THE GEOGRAPHY OF LANGUAGE GROUPS AROUND FLEURIEU PENINSULA AT FIRST CONTACT, FROM THE EVIDENCE OF THE EARLIEST PLACE-NAMES:
by Chester Schultz © 2017   *as at 18/10/2017*

The place-names recorded at first contact (i.e. from the beginning of contact up to about 1850) show **a clear demarcation of language between the lands northwest and southeast of the range at that time**: Kaurna language to the northwest,[1] and Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri language to the southeast.

1. 1831 to July 1837:

12 place-names were obtained in this region of South Australia in the period from 1831 (the Barker affair) to 28 July 1837. Of these 12:[2]
– all 12 use the Kaurna locative suffixes *ngga* or *illa* and are therefore in Kaurna language. The majority (8) are <u>fully</u> analysable in Kaurna language.
– 11 refer to places on or within a few kilometres of the eastern coast of St Vincent Gulf, from Fishery Beach at Cape Jervis ("Pat Bungar" = *Patpangga*), north to Adelaide ("Cowandilla") and Norton Summit ("Morialta"). At least 6 of these places are south of the Onkaparinga River. One has an unknown location ('Man.nune.gar').
– none is credibly analysable in the Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri language.[3]

DETAILS OF THESE 12 NAMES:
The first **three** South Australian Aboriginal place-names to be recorded were marked on Sturt's map (Sturt 1833, 'Chart of Cape Jervis', *Two Expeditions*), from information obtained by Barker's party, probably from Condoy and Kalinga (Sally Walker): *'Ponkepurringa Cr'; 'Wacondilla'; 'Cutandilla'*.
Four more were recorded for the first time in the five months after the first colonists arrived in July 1836 but before they began to settle in Adelaide. It is deduced that these were obtained variously from Kangaroo Island men, Condoy and Kalinga, 'Doughboy', and/or the eight men who came to Rapid Bay to help Light in Sep 1836: *'YankyLilly'-'Yankalillah'; 'Pat-Bungar'; 'Yatagolunga'; 'Aldinghi'-'Aldinga'*.
All seven of these names were obtained from people whose country was given as 'Cape Jervis' (i.e. Fleurieu Peninsula), or from Islanders in contact with them.
Five more were recorded for the first time from Dec 1836 to mid-July 1837, i.e. during the first eight months of settlement in Adelaide, most probably from Adelaide informants, except 'Man.nune.gar' from 'Kall.oon.goo' (who had been a resident of Yankalilla): *'Cowandilla'; 'Enkeperinga'; 'Morialbo'-'Morialta'; 'Wallinga'; 'Man.nune.gar'*.
The <u>informants</u> for most of these 12 names must be deduced. Even when identified, in some cases their group identity is ambiguous because of close ties between Encounter Bay (where Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri language was spoken) and the southern Fleurieu. This ambiguity strengthens rather than weakens the case that these 12 given place-names were in the proper language of the Gulf coast, rather than that of visitors from either Encounter Bay or the plains further north.

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[1] Note that this document does not cover place-names north of the River Torrens. One Kaurna-language name from this area was obtained before Sep 1837 ('Perry / Parra / Para': not a real place-name); and about 30 others by 1850, located from the Torrens up to about the Mid-North.
[2] These 12 place-names were all recorded before 29 July 1837, the date when Charles Mann first interviewed Kalinga-Sally and William Walker in Adelaide about the murder near Encounter Bay (see footnote 4). They were (from north to south): 'Morialta'; 'Wallinga'; 'Cowandilla'/Kouandilla'; 'Ponkepurringa Cr'; 'Enkeperinga'/'Ungke-perre'/'Onkaparinga'; 'Aldinghi'/'Aldinga'; 'Wacondilla'; 'Cutandilla'; 'Yanky-Lilly'/'Yankalillah'/'Yang.gal.lale.lar'; 'Yatagolunga'; 'Pat-Bungar'/'Bat.bung.ger'; 'Man.nune.gar'. Each of these has been or will be analysed in my place-name essays (PNS), available at https://www.adelaide.edu.au/kwp/placenames/research-publ/.
[3] Only one of these <u>names</u> is even slightly ambiguous in its language. *"Aldinghi"* is almost certainly a Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri version of a Kaurna name, as the same name was also recorded soon after this as "Aldinga", then unambiguously in 1840 by the German linguists in the Kaurna form *Ngaltingga*.
"Yankalilla" (= *Yarnkalyilla*), though certainly Kaurna, likewise had a Ngarrindjeri-Ramindjeri version recorded, but not until 1843 and from informants who were Encounter Bay residents (Meyer 1843 *"Yangkalyawangk"*); but this version is not fully analysable in Ngarrindjeri.

