



*The writing of this essay was part-funded as part of The Kurna Project 2017-8 (coordinator Rob Amery) by the Commonwealth of Australia Ministry for the Arts through its Indigenous Languages and Arts (Languages) program.*

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## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 1/02

### KAWANDILLA

(last edited: 30.4.2018)

#### NOTE AND DISCLAIMER:

*This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.*

*The spellings and interpretations contained in it (linguistic, historical and geographical) are my own, and do not necessarily represent the views of KWP/KWK or its members or any other group.*

*I have studied history at tertiary level. Though not a linguist, for 30 years I have learned much about the Kurna, Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri and Narungga languages while working with KWP, Rob Amery, and other local culture-reclamation groups; and from primary documents I have learned much about the Aboriginal history of the Adelaide-Fleurieu region.*

*My explorations of 'language on the land' through the Southern Kurna Place Names Project are part of an ongoing effort to correct the record about Aboriginal place-names in this region (which has abounded in confusions and errors), and to add reliable new material into the public domain.*

*I hope upcoming generations will continue this work and improve it. My interpretations should be amplified, re-considered and if necessary modified by KWP or other linguists, and by others engaged in cultural mapping: Aboriginal people, archaeologists, geographers, ecologists and historians.*

*Chester Schultz, [date].*



## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 1/02

### KAWANDILLA

(last edited: 30.4.2018)

#### Abstract

*Kawandilla* (*Kawantilla* in KWP's New Spelling 2010) is a Kaurna word meaning 'in the north' or 'north place'. It seems also that *some* Kaurna speakers in first contact times – probably those whose heart country was further south – used this word as a kind of general area name for the region of the 'Adelaide tribe', i.e. the southernmost portion (around the Torrens and Sturt Rivers) of what we now call the Adelaide Plains. It was probably not used as a place-name for the Adelaide area by the local owners.

Beginning with Hack and Mary Thomas, early colonists thought the name "Cowandilla" meant 'good water' or 'plenty of water', no doubt because the first syllable reminded them of one of the few Kaurna words which they knew, *kauwi* ('water'). But this etymology is extremely unlikely and does not account for all the syllables. Somebody may have confused an informant's description of a place (e.g. well-watered 'Glenelg') with the meaning of the word.

It is possible that there was a misunderstanding when the name was obtained, as Aboriginal compass points have commonly been mistaken for place-names. The 'Adelaide tribe' did agree on a complementary usage of *Patpangga* ('south place') for both the region south of Sellicks Hill and its occupants, the *Patpa-miyurna* or "Patpunga tribe".<sup>1</sup> But the best early linguists (Teichelmann, Schürmann and Klose) did not record *kawandilla* as the name of anything. The recorded usages by Kaurna speakers of terms for 'north place' and 'north people' seem to have varied, and are hard to interpret now.

However, *some* Aboriginal people apparently used the word as a kind of place-name. A late record claims that in the period of first contact 'Cowandilla' was endorsed as the real name of 'Adelaide' by an Aboriginal man said to be "king of the Adelaide tribe": i.e. either Mullawirraburka ('King John') or Ityamaitpinna ('King Rodney'), both of whom had *pangkarra* (inherited land) 20-60 km south of Adelaide city.

The location of *Kawandilla* was very general. In the first dateable record of 'Cowandilla' (May 1837),<sup>2</sup> settler Stephen Hack thought it referred to 'Glenelg' (i.e. the plains around the Sturt River and Patawalonga); and this attribution was possibly the source of other earliest records. His source could have been one of the southerners, but this is not proven.

<sup>1</sup> See PNS 1-03 Patpangga.

<sup>2</sup> The only available sources for Hack's record are two publications which spell the word in two different ways; but it is easily deduced that the common MS source (though it did not survive) had 'Cowandilla' (see Discussion).

A later wave of colonists who used the name “Cowandilla” thought it referred to ‘Adelaide’ in a very general sense, meaning today’s CBD and the nearby surrounding plains. Protector Wyatt thought “Kouandilla” was the name of an unspecified “district of the Adelaide tribe”, but this was not confirmed by his successor Moorhouse. This application of the referent *Kawandilla* may be correct (at least from southern Aboriginal viewpoints), but the boundaries cannot be exact.

In the 1840s the settlers also referred to a “Cowandilla or Adelaide tribe”, but this may have been their own invented usage; for at that time the missionary linguists did not record *kawandilla* as a proper noun, nor did they comment on the contemporary settler usage of ‘Cowandilla’; but they did record the roughly equivalent Kaurna terms *Kawanda-miyurna* (‘north people’) and *Kawarta-miyurna* (*Kawa’yarta miyurna*, ‘people of the north land’) applied by the locals not to themselves but to other groups further north.

In spite of guesses by Tindale and others, the Kaurna name does *not* belong specifically to today’s suburb of Cowandilla on Section 92. The village established there in 1840 was given this name because the developers thought ‘Cowandillah’ meant something about ‘water’, not because the name belonged there.

In all the earlier and later etymologies referring to ‘water’ – such as wordlists and commentaries by CH Harris, Rodney Cockburn, Noel Webb, HM Cooper, GH Manning and Tindale – there is much linguistic confusion, much wrong spelling, and no credibility.<sup>3</sup> Tindale’s Ngarrindjeri-speaking informant Milerum *may* have believed (incorrectly) that “Kauandila” meant “water spreading place”, and it was probably Tindale’s error that he was referring specifically to swamplands in the suburb of Cowandilla.

Likewise there is no credibility, either historical or linguistic, in Berndt’s speculation that “Kaurnadilla would have been more likely” as the real name of the ‘Cowandilla or Adelaide tribe’.<sup>4</sup>

<b>Coordinates</b>	Lat. -34.98042, Long. 138.55597 [nominal centre of plain south of Torrens River]
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## Language Information

<b>Meaning</b>	‘in the north, north place’
<b>Etymology</b>	<i>Kawanta</i> ‘north’ + <i>illa</i> ‘in, at, place of’ > <i>Kawant’illa</i>
<b>Notes</b>	
<b>Language Family</b>	Thura-Yura: ‘Kaurna’
<b>KWP Former Spelling</b>	Kawandilla
<b>KWP New Spelling 2010</b>	Kawantilla
<b>Phonemic Spelling</b>	/kawantila/
<b>Syllabification</b>	“Ka-wan-ti-lla”
<b>Pronunciation tips</b>	Stress the 1 <sup>st</sup> & 3 <sup>rd</sup> syllables. Soften the <i>t</i> towards a <i>d</i> sound. Every <i>a</i> as in Maori ‘haka’.

<sup>3</sup> See the Postscript of this essay.

<sup>4</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*: 20. Berndt seems to have based this guess on a misreading of Wyatt’s “Kouandilla” district as ‘Konandilla’.



## Main source evidence

Date	[Nov 1836?] / 1866
Original source text	[10 Nov. 1836] "We did not reach our final destination at Holdfast Bay till the evening, the wind being contrary. This place received its present designation, I believe, from the stability of its anchorage, but the native name of which, or at least of <b>the adjacent plains</b> , is <b>Cowandilla</b> , meaning <b>plenty of water</b> – which it certainly had when we arrived there. The lagoons, as they were called, were then full, and in some places several feet deep, though all derived the water from the last winter's rains. As the summer advanced they dried up, and we could scarcely obtain sufficient water sometimes even for drinking."
Reference	Mary Thomas (ed. EK Thomas) 1925, <i>The Diary and Letters of Mary Thomas (1836-1866)</i> , Adelaide, WK Thomas & Co: 49.
Informants credited	Aboriginal people of Glenelg and/or Adelaide.
Informants uncredited	Earliest colonists at Holdfast Bay, Nov 1836 to early 1837.

Date	[May 1837] / Jan 1838
Original source text	"Their name for <b>Glenelg</b> is <b>Corvandilla [sic]</b> , which, being interpreted, means <i>good water</i> ; Adelaide, the city, they call Walinga: Ouhe-peringa [sic], Palbungi [sic], Morialbo [sic], Aldinge [sic], and Yankeedilly [sic], are all names of places in this neighbourhood." [almost certainly a mis-transcription of MS 'Cowandilla']
Reference	Stephen Hack letter from Adelaide, 1 May 1837, <i>South Australian Record</i> , Vol.1 No.4 (13 Jan 1838): 29c.
Informants credited	Kurna-speaking informants around Adelaide, Feb-April 1837.
Informants uncredited	

Date	[May 1837] / 1838
Original source text	"Their name for <b>Glenelg</b> , is <b>Corrandilla [sic]</b> , which being interpreted means 'good water'. Adelaide, the city, they call Wallinga. Onkeperinga, Oatbunga [sic], Morialta, Aldinga, Yankudilly [sic] are all names of places in this neighbourhood." [almost certainly a mis-transcription of MS 'Cowandilla']
Reference	Stephen Hack letter from Adelaide, May 1837, in Henry Watson 1838, <i>A Lecture on SA</i> (Gliddon, London): 18.
Informants credited	Kurna-speaking informants around Adelaide, Feb-April 1837.
Informants uncredited	



Date	Sep 1837
Original source text	[walking south or southwest from North Tce, Adelaide city] "5 Sept <sup>r</sup> . [1837]... <b>1 Cowandilla Plains</b> – 2 Ware Peringa plains – 3 Time[?] Taneya[?] Plains – 4 Weta wertinga plains..."
Reference	Charles Mann 1837, 'General Description of The Country from Adelaide to Encounter Bay', BRG 42/52 (State Library of SA): 2.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Unclear: possibly Mullawirraburka during Mann's return journey, Sep 18.

Date	Oct 1837 - Apr 1838
Original source text	"In the vicinity of Holdfast Bay ( <b>Port Glenelg, or Korrandilla [sic]</b> among the Aborigines; see Appendix 9), about 6 English miles from Adelaide, there is a low rise less than a half hour's distance from the sand dunes at the beach, that seems to be most popularly preferred as a burial place..." [almost certainly a mis-transcription of MS 'Kowandilla']
Reference	Koeler 1837-8, published in P Mühlhäusler (ed) 2006, <i>Hermann Koeler's Adelaide</i> , Unley, Australian Humanities Press: 82.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Early colonists in Adelaide.

Date	[Dec 1837] / Feb 1838
Original source text	"The soil is very rich generally, part of <b>the plains Cowahdella [sic]</b> , Onkaparinga, Aldinga, and those between Adelaide and the coast, are inferior to the generality of the soils there, but they are certainly superior to anything in this colony [i.e. <i>Van Diemen's Land</i> ]... Onkaparinga contains upwards of 100 square miles; Aldinga, and <b>Cowahdella [sic]</b> are nearly of equal extent without any interruption of bad land. The soil of these plains is of a light red cast with a lime stone subsoil. They bear an immense crop of grass but do not stand the summer. I am informed that they are very luxuriant grazing lands, in the spring and fall of the year, but when I visited them it was the height of summer (December) and they then appeared dry... A portion of <b>Cowahdella [sic]</b> plain is of a superior description of beautiful strong black soil from which some of the native grass had been taken for hay and yielded abundantly for the trouble of gathering it."
Reference	John Wade letter, <i>The True Colonist, Van Diemen's Land Political Despatch, and Agricultural and Commercial</i> 9/2/1838: 6a-b, <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/203146375/22312450">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/203146375/22312450</a> .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Early colonists in Adelaide: John Morphett, JB Hack, Samuel Stephens, CW Stuart.

Date	1838
Original source text	"... <b>the plains Cowandilla</b> , Onkaparinga, Aldinga, and those between Adelaide and the coast... Onkaparinga contains upwards of 100 square miles; Aldinga and <b>Cowandilla</b> are nearly of equal extent... A portion of <b>Cowandilla</b> plain is of a superior description..."
Reference	John Wade letter (edited), in Robert Gouger 1838, <i>South Australia in 1837; in a Series of Letters...</i> (2 <sup>nd</sup> Edition), London, Harvey & Darton: 24-5.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Early colonists in Adelaide.

