian language.[3]

[3]All references to the Kriol Bible are taken from bib (1984)

Chapter 4

Translation Theories in Practice

4.1 Introduction

In the following section I investigate specific translation strategies used by the UAM and contextualize those strategies within the broader Australian continent via comparisons with the Diyari and Kriol Bibles. I first analyze the approach that different groups take to translating Biblical names of places and people. I then move on to three specific theological concepts cited by Douglas and Blyth in their correspondence. This takes me to a discussion of the use of the privative in UAM Bible translation. I conclude this chapter by looking at the larger narrative structure of these Bible translations.

4.2 Proper nouns

One of the most common strategies used by UAM missionaries for the translation of names and places in the Bible was direct loaning. The process by which UAM translators selected the forms for these loans was constrained by two factors. Primarily, there was a desire to avoid confusion between preexisting words in the language or other loans from English. This is exemplified in a letter between Wilf Douglas and Noel Blyth, in which the appropriate transliterations for biblical

names such as James and John are discussed:

> "John–…By our transliteration chart this would become [a]– thus *tjan-nga.* I have not heard the natives transliterate John's name in any other way. I should imagine that *tjun-nga* would be the transliteration of June." (GALC 591, 1). "James– A direct transliteration could be *Tji:mtji*…Your form would be alright if it did not conflict with 'Jamie' in later literature." (ibid.)

(1) Ngaanyatjarra

*Palunyalu nyangu **Piitalu** nyinarra waru ngantjiranyangka.*

Lit: "She saw Peter sitting asking for fire"

"When she saw **Peter** warming himself, she looked closely at him." (Mark 14:67)

(2) *Nyangka **Tjiitjanya** ngurra **Kalalilanguru** pitjangu.*

Lit: "Then Jesus came from the country of Galilee"

"Then **Jesus** came from **Galilee**…" (Matthew 3:13)

Another factor that they frequently took into account was what was already in use among the communities they were working with. Douglas debates the merits of changing the name ascribed to Jesus in his letter. He proposes the name Yitjunya or Yiitjunya to be "as close as possible to the English pronunciation". However, he acknowledges that Tjitjanya is what is most commonly used. The Tjitjanya form is what ends up persisting, despite the fact that Douglas considers it too "impersonal" (GALC 591, 4).

This translation method extends to the names of groups of people in the Bible. For example the term *Pharisee* is adopted into Ngaanyatjarra as *Paratji.*

(3) Ngaanyatjarra

*Nyangka wati **Paratji** puru **Tjatutji** pirnilu-ya pitjangu tjapirnu Tjuuntu-tjananya*

kapingka tjarrpatjunkutjaku.

Lit: "Then many **Pharisee** and **Sadducee** men came up to where John was baptizing and asked…"

"But when he saw many of the **Pharisees** and **Sadducees** coming to where he was baptizing…" (Matthew 3:7)

The method of translation employed by Douglas, Blyth, and others closely mirrors methods of other bible translators. Modifying the names of places, individuals, and specific groups to the phonological and orthographic structures of the target language is a common strategy across the Australian continent

(4) Kriol

*Bambai na **Jon Beptis** bin luk loda serramonimen gulum **Ferasi** en **Sedyusi** bin kaman langa im blanga beptais*

Lit: "Then **John the Baptist** saw many ceremony-men called **Pharisees** and **Sadducees** coming over to where he was baptizing…"

"But when he saw many of the **Pharisees** and **Sadducees** coming to where he was baptizing…" (Matthew 3:7)

Another, less common strategy is to avoid changing the orthography of proper nouns in the target language. What results is an orthographic form that is not reflective of the phonological constraints of the target language.

(5) Diyari

***Jesus Cäsaraia Philippi** mitani wokarana wonti…*

"When **Jesus** came to the region of **Caesarea Philippi**… (Matthew 16:13)[1]

[1]Note that in the case of the Diyari Bible, the directly loaned names reflect their original German pronunciation

A third less common strategy for translating proper nouns is a phrasal approach. In these types of translations the proper name is translated into the target language as a phrase which attempts to evoke a salient part of the name. Moore (2019) points to the translation of "Pharisee" as *juwuku luwuku mikunytju* in later Arrernte biblical materials (186). This phrase literally means "lover of the Jew's law" and gives the reader more information on the behavior and significance of this group of people. This type of translation need not be etymologically related to the original word; as the above example does not relate at all to the original Aramaic meaning "set apart".

These different strategies for the importation of proper nouns reflect different intentionalities in translation. The UAM method of completely rendering names of people and places in the target language's orthography as a reflection of the languages phonology, is more reflective of the translation framework of Nida. His primary concern is the audiences understanding of the text, with the preservation of the form of the original text being less important. By altering biblical names the text itself becomes understandable within the context of the target language and an understanding of English or another language is not presupposed. The use original orthographies in loans, such as those in the Eastern Arrernte examples, is reflective of a desire to preserve something of the source text. Several translations lay somewhere in the middle of this spectrum, such as the examples from Pitjantjatjara where place names and those of particular groups are rendered in the target language orthography, but names of people retain their English orthographies.

4.3 Lexical translation strategies

4.3.1 Introduction

In the following section, I investigate the translations that UAM missionaries used for specific Biblical terms in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible. I compare these translations with those used in the

(e.g. Matthäus in place of Matthew).

Diyari and Kriol Bibles. My investigation centers around three theological concepts that form the core of the discussion contained in the letter GALC 591. In this letter, written by Wilf Douglas to Noel Blyth, Douglas discusses possible translations for key theological concepts. Throughout many of their correspondences, Blyth and Douglas discuss theological concepts using their Greek names:

> "is kurunpa palyamunu wantitjaku (lit: throw away the sinful eyes) equivalent to 'repentance' METANOEO?"
>
> –Noel Blyth to Wilf Douglas (GALC 5092, 09/12/64)

Following Douglas and Blyth, I will also refer to these concepts by their Greek names. These Greek terms are highly polysemous, and as such have been translated into English in a variety of ways. It is easier to conceptualize this translation relationship via an intermediate semantic space than a word to word correspondence between the source and target language. The Greek word, which has many meanings, denotes a concept. That concept is then interpreted by Bible translators and rendered using many different, closely related words in the target language. It is therefore necessary to make a formal distinction between the original Greek word and the metalinguistic concept denoted by that word. Throughout the following sections, I refer to the word in the source text in its original orthography and the semantic space denoted by that word using SMALL CAPS. The relationships between different translations of a concept are illustrated below, using the Greek δόξα as an example.

