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Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.02.02/03

?KANGKARRARTINGGA (River Congeratinga)

(last edited: 22.7.2019)

SEE ALSO

PNS 5.02.02.04 Yarnauwingga, 5.02.02/02 Anacotilla, 5.02.02/01 Wirrina.

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This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.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, [21/6/19].



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Abstract

The earliest explicit record of this name was the 'River Congeratinga' marked on the first maps based on the work of the first surveyors of District D (around Yankalilla) in 1840. However, there is indirect evidence to suggest that Samuel Stephens in 1838 might have obtained the name 'Congerati' somewhere in District D, even though he wrote only of 'Conderati' (see Appendix). The 'Yankalilla Surveys' used Aboriginal guides, probably hired in Adelaide, who no doubt gave the name; and Stephens presumably likewise.

The word must be in Kaurna language, since it ends with the standard Kaurna Locative *ngga* ('at, place of'). The root noun represented by 'Congerati' is unknown in any local language as it stands; but must be a Compound of two words, probably also contracted (since no known vocabulary fits the whole word as it is). Among several possible but uncertain etymologies, the most likely is *Kanggarri-karti*, contracted to *Kanggarr'arti*, 'human birthing blood' (New Spelling 2010 *Kangkarri-karti*, *Kangkarr'arti*). The Locative *ngga* is optional, forming *Kanggarr'artingga*, 'place of human birthing blood' (N.Sp. *Kangkarr'artingga*). But it is also possible that the entire noun is *Kanggarati*, *Kunggarati*, *Kangarati* or *Kungarati* (N.Sp. *Kangkarati*, *Kungkarati*, *Kangarati*, *Kungarati*) with no dictionary meaning, 'just a name'. We don't know for sure.

Since Aboriginal naming practices do not use one name for the whole length of a river (as in European tradition), 'Congerati' or 'Congeratinga' must have referred originally to a site on or near the river, probably a campsite. However, it is uncertain where this would have been. Possibilities include

1. the small flat at the river mouth (in Sections 1579 and 1588).¹ Albert Karlowan mentioned a 'small creek which is also a camp' somewhere at or near the mouth.
2. the small secluded basin now submerged beneath the Wirrina Reservoir (in Sections 1579-1580) – a possibility which might be supported by the 'birthing' etymology. Karlowan *might* have been referring to this place as well as or instead of the mouth.
3. a camping area somewhere in Sections 1571 or 1575 around the 'Stoney Creek' homestead, in or near the reach of the river which was once called Stoney Creek, in the triangle formed by

¹ Known to the 19th-century settlers as 'Cutter Flat' (see PNS 5.02.02.04 Yarnauwingga).

today's official main course (here labelled 'B', including the bridge crossing on Main South Rd) and a smaller tributary ('A').² Somewhere at Stoney Creek there was a known camping place for Aboriginal groups in the 1880s.

The ambiguous provenances of 'Anacotilla' and *Yarnauwingga* appear to overlap that of 'Congeratinga' in the area now called 'Wirrina' (an imported name). More research would be needed to establish (if possible) the exact area and extent where each original name applied.

Coordinates	Lat. -35.507813°, Long. 138.242881° [nominal choice of Reservoir out 3 possible locations]
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Language Information

Meaning	Uncertain; possibly 'place of human birthing blood'
Etymology	Uncertain; (1) possibly <i>kangkarri</i> (verb root) 'producing offspring; giving birth' + possibly <i>karti</i> 'human blood' > <i>kangkarri-karti</i> 'human birthing blood' > contracted to <i>kangkarr'arti</i> + <i>ngga</i> 'at, place of' > <i>Kangkarr'artingga</i> (2) OR possibly <i>kangkarati</i> OR <i>kungkarati</i> OR <i>kangarati</i> OR <i>kungarati</i> , with no dictionary meaning.
Notes	(1) <i>Kangkarr'artingga</i> is the most likely of the possibilities, but remains uncertain. (2) Like other place-names, <i>Kangkarati</i> (or perhaps <i>Kungkarati</i>) need not have any normal dictionary meaning. (3) There are a number of less likely Kurna etymologies for the second morpheme, including <i>kari</i> (NSp. <i>kardi</i>) 'emu', giving 'place of emu birthing'; or <i>kadi</i> (NSp. <i>kathi</i>) 'weakness, fatigue, hiccup', giving 'place of birthing fatigue [not necessarily human]'; or (more remotely) <i>watte</i> (NSp. <i>warti</i>) 'middle, cause, origin', giving 'place in the midst of birthing [not necessarily human]'. We cannot be sure about any of these.
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'
KWP Former Spelling	<i>Kanggar'artingga</i>
KWP New Spelling 2010	<i>Kangkarr'artingga</i>
Phonemic Spelling	possibly /kangkarrartingga/
Syllabification	Uncertain; but (1) if the main etymology above is correct, "Kangkarr-artingga": (2) OR possibly "Kungka-ratingga" or "Kangka-ratingga":
Pronunciation tips	Stress the 1 st syllable. Secondary stress on 3 rd syllable. Every <i>a</i> as in Maori 'haka'. <i>u</i> as in 'full'. Double <i>rr</i> is rolled as in Scottish. <i>rt</i> is a 't' with tongue curled back (Retroflex), a sound not used in English.

² See Maps 1 and 2 on pp.28-9 of this essay.



Main source evidence

Date	11 May 1838
Original source text	- “[choice No.] 53 – 1 st at Conderati & &c district 54 – 2 nd do do 55 – 3 rd do do - [after choice No. 144 out of a possible 437] “... and for the rest I should reserve rights of choice in the different districts chiefly confining myself to what we call the Conderati &c. district. ”
Reference	Samuel Stephens to John Morphett 11/5/1838, in Samuel Stephens 1838 ‘Reports of Country Lands’, State Library of SA BRG 42/51: 3a, 4b-5; see also typescript transcription by Ernest Roe 2007: 3, 4, http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/archivaldocs/brg/BRG42_51_SACompany_reports_transcript.pdf .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	[June & Aug 1840] / 1844
Original source text	“ River []geratin[] ” [partly illegible, = ‘Congeratinga’: marked along river from Section 1580, across creek junction on 1575; then along a small tributary which crosses main road on 1575 north of Stoney Creek homestead, then through 1574 and 1583 to 1646.]
Reference	Henry Ide 1844, ‘Plan of sections in Districts D & F Yankalilla & Rapid Bay, surveyed by Messrs Kentish Pool & Bryant, June & August 1840’, Plan 6/15, Geographical Names Unit (now SA Land Services Group).
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kurna-speaking survey guides; possibly and/or Samuel Stephens

Date	Aug 1840
Original source text	“ River Congeratinga ” [marked along the river: from Section 1579, across the creek junction on 1575; and along a small tributary which crosses main road on 1575 north of Stoney Creek homestead, then through 1574 and 1583 to limit of map]
Reference	W Smith n.d., ‘Plan of sections, in Districts D & F near Rapid Bay / Surveyed by Messrs Poole & Bryant / Augt 31, 1840’, Plan 6/16A, Geographical Names Unit (now SA Land Services Group).
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kurna-speaking survey guides; possibly and/or Samuel Stephens



Date	1841
Original source text	[pencil notes only] " River Congratinga from shore 49 C 30 L" [49 chains 30 links]
Reference	Sergeant William Forrest 1841, 'Hundred of Encounter Bay – Roads', Field Book 63: [19], GNU (now SA Land Services Group).
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	[?1880s] / 1986
Original source text	<p>"JOSEPH and FRANCES MORRIS, their son George [not George Palmer Morris but another brother], his wife Mary and infant daughter, sailed from Southampton ... late in 1853... It is thought that William Randall met them at Port Adelaide and brought them to Finniss Vale to dig potatoes... George Palmer Morris, born in 1856, married Mercy Williams and remained in the district... John Henry, born in 1860, married Elizabeth Williams in 1882 and stayed in the area.</p> <p>Mercy and Elizabeth were daughters of JAMES JOHN and MARY ANN WILLIAMS, who came out from Kent... in 1854. After living for a while on the Adelaide Plains the family moved south, and resided about four kilometres north-east of Second Valley. Thirteen children were born to James and Mary between 1855 and 1880. The family, who sometimes walked over to visit Mercy and Elizabeth Morris, had to pass Stoney Creek where a group of Aborigines was camped. This was a terrifying experience for the younger children...</p> <p>Joseph and Frances Morris lived out their lives on Section 1532 [at Delamere]. Joseph died in 1879 and Frances in 1883, when their grandsons George Palmer and Henry continued farming the land, which was divided. Henry Morris, like his brother George Palmer, lived all his life at Delamere. In addition to holding grazing land at Bullaparinga, he managed the estate of C.W. Fowles at Second Valley."</p>
Reference	Roy G Williams 1986/1991, <i>To Find the Way: Yankalilla and District 1836-1986</i> (3 rd printing), Yankalilla & District Historical Society Inc: 334.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1934
Original source text	"28.3.34 Native Names of Places. by Clarence Long. ... Konjaratjanjk Congeratinga Creek Sect 1580 Yankalilla"
Reference	NB Tindale, 1934, 'Journal of Excavations at Second Valley S.A March-April 1934', SA Museum AA338/1/11: [6].
Informants credited	Tangani (Coorong) informant Milerum
Informants uncredited	



Date	n.d. [1935-6?]
Original source text	- “ Kongarati cave ” [arrow to coast on NW corner of Sec 1596, near W boundary with 1589] - “ Koṅaratiṅaṅk ” [arrow to mouth of Congeratinga Ck at NW cnr of 1588]
Reference	Tindale annotated map Hd Yankalilla, SA Museum AA 338/24/101
Informants credited	General map credits to Karlowan and Milerum.
Informants uncredited	For ‘Koṅaratiṅaṅk’, Milerum 1934. For ‘Kongarati’, probably none.