Date	n.d. [before 11 May 1838]
Original source text	" <b>Cowiandilla or Glenelg</b> " [marked at mouth of Sturt River]
Reference	map 'The maritime portion of South Australia from the surveys of Cap <sup>t</sup> Flinders & of Col. Light', C1023 SLA. Identical in subsequent versions, e.g. Arrowsmith map 11/5/1838, [untitled], London, map C929; and Arrowsmith 5/2/1840, 'The Maritime portion of SA, from the surveys of Flinders & from... the Survr. Genl.', C934.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	[1837-9] / 1879
Original source text	- [printed] " <b>Koꞏanda - north, northwards</b> " [plus hand-written correction by Wyatt: "u", i.e. the word is " <b>Kouanda</b> "].  <div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="margin-right: 20px;"> <p><b>"Kobandilla</b> <b>Kouandilla</b> Tarndarnyungga Youechilla Korra weerungga Peelta werlingga Korra oondungga</p> </div> <div style="font-size: 3em; margin-right: 10px;">}</div> <div> <p>Districts of the Adelaide tribe.</p> <p>Hindmarsh town."</p> </div> </div>
Reference	W Wyatt 1879, 'Some Account of the... Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes', published in JD Woods 1879, <i>The Native Tribes of South Australia</i> , Adelaide, ES Wigg; 179; autographed copy of essay annotated by Wyatt, SLA: 15, 22.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Ityamaitpinna, etc in Adelaide 1837-9.



Date	March 1838
Original source text	<p>“THURSDAY, MARCH 1 [1838].—Left Adelaide at noon, passed through the pine forest, and part of the <b>Cowandilla plains</b>, and encamped for the night at Mr. Barnard's station.</p> <p>Friday, March 2—At seven a. m., we passed over the <b>Cowandilla plains</b>, saw seven emus but did not succeed in pulling one. Crossed the river Para, we then directed our course to the eastward passing over a pretty range of hilly country. At four P. M., arrived at a valley... we gave it the name of Cockatoo Valley...</p> <p>Saturday, March 10.—... the next day [11<sup>th</sup>] we retraced our former track by Cockatoo Valley, at the head of a rivulet, which we traced through the hills and found it to be the river Para running into the <b>Cowandilla Plains</b>, where we stopped for the night, and arrived at Adelaide at nine o'clock on the morning of the 12th after an arduous and fatiguing journey of twelve days.”</p>
Reference	<p>“Notes of an excursion to the Murray, by Messrs. Hill, Wood, Willis and Oakden, by John Oakden, Esq. <i>South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register</i> 17/3/1838: 3c-d,  <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31749868/2052427">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31749868/2052427</a>.</p>
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	Oct 1838
Original source text	<p>“... a large party of the <b>Cowandilla and Onkaparinga tribes</b> having assembled in front of Government-house, his Excellency took the opportunity of addressing them through the interpreter Cronk...”</p>
Reference	<p>‘Installation of his Excellency Governor Gawler’, <i>South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register</i> 20/10/1838: 2c,  <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31750195/2052532">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31750195/2052532</a>.</p>
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	July 1840
Original source text	<p>“Village of <b>Cowandillah</b>.  <b>(So called on account of the great facilities of obtaining water.)</b>  The cheapest Land in the neighbourhood of Adelaide.  THE proprietors of this beautiful section... have determined upon laying it out in 112 one-acre allotments for sale or to let... the land is admirably adapted, as well from its cheapness as from the richness of its soil, and also the facility of obtaining water. Its proximity to the town – the circumstance of the road from Adelaide to Glenelg passing through the village...  A few acres on the lagoon still unappropriated.</p>



	N.B. All persons cutting down trees or shrubs in this village will be prosecuted with the utmost rigour.”
Reference	advertisement in <i>Southern Australian</i> 31/7/1840: 2c, <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71619686/6245140">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71619686/6245140</a> .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Edwin C Gwynne (proprietor of this subdivision of Section 92).

Date	1844
Original source text	“ <b>Cowandilla</b> boy” [portrait with flat beach scene in background]
Reference	Pencil title of George French Angas original watercolour, #IV of SA Museum AA8/2/15/1-4.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	Sep 1844
Original source text	“The names of the various tribes are names from the areas, for example <b>Kawanda Meyunna = the North-men</b> ; <i>Wirra Meyunna</i> = the wood people, from a particular region in the north which is thickly overgrown with trees. <i>Mari Meyunna</i> and <i>Pitta Meyunna</i> are the eastern tribes and those who live along the Murray... Then our Adelaide natives are called <i>Taralye Meyunna</i> by the other tribes. <i>Taralye</i> is any kind of split wood – as the Location is now fenced in with wooden stakes, – and when they are here in the city they camp there and so are called the stake-men. Formerly they were called <i>Wito Meyunna</i> = reed men.”
Reference	F Klose to Dresden Missionary Society 3/9/1844, in Klose 2002 (tr. E Meier, M Krieg & L Zweck), <i>Missionary to the Kurna: the Klose letters</i> , Occasional Publication No. 2, Adelaide: Friends of Lutheran Archive: 35.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Ityamaitpinna etc at Native Location.

Date	1847
Original source text	“Before the arrival of the whites, the Murray blacks had never been near the plains west of the Mount Lofty range, and the <b>Cowandillah blacks</b> were numerous and powerful; of late years, great hordes of Murray natives have frequented Adelaide, and have robbed the Adelaide natives of their wives and daughters, the most valuable property of these savages—the consequence of which is, that, the <b>Cowandillah or Adelaide tribe</b> have been driven from their own district...”
Reference	Editorial, <i>Southern Australian</i> 15/6/1847: 2f, <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71608529/6251151">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71608529/6251151</a> .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	



<i>Date</i>	1857
<i>Original source text</i>	- "kawanda F.1 North... <b>kawandilla 'in the north'.</b> " - "kaintyirendi either to suffer, or to be infected by –. <b>kawarta meyu</b> yakko nurruttidlo kaintyirendi, <b>the northern men</b> are not affected by the enchantment."
<i>Reference</i>	CG Teichelmann 1857 MS, 'Dictionary of the Adelaide dialect'; keyboarded by Jane Simpson.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Ityamaitpinna etc at Native Location 1838-46.

<i>Date</i>	Jan 1899
<i>Original source text</i>	"Sir— In your interesting article this morning on 'Origin of Adelaide Names' you quote Mr. C. H. Harris's paper, in which he says that the native name of Adelaide was 'Tarndanya' and of Glenelg 'Cowandilla'. Allow me to state that this point is disputed by some of our oldest colonists, who claim that ' <b>Cowandilla</b> ' is the native name of Adelaide, not of Glenelg. In a recent conversation with a colonist of fifty-nine years and a man possessed of a remarkable memory, the late Mr. John Brock, J.P., Tanunda, who died on the 19th ult., he told me that when in Adelaide in the early days he was talking to the king of the Adelaide tribe of blacks, and on mentioning the name Adelaide the king in an indignant tone replied. 'What for you call him Adelaide? no Adelaide— <b>Cow-an-dilla.</b> ' The king was surely an authority on the subject... I am Sir, &c, E. LUCAS. Gawler, January 12."
<i>Reference</i>	<i>South Australian Register</i> 13/1/1899: 6h, <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/54427958/4109028">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/54427958/4109028</a> .
<i>Informants credited</i>	"king of the Adelaide tribe": ?Mullawirraburka ('King John') or ?Ityamaitpinna ('Rodney'); as remembered by John Brock of Tanunda.
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	[1840s] / 1902
<i>Original source text</i>	- "Memories of the Extinct tribe of <b>Cowandilla natives</b> ... The boundaries of their state or Kingdom – North the river Parra – South Noarlunga – East Unkapinga – West the sea shore..." - "... Their enemies were the Murry river natives <b>The Cowendilla natives</b> have very rich Cadelcoo Mine Red Ocre on the coast..." - "As I went north In the year 1847 When I returned and lived in the vicinity of Adelaide 20 years had passed <b>The cowendilla tribe</b> was extinct..."
<i>Reference</i>	Thomas Day 1902, 'Memories of the Extinct Tribe of Cowandilla Natives', MS in Tindale, 'Supplementary papers [to] Notes On Kurna Tribe', AA 338/2/68: 1, 11, 16.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

## Discussion: VIEWS FROM THE SOUTH: ONE 'NORTH PLACE', VARIOUS 'NORTH PEOPLE':

### 1. 'COWANDILLA', THE WORD:

'WATER' vs. 'NORTH':

Of the many Aboriginal words attached at some stage to parts of the Adelaide Plain and thought of as place-names, 'Cowandilla' was the first to be obtained, but is fraught with questions which are hard to answer. In Kaurna language *kauwi* means 'water', and first settlers at Glenelg soon discovered this in their meetings with the local inhabitants, or had already learned it from the sealers and Aboriginal women of Kangaroo Island. They spelled it 'cowie', and it was therefore easy for them to assume that a name beginning with 'Cow-' must have something to do with water.

However, there are actually at least six other unrelated Kaurna words beginning *kauw-* or *kaw-*,<sup>5</sup> and linguistic analysis shows beyond reasonable doubt that *kauwi* is not the one used in this name.

Firstly, the recorded spelling must represent *kauwandilla* / *kawandilla*, and this is precisely the Kaurna word for 'in the north' or 'north place':<sup>6</sup> *kawanda* ('the north') plus the standard Locative suffix *illa*. Secondly, any etymology which brings in *kauwi* fails to explain why the final *i* is omitted. Thirdly, any etymology must also account for the recorded syllable '-and-'.

'Cowie' does occur in one record out of about 20 of the name: an early map based on the surveys of Flinders and Light, which shows "Cowiandilla or Glenelg" at the sea end of a road from Adelaide.<sup>7</sup> But it is a mistake to regard Light's team as prime authorities for any Aboriginal place-name on the Adelaide plains,<sup>8</sup> and this five-syllable version only makes the linguistic problems worse.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *kauwa* 'cliff'; *kauwani* 'wife's father'; *kauwanu* 'mother's elder brother'; *kauwawa* 'mother's younger brother'; *kawu* 'pigeon'; *kawai* 'come here!'. The sound of *kauw-* is identical with that of *kaw-*.

<sup>6</sup> Teichelmann recorded it identically as "*kawandilla, in the north*" (Teichelmann MS Dictionary 1857, under 'kawanda').

<sup>7</sup> [no date, but before May 1838; no author ascribed], 'The maritime portion of South Australia from the surveys of Cap<sup>t</sup> Flinders & of Col. Light', C1023 SLA. This item is identical in the more familiar subsequent versions of the map, e.g. Arrowsmith [untitled] 11/5/1838, London, C929; and Arrowsmith 5/2/1840, 'The Maritime portion of SA, from the surveys of Flinders & from... the Survr. Genl.', C934.

<sup>8</sup> When Light and his surveyors were at Holdfast Bay in October 1836 they met no locals, and the only possible informant on board was 'Doughboy', who had never been as far north as the Onkaparinga. Nor were there any Aborigines with Light and Kingston as they explored the port and plains in December. Of the four place-names definitely obtained for the first time that year, only two ('Yankalilla' and 'Yattagolanga' [Rapid Bay]) can be attributed to Light's team, and the other two ('Pat Bungar' and 'Aldinghi') were also far south of the Adelaide Plains. See my history *Feet On the Fleurieu* [in progress]; also PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla; 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga; 1/03 Patpangga; 4.04.01/01 Ngaltingga. Moreover, Light himself was scarcely interested in Aboriginal place-names, and usually gave English names to places of significance.

<sup>9</sup> The spelling 'Cowiandilla' adds an extra syllable, implying an original *Kauwi-(y)andi-lla*, with a secondary stress on *yand-*. But the hypothetical 'yandilla' would have a root noun or adjective 'yandV', where V represents an unknown final

Accordingly, this solitary exception must be regarded as an error; a draughtsman either mis-transcribed a handwritten text, or imported the 'cowie' theme into the data, or perhaps did both simultaneously and unawares.

