The Southern Kaurna Place Names Project

Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.04.01/01

'COWYRLANKA' / ?KAUWIYARLUNGGA
(Second Valley)
(last edited: 26.1.2020)

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This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.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 Kaurna, 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 Kaurna 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, [21/1/20].

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Abstract

In 1838 the explorer Stephen Hack, travelling on foot from Adelaide to Encounter Bay, Rapid Bay and back, twice recorded a Kaurna place-name as "Cowyrlanka", "about one mile" north of Rapid Bay. No doubt he heard it from a Kaurna-speaking Aboriginal guide.

The name certainly refers to the mouth area and/or lower valley of the Parananacooka River at Second Valley (roughly Sections 1553, 1554, and 1567).

Hack's spelling certainly represents a Kaurna compound word, one of a number of possibilities which are very hard to decide between. In a balance between linguistic and landscape interpretations, the most likely are *Kauwi-yarlungga* ('place of fresh water and sea') or *Kauwa-yarlungga* ('place of cliffs and sea'), both of which would make clear references to features of the place. These possibilities are perhaps confirmed at Myponga Beach, where what seems to be the same name "Coweyalunga" occurs in a very similar landscape of cliffs, water and sea (see PNS 5.01/02 Kauwayarlungga). Perhaps the name was a generic for any such place.

'Cowyrlanka' could also be *Kauwi-yarlangga* ('place of fresh water and leg-calf') or *Kauwa-yarlangga* ('place of cliffs and leg-calf'); but there is no known record to show what this 'leg-calf' could refer to.

The place was on the well-used Aboriginal route between major campsites to the north at *Yarnauwingga* (Wirrina Cove area) and *Yarnkalyilla* (mouth of the Yankalilla River), 3 and 10 km respectively, and to the south at *Yarta-kurlangga* (Rapid Bay, 3 km on foot over the ridges). 'Cowyrlanka' offered a very good freshwater pool or tiny lagoon at the river mouth, fed by springs around the Parananacooka River upstream, and bordered by useful reeds and rushes; a small shallow bay ideal for net-fishing, as shown in the famous painting by George French Angas in 1844; a magnificent fire-managed hunting ground nearby in the grassy valley; sheltered campsites on or immediately above the beach; and good lookout sites nearby on the high cliffs.

Coordinates	Lat, -35.5117º, Long. 138.2172º [at beach waterhole]

Language Information

Etymology	Uncertain: 1. *kauwi* 'fresh water, water site' OR 2. *kauwa* 'steep, cliff'; – + PROBABLY A. *yarla* 'calf of leg', OR B. *yarlu* 'sea'; OR POSSIBLY C. *yurla* [meaning unknown]; OR conceivably D. *yurlu* 'face, forehead'); – + *ngga* 'at, place of'.
Meaning	Uncertain: PROBABLY 1B. 'place of fresh water and sea'. OR 2B. 'place of cliffs and sea'. OR 1A. 'place of fresh water and leg-calf'. OR 2A. 'place of cliffs and leg-calf'. OR POSSIBLY 1C. 'place of fresh water and [unknown]'. OR 2C. 'place of cliffs and [unknown]'. OR CONCEIVABLY similar 1D or 2D using *yurlu*.
Notes	Hack's written "nka" clearly represents the Kaurna Locative suffix *ngga*. In Kaurna language rules, a Compound word ending with *ngga* must have 5 syllables. The second word of the pair must have 3 syllables with a stress on the first, i.e. Hack's "(y)rlanka". But no Kaurna word can begin with *r*. It is hard to tell what sound(s) he meant by the 'r' in the sequence "wyrl". His ear could have been confused by an unfamiliar Retroflex *rl*. Perhaps he thought of his written letter 'r' as a separate syllable pronounced 'ar' or 'ur' or 'rr'. If so, the second word has an unknown first vowel, and begins with a consonantal *y* (since no other consonant is given): something like *yala* or *yula*, *yarla* or *yurla*. He would not have been able to distinguish the sound-sequence <u>*kauwi-y-*</u> from <u>*kauwa-y-*</u>; so the first word could be either *kauwi* or *kauwa*. The two final syllables appear to be *angga*, but might possibly have been mis-heard from a spoken *ungga*.
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kaurna'.
KWP Former Spelling	1B. Kauwe-yerlongga. 2B. Kauwa-yerlongga. 1A. Kauwe-yarlangga. 2A. Kauwa-yarlangga. 1C. Kauwe-yurlangga. 2C. Kauwa-yurlangga. 1D. Kauwe-yurlongga. 2D Kauwa-yurlongga.
KWP New Spelling 2010	1B. Kauwi-yarlungga. 2B. Kauwa-yarlungga. 1A. Kauwi-yarlangga. 2A. Kauwa-yarlangga. 1C. Kauwi-yurlangga. 2C. Kauwa-yurlangga. 1D. Kauwi-yurlungga. 2D Kauwa-yurlungga.
Phonemic Spelling	/kawiyarlungka] etc OR /kawayarlungka/ etc
Pronunciation	PROBABLY "<u>Kau</u>wi - <u>yar</u>lungga" but POSSIBLY etc (see above):
Pronunciation tips	Stress the first & third syllables. *Kau* as in 'cow'. Every *a* as in Maori 'haka'. Every *u* as in 'put'. The *rl* is a Retroflex *l* (with tongue curled back), a sound not used in English.