2. <u>July – Sep 1837</u>:

29 new place-names were obtained in July-Sep 1837 by Charles Mann and Protector Wyatt during their investigations of a murder near Encounter Bay.[4]
- **Five of these were the first Ngarrindjeri-language *place-names* to be recorded**. They all refer to places on or near the coast of Encounter Bay, and were obtained there from local informants (mainly 'Encounter Bay Bob') and one 'Murray' informant (from the Estuary).[5]

In the course of the same investigation, Wyatt and Mann recorded **at least 21 more names which are clearly Kaurna:**
- 9 along the Gulf coast or near it. Most of these were obtained during the overland journey from Kaurna guides including Mullawirraburka ('King John') and his family, and possibly 'Doughboy'. No Ngarrindjeri names were given for any of these places at this time.
- 2 in the high borderland of the range ('Mipunga' = *Maitpangga*) and 'Mooteparinga' = *Murtaparingga*). No independent Ramindjeri names have ever been recorded for these two places.
- 9 around Encounter Bay. Four of these are Kaurna versions of known Ramindjeri names, and the others are explainable as coming from the same Kaurna-speaking visitors.

Four more names along the Gulf coast are linguistically ambiguous or illegible (but almost certainly Kaurna, from the same informants).

DETAILS OF THESE 21 KAURNA NAMES: See Appendix for complete list.

3. SUMMARY OF PERIODS 1 AND 2 (TO SEP 1837):
Of the first 27 names recorded (almost all along the Gulf coast from Cape Jervis to Adelaide and inland to Myponga and Spring Mount), at least 23 (and probably all) were in Kaurna language.
In this period, Ngarrindjeri-speaking informants gave at least five names, all for places in greater Encounter Bay.

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4. <u>THE REMAINING PERIOD OF FIRST CONTACT, Oct 1837 to about 1850</u>:

Place-names recorded from Oct 1837 until about 1850 tell much the same story, except for the addition of a number of 'visitor' names: i.e. a few Ngarrindjeri-language names for places on or near the Gulf which also had Kaurna names; and a larger number in Kaurna for places southeast of the range. The latter are probably due to explorers and surveyors hiring their guides in Adelaide rather than in the places they visited during their work.

For a SUMMARY OF THE WHOLE PERIOD OF FIRST CONTACT, see next page.

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[4] Mann and Wyatt's arrival at Encounter Bay on 9 Sep 1837 was the first serious official communication with Encounter Bay *people*, and the first time the colonists learned that the language there was different from that in Adelaide.

[5] Wyatt [1837-9] in Woods 1879: 179. Although Wyatt's wordlist was not published until 1879, the place-names south of Adelaide were (beyond reasonable doubt) obtained during his overland journey and investigations in 1837 at the start of his Protectorship. The Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri *language* was first recorded in 1831 by the Kent-Condoy-Kalinga party in the form of personal names of the three men who killed Barker.

ALL PLACE-NAMES OBTAINED AROUND FLEURIEU PENINSULA FROM 1831 TO 1850:

My work on the Southern Kaurna Place Names Project has produced the following results for the entire period of first contact to 1850:
179 names were obtained in total, for about 169 different places
i.e. about 10 places recorded a name in both languages.

(a) Roughly 116 names were recorded in that period for about 112 places north and west of the range (i.e. on the Gulf coast from Cape Jervis up to Adelaide and east to the main watersheds).
Of these:
– about 99 are clearly analysable in correct Kaurna language.
– about 11 are ambiguous but probably Kaurna.
– 6 are clearly in Ngarrindjeri (but these reflect Ngarrindjeri-speaking visitors to this territory: 4 of these are places which also recorded a Kaurna name in the same period, and the other two are likely to be adaptations from Kaurna ('Tāīnbariangk' [?from *Tayin-paringga*] and 'Parewarangk' [?from *Pari-warangga]*).

(b) In the same period, about 63 place-names were recorded for about 57 places in the area immediately southeast of the ranges (i.e. from Cape Jervis, Encounter Bay and the south coast, north to about Strathalbyn).
Of these:
– 30 are clearly in Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri language.
– 3 are linguistically ambiguous.
– about 30 others are clearly or very probably Kaurna (but these reflect Kaurna-speaking visitors to this territory: 7 of them either recorded a Ngarrindjeri name as well or are adapted from known Ngarrindjeri originals).

The detailed evidence for this analysis has been appearing gradually since 2011 in my online essays (PNS) at https://www.adelaide.edu.au/kwp/placenames/research-publ/. The summary above is based on my unpublished research, including notes for my presentation in a forum 'The Southern Kaurna Place Names Project' (Tandanya Theatre, 10 Oct 2014, during Kaurna Language Week).