The Greek δόξα was used by the Greek translators of the Old Testament to translate the Hebrew *kavod* "honor, respect, dignity". This word δόξα is then employed by the Greek writers of the New Testament, having gained new meanings as a result of the translation from the Hebrew. This Greek word, which is polysemous and highly context depependent, cannot be rendered in new translations by a single word. Instead, the translators see the Greek δόξα as denoting a semantic space that contains many different but closely related meanings. I call this meaning space DOXA. The translators then use their understanding of this meaning space to translate the concept DOXA into the target language using many different words depending on context. The

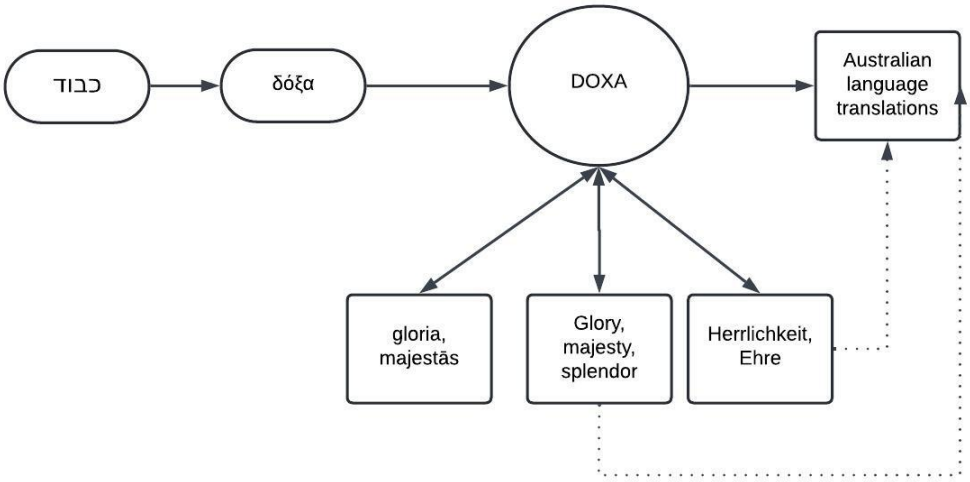

Figure 4.1: The meaning space of DOXA

dotted lines in the diagram represent horizontal crossover between target language editions of the text. For example, a translators knowledge of the Latin Vulgate or English versions of the Bible also informs how they conceptualize the meaning space denoted by the Greek word and how they render that meaning in the target language.

In additon to the concept DOXA I also investigate the Ngaanyatjarra translations of HAGIOS "holy" and HOMARTION "sin". Douglas and Blyth do refer to HAGIOS using the Greek ἁγιος, but they do not do the same for HOMARTION, referring to it simply as *sin*. However, for concerns of uniformity and unambiguity I have introduced the label of HOMARTION in order to match the nomenclature that I use throughout this section.

4.3.2 *Doxa*

The first word within this semantic domain that Douglas concerns himself with is the concept of DOXA. Stemming from the Greek δοκειν meaning "to appear, to seem, to think, to accept", this word has a long history within the Greek philosophical tradition and is traditionally conceptualized as belief that comes from emotions as opposed to reason (Liddell et al. 1996:381). The word δόξα began to take on its own meaning in the Biblical sphere after being equated with the

Hebrew *kavod* "glory" in the Septuagint. The exact meaning of this term within the context of the Bible has been the subject of much scholarly debate. Forster (1932) cites five different terms that DOXA gets translated into in English: glory (of God), praise, honor, worship, and dignity (I). Throughout the Ngaanyatjarra translation of the New Testament, the concept DOXA is not covered by a single word. The words chosen by the translators of the Ngaanyatjarra Bible to render this concept were highly dependent on context.

Doxa* as *light

One of the most easily identifiable translations of the concept of DOXA in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible is in contexts where the characters are experiencing it as some sort of physical presence.

(6) Ngaanyatjarra

Nyangka yayintjulpa-tjananya yartakarringu ngarangu. Nyangka Mama Kuurrtanguru ***tili purlkanyalu-tjananya*** *yartakara kanyiranyangka-ya ngurlurringu.*

Lit: "Then an angel of the lord appeared and stood. Then God's **big light** clearly surrounded them and they became afraid."

"An angel of the Lord appeared to them, and the **glory** of the Lord **shone** around them, and they were terrified." (Luke 2:9)

In this context *doxa* is rendered as *tili purlkanya* meaning "big light". Terms involving the words for *light* or *reflection* such as *lila-lilara* "shining, reflecting light" or *piltjirpa* "light" are among the earliest translation options ocnsidered by Douglas and Blyth for *doxa*. Douglas and Blyth also consider the word *pintalpa*, a Wangkatja word meaning "shiny" or "radiant"

(7) Wangkatja

Wala mungarringu tjana ngangu tjuwarl-tjuwarl ***pintalanyi***

"When it became night, they saw it **shining bright.**" (Douglas)

Douglas remarks that this word, while it may be appropriate for *glory* it is not appropriate for the *glory of god*.

> "While not satisfied with pintalpa for the 'glory' of God; it may not bar its uses for 'glory' in other senses –e.g. the glory of heaven." (GALC 591)

He does not give any reason as to why he believes this word to fall short; a look at Wangkatja dictionary data may point to some of his reasoning. The word *pintalpa* as a noun can also mean "lamp". Furthermore, the word *pintalpa* is derived from the noun *pintal* meaning "ray of sun". It may be that in order to maintain a distinction between theological terms relating to God and the natural world this word, which carries with it associations with nature, was abandoned. For the same reasons, the proposed *lila-lilara* was abandoned given its associations with the glistening of honey, dew, or insects

(8) Ngaanyatjarra

Yurrarnpa nyaku lila-lilaranytja

"You see honey dew sparkling (on the branches)" (Glass 2003)

The word that was ultimately chosen *tili* means "light" in addition to fire, or with a verbalizing suffix "to set on fire, to burst into flames" (Glass 2003:388). This word and its associated verbal forms are not exclusively used to translate DOXA as a physical experience, they are also used to denote the common motif of God's presence as fire. This can be seen in episodes such as God appearing to Moses as a burning bush or the Holy Spirit manifesting as tongues of fire above the heads of the Apostles.

(9) Ngaanyatjarra

Nyangka Mama Kuurrku yayintjulpa yartakarringu-lu wartangka ***tilingaralanytja***.

Lit: "Then God's angel appeared in a bush that was burning brightly"

"There the angel of the Lord appeared to him (Moses) in flames of fire from within a bush."

(Exodus 3:2)

(10) *Palunyalu-ya nyangu waru **tilipirinypa** tjarra-tjarrarringkulalpi*
GLOSS
katangka-katangka-tjananya nyinakatinyangka.

Lit: "They things like **bright** fires going in different directions, pouring down on them, and settling."

"They saw what seemed to be **tongues of fire** that separated and came to rest on each of them." (Acts 2:3)

By connecting their interpretation of DOXA in these contexts with parts of the text where God's presence is stated explicitly, the translator guides the reader to a more narrow reading than what is available in the source text.

Doxa* as *cleverness

A second, more abstract translation of DOXA is *yayrinytju*. This Ngaanyatjarra word is highly polysemous, typically being translated as "clever", but also meaning "curious" or "fussy, critical" (Glass 2003:567).

(11) Ngaanyatjarra

*Nyangka-ya ngaapirinypa watjaranytja, "Yuwa Mama, nyuntulun walykumunu mularrpa. Miranykanyira kanyinma wati ngaa nyuntulun wituntjalu. Wankarunkupayin walykumunu! **Yayirninytjun** mularrpa!"*

Lit: "Then they spoke in this way, 'Yes Father, you really are holy. You look out for the men that you send. Blessed is heaven. (And) truly **clever things**!'

"Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Peace in heaven and **glory** in the highest!" (Luke 19:38)

Following its highly polysemous nature, this word is used in many different contexts in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible. As expected it is used to translate *crafty* or *cunning* in the negative sense, as is said of the serpent in Genesis (Genesis 3:1). It is also used as a frequent epithet of God, along with the phrase *palyalpayi* "do-HAB", translated in most English versions as *Almighty*, corresponding to Hebrew *shaddai* or Greek Παντοκράτωρ.