#### A COMPASS POINT: IS IT A PLACE-NAME?

The meaning 'north place' raises a different set of issues. It is well-known that when explorers and ethnographic observers think they have found an Aboriginal place-name which uses a compass point, or indeed any word indicating a geographical direction, they are very often wrong; they have mistaken a route direction for the name of the destination, or their informant has misunderstood a pointing gesture: e.g. 'What name this place?' 'That's north'.<sup>10</sup>

It seems the occupants of both Adelaide and the far south did agree on a complementary usage of *Patpangga* ('south place') for both the region south of Sellicks Hill and its occupants, the *Patpamiurna* or "Patpunga tribe".<sup>11</sup>

But the suspicion of a misunderstanding with 'Cowandilla' increases when we note that the best early linguists (the missionaries Teichelmann, Schürmann and Klose) did not record *kawandilla* as the name of any kind of place, only as an ordinary vocabulary item 'in the north'.<sup>12</sup> They did not comment on the settlers' use of 'Cowandilla' in their time. However, the second interim Protector, William Wyatt, did record "Kouandilla" as the name of a "district".<sup>13</sup>

For once the strongest piece of evidence is among the latest of the primary sources. In the 1890s an ongoing spate of correspondence in the *SA Register* about place-names included this:

*THE NATIVE NAME OF ADELAIDE. Sir— In your interesting article this morning on 'Origin of Adelaide Names' you quote Mr. C. H. Harris's paper, in which he says that the native name of Adelaide was 'Tarndanya' and of Glenelg 'Cowandilla'. Allow me to state that this point is disputed by some of our oldest colonists, who claim that 'Cowandilla' is the native name of Adelaide, not of Glenelg. In a recent conversation with a colonist of fifty-nine years and a man possessed of a remarkable memory, the late Mr. John Brock, J.P., Tanunda, who died on the*

vowel; but then it breaks a rule of Kurna word-formation, by which the Locative for two-syllable roots must be *ngga* (giving *yandVngga*), while *illa* is reserved for three-syllable roots such as *kawanda* (deleting the final vowel of the root). Known five-syllable place-names with an identical structure to this fictitious 'Kauwi-yandilla' include *Tarni-yandingga* and *Yarta-kurlangga* (see PNS 4.03.04/01 and 5.04.01/07). Alternatively, the 'lla' might conceivably be the Dual suffix *rla*, enabling us to propose *Kauwi-yarnda-rla*, 'two wide waters', from *yarnda* 'large, wide' (cp. 'Cowiemanilla' = probably *Kauwi-marnirla*, 'two good waters': see PNS 4.01.01/03). But this is to stretch probability too far, against the improbability of using such a name instead *pangkarla* ('two lagoons'), and against the overwhelming evidence for the four-syllable version of the name with a stressed vowel *i* (not *a*) before the *l*.

<sup>10</sup> Cp. the classic case of 'Echunga', which represents Kurna *ltyangga*, 'over there'.

<sup>11</sup> See PNS 1-03 Patpangga.

<sup>12</sup> Teichelmann 1857, MS Dictionary, under 'kawanda'.

<sup>13</sup> Wyatt [1837-9] / 1879, in JD Woods 1879, *Native Tribes of SA*: 179.



*19th ult., he told me that when in Adelaide in the early days he was talking to the king of the Adelaide tribe of blacks, and on mentioning the name Adelaide the king in an indignant tone replied. 'What for you call him Adelaide? no Adelaide— Cow-an-dilla.' The king was surely an authority on the subject... I am Sir, &c, E. LUCAS. Gawler, January 12 [1899].<sup>14</sup>*

The 'king of the Adelaide tribe' was presumably one of the three well-known identities who had 'king' or 'chief' attached to their English names: Mullawirraburka ('King John') and Ityamaitpinna ('King Rodney'), and perhaps Kadlitpinna ('Captain Jack').<sup>15</sup> Although 'Rodney' and 'John' had their heartlands further south, to most settlers they were identified with Adelaide because of their high visibility there; for instance, they were two of the main informants for Teichelmann and Schürmann at the Native Location.

This 'king' and Brock no doubt held their conversation in Pidgin English, and it is not clear what they – or each of them differently – meant by 'Adelaide' at that moment. But the record here, though third-hand, is of a specific, early, face-to-face encounter, and its content is simple enough for us to believe that it might have been remembered accurately by both settlers. We may fairly regard it as authoritative evidence that the word *was* used as some kind of place-name, by some Kurna-speakers at least. More of this later. For the moment it is a powerful incentive to continue by allowing 'Cowandilla' a provisional benefit of the doubt.

## 2. HISTORY: WHO HEARD IT, AND WHEN?

It is necessary to tease out the history of how this place-name was originally obtained from the beginning, before it became merely an item of colonial folklore and land administration.

The first firmly dateable record of the name occurs in a letter of Stephen Hack, the Quaker explorer, written on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1837. The manuscript is lost, and both of the published versions of it contain many of the mis-spellings which often arise when hasty publishers transcribe proper

<sup>14</sup> *South Australian Register* 13/1/1899: 6h, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/54427958/4109028>. I owe this reference to clippings in the archive of surveyor and place-name enthusiast CH Harris (bound volume: 141, PRG 1112, State Library of SA).

<sup>15</sup> Mullawirraburka was the most familiar 'king of the Adelaide tribe' (see Gara 1998, 'The Life and times of Mullawirraburka', in Simpson & Hercus 1998, *History In Portraits*, Canberra, Aboriginal History Monograph 6). Ivaritji said of her father, "the English people called him King Rodney" [*Advertiser* 8/12/1927: 13a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/47437642>]. Kadlitpinna ('Captain Jack') was sometimes known as one of the "chiefs... of the Adelaide tribe" (but not as 'the king'), even though his country was to the north (Gara 1998: 103). It could have been any of the three whom Brock met that day, though from their 'royal title' the first two are more likely. Brock arrived in SA in 1839 and worked first for Joseph Gilbert of Pewsey Vale near Lyndoch (*South Australia Register* Fri 23 Dec 1898, p.3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/56542513>). Mullawirraburka died in 1845; Ityamaitpinna in about 1860 (Gara 1998: 121, 125). Kadlitpinna was still in Adelaide in 1853 but then disappears from the records (*Adelaide Observer* 14/5/1853: 7c-d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158093784/18793089>).



names from an unknown language.<sup>16</sup> The first version reads, “Their name for Glenelg is Corvandilla [*sic*], which, being interpreted, means *good water*”; in the second the name is “Corrandilla” [*sic*]. A few months later the German doctor Hermann Koeler was visiting “Holdfast Bay (Port Glenelg)” and learning that it was called “Korrandilla [*sic*] among the Aborigines”; he published this observation later in a Berlin scientific journal.<sup>17</sup> No other records mention a place with any version of this name containing a double ‘rr’. In cursive handwriting using an unknown language, it can be very easy to mistake ‘w’ for ‘rr’ or ‘rv’. We can be sure that Hack’s original letter said ‘Cowandilla’ and that Koeler’s said ‘Kowandilla’.<sup>18</sup>

Although in its first records it was said to mean “good water” or “plenty of water”, this was certainly a misunderstanding. Probably it was Hack who started the folklore among the early colonists that the name “Cowandilla” meant ‘good water’ or ‘plenty of water’. No doubt because the first syllable reminded him and them of one of the few Kurna words which they knew, *kauwi* ‘water’. But as we have seen already, this etymology is extremely unlikely. The gloss was either an assumption or a misunderstanding: hack or someone else had confused an informant’s description of a place (e.g. well-watered ‘Glenelg’) with the meaning of the word.

It is possible that Mary Thomas’s diary pre-dated Hack in expanding upon the same item. She records that on 10<sup>th</sup> November 1836

*We did not reach our final destination at Holdfast Bay till the evening, the wind being contrary. This place received its present designation, I believe, from the stability of its anchorage, but the native name of which, or at least of the adjacent plains, is Cowandilla, meaning plenty of water – which it certainly had when we arrived there. The lagoons, as they were called, were then full, and in some places several feet deep, though all derived the water from the last winter’s rains. As the summer advanced they dried up, and we could scarcely obtain sufficient water sometimes even for drinking.*<sup>19</sup>

Did she and her fellow colonists discover the name immediately upon arriving, or even beforehand when they called in at Rapid Bay? Mrs Thomas transcribed her diary in the 1860s, editing it in the process, and the only versions we have contain many obvious interpolations from her later

<sup>16</sup> See fuller quotations from Hack in the tables of evidence above.

<sup>17</sup> See H Koeler (ed. P Mühlhäusler) 2006, *Hermann Koeler’s Adelaide: Observations on the Language and Culture of South Australia by the First German Visitor*, Unley, Australian Humanities Press: 3-4, 82.

<sup>18</sup> Tindale is therefore irrelevant when he speculates that “*the basic meaning of Kor:andilla is red gum tree place*”, from Hack’s ‘Corrandilla’ and Wyatt’s “*korra, redgum tree*” (Tindale Kurna place-name card [532] ‘Kor:andilla’, AA 338/7/1/12; Wyatt [1837-9] / 1879). Wyatt’s ‘korra’ is merely his spelling of *karra* as in Teichelmann & Schürmann.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Thomas (ed. EK Thomas) 1925, *The Diary and Letters of Mary Thomas (1836-1866)*, Adelaide, WK Thomas & Co: 49.

reflections. This rather discursive passage is probably one of them;<sup>20</sup> very likely she was quoting the folklore she had heard later.

In September 1837 Charles Mann and Protector Wyatt travelled to Encounter Bay and back with guides including Mullawirraburka and his family. Mann recorded a list of place-names going south from their starting point in Adelaide: “1 Cowandilla Plains” is the first of these, on the way to “2 Ware Peringa plains” (*Warriparingga*, around the Sturt River) and “4 Weta wertinga plains” (*Witawartingga*, probably along the lower foothills around Seacliff Park).<sup>21</sup> The name is not incorporated into the narrative of the journey; this bare list would place ‘Cowandilla Plains’ anywhere between the Torrens River and the plains around the Sturt River.

A Tasmanian landowner John Wade visited SA in December 1836 and travelled around with other like-minded men of capital such as JB Hack and John Morphett, taking part in one of the first colonial visits to the upper Onkaparinga and the first ascent of Mt Barker.<sup>22</sup> Thoroughly converted to Morphett’s Biblical raptures about the land, and back in Hobart the following February, he wrote to a local newspaper:

*The soil is very rich generally, part of the plains Cowahdella [sic], Onkaparinga, Aldinga, and those between Adelaide and the coast, are inferior to the generality of the soils there, but they are certainly superior to anything in this colony... Onkaparinga contains upwards of 100 square miles; Aldinga, and Cowahdella are nearly of equal extent without any interruption of bad land.*<sup>23</sup>

‘Cowahdella’ of course includes another mis-transcription or two; when Gouger re-published the letter in his 1838 propaganda pamphlet he edited the error to ‘Cowandilla’.<sup>24</sup>

Wyatt as well as Mann had noted down place-names during their journey south with Mullawirraburka. Perhaps it was at this time, or perhaps later in his protectorship (1837-9), that

<sup>20</sup> See <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/using-this-site/source-material/source-notes-for-the-diary-of-mary-thomas.html>. The editors of this website omit many other obvious interpolations but allow this passage to remain (<http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/journey-content/mary-thomas.html>); but the pervasive past tense should make us doubt its real date. We cannot check her MS because “*The diary she kept on the ship... is almost completely indecipherable now*” (P Hope 1968, *The Voyage of the Africaine*: 144).

<sup>21</sup> C. Mann 1837, “General Description of The Country from Adelaide to Encounter Bay, BRG 42/52, SLSA: 2. The third ‘plains’ item is partly indecipherable. See PNS 2/21 Witawartingga; and *Feet On the Fleurieu* Chapter 5.

<sup>22</sup> See ‘First Ascent of Mount Barker’, in GC Morphett (ed.) 1936, *The Life and Letters of Sir John Morphett*, Adelaide: Hassell Press: 69-71; J Morphett 1837, *South Australia: Latest Information*: 6, 23.

<sup>23</sup> *The True Colonist* (Hobart Town) 9/2/1838: 6b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/203146375/22312450>.

<sup>24</sup> R Gouger 1838, *South Australia in 1837* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition): 23. A cursive or block ‘n’ may look like an ‘h’. A cursive ‘i’ can easily look like ‘e’, but in this case the difference would not affect the Kurna linguistics.