Date	1935-6
Original source text	[from Carrickalinga Head] “Then he went to ‘Koṅarati`nga where there is a perki (i.e. a hole in the hill or cave). About half a mile south there is a small creek which is also a camp. Just before Tji:rbuki reached the perki ^{200 yards NE} he sat down and cried; a small spring flowed there. He did not go into the cave but walked past the mouth of the creek & travelled along the coast right to Cape Jervis.”
Reference	Tindale n.d. [1935-6], ‘The story of Tji:rbuki’ (Tjilbruke, Tjelbruke, Tj`erbruke) from Karlowan and notes from Milerum, published in 1936’, in ‘Notes on the Kurna’, SA Museum AA 338/1/35: 83, 85.
Informants credited	[Albert] Karlowan
Informants uncredited	Milerum for the spellings ‘Tjilbruke’, ‘Tjelbruke’, and perhaps ‘Tj`erbruke’.

Date	1936
Original source text	:487 “ Kongarati Cave is situated on the seaward margin of Section 1589, 3.7 km north of the mouth of Congeratinga Creek (Native name [‘Koṅarati`ṅaṅk])...” :496 “... Angas depicts natives making string at Encounter Bay... On account of the large number of net fragments and string found, it is reasonable to suppose that the cave would be a camping place for native fishing parties...” :501 [Story of Tji:rbuki: from Karika:liṅ`ga] “Then he went to [‘Koṅarati`nga], where there is a [perki] (i.e. a cave or hole in the hill). About half a mile south, there is a small creek, which is also a camp. Just before Tji:rbuka [sic] reached the [perki] [‘Koṅarati`nga], he sat down and cried: a small spring flowed there. He did not go into the cave but walked south, passing the mouth of the creek, and travelled along the coastal cliffs...” :502 “DISCUSSION. ... The abundance of firesticks suggests that the cave served as a refuge during inclement weather, or, alternately, as a camping place for fishing parties. The absence of any form of basketware is remarkable. Angas shows a native encampment at Rapid Bay, some four or five miles south, in



	which a number of mats and baskets of the type used by the Lower Murray tribes can be seen hanging on their shelters. No satisfactory reason can be given for the absence of these baskets...”
Reference	NB Tindale & CP Mountford 1936, 'Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave, near Second Valley, South Australia', <i>Records of SA Museum</i> 5(4), online via http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/61893#/summary .
Informants credited	[Albert] Karloan.
Informants uncredited	Milerum for “`Kongarati`nank”.

Date	[c.1940] / 1993
Original source text	:226 “Tjirbuki (Tjirbuk), a place associated with the Dreaming man Blue Crane, on the coast at Blowhole Creek.” :234 [Becoming ngatji: Tjirbuki the Blue Crane] “... continued, passing Witawateng (Rapid Head) until he came to a hill with a cave then carried the corpse up into the hills and went down into a cave at Nangarang near Pariwa (Cape Jervis)... He went further into the cave, emerging from the cave to see that he had turned into a bird. This was at Konggaratingga (Blowhole Creek) . When people came there they saw Tjirbuki turned into a bird; they saw him catching fish nearby (at the place now called Tjirbuki). :330 [map] cave 24 1 [both on South coast] :331 [legend] 24 Konggaratingga 1 Tjirbuki
Reference	RM Berndt & CH Berndt 1993, <i>A World That Was: the Yaraldi of the Lower Murray and the Lakes</i> , Melbourne University Press, Miegunyah Press.
Informants credited	Albert Karlowan
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [after 1960s]
Original source text	“` Kongarati`nga (`perki = cave)” [arrow to near a small creek NE of Wirrina Cove]
Reference	Tindale annotated map of Adelaide Area 'Map R', SA Museum AA 338/16/7.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [after 1941]
Original source text	- “` Kongarati`perki (cave) (see RecSAM.5.1936 p.____)” - “` Kongarati`nank (creek)” [arrow to mouth of Carrickalinga Creek, with large dot (campsite?)]
Reference	Tindale annotated map Adelaide Area 'Tindale S Map Summary of Kurna area', SA Museum AA 338/16/8.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	



Date	1985-7
Original source text	[from <i>Karikalingga</i>] "Continuing his journey along the coast Tjirbruksi went to [Koŋarati`nga] where there is a [`perki] or cave, but before he arrived at the <i>perki</i> he again sat down and cried: a small spring flowed there. He did not go into the cave but walked further on, a few hundred metres to the mouth of a small creek that is a camping place. He continued walking, sometimes on the shore and at other times above the cliffs..."
Reference	Tindale 1987, 'The Wanderings of Tjirbruksi', <i>Records of SA Museum</i> 20: 9b.
Informants credited	Karlowan
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [1987 or after]
Original source text	" Koŋarati`nangk Sections 1588 & 1589, H of Yankalilla including a camp at mouth of River Congeratinga and a cave which supplied evidence of an aboriginal burial in a stone slab lined grave. Also recorded as Kongaratingga . Tindale & Mountford 1936 Rec. S.A. Mus. 5(3):487-502. Tindale ms. H of Yankalilla map. Tindale 1987:9."
Reference	Tindale Kurna place-name card [529], in SA Museum AA 338/7/1/12. ^
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1992
Original source text	"The aborigines called the area around the mouth of the Yankalilla River which enters Lady Bay, Njengalilla. This could be interpreted as 'woman's tragedy nearby' and refer to the Kongarati woman in the cave to the south, and the name of Lady Bay might seem to confirm this. Wirrina is an Aboriginal woman's place. "
Reference	Shirley Mulcahy 1992, <i>Southern Fleurieu Historic Walks: Tjirbruke Country</i> (self-published 1992): 54.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

<i>Date</i>	2007
<i>Original source text</i>	“ Wirrina Cove ... Boundaries created in August 1999 for the local name. Believed to mean either 'forest place' or ' meeting place of woman ', a elderly female aboriginal was found well preserved in a cave near the cove - information supplied by Auntie Maggie Bear. ”
<i>Reference</i>	Record Number SA0040318 (26/02/2007), SA Land Services Group reports, http://maps.sa.gov.au/plb/ [22/4/19].
<i>Informants credited</i>	Presumably Auntie Marjorie Angie Beare. Also cites “Government Gazette 5/8/1999 / DENR.9145/1994 / Shirley Mulcahy's 'Historic walks in Tjilbruke Country'.”
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

Discussion: ‘CONDERATI’, ‘CONGERATINGA’, ‘KONGARATI’: A SET OF CLUES:

Three genuine local place-names are known in the rather small area known since the 1970s as ‘Wirrina’ (which is not a local word).³ They are ‘Yarnouwinga’, ‘Congeratinga’ and ‘Anacotilla’. Two of them have very uncertain etymologies. All three have uncertainties about their location, so that it is not entirely clear which parts of the Wirrina area they belong to, or whether they overlap.

‘CONDERATI &c DISTRICT’ 1838:

On 11th May 1838 Samuel Stephens, having returned from an April journey with John Morphett from Adelaide to Rapid Bay and Encounter bay, referred to one of the best districts as “what we call Conderati &c. district”.⁴ He gave no precise location other than that it was within the ‘District D’ of the surveyors – which we today know included the River Congeratinga and surroundings.

I have found no other trace of this name or its like anywhere else, apart from ‘Congeratinga’. But I doubt that ‘Conderati’ represents either an Aboriginal variant of ‘Congerati’, or a different name for a different place. I strongly suspect it is indirect evidence that Stephens and Morphett obtained the real Kaurna place-name ‘Congerati’ without recording it as such. However, since the suspicion depends on a rather quirky chain of possibilities and is therefore very uncertain, I relegate the story to an appendix.⁵

³ See PNS 5.02.02/01 Wirrina.

⁴ Stephens to Morphett 11/5/1838: 3a, BRG 42/51 State Library of SA; Stephens’ emphases.

⁵ See Appendix to this essay, ‘Samuel Stephens, and the Conderati &c. district’.

‘RIVER CONGERATINGA’ 1840:

In June and August 1840 the first survey of the Wirrina area was carried out under the leadership of Nat Kentish, James Poole and G Bryan or Bryant. The first two maps from their work marked “River Congeratinga” along the creek which still bears that name – or *mostly* so.⁶ They no doubt obtained it from an Aboriginal guide; for these were part of the Yankalilla Surveys which in that year were employing such men on equal pay with the European labourers.⁷

Aboriginal naming practices do not traditionally identify a watercourse as a single entity from headwaters to mouth, nor give any such ‘river’ a single name. Instead, they identify many differently-named sites along its course and on any significant tributaries.⁸

Where then was the original ‘Congeratinga’ site given to the first surveyors by their Aboriginal guides?

Probably it was a campsite. Probably it was somewhere that the surveyors camped, allowing time for conversations around the campfire when their guide might pass on the name of the place where they were sitting.⁹

It is hard to come to a final determination, but we shall examine a few possible clues.

1. STONEY CREEK:¹⁰

1a. A CLUE FROM THE FIRST TWO MAPS:

On both of these maps the inscription of the phrase ‘River Congeratinga’ extends from near the mouth upstream to Section 1575 on the north side of Main South Road; then along the small tributary creek (let’s call it ‘A’) which comes down from Section 1646 through 1583, 1574 and 1575, to cross the road on the slope a few metres east of the Stoney Creek homestead.¹¹ This detail is

⁶ Henry Ide 1844, ‘Plan of sections in Districts D & F Yankalilla & Rapid Bay, surveyed by Messrs Kentish Pool & Bryant, June & August 1840’, Plan 6/15; W Smith n.d., ‘Plan of sections, in Districts D & F near Rapid Bay / Surveyed by Messrs Poole & Bryant / Augt 31, 1840’, Plan 6/16A; both in Geographical Names Unit (now SA Land Services Group). Another very early survey note spells it “*River Congratinga*” (William Forrest 1841, Field Book 63 ‘Hd of Encounter Bay: Roads’: [19], Geographical names Unit [now Land Services Group]); but this only confirms what we already know, that the second vowel in ‘Congeratinga’ (represented as ‘e’) is unstressed and therefore might sometimes not be heard.