It is necessary to distinguish between local informants and visitors – i.e. between place-names given by 'us' or by 'them'; between perspectives from inside or outside the group territory.[6]

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[6] PLACE-NAMES GIVEN BY 'US' OR 'THEM': I.e. FROM PERSPECTIVES INSIDE OR OUTSIDE THE GROUP:

Speakers of one Aboriginal language may give their own names to places in the territory of another language group. Sometimes these are their own outsider adaptations of the proper local 'us' name (e.g. Kaurna *Wiramu'lla* for Ramindjeri *Ramong*); sometimes they are quite different names (e.g. Ramindjeri *Kulkamaiwar* for Kaurna *Tarntanya* and *Kawantilla* 'Adelaide'). Sometimes a 'them' version from the visitors is the only one preserved at first contact (e.g. Kaurna "Parrungka-ungka" near Goolwa). In our study area at first contact the process operated in both directions, but more so by Kaurna speakers because the explorers and surveyors usually hired their guides in Adelaide.

In the 20th century the process was reversed by those who spoke to the ethnologists as heirs of Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri traditions from Encounter Bay eastward (e.g. Ngarrindjeri *Ruwuru* for Kaurna *Tirranangku* 'Port Willunga').
Both forms are valid *from the informant's own perspective*. See James Knight 1999, 'Notes to accompany the map on the front cover of the Newsletter', *AACAI Newsletter* 81, Dec 1999 (University of Sydney: Australian Association of Consulting Archaeologists Inc): 25, where he writes,
> *Tindale (1974: 38-49) explores the complexities of Aboriginal place names. A 'correct name' might be recorded from the east, south, west and north, and each might differ from the local name. Who is asked by whom to supply a place name will influence which of the many existing names is offered*.

See also J Knight 2003, *Testing Tindale Tribes*, Ph.D. thesis, University of New England, p.435:
> *This behaviour of mapping the language of the informant outside its 'Country' has been interpreted as 'Lakes colonisation of the Adelaide plain' (Clarke 1991a: 66-9, Berndt and Berndt 1993: 312).* [Two maps] *from the 1840s* [which show show Kaurna-language names on country as far east as the River Murray] *serve to balance this, as no-one I have encountered asserts that Adelaide expanded onto the Lakes during the 1840s. The more reasonable explanation is that each person describes the landscape relative to themselves and sometimes gives language to places which other, differently located people might disagree with, or even resent*.

For the same 'us-them' distinction as it occurs with group names, see Knight 2003: 217, 246, 290, 399-400, 423.

To Knight's observations I would add that some early names (in the records, usually only one for one place) do give an internal 'us' name which is native for the place and its occupying language group *at the time of first contact*, when we know it was given then by a member of that group.

Three implications flow irresistibly from these findings:

1. At the time of first contact the Kaurna names in the coastal strip along the southern Gulf were the ones used by the recognized occupants of the places, and Kaurna was therefore the 'proper language of the land' in that territory, but not at Encounter Bay and eastward.

2. At that time the Ramindjeri-Ngarindjeri language was recognized as the 'proper language' for Encounter Bay and Lakes (an area defined in the title of Meyer's 1843 vocabulary), but not on the Gulf.

3. The informants knew this and used Kaurna language correctly on the Gulf, even when they 'came from' Encounter Bay or had family ties there.
These conclusions are confirmed by the historical records of first contact in this region.[7]

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APPENDIX:

17/10/17 by Chester Schultz

LANGUAGE GEOGRAPHY OF THE FLEURIEU PENINSULA REGION, FROM PLACE-NAMES obtained at 1st contact up to 1850:
covering the area from Encounter Bay and Cape Jervis north to Adelaide,
divided according to location northwest or southeast of main watersheds:

Names are listed in each cell roughly from north to south.
Spellings are as given in the sources.
Names which are (probably) not real place-names are ~~struck through~~.
magenta = language uncertain.
red = another name also given for same place in other language.
red italics = adapted from another name (known or deduced).

	NW of watersheds: KAURNA language	NW of watersheds: *UNCLEAR language*	NW of watersheds: NGARR. language	SE of watersheds: KAURNA language	SE of watersheds: *UNCLEAR language*	SE of watersheds: NGARR. language
Table 1 (1831 to July 1837)	12 Morialta ~~Wallinga~~ Cowandilla / Kouandilla Ponkepurringa Cr Enkeperinga / Ungke perre / Onkaparinga *Aldinghi* / Aldinga, Wacondilla Cutandilla Yanky Lilly / Yankalillah / Yang.gal.lale.lar Yatagolunga, Pat Bungar / Bat.bung.ger *Man.nune.gar LOCATION?*	0	0	0	0	0

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[7] For a detailed account of the social milieu and languages of the informants, see my history *Feet On the Fleurieu, Language On the Land* (in progress).