(12) Ngaanyatjarra

Nyangka Yayipamanya nyinarrayirnu nyangka-ra kurli 99-pa ngaralanytja. Nyangka-lu Mama Kuurrtu yartakarringkulalpi watjarnu, "Yuwa, ngayulu-rna Mama Kuurrnga, ***Yayirninytjulu Palyalpayinya.***

Lit: "Then Abram's summers were standing at ninety-nine. Then God appeared and said, 'Yes, I am God, the **Doer of Clever Things.**

"When Abram was ninety-nine years old, the Lord appeared to him and said, 'I am **God Almighty**'". (Genesis 17:1)

All of the different uses of this word in the Bible and in actual speech are difficult to reconcile with one another. It seems paradoxical that a word that is used to translate a common theonym could also be used to describe Satan, and could be used to represent *glory* in an abstract sense. Elucidation for this is to be found in equivalent terms in other Wati languages. A cognate term *ayini-ayini* "cunning, clever, strange" is found in Cundeelee Wangka. This word can also be used as verb meaning "to make magic" (Hadfield and Hadfield 2022:34).[2]

(13) Cundeelee Wangka

Paluru tjana kutju ***ayini-ayini*** *ma-tjarrparra ma-wiyarringu tjurta alatjirtunta.*

[2]Interestingly, the same word is present in Pitjantjatjara, *ayini-ayini* which means "magic" but can also mean "silly"Goddard (2020) (17).

"Only he and they entered the cave to make **magic** and they disappeared. Many did it like this." (34)

The polysemy present in Cundeelee Wangka points toward *cleverness* being the ability to perform things that others cannot or possessing privileged knowledge. *Shaddai* being translated as *Yayirninytju Palyalpayi* "one who regularly does clever things" characterizes God as being the ultimate possessor of secret knowledge or abilities. This is corroborated by a passage in Romans, where the same *yayirninytju* is used to translate *power*.

(14) Ngaanyatjarra

Tjiinyamarntu mularrkulirnu Mama Kuurrtu kalkurnu wantitjatjanulu ***yayirninytjulu*** *palyaltjaku.*

Lit: "They believed (if) God promised something, he would do it **cleverly**."

"being fully persuaded that God had power to do what he had promised."(Romans 4:21)

This use of the word *yayirninytju* represents a reallocation of a traditional cultural concept into a new function. Within the context of the Ngaanyatjarra Bible, the word has lost some of its original meanings, namely "fussy" and "critical". It is also stripped of the more culturally specific meaning that relates it to magic. While this term still refers to the possession of priviledged knowledge or abilities, the referent of this word has become redefined within the context of Christianity. The Cundeelee Wangka cognate term *ayini-ayini* can be ascribed to a human subject or performed by a human actor. In the Ngaanyatjarra Bible this usage is not mirrored; the word is only ever said of divine actors. And furthermore, in the positive sense this word is only applied to God. In stripping the word of its culturally specific meaning the translators amplify the polysemy inherent to that word. Ascribing it to two theologically opposed entities, God and Satan, they have turned a word that was once composed of many closely related, non-opposing meanings into a word that is in essence an antonym of itself.

The restructuring of the uses of *yayirninytju* away from human referents is what allows for

the word to assume the meaning DOXA in the fully abstract sense as in (11). In contexts such as this, the word does not necessarily have anything to do with cleverness or possession of secret knowledge; it instead represents divine DOXA via association with a quality that has been said of God and his actions. In this usage the word gains an entirely new christianized meaning.

Doxa as *praised*

DOXA is also translated in the Ngaanyatjarra as a word meaning "praised" *marninypungkulatjaku*, literally "proud-VERBL-PURP".

(15) Ngaanyatjarra

Wiya, yaaltjilunyka-tjuyan mula-mularriku. Wiya, purtu-yan mularrkulinma. Tjiinya-yankun ngaparrkulu marninypungkula pukurlpa nyinarra. Tjinguru-yan kulinma Mama Kuurrtu-tjananyanta marninypungkulatjaku. Ngaanya-yan watatjalu wantirra.

Lit: "Oh, how can you believe? Oh, you believe in vain. **Praise** from elsewhere sits happily with you. You ought to seek out God's **praise**. You leave it here unaware (of it)."

"How can you believe since you accept glory from one another but do not seek the glory that comes from the only God?"(John 5:44)

This word ultimately derives from the noun *marniny* which frequently appears in a reduplicated form *marniny-marniny*. Like *yayirninytju* the word within its original context is highly polysemous, ranging in meaning from "proud, proud with oneself" to "most important" to "self-satisfied, arrogant" (Glass 2003:144)

(16) *Mitjitjilu* ***marninypungkula*** *ngayuku yurntalpa.*

"The white woman is praising my daughter." Glass (2003:145)

This word, like others that are used to translate DOXA, fulfills several different purposes in

the Ngaanyatjarra Bible. It is used straightforwardly as a term for the worship of any deity, as is illustrated in the following episode in Exodus where the Israelites worship the Golden Calf. Frequently, the source texts for scenes such as these involve words referring to prostration or bowing. In situations such as these, *marninypungku* occurs alongside the word *pupakatiku* "to bend down, crouch down". *Marninypungku* also serves as a translation for the act of *serving*. However, it's use to translate *serve* only extends to acts of service to God, whereas in the source texts the corresponding verbs also apply to service under other people.

(17) *Nyangkalta Tjiitjalu watjarnu, "Tjayitin, mapitja. Tjiinya Payipulta kutjulpirtu walkatjunu wantinytjanya ngaapirinypa ngarala, 'Nyuntuku Puurrpa Mama Kuurrngakutju pupakatirra* ***marninypungama****. Palunyalu palunyaku wangkakutju wangarnarralu kulira palyanma.'*

Lit: "Then Jesus said, 'Satan leave. In the Bible long ago they wrote and left it like this, '**Worship** the Lord God. Listen only to his sweet speech.'"

Jesus said to him, "Away from me, Satan! For it is written: 'Worship the Lord your God, and serve him only. (Matthew 4:9).

This word, unlike *yayirninytju*, loses almost all of its original complexity in the way that it is implemented in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible. The word and the form that it is derived from are never used to mean "proud" or the more negative "arrogant". In these instances the translators employ the close synonym *karnany-karnany*. This word is also employed to general disobedience, more often than not towards God. This usage is a Nida-esque liberty taken by the translators, as they have interpreted the source text to be referring to disobedience through arrogance or self-importance.

(18) *Nyangka-pula mularrpartu ngarringu. Nyangka Yayikanya nyinarrayirnu mukalarringu. Palunyalu* ***karnany-karnanyarringkulalpi*** *Tjarayila kutjupa-kutjupa watjaranytja.*

Lit: "Then he really laid down with her. Then Hagar became pregnant. She started saying different kinds of **arrogant things** to Sarah."

"He slept with her, and she conceived. When she knew she was pregnant, she began to despise her mistress." (Genesis 16:4)

This word was more primed as a translation for the abstract DOXA than *yayirninytju*. *Marninypungulatjaku* in its original context is much less polysemous than *yayirninytju* and the meanings it does possess are much more closely related to one another. This word is also much less culturally charged than *yayirninytju*, which has non-Christian meanings relating to magic and cultural knowledge. Using this word creates a much smaller gap between the meaning in the source text and the target text.

Doxa in other Australian Bibles

Diyari

The way that DOXA is addressed in the Lutheran Diyari Bible stands in stark contrast to the myriad of ways that translators chose to render the term in Ngaanyatjarra. It is translated in a very consistent fashion throughout the New Testament, using the word *pirna-la-ni* or just *pirna-la* "bigness" literally "big-CHAR-NOM". This term is used across the board, and combines with specific verbs and adjectives given its context. Following the Ngaanyatjarra example in (6), the DOXA of the lord that is described as "big light" *tili purlkanya* is instead translated as *pirnala mintjina* "shining bigness". This word is also employed in the abstract sense of DOXA, as in the phrase "glory to heaven in the highest"

(19) Diyari

*"Ngani jurangu jatai: 'Bakana Salomo **pirnalani** nunkanani pratjanani wata widmaterina wonti tanangundru kulnuni jeribaka.'"*

Lit: "I say to you: 'Even Solomon in his **bigness** did not dress like one of those ones.'"