⁷ SA Register 10/8/1839: 6a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27440703/2049497>.

⁸ e.g. *Ngangkiparingga* (‘Onkapinga’) is not the name of any place around Woodside etc on the high plain, but only of a site (or perhaps an area) on the coastal flood plain (see PNS 4.02/04 *Ngangkiparingga*).

⁹ Unfortunately my search of the surviving Field Books from the first survey has not turned up any page marked with the location of a camp in this area.

¹⁰ The name ‘Congeratinga’ seems never to have gone into currency among local settlers. In this reach of the river, the creekbed is full of rounded stones which can be seen clearly from the bridge on the main road.

¹¹ For Sections and watercourses, see Map 1 on p.28 of this essay.

noteworthy because on all later maps the official European course of the river follows a different tributary ('B'); this comes down west from Section 1645, then northwest through 1574 and 1572, to cross the main road in 1571 at the bridge at the bottom of the valley. A and B meet on the border of 1571 and 1575, about 330 metres north of the bridge, forming a triangular open valley which continues north narrowing into 1576.¹²

A is a much shorter and shallower watercourse; B in this area is lower and therefore likely to be a longer and better candidate for the 'main course', even to the eyes of surveyors who may not have gone further upstream when they made the decision about which was the 'real Congeratinga'. So why did they mark the name along A instead of B which was universally chosen by later mapmakers? It is *possible* that they did this because their guide had identified the original 'Congeratinga' site as being somewhere in this immediate vicinity: either on the currently-known 1.5-km stretch of A, or nearer to it than to the 1.3-km known stretch of B. Only later did they find that B had a far greater catchment at the top of the range, and probably this quickly changed the department's mind about which tributary should be the 'real river'.¹³

The name 'Congeratinga' never passed into common use among the local settlers. The reach where the river passes through this open valley was known as 'Stoney Creek'. The bed of creek B covered in rounded stones is still evident from the bridge; and the title 'Stoney Creek' is currently displayed prominently at the gate of the homestead, about 100 metres up the slope towards branch A.

The valley can be viewed from Main South Rd. Both creeks A and B are lined with gumtrees. The surrounding hills give a certain amount of shelter from winds, especially from the southeast. Creek A still has a denser tree cover than B; and also two dams (possibly signifying old waterholes), while A has none. Optimal camping (perhaps in summer) may have been near the large dam on A, 400m upstream from the main road, close to the shelter of hills to the east. But we would need to check how much of the tree cover is original, and many other factors, before concluding on this. Perhaps the best shelter from the winter westerlies was further downstream towards the Reservoir, where higher hills shield the valley on the west.

¹² See Maps 1 and 2 on pp.28-9.

¹³ Both of the Plans map the tributary B upstream only as far as Section 1583, which is the limit of the map on 6/16A but not on 6/15. Plan 6/16A maps tributary A only as far up as Section 1574 (limit of map), and may therefore be the earliest version despite being in much better condition than the other. Plan 6/15 traces A *much* further up, through 1645, beyond Sections and up to what became Section 1637 (now in Second Valley Forest Reserve), i.e. the tributary whose headwaters are near today's 'Seven Springs' homestead.

The official full course of 'River Congeratinga' is hard to determine, even more so than other creeks on the Fleurieu. The government website <http://maps.sa.gov.au/plb/> gives us the location of its mouth, but the name does not occur *anywhere* else; whereas 'Anacotilla River' and 'Parananacooka River', etc, are marked along their lowest reach.

The alternative tributary B was probably chosen because it enables the official Congeratinga River to be traced all the way back to the high watershed at Range Rd. However there have been different versions. From the junction of B with A at Stoney Creek, some maps have the official River rising near 'Seven Springs' homestead (near the junction of Range Rd and Springs Rd) (e.g. small-scale tourist map 'Adelaide's Environs', Countrywide Tourist Promotions Pty Ltd, 2003). Others have it rising on another tributary 4 km to the west, in the much larger planted Second Valley Forest (e.g. 'Barker 1:250,000 SI 54-13, Edition 1, Series R 502, 1965-1968).



1b. A CLUE FROM SETTLER MEMORY:

Local historian Roy Williams recorded this memory of Stoney Creek from members of two families who arrived in SA in 1853-4:¹⁴

JOSEPH and FRANCES MORRIS, their son George, his wife Mary and infant daughter, sailed from Southampton... late in 1853... It is thought that William Randall met them at Port Adelaide and brought them to Finniss Vale to dig potatoes... [Their grandchildren] George Palmer Morris, born in 1856, married Mercy Williams and remained in the district... John Henry, born in 1860, married Elizabeth Williams in 1882 and stayed in the area. –

George Palmer Morris and his brother Henry farmed the land they inherited from their grandfather: Section 1532 on the River Yattagolonga near Main South Rd, just downstream from the Bullaparinga village.¹⁵ The historian Williams continues:

Mercy and Elizabeth were daughters of JAMES JOHN and MARY ANN WILLIAMS, who came out from Kent... in 1854. After living for a while on the Adelaide Plains the family moved south, and resided about four kilometres north-east of Second Valley.¹⁶ Thirteen children were born to James and Mary between 1855 and 1880. The family, who sometimes walked over to visit Mercy and Elizabeth Morris, had to pass Stoney Creek where a group of Aborigines was camped. This was a terrifying experience for the younger children.

¹⁴ Roy F Williams 1986/1991, *To Find the Way: Yankalilla and District 1836-1986* (3rd printing with update 1991), Yankalilla & District Historical Society Inc: 334.

¹⁵ This sequence of events is found in RF Williams' writeup (p.334), though it is rather confusingly presented and interspersed with other family information. George Morris was the son of Joseph Morris and father of George Palmer Morris: "George Morris died in 1862 at Bullaparinga. Joseph Morris senior and his widowed daughter-in-law" [Mary] "purchased Section 1532 in March, 1864, and later that year Mary Morris married Joel Cole and moved with her three remaining children" [i.e. Ann [married 1876], George Palmer, John Henry] "to live on Section 1517, Glenburn" [on Yoho Rd & Stockyard Creek at Delamere]. "Joseph and Frances Morris lived out their lives on Section 1532" [presumably after 1864]. "Joseph died in 1879 and Frances in 1883, when their grandsons George Palmer and Henry continued farming the land, which was divided... Henry Morris, like his brother George Palmer, lived all his life at Delamere" [presumably after 1864]. "In addition to holding grazing land at Bullaparinga, he managed the estate of C.W. Fowles at Second Valley".

Cp. Roy F Williams (compiler) n.d. [2010?], *Early Settlers in the Yankalilla District*, Yankalilla & District Historical Society Inc, p.57 for Morris, p.84 for Williams. Here it is said that James John Williams was a farmer of "Finniss Vale", i.e. Second Valley proper. But his family, if walking from Finniss vale to Section 1532, would not have had to cross Stoney Creek as it lies in the opposite direction. Perhaps Williams used Randall's 'Finniss Vale' as his contact address although he 'resided' 4 km NE of it. It must have been at Finniss Vale that the Williams family first met the Morris family.

¹⁶ i.e. in the vicinity of Bishop's Flat and 'Anacotilla' homestead. I have found no Williams who owned property in this area at that time; perhaps Williams worked or rented there.



It was a long walk from the vicinity of 'Anacotilla': 8 hilly km to Section 1532 each way. Perhaps the memory of exhaustion and sore feet coloured somebody's reminiscences in later years.¹⁷ These Williams family memories of Stoney Creek must have dated from the 1880s, after the marriages of Mercy and Elizabeth.

Many other settler memories have been recorded of Aboriginal people travelling through the Fleurieu on the way north to Adelaide or other destinations. Camping at Stoney Creek, some could have been heading southward for known camping places at Second Valley, Rapid Bay or Yoho Beach,¹⁸ others northward for Cutter Flat, Third Valley or Yarnkalyilla.¹⁹ It sounds as though the Williamses did not communicate with them. Other settlers who did speak with them around this date often identified such travellers as 'Encounter Bay' people, and identified some of them by name. In later years there were 'Wilfred', 'Ginny', 'Dave', 'Elsie', 'Ethel', 'Wally (or 'Wongie'), etc. Some of these were known to residents of Victor Harbor as part of the group which camped on the foreshore there, 'Elsie' being also a member of the Salvation Army.²⁰ Others in their company might have included Ngarrindjeri men who later became Tindale's informants, Albert Karlowan, Clarence Long (Milerum), or Reuben Walker. But most groups would also have included family members whose ancestry was among the Kaurna-speaking people of southern Fleurieu.

2. OTHER CLUES FROM TOPOGRAPHY:

2a: CUTTER FLAT?

The small flat at the mouth of the Congeratinga – known in the 19th century as 'Cutter Flat', and now the site of the Marina St Vincent – was a sheltered place with many nearby resources of water, food and reeds.²¹

Was this rather isolated place merely part of *Yarnauwingga*, the surrounding 'bald water place'?

Or was it the original 'Congeratinga' campsite of the survey guides? On the face of it, rather unlikely; camping there, the surveyors would have to climb steep hills every day on their field trips to measure land nearby which had other sheltered sites and was flatter.