Main source evidence

Date	July 1838
Original source text	"I am just returned from a nine days trip around the coast..." [After some days at Encounter Bay] "next day I left the fishery and steered west & by north to Yankalilla... my journey from Yankalilla I crossed over about 10 or 12 miles of fine hills to Rapid Bay... before we got to Rapid Bay about one mile is **Cowyrlanka** a beautiful valley opening on to the sea with a high bald hill in the middle of the opening of the valley, the soil here is not so rich as Rapid Bay but very fit for a sheep station both valleys have a fine creek of water... I returned along the coast from Rapid Bay to Cape Jervis & back one day[,] by **Cowyrlanka** & Yankalilla to Aldinghi two days[,] and from Aldinghi to Adelaide by Onkeperinga three days."
Reference	Stephen Hack, Letter to Maria Hack 20/7/1838, typescript PRG 456/1/25, State Library of SA.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kaurna-speaking Aboriginal guides

Discussion: 'COWYRLANKA A BEAUTIFUL VALLEY':

THE OCCASION:

On 20th July 1838 in Adelaide, the explorer and settler Stephen Hack wrote to his mother in England about lost cattle:[1]

I am just returned from a nine days trip around the coast... I left here with one man and two horses with the hope of finding 12 or 14 head of cattle which I have somewhere between this and Cape Jervis...

Accompanied by his stock-keeper Tom Davis – and (as we deduce later) by Aboriginal guides whom he never mentions – he followed the common route south. They went through Aldinga Plain and across Mt Terrible (Sellicks Hill); camped at Myponga, "a fine creek running thro a fine valley"; crossed the "barren hills" of Hindmarsh Tiers; down into Hindmarsh Valley, "about 10 miles of fine rich well watered country"; and spent a few days at the Encounter Bay whale fishery, which he and

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[1] Stephen Hack to Maria Hack 20/7/1838, PRG 456/1/25: 1-3, SLSA.

his brother JB Hack owned at the time. There he found that five men had arrived from Adelaide with several stolen horses including a mare belonging to the Hacks, and were camping somewhere in the scrub. Hack reloaded his guns, "set out with Tom Davis to beat up their quarters but after searching all day... I found they had taken the alarm and bolted".[2] Then,

> *next day I left the fishery and steered west & by north to Yankalilla which is the most rich and beautiful part of the country I ever saw anywhere it is composed of low clear grounds thickly matted with kangaroo grass and the soil black as ink farms of any extent might be found where the whole estate might be ploughed without meeting with a stick as big as your finger or a stone as big as your fist... from Yankalilla I crossed over about 10 or 12 miles of fine hills to Rapid Bay...*

Here (he noted) "there is plenty of good land and fine hills for a cattle run tho' rather steep and abrupt for other purposes". Moreover,

> *before we got to Rapid Bay about one mile is* **Cowyrlanka** *a beautiful valley opening on to the sea with a high bald hill in the middle of the opening of the valley, the soil here is not so rich as Rapid Bay but very fit for a sheep station both valleys have a fine creek of water*.

Checking out the country further south while no doubt still looking for his missing cattle, he found that "between Rapid Bay and Cape Jervis is only fit for a cattle run". Then he

> *returned along the coast from Rapid Bay to Cape Jervis & back one day[,] by* **Cowyrlanka** *& Yankalilla to Aldinghi two days & from Aldinghi to Adelaide by Onkeperinga three days*.

The 'one man' with him was *"Tom Davis my stockkeeper"*,[3] *"a first-rate bushman, whom we brought with us from Launceston"*.[4] But the two new place-names collected by Hack on this trip show that their bushcraft still had to be supplemented by Aboriginal guides, even if he felt no need to mention them.[5] No doubt they were hired in Adelaide; but at least one of them spoke the language of the Ramindjeri of Encounter Bay, for Hack wrote on the way south from Adelaide that Mount Terrible was *"Nooley as the natives call it"*: clearly the Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri word *ngurli*

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[2] Ironically, one of them was the ex-convict Jack Foley, soon to be dramatically captured in Adelaide, and whom Hack later employed and took to England (see Iola Mathews with Chris Durrant 2013, *Chequered Lives: John Barton Hack and Stephen Hack and the early days of South Australia*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 105-6).