Yet I tell you that not even Solomon in all his splendor was dressed like one of these (Matthew 6:29).

(20) Diyari

Ja mai, Kaparaia angela kulno tanangu wondraterina wonti, ja Kaparaia ***pirnala*** *tanangu* ***mintjina*** *wonti, ja tana japali pirna ngamana wonti.*

Lit: "Suddenly, One of God's angels appeared before them, then God's **bigness shined**, then they became very afraid."

An angel of the Lord appeared to them, and the **glory** of the Lord **shone** around them, and they were terrified (Luke 2:9).

This method of translating DOXA reflects a much stronger adherence to the source text. Reuther and Strehlow's translation establishes a one to one correspondance between the original *doxa* in the source text and the word in the target text. They are also drawing on a term that has low cultural specificity when compared with the Ngaanyatjarra term *yayirnytju*. In Reuther (1981) *pirnala* is noted as simply meaning "big" and by extension also "important". It can also be used to modify other nominals and to express degree (Austin 1981:111). The choice of such a word over something with stronger cultural connotations highlights the lesser degree to which the Lutheran philosophy, as it was employed at the Bethesda mission, emphasized textual fluidity. The UAM translators who adhered to the philosophy of Nida, saw the benefit in translating this highly polysemous concept depending on its context.

Kriol

The way the Kriol Bible translators addressed DOXA is much more similar to the UAM approach. In fact, it introduces many more translations than what is used in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible. DOXA as a physical manifestation of God's presence is translated as *lait* "light" qualified by an adjective such as *shainiwan* "shiny" or *braitwan* "bright" as is the approach in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible.

(21) Kriol

En wanbala einjul brom God bin kamat langa olabat, en imbin jandap wansaid langa olabat, en det ***braitwan lait*** *blanga God bin* ***shain*** *ebriweya langa olabat.*

Lit: "And one angel came from God towards them, and he stood to one side of them, and that **bright light** from God **shined** everywhere around them."

"An angel of the Lord appeared to them, and the **glory** of the Lord **shone** around them, and they were terrified." (Luke 2:9)

DOXA in the abstract sense is translated by words such as *haibala* "highness" or *gudbala* "goodness".

(22) Kriol

Im garra meigim ola kantrimen blanga Isreil jidan ***haibala***

Lit: "I will make all the countrymen from Israel sit **high**."

I will make all of the people of Israel sit in **glory**... (Luke 2:32)

Finally, when describing an attribute of God, the translators frequently employ the adjectival forms of the above abstract nouns, such as *haiwan* or *gudwan*. They also frequently use the adjective *numbawan* < *number one*, meaning "most important, foremost".

(23) Kriol

"God im ***nambawan****! Oni im na det brabli haibalawan langa hebin."*

Lit: "God is **number one**. Only he is that really high one in heaven."

"**Glory** to God in the highest heaven." (Luke 2:14)

The word *nambawan* is most frequently used in the sense of "foremost", outside of the sense of DOXA. This can be seen in many Old Testament contexts where the land of Israel is praised as God's "chosen country". This adjective also frequently combines with the word *bos* "boss, leader".

(24) Kriol

Brom deya aibin lisin sambodi bin jingat adbala langa hebin, "God im brabli ***nambawan Bos****."*

Lit: "From there I heard someone call out loudly from heaven, 'God is really the **number one boss**.'"

"Then I heard a loud voice in heaven say: 'Now have come the salvation and the power and the kingdom of our God..'" (Revelation 12:10)

The usage of *Bos* above marks a departure from the general features of translations of DOXA in the Kriol Bible. The translators of the Kriol Bible tend to use terms that are not culturally specific and they choose words that are very close in meaning to their English lexical sources. The word *Bos*, while having a transparent etymology from the English word *boss*, has a wider range of meanings in Kriol, including referring to cultural and community leaders as well as the owners of property (Lee 2014). The cause for the lack of culture specific terms in the Kriol Bible is it highly Englishizing approach to translation, rendering the text it what many would consider "High Kriol". This form of Australian Kriol draws more heavily on Australian English than other more colloquial forms of the language (Claire Bowern, personal comm.).

4.3.3 *Hagios*

The second term addressed by Douglas in GALC 591 is HAGIOS. Greek ἁγιος, is defined by Strong as a derived form of "ἁγνός" meaning "awful" and is the most frequent translation of the Hebrew *qodesh* "holy, sacred" in the Old Testament (Strong 1890). It is typically translated into English editions of the Bible as "holy" or "hallowed".

Douglas' discussion of this term in GALC 591 revolves around the Ngaanyatjarra word *mayaka* and its related form *yaka-yaka*. These words are commonly defined as "taboo" or "forbidden" in reference to religious ceremonies restricted to specific groups of people, but also to things that

are culturally impermissible to say. They can also mean "sore" and "to forbid" or "to lay down strict instructions" (Glass 2003:155). The same term in Cundeelee Wangka is attested, with a more narrow meaning that excludes "sore" (Hadfield and Hadfield 2022:258).[3]

(25) Ngaanyatjarra

Mayaka *wanti. Tjitjingkatja yini.*

"It's **forbidden**, don't say it. It's his child name." (Glass 2003:155)

(26) Ngaanyatjarra

Mara palunyanya ***yaka-yaka*** *ngarala pikatjarra. Kaamarrarringkula-rna pikatjarra kantultjakutarra.*

"That hand is really painful and **sore**. I feel apprehensive because someone might step on that **sore** hand." (Glass 2003:542)

From Douglas' discussion, it appears as though these words were originally used as a translation for HAGIOS. However, he notes that the exact usage of this word needs to be studied because their translation choice needs to convey "purity" and "goodness" as opposed to being related to things that are taboo. As we will see, these two closely related words were abandoned as translations for HAGIOS. They are, however, still employed in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible. *Yaka-yaka* appears as a verb translating *to forbid* and *mayaka* as an adjective translating *detestable*.

(27) Ngaanyatjarra

Nyangka-tjananyarnanta ngaanyakutju ***yaka-yakalku*** *wantiku.*

Lit: "Then he left one thing **forbidden**."

"Then he **forbade** them from this thing." (Genesis 9:4)

[3]Missionaries working with Cundeelee Wangka have used this term to translate *commandments from God*.

(28) Ngaanyatjarra

Tjiinya- tjanampa Yiitjipunyamartatji pirniku ***mayaka*** *ngaralanytja Yiipuru pirningka lurrtjurringkula ngalkunytjamaaltu wantirratjaku.*

Lit: "That was left forbidden for the Egyptians, eating together with the Hebrews."

"…because Egyptians could not eat with Hebrews, for that is detestable to Egyptians." (Genesis 43:32)

Hagios as *valued*

A translation commonly used for HAGIOS in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible is discussed by Douglas in GALC 591. In an attempt to find a word with more positive connotations than *yaka-yaka* or *mayaka* Douglas proposes the word *mungutjamunu*. This is composed of *mungutja*, defined by Glass and Hackett as meaning "not wanted, discarded" and a privative suffix (Glass 2003:187). Glass and Hackett define this word as meaning "important, valued, sacred". Douglas' definition of these two terms differs slightly, in that he defines *mungutja* as meaning "free, unclaimed, not in use" which he states can be said of "rubbish" or "a widow eligible for marriage" (GALC 591, 3). He then goes on to provide his reasoning for the use of *mungutjamunu* for HAGIOS.