¹⁷ The author does not say which family members he had interviewed for this information. Their identity (and perhaps more information with it) might be findable somewhere in the archives of the Yankalilla & District Historical Society.

¹⁸ See PNS 5.04.01/01 'Cowyrilanka' and 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga.

¹⁹ See PNS 5.02.02/04 Yarnauwingga and 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla.

²⁰ For a little more on these individuals, see PNS 5.04.01/01 'Cowyrilanka'.

²¹ See PNS 5.02.02/04 Yarnauwingga. –



2b: THE VALLEY OF WIRRINA RESERVOIR?

Beneath the waters of Wirrina Reservoir lies a small valley basin about 800m long and 400 metres wide. In 1840 it may have had its attractions as a campsite for surveyors, and from it surrounding areas would be much more accessible for field trips. For Aboriginal occupants, the area was secluded and sheltered, with many high lookout points close by in the hills. Within a walk of half a kilometre or so were Cutter Flat for wetland resources and the coast for fishing.²² We do not know what the original vegetation of the basin itself was like. I have found no maps or sketches of it in the early Field Books,²³ and the only one later photograph, which shows it already scoured out by the developers in the 1970s.²⁴

3. CLUES FROM TINDALE 1934-6: 'KONGARATINGANGK', 'KONGARATI-NGGA', 'KONGARATI':

Did the Kaurna name refer primarily to a cave? or to the cave as well as the river? or to a camp on the river?

Tindale's work on place-names contains many gems of information from old Aboriginal tradition, but also is often problematic, sometimes quite misleading, and does not always reflect what his informants actually said.

In April 1934 the ethnologists NB Tindale and CP Mountford embarked on a major excavation of a cave in the cliffs a short distance east of the mouth of the River Congeratinga, with initial help from amateur archaeologist Rev NH Louwyck and the local resident landowner, a Mr Walsh. During this project Tindale was referring to the river mouth as "Pool's Flat".²⁵

During the lead-up to the dig excursion Tindale was also interviewing his main informant Clarence Long (Milerum), a Ngarrindjeri speaker from Coorong country, who had come to spend three weeks in Adelaide. On 28th March Tindale obtained from Milerum a list of five Fleurieu place-names and wrote them into his Cave journal. Among them were "Janjal`jawanj Rapid Bay",²⁶

²² See Map 3 on p.30.

²³ However, Sergeant Forrest was there in 1841; and the distance he noted to 'River Congratinga from shore' gives a location in the narrow southern part of the Reservoir (William Forrest 1841 *ibid*). Perhaps more searches of Forrest's other records might show something.

²⁴ 'Early stage of construction of the Reservoir' (screenprint photograph), LJ Reinschmidt [compiler] and Holiday Village Co-operative Ltd., n.d. [1979], *The Wirrina Story*, Adelaide, Holiday Village Co-operative: 17.

²⁵ Tindale 1934, 'Journal of Excavations at Second Valley S.A': [6], SA Museum AA338/1/11, *passim*.

²⁶ i.e. 'Yangkalyawang', a Ngarrindjeri version of Kaurna *Yarnkalyilla* ('Yankalilla'). Tindale later corrected the 'Rapid Bay' error (to some extent: see PNS 5.02.01/02).

“Kortu`gan Little Gorge”, and “Kojarati`ngk” (i.e. ‘Kongaratingangk’), glossed as “Congeratinga Creek Sect 1580 Yankalilla”.²⁷ Here Milerum gave a version of the Ngarrindjeri name for ‘Yankalilla’ but glossed it as ‘Rapid Bay’. This shows that although Milerum’s knowledge around the Coorong was precise and encyclopaedic, his locations could be quite vague with places so far away from his homeland. Likewise ‘Kongaratingangk’, his version of ‘Congeratinga’, simply adds the standard Ngarrindjeri Locative suffix *angk* (‘at, place of’) to the original word – which already contains the standard Kurna Locative *ngga*. Thus ‘Kongaratingangk’ may be a Ngarrindjeri tradition, but it is certainly not the true Dreaming name of the place.²⁸

We do not know how Milerum came to give this name along with the others. For instance, did Tindale read the name ‘Congeratinga’ from a map²⁹ before asking Milerum for his version of the ‘real name’? It is unlikely (though not impossible) that it was Milerum who particularized the location. Tindale gave it as Section 1580, which includes the southern neck of the Reservoir basin; but when he came to map the name, he located it at the mouth of the river on Section 1588.³⁰

The cave excavation discovered an elaborate and well-preserved burial site with “the dessicated body of an elderly female aborigine”, and the writeup by Tindale and Mountford published in 1936 has been famous ever since.

In 1935-6, with his archaeological writeup in progress, Tindale was also writing up ‘The story of Tji:rbuki’ as given to him by Albert Karlowan, a Ngarrindjeri man from the Lower Murray and Lakes. Karlowan told how Tjirbuki travelled south along the coast bearing the smoke-dried body of his nephew, and passed along under the cliffs of the Wirrina area. It seems that Karlowan initially referred to the cave in the story only as a location marker for the spring; but Tindale, still fresh from his exciting discovery and analysis discussed it with him, and featured it in his rendition of Karlowan’s account. From Carrickalinga Head,

*Then he went to `Kojarati`nga where there is a perki (i.e. a hole in the hill or cave). About half a mile south there is a small creek which is also a camp. Just before Tji:rbuki reached the perki 200 yards NE he sat down and cried; a small spring flowed there. He did not go into the cave but walked past the mouth of the creek and travelled along the coast right to Cape Jervis.*³¹

²⁷ Tindale 1934, ‘Journal of Excavations at Second Valley S.A.’: [6], SA Museum AA338/1/11.

²⁸ The known ancient place-names of the Gulf coast of southern Fleurieu are overwhelmingly in Kurna language, including all 27 of those obtained up to Sep 1837 (see my summary ‘The geography of language groups around Fleurieu Peninsula at first contact, from the evidence of the earliest place-names’, <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/110560>; and my history *Feet On the Fleurieu* (in progress).

²⁹ Tindale admitted to doing exactly this with place-names on Peramangk country (Tindale, ‘Place Names: Drafts for text’, SA Museum AA338/10/2: 114). Milerum himself could not read.

³⁰ Tindale annotated map Hundred of Yankalilla, SA Museum AA 338/24/101.

³¹ Tindale n.d. [1935-6], ‘The story of Tji:rbuki’ (Tjilbruke, Tjelbruke, Tj]erbruke) from Karlowan and notes from Milerum, in ‘Notes on the Kurna’, SA Museum AA 338/1/35: 83, 85. This is a late draft.



Karlowan's pronunciation of the name here appears to be taken directly from the Kurna original, except that he puts a stress on the last syllable as well as the first: “*Kongarati-ngga*”. This would not happen in the Kurna pronunciation, *Konga-ratingga*. It is a Kurna word spoken with a ‘Ngarrindjeri accent’, influenced by his mother-tongue Locative *angk* which has a heavier stress.

Note that here ‘Kongaratingga’ is not the cave but a *place where* there is a cave; and this sentence is identical in the published version.³² However, the latter then goes on to make the same word the name of the cave itself: “Just before Tji:rbuka [*sic*] reached the [perki] [*Kongarati`ngga*], he sat down and cried”.

From the geographical details, the ‘small creek which is also a camp’ is clearly the Congeratinga. Its name is given in the same published essay as ‘Kongarati`ngangk without mentioning the source of this word, Milerum.³³

Tindale's correspondent Louwyck wrote up the cave in 1934 as ‘Congeratinga Cave’.³⁴ But Tindale and Mountford adopted for their essay the name “Kongarati Cave”.³⁵ Although Tindale does not say how he arrived at this name, clearly it is his own spelling of the root word of ‘Congeratinga’.³⁶

There is yet another extraordinary complication. RM Berndt has written that the same man Karlowan gave “Konggaratingga” as the name of Blowhole Creek on the rugged south coast of the Fleurieu. In his version of the Tjirbuki story as told to Berndt about 1940, this is where the hero emerged from his long underground cave journey.³⁷

But how likely is it that we would find this place-name (already given on the Gulf in times of first contact, and unambiguously in Kurna language)³⁸ in this location (for which Karlowan himself had previously given the Ngarrindjeri place-name ‘Tjirbuk’ or ‘Tjirbuki’)?³⁹ This 20th-century item, originally *obtained* only a few years after Karlowan's conversations with Tindale about ‘Kongarati Cave’ and the ‘small creek’ Congeratinga, deserves some careful scrutiny.

³² Tindale & Mountford 1936, ‘Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave, near Second Valley, South Australia’, *Records of SA Museum* 5(4): 501, Adelaide; online via <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/61893#/summary>. This published version *mostly* stays very close to the draft version.

³³ Tindale & Moountford 1936: 487.

³⁴ “Louwyck, N.H.: *Anthropological Society of S.A. Congeratinga Cave*. Adelaide 1934” (as cited by Shirley Mulcahy 1992, *Southern Fleurieu Historic Walks: Tjirbruke Country* (self-published 1992): 109).

³⁵ Tindale & Mountford 1936: 487.

³⁶ *Kongarati + ngga* > ‘at Kongarati’; Tindale's Cave name merely omits the Locative.

³⁷ Berndt & Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*, Melbourne University Press: 234, 330-1. In Milerum's 1934 version of the story, ‘Tjelbruke’ emerged from the cave journey somewhere near the top of the range (Tindale ‘SE of SA journal Vol.2’, AA 338/1/33/2: 50).

³⁸ See below.

³⁹ RM Berndt 1940, ‘Aspects of Jaralde culture’, *Oceania* 11(2): 181. See also PNS 7.01/07 Tjirbuk.