Table 2 (Mann-Wyatt, July-Oct 1837)	10 9 +1 high border Curracooringa (?) Ware peringa Weta wertinga ?Onlalilla / Olarilla Rottiakinga Kerno Warrekilla Willa willungga Weeningga Koue Auldinga Mipunga / Maippunga (high range)	4 *probably Kaurna* TImE TAneYA Plains Kurra mooroo Kurra e wurre Koolta kourga	0	10 9 + 1 high border Peeralilla / Parilla *Yalla doola* *Moo oola* *Limboanungga* *Weeramulla* Parangocka / Parrungka ungka (vulgo Parrangocka) Manoonpulla Nōnpōngga Parrungka perre Mooteparinga / Moorta perringga (high range)	0	5 Moogoora Limboanora Rámung Yoorlooarra Goolawarra koore
Table 3 (Oct 1837 – Dec 1838)	15 Kobandilla Youechilla Korra weerungga / Korra weera, Korra yerta Korra perre Peelta werlingga Korra oondungga / Cur-ra-young-don-gah Turn-darn-yung-gah Ton-darn-ya-par-rey Yure and Yureilla Wee-tun-gar Cowyrlanka Cowieapinga ~~Yatala~~ *Conderati* LOCATION?	0	1 ~~Nooley~~	0	0	3 Lwonga Bungung Wittingangul
Table 4 (1839-1850)	61 Kainka-wirra Tinninyawodli Warkowodliwodli Tambawodli Pattawellya / Pat-a-wil-yun-ga / Pat-a-wal-yah / Patawilyangga Wirraparinga Ngurro Billyarunga Willawilla / Willa-willungga (Brownhill Ck) Too-cu-ru-wer-lin-ga Tundemunga Pandulilla Pennachowinga Cowiemanilla ? Panalatinga Parnañgga Maundarilla Mandoodla Terrananga / Tornanga Unbunga / Uncringa	8 *probably Kaurna* ~~Putnah~~ Thedonga Garden ?Mightpanaleekya Patipinda Pangartinga Anacotilla Parananacooka Ouiwachilly	5 Kulkamāīwar *Punduwalluwati-ngg (Ng ?from K)* *Tāīnbariangk (Ng ?from K)* *Parrewarañgg (Ng ?from K)* Ngutarangk	20 Karta Tonqualilla / Tunkalilla Pupongha Whitepinga / White Pinka / Wipinga Battunga Condoparingah Turkungah / Tarcunga Kangammunnungah Mun-no-roungah Wommamukurta Kuitpo / Quitpo Palterilla Yerltoworti Ngalta Parnka Mylunga Yngabilla Moorundungah / Moorunde	3 ?Cooalinga Callawong / Callawonga / Callowonga Belbarani- ?Bilbarani / Bellerano - ?Bellarane	22 Kukakungarr ?Watteakattauwe Coolwong / Coolawonga / Coolawong / Coolawang Rarkang Toppong Tarrtuwar Ngalaikrūwar Wuñangk / Wunne Lartangk Mūarangk Ngartong Poltong Taldaruwar Dūwarungald Kōtingald Kaindyēnuald Kungkiñgguwar Ikirriwar Rumbuwattyering g Mallyuñgald

	Tiirungga / Tjirungga ~~Willia Toora~~ Pe-run-ga Ngurlo-ngga / Nurlungga Yerna / Yärna Bukartilla Tarranga Cow-e-o-lon-ga / Cowie-orlunga (McLaren Vale) Daringa Tu-run-ga Tur-nee-yun-din-ga / Turneeyunde Kankalilla-punga Kangarilla Kangowirranilla / Kangooarinilla Echunga Can-yan-ya-pel-la / Kanyanyapilla Toneyounga / Lonyunga Piltongga Tar-ta-chil-la Burka-burkarilla Wykera-wonjurilla / Wyecarey-windererilla Perreminkamin-kungga Wilyahowkingga Mullawerungga Currackalinga Cowealunga / Coweyalunga (Myponga Beach) Carrapootunga Cudlatiyunga Bungala Ingulilla Tootoocowinga Tootongha Pindiratorga Wongurilla Wanwalilla Congeratinga Bullaparinga Ichicowinga Yallawalunga *Nortumbo LOCATION?* *Kauwadla, Kauwadlangga LOCATION?*			*Warnandoola LOCATION?* *Weerawulla LOCATION?*		Gōwllarangk Tipping
TOTAL	99	11	6	30	3	30
179 total names (for about 169 places)			*Total 116 NW of range*			*Total 63 SE of range*

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