[3] Stephen Hack letter 20/7/1838, PRG 456/1/25: 1.

[4] JB Hack, *SA Register* 28/4/1884: 7b, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/43658879/4045696.

[5] Hack could not have obtained these place-names from earlier surveyors. Surveyors did obtain many Kaurna place-names from their Aboriginal guides; but this journey happened a year before official surveys began in the southern Fleurieu Peninsula (1839-40).

'hill'. Probably this man was associated with the Hack whale fishery at Encounter Bay, and may have come to Adelaide on business with the Hacks. But another of the guides throughout this trip must have been a Kaurna local, for 'Cowyrlanka' clearly has the Kaurna Locative suffix *ngga* ('at, place of'), and this name occurs nowhere else in the records.[6]

THE PLACE:

The *"high bald hill in the middle of the opening of the valley"* and the *"fine creek of water"* clearly identify the place 'Cowyrlanka' as the lower reach of Second Valley near the mouth of the River Parananacooka.

Today we are accustomed to using the Main South Road as the way here to what is now a popular destination for fishing and holidays; and in driving from 'Cowyrlanka' to *Yartakurlangga* (Rapid Bay) we return to the main road, follow it up some even higher ridges, and turn off down the precipitous ridge between Nowhere Else Creek and the River Yattagolinga. This route was of course constructed for vehicles, though no doubt it relates to Aboriginal routes in *some* parts. But for travellers on foot in 1838, and for Aboriginal feet before them, other coastal tracks were shorter and easier.

One of the first survey maps[7] shows a *"Native Track"* running a short distance along the clifftops eastward from the river mouth at Rapid Bay: a different route from the settler track which is also marked up the eastern slopes of the Yattagolinga valley, with a branch diverging up Colonel Light's 'Constitution Hill'.

Another such map[8] completes the picture by showing the first proposed roads or settler tracks in the area from Second Valley to Rapid Bay. Reading from Second Valley near today's caravan park office about ½ km from the mouth of the river, the track climbs southwest up the gully of a tiny tributary creek; crosses inland on easy high ground; turns back down the ridge of Colonel Light's 'Constitution Hill' behind the northern point of Rapid Bay; and arrives at the beach there: a total

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[6] In his explorations Hack always hired Aboriginal guides, and made a practice of asking them for the names of significant sites such as springs (cp. his letter of 1/5/1837 (published in Henry Watson 1838, *A Lecture on SA; including letters from JB Hack & other emigrants...* London, Gliddon: 18, and in *SA Record*, Vol.1 No.4, 13 Jan 1838: 29b. Cp. also Mathews & Durrant 2013: 216, 254). There must have been a Kaurna guide on Hack's journey to Encounter Bay with Fisher and Light a year before, when Hack made the earliest record of the Kaurna name for the Ramindjeri site *Ramong*; he wrote, *"Encounter Bay or Wooramoollah, the native name"* (Stephen Hack to Maria Hack 20/7/1837, PRG 456/1/18: 1). This place, after which the Ramindjeri were named, was also the site of the whaling station at the Bluff. The German missionary linguists later recorded it as *Wirramulla*, which is either a more accurate version or an alternative form. (The first vowel might be variable, because this is a Kaurna version of Ngarrindjeri *Ramong*, and its first syllable is an addition to make it conform with Kaurna language rules, which do not allow a word to begin with *r*).

[7] Macpherson 1840, 'Plan of 13 sections in the country adjoining Rapid Bay, Dists F & D, Surveyed by G Bryan', Plan 6/16, Geographical Names Unit (SA Land Services Group). Bryant surveyed the area in 1839 (see History Book v.16, f.30: [1], GNU).

[8] A W Smith 1840, 'Plan of sections, in Districts D & F near Rapid Bay; Surveyed by Messrs Poole & Bryant, Augt 31, 1840', Plan 6/16A, GNU.

distance of about 3 km. About 2/3 of the way across, another track diverges to the clifftops at Rapid Bay, no doubt joining the 'native track' shown on the other map.

Settlers later would go a little further inland, via the Glenbracken gully which emerges from the western slopes halfway down Finniss Vale Drive.[9]

One of these tracks was probably Hack's route of *"about one mile"* (though he rather underestimated the distance).