To this individual puzzle we must add the general problem that the relationship between all the various ethnological items about this name is neither acknowledged nor clarified by Tindale and Berndt. General caution is warranted; there must have been a misunderstanding or two, and perhaps a few careless assumptions. As evidence of ancient Aboriginal tradition, how seriously can we take these adaptations of 'Congeratinga', and Tindale's adoption of the name for the cave as well?

We have already examined suspicions about Milerum's 'Kongaratingangk' (above).

Secondly, 'Kongarati': Since there is no sign of it anywhere in previous literature, nor any record in Tindale that someone gave it to him in this form, it seems evident that he deduced it himself (using correct linguistics on this occasion) in order to name the cave after the nearest Aboriginal place-name which he knew at the time.

Thirdly, "Kongarati-`ngga': Did Karlowan volunteer it from his own traditional knowledge? The name does occur within the story text – *as recounted by Tindale*; but there is no known directly-transcribed Tjirbuki text in Tindale as there is in Berndt. It begins to look very likely that Tindale first introduced him to 'River Congeratinga' on a map, then used Karlowan's pronunciation of it as the *name* of the area and the cave, as well as identifying the *location* of the cave and its associated Tjirbuki spring.

Fourthly, 'Konggaratingga' at Blowhole Creek: Although Berndt provides us with a Yaraldi text direct from Karlowan, the place-name does not occur in it, but only in Berndt's English paraphrase and discussion – where the identical spelling is also used when citing Tindale's "Kongarati (Konggaratingga) Cave".⁴⁰ The doubts pile up, and the most likely explanation is that either Karlowan or Berndt became confused when discussing *the cave as discussed by Tindale and Karlowan in 1935*, then putting together the names and places of *several* caves which Karlowan mentions during his version of the Tjirbuki story.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Berndt & Berndt 1993: 445-7, cp.234.

⁴¹ See PNS 7.01/06 Konggaratingga (Blowhole Creek).

4. LOCATION UNCERTAIN, BUT LIKELY TO BE THE MOUTH:

We must take much more seriously Karlowan's knowledge of sites. His details do support the mouth (or somewhere near it) as a candidate for the original 'Congeratinga' campsite, and this is the only *first-hand* Aboriginal affirmation that I have found so far about either the river's uses or the location of the name.⁴² However, the Reservoir basin is less than half a km away from Cutter Flat.

If in 1840 the original 'Congeratinga' was either Cutter Flat or the basin, the surveyors would have automatically applied the name upstream as well on whatever they chose as the 'main course'.

5. FURTHER POSSIBLE CLUES TO THE LOCATION AND ABORIGINAL SIGNIFICANCE OF 'CONGERATINGA':

5a. THE WORD 'CONGERATINGA': UNCERTAIN ETYMOLOGY:

The standard Locative suffix *ngga* makes it almost certain that the original name was in Kurna language.

Kurna language has two Locatives *ngga* and *illa*, both meaning 'at, place of'. But its internal rules require that *ngga* is used only when the root has two syllables; in that case the root's final vowel is retained (e.g. *witu* 'reed' > *Witungga* 'reed place').⁴³

In 'Congerati', the first vowel – represented in the original English record by 'o' – could in phonetic sound be either *a* (as in Maori 'haka') or *u* (as in 'full').⁴⁴

In English the cluster written as 'ng' in the middle of a word can represent either one sound (*ng* = *ŋ*) or two (*ngg* = *ŋg* = *ngk* = *ŋk*); e.g. 'finger' is pronounced *fɪŋgə*, but 'singer' is *sɪŋgə*.⁴⁵

⁴² Karlowan specified a collective "*creek which is also a camp*", about half a mile from the cave. Though the text does not say exactly where on the creek the camp was, Tindale is *probably* right to say that Karlowan meant it was at the mouth. But Tindale intermittently tries to include the *cave* in the provenance of the *name*: e.g. "*Kongarati`ngga / ('perki = cave)*", Tindale annotated map of Adelaide area 'Map R', AA 338/16/7; "*Koŋarati`ŋaŋk' – Sections 1588 & 1589... a camp at the mouth of River Congeratinga and a cave...*", Tindale Kurna index card [529] in AA 338/7/1/12. But on later maps he distinguishes between the cave "*Kongarati`perki*" and the creek "*Koŋarati`ŋaŋk'*" (Adelaide Area 'Tindale S Map: Summary of Kurna area', AA 338/16/8; cp. 'County Hindmarsh - Working copy', AA 338/24/121); all in SA Museum. It seems clear that Tindale had no explicit information about where the names applied, but was locating them himself more or less on whim.

⁴³ When the root has four syllables, the Locative has to be *illa*, and the root's final vowel is replaced by the *i* of the Locative: e.g. *Yarnkalya* > *Yarnkalyilla*.

⁴⁴ cp. '*koko*' = *kuku*; '*Myponga*' = *Maitpangga*; '*Ōnkaparinga*' = *Ngangkiparingga*; '*Yattagolunga*' = *Yartakurlangga*.

⁴⁵ The related sounds *g* and *k* are not distinguished in most Aboriginal languages. KWP has chosen to use *k* in most cases, except in the familiar Locative *ngga*; but *ngka* (within a word) represents exactly the same sounds.



Therefore the structure of the whole word 'Congeratinga' is *`kVng(g)V-`ratingga*.⁴⁶ The first vowel V (stressed) might be either *a* or *u*, but the second V (unstressed) is probably *a*.⁴⁷ The bracketed *g* might or might not have been present. Perhaps the particular spelling 'conger' hints that the original did include the *g* sound (as in English as in 'conger eel', which uses *ng*).

Thus the most likely roots are *kangkarati* (or *kangarati*) and *kungkarati* (or *kungarati*). But there is no known 4-syllable word in either Kurna or Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri that could be interpreted as this full root.

It might be a word with no common dictionary meaning, like 'Rome' or 'London'. But before reaching that conclusion, we must consider whether it is a Compound noun, i.e. Does it contain **two separate morphemes, *kangka/kungka* and *rati***?

For the first two-syllable morpheme, there is only one known Kurna word *kang(k)a* or *kung(k)a*. This is *kunga*, glossed as 'son' and (in connection with Kurna) found *only* in one Tindale record from Alf Spender, who was a 20th-century Ngarrindjeri speaker.⁴⁸ But as we are examining a record from 1840, and 'son' is a piece of vocabulary which the German linguists would probably have picked up in that era, this derivation is very unlikely. Moreover, the second two-syllable morpheme *rati* cannot stand as it appears, because Kurna words never begin with *r*.

We must therefore consider further, whether the word as given was a **contracted form**. There are other examples of this on record, e.g. *Tarnd'anyangga* = *tarnda* + *kanya* + *ngga*, 'place of the red-kangaroo rock'. Note that the last consonant cluster of the first morpheme (*rnd*) is retained, while the first consonant of the second morpheme (*k*) is omitted. Following this line, we might expect that the contracted first morpheme of 'Congerati' would include its last consonant, giving *kangkarV-*, while the second morpheme would be *-Cati* (in which V is an unknown Vowel and C is an unknown Consonant).

Accordingly, the most probable known vocabulary for a derivation of the **first contracted morpheme is *kangkarri-***, from *kanggarendi* (New Spelling *kangkarrintheta*) 'to bring forth, fructify, give birth, produce young'; cp. *kanggari-burka* (NSp. *kangkarri-purka*) 'a woman who has borne many children'.⁴⁹ There are some other Kurna-language place-names which also probably use this 'birth' reference, e.g. 'Kangarilla' in the Adelaide Hills.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ The Kurna stress pattern is different from the intuitive English habit, which would be *`Congera-`tinga*.

⁴⁷ – since *u* would be more likely to be picked up by the listener and written as 'oo'.

⁴⁸ "According to Tindale, Alf Spender, son of Lartelare, referred to Ivaritji as *ngammi* 'mother', whilst she called him *kunga* 'son'... The word *kunga* 'son' is not known from other sources. It is now used in modern Kurna materials" (Rob Amery 2000/2015, *Warraparna Kurna!* : 101, 124 n.19. However, the neighbouring Nukunu language (150 km north of Adelaide) has *kunga* 'boy' (KWP's Draft Kurna Dictionary database 2014).

⁴⁹ cp. *kanggandi* (NSp. *kangkantheta*) 'to bear [a child], to accompany or lead [someone]'; *kanggallanggalla* (NSp. *kangkalangkala*) 'parent, mother'; *sheepi kanggallanggalla* 'a shepherd' (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840). Cp. Rob Amery 2002, 'Weeding Out Spurious Toponyms...', in Hercus et al, *The Land Is a Map: Placenames of Indigenous Origin in Australia*, Australian National University Epress: 173, <https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/land-map>. Was 'Congeratinga' a post-contact name referring to shepherds and shepherding? This theory can be ruled out: (1) The word 'Congeratinga' cannot account linguistically for any of the syllables *alla* in *kanggallanggalla*. (2) No sheep or cattle

The second contracted morpheme -*Cati* could come from *karti*, 'blood of humans': a noun which is no doubt related to *kartinye* (NSp. *kartinya*) 'menstruation', probably to *karto* (NSp. *kartu*) 'wife', and perhaps to *karta* 'lap'.⁵¹

If so, 'Congerati' might be ***Kangkarr'arti***, contracted from ***Kangkarr-i-karti***, meaning something like 'human birthing + blood'. 'Congeratinga' (*Kangkarr'artingga*) might then be something like 'place of human birthing blood' – which could refer either to events in the Dreaming, or to human practices, or both.