> "mungutjamunu on analogy (for I cannot recall it in text) would seem to suggest 'not available for use', 'claimed', 'destined for other purposes' etc. It is possible –providing we can get it in text– that it will be usable for the set apart aspect of HOLY."
>
> –Wilf Douglas to Noel Blyth (GALC 591)

This word was selected in an effort to move away from the culturally specific concepts of tabooness and towards a more positive rendering of the concept of HAGIOS and still retain the aspect of HAGIOS that Douglas identifies as having to do with some kind of uniqueness or specialness. This word is used to translate HAGIOS in the context of the Lords Prayer.

(29) Ngaanyatjarra

Yuwa Mama, nyuntulun yilkari katalarra nyinarra.Nyuntuku yini ***mungutjamunu****.*

Lit: "Yes Father, you sit in the sky above. Your name is **important**."

"Our father in heaven. **Hallowed** be your name." (Matthew 6:9)

However beyond this usage this translation for HAGIOS appears very infrequently in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible, and more frequently this word is employed for its original use, to mean "important" but also "occupied".

Hagios as forbidden

Douglas states that he wants to avoid the use of words such as *mayaka* and *yaka-yaka* because their association with tabooness doesn't lend to the idea of *hagios* being a positive notion. Despite this, the Ngaanyatjarra Bible frequently employs the word *miirl-miirlpa.* This word is defined as "forbidden, taboo, sacred" and is even listed as being a synonym for *mayaka* and *yaka-yaka* Glass (2003:157).

(30) Ngaanyatjarra

Miirl-miirlpa *mayu-mayungkatja kulila*

"(That song is) **taboo** and should only be sung in the bush." (ibid.)

Miirl-miirlpa is also translated as "fearfully, apprehensively, anxiously". When combined with an inchoative suffix it can mean "to be come offended, hurt". This term has a very restricted use in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible. It is only used to refer to items that become holy due to their separation or inaccessibility. This term is ascribed to the Ark of the Covenant, the Tabernacle, and the Holy of Holies in the Old Testament.

(31) Ngaanyatjarra

Nyangka Yarantu mularrpartu puturlta tjarrpatjuralpi tjunu puuka ***miirl-miirlta***

yitingka.

Lit: "Then Aaron really put down the jar (of manna) next to the **forbidden** box."

Aaron put (the jar of manna) next to the **Ark of the Covenant**. (Exodus 16:34)

Miirl-miirlpa is also used as a verb to describe the act of sanctification via a separation. An example of this is God's making the sabbath holy in the early parts of Genesis. It is the fact that the sabbath is separated from the other normal days of the week that makes it holy.

***Hagios* as clean**

When speaking of the act of consecrating or making something holy, Greek *hagnizo* Hebrew *qadash*, the Ngaanyatjarra Bible uses the word *parltjilku* "to wash something, to wash something out of something" (Glass 2003:281).

(32) Ngaanyatjarra

Yarnangu parltjila-rnatju kutjuwarra tjawupungka.

"Let me wash myself for the last time with soap."(ibid.)

Parltjilku is used in similar situations to *miirl-miirlpa* in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible, but it doesn't carry the same connotations of holiness by nature of being separated or off-limits. It instead is used to describe things that are made holy by the process of purification. In the following example, God tells the Israelites through Moses to consecrate themselves in preparation of consuming meat.

(33) Ngaanyatjarra

Nyangka-tjananya yarnangu pirninya watjala ngaapirinypa, "Tjirntungka-yanku

***parltjila walykumunurringkulalpi** nyina."*

Lit: "Then you talk to the many people like this, 'Tomorrow **wash** yourselves, so that you're **holy**.'"

"Tell the people: '**Consecrate** yourselves in preparation for tomorrow…'" (Numbers 11:18)

The word *parltjilku* is also used to mean washing in its original sense. This leads me to believe that it is specifically used to translate the process of becoming HAGIOS via washing or when the act of washing is implied. Because washing is a typical way of preparing to eat, the verb is implied in the above case where the Greek and Hebrew have the words ἁγιάζω and *qadash* respectively, meaning simply to sanctify. In rendering verses like these using the verb *parltjilku* the translators are clarifying the actions that are taking place in the narrative based on their interpretation of the text, thus providing a more narrow reading than what is present in the source texts.

Hagios in other Australian Bibles

Diyari

HAGIOS is translated in the Diyari Bible following the same strategy as DOXA. It receives a singular translation throughout the text regardless of the narrative context: *kulikiri* "clean, clear, bright, crystal-like" (Reuther 1981).This word as Reuther interprets it has a range of meanings, all of which describe the state of natural phenomena like the quality of lakes and streams, the intensity of light, and the translucency of objects.

(34) Diyari

ditji nania kulikiri, bulu talku nana najina

"The sun is so bright that it is impossible to look straight into it." (Reuther 1981)

What is not present in Reuther's examples and definitions of this word is the notion of spiritual cleanliness or an association with traditional religious practice. Reuther and Strehlow almost entirely avoid these types of words in the sense of HAGIOS; the only example present is the use of the term *wima* a word associated with song and performance, used in the Bible with reference to trumpets (Revelation 18:22) and as a translation for "psalm". Austin remarks in his margin notes in Reuther's dictionary that, "Reuther seems to have been confused about the nature of *wima*". Throughout his dictionary he associates the word with sacred songs and performances, but then

later goes on to say, "This kind of song has nothing in common. with the songs sung at religious festivals". It is unclear whether this was an observation that Reuther made at an earlier time and then changed, neglecting to update his notes, or if he actually misunderstands the concept.

Like the UAM translators did with *mayaka*, Reuther and Strehlow reserve the word meaning "taboo", *daudaua*, for prohibitive statements.

(35) Diyari

Ja pudla milki piririna wonti. Ja Jesujeli pudlana daudauana wonti ja jatana wonti:

"Ngamalkaterialumai, wata kanali jenia ngujamananto."

Lit: "Then both eyes cleared up. Then Jesus warned the two of them saying: 'Take care, no people should be shown it and know.'"

"…and their sight was restored. Jesus warned them sternly, 'See that no one knows about this.'" (Matthew 9:30)

They also use it to describe things that are off limits, but not via their possessing HAGIOS, but because that object or action is sinful or undesirable in some way. This process of oversimplication and removal of polysemy from a word with highly specific cultural meanings mirrors that of the UAM process surrounding *mayaka*. Using this word to solely denote negative concepts, such as unpermissability, denial, and forbidding strip the word of the ultimately value neutral meaning that it has in its original context. While it appears that words like *daudaua* and *mayaka* are inherently negative, they describe specific cultural practices which are neither entirely good nor bad, but complex and ever changing.

Kriol

Following it treats DOXA, the Kriol Bible also uses many different words to capture HAGIOS. In the translation of proper nouns consisting of the word *holy* such as "the Holy Spirit" and "the Holy Bible", the kriol word *holi* is used. The Kriol translators make use of several different terms

outside of these cases, including *sekridwan* "sacred", *holiwan* "holy", and *speshalwan* "special".

(36) Kriol

Brom deya det dibuldibul bin deigim Jisas langa det seikridwan taun gulum Jerusalem

Lit: "From there that Devil.REDUP took Jesus to that sacred town called Jerusalem."