Colonel Light and his survey party from the *Rapid* had visited the place before Hack. On 17th September 1836 – probably helped by advice from their employees, the sealer Cooper and his Kaurna-speaking wife 'Doughboy' – a party set out from Rapid Bay:

> *Calm and fine; at nine, Messrs Pullen, Claughton, Jacob and Woodforde (surgeon) landed to walk to Yankalilla. I went in my gig to examine an inlet about two miles to the northward, where I appointed a meeting with these gentlemen... On landing at this little inlet, which I shall call Finniss Valley, I found a little cove fit to moor a vessel of 70 or 90 tons, in any weather, but there is only room for one; and there is a beautiful stream of fresh water running into the sea, where a boat may approach to within 50 yards of a good spot for filling water casks.*[10]

This 'good spot' was no doubt the small reedy waterhole or lagoon at the river mouth, just below the junction of the Parananacooka with the small southwestern tributary. It is now overlooked by the beach car-park.

The track between 'Cowyrlanka' and Rapid Bay was part of a coastal travel route, and also very likely of Tjirbuki's southward journey of tears (though not recorded as such). From *Karragarlangga* (Carrickalinga) in the north, the route led to the major camping area and travel hub *Yarnkalyilla* around the mouth of the Yankalilla Gorge; thence to the Little Gorge and campsites around *Yarnauwingga*, 'Anacotilla' and *Kangkarrartingga* (around Wirrina Cove); here a detour led Tjirbuki past an ancient cliff burial cave to create a spring nearby.[11] South from the rolling downs of *Kangkarrartingga* (somewhere on Congeratinga Creek), we may guess that the tributary gully of the Parananacooka gave easy access to 'Cowyrlanka from the east, joining the main stream opposite Riverside Drive. And we have already noted the next stage to *Yartakurlangga* (Rapid Bay).

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[9] See the map in Shirley Mulcahy 1992, *Southern Fleurieu Historic Walks*, Somerton Park: 18-20 – from Croser's 'Rapid Farm', via Constitution Hill to the Glenbracken road at Second Valley. This route was used daily by the children of pioneer Croser to reach Finniss Vale school (:16), and right up to World War Two by older residents to attend the dances (:17).

[10] David Elder (ed) 1984, *William Light's Brief Journal*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 64.

[11] – as reported by Tindale from Karlowan.

Doubtless something like this was the route used by Stephen Hack and his guides in 1838 on their way south from *Yarnkalyilla* and back north.

The coastal pool as we see it today, stagnant, the reeds overrun by invading plants, is only a remnant of what it once must have been; for it was fed by springs, not yet dammed or pumped dry. About 2 km upstream from the pool, near the main road, is the land farmed by pioneer settlers Henry Jones and William Randall, which became the village Finniss Vale. *"During most of the year the watercourse, on reaching the old township, is completely dry but after passing through the village, it surges back to life. This section running to the coast has never been known to dry up. The apparent metamorphosis is due to springs which cause water to bubble up 'magically' from the earth below".*[12] Right up to the Millennium Drought which SA experienced in the first decade of the 21st century, the springs 300 metres north of the Main South Road could still be found not just seeping but sometimes *gushing* out of the southern bank of the river, as I observed in January 2002.[13]

The cove at 'Cowyrlanka', sheltered by a tiny peninsula, was an ideal fishing spot. It was famously depicted in George French Angas's beautiful watercolour, sketched in March 1844 and lithographed for publication as 'Coast scene near Rapid Bay, sunset: natives fishing with nets'.[14] His accompanying text tells us it was a seine net operated jointly by two men *"at the calm hour of sunset"*:

The mode adopted by the tribes inhabiting the vicinity of Rapid Bay, is nearly similar to that of the Europeans; they use a seine [net] about 20 or 30 feet in length, stretched upon sticks placed crosswise at intervals; a couple of men will drag this net amongst the rocks and shallows where fish are most abundant, and, gradually getting it closer as they reach the shore, the fish are secured in the folds of the net, and but few moments elapse before they are laid alive upon the embers of the native fires that are blazing ready before the adjoining huts. The nets are composed of chewed fibres of reeds, rolled upon the thigh, and twisted into cord for the purpose.

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[12] Ron Blum 2002, *The Second Valley* (2nd Ed), self-published: 52.

[13] My running sheet of photographs taken during a visit to the Second Valley creek spring in Jan 2002. See also PNS 5.04.01/02 Parananacooka.