Does this illuminate any aspect of the landscape here? Is there any place around the River Congeratinga which seems suitable for a birthing site? Are there any undiscovered historical records or oral history which suggest this? Out of the possible locations considered above, which would be most likely? Would male Aboriginal guides have given to male surveyors a name which (as they would have known) pointed explicitly to this? Would they have been willing to camp there (or perhaps they got no say in the matter)? These questions are beyond my competence and beyond the scope of this essay.

I must emphasize that although I believe this etymology is *the most probable* out of a set of uncertain possibilities, it is still *uncertain*. Other and better experts in Aboriginal linguistics may yet come up with better interpretations of this name, or conclude that it is impossible now to know what it meant, if anything.

If 'Congeratinga' was a birthing site *Kangkarr'artingga*, the Wirrina Reservoir basin would seem to be a very suitable place for it. Men would be camped at Cutter Flat half a km away, with plentiful resources available, and the basin is surrounded by lookouts very close by.

However, we come now to another aspect of the literature about this area. Though much of it is very doubtful in record and reasoning, it is part of the picture as we have it, and must be accounted for.

had arrived in the southern Fleurieu at the time of the first surveys in mid-1840. The official statistics for the end of 1840 do not list any stock there at all, no cultivation, nor even landowners (see 'Statement of the Extent and Cultivation of land... compiled from Official Returns for 1840', in 'Papers Relative to... SA', *British Parliamentary Papers, Australia Vol. 7*: 122-3; and 'Country Directory for 1841' in JK Bennett, 1841, *The SA Almanack & General Directory for 1841*: 128).

⁵⁰ Also 'Kunkalilla-punga' in the foothills east of McLaren Flat, and 'Kangowirranilla' near Macclesfield. I hope to analyse these eventually in this series of essays.

⁵¹ Less likely are the following: *kadi* (NSp. *kathi*) 'weakness, fatigue, hiccup', or Piesse's "Cut-tee" (NSp. *kati*) 'small crab'. At a further linguistic stretch, (1) the *t* might perhaps be a tapped *rd* (which was sometimes mistaken for *t* or *d* by English listeners), so that -*Cati* might be *kari* (NSp. *kardi*) 'emu'. (2) Perhaps the omitted consonant could be *w*, though there are no other known examples of this. If so, we might have *worti* (NSp. *warti*) 'tail, penis', or *watte* (NSp. *wati*) 'middle, cause, origin', or *watte* (NSp. *wati*) 'name'.

5b. NOEL WEBB AND THE 'WOMAN'S PLACE': A SAGA OF MISINFORMATION, OR MORE CLUES TO PURSUE?

There is a widely quoted notion that the name 'Yankalilla' has something to do with a 'woman's tragedy'. This was first conceived and publicized by lawyer Noel Webb during the 1920s, when local newspapers were using him as a very willing guru on Aboriginal place-names. As usual in place-names literature, media publication has bestowed immortality upon a badly-informed guess:

*Yankalilla... There is no doubt that it is a native name, and that it is Yankalya-illa... the degenerate whites... who settled on KI... stole some of the native women... It is a tradition that one of these women swam back to the mainland from the western end of the island, and is said to have died as she reached the beach. Ngangkai is a woman; alya is an expression of grief. Ngangkalya would refer to the tragedy of the woman, and Ngangkalya-illa the place of the woman's tragedy. This old crime may be immortalised in the smooth-flowing name Yankalilla.*⁵²

Unfortunately Webb's impossible geography (a 40-km swim) and bad linguistics (*ng* mutates into an implied *ny* to become 'Y') have become the standard explanation of the name 'Yankalilla'. This has come about partly through the enthusiastic and otherwise valuable work of local chroniclers. The Webbisms have then been recycled by travel guides and professional publications such as those of the Royal Geographical Society and the Police Union. In the process new mis-spellings have crept in, such as 'Nganka'⁵³ and (more importantly for this essay) 'Njengalilla'.

One prominent public document recycling these ideas has been the Introduction in Roy Williams' widely-used local history:

*The missionaries gave the locality name as Yankalya-illa. The vocabulary records the ngangka is Ramindjeri for woman, alya for tragedy and illa for place terminal. It is not a far step from Ngangka-alya-illa to Yankalya-illa.*⁵⁴

⁵² Noel Webb 1921, 'Before the Whites Came...' *The Mail*, 14 May 1921: 3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63888955/5314695>. Here Webb seems to think that *ng* can be pronounced *ny*: nothing else can explain his transition from 'Ngangk' to 'Yank'. Even after allowing for possible misprints and the unbelievable 40-km swim from Kangaroo Island to Yankalilla Bay, his analysis is linguistically impossible. *Ny* is not the same as *ng*. *Alya* is not a noun 'tragedy', nor even (on its own) "an expression of grief"; it is an interjection or adverb, and one of its uses (among many) is in exclamations like *yakk'alya* 'oh dear!' For my analysis of 'Yankalilla' see PNS 5.02.01/02.

⁵³ Local history writer E Jean Schmaal introduced 'Nganka' into the Webb pot-pourri, as well as attributing the Kaurra words to the Ramindjeri tribe (EJ Schmaal typescript, n.d., 'Yankalilla: a short history', digital archive 20, Yankalilla & District Historical Society; EJ Schmaal 1972, 'The place of the woman's tragedy: being the story of the Police settlement at Normanville / Yankalilla', *Police Journal*, SA, Vol. 52 [53] No. 7: 11. Schmaal's typescript was paraphrased for the Captain Barker Field Day in 1989 (Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (SA Branch) 1989, *Captain Collet Barker Field Day*, quoted in Amery 2002: 172).

⁵⁴ RF Williams 1986/1991: 7.



Following close on the heels of this book was Shirley Mulcahy's otherwise excellent walking guide to the Southern Fleurieu (1992). It contains a number of allusions to material which is not on any other public record that I have found. She quotes many cultural details from Tindale including the stories of Tjirbruke's journey with the body of his *njengari* (= *nyengari*, Ngarrindjeri for 'nephew'), and of the woman's body excavated at Kongarati Cave. But later she herself – or perhaps an unknown source – builds upon Tindale and Noel Webb thus:

*The Aborigines called the area around the mouth of the Yankalilla River which enters Lady Bay, Njengalilla. This could be interpreted as 'women's tragedy nearby', and refer to the Kongarati woman in the cave to the south... Another interpretation of Njengkalilla might be a shortening of Njengari alya illa, meaning 'sister's son tragedy nearby' and refer to Kulultuwi.*⁵⁵

This paragraph changes vowels and spellings from their sources, ignores known vocabulary, mixes languages, and has no credibility either linguistic or historical; though (perhaps unwittingly) she has improved slightly on Webb by using a Ngarrindjeri word which does begin with *ny* rather than *ng*.

None of these writings can be used as evidence to support whatever real culture and history there is in women's business around Wirrina and 'Congeratinga'.

Hints abound, and it would be a long job to follow up all of them. I do not know how the following entry came to be included on the Geographical Names Unit's official Report on the name 'Wirrina Cove', nor where the late Auntie Maggie Beare obtained her information. This report is available on the public website of the Land Services Group:⁵⁶

Other Details: Boundaries created in August 1999 for the local name. Believed to mean either 'forest place'⁵⁷ or 'meeting place of woman', a elderly female aboriginal was found well preserved in a cave near the cove - information supplied [sic] by Auntie Maggie Bear

Supporting Information: Government Gazette 5/8/1999 / DENR.9145/1994 / Shirley Mulcahy's "Historic walks in Tjilbruke Country".

⁵⁵ Mulcahy 1992: 54.

⁵⁶ 'Wirrina Cove', Record Number SA0040318, 26/02/2007, <http://maps.sa.gov.au/plb/> [accessed 22/4/19]. To find the report: go to the 'Find' menu / Place Names menu / Name / Place Name; type in 'Wirrina Cove', select that name from the drop-down menu, click 'View results'. The map will then zoom to the location, and will also provide a new pop-up bar underneath the map, offering 'Wirrina Cove'; click on this name to select it. Within the same pop-up bar, click 'Print'; a new window will pop up. Within this, select 'PDF', then click 'Print'. A PDF of the Wirrina Cove Report – titled 'Report (1).pdf' – will then automatically download to your computer. (N.B. There are several other 'Wirrina' place-names also on this system, but only 'Wirrina Cove' contains the information above; 'Wirrina Cove Resort' does not).

⁵⁷ See PNS 5.02.02/01 Wirrina.

Though 'Wirrina' is not a local name,⁵⁸ the gloss 'meeting place of woman' deserves investigation, for there is knowledge among people other than Mulcahy & Co. In the 1980s the Tjilbruke Track Committee had a plaque installed at "Site 8 Wirrina Cove Holiday Resort". It was lost for some years, but rediscovered in 2015.⁵⁹ Its text includes the statement, "This area⁶⁰ is also believed to be a significant Women's spiritual site".⁶¹

FOR THE FUTURE:

My place-name essays are part of what must be an ongoing project in cultural mapping for future generations of Aboriginal researchers, along with whatever collaborators they may find who will be both competent and congenial.

The debate about women's business at Wirrina Cove will continue. In it a key player will be Georgina Yambo Williams, Ngangkiburka Mekauwe⁶² ('senior woman of tears'). She holds oral history from her family about the cultural history and provenance of the area. She is also one of the chief drivers of the old Tjilbruke Track Committee, and of recent moves to have the plaques restored in a Tjilbruke Walking Trail.

Meanwhile, this essay about the real local place-name tries to set this part of the public documentary record as straight as possible, clarifying misinformation and also genuine information along with ambiguities and uncertainties.