"Then the devil took him to the holy city." (Matthew 4:5)

(37) Kriol

"God im laigim yu, en imbin pikimat yu brom ola najalot gel, en det beibi weya yu garra abum, im brabli speshalwan."

Lit: "God likes you, and he chose you from among all women, and the child that you are going to have is very special."

"Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the child you will bear." (Luke 1:42)

These words do not make reference to culturally specific concepts, much like the Kriol translations of *doxa*. This reinforces the theory that the translators of the Kriol Bible had a broader audience in mind with their translations and thus had to make their translations as widely acceptable as possible.

4.3.4 The privative

The PRIVative is a feature common across many Australian languages and generally marks the absence or lack of the noun or adjective that it affixes to. The privative is a highly productive grammatical category in some languages, being used to predicate existential or even clausal negation. In others it is less productive, being a nearly defunct morpheme that is only preserved in certain **lexicalized** nominals and expressions (Phillips 2023:421). Some languages lack the case entirely. The languages of the Wati family have a productive privative suffix. In Ngaanyatjarra

-munu attaches to nominals in the expected way and indicates a lack of the predicated quality. It can also attach to verbal roots, where it precedes the inflectional suffixes and negates the action or quality predicated by the verb.

(38) Ngaanyatjarra

*Wati yirna **rawa-munu** nyinangu kurltjirr-kurltjirrarringu.*

Lit: **long-not**

"The old man stayed for a **short time** and got bored." (Glass 2003:79)

(39) Ngaanyatjarra

*Kutjupa-pula **wantinytja-munurtu** wiyartu.*

Lit: **leaving-not**

They **didn't leave anything**, nothing at all. (Glass 2003:111)

What is superficially similar to the privative also functions as one of the stems of certain compound nominals and verbs. This may indicate that the privative suffix has its origins in an erstwhile nominal stem that has since lost that function and is only retained in specific frozen forms. Examples of these types of words include *munutjukurrpa* "forbidden word (used only by men)", munuwuyurr(pa) "feeling unsettled", and *munupartu* "someone else's". The words *walyku-munu* "bad-PRIV" and *palyamunu* "good-PRIV" see very frequent use both in the Ngaanyajtarra Bible as well as colloquial speech. In the Bible *walykumunu* is used as a translation for both DOXA and HAGIOS, and *palyamunu* for HOMARTION.

4.3.5 *walykumunu*

The word *walkykumunu* "bad-PRIV" occurs very frequently within the non-Biblical Ngaanyat-jarra corpus, meaning "good, beautiful, nice". A further definition is given as "terribly painful", which most likely arose out of some kind of generalized litotes. Derived forms of the word

include *walykumunulku* "to make something good" and *walykumunurringku* "to become well" (Glass 2003:480).

(40) Ngaanyatjarra

tjitji ***walykumunu***

He's a good child. (ibid.)

(41) Ngaanyatjarra

Pilkitjarra wiilypungku ***walykumunurrinyangka*** *marnmalku.*

You throw out the muddy water (from a soak) and when it **becomes clean** you scoop it out. (ibid.)

The Ngaanyatjarra word *palya* meaning "alright, ok" is not listed in the dictionary as being synonymous with *walykumunu*. As will be discussed later, this is also true in the opposite direction, "good-PRIV" and "bad" have different meanings. The privative in these cases is used to indicate that the thing in question is better than just *good* in that it is entirely *without badness*. Take a hypothetical table as an analogy. If the table is generally clean, but has a small amount of crumbs in one spot, one may still be inclined to call the table *clean*. However, one would not be able to say that the table is *dirt-free*. In this way *walykumunu* indicates that the thing that it is predicated of is entirely devoid of anything bad, and excludes things that are only slightly good.

In the Ngaanyajtarra Bible, this word is the most common translation for both DOXA and HAGIOS. *Walykumunu* as it is used by the translators does not necessarily acquire a new meaning beyond the one that it has in colloquial speech. The UAM translators use *walykumunu* as an elsewhere translation for an umbrella concept containing both DOXA and HAGIOS. It is used when there are no factors within the context that would motivate a more specific translation. In the case of DOXA, when the translators conceptualize of a scene as involving God's physical presence or the source text makes reference to shining or burning, the translation *tili purlkanya* is

deemed appropriate. However, if the source text makes mention of God's DOXA with a lack of disambiguating context, using a word with a relatively generic meaning is a better alternative.

4.3.6 *Homartion*

Originally meaning "to fail" or "to miss the mark", this word is used in the Old Testament to translate the Hebrew *'ašam* or *chata* "trespass", "guilt", "sin". This usage parallels its usage in the Greek New Testament, where it is typically translated as meaning "sin" or "trespass". Whereas in the Hebrew Old Testament, there are several words that can be translated with these meanings, the concept of *sin* in the New Testament exclusively employs this word.

Compared to the previous words that I have investigated, the translation for the concept of *sin* Greek homartion is invariable throughout the Ngaanyatjarra Bible. This stands in contrast to Douglas' musings in the aformentioned letter. In his communication to Blyth, Douglas cites the Lutheran Strehlow's work on Luritija, another Wati language spoken further west than where UAM missionaries worked.

> "In going through part of Strehlow's Arunta Dictionary I discovered some 'Loritja' words that may give investigating clues:"
>
> –Wilf Douglas to Noel Blyth (GALC 591)

Douglas goes on to list out 12 different Luritija words, with their definitions. These words range in meanings, including *whorish*, *to miss*, *wrong*, *to go astray*, *to be in debt*, *to marry wrong*, and *sensuous*. However, none of these lines are pursued for the Ngaanyatjarra translation of *sin*. In the Ngaanyatjarra Bible, this concept is invariably translated as *palyamunu* "good-PRIV." This word was not a novel coinage by the translators of the Ngaanyatjarra Bible, having the secular definition of "bad, terrible, useless" (Glass 2003:284).

(42) Ngaanyatjarra

Nyangka Piitalu pitjangu Tjiitjanya tjapirnu, "Puurr, tjinguru-rni wanalpayi kutjupalu

palyamunu *watjalku, puru palyalkutarrartu…*

Lit: "Then Peter came and asked Jesus, 'Lord how many times must a follower say good-PRIV…?'"

"Then Peter came to Jesus and asked, "Lord, how many times shall I forgive my brother or sister who sins against me…"(Matthew 18:21)

(43) Ngaanyatjarra

Wiya, kuwarrirtu-rna pakara yanku mamalakutu. Palunyalu-rna watjalku, Wiya Mama,

palyamunurna *palyarnu Mama Kuurrta mirangka.*

Lit: "No, shortly I'll get up and go to my father. I'll say to him, No Father, I have done good-PRIV right in view of God."

" I will set out and go back to my father and say to him: Father, I have sinned against heaven and against you."(Luke 15:18)

In every context in the Bible the word *sin* is consistently translated the same varying in the verb it combines with given the context. In example (41), the noun *palyamunu* combines with the verb *watjalku* "to say" and in example (42) it combines with *palyarnu* "to do".

The choice to translate HOMARTION in this invariable was done with several goals in mind. By steering away from translating sin as one specific type of transgression such as *lewdness* or *marrying wrong*, UAM missionaries allow for sin to be determined through their preaching and instruction. If sin were translated in the way suggested by Strehlow, sin could be construed as just one type of impermissible behavior as opposed to an umbrella term or many different types of behavior. This type of translation also allows for redefining of sinful behavior within the Christian context. Simple *badness*, or rather *not-goodness*, is devoid of any culturally-specific definitions of unacceptable behavior. It thus allows the text to distance itself from preexisting belief structures and create a new separate set of impermissable behavior that it uniquely Christian.