[14] George French Angas 1846, *South Australia Illustrated*, London, Thomas McLean, Plate 21 (as lithographed by JW Giles). The State Library of SA has one of the various hand-tinted reproductions of Giles's lithograph (B 15276/21, https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+15276/21/continue). Other versions can be seen at https://antiqueprintmaproom.com/coast-scene-near-rapid-bay-sunset-natives-fishing-with-nets, and at the National Museum of Australia, http://collectionsearch.nma.gov.au/object/56193/print. The SA Museum once had a black & white photograph of Angas's original watercolour version, 'Coast scene near Rapid Bay at the mouth of the Panananakooka *[sic]*, eastern shores of the Gulf of St Vincents, SA'; but it appears now to be lost (SA Museum catalogue of Angas Collection, p.11, listing of lost box A8/12). In John Tregenza 1980/1982, *George French Angas: Artist, Traveller and Naturalist 1822-1886* (Art Gallery Board of SA) the lithograph from *SA Illustrated* appears in black & white (Plate 15).

The nets were probably made from reeds collected at the 'Cowyrlanka' waterhole a few metres away.

About ten years after Angas's flying visit, William Randall junior was an adventurous young boy on his father's 'Randalsea' farm built around the spring at Finniss Vale. The waterholes and the Aboriginal people who taught him how to fish were treasured memories in his old age in 1923:[15]

> *Our "river" was named Para-Narna-Cookah; the name was really the biggest portion. The reality was just a stream, having sundry deep holes from which, with the aid of cotton, bent pins, and worms, we abstracted many small fish. There were reeds, rushes, and much watercress... The youngsters went hunting and fishing with the natives, and learnt a lot of things unknown to the average white about birds, animals and fish. Shoals of mullet visited the coast at times. Dick promised to let us know when they were coming. One night he roused me up, "Mullet come along, Master Willie. Put on clothes and come down beach." Off we went, and sure enough there were great numbers passing along the sandy beach going south. Asked how he knew it, he pointed to a particular star in the south-east, "Yes, but how about this?" "Well, my father tell me." It is remarkable that more than 60 years afterwards an aboriginal gave the same reply regarding the movements of another fish.*

This was already a new era, and Dick may have been either a local Kaurna countryman or perhaps a visiting Ramindjeri.[16]

A few Aboriginal people were still living from the resources of 'Cowyrlanka' during the First World War – by then more likely Ramindjeri or Ngarrindjeri, with strong basket-making traditions, but sometimes with a few Kaurna relatives among them:

> *Around 1915, four natives were living in a shallow cave at the Second Valley beach, situated at the seaward end of the present car park.[17] Their names were Wilfred, Ginny, Dave and Elsie... The elder two were so thin they were like stalks of grass... They had intended to walk over the hills to Yoho Beach their traditional camping grounds but the older ones were too weak to*

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[15] 'WGR' in *Observer* 31/3/1923: 51d, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/165702096/19340354.

[16] We should note that the standard name spelled 'Parananacooka', as mapped in 1840, is probably Kaurna; and that Randall's spelling 'Para-Narna-Cookah' *may* have been obtained from another Kaurna person independently. The Aboriginal people who visited settlers while travelling the Fleurieu in the mid-to-late 19th century were usually identified by the farmers as 'Encounter Bay tribe'; and some Ramindjeri visitors in Randall Junior's time may have been old enough to remember Kaurna place-names which they learned in the days when everybody on the Fleurieu was bilingual. But also among them were Kaurna countrymen and women, mingled with their more numerous Ramindjeri relatives. See also PNS 5.04.01/02 Parananacooka.

[17] This cave is extremely shallow, and would have needed a supplement of built shelter. Was the anonymous informant actually referring to the much more substantial and sheltered cave on the far side of the first rock ridge at the eastern end of the swimming beach?

make the climb so they all stayed at Second Valley. The women gathered willows and reeds from the creek which they made into baskets which they sold to passers-by for two shillings each. The willows were buried in the sand for a time then split in two using a wire before being woven to make the handle. The rushes too were woven then treated with fire. The finished baskets of brown and white were said to last for over 40 years. The men occupied their time fishing and making boomerangs from timber of the She-oak which they demonstrated or sold... The group frequently visited Rapid Bay and annually went to Encounter Bay.[18]

It is unclear how long their preferred camp at Yoho Beach had been 'traditional', and what their ancestral relationship had been with the Kaurna countryfolk who gave the local site names two generations earlier. However, people from Encounter Bay were visiting Yoho Beach in 1836, in a society not yet transformed by colonial contact.[19]

The stories of these barely-visible people remain to be told. They crop up momentarily in other memoirs, and here are the few bits I have gleaned so far:

Dave and Ethel were another pair – they lived in the Second Valley area, and are believed to be buried in the Bullaparinga cemetery.[20]