Wyatt noted “Kouandilla” among several “Districts of the Adelaide tribe”. Another of these was “Kobandilla”, to which we will return later.<sup>25</sup>

During 1837, as we saw above, somebody was inscribing “Cowiandilla or Glenelg” onto a new map of the South Australian coastline. During 1838 John Oakden was using the name “Cowandilla plains” for land up to Gawler.<sup>26</sup>

In 1840 a new subdivision created a major red herring for our subject on Section 92 of District A. On 31 July an advertisement proclaimed that allotments would be surveyed “in order to encourage the location of industrious and deserving persons, such as market gardeners, small farmers, and other members of the productive classes... For this purpose the land is admirably adapted, as well from its cheapness as from the richness of its soil, and also the facility of obtaining water”. It also held out the waterfront lure: “A few acres on the lagoon still unappropriated”.<sup>27</sup> This would be the “Village of Cowandillah (So called on account of the great facilities of obtaining water)”. For our purposes we need only note that this name was used here, not because anyone thought it belonged here, but simply because there was *water* here: i.e. as a direct result of the of the folklore about the meaning of the name. From CH Harris to Tindale, all the theories relating the name to water on Section 92 are dead ends.<sup>28</sup>

Apart from the notable reminiscence of the ‘king of Adelaide’ already noted, this completes the history of how the word was recorded as an ostensible place-name. It is time now to ask a fundamental question, before examining the history and provenance of other less direct usages.

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### 3. CULTURAL SOURCES: WHO SAID IT?

Aboriginal place-names were all bestowed and used from a personalized geographical viewpoint: ‘this is our name for the place’. If the person is an ‘insider’ who lives in that place, the name (equally valid in its own terms) will usually be different from the one given for the same place by an

<sup>25</sup> See the long footnote in section 4c ‘Other North Places and North Peoples’.

<sup>26</sup> See section 4a ‘What and where was it?’

<sup>27</sup> The lagoon was somewhere downstream from the swampy the junction of Keswick Creek and Brownhill Creek, and presumably intermittent (because it is not shown on the old maps) – it is hard now to tell where it was because the watercourses around there have been so changed and destroyed. The land returns at the end of 1840 listed “*Cowandilla Village*” on Section 92 as having “*Five wells, with good water at the depth of 15 feet*” (‘Statement of the extent of cultivation... at the termination of the year 1840’, *BPP: Colonies: Australia* 7: 70).

<sup>28</sup> Section 92’s debt to the ‘water’ folklore probably includes by extension the following item from old colonist James Chittleborough, despite his other useful observations of Aborigines at first contact: “*Cowandilla... is the native name for the country about Richmond and Hilton*” (*Register* 28/12/1906, 6a). Those two suburbs are next to today’s Cowandilla.

'outsider' who lives somewhere else.<sup>29</sup> Obviously this may affect any use of compass points in the name.

Who named Glenelg or Adelaide as 'North Place'? Where was their country? From Fleurieu Peninsula the only north places within normal reach were those along the coastal plains of the Gulf. If the person lived further south, and especially if they rarely visited as far north as Adelaide, it would be natural for them to refer to those plains in a general outsider way as the 'north place'. Is there any evidence for this?

Unsurprisingly, almost all the informants for 'Cowandilla' are hard to identify, either as individuals or even as groups. Since it is likely that they would be southerners, our search for clues to them will involve being aware of the process by which the colonists divided their first contact with Aboriginal mainlanders between Rapid Bay (Sep 1836 to Jan 1837) and Holdfast Bay 80 km north (from early November 1836 onward), but of course they sustained only the latter. While the occupants of these two places both spoke dialects of the Kurna language, it is unlikely that they saw themselves as 'the same people' at this date.<sup>30</sup> Only the southerners had frequent previous contact with sealers and Kangaroo islanders, and therefore only the southerners knew some English.<sup>31</sup>

To begin with the likely first record of 'Cowandilla': the Hack family arrived at Holdfast Bay on 11 February 1837,<sup>32</sup> but Stephen's explorations did not get beyond the immediate vicinity of Adelaide until after he wrote the letter on May 1<sup>st</sup>; so his source conversation must have been local.

There is a slim chance that the name was first given by one of the Aboriginal associates of Colonel Light's team in late 1836, and relayed to Hack later. These people were all southerners. Perhaps the informant could have been 'Doughboy', the wife of William Cooper, both of them employed on the *Rapid* during Light's first visits to Holdfast Bay in October 1836, and later at Rapid Bay.<sup>33</sup> Or

<sup>29</sup> e.g. the Encounter Bay people called the Bluff area Ramong; Kurna speakers called it Wirramulla, which is almost certainly an adaptation of the same name into Kurna language structures (see PNS 7.02/01 Wirramulla). Sometimes the two names are quite different; e.g. for Rapid Bay, *Yartakurlangga* (insider name in Kurna language) and *Ngutarangk* (outsider name in Ramindjeri language) (see PNS 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga). I am indebted to James Knight and his thesis for clarifying my ideas on the issue of 'insider' and 'outsider' place-names (J Knight 2003, *Testing Tindale Tribes*, Archaeology Ph.D., University of New England).

<sup>30</sup> Historical evidence suggests that there was limited contact before settlement between the 'south' beyond Mt Terrible (including Encounter Bay) and this 'north place' at Adelaide. For example, in October 1836 the southerner 'Doughboy' (one of Cooper's wives) had never been as far north as even the Onkaparinga River (William Hodges 1902, *Observer*, 26/4/1902: 4b), and told the officers on the *Rapid* that "they are rather a fierce set around here" at Holdfast Bay (Pullen 4 Oct 1836, 'MSS Journal', PRG 303, SLSA: 31/22; cp. my *Feet On the Fleurieu* Chapter 3). But after 1836, with all observation focussed on the native Location in Adelaide, any visiting southerners (*Patpa-miyurna*) may have become hard to distinguish from the locals who spoke much the same language.

<sup>31</sup> The pre-contact history of the Adelaide-Fleurieu region is described in Chapters 1 and 2 of my *Feet On the Fleurieu*. The process of colonial transition from Rapid Bay to Adelaide is investigated in detail in Chapter 3.

<sup>32</sup> JB Hack diary in *Adelaide Observer* 12/7/1884: 43e.

<sup>33</sup> Doughboy had two sons among the men she brought in to look after the garden at Rapid Bay; and she had taught Cooper enough Kurna language for him to be employed as official interpreter in Adelaide during 1837-8. See *Feet On the Fleurieu* Chapters 3 and 4.

perhaps the Rapid Bay men themselves – one of the eight Aboriginal ‘marines’ employed by Light and Finniss, notably ‘Jim’ or ‘Tom’ or ‘Peter’ – may have told it to Light’s friend Finniss while working there with him for 14 weeks; or may even have come to Adelaide after January 1837 and told it there to somebody, possibly Mary Thomas or Hack. But there is no real evidence for this.<sup>34</sup>

It is theoretically possible that others at Glenelg had obtained the name from one or more of their earliest local Aboriginal visitors in late November and early December 1836: the unnamed people found by William Williams and James Cronk, the first to learn the language,<sup>35</sup> “Ootina” who danced in the governor’s cabin on the *Buffalo*,<sup>36</sup> or members of the large group brought in to Glenelg from Port Noarlunga by CW Stuart’s party a few days before Hack arrived.<sup>37</sup> But there is no evidence that ‘Cowandilla’ was ever mentioned in any of this. The word does not occur in the vocabulary collected by Williams,<sup>38</sup> nor in the contemporary records of the colonists involved in the front-line action there, such as Light. For the first three years most of the white settlers seem to have known no Kurna place-names in the immediate vicinity of Adelaide other than ‘Cowandilla’.<sup>39</sup> What they needed in order to make their landfall, they had learned from the southerners.

Hack himself remains the most likely one to have obtained the name directly from an Aboriginal person, sometime between mid-February and the end of April 1837. He was among the colonists who were quick to make a priority of learning the local language, and had learned Pidgin Kurna

<sup>34</sup> For the full story of Light’s Aboriginal ‘marines’ and the 14-week temporary colony at Rapid Bay in 1836-7, see *Feet On the Fleurieu*, Chapter 3. There is one doubtful hint that some Rapid Bay men *may perhaps* have found their way to Adelaide as early as February 1837. In a letter written by ‘a private settler’ at Holdfast Bay in early February 1837 there is an ambiguous claim that “*The Colonel employed the whole tribe at Rapid Bay and they continue with him*” (quoted in Anon. [William Smillie] 1838, *The Great South Land... Second Edition*, London, Simpkin & Martin: 19). This text reflects second-hand knowledge at best, and probably refers to the continued cooperation at Rapid Bay rather than to Adelaide. It is unlikely that they would have worked with Light personally in Adelaide, as it was Finniss whom they knew much better, while Light by then was busily engaged on the town surveys and never mentioned the natives. While there is no *direct* evidence that any of them were in Adelaide in early 1837, it is still inherently likely that after Finniss moved on to Holdfast Bay in late January 1837, some of them knew where he was going and would *eventually* have travelled to seek out more of the good working relationship, privileges and rewards which they had experienced with him. Of the eight, we know three names and something of their identities and careers: ‘Tom’, ‘Jim’ and ‘Peter’ (see *Feet On the Fleurieu*). These men already spoke some English (Mary Thomas diary 6 Nov 1836).

<sup>35</sup> See e.g. Amery 2000 / 2016, *Warraparna Kurna!*: 52-3.

<sup>36</sup> G Stevenson journal 1/1/1837, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society (SA)* 30 (1928-9): 56-8. =

<sup>37</sup> See ‘Noarlunga’ [CW Stuart] 1875, *South Australian Advertiser* 28/12/1875: 5-6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31963670/2276412>; also *Feet On the Fleurieu*, Chapter 4. The date of 2<sup>nd</sup> Feb 1837 is given in Stuart’s diary (D6872(L) Vol. 5 [opening chronology], SLSA). Intriguingly, one of the leading men at Port Noarlunga that day – and therefore probably one of the visitors to Glenelg next day – was “*Tam o’Shanter*”, who came from Port Gawler, more than 30 km north of Adelaide. It would be remarkable indeed if he gave ‘north place’ as the name of Glenelg. But there is no evidence that he did, and it is inherently unlikely.

<sup>38</sup> William Williams 1839, *A Vocabulary of the Language...*, Adelaide, A Macdougall.

<sup>39</sup> Their local business on the Adelaide Plains was now survival, entrenchment and building rather than exploration; and no longer feeling a need for native place-names, most settlers went about their custom of imposing names from European countryside or English and colonial dignitaries.

up to conversational level by July 1837.<sup>40</sup> In the May letter he shows an interest in place-names obtained previously by others, but also gives the first record of “Morialta”.<sup>41</sup>

Who did he speak with in obtaining “Cowandilla”, and how well did they understand each other? At this very early date, what languages were used on both sides of the conversation? Was Hack already using Pidgin Kaurna? Did his informant use Pidgin English or merely signs and gestures? Unlike the Aborigines of Rapid Bay, the Adelaide people did not know any English when the settlers arrived in November 1836, though they picked it up very quickly.<sup>42</sup> But these early conversations must have been fraught with many misunderstandings. Because Hack had unwittingly elicited two compass points, it is important to discover (if we can) where his source’s viewpoint was located. Certainly both insider and outsider names existed, possibly each in several versions; but which kind was ‘Cowandilla’?

Most likely Hack obtained ‘Cowandilla’ between February and May 1837 from one of two early notables who very quickly become regular visitors to the settlements and the Native Location. There is no strong evidence that they were among the very first locals to show themselves at the Glenelg colony; but soon in 1837 they would feature in the letters of Interim protector Bromley, and later become the major informants for Wyatt, Moorhouse and the German missionary linguists, and familiar figures around colonial Adelaide. These were Mullawirraburka (‘Onkaparinga Jack’ or ‘King John’)<sup>43</sup> and Ityamaitpinna (‘Rodney’).<sup>44</sup> As it happens, these two are almost the only contenders for the ‘king of Adelaide’ in Brock’s tale.<sup>45</sup> It is therefore worth looking at where they came from.

<sup>40</sup> St Hack to Maria Hack 20 July 1837, PRG 456/1/18; JB Hack letter 3 Aug 1837, SA *Record* 1(4), 13 Jan 1838: 30b.

<sup>41</sup> *Marriyarta* ‘east country’: see PNS 2/01.