The concept of *homartion* is multifaceted much like *doxa* or *hagios*, and the theological nature of sin can at times be nebulous and difficult to define. However, unlike *doxa* and *hagios*, the word *homartion* and its derived forms are translated into English in very closely related ways. Following Strong (1890), it is almost always translated into English as *sin* with closely related words *offense* and *trespass* following behind. This relative uniformity of meaning did not make the task of translating this concept any easier however. Much of Douglas and Blyth's correspondence makes reference to a now-lost document titled "Terms for Sin". This demonstrates that while the final translation appears to be rather straightfoward and simple, that it took them many attempts to reach what they believed to be an appropriate translation.

Homartion in other bibles

Diyari

Strehlow and Reuther use the word *madlentji* as a translation for HOMARTION throughout the Diyari Bible. This word is listed with many different but closely related meanings, including "evil", "vile (said of humans or spirits)", "licentious", "of low quality, and "mean" (Reuther 1981).

(44) Diyari

Nania widla madlentji pirna, ngangau nania delkiji

"She is a bad woman, for she has absconded" (Reuther 1981)

In the Diyari Bible, this word combines with verbs such as *ngankai* "to make, to do".

(45) Diyari

Ja nulu tanana multibana wonti Jordan kaiarani, ja tanali madlentji tanani talku dikana wonti.

Lit: "Then they all were sprinkled with water in the Jordan River, then they told all of their evils."

"Confessing their sins, they were baptized by him in the Jordan River." (Matthew 3:6)

(46) Diyari

Ngangau pratjanali madlentji ngankai, ja Godaia pirnala wata ngamalkai

Lit: "Everyone has done evils and then not had God's bigness.

For all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God. (Romans 3:23)

The treatment of HOMARTION in the Diyari New Testament is identical to that in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible; the word receives the same translation in every context, varying only in the verb with which it combines. This runs against Strehlow's later work on Arrernte and Luritja, where he compiles large lists of words that could possibly serve as a translation for HOMARTION. What differs between the two is that the Diyari translation does not involve the use of the privative. This could be a stylistic choice, the translators think that the word madlentji is "bad" enough and that a construction involving the privative is not necessary. It could also be syntactically motivated, as the Diyari privative functions much more like an independent word and is thus not suited for the translation of a singular concept (Austin 1981:49).

Kriol

The Kriol translation for HOMARTION across the board is *nogudbala* literally "not-good-ADJ", or *nogudbala* in the adverbial sense. This word is listed as meaning "sin, sinful" in the Kriol dictionary (Lee 2014). It derives from the adjective *nogud* meaning "bad, evil, dirty, diseased, messed up", and occurs in compounds such as *nogudbala gabarra* "bad-handle.of.tap" meaning "cranky", and *nogudbinji* "bad-stomach" meaning "sad" (ibid.).

(47) Kriol

"Ai bin meigim nogud"

"I messed it up" (Lee 2014)

In the Kriol Bible, this word combines with nouns and verbs depending on the context that it is in. *Nogudbala* most frequently combines with words such as *ting* "thing", *pipul*, and *men* "men". In this way the Kriol translators have adopted a route similar to the Ngaanyatjarra and Diyari translators.

(48) Kriol

"Wotfo yu nomo bradin langa God? Yunmi bin dumbat nogudbala ting, en dei garra kilim yunmi ded blanga tharran."

Lit: "Why are you no longer praying to God? We sinned, and they're going to kill us for that."

"We are punished justly, for we are getting what our deeds deserve."(Luke 23:41)

4.4 Structural features

4.4.1 The verse as a textual unit

A feature of the Ngaanyatjarra Bible that becomes apparent when comparing it with English versions is that the length of verses in either text do not line up with one another, with the verses in the English version being very often shorter than those in the Ngaanyatjarra version. The verses oftentimes do not line up thematically with each other; a thought contained entirely within one verse in the English version may spill into the following verse in the Ngaanyatjarra version. The translators group verses from the source text that for coherent thoughts, events, or narratives together and then translate those groups of verses into Ngaanyatjarra. The verse as a unit is not fixed and instead is used as an indicator of which pieces of the story fit together narratively. This is seen most evidently in portions of the Bible that the translators have addressed in an abridged fashion. In these sections, the translators choose to simply give a brief summary of the source text in lieu of translating every verse. This is most often seen in parts of the Old

Testament that lack narrative action or contain long descriptions. A prime example of this is the description of the construction of the Tabernacle in Exodus 26. The source text version of this account is 37 verses in length, and goes in great detail about the measurements, materials, and processes recounted to Moses about the construction of the Tabernacle. This section has been reduced to three sentences in the Ngaanyatjarra Bible and given the notation *1-37* to indicate that the following text contains all of the verses in the chapter. The translators remove any mention of the measurements of the structure, specific comments on its materials, and instructions on how it is to be put together. They instead offer a simple explanation of what the Tabernacle is and what is inside of it. They also indicate that Moses was instructed by God to create it.

This style of translating is also present in the Kriol Bible and stands in direct contrast with the translations of the Diyari Bible. The Lutherans approach the verse as a meaningful unit present in the source text that must be respected in the target text; when the Diyari text is compared directly to the English text the length of the verses and what themes they contain more directly correlates.

4.4.2 Direct quotation

The Ngaanyatjarra translators also take translational liberties by altering the way direct speech is rendered in the text. There are many instances in the Bible where there are prolonged periods of quoted speech, such as the parables told by Jesus in the synoptic Gospels or during the Sermon on the Mount. The source text does not reintroduce Jesus as the speaker during these extended monologues, except for when there is an interruption by another speaker. In situations like these in the Ngaanyatjarra text, the speaker is reintroduced by name throughout the extended quotation.

> **Nyangka Tjiitjalu tirtu watjara wanarayintja**, "Wangka ngaanya-yan nintilu kulilpayi kutjulpirtu-ya yaka-yakantjanya, 'Mirri pungkutjamaaltu-ya wantima. Nyuntulun mirri pungku, nyangkanta-ya katiku ngaratjuralpi kuurrpa wangkaku'… Palunyalu marlakulu pitja Mama Kuurrku nintila."

> **Nyangka Tjiitjalu tirtu watjaranytja**, "Tjingurunta kutjupalu watjalku kuurrkutu katikitjalu nyuntulu-lun palyamunu palyannyangka….Palunyakutarra wangkarra-lu kalypanma kuwarripanta kuurrkutu katirrayinnyangka."
>
> **Nyangka Tjiitjalu tirtu watjara-wanarayintja…** (Matthew 21:27)

The Diyari text also contains frequent reintroductions of quoted material, but unlike the Ngaanyatjarra it does not introduce the speaker by name. It instead uses the phrase *ngangau ngani jurangu jatai* "then 1SG.NOM 2PL.LOC say-PRES." This addition seems very bizarre but most likely not a translation mistake, as the rest of the text and Reuther's grammatical notes demonstrate their understanding of the Diyari pronominal system. I take all of this as evidence that these translations were, to some extent, made to be used orally rather than read. These narrative choices seem gratuitous in the case of the Ngaanyatjarra Bible and outright bizarre in the case of the Diyari Bible, but function as forms of maintaining an audiences attention during a reading aloud of the text. Their presence in both the Parables and the Sermon on the Mount lend credence to this notion, as these are standout passages from the New Testament that are frequently used during worship.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Trends in translation choices

The above case studies, which investigated lexical and structural translation choices made by three different groups of translators, reflect their general guiding principals. The translation strategies of the United Aborigines Mission can be characterized as culturally aware, context dependent, and liberal. In the following sections I go in depth on what each of these characteristics mean, the evidence for them in the texts, and how they line up with the other groups that I investigated.