There was an annual round trip, as they renewed themselves on the land. In the 1980s local historians on the Fleurieu were interviewing an old lady Doris Parkes:

The aboriginies from Encounter Bay came through this district on their walkabout shortly before Christmas each year. The attraction was the abundance of yabbies in the waterways, the secretion exuded from the Manna Gums (a substance that tasted like Turkish Delight) in the Yankalilla Valley and the water cress in the creeks near Manna Farm. Also along the beaches, particularly near the Gorge, was a plentiful supply of shellfish, wich was one of their favoured foods... My Grandma, Sarah Dunstall, regularly gave to elderly natives, Elsie and Wally, a meal near christmas.[21]

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[18] Blum 2002: 121.

[19] Dr John Woodforde diary 21 Nov 1836, PRG 502/1, SLSA.

[20] Archive file 'Aboriginal Peoples of S Aust 19.jpg', in typescript series 'Yankalilla' (files 15-19, n.d.) in Yankalilla & District Historical Society archives (herein 'YDHSA'). Probably written by Jean Schmaal or Roy Williams.

[21] 'Doris Recalls' (YDHSA 3884, typescript, n.d.); "Doris Parkes as told to Roy Williams". Doris lived in Yankalilla town all her life (Margaret Morgan p.c. Feb 2011). As an octogenarian in the 1980s, she was presumably born between about 1890 and 1909; so this memory must be of the period c.1895-1920.

Doris Parkes, a sprightly octagenarian, remembers Elsie and Wongie always called in for a meal at her grandmother's home on Kemmis Road on the return journey.[22]

Old Walter Bruce of Victor Harbor remembered Elsie and Wongi as part of a group which camped regularly in the sandhills at Victor Harbor on Flinders Parade or Bridge Tce near the Masonic Lodge. Elsie was a regular visitor to ladies such as Bruce's Granny Bruce, and (like another of the group, Charlotte Tripp) a member of the Salvation Army.[23]

Wilfred; Ginny; Dave and Elsie OR Dave and Ethel; Elsie and Wally OR Elsie and Wongie; Charlotte...

Probably they all have descendants or relatives alive today. Aboriginal oral history would probably still be able to identify some of them and tell their story. It would be a pity if casual outsider memories like Bruce's were to be forever the only record of the lives and achievements of such people. There was clearly much more to them than the townies knew, including a fierce and independent attachment to the land and its seasonal rewards for foot travellers. As Bruce admitted twice in a kind of opening and closing litany, "Us, we'll never know how some of them lived".[24]

THE WORD 'COWYRLANKA':

Unfortunately Hack's single record, unsupported elsewhere, presents us with a rather complicated linguistic puzzle.

In the original manuscript his spelling 'Cowyrlanka' is clear and legible both times. Far the most likely original of 'lanka' is *langka* or *langga*. The ending 'nka' clearly represents the common Kaurna Locative suffix *ngga*; we shall put it aside from our discussion for a while, as it is usually optional. But the strange sequence '-wyrl-' presents a difficulty.

We can reject the hint of Welsh spelling which we might see here, for the Hack brothers came from Chichester in West Sussex, and had no connection with Wales.[25] So what original Kaurna sounds are represented by *"-yr-"*?

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[22] Mulcahy 1992: 81. Probably 'Wongie' was the same person as 'Wally'.

[23] Walter Buxton Bruce (Anthony Laube ed.) 1992, *They Were Trimmers: Victor Harbor in the 1900s*, Adelaide, Gillingham Printers: 101, 122-3, 125, 125. The photograph on p.122 includes Elsie and her husband.

[24] Bruce/Laube 1992: 123, 125. See also PNS 5.02.02/04 Yarnauwingga for some fragments collected by Tindale and others about 'King Tom', 'King Sam' and his wife Lizzie, and 'King Larry', who were probably a previous generation of relatives of the same people.

[25] See http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hack-john-barton-2139 (22/6/15); 'Stephen Hack and his family' in http://www.durrant.id.au/hack_family_portraits.html (22/6/15); Mathews & Durrant 2013, Chapter 1.

We might suppose that Hack intends a four-syllable word 'C̲owyr-l̲anka', in the same stress-rhythm as 'C̲asab̲lanca'. But this is not possible in Kaurna, where the usage for the Locative *ngga* tells us that the word must be in *five* syllables, in the stress-rhythm of 'h̲ospit̲ality' or 'c̲osy w̲allhanger'. Therefore also, the name must be a Compound of two words, each with two syllables, plus the one-syllable Locative attached to the second word.[26] It must be thought of as something like 'C̲owy- r̲l-anka'.