<sup>42</sup> “*The where [sic] quick in learning English*” (Thomas Day 1902, MS ‘Memories of the Extinct Tribe of Cowandilla Natives’, Tindale, Supplementary papers [to] Notes On Kaurna Tribe, AA 338/2/68: 14). “*Of course, these natives did not understand English any more than we did their dialect, but they pronounced our language by repeating whatever was said to them with an accuracy that was surprising and with a far superior accent to that of many Europeans not English, though they may have studied it for years*” (Mary Thomas diary 1/12/1836). “*The blacks soon picked up a little pidgin English, and made themselves understood by signs and gesticulations*” (James Chittleborough 1906, *Register* 27/12/1906: 6c, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/56690669/4425763>). Chittleborough, who arrived on the *Buffalo* in December 1836, believed that “*Cowandilla... is the native name for the country about Richmond and Hilton*” (*Register* 28/12/1906: 6a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/56697224/4425773>) – a view which disqualifies him from being among the original collectors of the name, and derives no doubt from conversations with settlers rather than Aborigines (see discussion of ‘Cowandillah Village’).

<sup>43</sup> Wyatt tells us that “*Kuttámero*” is “*Onkaparinga Jack, or King John*” (Wyatt [1837] / 1879: 179).

<sup>44</sup> The prominent leader ‘Rodney’ who featured often in records of the English colonists is identified with ‘King Rodney’, the father of Ivaritji – who had also been called “*Itja mau*” (?misprint for ‘Ityamai’: Cleland & Tindale 1936 in Fenner (ed.) 1936, *Centenary History of SA*: 19). Schürmann in his diary 1838-40 often mentions a prominent leader and informant named “*Ityamaitpinna*”, which means ‘father of Ityamai’. Rodney is first mentioned explicitly by name on 30 July 1837 in a letter of the first Interim Protector Bromley on 30 June 1837 (GRG 24/1/1837/213).

<sup>45</sup> There was a third very familiar notable, Kadlitpinna (‘Captain Jack’); but we may discount him here. He was often identified with the ‘Adelaide tribe’, and sometimes called a ‘chief’ along with other leaders (Martha Berkeley painting 1838, Gara 1998: 103), but was never called ‘king’ of anywhere, as far as we know. In JB Hack’s eyes their ‘Jack’ was only “*a fine specimen*”, not a ‘chief’ like the other man they knew (see the Hack-‘Jack’ footnote below). Kadlitpinna’s homeland and original ‘tribe’ were *north* of Adelaide, probably around Gawler (see PNS 8/18 Kadlitiya), making it very unlikely that he would refer to anywhere around Adelaide as ‘north place’. He is first mentioned explicitly by name in a letter of Bromley on 29 June 1837 (GRG 24/1/1837/210).

Mullawirraburka could give Hack and/or Brock an ‘insider’ name for either ‘Glenelg’ or ‘Adelaide’, since his personal lands included a number of areas from ‘Adelaide’ to Myponga 60 km to the south.<sup>46</sup> But if he spoke to Hack or Brock, would he insist on the local validity of a viewpoint from his *personal* south (Aldinga plain or Myponga), the middle-south before one arrived at the *publicly-acknowledged* ‘south place’ further south at (say) Yankalilla and Rapid Bay? This man was known at first as ‘Onkaparinga Jack’, who could have been Hack’s informant at Glenelg before he wrote the letter; for there possibly by 7<sup>th</sup> March and certainly by April 14 – the Hack and Brown families were on very friendly terms with a man nicknamed ‘Jack’, and with his children.<sup>47</sup>

Ityamaiitpinna too could probably give the name as an insider. There are differing reports of Rodney’s country: ‘his tribe’ extended up to 50 km north of Adelaide, but ‘his country’ was more than 30 km south, “from Onkaparinga to Willunga”.<sup>48</sup> Did he see Adelaide from the north with ‘his tribe’, or from the south as if sitting in his own *pangkarra*? Rodney was also known as a more confronting character than ‘John’,<sup>49</sup> which fits Brock’s story. And he too could have been Hack’s anonymous *first* informant in early 1837: for an unnamed “chief” was also familiar to the Hack family at Glenelg by mid-April 1837.

<sup>46</sup> Mullawirraburka’s country had “formerly” included “the districts of Adelaide, Glenelg, Sturt River, and Hurtle Vale” (i.e. around the CBD to perhaps 20 km south). His preferred “abode when in health” was an extra 10 km further south around the Onkaparinga River, and he was first known as “Onkaparinga Jack”. Later, it seems, “his country” was another 25 km further south at the Aldinga Plains and Myponga. (For all these see Moorhouse report 27/7/1840; SA Register 6/1/1845: 3a; Wyatt [1837-9] / 1879 in Woods 1879: 179; Wyatt 1860 evidence, BPP No.165 of 1860: 29; WA Cawthorne diary 1 Jan 1845, R Foster (ed) 1991, *Sketch of the Aborigines of South Australia: References in the Cawthorne Papers*, Adelaide, Aboriginal heritage Branch of SA Dept of Environment & Planning: 57; and the discussion in Gara 1998: 95-6). He was seen by many Adelaide colonists as ‘king’ of the ‘Adelaide tribe’, which in Moorhouse’s view extended to Mt Terrible near the southern limit of Mullawirraburka’s country (Moorhouse report 14/1/1840). He is first mentioned explicitly by name (“Onkaparinga Jack”) in a published letter of the second Interim Protector Wyatt, referring to a journey in September 1837 (Wyatt letter, SA Record 8/8/1838: 83b).

<sup>47</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> March: “The natives are only too friendly: a family party called this morning; they seem very good natured” [JB Hack diary-letter in H Watson 1838, *A Lecture On South Australia*, London, Gliddon: 11]. 14<sup>th</sup> April: “It is quite curious to see the natives walking about among the tents, quite at home. They are all clothed or partly so. One called Jack has just passed with his children: he is a fine specimen, and is becoming quite civilised. Mrs Brown here has made one of them as chief a sort of round frock, which he is very proud of” (JB Hack diary 14 April 1837, original MS version PRG 456/6/1. The word ‘chief’ was changed in later versions of this diary). Because we are not told whether the ‘Jack’ here was ‘Onkaparinga Jack’ or ‘Captain Jack’, we have to deduce probabilities, as in my footnote about Kadlitpinna above. Following immediately after JB Hack’s ‘Jack’, the ‘one of them’ who was a chief and received the frock from Mrs Brown was presumably not ‘Jack’, whom Hack did not see as a chief. In Stephen Hack’s place-name letter of May 1<sup>st</sup>, he tells his family in England, “One of the black fellows, named Jack, persuaded me to name his two daughters, five or six years old; I named them Jenny and Polly. What do you think of my taste in names?” (Stephen Hack 1 May 1837, SA Record). It seems that Jack’s family was often present.

<sup>48</sup> Rodney’s country was “Onkaparinga to Willunga, and south of it”, according to Wyatt, from walking past that neighbourhood with Mullawirraburka in September 1837 (Wyatt [1837-9] / 1879: 179; cp. Wyatt 1838, SA Record 8/10/1838: 83-4); and he was “Rodney of Willunga” according to Martha Berkeley’s painting in 1838 (Gara 1998: 103). But nearly a century later his daughter was reported as saying that “the English people called him King Rodney” and “the tribe over which her father ruled extended from Gawler to Holdfast Bay” (Advertiser 8/12/1927: 13a). But (1) Ivaritji was almost certainly not born until the later 1840s, which reduces the value of her evidence for 1837; and (2) the boundaries of his ‘tribe’ are not the same thing as his personal *pangkarra*, which appears to be near Willunga. So Rodney’s territory turns out to be as ambiguous (or complex) as ‘Onkaparinga Jack’s’.

<sup>49</sup> See Gara 1998: 108.

Whether it was Mullawirraburka or Ityamaitpinna who gave 'Cowandilla' to Stephen Hack, or someone else like 'Doughboy' or 'Jim' or 'Tom', and whichever 'king' it was who insisted on 'Cowandilla' to Brock, we arrive at two provisional conclusions:

1. The viewpoint for 'north place' is probably between 20 and 70 km south of Adelaide.
2. Because we are unsure whether Ityamaitpinna's viewpoint should be seen as north or south of 'Adelaide', Mullawirraburka – with Adelaide the furthest north of his various territories – is the most likely source for both Hack and Brock.

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#### 4a. WHAT WAS IT? WHERE WAS IT? – PLACES ASSOCIATED WITH 'COWANDILLA':

What were these men referring to when they used this name? – not only where? but what kind of thing? and how big?

In particular, what about the attributed 'Glenelg' and 'Adelaide'?

Lucas, interpreting Brock's story in his letter, assumed that 'Adelaide' and 'Glenelg' were narrow and incompatible locations, forgetting that their context changed as the colony expanded. In fact they had been relatively wide and overlapping categories almost from the first, even to the English insiders who lived there; from an approaching ship the two names were practically synonymous. It seems likely that they were only two place-names available on these plains in any language until the time of Hack's letter.<sup>50</sup> After that, 'Cowandilla' became the third.

In 1836 Light gave the name 'Glenelg' not to the suburb we know today, nor to the narrow piece of it occupied by the first settlers, but to the whole "adjacent plains". We may therefore be fairly sure that in the earliest 'Cowandilla' sources, the Englishman's gloss 'Glenelg' referred to a large swathe of land around the Sturt River – as signalled by the fact that the expression is often 'Glenelg Plains'.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> The Sturt River and Torrens River had been named by then. But in European custom these referred to the entire length of the streams right up to their headwaters, making them less useful to describe where people were living.

<sup>51</sup> 'COWANDILLA' AS REFERRING TO 'GLENELG', 'HOLDFAST BAY', OR 'ADJACENT PLAINS':

Mary Thomas thought the same: *"Holdfast Bay... the native name of which, or at least of the adjacent plains, is Cowandilla"* (diary 6 Nov 1836).

Woodforde explored the Sturt River with Light in October 1836 – *"There is a most beautiful and level plain on the Southern side of it"* – and again in January 1837, wrote that Light gave the name 'Glenelg' to *"the settlement here"*, and to *"Holdfast Bay"*, and in the light of the earlier entries, seems to refer it to the entire *"beautiful plain"* of *"Holdfast Bay and its neighbourhood"* (Woodforde diary 3-4 Oct 1836, 24 Jan 1837, PRG 502/1/1).

Hack, Koeler and the map from Light all say 'Glenelg' (see table of evidence, above). Light's map is otherwise blank west and southwest of the city, confirming that at that time 'Glenelg' was the large area between Sturt River and the coast.

'Adelaide' began in 1836-7 by referring to 'the smallish area we have chosen for the city, 6 miles inland around the banks of the Torrens'; but it soon acquired a wider meaning as settlement expanded and a general place-name was needed for the entire plains colony. By 1840 all the new local villages – including one called 'Glenelg', planted near the old landing site – could be seen as 'part of Adelaide'. Even before then, 'Cowandilla' could refer to 'Adelaide as opposed to the Onkaparinga or Aldinga Plains or Encounter Bay'.<sup>52</sup>

It also seems clear that *Kawandilla* was not one of the local site names. We know many of those, and their locations put them in competition with the referents above. There are at least six specific site or location names, given by 'insiders' in Kurna language (usually at first contact), which refer to the general area of 'Glenelg' as described above,<sup>53</sup> at least five more which refer to the CBD and its immediate vicinity;<sup>54</sup> and at least eight others which refer to the nearby plains south of the Little Para and north of the 'Glenelg' area.<sup>55</sup> It is clear that most of these names are better-accredited than 'Cowandilla' in the cultural and historical records of the 'Adelaide tribe'.

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Mann, noting his journey from the CBD in 1837, distinguished his first landmark "*Cowandilla Plains*" from the second, "*Ware Peringa plains*" (*Warriparinga*, a name which belongs to the southwest around the Sturt River [see PNS 3/03 *Warriparinga*]), seeming thus to place 'Cowandilla Plains' somewhere between the CBD and the Sturt River flood-plain, Surveyor CH Harris confirmed that the name 'Glenelg' "*had previously been applied by Col. Light to the plain between the coast and River Sturt*" (CH Harris 1893, 'Geographical Nomenclature of South Australia', "*Read at the Adelaide meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held September 1893 (with some amendments in writing by the author)*" [photocopy from AAAS journal, SLSA]: 481).