APPENDIX: SAMUEL STEPHENS AND 'THE CONDERATI &c DISTRICT', 1838:

From Adelaide on about 18th April 1838, Samuel Stephens and John Morphett "set out together... for Rapid Bay, Encounter Bay, &c".⁶³ They were examining the land so that Stephens in particular could form an opinion on the best Sections which colonists might choose in the approaching Sales of Country Land. He was regarded as the best man available to assess land for agriculture and stock pasture, and this was the job for which the South Australian Company had appointed him as

⁵⁸ See PNS 5.02.02/01 Wirrina.

⁵⁹ Des Gubbin email to me and others, 6/8/2015.

⁶⁰ i.e. Wirrina Cove.

⁶¹ Text from photograph of Site 8 plaque, emailed to me by Des Gubbin on 5/4/2017.

⁶² N.Sp. *Ngangkipurka Miikauwi*. *Yambo* = 'dolphin' (N.Sp. *Yampu*).

⁶³ David McLaren to Edmund Wheeler [SACo London Manager] 26 April 1838, in South Australian Company. London Office: Letters received from the Colonial Manager [McLaren] 1 January 1838 to 2 July 1838, BRG 42/9 State Library of SA; transcript by Judy Fander, ed. Chris Durrant, http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/archivaldocs/brg/BRG42_9_SACompany_corresp_Jan-June1838_transcript.pdf, p.133.

Colonial Manager. But they had recently sacked him for mismanagement, and he was furiously declining to cooperate with them at all. Stephens thought he was making this journey for the sole benefit of land agent Morphett and *his* clients. However, Morphett and David McLaren – Stephens’ replacement – had set up the event so that Morphett could get the assessments exclusively, and pass them on immediately to the Company.⁶⁴

The first round of 437 choices in the Country Land selections was due to be held in Adelaide on 12th May. On the 11th Samuel Stephens sent to John Morphett the first of his two exclusive ‘Reports of Country Lands’.⁶⁵ One recommendation among many others was that Morphett and his clients should choose three lots, as fairly high priorities 53-5 out of 144, from “**Conderati &c. district**”.⁶⁶ Moreover, if he himself were choosing more after the 144, he would “chiefly confin[e] [him]self to **what we call the Conderati &c. district**”.⁶⁷ Unfortunately he could not specify Sections here because they had not yet been marked off in this part of the country.

Two days after the public selection, Stephens followed up with a long letter to Morphett⁶⁸ describing the country in the various ‘Districts’ which had so far been mapped and named by the Survey Department, i.e. land from Adelaide to Encounter Bay and parts of Kangaroo Island. Of them all, he was most enthusiastic about ‘District D’, an area from Sellicks Beach south to Rapid Bay and east into the ranges.⁶⁹ Here he recommends this District for “the ½ of the first 437 Sections” to be selected; which makes it clear that District D was the “Conderati &c. district” to which he would ‘chiefly confine himself’ – a district which includes the lower reaches of the River Congeratinga, along with the whole area of Wirrina, the River Anacotilla, Second Valley and Rapid Bay.⁷⁰

I regret that my report to you in the shape of a Letter, stating the order in which I should choose the first 437 sections, or rather preliminary country land orders... was not more full and explicit. It was however as full as I considered necessary, bearing in mind that I had the communicated with you from time to time as we journeyed along and that I had not time to make a more formal report in Writing on my return...

⁶⁴ See *ibid.*; also Morphett to McLaren 5 April 1838 (*ibid* p.136); and Morphett to Stephens “5 Sept 1838” [error for ‘5 April’], in South Australian Company: Letters received by Colonial Manager [McLaren] 1837-1849, BRG 42/37 SLSA.

⁶⁵ Samuel Stephens 1838 ‘Reports of Country Lands’, BRG 42/51 SLSA; transcription by Ernest Roe 2007, http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/archivaldocs/brg/BRG42_51_SACompany_reports_transcript.pdf.

⁶⁶ Stephens to Morphett 11/5/1838: 3a, BRG 42/51 (Roe transcript: 3). Here Roe’s transcription “Conderatity &c” is wrong. Stephens wrote “&c” twice. In the first attempt it is run on as part of the word – suggesting that the whole phrase ‘Conderati&c’ was being used as a single entity with a special private meaning – and is almost illegible because it has been squeezed in at the end of a line; but he wrote it again legibly on the next line.

⁶⁷ *ibid*: 5, BRG 42/51 (Roe transcript: 3); Stephens’ emphases.

⁶⁸ Stephens to Morphett 14/5/1838, BRG 42/51 (Roe transcript: 5-8).

⁶⁹ The boundaries of the Districts are shown on the map John Arrowsmith, (London) 1841, ‘Map shewing the special surveys’ SLSA C381,

http://images.slsa.sa.gov.au/samemory/zoom/arrowsmith_i16784649/zcm_sa_1840p_c218_i16784649.htm.

⁷⁰ Stephens to Morphett 14/5/1838: 1-2, 7, BRG 42/51 (Roe transcript: 5, 7-8).



... District D is decidedly, and beyond all comparison, the most valuable of those marked upon the charts. I am not sure if or not a part tho' a small part of the district D to the north & East of such district may not be included in this observation – Singular it is true nevertheless that tho' hundreds probably, scores at any rate of persons have crossed it on their way to Encounter Bay. they should all excepting ourselves & one or two others should have done so at such parts of it as led them to believe that there was no better land in the District, than the tract they themselves travelled over. The peculiar feature as to soil in this district is a mixture of sand, with a rich black mould upon the Side Hills alluvial deposits in the bottoms. sand hills with the Honey suckle and Grass [...] interspersed so suddenly, as that it should seem nature herself had beenn Sheep- farming before sheep were in this province, and had made those sand Hills her Sheep Land

*I know no district at all to be compared to this, and feel no hesitation in stating that **out of it the ½ of the first 437 Sections might be selected** so as to give Water sufficient. Land not of the heavy, greasy, hungry, harsh red-loamed description, that we have found in the districts before enumerated – but of the light & at the same time rich dark, alluvial mixed with sand, of the well drained, & close swarded character, that shall be suited both for the ordinary purposes of agriculture & the union of such purposes, with the extensive and valuable right of pasturage which any of the first 437 land holders should be consider a boon...*

This is another valuable early description of country. But for our purpose the passage and its context hint also irresistibly that Stephens' "Conderati" was a version or variant of 'Congerati'; i.e. the root of 'Congeratinga' without the Locative *ngga*, the same word which Tindale rendered later as 'Kongarati'. If so, then Stephens was the first European to hear the name 'Congerati', probably from an Aboriginal guide; most likely it happened on this journey in company with Morphett.⁷¹

The spelling could have some credibility as a variant in Kaurna language.⁷²

But the context includes a caution. Writing to his recent travel mate Morphett, Stephens says this place is "what we call" it (his emphasis). Moreover he twice quotes a whole phrase which is presumably how "we" referred to it: "the Conderati &c. district" (his emphasis). This implies that *others* would call it something else. And this was not the only name or place he had in mind: "&c." ('and so on') probably implies that they had heard other *names* in this district as well as seeing other places.

I present a yarn which is a tentative hypothesis:

⁷¹ Could it have been on one of his two overland trips to Encounter Bay in 1837? SA Company stock manager CW Stuart noted that Stephens (then the Company's Colonial manager) returned to Adelaide from Encounter Bay on 3rd June 1837, and departed for it again on the 11th (CW Stuart MS diaries 1833-1843, SLSA D6872(L), Vol. 3 transcript 2009, http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/archivaldocs/d/D6872_3_Stuart_diary_transcript.pdf: 153-4). But these trips were on business with the Company's Encounter Bay whale fishery, and he would have travelled quickly via Myponga without any detour to the southern Fleurieu.

⁷² *kuntarati, kantarati*, etc; with available vocabulary *kantarra* 'reed basket for carrying a baby'.



At this fairly early date when District D had been very little explored, probably Stephens and Morphett took an Aboriginal guide with them.

Perhaps the guide gave them the name which Stephens thought of as 'Congerati', with a 'g'. We cannot know what it referred to more than is revealed in our discussion of 'Congeratinga' from 1939 onward. Perhaps he also gave them some of the other polysyllabic names of the southern Fleurieu 'parklike' country: 'Anacotilla', 'Parananacooka', 'Yattagolunga', etc, which were the "&c." of Stephens' phrase.

In 1838 both were young men: Stephens 30 years old, and Morphett 29. Both had been educated in the British school system for gentlemen, which included a heavy emphasis on 'the classics', and years of studying the Latin language with endless recitals of Latin noun declensions and verb conjugations. 'Congerati' in particular would have reminded them of their not-so-distant schooldays: "Good heavens, he is speaking in Latin!"

As they tramped on through this delectable land of District D – Morphett especially soaring with the high spirits which he often showed in his early expeditions and propaganda letters, sometimes sounding to a modern ear almost like mania⁷³ – perhaps they spent hours or even days sharing a private pun: "Let's conjugate 'Congerati': congero, congerare, congeratus... plural congerati... Do you remember *condio*, *condire*, 'to salt, to season [food], to embalm'?... *condiverat* 'it had salted'; *condiveratis* 'you plural had salted', *conditi*, 'they have been salted'... Well, 'Conderati': the land here is a real condiment; it certainly sauces up our prospects!"⁷⁴

Of course this leap of imagination does not amount to any kind of hard evidence or proof. But the context of 'Conderati' is doubtful, and I have found no other reference to anything like it apart from 'Congeratinga'. This is enough for me to abandon treating the 'd' in 'Conderati' as a genuine variant or alternative for anything. Instead, I suspect it is indirect evidence that Stephens and Morphett probably obtained the real name 'Congerati' without recording it as such, two years before Kentish, Poole and Bryant obtained 'Congeratinga' independently during the first official surveys of the area.

.....