5.1.1 Cultural awareness

The translations authored by UAM missionaries are highly sensitive to the culture of their intended audience. This feature can be seen as a direct line to the Nida philosophy of translation, and forms the background of many of his seminal works on translation theory (cite). A prime example of this cultural awarenesss in translation can be seen with the word *yayirninytju* being used for *doxa*. This word is steeped in culturally specific meaning and a direct translation of it into English does not evoke the associations that English readers have with God's "glory". Furthermore, this word has meanings and implications within the context of traditional Aboriginal

beliefs, evoking notions of secret knowledge or the ability to perform magic. The application of this word to God sets him up as the ultimate possessor of secret knowledge. Furthermore, this word maintains much of its original polysemy, still being used to mean "crafty" or "cunning" in the negative sense. This word is used in the ultimate Nidaian sense of relating the Bible to people in their own worldview, as it ascribes qualities to God that are salient in other cultures conceptions of Christianity. Another example of culturally-specific translation employed by the UAM is their use of *mayaka* and *yaka-yaka* to mean "forbidden". The use of these words draws on preexisting cultural beliefs, but redefines the impermissiblity to which they refer in Christian terms. This is directly mirrored by the Lutheran use of the Diyari equivalent *dauadaua*. The UAM's attention to culture and attempt to deliver the Bible to people within their own culture is also reflected in their treatment of loanwords. By rendering loanwords in native orthography and thus doing away with phonemes not present in Wati languages, they allow the names of places and people to more seamlessly integrate into the story. This stands in contrast to the Lutheran treatment of loanwords, which retain their German orthography and appear more obviously foreign.

Some level of cultural awareness can be observed in the Lutheran tradition, particularly through their translation of HAGIOS as *kulikiri* "clean, bright". The use of a word associated with an array of natural phenomena defines the importance or specialness of a new Christian concept through preexisting cultural associations. Of the three groups I studied, the Kriol Bible is the least culturally aware. It's highly Englishizing style belies a bias away from more colloquial, culturally appropriate terms. The relative transparency from an English reading standpoint also points towards this. While its translations of the theological terms I investigated are highly context dependent, none of them draw on particularly strong cultural associations. At most the use of the word *Bos*, ascribed to both Jesus and God, can be seen as an example of culturally aware translating.

5.1.2 Liberality and context dependency

I choose to describe the UAM translation style as being liberal, a rather vague term, intentionally. The translators take many liberties with respect to the Biblical source text, both from a lexical translation standpoint and from a structural one. Douglas' and Blyth's letters to each other, particularly GALC 591, demonstrate that the two have a solid philological grounding in Biblical Greek. The two demonstrate that they understand the nuanced differences between the Greek δόξα and ʻαγιος, despite the fact that typical English translations of these words show considerable semantic overlap. They suggest translations to one another that reflect this understanding, restricting DOXA to words concerning *light* and HAGIOS to those having to do with separation. Even so, in many instances in the final version of the Ngaanyajtarra Bible, these words are translated as the same thing: *walykumunu*. In narrative contexts which lack disambiguating features, or where the English translation invokes neither DOXA nor HAGIOS with particular strength, the UAM translators prefer to use the most general option.

I do not view these translations as a sign of ignorance or lack of understanding of the theological concepts that underscore the language of the source text; I view them as deliberate choices motivated by an attitude that prioritizes readability over philological faithfulness. In situations where using any one of their more specific terms for *doxa* or *hagios* would produce a translation that is either misinterpretable or unfelicitous, they make a decision that violates a distinction made in the source text but produces a more viable translation. This liberality in lexical translation strategies is also reflected in the text of the Kriol Bible. The translators chose to draw on many different words to illustrate the concepts of DOXA and HAGIOS, and many of lexical sources for these words were not particularly closely related, neither in etymology nor in meaning, to the original words in the source texts. The frequent use of *gudbala* to translate concepts and words outside of *doxa*, such as *righteous*, *cleanse*, and GOOD, demonstrate a greater concern for the texts reception over its faithfulness and philological soundness.

Reuther and Strehlow translations demonstrate a more strict adherence to the source text.

The two, as men educated in the Lutheran tradition, also had a strong grounding in Greek philology. Both DOXA and HAGIOS have one-to-one correspondences with Diyari words in the New Testament. The two chose to adhere to these established equivalences, even in the face of misunderstanding or poor reception by their audience. This is particularly evident in their translation of DOXA as *pirnala* "bigness, greatness". Their employing of this word across the board, in an effort to be more consistent, results in translations that lack the specificity or illustrative quality of those done by the UAM or Kriol Bible translation team. A particularly salient example is verses where God's presence is conveyed through the presence of light; The UAM and Kriol translators deviate from the source text and use words meaning "light", whereas the Lutheran selection of "shining bigness" results in a translation that seems somewhat incongruous.

All three groups take structural liberties in their translation, however they do so to different degrees. In both the Ngaanyatjarra and Kriol Bibles, the verse is not seen as a binding narrative unit. The translators see no problem of splitting a unit of text which was originally contained in a single verse into two verses. The verses are instead grouped by what elements of the narrative they contain, and are then translated with a less strict adherence to the original content of each individual verse. I see this as yet another example of a prioritization of understandability and textual cohesion over the integrity of the source text structure. The Diyari Bible endeavours to maintain the content of each verse, indicating that the Lutheran translators saw the verse as a meaningful and important unit that was to be respected. All translations use stock phrases of the general form "then x said to x" that are not present in the source text, to break up extended monologues or to reintroduce the speaker. This is a translational liberty taken with two goals in mind; an occasional reintroduction of the speaker provides a greater degree of narrative cohesion to large blocks of text and makes the passage better suited to public reading. The use of this device by the UAM missionaries reflects the Nidaian principle that the Bible is a tool used for conversion and should be adapted to fit that goal. By making Bible translations more suited to public reading the UAM translators are increasing the Bible's usefulness during events like church services and sermons. Having these tools built in ensures that the community receives them as part of the

text, supporting Nida's philosophy that church communities run by indigenous people should be the end goal of any mission.

5.2 Broader implications

Many of the languages in Australia are in the process of reclamation and revitalization. A critical source of textual, grammatical, and lexical information on these languages come in the form of Bible translations. For many of these languages, Bible translations and their associated grammars and dictionaries represent the only corpus that linguists and community members can use. I have demonstrated throughout the course of this study that these materials cannot be taken at face value as faithful representations of the languages that they contain. Beyond their sometimes dubious orthography and grammar, the way they implement words is not always straightfoward. The process of lexical translation in these texts oftentimes involves deliberate alterations to traditional word semantics, recontextualizing these words within a Christian worldview.

None of this is to say that these documents are useless or completely fraudulent. They are products of prolonged study on the part of missionary linguists who very frequently live and study amongst communities for years or even decades. They demonstrate their in depth knowledge of these languages through their translations, grammars, notes, and personal communications. Despite their knowledge, these individuals engage in this type of research with a goal in mind: religious conversion. They use the languages that they study as a tool to this end. Becuase of these motives, community members and researchers involved in language reclamation and revitalization have to approach these resources with healthy skepticism. By studying the strategies used by these groups, the doctrine to which they adhered, and the schools of thought to which they subscribed, those involved in language reclamation can more appropriately use the wealth of linguistic information captured in these documents.

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