Someone writing before 1908 under the pen-name 'Link Luckhurst' – probably CH Harris – claimed that "*Tandanyunga is the name of the tribal district east of Cowandilla, and south of the Torrens*" (Rodney Cockburn (ed.) 1908, *Nomenclature of South Australia*, Adelaide, WK Thomas & Co: 6). Here the plains from Cowandilla suburb to Glenelg and Sturt River are *not* 'Tandanyunga', and this would leave them free to be an independent entity such as *Kawandilla*. But this is a very late and dubious settler memory.

<sup>52</sup> 'COWANDILLA' AS APPARENTLY REFERRING TO 'ADELAIDE' OR TO THE PLAINS AROUND THE CBD:

Mann 1837 (see previous footnote) can also be read in this sense.

Wade's reference (based on his visit in December 1837) cites an area for "Cowandilla plain" which is "*nearly equal*" to that of the "Onkaparinga" which is "*upwards of 100 square miles*". Some work on the size of various selected areas (using the government's plb website) confirms that Wade must have been referring to (1) the upper Onkaparinga around Woodside, and (2) for 'Cowandilla plain', an area of (say) 80-90 square miles bounded by Mitcham, Bolivar, Salisbury East, and the foothills from Rostrevor back to Mitcham; i.e. excluding the swampy areas behind the dunes in the west, which he referred to separately as "*those [plains] between Adelaide and the coast*".

"*Kouandilla*", Wyatt's "*district of the Adelaide tribe*", forces us back to contemporary settler definitions of 'Adelaide'. It is unclear who gave him this, but the chances are it was one of the same informants at the Native Location, considered above. By the time he edited his wordlist for publication, he would have been aware of Moorhouse's definition of the tribe as extending 10 miles north of Adelaide (Moorhouse report 14/1/1840), and we can be fairly sure that he meant the term in something like this wider sense.

By the time of Brock's conversation with the 'king' – in 1839 or later, when Brock was already working among the first Barossa settlers (see *SA Register* 23/12/1898: 3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/56542513>) – it is not likely that he or the 'king' were referring only to the CBD.

<sup>53</sup> Aboriginal site names located on Glenelg and its adjacent plains include: Pathawilyangga (PNS 2/18); Warriparingga (PNS 3/03); Witungga (PNS 2/13); 'Tlm\_T\_ne\_\_ Plains' (PNS 2/32); Witawartingga (PNS 2/21); 'Billyarunga' (PNS 3/02).

<sup>54</sup> Around the Adelaide CBD itself we have: Tandanya (PNS ; Karrowirra (PNS 2/06); Karrowirra-pari (PNS 2/05); Kainkawirra (PNS 2/07); Pirltawardli (PNS 2/04).

<sup>55</sup> On the plains immed surrounding the CBD, i.e. the inner metropolitan area other than Sturt River: Karraundongga (PNS 2/11); Ngurro (PNS 2/12); Wirraparingga (PNS 2/15); Willawilla (PNS 2/16); Mikawomma (PNS )8/04; Yartapulti



By 1838 the term 'Cowandilla Plains' was in common usage but not clearly defined: rather like the term 'Para', whose referents were extremely confusing from the start.<sup>56</sup> It is surprising to find that explorer Oakden, on his early trip north in March 1838, used it to label the plains all the way north to what is now Gawler town;<sup>57</sup> but he had no Aboriginal guide, his usage is unique to him, and we may discount it. Stephen Hack and Light had been there before him without recording any similar name in that area.

#### 4b. INTERLUDE: 'Cowandilla Village':

The red herring of 'Cowandilla Village' has been fished out of the historical sea many times in support of theories about 'water' and the location of the name. Intriguing among these toponymic time-wasters is the one by the industrious ex-surveyor and place-name collector Charles Hope Harris: a cryptic hasty note, "Glenelg, native camp, near Everard's (Kouandilla), Wyatt".<sup>58</sup> Apparently seeking to locate Wyatt's "district" of "Kouandilla", he succeeds mainly in confusing the geography; for Everard's sections were 7 km and more away from Glenelg, and have here only the one virtue of being 2 km or so from the *suburb* or *village* of Cowandilla. The item is unusable, and today's suburb remains irrelevant to the Kaurana usage.<sup>59</sup>

#### 4c. OTHER 'NORTH PLACES' AND 'NORTH PEOPLES':

Our doubts about the prevalence of *Kawandilla* are confirmed by other data both negative and positive.

Firstly, none of the linguists at first contact recorded the term as any kind of proper noun or name.<sup>60</sup> Of the settlers close to Aboriginal people for any length of time, only Wyatt did this ("Kouandilla" as one of the "districts of the Adelaide tribe").

Secondly, when we review all the references to north places and north people around Adelaide, and other Kaurana-language terms for them, as recorded by the linguists and Protectors of the 1840s, we find that all of them without exception refer further north than the plains around the

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(PNS 8/05); Nganpu (PNS 8/38); Mudlangga (PNS 8/06); 'Curracooringa' (PNS 2/27). The Little Para River itself (or more likely a site on it) was called *Muna*.

<sup>56</sup> See PNS 8/20 Para.

<sup>57</sup> "Notes of an excursion to the Murray, by Messrs. Hill, Wood, Willis and Oakden, by John Oakden, Esq. *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* 17/3/1838: 3c-d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31749868/2052427>.

<sup>58</sup> C. Hope Harris 1893: 494.

<sup>59</sup> By 1840 the Everard family had bought Sections 43, 44 and 52 (Arrowsmith map 18/2/1840, 'District of Adelaide... Country Sections', *BPP: Colonies; Australia* 2, Appendix: 355): i.e. around the current suburbs of Ashford and Everard Park, 7 km northeast of Glenelg and not far from the city end of Anzac Highway, near the junction of Keswick and Brownhill Creeks. Thus it could be said that the Village's Section 92 was "near Everard's", since his sections began about 2 km away; and certainly there may have been a 'native camp' somewhere here at some stage. But none of this is near any kind of 'Glenelg'; and none of it is relevant to the name as known by Kaurana speakers at first contact.

<sup>60</sup> Nor did they with *patpangga*.

Torrens.<sup>61</sup> Probably these groups entered the daily or seasonal life of the Adelaide tribe – and came to the attention of early observers in Adelaide – only when they began to be attracted to Adelaide much more often after settlement, though with some groups this may have happened very quickly.<sup>62</sup>

#### 4d. THE 'COWANDILLA TRIBE':

A few reports from the 1840s and a few later reminiscences of the same period refer to 'the Cowandilla tribe', almost always as a synonym for 'the Adelaide tribe'.

#### <sup>61</sup> NORTH PLACES, NORTH PEOPLES, NORTHERN DIALECTS:

Protector Moorhouse in 1840 wrote, "*Captain Jack, a few years back, belonged to the Koubanda (northern) tribe*" (Moorhouse report 27/7/1840, in *BPP: Australia* 7: 355). The spelling here is unique and may be a mis-transcription of something like 'Kowanda'; but we cannot check it because the original MS has not survived. The same published report spells 'Ngaldinga' as "*Ugaldinga*". Is 'Koubanda' the root of Wyatt's place-name "*Kobandilla*" among his "*districts of the Adelaide tribe*"? Where were 'Koubanda' and 'Kobandilla' located? We don't know clearly, but Kadlitpinna's name may connect him (and hence 'Koubanda') with *Kadlitiya* at Gawler town. Moorhouse also identified the "*Muliakki tribe*" on the lowest reaches of the Gawler River, and the "*Wirra tribe*" around the Para rivers northeast of Gawler town; so that the 'Koubanda' group possibly lived somewhere in between (see PNS 8/18 Kadlitiya and 8/17 Murlayaki). The missionary linguists noted the "*karnu warra, a northern dialect*" of the Adelaide language (literally 'mountain language'); "*the Karno Meyunna*" ('mountain people') "*speak the 'padnendi warra'*" (literally "the 'going' language": i.e. the 'mountain people' use *padnendi* for 'going'). In the background of this, 'we of Adelaide' use *murrendi* (but this dialect needs no name because it is 'ours'), and 'those southerners' use *wenendi* in their "*Kanyalya warra*" (meaning of *kanyalya* unknown) (see Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 under 'karno' and 'wenendi', 2: 10, 55; Teichelmann MS 1857 under 'palti' and 'wenendi'; and see discussions in Amery 1996 'Kurna in Tasmania', 1998 'Sally & Harry', 2000/2016 *Warraparna Kurna!*: 81, 97-8, 133-4). Captain Jack was one of those who was quoted as using *padnendi*, while King John in the same conversation used *murrendi* (T&S 2:72). It seems that the linguists' work merged the two dialects of their major informants into one 'Adelaide standard' version, relegating the far-southern dialect to notes on the side. Teichelmann referred (in German) to "*North men*" meeting "*60-80 miles north of Adelaide*", i.e. between the Wakefield River and Snowtown (12 Oct 1843, within Teichelmann to Dresden Missionary Society 15 Nov 1843, Teichelmann Correspondence TB 243-4 [tr. Lee Kirsten and Geoff Noller], Adelaide Lutheran Archives). Missionary Klose at the Native Location gave "*the names of the various tribes*" including "*Kawanda Meyunna = the North-men*", whom he distinguished from the "*Wirra Meyunna = the wood people, from a particular region in the north which is thickly overgrown with trees*" (Klose to Dresden Missionary Society 3 Sep 1844, in Klose 2002 [tr. E Meier, M Krieg, & L Zweck], *Missionary to the Kurna: the Klose letters*, Occasional Publication No. 2, Adelaide: Friends of Lutheran Archives: 35). One of the "*Wirramejunna*" distinguished between himself and the "*north men*"; yet Mullawirraburka included the 'Wirramejunna' among the "*north people*" who own the Kuri dance (Schürmann diary 20 & 25 Dec 1839). Teichelmann collected sentences used in Aboriginal debates during the crisis in June 1839 when members of the Wirra tribe came to Adelaide threatening sorcery. One of the sentences uses the term "*kawarta meyu*" and translates it as "*the northern men*" (Teichelman MS dictionary 1857, under 'kaintyirendi'). *Kawarta* is probably an abridgement of *kawanda yarta*, 'northern land'. Earlier he and his colleague had identified these visiting sorcerers as "*the Wirra tribe, who came to town with the intention of charming the river, to revenge themselves of their countrymen, who were hanged*" (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 2:67). Cp. Schürmann's diary 16 and 18 June 1839; 3 Jan, 7 Feb 1840 (in EA Schurmann 1987: 51-2, 86).

<sup>62</sup> e.g. the visit of *Mulleakiburka* ('Tam o'Shanter') from his Port Gawler homeland to Port Noarlunga in February 1837 (see Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 under *pangkarra*; PNS 4.02/01 Pirrangga).

Newspapers used the term from 1838 to 1847.<sup>63</sup> In this context, visitor Angas's 1844 portrait of "A boy of Cowandilla" (an Aboriginal child against a sketchy flat beach background) must reflect a contemporary usage among his settler contacts in Adelaide.

Hindsight later produced some more records in the same vein.<sup>64</sup>

In the light of the actual recorded Aboriginal usages above, it is extremely unlikely that the expression 'Cowandilla tribe' reflects any local Aboriginal usage of *Kawandilla* as a place-name; rather, it merely records a phase in settler usage, like the parallel term 'Cowandilla Plains'.

A more specific and credible candidate as a self-identity for 'the Adelaide tribe' (or part of it) is *Tarndanya*, 'red-kangaroo-rock'. This too was a place-name, and may perhaps have been used to identify those families who belonged to the totem and the descent group which owned the site in the CBD. But it was probably not used as the name of any larger tribal grouping.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>63</sup> A report of Gawler's debut speech to the natives in 1838 distinguished between "the Cowandilla and Onkaparinga tribes" in the assembly (SA Gazette & Colonial Register 20/10/1838: 2c, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31750195/2052532>).