MAPS: SEE NEXT 4 PAGES:

⁷³ e.g. Morphett and Kingston's boyish competitive race for the shore through the shallows when they first landed on the mainland in September 1836, and Morphett on Mt Barker looking towards the Promised Land in December 1837 (GC Morphett (Ed.) 1936, *The Life and Letters of Sir John Morphett*, Adelaide: Hassell Press: 16, 66).

⁷⁴ For the Latin of *condire*, see <https://www.latin-is-simple.com/en/vocabulary/verb/2197/> [5/6/19]: *condio*, *condis*, *condire*, *condivi*, *conditum* 1. to preserve/pickle; 2. to embalm/mummify; 3. to spice; 4. to season/flavor/render pleasant/give zest.



MAPS:

see next 3 interpolated pages 28-30

p.28 – MAP 1: Original Sections around the lower River Congeratinga.

Red lines and grey lettering on base map = today's Lots.

Blue broken lines = old Section boundaries (approximate).

Approximate old courses of creeks in the Reservoir basin are added from old maps.

p.29 – MAP 2: Stoney Creek valley, with contour lines.

p.30 – MAP 3: Wirrina Reservoir basin, with contour lines.

Approximate old courses of creeks in the basin are added from old maps.

All base maps from Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources (Enviro Data SA on NatureMaps <http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps>).

End of Summary



Tools

mouth of River Congeratinga

Cutter Flat

Reservoir valley

Stoney Creek
campsite area
(circle)

Second Valley

**tributary B:
upper River Congeratinga
on later maps**



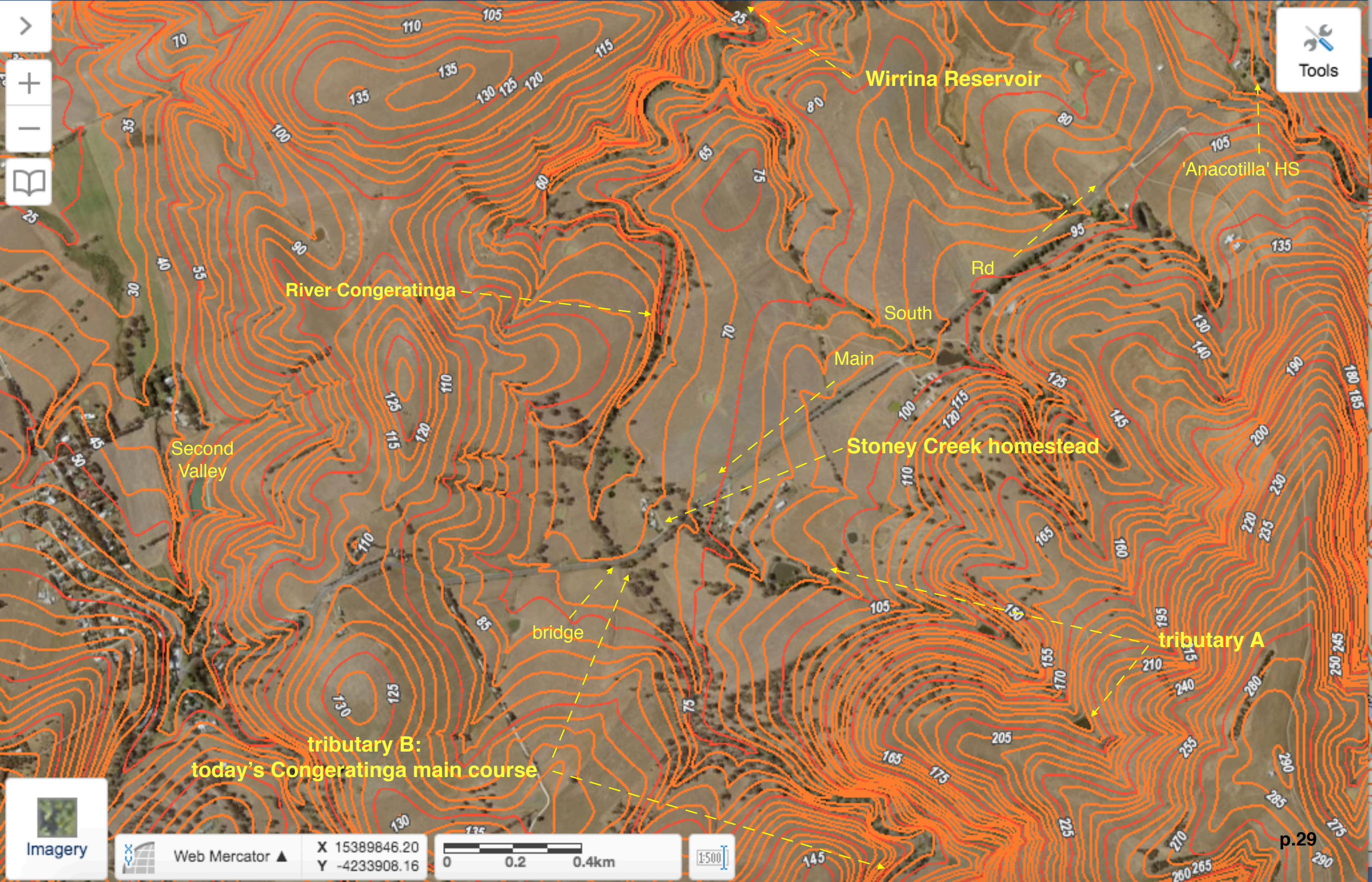
Topo

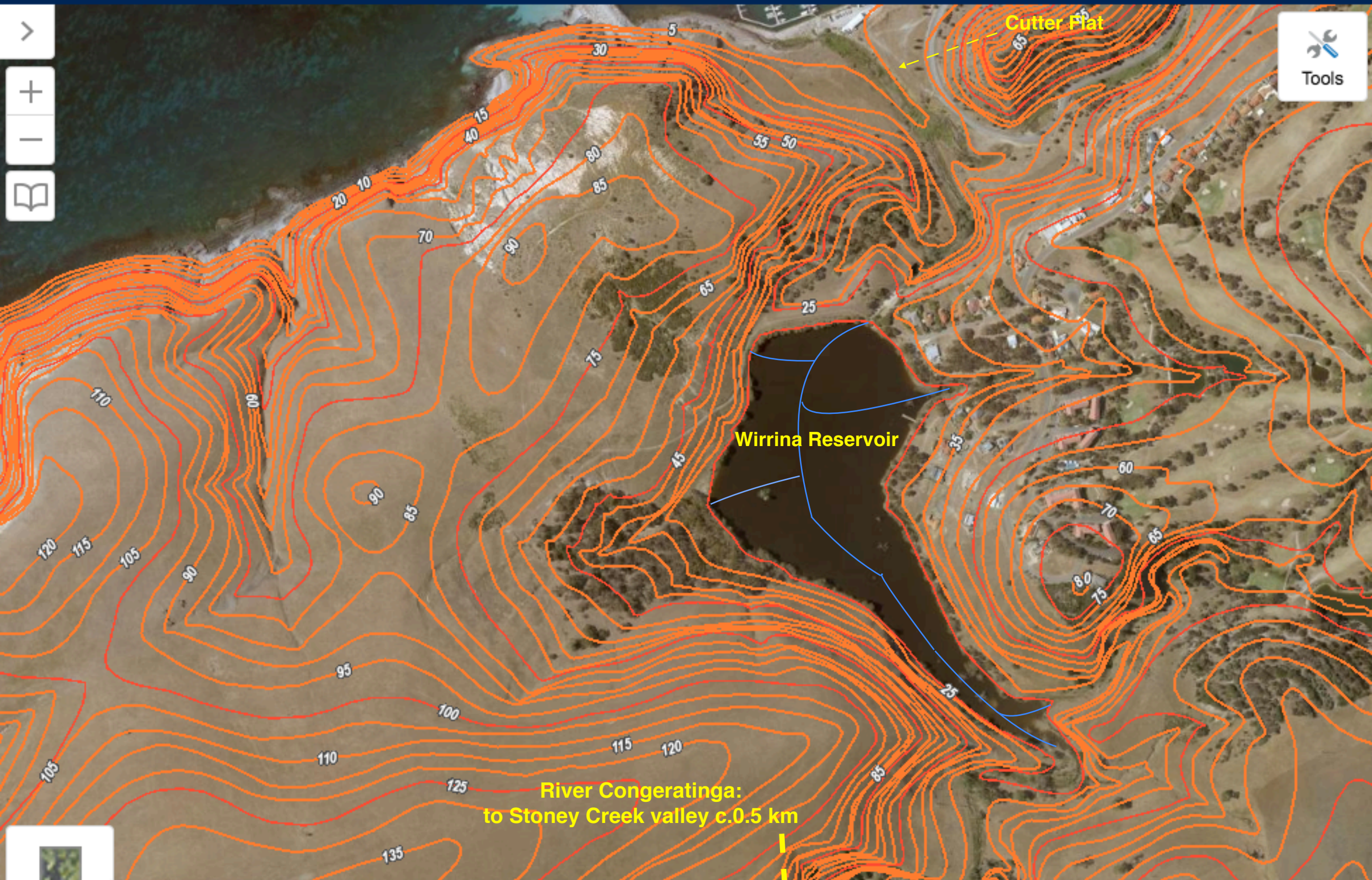
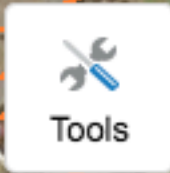


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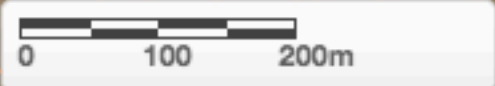
**tributary A:
upper River Congeratinga
on first two maps**







Web Mercator ▲
X 15388637.54
Y -4232879.84



1:500