How can we tease the necessary original Kaurna morphemes out of this unusual spelling?

'Cowy' looks like the first word, probably the very common Kaurna noun *kauwi* ('fresh water, water site'): a word which Hack must have known from his travelling conversations in Pidgin Kaurna. But there is a complication here, to be examined soon.

If so (and continuing to ignore the Locative suffix), what is the second word written as "rla"? How can we get two syllables from this?

The second word of the name must have a stress on the first syllable only, i.e. "(r)la" or "(y)(r)la" in Hack's spelling.[27] But where and what is the hidden vowel?
The word cannot be something like *ra̲la*, since Kaurna words never begin with *r*. It must be either 'V̲(r)la' or 'yV̲(r)la' (where the capital V represents the unknown vowel). Since Kaurna words usually begin with a consonant, 'yV̲(r)la' is much more likely.

This already has implications for the *first* word. As a linguistically untrained speaker of English only, Hack would have been unlikely to distinguish the sound-sequence *kauwi-yV* from *kauwa-yV* or *kauwu-yV*.[28] Therefore the first word could be *kauwa* ('steep [place], cliff') just as easily as *kauwi*.[29]

Back now to the *second* word. What does he mean by his written letter 'r'? When he wrote 'rl' he certainly did not *mean* a Retroflex *rl* (*l* with the tongue curled back);[30] *rl* is a modern linguist's technical spelling for this. Did Hack mean a sounded *r*?[31] – but there is no known vocabulary *yarrla*/*yurrla* (etc) to support this. It's worth remembering that if there was an unfamiliar Retroflex *rl* following the unknown vowel, his untrained ear could have been confused by it. And his informant may have pronounced the hidden vowel very quickly and softly, or slurred it, even though it was in principle a stressed syllable.

[26] When a Locative is needed for a *three*-syllable word, a different Locative *illa* must be used, in which the *i* replaces the final vowel of the root word, e.g. *Yarnkalya* > *Yarnkalyilla*. By contrast, *ngga* retains the final vowel, e.g. *wila* > *Wilangga*. In a Compound word there will be five syllables, e.g. *Ngangki-pari* > *Ngangki-paringga* ('Onkaparinga'), *Purla-pari* > *Purla-paringga* ('Bullaparinga'). English speech habits routinely lead us to misplace the stresses in these words.

[27] The 'y' is here and bracketed because we have to decide whether it belongs to the second word as well as the first. The 'r' is bracketed because we are not sure what sound(s) it represents.

[28] The second vowel of *KauwV* is unstressed and therefore harder to hear and less likely to be fully articulated; and the sound-sequence *i+vowel* will always include a slight consonantal *y* as the *i*-sound finishes.

[29] Theoretically it might also be *kauwu*; but no such Kaurna word is known, while the other two are common.

[30] – though ironically, as we shall see, all the likely vocabulary for the second word will in fact contain a Retroflex *rl*.

[31] Cp. *birki* (New Spelling *pirrki*) 'bit, piece', where the *rr* is sounded.

Because there seems no other explanation, we face the odd conclusion that Hack probably intended his letter 'r' to represent <u>a separate and stressed *vowel*</u>: a sound which he might have spelled 'ar' (sounding *a*) or 'ur' (sounding *u*) or 'er' (possibly sounding *a*).[32] As we have seen, this sound would have been preceded by a consonant *y*, which he either did not hear or did not know how to include. So the second word was probably something like *yala* or *yula* (no known vocabulary) or, if the *l* was Retroflex, *yarla* ('calf of the leg') or *yurla* (no vocabulary known).[33]

There are still more possibilities if Hack mistook the unstressed vowel preceding the Locative. Conceivably it could have been *u*, giving us the common words *yarlu* ('sea') or *yurlu* ('face, forehead').[34] There are even a few other conceivable but very unlikely explanations.[35]

PUTTING THE NAME TOGETHER WITH ITS CONTEXT:

Amid this overabundance of possibilities, <u>the landscape and ecological context</u> might help the linguistics.

In the first word, *Kauwa* has an obvious application to the distinctive cut-off cliffs of the coastal fault-line around this site.

Kauwi could certainly refer to the waterhole near the mouth of the creek, or perhaps to the springs further upstream. Hack's 'beautiful valley' was well-watered even when the upper reaches were dry, because it was fed by springs supported by a large underground catchment of marble strata.[36] Such a reliable water source would be important practical knowledge, much more likely than 'cliffs' to be memorialized in a place-name. For this reason *kauwi* 'water' is the more likely referent for the first word.