In 1847 correspondents noted the virtual disappearance of the local tribe from Adelaide: "Before the arrival of the whites... the Cowandillah blacks were numerous and powerful; of late years, great hordes of Murray natives have frequented Adelaide... The Cowandillah or Adelaide tribe have been driven from their own district" (Southern Australian 15/6/1847: 2f, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71608529/6251151>). "It is commonly said that the whites have driven away the Cowandilla or Adelaide natives from the city. No such thing. This now small tribe have been driven away... by hordes of wild Murray and even Darling natives... but, at all events, the Cowandilla natives as against the Murray natives—he hunters against the fishermen—have the superior claim" (South Australian 17/9/1847: 2e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71609408/6251260>).

<sup>64</sup> Bull remembered "The now lost or defunct Adelaide or Cowandilla tribe" (JW Bull 1878, *Early Experiences of Colonial Life in South Australia* [1<sup>st</sup> ed.], Adelaide: Advertiser & Chronicle Offices: 279). George James, reminiscing about his part in the capture of the killers of Pegler in 1838, mentions "a small black boy of the Adelaide tribe (Cowandilla, which means water)" (JW Bull 1884, *Early Experiences of Colonial Life in South Australia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Adelaide, ES Wigg & Son: 65-7).

Retired surveyor Thomas Day in 1902 wrote down some of his "Memories of the Extinct tribe of Cowandilla natives" (also spelled "Cowendilla"). Their territory extended "North the river Parra – South Noarlunga – East Unkaparinga – West the sea shore" (the Little Para or the Gawler River? 'Unkaparinga' must mean the upper plain around Woodside). "The tribe was ruled by His Majesty King John". Day gave the word as the name of the tribe but not of any place or district. According to Tindale's note added to the MS, Day lived in "Bay Road Keswick", but he signed his address as "Tandania Adelaide" (T Day 1902: 1, 2, 11, 16).

<sup>65</sup> From direct contact with local tribespeople, Schürmann identified the "TANDANJE (in English: Adelaide) tribe" which "encompasses about 200 souls"; "the Adelaide or Tandanja tribe... the Tandanja tribe" (Schürmann [June 1839], 'The Natives of South Australia', Schürmann Correspondence, Adelaide Lutheran Archives: S55, 57, 60). Schürmann often used the German 'j' for our English consonantal 'y'. I have not checked the transcription of these names, but the third occurrence is probably correct.

*Tarndanya*, 'red-kangaroo-rock', refers to the important site in the CBD south of the Torrens, confirmed by Ivaritji in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and commemorated now by the officially dual-named 'Victoria Square / Tarndanyangga'. Cp. "Tandanya, the site of South Adelaide" (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 2:75); cp. "Dundagunya" from Ivaritji (Advertiser 8/12/1927: 13a). Cp. Amery 2000/2016 *Warraparna Kaurra*: 67. But Schürmann's use of 'Adelaide' as an equivalent was probably wrong. The *Tarndanya* group identity certainly did not include all 200 of the local people who were turning up at the native location. These people included the three 'kings' and 'chiefs' we mentioned earlier, all of whom had their personal country outside the 'greater Adelaide' of the time. If reported correctly and not misunderstood by the anonymous reporter who wrote the article for *The Advertiser* 8/12/1927, Ivaritji agreed that her father's tribe was also called "Dundagunya"; but this is doubtful because none of the ethnologists who interviewed her said this (Daisy Bates, JM Black, Herbert Basedow, John Hosking, Herbert Hale, and Tindale; see Tom Gara 1990, 'The Life of Ivaritji', *Journal of Anthropological Society of SA* 28: 82-3, 89-90, 95-6).

Cockburn's 1908 nomenclature compilation mentions a tribe called "Tandarnya" (as in Schürmann), but distinguishes it from the 'Cowandilla' tribe: "Under direction of their native chiefs the Tandarnya and Cowandilla tribes of aborigines were

#### 4e. SUMMING UP THE 'ADELAIDE' IDENTITIES:

For the relatively small region we are considering, I proposed in another essay that there was a 'south place' (*Patpangga*), identified as such both by its insider occupants the 'south people', and by the Adelaide people further north.<sup>66</sup> An analogous proposal for 'the north' (*Kawandilla*) is much more problematic. This is because the whole local region shared a clear southern land limit around the Cape and the adjacent cliffs of the South Coast: there the land ends,<sup>67</sup> and nobody could go any further south except Ngurunduri in the ancient Dreaming. But in the absence of any obvious northern geographical limit, a self-identity as 'north' would have to be defined culturally, not by geography alone; and we do not have any real evidence of this – except for that statement reported at third hand from the 'king'.

*If* the people of *Patpangga* (Doughboy and the Rapid Bay group, etc) were the same who also used *Kawandilla* to refer to a 'north place', we would then have a logical viewpoint from which southern outsiders identified 'those people' up there as inhabiting a 'north place'. But our study has shown that while this is very likely, we are not *quite* sure of it; and we have no evidence at all that they or anybody else referred to the Adelaide groups as *Kawanda-miyurna*, 'north people'.

There is even a possibility that another compass point was used as an 'insider' name for the Adelaide groups: *Wangka-miyurna*, 'west people' – or was this another 'outsider' name, this time from the viewpoint of the 'east people' with whom they were then quarrelling? We cannot yet be sure how to interpret these references in Schürmann.<sup>68</sup>

If all this sounds complicated, this is doubtless because it was!

Let us therefore reflect one last time on the 'king's statement and its context.

Perhaps, when Brock 'mentioned' the name 'Adelaide', his reaction signals that he understood this generalized usage by the settlers for the local plains, and responded by asserting the handiest Aboriginal usage which was roughly equivalent and had some validity as he saw it, viewed habitually from a *pangkarra* further south. His emphatic *Kawandilla* might signal that he also understood the current settler usage of 'Cowandilla', and (like Governor Gawler) was keen to

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*wont to camp near that spot*" at Unley (Cockburn 1908: 134). This is unreliable: a casual, unfocussed and very late settler memory, probably supplied by CH Harris, who was Cockburn's main source for Aboriginal information.

<sup>66</sup> PNS 1/03 *Patpangga*.

<sup>67</sup> A point just south of the topographical Cape was dubbed by the settlers 'Land's End', which is still a gazetted place-name.

<sup>68</sup> 'WEST PEOPLE': In an ongoing quarrel a "*wonkamejo*" (*wangka-miyu* 'west man') killed a "*Marimejo*" (*marri-miyu* 'east man'), and later an 'east man' was said to have caused the death of a 'west man' who was Mulla Wirraburka's brother; then the 'south men' joined the quarrel against the 'east men'; and later still the 'east men' tried to attack the 'Wirra men' over an attribution of blame whose details are unclear (Schürmann diary 11 July, 8 Aug, 1 Sep 1839, 24 Jan 1840). To clarify all this we probably need a new and carefully contextualized translation of some of these passages. In this affair, both the 'west men' and the allied 'south men' seem to be included in "*the entire tribe*" ('Adelaide tribe?'). We know that the *Marri-miyurna* were the Peramangk people of the eastern part of the range; but *Marri-yarta* ('east country') seems to have been used for the enclosed system of valleys behind Norton Summit (see PNS 2/01).

validate and preserve this name: for despite its shortcomings, it was at least in the right language for the area, applicable, and fairly well pronounced by the invaders. If our speculations about Hack's informant are right, perhaps he was also giving a sharp reminder: 'That's the true name I gave you people when we first met; you should know it'.

We could hail this 'king' as a lone precursor of today's Aboriginal-directed language reclamation groups. *Marni marti Mullawirraburka!* or *Paitya Ityamaitpinna!* – 'Good tackle, John!' 'Deadly, Rodney!'<sup>69</sup>

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## 5. CONCLUSION: VIEWPOINTS, CONFUSING TO US, BUT PROBABLY CLEAR TO SOUTHERNERS:

In the end *Kawandilla* ('north place') tells us much less about the pre-contact cultural map than *Patpangga* ('south place') does.

In the terminology of people, probably all of the 'north men' of the 1840s were vague generalities meaning no more than 'any people who live anywhere further north than here'. Thus the 'Wirra people' could be a 'north people' in another conversation.

In the terminology of country, *kawandilla* was only one of many loose terms referring to 'north places', including the more specifically territorial *kaw'arta* (*kawanda yarta*, 'north country'); probably none of them were intended as Proper Nouns.

Probably the highlighting of 'Cowandilla' by the settlers was a historical accident: the frozen result of a misunderstanding at a crucial moment when one of the earliest colonists was desperate for some place-names by which to mentally map the 'nameless' plains on which they stood. Perhaps he or she asked 'What name this place?' and gestured around at the whole surroundings, at 'Glenelg' and/or 'Adelaide'. Or perhaps he merely pointed north, was misunderstood, and got the classic misaligned response. But it is also possible that the inquiry was understood, that the informant came from country further south – Mullawirraburka from the mid-south, or perhaps one of the recognized far-south *Patpa-miyurna* such as 'Doughboy' or one of Light's Aboriginal 'marines' from Rapid Bay – and that the reply from their viewpoint was 'north place', referring to the entire visible plain. But we can be fairly sure it was not the local 'insider' name for anything.

'Cowandilla', though by origin not a local place-name at all, went into circulation in English. But as communication continued through daily life inside the area, probably the local Aborigines would see no point in using such a general 'outsider' name as *Kawandilla* for the tract of country on which they stood. It was *almost* never again heard from them: and from the 'royal' authority of this 'almost', we have to acknowledge *Kawandilla* as some kind of place-name for some people at least.

<sup>69</sup> See football talk in the recent Kaurna learners' guide (Amery & Simpson 2013, *Kulurdu Marni Ngathitya! Sounds Good to Me!*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 84).



It is likely that the nature, perceived boundaries, and even the self-perceived identity of the larger local group who frequented Adelaide were all changing quickly at the time these early records were made. Under the impact of first settlement there were many deaths from disease; and those who survived eventually moved away to homelands or relatives further south. Especially from 1839 onward, many neighbouring 'tribes' visited Adelaide more and more often, eventually overwhelming the locals by sheer weight of numbers, as the colonists had already done; and most of these were originally strangers. Visitors from Encounter Bay (speaking the quite different Ramindjeri language) also became much more frequent in Adelaide, and under the weight of their travels the *Paṭpa-miyurna* were becoming invisible as quickly as the 'Adelaide tribe'.

Terms such as 'north place' and 'north people' were also in a state of transition and used in many different ways. If there were then some significant cultural meanings and distinctions in the various fragments of evidence about the geographical terms and their references to places and groups, it may perhaps be too late now to sort them out. This essay cannot hope to resolve all these issues, but only to raise the questions and present the data. Aboriginal people of this region will need to 'connect the dots' of the puzzle.

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#### POSTSCRIPT 1: MORE RED HERRINGS FROM THE PLACE-NAME ENTHUSIASTS:

As usual, we are obliged to debunk some popular misconceptions, if only because – coming from authors who are still referred to as place-name authorities (Cockburn, Manning, Tindale) – they continue to be recycled.<sup>70</sup> We go back to their first known sources.

Noel Webb – lawyer and very amateur reader of some of the major language sources – was much called-upon in the 1920s and 30s for his linguistic and other opinions on Kurna-language place-names around Adelaide. In 1921 he came up with this:<sup>71</sup>

*NATIVE NAME OF GLENELG: It is stated by Mrs. Thomas in her diary that an old blackfellow told her that Cowandilla meant the place of the waters. Cowie is water. The plural is Cowenna. This, with the place terminal, dlla, becomes Cowenna-dlla, the name of the waterholes at Glenelg.*

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<sup>70</sup> I am indebted to other brief discussions of Cowandilla, including Webb's and Tindale's theories about it: Rob Amery 2002, 'Weeding Out Spurious Toponyms', in Hercus et al, *The Land Is a Map*: 169 & n.6, 177; and Amery & Buckskin 2014, 'Pinning down Kurna names', in Ian Clark, Hercus and Kostanski (Eds) 2014, *Indigenous and Minority Placenames*, Canberra, ANU Press: 203, <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p286811/pdf/ch101.pdf>.

<sup>71</sup> NA Webb, *The Mail*, 19/3/1927: 17d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/58546363/5290331>.



Although he is right about the Plural suffix *нна*, his etymology here is impossible. 'Waters' is an English idiom. The plural of *kauwi* would be *kauwinna*, but it is unknown in the sources and presumably was never used.<sup>72</sup> There is no 'terminal dlla', only the Locative *illa*. He tries to account for the 'd' by substituting it for the *i*, without explanation. But if there was ever a word meaning 'place of [several, many] waters', it would have been *Kauwinilla*, leaving the *d* still a mystery.

This bad guess was reprinted as "Kauwenna-dlla" in his much-consulted essay of 1936,<sup>73</sup> and repeated in the place-name literature of GH Manning, who gives his source as "a State Library reference" while mis-spelling Webb's word as "Kaunenna-dlla".<sup>74</sup>

#### THE ETHNOLOGISTS: TINDALE AND BERNDT:

With this name as with many others, Tindale's Kaurna place-name cards are working notes, sometimes little more than casual 'thought bubbles', not usually based on serious historical research. He obviously knew no more old sources than Webb did, i.e. only Mary Thomas, Wyatt, and the village on Section 92. Because he had no accurate sources of *kawanda* available to him,<sup>75</sup> he trod the usual line about 'water'.<sup>76</sup> But he also brought in the opinion of his chief informant Milerum (Clarence Long). This man was a Ngarrindjeri speaker and knew almost no Kaurna language, which did not stop him from trying to analyse it when asked. Probably Tindale asked him directly about the meaning of 'Cowandilla' (the suburb); clearly Tindale then used Milerum's response to make some armchair applications of it to various places. His most detailed effort says this:

*'Kauandila – Cowandilla: Section 92, H of Adelaide.*

*Lit: Water spreading place.*

*Deriv. [ˈkauan] water [ndila] place.*

*A favored home of the Kaurna tribes people because of the swamplands. Milerum, the chief informant of this author lived there every time he came from his real territory on the Coorong*

<sup>72</sup> The Dual *kauwidla* 'two waters' was recorded at least once, in the phrase 'two buckets of water' (T&S 1840 1:6, 2:69).

<sup>73</sup> Noel Webb 1936-7, 'The Place Names of the Adelaide Tribe', in *City of Adelaide Municipal Year Book 1936-7*: 302; also extracted and published as a separate pamphlet.

<sup>74</sup> Manning's *Place Names of SA* 1990: 85; Manning 2010, *Place Names of Our land*: 209.

<sup>75</sup> Tindale here used only Wyatt (whose only word for 'north' was misprinted as "*konanda*" in the published version) and Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 (which had no word for 'north' at all). Apparently he had not seen either Wyatt's MS correction to "*kouanda*" (in Wyatt's autographed copy held in the Barr Smith Library) or Webb's 1921 letter about it (NA Webb 1921, *The Mail*, 14/5/1921: 3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63888955/5314695>). In that article Webb applied this knowledge to suggest that "*There is no doubt that this is Cowandilla, the native name for Glenelg. Kouandilla, according to Dr Wyatt, means a northern locality... Cowandilla is due north of Noarlunga!*" But obviously he changed his mind about the etymology of 'Cowandilla' over the next few years, choosing instead to barrack for Mary Thomas and 'water'.

<sup>76</sup> Tindale's colleague HM Cooper followed his lead in their institution's published wordlists: "*Cowandilla – Place for drinking water*" (HM Cooper 1962, *Australian Aboriginal Words*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, (Adelaide, SA Museum).

as late as 1940. He described great floods there in winter, telling how it was not favored in such seasons.

... Tindale ms from Milerum.<sup>77</sup>

The card was written in or after 1986.<sup>78</sup> Long before that, Tindale had mapped “Milerum’s camp on his last holiday visit to Adelaide 1938”. He marked it on what was then a scrubby sandhill on Section 155 and 106 in North Plympton, a remnant outlier of the big Black Forest, and now long since flattened for development.<sup>79</sup> But the place and date are at odds with the card above.

The linguistics are extremely unconvincing. In his efforts to retain both *kauwe* and ‘-an-’, Tindale is reduced to the wishful thinking of a Plural for *kauwi*: “[*kauwe*] an... water plural”; [‘*kauan*] water”. Similarly, trying to retain the true Locative *illa* while avoiding an explanation for the *nd*, he separates off “*ndila*” (= ‘ndilla’) or “*til:a*” (= ‘tilla’) as a purely hypothetical Locative “[*til:a*]... in or among” and “[*ndila*] place”; but these are all linguistically impossible.

Milerum’s contribution seems to have been to suggest that the rest of the word after ‘*kauwe*’ meant ‘spreading’. In Ngarrindjeri, the only known word which means anything like ‘spreading’ and looks even remotely like ‘ntilla’ – thus conceivably providing Milerum with a folk etymology – is the rare verb *trlayowun*.<sup>80</sup> But there is no point in looking for Kurna words to match.

Tindale must have asked Milerum about the name ‘Cowandilla’ before 1941 when Milerum died. But more than 40 years later, when he came to consider it for his proposed Gazetteer of place-names, he seems to have confused Milerum’s campsite with the suburb Cowandilla. Unless other evidence shows up (such as Harris’s ‘native camp’, or details in the Milerum Papers in the SA Museum), Milerum did not use Section 92 as a campsite, and Milerum’s opinion about Cowandilla was purely linguistic, not based on any actual experience of a place with this name.

We may safely bypass Tindale’s other cards about Cowandilla, as mere ‘thought bubbles’.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Tindale Kurna place-name card [527/4], in AA 338/7/1/12, SA Museum. The ‘Tindale ms from Milerum’, if it exists, is probably unfindable. Cp. card [527/3] “*Cowandilla 2.8km W of Adelaide. Lit. In the waters. Deriv. [kauwe] an [til:a] water plural in or among. An area west of the Adelaide Airport subject to flooding*”.

<sup>78</sup> It includes a reference to “Manning 1986”, i.e. Manning’s first book on place-names, *The Romance of Place Names*, published in 1986.

<sup>79</sup> See Tindale annotated map AA 338/16/30, p.3 ‘Henley’; cp. ‘Plan of the District of Adelaide South Australia showing the property of the South Australian Company. Adelaide 1838’, Light, Finnis & Co., BRG 42/120/17, SLSA. There is a photograph of Milerum in the scrub at this site (Anon., ‘Aboriginal man reputed to be one of the last of his tribe near his wurley in the Plympton Sandhills, 1937’, DN Kraehenbuehl 1996, *Pre-European Vegetation of Adelaide*, Adelaide, Nature Conservation Society of SA: 187). Tindale’s map identifies it (probably correctly) with “*Ngurro: a place half-way between Adelaide and Glenelg*” in T&S (see PNS 2/12). Milerum had another campsite in the Adelaide suburbs, at “*Witonga*” (‘the Reed Beds’) on “*Section 445 & vicinity*” in Fulham; here was a “*Camp of Milerum and others from the Murray lands when coming to Adelaide for Government distribution of blankets in autumn. Used by Milerum until the late 1930s when in Adelaide... in the 1880s >1930s*” (Tindale card [655/1]).

<sup>80</sup> M Gale 2009, *Ngarrindjeri Dictionary*, Raukkan Community Council: 151.

<sup>81</sup> THE PROVISIONAL, OBSCURE AND UNRELIABLE NATURE OF TINDALE’S PLACE-NAME CARDS:

Of his other cards which tackle Cowandilla:

– One [546] claims that “*Kouandil:a... 2.7 km W of Adelaide city*” is “*One of the districts of the Tandanjangga clan of the Kurna tribe of Adelaide*”. His only sources for this are given as Wyatt (for the spelling and the idea ‘district of the

RM Berndt fares even worse in the one sentence where he considers 'Cowandilla':<sup>82</sup>

*The Adelaide tribe was referred to by Bull (1884: 309) as Cowandilla – although Kaurnadilla would have been more likely – while Wyatt (1879: 179) gave Konandilla as the name of an Adelaide district.*

But Wyatt listed "Kouandilla", not 'Konandilla'; here the latter must originate from the misprinted version of Wyatt in a letter by CH Harris in 1899.<sup>83</sup> 'Kaurnadilla' not only has the old linguistic problem with the *d*, but is based on an acceptance by Berndt (and perhaps by his informant Karlowan too) of the label 'Kaurna', which was not used for the 'Adelaide tribe' by anyone until researchers adopted it early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>84</sup>

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## POSTSCRIPT 2: 'KONANDA': A MISPRINT ENSHRINED AND COMPOUNDED:

Wyatt's "kouanda – north, northwards" was misprinted as "konanda" in his wordlist as published in 1879.<sup>85</sup> This was the only available record of the word for 'north' until Teichelmann's 1857 Dictionary was discovered by Amery in the 1990s,<sup>86</sup> which contained *kawanda* and *kawandilla*. The old misprint caused all the early analysts to miss the true meaning of 'Cowandilla'.<sup>87</sup>

Because the published version of Wyatt was readily available, it is not surprising that the mistake was also imprinted on the land.

A railway station on Eyre Peninsula was named 'Konanda' sometime before 1915. The name was probably taken from the scrapbook compiled by HC Talbot and soon to be used by the new

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Adelaide tribe'), and an inaccurate reference to his own late essay on Tjilbruki. "Tindale 1987:7"; but there is no mention of Cowandilla (in any of its spellings) in that entire essay, only the "Tandanja clan" on p.8a.

– Another [un-numbered] says "Kauwe`ndila – Kauwendilla" is the "name of a clan or local group in Reed Beds area". His only citation is the 1986 *Atlas of South Australia*, which is clearly his only source for both the spelling and the location. Someone on the Atlas project had tried to accommodate the name to *kauwe*. "Try & find source", he adds.

<sup>82</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*: 20.

<sup>83</sup> 'CHH' [Harris], *South Australian Register* 16/1/1899: 7c, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/54420290/4108974>.

<sup>84</sup> The first use of the term 'Kaurna' for the tribes around Adelaide was probably Howitt's in 1904 (see e.g. Steve Hemming 1990, 'Kaurna Identity: a Brief History', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of SA* 28: 126-9).

<sup>85</sup> W Wyatt 1879, 'Some Account of the... Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes', published in JD Woods 1879, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*, Adelaide, ES Wigg; 179; Wyatt's autographed and annotated copy of the wordlist, p15, in which he corrected the printed "konanda" to "kouanda". This copy is held in the Barr Smith Library Special Collections, University of Adelaide (Amery 2000/2016, *Warraparna Kaurna!*: 84, 279).

<sup>86</sup> See Amery 2000/2016: 61, 77, 276.

<sup>87</sup> See my discussion of Tindale, above, and footnote 75.



Nomenclature Committee. Here Talbot wrote that “Konanda: (Incorrectly spelt Kononda) in the railway timetables, is a native word which in the language of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay tribes means ‘North, northwards’”.<sup>88</sup> This is obviously taken from Wyatt but misunderstands the *title* of his two-language wordlist, showing that Talbot had not read Wyatt’s explanations. The station is still there under the published 1879 spelling ‘Konanda’.<sup>89</sup>

A nearby township was surveyed in 1916 named ‘Konanda’ either then or in 1935, but “ceased to exist” in 1981.<sup>90</sup>

.....  
*End of Summary*

<sup>88</sup> “Kononda”, dated “HCT 10/8/17” in The Talbot Book, SA Geographical Names Unit, Land Services Group: 98. For more about the Talbot Book and the Nomenclature Committee, see PNS 8/25 ‘Taperoo’; also Cockburn 1984, *What’s In a Name?:* 277-8.

<sup>89</sup> See the gazetted record of ‘Konanda Railway Station’ at <http://maps.sa.gov.au/plb/>. It must have been named before Day included it in his list of railway station names in February 1915 (AN Day n.d. [Feb 1915], *Names of South Australian Railway Stations, with their Meanings and Derivations*; Compiled by Alfred N. Day, Secretary Railways Commissioner [Adelaide: Railways Dept]: 2, 14). Wyatt’s wordlist distinguishes Encounter Bay words by an italic e before the item; ‘konanda’ does not have the e and is therefore intended (correctly) as an Adelaide word.

<sup>90</sup> See the gazetted record of ‘Konanda’ at <http://maps.sa.gov.au/plb/>; also Cockburn 1990: 122; Manning 2010: 451.