The second word is harder to pin down. Its most likely original *sounds* are unlikely in *vocabulary*, and the most likely *etymologies* use the *sounds* which are less likely to fit the record. The alternative which sticks closest to Hack – *yarla* ('leg-calf') – might *conceivably* refer to a feature of

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[32] This would be by association with the English pronunciation of the alphabet: 'ay', bee', see'... 'ar' (perhaps 'er/ur' in some dialects?), ess'... Many Englishmen wrote down the sound *a* as 'er' (Wyatt, Williams Robinson, etc).

[33] Theoretically the unknown vowel could eve be *i*, if Hack intended his 'y' to represent an extended *ii* sound followed by the 'r' representing a Retroflex sound. This would give us *yirla* or *yirlu*; but there is no known vocabulary to justify stretching probability this far.

[34] Teichelmann & Schürmann spelled these words 'yerlo' and 'yurlo'. In Kaurna the sounds *o* and *u* have no separate significance as they have in English.

[35] (1) One could refer to the Kaurna Dual suffix *urla* or *rla*, 'two'. Is the second word actually this suffix, so that we might have *Kauwi-urla* 'two water sites'? But 'two waters' is recorded only as *kauwidla*, not *kauwiurla* or *kauwirla* (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 1:5-6); so this interpretation seems very unlikely on linguistic grounds. (2) There is also the suffix -*urlo* 'over there, yonder'; this would be possible in direct conversation, but very unlikely in a place-name.

[36] See PNS 5.04.01/02 Parananacooka.

the landscape which is not evident to us, or to an incident in a Dreaming story which was never recorded. There is no known *yurla*.

Then was *yarla/yurla* 'just a name' with no dictionary meaning, like 'Rome' or 'London'? But in a Compound which does have a dictionary meaning for its first word, the second word is not likely to be 'just a name'.

On the ground of landscape relevance, we may allow that Hack could have mistaken a vowel, and give a cautious vote in favour of the *yarlu* ('sea'); and perhaps also a tentative question-mark for *yurlu* ('face' forehead'), which *might* have a metaphorical application to the steep high cliffs.

Combinations of the first word with these possibilities are many; but *Kauwi-yarlungga* 'place of water by the sea' seems very likely, along with *Kauwa-yarlungga* 'place of cliffs and sea' as a close second.

The derivations which most closely match Hack's spelling are *possible*. But *Kauwi-yarla* 'leg-calf water' could not refer to the shape of the creek: it would have to be *Yarla-pari* 'leg-calf <u>river</u>'; and in any case the watercourse is wrong shape, with only one sharp bend.[37] Perhaps there was a *Kauwa-yarla*, a 'cliff leg-calf' in the cliffs somewhere visible to knowledgeable Kaurna eyes; or some other unrecorded association of 'leg-calf' in culture or ecology.

Venturing further from Hack, perhaps in the many very steep and sometimes vertical cliffs here the Kaurna saw a *kauwa-yurlu* 'a steep "face"'. Perhaps 'face' could be used as a geographical metaphor for such cliffs.

But we can't be sure which of these alternatives applies, if any.

CONFIRMATIONS?

The name appears to have been replicated at Myponga Beach, where indirect evidence supports the interpretation 'cliffs by the sea'.[38] Perhaps there was a generic name *Kauwayarlungga* for any coastal campsite dominated by cliffs. Or perhaps a generic *Kauwiyarlungga* for any important coastal camp with notable waterholes (though this seems less likely).

There is also a very similar name at McLaren Vale in a well-watered site on a steep hill;[39] which *might* support either *kauwi* or *kauwa*, and/or *yurlu* 'face', perhaps for all three names.

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[37] There is perhaps a 'wallaby leg-calf' visible in the landscape at Delamere: see PNS 5.04.01/13 'Yallawalunga' (?*Yarla-walangga*). But here the creeks form <u>two</u> sharp bends.

[38] PNS 5.01/02 Kauwayarlungga.

[39] PNS 4.03.02/01 'Coweolonga'.

It's *possible* that the other Second Valley name 'Parananacooka' – if we knew more about it and were surer of its meaning – might throw more light on 'Cowyrlanka'. There *might* be story links between an unrecorded *Parna* 'Autumn Star' Dreaming and *kuka* 'sickness',[40] and the difference between the reaches of the creek above and below the springs, and a leg-calf or waterhole or cliffs or sea.

There is so much that we don't know, and perhaps can't after such a gap of years. It will be an ongoing project for Aboriginal stakeholders in this region to join more of the dots as they come to light, using every scrap of old information, and their own feet on the land, to re-imagine this landscape and its cultural geography.

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End of Summary

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[40] See PNS 5.04.01/02 Parananacooka.